

MIDDLESEX IN DOMESDAY BOOK

By the President

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AT the last three annual meetings of this Society I had the privilege of delivering addresses on the antiquities of Middlesex in British, Roman and Saxon times. I now continue the series with a short account of the "Comitatus Midelesexon," based mainly on the returns from Domesday Book.

During many years past, in my spare time, I have been engaged upon research into the antiquities of our county, which have been much neglected. Antiquarians mostly portray Roman life in Britain derived chiefly from structural remains disclosed by excavation. This I have endeavoured to supplement with evidence of a co-existing rural economy which continued into and beyond Saxon times, obtained from the surface of the soil. When both views are considered, together with any aid afforded by aerial photography, it is manifest that our knowledge of these early times can be considerably increased.

It has been stated that while "many counties have attracted individual students, Middlesex, strange to say, lacks a commentator on its returns to Domesday Book."¹ This is remarkable because its record is full of details, and from this survey King William obtained a tolerably accurate knowledge of the possessions of the Crown, a useful roll of honour of responsible tenants, the military strength and the civil population."²

"So narrowly," says the Chronicle, "did the King cause this survey to be made that were written down

what property every inhabitant possessed in land or in cattle and how much was this worth. There was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor, it is shameful to relate, was there an ox or a cow or a pig passed by that was not set down in the account." This priceless work, known as Domesday, can be seen at the Museum of the Rolls Office in Chancery Lane.

I will now endeavour, to some degree, to make good the omission, and show that throughout Middlesex in the eleventh century a comprehensive system of rural economy was in existence, and to enquire when and by whom it was introduced into the London territory.

SCOPE OF THE MIDDLESEX SURVEY.

The returns may be grouped under seven headings, viz. The King, The Tenants in Chief, The Geldage of Villis and their Hundreds, Common and Arable Lands, Agriculturists' Farm Stock, Profits and Rents.

Strange to say, the King only held in hand 30 cottages, yielding an annual rent of 14/10, a vineyard let at 6/- to William the Chamberlain, and in Nomansland 12½ acres.

Among his 23 tenants in chief were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Abbots of St. Peter's, Rouen and Barking, holding in all about 68,800 customary acres. The principal lay tenant was de Manneville, who held South Mimms, Enfield, Edmonton, Northolt, and Ebury, also properties in Greenford and Islington, in all about 26,640 acres. De Waleric held Isleworth and Hampton; the Countess Judith, Tottenham; and de Ver, Kensington, with 1385 acres. Berewics were detached portions of a lord's estate; e.g., South Mimms was a berewic to Edmonton; part of the manor of East Bedfont lay in Stanwell; and Staines manor had four severed berewics.

Then we are told the geldage or assessment of every Vill, and this was based on the unit 5 or its multiples.

Next are given the names of the six Hundreds with

their 49 Vills, of which the names of 25 are still in use, 10 have become somewhat changed, and 14 are no longer the names of parishes.

The extent of the common lands in wood and pasture for each Vill is returned in carucates, followed by the amount of arable land in demesne, and how much was held by each villein, knight, freeman, french man, bordar and cottager. The number of serfs and landless cottagers is given, but not of craftsmen, traders or those who pursued other occupations, for Domesday Book dealt with matters pertaining to the land.

Though churches are not mentioned, priests were holding glebe in 18 Vills.³ In 14 of these it is most probable that in each a tiny church fabric was then in existence, because in Vills where a pagan *compitum* or shrine had formerly stood at the cross ways, to which the rustics brought their votive offerings, there in a later age the ancient shrine was often converted to Christian uses, or a little church erected upon its site.⁴

Lastly are given various rentals, and valuation returns from the Vills both in T.R.E., and when Domesday Book was compiled.

RURAL ECONOMY.

From the nature of these particulars it is evident that a well-grounded system of rural economy had long been established in the "Comitatus Midelesxon," but to trace its institution I must briefly revert to the time of the Roman occupation.

After the destruction of the first Londinium by Boadicea in A.D. 61, the new town arose, which, as Tacitus says, "became much frequented by merchants and ships that enter its port." In A.D. 74 was sent to Britain as Proprætor, Sextus Julius Frontinus, a successful general, a scientific writer, an engineer of water works, and a leading professor of the art of land surveying, and described as "an eminent man with an instinct for public improvements which dominated his

whole career." "It was an important period in the development of the country," and Frontinus foresaw that a town and port, on which six military roads could converge, would become the leading city in Britain, though "dependent upon the fields which lay outside its walls, which included a considerable surrounding district and population" for "agriculture was important in the life of a town." Frontinus would order that the territory adjoining to the town should be laid out, settled, and cultivated according to Roman rules. That this was done is evident from the numerous Roman landmarks and indications which have been traced in Middlesex, proving that the Londinium territory had been "divided and marked out into plots according to a regular plan," as laid down by the Gromatici.⁵

In provinces conquered by the Romans suitable districts or *pagi* were divided into considerable tracts of land or *saltus*, each containing 25 centurial fields, known in the Saxon age as virgates, and the fields for tillage subdivided into 2 *jugera* plots. (Grom. Vet. 153.) The equivalent of a 26th centuria provided, where required, the requisite lanes and means of access, and the whole was then called a *possessa*.⁶

This table explains the divisions:—

2 <i>jugera</i>	formed	1 <i>ager, acera</i> , acre, being a plot of land.
25 <i>acera</i>	„	1 <i>centuria</i> , virgate, or an <i>heredium</i> in Middlesex. ⁷
4 virgates	„	1 hide, 100 old acres, or 200 <i>jugera</i> .

The dimensions of the oblong *jugerum* are well known, and two placed end to end, measuring 38·8 by 155·2 yards, enclosed 6020 square yards, which was *the customary or old acre of Domesday Book in Middlesex*. The statute acre, a smaller one, came into existence in A.D. 1305 (33 Ed. I), over two centuries later than Domesday Book, "but it did not supersede the ancient customary acre."²⁰

This statute acre contained 4840 sq. yards, and is about 1/5th less than the old acre, so that 1¼ statute

acres go to make the old acre. The Domesday virgate with 25 old acres is therefore equivalent to 31·15 statute acres, and the hide with 4 virgates to a 100 of the old, and to 124·6 statute acres.

This is shown by the acreage in four Villis, which has hardly changed since the date of Domesday Book, and further as I have elsewhere shown, the Middlesex acreage in Domesday Book when converted into statute acres, practically agrees with the figures of the Ordnance Survey.⁸

LITTLE STANMORE.

Demesne, $6\frac{1}{2}$ hides	=	650	old acres
Wood and pasture, 4 caruces	=	400	„ „
Arable, $1\frac{3}{4}$ hides and 11 acres	=	186	„ „
Lanes and paths, for allowance add $\frac{1}{25}$	=	49	„ „
			<hr/>	
			1285	„ „
For statute acres add $\frac{1}{4}$		321	„ „
			<hr/>	
			1606	statute acres
Ordnance survey	=	1590	„ „
			<hr/>	
Difference	=	16	„ „
			<hr/> <hr/>	

IN FULHAM (Chiswick).

Old acres 959; St. ac. 1198; Ordn. 1216; difference 18 ac.

CHELSEA.

Old acres 639; St. ac. 798; Ordn. 786; difference 12 ac.

W. TWYFORD.

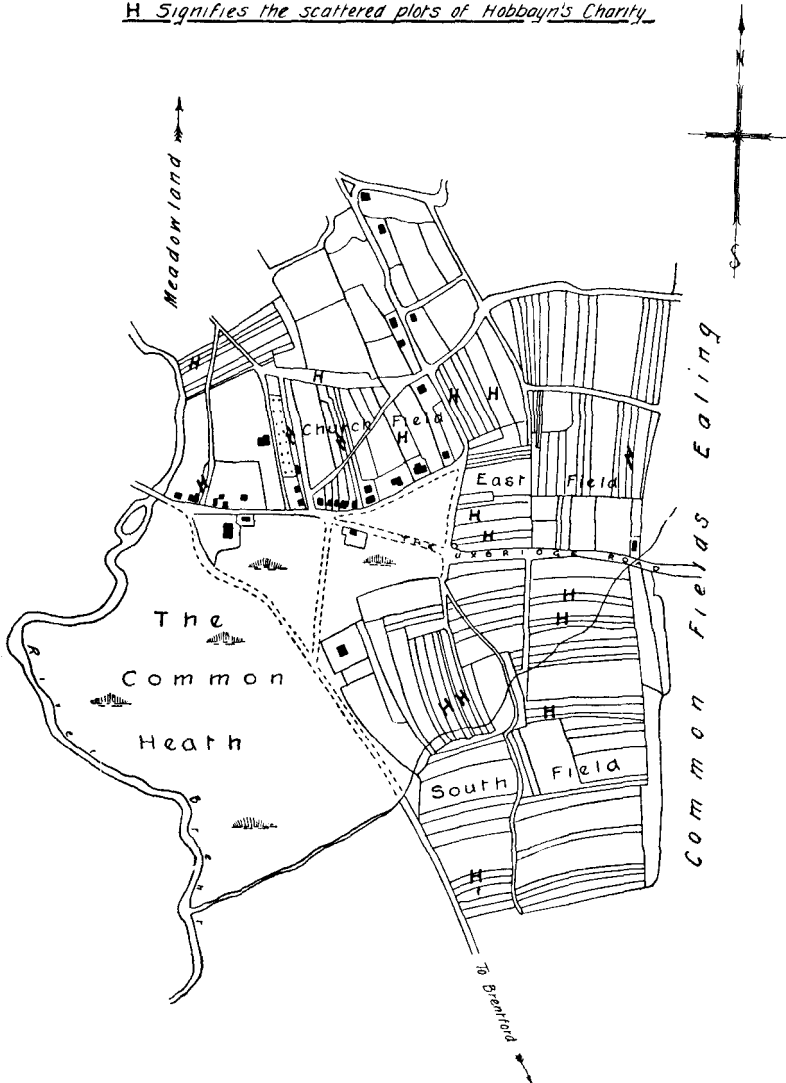
Old acres 220; St. ac. 275; Ordn. 280; difference 5 ac.

After the axe and plough (*falx et arator*) had prepared sufficient land on which the centurial fields were to be laid out—and we know that a number of these fields with divisions 396 yards apart, have so far been noted in both Edmonton and Hanwell—they were subdivided into strips measured by the rod (*pertica*), and the strips were balloted for by the settlers in groups of ten men (*decania*).⁹

—HANWELL, MIDDLESEX, 1803.—

THE HEATH AND THREE OF THE FIVE COMMON FIELDS.

H Signifies the scattered plots of Hobbayn's Charity.



"The strips were not necessarily contiguous, some might be in one centuria some in others" (Agrimentatio, D. of Antq. and Grom. Vet. 152), and this practice continued to the termination of the common field system. Adjoining the arable strips lay the necessary pasture and woodlands which were held in common (*communiter pascendis*). See map of Hanwell.

A census or an assessment of 5 *libra* seems to have been placed uniformly on each *saltus*. Of these I have traced 176 in the County, and, as Dr. Round writes, "the five hide unit is peculiarly prominent in Middlesex, and is of great antiquity."¹⁰ It did not include rents from mills, fisheries, etc. (Dom. Comms. 30), *e.g.* Tottenham was assessed at £5, while its profits were valued at £26. Hayes was assessed at £59, and its profits at £30.

While the *saltus* was the area assessed with £5, the tax was apparently levied on its arable land, the aim being to "create a fixed number of agricultural units, each of which would be liable to furnish the same amount of yearly dues in kind" and, says Prof. Heitland in his *Agricola*, "there was at least one collector of taxes to each five *saltus* of land."

In Domesday Book this unit⁵ or its multiples was the assessment or geldage continuing upon 37 out of 49 Middlesex Vills, and amounted to £660 in the total geldage of £880. In the Hundreds of Gara and Adelmetone every Vill was so gelded, and all but one in the Spelethorne Hundred. All Vills must have originally been so assessed, *e.g.* Stepney was 6/- below £60; Hayes stood at £59, and the two Stanmores were gelded at £19.

In parts of the county, where within an old assessed area new and adjoining Vills had arisen, the original assessment appears to have been apportioned. Thus out of a geld of £15, £8 had been assigned to Colham, £3 to Dawley, and £4 to Hillingdon. Again out of a geld of £15, Shepperton took £8, and Sunbury £7.

There are instances where the geld was divided between the Vill and the Manor within it, *e.g.*

Kingsbury	gelded at	£10;	its manor at	£7½;	the Vill at	£2½.
Laleham	„	£10	„	£8	„	£2.
Ickenham	„	£15	„	£9½	„	£5½.

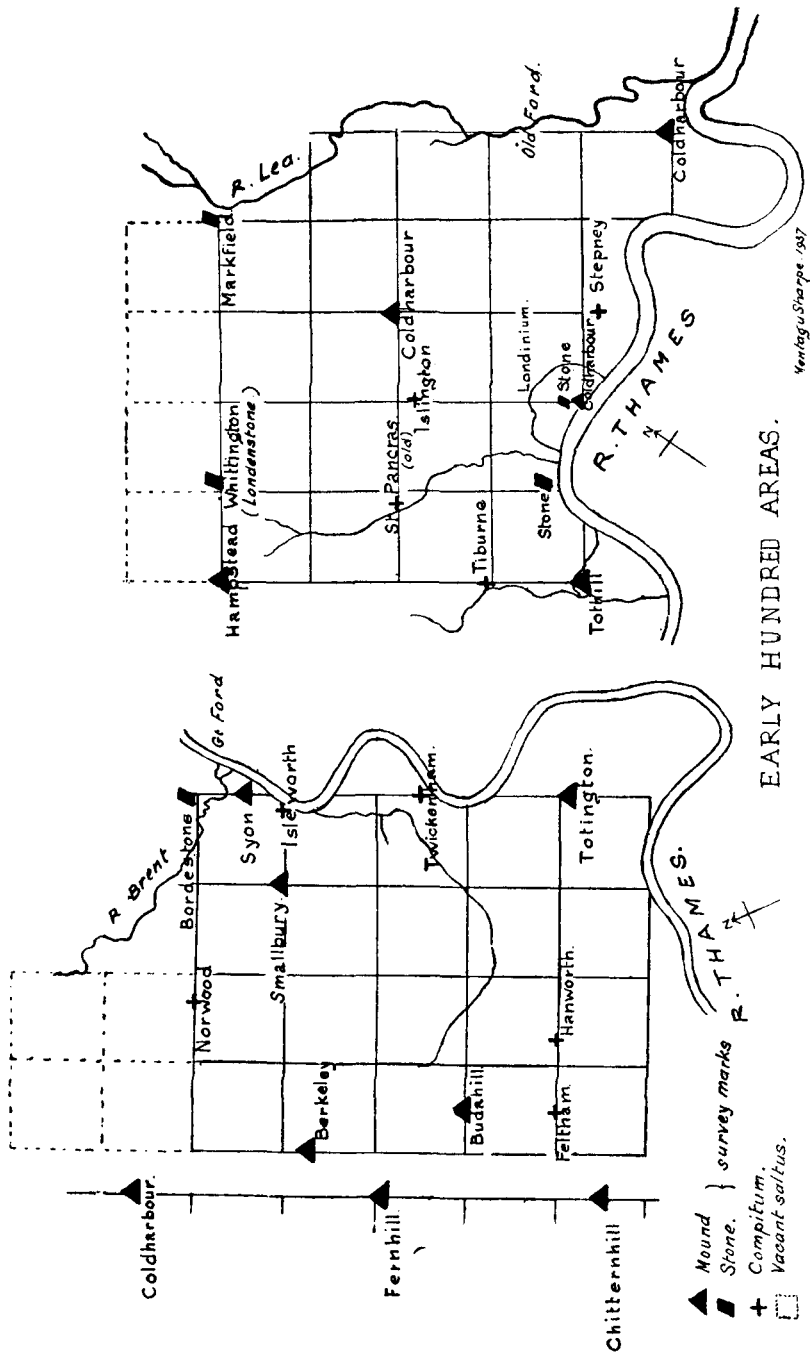
These figures also show that a fixed census of 5 *libra* had originally been placed on the Vill with its *saltus* of 778 st. acres; since four Vills each at £5 had an average of 756 st. acres. Again a Vill at £10 with two *saltus* and 1536 st. acres, and lastly four Vills averaged 1533 st. acres.¹¹

In the course of time ancient oddments of land (*extra clausus*) lying between the natural boundaries of a Middlesex *pagus* and the defined village bounds, had become absorbed by adjoining Vills, but while increasing a lord's rents, they did not add to the fixed total geldage of the county.

THE HUNDRED.

A Hundred area in Middlesex was an ancient territorial division, containing a given number of village settlements. The Hundred has been described as of immemorial antiquity, and is mentioned in the laws of King Ine in the seventh century. My opinion is that it represented neither one hundred families, warriors, nor hides of land, but indicated a group of settlements on each of which 100 *libra* had been placed as its census or assessment, and upon which was levied the payment of the *tributum* or land tax. (See map.)

After a *pagus*, which was somewhat similar to a hundred area, had been prospected, a portion of it, or its *intra clausus*, was indicated by survey mounds and stones. This at first appears to have consisted of 20 *saltus* of land, each *saltus* containing a Vill with its census of 5 *libra*, the later £5 geld unit. Hence each group of 20 *saltus* became a district assessed at 100 *libra*, and I submit, that each group of 20 village settlements became known as hundred rated district, otherwise a Hundred.



It is possible that the original Hundred with 20 *saltus* within which Londinium lay, may even now be traced by its ancient boundary marks, viz. starting from the Hampstead *botontinus*, east past Whittington's stone—probably old Londenestone—to Markfield in Tottenham, thence south to Coldharbour, westwards to the Tothill in Westminster, and thence back to the Hampstead mound. The early Hounslow Hundred, and possibly other early Hundreds, may in like manner be defined from their landmarks.

In the course of time as vacant *saltus* became settled and cultivated, they with any oddments of land were added to the area of a Hundred, thus increasing its geldage to above the £100. But all the 176 *saltus* of the county had been brought within the Hundreds, when they were reconstructed and reduced in number, and as late as Domesday Book there were parcels of land described as within a Hundred but not within any Vill.

The St. Albans possessions stretching from Barnet to Londenestone, had been forfeited by King William, and were not included in Domesday Book.¹² The returns, however, from the Domesday six Hundreds indicate that formerly their number had been greater. They show that the Hundreds of Hounslow with Spelthorne together had a geldage of 217, an increase of 17 over the early census; and that the Hundreds of Gara with Adelmetone had risen to 221. But for the great Hundreds of Ossulton and Helethorne, their geldage respectively stood at 220 and 222, each apparently formed out of the united areas of two earlier Hundreds. These figures also show that though the old 100 limit had been passed, the unit 5 and its multiples had been retained for geldage purposes, while the term "Hundred" has continued.

The reduction from 8 to 6 Hundreds had been methodically carried out, aided by the old landmarks then much in evidence. This is shown by comparing the figures for the three western Hundreds with those

of the three lying on the east side of the county. Helethorne, Spelethorne and Honslow contained 173 arable, and 439 geld hides; while Gara, Adelmetone and Ossulton, had 175 arable, and 440 geld hides—a difference of only 2 hides in arable and one point in geldage.

During the $8\frac{1}{2}$ centuries that have elapsed since Domesday Book was compiled, though the 6 Hundreds have retained their names, changes have taken place in their areas. Hounslow and Spelethorne have lost about 2624 st. acres to Ossulvestone and Gara, while Helethorne has continued with its 36,335 st. acres.

In the last century the Justices of the Peace divided the great or double Hundred of Ossulton into five parts; viz. Finsbury, Holborn, Kensington, Tower, and Westminster, for by 1871 the assessment of this Hundred had increased to £5½ million, from £220 in A.D. 1086, which perhaps in modern value is about £5500.¹³

LAND CULTIVATION.

Loca culta villae.

From a rescript of Constantius in A.D. 319 we learn that both *Tributarii* and *Coloni* with their decurions were cultivating land in Britain, and from Marcellinus, that in A.D. 368 the former, settled in Londinium territory, had been plundered by the Picts.¹⁴

For their *heredia* consisting of arable strips with the appendant common of pasture (*ad pascendum communiter vicinis*),¹⁵ the *tributarii* paid a fixed tribute, mainly in kind (*pecunia*) towards the supply of food for Londinium, their mother city, and they were in the nature of being free tenants with a heritable estate in their strips of land.

But the colonate was based on a different principle. It was instituted in the third century in the interests of agriculture, by bringing unassigned land under cultivation, to ensure a further supply of food for the pressing needs of the Empire, *e.g.* in A.D. 358, when the Emperor

Julian was restoring the cities on the lower Rhine and establishing *afresh* the granaries which had been burnt, in which to stow the corn *annually imported* from Britain, and was using 800 vessels larger than boats for this purpose.¹⁶

The *Coloni* paid a poll tax as well as rent for their land, which they might not quit. Their services were uncertain, oppressive, and subject to unending labour, and therefore were not in the nature of free tenure, and so in Roman Middlesex two classes of agriculturists were existing side by side.

At the end of the interregnum in the Londinium State about A.D. 586, on its Vills passing to East Saxon lords, the distinction between these two classes of land tenure appears to have generally continued. This may be noticed from the services set out in the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, rendered respectively by the Geneats and the Geburs, and it may well be that it was the Colonnate land which passed *in manu*, and formed the demesne lands of the incoming Saxon lords. The *Coloni*, says Professor Heitland (*Agricola*, 256), were tied to the soil on onerous terms and the foundation was laid of the later relation of lord and serf. Professor Vinogradoff thus sums up the situation: "the Saxon invasion did not destroy what it found in the land, Roman vills and their labour passed from one lord to another. That is all." In a Wessex law of A.D. 694 these words, "*si tuus geneat, i.e. colonus vel villanus furetur . . .*," show that a distinction still existed between these classes of husbandmen.¹⁷

In Domesday Book the measure of each man's strips in the common farm was returned in acres and virgates, and the origin of this acre lies in the Roman double *jugerum* above mentioned.¹⁸ It formed the basis of land measure in Middlesex and elsewhere in Britain where the professional field measurer had divided the fields into regular strips. These, as Hyginus mentions, were assigned by ballot,¹⁹ and formed the *heredia* of the

cultivators who in *decaniae* or bands of ten men were, as we know, settled around Londinium.

Each *heredium* or yardland was in fragments, the distinct occupations being dispersed and intermingled through every part of each field.²⁰ In Middlesex the *heredia* were in two assignments, one of a *centuria* of 50 *jugera* being the later virgate of 25 old or customary acres, and the other was of half that amount, and both possessed the necessary rights in common wood and pasture (*compascua ad pascendum communiter vicinis*).¹⁵ Surely this was the commencement of the common field system of farming in Middlesex?

Besides the lord's demesne lands, Domesday Book returns a few substantial villeins holding 2, 4, and even 8 virgates in acre strips but nearly half of the 1,780 plot holders in Middlesex were holding original assignments, viz. 408 men with 1 virgate, and 404 with half a virgate. Next came the bordars and cottagers, and their smaller plots were distinguished by being returned in acres.²¹ The average holding of a bordar was about 6 old acres, and that of a cottager 2 acres. The landless class consisted of 388 cottagers and serfs.

It will be of interest to trace the origin of this *centuria* or virgate. Now it seems that to every virgate under tillage was appendant one-and-a-half caruces or virgates in common land. Thus a *decania* or frankpledge of ten men, each man with his virgate, would together possess ten virgates of arable land, as well as fifteen virgates of common land, making a total of twenty-five *centuriæ* or virgates, otherwise the old *saltus*, of twenty-five *centuriæ*, which brings us back to the Roman starting point. (Grom. Vet. 158). In some confirmation of this, if the 1,185 hides for Middlesex in Domesday Book be divided between the 178 frankpledges, each holding comes to twenty-six virgates as against the above twenty-five virgates of a *saltus*. In the standard *saltus* $\frac{2}{5}$ would be arable and $\frac{3}{5}$ waste land. The Villis of Cranford, Hanworth, Harefield, Lileston, and

Tyburn each gelded at £5 and with a total of 3,740 st. acres, had 1,494 acres under tillage, and this was $\frac{2}{3}$ of their acreage. But this is a matter rather for antiquarians to pursue further.

CARUCATED LAND.

Loca inculta villae.

The words "carucate" and "caruce" from *caruca*, a plough, were used by the Domesday Commissioners to indicate pastures, meadows and woodlands,²² keeping "hide," "virgate" and acre to describe land under tillage. Carucate, caruce and hide all express an equal measure of land, and each had relation to a team of eight oxen.

The Domesday County contained 657 carucates, of which 137 pertained to lords of Vills, and 520 to the villeins. It was of three kinds—meadow, pasture, and woodland.

A normal entry thus runs: "In *x* Vill there are 5 caruces," signifying that the common pasturage ought to support 5 teams of oxen, that is, a head of 40 beasts. In Ickenham there was "meadow for 3 ploughs, pasture for the cattle of the Vill, and wood for 300 pigs." The meadows produced hay and an aftermath, the pasturage fed the oxen, cows and sheep, and the woodlands yielded pannage for swine, besides providing timber and fuel.

Meadow land was estimated from its fertility to produce a crop of hay sufficient for a given number of oxen. At Bedfont it was for one ox; at Hendon for 2, at Littleton 4, and at Dawley 6. In other words, these figures signify 1, 2, 4, and 6 old acres respectively. For large meadows the word "plough" was used and the text would read there is "meadow for *x* ploughs." At Hanworth it was for 1 plough, otherwise 8 acres; at Laleham for $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs; for 8 at Ebury; and at Fulham for 40 ploughs or 320 old acres.

In several Vills the entry ran "that there could be *x* more caruces," implying that the pasturage did not

support its full number of cattle, which might be increased by removing undergrowth and bracken. At this date the usual allowance for each arable hide seems to have been 8 oxen, 4 cows and 4 sheep upon the common pasturage.

Domesday Middlesex contained 526 arable hides, and even with half that amount under annual cultivation, at the full rate of 8 strong oxen to a plough, a head of 2,100 oxen would be necessary and we find that about 2,430 oxen were returned for the county. I gather that an average day's ploughing by these slow moving beasts, was about half an old acre. The great common plough, the mainstay of the village community, with its team of 8 oxen, was furnished by the villeins holding strips in the common farm, and so this village community in co-oration constituted a co-operative society, farming not for profit but for their sustenance.

DANEGELD FROM MIDDLESEX.

Danegeld or war tax, abolished by Edward the Confessor, was revived by King William in A.D. 1083-4 at the heavy rate of 6/- on the geldhide. This when fully paid would yield £264 on the assessment of £880 for Domesday Middlesex. To collect this sum the Shire Reeve requisitioned the Ealdors of the Hundreds, who in turn notified the Reeves or chief men of the frankpledges (*decaniae*) the amount due on the geldage of their Villis.²³ It might be returned in money, uncoined metal—*e.g.* 3 oz. in gold from Tottenham, also in flour, cloth, cattle, hides, and in land products or goods, each having its recognised standard or value.

Every frankpledge at the rate of 6/- on the £5 geld unit upon its holding in arable and common land, would return 30/-. Domesday Book records 1780 landholders equal to 178 frankpledges which, at 30/- each, would furnish £267, almost the same amount as from 6/- in the £ on the county geldage of £880.

MISCELLANEOUS RETURNS.

I will now briefly mention a few properties paying rents. In Nomansland 5/- was due from $12\frac{1}{2}$ old acres. At Staines, 46 burgesses being citizens of London rendered 40/- for their plots to the Abbot of St. Peter's, and the knights of the Abbot 8/- for their 25 houses in Westminster. Cottage rents were at 6d. and 8d., but 41 with gardens at Westminster paid 40/-. For 100 old acres in Stepney, 40 cottagers paid 30/-.

Upon the rivers Brent, Colne and Lea, there were 34 water-mills, most of them probably erected during the Roman occupation.²⁴ Their rentals varied from 10/- upwards, and one on the Colne paid £1 6s. 8d. At Uxbridge 5/- was charged for half a water-mill, the other half lay in Bucks.

Fishponds were valued from 500 to a 1,000 eels. At Hampton a fisherman paid 5/- for his nets and stakes in the Thames. At the mouths of the Brent, the Abbot of St. Peter's and the Bishop of London held adjoining fisheries.²⁵

Along the level bays by the streams lay the meadow lands yielding crops of hay and an aftermath at rents from 20/- to 70/-. In Ebury there was a meadow for 8 teams of oxen at 2/8 per head. Herbage charges varied from 1/- to 15/- and 40/-.

Wooden stakes suitable for hedging were grown in 6 Villis.

Seven vineyards covered $12\frac{1}{2}$ old acres. One is supposed to have been situated outside Newgate, at a rental of 6/-. The vineyard at Kempton had been newly planted, and consisted of 4 old acres, or of 5 statute acres.

There were then many herds of swine, and pannage (*glandifera*) for 1,000 pigs ranged from 10/- to 20/-, and in Kingsbury at 2/- a hundred. Amid the oak forests in the Hundreds of Gore and Edmonton, swineherds tended upwards of 9,260 head of swine, whereas upon

the lighter soils of the Hounslow and Spelethorne Hundreds, there was pannage existing for a herd of only 630.

In Enfield and Ruislip were parks to contain wild beasts. (*Parcus est ibi ferarum silvaticarum.*)

The names of several unfortunate Saxon lords who had been deprived of their estates are mentioned, also the powers of disposal of certain landholders over their respective properties are stated.

Its geldage figure heads the return from each Vill, and at the end of it is given the annual value when received. *E.g.* at Tottenham, the geld is £5 and the annual value £26. Hayes is gelded at £59 and the annual value £30. The valet was an important entry, for it showed the King that the values had fallen from £909 in T.R.E., to £758 in A.D. 1086, for there were few Villis in the county which had not suffered from the ravages of his troopers.

In concluding, I estimate that at this date about 43 per cent. of the county was then under tillage, only one-third to one-half under annual cultivation, together with land covered by water, and houses with gardens; 53 per cent. lay in forest, woodlands and rough pasturage; and 4 per cent. in roadways, green lanes, and footpaths, none of these ways were included in Domesday Book.

At this date the population may be placed at about 7,200 men and their families. It consisted of 1,780 landholders or husbandmen and 388 landworkers, mentioned in the returns, together with various craftsmen, traders, etc., who are not included.

From the details which I have laid before you this evening, it has, I trust, become evident that a comprehensive system of rural economy had existed in Middlesex for a period long prior to the date of Domesday Book, and the question is, who established it and enforced its provisions? This I have endeavoured to answer by analysing the returns from Domesday Book,

while at the same time throwing some light on the rural condition of our county at the close of the Saxon regime.

February, 1937.

MONTAGU SHARPE.

NOTES.

1. *Domesday Commemoration Studies*, II, 512.
2. *Domesday Book*. Birch.
3. Glebe in— + Bedfont, + Colham, + Cranford, + Enfield, + Harefield, Harlington, + Harrow, + Hayes, + Hendon, + Isleworth, Kingsbury, Kensington, + Northolt, + Ruislip, + Shepperton, + Stanmore parva, Tottenham, + Twickenham.
+ : here a church stood by the crossways (*limites*).
4. "Compita are places at crossways, a kind of tower where rustics perform sacrifices when the labour of the fields is completed. They are on public roads—where little chapels open on all sides are consecrated. In these chapels broken yokes are placed by the cultivators as evidence of their task being duly served and finished." Scholiast on Persius, 4, 28.
5. Tacitus. *Provincia*; also: *Agrimetatio*, Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities. Nero recalled Frontinus to supervise the aqueducts in Rome which had fallen into great disrepair.
6. A survey had of necessity to be made in newly acquired provinces before a census could be taken. This had been carried out by Nero in A.D. 61. *Roman Prov. Admn.* 227. Arnold. A *saltus* with 25 *centuriæ* contained 1,250 *jugera*, and a *possessa* 1,300 *jugera*. *Grom. Vet.*, 110 and 158.
7. This *centuria* and *jugerum* are the subsequent virgate and old half acre. "Quot acrae vel jugera terrae in uni aratro." *Hist. Angl.*, I, 27, M. Paris. "Quot hidæ id est jugera uni aratro," H. Huntingdon. In parts of England other non-Roman measurements had sprung up; a forest acre with 5,440 square yards, and a short acre of 3,025 square yards, which was almost half the customary old acre. *England under the Norman Occupation*, 19, Morgan.
8. *Middlesex in British, Roman and Saxon Times*, Montagu Sharpe.
9. "When the mensuration is complete, tickets for drawing lots should be distributed, and the names registered by *decaniae*, that is, by sets of ten men each. Then should be inscribed on the balloting tickets the 1st lot, the 2nd lot, the 3rd lot, etc., up to the line of longitude (*cardo*), to which the series of men's allotments is meant to extend, showing of how many *centuriæ* it consists. No one can complain that he should have had a better chance, when all are upon an equal footing." Translation, *Grom. Vet.*, 113 and 200.
10. *Feudal England*, 91, Round.
11. One *saltus* with 778 st. acres, with census 5 *libra*.

Cranford	657 st. acres.
Hanworth	810
Hampstead	810
Lillestone	750
— average 756 st. acres.	

Two *saltus* with 1556 st. acres, with census 10 *libra*.

Drayton	1,544
Lalcham	1,417
Kingsbury	1,636
Ickenham	1,536

— average 1,533 st. acres.

These instances show the 5 census upon each *saltus*.

12. The St. Albans' possessions in Middlesex were subsequently added to the Ossulston Hundred.
13. Met. Valuation Act, 1869. Middx. Treasurers' Accounts.
14. *Mons. Hist. Brit.*, LXXIV.
15. "In commune nomine compascorum. Ager dictus qui a divisoribus agrorum relictus est ad pascandum communiter vicinis." *Grom. Vet.*, 201 and 369.
16. A. Marcellinus, Bk. XVIII, s. 2, para. 3 (A.D. 359), Loeb. edn.
17. *Ancient Laws of England*, Vol. II, p. 463.
18. The *jugerum* was half the old acre, and .623 of the statute acre. See note 6, *supra*.
19. *Grom. Vet.*, 113 and 200.
20. *England under Norman Occupation*, 90, Morgan.
21. Sir H. Spelman, *circa* 1600, considered that the Bordarii were engaged in domestic service, thrashing corn, grinding grain in the mill, preparing logs and timber, clearing up the yard, and other services of this sort. Bord (A. S.) denotes a table, and did not a servant so styled prepare the service of food for his master's table? *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, Hearne. There can be little doubt that bord men performed their tasks by way of rent for the land they held from their lord of the manor. Their position, however, is not clear.
22. In *Domesday Commemoration Studies*, various views are expressed respecting carucates. Hides are mentioned with 40 and 192 acres, and virgates with 15 and 46 acres in some districts.
23. Like the earlier *decania*, men in frankpledge were an association of ten men, of whom one was the headman or reeve. The men so grouped were in common responsibility for each other member of the association.
24. Windmills were introduced into England in the eleventh century.
25. The Bishop of London leased his fishery at Brentford to his cook in A.D. 1313. Its remains have been described as those of a lake dwelling. This, a wag has likened to a hired box from whence a view could be obtained of combats for the possession of the ford close by!