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The Sokemen of the Southern Danelaw
in the Eleventh Century

Masters

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

THE SOKEMEN OF THE SOUTHERN DANELAW IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The social organisation of the Northern Danelaw and East Anglia has been subjected detailed analysis and the present thesis seeks to ascertain whether the Southern Danelaw (comprising the counties of Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire) resembles these regions to which it is adjacent. The distribution of sokemen and "free" men in the Southern Danelaw, both before and after the Conquest, has been investigated in detail and maps have been prepared for each county and the whole area. The free peasantry are most numerous in the regions adjoining the Northern Danelaw and East Anglia (namely Northamptonshire and Essex) and dwindle as the borders of Mercia and Wessex are approached. Analyses have been prepared to illustrate the contrast between manorialised and "free" villages. This is followed by a study of the following matters: (a) the size of the tenements of the free peasantry - these are smallest in the East and increase towards the South-west, the largest being in Middlesex; (b) the plough teams - the sokemen of the East and North usually possessed two or three oxen, but those of the South-west more; (c) the ability of the sokemen and free men to dispose of their tenements - the majority can sell, but restrictions are numerous by the East Anglian border; (d) payments and services recorded in Domesday Book. The investigation has been confined to the eleventh century and the thesis is based on the main upon the evidence of Domesday Book. No attempt has been made as yet to trace the survival of the free peasantry of this region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

INTRODUCTION

*Redwell
11/11/11*

The fundamental truth, writ large in the pages of Domesday, that there existed no single type of social organisation common to the whole of rural England, was only partially revealed in the classic essays of Round and Maitland which, appearing in the last decade of the nineteenth century, mark a new epoch in Domesday studies. Since then commentaries on the text of Domesday published in the Victoria County Histories and elsewhere, and learned monographs devoted to particular parts of the country have revealed the striking contrasts, explicable only in the light of earlier political and social developments and traceable long after the taking of the Domesday Survey. It cannot be doubted that from the point of view of both social and political history, the primary distinction is that between the Danelaw and the rest of the country. Just as, however, it is true that some parts of the Danelaw were much more noticeably affected by Scandinavian influence than others, so too in the rest of England, racial and geographical factors gave rise to local divergences which are scarcely less persistent than those which have their origin in the Danish wars of the ninth century.

Recent work on the place-names suggests that it was the poverty of the soil rather than Celtic influence which determined that the people of the South West should live in hamlets rather than in nucleated villages such as are common in the more fertile regions to the east, (1) and neither the prevalence of the hamlet

1. The English Place-Name Society. The Place-Names of Devon.

type of settlement nor the general absence of the open field agriculture in those parts can be said to give rise to a social order which differs fundamentally from that of the rest of Southern England. The peculiarities of the extreme South east, however, have long been recognised and the customs of Kent have never lacked commentators. (2) Though Domesday has so effectively concealed such features as differentiated Kentish from other social and economic systems in the eleventh century that the origin of the conditions prevailing in medieval times has been ascribed by high authorities to influences operating in the post-Conquest period, Mr. Joliffe in his recently published essay, Pre-Feudal England. The Jutes, has attempted to trace the medieval customs back not merely into the late Old English period but ultimately to the remote time when the Teutonic people first settled in England. The rural economy of Kent contrasts strongly with that of the rest of the country south of the Thames, where village and manor are generally, though not invariably, coincident. In ancient Wessex and English Mercia, the eleventh century manor, though less highly organised than that of the thirteenth century, was already a unit of economic, no less than tenurial and fiscal, organisation. Throughout the great part of this area the village territory must have consisted, even when the Domesday Survey was taken, of intermixed demesne and peasant holdings. In Kent, on the other hand, the terra villanorum consisted of a number of hamlets each independent with its own resources of wood and pasture. Each tenement was a single and coherent whole.

2. Pollock and Maitland. History of English Law, 1.186.

and no matter where it lay, it was assigned some share in the forest of the Weald.

A midland manor was confined to a few square miles at most, but it would require fifty square miles to encompass a large manor in Kent. The ground-plan of a Kentish manor consisted of a "central hall, an archipelago of islands of demesne, inland and outland, blocks of pasture in the southern belt, marsh pasture upon the Thames, Stour and Romney. Its unity is clearly fiscal and jurisdictional" (3) but not agrarian.

The evidence of archeology and the earliest legal codes - so too the survival of Romano-British place-names - suggests that throughout its history Kent stood apart from the rest of Southern England, but it is not impossible that Kentish society preserved ancient features once common to all the early Teutonic kingdoms. The number of free peasants having no lord save the King must have been large in the early West Saxon kingdom, but by the time of Edward the Confessor the great mass of the ceorls here had lost their economic, apart from their personal, independence.

"Already before 1066 there had arisen in the south and west, and sporadically even in the northern Danelaw, the familiar form of social order by which the men of a village maintained their lord's household by rent or labour in return for his protection and for the justice done in his hall. In this village or that, we may trace under its new rulers a tightening of seignorial control, a depression of the local peasantry. But in the south and west

3. Joliffe. Pre-Feudal England. The Jutes., p.9.

the French aristocracy of the eleventh century could ask for little more than Old English custom gave them, and in the Danelaw local conservatism prevented any general encroachment upon ancient liberties." (4)

The term Danelage or Dena Lagu when applied in texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to a geographical area undoubtedly signifies the region comprising fifteen counties namely - Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Buckinghamshire. The social organisation of two parts of this wide area, the Northern Danelaw from the Welland to the Tees and East Anglia, has been studied in detail. In neither were manorial tendencies evident to any considerable degree. Manor and village rarely coincide. The manerium of the surveys of the shires north of the Welland is synonymous with aula - the house of a man of rank: "the typical Danelaw manor of 1066 comprised a thegn's residence, situate upon an estate to which services were rendered, and at which dues were paid." (5) The scribes of Domesday distinguish carefully between "manor", "berewick" and "soke" and the normal village of the Northern Danelaw comprises several estates, some of them very small, called manors, together with many pieces of sokeland and berewicks appurtenant either to manors in the same village, or quite commonly to manors situated in villages some distance away. The lack of

4. Stenton. English Feudalism., p.114.

5. Stenton. Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw,
p.59.

tenurial unity may be illustrated by reference to Marston in Lincolnshire :-

	C	B
Sokeland of Hough	1	0
Manor held by Alsi	1	0
Sokeland of this manor	1	2
Manor held by Ulsi	1	0
Sokeland of this manor	1	0
Manor held by Turvert and)
Manor held by 'alius Turvert'	6	0)
Berewick of Haceby		6
	12	0

The typical estate of these parts comprised the manor, the administrative centre of the estate, outlying berewicks, originally part of the demesne, and the sokeland which was joined to the manor by fiscal and jurisdictional ties. The sokeland of a manor was often very scattered, but it rarely extended beyond a single hundred, or perhaps a group of hundreds. One of the most distinctive features of the Northern Danelaw in the eleventh century was undoubtedly the existence of a very large class of peasants entered in Domesday Book as sokemen. How large a proportion of the rural population they formed is indicated in the tables prepared by Professor Stenton who has also investigated their position in society - the ties by which they were bound to their lords, the size and equipment of their tenements, and their responsibility for the geld which rested upon their lands.(6) The survival of the free peasantry of the Northern Danelaw throughout the twelfth and into the thirteenth century is the most outstanding feature of the social order reconstructed by Professor Stenton by the use of the evidence of charters. (7)

6. The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw. ed. Landy. The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, The Victoria County History of Northamptonshire. Nottinghamshire.
7. Danelaw Charters and The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw

East Anglia and the Northern Danelaw have much in common. Eleventh century Norfolk and Suffolk were thickly populated by free men of peasant rank, but here a distinction is drawn between the sokemen and a class believed to be of higher social status, the liberi homines. No one has yet calculated what percentage of the total rural population these free peasants formed, and my own attempt to do so convinced me that the vagaries of the compilers of Domesday have rendered the task well nigh impossible. Writing of the social organisation of East Anglia, Professor Douglas has said "Nowhere was the failure of the manor to comprise the agricultural and territorial arrangements of society more noticeable and nowhere in consequence were the rights involved in lordship so miscellaneous or so loosely organised. In particular the complete lack of coincidence between the manor and village is a most striking feature of the East Anglian Domesday." (8). A village in this region often contained as many as four or five estates, which are recorded as manors, some of these petty manors were extremely small and were often held by free men with no pretensions of wealth. Besides estates recorded as manors, a village might also contain a number of little holdings in the hands of free men and sokemen. The holdings of Brome in Suffolk reveal the multiplicity of tenements which might be found in an East Anglian village in 1066:-

Three half free men	7 acres
Holder not recorded	6 "
Ulmar a free man, man of Edric	30 "
Five free men, men of Edric	14 "
Goda a free woman, 'man' of Stigand	1 carucate

8. The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia., p.3.

Two free men of Edric	4	acres
Twenty-five free men and three half free men, men of Stigand	96	"
Aluric a free man, man of Gurth	60	"
A free man, man of Aluric	8	"
A bordar	3	"
A free man	6	"
Anand	60	"
Three free men and a half free man, men of Anand	14	"
A free man under St.Edmund	1	"

The size of the East Anglian tenements, as can be seen above was small. Though as Professor Douglas has shown the original peasant holding here was the manloth, which comprised $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres, in 1086 the tenements were assessed in irregular numbers of acres. How little the East Anglian peasantry was disturbed by the Norman Conquest is revealed in the Feudal Book of Baldwin Abbot of Bury St.Edmunds, compiled between 1087 and 1098, (9) even more clearly than in Domesday Book. As in the Northern Danelaw the social organisation of the twelfth century preserves the essential features of that depicted in Domesday Book. To what extent the subsequent development of the rural economy of Yorkshire was influenced by the great devastation of 1069-70 cannot as yet be determined, Professor Stenton's work (10) has touched upon the problems raised by the Yorkshire Domesday, a large collection of Yorkshire charters has been published, (11)

9. Douglas. British Academy.

10. Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw.

11. Early Yorkshire Charters. ed. Farrer. 3 vols. (Yorkshire Arch. Soc.) to which a fourth volume The Honour of Richmond Pt.I. (ed. Clay) was added last year.

and recently Mr. T.A.M. Bishop made some valuable contributions⁽¹²⁾ to the study of agrarian organisation in parts of Yorkshire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Despite the dismal succession of entries 'hec terra vasta est', it is evident that in the eleventh century, ^{Yorkshire} closely resembled the region to the south of the Humber and the persistence of small landowners bearing Anglo-Scandinavian names in the next century and more might suggest that the harrying did not leave a much deeper mark here than in the other regions which suffered devastation.

Lying between the two regions about which we know most are the eight counties - Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex - to which the term the Southern Danelaw may be applied. On the north and east they bordered upon counties which had undergone intensive Scandinavian settlement and on the west they adjoined English Mercia where manorialisation had advanced far in the eleventh century. It is a matter of some interest to discover whether the Southern Danelaw had a distinctive social organisation of its own and what affinities with the rest of the Danelaw are traceable. From this point of view two of the outstanding features of the Southern Danelaw are the occurrence, in some parts in great numbers, of free men of peasant rank, and the existence of villages, divided among many small landholders, side by side with the type familiar in the south and west where village and manor coincided. The distribution of the

12. Economic Historical Review. vi. pp 13-29. Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields, English Historical Review XLIX. pp 386-406. The Distribution of Manorial Demesne in the Vale of Yorkshire.

(ix)

free peasantry is analysed in some detail in the following pages and the discussion is supplemented by maps appended to this volume. (13)

13. For a brief summary of the results of this inquiry see Conclusion which follows Part II.

PART I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FREE PEASANTRY OF THE SOUTHERN DANIELAW.

In his Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw(1) Professor Stenton has ascertained what percentages of the population the sokemen formed in each of the wapentakes of the counties between the Welland and the Humber and as yet such figures are available for no other region. There is no less abundant material for a similar investigation into the distribution of the free peasantry of the Southern Danelaw, and it will be convenient to examine the information relating to these parts, county by county, and hundred by hundred. As in the Northern Danelaw it is possible to calculate what percentage of the population the sokemen formed in 1086, and in every county, excluding Northamptonshire, there is sufficient material to enable us to reckon the number of sokemen and "free men", where the latter occur, in both 1066 and 1086. The figures and discussion in the text should be read in conjunction with the maps which are appended. On these maps an attempt is made to indicate precisely the number of sokemen recorded at both dates, and the effect of the Conquest upon the free peasantry of this area, can be seen at a glance.

1. The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw, pp 77-79, published by Lund, W.C.K. Gleerup.

1. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

It will be convenient to start the investigation concerning distribution with an analysis of the Domesday survey of Northamptonshire for that county lies in closest proximity to the Northern Danelaw. Here as in the Northern Danelaw it is possible to compile figures for 1086 alone, for D.B. is, for the most part, silent regarding the population in 1066. Occasionally it is specifically stated that sokemen who held land in King Edward's day are no longer in possession of their holdings. In this way we learn that two sokemen at Barford in Rothwell hundred, (2) two at Weston Favel in Spelhoe hundred, (3) eight at Tolthorpe in Wytcheley hundred, (4) which is now in Rutland and six liberi homines probably at Strixton and Easton Maudit (5) have disappeared.

It may be assumed the men recorded in 1086, or their ancestors, or other men of their own class held these same tenements in 1066 and we are entitled to infer that no sokemen have been displaced in the intervening period unless there is a precise statement to the contrary in the Survey.

2. Vlct. Co. Hist. Northants., 1.307

3. ibid., 1.328.

4. ibid., 1.339.

5. ibid., 1.342.

In eleventh century Northamptonshire there were 28 hundreds, one of which, namely Wytcheley, now lies in the county of Rutland, but since it was included in Northamptonshire at the time of the Survey it has been reckoned here among the hundreds of that county. Sokemen are recorded in 23 hundreds in all and another hundred contains free men. There are recorded in Domesday 967 sokemen and 3 free men, 3,986 villeins, 2, 081 bordars, 778 slaves, 59 ancillae, 43 knights, 70 priests, besides 15 other men and 87 burgesses. The latter have not been added to the figure for percentages. The sokemen form 12% of the entire rural population, (counting the ancillae) and the percentage would hardly be altered by the inclusion of the liberi homines (12.15% as against 12.114%).

The following table gives the number of sokemen in each hundred and indicates the percentage of the rural population they formed in each. (6)

STOKE	84 sokemen	Percentage	35.1.
UPTON GREEN	147 "	"	34.9.
HAMFORDSHOE	74 "	"	32.03.
MAWSLEY	50 "	"	26.4.
STOTFOLD	55 "	"	23.01.
NEVESLUND	84 "	"	21.4.
ROTHWELL	68 "	"	20.98.
WYMERSELEY	53 "	"	17.26.
WYTCHLEY	105 "	"	16.9.
HIGHAM FERRARS	42 "	"	15.61.
NOBOTTLE GROVE	49 "	"	10.98.
NAVISFORD	18 "	"	10.28.

6. The figures for the hundreds of Rothwell, Hamfordshoe and Wymerseley include Sokemen in other hundreds, for in the entries relating to sokes extending over a group of hundreds the number of sokemen in each hundred is not recorded, see below.

(4)

			percentage	
ORLINGBURY	18	sokemen	"	18.86.
FOXESLEA	15	"	"	7.73.
GUILSBOROUGH	25	"	"	7.06.
HUXLOE	13	"	"	7.02.
POLEBROOK	14	"	"	6.63.
WILLYBROOK	15	"	"	5.72.
SPELHOE	15	"	"	5.51.
CORBY	17	"	"	5.089
COLLINGTON	4	"	"	3.66
CLEYLEY	1	" & 1 freeman	"	.73.
TOWCESTER	1	"	"	.57.

The highest percentage comes from Stoke, a small hundred on the Leicestershire border; the other hundreds with high figures, Upton Green, the most northerley hundred and lying on the border of Lincolnshire; Hamfordshoe and Mawsley lying in the centre of the county, Stotfold in the west on the Leicestershire border, and Rothwell is also on the west; Neveslund, which was in the north east, Wymerseley which is in the east and finally Wytcheley which lay in the north west and is now in Rutland. The highest figures come from the northern part of the county, but we do not find here a group of hundreds each having a large number of sokemen, for next to Stoke hundred lies Corby where there were but 17 sokemen. We find here traces of a manorial organisation, such as has been described by Professor Stenton in his work on the Northern Danelaw. (7) Domesday Book occasionally records manors with appurtenant inlands and sokelands and several of the sokes are extensive, covering lands in a group of hundreds. Such are the sokes of the royal manors of Finedon (8) and Rothwell.(9) It is however more usual for the

7. Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw, p.4.

8. Viet. Co. Hist. Northants., i.308.

9. Ibid., i. 306.

sokelands of an individual manor to be confined to a single hundred. Occasionally the presence of sokelands is partially obscured, for in several instances it is found that the members which seem to be sokelands have been separate from the central manor, (10) and in other instances, sokemen hold small parcels of land which are not specifically stated to be attached to any central manor. (11)

As in the Northern Danelaw there are examples in this county of sokeland upon which no sokemen are recorded. These are given in the table below.

- 1) The Abbey of St. Edmund holds of the King 1 hide of soc(land) in Boctone (Boughton). There is land for two ploughs. There are 6 villeins and two bordars with 2 ploughs It was worth 64d, now 12d. Earl Elfgar held (it) (12)
 - 2) In Erniwade (Arthingworth) the abbey holds half a virgate of soc(land). There is 1 villein and 2 bordars, having a half plough. It is and was worth 3 shillings. (13).
 - 3) In Bellica (Belling Parva) is soc(land) of this manor, 2½ virgates of land. There is land for 1 plough. There are 2 villeins and 1 bordar and 7 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 10 shillings. (14)
 - 4) In Potintone (Poddington) half a hide of socland. There are 4 villeins with 1 plough.(15).
10. as Rushton ibid., i.333 dependent on Welden, were not held by the same man.
11. as at Ashley, Sutton Basset, Weston, Dingley and Brampton, ibid., i.350.
12. ibid., i.318.
14. ibid., i.321.
15. ibid., i.337.

- 5) In Rande (Raunds) $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides and half a virgate of soc(land) with (its) appendages. There is land for 14 ploughs. There are 20 villeins with 15 ploughs and 20 acres of meadow (16)
- 6) In Bradebroc (Braybrook) there is half a virgate of socland. There 1 villein has half a plough. It is and was worth 4 shillings. (17)
- 7) In Wicentone (Whiston) is 1 virgate of soc(land). There is land for half a plough. Two bordars have these there. (18)
- 8) The same (Winemar) holds 1 virgate of soc(land) in Bragefelde (Brayfield). There is land for half a plough. There are two bordars ploughing with 2 oxen. (19)

The hundreds which show the highest figures for sokemen are those in which the northern manorial organisation is prevalent. A quarter of the sokemen of Stoke were on sokelands belonging to the Countess Judith. In Upton Green, there was the large soke of Peterborough. Sokelands of the Countess Judith help to account for the larger numbers of sokemen in the hundreds of Hamfordshoe, Mawsley and Wymerseley, and the sokelands of St. Edmund in Mawsley and Stotfold supply many of the sokemen to those hundreds. In the same way the soke of the manor of Higham Ferrars and the sokes of the royal manors in Rothwell, Wytcheley and Neveslund are responsible for many sokemen in the hundreds of the same name. No fewer than 50

16. Ibid., 1. 337.
 17. Ibid., 1. 350.
 18. Ibid., 1. 351.
 19. Ibid., 1. 354.

sokemen were attached to the royal manor of Finedon. (20) Their lands lay in the hundreds of Rothwell, Orlingbury, Stotfold, Higham Ferrars, Huxloe and Neveslund, but since the number in each hundred is not stated, it has been necessary to include them in Neveslund, thus raising the total above, and perhaps considerably above, the actual figure.

On the accompanying map all sokemen, save the sokemen attached to Finedon and Rothwell, are indicated by dots and villages in which sokemen occur are shaded. The most striking feature revealed by even a cursory glance at this map is the almost entire absence of sokemen south west of Watling Street. The hundred of Foxeslea lay wholly west of Watling Street and there are here 15 sokemen.(21) There is but one sokeman in each of the two hundreds of Towcester (22) and Cleyley (23) and in each instance the sokeman is found in a village lying to the west of Watling Street, which passes through these two hundreds. There is also one freeman in the same part of Cleyley hundred. (24) These are the only sokemen recorded west of Watling Street and all pertain to royal manors.

It is interesting to compare the map showing distribution of sokemen with the Place-Names Society's (25) small map compiled to illustrate the Scandinavian element in this county. Here a few place-names with Scandinavian elements occur west of Watling

20. ibid., i. 308.

21. ibid., i. 304 (Greens Norton)

22. ibid., i. 305 (Towcester)

23. ibid., i. 307 (Pokesle)

24. ibid., i. 307 (Passenham)

25. Place-Names of Northamptonshire (Eng. Place-Name Soc., Vol.X)

Street, just as in our own map a few free peasants are recorded west of that line, but in both maps Watling Street appears as a definite boundary. The editors of this volume of the Place-Name Society state in their introduction.(26) 'We may presume that the county west of Watling Street was never in effective occupation by the Vikings, for in the peace of Alfred and Guthrum, Watling Street formed the western boundary of Guthrum's Kingdom, northward from the point where that road crossed the Ouse at Stony Stratford. It was at Towcester, on Watling Street, that Edward the Elder established one of the burghs which were to give him bases for his advance against the Danelaw. Here it was that in the same year the here from Northampton and from Leicester suffered one of its first reverses, and it would seem to have been as the direct result of fortifying of ^{the} Towcester that Edward received the submission of the whole here which obeyed Northampton, as far north as the Welland. Whether this here had occupied the country beyond Watling Street is doubtful. That Watling Street remained a significant boundary in this respect, right on till the early part of the eleventh century is shown by the entry in the Chronicle (s.a. 1013) recording the submission to Sweyn of all the here north of Watling Street, and from the significant fact that he only began to harry the county after he had crossed Watling Street.'

As has been said of the occurrence of small numbers of Scandinavian place-names, the presence of a few free peasants

26. ibid., X, p.XXI.

below Watling Street does not necessarily imply intensive Scandinavian settlement in this part of the county; 'The hundreds west of Watling Street, viz., Fawsley Chipping Warden, Green's Norton, King's Sutton, Towcester (part), Gleyley (part) are, except for Fawsley, practically entirely free from Scandinavian influence, alike in their major place-names and in their field and minor names. Canons Ashby and Kirby in Woodend are the only two major place-names showing Scandinavian influence, and there would seem to be no field or minor names showing Scandinavian influence. The position in Fawsley hundred is somewhat different. Here we have Badby, Barby, Ashby St. Ledgers, Catesby, Farthingstone, Kilsby (with Nortoft) among major place-names (all of them parish-names) and a few field and minor names such as Biggin and a medieval Kirkehill for Church Hill in Catesby, and a Debdale (which may however be Anglian) in Welton. The impression one gets, even in Fawsley hundred, is that there can never have been any intensive occupation by Viking settlers. All that can ever have taken place must have been the passing of some of the more important centres of population into the hands of Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian overlords.' (27)

In a discussion on distribution some attention must be paid to those parts of the Northern Danelaw which adjoin Northampton. The figures which have been prepared by Professor Stenton for the Northern Danelaw (28) show that except in

27. Ibid., X. p XXI.

28. The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw. p.p 77-9.

Derby shire the percentage never fell below 10%. In the wapentake directly touching on Northampton we see that in Lincolnshire, Ness Wapentake had a percentage of 41, Aveland which is just above Ness had 46.6, though this does not adjoin Northamptonshire, its figures might be included as Ness Wapentake is small, this latter and Elloe wapentake which had a percentage of 19.6 lie next to the hundred of Upton Green. Another Lincolnshire wapentake which is of interest is Beftisloe where the sokemen amount to 33.7%, this wapentake adjoins Rutland. The two Leicestershire wapentakes which are of importance in this matter are Gartree, percentage 30.7, lying next to the hundreds of Stoke and Stotfold and Guthlaxton 26.7 percentage, part of which lay by Gulsborough hundred. The percentages of those wapentakes lying on the Northampton borders are, with the exception of Elloe, where the figure is much lower than that of the adjoining hundred, and Guthlaxton where it is far higher than that of the adjoining hundred, very much the same as those in Northamptonshire itself. In the two remaining wapentakes of Rutland however there were only 5 sokemen with a percentage of .56 as against the percentage of 16.9 found in the other wapentake recorded in Northamptonshire and in more than one respect Rutland resembles Huntingdonshire and especially in the appearance of large numbers of villeins and very few bordars; serfs are not recorded for either county.

2. HUNTINGDONSHIRE

In Huntingdon there are likewise faint traces of a Social organisation similar to that of the Northern Danelaw, for we meet with sokeland in this county. Although sokelands are rare in Huntingdonshire, some are found in Domesday prefixed by the marginal letter S used to denote soca and others occur under the heading of 'Sokelands'. It is possible to identify at least three manors with appurtenant sokelands. The royal manor of Alconbury (29) was the centre to which sokelands in Gidding, Thurning (30) Luddington and Alconbury Weston were attached. Sokelands in Catworth, Keysoe and Swineshead belonged to Kimbolton, owned in 1086 by William de Warrene; (31) and thirdly lands in Hemingford Grey (32) were of the soke of the Abbot of Ramsey who held the neighbouring manor of Hemingford Abbots. In some entries the soke is said not to pertain to a particular manor, but to a given hundred, as at Orton Longueville:-(33)

S. In Quretone(Orton Longueville) there are 3 hides and 1 virgate of land (assessed) to the geld. There is land for 5 ploughs and 3 oxen. Seven sokemen were there. The soke is the king's, in Normancros (Normancross hundred). John has of Eustace 3 oxen in a plough there and 9 acres of meadow.

29. Vict. Co. Hist., ^{Hunts} i. 340.
 30. Ibid., i. 342.
 31. Ibid., i. 347.
 32. Ibid., i. 344.
 33. Ibid., i. 348-9.

T.R.E. it was worth 40s, now (it is worth) 20s. Other examples of the same kind can be found, another part of the village of Orton Longueville (34) also had its soke in Normancross hundred, some land in Gidding (35) ^{had} and its soke in the hundred of Cressewelle, and at Grafham, (36) Hargrave, (37) and Hamerton (38) all had their soke in the hundred of Leightonstone.

Few sokemen are recorded in this county and they do not appear on all lands classified as sokeland, and in the majority of cases the previous holder of the sokeland is not recorded. Luddington, for example, was appurtenant to a royal manor:

'S In Latinctune (Luddington) are 2½ hides (assessed) to geld. There is land for 3 ploughs. The soke is ⁱⁿ Acumesberie (Alconbury), the King's manor. There is now one plough on demesne and 1 villein and 6 bordars with 1 plough and 4 acres of meadow. T.R.E. it was worth 60s, now it is worth 4. Ingelran and Erluin hold it of Eustace.' (39) There are villeins and bordars on the preceeding land, jurisdiction over which pertained to Alconbury and though it is not impossible that the two men who held it of Eustace were sokemen, they are not so described and are probably men of superior status.

There do not appear to have been more than 21 sokemen (40) in the county in possession of their lands in 1086. There are

34. ibid., i. 340.
 35. ibid., i. 353.
 36. ibid., i. 340.
 37. ibid., i. 341.
 38. ibid., i. 348.
 39. ibid., i. 350.
 40. ibid., i. 342-3, (Broughton), i. 349 (Stilton), i. 347 (Keysoe)
 i. 347 (Swinshead), i. 340 (Grafham).

also mentioned 6 sokemen, (41) Alwold and his five brothers who had been dispossed and who claim that Eustace has unjustly taken their land from them. Although they do not hold their lands in 1066, they are undoubtedly alive to make their claim at that date; 'S In Redinges (Gidding) six sokemen, that is Alwold and his five brothers had 4½ hides assessed to the geld. There is land for 6 ploughs. The soke is Acumesberie (Alcon bury) the King's manor. Now Eustace has it and Ingelran of him.....Alwold and brothers claim that Eustace has unjustly taken this land from them.' They should be added to the number above, making a total of 27 sokemen. For the period before the Conquest, there is even less evidence; the 6 sokemen mentioned above were at Gidding and there had been sokemen at Broughton (42) in 1066 for the jurors say "touching the 5 hides at that place" it was the land of the sokemen T.R.E. There were also 7 sokemen at Orton Longueville in 1066, (43) but they had not survived in 1086. If, as is most probable, the sokemen who held land in 1086 were likewise possessed of them 20 years before, there were in all 33 sokemen in the county in King Edward's day; the total certainly is small.

A glance at the map reveals that no sokemen occur on the Cambridgeshire border, an extraordinary fact in view of the large numbers found on the western side of that county. Only at Broughton in Hurstingstone hundred were sokemen found in the eastern side of the county. In the hundred of Normancross the

41. ibid., 1.349 (Gidding)

42. ibid., 1.342-3.

43. ibid., 1.354.

sokemen are on the Northamptonshire border, 7 at Orton Longueville (44) in the north, and 2 and perhaps more at Stilton,⁴⁵ In Leightonstone hundred 6 sokemen were at Gidding (46) and 7 at Grafham,⁴⁷ Gidding is also on the Northamptonshire border, and Grafham is in the southeast by Kimbolton, in which hundred there were 2 sokemen, 1 at Swineshead and the other at Keysoe (48) in Bedfordshire.

It is surprising that so few sokemen should be recorded in a region lying between two counties in which they were especially numerous. Possibly Domesday Book does not record all the sokemen of 1066; if, however, there were others besides those mentioned in the Survey, depression must have taken place. In Northamptonshire there are no signs of depression, but in Cambridgeshire on the other side of Huntingdonshire not 30% of the sokemen appear to have survived the Norman Conquest, and in Bedfordshire to the south of Huntingdonshire even greater depression is recorded. Moreover, it was on the west side of Cambridgeshire, and on the north side of Bedfordshire, both on the Huntingdonshire border that sokemen appear to have suffered most.

The suggestion that there may have been more than 34 sokemen in Huntingdonshire in 1066 is pure hypothesis, but it might possibly be supported by a peculiarity observed in Domesday Book, namely the presence of a very great number of villeins,

44. ibid., i. 348-9.
 45. ibid., i. 349-340
 46. ibid., i. 349.
 47. ibid., i. 340.
 48. ibid., i. 347.

who outnumber by far the bordars, there being 1,929 villeins as against 384 bordars and there are no slaves. In the neighbouring counties the proportion of villeins is never so high as this. It must be admitted, however, that the argument is of doubtful validity, for if a sokeman were depressed at all he might quite easily be classed as a cottager if his tenement was exceptionally small. The sokemens' tenements in the neighbouring parts of Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire are, however, normally of considerable extent, quite equal to or above that holding which is usually assigned to a villein. Moreover, the few tenements which are known in Huntingdonshire are not very small, so it is possible that sokemen might have been classed as villeins.

Rutland on the other side of Northamptonshire must be mentioned in connection with Huntingdonshire, for there a similar peculiarity occurs. Half of Rutland was surveyed with Northamptonshire and there 105 sokemen are recorded, but in the other half of the county there were 5 sokemen according to Domesday. The explanation might be the same for both counties, and it is possible that arbitrary classification by the same commissioners is responsible for the apparent absence of sokemen in these parts.

3. BEDFORDSHIRE.(a) Distribution in 1066.

The number of sokemen recorded in that part of D.B. relating to Bedfordshire is 674, but it is possible that this figure does not represent the true total, for it is probable that some of the persons, 27 in all, designated as 'the men of King Edward' (49), should be included among the sokemen, as in the adjoining county of Cambridge, where the homines regis Edward of D.B. are with only one exception recorded as 'sochemanni' in the I.C.C. (50). Since, however, no record corresponds to the I.C.C. in Bedfordshire, so it might be hazardous to identify these two classes, which accordingly have been kept separate. On the other hand, it has been suggested that sokemen may have held land in more than one village, a theory that would reduce the above total, for if it is correct, a particular group of sokemen will occur in more than one entry.

Mr. Fowler who puts forward this view, argues that the holdings were insufficient in some cases to support the men recorded on them; L writes "in Blunham, good market land as it is to-day four men could not have got their victual off 30 acres (of which half was fallow) by any husbandry known in the XIth century; still less could seven soemen exist on the 7 acres of Stanford. These are extreme cases; but many more go to show

49. See table (ii) pp 20-21

50. where comparison can be made as at Horseheath in I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.27. Trumpington p.49. Abington p.58. Burton p. 75. Toft p.87. Swatham p.14.

that when D.B. says "This land six soemen held", it means no more than it says, it neither means nor says that these six men got their sole living from it.⁵¹ It is difficult to refute such an argument, but it may be opined that the assessment might be misleading, and Round has shown that the assessments on the land of free men and sokemen were very small in the north of Essex.

In Bedfordshire there is no direct proof that sokemen held land in neighbouring villages, but there are a number of instances where identical numbers occur in two villages. In one instance the groups of sokemen are commended to the same lord; this occurs among the numerous men of Borret. At Dean (52) six sokemen, men of Borret held 4 hides, at Melchbourne, (53) next to Dean, six sokemen also men of Borret, held lands, but the amount is not recorded, and at Riseley (54), which adjoins Melchbourne but not Dean (the three villages lie in a straight line, there were six sokemen, men of Borret, with land assessed at 4 hides. This is the only example of its kind, but we find five sokemen at Gravenhurst (55) with 3 hides and likewise five but with 8 hides in the next village, Higham Gobion. (56) In this case the argument of Mr. Fowler that the single holdings were often incapable of supporting the owners cannot be used, for the

51. C.H. Fowler, Bedfordshire in 1086: an Analysis and Synthesis of Domesday Book.

(Bedfordshire Historical Record Society. Quarto memoirs
Vol.1) p.35.

52. Viet. Co. Hist. Beds. i.224.

53. ibid., i. 224.

54. ibid., i. 225.

55. ibid., i. 239.

56. ibid., i. 239.

land of the sokemen is very considerable. It might be argued, no doubt, that some sokemen were richer than their fellows, and it is likely that the richer, rather than the poorer men would hold land in several villages. Other entries which might possibly support this theory are set out in the table. { It is argued that sokemen held a couple or more tenements, it must be admitted that the men of the King are more likely to possess two holdings. Here there is more material, for all but 7 are named; one name, that of Alwin, occurs twice, at Holme, (57) and at Stratton, (58) another, that of Alwin Deule occurs in 5 entries, (59) but in one entry he is not recorded as a man of the King. Most of the other names reoccur (not as men of the King) but as they are common, it is impossible to tell if the men are the same. As far as we know no men of the King, except the two mentioned above, had more than one holding.

While it is possible that some sokemen may have held land in several places, it would be extremely rash to attempt to eliminate possible duplicates. Accordingly, we fall back on the figures given above, adding the qualification that these figures are not necessarily those of sokemen, but of the tenements of sokemen.

57. ibid., i. 258.

58. ibid., i. 258.

59. ibid., i. 226 (Dean), i. 227 (Clifton).
 i. 227 (Tempsford) & 227 (Chicksand)
 i. 226 (Easton).

Table (1) THE MEN OF KING EDWARD

<u>Biggleswade hundred</u>		H	J.	A.
Edworth	Branting	2	2	0
Holme	Alwin		2	0
Holmeton	Godwin		1	0
Tempsford	Alwin Deule	1	1	22½
Stratton	Alwin		3	15
<u>Clifton hundred</u>				
Clifton	Ulvric	1	0	0
Clifton	Alwin Deule	3	0	15
Chicksand	Alwin Deule		2	0
	not specifically recorded as a man of the King in the latter entry.			
<u>Wensley hundred</u>				
Sutton	Levegar		2	0
Sutton	Ederic		2	0
<u>Wixantree hundred</u>				
Blunham	A man of the king	2	0	0
Cople	Wlui		1	0
Harrowden	A man of the King	1	0	0
Northill	Oviet		2	0
<u>Redbornestoke hundred</u>				
Westcotes	Ordul		1	0
<u>Manshead hundred</u>				
Husband Crawley	Grimbold	5	0	0
<u>Willey hundred</u>				
Sharnbrook	Oviet		3	0
Sharnbrook	Alwold	2	0	0
<u>Barford hundred</u>				
Chauston	Two men of the King.	2	0	0
Goldington	Alric Winterlede	2	0	0
Chauston	Two men of the King.	1	0	0

(20)

<u>Buckley hundred</u>		H	V	A
Bletsce	Leveva	2	2	0
Bromham	Alward & Levin	1	2	0
Stagsden	Two men of the King and one man of Harold	5	0	0
<u>Stodden hundred</u>				
Bolnhurst	Gudmont		3	0
Easton	Alwin Deule	1	0	15

Table (ii) INDICATING WHERE SOKEMEN MAY HAVE HELD LAND IN TWO OR MORE VILLAGES

Village	Number of sokemen	H	V	A
Carlton	2	1	1	0
Carlton	3	1	0	15
Farndish	2	1	0	0
Farndish	3	2	0	0
Turvey	2	1	0	0
Turvey	3	4	0	0
<hr/>				
Odell	1		2	0
Wymington	1	1	0	0
<hr/>				
Dean	6	4	0	0
Melchbourne	6		?	
Riseley	6	4	0	0
Milton Ernest	6	2	3	0
<hr/>				
Battlesden	7	9	0	0
Milton Bryant	7	4	0	0
<hr/>				
Amphill	3	5	0	0
Houghton Conquest	7	5	0	0
Westcotes	7	2	3	0
<hr/>				
Sutton	6	1	0	0
Northhill	6	6	2	0
Campton	6	4	2	7½
Henlow	6	3	2	0

VILLAGE	Number of sokemen	H	V	A
Southill	8	2	1	0
Willington	8	7	0	0
Warden	8	9	0	0
<hr/>				
Gravenhurst	5	3	2	0
Higham Gobion	5	8	0	0
<hr/>				
Clifton	4	2	0	0
Chicksand	4	3	2	0
Chicksand	4	2	0	0
Chicksand	4	3	0	0
<hr/>				
Biddenham	11	3	2	15
Salpho	11	5	0	0
<hr/>				
Chauston	12	7	1	0
Roxton	12	8	3	0
Wyboston	12	9	1	0

H = Hide

V = Virgate

A = Acre

The distribution of the sokemen of Bedfordshire possibly points to Scandinavian penetration from the counties of Northampton and Cambridge, for the greatest numbers are found by their borders. Mr. Fowler believes there were two lines of penetration: "The areas of greatest intensity seem to show (a) a penetration along the Ouse to Bedford, along the Vale of Bedford and the Ivel Valley, (b) pressure from Northampton where sac holding was strongly developed. It is not clear whether this infiltration was by conquest or by peaceful penetration".(60).

60. Fowler op.cit. p.86.

The penetration, however, did not reach the extreme south west, for in the hundred of Stanbridge there are no sokemen, and the surrounding hundreds have only a few each.

The largest number of sokemen were found in Wixantree, where there were 119, and in Barford where there were 110; both these hundreds lie in the east, Barford joining the Huntingdonshire border and Wixantree is west of the half hundred of Wensley. The figures in the other hundreds are considerably lower, for the next is 87 and comes from Stodden, which is on the north by both Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, then come Biggleswade in the east by Cambridgeshire and ^{Hertfordshire} Huntingdonshire with 77, and Clifton, also by Hertfordshire, with 64. In the west, there were 63 sokemen in Redbornestoke and 50 in Willey, Willey is in the northwest by Northamptonshire. Then come the two half hundreds of Buckley and Wensley, separated by the full hundred of Manshead, the figures being 28 for Buckley, 27 for Manshead and 24 for Wensley. Close to Manshead lies Flitt with only 23 sokemen, and between these two lies Stanbridge, the single hundred in which no sokemen were recorded in 1066.

Besides an analysis of distribution over the hundreds, there is an analysis of the distribution over the villages of the hundreds, to discover whether the soke holdings lay in a few villages only, or whether they occurred in every village of the hundred.

HUNDRED	NO. OF VILLAGES	NO. OF VILLAGES WITH SOKEMEN
Biggleswade	12	11
Barford	10	9
Wixamtree	12	10
Clifton	10	8
Redbornestoke	16	9 or 10
Wensley	5	3
Stodden	18	9
Flitt	14	6
Buckley	8	3
Manshead	15	4

As this table shows, all the hundreds of the east have soke lands in at least half their villages, and in the first four hundreds, sokemen hold land in nearly every village.

As in Wixamtree and Barford sokemen are recorded in nearly every village, so the percentage of land by that class is, naturally high; in Wixamtree, sokemen held 66 hides, and 12 acres of the total of 108 hides, 3 virgates and 22 acres. In one village, Broom, sokemen held the whole of the land, in eight villages they held more than half, and in the tenth village about a third of the assessed land of the village. In Barford hundred sokemen held at least 54 hides, 3 virgates out of the total of 100 hides, 1 virgate. Here sokemen held the entire land in four villages, more than three-quarters in one other, about half in one and just under half in another; in two villages the amount of land held by the sokemen is not recorded. In these hundreds the proportion of land held by sokemen is higher than anywhere in Cambridgeshire, for even Wetherley hundred in that county, sokemen held only half the assessed land in the hundred and only in one village was the whole land held by sokemen.

In the other Bedfordshire hundreds, sokeland amounts to about 37% in two cases, in the first, Biggleswade, sokemen held the entire land in one village, and in four villages sokemen held at least half the land; in the other hundred, Clifton, in four villages at least half the land was in the hands of sokemen, and in one village the land of the sokemen is not recorded. In three hundreds, Stodden, Redbornestoke and Willey, the sokelands amount to about 33% of the total assessed land; in Stodden, sokemen held the whole of one village, and at least half the land in three other villages: again one of the holdings of sokemen is not recorded. Although Redbornestoke did not include many sokemen, yet where they do occur, they usually held a large portion of the village land, in three villages sokemen held the entire land, and in three others they held more than three-quarters of the land, the holdings in two other villages are small and in another the size of the tenement is not recorded. In Willey, sokemen held all the land in one village and about half the land in four others. In Flitt sokemen held about 24% of the land, they are recorded in only 6 villages, but in three of these the sokemen held all the land, their holdings in the remaining villages were but small. In Buckley, Manshead and Wensley, sokelands amount to about 16% of the total, and only in one village and that in Manshead do sokemen hold ^{half} the assessed land of the village.

Table(iii) NUMBER OF SOKEMEN AND PROPORTION OF LAND HELD IN EACH VILLAGE.

village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen			village assessment.		
		H	V	A	H	V	A
HUNDRED OF WIXAMTREE							
Beeston	5				10	2	0
Blunham	8	4	2	0	5	0	0
Broom	7	5	0	0	5	0	0
Cardington	13	6	2	20	10	0	0
Charlton					10	0	0
Cople	15	8	3	0	10	0	0
Harrowden	14	6	0	0	10	0	0
Northhill	8	8	0	0	10	0	0
Southill	24	7	1	15	8	3	0
Stanford	14	3	3	7	9	3	7
Warden	8	9	0	0	9	3	15
Willington	8	7	0	0	10	0	0
	119	66	0	12	108	3	22
HUNDRED OF BARFORD							
Great Barford	11	12	0	0	12	0	0
Chauston	14	8	1	0	10	0	0
Colnworth	8		?		5	0	0
Eaton Socon	4		?		20	0	0
Goldington	12	5	1	0	10	1	0
Roton	16	10	0	0	10	0	0
Salpho	11	5	0	0	5	0	0
Sudbury					1	0	0
Wilden	24	5	0	0	5	0	0
Wyboston	12	9	1	0	20	0	0
Unnamed					2	3	0
	112	54	3	0	100	1	0
HUNDRED OF STODDEN							
Bolnhurst	2		2	0	4	2	0
Clapham					5	0	0
Dean	20	7	3	7½	10	0	7½
Elvedon					1	1	0
Hanefelde					1	0	0
Keysoe	12	3	2	0	5	0	0
Knotting					5	0	0
Melchbourne	6		?		10	0	0
Milton Ernest	10	4	3	16	10	0	16
Newton Bromswold					1	1	0
Oakley					5	0	0
Risely	6	4	0	0	10	0	0
Segresden					1	1	0
Shelton					5	0	0

village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen.			village assessment.		
		H	V	A	H	V	A.
HUNDRED OF STODDEN (cont.)							
Stanwick					2	2	0
Staughton or Easton	6	1	1	15	9	1	7½
Tilbrook	20	5	0	0	5	0	0
Yelden	5	5	0	0	10	0	0
Unnamed						2	10
	87	32	0	8½	99	3	1
HUNDRED OF BIGGLESWADE							
Tempsford	14	8	2	7½	10	0	0
Astwick	6	1	1	0	2	2	0
Little Barford					8	0	0
Biggleswade	2		2	0	10	0	0
Dunton	4	1	3	0	10	0	0
Edworth	2	1	2	0	10	0	15
Eyworth	20	9	0	0	10	0	0
Holme	13	2	3	15	7	1	15
Kenemondewick	2	3	2	0	3	3	0
Langford	1	1	0	0	10	0	0
Milow	10	5	0	0	10	0	0
Stratton	3	1	1	15	7	2	0
Unnamed						2	0
	77	36	2	7½	100	0	0
HUNDRED OF CLIFTON							
Arlesley	3	1	2	0	15	1	10
Campton	9	6	2	0	7	0	0
Chicksand	12	8	2	0	10	0	0
Clifton	7	3	0	15	13	2	15
Henlow	17	10	0	0	12	0	0
Holwell					10	0	0
Meppershall	4	2	0	0	4	0	0
Shillington					10	0	0
Stondon	5		?		3	0	0
Stotfold	7	5	2	0	15	0	0
	64	37	0	15	99	3	25
HUNDRED OF REDBORNESTOKE							
Amphill	7	5	0	0	5	0	0
Cranfield					10	0	0
Elstow	4	3	2	0	3	2	0
Flitwick					5	0	0
Houghton Conquest	10	9	2	0	10	0	0
Kempston					10	0	0
Lidlington					10	0	0
Marston Mortaine	21	8	0	15	10	0	0
Maulden	3		2	15	9	2	25
Millbrook	?		?		5	0	0
Segenhoe	1		2	0	10	0	0
Shelton					5	0	0
Steppingley	2		?		5	0	0

village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen.			village assessment.		
		H	V	A	H	V	A
HUNDRED OF REDBORNESTOKE (cont.)							
Westcotes	7	2	3	0	3	0	0
Wilshamstead	8	3	0	0	3	0	0
Wootton					10	0	0
	<u>63</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>25</u>
HUNDRED OF WILLEY							
Carlton	5	2	1	15	5	3	25
Farndish	5	3	0	0	3	0	0
Felmersham	6	7	2	0	11	0	0
Harrold					10	0	0
Hinwick	2	1	3	0	8	0	0
Oddell	1		2	0	10	0	0
Podington	4	2	1	0	4	0	0
Radwell	10	7	1	15	10	0	0
Rushden						3	0
Sharnbrook	10	3	1	15	10	3	15
Thurleigh					5	0	0
Turvey	5	5	0	0	11	2	5
Wymington	1	1	0	0	10	0	0
Unnamed	1		2	0	4	2	0
	<u>50</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>
HUNDRED OF BUCKLEY							
Biddenham	11	3	2	15	10	2	15
Bletsoe	3		3	0	5	0	0
Bromham					9	3	20
Chainhalls					5	2	0
Pavenham					10	0	0
Putnoe					4	0	0
Stagsden	14	4	3	0	10	0	0
Stevington					3	0	0
	<u>28</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>
HUNDRED OF MANSHEAD							
Aspley Guise					10	0	0
Battlesden	9	10	2	0	11	0	0
Chalgrave					8	0	0
Eversholt	5		2	0	9	0	0
Harlington					5	0	0
Hockliffe					10	0	0
Holecote					4	0	0
Husband Crawley					10	0	0
Milton Bryant	7	4	0	0	10	0	0
Potsgrove		1	0	0	10	0	0
Priestly					2	2	0
Salford					5	0	0
Tingrith					2	1	0
Toddington					15	2	0
Woburn	6	2	3	0	10	3	0
	<u>27</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>123</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>

village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen			village assessment		
		H	V	A	H	V	A
HUNDRED OF WENSLEY							
Evertan					5	0	0
Hatley	3		3	15	9	0	0
Potton	4	1	1	0	10	0	15
Sandy					16	1	0
Sutton	17	6	2	0	9	2	15
	24	8	2	15	50	0	0
HUNDRED OF FLITT							
Barton					11	0	0
Biscot					5	0	0
Caddington					5	0	0
Gainhoe	1	1	0	0	5	0	0
Glephill					5	0	0
Flitton					5	0	0
Gravenhurst	5	3	2	0	5	2	0
Haynes					5	0	0
Higham Gobion	5	8	0	0	8	0	0
Pegsden					10	0	0
Pulloxhill	8	10	0	0	10	0	0
Silsoe	3		2	0	6	0	0
Streatley	1	1	0	0	9	3	20
Sundon					10	0	0
	23	24	0	0	98	1	20

It has been observed that the "men of the King" were probably sokemen and it would be interesting to discover whether the inclusion of that class would materially affect the above figures and observations. Since the men of the King are recorded in 19 villages and there were sokemen holding land in 17 of these, the list of villages in which members of this class occur is not materially enlarged and only two hundreds are affected, they are Manshead with 5 instead of 4 villages containing sokemen, and Buckley with 4 instead of 3 villages. There is naturally more change in the amount of sokeland in the hundreds, as the table shows.

	TOTAL ASSESSMENT			SOKELAND			LAND OF MEN OF THE KING			TOTAL		
	H	V	A	H	V	A	H	V	A	H	V	A
Wixantree	108	3	22	66	0	12	2	1	0	68	1	12
Barford	100	1	0	54	3	0	2	1	0	57	0	0
Biggleswade	100	0	0	36	2	7½	5	2	7½	42	0	15
Clifton	99	3	25	37	0	15	4	2	15	41	3	0
Stodden	99	3	1	32	0	8½		3	0	32	3	8½
Redbornestoke	114	0	25	33	0	0		1	0	33	1	0
Willey	104	2	15	34	2	15	2	3	0	37	1	15
Flitt	98	1	20	24	0	0						
Buckley	58	0	5	9	0	15	9	0	0	18	0	15
Manshead	123	1	0	18	3	0	5	0	0	23	3	0
Wensley	50	0	0	8	2	15	1	0	0	9	2	15

The hundreds to benefit ^{most} from the inclusion of the men of the King are Buckley, where the amount of sokeland has now been doubled, Manshead, Biggleswade and Clifton. Only one hundred, Flitt contains no men of the King, and those figures are unchanged. The other hundreds are affected in varying degrees, and in most cases the increases are substantial.

Seventy-two sokemen who were the men of King Edward, are recorded in 9 of the hundreds of the county, most were found in Stodden, where 40% of the King's sokemen were gathered, and except for Buckley where there were 14, the other hundreds had but a few each. The twenty-six men of the King were divided among 10 hundreds and were found in the two hundreds in which no sokemen of the King were recorded. After King Edward, Borret had most sokemen commended to him, these are found in only two hundreds, 27 being in Stodden and 7 in Willey. Aschill the thegn had 23 sokemen commended to him, they occur in 5 hundreds along the eastern border; there appears in D.B. another Anschill, who may or may not be identical with the one above, 6 sokemen ^{commended} to him were in the hundreds of Biggleswade, Buckley and Clifton, ~~this~~

this almost completes the list of hundreds running down the east of the county. Ulmar of Eaton Socon was the lord of 21 sokemen, 8 of whom were in Flitt and the rest in a group of eastern hundreds. He may possibly be identified with that Ulmar, to whom 2 sokemen in Wensley were commended, for this hundred is close to those wherein the men of Ulmar of Eaton Socon occur. No other man had many sokemen commended to him in Bedfordshire. Stigland was lord of 9 sokemen, all in one hundred; Levenot, a thegn, was lord of 6 sokemen. Other thegns had men commended to them, Alric was lord of 6 sokemen, Lewin cilt of 4 sokemen, and Lewin was lord of 1 sokeman. There were 3 sokemen commended to Alestan of Boscombe, two commended to Almar, a man of Alvric of Flitwick, two commended to Brictric, one each to the thegns Alwold and Wig, and one each to Tostig and Stori the men of earl Tostig.

Not all the recorded sokemen are included in the list, for in many instances Domesday omits the name of the man to whom individual sokemen were commended, if they had survived to hold of some French lord in 1086.

Table iv.

SOKEMEN AND THEIR LORDS.

HUNDRED	The King.	Men of the King	Stigand	Borret	Uman of Toton	Uman.	Achil thegn	Anselm	devenor thegn	lewin alliegn	lewin ciltalthegn	Alwold alliegn	Alestun of Borcombe	wig a thegn.	Abric a thegn
Wixantree	2	4	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Barford	6	5	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Biggleswade	-	3	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Buckley	14	5	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Clifton	-	2	1	1	3	1	7	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	1
Flitt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Manshead	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
Redbornestoke	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
Stodden	31	1	1	27	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
Willey	3	2	1	7	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wensley	4	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	72	26	9	34	21	2	28	6	6	7	4	7	3	6	6

	Almon a man of Abric.	Toll	Stori a man of Toll.	Briebe
Wixantree	1	1	1	1
Barford	1	1	1	1
Biggleswade	1	1	1	1
Buckley	1	1	1	1
Clifton	1	1	1	1
Flitt	1	1	1	1
Manshead	1	1	1	1
Redbornestoke	2	1	1	1
Stodden	1	1	4	2
Willey	1	1	1	1
Wensley	2	4	1	2

Of the King's sokemen, 31 are left in 1086, 20 are on the lands belonging to William de Warenne and the other 11 hold of the King; of the "men of the King" two are found on their land in 1086. A large proportion of the men of Borret remain, 23 ~~are~~ recorded on land held by the Bishop of Coutances. Seven of the men of Ulmar of Eaton Socon hold under Eudo fitz Hubert.

"It is more remarkable that the Scandinavian invasion of the ninth century, which in many ways affected the history of these counties, has left little trace upon their local nomenclature. Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire form with Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire a wide tract of country in which a Danish settlement, which must have been considerable, had little influence upon the forms of existing place-names or the creation of new ones. That these counties formed part of the Danelaw, in the legal sense of this term, is certain. They are all definitely assigned to it in records of the early twelfth century, when the differences between the law of the Saxons, Mercians, and Danes were matters of immediate practical importance. Nevertheless, it would never be inferred from the place-names of any of these counties that they had once undergone a Danish settlement sufficient to change the whole customary law which prevailed within them". (61).

61. Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire (Eng. Place-Name Soc. Vol.iii) p.XIX.

In this connection the existence of large numbers of sokemen may be cited as further evidence of Scandinavian influence and although, even at that date, the villages assessed at such high figures as 20 and 30 hides are not uncommon it is possible to trace in some parts of the county a fairly close resemblance to the unmanorialised parts of Cambridgeshire, as for example at Sutton, Goldington and Sharnbrook (see analysis below).

As has been observed above, Mr. Fowler suggests that the Scandinavian settlers in Bedfordshire penetrated from the more thoroughly Scandinavian region to the north, and though traces of Danish influence are not confined to the north of the county, it may be that Bedfordshire was at no time intensively settled by men of Scandinavian origin. Since a considerable part of the Danish "army of Bedford" would appear to have gone overseas in 915. It is fairly certain that the Danish jarl Thurcytel who submitted to Edward the Elder in 913 (recorded sub anno 918 in the Parker MS of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Plummer, Two Saxon Chronicles, i., 100) was the local ruler of Bedford and the surrounding country, and he must be identified with the jarl who withdrew from England and went to the Frankish dominions with as many of his followers as were willing to accompany him in 915 (Barker MS sub anno 920) .

Distribution in 1086

The Norman Conquest had a more devastating effect in Bedfordshire than in any other county in the Southern Danelaw, with the exception of Middlesex, but even here in Bedfordshire a number of sokemen remained after the Conquest. Of the 674 sokemen and 26 men of the King holding 353 hides, 3 virgates and 3 acres, and 31 hides, respectively, a total of 384 hides, 3 virgates, and 3 acres, 106 sokemen with 25 hides, 1 virgate and 14 acres, and two men of the King with 1 hide remain. It is not certain but likely that the 6 Englishmen recorded at Riseley (62) in 1086 are identical with the 6 sokemen of 1066. Another doubtful case comes from an unnamed village in the hundred of Willey, (63) where the sokeman holder of half a hide was commended by King William to Osiet, a royal balliff, to supply food and clothing to him as long as he lived, it is not recorded whether the sokeman was alive in 1086, but from the scribes' silence, it may be inferred that he was dead, or that Osiet had paid him an annuity to gain possession of the land.

The total might thus be raised to 112. As has been observed of the figures for 1066, those relating to 1086 may be too high if sokemen held land in more than one village. However, the only passage that suggests this may have occurred, is that relating to the 3 sokemen of Chicksand, (64) who may ~~also~~ have held at Cudsand, (65) as in both cases land which has been held

62. Vict. Co. Hist. Beds. i. 225.

63. ibid., i. 265.

64. ibid., i. 262.

65. ibid., i. 242.

by 4 sokemen in 1066, is held by 3 in 1086.

As compared with these 112 sokemen, there were 1631 villeins, 1042 bordars and 469 slaves. The following shows the number of sokemen in each hundred and the percentages which they formed of the total population.

Stodden	87	in 1066	52	in 1086	percentage	in 1086	13.3
Barford	110	" "	33	" " "	"	" "	11.3
Willey	50	" "	9	" "	"	" "	2.7
Clifton	64	" "	6	" "	"	" "	2.6
Wixantree	119	" "	7	" "	"	" "	2.4
Wensley	24	" "	2	" "	"	" "	1.5
Redbornestoke	63	" "	1	" "	"	" "	.26.

The two men of the King, both found in Wensley hundred, to whom reference has been made above, are not included in the table. The most striking change in the distribution of sokemen between 1066 and 1086 is that Wixantree no longer heads the list; seven only remaining out of 119, and the phenomenon may be compared with that observable in the Cambridgeshire hundred of Wetherley, (66) where two sokemen were all that remained of the former total of 133.

The distribution within the hundreds is worthy of note, especially in the case of Stodden, where three groups comprising 20 sokemen are recorded at Dean; (67) here everyone of the 1066 sokemen remains. A single group of 20 sokemen also remain at Tilbrook. (68). Two of the other three villages with sokemen

66. Below p.61.

67. Vict. Co.Hist. Beds. **I.** 224, 232, 265.

68. ibid., **I.** 232.

Riseley (69) and Bolnhurst (70) had the same number in 1066, but the third, to be identified with either Easton or Staughton, (71) has lost two sokemen in the interval. Stodden lost less than half its sokemen and can be said to have suffered least in that period of change. In Barford, the remaining sokemen are found in three villages, in Wilden (72) 24 sokemen are reduced to 20, but in the other two the number of original sokemen remains unchanged. The post-Conquest sokemen of Willey are in two villages, 2 in Carlton, (73) where there had been 5, and 7 in Sharnbrook, (74) where there had been 10. The sokemen of Clifton occur in one (or two) villages, Chicksand and Cudsand. (75) In Wixantree, sokemen had held in 10 out of 12 villages, but in 1086 they are only recorded in one village, Stanford. (76). In both Wensley and Redbornestoke only one village contains sokemen.

The majority of the sokemen are still in the north-east, in the hundreds of Stodden and Barford, but it is strange that the hundreds bordering on Northamptonshire, Willey and Buckley should have suffered so much.

According to Mr. Fowler there can be little doubt as to the fate of the sokemen, the majority, he writes, lost their status altogether. They were, it seems, reduced to the ranks of the villeins and bordars, but Mr. Fowler does not think that they remained in the same villages. "In many cases the number of pre-Conquest sokemen tallies with that of post-Conquest villans;

69. *ibid.*, i. 225.

70. *ibid.*, i. 223-4.

71. *ibid.*, i. 225.

(Identified by Round as Easton and Fowler as Staughton).

72. *ibid.*, i. 224.

73. *ibid.*, i. 224.

74. *ibid.*, i. 226.

75. *ibid.*, i. 222, 262.

76. *ibid.*, i. 235.

but this may mean merely that the available tilled land would only carry that number of persons, irrespective of their tenure; we may not infer that the sokemen are now necessarily villans."(77) This is no doubt true, but where the coincidence between the villeins of 1086 and the sokemen of 1066 is found, there is a strong presumption that the two are identical. It is impossible to discover how many sokemen have been depressed or re-classified, but in entries that concern 87 sokemen it is found that the number of post-Conquest villeins exactly equals the number of pre-Conquest sokemen, as Table V (A) shows. Table B reveals that in entries dealing with 43 other sokemen, the number of post-Conquest villeins about equals that of the sokemen. It is possible, according to table C that 9 sokemen became bordars, as bordars alone inhabit the land once held by those sokemen, and in table D we find 48 sokemen have been succeeded by villeins and bordars who roughly equal the number of sokemen of 1066.

TABLE V.

A. NUMBER OF PRE-CONQUEST SOKEMEN EQUALS THAT OF POST-CONQUEST VILLEINS.

Hundred	Village	SM	V	B	S	PLS (78)
Buckley	Stagsden	12	12	7	-	
Willey	Turvey	3	3	8	1	3
Manshead	Battlesden	7	7	10	-	5
Biggleswade	Dunton	4	4	2	-	
Barford	Great Barford	3	3	5	3	1
"	Goldington	3	3	2	-	1
"	Wyboston	12	12	6	-	5
Wixantree	Harrowden	14	14	10	2	7
Barford	Roxton	12	12	1	1	6

77. Fowler. *op.cit.* p.86.

78. PLS. = The villein ploughs in 1086. S=Slaves. V=Villeins. SM=Sokemen. B=Bordars.

Hundred	Village	SM	V	B	S	PLS
Stodden	Milton Ernest	2	2	1	-	1
Willey	Wymington	1	1	8	4	1
"	Farndish	3	3	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
"	<u>h</u>	2	2	-	-	
Buckley	Stagsden	2	2	2	-	
Manshead	Battlesden	2	2	1	-	
Flitt	Cainhoe	1	1	3	-	1
Wixantree	Stanford	2	2	1	-	1
Redbornestoke	Maulden	2	2	-	-	

B. NUMBERS ABOUT EQUAL

Biggleswade	Tempsford	2	1	2	1	1
Wensley	Sutton	2	1	-	-	
Flitt	Gravenhurst	5	4	3	4	1
Willey	Turvey	2	1	4	-	1
Barford	Great Barford	2	1	6	3	1
Wixantree	Cople	2	1	-	-	
Redbornestoke	Amphill	7	6	2	1	4
Clifton	Henlow	9	10	-	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Willey	Hinwick	2	3	-	-	
Clifton	Compton (79)	3	2	1	-	$\frac{1}{2}$
<u>h</u>	Meppershall	4	5	4	2	2
Willey	Tempsford	3	4	-	-	1

C. SOKEMEN EQUALS NO. OF BORDARS

Barford	Chauston	2		2	
Wixantree	Cople	2		2	
Biggleswade	Holme	2		3	
Wensley	Sutton	3		4	

D. SOKEMEN EQUAL NO. OF VILLEINS AND BORDARS

Manshead	Milton Bryant	7	4	3	-	2
Biggleswade	Chicksand	4	1	4	-	2
Barford	Goldington	9	7	1	-	
Biggleswade	Astwick	6	2	3	-	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Stodden	Milton Ernest	6	4	3	-	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Wixantree	Southill	16	8	8	6	3
Clifton	Compton (79)	3	2	1	-	$\frac{1}{2}$

An entry relating to Wilden (80) may suggest that there was some doubt in the minds of the jurors of 1086 as to the status of certain individuals for here it is recorded that

79. The entry is in two tables.

80. Vict. Co. Hist. Beds. 1.224.

"the villeins have 10 ploughs", although there were no villeins on the estate; the population consisted of 20 sokemen, 12 bordars and 1 slave, and it must have been the sokemen who had these ploughs. Since, however, the passage seems to stand alone, a scribal error or an omission may be suspected, for there is no reason to suppose that the terms were interchangeable.

Of considerable interest are those entries where the tenements held in 1066 by unnamed sokemen are in 1086 in the hands of persons bearing English or Anglo-Scandinavian names. That the new holders were free, need not be questioned, but it must remain uncertain whether they were sokemen or men of higher rank. A certain Alwin (81) holds 3 virgates, the land of two sokemen, of Eudo fitz Hubert at Sutton, and possibly the same man held under the Countess Judith, (82) 1 hide, formerly the land of 6 sokemen in the same village. Anshefil, a priest, (83) holds 1 hide and 2 virgates that had belonged to two sokemen in Great Barford. At Cople, Branting (84) holds under Hugh de Beauchamp 1 hide, the tenement of three sokemen. At Sutton, on the estates of the Countess Judith, the land of three sokemen is now held by Torchil, (85) the holding being $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. The King's balliffs who hold sokelands are Alwin (86) with 1 hide and a quarter virgate, the land of 6 sokemen at Tempsford, and at Sutton (he may in fact be the same man as the Alwin holding under

81. ibid., i. 235.

82. ibid. i. 259.

83. ibid., i. 244.

84. ibid., i. 242.

85. ibid., i. 259.

86. ibid., i. 263, 264.

Judith and Eudo) 1 virgate, formerly held by 2 sokemen; Osiet (87) has half a hide which was held by one sokeman, and Hubert, (88) 1 hide and 3 virgates at Eversholt, Woburn and Potton, the land of 5 sokemen. A certain Tubert (89) holds land of 2 sokemen, the size of the tenement being 2 hides. Also two knights (90) of William de Ow hold 7 hides, 3 virgates in Edworth, which had been held T.R.E. by Alestan of Boscumbe, a thegn of King Edward, and there 2 sokemen his men had 1 hide.

It had been observed that in some instances the values have greatly diminished in the interval of 20 years; sometimes the figure of 1086 is the lower, but not infrequently, there was a sharp decline between 1066 and the date at which the French owner received the land and recovery, partial or complete by 1086. The phenomenon is common all over the county and in many instances can be directly connected with recent disturbances either local or general in character. This is probably the explanation of some of the fluctuations in Bedfordshire, but a low value "post" in the case of lands formerly held by sokemen might suggest that these men had disappeared or abandoned their holdings even before the new owner received them. There is, however, one entry where the value had greatly diminished even though the land may have been ^{held by some of} ~~some of that held by~~ the same men in 1086 as 20 years earlier. This occurs at Wilden (91) where the value of the holding of

87. ibid., i. 265.
 88. ibid., i. 263.
 89. ibid., i. 259 (Sutton)
 90. ibid., i. 233.
 91. ibid., i. 224.

sokemen had diminished from £20 to £9. The following is a list of lands, held T.R.E. by sokemen, where such fluctuations have been traced.

village	holding			T.R.E.			T.R.W			sokemen
	H	V	A	£	S	D	£	S	D	
Wilden	5	0	0	20	0	0	12	0	0	24
Turvey	4	0	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	3
Sutton		3	0	10	0		3	0		2
Great Barford	3	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	2
" "	5	2	20	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
" "	1	3	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
Goldington	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
Cople	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
"	1	1	0	1	0	0		5	0	2
Marston Mortaine	8	0	15	12	0	0	5	0	0	21
Amptill	5	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	7
Westcote	2	3	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	7
Pulloxhill	10	0	0	13	0	0	8	0	0	18
Carlton	1	0	15	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
Radwell	7	1	15	3	0	0	4	0	0	10
Wyboston	9	1	0	10	0	0	4	0	0	12
Holme	1	0	15	1	0	0	1	0	0	7
Henlow	5	2	0	7	0	0	4	0	0	9
Biddenham	3	2	15	2	0	0	1	0	0	11
Chauston	7	1	0	9	0	0	4	0	0	12
Roxton	8	3	0	10	0	0	2	0	0	12
Eyworth	9	0	0	8	0	0	7	0	0	20
Warden	9	0	0	8	0	0	6	0	0	8
Northill	6	2	0	8	0	0	6	0	0	6
Henlow	3	2	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	6
Hinwick	1	3	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2
Wilshamstead	3	0	0	10	0	0	2	5	0	8
Elstow	3	2	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	4
Stagsden	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Sutton	1	2	0	1	0	0		8	0	3

CAMBRIDGESHIREThe I.C.C. & I.E.

Of the eight counties to which the term ^{the} Southern Danelaw may be applied, Essex, on account of its inclusion in the Little Domesday, believed to represent the first attempt to codify the returns of the Commissioners, (92) is described in greatest detail in the Survey.

Cambridge, however, is more fortunate than Essex, for the preservation of the Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigie (93) provides not only a wealth of additional information but also an opportunity to check the Domesday Survey itself. Even before Mr. N.E.S.A. Hamilton published in 1876 his edition of the I.C.C., (from the one surviving MS written in the latter half of the twelfth century) the work had been recognised as a copy of the original returns for Cambridgeshire and the reliability of the transcript was discussed by Round in the first Essay in Feudal England. (94) The Cambridgeshire estates of the Abbey of Ely, moreover, are included in the Inquisitio Eliensis, printed in the Record Commission Edition of Domesday Book (95) and in Mr. Hamilton's work cited above. (96). Round showed (97) that of the three MSS of this Survey that have survived, that designated C by Hamilton is the best, being superior to and independent of A (used by Hamilton as the basis of his text) which is derived

92. Round, Feudal England, pp. 140-142.

93. Ed. Hamilton (1876), hereafter cited as the I.C.C.

94. Feudal England, pp 6-16.

95. Record Com. 2 vols., 1783.

96. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.98.

97. Feudal England, pp. 124-5.

from B. The I. E. relates to Ely's lands in Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and Huntingdonshire, and Round has brought forward arguments showing that the portions relating to Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex were probably derived from the existing second volume of Domesday Book, while the sections concerning Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire (and probably Huntingdonshire as well) are certainly derived from the lost originals of the great inquest. (98) The Cambridge entries are, however, independent of the I.C.C. The preservation of these two texts to set beside the Domesday Survey of the county is of inestimable advantage, but it cannot be denied that their existence engenders difficulties which are far from easy to solve.

The I.C.C. in particular supplies valuable information, omitted in Domesday, with regard to the free element in Cambridgeshire society but there are serious differences in classification and the figures of the two records do not always agree.

That men described in Domesday as homines appear in the I.C.C. as sochemanni and vice-versa -- and instances are numerous -- is a fact of great significance, a fact, moreover, which necessitates the compilation of two sets of figures.

The following examples are given by way of illustration and do not constitute an exhaustive list.

- (1) (a) Men described as homines in D.B. and as sochemanni in the I.C.C.

Westley in Radfield Hundred (99)

98. Feudal England, p.137.

99. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.19.

D.B. Hanc terram tenuerunt ii homines heraldi comitis

I.C.C. Hanc terram tenuerunt ii sochemanni homines comitis
haraldi.

Toft in North Stow Hundred (100).

D.B. De hac terra tenuit unus homo regis E(dwardi) i
hidam et iiii acras

I.C.C. De hac terra tenuit quidam sochemannus i hidam et
iiii acras homo regis Edwardi.

(b) Men described as sochemanni in D.B. and as homines in the
I.C.C. Dullingham in Radfield Hundred (101)

D.B. Hanc terram tenuerunt iiii sochemanni

I.C.C. De hac terra tenuit horolfus dimidiam hidam, homo
Edive. Et Alestanus dimidiam hidam and X acras
minus.orgari homo X acras. (sic) Et wichinz unam
hidam homo comitis Haroldi.

(2) Differences in figures relating to the free element
Harston in Thriplow Hundred (102)

D.B. De hac terra iiii uirgas et dimidiam tenuerunt iiii
sochemanni

I.C.C. De hac terra tenuerunt iiii sochemanni iiii uirgas
et dimidiam

Swaffham in Staine Hundred (103)

D.B. iiii sochemanni homines abbatis tenuerunt ii hidas et
dimidiam et X acras..... et XIX sochemanni homines

regis E(dwardi) tenuerunt ii hidas

100. ibid., p. 17.

101. ibid., p. 17-18.

102. ibid., p. 45-7.

103. ibid., p. 12.

I.C.C. iiii sochemanni. huscarlus. Brithuvinus. Elsi.
 homines abbati fuerunt. ii hidas et dimidiam et X
 acras tenuerunt

(3) Omissions in one text or the other

The example of Swaffham above serves as an example here.

Comparison with the I.E. reveals a few more discrepancies

- (1) Men described as sochemanni in the I.E. who were not so entitled in the other MSS.

Meidreth in Armingford Hundred

I.C.C. Hanc terram tenuit Almarus presbiter homo abbatis
 de ely (104)

I.E. Et quidam sochemanus tenuit eam sub abbate ely (105)

- (b) Men described as sochemanni in D.B. but not in the I.E.

Wilburton in the Ely Hundreds.

D.B. Ibi iiii sochemanni qui non potuerunt nec possunt
 recedere.....IX uillani (106)

I.E. IX villani quisque de X acris et iiii alii uillani de
 una uirgata (107)

- (2) Differences in figures relating to the free element

Chelford in Thriplow Hundred

D.B. and I.C.C. De hac terra adhuc tenuerunt **Vii** sochemanni
 i hidam et dimidiam et vi acras (108)

I.E. i hidam et dimidiam et vi acras quas ten-
 uerunt vi sochemani (109).

104. ibid., p.66.
 105. ibid., p.108.
 106. D.B. i. f. 192.a.
 107. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.117.
 108. ibid., p. 48.
 109. ibid., p. 107.

(3) Omissions of D.B. and I.C.C. or in the I.E.

Arrington in Wetherley Hundred

Both D.B. and the I.C.C. record 3 sokemen, one the man of Waltheof, another the man of Robert Fitz Wimarc, and the third, holding 2 hides, the man of the Abbot of Ely. (110) I.E. Here there is no mention of these 3 sokemen but of one sokeman named Edward, with 1 hide and who is the man of the Abbot of Ely. (111)

Oakington in North Stow Hundred.

Domesday has no record of a sokeman here, but the I.E. records a certain sokeman with one and a half hides. (112)

The I.E. is much more than a source of difficulties; one of its most valuable pieces of information is to be found in the lists of names of sokemen. For example, Domesday merely records that there were ten sokemen at Melbourne, while the names of these men are given in the I.E. In one text (Cott. Tib. A vi) they appear as "alsi berd Aluricus godingessune Wenestan Alwinblondus Alfuinus prefectus abbatis Aluredus", but some names have dropped out as the readings of the other two manuscripts show. The manuscript which Hamilton cites as B reads "Alsi. berd. Alricus. Godinegesune. Alriz. mus. Ordmar. Godine bolt. Alsi beressune. Wenestan. Alwinblondus. Alwinus prefectus abbatis. Alueredus." while the list in manuscript C is: "Aelsi berd, Aeluricus godinges_x sune, Aeluric mus, Ordmer, Godinbolt, Aelsi beres sune, Wenestar, Aelwinus bl_ondus, Aelwinus, prefectus abbatis, Aeluredus." (113)

110. ibid., p.83.

111. ibid., p.110.

112. ibid., p.113.

113. ibid., p.109.

It has been deemed advisable to indicate in the table below, the particulars derived from each of the three sources, for it is often impossible to determine the true reading where discrepancies occur. The mere fact that the I.C.C. is derived from the uncodified returns does not necessarily prove, as Hamilton was inclined to assume, (114) that its authority is superior to Domesday, for Round (115) has demonstrated that in a number of instances the reading of the latter is undoubtedly correct, and the I.C.C. is in error. On comparing "the omissions and errors as a whole, in these two versions of the original returns, it may be said that the comparison is in favour of the Domesday text, although, from the process of its compilation, it was far the most exposed to error."¹¹⁶

For the purpose of compiling comprehensive totals for the county and for the individual hundreds, all men termed sokemen in any of the three records have been taken into account; that is to say, if a man is called a sokeman in one record and not in another, he will be counted as a sokeman. If an entry is missing from either the I.C.C. or from Domesday Book, it is presumed to be an omission on the one hand and the entry has been included. In the case of differences of figures, those in Domesday are preferred to those of the other two records. If, however, Domesday gives the total number as 16, and then when it only proceeds to enumerate 15 sokemen, which agrees with the I.C.C. total. (117) an error is assumed. There is a large portion missing from the I.C.C. and there the D.B. figures have to be accepted implicitly.

114. *ibid.*, preface xi.

115. Fuodal England. pp 10-16

116. *ibid.*, p.20.

117. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.65. (Meldreth).

Table vi.

The column marked 'D.B.', the number of sokemen recorded in Domesday Book; the column marked 'I.C.C.' the number recorded in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigie* and the column marked 'I.E.' gives the number of the sokemen who occur here but are not found in either of the other two records, while the first column records the total obtained when all these records have been compared.

		D.B.	I.C.C.	I.E.
WETHERLEY	135	124	132	1
LONG STOW	115	94	66	
ARMINGFORD	96	95		1
PAPWORTH	73	73	21	
NORTH STOW	70	69	48	1
ELY	63	63		
RADFIELD	54	51	47	
FLENDISH	48	38	46	
STAINED	47	47	28	
STAPLOE	41	41	40	
THRILOW	39	38	38	
WHITTLESFORD	36	36	36	
CHESTERTON	36	36		
CHILFORD	32	26	28	

(b) Distribution in 1066

(a) Over the hundreds

The comprehensive total for the county, made up on the lines ^{shown} above, is 886. (118) The distribution of this number within the 16 hundreds into which Cambridgeshire was divided is of great interest. The highest figure is that for Wetherley, where there were 135 (119) and Long Stow comes next with 115. Both these hundreds lie in the South West of the county.

118. There are also a number of men of the King who might be sokemen, all in North Stow Hundred. They number 6, 2 at Oakington D.B. 12. 201a, 4 at Landbeach D.B. 12. 201b.
119. The hundred of Wetherley includes Balsham in Farrar's Feudal Cambridgeshire and as there is some confusion in the I.C.C. as to which hundred this village belonged, I have followed Farrar.

Armingford with 96 sokemen and Papworth with 73 lie in the west. North Stow where there were 70 (120) sokemen is situated in the centre of the county; the two hundreds of Ely with 63 sokemen between them lie in the North; Radfield, 54 and Flendish, 48, in the East; 47(121) in Staine to the North East of Flendish. Staploe with 41 lies in the East below the hundreds of Ely, 12b Thriplow with 39 in the South; Whittlesford with 36 in the South East; Chesterton, 36 below the hundreds of Ely, and 33 in Chilford in the extreme South East. No sokemen are recorded in the villages comprising Cheverley hundred.

The distribution of sokemen as revealed by these figures is somewhat remarkable, for they occur in the largest numbers in the West of the county on the borders of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, diminishing and not increasing as might have been expected, as the Eastern part of the county abutting on Norfolk and Suffolk is approached. Moreover, the sokemen are fairly evenly distributed among the villages comprising the hundreds.

In the first of the western hundreds, Wetherley, sokemen occur in 12 of the 13 villages of which it was comprised, in Armingford they are found in 11 out of 14 villages, in Long Stow in 10 out of 13 villages, in Papworth in 9 out of 10 villages, in Chesterton in 5 out of 6, in the Western hundred of

120. To this number, seven others recorded in 1086, but not in 1066, might be added.

121. There are two men at Swaffham who have been included in the above figures, for they were probably sokemen though they are not specifically recorded as such.

Ely in 5 out of 8. The presence of sokemen is recorded, therefore, in 52 out of the 64 villages in the Western hundreds. In the central area lie Flendish with sokemen in 3 of its 4 villages, Whittlesford with sokemen in 3 out of 4 villages, Thriplow and North Stow where sokemen occur in 4 out of 8 and in 7 out of 10 villages respectively; showing the presence of sokemen in 17 out of 26 villages in the central area. In the eastern hundreds sokemen occur in fewer villages, in Chilford in 6 out of 11, in Radfield in 5 out of 7, in Staploe in 7 out of 10, in Staine in 3 out of 5, and in the other hundred of Ely in 5 out of 11. In the East, therefore, sokemen are confined to 26 out of 43 villages, 6 of which lying in the hundred of Cheverley were devoid of sokemen. The tendency for the sokemen to be concentrated in the western part of the county suggests that the free peasantry of Cambridgeshire should be studied in association with Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire, a view which is borne out by the fact that the services of avera and inward are found in the Southern Danelaw only in the two counties of Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire.

The clearest impression of the distribution of the Cambridgeshire sokemen can be conveyed by a set of tables relating to the 16 hundreds into which the county was divided. (See accompanying tables)

The sharp contrast between the East and West becomes more apparent if Wetherley and Radfield are considered side by side. In all but 3 villages in the hundred of Wetherley sokemen held at least half the amount of geldable land, and in each village

they outnumber the other holders of land. Of the total of 90 hides, 44 hides, 1 virgate and 18 acres, that is about half, is entered as having been held by groups of free peasants. In the eastern hundred of Radfield it is noticeable that only once, in Dullingham, do the holdings of sokemen amount to half the total amount of geldable land.

Table vii

AMOUNT OF GELDABLE LAND HELD BY SOKEMEN IN THE VILLAGES
AND HUNDREDS OF CAMBRIDGE

WETHERLEY

village	no. of sokemen	holdings of sokemen	other landowners	holdings	village assess-ment
Haslingfield	8	6h 9v 3a	5	15h 3v 12a	20 0 0
Shepreth	5	2 0 0	4	2 3 0	5 0 0
Barrington	23	7 3 0	4	2 2 0	10 0 0
Orwell	9	2 1 0	4	1 2 0	4 0 0
Barton	28	6 0 0	1	1 0 0	7 0 0
Whitwell	14	3 2 0	1	2 0 0	4 0 0
Grantchester	12	6 1 0	2	3 0 0	7 0 0
Wimpole			2	4 0 0	4 0 0
Waretworde	12	4 0 0			4 0 0
Arrington	3	3 0 0	2	1 3 0	4 0 0
Harlton	5	2 0 0	2	4 2 0	5 0 0
Comberton	15	3 0 15	2	2 3 15	6 0 0
Balsham	3	2 20	2	9 1 10	10 0 0
	135	45 0 8			90 0 0

RADFIELD

Stretchworth			4	10 0 0	10 0 0
Westley Waterless	11	1 3 25	1	3 0 0	4 3 25
West Wrattling	12	4 2 0	3	5 2 0	10 0 0
Dullingham	19	3 3 20	2	6 0 10	10 0 0
Carlton	8	2 22	3	9 1 7	10 0 0 (122)
Weston Colville	4	1 0	4	2 3 0	10 0 0
Borrough Green			1	5 0 0	5 0 0
	54	11 1 7			59 3 25

122. holdings only amount to 9h 3v 26½a.

HUNDRED OF CHESTERTON				village assessment		
village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen				
Histon	9	9	3	0	30	0 0
Dry Drayton	19	5	3	0	20	0 0
Cottenham	3	5	0	0	26	2 25
Westwick	1	1	1	10	4	0 0
Childerley	4	2	0	0	10	0 0
Chesterton	-	-	-	-	30	0 0
	36	22	3	10	120	2 25

HUNDRED OF PAPWORTH				village assessment		
village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen				
Graveley	17				5	0 0
Fen Drayton	10	7	1	0	10	0 0
Over	10	2	1	0	15	0 0
Willingham	1		1	0	7	2 0
Knapwell	14	1	2	0	5	0 0
Boxworth	15	3	1	0	10	3 0
Suavesey	3	3	0	0	15	0 0
Papworth	10	1	2	0	12	0 0
Elsworth	4		2	25	10	0 0
Comnington	11	4	3	0	6	0 0
	73	24	1	25	96	1 0

TWO HUNDREDS OF ELY				village assessment		
village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen				
Whittlesea	-				6	0 0
Daddington	8	1	0	0	5	0 0
Chatteris	-				3	0 0
Littleport	-				2	2 0
Stuntney	-				1	2 0
Little Thetford	-				1	0 0
Streatham	-				5	0 0
Wilburton	4		1	0	5	0 0
Lindon	2		1	15	4	0 0
Hale	-				2	0 0
Haddenham	7	3	0	0	3	0 0
Eisbeach	13	2	2	0	10	0 0
Ely	-				10	0 0
Henry	-					2 0
Downham	-				4	0 0
Witchford	5		2	0	3	0 0
Wentford	3	1	1	0	3	2 0
Whitcham	12	1	3	15	4	1 0
Sutton	9	2	0	0	5	0 0
	63	12	3	0	80	1 0

HUNDRED OF NORTH STOW

village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen			village assessment		
Stanton	28	7	1	15	12	0	0
Rampton	6	6	0	0	6	0	0 (123)
Lolworth	10	4	0	0	9	0	0
Maddingley	12	11	2	15	15	0	0
Impington	3	3	2	0	10	0	0
Milton	5	5	1	0	12	0	0
Waterbeach	5	3	0	0	6	0	0
Gakington	1	1	2	10	14	2	14
Landbeach					11	0	0
Girton					15	0	0
	70	42	1	10	110	2	14

HUNDRED OF THRIPLow

Harston	12	5	3	15	11	2	15 (124)
Hauxton	2	1	2	0	10	0	0
Shelford	23	4	3	4	20	0	0 (125)
Trumpington	2		3	0	12	0	0
Thriplow					8	0	0
Stapleford					10	0	0
Foxton					10	0	0
Fowmere					10	0	0
	39	12	3	19	91	2	15

HUNDRED OF STAPLOE

Kennet	1		1	0	3	2	0
Chippenham	2	2	0	0	10	0	0
Snailwell	6		?		5	0	0
Exning	7		?		15	0	0
Burwell	3	3	3	0	15	0	0
Fordham	4	3	2	0	10	0	0
Isleham	18	2	2	20	10	0	0 (126)
Soham					11	0	0
Wicken					7	0	0
Badlingham					3	2	0
	41	12	0	20	90	0	0

123. In the I.C.C. Lolworth is assessed at 9 hides, T.R.E. 5 hides T.R.W. but the separate holdings amount to 7½ hides and 4 gardens.
124. I.C.C. gives the assessment as 10 hides.
125. items add up to Eoh 7a.
126. I.C.C. omits the King's land and assesses the village at 4 hides.

(54)

village	HUNDRED OF FLENDISH			village assessment		
	sokemen	holding of sokemen				
Foulbourn	29	5	0 0	25	0	0
Hinton	6		7	7	0	0
Teversham	11	4	2 20	7	0	0(127)
Horningsea				7	0	0
	48	9	2 20	46	0	0

HUNDRED OF LONG STOW							
village	sokemen	holding of sokemen			village assessment		
Evereden	26	7	1 10	8	1	10	
Kingston	14	3	2 15	8	1	10	
Toft	7	2	2 10	4	3	18	
Bourn	22	10	0 0	20	0	0	
Long Stow	4		3 15	4	0	0	
Ganlingay	9	4	0 0	20	0	0	
Eltisley				3	0	0	
Hatley St. George	5	2	0 0	4	1	0	
Caldecote	2		3 10	1	3	0	
Caxton	22	7	0 0	10	0	0	
Croxton	2	1	0 0	7	0	0	
?	2		3 9				
Little Gransden				5	1	0	
Hardwick				3	1	22	
	115	40	0 0	100	1	0	

HUNDRED OF CHILFORD							
village	sokemen	holding of sokemen			village assessment		
Horseheath	5		2 0	5	0	0	
Abington	2		1 0(128)	11	0	15	
West Wickam	8		2 7½	4	3	22½	
Bergham	2		1 15	4	3	0	
Linton	1		1 0	6	2	0	
Babraham	12	3	1 9	7	0	0	
Pampisford	3		1 15	5	0	22	
Camps	-			5	0	0	
Hildersham	-			5	0	9	
	33	5	2 16½	54	2	8½	

HUNDRED OF WHITTLESFORD							
village	sokemen	holding of sokemen			village assessment		
Sawston	3	4	0 0	8	0	0	
Hinxton	20	15	2 0	20	0	0	
Ickleton	-			20	0	0	
Dixford	13	3	1 0	20	0	0	
Whittlesford	-			12	0	0	
	36	22	3 0	80	0	0	

127. items total 5h 3v 28a.

128. Entries obscure, see analysis.

village	sokemen	holdings of sokemen	village assessment
HUNDRED OF STAINE			
Swaffham Prior	12	5 0 0	10 0 0
Swaffham Bulbeck	29	7 0 0	10 0 0
Stow and Quy	6	4 3 10	10 0 0
Great and Little Wilbraham			10 0 0
Bottisham			10 0 0
	47	16 3 10	50 0 0
HUNDRED OF ARMINGFORD			
Steeple Morden	7	3 22½	10 0 0
Tadlow	3	2 1 15	5 0 0
Guilden Morden	8	3 2 0	5 0 0
East Hatley	8	2 0 0	5 0 0
Croyden	4	1 0 0	10 0 0
Melbourne	10	2 3 5	10 0 0
Shingay			5 0 0
Wendy	6	1 0 0	3 0 0
Abingdon Pigotts	4	1 2 0	3 0 0
Bassingbourne	13	1 1 15	10 0 0
Whaddon	17	3 2 15	9 0 0
Meldreth	16	3 2 0	10 0 0
Litlington			5 1 0
Clapton			5 0 0
	96	23 2 12½	100 2 0

Maitland drew attention to the numbers of villages where in the greater part, almost the whole, of the land was held T.R.E. by sokemen, villages in which "we see nothing manorial, unless we hold ourselves free to use that term of a little tenement with... cottagers". (129) He likewise emphasised the fact that the sokemen in even a little village were rarely all men of the same lord, on the contrary, several men of rank, including in some instances the King himself and some of the greatest magnates, frequently had each a man in one small village. These features in Cambridgeshire society on the eve of the Conquest, Maitland illustrated by an analysis of the villages comprising Wetherley

hundred. As has been shown above, the number of sokemen in this hundred is larger than elsewhere (130) and it will be instructive to discover, by the compilation of similar tables for the other hundreds, whether the proportion of unmanorialised villages was larger in Wetherley than in other parts of the county. (131)

It will be obvious from a study of the analyses that where there were only a few sokemen in a village, they might well be all the men of one lord, for example, the 6 sokemen at Snailwell are all men of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (132) In two entries relating to Burwell, (133) sokemen are mentioned, in one entry two sokemen and in the other one, and all three are men of Eddeva the Fair. However, that is not always so, for at Arrington (134) there were three sokemen, each the man of a different lord. But for the most part it is true to say that where there were few sokemen in a village, they were usually the men of one lord; where there were a number of sokemen, there were commonly several lords. In the two villages of Swaffham (135) there were 21 sokemen of the King, 3 under the Abbot of Ely, 7 men of Eddeva the Fair and 6 sokemen whose lord is not known. In Teversham, (136) there were 9 sokemen, 7 of whom were the men of Eddeva, and 2 the men of Earl Aelfgar.

130. See above p.48.

131. See analysis at end.

132. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.3

133. ibid., p.5.

134. ibid. p.83.

135. ibid. p.12-14

136. ibid. p. 27-28

For a last example, there were 12 sokemen at Babraham, (137) 6 of whom were the men of Eddeva, 2 under the Abbot of Ely, and the remaining 4 were the sokemen of King Edward. In fact, where there are several entries in Domesday relating to sokemen in one village, or where there were a large number of sokemen, there would be several lords.

The table below indicates in what hundreds the sokemen of the King and of the greatest landowners of the county were to be found; the two hundreds of Ely being omitted for here all the sokemen were the men of the Abbot of Ely.

137. ibid., p.35-37.

The table shows the sokemen of King Edward to have been well scattered over the county. They occur in every hundred except the two hundreds of Ely. The sokemen of the King comprise half the total number of sokemen in the following hundreds - Staine and Wetherley, nearly half in North Stow and five-sixths in Whittlesford. The number of King's sokemen in 1066 was 329. The Abbot of Ely, apart from the Ely hundreds had most sokemen in Armingford and North Stow; he had no sokemen in Staploe, Flendish and Whittlesford, all of which are on the eastern side of the county. Ramsey's sokemen are found only in Papworth and Long Stow, both on the West. Sokemen, the men of Stigland, with the exception of six in Staploe, are all found in the West. The 132 Sokemen, men of Eddeva are to be found in every hundred, except those of Ely; they are evenly distributed, showing how great must have been the number of her estates, the majority of these sokemen are, however, to be found on the eastern side of the county. The sokemen under Aelfgar were to be found on the West in greater numbers. The men of Harold were to be found mainly on the East in Radfield, where there were 12 sokemen his men. In the same way, 12 of the sokemen, men of Waltheof were in Wetherley, where, after the King, had the greatest number of sokemen. Sokemen the men of Asgar the Staller and Robert fitz Wimarc are only recorded in the hundreds of Armingford, Wetherley and Long Stow.

The evidence, incomplete as it is, seems to justify the generalisation that Eddeva and Harold alone had more influence in the East than in the West, while the men commended to the great lords were for the most part on the other side of the county

The sokemen who remained in 1086 were found on the manors of the greater lords alone. Thirty one (138) are on the royal manors and are the survivors of the sokemen of King Edward, two other King's sokemen are recorded on a manor held by Picot (139) and one is in a manor held by Alberic de Ver. (140) Twenty six sokemen of the King are still to be found on one manor.

Eighty-seven are the men of the Abbot of Ely, sixty-three of these are in the two hundreds of Ely; of the rest six were the men of Archbishop Stigand but were on land claimed by the Abbot of Ely, (141) seven more are found on the lands held by Hardwin (142) of the Abbot, and ten are held by Guy. (143) Ramsey is still the lord of four sokemen. Twenty-two sokemen are recorded on manors held by Count Alan, all but one were the men of Eddeva the Fair to whose lands Alan was generally successor. The sokemen recorded on Hardwin's estates number fourteen, seven of whom are mentioned above as the men of the Abbot of Ely. Robert Gernon has seventeen sokemen on his manors, all of whom were the men of Ulf the thegn whose land passed to Robert after the Conquest. Picot the sheriff has sixteen sokemen on his manors, two of these are King's sokemen and have been mentioned above. The main points to notice in this account are the survival of Ely's sokemen in the actual

138. Fordham (1) Fen Drayton (2) Gumberton (1) Foulbourn (26)

139. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton p.55-56 (East Hatley)

140. D.B. i.3. 199 (Abington)

141. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton p.3 (Snailwell)

142. Ibid. p.48 (Shelford)

143. D.B. i.3. 191a (Meldreth)

hundreds of Ely but elsewhere only on lands which are not held by the Abbot or his men; the second point concerns the number of sokemen found on royal manors, in 1086 there were 31 and before the Conquest there were only 48. The percentage of sokemen to other peasants on these manors is 8.65, a very high figure in view of the hundredal percentages.

(c) Distribution in 1086

In 1086 after the establishment of the new French aristocracy, a different picture is presented. Instead of 886 sokemen of 1066 there are only 189, which with a population of 1913 villeins, 6 half villeins, 1400 bordars, 300 cottars, 984 slaves, 48 knights, 24 fishermen 4 angli, 3 Frenchmen, 10 homines and 2 carpenters; gives a percentage of 3.87. The figures for the different hundreds are as follows-;

Table ix

	1066	1086	percentage in 1086
THE TWO HUNDREDS OF ELY	63	63	11.12
PAPWORTH	73	39	11.9
NORTH STOW	70	0	
LONG STOW	115	7	1.97
WETHERLEY	135	2	.45
ARMINGFORD	96	26	5.
THRILOW	39	7	1.76
WHITTLESFORD	36	0	
RADFIELD	54	3	1.3
STAIN	47	0	
STAPLOE	41	10	2.37
GHILFORD	33	6	1.96.

FLENDISH	48	26	14.7
CHESTERTON	36	0	

While Papworth and Ely have the greater number of sokemen, the small hundred of Flendish has the largest percentage. After these three hundreds, Armingford with 26 sokemen and a percentage of 5 is next in order, followed by Staploe with 10 and a percentage of 2.37. All the remaining hundreds have a percentage of under 2; Wetherley is conspicuous for the absence of sokemen, while the four hundreds of Chesterton, Staine, North Stow and Whittlesford are now entirely devoid of sokemen. An examination of the villages which still contain sokemen emphasises the devastating results of the Conquest. The decrease is not due so much to a decrease in the number of sokemen in a village, in fact there is not a single case where sokemen still hold the same lands as in 1066 but in fewer numbers; but it is due more to a disappearance of all sokemen in a village, irrespective of whose men they might be. It is not even a question of the survival of the larger landholders; apart from the hundreds of Ely there has been a complete upheaval. In 1066 there were 97 villages in which sokemen were recorded; in 1086 there were only 32 such villages. In the two hundreds of Ely there were 19 villages and sokemen held in 9 of these in both 1066 and 1086. In Papworth sokemen held land in 7 villages out of 10, while in 1066 they held land in 9. In Flendish the 26 remaining sokemen are massed in one village and formerly sokemen held in 3 of the 4 villages of the hundred. The twenty

six sokemen of Armingford are found in four villages against 11 out of 14 in 1066. Staploe hundred, counted 10 villages and formerly sokemen were found in 7 but now only in 3. In 1066 sokemen were recorded in 10 out of 13 villages in Long Stow, in 1086 in one; in Thriplow in 4 out of 8, now in one. Four villages of Chilford are recorded to hold sokemen in 1086, where 6 of its 11 villages had held 32. In Wetherley two villages each contain one sokeman, while in Radfield only one village does so. From this account sokemen seem to have almost disappeared from the county.

One might expect the numbers to diminish somewhat on account of Hereward's revolt; yet all sokemen in the hundreds of Ely are still there, and if any sokemen were to join Hereward it is probable that some should come from the very place concerned with the struggle. The result of that rebellion must have been very slight in its effect on the numbers of sokemen.

The contrast between the figures for 1086 and those for 1066 certainly suggest that the Cambridgeshire sokemen were depressed into villeinage, though there is no parallel in Cambridgeshire to the express statement found at Benfleet in Essex (144) that a freeman had become a villein. The entry in the I.E. which reads "ix uillani quisque de x acris et iiii^o alii uillani de una uirgata" (145) where in the corresponding Domesday entry the four "other villeins" are termed "sokemen" (146) (Wilburton in Ely) may reflect such depression. The entry which can hardly be a mere blunder may indicate that though

144. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex. 1. 428.

145. I.C.C. Ed. Hamilton p. 117

146. D.B. 1f. 192a

depressed these four men were still distinguishable from ordinary villeins. The line of demarcation between sokemen and villeins seems to have been ^{so} fine as to permit the jurors of the hundred and the monastery to assign them to different classes

Further, the numbers of villeins in 1086 is identical or nearly so with the number of sokemen of 1066 in several instances and in other cases, the whole number of villeins, bordars, cottars and slaves in 1086 is identical with the number of sokemen on the land in 1066. (For the actual figures see table A and B). The details set out in those tables show that 94 sokemen were replaced by villeins and 67 were replaced by villeins, bordars or cottars.

There are, however, certain objections to the view that wholesale depression has taken place. While there are cases where the sokemen might have been depressed and are included among the villeins, bordars, cottars and slaves; there are also other instances where the villeins, bordars, cottars and slaves recorded in 1086 produce a total smaller than the number of sokemen in those villages in 1066. In some instances many or all of the sokemen have completely disappeared, unless perchance they still remained in 1086 but were not specifically mentioned. The disparity between the rural population of 1066 and 1086 is the more striking when it is recalled that in many instances the sokemen of 1066 must have cultivated their land with the assistance of a few bordars, cottars and slaves.

The tables A and B account for 161 sokemen who might have been depressed but the tables lettered C show that lands held by 41 sokemen in 1066 do not appear to have been occupied in 1086

by peasants of any description, villeins, bordars, cottars or slaves. On the lands of an additional 191 sokemen, peasants are recorded but not in sufficient numbers to account for the previous owners; for example at Duxford (147) there were 13 sokemen in 1066, twenty years later only 3 peasants (1 villein, 4 bordars and 3 slaves) are recorded.

Table x

A		1086				
HUNDRED	VILLAGE	Sokemen of 1066.	Villeins	Bordars	Cottars	Slaves
Staploe	Isleham	2	2	-	-	-
Whittlesford	Hinxton	20	20	12	-	-
Armingford	Tadlow	3	3	3	-	-
"	Guilden Morden	8	8	11	13	-
"	Wendy	6	6	5	4	-
"	Bassingbourne	1	1	4	-	-
Long Stow	Toft	2	2	-	6	-
"	Hatley	3	3	-	-	-
"	Eversden	1	1	-	-	-
Staine	Swaffham	1	1	-	-	-
Thriplow	Harlston	6	6	-	-	-
"	Shelford	6	6	2	-	-
Wetherley	Grantchester	4	4	7	22	-
"	Wereteworde	1	1	-	-	-
"	"	2	2	2	-	-
Armingford	Meldreth	15	-	15	3	1
Long Stow	Long Stow	4	-	4	-	-
Chilford	Babraham	4	-	4	15	-
Armingford	Bassingbourne	2	-	2	-	-
B						
Radfield	Westley	2	1	1	-	-
Thriplow	Harlston	4	1	3	-	-
Wetherley	Writwell	3	1	-	2	-
Chesterton	Dry Drayton	19	9	3	7	-
Wetherley	Orwell	6	2	3	-	1
Long Stow	Hatley	2	3	-	-	-
Staine	Swaffham	6	3	-	-	2

A shows the entries in which the number of pre-Conquest sokemen equals the number of post-Conquest villeins and bordars as in the case of the last 4 entries.

B shows the entries in which the number of pre-Conquest sokemen is identical with or approximately equal to the number of unfree peasants of 1086.

Table C

HUNDRED	VILLAGE	Sokemen 1066	Villeins. 1086	Bordars 1086	Cottars 1086	Slaves 1086
Staploe	Isleham	12	11	-	-	-
Staine	Swaffham	22	12	4	-	-
"	"	6	3	-	-	-
"	"	4	2	-	-	-
"	"	6	-	-	-	-
Flendish	Teversham	2	-	-	-	-
"	"	5	-	-	-	-
Chilford	Babraham	2	-	-	-	-
"	Pampisford	2	-	-	-	-
"	"	1	-	-	-	-
Whittlesford	Duxford	13	1	4	-	3
Thriplow	Harlton	1	-	-	-	-
"	Trumpington	1	-	-	-	-
Papworth	Over	10	3	1	3	-
"	Elsworth	2	1	-	-	-
"	Papworth	1	-	-	-	-
"	Fen Drayton	2	-	-	-	-
Chesterton	Childerley	4	-	-	-	-
North Stow	Stanton	15	6	-	5	-
Long Stow	Eversden	23	5	2	9	1
" "	Bourn	22	-	-	4	-
" "	?	2	-	4	-	-
Wetherley	Balsham	3	-	-	-	-
"	Barton	24	3	13	-	1
"	Granchester	5	3	-	-	-
"	Harlton	2	-	-	-	-
"	Whitwell	3	-	-	-	-
"	Whitwell	8	1	-	4	-
Radfield	Dullingham	16	7	4	-	-
"	Westley	7	-	4	-	-
"	Charlton	3	-	-	-	-
"	"	1	-	-	-	-
"	Weston	2	-	-	-	-

C shows those estates on which the number of pre-Conquest sokemen exceeded the number of post-Conquest peasants.

There is in the I.E.(148) a plea to be dated between 1072-1075 (149) which suggests that depression or disappearance were not necessarily the immediate result of the Conquest. In the plea among a list of lands said to have been unjustly taken away from the Abbot of Ely the following entry occurs. In belesham tenet idem ipse H. (Hardwin de Scalars) tres socamans. In Wratinga item H. tenet dimidiam hidam ad servitium et viiii socamans. Predictus H. tenet in Swafham unam uirgam de dominio et vii socamans. In Domesday three sokemen are entered as pre-Conquest holders of 80 acres which Hardwin held of the Abbot at Balsham,(150) but no peasants are recorded on that land in 1086. There is no mention of this half hide at Wrattling,(151) though it may be part of the three hides which Hardwin held there of the Abbot of Ely in 1086, there 3 hides had been held in 1066 by ten sokemen but in 1086 there were 5 villeins, 4 bordars and 4 slaves. In Swaffham Hardwin's (152) above mentioned virgate had been held T.R.E. by six sokemen and in 1086 no peasants are recorded on the land. The passage shows that at least seven years after the Conquest sokemen remained undisturbed on these three estates; depression or disappearance must have taken place after this date. It is a significant fact that where sokemen have survived on a particular manor, the whole number have done so; depression where it occurred was wholesale.

148. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.192.

149. concerning the date see Round, Feudal England, p.459.

150. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.25.

151. ibid., p.23.

152. ibid., p.14.

If the successors to sokemen's estates are examined, it will be found that in three cases Englishmen are recorded to be living there. At long Stow, (153) where there were 4 sokemen there are now 2 Englishmen; at Eversdon (154) an estate held by two sokemen is now held by Robert and two Englishmen and again at Shepreth (155) a knight and two Englishmen are entered in place of the five sokemen holders. It is not improbable that the ^{Englishmen} ~~Angli~~ here are sokemen.

Other successors of sokemen are the (militēs), these usually hold in pairs. Only in one case (156) are names given, so there is no opportunity of finding out whether they are all different persons or not. There are 34 knights recorded as holders of land formerly held by sokemen; 12 of them hold of Hardwin; 8 of Picot, 7 of Count Alan, 5 of Guy and 2 of Count Eustace. They are found, for the most part, in the hundred of Wetherley, where there were 12, 7 in Long Stow, 6 in Radfield, 4 in Armingford, 3 in Staine and 2 in North Stow; 25 in the West and 9 in the East.

The knights of Hardwin hold as follows - two at Carlton (157) 2 virgates less 3 acres, held by 2 sokemen; two at Croydon (158) 3 hides and 1 virgate, held by five men, 4 of whom were sokemen; two at Abington Piggots, (159) 1 hide, 1 virgate and 15 acres, held by three sokemen; one at Shepreth (160) 2 hides and 15 acres

153. D.B. Lf. 198b.

154. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.84.

155. ibid., p.76.

156. ibid., p.60 (Abington Piggots, Radolf and Robert)

157. ibid., p.21.

158. ibid., p.58.

159. ibid., p.60.

160. ibid., p.76.

held by 5 sokemen; two at Werateworde (161) 3 virgates held by 2 sokemen; two at Caldecote, (162) 3 virgates and 10 acres, held by 2 sokemen; one at Long Stow, (163) 3 virgates and 15 acres held by 4 sokemen.

The knights of Picot held - two at Cumberton (164), 2 hides and 2 acres held by 7 sokemen; two at Toft, (165) 1 hide, 2 virgates and 10 acres, held by 2 sokemen; two at Bourn (166) 2 hides, held by a thegn and 22 sokemen; and two at Madingly, (167) 3 hides and 3 virgates, held by 7 sokemen.

The knights of Count Alan held at - Swaffham, (168) three hides and 1 virgate, held by 2 sokemen; two at Dullingham (169) 2 hides and 10 acres, held by 3 sokemen; two at Westley Waterless, (170) 1 hide, held by 7 sokemen.

The knights of Guy de Reinbuedeurt held - three French knights at Barton, (171) part of the 3 hides and 2 virgates held by 24 sokemen and two at Grantchester (172) 3 virgates held by 5 sokemen. At Grantchester (173) also two knights of Eustace held 2 hides and 3 virgates, formerly held by 3 sokemen.

There are two other points to be noticed; the first concerns fishermen. They are found at two places, at Saham (174) where

161. ibid., p.80.
 162. D.B. i. & 198b.
 163. ibid., ff. 198b.
 164. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton p.68 (ghomines in D.B., milites in I.C.C.)
 165. ibid., p.87.
 166. ibid., p.89.
 167. ibid., p.95.
 168. ibid., p.84.
 169. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.17-18.
 170. ibid., p.19-20.
 171. ibid., p.70.
 172. ibid., p.70-71.
 173. ibid., p.71.
 174. ibid., p.67

there are 8, and at Wisbeach (175) where there are 18. The status of these fishermen is unknown, but they may also have been sokemen.

The second point concerns the wording of the Domesday and I.E. entries relating to sokemen in the two hundreds of Ely. In both, this peculiar formula is found "non potuerunt nec possunt recedere"; it applied only to the sokemen of the Abbot in the Ely hundreds, and not to those outside. All sokemen in those two hundreds survive the Conquest, but none of the sokemen of the Abbot in other hundreds do so.

5. ESSEX

a) The unfree peasantry.

For the student of rural society in the eleventh century, the additional details supplied by the Little Domesday are invaluable. Though the details relating to the stock are of secondary importance for the present investigation, the double or sometimes triple set of figures given for the population is of the greatest value, for they enable us to trace more clearly than would otherwise be possible, the effect of the Norman Conquest on the classes of peasants. Round (176) found in the figures which he has compiled from Domesday, support for the theory that the upper classes were depressed, while the

175. ibid., p.118-119 (I.E.)

176. Viet. Co. Hist. Essex. i. 359-61.

lowest class, that of the slaves, was raised. He shows that between 1066 and 1086, the class entered as villeins diminished as did the slaves, while the bordars increased considerably. Figures based upon Domesday show a marked diminution in the number of slaves, - in the twenty years 2527 had fallen to 1790; the villeins on the other hand, had not been so greatly affected, for there had been 4234 in 1066 and there were still 4041 in 1086. There are many entries showing apparent depression of the villeins, but there are likewise others which show an increase in that class. At Terling, (177) for instance, in 1066 there were 11 villeins and 5 slaves, but no bordars, whereas in 1086 there were 5 villeins and 11 bordars and no slaves. Entries showing an increase in the number of villeins are not, however, difficult to find; at Barking, (178) where St. Mary held the manor, the villeins had increased from 100 to 140, the bordars from 50 to 90, while the number of slaves had fallen from 10 to 6.

Figures for the hundreds reveal a peculiarity in the distribution of the areas of greatest depression; the villeins on the eastern side of the county suffered most, while the ~~six~~ hundreds in the south west show increases in their numbers.

177. ibid., 1.527.

178. ibid. 1. 448

Becontree hundred shows		an increase of 78 or 27.9%		1066	279	1086	357
Chafford	" " " "	20	16.3%	"	123	"	143
Ongar	" " " " "	6	3.3%	"	181	"	183
Thurstable	" " " " "	4	5.5%	"	73	"	77
Harlow	" " " " "	4	2.6%	"	155	"	159
Winstree	" " " " "	1	1.2%	"	81	"	82
Uttlesford	" " " deer-	2	.4%	"	478	"	476
Waltham	" " " ease	2	1.8%	"	113	"	111
Clavering	" " " " "	5	7.2%	"	69	"	64
Witham	" " " " "	14	8.5%	"	165	"	151
Barstable	" " " " "	17	8.7%	"	196	"	179
Dunmow	" " " " "	18	5.3%	"	336	"	318
Hinckford	" " " " "	22	4.9%	"	450	"	438
Freshwell	" " " " "	24	11.3%	"	203	"	179
Dengie and Malden	" " " " "	25	14.4%	"	158	"	140
					16	"	9
		33	20.4%	"	162	"	129
Rocheford	" " " " "						
Lexden	" " " " "	37	20.4%	"	181	"	144
Chelmsford	" " " " "	42	11.8%	"	357	"	315
Tendring	" " " " "	65	14.2%	"	458	"	393

The greatest increase occurs in the west, in the hundreds of Becontree, Ongar, Chafford and Harlow; and in the west lie also Uttlesford and Waltham, the two hundreds where the fall in numbers is exceptionally small. The other hundreds in which an increase has been traced, Winstree and Thurstable, lie in the east. That there should be an increase in this quarter is surprising, for these two hundreds lie in the midst of an area

of depression; Tendring and Dengle on either side of the two hundreds in question both show a decrease of 14%. However, the increases in Thurstable and Winstree are but slight and the hundreds are small in area. The figures suggest that the class known as villeins suffered something approaching general depression in the east, but that in the west, while there is depression here and there, the class as a whole increased rather than decreased.

The decrease in the number of villeins and slaves coincides with a rise in the number of bordars, for the county total rose from 4303 in 1066 to 7007 in 1086. That increase outnumbers considerably the losses sustained by both the villein class and the slaves, and it exceeds the total number of free men and sokemen as well as villeins and slaves who have disappeared in the interval of 20 years. In 1066 there were in the county 1020 unnamed free men, 669 sokemen, 4234 villeins, 4107 bordars, 2527 slaves, 23 priests, 1 smith, 1 swineherd and 2 servants. To this number 33 villeins, 196 bordars and 24 slaves should probably be added, for they are entered in 1086 without a qualifying "now" and though it is not specifically stated that they existed in 1066, they may be reckoned among the population of that year. The total for 1066 is thus brought up to 12830.

At the time of the Survey there were in Essex 447 free men, 604 sokemen, 4041 villeins, 7007 bordars, 1790 slaves, 26 priests, 1 swineherd and 1 hired servant, making a total of 13917, and the total population of the county has thus increased by about 8.5%.

Table xii, Showing Population.

	Percentage of increase of Total Population	Number of increase	Freemen and soke men.	Villeins	Slaves	Bondens.	Percentage of increase of Bondens.
HUNDRED Becontree	43.4	214	-11	+78	-33	+180	125.8
GLAVERING	21.5	45	-23	-5	-19	+82	146.0
BARSTABLE	20.8	179	-23	-17	-55	+274	78.5
DUNMOW	18.47	154	-34	-18	-45	+251	105.9
UTTLESFORD	18.0	170	-25	-2	-41	+238	100.0
FRESHWELL	17.8	67	-8	-24	-16	+115	153.3
CHAFFORD	16.5	65	-24	+20	-33	+102	69.8
ONGAR	13.4	76	-30	+6	-41	+141	77.9
WALTHAM	12.3	26	13	-2	-6	+21	46.6
HARLOW	10.1	37	-25	+4	-32	+90	112.5
LEXDEN	8.6	75	-34	-37	-34	+180	53.0
WITHAM	8.4	45	-17	-14	-48	+124	79.4
CHELMSFORD	6.2	60	-28	-37	-42	+167	52.0
ROCHFORD	6.1	30	-31	-33	-43	+137	64.3
THURSTABLE	5.3	18	-26	+4	-15	+21	46.6
HINCKFORD	3.4	69	-217	-22	-90	+398	64.4
TENDRING	2.3	27	-13	-80	-65	+189	45.2
WINSTREE	1.1	-6	-19	+1	-28	+40	24.3
DENGIE	2.2	-15	-69	-25	-41	+120	57.1

The accompanying table shows the increase or decrease in each peasant class within the different hundreds. It is interesting to note that, though the bordars have increased in every hundred, the highest percentages come from the west, from Freshwell (153%), Clavering (146%), Becontree (126%), Harlow (112%), Dunmow (106%), and Uttlesford (100%), all on the western border. Apart from Waltham (46%), the hundreds where the percentages are lowest, Winstree (24%), Tendring (45%), Thurstable (47%), Chelmsford (52%) and Lexden (53%) are those situated in the east.

The increase per cent of the total population is again highest on the western side, although Barstable occupies a central rather than a westerly position. This percentage is highest in the hundreds of Becontree (43%), Clavering (21%), Barstable (21%), Dunmow (19%), Uttlesford (18%), and Freshwell (18%). The lowest figure comes from the east; the population of Dengie decreased by 2% and that of Winstree by 1%. While the increase here is never very considerable, as at Tendring (2%), Hinckford (3%), and Thurstable (5%), though it rises to (6%) in both Chelmsford and Rochford. These figures demonstrate that where there was any considerable decline in the number of villeins, there was a smaller proportionate increase in the number of bordars and consequently in the total population. But even where villeins were not depressed, the number of bordars rose, and in consequence there was a greater net increase in the population.

The Little Domesday, invaluable as it is in many respects, presents a great difficulty by its use of the term 'freeman';

normally the free man, - liber homo, is a peasant, his holding is usually modest and its value not great. In the Essex Domesday some free men are entered indefinitely as 'certain free men', but others are distinguished by personal names and several of this second group have been identified by Round with landowners in other countries.(179) There is a certain Inguar, who has no rank assigned to him in one entry,(180) is entered as a thegn in the second,(181) and as a free man in the third(182) and yet Round has shown that this man was a wealthy thegn holding lands in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire. Such an entry as this proves that some men entered as liberi homines in D.B. were men of rank and wealth whose position was far removed from that of free peasant. We are faced too with the problem common to all students of Domesday Book, that of deciding whether men of the same name should be identified, for instance a man of the name of Alvríc occurs in no less than 10 entries relating to 8 hundreds and these lands are held in 1086 by ten different tenants-in-chief; it is therefore most likely that there were in 1066, ten different landholders bearing the name Alvríc.

There are, therefore, many free men who cannot be included in a set of figures, compiled to illustrate the distribution of the free peasantry, but since it is unlikely that D.B. would nowhere mention the name of a pre-Conquest landholder of

Vict. Co. Hist. Essex.

179. Ibid., 1. 351-3
 180. Ibid., 1. 539 (Thorpe)
 181. Ibid., 1. 454. (Great Burstead)
 182. Ibid., 1. 538. (Royden)

importance having land in several places, the liberi homines whom Domesday leaves unnamed may reasonably be regarded as men of peasant status.

If Maitland's view that the liberi homines were men with the wergild of a thegn (1200 shillings) is correct, (183) the inclusion of wealthy landowners in the same class with men having but a few acres causes no surprise, for thegnly rank was hereditary and was unaffected by the economic position of the individual. Instances are not uncommon in the Northern Danelaw of thegns whose economic status was clearly that of peasants.

In computing the number of free men in the various hundreds, I have omitted all liberi homines whose names are preserved in Domesday and, although it is possible that still more should have been included, the figures probably give a fairly accurate indication of the number of free peasants comprised within this class, for it is by no means clear that all the free men whose names are recorded are men of wealth.

b) Distribution of 1066

By reason of the size alone of the county, a uniformity cannot be expected in the social structure of Essex. Although the whole of Essex was included in the legal Danelaw, the land in the south west was too near to London for it to remain uninfluenced by manorial tendencies, while the villages of the north west reveal conditions closely resembling those of East

Anglia. The hundreds of the south west are more closely allied with the counties of the South of England, where the manor and the village were generally coterminous, than with the "free villages" - to use Maitland's phrase, characteristic (184) of Eastern England. While the larger holdings are mostly found in the southeast of the county, there are a number of large manors elsewhere, such as the manor of Hatfield Broadoak, (185) which stands out in striking contrast to the social organisation of the surrounding villages. In the villages of the north, the land was but seldom held by the larger land-owners and an analysis of the details relating to the villages in the double hundred of Hinckford shows the tenants, generally, were small holders, the majority of them being recorded as free men or sokemen. The land in a single village (186) might be divided into as many as ten parcels, held by no fewer than 28 men of various ranks. Land assessed at seven hides at Pentlow was divided among 18 sokemen with 2 hides and 1 virgate and a free woman with 4 hides, 3 virgate. The villages of the north do not appear to have been large, but they were free villages in the sense that they were unmanorialised and manors of the type common to the South were almost unknown.

It is not unnatural that practically half the sokemen of Essex occur in the hundred of Hinckford, (320), where the conditions were so favourable. Such conditions prevailed in the adjoining hundred of Lexden where a large number of sokemen

184. *ibid.*, p.352.
 185. *Vict. Co. Hist. Essex.* 1.429.
 186. *Finchingfield.* see Analysis at end.

were found, 111: in fact these two hundreds account for 64.4% of the total number of sokemen in the county. (188) Of the rest, 55 came from Tendring, also situated in the north east, 39 from Witham and 27 from Uttlesford, lying to the west of Hinckford. A glance at the map of Essex for this date shows how the sokemen are massed together in the villages of the north. For the rest of the county the figures are: 26 sokemen from Chäfford, 25 from Dunmow, on the western boundary; 15 from Winstree in the east, 11 from Freshwell which lies on the west by Uttlesford and 10 from Barstable in the south. The other hundreds can only produce single figures, in Chelmsford there were 7 sokemen, in Waltham 6, in Harlow 4, the last two hundreds lie on the Hertfordshire border, 4 sokemen were also recorded in Rochford in the south east, 3 were found in Clavering, and 2 each in Becontree (189) and Ongar, these three hundreds are in the west, 2 from Dengie and Malden and there were none in the remaining hundred of Thurstable. The sokemen were most densely settled in the northern hundreds and after them in the west by the Hertfordshire border, but very few are recorded along the sea-coast on the east.

In Hinckford hundred sokemen and free men are recorded in almost every village and there are in all 320 sokemen. There are villages with no sokemen, for the members of this class

188. Total number of sokemen in 1086 is 669.

189. There might have been 8 more, compare Havering Vict. Co. Hist. Essex. 1.429-30 and Leyton 1.546.

tend to occur in large groups as for instance at Hedingham (190) where there are two groups of sokemen, one of 13, and the other of 2, and at Foxearth (191) where there were 19 sokemen in the village.

It is possible that sokemen held land in more than one village, and consequently the above figures may be, in a measure, misleading, but there is no way of determining whether men occurring in different villages are really identical. The other hundreds of the north east present two different pictures; Lexden is like Hinckford, sokemen occur in fairly large groups, the largest being 20 at Marks Tey. (192) In Tendring, on the other hand, 52 of the 55 sokemen are attached to the manor of Lawford, ⁽¹⁹³⁾ 17 of them were actually in the village and the other 35 were scattered over the hundred. This is the only instance of a large soke in the north. In Witham, the distribution is again different, 23 of the sokemen were recorded at Witham (194) itself, one other at Hatfield Peverel; (195) there was a large group of 11 at Coggeshall (196) and the rest occur singly (apart from those at Witham and Hatfield Peverel none of these men are specifically stated to have been ^{here} in 1066 as well as in 1086 but it is highly probable that they were there. (197). The

190. ibid., 1. 533 & 543.

191. ibid., 1. 479.

192. ibid., 1. 504.

193. ibid., 1. 434-5.

194. ibid., 1. 428.

195. ibid., 1. 456.

196. ibid., 1. 461.

197. See below p. 82 for inclusion of these men in 1066.

Uttlesford figure largely comes from a group of 13 at Saffron Walden, (198) and sokemen occur in but 6 other villages. Similarly in Chafford hundred, a group of 13 men who probably held in 1066, the lands which they held at South Ockendon (199) in 1086, and a group of 9 at Greys Thurrock (200) make up a large percentage of the total. The true total for Winstree hundred is uncertain for there is a doubtful group of 8 sokemen at West Mersea, (201) where there were also 4 certain sokemen and men of this class are only recorded in two other villages. In the other hundreds sokemen do not occur in large groups, their appearance is sporadic and finally in the hundred of Thurstable there were none.

Essex, therefore, presents two extremes in the distribution of its sokemen, in the north they were numerous, flourishing in a society akin to that of East Anglia, but in the more manorialised south only a few are to be found. No tables have been drawn up showing the ^{pro}portion of land held by sokemen in this county, as no detailed analysis has been made of any part except Hinckford. This is due to the size of the county and the irregularity of assessment.

The sokemen of Essex do not form the bulk of the free peasantry of the county in 1066. The total number of free men, reckoning only those who are unnamed exceeds that of the sokemen by over 300, for there were 1020 free men as against 669 sokemen.

198. Victoria Co. Hist. Essex. i. 512.

199. Ibid., i. 505.

200. Ibid., i. 553.

201. Ibid., i. 454.

There is more uniformity in the distribution of free men over the county and although the highest is that for Hinckford, it is less than the number of sokemen in that hundred; the free men are gathered more on the eastern side of the county and in this respect their distribution contrasts with that of the sokemen. After Hinckford where there were 229, Barstable comes with 151, then there were 104 in Dengie and Malden, and 91 in Lexden. The next figure is much lower, for there were only 68 in Chelmsford, which with Witham and Thurstable with 57 each, lies in the east. Ongar with 51 heads the list for the west, but the next figure, 32, comes from Rochford on the east again, Dunmow with 27, Waltham with 24, Uttlesford and Clavering with 23 each and Harlow with 22 are on the western boundary of the county. The last figures for the east are from Chafford with 22, Tendring and Winstree with 15 apiece and the west winds up the list with 10 at Becontree (202) and 2 at Freshwell.

A comparison of the two sets of figures shows that the three hundreds with the highest numbers of sokemen contained more sokemen than free men, then the free men take the lead at Witham and Barstable and the other hundreds of the east, in the west the numbers are about equal in Uttlesford, Dunmow and Chafford, but there were more free men in the other hundreds.

202. But see Havering. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex., i. 429-30.
and Leyton ibid., i. 546.

c) Distribution in 1086.

Of the seven counties of the Southern Danelaw for which there are figures for both 1066 and 1086, Essex is the one in which the sokemen appear to have been least affected by the Norman Conquest. While other counties show losses of over 70%, Essex has only a decrease of about 10%; there were 669 sokemen in 1066 and in 1086 608 of these remained. These figures are really remarkable, but certain reservations must be made, for it is often difficult to determine whether

particular sokemen should be included in the figures for one date or the other and in this matter I have followed Round in all doubtful cases. In addition all sokemen who appear in 1086, without a statement that they were not there in 1066, have been included at both dates. There is also one entry which seems to indicate that either 16 free men have become sokemen and have had 4 added to their number, or that the 16 free men have disappeared and have been replaced by 20 sokemen. Possibly a difference of classification may explain this disparity. The entry in question relates to Hassingbroke (203) "which was held T.R.E. by 16 free men as 12 hides and 12½ acres, is held by (Ralf) the son of Tuold. There were then 11 ploughs now 7. There are now 14 bordars and 20 sokemen". This example occurs in the hundred of Barstable where the ten sokemen recorded in 1066 are still on their lands in 1086, and the addition of 20 would bring the total up to 30.

Apart from Barstable the hundreds in which no diminution in the number of sokemen occurred between 1066 and 1086 are Waltham, Chelmsford, Dengie and Malden, and Lexden, and at Lexden the total rises from 111 to 119, an increase of just over 7%. In two only of these hundreds have fewer than 70% of the sokemen survived and even in those hundreds where there were but a few sokemen in 1066, there were some survivors at the time of the Survey; Becontree (204) and Ongar had two sokemen each in 1066 and in 1086 one each, the number at Clavering fell from 3 to 1, at Rochford from 4 to 2, and at Harlow from 4 to 1. Within most hundreds, however, the sokemen have diminished, as the table reveals.

Table xiii.

Hundred	1066	1086	gain or loss per cent
Barstable	40	30	+ 200
Lexden	111	119	+ 7
Waltham	6	6	
Chelmsford	7	7	
Dengie and Malden	2	2	
Witham	39	38	-2.5
Uttlesford	27	25	-7.4
Hinckford	320	280	-15.6
Tendring	55	43	-21.8
Chafford	26	20	-23.
Winstree	15	11	-26.6
Dunmow	25	16	-36
Freshwell	11	5	-59.5
Becontree	2	1	
Ongar	2	1	
Clavering	3	1	
Rochford	4	2	
Harlow.	4	1	

The total for 1086 is lower than that of 1066 by 61. However, the number of sokemen has risen on 6 manors, three-204. see note above p. 79, no. 189.

Wethersfield (205), where there were 8 in 1086 as against 6 in 1066, Felstead, (206) where there were 4 as against 3, Belchamp, (207) where there were 5 as against 3, are all situated in the hundred of Hinckford. Marks Tey, where the increase was from 20 to 30, (208) Saffron Walden, (209) where there were 14 in 1086 as against 13 in 1066 and Hassingbroke (210) which has already been cited, make up the number.

Essex differs very much from Cambridgeshire, for in the latter most of the sokemen have disappeared, and they also differ in one other respect, for in Cambridgeshire, the whole group of sokemen remained intact, or, as was more usual, the whole group disappeared; in Essex, although it is common for the group to remain intact, there are instances in which the number of sokemen at the two dates differ. The increases have been cited above, the decreases occurred on 7 manors for which Lawford, (211) where the number fell from 17 to 13 will serve as an example. The situation in Essex might be regarded as the natural result of gradual development and there is certainly no evidence here of a deliberate attempt to reconstitute existing society on wholly different lines.

The effect of the Conquest on the free men of the county was, by comparison with that of the sokemen, little short of catastrophic. The number of unnamed free men in 1086, was,

205. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex. 1.431.

206. ibid., 1.453.

207. ibid., 1.464.

208. ibid., 1.504.

209. ibid., 1.512.

210. ibid., 1.455.

211. ibid., 1.434-5.

was only 449 and there had been 1020, while the class of free men whose names, either by reason of their importance or maybe the mere caprice of the compilers, are entered in D.B., appear to have suffered to an even greater extent. Uttlesford, Harlow, Becontree and Winstree lost all their unnamed free men; Clavering with 2 at this date had lost 21 or 91% of its free men; Rochford with 3 had lost 29 or 90%, Dunmow with 3 had lost 24 or 89%, Chafford with 4 had lost 18 or 88%, Hinxford with 62 had lost 167 or 73%, Dengie and Malden with 35 had lost 69 or 66%, Ongar with 22 had lost 29 or 57%, Thurstable with 31 had lost 26 or 45%, Lexden with 53 had lost 38 or 41%, Chelmsford with 40 had lost 26 or 30%, Barstable with 98 had lost 53 or 35%, Witham with 41 had lost 16 or 28%, and Tendring with 14 had lost 1 or 6%. Waltham alone shows an increase of 13, the figure in 1086 being 27, but this is due to an increase of 16 (from 20 to 36) in the rent-paying tenants at Waltham Abbey, (212) who have been included among the free men.

It will be remembered that the bulk of the free men of the county lay in the east, in the coastal districts, and it is clear that the men in these parts were not so greatly affected as were those in the west ^{and centre} of the county. It was likewise in the west of the county that the sokemen suffered most severely. In fact the free peasantry have been very little disturbed, and here the social structure in 1086 is identical with that of King Edward's day. Even in the west where considerable

212. ibid., i. 446.

displacement of the free element among the peasantry can be adduced from the figures in Domesday Book, the tendency towards manorialisation, already apparent before the Conquest, has not spread to any marked degree.

It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion regarding the fate of those free men and sokemen who had disappeared by 1086. In some instances an individual may have become the possessor of two holdings by inheritance or by purchase. It is possible that some of the free peasantry may have participated in the fighting of 1066 and the following years. Displacement may be ascribed in some instances to the encroachments of the new French aristocracy and there are entries which strongly suggest that in some cases, free men were depressed into the ranks of sokemen, though the precise nature of the transformation is somewhat obscure. The engrossing of tenements or forfeiture by the former holder may perhaps be assumed in those instances in which the size of the group declines slightly, as at Great Tey (213) where 17 sokemen had given place to 16 by 1086, though the amount of land which they held remained unchanged. The death of an individual sokeman may, however, have been an excellent opportunity for encroachment by a neighbouring landholder and there is evidence that such encroachments were common in the county. "In the tumult and confusion of the Conquest period some of the smaller holders, we find, suffered downright aggression at the hands of their own countrymen; but it was 213. ibid., 1. 465.

naturally by the newcomers that their lands were chiefly absorbed. This absorption was effected partly by formal livery of seisin. There are several allusions in the Essex survey to the absence of such livery in the case of contested titles. The other way in which it was effected was simple lawless encroachment, the usual form of such encroachment being the extension of a Norman's lordship at the cost of an English free man whose lands adjoined it".(214) (Round in VCH)

Not once, but many times, the scribe tells of the seizure of the land of a sokeman or free man by a certain Ingelric, as for example, 1 hide and 45 acres, held previously by 8 sokemen belonging to the soke of Lawford(215) which he seized. Ingelric was by no means the only aggressor, as that portion of the Essex Domesday headed "Invasiones super Regem" reveals. Among those who are here enumerated is Thierrri Pointel (216) who seized the land of 15 unnamed free men and of Ulvric a free man at Thurrock, Layer, Little Stambridge and Paglesham. Thurrock was close to his manor at Tilbury,(217) Little Stambridge and Paglesham were by his lands in Sutton,(218) and Layer is close to Coggeshall (219) where Theirri also held an estate. Other aggressors in the list are Ranulf FEVEREL,(220) Hugh de Montfort,(221) Geoffrey de Mandeville,(222) Suain of Essex,(223)

214. ibid., i. 354.
 215. ibid., i. 434.
 216. ibid., i. 566-7.
 217. ibid., i. 561.
 218. ibid., i. 562.
 219. ibid., i. 567.
 220. ibid., i. 567.
 221. ibid., i. 567.
 222. ibid., i. 568.
 223. ibid., i. 579.

Turold, (224) Waleram (225) and Gilbert de Clare. (226) Free men suffer more than sokemen from encroachments of this kind, but it is not uncommon to find sokemen whose lands have been seized by some magnate. Ejection or depression did not necessarily follow encroachment, for at Lammars (227) we find eight free^{men} are still on 47 acres which they had held in 1066 and which had been seized by Turold after the Conquest. However, it is not usual to find the former holders on land which has been seized.

The Essex Domesday does not record a single instance of the depression of sokemen, but there are two entries which reveal the depression of free men. The first entry records depression of free men into sokemen, it is for Belchamp Otton (228) and reads "To this manor belong 5 sokemen, 2 of whom were seized by Ingelric and were previously free men and they have 35 acres." The depression is difficult to explain. In spite of this entry it is safe to say that such depression was rare: probably more common was the depression of free men (and sokemen?) into a state of villeinage. The only example of this comes from the royal manor of Benfleet, (229), where we are told "In this manor was at that time a certain free man with half a hide, who has now become one of the villeins. It is not possible to detect among the villeins of 1086 depressed free men or sokemen; as the number of men recorded on an estate in 1066 and in 1086 varies greatly and in only a few instances do the numbers of villeins or bordars appear to have

224. ibid., 1.570.225. ibid., 1.570.226. ibid., 1.571.227. ibid., 1.570.228. ibid., 1.464.229. ibid., 1.428.

been increased by the number of free peasants who have disappeared.(230) In fact on some estates there are no traces of the former free element, as for example at Halstead, (231) where there were in 1066, 30 freemen, 8 villeins, 23 bordars and 6 slaves, in 1086 the numbers of villeins, bordars and slaves remain unchanged, but the 30 free men have vanished; again on 2 hides 45 acres (232) at Weeley there were in 1066 2 sokemen and 5 bordars, and in 1086 only the bordars are recorded. It is possible that the depressed free peasantry did not remain on the same estates, but settled in another part of the county. It may be noted that where sokemen and free men suffered greatly, that is in the western and northern hundreds the number of villeins does not show a marked decrease.

If an examination is made of the successors to the estates of sokemen, it is found that only one is recorded as an Englishman, (233) and another Alvred has an English name.(234) Several knights are recorded on land formerly held by sokemen, one is a knight of Count Alan,(235) four are knights of Richard de Clare, these four occur in pairs, (236) each pair having land assessed at 36 acres, and four are knights of Geoffrey de Mandeville.(237). Eudo dapifer holds the estates of sokemen on demesne, and the other tenements of sokemen are held partly

230. ibid., i. 546(Sampton), i.479(Bolmer), i.489(Abberton)
 231. ibid., i. 475.
 232. ibid., i. 495.
 233. ibid., i. 536.(Stevington End)
 234. ibid., i. 489(Berden)
 235. ibid., i. 473(Steeple Bxumpstead)
 236. ibid., i. 478(Alderford) ibid., i. 479(Finchingfield)
 237. ibid., i. 509(High Easter)

in demesne and partly by sub-tenants. The table illustrating the above also reveals the extent of the encroachments on the lands of sokemen.

Table xiv

HOLDERS OF LAND FORMERLY BELONGING TO SOKEMEN				
Tenant-in-chief	Under-tenant	Village	No.	Holding
King William	Robert Guernon	Hatfield	1	2 0
" "	G. de Mandeville	"	1	2 0
" "	R. de Merci	"	1	2 0
" "	J. f. Waleram	Havering	1	1 0 0
" "	Harduin	Chesterfield	1	1 0 0 0
" "	Picot	"	1	2 0 0
" "	Waleram	Lawford	1	1 0 0
" "	Hagelbert	"	1	1 0 0
" "	C. Eustace	"	8	1 3 15
Holy Cross	R. Guernon	S. Weald	1	
St. Ouen	C. Eustace	W. Mersea	2	3 0
" "	demesne	Hatfield	1	15
Count Eustace	"	Newnham	5	2 5
Count Alan	A knight	Bumpstead	1	7 ¹ / ₂
" "	demesne	Finchingfield	2	1 8 ¹ / ₂
Richard de Clare	Garher	Thaxted	1	7 ¹ / ₂
" " "	Etinaut	Finchingfield	2	1 18
" " "	Goismer	Yeldham	8	1 0 5
" " "	Ernold	Wickham	2	2 10
" " "	Wielard	Bineslea	1	1 0 0 0
" " "	2 knights	Alderford	3	1 6
" " "	demesne	Ashen	2	1 1 10
" " "	2 knights	Finchingfield	3	1 6
" " "	Mascereel	Bulmer	1	3 0 0
" " "	Germund	How Hall	3	1 2 ¹ / ₂
Suain of Essex	Alvred	Berden	1	2 0 0 0
Eudo Dapifer	Richard	Broxted	2	9
" "	"	Theydon	1	6
" "	"	Weeley	2	2 1 15
G. de Mandeville	4 knights	Easter	2	2 1 0 0
" " "	demesne	Dunmow	1	1 0 0
" " "	Germund	Birchanger	1	2 0 0
" " "	Richard	Plegdon	1	1 0 20
Aubrey de Vere	Adelhelm	Hershham	2	1 15
" " "	demesne	Colne	4	5 0 0 0
" " "	Milern	Radwinter	1	2 15
" " "	Renald	Stevington	2	1 15
" " "	An Englishman	"	1	1 10
Robert Malet	Hubert	Goldingham	4	17
" "	demesne	Colne	1	1 0
Will. Peverel	Gilbert	Thurrock	4	1 1 20
Sasselinus	demesne	Childerditch	1	15
Thierri Pointel	"	Sutton	1	
Gilbert	"	Middleton	9	1 2 28

§. HERTFORDSHIRE

The interest of Hertfordshire lies not so much in the number of sokemen recorded here as in its position with regard to Essex and Cambridgeshire. In both of these counties sokemen were especially numerous before the Conquest and in the latter the effect of the Norman Conquest upon the men of this class was particularly marked. Though Hertfordshire formed part of the legal Danelaw, the whole county cannot have been settled by Danes, and such Scandinavian influence as can be traced may be regarded as an infiltration from the north and east; and it is significant that the sokemen of this county are found, for the most part, in those districts bordering on Essex and Cambridgeshire. This county was, moreover, even in 1066 manorialised to a degree unknown to the greater part of Essex and Cambridgeshire; in the hundred of Wetherley in the latter county, sokemen held more than half the amount of geldable land in 1066, and in parts of Essex, villages were split into numerous small holdings with low assessments, but in Hertfordshire the large manor assessed at a high figure and held by a single lord is predominant. In view of this manorialisation the number of sokemen recorded in pre-Conquest Hertfordshire was not negligible, but few survived in 1086 and in neither 1066 nor 1086 can they have constituted more than a small fraction of the rural population.

a) Distribution in 1066

Apart from the seven men of the King's soke, there are 207 persons specifically called sokemen in the Domesday

description of the county in 1066. There were possibly others besides these, for some of the sokemen recorded in 1086 were the successors of men termed less definitely, homines, but it has seemed advisable to ignore, for the present, the men whose status is not certain.

Regarding their distribution, Round wrote "a close examination of the Hertfordshire evidence has convinced me that the bulk of the sokemen are found in the extreme north and east of the county, forming as it were, a fringe extending from Lilley to Hoddesdon with Essex and Cambridgeshire as a kind of centre." (238). As the accompanying map shows, concentration in the east and north is marked, for sokemen are rarely found in the extreme south and west. Though, as Round said, it is difficult to trace the old hundred boundaries, an attempt has been made to work out the distribution among the nine hundreds into which the country was divided at the time of the Conquest. The largest number of sokemen, 74 in all, are found in Edwinstree hundred; Braughing, adjacent to Edwinstree accounts for 42; 31 are found in Odsey and 23 in the double hundred of Broadwater; all these hundreds are on the Cambridgeshire and Essex borders. Hitchin with 15 sokemen is in the north west; Hertford with 14 sokemen is in the south east; there were 8 sokemen in Dacorum and 5 in Tring in the extreme west; in the remaining hundred of Cassio, there were no sokemen. The sokemen of the county are all massed in the central and northeastern areas, but even there the distribution is uneven.

238. Vict. Co.Hist. Herts. 1.266.

The sokemen are usually in small groups of villages, each of which might be split into a number of small holdings, such as the village of Bengoe, (239) where 10 sokemen are recorded on 4 different estates. No attempt has been made to discover the number of villages containing sokemen in each hundred, for the boundary lines are too uncertain, but in the whole county sokemen are recorded in ⁶⁰ villages or hamlets. Neither are there any tables showing the proportion of land held by sokemen.

As in Cambridgeshire, it is rare for all sokemen in one village to be the men of the same lord, though in a few instances this is so, as at Standon, (240) where all 6 sokemen were the men of Archbishop Stigand, and the sokemen of a Hertfordshire village are usually men of different lords. At Wickham (241) there were 13 sokemen, one was the man of Bishop William of London, three the men of Asgar the Staller, one the man of Eddevathe Fair, one the man of Godid, three the men of King Edward and there is no information concerning the lords of the remaining four. Similarly at Barley (242) there were 7 sokemen, one a sokeman of King Edward, one the man of Tochi, three the men of Earl Aelfgar, one the man of Gurth and one the man of Harold. As in East Anglia, a sokeman might be the man of one lord but under the jurisdiction of another; more commonly such persons were in this county under the soke of the King in ^{these} ~~such~~ cases, as at Throcking (243) where two

239. ibid., i. 334-5.
 240. ibid., i. 343.
 241. ibid., i. 308, 332, 335.
 242. ibid., i. 329, 339.
 243. ibid., i. 305.

brothers who were the men of Bishop William, were of the King's soke. In the accompanying ~~table~~^{list} showing how many sokemen were commended to individual magnates, those in the position of these two men above are included under the name of the man to whom they were commended. The sokemen of the King are given separately and it is shown whether they are recorded as the men of other magnates as well. Round would add to the number of sokemen of King Edward those, who though not recorded as the King's sokemen rendered one or other of the two services, inward and avera, (244) for it is his opinion that these services were only performed by certain men because they were of the King's soke and if his argument is valid (this point will be discussed later) a further 35 should be added to the numbers of King Edward's sokemen. There were in 1066 54 sokemen of the King, who are not recorded as the men of other lords and 9 others who were commended to other men and these 63 are found in every hundred but those of Tring and Hitchin. In the latter hundred, however, there were 11 sokemen, men of Harold and in 1086 these men hold of King William. They also perform services for the King before the Conquest and are therefore included in the 35 above.

It is interesting to note that the men of Earl Aelfgar are all found in the hundred of Edwinstree and the majority of the men of Asgar the Staller are also in that hundred. Eddva the Fair does not appear to have held much land in Hertfordshire, (101)
244. ibid., i.270

and in contrast to Cambridgeshire, the number of her men was very small. [6] The sokemen commended to Harold are mostly found in the hundred of Hitchin, where he was possessed of a number of manors. The sokemen, men of the ecclesiastics, Archbishop Stigland and the abbot of St. Albans are recorded in 6 of the Hertfordshire hundreds; while the archbishop was the lord of 28 sokemen, the abbot appears to have had only 4 men commended to him. It is strange that in the hundred of Cashio, owned almost wholly by St. Albans, there are no sokemen, the men of the abbot being found in the hundreds of Hitchin and Dacorum. With regard to the other magnates who had sokemen commended to them, the men of Alwin of Godtone all lay in the hundred of Braughing and the remaining landowners do not appear to have sokemen in more than two hundreds.

b) Distribution in 1086

Twenty years after the Conquest, there were in Hertfordshire 48 sokemen, 8 free men, 4371 villeins, bordars, cottars and slaves, 5 reeves, 10 chapmen, 32 knights, 56 Frenchmen, 56 priests, 119 burgesses and 13 others; thus giving a total of 4662 for the county. The figure given by Ellis for the county is 4927, but this figure includes tenants in chief and other important landowners who are not included in my figures. The sokemen and free men together form 1.2. per cent of the total population (not including burgesses).

In the different hundreds the figures and percentages are:-

Table xv.

Hertford	4	sokemen in 1086	percentage	.774	14	sokemen in 1086	"
Hitchin	17	"	"	3.4	15	"	"
Braughing	8	"	"	1.16	42	"	"
Dacorum	1	"	"	.35	8	"	"
Tring	4	"	"	1.57	5	"	"
Broadwater	7	"	"	.875	23	"	"
Odsey	5	"	"	.838	31	"	"
Edwinstree	2	" & 8 free men	"	1.398	74	"	"

On the effect of the Norman Conquest on the number of sokemen in this county Round observed "It can, I think, be shown that the decrease in the number of sokemen, as a result of the Norman Conquest, was proportionately even more striking in Hertfordshire than in Cambridgeshire itself." (245)

Actually, however, 22% of the Hertfordshire sokemen remain after the Conquest and 27.8% of these in Cambridgeshire do so; this figure only includes those men specifically recorded as sokemen and not those who may have belonged to that class.

The results of the Conquest are apparent in every hundred, although Tring has hardly suffered at all, but the sokemen in this hundred are cut off from the rest of the county. The hundred of Edwinstree stands out as the most stricken district, of the 74 sokemen only 2 remain, in this respect it closely resembles Wetherley hundred in Cambridgeshire, and Wixamtree hundred in Bedfordshire, for in the same way, in these counties, the hundreds to contain the largest number of sokemen in 1066 were to suffer most from the Conquest.

There are two points to investigate in connection with the

sokemen of 1086; the first, is to examine those instances in which sokemen are recorded in 1086 but not in 1066, and the second to try to discover what has become of those sokemen who are no longer on their land. With regard to the first part, there are entries in which the sokemen are entered side by side with the villeins and other peasants, without any indication as to whether they were on the same estates in 1066; such entries are found at Wymondley (246) "and 24 villeins and 1 sokeman and 5 bordars and 5 cottars have 15 ploughs;" at Aldbury (247) "and 3 villeins and 1 sokeman and 1 Frenchman have 4 ploughs". There are other entries in which sokemen are recorded in 1086, such as that referring to Wakeley Farm, (248) a manor held by Eddeva the Fair where we find the statement "1 sokeman is there." At Pirton (249) an entry runs "An English knight is there and 1 sokeman with 4 cottars... this manor Archbishop Stigland held and there were 2 sokemen there who are still there". The sokeman who occurs alone does not seem to be one of the two mentioned later and it remains doubtful whether he ^{should} be reckoned among the pre-Conquest population. There are other entries of this kind, such as that relating to Tiscote (250) where there are in 1086 "two sokemen who hold 1 hide" here there were in 1066 5 sokemen holding the entire estate, two held $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and two others held the same amount,

246. ibid., 1.301.

247. ibid., 1.318.

248. ibid., 1.320.

249. ibid., 1.325.

250. ibid., 1.322.

while the fifth held 1 hide, and there is no way of discovering whether the two sokemen of 1086 are the remnant, reduced in wealth, of the former group of five. There is a similar case at Letchworth(251) where it is recorded in 1086 "there are 2 sokemen holding $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides." The manor was held by a thegn in 1066 and "3 sokemen, his men had 1 hide and 3 virgates and could sell." At Throcking (252) there is one sokeman with 3 virgates where "2 sokemen held this land" (1 hide 1 virgate) and at Rushden (253) "one sokeman is there" on a manor held in 1066 by 2 sokemen, in neither of these entries can both the sokemen of 1066 have survived. It is usual for Domesday to record the fact in precise terms if the previous holder is in possession in 1086 - as for instance at Hoddesdon (254) we are told "there was and is one sokeman holding half a hide."

There is a third set of entries in which sokemen recorded in 1086 were preceded by men who were commended to some lord, but who are not said to be sokemen; these entries are found at Wellbury (255) where the predecessor of the 1086 sokeman was Leveva, who held it of earl Harold, at Welei(256) where the predecessor of a sokeman was Goduin, a man of Harold, and lastly another man of Harold, Edmund, held a similar position at Welei(257) In the first two of these entries the land had been attached to Hitchin after the Conquest "to which it did not

251. ibid., 1.323
 252. ibid., 1.340.
 253. ibid., 1.342.
 254. ibid., 1.320.
 255. ibid., 1.303-4
 256. ibid., 1.304.
 257. ibid., 1.304.

belong T.R.E., nor did it render dues there." At Ley Green (258) there is another entry of the same sort; in 1086 three sokemen held 1 virgate, which in 1066 had been held by three men of earl Aelfgar. These three men and the above mentioned men of Harold should probably be added to the number of pre-Conquest sokemen. An entry in Domesday relating to the manor of Bushey. (259) "There is a sokeman who was not there in King Edward's time; he holds 1 hide. He was one of the Queen Edith's men T.R.E. and could sell" is perhaps capable of more than one interpretation, but in view of the reference to the man's ability to sell, it may be assumed that he held the same land in 1066 and was subsequently "added to" or annexed to this manor with which he was originally unconnected.

The second problem is the fate of those sokemen who did not survive into King William's later years. As a rule, it is of course impossible to say whether they have been separated from their holdings, either by forcible removal or by some voluntary act, or have been depressed into a lower social class, but there are a few isolated entries which deserve mention here. At Libury (260) a sokeman appears to have been dispossessed for the non-payment of geld: "The aforesaid land Peter the sheriff took from this sokeman of King William into the same king's hands as forfeit for his not having discharged the king's geld." Though the hundred moot testified that the land was free of geld so long as the sokeman held it; the

258. ibid., i. 304.

259. ibid., i. 330.

260. ibid., i. 337.

sokeman undoubtedly lost his land for the entry does not indicate that it was restored to him. Other sokemen lost their land through the aggressions of stronger neighbours. At Stonebury, (261) for instance, four sokemen had held $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and "one of these, the king's reeve, had half a hide and took possession of the lands of the other three to the injury of King William..... Peter the sheriff now holds it." Although the entry does not say whether the three ^{other} sokemen were on their land at the time, the disappearance of the three tenements was due to the reeve who may even have ousted his neighbours only to be dispossessed himself by a still more powerful man.

There are instances where sokemen's holdings have been annexed or attached to manors; at Ware (262) two sokemen were attached to the manor "after King William came" and this entry does not stand alone. Maitland (263) has drawn attention to the Norman manors of Tiscote (264) and Widiall, (265) as examples of manors composed entirely of land previously held by sokemen. Here dispossession or less probably extinction or voluntary withdrawal of peasant families must be assumed. Two more entries may be considered in this connection. The first deals with a virgata holding in Westmill (266) which the sokeman holder was able to sell, yet after King William came, "it was sold and attached to this manor where it did not belong T.R.E."

261. ibid., i. 337.

262. ibid., i. 326-7.

263. Domesday Book and Beyond. p. 137-8

264. Vict. Co. Hist. Herts. i. 322-3

265. ibid., i. 340.

266. ibid., i. 325.

and it remains uncertain whether the tenement was sold, legally, by the sokeman wishing to seek his fortunes elsewhere or was annexed by some powerful neighbour who sold it to the present holder, Ralf de Todei. The second entry concerns Tiscote (267) where a sokeman, one of five holding a manor, bought his land of King William for 9 oz. of gold and afterwards put himself under Wigot, the predecessor of Robert de Ogi, the Domesday holder, for protection. Nothing further is recorded concerning him but he may have been one of the two sokemen on that manor in 1086. That he was a man of very considerable wealth cannot be doubted, for the amount which he paid to the King - 9 oz. of gold which was equal to £36 - appears to be, as Round observed (268) "an enormous sum for its redemption." Of the five men who held this manor and had each the right to sell his land, none appears to have been connected in any way with Wigot, yet this personage is described as the predecessor of Robert de Ogi who possessed the entire manor. If, as seems not unlikely, Wigot was able when one of the five commended himself to him, to assert rights over the other four, so that his successor was able to claim the whole of the land, we have here an interesting sidelight on the formation of manors in unmanorialised villages in King William's reign. Even these entries throw little light on the ultimate fate of the sokemen. Round observed "what has become of them we can only guess, but that many of them, if not most, appear among the villeins of Domesday seems highly probable" (269) and his view draws support from the fact that in several instances the number of villeins in

269. ibid. 1. 269.

267. ibid., 1. 322-3

268. ibid., 1. 269. a footnote.

1086 corresponds exactly with the number of sokemen in 1066. At Throcking (270) where there were 2 men of the King's soke in 1066, there were 2 villeins, 1 bordar and 1 cottar in 1086; at Wickham (271) 4 sokemen in 1066, 4 villeins, 2 bordars, 3 cottars and 1 slave in 1086; at Luffenhall (272) 3 sokemen in 1066, 3 villeins, 3 bordars, 4 cottars and 4 slaves in 1086; at Libury (273) 2 sokemen in 1066, 2 villeins in 1086; at Titeberst (274) 1 sokeman in 1066, 1 villein in 1086; at Datchworth (275) 3 sokemen in 1066, 3 villeins in 1086; at Bengeo (276) 4 sokemen in 1066 and the same number of villeins in 1086. On certain manors, however, the recorded sokemen of 1066 exceed in number the villeins, bordars, cottars or slaves of 1086: at Wickham (277) where there had been 3 sokemen there ~~is~~ only 1 villein recorded in 1086; at Titeberst (278) there were 3 sokemen in 1066 and there ~~was~~^{are} 1 villein and 1 bordar in 1086; at Hodenhoe, (279) 2 sokemen are followed by 1 bordar and at Baeksdon Green (280) 3 sokemen by 2 bordars; and the sokemen of Titeberst (281)(one), Wickham(282)(two), and Rodehangre (283) (one), have apparently no peasant successors.

270. ibid., 1.305.
 271. ibid., 1.308.
 272. ibid., 1.309.
 273. ibid., 1.309.
 274. ibid., 1.333.
 275. ibid., 1.333.
 276. ibid., 1.334.
 277. ibid., 1.308.
 278. ibid., 1.330.
 279. ibid., 1.340.
 280. ibid., 1.340.
 281. ibid., 1.315.
 282. ibid., 1.332.
 283. ibid., 1.333.

A word must be said about the various Anglici, who occur among the population of 1086; two of these appear at Ware, (284) to which manor two sokemen were attached after King William came and it is possible that they are the same. Englishmen also appear at Libury (285) where one held 2 acres of the Archbishop of Canterbury and had held them T.R.E.; at Hexton (286) an Englishman held 3 hides unde the abbot of St. Albans and at Hornead (287) two hold a manor which had been held by Wlward a man of Asgar the Staller.

Of the sokemen who remain in 1086, 21 are described as being sokemen of the King's soke or as holding their land of the King, 14 of them being recorded on the royal estates in the hundred of Hitchin. Though a number of the sokemen of the King's soke have disappeared, this class seems to have been in a safer position than other men of their rank and it may be that respect for the laws and customs of King Edward which is held to have been one of the factors in the growth of the peculiar privileges of the ancient demesne of the crown, is here traceable, though faintly, even in the reign of the first Norman King.

7. BUCKINGHAMSHIRE AND MIDDLESEX

a) Distribution in 1066.

As the number of sokemen in both Buckinghamshire and

284. ibid., 1.326-7.
 285. ibid., 1.305.
 286. ibid., 1.316.
 287. ibid., 1.322.

Middlesex is small, these two counties have been examined together. In Buckinghamshire there were, as Domesday records, 37 sokemen, 2 men of the King's soke and a few men of the King. The latter have not been included in this county, for some of their holdings are too large to belong to men of peasant rank. There are in addition to this number, 3 sokemen who appear for the first time in 1086 and who probably held their lands in 1066 and there are yet a further 15 who held in 1086 estates previously in the possession of thegns. If these are to be added to the above number, the total for 1066 is 55 sokemen and 2 men of the King's soke. The sokemen are recorded in 11 hundreds and although they appear to be extremely scattered, the map shows how they occur in small groups of villages. The greatest number of sokemen are found in Cottlesloe hundred where there were 15, this hundred lies in the east a little to the south of Watling Street; north of Watling Street, 16 sokemen are recorded, 11 in the hundred of Bonestou and 5 in the hundred of Moulshoe. A second group of sokemen is found in the hundreds of Risborough, 1, Stone, 6, Aylesbury, 3, and in a detached part of the hundred of Ickford, 2. There were also 2 sokemen in the hundred of Waddesden and 4 in the hundred of Desborough. The third group of sokemen lies in the south in the hundreds of Stoke and Burnham where there were 4 in each.

In Middlesex there were 26 sokemen recorded in 1066, and they occur in five of the six hundreds of the county. The largest number are found in the hundred of Spelthorne where there were 9, 7 were recorded in Elthorne, 5 in Edmonten, 4 in

Ossulton and 1 in Gore. All these sokemen except 2 at Fulham in Ossulton hundred, and the other sokemen recorded in that hundred and 5 in Enfield in Edmonten hundred are recorded on the west of the county, by the Buckinghamshire border, and appear to be in some way connected with the group of sokemen in the south of Buckinghamshire.

Although there are 2 men of the King's soke and one sokeman held land on a royal manor, there are in Buckinghamshire, 10 sokemen who are recorded as men of the King Edward and there was only one sokeman of the King in Middlesex. The men of Harold were few, in Buckinghamshire 3 sokemen were commended to him and another held on a manor belonging to Harold, while in Middlesex there is only one man who may have been the man of the earl. In Buckinghamshire one sokeman was commended to Alveva the sister of Harold. Five sokemen were the men of Earl Lewin, three from Buckinghamshire and 2 from Middlesex. There were only 4 sokemen commended to the greater ecclesiastics, one was the man of Stigand, two the men of the Bishop of London and the fourth was commended to St. Pauls, the last three are from Middlesex. For the rest, the counties may be separated. In Buckinghamshire Queen Edith had the commendation of one sokeman at Iver, while Brictric, a man of Queen Edith himself, was the lord of 2 sokemen at Chesham, and perhaps of three other sokemen, at Avelin, a thegn of King Edward, was the lord of 2 sokemen and Berret and Tochi, two other thegns of the King, each had one sokeman commended to them; besides these a sokeman was commended to each of the following - Ingold, Tubi, Seulf

and Alwin Varus. The lords of the remaining Buckinghamshire sokemen are not recorded. In Middlesex 2 sokemen were the men of Albert of Lotharingia, two and perhaps five others were commended to Asgar the Staller, 3 were the men of Azor, 2 the men of Ulward and one the man of Wigot.

b) Distribution in 1086.

The number of sokemen found in Buckinghamshire in 1086 is surprisingly large, for 20 sokemen have survived the troubled years that followed the Norman Conquest. The proportion of men who survived is higher here than in either Bedfordshire or Hertfordshire, for at least 36% remained in 1086.

The 20 sokemen are found in 6 hundreds, 15 of them were north of Watling Street, 10 in the hundred of Bonestou and 5 in the hundred of Moulshoe. Of the remaining 5, 3 were in the hundred of Aylesbury, on ~~the~~⁸ royal manor and one in Risborough hundred also on a royal estate, the other sokeman was recorded in the hundred of Stone. It is the sokemen of the south and west who have disappeared and this is paralleled by the entire disappearance of all sokemen of Middlesex.

Where the sokemen did not survive, it is interesting to see who succeeded them. None of the land of sokemen who have disappeared is held by men of English names, much of it seems to be held by such tenants of William, son of Ansculf (288) and the Bishop of Bayeux. (289) In a few instances the

^{Vict. Co. Hist Bucks.}
 288. ibid., 1.254-257.
 289. ibid., 1.234-239.

number of post-Conquest peasantry approximates with the number of pre-Conquest sokemen, at Waldridge(290) there are 2 villeins on land held by 2 sokemen, at Chesham(291) there are 2 villeins and 3 bordars on land held by 2 sokemen, at Hollingdon (292) there are 3 villeins on land held by 4 sokemen. At Wycombe(293) a bordar is the successor to a sokeman, and at North Marston (294) a bordar is the successor to a man of the King's soke, while at Blerton (295) 2 sokemen are followed by 3 bordars. At Iver(296) where 3 sokemen had held 5 hides and 3 virgates, we meet with the following statement "32 villeins have 26 ploughs. Of these villeins 5 have 6 hides." It may be that some of the Buckinghamshire sokemen at any rate were depressed into the lower classes of villeins and bordars.

In Middlesex no sokemen are recorded in 1086, but about half of them may be traced ~~in 1086~~ among the villeins or Englishmen. Two of the sokemen at Hatton (297) are probably represented by villeins in 1086 for it is stated "Rogerius comes tenet in Hatone 1 hidam et dimidiam..... Duo uillani tenent hanc terram", and that land has been held by 2 sokemen. Of the other two sokemen at Hatton (298) there is no trace, nor is there any sign of the three sokemen at East Bedford (299). On a manor at West Bedford, (299) however, where 2 sokemen had held 4

290. Vict. Co.Hist. Bucks., 1.236.

291. ibid., 1.235.

292. ibid., 1.255.

293. ibid., 1.243.

294. ibid., 1.255.

295. ibid., 1.235.

296. ibid., 1.257-8.

297. DDBD., 1f. 129a.

298. ibid., 1f 130a

299. ibid., 1f 130a

hides, there are 2 villeins with 4 hides. Sokemen were found on two estates at Ickenham, on the first (300) 2 held 2 hides and 1 virgate, in 1086 the whole manor of 9 hides was held by three knights and one Englishman and there were also 2 villeins with 1 hide and 1 virgate and two more with 2 virgates. It is not possible to see which, if any, of these are the original sokemen or their descendants. The second (301) manor was held by 2 Englishmen in 1086 who probably represent the two sokemen who held the land at the earlier date. At Greenford (302) where there were 2 sokemen in 1066 there are 2 villeins in 1086, but whereas the sokemen held 3 hides and the villeins only half a hide, it is not likely that they should be identified, although the villeins might be the sons of the sokemen. A sokeman at Harmondsworth (303) who had 2 hides may be represented by 2 heirs in the villeins who have a hide each in the manor in 1086. There are no traces of the remaining sokemen of the county. Although several sokemen seem to have survived the Conquest, they are not recorded as sokemen, but may be sought among the villeins of 1086. It is fortunate that in this county the holdings of the villeins are often recorded, as so it is possible to attempt identification, where it would be obscured if only the number of the villeins were recorded. Although they are recorded as villeins it is possible that these men were able to retain their personal freedom and so we may assume that the free peasantry of Middlesex had not entirely disappeared. (304)

300. ibid., lf. 129a.
 301. ibid., lf. 129b.
 302. ibid., lf. 129b.
 303. ibid., lf. 128b.

304. For some further general remarks concerning distribution and the effect of the Conquest see Conclusion which follows Part II.

PART IITENEMENTS AND SERVICES

1) The size of the tenements.

In the foregoing sections the distribution of the sokemen within the Southern Danelaw has been analysed in some detail and it has been observed that the areas where they occur in greatest numbers are those in closest proximity to the Northern Danelaw and East Anglia. It seems desirable now to attempt to discover whether there existed in the Southern Danelaw in the eleventh century anything which can be described as the "average tenement" of a sokeman, and whether such tenemental systems as may be discerned here resemble those of the regions to the North and East. Concerning East Anglia, Mr. Douglas has written "The names under which the 'tenement' appears in the later documents suggest Danish systems of land-sharing, and the analysis of the average size of these holdings points to a nominal holding of roughly $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or 50 roods, the eighth part of the Danish carucate of 100 acres." (1) Similarly the hundreds are "based upon the typical peasant holding, the manloth, whose normal size was conceived to be $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres." (2) On the other hand these typical peasant holdings of $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres do not always appear on the surface in Domesday, for there the holdings of free men and sokemen are "assessed in irregular numbers of acres," (3) In the North of Essex, as in East Anglia, holdings of both free men and sokemen were frequently assessed in irregular numbers of

1. The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia, p.213.

2. ibid., p.58.

3. ibid., p.61.

acres, but such holdings are very rare in Cambridgeshire, which likewise adjoins East Anglia, and it does not occur in any other part of the Southern Danelaw. In the Northern Danelaw the unit of assessment was the Danish bovate, eight of which went to make the carucate. Mr. Douglas has estimated that the East Anglian carucate comprised 100 acres⁽⁴⁾ but the carucate of the Northern Danelaw was certainly larger. In the twelfth century a carucate of 160 acres was normal in Lincolnshire. On the subject of the peasant holdings of the Northern Danelaw Professor Stenton has observed "The bovate was the commonest of all tenements in the late twelfth century; probably in earlier days, it had been the normal peasant holding, but the processes of partition, sale and subinfeudation do not permit the maintenance of any primitive symmetry of arable distribution".⁽⁵⁾ A peasant holding of 20 acres may therefore have been normal in Lincolnshire in the eleventh century.

To the east and north of the Southern Danelaw the holdings of the peasant class were relatively small, but to the west and south an entirely different organisation prevailed. A brief inspection of the tenements of the villeins of Middlesex, where this class held anything up to two hides, shows that the holdings of the unfree peasants here were usually larger than those of the peasants, both free and unfree, in the Northern Danelaw and East Anglia. Between these extremes lay the Southern Danelaw.

4. The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia, p.57, but the writer of the Introduction to Domesday in the Vict. Co.Hist. Suffolk, 1.357-8, concluded that the carucate comprised 120 acres.
5. Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw, p.xxvi.

Before an analysis of tenements can be begun, two points must be made clear, the first deals with the unit of assessment, and the second with the methods that have been adopted in the compilation of the figures used in the following discussion. The assessment of the Southern Danelaw lay upon hides and virgates. It has been shown by Round in Essay 3 (6) in Feudal England, and by Maitland in Domesday Book and Beyond (7) that the hide for Cambridgeshire comprised 120 acres (8) and there is ample evidence that this was so in the other counties under examination. (9) These are, as every student of Domesday Book is aware, fiscal acres and not actual measures of land, but they are all that is given us and, except in those parts where the system of assessment exhibits peculiarities, it may be assumed that the virgates and acres of Domesday reveal the relative size and value of the peasant holdings. The assessments resting upon the holdings of individual sokemen are sometimes specifically recorded in Domesday, but more often it is difficult to determine the size of individual holdings. In many instances Domesday

6. Feudal England, p.36-44.

7. Domesday Book and Beyond, p.476.

8. Yet in Farrer's Feudal Cambridgeshire (p167) we meet with this statement "the same Baldwin holds 1 hide, each of 4 v, each v containing 50 acres in free socage of Simon de Furneus of the honour of Richmond; Ellis de Gledeseye holds a messuage and a score of acres of fee of the said Simon of the honour of Richmond." The passage is remarkable in that it includes an amount of 120 acres which go to make the normal hide, with a definite hide of 200 acres. Neither such isolated exceptions as this nor the instances of the I.E. "in which the sum put before us is but rightly worked if these equations ($1H=120A$. and $1V=30A$.) be correct", can be held to disprove the equation of the hide of 120 acres here. (D.B. and B., p.476).

9. Vict. Co.Hist. Herts. 1.300, note. Vict. Co.Hist. Essex. 1.446 footnote 4. Vict. Co.Hist. Beds. 1.220 note. Vict. C. Hist. Bucks. 1.229 and 240 footnote.

In Northants. an assessment of $\frac{5}{6}$ of a hide, and others of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a hide or virgate strongly suggest a hide of 120 acres.

records how much land a number of sokemen held between them, without indicating the amount held by each. In some cases the groups of sokemen are small, numbering 3 or 4 men, in some cases as in the majority of entries in Bedfordshire, the groups are usually of fewer than 12 sokemen, while in other parts the groups consist of as many as 20 men. For Cambridgeshire the deficiency of Domesday is sometimes supplied by the I.C.C. For instance, in an Arrington entry, (10) Domesday records 3 sokemen but does not state how much they held individually, the I.C.C. on the other hand, gives the holding of each. Again in one entry Domesday tells us that 2 sokemen held 3 virgates, while the I.C.C. shows that one had 80 acres and the other only 10. (11) Where there is no such detailed information, it has been necessary to divide the total holdings by the number of owners, assuming that they all held the same amount. This method is open to serious objections, but there may be many instances where the result is a fair indication of the individual sokeman's holding.

In the detailed survey which follows, the evidence relating to Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely may be reviewed first, partly by reason of its situation in an angle between the Northern Danelaw and East Anglia and in part because the I.C.C. supplies more abundant detail than is preserved in Domesday Book.

10. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.83.

11. ibid., p.80. (Waratewords).

A. Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.

An analysis of the relevant entries does not reveal the existence, even below the surface, of a uniform peasant holding such as existed in East Anglia and the Northern Danelaw. When an average has been calculated it appears that 60 sokemen held one hide and over, 49 held between three virgates and one hide, 81 (12) held between two and three virgates, 235 held between one and two virgates, 338 held 15 acres and over but under 1 virgate and 97 held under 15 acres. Within the county the holdings vary from hundred to hundred. 70 of the smallest holdings come from the hundreds along the East Anglian border. If the eastern hundreds are examined, the large proportion of small holdings is abundantly clear. In Chilfoed, in the extreme ^{south} east, six men held 12 hides 2 virgates and 23 acres, (13) an average of just over a virgate, two men held a virgate each, (14) 14 had an average of 15 acres each, (15) 8 had an average of 10 acres (16) and two an average of 7½ acres. (17) In the adjoining hundred of Radfield the holdings tend to be larger, but even here 34 of the 52 sokemen held less than 20 acres. It is here that the smallest holdings of the county are found - one of 2 acres (18)

12. including the seven sokemen of 1086 in Long Stow hundred.

13. I.C.C. ed Hamilton, p.35 (Badburgh)

15. ibid., pp29-30. (Horseheath) p.34. (Bercheham).

15. ibid., pp31-32. (Abington)

" p.36 (Badburgh) two entries, in Second D.B. has $\frac{1}{2}$ v, but is probably wrong.

" p.38 (Pampesford)

16. ibid., p.30. (Horseheath) pp 32-33 (Wickam).

17. ibid., pp.32-33 (Wickam).

18. ibid., p.20. (Cullton)

14. ibid., p.34 (Lintore) p.34 (Bercheham).

and one of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, (19) the latter being shared by three sokemen. A reference to the table reveals that the larger averages occur in a group of hundreds below Ely, namely Chesterton North Stow and Staploe, followed by Papworth, Long Stow, Wetherley and Staine. This distribution is curious and cannot be explained but the occurrence of smaller holdings in those districts which border East Anglia is a fact of very great significance.

Table 1.

THE HOLDINGS OF SOKEMEN IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE

HUNDRED	Number of sokemen	Average holding in acres.	Holdings of over 1 hide.	Holdings of 1 hide.	Holdings between 3/4 - 1 hide	Holdings between 1 - 3/4.	Holdings between 5/8 - 1/2.	Holdings between 1/2 a - 1/4.	Holdings under 1/5 acres.
WETHERLEY	133	41	4	1	6	21	40	51	10
LONG STOW	122	41	4	2	5	17	47	34	13
ARMINGFORD	88	32	2	-	2	5	20	57	2
PAPWORTH	73	40	1	-	5	3	25	34	-
NORTH STOW	71	70	19	-	-	11	18	23	-
ELY	63	24	-	-	-	2	8	44	9
RADFIELD	52	26	-	-	2	3	13	19	15
STAINÉ	47	42.5	3	-	4	5	10	-	25
FLENDISH	40	29	1	-	2	1	5	31	-
THRIPLow	39	40	2	-	2	1	17	17	-
CHESTERTON	36	76	11	-	-	4	19	4	1
WHITTLESFORD	36	76	3	-	21	1	-	11	-
CHILFORD	32	21.5	-	-	-	-	8	14	10
STAPLOE	28	52	4	3	-	2	5	2	12
			54	6	49	81	235	338	97

An attempt to discover a twenty or twelve and a half acre average tenement proved ^{un}successful. While it is true that several 20 acre holdings are recorded, they are too few to serve

19. *ibid.*, pp 20, 21 (Carlton)

20. Including the seven sokemen of 1086.

as the basis of a theory. There are, however, several 10 acre holdings - five sokemen each held that amount, (21) there are also two entries in which two sokemen hold 20 acres between them, (22) and one in which 12 hold 1 hide, (23) giving an average of 10 acres. The entries which seem to point to a 20 acre holding may be brought together here. Thus 3 men held 20 acres each, (24) 2 held 40 acres, (25) 3 held 2 virgates, (26) and 6 held one hide. (27). There is one entry in which 3 sokemen held 80 acres, (28) which might be divided, 20, 20, 40. Forty acres each were held by five sokemen, (29) in three entries X3 sokemen held 1 hide, (30) and in one entry 4 sokemen held 1 hide and 40 acres. (31) Two sokemen held each 80 acres, (32) and in two entries 3 sokemen held 2 hides between them, (33) Three holdings, one of 100 acres (34) and two of 50 acres (35) might be taken as evidence of either a 20 acre or a 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ acre tenement. In all 66 sokemen held land which seems to have been assessed on the basis of a 20 acre unit, and it is significant

21. I.C.C. ed Hamilton, p.78. (Orwell) p79-80 (Warateworde), p.81
(Whitwell)
p.17(Duelingham).
22. ibid., p.67 (Melbourne), p.77 (Orwell)
23. ibid., p.8 (Isleham)
24. ibid., p.77 (Orwell), p.79 (Warateworde), p.83 (Arrington)
25. ibid., p.8 (Isleham)
26. ibid., p.48 (Shelford)
27. ibid., p.58 (Wendy)
28. ibid., p.24 (Balsham)
29. ibid., p.77 (Orwell), p.79-80 (Warateworde) two entries.
D.B. 1f. 201b (Westwick)
30. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, pp 25-26 (Foulbourn) pp 74-75(Barrington)
D.B. 1f. 197b (Hatley)
31. ibid., 1f. 189b (Isleham)
32. I.C.C., ed. Hamilton. p.80 (Warateworde), p.13 (Swaffham)
33. ibid., p.71 (Grantchester) D.B. 1 fo. 199a (Connington)
34. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.79 (Warateworde)
35. ibid., p. 81 (Whitwell), pp 17-18 (Dullingham)

that exactly one-third of these, that is 22, occur in the hundred of Wetherley which lay in the west.

The only entry which seems at first sight to suggest a $12\frac{1}{2}$ acre unit occurs in the I.C.C.; "Et.xv sochemanni homines regis Edwardi). tenuerunt. iiii. hidas et uirgam et dimidiam.et xii. acras. et dimidiam. inuenerunt. et.iiii. inuardos uicecomiti regis.", but a comparison with Domesday, which reads "In hac terra fuerunt xv sochemanni tenentes de rege E(dward) iiii hidas et i uirgam et dimidiam et inuenerunt uicecomiti xii aueras et dimidiam et iiii ineuardos", (36) reveals that the I.C.C. is in error. There is, in truth, no trace in this area of a $12\frac{1}{2}$ acre unit.

In Cambridgeshire the most usual holding seems to have been one of between one virgate and a half virgate. Such tenements would appear to have been held by 375 sokemen, if it is permissible to include "averages" from entries where the size of the holding of a group is alone stated (such as 12 men holding 2 hides less 15 acres)(37) Of this figure 30 appear to have held 1 virgate, 73 to have held 15 acres and the rest between those amounts. A similar conclusion is suggested by the entries wherein the actual size of the holdings of individual sokemen is stated, viz - one sokeman held $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides minus 14 acres, (38) two sokemen held 2 hides and 1 virgate each, (39) one sokeman held 2 hides, (40) one held 1 hide and 3

36. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.74 (Barrington).

37. ibid., p.120 (Wickam)

38. D.B. i.fo 201b (Cottenham)

39. ibid., i fo 201a (Impington) i fo 195a (Waterbeach)

40. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.83 (Arrington)

virgates, (41) six held $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides each (42), one held 1 hide $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, ⁽⁴³⁾ four held 1 hide and 1 virgate, (44) one held 1 hide and 20 acres (45) and another 1 hide and 4 acres; (46) four (and perhaps a fifth) held 1 hide. (47) One sokeman held 100 acres, (48) nine others held 3 virgates; (49) two held 2 virgates and 20 acres, (50) and three 2 virgates and 15 acres, (51) one held 2 virgates and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres (52) and another 2 virgates and 6 acres; (53) 2 virgates were held by 11 sokemen. (54) One held 1 virgate and $22\frac{1}{2}$ acres, (55) one held 1 virgate and 20 acres, (56) five held $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, (57) five held 40 acres, (58) and 17 held 1 virgate. (59) Of those with under a virgate, three held 20 acres each, (60) and 17 held 15 acres each, (61) one held 14 acres, (62) four held 10 acres, (63) one held 8 acres, (64) two held $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, (65) and one held 2 acres. (66)

41. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.72 (Haslingfield)
 42. D.B. i fo 201b (Cottenham) I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.7 (Fordham) p.95 (Lolworth) p.54 (Morden), p.46 (Harlston), p.113
 43. ibid., pp 52-3 (Tadlow) (Oakington)
 44. ibid., p.90 (Fen Dayton), p.46 (Harlston), p.5 (Burwell)
 45. ibid., p.28 (Teversham) p.14 (Swaffham)
 46. ibid., p.87 (Toft)
 47. ibid., p.83 (Arrington), p.89 (Eversden) pp 88-9 (Bourn), p.170 (Dullingham) D.B.i fo 139b (Fordham)
 48. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton p.79 (Warateworde)
 49. ibid., p.85 (Kingston), p.78 (Orwell), p.71 (Grantchester) p.47 (Hauxton) - Bond is also a sokeman pp 42-3 (Duxworth) pp 79-80 (Warateworde)
 50. ibid., p. 13 (Swaffham), p.80 (Warateworde)
 51. ibid., p.76 (Shepreth), pp69-70) (Barton) D.B.i fo 201 a (Milton)
 52. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton pp 52-3 (Tadlow)
 53. ibid., p.87 (Toft)
 54. ibid., p.40 (Histon), p.28 (Teversham), p.51 (Trompington) p.71 (Grantchester), p.70 (Barton) pp 81-2 (Whitwell) pp 88-9 (Bourn), p.94 (Stanton), p.96 (Maddingley), p.91 (Over)
 55. ibid., pp 52-3 (Tadlow)
 56. ibid., p.81 (Whitwell)
 57. ibid., p.65 (Meldreth), p.69 (C omberton), pp 84-5 (Rampton)
 58. ibid., ibid., p.77 (Orwell) pp79-80 (Warateworde) - two entries
D.B. i fo 201b (Westwick) (see next sheet)

Continuation of footnotes from p. 118.

59. I.C.C. ed Hamilton, p.51 (Trompington), p.60 (Abington Pigotts), p.103 (Meldreth) p.1 (Kennet), p.21 (Carlton) p.34 (Bercham), p.34 (Linton), p.69 (Comberton), pp 69-70 (Barton), p.79 (Orwell), p.80 (Warateworde), pp 81-2 (Whitwell), p.85 (Everaden), p.85 (Kingston) p.120 (Wentworth), p.92 (Willingham)
60. ibid., p.77 (Orwell) p.79 (Warateworde) p.83 (Arrington)
61. ibid., p.31-2 (Abington), p.34 (Bercham), p.38 (Pampisford) p.54 (Morden) p.64 (Whaddon), p.60 (Abington Pigotts) p.61-2 (Bassingbourn), pp 73-4 (Harxton) p.75 (Barrington) p.81 (Whitwell), pp 93-4 (Stanton), D.B. i fo 199a (Drayton) i fo 20 (Papworth)
62. ibid., i fo.201b (Cottenham)
63. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.78 (Orwell), pp 79-80 (Warateworde) p. 81 (Whitwell).
64. ibid., p.21 (Carlton)
65. D.B. i fo 189b (Comberton) I.C.C. p.33 (Wickham)
66. ibid., p.21 (Carlton)

These figures suggest that although a sokeman occasionally had a very large holding, the tenement did not usually exceed a virgate.

The holdings of the 1086 sokemen must now be brought under review. There is no instance in which a sokeman's holding has been diminished; those few who remain, still hold the same amount of land, though there may be a few exceptions to this, for in several entries no details are given concerning the holdings of post-Conquest sokemen. The following average tenements have been compiled for the county as a whole: 1 man held a hide 1 virgate, 3 held about 3 virgates each, all between 2 and 3 virgates, 42 between 1 and 2 virgates, 95 between 15 acres and 1 virgate and 14 held under 15 acres. The holdings of the rest are not recorded. Thus in 1086, 62 or 36% held 1 virgate or over as against 425 or 49% in 1066. These figures seem to suggest that the larger holders suffered most and this suggestion is borne out by the conclusion that 7% of the sokemen of 1066 appear to have held 1 hide or over, whereas in 1086 it seems that only 1 man had a holding of this size. At the same time many of the men with smaller tenements likewise disappeared. The significance of these figures lies in the fact that the sokemen with the larger holdings have suffered to a greater extent than those with holdings of about a virgate.

B. Essex.

The county of Essex is the largest of the Southern Danelaw, and by reason of its size contains more than one type of social organisation. In the north of the county the organisation is like that of East Anglia, but the south has been manorialised. Because there is such diversity in Essex the county has been considered in greater detail than the rest of the Danelaw. As the numbers of sokemen change very little in the ~~twenty~~ years preceding the Survey, there is no need to deal with two sections, for the results may be said to be true of both 1066 and 1086.

The 12½ acre holding of East Anglia does not clearly appear in the Essex Domesday, but in the north east of this county the holdings of both free men and sokemen are (as in East Anglia) assessed in irregular numbers of acres, in contrast to the more normal assessments of the southern and western parts of Essex. A selection of the tenements of the hundred of Hinckford compared with those of Harlow and Dunmow will serve as an illustration. The Hinckford holdings are :- 67½, 35, 26½, 36, 38, 48, and 55 acres, (67) all irregular with no trace of any basic unit, but there are a few holdings which conform to an assessment upon virgates, such as the two holdings of 30 acres (68) (it may be observed that the term virgate is rare in the Essex D.B. for two virgates are usually recorded as half a hide and

67. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex, i. 463 (Ridgwell) i. 479. (Bures)
i. 451 (Wetherfield) i. 478 (Alderford) i. 479 (How Hall)

i. 478 a&b (Finchingfield) i. 453 (Felstead)
68. These are for freemen. ibid. i. 464 (Weston) i. 563 (Felstead)

one virgate as 30 acres). The Harlow holdings on the other hand are all regular, there are three of half a hide (69) and one of 30 acres.(70) The Dunmow holdings are: 2 hides 15 acres,(71) 2 hides 30 acres, (72) $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, (72) 1 hide, (73) half a hide, (74) (this occurs twice) 30 acres, (75) 35 acres, (76) 9 acres (77) $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres (78) These are not as regular as the Harlow holdings but only the holdings of 35 and 9 acres respectively definitely stand outside a scheme of tenements based on the virgate.

So far as tenements are concerned Essex seems to fall into two divisions, for in view of the differences shown in the figures for the three hundreds above, it is clear that the assessments in irregular numbers of acres do not penetrate far south or west.

The northern area which was influenced by East Anglian conditions includes Hinckford, Lexden, Tendring and Witham, and these hundreds may be examined first. The holdings in these

69. Vict. Co.Hist. Essex. i.429 (Hatfield)
 70. ibid., i.429 (Hatfield)
 71. ibid., i.477 (Thaxted)
 72. ibid., i.509 (High Easter)
 73. ibid., i.430 (White Roding)
 74. ibid., i.511 (Shellow Bowells) ibid., i. 522-3 (Little Dunmow)
 75. ibid., i.512 (Dunmow)
 76. ibid., i.430 (Shellow Bowells)
 77. ibid., i.493 (Broxted)
 78. ibid., i.477 (Thaxted)

hundreds are often those of a group of sokemen or free men. As many as 22 sokemen may share one piece of land. (79). The Hinckford tenements are not large, the individual holdings being one hide, (80) this stands alone, there is also another fairly large holding of half a hide and 30 acres. (81) The other individual holdings are small. There is one of 15 acres, (82) one of 10 acres, (83) and one of $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres. (84) The larger holdings of the groups are- two men with half a hide and 40 acres (85) and two men with half a hide and 10 acres. (86)

^{Some of} The rest, if it is assumed that all the members of the group had equal shares, would appear to have held less than a virgate, but more than 15 acres: 6 men have 1 hide and 14 acres, (87) 3 men 55 acres, (88) 2 men 45 acres, (89) 8 men 1 hide and 5 acres, (90) 2 men 38 acres (91) 13 men $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 30 acres, (92) 18 men 2 hides and 30 acres, (93) 7 men $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 15 acres (94) 2 men 48 acres (95) and 9 men $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 28 acres. (96).

- 79. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex. i. 479. (Halstead)
- 80. ibid., i. 478 (Bineslea)
- 81. ibid., i. 479 (Bulmer)
- 82. ibid., i. 477-8 (Gestingthorpe)
- 83. ibid., i. 550 (Stanstead Hall)
- 84. ibid., i. 473 (Steeple Bumpstead)
- 85. ibid., i. 478 (Ashen)
- 86. ibid., i. 478 (Wickham St. Pauls)
- 87. ibid., i. 431 (Wethersfield)
- 88. ibid., i. 453 (Felstead)
- 89. ibid., i. 534 (Hershams Hall)
- 90. ibid., i. 478 (Great Yeldham)
- 91. ibid., i. 478b (Finchingfield)
- 92. ibid., i. 479 (Middleton)
- 93. ibid., i. 523 (Pentlow)
- 94. ibid., i. 534 (Belchamp Walter)
- 95. ibid., i. 478a (Finchingfield).
- 96. ibid., i. 564 (Middleton).

The tenements of other groups work out at under 15 acres per head. Since it is twice as long as that given above, this list has not been included here. It involves 242 men with a mean average of 6.37 acres per head. The majority of the tenements in Hinckford were less than the $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre unit which prevailed on the other side of the border; and by reason of the number of entries in which the holdings of a group of men ~~is~~ ^{are} alone recorded, it is impossible to do more than suggest that the average tenement in this hundred was very small, the arithmetic mean for the hundred being 9.9 acres for the 319 men recorded here. This average is well under half the normal peasant holdings of the counties in the west of the Southern Danelaw, but it is not so far from the manloth of East Anglia.

The holdings in Lexden Hundred appear to be similar.

Although 111 sokemen are mentioned, the size of only 5 individual tenements is given. They are one of half a hide, (97) one of 40 acres, (98) two of 30 acres (99) and one of 13 acres. (100) The group holdings are these:- 4 men with 5 hides, (101) 16 men with 2 hides and 36 acres, (102), 12 men with $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, (103)

- 97. ibid., i.465-6 (Boxted)
- 98. ibid., i.481 (Fordham)
- 99. ibid., i.481 (Colne) ibid., i.550 (Wakes Colne)
- 100. ibid., i.466 (Grett Burch)
- 101. ibid., i.534 (Earls Colne)
- 102. ibid., i.432 (Lexden)
- 103. ibid., i.444 (Feering)
- 104. ibid., i.

3 with 64 ^{acres} ~~hides~~, (104) 19 with $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides less 6 acres; (105) the last four give an average of between 15 and 25 acres. The number of men with tenements of under 15 acres must have been considerable for there are 12 men with 1 hide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, (106) 17 with 2 hides and 5 acres, (107) 20 with $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 30 acres (108) and three with 18 acres. (109) The average for this hundred is larger than that of Hinckford, as it is 15 acres, but even this is low. With Lexden and Hinckford, Tendring and Witham are included as under East Anglian influence. In the former the tenements are rather larger. There are three individual holdings, one of 2 hides less 15 acres, (110) and two of 30 acres. (111) The group holdings are:- 2 sokemen with 2 hides and 45 acres, (112) 4 with half a hide and 15 acres, (113) 8 with $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 45 acres, (114) 17 with 1 hide (113) and 21 with $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 5 acres. (113) The average for the hundred is 20.8 acres. Of the 28 sokemen whose holdings are recorded in Witham Hundred, 23 formed a single group holding (114), between them 2 hides and 1 virgate, an average of about 10 acres each.

104. Vigt. Co. Hist. Essex. p. 481. (Colne)
 105. Ibid., 1.517. (Wormingford)
 106. Ibid., 1.439 (Coppford)
 107. Ibid., 1.465 (Great Tey)
 108. Ibid., 1.504 (Marks Tey)
 109. Ibid., 1.543 (Messing)
 110. Ibid., 1.535 (Beaumont)
 111. Ibid., 1.435-5 (Lawford)
 112. Ibid., 1.495 (Weeley)
 113. Ibid., 1.434-5 (Lawford)
 114. Ibid., 1.428 (Witham)

The holdings which are entered separately are also small; one man ~~also~~ held 5 acres⁽¹¹⁵⁾, another 4 acres⁽¹¹⁶⁾, while three men had 15 acres each⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and the average for the hundred is 11 acres.

From the hundreds of the north we pass to those on the east, where there were fewest sokemen. In Winstres where there were 13 sokemen whose holdings are recorded, the size of only one individual holding is known and that was 17 acres; (118) the others are two men with half a hide, and 30 acres (119) 2 men with 30 acres (120) and 8 men with 107 acres. (121) The average tenement in this hundred is again low, for it works out at 18.7 acres. There is still less information concerning Chelmsford Hundred. Here one man held a half hide (122) and another 30 acres; (123) there were also 3 men with half a hide and 10 acres (124) and 3 men with a virgate and 20½ acres. (125) the average tenement here is larger, being 30 acres. The only holding of Dengie was 20 acres. (126) The holdings of the three Rochford sokemen are not recorded but a fourth held half a hide and 15 acres. (127)

The next set of figures relates to the ten sokemen of

- 115. ibid., 1.488 (Rivenhall)
- 116. ibid., 1.491 (Great Braxted)
- 117. ibid., 1.456 (Hatfield Peverell) 1.461-2 (Rivenhall)
i. 526-7 (Blunts Hall)
- 118. ibid., 1.559. (Peldon)
- 119. ibid., 1.454 (West Mersea)
- 120. ibid., 1.519-2 (Little Wigborough)
- 121. ibid., 1.454 (West Mersea)
- 122. ibid., 1.434-5 (Writtle)
- 123. ibid., 1.449 (Ingatstone)
- 124. ibid., 1.434-5 (Writtle)
- 125. ibid., 1.453-4 (Great Baddow)
- 126. ibid., 1.493 (Wringehala)
- 127. ibid., 1.487 (Putsey)

Barstable. Four held between them $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 21 acres, (128) three held one hide and 30 acres, (129) one held 30 acres (130) and the remaining two held 50 acres. (131) The average for the ten is no less than 55 acres. After Barstable we get the western hundreds where the tenements were more highly assessed.

The two sokemen of Becontree held 30 acres (132) each, the three sokemen of Clavering (133) had 2 hides, (134) 1 hide 20 acres, (135) and 30 acres (136) respectively; and at Waltham two men held 6 hides, (137) and four men had 2 hides and 15 acres (137) between them. The four sokemen of Harlow also held more than the usual amounts of land. Three had half a hide each (138) and the fourth held 1 virgate. (138) In Ongar, next to Harlow, the tenements were somewhat smaller, for one man had $23\frac{1}{2}$ acres (139) and another held 6 acres. (140) Chafford and Dunmow contained more sokemen and the evidence relating to these hundreds is therefore more valuable; in Chafford there was one man with 30 acres, (141) another with 25 acres, (142) a third with 15 acres (143) and a fourth with a carucate. (144) There were also two large groups in this hundred; one comprising

128. Vicb. Co. Hist. Essex., i. ⁵⁵² (East Thornden)
 129. ibid., i. 452. (Hutton)
 130. ibid., i. 455-6 (Chadwell)
 131. ibid., i. 282 (West Thornden)
 132. ibid., i. 515 (East Ham)
 133. ibid., Clavering is west, but north west)
 134. ibid., i. 489 (Berden)
 135. ibid., i. 513. (Pledgdon)
 136. ibid., i. 516-17 (Benfieldbury)
 137. ibid., i. 446 (Waltham Abbey)
 138. ibid., i. 429 (Hatfield. Broadoak)
 139. ibid., i. 494-5 (Roding Abbess)
 140. ibid., i. 494 (Theydon Garnon)
 141. ibid., i. 447 (Upminster)
 142. ibid., i. 433 (Ockendon)
 143. ibid., i. 556-7 (Childerditch)
 144. ibid., i. 447 (South Weald)

13 sokemen with $8\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 20 acres (145) and the other 9 men with 3 hides. (146) The average tenement for this hundred is 60.9 acres, including the man with the carucate taken as 120 acres. In Dunmow more single holdings are recorded, there occur here one sokeman with 1 hide, (147) two men with half a hide each, (148) one man with 1 virgate (149) and one with $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres. (150) The groups in this hundred are never large, two men held 2 hides and 30 acres, (151) 3 held 2 hides and 15 acres, six held $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, 3 held 35 acres, (154) and another group of 3 held 9 acres. (155) The average tenement in this hundred is 48.8 acres. The two remaining hundreds lie in the north west and in both there is great variety in the size of the tenements. In Freshwell hundred where 5 tenements are recorded, two half a hide and 15 acres (156) and 40 acres respectively, belonged to a man named Alvrice, there is another holding of 1 acre and 1 rood, (157) and the two remaining holdings are of 95 acres held by 5 men (158) and of 15 acres held by 2 men. (159) There are also two holdings of men of the King's soke, (160) of 30 and 15 acres respectively. The average tenement is 22.6 acres. The holdings in Uttlesford

tend to be larger, and though there are three tenements of 8

145. Vict. Co.Hist. Essex. 1.505 (South Ockenden)
 146. Vict. Co.Hist. Essex., 15² (Greys Thurrock)
 147. ibid., 1. 1.430 (White Roding)
 148. ibid., 1. 1.511 (Shellow Bowells), i. 522.3 (Little Dunmow)
 149. ibid., 1. 512 (Dunmow)
 150. ibid., 1. 477 (Thaxted)
 151. ibid., 1. 509 (High Easter)
 152. ibid., 1. 477 (Thaxted)
 153. ibid., 1. 509 (High Easter)
 154. ibid., 1. 430 (Shellow Bowells)
 155. ibid., 1. 493 (Broxted)
 156. ibid., 1. 535 (Radwinster) 1. 536 (Stevington End)
 157. ibid., 1. 471 (Boddish)
 158. ibid., 1. 471-2 (Newnham)
 159. ibid., 1. 525 (Ashdon)
 160. ibid., 1. 536 (Stevington End)

(161) acres each, one of which was shared by 2 sokemen, most sokemen here appear to have held at least half a hide. Two men held $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides jointly, (162) another held 3 virgates, (163) two held half a hide each, (164) and four held between them 2 hides (165) and 13 held $6\frac{1}{2}$ hides. (166) Nineteen men in this hundred were assessed at half a hide, which appears to have been the common tenement. The average, calculated as in the other hundreds, works out at 59.7 acres.

The average tenements in the different hundreds is indicated in the table below and it will be observed that the list emphasises the distinction between the north east and the rest of Essex. The north east is full of sokemen with very small holdings and the size of the tenement increases towards the south west. The greatest contrast is found in the adjoining hundreds of Hinckford and Uttlesford; in the former the average holding is roughly 10 acres, and in the latter as much as 60 acres. It is therefore impossible to speak of an average tenement for Essex, the variety of holdings is even too great in any one part of the county.

The holdings of the free men of the county which have also been set out in tabular form below, tend, on the whole, to be larger than those of the sokemen, but they are equally diverse in size and the average holding is smallest in those regions where the sokemen appear to have had tenements of but a few acres. Whereas

161. Vict. Co. Hist. 1. 470-1. (Chreshall) 1. 569 (Great Chishall)
 162. Ibid., 1. 455-6. (Newport)
 163. Ibid., 1. 470-71 (Chreshall)
 164. Ibid., 1. 513 (Birchanger)
 165. Ibid., 1. 453 (Widdington)
 166. Ibid., 1. 512 (Saffron Walden).

only three sokemen held two hides or more, there were 36 free men with this amount of land and 19 of these held 4 hides or more. Tenements between 1 and 2 hides were held by only 15 sokemen as against 121 free men; between 3 virgates and 1 hide by 3 sokemen and 49 free men; between 2 and 3 virgates by 53 sokemen and 162 free men; between 1 and 2 virgates by 39 sokemen and 142 free men; between 15 acres and 1 virgate by 114 sokemen and 182 free men, while tenements of under 15 acres were held by 380 sokemen and 292 free men.

Table 11.

	HOLDINGS IN ESSEX									
	HOLDINGS OF SOKEMEN		HOLDINGS OF FREE MEN							
	Number of men.	Average holding in acres.	Holding of 4 hides.	Holding between 2-4 hides.	2-1 " "	30-1hide.	20-30.	1-2 virgates.	15acres-10.	under 15 acres.
WALTHAM	6	162.5	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
CLAVERING	3	136.6	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
ROCHFORD	1	75	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
CHAFFORD	26	60.9	-	1	-	13	10	2	-	-
UTTLESFORD	26	59.7	-	2	1	19	-	-	-	4
BARSTABLE	10	55	-	-	-	4	4	2	-	-
HARLOW	4	52.5	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-
DUNMOW	21	48.8	-	3	-	5	7	-	-	6
DENGIE AND MALDEN	2	34.4	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
CHELMSFORD	7	30	-	-	-	1	3	3	-	-
BECOF TREE	2	30	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
FRESHWELL	11	24.6	-	-	1	-	1	6	-	3
TENDRING	55	20.8	-	3	-	-	2	12	-	38
WINSTREE	13	18.7	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	8
LEXDEN	111	15	-	4	-	1	3	50	-	53
ONGAR	2	14.7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
WITHAM	28	11.5	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	25
HINCKFORD	319	9.9	-	1	1	2	2	71	-	242
	650		3	15	3	53	39	154	-	380

HOLDINGS OF FREE MEN (167)

	Number of men.	Average holding in acres.	Holdings of 4 hides.	Holdings between 2 & 4 hides.	2 1/2 "	3 0-1 hide.	2 0-3 0 "	1-2 virgates.	15 acres-1 1/2 "	under 15 acres.
WALTHAM	4	207.5	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
BEGONTREE	10	153	1	-	6	-	3	-	-	-
ROCHFORD	31	150.2	2	4	10	2	4	9	-	-
HARLOW	22	145.6	-	2	7	5	5	2	-	1
UTTLESFORD	23	143.7	2	2	3	1	6	-	8	1
CLAVERING	23	130.4	1	3	6	4	4	3	2	-
WINSTREE	14	117	2	2	2	-	2	2	4	-
BARSTABLE	145	86.8	2	3	51	20	22	17	11	19
CHELMSFORD	66	68.7	-	-	5	-	46	11	1	3
DENGIE AND MALDEN	65	68.6	-	1	18	10	33	7	19	17
DUNMOW	26	54	-	1	2	2	4	9	1	7
CHAFFORD	22	45.7	-	-	4	-	2	1	15	-
FRESHWELL	4	45	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
ONGAR	51	42.9	-	-	-	-	8	39	3	1
WITHAM	55	30.6	-	-	-	-	7	1	32	15
HINCKFORD	222	25	-	4	6	4	6	26	42	134
THURSTABLE	57	23.3	-	-	-	-	8	5	30	14
LEXDEN	90	18.7	-	1	-	-	2	8	9	70
TENDRING	15	17	-	1	-	1	-	-	6	8
	985		11	25	121	49	162	142	184	292

C Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire.

By comparison with the wealth and detail in the Essex Domesday, the information relating to sokemen in Northamptonshire appears meagre and incomplete. All too frequently the sokemen in this county are entered side by side with the villeins and bordars ^{as} at Greens Norton (168) "in the demesne are 3 ploughs

167. Only the holders of those free men whose names are not recorded in D.B. (see pp. 76-77) are used in the compilation of this table.

168. Vact. Co. Hist. Northants. 1.304.

and ³serfs and 2 bondwomen and 19 villeins and 15 sokemen and 5 bordars having 21 ploughs," and it is here impossible to estimate, even roughly, the size of the sokemen's tenements. In strong contrast to the above, an entry relating to Towcester (169) states "here one sokeman renders 5s, having half a hide and the fifth part of a half-hide" (i.e. 72 acres) but to this there is only one exact parallel (Raunds). (170) As has been indicated above, however, the type of estate, characteristic of the Northern Danelaw, consisting of a central manor and a number of appurtenant members, is found in this county. A good example is William Peverel's manor of Higham Ferrars, (171) assessed at six hides to which belonged no fewer than eight appurtenant members. Of these appurtenances - at Rushton, assessed at 6 hides there were 19 sokemen, at Chelveston and Caldecote (1h. 3v.) 6 sokemen, at Knuston (1h. 1½v.) 5 sokemen, and at Irchester (1h. 3v.) 3 sokemen, at Farndish (3v.) 2 sokemen. Another entry of this type refers to Geddington, (172) where 5 sokemen had 1 hide and 1 virgate. The information relating to appurtenant sokes thus throws light upon the tenements of sokemen.

Figures taken from these estates give the following results, nine men held between 3 virgates and 1 hide, 46 held between 2 and 3 virgates, 199 held between 1 and 2 virgates, 126 between 15 acres and 1 virgate, and 53 held under 15 acres. The

169. ibid., 1.305.
 170. ibid., 1.309.
 171. ibid., 1.336.
 172. ibid., 1.318.

accompanying table shows how these holdings were distributed among the hundreds. There does not appear to be any part of the county where the holdings were generally much larger than elsewhere, but the smallest average tenements come from the central and western hundreds of Mallelea, Speihoe, Stoke, Stetfold and Rothwell. The commonest holding appears to have been over 15 acres and under 2 virgates and it is probable that the average holding was about a virgate, with a tendency to be slightly larger rather than just under the virgate as in Cambridgeshire. The fluctuations are less marked in this county than in the others, for no recorded holding was greater than 3 virgates and the smallest tenement seems to have been about $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Extremes appear to be rare; the number of those holding as much as 2 virgates is very small, so too the number of those with under 15 acres, as 75% of the sokemen of Northamptonshire whose holdings are recorded, held between 15 acres and 2 virgates.

Since a resemblance has already been discerned between the social structure of Northamptonshire and that of the Northern Danelaw which this county adjoins, it is natural to enquire whether the 20 acre holding which seems to have been normal north of the Welland in the twelfth century, cannot be traced here in Domesday Book. Since, however, the Northamptonshire Domesday so freely records sokemen without giving any clue to the amount of land which they held and in view of the assessment here upon virgates and hides instead of carucates and bovates, it must be admitted that there is little likelihood that a 20 acre tenement

will be revealed. Moreover, for the purpose of this inquiry in the "average tenement" assigned by calculation to the individual members of groups whose joint holding is alone recorded, may be quite misleading. It has been noticed that a number of 20 acre tenements occur but there are not very many, but there is also a tendency for holdings to be assessed in thirds of a hide (i.e. 40 acres) which might suggest a unit of 20 acres. Such holdings are not numerous:- six sokemen held 2 hides, (173) which gives an average of 40 acres; three held 2 virgates, (174) in two entries six men held 1 hide, (175) two held 40 acres; ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ four held 80 acres, ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ five held 100 acres, (178) all giving an average of 20 acres and there is one sokeman who had 10 acres. (179) Three of these entries relating in all to 11 sokemen come from the hundred of Stoke, where the majority of the other sokemen's tenements might reveal a basic unit of 20 acres (though not a share of 20 acres for each sokeman); 2 hides, 2 virgates, 20 acres, (180) 1 hide, 1 virgate and 10 acres, (181) 1 hide 2 virgates and 20 acres, (182) 2 virgates 20 acres (183) and 1 virgate 10 acres. (184) The neighbouring hundred of Stotfold also includes a twenty acre unit, but in the hundreds

173. Vict. Co. Hist. Northants. 1.351 (Hardingstone)
 174. ibid., 1.337 (Floote)
 175. ibid., 1.351 (Denton), 1.351 (Gransley)
 176. ibid., 1.335 (Ashley)
 177. ibid., 1.350 (Sutton Bassett)
 178. ibid., 1.350 (Dingley)
 179. ibid., 1.318 (Maidwell)
 180. ibid., 1.335 (Weston by Welland)
 181. ibid., 1.350 (" ")
 182. ibid., 1.335 (Sutton Bassett)
 183. ibid., 1.334 (Ashley)
 184. ibid., 1.350 (")

of the extreme north, Upton Green, Willey Brook and Pole Brook which lie nearest to Lincolnshire, it is impossible to find any trace of a tenement of 20 acres and it seems clear that this was not the normal peasant holding in this county. Holdings of a virgate, on the other hand, are numerous and this seems the average tenement in Northamptonshire, for a share of a virgate was held by 46 sokemen, a share of 2 virgates by 20 sokemen and a share of 15 acres by 30 men.

The Huntingdonshire information is limited to three groups of sokemen. The land of 10 sokemen at Broughton (185) was assessed at 5 hides, at Stilton two sokemen may have had 3 virgates, (186) the six men at Gidding possessed at least 4½ hides. (187) These assessments are large and perhaps should not be taken as representative of the county as a whole.

Table 111.

HOLDINGS IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

	No. of holdings.	Average holdings in acres.	Holdings of hide.	Holdings between 2-30.	Holdings between 1-20.	Holdings between 15a - 10.	Holdings under 15 acres.
HUNDRED							
UPTON GREEN, WILLEY BROOK AND POLE BROOK	19	33.15	-	-	19	-	-
WYTCHELEY	38	31.97	-	14	-	16	8
CORBY	9	48.33	4	-	5	-	-
STOKE	76	22.68	-	-	27	29	20
STOTFOLD	15	22.66	1	-	-	3	6
ROTHWELL	55	28.55	-	3	52	-	-
GUILSBOROUGH	14	40.7	1	5	3	-	5
NOBOTTLE GROVE	16	31.56	-	5	5	6	-
TOWCESTER AND CLEYLEY	2	71	-	2	-	-	-
WYMERSLEY & COLLINGTREE	54	34.25	2	5	31	12	4
SPELNCE	5	24	-	-	1	4	-
MAWLEY	57	25.26	-	-	15	32	10
ORLINGBURY	15	32	1	-	4	10	-
HAMPFORDSHOE & NEVESLUND	20	36.75	-	6	1	13	-
HUXLOE & NAVISFORD	10	33	-	-	4	6	-
HIGHAM FERRARS	38	43	-	6	32	-	-
			9	46	199	126	53

185. Vict. Co. Hist. Hunts. 1. ³⁴²⁻³ ~~350~~ (Western ~~by~~ ~~Welling~~)

186. Ibid., 1.340 & 1.349.

187. Ibid., 1.349.

D Bedfordshire

Bedfordshire, unlike Northamptonshire, is another of those counties where the contrast between the largest and smallest tenements is particularly marked - they vary from a hide to a few acres - so much so that it has been argued that the individual sokeman might have held two or more pieces of land. The great variety in the size of their tenements can be seen in the following list which comprises only those examples where Domesday specifies precisely the amount of land held by individuals: 5 sokemen held 1 hide (188) each, 1 held 2 virgates and 20 acres, 4 held 2 virgates, (189) 2 held 1 virgate (191) and 2 held 15 acres. (192) Usually, however, Domesday merely states how much land a group of sokemen held and the following "average tenements" have been obtained by assuming that the men within the group held in equal shares: 30 men held 1 hide or over, 55 held between 3 virgates and 1 hide, 80 held between 2 and 3 virgates, 240 held between 1 and 2 virgates, 77 held between 15 acres and 1 virgate and 12 held under 15 acres. While the first set of figures shows the average holding to be either 1 hide or 2 virgates, the second set suggests a lower average of between 1 and 2 virgates, but it is fairly clear that about 64½% of the sokemen of this county held between 1 and 3 virgates. (193)

188. . . Vict. Co. Hist. Beds. 1.239. (Streatley) 1.250 (Langford)
 1.261 (Cainhoe) 1.250 (Wymington) 1.237 (Stanford)
 189. Ibid., 1.233-4. (Arlesley)
 190. Ibid., 1.265 (Willey hundred) 1.251 (Easton) 1.251 (Segenhoe)
 1.235 (Stanford)
 191. Ibid., 1.241 (Holme) 1.259 (Cockayne Hatley)
 192. Ibid., 1.253 (Easton) 1.256-7 (Mauldon)
 193. But average for whole is 65½ acres.

The table below shows that the average tenement, so far as it can be ascertained, is not the same in all hundreds; the highest average comes from Flitt where 15 of the 23 sokemen appear to have held 1 hide or over. In Willey, 25 men, half the number of sokemen whose holdings are known, held about 2 virgates, in Clifton more than half held between 2 and 3 virgates and in Wixantree 43 held 2 virgates. In Barford 32 held between 2 and 3 virgates and 26 between 1 and 2 virgates, while in the remaining hundreds the average is about 1 virgate. The significance of these figures is that the two hundreds with the largest "average tenements" Flitt and Willey both lie in the east, where the number of sokemen was not large, but where, as has already been mentioned, the sokelands, in view of the small number of sokemen forms an unusually large proportion of the whole area. The "average tenement" for the county as a whole is exceptionally large, 65.5 acres, and those holding under 15 acres are fewer here than elsewhere, yet there is nowhere else in the Southern Danelaw a parallel to the minute Bedfordshire

Holding of 7 acres which was shared by 7 men (194)

Table iv

HOLDINGS IN BEDFORDSHIRE

<u>HUNDRED</u>	No. of sokemen's holdings.	Average holding in acres.	Holdings of 1 hide or over.	Holdings between 20-14	.. 2-30.	.. 1-20.	.. 15a-10.	.. under 15 acres.
FLITT	23	125	15		5		3	
MANSHEAD	27	83.3	7	2	7	11		
WILLEY	50	93.1	10	2	25	10		
CLIFTON	59	75.5		21	33	5		33
WIXANTREE	119	66.5	24	10	25	43	3	11
BARFORD	102	65.3	7	14	32	26	24	
REDBORNESTOKE	61	64.9	3	4	15	38	1	
BIGGLESWADE	77	56.9	6	2	17	30	22	
STODDEN	81	47.5	7		16	40	16	2
WENSLEY	24	44.4	2		3	11	8	
BUCKLEY	28	39			22	26		
	651	65.5	80	55	130	240	77	19

194. Vict. Co. Hist.
Beds. 1235
(Stanford)

Twenty years later the average holding has fallen to 45 acres and as in Cambridgeshire it is the sokemen with the larger holdings who have tended to disappear. The smaller holders also suffered in Bedfordshire for here in 1086, 27% of the sokemen held under 1 virgate, whereas in 1066 only 13.8% held such small tenements.

E Hertfordshire.

The county of Hertfordshire was not wholly manorialised even in 1086, but contained a mixture of manorialised villages ^{and villages} which were divided among several holders, though the number of landowners in an unmanorialised village is never so great as in northern Essex. The assessments here are often large, as for example at Sawbridgeworth, (195) assessed at 24 hides and held by Asgar the Staller in 1066, and it is perhaps to the general level of assessment that the tendency here for the sokeman's tenement to be large should be attributed; holdings of under 15 acres are extremely rare and sokemen holding as much as 2 hides are not unknown. If both individual holdings, specifically recorded in D.B., and the holdings of groups of sokemen, when an average tenement has been calculated and taken into account, it is found that eight sokemen held 2 hides and over, 24 or possibly 26 (196) held between 1 and 2 hides, 20 held

195. Vbet. Co. Hist. Herts. 1.332.

196. It is not certain if these were sokemen. cf. ibid. 1.303 (Wellbury) 1.304 (Wilei and Welei)

between 3 virgates and 1 hide, 28, perhaps 29, (196) held between 2 and 3 virgates, 93 held between 1 and 2 virgates, 35 held between 15 acres and 1 virgate and only six held under 15 acres. These figures seem to point to an average holding of 1 virgate. If, however, the holdings of individuals only as against those of groups are taken into account, the average tenement appears to be substantially larger. Four men held 2 hides each, (197) one man held 1 hide and 3 virgates, (198) another $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, (198) and 2 held 1 hide and 10 acres each; (199) 10 or perhaps 12 men held 1 hide each, (200) 3 had $3\frac{1}{2}$ virgates (201) and 2 men 3 virgates each; (202) 12 or perhaps 13 men (203) held half a hide each, (204) one held $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, (205) 12 held a virgate each; one man had 25 acres (207) and another 24 acres, (208) 3 held each 15 acres, (209) one 8 acres (210) and 2 held a quarter of a virgate. (211)

196. It is uncertain if these were sokemen. Cf. *ibid.*, i. 304 (*Wileis Waleis*) i. 304 (*Well-*)
 197. *Vict. Co. Hist. Herts.* 1.309 (Libury), i. 339 (Barley), i. 326-7 (*Walden*)
 198. *ibid.*, 1.340. (*Widiall*) i. 332 (*Sawbridgeworth*)
 199. *ibid.*, 1.329 (Barley)
 200. *ibid.*, 1.303 (Offley) 1.309 (Luffenhall) 1.322-3 (Tiscote) 1.343 (Stondon) 1.330 (Bushey)
 201. *ibid.*, 1.306 (Little Hadham), 1.334 (Lilley)
 202. *ibid.*, 1.329 (Newsells), 1.337 (Libury)
 203. See note 196.
 204. *ibid.*, 1.306 (Much Hadam), 1.315 & 1.333 (Titchurst), 1.391 (Redbourn), 1.320 (Hoddesdon), 1.326-7 (Ware), 1.333 (William), 1.337 (Sacomb), 1.337 (Stonebury), 1.339 (Hinxworth), 1.344 (Broxbourne)
 205. *ibid.*, 1.334. (Bengeo)
 206. *ibid.*, 1.304 (Hexton), 1.306 (Little Hadham), 1.325 (Westmill), 328 & 339 (Hinxworth), 1.329 (Newsells), 1.332 (Sawbridgeworth) 1.333 (Rodehangre), 1.337 & 338 (Sacombe), 1.339 (Barkway)
 207. *ibid.*, 1.337 (Libury)
 208. *ibid.*, 1.336 (Wallington)
 209. *ibid.*, 1.304 (Flexmere), 1.327 (Graveley), 1.332 (Stanstead), 1.333 (Chells) i. 1.334 (*Bengeo*); 1.339 (Barkway), 1.340 (Barksdon Green), 1.343 (Sacomb)
 210. *ibid.*, 1.332 (Wickham)
 211. *ibid.*, 1.340 (Barksdon Green)

In this set of figures those holding 1 hide predominate to a certain extent, but the average tenement probably approximated more closely to the virgate than to the hide, for it seems that as a general rule the Domesday scribes entered the larger holdings separately, and stated the amount of land held by a group of men only when the individual holdings were too small to warrant a detailed description.

The average holding varies slightly from hundred to hundred. In the hundred of Edwinstree 55 sokemen held 1 virgate or less and only 20 held over 1 virgate, while in Odsey hundred eleven sokemen held about a virgate or less, and 20 men held over that amount. In most hundreds, however, the holdings of over 1 virgate are about equal in number to those of less than a virgate.

Twenty years after the Conquest the average holding does not seem to have been the virgate. Only one virgate holding is recorded among the 33 sokemen and 3 men of the King's soke whose tenements are entered in Domesday. The holdings of the remaining sokemen are not given. When the entries are examined it is found that 4 men held each 1 hide, (212) 2 held 1 hide and 3 virgates, (213) and 2 held $\frac{1}{2}$ hides between them; (214) one man held 3 virgates, (215) 2 men held 1 hide between them (216) and 2 held each 2 virgates. (217)

212. Vict. Co. Hist. Herts. i. 303 (Cffley) i. 303 (Wellbury)
 1.304 (Welel) 1.330 (Bushey)
 213. ibid., i. 337 (Libury)
 214. ibid., i. 323 (Letchworth)
 215. ibid., i. 340 (Throcking)
 216. ibid., i. 322 (Tiscote)
 217. ibid., i. 304 (Wilel) i. 320 (Hoddesdon)

Five men had a joint holding of 2 hides and on 2 estates 2 men had a joint holding of 3 virgates (219) and on another 3 men held 1 hide (220) between them. One man held 1 virgate, (221) 4 held each a half virgate, (222) 3 had a joint holding of 1 virgate, (223) one man held 8 acres (224) and 2 men had half a virgate, (225) between them. It is interesting to observe that while 4 men held 1 hide each, no one appears to have held more than that amount, and the absence of virgate holders is also noteworthy. Possibly those sokemen holding tenements of a virgate or under were more easily depressed, or they may, on account of the smallness of their holdings, have been classed as villeins or bordars, although their social status warranted their inclusion in a higher rank. Professor Stenton has made this suggestion with reference to the Northern Danelaw and it is possible that the same development may have taken place in the South. Whatever may have been the reason for the practical disappearance of the virgate holder among sokemen, the figures at our disposal show that only 11 men of 33 appear to have held a virgate or under. The 13 holdings which are entered separately, comprised a holding of 3 virgates, another of 1 virgate, one of 8 acres, 2 of 2 virgates, 4 tenements of half

218. ibid., 1.303. (Offley)

219. ibid., 1.311 (Bygrave) 1.343 (Bricewolde)

220. ibid., 1.320-321 (Tring)

221. ibid., 1.304 (Hexton)

222. ibid., 1.304 (Flexmere) 1.333 (Chells) 1.332 (Stanstead)
1.343 (Sacomb)

223. ibid., 1.304 (Ley Green)

224. ibid., 1.332 (Wickham)

225. ibid., 1.340 (Barksden Green)

a virgate and 4 holdings of a hide. The average holding in 1086 would seem to be not one virgate as it had been 20 years earlier, but 2 virgates, a development which does not indicate that sokemen were ^{more} prosperous.

F Buckinghamshire and Middlesex.

In neither of these two counties was the economic position of the sokemen ever very low, for the smallest tenement is a half virgate, and in some entries they are recorded as the owners of manors. (226) To ascertain what was the commonest tenement in Buckinghamshire the holdings of 1066 and 1086 may be reviewed together: - 2 sokemen held $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides each, (227) and 3 men had a joint holding of 6 hides, and 3 virgates, (228) one man held 2 hides, (229) and 2 men had a joint holding of 4 hides, (230) one man held 1 hide and 1 virgate, (231) 2 men held 1 hide each (232) and 2 had a joint holding of 2 hides and 1 virgate. (233) Two men held 3 virgates each, (234) 2 held

226. Vict. Co. Hist. Bucks. i.243 (Horsendon)
 227. ibid., i.257-8 (Iver)
 228. ibid., i.243 (Horsendon)
 229. ibid., i.234 (Hartwell)
 230. ibid., i.264 (Chesham)
 231. ibid., i.254 (North Marston)
 232. ibid., i.255 (North Marston) i.254 (Stoke Poges).
 233. ibid., i.236 (Waldridge)
 234. ibid., i.232 (Princes Risborough) i.257-8 (Iver)

1 hide and 3 virgates between them, (235) and in 2 entries 2 (237) men held $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides between them; (236) two men held 2 virgates each 11 men held 5 hides 2 virgates and 10 acres between them, (238) and 3 held $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and 1 virgate between them. (239) One man had a tenement of $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, (240) and 2 had tenements of a virgate, (241) 3 men shared a holding of $2\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, (242) and one man held half a virgate. (243) These figures reveal that 13 men held 1 hide and over, 22 held between 2 virgates and 1 hide, and only 10 had a holding of less than 2 virgates. They are based in part upon the hypothetical tenements of numbers of groups and if the inquiry is restricted to those entries in which the holdings of individuals are recorded, we find that 6 men held 1 hide and over, 4 held between 2 virgates and 1 hide and 4 held under 2 virgates. From the latter set of figures it is difficult to find the size of an average tenement, for holdings of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides, 3 virgates, 2 virgates and 1 virgate are each held by 2 sokemen. The average tenement, so far as one existed, may perhaps be deduced from the first set of figures which suggest that most sokemen held between 2 and 3 virgates, a larger tenement than in most counties, except Middlesex. There is an entry in Domesday which, while it does not record the size

235. Vict. Co. Hist. Bucks. 1. 235 (Bierton)
 236. ibid., 1.232 (Wendover) 1.235 (Chesham)
 237. ibid., 1.234 (Hartwell)
 238. ibid., 1.255 (Soulbury)
 239. ibid., 1.241 (Lavendon)
 240. ibid., 1.240 (Olney)
 241. ibid., 1.255 (Hollington) i. 231-2 (Aylesbury)
 242. ibid., 1.255 (")
 243. ibid., 1.243 (Wycombe)

of actual tenements, suggests that a number were of a hide or more. The manor of Stoke Mandeville belonged to the Church of Aylesbury "From the 8 Hundreds which lie round Elesberie (Aylesbury) each sokeman having 1 hide or more renders one load of grain to the Church." (244). Although many sokemen appear to have held between 2 and 3 virgates, a number of sokemen must have held at least 1 hide.

Although there are very few sokemen in Middlesex, their tenements are the largest recorded in any part of the Southern Danelaw. One man had 2½ hides, (245) 2 men shared 5 hides, (246) 3 men held 2 hides each (247) and 2 had a joint holding of 4 hides (248). Two men had a joint holding of 2 hides and 1 virgate (249) and 5 a joint holding of 6 hides, (250) 2 men held a hide each (251) and 2 men held 1 hide and 3 virgates and 10 acres between them; (252) in 2 entries 2 men held 1½ hides (253) and there were 3 sokemen who held 2 virgates. (254) Thus there were probably in this county 8 men with 2 hides and over, 9 with between 1 and 2 hides and 7 with under 1 hide.

244. Vict. Co. Hist. Bucks. i. 233.
 245. D.B. fo 129b (Ickenham)
 246. ibid., i fo 127b (Fulham)
 247. ibid., i fo 128b (Harmondsworth), fo 129a (Harlington)
 fo 129b (Greenford)
 248. ibid., i fo 130a (West Bedford)
 249. ibid., i fo 129a (Ickenham)
 250. ibid., i fo 129b (Enfield)
 251. ibid., i fo 129b (Greenford) fo 129b (Ickenham)
 252. ibid., i fo 130a (Hatton)
 253. ibid., i fo 129a (Hatton) fo 129b (in Culston hundred)
 254. ibid., i fo 130a (Bedfont).

The foregoing examination of the details relating to the holdings in the various counties suggests that there was no tenement which might be called the average for the whole of the Southern Danelaw. Though from some points of view the Southern Danelaw may be regarded as a unit, the most striking features of its tenemental organisation is the close relationship between certain parts of it and the regions adjacent to them. Of ^{the} the clearest illustration is the occurrence of the majority of the smallest holdings of the Southern Danelaw in those hundreds which lay nearest to East Anglia. Although there is no trace of the East Anglian peasant holding of $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres in either Cambridgeshire or Essex, the mean averages of 10 acres in Hinckford hundred and of 15 acres in Lexden hundred in Essex and of 21 and 26 acres in Chilford and Radfield respectively, both in Cambridgeshire, may be ascribed to the influence of East Anglia. The effect of the proximity to the Northern Danelaw upon the size of the holdings of Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire is not so apparent, for although there are here traces of a 20 acre unit, especially in Wetherley in Cambridgeshire and Stoke in Northamptonshire, such holdings are not even general in those hundreds. The rest of the Southern Danelaw borders on Mercian and West Saxon territory where villages are manorialised and it is here that the tenements become increasingly larger. The increase is best observed by examining the "average holdings" in these counties on the western border working from north to south. In Northamptonshire the average holding was a virgate, in Bedfordshire it was about 2 virgates, in Buckinghamshire it was about 3 virgates and in Middlesex it was over a hide.

Regarding Huntingdonshire and Hertfordshire, lying in the centre of the Southern Danelaw, it may be said that whereas in the former there is not sufficient evidence, and in the latter, the average was about a virgate. The foregoing analysis seems therefore to suggest that the holdings of the west were much larger than those of the east. It is impossible, however, to feel certain that the sokemen of Middlesex in actual fact held about 16 times as much land as the sokemen of Northern Essex. Apart from the Fen district, Essex with its clay soil was not improbably the least fertile part of the Southern Danelaw and it is hard to believe that, even in the Stour valley, peasant families could have supported their members on tenements so small as those recorded in Domesday. It must be remembered that we are dealing with fiscal units and though the amount of land burdened with the taxation due from a hide or virgate may not have varied considerably between, say, Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, there is reason to believe that the land of the free peasantry of Essex was lightly assessed.

2. The Stock of the Sokeman's Tenement.

The only part of the farm stock which is recorded all over the Southern Danelaw is the number of ploughing oxen, and the teams of ~~individual~~ sokemen are normally, though not always, entered in the Survey and distinguished from the demesne ploughs and the ploughs of the villeins. The number of oxen in the possession of a sokeman must have depended in part upon the size of his tenement, and the sokeman who held a hide would naturally have more oxen than the man with 15 acres. As a rule such relationships can be traced but in Essex there are some striking exceptions due, presumably, to under-assessment. In much of the Southern Danelaw in the eleventh century the open field system of agriculture must have prevailed, though the fields were probably irregular in some parts even at this date, for Gray has observed that in the thirteenth century the counties of the Lower Thames Valley, namely Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, South Buckinghamshire and Surrey, were unlike the counties of the Midlands and "did not distribute the parcels of the virgate between two or three large arable fields;" but as Maitland (2) stated "the sokeman's hide or virgate is no ring-fenced 'close' but is composed of many scattered strips. Again we can hardly doubt that the practice of 'co-aration' prevailed. The sokeman had seldom beasts enough to make up a team."

1. English Field Systems, p.398.
2. Domesday Book and Beyond, p.142.

Before an examination of the evidence relating to the plough-teams in the Southern Danelaw is begun, something may be said regarding those of the sokemen of the Northern Danelaw. Professor Stenton has made an extensive study of the Lincolnshire evidence, in his Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, and observes that in Lincolnshire the number of oxen to an average member of a village community was "remarkably small". He writes that "it is indeed possible to find a Lincolnshire sokeman with an entire plough team", but such cases are rare, and upon average, a Lincolnshire villein or sokeman of 1066 possessed 2 oxen, the quarter of a full team." He finds, however, that "many Lincolnshire peasants were still less well provided with oxen" and "sometimes it is even impossible to allow one ox to each enumerated peasant." In the course of his discussion Professor Stenton refers to one of the difficulties which confront anyone using the information in the Surveys of the counties of both the Northern and the Southern Danelaw. "Even where Domesday reveals a neat ratio between the number of villeins and sokemen and the numbers of their teams, it should not be assumed that each enumerated peasant possessed the same number of oxen. Round totals and neat quotients may conceal much real variety, and a Lincolnshire village of 1066 may have both large and small farmers as its successor contains them to-day.....Nevertheless when all allowance has been made for variations masked by succinct statistics, it may safely be said that the ordinary Lincolnshire peasant or villein - for in this respect there was no material

difference between these classes - was a man of two or three oxen. " (3) Professor Stenton then points out that "there were many southern villages in which the average villein possessed more oxen than the average Lincolnshire sokeman." (3) It is generally assumed that the average southern villein possessed a half plough with a tenement of a virgate.

A. Northamptonshire

It will be convenient to begin the study of the Southern Danelaw with Northamptonshire where a virgate was the average holding. In this county only two sokemen appear to have possessed a full plough-team; the land of each is entered separately, one holding at Glasthorpe (4) and the other at Winwick (5). There were also at South Luffenham and Kelthorpe (6) 12 sokemen who with 16 bordars and a priest possessed 12 plough-teams, and since it may be assumed that the bordars normally had no oxen of their own, the other 13 peasants here had all 96 oxen between them, an average of seven oxen each. A few sokemen appear to have had five or six oxen and seven are specifically recorded to have had half a plough-team. When the entries which record the number of oxen possessed by groups of sokemen are examined, it is found that 41 had half a team, 32 had 3 oxen, and 25 had 2 oxen, while a few men can have had only a single ox.

3. Introduction to the Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey. p.xx
4. Vict. Co.Hist. Northants. i.337.
5. ibid., i.339.
6. ibid., i.304.

The figures do not suggest, however, that there were any sokemen with no oxen. These averages, as Professor Stenton has warned us, may conceal great variety, but on the whole it may be assumed that the average sokeman possessed three or four oxen. The teams of 517 sokemen are recorded, and add up to 219 teams, thus giving an average of 3.39 oxen for each man.

B Huntingdonshire .

For Huntingdonshire, next to Northamptonshire, there is not much available material, since all that is recorded is that two sokemen and two villeins at Stilton (7) had between them one plough-team and seven sokemen and 17 villeins at Graffham (8) had six plough-teams. Little can be deduced from these figures, but the more ^{abundant} information relating to the plough-teams of the villeins, throws light on the investigation. Since bordars are commonly supposed not to have oxen, they were not taken into account when the following figures were compiled, but it may be noted that where he occurs alone the bordar sometimes appears to have his own oxen. (9) Not all villeins of the county appear in the ^{list} ~~table~~ below, and it is found that 212 appear to have had more than four oxen apiece, 126 exactly half a team and a further 268 appear to have had about half a team - this number consists of men with a share of at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ oxen but under 5 oxen. 1288 villeins seem to have had fewer than 4 oxen and the usual share

7. Vict. Co. Hist. Hunts. 1. 349.

8. Ibid., 1. 340.

9. Ibid., 1. 347 (Catworth)

appears to have been two or three oxen. We may reasonably conclude that the normal peasant of Huntingdonshire, whether free or unfree, like the peasant of Lincolnshire, was a man of two or three oxen.

C. Cambridgeshire.

Only a quarter of the sokemen of Cambridgeshire survived the Conquest, and the majority of the survivors occur in the two hundreds of Ely; our knowledge of their ploughs is therefore limited, for nothing is known regarding the teams of the sokemen T.R.E., and such information as we have for 1086 relates to but one part of the county. Only at Fordham, (10) in one of the few entries which do not relate to the Ely hundreds, do sokemen appear to possess a full team, for there three sokemen had three ploughs. In other entries in which no villeins are recorded, several sokemen seem to have had about four oxen each; there were seven at Haddenham with five plough-teams, (11) seven at Bourn with (12) four plough-teams and two at Boxworth (13) with one team. More sokemen appear to have had less than a half-plough, two at Elsworth (14) had 6 oxen, eight men at Connington had $2\frac{1}{2}$ teams, (15) one man at Willingham (16) had two oxen and two men at Fen Drayton (17) had four oxen; a group of 26 sokemen

10. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.7.

11. ibid., p.18.

12. ibid., p.38.

14. ibid., i. fo 197a.

15. ibid., i fo 177b.

16. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton p.92.

17. ibid., i.p.90.

13. D.B. i fo 195a.

at Foulbourn (18) possessed 6 ploughs and six sokemen at Boxworth (19) had one team. Where the plough-teams of the sokemen and villeins are given together, no sokemen appear to have possessed a full team, and only 13 a share of about a half-team, while 41 may have had 2 oxen, and 5 only a single ox. Great variety may be concealed in these figures, but it is probable that the normal sokeman of the north of Cambridgeshire possessed no more than two or three oxen.

Tablev.PLOUGH TEAMS OF SOKEMEN OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE

VILLAGE	HOLDING			TEAMS OF SOXEN	SOKEMEN	VILLEINS	BORD- ARS	COTTARS
	H	V	A					
FORDHAM	2	2	0	3	3	-	-	-
HADDENHAM	3	0	0	5	7	-	-	-
BOURN	4	0	0	4	7	-	-	-
BOXWORTH	1	0	0	1	2	-	-	-
ELSWORTH		1	25	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	-	-	-
FEN DRAYTON		2	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	-	-	-
FOULBOURN	4	0	0	6	26	-	-	-
CONNINGTON	2	3	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	-	-	-
BOXWORTH	1	1	0	1	6	-	-	-
WILLINGHAM		1	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	-	-	-
SUAVESEY	3	0	0	10	8	10	19	-
FEN DRAYTON		-	-	3	5	1	-	-
WILBURTON		-	-	4	4	9	-	-
SUTTON	2	0	0	6	9	8	-	15
WISBEACH	2	0	0	8	13	15	-	-
WITCHAM	1	3	15	4	12	2	26	-
WENTWORTH	1	0	0	5	3	18	-	-
WITCHFORD		2	0	4	5	17	-	-

D. Essex.

Unlike the surveys of the counties of the Southern Danelaw, the Essex Domesday records the plough-teams for both 1066 and

18. ibid., p.26.19. D.B. i fo. 197b.

1086. Many of the Essex holdings are small and we should not expect to find the sokemen, holding these small tenements, in possession of anything like a full team. However, as has been observed above, many of the holdings in Essex, appear to have been under-assessed, and this would explain why in some instances the size of the holding and the number of plough-teams belonging to its owners do not appear to bear any relationship. As an extreme case, Broxton (20) may be cited, for here there were sokemen on land assessed at 9 acres, yet they possessed three teams. But, on the whole, as the majority of sokemen had small holdings, so their share in the village plough-teams was not large. The number of beasts contributed to the plough-teams varied, for about one-seventh of the sokemen do not even appear to have had a single ox, while others had a full team. In the following list the ploughs of peasants working under sokemen have been omitted. One sokeman in Hinckford hundred (21) possessed two teams, and two sokemen in Dunmow (22) shared four teams. Sixteen sokemen possessed a full team each, four had a share which seems to amount to a full team, and three others had four ploughs between them. Four had a share of six oxen each, thirteen a share of 5 oxen, and 64 a share of four oxen, while 21 men were recorded with a half-plough each. Far more had less than half a team; 94 appear to have had two or three oxen, while 183 had at least one ox, but it is impossible to allow even a single ox to each of 92 sokemen. These figures suggest that the

20. Vict. CO. Hist. Essex. i. 493.

21. ibid., i. 479 (Bulmer)

22. ibid., i. 509 (High Easter)

average for each peasant in this county was probably also two or three oxen, but the men to whom at least one ox cannot be allowed, are found ~~as the table indicates~~, only in the hundreds of Hinckford, Witham and Lexden, and were those regions excluded the average would be higher. The economic status of the sokemen of these three hundreds was obviously low; they were very numerous and consequently their holdings were small and their oxen few. (23)

The wealth of the free men of the county was slightly greater than that of the sokemen. The free man's share of the plough-beasts, ranges from 2 oxen to a full team, but there can have been very few having no oxen, or merely part-ownership in a single ox. The details concerning their oxen are worth recording for comparison with those of the sokemen: 4 had 4 ploughs each, 10 had a share of 3 ploughs, 2 had 5 ploughs between them, 35 had a share of 2 ploughs each and 9 had 15 ploughs between them. Twenty men appear to have had about $1\frac{1}{2}$ plough-teams, 108 had about a full team each, 61 seem to have had five or six oxen each, 198 to have had three or four oxen, 206 to have had two oxen each, and 52 appear to have contributed one ox to the plough-teams. In a number of entries relating to 54 men, a single ox cannot be allowed to each free man. As in Hinckford hundred, there were a number of sokemen with no plough-beasts, or at best, a share in the ownership of a single ox, so, too, there were free men with no better equipment, but even in this hundred, the free men usually possessed more beasts than the sokeman.

23. Yet they are relatively numerous in view of the low assessments.

The twenty years which preceded the making of Domesday were accompanied by many changes, a number of the sokemen were depressed, and those that remained suffered slightly. Generally the number of their ploughs was unchanged, but the changes which did take place were usually for the worse. In four instances the number of oxen possessed by the surviving sokemen shows an increase in 1086: a group of six sokemen (24) with 4 teams in 1066 have 4½ in 1086; where there were 3 men with 2 ploughs, (25) there are four with 3 ploughs, while in two instances the ploughs remain the same but the number of sokemen has decreased - where there were in 1066 17 men with 4 ploughs, (26) there were in 1086, 13 with 4 ploughs, and where there were 12 men with one plough, (27) there are in 1086, 11 men with a plough-team between them. The number of beasts contributed by each sokeman to the ploughs has decreased in 11 instances; in two cases it is due to the fact that the number of sokemen has increased while the ploughs have remained the same, for where there were six sokemen with 2 teams in 1066, there are 8 sokemen with 2 teams in 1086, (28) and where there were 20 men with 3 ploughs in 1066 there are 30 men with the same number of ploughs in 1086. (29) In one case the number of sokemen has increased but the number of ploughs has decreased; in place of 13 men with 8½ ploughs there were in 1086

24. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex. 1.446 (Waltham Abbey)

25. Ibid., 1.453 (Felstead)

26. Ibid., 1.424-5 (Lawford)

27. Ibid., 1.564 (Gestingthorpe)

28. Ibid., 1.431 (Wethersfield)

29. Ibid., 1.504 (Marks Tey)

14 men with 8 ploughs.(30) In two entries both sokemen and ploughs have decreased; in the first instance there were in 1066 12 men with 2 ploughs, there are in 1086 10 men with $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs, (31) and in the second there were formerly 17 men with 6 ploughs, as against 16 men with 4 ploughs in 1086. (32) In the remaining six entries the number of sokemen is constant but their plough-teams decrease - one man who had a half-plough in 1066 had no plough (33) in 1086; three men had two ploughs in 1066 but only one plough in 1086; (34) three men who formerly had 4 ploughs had only $3\frac{1}{2}$ in 1086; (35) six men had 2 ploughs in 1066 and only one in 1086; (36) one man who had a plough-team in 1066 had a half-plough in 1086; (37) another who had $1\frac{1}{2}$ teams in 1066 had only one team (38) in 1086, while two men who had had one team had only a half-team in 1086.(39) The decreases occur among men with both many and few oxen, but nearly all the decreases quoted above are from sokemen in the north of the county.

30. Vict. Co.Hist. Essex.i.512. (Saffron Walden)
31. ibid.,1.439 (Copford)
32. ibid.,1.465 (Great Tey)
33. ibid.,1.465-6 (Boxted)
34. ibid.,1.470 (Lawford)
35. ibid.,1.477 (Thaxted)
36. ibid.,1.509 (High Easter)
37. ibid.,1.434 (Malden) 1.511 (Shellow Bowells)
38. ibid.,1.522-3 (Little Dunmow)
39. ibid.,1.524 (Michelstow)

E. Hertfordshire.

The average holding for the Hertfordshire sokeman was a virgate in 1066 and two virgates in 1086, (40) and the villein holding was probably a virgate here. In dealing with the teams of the Hertfordshire sokemen it is necessary to compile two sets of figures, the first relating to those sokemen who are recorded as holding their land as sub-tenants, and the second for those who are enumerated together with the villeins on an estate. In the latter case it is assumed that the sokemen and villeins ^{were} ~~are~~ equal in respect of their ploughing oxen, but difficulties occur when sokemen had villeins under them, as it is doubtful whether equality existed under these circumstances, yet it would be rash to suppose that the villeins on such estates had no share in the plough-teams. As a compromise, two figures are given for the entries in which villeins hold under sokemen, the first excludes the villeins and the second includes them on an equal basis, and this arrangement is best presented by a table.

Table vi.

VILLAGE	SOKEMEN	PLOUGHS	SHARE OF EACH MAN	VILLEINS	SHARE IF VILLEINS ARE INCLUDED
Offley	2R	5	8 oxen	2	9 oxen
Offley	1h	1	8 "	1	4 "
Wesel	1h	1	16 "	2	5 "
Hexton	1h	1	4 "	1	2 "
Bricewolde 3x	2	1	4 "	1	3 "

The ploughs of the sokemen who did not have villeins under them are these, four had a full team each, one at Wellbury (41) with

40. See above p. 137 & 140.

41. Vict. Co. Hist. Herts., i. 303-4.

1 hide, another at Wilei (42) with 2 virgates and two at Libury with 1 hide and 3 virgates; four seem to have had a half-plough, one at Flexmere (44) with 15 acres, and three at Ley Green (45) with $\frac{1}{2}$ plough on 1 virgate; two had two oxen each, one at Stanstead (46) and the other at Chells, (47) both with 15 acres. There are two other entries worth mentioning here, relating to Wickham (48) and Sacomb, (49) where the sokemen held 8 and 15 acres respectively; in each case there was land for 2 oxen, but it is not recorded whether or not the sokemen were possessed of this number.

In those entries in which the ploughs of the sokemen are not distinguished from those of the villeins, three may have had 5 or 6 oxen each, for at Broxbourne (50) 4 villeins, a priest and a sokemen had 5 ploughs, at Bygrave (51) 10 villeins, a priest and 2 sokemen had 9 ploughs and at Ware (52) 38 villeins, a priest, a reeve, three Frenchmen and 2 Englishmen who succeed sokemen and have therefore been included in this class, possessed 26 ploughs. In a few other instances the sokemen may have had three or four oxen, but as there is usually a large number of villeins, these calculations are of doubtful value. The sokemen

42. ibid., 1.304.
 43. ibid., 1.377.
 44. ibid., 1.304.
 45. ibid., 1.304.
 46. ibid., 1.332.
 47. ibid., 1.333.
 48. ibid., 1.332.
 49. ibid., 1.343.
 50. ibid., 1.344.
 51. ibid., 1.311.
 52. ibid., 1.326-7.

whose land is recorded separately, possessed in some instances, a full team, and in others, so few as 2 oxen, which is rare among the villeins, but there are extremes from the men who held very large or very small holdings and it is probable the sokemen, on the average, possessed three or four oxen.

F. Bedfordshire.

Like that of Cambridgeshire, the Bedfordshire survey affords but little material. The evidence for this county is not restricted to one region, but there is less of it. In three instances the share of the individual sokeman in the recorded teams is estimated at more than 4 oxen - in one entry three sokemen had three ploughs, (53) in a second entry 11 men had 8 ploughs (54) and in the third two men had $1\frac{1}{2}$ teams. (55) A share of four oxen is to be inferred in three entries, those where 2 sokemen have one plough, (56) 20 have between them 10 ploughs (57) and three have $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. (58) In another entry there are recorded 7 sokemen with 3 teams. (59) A smaller share is, however, suggested by the occurrence of four men with

- 53. Vict. Co. Hist. Beds. 1.232 (Dean)
- 54. ibid., 1.238 (Salpho)
- 55. ibid., 1.224 (Carlton)
- 56. ibid., 1.225-4 (Bolnhurst)
- 57. ibid., 1.224 (Wilden)
- 58. ibid., 1.242 (Chicksand)
- 59. ibid., 1.225-6 (Sharnbrook)

1 plough, (60) 20 with 6 ploughs, (61) three with 1 plough (62) and 11 with 3 ploughs. (63) Although it would be unwise to generalise on so little material, it may be suggested that a share of four oxen was common, even though perhaps not the average. Turning to the ploughs of the villeins, we find that where villeins were on land formerly in the hands of sokemen, they have a share of less than 4 oxen each_x in 35 instances, of a half-team in 9 instances and of over 4 oxen in 31 instances. Where, as far as we know, villeins were not on sokeland, they have a share of fewer than 4 oxen in 47 entries, of 4 oxen in 15 entries and of more than 4 oxen in 28 instances. There seems to be a slight tendency for villeins who succeed sokemen to have a greater number of oxen than the villeins who are not on soken-land.

G. Buckinghamshire.

There is less evidence for Buckinghamshire than for any of the other counties. Only in one entry are the plough-teams of the sokemen recorded and that relates to Lavendon (64) where three sokemen had 1 hide and 1 virgate, and half a plough-team with 1 villein. At Weston Underwood (65) 4 villeins, 7 sokemen and a Frenchman had 6 ploughs, which works out at 4 oxen each. In the the remaining entries the ploughs of the sokemen are not recorded.

60. ibid., i. 225 (Easton)
 61. ibid., i. 232 (Tilbrook)
 62. ibid., i. 262 (Chicksand)
 63. ibid., i. 265 (Dean)
 64. Ybtt. Co. Hist. Bucks. i. 241.
 65. ibid., i. 240.

Regarding their farm stock other than ploughing beasts, information is found only in the Essex Survey and there it is recorded in but a few cases, and It will be convenient to enter these here:-

- a) At Finchingfield (66) there were 2 sokemen with 48 acres, woodland for 6 swine and 6 acres of pasture. Their stock consisted of $1\frac{1}{2}$ plough-teams, 1 rouncey, 10 beasts, 20 swine and 100 sheep.
- b) At How Hall (67) three sokemen had 32 acres and 8 acres of meadow, here there were 2 plough-teams, 5 beasts and 20 sheep.
- c) At Putsey (68) there was one sokeman with 75 acres of land, he had 1 plough, 1 rouncey, 8 swine and 25 sheep.
- d) At Berden (69) a sokeman held 2 hides, 2 acres of meadow and woodland for 10 swine, here there were 3 plough-teams, one on the demesne and 2 for the men, 14 swine and 25 sheep.
- e) At Broxted (70) two sokemen of Ely held 9 acres, with 6 acres of meadow, and woodland for 100 swine. There were 3 ploughs, 1 rouncey, 3 beasts and 16 swine.

If an average can be judged from 5 entries, it might be about a dozen swine, 20 sheep and 3 or 4 beasts. The flock of 100 sheep at Finchingfield appears to be unusual.

Reference should be made here to the villeins and bordars who held under sokemen. It has been said by Professor Stenton of the Northern Danelaw that "men of inferior rank may have held

66. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex. i. 478.

67. Ibid., i. 479.

68. Ibid., i. 478.

69. Ibid., i. 489.

70. Ibid., i. 493.

71. Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw, p. 19.

their tenements under the sokemen;" bordars are sometimes found on the land of sokemen, but that villeins holding under sokemen are rare, and this is equally true of the Southern Danelaw.

Villeins are recorded on the land of sokemen in several entries - in Haddenham (72) in Cambridgeshire, in Lavendon (73) in Buckinghamshire, in Offley (74) Walei, (75) Hexton, (76) Bricewolde, (77) in Hertfordshire, and in 9 villages in Essex - Thaxted, (78) Halsted, (79) Berden, (80) High Easter, (81) Little Dunmow, (82) Castle Hedingham, (83) Beaumont, (84) Radwinter (85) and Stevington End. (86) Bordars are more frequently found in Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire; likewise in Bedfordshire where only a few sokemen cultivated their land with assistance, namely at Bolnhurst, (87) Dean, (88) Tilbrook, (89) Chicksand (90) and Risely (91) In Hertfordshire both bordars and cottars are recorded on estates of sokemen. In Essex it was in the north where large groups of sokemen are found that bordars occur on

72. I.C.C.ed. Hamilton p.118.
 73. Vict. Co.Hist.Bucks., p. 241.
 74. Vict. Co.Hist. Herts., i.303.
 75. ibid., i. 304.
 76. ibid., i. 304.
 77. ibid., i. 343.
 78. Vict. Co.Hist. Essex, 477.
 79. ibid., i. 479.
 80. ibid., i. 493.
 81. ibid., i. 509.
 82. ibid., i. 522-3.
 83. ibid., i. 533.
 84. ibid., i. 535.
 85. ibid., i. 535.
 86. ibid., i. 536.
 87. Vn&t., Co. Hist. Beds. i.223-4.
 88. ibid., i. 232.
 89. ibid., i. 232.
 90. ibid., i. 242.
 91. ibid., i. 225.

their tenements. Occasionally these villeins and bordars cultivating the holdings of sokemen had their own plough-teams, as at Wellbury (92) in Hertfordshire and at Binneslea (93) in Essex.

Table vii. PEASANTRY ON HOLDINGS OF SOKEMEN.

PLACE	SOKEMEN		V	B 1066	S	V	B 1086	S
	1066	1086						
WETHERSFIELD	6	8		1			1	
FERRING	12	12		6			6	
FELSTEAD	3	4					2	
CHRESHALL	(1)4	1		(4)			4	
FINCHINGFIELD	(2)5			2		2		
THAXTED	(3)	3	10					
GESTINGTHORPE	1	1		2			2	
GREAT YELDHAM	8			5	5			
FINCHINGFIELD	2			4				
WICKAM ST. PAULS	2			5	1			
BINNESLEA	1			10	2			
ASHEN	2			2				
FINCHINGFIELD	3			4	4			
HOW HALL	3			5	2			
BURES	(13)	13		9	1		16	
FOXEARH	(19)	19		10	2		19	1
ALPHAMSTONE	(15)3	15					3	
MIDDLETONE	(13)	13		8			8	
STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD	3	3		2			2	
TWINSTEAD	(18)	18		7			7	
CHENEBOLTUNA	(15)	15		3			3	
HALSTEAD	(22)	22	1	5	2	1	5	2
COLNE	4	4		2			2	
FORDHAM	1	1		3			6	
PUTSEY	1			3				
BERDEN	1		4	5	4			
BROXTED	2			3	3			
RODING ABBESS	1	1			1			1
WEELEY	2			5				
SOUTH OCKENDON	(13)	13		(12)			12	
HIGH EASTER	6	6					3	
" "	2		8	6	3			
SHELOW BOWELLS	1	1		1			1	
DUNMOW	1			1				
SAFFRON WALDEN	13	14		10			14	
PLEDGDEN	1			3				
BIRCHANGER	1			3				

92. Vict. Co. Herts. i. 303-4.

93. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex i. 478.

PLACE	SOKEMEN-		V	B	S	V	B	S
	1066	1086						
WORMINGFORD	19	19		8			8	
LITTLE DUNMOW	1	1	1		1	1		1
PENTLOW	18	18			4		4	1
CASTLE HEDINGHAM	13	13	5		6	18	22	2
BELCHAMP WALTER	7	7					4	
HERSHAM HALL	2				5			
EARLS COLNE	4			10	4			
BEAUMONT	1	1	2	2	1		3	
RADWINTER	1		4	1	1			
STEVINGTON END	2		3	2				
" "	1			2				
STANSTEAD HALL	?(96)			6	4			
GESTINGTHORPE	12	11		4	1		4	1

V = Villeins. B= Bordars. S= Slaves.

From the foregoing investigation it may be inferred that the sokemen of the Southern Danelaw usually possessed but a few plough-oxen; in the north east, in Cambridgeshire and north Essex, the average seems to have been two or three oxen, but in the south and west sokemen generally had three or four plough-beasts. The men with the larger holding might have as much as two whole plough-teams but even the possession of a team or more was comparatively rare. The evidence relating to the rest of their farm stock is not sufficient to permit generalisation, but it is improbable that the average sokeman possessed more than a few sheep and swine. Where the sokemen were in a position to have other peasants working under them, these were usually bordars, although villeins, cottars and slaves are also recorded on the holdings of sokemen.

94. (See p.161) Brackets show sokemen not actually recorded on an estate in 1066 but who were probably there at that date.
95. (See p.161) Holders were 2 sokemen and 1 free man.
96. Number not recorded.

3. Right of Alienation.

The ability of a sokeman to dispose of his land is a matter of great importance for it has been said that one of the differences between a liber homo and a sokeman was that the former could sell his land freely while the latter could not.⁽¹⁾

⁽²⁾ Vinogradoff has said that although the ordinary sokeman could not sell his land, the King's sokeman, being in a privileged position could often do so freely as if he were a liber homo. Round ⁽³⁾ asserts that there existed among sokemen two kinds of tenure, that of the sokemen who were free to part with their land, and the tenure of those who could not do so without their lord's permission. He found, too, that in the I.E. and elsewhere, a distinction is maintained between demesne land, sokeland and thegnland and thinks that the distinction between "thegmland" and "sokeland" fits in exactly with the difference of tenure. The passages which Round cites certainly support his view and the theory that the ability of a sokeman to sell his land depended upon what land he held may be of general application, but a more detailed investigation of a wider range of evidence would be necessary before it could be admitted that every sokeman incapable of selling his land without reference to some one with superior rights over his tenement, was the holder of "thegmland".

1. Lord Lyttelton as cited by Ellis who himself states (Introduction to Domesday, 1.71) that inability to sell "is not a general description of tenure in socage."
2. English Society in the Eleventh Century pp 432-437.
3. Feudal England, pp 28-30.

Before the evidence coming from the Southern Danelaw as a whole is analysed in detail it will be convenient to discover the opinion of those who have worked on East Anglia and the Northern Danelaw. Mr. Douglas in writing of East Anglia follows Vinogradoff and states that in the main the somewhat vague distinction between free man and sokeman "seems to have been enforced rather in connection with the ability to alienate land, which frequently appears as the distinguishing mark between the two classes." (4) Mr. Johnson in the Introduction to Domesday in the Victoria County History of Norfolk (5) writes of that "incident of tenure which seems to be regarded as a diminutio capitis: it is a restriction of the right of a free man to sell his land." He remarks that there was a kind of a scale of freedom, headed by the man who was absolutely free to sell his land. The closest restriction apparently was found on church lands and Mr. Johnson concludes that where men were not free to sell their land, it might be because those lands "were originally part of the demesne, the 'mensal' or 'board' land of a religious house, and that the tenants were what we should call at a later date 'freemen holding by villein service' ". Johnson also suggests that this might well apply to the sokemen who were holding land which had been part of the demesne of the greater English lay lords.

The surveys of the counties comprising the Northern Danelaw do not record whether the sokeman could or could not sell their land, but the ability of the free peasantry of this region to

4. The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia, p. 110

5. Vict. Co. Hist. Norfolk, 1.32

dispose of all or part of their land in the twelfth century is proved beyond doubt by the evidence of the charters collected by Professor Stenton (6) and it seems not unreasonable to assume that the sokemen of Domesday were equally free from seigneurial restrictions.

It is the purpose of the present investigation to try to discover whether there was any apparent reason why some sokemen in the Southern Danelaw could sell their land, while others were unable to do so. A variety of formulae are used to indicate whether or not individuals were free to dispose of their tenement. A sokeman is recorded as able to sell his land to whomsoever he wished (terram suam vendere potuit cui voluit), or he might "be able to withdraw with his land" (recedere potuit, or if the scribe was more explicit, potuit recedere cum terra sua absque licentia domini sui). A longer expression was also used - that a man might "be able to assign (his holding) or withdraw without the license of his lord" or that he might "be able to assign and sell (his holding) to whomsoever he wished without license (potuit dare vel recedere absque licentia domini sui or potuit dare et vendere cui voluit absque licentia). Moreover each of these expressions might be used negatively, as "non potuit recedere sine licentia."

(7)

Round in Feudal England discussed these various expressions and by collating D.B., the I.C.C. and the I.E. came to the

6. Introduction to Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw, pp LXXXVIII - LXXXIX. Concerning the sokeman's ability to sell his tenement, see also Domesday Book and Beyond, p.73. In later times land held by socage tenure was freely alienated. (Pollock and Maitland - History of English Law, 1.291-3.
7. Feudal England, pp 22-26.

conclusion (8) that "dare, vendere and recedere" are all interchangeably used and that even any two of them (whether they have the conjunction "et" or the disjunction "vel" between them) are identical with any one. Further the insertion or omission of the phrase "sine" or ("absque") ejus licentia is immaterial, it being understood where not expressed." So too the words "cui voluit" are understood where not written. Yet another phrase is found in Essex (9) where a sokeman is said to hold his land freely - "dimidiam hidam quam tenuit libere" and at the same time was "able to betake himself with his alnd whither he would "et tamen cum terra sua posset ire quo voluit." Here freely is a shorter way of expressing the second phrase.

Along the west of the Southern Danelaw sokemen were usually able to sell their land, irrespective of whether they were men of the King or of any other lord. In Northamptonshire which is like the Northern Danelaw in that it is not recorded whether the sokemen were free to dispose of their holdings to whom they wished. It might be justifiable to assume that the sokemen were free to dispose of their holdings. In Bedfordshire, there are only five cases in which the liberty to sell is restricted. Two men at Eaton Socon (10) could not sell, one man at Tempsford (11) and another at Stanford (12) and one of the three sokemen at Dean (13) were also unable to sell. The fifth entry is important; at Dean (14) six sokemen held 4

8. Feudal England, p.26.

9. D.B. ii fo 5b.

10. Vict. Co.Hist. Beds. i.234.

11. ibid., i.235.

12. ibid., i.237.

13. ibid., i.232.

14. ibid., i.224.

hides, $\frac{1}{32}$ hides of which were of the King's soke, these they could sell without the leave of Borret whose men they were, the remaining half hide, however, they could assign or sell without his leave. This entry makes it clear that the deciding factor was the land and not the status of the men. Every other sokeman of Bedfordshire was able to dispose of his land. ~~Bedfordshire was able to dispose of his land.~~ Bedfordshire is the one county in which the ability or inability of the sokeman to part with his land was most carefully recorded, and it is certain that ⁶⁶sokemen here could sell their land.

Conditions similar to those in Bedfordshire prevailed in Hertfordshire, for in that county only seven men are recorded as unable to dispose of their land. Two of these were at Bygrave, (15) two at Titeberst (16) one at Tring, (17) one at Sawbridgeworth (18) and one at Sacomb. (19) We do not know whether about 20 other sokemen, for whom there are no details, were free to part with their land, but every other sokeman of Hertfordshire was able to sell his holding to whom he wished.

In Buckinghamshire a number of sokemen appear for the first time after the Conquest and Domesday Book says nothing of their ability to sell, but details concerning 39 sokemen of 1066 are available. Of these only two could not sell their land, one at Iver (20) and the other at Wycombe (21) and the remaining 37

15. Vict. Co. Hist. Herts. 1.311.
16. ibid., 1. 315 and 4.330.
17. ibid., 1. 320-21.
18. ibid., 1. 332.
19. ibid., 1. 337.
20. Vict. Co. Hist. Bucks. 1. 257-8.
21. ibid., 1. 243.

sokemen could all dispose of their holdings.

The Middlesex entries are more interesting and it is found that 14 sokemen could sell their land, while 10 could not. Of those who could not sell, 4 were the men of Azor, two the men of Asgar the Staller, and two the men of the Bishop of London; the remaining two were on manors held by Earl Harold and Wigot. Of those who could sell, two were the men of Albert, two the men of Earl Lewin, two the men of Ulward, one the man of Azor, another of St. Paul and one was a sokeman of the King; five were on land held by Asgar the Staller of the King.

In the counties on the western border of the Southern Danelaw (not including Middlesex) the sokemen are remarkably free so far as the disposal of their tenement is concerned, it is when we turn to Essex and more especially to Cambridgeshire that we find restrictions recorded with greater frequency. In Essex, unfortunately, it is difficult to find details concerning the power of the sokeman to sell his land. What few entries there are, have been collected and include on the one hand men who are able to sell or who hold their land freely and on the other men who cannot withdraw. Upon investigation it has been found that 22 men could sell their land while 103 are recorded as unable to withdraw. It is important to look at the geographical distribution of these men. Of those who could sell their land one was at Writtle (22) in Chelmsford hundred, and one at Roding Abbess (23) in Ongar hundred, one at Childerditch (24)

22. Vicb. Co. Hist. Essex. i. 433-4

23. ibid., i. 494.

24. ibid., i. 494-5.

in Chafford and the man named Alvrice held land at Radwinter (25) and Stevington End (25) in Freshwell hundred. Thirteen sokemen who held freely are recorded at Ockendon (26) in Chafford hundred and another at Ashdon (27) in Uttlesford. These hundreds with the exception of Chelmsford lie in the west of the county, but Lexden where the other sokemen who held freely are found, is in the north east. Of the sokemen of this hundred, three were at Messing (28) and one at Wakes Colne. (29) In this hundred they were exceptions for it is in Lexden, that the majority of the sokemen who were unable to withdraw are recorded; of these 12 occur at Copford (30) 12 at Feering, (31) 17 at Great Tey, (32) 20 at Marks Tey, (33) 1 at Boxted, (34) 1 at Great Birch (35) and 19 at Wormingford; (36) 82 of the 111 sokemen of Lexden were unable to sell their land. The other sokemen who could not sell were: 16 in Hinckford hundred, 13 at Castle Hedingham, (37) 2 at Hershams Hall (38) and 1 at Stanstead; (39) 1 at Beaumont(40) in Tendring hundred; one in the hundred of Rochford at Sutton(41) and 3 in Chelmsford hundred at Great Baddow. (42)

25. ibid., 1.535-6.
26. ibid., 1.505.
27. ibid., 1.525.
28. ibid., 1.543.
29. ibid., 1.550.
30. ibid., 1.439.
31. ibid., 1.444.
32. ibid., 1.465.
33. ibid., 1.504.
34. ibid., 1.465-6
35. ibid., 1.466.
36. ibid., 1.517.
37. ibid., 1.533.
38. ibid., 1.534
39. ibid., 1.550.
40. ibid., 1.535.
41. ibid., 1.562.
42. ibid., 1.439-4.

The above figures show that the majority of the sokemen of Lexden, a hundred which adjoins Suffolk, could not sell and the other sokemen who were unable to alienate their tenements are recorded in hundreds which also lie in the east. The conditions traceable to Essex like those in Cambridgeshire, for in both counties there is a great difference between the east and west; generally speaking the men of the west in each county can sell their land and those of the east cannot. A greater number of sokemen are included in the Cambridgeshire analysis for there is more detailed information relating to that county yet even though the figures for Essex are few, the resemblance is striking. Before we turn to Cambridgeshire, evidence relating to the free men of Essex may be examined. Forty-five free men are recorded as able to sell their land and the names of five of these are entered in Domesday - Coleman at Roding Morrell, Alwin at Little Bromley, Seruin and Erfin at Chignal and Ulsi at Aveley. Twenty-three of the 39 unnamed free men are recorded at South Hanningfield in Chelmsford hundred, 4 at Black~~am~~, and 8 at Tolleshunt Major in Thurstable hundred, one each at Horkesley, Prested and Copford in Lexden hundred and one at Prittlewell and three at Sutton in Rochford hundred. There are two free men, brothers named Bund and Alric, at Audley who could not withdraw themselves without the permission of Aelfgar, and there are also free men in East Anglia who were not free to dispose of their lands. It is clear therefore that although it is rare, it is possible to find free men who were unable to sell their holdings.

On turning to Cambridgeshire, we find that there were in this county many men of the King; 19 recorded in a single entry (43) could not sell their land, one other sokeman of the King was unable to dispose of his ~~land~~^{holding}, and there are several others whose ability to sell is not specifically recorded; but all the rest numbering about 161 could sell their land. None of the sokemen of the Abbot of Ely in the two hundreds of Ely could alienate their land. Of the Abbot's men outside those hundreds, 64 could sell their land and 42 could not sell. All the men of the Abbot of Ramsey could dispose of their holdings and so could all, save possibly three, of the men of Archbishop Stigand. Of the men of Eddeva the Fair, 84 could sell. 33 could not sell and for the rest no particulars are given. Earl Aelfgar was the lord of 47 sokemen who could sell and 5 who could not, but he had 20 other men concerning whose ability to sell we are left in doubt. Eleven of the men of Earl Harold could not sell their holdings and there are no particulars for the remaining 3 of his men. Only one of the five men of Gurth could sell, while 8 of the men of Waltheof and all those of Asgar the Staller and Robert fitz Wimarc were able to dispose of their land freely.

As it stands the above list does not reveal much except that the sokemen of the King were, on the whole, free to sell to whom they wished. A table has been prepared which excludes the sokemen of King Edward, but includes all other sokemen. It shows where the sokemen could sell and where they could not and

43. This entry is of doubtful value, for the 19 sokemen do not occur in the corresponding I.C.C. entry.

reveals the importance of the geographical factor. In the eastern hundreds of Staine, Radfield, Flendish, Whittlesford, Chilford and Ely sokemen were not usually able to sell their land without their lord's permission, in the western hundreds of Armingford, Wetherley, Long Stow, Papworth, North Stow and Chesterton, and in one eastern hundred - Staploe, it was rare for a sokemen to be unable to sell their lands. Thriplow was on the border line, most of the sokemen in that hundred could sell but their privileged position is not so obvious.

Table viii.	Abbot & Ely.		Abbot of Ramsey		Arch-bishop to Stigand		Eadmon		Earl Aelfgar		Earl Harold		Earl Godwin	
	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
STAPLOE	-	-	-	-	6	-	12	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
STAINÉ	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
RADFIELD	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	10	8	1	-	9	-	-
FLENDISH	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	2	-	-	-	-
CHILFORD	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	1
WHITTLESFORD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
THRIFLOW	2	7	-	-	-	-	9	-	2	-	-	2	-	3
ARMINGFORD	3	1	-	-	6	-	15	-	12	-	-	-	-	1
WETHERLEY	1	-	-	-	5	-	6	-	11	-	-	-	-	-
LONG STOW	2	5	5	-	7	-	3	-	13	-	-	-	-	-
PAPWORTH	4	1	11	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NORTH STOW	18	3	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CHESTERTON	4	1	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ELY	-	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Earl Godwin	Asgar the Staller	Robert f. Wimer	Other lords	Unknown
STAPLOE	-	-	-	13	-
STAINÉ	-	-	-	-	7
RADFIELD	-	-	-	3	5
FLENDISH	-	-	-	-	8
CHILFORD	-	-	-	-	15
WHITTLESFORD	-	-	-	3	-
THRIFLOW	-	1	-	-	4
ARMINGFORD	-	-	2	9	14
WETHERLEY	7	4	5	5	-
LONG STOW	-	-	1	3	18
PAPWORTH	-	-	-	17	-
NORTH STOW	-	-	-	1	-
CHESTERTON	-	-	-	9	1
ELY	-	-	-	-	4

S = sokemen able to sell their tenements.

U = sokemen unable to sell their tenements without their lord's consent.

The natural conclusion is that the sokemen of the west were freer than those of the east, and it will be recalled that in the rest of the Southern Danelaw, the sokemen on the western borders were generally free to sell. Improbable though it may be as the solution of a curious problem, the suggestion might possibly be hazarded that the sokemen of east Cambridgeshire and those of Essex who are likewise living on the border of East Anglia are unable to sell their land because the regions in which they dwell have been influenced by East Anglian customs. Conditions in East Anglia varied but we get the impression that there were in Norfolk and Suffolk many sokemen who ^{were} not able to sell their land to whom they wished without permission of their lord.

In the Southern Danelaw the sokemen of the King were with ~~two~~ exceptions able to sell their land and so far Vinogradoff's general statement mentioned above is applicable to these parts, but his statement that the normal sokeman could not sell his holding is contrary to the evidence which has been collected here, for except in the east, it is abnormal to find a sokeman whose ability to part with his land is restricted. On Round's theory the mass of the tenements in the east of the Southern Danelaw must have been thegnlands and those in the west sokelands, but it is hard to believe that this was so. There is, however, an entry (44) in the Bedfordshire Survey which supports his contention that the ability of the sokeman to sell his land depended upon the nature of that land, there the sokemen could

44.

sell most of their land which was of the King's soke, but it is expressly stated that one half-hide could not be sold without the licence of the lord to whom these sokemen were commended. The results of the foregoing inquiry are inconclusive but it is at least clear that the ability to dispose of the tenement depended upon tenure and not status and it would be impossible to maintain that the tenure of the liber homo was distinguishable from that of the sokeman because it gave him the right to sell his land.

4. Payments and Services.

There appear to have been at least three different kinds of payments which might be made by sokemen. These are Danegeld, soke dues and customary dues. That the sokeman was responsible for the geld, chargeable on his estate has been proved by Professor Stenton, (1) who shows that the sokemen made payment direct to the King's officials and not ~~to~~^{through} an intermediary. His responsibility for his geld is one of the distinguishing marks of a sokeman, for the villein was not directly responsible to the royal officials. That all sokemen were responsible for the taxation resting on their land cannot be doubted, though in the Southern Danelaw there is only one entry which can be used as proof of the sokeman's personal responsibility for the

1. The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, p. xxvi.

payment of geld and that has been inserted because this particular sokeman had been exempt from payment. At Libury (2) a sokeman of the King held 25 acres, which "Peter the Sheriff took from this sokeman of King William into the same King's hands as forfeit for his not having discharged the King's geld. So his men say, but the men of the shire(moot) do not bear out the evidence of the Sheriff, because it was always free of geld and other (dues) to the King as long as the (sokeman) held it, according to the testimony of the hundred (moot)."

After national taxation there come those payments made by sokemen to their lords; of these there were two main kinds, soke dues payable to the man who had soke over the sokeman, and customary dues, which might also include soke dues, and were payable to the lord to whom the sokeman was commended. ^{The two} ~~Both~~ dues might be and often were paid to the same lord, if he had ^{both} the commendation and the soke over his sokemen. In many cases the payments are recorded without an indication of their character or veiled by the term "customary payments". As to ⁽³⁾ the origin of the payments rendered by sokemen, Professor Stenton states that "little can be said with any confidence". Of those payments which are called customary, he writes "the term is sufficiently vague to cover different payments of very diverse natures; while at the same time it points unmistakably to the fact that the exactions which it covers are being levied as a matter of customary practice. That in some cases the consuetudines covered the whole value of the soke to the lord is

2. Vict. Co.Hist. Herts. i. 337

3. Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw, pp34-36.

made probable by the description of the Nottinghamshire soke of Oswaldbeck (fo. 281b) where "hi sochmanni reddebant^x solidos de consuetudine" gives the information supplied by "hæc soca valet^x solidos". Professor Stenton goes on to say that "at times it is clear that the sokeman's payments to his lord represent a commutation of rents in money or in kind," and suggests that these have been made up of food rents, payments for the use of the manorial mill or in connection with foldsoke. But even then not only is the origin of the payments obscure but also it seems "their incidence was determined by no consistent principle."

As in the Northern Danelaw, so in the South it is not possible to discover what were the origins of the payments recorded, and all that can be done is to set down what payments have been recorded here.

In Essex sokemen and free men were often called upon to render certain dues to the manors to which they were attached. It is impossible to tell the precise nature of these dues and customs, for even the fuller details of the Little Domesday (4) do not always even record how much money was due, as at Lawford there were in that manor T.R.E. four sokemen who rendered all the customary dues. As the accompanying table shows, dues are mentioned in 14 entries and the payments are recorded as 'all customary dues', 'soke dues', and 'dues owing to the King'. They are paid by both free men and sokemen, but we find that in one or two places these dues are no longer paid.

These 14 entries are of interest and especially so is the
4. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex., 1.434-5

entry for Witham, (5) where 34 free men used to render by custom 10s 11d, but the amount paid by each man is not recorded. In 1086 only 32 men remained; "of these Ilbodo holds two with 45 acres and they are worth 6s and they render to the manor their customary due. Tedric Pointel holds 6 with half a hide and 22¹/₂ acres who render their customary due and are worth 20s. Ranulf Peverel holds 10 with 2 hides and 45 acres who do not render their customary due and are worth 15s. William son of Grosse holds 5 with 1 hide and 15 acres of whom only one renders his customary due and are worth £3. 13s. Ralf Baignard holds 6 with half a hide and 35 acres, of whom one renders his customary due and they are worth 20s. Hamo dapifer holds one with half a hide, he renders his customary due and is worth 20s. Goscelin the lorimer has the land of one and does not render his customary due, as to the rest the men of the hundred know nothing." The sums paid by seven other free men are known - five at Langford (6) had 3 virgates and 1 acre and paid the King a customary due of 15d, one at Terling (7) had five acres and he used to render 10d, and at Chingford (8) a free man held a five-hide estate which is now held by Orgar the thegn and it renders 10d to Waltham as payment for soke. There is no common basis for the dues, for at Langford the rate is either 3d a man or 5d for 30 acres and agrees with neither of the others, except possibly Witham, where the holdings of 33 men amount to 702 acres. If the rate were

5. ibid., i. 428-9.

6. ibid., i. 521.

7. ibid., i. 527.

8. ibid., i. 514.

5d a virgate, the sum of 10s 11d would be paid on 786 acres, and it is possible that the holding of the last man about whom the men of the hundred knew nothing, was about 84 acres. The only point in common between the last two entries is that each man paid 10d, though one held 5 hides and the other 5 acres. Four other free men with 4 hides at Havering (9) rendered dues to the manor in that place T.R.E. but they are not paid in 1086. The sokemen from whom payments were due number 20, this figure includes a man of the soke of Lawford (10) who pays dues and may be a sokeman, and there were also 152 sokemen in the hundred of Hinckford (11) who with 5 burgesses paid £15 6s 6d, but this may have been as rent as well as a customary due. There was a sokeman of Chreshall who rendered 2d.(12) Other dues owed by sokemen are these - "all customary dues" were rendered by 4 sokemen at Lawford (13) and 2 at Newport;(14) "a customary due" was owing from Leyton(15) where there were 8 sokemen, or probably these were the free men of Havering who did not pay; "soke dues" were rendered by a sokeman to Great Chesterfield (16) and a "King's due" was owing from 7 acres, the land of a sokeman at Thaxted.(17) Three entries deal with dues that have not been paid; the first relates to 18 sokemen of the King in the hundred of Hinckford(18)

9. ibid., i. 429-30.
10. ibid., i. 541 (Ardleigh)
11. ibid., i. 480 (Sudbury)
12. ibid., i. 470-71.
13. ibid., i. 434-5.
14. ibid., i. 435-6.
15. ibid., i. 546.
16. ibid., &. 430.
17. ibid., i. 477.
18. ibid., i. 431.

who hold 26½ acres and have never rendered any customary dues except the King's service. The second concerns Golstan a sokeman of King William at White Roding (19) who has never rendered service or customary due. The last entry relates to a free man of the hundred of Chafford, (20) who belonged to Havering T.R.E. and whom St. Peter has now because he came to the abbey of his own accord and he no longer renders customary dues to Havering, presumably because he is now commended to another lord. The examples quoted above make it clear that at certain centres such as Havering, sokemen and free men were responsible for customary and soie dues, though the two may be the same. The sokemen and free men of the King also rendered dues which may be included in the term "all customary dues".

Table ix.

DUES PAID BY SOKEMEN AND FREE MEN

RENDERED TO	PAYABLE FROM	Freemen	Sokemen	S	D	H	V	A
WITHAM	WITHAM	34		10	11	2	2	2
HAVERING	HAVERING	4		-	-	4	0	0
"	"		1	-	-		1	0
GREAT CHESTER	GREAT CHESTER		1	-	-	1	0	0
FIELD	FIELD							
MALDEN	MALDEN		1	3	-		1	19
LAWFORD	LAWFORD		4	-	-		2	15
NEWPORT	NEWPORT		2	-	-	2	2	0
CHRESHALL	CHRESHALL		1	-	2		3	0
LAWFORD	ARDLEIGH		1	7	8			15
HAVERING	LEXINGTON		8?	-	-	3	0	0
"	LANGFORD	5		1	2		3	1
HENNY	SUDBURY			1	10½			
THAXTED	THAXTED		1	-	-			7½
WALTHAM	CHINGFORD	1			10	5	0	0
	TERLING	1			10			5

Payments are also recorded in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, but only a few are found in each county.

19. ibid., i. 430.20. ibid., i. 568.

In Hertfordshire there is only one, at Sawbridge worth, there was one sokeman of 5/4d, (21)^{and} in Buckinghamshire there are two payments. At Stone a sokeman paid 15s yearly, (22) and at Tickford five sokemen paid 27s (23) In neither entry are the holdings of the sokemen recorded, More are found in Northamptonshire; the sokeman attached to the royal manor of Finedon (24) rendered £3 & 10d for the soc and five sokemen at Stoke Albany rendered 64d for the soc of Corby. In the other entries the payments are not stated to be for the soke. Fifteen sokemen at Green's Norton (26) paid 30s, one man at Nowcester (27) paid 5s., another at Pokesle also paid 5s, three men at Ashley (29) paid 5s 4d, four men at Sutton Basset (30) paid 10s 8d, five at Weston by Wellend (31) paid 21s 4d, five at Dingley (32) paid 6s 8d, four men at Brampton (33) paid 5s 4d, a sokeman at Moulton paid 33d, four at Crick paid 10d (35) and three bordars (36) also made payments. The sum of 5s 4d appears three times, from holdings of 1 hide, 1 virgate and 1 hide. From this it might be possible for one hide to pay 5s 4d but we find that four men with 2¹ virgates paid 10s 8d, so it does not appear possible to

21. Vict. Co.Hist. Herts., i. 332.
22. Vict. Co.Hist. Bucks., i. 257.
23. ibid., i. 257.
24. Vict. Co.Hist. Northants. i. 308.
25. ibid., i. 307.
26. ibid., i. 304.
27. ibid., i. 305.
28. ibid., i. 307.
29. ibid., i. 350.
30. ibid., i. 350.
31. ibid., i. 350.
32. ibid., i. 350.
33. ibid., i. 350.
34. ibid., i. 353.
35. ibid., i. 347.
36. ibid., i. 347 (Cold Ashby) Elkington) i. 350 (Lampport)

state that a certain sum was due from any unit of assessment. The sum of 5s 4d, may be a unit, for it also appears in Hertfordshire, and there are sums of 10s 8d, and 21s 4d. The sum of 6s and 8d might be fitted in here if the smallest unit were 8d, but this does not account for amounts such as 33d and 22d, where 11d seems to be the unit, nor does it help to explain such sums as 30s, 5s which appears twice, 10d or 28 and 10d. ~~Although~~ These different units may have been for different kinds of payments. Some may have been commutations for food, rents, others for services, and others for soke dues.

Table x.

PAYMENTS MADE BY SOKEMEN

HUNDRED	PLACE	SOKEMEN	H	✓	£	s	D	
GREENS NORTON	GREENS NORTON	15				30	0	
TOWCESTER	TOWCESTER	1		$\frac{2}{3}$		5	0	
STOKE	STOKE ALBANY	5	1	0		5	4	to the soc
NEVESLUND	FINEDON	50			8	0	10	for the
CLEYLEY	PASSENHAM	1				5	0	soc yearly
STOKE	ASHLY	3		$\frac{1}{3}$		5	4	
"	SUTTON BASSET	4		$\frac{2}{3}$		10	8	
"	WESTON BY WELLAND	5	1	$\frac{1}{3}$		21	4	
"	DINGELEY	5		$\frac{1}{3}$		6	8	
"	BRAMPTON	4	1	0		5	4	
	MOULTON PARK	1				2	9	
GUILSBOROUGH	CRICK	4					10	

PAYMENTS MADE BY BORDARS

COLD ASHBY	2	1	10
LAMPART	1	1	4

There is only one food rent recorded, and that is a rent paid to a church. "From the eight hundreds which lie round Aylesbury (37) each sokeman having 1 hide or more renders 1 load 37. Vict. Co. Hist. Bucks. i. 233.

of grain to this church. Besides this also 1 acre of grain or 4d used to be contributed by each sokeman to this church T.R.E., but after the coming of King William this payment was not made." This the only entry of its kind to be found in the Southern Danelaw and there is no indication as to whether such payments were general in other districts.

There are in Essex a few entries which might suggest that the amount recorded as the value of the land of a sokeman or free man was actually paid by him as rent, in addition to customary dues. At Lawford (38) four sokemen with a half hide and 15 acres rendered all customary dues, they were seized by Richard de Clare but are now in the King's hands, because no one on Richard's part could say how he came to have them, they were worth 13s T.R.E. " and hitherto Richard has had that rent". Hamo dapifer holds a free man at Witham, (39) the man has a half hide, renders his customary due and he is worth 20s. At first sight it seems that the sum of money might be the amount owing for dues, but the Witham entry makes it impossible, 33 free men used to render 10s 11d but in 1086 they are worth a lot more, so it is unlikely that the dues and the rent were the same. There is one other entry that proves that the money was paid, it concerns a free man at Halstead (40) 2½ acres T.R.E., worth 30d and Richard's reeve has received these pence, but whether he received them from the free man or not is not recorded. There are various entries in which men are said to be worth some sum

38. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex., i. 435.

39. ibid., i. 428.

40. ibid., i. 573.

of money, a good example comes from Wickham Bishops, (41) where a free man of 5 acres "is worth 12d".

No uniformity can be discovered in the amounts as can be shown by three entries from the royal estates, a sokeman at Hatfield Broad Oak (42) held a half hide, worth 10s T.R.E. and 7s 1086, another at White Roding (43) had 1 hide, T.R.E. worth 20s, 1086 30s, and a third at Cokendon (44) with 25 acres, was worth 32d.

For the most part the services of the sokemen of the Southern Danelaw are rather obscure. Domesday rarely mentions any services, and except in Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire there are no definitions of ^{the} few services which are recorded. The only service about which we can speak with certainty is the 'service of the King', and references to this are only recorded in four counties of the Southern Danelaw. In Buckinghamshire services due to the King are performed by two sokemen who were on manors held by King William in 1086, one of these manors had been held by King Edward (45) and the other by Harold. (46) These sokemen are the only sokemen in the county who were attached to royal manors in 1086. In Essex there are 18 sokemen of the King in the hundred of Hincford; (47) they hold 26¹/₂ acres and have never rendered any customary dues except the King's service. There is another entry which concerns Colstan

44. Ibid., i. 433.

45. Vict. Co. Hist. Bucks. i. 231-2 (Aylesbury)

46. Ibid., i. 237 (Risborough) This service is rendered to the Sheriff but was undoubtedly to the King.

47. Vict. Co. Hist. Essex. i. 431.

41. Ibid., i. 439.

42. Ibid., i. 429.

43. Ibid., i. 430.

a sokeman of King William who has never rendered service or customary due for his holding at White Roding. (48) Although this nature of the service is not recorded, it is unlikely that it is any other than the King's service. In neither of these counties is it possible to discover what the King's service entailed, but the greater detail supplied by the surveys of Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire enables us to learn the exact nature of the service due to the King.

In these counties three different services are recorded, the avera, the inward and the heward. The avera was a carrying service and the inward the duty of serving in the royal body-guard, and both services involved the use of a horse. There is no definition of the third service the heward which only occurs in Cambridgeshire. In an entry relating to Bercham (49) the heward of the I.C.C. appears to be the inward of Domesday Book, which suggests that the heward might possibly be identical with the inward, yet this cannot be so, as the following entry reveals, for both occur at Hinxton (50) where there were 19 sokemen who owed 8 averas, 8 inwards and 3 hewards. Here the text of the I.C.C. and Domesday Book are in agreement. The heward was therefore a third service, but it is very rarely recorded. These services or the sums of money for which they were commuted were rendered to the Sheriff of the county. Actual performance was demanded only if the King came into the county, and if he did not visit the shire the services were commuted

48. Vict. G. Hist. Essex
Ibid., I. 430.

49. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.34.

50. Ibid., p.40.

for that year. It is recorded of the 26 sokemen of Foulbourn, "Reddunt per annum viii libras arsas et pensatas, unoquoque anno xii equos et xii inguardos si rex in uicecomitatu ueniret, si non ueniret xii solidos et viii denarios."

The men who performed these services were usually the sokemen of the King, and Round went so far as to say that anyone who owed avera or inward was necessarily a sokeman of the King. The services denote "that the tenant from whom it was due was 'of the King's soke', or a 'sokeman of the King'". (52) Round continues with "advancing a step we find that of an estate in this vill (Libury) held by 4 sokemen, half a hide was held by one of them, a 'man' of Leofwine 'soova' who "used to find half an avera or 2d for the Sheriff". (fo 134b) Why? Because we reply that he was a King's sokeman, though the fact is not stated". (53) The Cambridgeshire evidence, however, does not bear out Round's view. There the services might be performed by sokemen, the 'men' of other lords, some of whom like the Abbot of Ely were likely to have the soke as well as the commendation of their sokemen, and ^{even} by men who are not recorded as sokemen at all. There is at least one instance in which these services are due from a thegn. In addition there are entries in which, lands, held apparently in demesne, by such large landowners as Eddeva (54) the Fair (54) rendered these services.

It seems probable that these services were due from particular holdings, irrespective of the rank of the tenant. This theory is supported by an entry relating to Temple Dinsley

51. ibid., p.26.

52. Vist. Co.Hist. Herts., 1. 269.

53. ibid., ibid., 270.

54. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.45
(Foulmere)

in Hertfordshire, where the post-Conquest holder, although he is a man of high rank is responsible for the services which his predecessors found for the Sheriff. Temple Dinsley (55) had been held by two sokemen as two manors. The sokemen found two averag and two inwards in Hitchin, but by injustice and by force, as the hundred court testified, Ilbert held these two manors while he was Sheriff, "but after he ceased to be Sheriff Peter de Valonges and Ralf Tailgebosch took this manor from him and attached it to Hiz (Hitchin) because he refused to find the avera for the Sheriff." There are too a number of instances in which the land is said to owe the obligation of service. At Wrattling (56) it is recorded that "at hec terra inueniebat aueram" and a Tadlow (57) entry reads (~~55~~) "Haec terra inueniebat i aueram et i heward." It is possible that the holding which owed services to the King were parts of old royal demesne and held for the part by men of the King, either thegns or sokemen, but some appears to have fallen into the hands of the larger landholders, and as tenure and not status are involved, the obligations of service remains.

In Hertfordshire inward was due ^{only} from those estates which owed soke in Hitchin, and there the service was rendered to earl Harold instead of to the Sheriff of the county. But there are only five inwards recorded here, and in each case the sokemen owed also the other service, avera. The commutation for inward is never recorded in this county. More is known about the

55. Vict. Co. Hist. Herts. i. 303.

56. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton. p.24.

57. Ibid., p.53.

58. Vict. Co. Hist. Herts. i. 269.

avera, the carrying service concerning which Round established two important facts, "the first is that it was due at the rate of 1 avera from each hide; and the second is that the commutation for 1 avera was 4d." (58) An excellent example is found in the two-hide holding of Libury, (59) where the tenant, a man of the King's soke, rendered two avera or 8d. More often than not, the number of services to be performed is not recorded, only the sum for commutation being entered by the scribe; as for example at Clothall, (60) where three sokemen held 2 hides and 3 virgates, and paid the Sheriff 11d. Where the commutation alone is recorded, fractions of an avera are found which may indicate that the service was more usually commuted. A certain woman at Sacomb (61) held 5 virgates, she used to provide 1 avera and the quarter of another or 5d.

In Hertfordshire 84 sokemen and men of the King's soke found a whole or part of a service, 49 of these are recorded as sokemen of the King or as men of the King's soke; of the remaining 35, 11 were men of Earl Harold, ten were the men of Alwin of Godtone, five the men of the thegn Almar of Bennington, two the men of the thegn Aldred, two the men of Anschil of Ware, one the man of Alvrice Blac, one the man of Alestan of Boscombe and three the men of Archbishop Stigand. According to Round all these should be of the King's soke, but there is no hint of this in Domesday Book. Besides these there are 10 men and two

58. Uxet. Co. Hist. Herts. i. 269

59. ibid., i. 309.

60. ibid., i. 309.

61. ibid., i. 337.

women who are not recorded as sokemen who rendered $9\frac{1}{8}$ averas and 2 inwards or paid $29\frac{1}{2}d$. There were also nine of the 63 sokemen of the King who do not appear to have been responsible for any services.

Table xi. SERVICES IN HERTFORDSHIRE.

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>SOKEMEN</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>INWARDS</u>	<u>AVERAS</u>	<u>COMMUTATION</u>
TEMPLE DINSLEY	2	7	0	0	2	2	
OFFLEY	5	2	0	0	2	2	
OFFLEY	1	1	0	0	1	1	
WILEL	1		2	0		1	
FLEXMERE	1			15		1	
THROCKING	2	1	2	0		$1\frac{1}{2}$	6d
LITTLE HADHAM	1		1	0			1d
MUCH HADHAM	1		2	0			2d
LIBURY	2	1	1	10		1	$5\frac{1}{2}d$
LIBURY	1	2	0	0		2	8d
LUFFENHALL	1	1	0	0		1	4d
CLOTHALL	3	2	3	0			11d
LAYSTON	2		(2	0)			2d
STANSTEAD	10	3	0	0			12d
GRAVELEY	1			15			$0\frac{1}{2}d$
HINXWORTH	3	2	0	15			$8\frac{1}{2}d$
NEWSSELLS	1		1	0			1d
CHELLS	1			15			$0\frac{1}{2}d$
LILLEY	1		3	15		1	$3\frac{1}{2}d$
RODEHANGRE	1		1	0			1d
BENGE0	1		1	15			$1\frac{1}{2}d$
BENGE0	2	1	0	0			4d
BENGE0	4	1	1	15			6d
BENGE0	2		3	15			2d
WICKAM	3		3	0			3d
LIBURY	1		3	0		$0\frac{1}{2}$	3d
LIBURY	1			25		$0\frac{1}{2}$	1d
SACOMB	2		1	24		$0\frac{1}{2}$	2d
STONEBURY	1		2	0			$4\frac{1}{2}d$
SACOMB	3	1	0	0		1	4d
HINXWORTH	4	1	1	0			5d
HINXWORTH	1		1	0			1d
BARKWAY	1						1d
WIDIALL	7	2	1	0		$2\frac{3}{4}$	9d
LAYSTON	2		3	6			3d
HORMEAD	7	3	1	0			13d
SACOMB	1			15			$0\frac{1}{2}$

In Cambridgeshire 365 sokemen perform in all 334 services, (143 averas, 187 inwards and 4 hewards). Here the services are mainly owing from land held by the King's sokemen, but they were also rendered by the men (including those who were not sokemen) of other lords. The sokemen of the Abbot of Ely found 7 averas and 8 inwards, but on the other hand the sokemen of the Abbot of Ramsey did not render any services. The men of Eddeva the Fair, Aelfgar, Stigand, Harold and Ansgar the Staller were not exempt, for some of them rendered one or other of the three services, but the men of Gurth, Waltheof and Robert fitz Wimarc were not among those who were liable to serve the King in this manner.

In Hertfordshire it has been noticed that one hide found one avera, and that when the service was commuted 4d was reckoned as the equivalent of 1 service, where fractions occur, one virgate pays 1d. In Cambridgeshire a different system is found. Although there are entries in which it is stated that a certain piece of land finds the services, the amount of land does not seem to have been the basis of assessment. Instead of finding services rated on the assessment of the holding, we find that the basis appears to have been the number of men who held the land. Thus at Dux^{ford}worth, (62) 11 sokemen held 1 hide and 3 virgates and owed 2 averas and 9 inwards. Here the number of services equals the number of sokemen, but does not seem to bear any relationship to the assessment of the holding. Again at Kingston (63) a group of 13 sokemen held 5 hides, 10 of the men were sokemen of King Edward and rendered 7 averas and 3 inwards, while their holding was 2 hides and 1½ virgates.

62. L.C.C. ed. Hamilton. pp. 42-3.

63. Ibid. p. 85

In this case the number of virgates is almost identical with the number of services but the latter corresponds exactly with the number of sokemen. In entries affecting 203 of the 365 sokemen who owed these services, the method of allocation appears to be one service from one man. Included in these, are 50 entries in which one man alone is concerned, at 15 Swailham⁽⁶⁴⁾ where a sokeman with 50 acres paid one avera for the sheriff; in every other case there is a group of sokemen exactly equal in number to the number of services due.

In Cambridgeshire the commutation is also different, for if the king did not come into the county "decet unus quisque villi denarios pro avera et illi denarios pro inwardo." The avera was thus commuted at twice the sum common in Hertfordshire and 40 appears to have been the commutation for an inwardo.⁽⁶⁵⁾

There are two indications that the services were rendered after 1086; the sokemen of Fourbourn⁽⁶⁶⁾ are said to render their services now, although they did not do so in the time of King Edward; and Libert,⁽⁶⁷⁾ who has been cited already in Hertfordshire & forms another example of the continuation of royal demands.

64. I.C.C. ed. Hamilton, p.13

65. ibid., p. 23

66. ibid., p.26

67. Vict. Co., Hist. Herts., 1. 303

The only other service recorded in the Domesday Survey for the Southern Danelaw is one which relates to the king as a private landholder, at South Luffenham (68) it is recorded that "the men shall labour at the king's work, which the reeve shall command." The men of this manor comprised 12 sokemen, 16 bordars and a priest. This is probably an example of the services which sokemen owed to their lords, and which are not recorded in Domesday, for they were irrelevant to the inquiry.

68. Vict. Co. Hist. Northants., i. 304

CONCLUSION

The free peasants of the Southern Danelaw are found in greatest numbers in the north and east. The largest number of sokemen alone is the total for Northamptonshire, where there were recorded 979, but if we include free men Essex undoubtedly heads the list, for there were over a thousand free men in that county. Cambridgeshire with 886 sokemen is third, followed by Bedfordshire where there were 674 sokemen. In these four counties where free peasants were especially numerous there is, however, a certain lack of uniformity in the distribution. In neither Northamptonshire nor Bedfordshire were sokemen recorded in the extreme south of the county; in Cambridgeshire the majority of sokemen are recorded in the west. The distribution of sokemen and freemen in Essex is peculiar, the majority of sokemen occur in the north and the rest are mainly found on the west of the county, while the majority of free men are found in the north and the east of Essex. Of the three southern counties - Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex, only in Hertfordshire is the appearance of sokemen anything more than sporadic, and here they are found mainly in the north east, by the Essex and Cambridgeshire borders. The Buckinghamshire sokemen mostly lay in the east of the county, while those of Middlesex mostly appear in a single group of villages by the Buckinghamshire border. There remains the northern county of Huntingdonshire, in which, by reason of its northerly position, we might expect a large number of sokemen, but this was not so, only 34 sokemen can be allowed for the whole county in 1066.

Although many sokemen are recorded in the north and east of the Southern Danelaw, it is well to remember that in Lincolnshire they appear in groups of 20 to 30, while in Northamptonshire the groups rarely exceed 15 sokemen. Professor Stenton has estimated that the percentage of sokemen in Lincolnshire wapentake was never less than 19, but sokemen only formed 12% of the rural population for the whole of Northamptonshire. Similarly 30 free peasants is not a large figure for an East Anglian village, whereas 20 is reckoned as a large number in both Essex and Cambridgeshire, and in the south of the Danelaw sokemen are only recorded in ones and twos. As the results of the Norman Conquest were felt more severely in the Southern Danelaw than in either the Northern Danelaw or East Anglia there is an even greater contrast between numbers in these areas ^{in 1066}. It is hardly worth recording the percentages ~~formed~~ ^{formed} the sokemen of the rural population in 1086. It remains at 12% in Northamptonshire, is 7% in Essex, 3% in both Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire, 1% in Hertfordshire and less than 1% in Huntingdonshire and Buckinghamshire, but the percentages must have been much higher in 1066. Although the numbers of sokemen in Essex and Northamptonshire have not altered much, the sokemen of Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire have suffered greatly at the hands of the new Norman lords. Yet in spite of repeated entries in which sokemen appear to have vanished, we find that about 1967 sokemen and 461 ^{Free men} (of which all but 11 come from Essex) have survived till 1086. More than two thousand free peasants are therefore left in 1086, and this figure is large enough to justify the statement that the Norman Conquest

was not completely disastrous to the class as a whole; although many sokemen must have been depressed or ejected, there remained sufficient to preserve the free character of the region known as the Southern Danelaw.

Villages of the type that it is common to describe as unmanorialised or "free" are found in every county of the Southern Danelaw, though they are naturally much more numerous in some counties than in others. In Northamptonshire unmanorialised villages are numerous north of Watling Street, although some districts are more manorialised than others, and in the hundred of Stoke there is only one instance in which the village and manor do not coincide. South of Watling Street, however, the majority of villages are manorialised, but in the two hundreds of the extreme south east, namely Chipping Warden and King's Sutton there are a number of villages divided into several small estates. In Huntingdonshire unmanorialised villages are rare, (1) and the villages of this county present a striking contrast with those of the neighbouring counties of Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire. The villages of the latter county, except those in the Isle of Ely and in one peculiar hundred on the east were unmanorialised, and outside these two areas there were fewer than ten villages in which the manor and village coincided. Maitland examined the villages of Wetherley hundred (2) and these are not exceptional for in other hundreds there are villages divided into a number of

1. This may be partly due to the large numbers of the estates of Ramsey Abbey, for the villages held by churches are generally unmanorialised.
2. Domesday Book and Beyond.

small holdings and in the hands of men of peasant rank. Bedfordshire is also unmanorialised, although in this county the number of manorialised villages increases towards the south west, till in the hundred of Stanbridge there are no free villages. While the whole of Essex is unmanorialised, there are more manors in the south of the county and the north resembles East Anglia in the construction of its villages. East Buckinghamshire and north and east Hertfordshire both contain many unmanorialised villages, but in the remaining county - Middlesex, there are one or two villages in which the village and manor do not coincide. It will be observed that the unmanorialised areas are those in which the greatest number of sokemen are recorded.

The villages of the Northern Danelaw and East Anglia comprise not only a number of little estates, but a mixture of manors and parcels of sokeland, or even of sokeland alone. Similarly in the Southern Danelaw, we find villages which contain a number of manors, or estates that are not sokeland, as at Landbach in Cambridgeshire:

	H	V	A
Blacuin	2	3	0
Four men of King Edward	2	0	0
Ailbert a man of the Abbot of Ely	1	0	0
A man of the same Abbot		1	0
A man of Earl Waltheof	1	2	0
Oswi a man of the Abbot of Ely	3	2	0

Often in villages in which there are a number of estates, one is much larger than the others, an example is taken from Essex, where in the village of Latchington the land was held thus:-

	H	V	A
Phin the Dane	5	0	15
Gudmund	3	2	20
Alwin a free man		3	0
Lewin a free man		1	0
Eight free men		1	22
Holy Trinity of Canterbury	2	0	0

Villages containing a mixture of manors and sokeland are also common, and it is not necessary for the sokeland to be attached to the manors of the same village. Floore in Northamptonshire is a village made up of several estates, one of which is sokeland:-

	H	V	A
Levrie		3	0
Ernui	1	0	0
Three sokemen		2	0
Asgar the Staller		2	0
Two thegns	1	1	0

and further south in Hertfordshire in the villege of Ware there is a manor of 21 hides, ^{there is} land held by a sokeman of Anschil, assessed at 2 hides and half a hide held by another sokeman, who was man of Gurth. On the other hand villages composed entirely of sokeland are far from common, but there are a few in Northamptonshire, as for example Weston-By-Welland which is held by 15 sokemen of the Countess Judith and 10 sokemen of Robert de Buci, and there are several villages in Essex which are held by sokemen, but elsewhere villages held by sokemen alone are abnormal.

The number of landholders in a village was often large, and although the greatest division occurs in the north and east, there are sometimes as many as ten free landholders in a Buckinghamshire or Hertfordshire village. In the village Weston-By-Welland, analysed above, there are 25 landholders, in Sharnbrook 19 men held land, and in Marston Mortaine (both villages lie in Bedfordshire) 21 sokemen and two thegns held land assessed at 10 hides. Land assessed at a similar amount was shared by two men in Whaddon in Cambridgeshire, where there were usually at least six or seven free landholders to a village. In north

Essex the number of tenements was greatest, for Finchingfield was held by Earl Aelfgar and 27 sokemen, and Hedingham by 35 men. Further to the south west there are fewer landholders, even in south Essex the number of free tenements is less large, and in the remaining southern counties the numbers decrease rapidly.

It is obvious that where the land of a village is divided among a great number of peasant proprietors the holdings of each cannot have been large. The tenements of sokemen and free men have already been discussed. Although the smallest holdings occur in Essex, we find that many holdings elsewhere did not exceed two hides, in Pampisford in Cambridgeshire, there was only one holding of over 2 hides and that belonged to the Abbot of Ely. The holdings were:-

	H	V	A
The Abbot of Ely	3	2	15
Almar a man of Eddeva	1	0	22
Edric a man of Alvrice cild		3	0
Snelline of the Abbot of Ely			10
Burro of Alvrice cape			5
Two sokemen of the King		1	0
A sokemen, man of Gurth			15

Buckinghamshire supplies another example of fairly small holdings at Maid's Morton 11 hides were divided thus :-

Ulvrice, man of Alvrice son of Goding	2	0	0
Alvrice son of Goding	2	0	0
Edric, man of Asgar the Staller	1	2	0
Saward, man of Azor son of Toti		2	0
Lewin of Newnham	5	0	0

The holdings of great landowners were often small, many of the estates of Eddeva the Fair were assessed at no more than two or three hides and the holdings of many thegns were composed of a number of these fairly small estates, rather than of large

manorialised estates. The majority of landholders of 1066 were however peasants or yeomen, for besides the large number of men recorded as sokemen or liberi homines, there were many whose economic position was only slightly higher than that of the sokemen. It is an interesting point that the holders of these smaller tenements in a village were not usually all commended to the same lord. In Riseley in Bedfordshire, the landholders were Burred the wealthy thegn, six sokemen, his men, Godric a th thegn of the King, Alwin a man of Stori and Hamdai a man of earl Harold. ^{It was} The presence of these men, both the sokemen and the liberi homines, and those of a slightly superior status those who gave to the village of the Southern Danelaw the title of "free villages".

Although the Norman Conquest brought about the disappearance of the free peasantry, it was not always followed by the disappearance of their separate holdings. In many instances, it is true, a Norman lord has taken possession of several holdings in one village, but on the whole the Southern Danelaw was still unmanorialised in 1086. Centralisation was not more pronounced in any one county, as the different examples will show. In Northamptonshire the village of Floore, typical of 1066, is typical of the rearrangement of 1086.

Levrle	3v	William de Cahanges of the Count of Mortain
Ernul	1h	William de Cahanges
Three sokemen	2h	Three sokemen of William Peverel
Asgar the Staller	2h	Baldwin of Geoffrey de Mandeville.
Two thegns	1 _h 1v	Olbaldus of Gunfrid de Cloches.

Here William de Cahanges holds two of the former tenements, but only one of the King. In Cambridgeshire many of the holdings

of sokemen have been amalgamated to form estates for the new Norman lords. For instance at Tadlow, the holdings of Ordic, a sokeman of King Edward, Anschil, a sokeman and man of Ordic and Godric a sokeman and man of Asgar the Staller have been granted to Picot the Sheriff of the county. Picot also holds the land formerly held by a priest, man of Tosti, but this is held of the Countess Judith. The remaining holding of the village is held by Azelina wife of Rannulf Tailgebosch. It is rare for a Norman lord to obtain possession of the whole of the land of a former "free village". Often when a Norman holds two tenements of 1066, these are held of him by different subtenants, thus at Babraham the former holding of six sokemen is held of Count Alan by Brien, and that of a priest by Radulf of the Count.

In Bedfordshire the feature is not so much the degree of manorialisation, but the number of English proprietors, or their sons, who remain in 1086. At Bromham, Osiet still holds the $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides which he had in 1066 and at Hinwick a certain Edward has 2 virgates which his father held in the time of King Edward. In Essex there has been little manorialisation in the 20 years before the taking of the Survey. Even ~~in~~ Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire which were half manorialised in 1066 were not wholly manorialised in 1086 and in both counties there remain many divided villages. In Buckinghamshire at Weston Underwood five holdings have been reduced to three and in Hertfordshire 11 holdings have been reduced to six, but as an examination of the analyses will reveal the majority of ^{the} divided villages ^{of 1066} were not manorialised in 1086. The failure of the Norman Conquest

to destroy the divided character of the village in the Southern Danelaw is an important fact. In 1086 the eight counties of the Southern Danelaw are still to be distinguished from the rest of Southern England.

It is thus evident that while in some parts of the Southern Danelaw, chiefly, though not exclusively, those adjacent to the manorialised west and south, we are confronted with a rigid social order while in others the organisation is fluid and comparatively unsystematized. There can be no question that this looseness is due largely to the presence of sokemen in considerable numbers. As to the status of these men, no doubts can now be entertained. As Maitland observed they were mostly "very small people" with little land, "tillers of the soil, peasants, at best yeomen" (3) and all the work done since his day emphasises alike the humble position and the remarkable freedom of these peasant proprietors. The occurrence of sokemen in any particular area cannot perhaps be regarded as in itself, evidence of Scandinavian influence, for it is true that sokemen are recorded in Domesday in counties not reckoned as part of the Danelaw and not known to have been settled by Danes or Norwegians. The men of this class might possibly, as Mr. Joliffe seems to suppose, be survivals from a remote, pre-Danish past. (4) Such a theory, however, rests only upon analogies which may be misleading. Work upon the place-names of the

3. Domesday Book and Beyond., p.64.

4. The Era of the Folk in English History., pp 1-32 in The Oxford Essays presented to H.E"Salter

counties comprising the Southern Danelaw has not revealed the presence of a large number of Scandinavian names, but from this evidence alone it would be clear that the northern fringe of this region had come under Danish influence to a very considerable degree. Danish influence is most marked in Northamptonshire where the majority of the Scandinavian names occur in the north west though they are fairly widely scattered and are not wholly confined to one side of Watling Street. In Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire traces of Scandinavian influence are slight, while Buckinghamshire "has an almost purely English nomenclature." (5) In these counties, however, as Ekwall observed "a Scandinavian immigration is proved to have taken place by the occurrence of Scandinavian personal names in early sources." Even in Domesday Book where the names of men of humble rank are not frequently recorded, the number of landholders bearing Scandinavian names is very considerable - in Northamptonshire, Turchil, Ulf, Anschil, Suain, and Tochi, in Cambridgeshire, Tochi, Ulf Grim, Anschil, Osgot, and Achi, in Bedfordshire, Anschil, Auto, Achi, and Tovi, in Hertfordshire, Achi. Anschil, Ansgot, Turchil, and Elaf, in Essex, there are many Danish personal names as - Achi, Anschil, Anunt, Ketel, Phin, Suain, Turchil, and Ulf, and in Buckinghamshire, Turchil, Tovi and Ansgot are recorded. This is only a selection and is in no sense exhaustive. It may be added that a few of the "Englishmen" among the jurors of the Cambridgeshire hundreds as preserved in the Inquisitio Eliensis and the Inquisitio Comitatus

5. Ekwall. Introduction to the Study of Place-Names., pp 76-77.

Cantabrigiensis bear Scandinavian names.

By far the strongest argument in favour of attributing the widespread appearance of sokemen and "free villages" in the Southern Danelaw to Scandinavian influence is, however, the resemblance which has been ~~which has been~~ pointed out above, of the social organisation of parts of this region to that of the Northern Danelaw and of East Anglia. That the peculiarities of the Northern Danelaw and East Anglia are fundamentally the result of the Scandinavian settlement of the ninth century (6) is proved by a mass of evidence, and the analyses of the distribution of sokemen and unmanorialised villages in the Southern Danelaw helps to determine how far to the south Scandinavian influence was felt. It may not be too much to claim that this study more than any other line of approach gives point to the inclusion of these eight counties in the Danelaga. The maps, in particular that of Northamptonshire and the one showing the distribution in 1966 over the whole of the Southern Danelaw, seem moreover to reveal a point of considerable interest to the general historian. It will be observed that the boundary between the Danes of East Anglia and the West Saxons as set down in the treaty which King Alfred made with Guthrum, probably in 886, (7) namely "up the Thames and then up the Lea to its source, then in a straight line to Bedford and then up the Ouse to Watling Street" (8) bears no relation to the distribution of the free peasants in the eleventh

6. Stenton. The Danes in England. (British Academy)

7. Hodgkin. The History of the Anglo-Saxons, ii p.578.

8. Attenborough. Laws of the Earliest English Kings, pp 98-99.

century. Watling Street, on the other hand, which on several historic occasions, the most notable being the invasion of Swegn Forkbeard in 1013, appears as the dividing line between Scandinavian England and the rest of the country, is to a marked degree a boundary on our maps. The almost complete concentration of the sokemen of Northamptonshire in that part of the county which lies to the east of Watling Street is indeed quite remarkable. A consideration of the tenements of the free peasantry of this region has led to the conclusion that there was no "average" tenement for the whole of the Southern Danelaw. Indeed, in Essex, we cannot even speak of an average tenement for the county, so diverse are the holdings. Instead of an average tenement for the whole region we find that the size of the holding appears to increase as one works from the north east to the south west. In Cambridgeshire the holdings are smallest in the eastern hundreds, notably Chilford and Radfield, and the Isle of Ely, in all three places the average is under 30 acres. In Essex the holdings of the sokemen in the great hundred of Hinckford only average 10 acres, and those of the unnamed free men 25 acres. In the north, the holdings of Northamptonshire were about a virgate, but to the south in Bedfordshire the average rises at once. The average for the county is 62 acres and in western hundreds of Cambridgeshire the averages are also high. Further south, in Buckinghamshire the holdings are even larger and in Middlesex the average holding was well over a hide. Alone of the southern counties (excluding Essex) Hertfordshire was a county of small holdings,

for the usual holding in 1066 was a virgate, although it rose to 2 virgates in 1086. The small holdings in Essex may be due to under-assessment, and it may be that the influence of the ~~larger holdings of Wessex and Mercia tended to increase the size~~ ^{larger} of the peasant holdings of Wessex and Mercia tended to increase the size of the peasant tenements across the border. Whatever the reason, it is certainly true that the sokemen of the south west paid more towards the national taxation than their fellows of the north and east. The stock of the holding was in close relation to the size of the tenement, for the sokeman of the north and east usually possessed two or three oxen and there are even many instances in which we cannot allow a whole ox to each enumerated peasant, but the sokemen of the south often had between four and eight oxen, or even more than a full ploughteam.

The examination of the question of the power of alienation that the west was freer than the east. Many of the men of eastern Essex and east Cambridgeshire were unable to dispose of their lands, while almost every sokeman of west Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Middlesex could sell their land freely. Even if it is agreed with Round that it was not the status of the sokemen but the tenure of his land that decided this point, it does not explain why the east should be less free than the west in this respect. In 1066 the lands of most sokemen were not held of the man to whom they were commended but was theirs to sell or assign at will, the payments and services arising out of commendation were few, although the sokemen in the oske of Peterborough performed week work, in 1086 those

who remained had lost, perhaps only temporarily, their freedom to sell their tenements which they now held as subtenants of some Norman lord, but that their dues and services were increased is unlikely.

It is evident that outside Essex and to a lesser degree Northamptonshire, the free peasantry of the Southern Danelaw were adversely affected by the Norman Conquest. Possibly their inability to resist change was due in part to the existence, even in 1066, of fairly strong manorial tendencies. In the Northern Danelaw it is occasionally possible to trace the depression or disappearance of sokemen, but nowhere on the scale observable in the Southern Danelaw. There vast numbers of sokemen seem to have been ousted from their lands or depressed to the status of villani or bordarii, yet it is equally true that in many parts of this region the social organisation of 1066 has survived, unaltered in essentials, in 1086. The persistence of minute subdivisions of the village territory among many landowners even after the disappearance of the sokemen who formerly held them is a significant feature. It is a striking fact, moreover, that in the survey of circa 1125 in the Liber Niger of Peterborough (9) sokemen occur in considerable numbers and are recorded even in places where there were none at the compilation of Domesday Book. At Pillesgate there are 44 sokemen in the Liber Niger as against 26 in Domesday Book, and at Glinton 15 as against 8. At Warmington, Castor and Cottingham where there

9. Printed as an appendix to Chronicon Petroburgense (ed. Stapleton, Camden Series, 1849).

are 3, 4 and 1 respectively in the Liber Niger there were no sokemen in 1086. At all the villages where sokemen are recorded in Domesday Book, there are some sokemen in the Black Book and when the number has declined the diminution is not always very marked. The number at Werrington has fallen slightly from 19 to 17; at Irthlingborough there are 2 sokemen circa 1125 as against 5 in 1086, and Aldwinkle (2 in Domesday Book Long Thorp (3 in Domesday Book) and Pytchley (4 in Domesday Book) have one sokeman apiece in the Liber Niger. (10)

No attempt has been made here to trace the fortunes of the ~~free peasants~~ of the free peasantry of the Southern Danelaw into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A cursory glance at the extents preserved in the Domesday of St. Pauls (11) has not proved helpful, for though there are many freeholders on the estates of the canons of St. Paul, it is not easy to determine how these tenements came into being, or to bring the inquest of 1181 or 1222 into line with the information in Domesday Book. An ancient and richly endowed house such as Ramsey probably did not, like the newer foundations of the North, at any time receive many benefactions from men of peasant rank. It is significant, however, that men bearing Scandinavian names are found occasionally in the surveys preserved in the Ramsey Cartulary, as also in the Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire entries in the Inquest of the Templars of 1135 recently edited by Miss

10. The identity of Estona or Esctona of the Black Book is uncertain. If the former at which sokemen are recorded corresponds with Ashton (Ascetona) of the Northamptonshire Domesday, this village should be classed with Warmington, Castor and Cottingham, but the hidage of Ash^{ton} corresponds more closely with that of Esctona than with that of Estona.
11. ed. Hole. Camden Society 1857.

Less . (12) When the cartularies, published and unpublished, of religious houses situated within the Southern Danelaw have been searched for charter and surveys which may be expected to throw light upon the problem, and when surviving original charters have been collected, it should be possible to say whether as the twelfth century advanced, those features of the society of the Southern Danelaw which link it in the eleventh century with East Anglia and the region beyond the Welland were wholly obliterated by progressive manorialisation. Such would appear to be improbable since Mr. E.A. Kosminsky has shown from an examination of much later evidence, the Hundred Rolls of 1279-80, (13) that the village and manor quite commonly did not coincide at that date and the village territory was not infrequently divided among several lords. In view of what has been said above regarding the distribution of unmanorialised villages in the eleventh century, it is interesting to observe that Mr. Kosminsky finds that ~~village~~ in Huntingdonshire and Buckinghamshire (resembling Warwickshire and to a lesser degree Oxfordshire) about half of the villages coincide with manors, whereas " in Cambridgeshire, out of 112 villages accounted for, only 12 coincide with manors; the rest are divided and inter-mixed between manorial units of the most varied structure". In Bedfordshire only seven out of 25 villages were manorialised.

Even in, however, the task of collecting the charters relating to the Southern Danelaw in the twelfth century proved fruitful, it could not, in view of the diversity traced in the

12. pp 69-70. (British Academy)

13. Services and Money Rents in the Thirteenth Century pp 24-45. In the Economic History Review. April 1935.

eleventh century, lead to the reconstruction of a society representing an organic whole like that of the Northern Danelaw as depicted in the Danelaw Charters.

ANALYSIS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

HUNDRED OF KING'S SUTTON

		H	V	A	
KING'S SUTTON					
1	King Edward	3	0	0	King William
2	? (1)		3	6	Godwin, a priest ^{and} Alwin
3	Alvric			24	William of the Count of Mortain
4	Willa and Tubern	1	2	12	Hugh of Hugh de Grentmaisnil
		<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>	

WALTON

1	Ulfrie of Alnod of Cantebury		1	6	William Peverel of the Bishop of Bayeux
2	Alwin		2	0	(2) Ralf of the C. of Mortain
3	Five thegns		<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	William of the Count
		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	

AYNHQ

1	Asgar the Staller	3	0	24	Geoffrey de Mandeville
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CROUGHTON

1	Suartlin	1	0	20	Osbern of Geoffrey (3)
2	Asgar			12	Suetman of Geoffrey (3)
3	Levenot		1	18	William of the Count of Mortain
4	Alvric of a son of Burred		1	18	Alvric of the Bishop of Durham
		<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>	

HINTON

1	Asgar	2	0	0	Ernald of Geoffrey (3)
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PURSTON

1	Alric		2	0	William of the Count of Mortain
2	Lewin		<u>2</u>	<u>24</u>	Robert de Oigli
		<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>24</u>	

ASTWICK

1	Levenot	1	2	12	Obbert of Water Fleming
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1. The holder in 1066 is not recorded.
2. plus a bovate.
3. Geoffrey de Mandeville.

1066	2			1086
	H	V	A	
THENFORD				
1 ? (1)	1	0	0	Roger of Robert de Oigil
2 Algar	1	0	0	Manno of King William
	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
IVENLEY				
1 Lefstan	1	0	0	William of the Count of Mortain
2 ? (1)		3	0	Gilbert
3 Levenot	6	0	0	Othert of Walter Fleming
	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	
CHARLTON				
1 ? (1)		3	6	Adam of the Bp. of Bayeux
2 Four thegns	1	2	0	Ralf of the C. of Mortain
	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	
MIDDLETON CHENDUIT				
1 Almar and Saulf	2	0	0	Ralf of the C. of Mortain
2 Godric	2	0	0	Grantmaisnil Hugh of Hugh de Grantmaisnil
3 Anschil	1	2	12	Robert of Earl Hugh
	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>	
FARNINGHO				
1 ? (1)	4	0	0	Earl Aubrey
GRIMSBURY				
1 Levenot	2	1	18	Gunfrid de Cloches
NEWBOTTLE				
1 Baldwin	6	0	0	Ivo of Hugh de Grantmaisnil

HUNDRED OF CHIPPING WARDEN

CHIPPING WARDEN				
1 Tosto	2	3	0	Guy de Reinbuedcort
TRAFFORD				
1 Anschil	1	1	0	Robert of Earl Hugh
BYFIELD				
1 Anschil	8	0	0	Robert of Earl Hugh
2 Three thegns	2	0	0	Ivo of Hugh (2)
BODDINGTON				
1 Anschil	1	0	0	Robert of Earl Hugh
2 Tovi	2	0	0	Lowin of the Count of Mortain
	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
WOODFORD				
1 Baldwin	2	0	0	Richard of Hugh (2)

1. The holder in 1086 is not recorded.
2. Hugh de Grantmaisnil.

1066	3			1086
EYDON	H	V	A	
1 ? (1)	2	0	0	Hugh de Grentmairnil
WEST FARNDON				
1 Ordric of Abp. Stigand	1	2	0	Ralf of the C. of Mortain
STONETON				
1 Aeileva		3	0	Hugh of Robert de Stafford
SULGRAVE				
1 Four men	4	0	0	Othbert of Gile brother of Ansculf
HINTON				
1 Asgar the Staller	2	0	0	Geoffrey de Mandeville
ASTON				
1 Asgar the Staller	6	0	0	Geoffrey de Mandeville
STOTESBERY				
1 Osmund the Dane	2	0	0	Hugh and Landric of Gile
GREATWORTH				
1 Saulf	2	0	0	William Peverel of the fee of the Bp. of Bayeux
EDGCOTT				
1 Burred	2	0	0	Walchelin of the Bishop of Durham

HUNDRED OF GUILSBOROUGH

HOLLOWELL				
1 Bardl	1	1	10	The Bishop of Lincoln
2 Lewin			10	Robert of the Count (3)
3 ? (2)			10	Alric of the Count (3)
4 A sokeman		1	0	A sokeman of William Peverel
5 ? (2)			20	Gilbert
	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>29</u>	
WINWICK				
1 The Church of Coventry	3	1	0	The Church of Coventry
2 A sokeman		3	0	A sokeman of William Peverel
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
COLD ASHBY				
1 The Church of Coventry	2	2	0	The Church of Coventry
2 Aileva the widow		2	0	William of the Count (3)
3 A sokeman		1	15	A sokeman of William Peverel
4 ? (2)		2	15	Geoffrey de Wirce
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. The holder in 1066 is not recorded
2. " " " " " " " "
3. The Count of Mortain.

		4			
		H	V	A	
CREATON					
1	? (1)		2	0	Humphrey of William of the Count of Mortain
2	Suain	1	0	0	Gunfrid de Cloches
3	Ulmar		1	0	Robert of Robert de Buci
		<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	
VELVERTOFT					
1	Godric	2	1	0	Robert of Earl Hugh
2	Tored		3	0	William of the Count (2)
3	Tubern and Alric		3	0	Alfred of the Count (2)
		<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	
GOTTESBROOK					
1	Levenot	1	1	0	Dodin of Walter Fleming
	? (1)		2	0	Dodin of King William
		<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	
ELKINGTON					
1	Tubern	1	3	0	Alfred of the Count (2)
2	? (1)		20		Turchil of Guy de Reinbuedeur
3	? (2)		7 $\frac{1}{2}$		Geoffrey de Wirce
		<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>27$\frac{1}{2}$</u>	
WELFORD					
1	? (1)	4	0	0	Alfred of Geoffrey de Wirce
BUCKBY					
1	Suain	2	1	0	Gunfrid de Cloches
	Five sokemen		2	0	Five sokemen of Gunfrid
2	Tubern and Alric		3	0	Alfred of the Count of Mortain
		<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
WEST HADDON					
1	Suain		1	0	Gunfrid de Cloches
2	A sokeman		1	15	A sokeman of William Peverel
3	The Church of Coventry	2	0	0	The Church of Coventry
		<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>	
CRICK					
1	? (1)	3	3	0	Geoffrey de Wirce
WATEBORD					
1	Thor	2	0	0	Gilbert the Cook
LILLEBOURNE					
1	Tubern		1	0	Alfred of the Count
2	? (1)	2	0	15	Earl Aubrey
3	? (1)		1	15	Half of the King
		<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. The holder in 1066 is not recorded.
2. The Count of Mortain.

1066	H	V	A	S	1086
STANFORD					
1 Levric	1	3	15		Abbot Benedict of Guy de Reinbuedcurt
CHILCOTE					
1 Tubern		1	0		Alvred of the Count
GUILSBOROUGH					
1 Lewin		1	0		Robert of the Count
2 Gitda		3	15		Alvred of William Peverel
		<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15</u>	
COTTON					
1 ? (1)		3	15		Drogo of William Peverel
NORTOFF					
1 Lewin	2	0	0		Robert of the Count of Mortain
2 ? (1)		2	0		A sokeman of William Peverel
		<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
NASEBY					
1 Gitda	7	0	0		William Peverel
THORNBY					
1 ? (1)	1	0	0		Drogo of William Peverel
2 ? (1)		2	0		Robert of William Peverel
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
SPRATTON					
1 Osmund	2	3	0		William and Durand of the Count of Mortain
2 Ulmar		1	0		(2) Ralf of Robert de Buci
3 ? (1)	1	0	0		Rohan of C. Judith
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		
HUNDRED OF STOKE					
STOKE ALBANY					
1 Five sokemen	1	0	0		Five sokemen of the King
2 Osulf		3	0		Robert de Toden
		<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
WILBARSTON					
1 Five sokemen		3	0		Five sokemen of the King
2 ? (1)		3	1		Robert de Toden
		<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
CARLTON					
1 Leoric		3	0		Humphrey of the Count

1. The holder in 1066 is not recorded.
2. plus a bovate.

1066		H	V	A	1086
WESTON BY WELLAND					
1	Five sokemen of E. Waltheof	1	1	10	Five sokemen of C. Judith
2	Ten sokemen	2	2	20	Ten sokemen of Robert de Buci
		<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
ASHLEY					
1	Six sokemen		2	20	Six sokemen of Robert de Buci
2	Norman		1	10	Walter of Robert de Buci
3	Three sokemen of E. Waltheof		1	10	Three sokemen of Countess Judith
4	Franco and Algar	3	0	0	Robert de Toden ^{Gonfrid & Wichele} of Robert de Toden
5	Algar		1	10	Wibert of Robert de Toden
		<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>20</u>	
SUTTON BASSET					
1	Eight sokemen	1	1	10	Eight sokemen of Robert de Buci
2	Four sokemen of E. Waltheof		2	20	Four sokemen of C. Judith
		<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
DINGLEY					
1	Eleven sokemen		3	10	Eleven sokemen of Robert de Buci
2	? (1)		1	0 0	(2) Ilduin of Robert Toden
3	Edwin		1	1 10	(3) Humphrey of the Count of Mortain
4	Five sokemen of E. Waltheof		3	10	Five sokemen of C. Judith
		<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
BRAMPTON					
1	Eight sokemen		2	0 0	Eight sokemen of Robert de Buci
2	? (1)		1	0 0	Hugh of Robert de Buci
3	Osulf		2	0 0	Ilduin of Robert de Toden
4	Four sokemen of E. Waltheof	1	0	0	Four sokemen of C. Judith
		<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
UNNAMED					
1	Turchil		2	0 0	Roger of Ralf Pagenel

1. Holder in 1066 is not recorded.
2. Less $\frac{1}{4}$ bovates.
3. Plus $\frac{1}{4}$ bovates.

HUNDRED OF NORMANNCROSS

BOTTLESBRIDGE

	H	V	A	
1 King Edward	5	0	0	King William
2 Boret and Turchil, priests	2	0	0	Boret and Turchil of Eustace the Sheriff
	<hr/>			
	7	0	0	

STILTON

1 The King's sokemen		3	0	The King's sokemen
2 Tovi	2	0	0	John of the Bp. of Lincoln
3 ? (1)	2	1	0	Eustace the Sheriff
	<hr/>			
	5	0	0	

DENTON

1 Godric	5	0	0	Turstin of the Bishop
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SAWTRY

1 The Church of Ramsey	7	2	15	The Church of Ramsey
2 Testi	3	3	15	Walter of Eustace the Sheriff
3 Turchil	10	0	0	Countess Judith
4 Alwin		4	bs (2)	His wife of King William
	<hr/>			
	21	2	0	

ELTON

1 The Church of Ramsey	10	0	0	The Church of Ramsey
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LUTTON

1 The Church of Ramsey	2	2	0	Edric of the Abbot
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YAXLEY

1 The Church of Thorney	15	0	0	The Church of Thorney
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STANGROUND

1 The Church of Thorney	8	0	0	The Church of Thorney
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WOODSTONE

1 The Church of Thorney	5	0	0	The Church of Thorney
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HADDON

1 The Church of Thorney	5	0	0	The Church of Thorney
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WATER NEWTON

1 The Church of Thorney	5	0	0	The Church of Thorney
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SIBSON

1 The Church of Thorney	2	2	0	The Church of Thorney
2 Ulf	2	2	0	Lunen of G. Eustace
	<hr/>			
	5	0	0	

1. The holder of 1066 is not recorded.
2. Alwin's holding was half a carucate.

1066	8			1086
	H	V	A	
STIBBINGTON				
1 The Church of Thorney	1	1	0	The Church of Thorney
2 ? (1)	1	1	0	Lunen of C.Eustace
	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
FLETTON				
1 The Church of Peterborough	5	0	0	The Church of Peterborough
ALWALTON				
1 The Church of Peterborough	5	0	0	The Church of Peterborough
GLATTON				
1 Ulf	8	0	0	Lunen of C.Eustace
CHESTERTON				
1 Ulf	4	2	0	Lunen of C.Eustace
2 Two brothers	4	2	0	Two knights of Eustace the Sheriff
	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
WOOD WALTON				
1 Saxi	5	0	0	Hugh de Bolbech
WASHINGTON				
1 Tori	2	2	0	Eustace the Sheriff
2 Chetelbert	2	2	0	Chetelbert of the King
	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
CALDECOTE				
1 Stric	5	0	0	A knight of Eustace the Sheriff
ORTON				
1 Levrice	3	1	0	John of the Bp. of Lincol.
2 Goduin	3	2	0	Ansgered of the Abbot of St.Peter of Burg
3 The Church of Peterborough	5	0	0	The Church of Peterborough
4 Seven sokemen	8	1	0	John of Eustace the Sheriff
5 Elsi	7	2	0	Eustace the Sheriff
6 Aburiz	2	2	0	Roger of Eustace the Sheriff
	<u>28</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
CONNINGTON				
1 Thurchil of the Church of Thorney Thurchil	6	0	0	Countess Judith
	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. The holder in 1066 is not recorded, but it was probably Ulf.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE ANALYSIS

THE TWO HUNDREDS OF ELY

WHITTLESEA	1066	H	V	A	1086
11 The Church of Ely		2	0	0	The Church of Ely
2 The Church of Thorney		4	0	0	The Church of Thorney
		<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
DODDINGTON					
1 The Church of Ely					The Church of Ely
eight sokemen		5	0	0	eight sokemen
CHATTERIS					
1 The Church of Ely		2	0	15	The Church of Ely
2 The Church of Ramsey		2	3	15	The Church of Ramsey
		<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
LITTLEPORT					
1 The Church of Ely		2	2	0	The Church of Ely
STUNTNEY					
1 The Church of Ely		1	2	0	The Church of Ely
LITTLE THETFORD					
1 The Church of Ely		1	0	0	The Church of Ely
STREATHAM					
1 The Church of Ely		5	0	0	The Church of Ely
WILBURTON					
1 The Church of Ely		4	3	0	The Church of Ely
Four sokemen			<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Four sokemen
		5	0	0	
LINDEN					
1 The Church of Ely		3	2	15	The Church of Ely
Two sokemen			<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>	Two sokemen
		4	0	0	
HALE					
1 The Church of Ely					The Church of Ely
Two sokemen		2	0	0	The Church of Ely
HADDENHAM					
1 Seven sokemen of the					Seven sokemen of the
Abbot of Ely		3	0	0	Abbot of Ely
WISBEACH					
1 The Church of Ely		7	2	0	The Church of Ely
Thirteen sokemen of		2	0	0	Thirteen sokemen of the
the Abbot of Ely		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Abbot of Ely
ELY					
1 The Church of Ely		10	0	0	The Church of Ely
HENNY					
1 A servant of the Abbot		2	0		The Church of Ely

1066

le

h v a

1086

DOWNHAM

1 The Church of Ely	4	0	0	The Church of Ely
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WITCHFORD

1 The Church of Ely	2	2	0	The Church of Ely
Five sokemen of the Abbot	2	0	0	Five sokemen of the Abbot
	<u>3</u>	0	0	

WENTWORTH

1 The Church of Ely	2	1	0	The Church of Ely
Two sokemen of the Abbot	1	0	0	Two sokemen of the Abbot
A sokeman of the Abbot		<u>1</u>	0	A sokeman of the Abbot
	3	2	0	

WITCHAM

1 The Church of Ely	2	1	15	The Church of Ely
Twelve sokemen of the Abbot of Ely	1	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	Twelve sokemen of the Abbot of Ely
	4	1	0	

SUTTON

1 The Church of Ely	3	0	0	The Church of Ely
Nine sokemen of the Abbot	2	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Nine sokemen of the Abbot.
	5	0	0	

THE HUNDRED OF THRIFLOW

THRIFLOW 1066	H	V	A	1086
1 The Church of Ely	5	2	0	The Church of Ely
The Church of Ely	1	0	0	Hardwin (1) of the Abbot
2 Sigar of Asgar the Staller	1	2	0	Sigar of Geoffrey de Mandeville
	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
FOWLMERE				
1 Alvrice Campe	10	0	0	Robert Gernon
FOXTON				
1 The Church of Chatteris	5	1	10	The Church of Chatteris
2 Sigar of Asgar the Staller	3	2	20	Sigar de Geoffrey de Mandeville
3 Eddva the Fair	1	0	0	Two knights of C. Alan
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
HARSTON				
1 Orgar, man of E. Harold	4	0	0	Picot the Sheriff
Six sokemen of the King	2	0	0	
Fridebert of the Abbot of Ely	1	2	0	
2 A sokeman of the Abbot	1	2	0	Picot the Sheriff
3 A sokeman of the King	1	1	0	Ranulf of Robert Gernon
4 Four sokemen(2) men of Eddeva	1	0	15	Odo of Count Alan
A priest under Orgar		1	0	
	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>15(2)</u>	
SHELFORD				
1 The Church of Ely	9	0	24(4)	The Church of Ely
2 The Church of Ely	2	2	9	Hardwin of the Abbot
3 Seven sokemen of the Abbot	1	2	6	Seven sokemen of Hardwin
4 Three sokemen, men of Earl Gurth	2	0		Hardwin de Scalers
Alsi of Earl Aelfgar		2	0	
Two sokemen, men of Earl Harold		1	7	
Five sokemen of the King		3	15	
5 Six sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	2	6	Hardwin of Count Alan
6 Earl Harold	3	0	0	Peter de Valonges of the King.
	<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	

1. Hardwin de Scalers
2. Three sokemen in the I.C.C. p.47.
3. I.C.C. gives assessment as 10 hides, p.45.
4. I.C.C. xxix acres. p.47.

		12			1086	
HAUXTON		H	V	A		
1	The Church of Ely	8	2	0	The Church of Ely	
2	Bund a sokeman(1) of the Abbot		3	0	Hardwin de Scalers	
	A sokeman, man of E.Aelfgar		3	0		
		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

TRUMPINGTON

1	Tochi of the Abbot of Ely	4	2	0	William de Calei of William de Warenne	
2	Horolf a thegn of the King	2	1	15	(2) Hervey of Picot	
3	Horolf a thegn of the King	2	1	15	Ernulf de Arda of Eustace	
4	Norman of Earl Tostig	1	3	0	Robert Fafiton	
5	A sokeman(3) of the King		1	0		
5	A sokeman, man of E. Waltheof		2	0	Gollam of C. Judith	
6	?(4)		1	0	A burgess of Cambridge	
		<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

STAPLEFORD

1	The Church of Ely	10	0	0	The Church of Ely	
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THE HUNDRED OF WHITTLESFORD

WHITTLESFORD

1	Earl Gurth	11	0	0	Countess Judith	
2	Eddeva the Fair		1	15	Girard of Count Alan	
	Eddeva the Fair			15	A man of Count Alan	
	A man of Earl Gurth		1	0	Hardwin de Scalers	
		<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

SAWSTON

1	Alvric Campe of the King				Pierot of Eudo dapifer	
	Three sokemen of Alvric	4	0	0		
2	Sigar of Asgar the Staller	2	0	0	Roger de Sumerei of Geoffrey de Mandeville	
3	Orgar of Earl Harold	2	0	0	Abbot of Grestain of the Count of Mortain	
		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

HINXTON

1	sokeman, man of E.Aelfgar	2	0	0	Picot the Sheriff	
	Nineteen sokemen of K.E.	15	0	0		
2	Siward of Earl Harold	2	0	0	Robert of the Bishop of Lincoln	
3	Earl Aelfgar (5)	1	2	0	The King	
4	Estred of Earl Aelfgar	1	0	0	Durad of Hardwin	
		<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

1. He is called a sokeman in the I.E. p.106
2. I.C.C. gives ih 7 dimit virga. p.50
3. Is a sokeman in the I.C.C. and not in D.B. p.51.
4. ~~0000~~ holder is not recorded
5. I.C.C. comes Alanus p.40.

	1066	H	V ¹³	A	1086
ICKLETON					
1	Alsi of the King	19	2	0	Count Eustace
2	Estred, man of E.Aelfgar		2	0	Durand of Hardwin
		20	0	0	
DUXFORD					
1	Horolf of the King	1	3	0	Hernulf and Guy Andegav- ensis (2v) of C.Eustace.
	Archbishop Stigand	3	2	0	
	Inguar a thegn of the King		2	0	
2	Eddeva the Fair	6	0	0	Girard of Count Alan
3	Ulf a thegn of the King	4	2	0	Radani Gilbert of Robert-de Toden
4	Eleven sokemen of the King	1	3	0	Pain of Hardwin
	A sokeman, man of Eddeva		3	0	
	A sokeman, man of E.Aelfgar		3	0	
5	Alvric Campe of the King		2	0	Robert Gernon
		20	0	0	

THE HUNDRED OF CHILFORD

CAMPS					
1	Wiuwin a thegn of the King	2	2	0	Aubrey de Ver
	Wiuwin a thegn of the King		2	0	Norman of Aubrey de Ver
2	Leisi of Earl Harold		2	0	Thurstin son of Richard of Robert Gernon
			5	0	

HORSEHEATH					
1	Eddeva the Fair	2	1	15	Count Alan
	Two sokemen, men of Eddeva		1	0	
2	Wiuwin a thegn of the King	1	2	0	Norman of Aubrey de Ver
3	Godwin of Linacre			15	Five villeins of Hardwin
	Lodnar			15	
	Three sokemen		1	0	
4	Godwin a man of Eddeva		1	0	Alwin of Count Alan
5	?(1)			15	Ulveva of Richard de Clare
			5	0	

HILDERSHAM					
1	Wiuwin a thegn of the King	5	0	0	Aubrey de Ver

1. 1066 holders not recorded.

ABINGTON		H	V	A	1086
1	Wiuuin a thegn of the King	5	0	0	Aubrey de Ver
	A priest of Eddeva	1	0	0	
2	Elmer a sokeman of the King			15(1)	A sokeman of the King
	Sigar a sokeman			15	Sigar a sokeman of K.E.
3	Eddeva the Fair	5	0	0	Count Alan
		<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	

WEST WICKHAM

1	Eddeva the Fair	1	3	0	Count Alan
	Three sokemen, her men		1	0	
2	Tochi and a sokeman				Lanbert of Wick ^{de} Warrenne
3	The Church of Ely	1	2	0	The Church of Ely
4	Three sokemen of the King		1	0	Hardwin de Scalers
5	A sokeman			7 $\frac{1}{2}$	A sokeman of Rich. Clare
	?(2)			15	Ulveva of Richard
		<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>22$\frac{1}{2}$</u>	

LINTON

1	Eddeva the Fair	3	3	0	Count Alan
	and a sokeman		1	0	A sokeman of Count Alan
2	Eddeva the Fair	2	2	0	Count Alan
		<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	

BABRAHAM

1	Six sokemen, men of Eddeva	2	2	24	Brien of Count Alan
2	Alvric a priest of Eddeva		3	15(4)	Radulf of Count Alan
3	Godeva of Earl Aelfgar	1	1	0	Robert Fafiton
4	Wluuin of Earl Aelfgar		2	15	Picot the Sheriff
5	Godric, man of Wluuin(5)			15	Aubrey de Ver
6	Four sokemen of the King		1	15	Eudo Dapifer
7	Alvric Campe of the King		1	0	Durand of Hardwin
8	Lodmar, man of E.Gurth		1	15	Countess Judith
9	Two sokemen of the Abbot of Ely		1	10(6)	The King
		<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	

BERGHAM

1	Eddeva the Fair	2	3	15	Anschitil of C.Alan
2	Eddeva the Fair	(8)	1	2	Morin of Count Alan
3	A sokeman, man of Eddeva		1	0	A sokeman of C.Alan
4	A sokeman of the Abbot of Ely			15	A sokeman of the Abbot of Ely
		<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. It is difficult to know whether what these holdings should be pp31-32
2. 1066 holder not recorded
3. I.C.C. gives 4 virgates. p.34.
4. I.C.C. gives unam hidam unam virgam minus p.34.
5. This entry is not in Domesday Book
6. D.B. gives 15 acres, but E.C.C. and I.E. 1 virgate p.36 & p.103
7. I.C.C. gives 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ h, 1v. minus p.33
8. Not in the I.C.C.

PAMPISFORD		1066			1086		
	H	V	A				
1 The Church of Ely	2	3	15	The Church of Ely			
2 Almar, man of Eddeva	1	0	22	Two knights(1) of C. Alan			
3 Edric, man of Alvrice cilt		3	0	Ralph(2) of Picot of K's fee			
4 Snelline of the Abbot of Ely			10	Hardwin of the Abbot			
5 Burro of Alvrice campe			5	Picot of Eudo dapifer			
6 Two sokemen of the King		1	0	Hardwin de Scalers			
7 A sokeman, man of E. Gurth			15	A priest of C. Judith			
	5	0	7				

THE HUNDRED OF CHEVELEY

CHEVELEY

1 King Edward	8	1	10	King William
2 Herulf, man of Eddeva	1	2	20	Enisant(3) of C. Alan
	10	0	0	

WOOD DITTON

1 The Church of Ely	10	0	0(4)	William of Nouuers of King William
2 Eddeva the Fair	5	0	0(5)	Wigon(6) of Count Alan
	15	0	0	

SAXON

1 Wluin thegn of the King	5	0	0(7)	Evrard(8) of Aubrey de Ver
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ASHLEY

1 Wluin a thegn of the King	3	2	0(9)	Evrard(10) of Aubrey de Ver
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SILVERLEY

1 Wluin a thegn of the King	6	2	0(10)	Aubrey de Ver
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KIRTLING

1 Earl Harold	10	0	0	Countess Judith
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1. D.C.C. gives their names Ralph de Scannis and Ralph Britop. 37
2. I.C.C. gives name as Ralph d Scannis. p.37
3. I.C.C. gives name as Enisam musardus p.11
4. 1086 assessed at 1 hide
5. 1086 assessed at 3 hides
6. I.C.C. gives name as Wigon de mara p.10
7. 1086 assessed at 3 hides.
8. I.C.C. gives name as Everard son of Brientius. p.9.
9. 1086 assessed at 2 hides.
10. 1086 assessed at 4 hides
11. 1086 assessed a 6 hides.

THE HUNDRED OF RADFIELD

DULLINGHAM	1066	H	V	A	1086
1 Earl Aelfgar		6	0	0	Abbot of St.Wandrille(1)
2 Eight sokemen, men of Earl Aelfgar		1	0	0	Hardwin de Scalers
3 Eight sokemen of the King			3	10	
3 Sokemen (2)		2	0	10	Two knights of C.Alan
4 Earl Waltheof (3)				10	Countess Judith
		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

STRETCHWORTH

1 The Church of Ely		8	2	15	The Church of Ely
2 The Church of Ely			2	9(4)	Hardwin de Scalers
3 Godwin a man of the Abbot		1	0		Hardwin of the Abbot
The Church of Ely			1	15	Abbot of St.Wandrille
4 Grim a man of Eddeva			2	0	Count Alan
		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>15</u>	

WESTLEY WATERLESS

1 The Church of Ely		3	0	0	The Church of Ely
2 Two sokemen(5) of E.Harold			3	10	Countess Judith
3 Two sokemen, men of E.Harold				15	Hardwin de Scalers
4 Seven sokemen, men of Eddeva			0	0	Two knights of C.Alan
		<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>25</u>	

BORROUGH GREEN

1 Eddeva the Fair		5	0	0	Count Alan
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CARLTON

1 Earl Harold		2	3	23½	Countess Judith
Three sokemen of Harold				4½	Three sokemen of Judith
A sokeman, man of E.Aelfgar				2	Countess Judith
2 Tochi a thegn of the King		2	0	7½	Walter of Grantcourt of
3 Earl Aelfgar		4	0	2 (5)	William de Warenne
3 Earl Aelfgar		4	0	2 6½	The Church of Cluny of
					William de Warenne
4 Two sokemen, men of E.Harold		1	8		Two knights of Hardwin
A sokeman, man of E.Aelfgar				8	
? (7)				11	
5 A sokeman			1	0	Wihomarc of C.Alan.
		<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>26½</u>	

1. The Church of Cluny.
2. I.C.C. gives names and holdings, but is obscure. p.18
3. Conjectural, 1086 holder not recorded.
4. Meadow land.
5. Are only homines in D.B. p.19
6. I.C.C. gives 12 acres.
7. Is a balance of 11 acres over the other holdings. p.21.

WESTON COLVILLE 1066		17			1086	
		H	V	A		
1	Tochi of the Abbot of Ely, Two sokemen, men of Godwin cilt	7	0	0		William de Warenne
2	Godwin cilt, man of Eddeva	1	2	0		Wihomarc of C.Alan
3	Turgar, man of E.Aelfgar	1	0	0		Durand of Hardwin
4	Two sokemen, men of E.Harold	1	0			Hardwin de Scalers
5	?(1)		1	0		Walter de Grantcort of William de Warenne
		<hr/>				
		10	0	0		

WEST WRATTING

1	The Church of Ely	4	2	0		The Church of Ely
2	Ten sokemen of the Abbot	3	0	0		Hardwin of the Abbot
3	Tochi and Wigar		1	0		Hardwin de Scalers(2)
4	Two sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	2	0		Almar of Count Alan
5	Tochi of the King		3	0		Lanbert of William de Warenne
		<hr/>				
		10	0	0		

THE HUNDRED OF STAINE

SWAFFHAM BULBECK

1	Alwi harparius of the Abbot of Ely	3	0	0		Hugh de Bolbech of Walter Giffard
2	Three sokemen(3), men of the Abbot of Ely	2	2	10		
	Nineteen sokemen of K.E.	2	0	0		
2	Six sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	3	0		Geoffrey of C.Alan
3	A sokeman of the King		2	0		Aubrey de Ver
		<hr/>				
		10	0	0		

SWAFFHAM PRIOR

1	The Church of Ely	3	0	0		The Church of Ely
2	Four sokemen of the Abbot	2	3	0		Hardwin of the Abbot
3	Wluuin, man of the Abbot	3	0			Hugh of Walter Giffard
4	Six sokemen		1	0		Hardwin de Scalers
5	A housecarl of the King		3	0		Three knights of C.Alan
	Eddeva the Fair	1	1	0		
	Wluui, man of Eddeva	1	1	0		
		<hr/>				
		10	0	0		

BOTTISHAM

1	Earl Harold	8	0	0		Walter Giffard
2	Alric a monk, man of the Abbot of Ramsey	2	0	0		
		<hr/>				
		10	0	0		

- 1066 holder not recorded in I.C.C. and entry omitted D.B. pp.22-3.
- A man of Tochi and a man of Withgar are there in 1086, recorded in I.V.C. p.23.
- I.C.C. records them as Huscarlus, Brithwinus, Qelsi. p.8.
- These two may be sokemen. p.14.

1066

1086

GREAT AND LITTLE WILBRAHAM			
1	Ordmer, man of Eddeva	4	0 0
2	Wluuin a thegn of the King	4	0 0
3	King Edward	2	0 0
		<u>10</u>	<u>0 0</u>

Odo of Count Alan
 Aubrey de Ver
 King William

STOW AND QUY			
1	Grimbald(1) man of Eddeva	1	0 0
2	Godric(2) man of the King		2 20
3	Two sokemen, men of the Abbot of Ely	3	3 0
4	Alric the monk and Godric, men of the Abbot of Ramsey	1	2 0
	Four sokemen of the King	1	0 10
		<u>10</u>	<u>0 0</u>

Odo of Count Alan
 Reinald of Aubrey de Ver
 Picot of the King's fee.

THE HUNDRED OF STAPLOE

KENNET			
1	Tochil a thegn of the King	3	1 0
	Godric, (5) a sokeman, man of Tochil		1 0
		<u>3</u>	<u>2 0</u>

Nicholas of William de Warenne.

BADLINGHAM			
1	Ordmer, man of Eddeva	3	2 0

Ordmer of Count Alan

CHIPPENHAM			
1	Orgar the Sheriff, of K.E. In the farm of K.E.	3	0 0
	Two sokemen of the King	5	0 0
		<u>2</u>	<u>0 0</u>
		<u>10</u>	<u>0 0</u>

Geoffrey de Mandeville

SNAILWELL			
1	Archbishop Stigand and six sokemen, his men	5	0 0

Hugh de Porth of the fee of the Bp. of Bayeux and six sokemen.

WICKEN			
1	Eddeva the Fair	7	0 0

Count Alan

1. I.C.C. records him as a goldsmith p.15.
2. I.C.C. records him as a deacon p.16.
3. D.B. gives 30 acres.
4. I.C.C. gives number as 5. p.16
5. Name given in I.C.U p. 1.

1066

1086

EXNING

	H	V	A	
1 Also, man of Eddeva	1	2	0	Wihomarc of C.Alan
2 Eddeva and seven sokemen	13	2	0	King William
	<u>15</u>	0	0	

BURWELL

1 The Church of Ramsey	10	1	0	The Church of Ramsey
2 Two sokemen, men of Eddeva	2	2	0	Almar of Count Alan
3 A sokeman, (1) man of Eddeva	1	1	0	Geoffrey of Count Alan
4 The nuns of Chatteris		2	0	The nuns of Chatteris
5 Turc, man of the Abbot of Ramsey		2	0	Hardwin de Scalers
	<u>15</u>	0	0	

SOHAM

1 King Edward	9	1	24(3)	King William
2 The Church of Ely		2	0	The Church of Ely
3 Alsi, man of Eddeva	1	0	0	Alstan of C.Alan
4 The Church of St.Edmund			6	The Church of St.Edmund
	<u>11</u>	0	0	

FORDHAM

1 Two sokemen, men of Eddeva(4) and a sokeman, man of Aelfgar(5)	3	2	0	Wihomarc and his sokemen of Count Alan
2 Bruman, a sokeman of K.E	1	0	0	Bruman, a sokeman of K.W.
3 King Edward	5	2	0	King William
	<u>10</u>	0	0	

ISLEHAM

1 Wluuin, huntsman of K.E.	2	20		The Bishop of Rochester
Twelve sokemen, men of Turbtus	1	0	0	(under Archbp. Lanfranc.
2 Orgar the Sheriff	1	2	20	Hugo de Porth
3 Two sokemen of the King		1	10	Geoffrey of C.Alan
4 Four sokemen of the King King Edward.	1	1	10	King William
	<u>5</u>	0	0	
	10	0	0	

1. I.C.C. records the name Edwin. p.5
2. Entry omitted in D.B.
3. D.B. gives 9th. p.6.
4. I.C.C. records the names Dot and Ulmar. p.7.
5. I.C.C. records his name - Anselm. p.7.

20
THE HUNDRED OF FLENDISH

1066	H	V	A	1086
FOULBOURN				
1 Godwin cilt, man of Eddeva	8	0	0	Count Alan
2 Sigar of the King	3	0	0	John son of Waleran
Levric, man of E.Aelfgar	2	0	0	
Three sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	0	0	
3. The Church of Ely	4	2	0	The Church of Ely
4. Alsi of Asgar the Staller	2	2	0	William, nephew of Geoffrey de Mandeville
5 Twenty-six sokemen of K.E.	4	0	0	Twenty-six sokemen of Picot the Sheriff.
	<u>25</u>	0	0	
HINTON				
1 Eddeva the Fair and eight sokemen	7	0	0	Count Alan
TEVERSHAM				
1 Two sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	2	0	Count Alan
2 Five sokemen, (1) men of Eddeva	1	0	0	Robert of G. Alan
3 Two sokemen, men of ^F Aelfgar	1	2	20	John son of Waleran
Two sokemen, men of Godwin cilt	2	0	0	
4 The Church of Ely (2)	1	0	0	The Church of Ely
5 The Church of Ely	1	0	8	The Church of Ely
	<u>6</u>	3	28	
HORNINGSEA				
1 The Church of Ely	7	0	0	The Church of Ely

THE HUNDRED OF NORTH STOW

MADINGLEY				
1 Blacuin, man of the King	1	15		Picot of the Bishop of Lincoln
2 Seven sokemen of the King	8	1	0	Picot the Sheriff and two knights of Picot (3h 3v)
Five sokemen of the Abbot of Ely	3	1	15	
3 Four men of E. Waltheof	3	0	0	Picot of G. Judith
	<u>15</u>	0	0(3)	

1. Are only homines in D.B. p.27.
2. Emit Antecessor abbis Symeonis ab Algaro. p.28.
3. Was 15 hides T.R.E., but it is only 10 hides and now is assessed at 7½ hides.

OAKINGTON

1	Alviet a priest of the Abbot of Ely			15	Alviet of the Abbot
2	The Church of Crowland	7	2	0	The Church of Crowland
3	Balcuin the Sheriff of K.E.	2	9		Two knights of Picot
	Two men of the King	1	3	0	(3h 1v 10a) a knight of
	A man of the Abbot of Ely	1	2	10	Picot (2v 9a & 3 gardens)
4	Godwin, man of E.Waltheof	1	2	10	Roger of C.Judith
5	Siward, man of E.Waltheof	1	2	10	Wife of Boseline de Dive(1)
		<u>14</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u>	

LANDBEACH

1	Blacuin the Sheriff of K.E.	2	3	0	Muceullus of Picot
	Four men of the King	2	0	0	
	Ailbert, man of the Abbot of Ely	1	0	0	
	A man of the Abbot of Ely		1	0	
2	A man of E.Waltheof	1	2	0	Two carpenters of the King
	Oswi, man of the Abbot of Ely	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
		11	0	0	

WATERBEACH

1	Eddeva the Fair	2	0	18	Walter of Count Alan
	A sokeman, man of Eddeva	2	1	0	
2	Blacuin the Sheriff of K.E.	3	12		Osmund of Picot
	Four sokemen of the King	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>		
		6	0	0	

RAMPTON

1	A sokeman, man of Eddeva	1	15		Roger of Picot
	Four sokemen, men of the Abbot of Ely	5	1	0	
	Sugga a sokeman of the Abbot	<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>		
		6	0	0	

LOLWORTH

1	Salova(2) a prebendary of K.E.	3	2	0	Robert of Picot
	Seven sokemen of the King	1	2	0	
	Two sokemen, men of Eddeva	0	0		
	A sokeman of the Abbot of Ely	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
		9	0	0	

MILTON

1	Ailbert of the Abbot of Ely	6	3	0	Ralph of Picot
	Four sokemen of the Abbot	4	2	15	
	A sokeman of the King	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>		
		12	0	0	

1. In the I.E. p.113 an undertenant Roger, brother of Picot, is recorded.
2. Name recorded in I.C.C. p.95.

1066

H V A

1086

IMPINGTON

1 The Church of Ely	6	2	0
2 Two sokemen if the Abbot	1	1	0
A sokeman of the Abbot	2	1	0
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

The Church of Ely
Walter of Picot

GIRTON

1 The Church of Ramsey	8	2	15
2 Judichel	2	2	15
3 Blacuin a Sheriff of K.E.	3	3	0
	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

The Church of Ramsey
Morin of the Count of
Mortain

STANTON

1 Saxi a thegn of the King	4	2	0
2 Twelve sokemen, men of Eddeva	4	1	0
A sokeman, man of Bp.Wluui			15
3 Hoch a man of E.Waltheof			15
Eleven sokemen of the King	2	0	0
A sokeman, man of Saxi		2	0
Three sokemen of the Abbot of Ely	1	0	0
	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

Hugh (1) of Gilbert Turolde
Picot of G.Alan

Picot of William son of
Ansculf
Guy de Reinbuedcurt of Picot
of the King's fee

THE HUNDRED OF CHESTERTON

CHESTERTON

1 King Edward	30	0	0	King William
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CHILDERLEY

1 Siward, man of E.Harold	3	0	0	Roger of the Bishop of Lincoln
2 Three sokemen of the King				Robert of Picot
A sokeman, man of Eddeva	2	0	0	
3 A man of E.Waltheof	5	0	0	Picot of G.Judith
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. I.C.C. records name as Hugh Hubolt p.93.

1066	H	V	A	1086
COTTENHAM				
1 The Church of Ely	9	2	20	The Church of Ely
The Church of Ely		1	10(1)	Picot of the Abbot
2 The Church of Crowland	10	2	20	The Church of Crowland
The Church of Crowland		1	10	Picot of the Abbot
3 Oswi(2) a sokeman of the	3	1	16	Roger of Picot
Abbot of Ely				
A sokeman of the same abbot	1	2	0	
A sokeman, man of E.Waltheof			14	
	<u>26</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
WESTWICK				
1 Blacuin a Sheriff of K.E.	2	2	20	Odo of Picot
A sokeman(3) of the Abbot		1	10	
of Ely				
2 Gudmund, man of E.Waltheof	1	0	0	Robert of David of
				Argentomago
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
DRY DRAYTON				
1 The Church of Crowland	7	2	0	The Church of Crowland
2 Eddeva the Fair	3	0	0	The monks of Suaversey
3 Six sokemen of the King	1	3	15	Pain of Hardwin
Four sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	2	0	
Four sokemen of the Abbot	1	0	0	
of Ely				
A sokeman of the same Abbot			15	
Four sokemen of the Abbot	1	0	00	
of Crowland				
4 Sagar a man of E.Waltheof	3	0	0	Avesgot of Robert Fafiton
5 A man of E.Waltheof			3 0	Roger of C.Judith
	<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
HISTON				
1. Nine sokemen	9	3	0	Bp.of Lincoln. Picot of
				Bp. (9h 3v)
The Bishop of Lincoln	16	3	0	
2. A man of the Abbot of Ely	1	1	20	Picot of the Bishop.
3 The Church of Ely	1	3	0	The Church of Ely
4 Judichel (4)		1	10	Morin of the C. of Mortain
	<u>30</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
1. And a garden				
2. Name recorded in I.E. p.114.				
3. Name recorded in I.E. p.15.				
4. Conjectural.				

THE HUNDRED OF PAPWORTH

1066	H	V	A	1086
PEN DRAYTON				
1 Two sokemen of the King		2	0	Two sokemen of the King
2 The Church of Ramsey		3	0	The Church of Ramsey
3 Five sokeman, men of Eddeva	4	2	0	Five sokemen of C. Alan
4 Ulf a thegn of the King	2	0	0	Gilbert de Gand
A sokeman under Ulf	1	0	0	A sokeman of Gilbert
5 A sokeman of the Abbot of Ely and a sokeman of K.E.	1	0	0	Roger of Picot
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
WILLINGHAM				
1 The Church of Ely	7	0	0	The Church of Ely
2 Osulf, man of Eddeva		1	0	A sokeman of C. Alan
3 Gold a man of the Abbot		<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Roger of Picot
	7	2	0(1)	
GRAVELEY				
1 The Church of Ramsey	5	0	0	The Church of Ramsey
ELSWORTH				
1 The Church of Ramsey	9	1	5	The Church of Ramsey
2 Two sokemen, men of Ulf		1	25	Two sokemen of Gilbert de Gand
3 Two sokemen of the King		<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Pain of Hardwin
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
KNAPWELL				
1 The Church of Ramsey	3	2	0	The Church of Ramsey
A sokeman		<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	A sokeman of the Abbot
	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
BOXWORTH				
1 The Church of Ramsey		2	0	The Church of Ramsey
2 Two sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	0	0	Two sokemen of C. Alan
3 Lefsi, man of E. Waltheof	3	2	0	Picot of Robert Gernon
4 Six sokemen, men of Ulf	1	1	0	Six sokemen of Gilbert
5 A thegn of the King	3	2	0	Pain of Hardwick
Seven sokemen of the King	1	0	0	
	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. Assessed at 5h in 1086.

1066

25
H V A

1086

OVER

1	The Church of Ramsey	10	3	0	The Church of Ramsey
2	The Church of Chatteris	1	0	0	The Church of Chatteris
3	A sokeman of the Abbot of Ely	2	0	0	Ralph of Godwin
	Two sokemen of the Abbot	3	0		
	Seven sokemen of the Abbot of Ramsey	0	0		
4	Godric(1) a man of the Abbot of Ramsey	2	0	0	Sawin of Picot
5	Godwin(2), man of E. Waltheof	2	0	0	Roger of C. Judith
		<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	(3)

SWAVESEY

1	Eddeva the Fair	10	0	0	Count Alan
	Eight sokemen, men of Eddeva	3	0	0	Eight sokemen of C. Alan
2	Lefsi a man of E. Waltheof	1	0	0	Picot of Robert Gernon
3	Ulf a thegn of the King	1	0	0	Gilbert de Gand
		<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

PAPWORTH

1	Seven sokemen(4)	1	0	0	Picot the Sheriff
2	Goda of Eddeva	5	0	0	Count Alan
3	Alric a priest of the Abbot of Ely	1	0	0	William if Richard de Clare
4	Ulf a thegn of the King	1	15		Alwold of Gilbert de Gand
5	Two sokemen of the King	1	15		Pain of Hardwin
6	Ornod a man of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	3	0	Huntingdon Walter of Eustace of Huntingdon
7	Ornod a man of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	3	0	Ornod of Eustace of Huntingdon
8	Godwin, man of the Abbot of Ely	1	15		Walter of Eustace of Huntingdon
9	A housecarl of E. Waltheof(4)	1	0	0	Picot of C. Judith
10	A sokeman of the King		<u>15</u>		Picot the Sheriff
			<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

CONNINGTON

1	A man of E. Waltheof	1	0	0	Picot of Robert Gernon
2	Eight sokemen, men of Ulf	2	3	0	Eight sokemen of Gilbert
3	Three sokemen of the King	2	0	0	Pain of Hardwin
		<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. I.C.C. records the name.
2. I.C.C. gives name as Godwin cilt.
3. Assessed at 10 hides in 1086.
4. In Papworth hundred.

26
THE HUNDRED OF LONG STOW

1066	H	V	A	1086
EVERSDEN				
1 Two sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	0	0	Robert and two <u>angli</u> of C. Alan
2 A sokeman, man of E. Aelfgar	1	0	0	Durand of Hardwin
3 Edwi a man of the Abbot of Ely	1	0	0	Hugh de Bernere
4 Two sokemen, men of Abp. Stigand	1	3	0	Picot of Guy de Reinbued-
Seven sokemen, men of Earl Aelfgar	(1)	3	0	icurt (2v) and Humphrey of Guy (5h 2v 10a)
A sokeman, man of Eddeva	1	0	0	
Fourteen sokemen	1	2	10	
	8	1	10(2)	

LONG STOW

1 The Church of Ramsey	2	0	0	Guy of the Abbot
2 Almar, man of Eddeva	1	15	0	Almar of Count Alan
3 A sokeman, man of Abp. Stigand and three men of the Abbot of Ramsey	3	15	0	A Knight and two Englishmen of Count Alan.
4 Two sokemen of the King	3	0	0	Picot of C. Judith
	4	0	0	

KINGSTON

1 King Edward	1	3	0	King William
2 Almar, (3) man of E. Waltheof	20	0	0	Earl Roger
3 Almar, man of E. Waltheof	10	0	0	Humphrey of Eudo
4 Alviet (4) man of E. Aelfgar	1	0	0	Almar of Count Alan
5 Goding a man of Eddeva	1	0	0	Two knights of Hardwin
6 Ulmar, man of Robert fitz Wimarc	9	0	0	Robert Calvus of Hardwin
7 Ten sokemen of the King	2	1	15(5)	Ralph of Picot
A sokeman, man of the Abp.	3	0	0	
Two sokemen of E. Aelfgar	1	0	6	
A sokeman of E. Aelfgar	1	0	0	
A sokeman of the Abbot of Ely	1	0	0	
Two men of Earl Aelfgar	2	0	0	
	8	1	24(7)	

HARDWICK

1 The Church of Ely	3	1	12	The Church of Ely
2 Alvrice campe of the King	10	0	0	Ralph of the Abbot of Ely
	3	1	22	

1. The addition of a hide is necessary to reach the total.
2. 1086 assessment is 6 hides.
3. Goding's son according to I.C.C. p.86.
4. Gaest according to I.C.C. p.86.
5. Total holdings should be 5h 2v 16a.
6. I.C.C. gives holdings as 1 hide.
7. Assessment should be 8h 1v 10a, but in 1066 is 6h 15 acres

1066

H V A 1086

GRANSDEN

1 The Church of Ely	5	0	0	The Church of Ely
2 The sokemen of Gamlingay		1	0	Eudo fitz Hubert
	5	1	0	

BOURN

1 The Church of Ramsey	1	0	0	Two knights of the Abbot
2 Almar, man of Eddeva	4	1	0	Almar of Count Alan
3 A thegn of the King	3	0	0	Picot the sheriff and
Two priests, men of the thegn	1	0	0	two knights of picot (2h)
Three sokemen, men of Abp. Stigand	4	0	0	
A sokeman, man of Asgar the Staller	1	0	0	
Two sokemen of the Abbot of Ramsey	1	2	0	
Thirteen sokemen of the King	2	0	0	
4 Almar a thegn of the King	1	3	0	
	20	0	0(1)	

HATLEY ST. GEORGE

1 ?(2)	1	0	0	Almar of Count Alan
2 Two sokemen, men of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	0	0	Eudo fitz Hubert
3 Alward a man of Robert fitz Wimarc	2	0	0	Roger of Picot
4 Three sokemen of the King	1	0	0	Picot of the Sheriff
	4	1	0	

TOFT

1 Eddeva the Fair	2	1	8	Count Alan
2 Two sokemen of the King	1	0	4	Two knights of Picot
Siward a sokemen of the Abbot of Ely		2	6	
3 Five sokemen of the Abbot	1	0	0	Erchanger the Baker
4 The Church of Ely	3	1	12	Hardwin of the Abbot
5 Alvric campe of the Abbot			10	Ralph(3) of the Abbot
	8	1	10(4)	

CALDECOTE

1 Almar a man of Eddeva	2	0	0	Almar of Count Alan
2 Two sokemen, men of Eddeva	3	10	0	Two knights of Hardwin
3 Sigar, man of E. Waltheof	1	20	0	David of Argentomago
	1	3	0	

1. Assessment 7 hides in 1086.
2. 1066 holder not recorded.
3. Ralph Latimer in I.C.C. p.88.
4. Assessment 6 hides in 1086.

1066	28	1086
	H V A	
GAMLINGAY		
1 Ulmar of Eaton Socon Nine sokemen	14 0 0 4 0 0	Eudo fitz Hubert and a Frenchman (2v)
2 Inguar a thegn of the King	1 0 0	Ranulf, brother of Ilger
3 A man of Earl Aelfgar	1 0 0	Two men of Rob. Fafiton
	<u>20 0 0</u>	
CAXTON		
1 Turger a thegn of the King Four sokemen of the King Eighteen sokemen of Earl Aelfgar	3 0 0 1 0 15 5 3 15 <u>10 0 0</u>	Hardwin de Scalers
CROXTON		
1 Two sokemen of the King	1 0 0	Adelulf of Hardwin
2 Four sokemen of E.Aelfgar and four men of E.Watheof	6 0 0 <u>7 0 0</u>	David of Argentomago

HUNDRED OF ARMINGFORD

STEEPLE MORDEN		
1 The Church of Winchester	8 0 0	The Church of Winchester
2 Goda of Earl Aelfgar	1 0 7½	Earl Roger
3 Seven sokemen	3 22½ <u>10 0 0</u>	Seven sokemen of Hardwin
TADLOW		
1 Ordric (1) a sokeman of K.E. Anschill, sokeman, man of Ordic	1 1 15 2 7½	Picot the Sheriff.
Godric, sokeman, man of Asgar the Staller	1 22½	
2 Torchil a proest, man of Earl Testi	1 1 15	Picot of C.Judith
3 Ulmar of Eaton Socon a thegn of the King	1 1 0 <u>5 0 0</u>	Walter of Azelina wife of Ranulf Tailgebosc

1. The names of these sokemen are recorded in the I.C.C. p.528.

1066

29
H V A

1086

GULDEN MORDEN

11 Osgot a sokeman of Abp. Stigland	1	2	0	Picot the Sheriff
Godwin and Will, sokemen men of Abp. Stigand		1	0	
Gotmar and Alwin sokemen men of Earl Aelfgar		3	0	
Almar sokeman, man of Eddeva the Fair			15	
Alward and Elnod, sokemen of the King(1)	3	0	(2)	
2 Goda, man of E.Aelfgar	2	15		Earl Rodger
3 Godwin Wombestang, man of Asgar the Staller	3	0		Richard of Geoffrey de Mandeville
4 Winterled of E.Aelfgar			15	Alvred of Hardwin
	5	0	0	

CHAPTON

1 The Church of Winchester	3	2	0	The Church of Winchester
2 Earl Gurth	1	2	0	Humphrey of Eudo
	5	0	0	

WENDY

1 Eddeva the Fair	3	3	0	Odo of Count Alan
Six sokemen, men of Eddeva	1	0	0	
2 Goda, man of E.Aelfgar		1	0	Alvred of Hardwin
	5	0	0	

EAST HATLEY

1 Eight sokemen, two men of the King, three men of Abp. Stigland, one man of Gurth. One man of Robert F. Wimarc one man of Ulmar of Eaton Socon	2	0	0	Picot the Sheriff
2 Almar of Eddeva	1	3	0	Almar(3) of Picot
3 Almar man of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	1	0	Humphrey of Eudo
	5	0	0	

LITLINGTON

1 Earl Aelfgar	4	2	15	William camarius and Otto the goldsmith
2 Alfgar, man of Abp. Stigland		2	0	Adelulf of Hardwin
Alwi, man of E.Aelfgar			15	
	5	1	0	

1. Omitted from entry in D.B.
2. Total is 15 acres short. p.52.
3. I.C.C. records him as Almer of Bourne.

1066

H V A

1086

CROYDEN

1	Godeva, man of Eddeva	2	15	Almar of Count Alan
2	Leveva, (1) man of Eddeva	1	0	Fulcher of Count Alan
3	Gotmar, (2) man of Asgar the Staller	1	3 15	Anschill of Picot
4	Elward, (2) man of Robert fitz Wimarc	1	1 0	Alvred of Picot
5	Earl Gurth	2	0 0	Humphrey of Eude
6	Alflet, man of Abp. Stigand	1	0 0	Two knights of Hardwin
	Four sokemen of the King	1	0 0	
	Alvric, (3) man of Asgar the Staller	1	1 0	
7	Almar, man of E. Waltheof		3 0	Earl Rodger
			<u>10 0 0</u>	

ABINGTON

1	The Church of Winchester A sokeman, man of Abp. Stigand	2	2 0	Hugh of St. Peter (4)
			15	
2	King Edward	2	0	King William
3	Two sokemen, men of E. Aelfgar	1	0 15	Two knights, Radulf and Robert of Hardwin (5)
	A sokeman of the King (6)	1	0	
4	Goda, man of E. Aelfgar	1	0	Earl Rodger
5	Ansgot, man of Abp. Stigand		15	Picot the Sheriff
6	Alwi coc bedell of the King		15	Alwi coc bedell of K.E.
			<u>5 0 0</u>	

SHINGAY

1 Godda, man of E. Aelfgar 5 0 0 Earl Rodger

WHADDON

1	Two sokemen, one Tubern the priest, man of Abp. Stigand, the other a man of Eddeva	1	3 0	Hardwin de Scalers
2	Sageva man of Eddeva	1	0	Hardwin of Richard de Clare
3	Tubern of the Abbot of Ely	1	0 0	Hardwin de Scalers
	Twelve sokemen of the Abbot	1	2 0	
4	Colsuan, man of Eddeva	2	0	Colsuan of C. Alan
5	Lewin, man of Asgar the Staller	2	1 15 (7)	Radulf a priest of Count Alan
6	A sokeman, man of Colsuan		15 (8)	Two men of Count Alan
	A sokeman of the Abbot		15	
7	Eddeva the Fair	2	0 15	Odo of Count Alan
	A sokeman, man of Eddeva		15	
8	Danemund, man of Asgar		15	Hardwin de Scalers
			<u>10 0 0</u>	

1. I.C.C. records the name as Lethege, p.57.
2. Names are taken from the I.C.C. p.57.
3. Name is taken from the I.C.C. p.58.
4. I.C.C. records name as Hugo pincerna. p.60.
5. Names are taken from the I.C.C. p.60.
6. Is only recorded as a homo in D.B.
7. D.B. gives holding as 2h 1v and is probably incorrect.
8. The individual holdings are taken from the I.E.

1066

H V A

1086

MELDRETH

1 Goda, man of E.Aelfgar	2	0	0	The Abbot of St.Ebrulf of Earl Roger
2 Colsuan of Eddeva		1	0	Colsuan of C.Alan
3.Ten sokemen of the Abbot of Ely	2	0	15	Ten sokemen of Guy
Five sokemen, men of Eddeva (1)	1	0	15	Guy de Reinbuedcort
4 Almar a sokeman(2) of the Abbot		1	0	Hardwin de Scalers
5 The Church of Ely	2	3	0	The Church of Ely
6 The Church of Ely	1	2	0	Hugh (3) of Hardwin.
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

MELBOURNE

1 The Church of Ely	2	1	0	The Church of Ely
2 Edric pur thegn of K.E.	2	2	0	Guy de Reinbuedcort
Eight sokemen, men of the Abbot	2	2	15	
Two sokemen of the King			20	
3 Colsuan of Eddeva		3	0	Colsuan of Count Alan
4 Sired, man of E.Aelfgar	1	1	0	Durand of Hardwin
5 Goda, man of E.Aelfgar		1	22	The Abbot of Ebrulf of Earl Roger.
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

BASSINGBOURN

1 Eddeva the Fair and ten sokemen, eight her men and two men of E.Aelfgar	7	1	15	Count Alan
2 The Church of Winchester and a sokeman, man of Abp. Stigand	1	2	0	The Church of Winchester
3 Two sokemen, men of E. Aelfgar	1	0	0	Leving of Hardwin
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

HUNDRED OF WETHERLEY

BALSHAM

1 The Church of Ely	9	0	0	The Church of Ely
1 Three sokemen, men of the Abbot of Ely	2	20		Hardwin de Scalers
3 Leflet of Eddeva		1	10	Almar of Count Alan
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. D.B. gives number of sokemen as 16 but only enumerates 15. I.C.C. gives 15. p.65.
2. Is recorded as a priest in I.C.C. p.66, and as a sokeman in I.E. p.108.
3. I.C.C. records name as Hugo pedevolt. p.66.

COMBERTON		1066	H	V	A	1086
1	Seven sokemen of the King		1	1	0	Two knights of Picot
	A sokeman, man of E.Waltheof					
	A sokeman, man of Abp.Stigand			3	0	
2	Arelus(2) a man of E.Waltheof		1	15		William de Cahanges
3	A sokeman of King Edward		1	0		Erchanger Pistor of
	A sokeman, man of Abp.Stigand			1	15	
	A sokeman, man of E.Waltheof			1	15(3)	
4	King Edward		2	2	0	King William
			<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15(4)</u>	

BARTON

1	A sokeman, man of E.Waltheof		2	15		William de Cahainges
	A sokeman, man of E.Waltheof			1	0	
	Two sokemen, men of E.Waltheof		2	15		
2	Judichel, the King's huntsman		1	0	0	Robert Fafiton of the Count of Mortain
3	A sokeman, man of Eddeva			2	0	
	Twenty-three sokemen of the King		3	0	0	Humphrey of Anslevilla(5) of Guy de Reinbuedcurt
			<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

GRANTCHESTER

1	Five sokemen of the King			3	0	Two knights of Guy de
2	Two sokemen of the King		2	1	0	Two knights(Reinbuedcurt of C.Eustace
	A sokeman, man of Asgar the Staller					
3	A sokeman, man of E.Aelfgar			3	0	Robert Fafiton
	Three sokemen, men of E. Waltheof			2	0	0
4	Godman, man of Eddeva			1	15	Gollan of C.Alan
5	Judichel the King's huntsman			1	0	Robert Fafiton of the Count of Mortain
6	Ulvric a man of the King				15	Robert Fafiton of Picot
			<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. D.B. only records these as homines. I.C.V as knights p.68
2. Name taken from I.C.C. p.69.
3. Erchanger's holding however is 1 hide less 20 acres. p.69.
4. Village is assessed at 6 hides in I.C.C. p.68.
5. Surnames taken from I.C.C. p.70.

HASLINGFIELD 1066		H	V	A	1086	
1	King Edward	7	1	0	King William	
2	Five sokemen of the King	3	0	0	Seifrid of Picot	
	A sokeman, man of Asgar the Staller	1	3	0		
3	Eldred a man of Eddeva	1	0	15	Robert(1) of C.Alan	
4	Eddeva the Fair		2	0(2)	Count Alan	
5	Sigar, man of Asgar the Staller	5	0	0	Roger of Sumerei (3) of Geoffrey de Mandeville	
6	Two sokemen of the King(4)	1	1	3	Humphrey of Guy de Reinbuedcort	
7	Meruin of Eddeva			12	Robert of C.Alan	
		<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		
HARLTON						
1	Achi a thegn of the King	3	2	0	Walter son of Aubrey of Walter Giffard	
	Four sokemen, men of Achi		1	15		
	A sokeman, man of Ernulf			15		
2	Godman, man of Asgar the Staller	1	0	0	Seifrid of Picot	
		<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		
BARRINGTON						
1	Etric Pur a King's thegn	3	0		Robert Gernon	
	Etric Pur holding of the Church of Chatteris			15		
	Fifteen sokemen of the King	4	1	15(5)		
	Four sokemen, men of E. Aelfgar	2	0	15		
	Three sokemen, men of Asgar the Staller (6)	1	0	0(7)		
2	The Church of Chatteris	2	9	0	The Church of Chatteris	
3	Ethsi, man of Robert F. Winarc			20	Radulf de Bans(8) of Picot	
4	Achi the Dane,(9) man of E.Harold			40	Walter of Walter Giffard	
5	A sokeman of the King(10)			45	Picot of Count Alan	
		<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		
WIMPOLE						
1	Eddeva the Fair	2	2	15	Count Alan	
2	Earl Gurth	1	1	15	Humphrey of Eudo Dapifer	
		<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

1. I.C.C. records him as a priest. p.72
2. This land belongs to Swavesey. p.73.
3. Surname taken from I.C.C. p.73.
4. Entry omitted in D.B.
5. I.C.C. incorrectly adds 12½ acres.p.74.
6. D.B. omits these
7. Holding should be 7h 1½v. p.74.
8. De Bans taken from I.C.C. p.75.
9. Not actually recorded in I.C.C. p.75.
10. Only recorded as a homo in D.B.

	1066	H	V	A	1086
SHREPRETH					
1	Four sokemen of the King	1	2	10	Harduin de Scalers
	A sokeman, man of E. Aelfgar		2	15	
2	The Church of Chatteris	1	1	15	The Church of Chatteris
3	Sigar, man of Asgar the Staller	1	0	0	Sigar of Geoffrey de Mandeville
4	Hemming a man of the King		1	15	Rainald of C. Alan
5	The Church of Ely			15	Hugo of Hardwin
		5	0	0	
ORWELL					
1	Two sokemen, men of Eddeva			20	Earl Roger
	A sokeman, man of Abp. Stigand	1		10	
	A sokeman, man of		1	10	
	A sokeman of the King			20	
	A sokeman, man of E. Aelfgar	1		10	
2	A sokeman of the King			10	Durand of Harduin de Scal- ers.
	A sokeman, man of E. Waltheof	3		0	
3	Sigar, man of Asgar the Staller	1		10	Sigar of Geoffrey de Mandeville
4	Tubert, a man of Eddeva	3	12	$\frac{1}{2}$	Picot of C. Alan
5	Achi, man of Earl Harold	1	0	(1)	Walter of Walter Giffard
6	A sokeman of the King	1		0	Robert Gernon
7	The Church of Chatteris			10	Radulf of Guy
	The Church of Chatteris			7	The Church of Chatteris
		4	0	0	
WRATWORTH					
1	A sokeman, man of Eddeva	3		10	Earl Roger
	A sokeman, man of Abp. Stigand	3		0	
	A sokeman, man of E. Aelfgar	1		10	
	A sokeman, of the King			20	
	A sokeman, man of Robert fitz Winarc			10	
2	A sokeman, man of E. Waltheof	2	20		Two knights of Harduin
	A sokeman, man of Robert fitz Winarc			10	
3	A sokeman, man of Eddeva	1		10	Count Alan
4	A sokeman, man of the King	1	0	(2)	Radulf de Bans of Picot
5	Two sokemen of the King	2		0	Radulf of Guy de Reinbouedcort
		4	0	0	

1. This land belongs to Harlton. *B.G.C.* p. 79.

2. *D.B.* incorrectly gives this holding as 3v. *I.C.C.* as 8v, p. 80.

1066	35	1086
	H V A	
WHITWELL		
1 A sokeman, man of E.Aelfgar	1 20	Radulf de Bans of Picot
A sokeman of the King	2 0	
A sokeman, man of Robert fitz Wimarc	1 0	
2 A sokeman, man of Abp.Stigand	15	Earl Roger
A sokeman, man of Eddeva	10	
A sokeman	15	
3 Six sokemen of the King	1 1 0	Robert of Harduin
A sokeman of Robert fitz Wimarc	2 0	
A sokeman, man of E.Aelfgar(1)	1 0	
4 Goduin a man of Eddeva	2 0	Fulcuin of C.Alan
	<u>4 0 0</u>	
ARRINGTON		
1 Alvrice a King's thegn	1 1 0	Earl Roger
A sokeman, man of E.Waltheof	1 0 0	
A sokeman, man of the Abbot of Ely	1 0 0	
A sokeman man of Robert fitz Wimarc	20	
2 Leveva(2), man of Eddeva	2 0	Fulcuin of Count Alan
	<u>4 0 0</u>	

1. This entry ~~is~~ omitted in D.B.

2. I.C.C. records name as Leshusa. p.83.

ANALYSIS OF ESSEX

THE HUNDRED OF KINCKFORD

1066	H	V	A	1086
SHALFORD				
1 Earl Aelfgar	5	1	0	Otto the Goldsmith ⁽¹⁾ of K.W.
2 A free man		2	0	Walter the Cook
3 Godere a free man		2	0	William the Deacon
	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	
FINCHINGFIELD				
1 Earl Aelfgar	2	2	10	Otto of the King(1)
2 Norman		2	10	Guy of Count Eustace
3 Ulvric a free man		1	7	Guy of Count Eustace
4 Three free men under Eddeva	2	2	0	Hervey of Count Alan
5 Two sokemen and a free man		1	8	Count Alan
6 Two sokemen		1	18	Elinant of Rich. de Clare
7 Two sokemen under Wisgar		1	8	Ernald of Richard
8 Three sokemen under Wisgar		1	6	Two knights of Richard
9 Eleven sokemen		2	0	Eleven sokemen of Richard
10 Brictric a free man		2	20	Ernald of Richard
	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>17</u>	
ASHWELL				
1 Felega		2	0	Walter the Cook
BOYTON				
1 Colfege a free man		2	10	Richard de Clare
HOW HALL				
1 Three sokemen under Wisgar		1	2½	Germund of Richard
Coleman a free man		1	7½	
	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>		
WETHERSFIELD				
1 Earl Aelfgar	1	3	15	Picot for the King
Six sokemen	1	0	14	Eight sokemen of Picot
2 A priest		1	8½	Gilbert son of Warin
3 ? (2)			7½	Count Alan
4 ? (2)		1	15	Suen of Richard de Clare
5 Stanard a free man		1	0	Stannard of the King
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
STURMER				
1 A free woman	1	2	15	Tihel the Breton
A free man	1	2	0	
	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>15</u>	

- Otto rents the land.
- Holder of 1066 is not recorded.

1066	H	V	A	1086
LAMMARSH				
1 Algar	3	2	0	Turold of Rannulf Peverel
Alward his brother	1	2	0	
2 ? (1)			2	Rannulf Peverel
3 Eight free men		1	17	Eight free men of Turold
	5	1	19	
HEDINGHAM				
1 Ulwin	2	0	0	Aubrey de Ver and Robert Blund (35a), Picon (15a), Garin (25a), Godun (15a).
Thirteen sokemen	1	0	10	Thirteen sokemen
2 Godwin a free man		2	0	Garanger of Rob. de Ramis
Two sokemen			3	Two sokemen of Garenger
3 Fifteen free men			25	Garanger of Roger Bigot
Three free men		1	18	Three free men (?)
	4	0	26	
HERSHAM				
1 Orgar a free man	1	0	0	The Church of Battle
2 Two sokemen		1	15	Adelelm of Aubrey de Ver
3 Bricmar a free man	1	0	0	Wielard of Count Gilbert
A free woman		1	0	
	2	2	15	
BIRDBROOK				
1 A free man	2	0	0	Rannulf brother of Ilger
BAPTHORNE				
1 Inguar a thegn	2	0	0	Rannulf brother of Ilger
Two sokemen			5	
	2	0	5	
SALING				
1 A free man		2	0	Turstin of John son of Waleram
2 Algar			20	Algar of Richard de Clare
		2	20	
TILBURY				
1 A free man	1	1	0	Tihel the Breton
ASHEN				
1 Two sokemen under Wisgar	3	10		Richard de Clare

1. Holder of 1066 is not recorded.

1066	H	V	A	1086
ALPHAMSTONE				
1 The Church of Bury		2	0	The Church of Bury
2 Fifteen sokemen		3	15	Fifteen sokemen of Richard
3 Derolf			4	Derolf of Richard
4 Holt a free man			1	Holt of Richard
		<u>1</u>	<u>1 20</u>	
FELSTEAD				
1 Earl Aelfgar	4	0	0	The Church of Caen
2 Three sokemen		1	25	Four sokemen of the Church
3 Ulsi under E. Aelfgar		3	0	Roger 'God Save the Ladies'
4 A free man		1	0	Gilbert son of Salomon
		<u>5</u>	<u>1 25</u>	
PANFIELD				
1 A free woman	1	3	0	The Church of Caen
2 Wisgar		1	3 0	Robert of Richard de Clare
		<u>3</u>	<u>2 0</u>	
MAPLESTEAD				
1 Eight free men			22½	The wife of Aubrey of the
2 Gumm a free man		2	0	Bishop of Bayeux
3 Ulwin a free man		2	0	Waleram
		<u>1</u>	<u>0 22½</u>	Ilger of Robert Gernon
RIDGWELL				
1 Godwin a free man	2	3	0	Count Eustace
Fourteen sokemen		2	7½	Fourteen sokemen of the Count
	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7½</u>	
CLARET				
1 Ledmar a free man	1	3	5	Count Eustace
2 Seven sokemen		1	5	Seven sokemen of C. Eustace
3 A free man			15	A free man of C. Eustace
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>25</u>	
OVINGTON				
1 A free man	1	1	0	Roger Bigod
2 Briculf		1	0	Briculf of Rich. de Clare
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
CELVESTINA				
1 Five sokemen		1	25	Five sokemen of Richard
2 Six free men		1	13	Suen of Essex
	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	

1066	H	V	A	1086
STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD				
1 A free man		2	0	Adelulf de Merc of Count Eustace
4 A free man			$3\frac{1}{2}$	
2 A sokeman under Eddeva			$7\frac{1}{2}$	A knight of Count Alan
3 Twelve free men	3	0	18	Gilbert of William de Warenne
4 Three sokemen			25	Three sokemen of Richard.
5 A free man	1	1	0	Tihel the Breton
6 Lemar			5	Lemar the Tihel
	5	1	8	
WESTON				
1 A free man		1	0	Bernard of C. Eustace
BULMER				
1 A sokeman under Wisgar		3	0	Mascereel of Richard
SMEETON				
1 A free woman		3	0	Raner of C. Eustace
GOLDINGHAM				
1 Godwin a free man		2	0	Hubert de Monchensy of Robert Malet
GERHAM				
1 A free man		1	12	Count Alan
BINESLEA				
1 A sokeman under Wisgar	1	0	0	Wielard of Richard
2 Ulwin		1	0	Peter de Valonges
	2	0	0	
ALDERFORD				
1 Three sokemen under Wisgar		16		Two knights of Richard
FOXEARH				
1 Nineteen sokemen		1	2	25 Nineteen sokemen of Richard.

1066	4° H V A	1086
BURES ST. MARY		
1 Thirteen sokemen	1 5	Thirteen sokemen of Rich.
2 Leveva a free woman	1 10	Richard de Clare
3 Tosto a free man	<u>15</u>	Hugh of John son of Waleram
	3 0	
MOUNT BURES		
1 ?(1)	25	Roger de Ramis
2 Ulmar	1 0 0	Roger of Poitou
Eight free men	<u>3 0</u>	Eight free men of Roger
	1 3 25	
WESTON		
1 Four free men	1 1 20	Hugh de Hosedene of Roger Bigod
MIDDLETON		
1 Thirteen sokemen	1 3 0	The same of Richard
2 A free man	15	Robert Malel
3 Nine sokemen, men of E.Aelfgar	1 2 28	Gilbert the Priest
	<u>2 2 13</u>	
TOPPESFIELD		
1 A free man	15	Bernard of C.Eustace
2 Alestan a free man	15	Ralf of Richard
3 Duva	15	G(ermund) of Richard
	<u>1 15</u>	
HALSTEAD		
1 Thirty free men	1 3 26	William de Warenne
2 Twenty-two sokemen	2 11	The same of Richard
3 Ulwin	10	Waleram
4 A free man	2½	Alviet of Richard
	<u>2 2 19½</u>	
STANSTEAD		
1 Goduin a free man	1 0 0	Hubert of Robert Malet
2 ? sokemen(2)	1 3 22	
3 A sokeman	<u>10</u>	A sokeman of Robert
	3 0 2	
POLHEY		
1 Twenty-three men	3 2 13	William of Warenne and Richard (25a(, Gladiow (3v) of William

1. The holder in 1066 is not recorded.
2. The number of sokemen is not recorded.

PEBMARSH

1 Eighteen sokemen	2	12	The same of Richard
2 Three free men	?	(1)	Garenger of Roger Bigod
3 Levecilt a free man		3	Levecilt of Richard
4 Five free men		1	Suen of Essex
	<u>2</u>	<u>16</u>	

GESTINGTHORPE

1 Ledmar the priest	2	0	William Peche of Richard
A sokeman		15	
2 Earl Aelfgar	2	0	Otto the Goldsmith
Twelve sokemen	3	0	Eleven sokemen of Otto
	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>

YELDHAM

1 Eight sokemen under Wisgar	2	0	5	Goismer of Richard
2 Ledmar a free man	2	0	18	Count Eustace
3 A free man		2	0	Walter of Rannulf brother of
4 Godwin a free man	* 2	8		Ilger
		1	10	Burnart of Richard.
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	

TWINSTEAD

1 Eighteen sokemen	2	15	The same of Richard
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CHENEBOLTUNA

1 Fifteen sokemen	2	5	The same of Richard
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RAYNE

1 Gudmund	1	3	10	Alcher of Hugh de Montfort
2 Bishop William	4	1	0	The Bishop of London and
A free man			15	Roger (3v) of the Bp.
3 Goding		2	0	Ralf of Hamo dapifer
4 Alwin a free man	1	0	20	Roger de Ramis and Roger
Edric a free man	1	0	0	(30a), Wilberga (30a)
	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	

STANBOURNE

1 Gotlid	1	0	0	Hamo dapifer and five knights (58a) of Hamo
2 A free man		2	0	Geoffrey de Mandeville
3 Alestan a free man and	1	1	10	Free man of Geoffrey Alestan and
Twelve free men	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>	Twelve free men of Geoffrey

STEBBING

1 Siward	2	1	0	Henry de Ferrars
2 Siward	3	1	0	Rannulf Peverel
	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. Their holding is not recorded.

1066

H ⁴V ²A

1086

PENTLOW

1 A free woman
2 Eighteen sokemen

4 3 0
2 1 0
7 0 0

Ralf Baignard Gabeer (30a)
The same of Ralf

HENNY

1 Ulwin a free man
2 Twelve free men
2 Five free men
3 A free man
Seven free men
4 Four free men

2 3 15
20¹
1 1 26
2 2 0
2 10
18
7 2 29¹

Turold of Rannulf Peverel
~~Robert de Vaux of Roger Bigot~~
~~Robert de Vaux of Roger Bigot~~
Roger of John son of Waleram
Four free men of Turold

LISTON

1 A free man
2 A free man
3 Seven free men

3 0
3 0
2 0
2 0 0

Geoffrey Talbot of Hugh de G
Ilbodo
Seven free men of Ilbodo

BRUNDON

1 A free man
A free man

2 1 15
20
2 2 5

Ralf de Limesi

BORLEY

1 Lewin a free man
2 Grim and Godeva, free
men

2 1 0
2 23
2 2 23

The Countess of Aumale
Anschetil of Richard

HORSTED EFORT

1 Godric a free man

15 Adam, son of Durand Malsouer

BRAINTREE

1 Three free men

1 0 Ledmar of Waleram

NORTON

1 Brictric a free man

1 25 Mascereik of Richard

STISTED

1 Holy Trinity of Canterbury

2 0 Holy Trinity of Canterbury

1066

⁴³
 H V A 1086

BOCKING

1 Holy Trinity of Canterbury 4 2 0 Holy Trinity

WICKHAM ST. PAULS

1 Two sokemen under Wisgar	2 10	Ernald of Richard
2 The Church of St. Paul	2 3 0	The Church of St. Paul
	<u>3 1 10</u>	

BELCHAMP

1 The Church of St. Paul	5 0 0	The Church of St. Paul
2 Ledmar a free man	1 1 15	Ulmar of C. Eustace
Three sokemen and two free men	1 5	Five sokemen of Ulmar
3 Six free men	1 1 8½	Robert de Vaux of E. Roger
4 Etnod a free man	2 10	Bernard of C. Eustace
	<u>2 0</u>	A sokeman
	<u>9 0 8½</u>	

IN HINCKFORD HUNDRED

1 Eighteen sokemen of K.E.	26½	Eighteen sokemen of K.W.
2 Twenty-two free men	2 0 15½	The same of Tihel
	<u>2 1 10.</u>	

ANALYSIS OF BEDFORDSHIRE

HUNDRED OF BIGGLESWADE

1066	H	V	A	1086
ASTWICK				
1 Six sokemen	1	1	0	Bernard of Hugh de Beauchamp
2 ?(1)		2	0	Wenelinc of Hugh
3 Ledmar, man of Earl Tosti		2	0	Ledmar of Hugh
4 Lewin a thegn of the King		1	0	Hugh of Walter Fleming
	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
LITTLE BARFORD				
1 Ulmar of Eaton Socon(2)	3	0	0	Osbern fitz Walter
2 The Church of Ramsey	5	0	0	Osbern of Eudo dapifer of the
	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	fee of Ramsey
BIGGLESWARD				
1 Archbishop Stigand	9	2	0	Ralf de Insula
2 Two sokemen,		2	0	
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
DUNTON				
1 Archbishop Stigand	8	1	0	Richard Puniant
2 Four sokemen, men of Stigand	1	3	0	Ralf de Langetot of Walter Giffard
	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
EDWORTH				
1 Alestan of Boscumbe(2)	6	1	15	Two knights of William de Ow
Two sokemen, his men	1	2	0	
2 Branting a man of the King	2	2	0	Alwin a bailiff of K.W.
	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>	
EYWORTH				
1 Twenty sokemen	9	0	0	William Spech
2 Brodo	1	0	0	Brodo of Azelina (3)
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
KENEMONDEWICK				
1 Two sokemen	3	3	0	The Church of Ely
1. The holders of 1066 are not recorded but "they could sell it".				
2. A thegn of King Edward				
3. Wife of Ralf Taelgebose.				

1066

H ⁴⁵ V A

1086

LANGFORD

1 Lewin a thegn of the King	9	0	0	Walter Fleming
A sokeman	1	0	0	
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

MILLOW

1 The Church of Waltham	4	2	0	The Bishop of Durham
2 Ten sokemen	5	0	0	Ralf de Langetot of Walter Giffard
3 Godmer, man of Wlestan		2	0	William de Ow
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

STRATTON

1 Three sokemen	1	1	15	Fulcher of Paris of Walter Giffard
2 Lewin a thegn of the King	1	1	0	Walter Fleming
3 Archbishop Stigand	4	0	0	Ralf de Insula
4 Alwin, a man of the King		3	15	Fulcher of Paris of Countess Judith
	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	

TEMPSFORD

1 Alwin Deule, man of the King	1	1	22	William de Caron of the Bishop of London
2 Two sokemen	1	1	0	Eudo fitz Hubert
3 Three sokemen, men of Ulmar of Eaton Socon	4	1	0	William de Caron of Eudo
4 Three sokemen	2	0	0	Robert of Richard Puniant
5 Six sokemen	1	0	7	Alwin a bailiff of K.W.
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

HOLME

1 Alveva, man of Anschil	3	0		Ulvric of William de Ow
2 A sokeman of Anschil		1	0	Mortuing of Hugh de Beauchamp
3 Seven sokemen	1	0	15	Fulcher of Paris of Nigel de Albingi
4 Two sokemen	1	0	0	Walter Fleming.
5 Archbishop Stigand	1	2	0	Ralf de Insula
6 Three sokemen		2	0	
6 Alwin, man of the King		2	0	Fulcher of C. Judith
7 Godwin, man of the King		1	0	Two men of C. Judith
8 Alvrice and Ledmar, bedells	1	2	0	Alwin a bailiff of K.W.
	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>	

UNNAMED(1)

1 Samar a man of Lewin	2	0		Fulcher of Nigel
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1. These 2 virgates might belong to Astwick or Stratton.

HUNDRED OF CLIFTON

		H	V	A	
ARLESLEY					
1	The Church of Waltham	8	0	20	The Bishop of Durham
2	Alestan of Boscumbe	5	2	0	Burnard of William de Ow
	A sokeman, his man		2	20	
3	Two sokemen		3	10	Erfast of Nigel(1)
4	?(2)			20	A prebendary of Ulsi
		<u>15</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>	
CAMPTON					
1	Six sokemen	4	2	7½	Ralf of Walter Giffard
2	Alwin, man of Alestan		2	0	Fulbert of William de Ow
3	Three sokemen	1	3	22½	Turstin the Chamberlain
		<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
CLIFTON					
1	Alwin Deule, man of the King	3	0	15	William de Caron of the Bishop of Lincoln
2	Lewin	1	0	0	Lewin of Albert of Ramsey
3	Ulmar of Eaton Socon	5	1	15	William de Caron of Eudo
	Three sokemen		1	0	15
4	Four sokemen	2	0	0	William de Caron of Nigel (1)
5	Ulvric a man of the King	1	0	0	Alwin of C. Judith
		<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>	
CHICKSAND AND CUDSAND					
1	Alwin Deule		2	0	William de Caron of the Bishop of Lincoln
2	Four sokemen	3	2	0	Germund of Ralf Langetot of Walter Giffard
3	Four sokemen	2	0	0	Three sokemen of Hugh de Beauchamp
4	Four sokemen	3	0	0	Three sokemen of Azelina
5	Sueteman, man of Ulmar of Eaton Socon	1	0	0	Walter of Azelina
		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
HENLOW					
1	Anschil	1	3	0	Widrus of Azelina
2	Two sokemen, his men	1	0	0	Bernard of Azelina
3	Nine sokemen	4	3	0	Erfast of Nigel(1)
	The same sokemen		3	0	Monks of St. Nicholas of Angers.
4	Six sokemen	3	2	0	Hugh of Walter Fleming
5	Alric		1	0	Alric of the King
		<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. Nigel de Albingi.
2. Holder of 1066 not recorded.

1066	47			1086
	H	V	A	
HOLWELL				
1 The Church of Ramsey	3	2	0	The Church of Ramsey
2 The Church of Westminster	6	2	0	The Church of Westminster
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
MEPPERSHALL				
1 Lewin cilt	2	0	0	Gilbert son of Salomon
Four sokemen	2	0	0	
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
SHILLINGTON				
1 The Church of Ramsey	10	0	0	The Church of Ramsey
STOTFOLD				
1 Aschil a thegn of the King	9	2	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
Seven sokemen	5	2	0	Hugh of the Abbot of St. Albans
	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
STONDON				
1 The Church of Ramsey		2	0	The Church of Ramsey
2 Ulmar of Eaton Socon and five sokemen, his men	2	2	0	Engeler of Azelina
	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

HUNDRED OF REDBORNESTOKE

AMPHILL				
1 Seven sokemen	5	0	0	Nigel de Wast of Nigel de Albini
CRANFIEDD				
1 The Church of Ramsey	10	0	0	The Church of Ramsey
ELSTOW				
1 Four sokemen of the King	3	2	0	The nuns of Elstow of Countess Judith
FLITWICK				
1 Alwin a thegn of the King	5	0	0	William Lovett

1066

⁴³
 H V A 1086

HOUGHTON CONQUEST

1 Seven sokemen	5	0	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
2 Lepsi, man of Earl Tost		2	0	Hugh of C. Judith
3 Three sokemen	4	2	0	Ernauld and a sokeman (1h) of the wife of Hugh de Grentmais- nil
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

KEMPSTON

1 Earl Gurth	7	0	15	Countess Judith
Two thegns	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	
	10	0	0	

LIDLINGTON

1 The Church of Barking	00	0	0	The Church of Barking
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MARSTON MOETAINÉ

1 Two thegns	1	3	15	Hugh de Bolbech of Walter Giffard
2 Twenty-one sokemen	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>15</u>	Erfast of Nigel(1)
	10	0	0	

MAULDEN

1 Alwin, brother of Bp. Wlul	3	0	0	Hugh of Walter Giffard
2 Goduin, man of Aschil		2	15	Hugh de Beauchamp
3 ?(2)			25	Nigel de Albingi
4 Alwold, a thegn of the King	5	1	0	The nuns of Elstow of Countess Judith
A sokeman			15	
5 Two sokemen of the King	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>		A reeve of the King
	9	2	25	

MILBROOK

1 Godwin son of Lewin and some sokemen	0	0	0	Nigel de Wast of Nigel de Albingi
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SEGENHOE

1 Levenot, thegn of the King	9	2	0	Walter brother of Seier
A sokeman		<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
	10	0	0	

SHELTON

1 Alward, man of Alric son of Goding	1	0	0	Erfast of Nigel (1)
2 Fulgo, man of the same Alric		2	0	Stephen of Nigel(2)
3 Almar, man of Earl Tosti	3	0	0	Albert of Lorraine
4 Godwin, man of Tosti	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>		Azelina
	5	0	0	

1. Nigel de Albingi
2. Holder in 1066 not recorded, but the land was seized "to the hurt of the men who held that vill."

1066

H ⁴⁹ V A

1086

STEPPINGLEY

1 Almar, man of Alvrice of Flitwick and two sokemen	5	0	0	William son of Rainald of William Spech
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WESTCOTES

1 Seven sokemen	2	3	0	Nigel de Albingi
2 Ordui, man of the King		1	0	Ordui of the King
	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

WILSHAMSTEAD

1 Eight sokemen	3	0	0	The nuns of Elstow of Countess Judith
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WOOTTON

1 Almar, man of Earl Tosti	10	0	0	Albert of Lorraine
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THE HUNDRED OF FLITT

BARTON

1 The Church of Ramsey	11	0	0	The Church of Ramsey
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BISCOT

1 Edwin, man of Asgar the Staller	5	0	0	King William
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CADDINGTON

1 Lewin cilt	5	0	0	The Canons of St.Pauls.
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CAINHOE

1 Alvrice a thegn of the King	4	0	0	Nigel de Albingi
2 Ulvrice a sokeman of K.E.	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Turstin of Azelina
	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

CLOPHILL

1 Two thegns, men of E. Tosti	5	0	0	Nigel de Albingi
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FLITTON

1 Alwin Horim, thegh of K.E.	5	0	0	Robert Fafiton
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1066	50			1086
	H	V	A	
GRAVENHURST 1 Five sokemen	3	2	0	William of Hugh de Beauchamp
HAWNES 1 Achi, thegn of the King	5	0	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
HIGHAM GOBION 1 Five sokemen	8	0	0	William de Locels of Hugh de Beauchamp
PEGSDEN 1 The Church of Ramsey	10	0	0	The Church of Ramsey
PULLOXHILL 1 Eight sokemen	10	0	0	Roger and Rualon of Nigel(1)
SILSOE 1 Alvrice the Little, thegn of the King	2	0	0	Nigel Concubric of Nigel de Albingi
2 Levenot a thegn of the King	3	2	0	Hugh of Walter brother of Seier
Three sokemen		2	0	
	6	0	0	
STREATLEY 1 Godwin, man of Alestan	1	0	0	Walter of William de Ow
2 Aschil a thegn of the King	3	1	0	William de Locels of Hugh de Beauchamp
A sokeman, his man	1	0	0	
3 Lewin cilt and three thegns of the King	4	1	0	Pirot of Nigel de Albingi
4 Alvrice, man of Alvrice the Little		20		Hugh of William Spech
5 Ulmar the Priest		20		The reeve of the hundred
	9	3	10	
SUNDON 1 Alestan of Boscumbe	10	0	0	William de Ow
1. Nigel de Albingi				

THE HUNDRED OF STANBRIDGE

1066

H V A

1086

EATON BRAY

1 Alsi, man of Queen Edith 12 1 0 The Bishop of Bayeux

EDLESBOROUGH(1)

1 Ulf a thegn of the King 10 0 0 Gilbert de Gand

GLADLEY

1 Wigot, huntsman of K.E. 2 2 0 Gozelin the Breton

TILLSWORTH

1 Levric, son of Osmund, a thegn of the King 10 0 0 Ambrose of William Peverel

TOTTERNHOE

1 Levenot, a thegn of K.E. 15 0 0 Asbert of Walter Fleming

2 Lewine, man of E.Waltheof 6 3 0 William the Chamberlain

21 3 0

STUDHAM

1 Osulf son of Frane, a thegn of the King 6 0 0 Baldric of Robert de Todeni

SEWELL (2)

1 Walgrave, man of Queen Edith 3 0 0 King William

THE HUNDRED OF MANSHEAD

ASPLEY GUISE

1 Leveva, man of E.Waltheof 10 0 0 Acard de Ivri of Hugh de Beauchamp

BATTLESDEN

1 Seven sokemen 9 0 0 Richard Talbot of Walter Giffard

1 Moracr the priest 2 0 Robert of William the Chamberlain

3 Two sokemen, Anschil and Alwin 1 2 0 Azelina11 0 0

1. The rest of this village lay in Buckinghamshire.
2. Belonged to Odecoft hundred T.R.E., this hundred is not mentioned elsewhere.

1066	H	V	A	1086
EVERSHOLT				
1 Four thegns	1	0	0	Ansgot of Rochester of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 Turgis, a thegn of K.E.	7	2	0	Ralf of Hugh Beauchamp
3 Five sokemen of the King(1)	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Herbert a bailiff of K.W.
	9	0	0	
HARLINGTON				
1 Four thegns	5	0	0	Nigel de Albingi
HOCKLIFFE				
1 Anschil	10	0	0	Azelina
HOLECOTE				
1 Alward Belrap, man of Alvrice	4	0	0	Ralf Passequam of W.Spech
HUSBOURNE CRAWLEY				
1 Nine thegns	5	0	0	Turgis of Nigel de Albingi
2 Grimbold, man of the King	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	William Lovett
	10	0	0	
MILTON BRYANT				
1 Seven sokemen	4	0	0	Anschil of Rochester
2 Auti a housecarl of Earl Alfgar	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	William Froissart of Hugh de Beauchamp
	10	0	0	
POTSGROVE				
1 Morcar the priest of Luton	1	0	0	William the Chamberlain
2 Four thegns	7	2	0	Gozelin the Breton
3 Five sokemen(1)	1	0	0	Herbert a bailiff of K.W.
4 Oswi, man of Earl Tosti	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	A groom of the King
	10	0	0	
PRIESTLEY				
1 Four thegns	1	0	0	A bailiff of the King
2 Five thegns	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	Turgis of Nigel de Albingi
	2	0	0	
SALFORD				
1 Turchil a thegn of K.E.	5	0	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
TINGRITH				
1 Two thegns	2	1	0	Turgis of Nigel de Albingi

1. These five held at Eversholt, Potsgrove and Woburn.

	53			
1066	H	V	A	1086
TODDINGTON				
1 Wlward Levet	15	0	0	Ernulf of Hesding
WOBURN				
1 Alric a thegn of the King	8	0	0	Hugh de Bolbech of Walter Giffard
Six sokemen	2	0	0	
2 Five sokemen(1)	10	3	0	Herbert a bailiff of K.W.
HOUGHTON REGIS				
1 King Edward	10	0	0	King William and William the Chamberlain has 2 virgates
CHALGRAVE				
1 Edward cilt			10	Ernulf of Hesding
2 Albert	8	0	20	Albert
	8	1	0	
UNNAMED (2)				
1 Suglo, man of Alric son of Goding	1	0	0	Turgis of Nigel de Albingi

THE HUNDRED OF BUCKLEY

BIDDENHAM				
1 Levric, man of the Bishop of Lincoln	1	0	0	Ernuin the priest of the Bishop
2 Ulmar a priest of K.E.	2	0		Ordui of Bedford of the Abbot of St. Edmunds
3 Leviet a priest	3	0		The Church of Bedford
4 Marwen	1	0		Ansfrid a canon of St. Paul of Bedford
5 Aisi, man of Queen Edith	1	0	0	Serlo de Ros of Hugh de Beauchamp
6 Eleven sokemen	3	2	15	Ralf and Serlo of W. Spech
7 Osgar of Bedford		1	0	Osgar of Bedford
8 Godwin a burgess		2	0	Godwin a burgess
?(3)		2	7½	
9 Ordui a burgess	3	1	2	Ordui a burgess
?(3)		1	7½	
10 Ulmar a burgess			20	Ulmar a burgess
	12	1	22	

1. These held also at Eversholt and Potsgrove.
2. Baring in his Domesday Tables puts this hide in Holecot.
3. Bought after King William came.

1066

H V A

1086

THE HUNDRED OF WILLY

BLETSOE

1 Aschil	1	3	0	Osbert de Broilg of Hugh de Beauchamp
Three sokemen		3	0	
2 Leveva, man of the King	2	2	0	Osbern of C.Judith
2 Golderon, man of Levenot	5	0	0	

BROMHAM

1 Alwold and Levric, men of K.E.	1	2	0	Ernulf de Ard of C.Eustace
2 Alsi, man of Queen Edith	6	0	0	Serlo of Hugh
3 Godwin, man of Earl Harold	2	0	0	Hugh of Countess Judith
4 Osiet		1	20	Osiet
	9	3	20	

CHANNELS END

1 Aschil a thegn of K.E.	5	2	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
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PAVENHAM

1 Alwold a thegn of K.E.	2	2	0	Ernulf(?) of C.Eustace
2 Godwin a thegn of K.E.	5	0	0	Robert son of Nigel of Rannulf brother of Ilger
3 Alsi, man of Alli his brother	2	2	0	Turstin the Chamberlain
	10	0	0	

PUTNOE

1 Aschil a thegn of K.E.	4	0	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
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STAGSDEN

1 Twelve sokemen of the King	3	3	0	Herbert son of Ivo of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 The holder of Edward		1	0	Godwin of C.Eustace
3 A man of Earl Harold and two men of the King	5	0	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
4 Two sokemen of the King	1	0	0	Hugh of C.Judith
	10	0	0	

STEVINGTON

1 Adelod a thegn of K.E.	3	0	0	Ernulf(?) of C.Eustace
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1. Ernulf de Arde.

1. Part of this village lay in Northamptonshire.
2. The holder of 1066 is not recorded.

THE HUNDRED OF WILLEY

1066

CARLTON

1 Two sokemen

H V A

1 1 0

1086

Herbert son of Ivo and two sokemen of the Bishop of Bayeux

2 Golderon, man of Levenot

1 1 10

Chetel of Nigel de Albingi

3 Three sokemen

1 0 15

Bernard of Nigel

4 Godwin Frambolt a thegn

1 1 15

Osbern a fisherman

5 Chelbert, man of Queen Edith

1 0

Chelbert

Alli a thegn of the King

2 15

5 3 25

FARNDISH(1)

1 Three sokemen

2 0 0

King William

2 Two sokemen

1 0 0

Henry son of Azor

3 0 0

FELMERSHAM

1 Six sokemen

7 2 0

Gilbert son of Salomon

2 Alli a thegn of the King

3 2 0

Gilbert of C.Judith

11 0 0

HARROLD

1 Three thegns of the King

10 0 0

Gilbert de Blosseville of Countess Judith

HINWICK

1 ?(2)

1 2 0

Turstin of the Bishop of Coutances

2 Ulnod, man of Ulsi son of Borred

1 0 0

Walter of William Spech

3 Alwold a man of Bp.Wlui

1 2 0

Hugh Fleming

4 Two sokemen

1 3 0

Giosches Retbold of Confrid de Cioches

5 Frambolt, a thegn of K.E.

1 3 0

Turstin the Chamberlain

6 The Father of Edward

2 0

Edward

8 0 0

ODELL

1 Alwold a thegn of the King

4 2 10

Ernulf of C.Eustace

2 Levenot a thegn of the King

4 3 20

Walter Fleming

3 A sokeman

2 0

10 0 0

PODINGTON

1 Levenot a thegn of the King

1 3 0

Hugh of Walter Fleming

2 Four sokemen

2 1 0

Hugh Fleming

4 0 0

1. Part of this village lay in Northamptonshire.
2. The holder of 1066 is not recorded.

1066		56			1086	
		H	V	A		
RADWELL						
1	Ten sokemen	7	1	15	Nigel de Wast of Nigel de Albingi	
2	Tovi a housecarl of K.E.	2	2	15	Hugh of C. Judith	
		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		
RUSHDEN						
1	Samar a priest, man of Countess Goda	1	0		Malet of William Peverel	
22	Alvric a man of Borred	2	0		Alwold of the Boshop of Coutances	
		<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>			
SHARNBROOK						
1	Alwin a man of Borred	2	0		Turgis of the Bishop of Coutances	
2	Seven sokemen, men of Borred	3	0	0	Seven sokemen of the Bp.	
3	Alvric a man of Borred	2	0		Humphrey of the Bishop	
4	Borred a thegn of K.E.	2	0		Bishop of Coutances	
5	Alwold, man of the King	2	0	0	Robert de Rozelin of Count Eustace	
6	Three sokemen	1	15		Osbern de Broilg of Hugh de Beauchamp	
7	Levric, man of the Abbot of Ramsey	2	7		Robert of Hugh Fleming	
8	Tovi a housecarl of K.E.	2	0		Osbern the fisherman	
9	Algar, man of Queen Edith	2	0	7	Albert de Lorraine	
10	Oviet a man of the King	3	0		Hugh of Countess Judith	
11	The father of Almar			15	Almar	
		<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>		
THURLEIGH						
1	Levric, man of Brixtric	1	0		Levric of Miles Crispin	
2	Moding, man of Queen Edith	2	0		Leviet of Hugh de Beauchamp	
3	Oviet a thegn of the King	2	0		Richard Basset of Robert de Oigli	
4	Alwin a man of Bp. Wluf				Salomon a priest of Robert	
5	Levenot a thegn of K.E.	3	0	0	Hugh of Walter Fleming	
6	Ordric a man of Levenot		2	0	Ragnard of Walter	
		<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

1066	H	V	A	1086
TURVEY				
1 A man of Alwold of Stevington	1	0	0	Herbert son of Ivo of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 Three sokemen of the King	4	0	0	The Bp. of Coutances
3 Alwold a thegn of the King	1	0	0	Ernulf of C.Eustace
4 Two sokemen	1	0	0	Warner of Hugh de Beauchamp
5 Alward a man of Bp.Wlui	1	0	15	Nigel de Wast of Nigel de Albingi
6 Osulf a thegn of K.E.	2	1	0	Two knights of Robert de Todenl
7 Levenot a thegn of K.E.	1	0	0	Hugh of Walter Fleming
8 Alwin a priest			20	Alwin a priest
	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	

WYMINGTON				
1 Levric a man of Borgred		3	0	Walter of William Spech
2 Godwin Franpold	3	0	0	Glev of Alvred of Lincoln
3 Lant a man of Levenot	3	0	0	Osbert of Walter Fleming
A sokeman	1	0	0	
4 Lant a man of Anschil		3	0	His five sons
5 Turchil	1	0	0	Turchil
6 Godwin Franpold		2	0	Osbert of Walter Fleming
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

UNNAMED				
1 Tubert a man of K.E.	4	0	0	Geoffrey de Tralgi of the Bishop of Coutances
2 A sokeman(1)		2	0	Oslet a reeve of K.W.
	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	

THE HUNDRED OF STODDEN

BOLNHURST				
1 Azar a man of Borred		2	0	Tovi a priest of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 Two sokemen		2	0	Two sokemen of the Bishop
3 Gudmont a man of K.E.		3	0	The Bishop of Bayeux
4 Aelfleda	2	1	0	The Church of Thorney
5 Almar a thegn of K.E.		2	0	Hugh of C.Judith
	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	

CLAPHAM				
1 Brixtric, a thegn of K.E. of the Abbot of Ramsey	5	0	0	MilesCrispin

1. Baring places this half hide in Turvey.

2. There are 2 sokemen there in 1086.
3. Bagg identifies this place as Easton, Fowler as Slaughton.
4. Holder in 1066 not recorded.

1066	58			1086
DEAN	H	V	A	
1 Six sokemen, men of Bobret	4	0	0	Bishop of Coutances(1)
2 Godric a thegn of K.E.	2	0	15	Geoffrey of the Bishop of Lincoln
3 Three sokemen	2	0	0	Three sokemen of William de Warenne
4 Godwin Dere			15	Godwin Dere
5 Eleven sokemen	1	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Eleven sokemen of K.W.
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7$\frac{1}{2}$</u>	

STAUGHTON OR EASTON

1 Four sokemen, men of Borret	3	0		Four sokemen of the Bishop of Coutances
2 Alwin Deule, man of the Bishop of Lincoln	1	0	15	William de Caron
3 Avigi a man of Aschil		1	0	William de Warenne
4 Avigi a man of Borret	1	0	0	William de Warenne
5 Blach a man of Avigi		1	0	William de Warenne
6 Oviet a man of Anschil		2	0	Wimund of Hugh de Beauchamp
7 Wig a thegn of the King	2	1	0	Hugh the Butler of K.W.
A sokeman		2	0	
8 Wigra a thegn of the King	2	0	0	Sigar de Cloches
9 Stori a man of E.Tosti		2	0	Hugh Hubold of Osbern
A sokeman		5	0	Son of Richard
10 Godric, man of the Sheriff	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		Tedric of William de Warenne
	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7$\frac{1}{2}$</u>	

ELVEDON

1 Alwin a man of Stori	1	1	0	Hugh Hubold of Osbern son of Richard
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KNOTTING

1 Burret	5	0	0	The Bishop of Coutances
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HANEFIELDS

1 ?(3)	1	3	0	William de Warenne
2 Salet		1	0	Salet
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

KEYSOE

1 Aschil a thegn of K.E.	1	1	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
Twelve sokemen	3	2	0	
2 ?(3)		1	0	Hugh Hubold of Osbert
	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. There are 6 sokemen there in 1086.
2. Ragg identifies this place as Easton, Fowler as Staughton.
3. Holder in 1066 not recorded.

1066	H	V	A	1086
MELCHBOURNE				
1 Burret and Six sokemen	10	0	0	The Bishop of Coutances
MILTON ERNEST				
1 Two sokemen			16	Two sokemen of R. Oulgi
2 ?(1)	1	3	15	William Basset of Hugh de Beauchamp
3 Six sokemen	2	3	0	Turgis of Nigel de Albin
4 Two sokemen, men of Bric- tric	2	0	0	Rainald of Walter Fleming
5 Godwin a man of Borret	3	1	0	Ivo dapifer of Hugh de Grentmaisonil
6 The father of the bedell			15	A bedell of the King
	10	0	16	
NEWTON BROMSWOLD				
1 Alwin a man of Borret		1	0	A steward of the Bishop of Coutances
OAKLEY				
1 Osulf a thegn of the King	4	0	0	Two knights of Robert de Toden
2 Godwin a man of E. Harold	1	0	0	Miles Crispin of C. Judith
	5	0	0	
RISELEY				
1 Burred	2	0	0	Two Frenchmen and six Englishmen of Godfrey of the ^{the Bp. of Coutances}
Six sokemen, his men	4	0	0	Bishop of Lincoln
2 Godric a thegn of K.E.	1	0	0	Hugh-de-Beauchamp
3 Anschil	1	0	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
4 Uvenot, man of Godric the Sheriff		2	0	Alvric the priest of Hugh de Beauchamp
5 Alwin a man of Stori		2	0	Hugh Hubolt of Osbern son of Richard
6 Homdai a man of E. Harold	1	0	0	David of Argentomago
	10	0	0	
SEGRESDEN				
1 Alwin a man of E. Harold		1	0	Hugh Butler
SHELTON				
1 Ulveva under Borret	5	0	0	William dapifer of Count Eustace

1. Holder in 1066 is not recorded.

2. Saying places this holding in Easton.

1066

H⁶⁰ V A

1086

STANWICK

1 The Church of Peterborough

2 2 0

The Church of Peterborough

TILBROOK

1 Twenty sokemen

5 0 0

Twenty sokemen of William de Warenne

YELDEN

1 Borret

5 0 0

Geoffrey de Trallgi of the Bishop of Coutances

Five sokemen

5 0 0

10 0 0

UNNAMED (1)

1 Father of Turget

1 1 0

Turget

THE HUNDRED OF BARFORD

GREAT BARFORD

1 Three sokemen

3 0 0

Rualon of Hugh de Beauchamp

2 Three sokemen

5 2 20

Wimund de Taisel of Hugh

3 Two sokemen

1 2 0

Anschil a priest of Hugh

4 Three sokemen

1 3 10

Tetbald of Hugh

12 0 0

CHAUSTON

1 Two sokemen

1 0 0

Rualon of Hugh de Beauchamp

2 Twelve sokemen

7 1 0

William son of Rainwald of William de Spech

3 Two men of the King

1 1 0

William Gros of William

4 Two men of the King

1 1 0

Eudo fitz Hubert

10 0 0

COLNWORTH

1 Achi a thegn of K.E. and eight sokemen

5 0 0

Wimund of Hugh de Beauchamp

EATON SOCON

1 Ulmar a thegn of K.E. and four sokemen

20 0 0

Eudo Fitz Hubert

1. Baring places this holding in Easton.

1066

H V A

1086

GOLDINGTON

1 Alwin sac a man of the Bishop of Lincoln	2	0	0	Ivo Taillebose of the Bishop
2 Nine sokemen	3	1	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
3 Three sokemen	2	0	0	Roger son of Teodric of Hugh (1)
4 Almar, man of Aschil	3	0	0	Richard of Hugh (1)
5 The men of the village	1	0	0	Walter of Hugh(1)
6 Alric Wintremele, man of K.E.	2	0	0	Alric Wintremele
	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	

ROXTON

1 Four sokemen of the King	1	1	0	Ruslon of Hugh de Beauchamp
2 Twelve sokemen	8	3	0	William Spech
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

SALPHO

1 Eleven sokemen	5	0	0	Eleven sokemen of Hugh(1)
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SUDBURY

1 The Church of St.Neot	1	0	0	The Church of St.Neot.
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WILDEN

1 Twenty-four sokemen	5	0	0	Hugh Hubold of the Bishop of Bayeux
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WYBOSTON

1 The Church of Ramsey	1	15	0	Eudo of the Abbot
2 Four thegns of the King	6	3	0	Eudo fitz Hubert
3 Aschil a thegn of K.E.		15	0	Wimund of Hugh(1)
4 Twelve sokemen	9	1	0	Pirot of the King of the fee of Nigel de Albingi
5 The Church of St.Neot	2	0	15	Richard de Clare
6 Almar a man of Ulmar	1	1	15	Judichel of Azelina
	<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

UNNAMED

1 Ulfech a steersman of K.E.	2	3	0	Osbern of C.Judith
2 Earl Tosti		15	0	Hugh of C.Judith
	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	

1. Hugh de Beauchamp.

2 Baring places these in Barford.

1. Holder of 1066 is not recorded.

THE HUNDRED OF WIXAMTREE

1066	H	V	A	1086
BEESTON				
1 Norman	4	0	0	Norman of Eudo
Norman	3	0	0	Eudo fitz Hubert
2 Ravan, man of Ulmar	1	0	0	Pirot of Eudo
3 Godwin, man of E.Tosti	1	2	0	Turstin the Chamberlain
4 Godmund		3	0	Godmund
5 Dot		1	15	Alwin
6 Lewin cilt a thegn of K.E.		3	15	William Spech
	10	2	0	
BLUNHAM				
1 Four sokemen	4	1	0	The Church of Bury
2 Four sokemen		1	0	Dominc of Eudo
3 A man of the King		2	0	St.Edmund of C.Judith
	5	0	0	
BROOM				
1 Seven sokemen	5	0	0	Nigel de Wast of Nigel de Albingi
CARDINGTON				
1 Thirteen sokemen	6	2	20	Hugh de Beauchamp
2 Azelin, man of E.Tosti	3	1	10	Hugh of C.Judith
	10	0	0	
CHARITON				
1 King Edward and before him Earl Tosti	10	0	0	Adeliza wife of the Count of Grentmaisnil
COPELE				
1 Three sokemen	4	0	0	Robert of Hugh de Beauchamp
2 Two sokemen	1	1	0	Raynald of Hugh
3 Two sokemen of the King	1	0	15	Goafriid of Hugh
4 Aschil		3	0	Norman of Hugh
Alestan			0	
5 Three sokemen	1	0	0	Branting of Hugh
6 Two sokemen		3	0	Robert of Hugh
7 Three sokemen		2	15	Roger Liboret of Hugh
8 Wluuin, man of the King		1	0	Hugh of C.Judith
	10	0	0	
WARDEN				
1 ?(1)		1	15	Ralf de Insula
2 Goding, man of Edric the Bold		2	0	Azelina Werten the monk of Azelina.
3 Eight sokemen	9	0	0	William Spech
	9	3	15	

1. Holder of 1066 is not recorded.

1066

H V A

1086

HARROWDEN

	H	V	A	
1 A man of King Edward	1	0	0	Ernuin a priest, his son
2 Fourteen sokemen	6	0	0	Nigel de Albingi
3 Azekin, man of E.Tosti	3	0	0	The canons of Bedford of C.Judith
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

NORTHILL

1 Ravan, man of Ulmar	1	2	0	Pirot of Eudo
2 Two sokemen	1	2	0	Ralf
3 Six sokemen	6	2	0	William Spech
4 Osiet, man of the King		2	0	Walter of Hugh de Beauchamp
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

SOUTHILL

1 Alric			15	William de Caron of Hugh
2 Eight sokemen	2	1	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
3 Sixteen sokemen	15	0	15	Two Frenchmen of W.Spech
4 ?(1)		2	0	Walter Fleming
5 Lewin a thegn		1	0	Alric of Walter Fleming
6 Archbishop Stigand		2	0	Richard Puniant
7 Tuffa, man of E.Waltheof	1	0	0	Hugh of C.Judith
	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	

STANFORD

1 Ulmar of Eaton Socon	3	2	0	William de Caron of Eudo
1 A sokeman, his man		2	0	
2 Seven sokemen			7	Seven sokemen of Hugh de Beauchamp of Eudo
3 Three sokemen			15	Hugh de Beauchamp
1 A sokeman	1	0	0	
4 Ailmar of Ow	1	0	0	Roger of Hugh
5 Lemar a thegn of K.E.	1	0	0	Hugh of William Spech
6 Two sokemen	2	0	0	Roger of Azelina
7 Ailric			7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ailric
8 Ordui			7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ordui
	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>17</u>	

WILLINGTON

1 Achil a thegn of K.E.	3	0	0	Hugh de Beauchamp
Eight sokemen	7	0	0	
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. Holder of 1066 not recorded.

THE HUNDRED OF WENSLEY
H V A

1066

1096

EVERTON

1 Earl Tosti 5 0 0 Rannulf brother of Ilger
of Countess Judith

COCKAINE HATLEY

1 Earl Tosti 3 1 15 Countess Judith
A sokeman 1 0
2 Ulmar of Eaton Socon 4 3 0 Azelina
Two sokemen, his men 2 15

9 0 0

SANDY

1 Ulmar of Eaton Socon 16 1 0 Eudo fitz Hubert

SUTTON

1 Two sokemen 3 0 Alwin of Eudo
2 Six sokemen 1 0 0 Alwin of C. Judith
3 Levegar, man of K.E. 2 0 Levegar of C. Judith
4 Two sokemen 3 15 Robert of C. Judith
5 Edward, man of the Abbot of 1 15 Suerting of Robert of
St. Albans Countess Judith
6 Two sokemen 2 0 0 Tubert of C. Judith
7 Ulmar a man of Ordui 3 0 Godwin of C. Judith
8 Ederic a man of the King 2 0 Ederic of C. Judith
9 Alwin 3 0 Alwin
Edward 1 0
10 Two sokemen 1 15 Alwin the King's reeve
11 Three sokemen 1 2 0 Torchil of C. Judith

10 2 15

POTTON

1 King Edward and before 8 3 0 Countess Judith
him Earl Tosti
Four sokemen 1 1 0
Earl Tosti 15

10 0 15

ROYAL LAND

1066

H V A

1086

LEIGHTON BUZARD

1 King Edward	26	0	0	King William
Wenesi the Chamberlain	10	0	0	
Starcher a thegn of K.E.	7	0	0	
2 Bishop Wluf	4	0	0	Bishop Remigius
	<u>47</u>	0	0	

LUTON

1 King Edward	30	0	0	King William
2 Morcar the priest	5	0	0	William the Chamberlain
	<u>35</u>	0	0	

HOUGHTON REGIS

1 King Edward	9	2	0	King William
		<u>2</u>	0	William the Chamberlain
	10	0	0	

DORFORD

1 Ravi and Ulward, thegns	2	0	0	Hugh son of Gospatric of E.S.
4 Lewin, man of Hugerod	2	0	0	Halward of Roger de Ivi
	<u>4</u>	0	0	

RADULVE

1 Ror son of Toti	5	0	0	Mulso of Roger de Ivi
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MILLINGSTONE

1 Syria, man of Queen Edith	5	0	0	Hugh of Walter Giffard
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ANKLEY

1 Alric son of Goding	3	0	0	Robert of Walter Giffard
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LAMPFORD

1 Suen Suert, man of E. Harold	2	0	0	Berner of Walter Giffard
2 Raven, man of Bp. Wulfwig	1	0	0	Girard of Bishop Artois
	<u>3</u>	0	0	

ANALYSIS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

THE HUNDRED OF STOTFOLD

1066	H	V	A	1086
BIDDLESDEN				
1 Azor son of Eored	4	1	0	King William
2 Alric, man of Alvic son of Goding	3	0	0	The Count of Mortain
	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
SHALSTONE				
1 Azor son of Toti	4	0	0	Robert of Robert de Oigii
2 Godric	3	0	0	The Bishop of Bayeux
Wila	2	0	0	
	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
WESTBURY				
1 Alnod cilt a thegn of K.E.	2	2	0	Roger of the Bishop of Bayeux
STOWE				
1 Turgis, man of Balawin son of Herluin	5	0	0	Robert de Oigii and Roger de Ivri of the Bishop of Bayeux
DODFORD				
1 Ravai and Ulward, thegns	2	0	0	Hugh son of Gozer of K.E.
2 Lewin, man of Burgered	2	0	0	Haimard of Roger de Ivri
	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
RADCLIVE				
1 Azor son of Toti	5	0	0	Fulco of Roger de Ivri
LILLINGSTONE DAYRELL				
1 Syris, man of Queen Edith	5	0	0	Hugh of Walter Giffard
AKELEY				
1 Alric son of Goding	3	0	0	Robert of Walter Giffard
LAMPOR				
1 Suen Suert, man of E. Edwin	3	2	0	Berner of Walter Giffard
2 Rawen, man of Bp. Wulfwig	2	2	0	Girard of Maigno Breton
	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
LENBON				
1 Wilaf, son of E. Edwin				
2 Toti, son of Alric son of Goding				

1066	H	V	A	A	1086
MAIDS MORTON					
1 Ulvric, man of Alvrice son of Goding	2	0	0		Turstin of Walter Giffard
2 Alvrice son of Goding	2	0	0		Turstin of Walter
Edric, man of Asgar the Staller	1	2	0		Turstin of Walter
Saward, man of Azor		2	0		
Lewin of Nuneham	5	0	0		Lewin of Nureham
	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

LECKHAMSTEAD					
1 Swartin, man of Asgar the Staller	2	0	0		Hugh of Walter Giffard
2 Swartin, man of Asgar the Staller	3	0	0		Osbert of Geoffrey de Mandeville
3 Earl Lewin	18	0	0		Gilbert Maminot of the Bishop pf Bayeux
	<u>23</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

FOXGOTT					
1 Leit a thegn of the King	6	0	0		Turstin of the Bishop of Bayeux

EVERSHAW					
1 A certain bandyleg	1	0	0		A certain bandyleg

TURWESTON					
1 Wenesi, Chamberlain of K.E	5	0	0		William de Felgeres

WATER STRATFORD					
1 Azor son of Toti	8	0	0		Turstin of Robert de Oiglia

THE HUNDRED OF ROVELAI

GAWCOTT					
1 Bishop Wulfwig	1	0	0		The Bishop of Lincoln

PRESTON BISSET					
1 Wilaf, man of E.Leofwine	15	0	0		Ansgot de Ros of the Bishop of Bayeux

LENBOROUGH					
1 Wilaf, man of E.Leofwine	7	0	0		Ernulf of Heding of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 Towi, man of Alric son of Goding	3	0	0		Ralf of Walter Giffard
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

1066

THE SURVEY OF H V A

1086

CHETWODE

1 Alnod Chentise, thegn of K.E.	10	0	0	Robert of Thame of the Bishop of Bayeux
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BARTON HARTSHORN

1 Wilaf, man of E.Leofwine	10	0	0	Ernulf of the Bishop(1)
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TINGEWICK

1 Alnod a thegn of the King	10	0	0	Ilbert de Lacy of the Bp, (1)
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HILLESDEN

1 Lewin, man of Alric son of Goding	1	0	0	Rannulf of the Count of Mortain
2 Alric a thegn of the King	18	0	0	Hugh of Walter Giffard
	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

BEACHAMPTON

1 Alric a thegn of the King	10	5	0	Hugh of Walter Giffard
2 Levric a man of Azor		1	0	Lewin of Roger de Ivri
3 Lewin of Nuneham		4	0	Lewin of Nuneham
		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	

BOURTON

1 Alric a thegn of the King	1	0	0	Hugh of Walter Giffard
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EDGCOTT

1 Alwin a thegn(2)	2	2	0	Ralf of Walter Giffard
Edwin a thegn	1	1	0	
Almar a thegn		2	0	
Thori a housecarl of K.E.		3	0	
		<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	

THORNTON

1 Azor son of Toti	8	0	0	Godfrey of Roger de Ivri
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CAVERSFIELD

1 Edward, man of Earl Tosti	5	0	0	O'Brienz of Will. Warenne
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HASELEIE

1 Thori a man of the King	1	0	0	Fulco of Roger de Ivri
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1. The Bishop of Bayeux.
2. This land was held by four thegns.

THE HUNDRED OF LAMMVA

1066	H	V	A	1086
ADDINGTON				
1 Godwin, man of E.Leofwine	6	0	0	Robert de Romney of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 Lewi a man of Edwi		2	0	Eddulf of Miles Crispin
	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
MARSH GIBBON				
1 Ulf son of Burgerete	10	2	0	The monks of Grestain
1 A man of Bondi the Staller	10	2	0	Ailric of William son of Ansculf
2 Aillic	4	0	0	
	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
TWYFORD				
1 Countess Goda	17	0	0	Ralf de Felgeres
CHARNDON				
1 Eingar, man of E.Harold	10	0	0	Ralf de Felgeres
THORNBOROUGH				
1 Thorl a thegn of the King	14	1	0	Berner of Maigno Breton
PADBURY				
1 ?(1)	20	0	0	Maigno the Breton
STEEPLE CLATDON				
1 Queen Edith	20	0	0	Alric the Cook
UNNAMED				
1 (2) ?	3	3	0	The Bishop of Bayeux
2 Baldwin	2	0	0	Baldwin of William(3)
3(4) Ulf, man of Asgar the Staller	3	0	0	William de Cahainges of Geoffrey de Mandeville
Alwi, man of Alwin Varus		2	0	
	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. The holder of 1066 is not recorded.
2. Baring in his Domesday Tables places this holding in Thornborough.
3. William son of Ansculf.
4. Baring places this holding in Addington.

1. This land was held by five tenants
2. There is a difference of 7 hides between the holding of Alwi and the separate holdings of the others.
3. The total holdings given as 20 hides and 1 virgate, but this holding as 2 hides and 2 virgates, which appears to be a mistake, as 17 hides would produce the correct total.

70
THE HUNDRED OF BONESTOU

1066

H V A

1086

LATHBURY

1 Siric, man of E.Leofwine	1	0	0	The Bishop of Lisieux of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 Edwin a thegn, son of Borgret	5	0	0	William of the Bishop of Coutances
3 Leuric and Olviet, thegns	4	0	0	William of Orange of Hugh de Beauchamp
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

GAYHURST

1 Siric, man of E.Leofwine	5	0	0	The Bishop of Lisieux of the Bishop of Bayeux
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LINFORD

1 Eddeva	4	0	0	The Bishop of Coutances
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TYRINGHAM

1 Herold a thegn(1)	3	0	0	Acard of William son of Ansculf
Godwin the Priest		2	0	
Estan	2	0	0	
Godric, man of Herold		1	0	
Alveva wife of Herold	1	2	0	
?(2)			7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
2 A thegn, man of E.Waltheof	2	0	0	Anschitil of the Bishop of (Coutances
A thegn			22 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

STOKE GOLDINGTON

1 A thegn		2	15	An Englishman of the Bishop of (Coutances
A thegn		2	45	
2 Countess Guerth	3	3	0	Drogo of William Peverel
	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

WESTON UNDERWOOD

1 Ten thegns of Burgret	6	3	0	The Bishop of Coutances
A man of Alric		3	0	
2 Two thegns, men of Burgeret	3	20		Ivo of the Count of Mortain
A thegn, man of Alric		1	0	
3 Ulvric man of E.Waltheof	3	0	0	Anschitil of C.Judith
	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>20</u>	

OLNEY

1 Borret	9	2	15	The Bishop of Coutances
A sokeman, man of Borret		1	15	
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1. This land was held by five thegns
2. There is a difference of 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres between the holding of Acard and the separate holdings of the thegns.
3. The total holdings are given as 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a virgate, but this holding as 2 hides and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, which appears to be a mistake, as 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides would produce the correct total.

LAVENDON

1	A man of Borret	2	0	0	The Bishop of Coutances
2	Eight thegns	4	0	20	William of the Bishop
3	Borgeret and Ulvric, his man	1	2	20	Anschil of the Bishop
4	Two thegns	1	0	1	Three sokemen of the Bp.
5	Alric son of Goding	2	0	2	Humphrey of the Count of Mortain
6	A man of Bishop Wulfwig	2	1	7½	Ralf of Walter Giffard
7	Humman, man of Alli	2	1	7½	Roger of C.Judith
8	Alli, housecarl of K.E.	2	0	1	Gilbert de Bosseville of C.Judith
9	Tubert, man of C.Goda	1	0	0	Ralf of C.Judith
10	Chetel	2	0	0	Chetel of the King
		19	3	25	

RAVENSTONE

1	Lewin a thegn of the King	5	0	0	Hugh of Walter Giffard
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HAVERSHAM

1	Countess Guerth	10	0	0	William Peverel
---	-----------------	----	---	---	-----------------

HANSLOPE

1	Aldene, housecarl of K.E.	10	0	0	Winemar the Fleming
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THE HUNDRED OF YARDLEY

IVINGHOE

1	The Church of Winchester	20	0	0	The Church of Winchester
---	--------------------------	----	---	---	--------------------------

WHADDON

1	A certain man	3	0	0	Roger of the Bishop of Bateix
2	Two men of Brictric	1	0	0	Hugh de Bolebech
		1	3	0	

DRAYTON BEAUCHAMP

1	A window of Brictric	1	2	0	William of Nigel of the Count of Mortain
2	Wiga a man of the King	1	2	20	Lepsi of the Count
3	Alvric a thegn of the King	6	3	3	Helgel of Maigno Breton
		9	3	23	

EDLESBOROUGH

1	Ulfric a thegn of the King	20	0	0	Gilbert de Gand
---	----------------------------	----	---	---	-----------------

UNWANTON

1	Alwin, man of Edrava the	1	2	0	Half of Goselin the Breton
---	--------------------------	---	---	---	----------------------------

1066

H ⁷² V A

1086

SLAPTON

1 The Church of Barking 6 0 0 The Church of Barking

PITSTONE

1	Alvred of Aylesbury	3	1	0	Ralf of the C. of Mortain
2	Two men of the Abbot of St. Albans	3	1	0	Bernard of the Count
3	Gladwin a man of the Abbot	1	1	0	Fulcold of the Count
4	Toroi a man of E. Lewin	5	2	0	Ralf of Walter Giffard
5	Lepsi a man of Brictric	5	0	0	Roger of Miles Crispin
6	Lepsi a man of Brictric	2	0	0	Suerting of Miles
		20	1	0	

ASTON IVINGHOE

1	Goduin a priest of Stigand	3	0		Ralf of the C. of Mortain
2	Asgar the Staller	4	1	0	Germund of Geoffrey de Mandeville.
		5	0	0	

CHEDDINGTON

1	Three men of Abp. Stigand	1	0		Ralf of the C. of Mortain
2	Leving a man of the Abbot of St. Albans	2	0		Ranulf of the Count
3	Leuing a man of the King	2	0		Suertin of William son of Ansculf
4	Osulf son of Frane a thegn	5	2	0	Gilbert of Rob. de Toden
5	Fin the Dane	1	2	0	Ralf of Robert de Oigil
6	Fin the Dane	2	1	0	Suerting of the King
7	Ulwin of Wadone		2	0	Hugh de Bolbech
		12	0	0	

HORTON

1	Bruman a man of Abp. Stigand	1	0		Alestan of the Count of Mortain
2	Two men of Ulf	3	0		Swarting of Gilbert de Gand
3	Lepsi a man of Brictric	1	0	0	Suerting of Miles Crispin
		2	0	0	

MASWORTH

1 Brictric a thegn of K.E 20 0 0 Ralf Basset of Robert de Oigil

EDLESBOROUGH

1 Ulf a thegn of the King 20 0 0 Gilbert de Gand

UNNAMED

1 Alwin, man of Eddeva the Fair 1 2 0 Ralf of Gozelin the Breton

THE HUNDRED OF ICKFORD

1066 H V A 1086

WALDRIDGE

1	A sokeman, man of Avelin and another man of Alicia	2	1	0	0	Helto of the Bishop of Bayeux
2	Doding a man of Asgar		2	0	0	Suerting of Geoffrey de Mandeville
			<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	

ILMER

1	Godwin, man of Earl Lewin	4	0	0	0	Robert of the Bishop
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ASTON SANFORD

1	Avalin, thegn of K.E.	2	0	0	0	Robert of the Bishop
2	Ulvric, and Coleman, men of Brictric		2	0	0	Two men of Miles Crispin
3	Satinz, man of E.Tosti	4	2	0	0	Odo of Miles Crispin
		<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

WORMINGHALL

1	Eddeva, wife of Wward of Queen Edith	5	0	0	0	Robert of the Bishop of Coutances
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ICKFORD

1	Ulf, a man of E. Harold	6	0	0	0	The Monks of Grestain
2	Two men of Alvin	4	0	0	0	Richard of Miles Crispin
		<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

SHABBINGTON

1	Wigot of Wallington	10	0	0	0	Miles Crispin
---	---------------------	----	---	---	---	---------------

LONG CRENDON

1	Seric son of Alveva	20	0	0	0	Walter Giffard
---	---------------------	----	---	---	---	----------------

ADDINGROVE

1	Ulward, man of Queen Edith	3	2	0	0	Hugh of Walter Giffard
---	----------------------------	---	---	---	---	------------------------

CHILTON

1	Alric son of Goding	10	0	0	0	Walter Giffard
---	---------------------	----	---	---	---	----------------

EASINGTON

1	Alric son of Goding	5	0	0	0	Roger of Walter Giffard
---	---------------------	---	---	---	---	-------------------------

LESA

1	Azor, son of Toti, man of Queen Edith	2	0	0	0	Picot of Roger de Ivri
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1. The holder in 1066 is not recorded.

	H	V	A		1086
1066					
DORTON					
1 Alric a thegn of the King	5	0	0	Walter Giffard	
OAKLEY					
1 Alwid the maid	2	0	0	Robert son of Walter of Robert de Oigii	
1 Alwid of Godric the Sheriff		2	0		
King Edward	3	1	0		
	5	3	0(1)		
KINGSLEY AND TOWERSEY					
1 Seven thegns of the King	9	1	0	Nigel de West of Nigel de Albingi	
BRILL					
1 King Edward	10	0	0	King William	
UNNAMED (2)					
1 Suelf, man of Earl Ralph	1	3	0	Alvered of Thame of Gilo brother of Ansculf	

THE HUNDRED OF STONE

BIERTON					
1 Two sokemen, one the man of Alwin Varus, other of E.Lewin	1	3	0	Roger of the Bishop of Bayeux	
MISSENDON					
1 Alwin, man of Syred, son of Sybi	1	0	0	The Count of Mortain	
2 Sired son of Alveva a thegn	10	0	0	Turstin son of Ralf of Walter Giffard	
3 Ulviet a man of Bp. Wulf-wig	2	0	0	Ulviet of Hugh de Bolbech	
4 Seric man of Sired	2	0	0	Turstin Mantel	
	12	0	0		

LITTLE KIMBLE
 1 Brictric, thegn of the King 10 0 0 Albert of Turstin son of Rolf

- "These 5 hides and 3 virgates are 8 hides"
- This holding might belong to Towersey.

UNNAMED (1)
 1 Lewin brother of Aln 3 0 0 William son of Ansculf
 1. Spring places this holding in Stone.

1066

H V A

1086

KIMBLE

1 Sired a thegn of the King

20 0 0

Hugh de Bolbech of Walter Giffard

UPTON

1 Alwin, man of Queen Edith

3 2 0

Robert of William Peverel

2 Alric a thegn

1 2 0

Alric of Miles Crispin

5 0 0

HADDENHAM

1 Earl Testi

40 0 0

Archbishop Lanfranc

HALTON

1 Earl Leofwine

5 0 0

Archbishop Lanfranc

STONE

1 Two brothers, one man of Ulf, the other of Eddeva

7 0 0

Helto of the Bishop of Bayeux

2 Ulf a housecarl

7 0 0

Gilbert of Rob. de Todeni

14 0 0

DINTON

1 Avelin, thegn of the King

15 0 0

Helto of the Bishop

HARTWELL

1 A sokeman, man of Abp. Stigand

2 0 0

Helto of the Bishop

A sokeman, man of E.Lewin

2 0 0

A sokeman, man of Avelin

2 0 0

2 Avelin a thegn of the King

1 0 0

Robert of the Bishop

3 Two men of Sired

2 0 0

Hugh de Bolbech of Walter

4 Alwin a thegn of the King

6 3 0

Tehel of William Peverel

5 Turgot a thegn of the King

2 0 0

Walter de Vernon

6 Wimar a priest of the King

2 0 0

William the Chamberlain

15 1 0

BEDGROVE

1 Suen, man of Alwin Varus

2 0 0

Roger of the Bishop

WESTON TURVILLE

1 Earl Leofwine

9 2 0

Roger of the Bishop of (Bayeux)

A man of Earl Testi

2 0 0

Godric the Sheriff

3 2 0

Two men of Godric

3 2 0

Two men of E.Leofwine

1 2 0

20 0 0

UNNAMED(1)

1 Lewin brother of Alsi

2 0 0

William son of Ansculf

1. Baring places this holding in Stone.

THE HUNDRED OF BURNHAM

1066	H	V	A	1086
CHALFONT				
1 Earl Leofwine	4	3	0	Roger of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 Tovi	4	1	0	Maigno the Breton
Alward his man		2	0	
	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	

AMERSHAM

1 Alwin, man of	2	0	0	Roger of the Bishop
2 Queen Edith				
2 Siward, man of Aldeva	2	0	0	Almar of the C. of Mortain
3 Queen Edith	7	2	0	Geoffrey de Mandeville
4 Ulviet		2	0	Ulviet of Hugh de Bolbech
5 Turchil a man of the King		2	0	Turstin Mantel
6 Alvríc, a man of Godric the Sheriff		2	0	Gozelin the Breton
	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

CHESHAM

1 ?(1)		2	0	Roger of the Bishop
2 Two sokemen, one man of E. Harold, other of E. Lewin	1	2	0	The Bishop of Bayeux
3 Brictric, man of Queen Edith	4	2	0	Hugh de Bolbech
Two sokemen, men of Brictric	4	0	0	
4 Eoy a man of Brictric		2	0	Turstin Mantel
5 Queen Edith	4	0	0	Aisi, son-in-law of Wulfward
	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

TYLERS GREEN

1 Earl Leofwine	10	0	0	Gilbert of the Bishop of Lisieux of the Bishop of Bayeux
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TAPLOW

1 Ansgot, man of E. Harold	7	1	0	Roger of the Bishop of Bayeux
A man of Abp. Stig-	1	0	0	
and	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	

BURNHAM

1 Ulric a thegn	3	3	0	The Church of Westminster
A thegn, man of Edric of Marlow	3	1	0	
A thegn, man of Seulf	1	0	0	
2 Elmar a thegn of the King	13	0	0	Walter son of Other
	<u>26</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

1.

The holder in 1066 is not recorded.

ETON

1 Queen Edith 12 0 0 Walter son of Other

BOVENEY

1 Rainbald a priest	1 0 0	Rainbald a priest
2 Siward a man of E.Harold	3 0 0	Girard of Gilo brother of Ansculf
	<hr/>	
	4 0 0	

DORNEY

1 Aldred, man of Morcer 3 0 0 Ralf of Miles Crispin

ANALYSIS OF HERTFORDSHIRE

THE HUNDRED OF EDWINSTREE

1066	H	V	A	1086
THROCKING				
1 Two brothers, men of Bishop William and of the King's soke	1	2	0	Humphrey of the Bishop of London
2 Alurie Secua			12	Osbern of the Bishop of Bayeux
3 Alric, man of Abp. Stigand			13	Rumold of C. Eustace
4 Two sokemen, men of Stigand	1	1	0	Tetbald of Hardwin
	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
HADHAM				
1 The Bishop of London	7	2	0	The Bishop of London
2 The Church of Ely	4	0	0	The Church of Ely
3 Edric, man of Asgar the Staller		2	0	William of the Bishop of London
4 A sokeman, man of E. Aelfgar and a sokeman of the King	1	0	0	Osbern of the Bishop of London
	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
LITTLE HADHAM				
1 Three sokemen, one the man of Abp. Stigand, one the man of Robert fitz Winare and the other of the King	2	0	0	William of the Bishop of London
LEWAREWICHE				
1 Leware of Bp. William	1	2	0	William of the Bishop (1)
PATHORE				
1 Alward, man of E. Aelfgar	1	3	0	Baldwin of the Bishop (1)
ALBURY				
1 Siward, man of Abp. Stigand	2	2	0	Ralf of the Bishop (1)
HASEEHAMERE				
1 Leflet of Abp. Stigand	1	10		Adam of the Bishop of Bayeux
2 Ordner, man of the Abbot of Ramsey		2	20	Three men of Hardwin de Sealers
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
LANGPORT				
1 Alric, man of Abp. Stigand	2	0		Roger of Count Alan
2 Alured of Asgar the Staller	1	0		Saward of Geoffrey de Handeville
	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>		

1. The Bishop of London.

1066		H	V	A	79	1036
FELHAM						
1	Two brothers, man of Asgar the Staller	1	1	0		Ralf of the Bishop of London
2	Alured of Asgar the Staller	1	0	0		Payn of the Bishop
3	A thegn, man of Anschil of Ware and another man of Godwin of Bendeifield	2	2	0		Gilbert and Rannulf of the Bishop
4	Two brothers, one the man of Asgar, the other of the Abbot of Ely	1	1	0		Two knights Gilbert and Rannulf of the Bishop
5	A thegn, man of Anschil of Ware, and a thegn, man of Almar of Bennington	2	0	0		Two knights of the Bishop.
	Five sokemen of the King	1	1	0		
6	Alwin, man of Godwin of Bendeifield	1	0	0		Eldred of the Bishop
7	Wlul, man of Godwin	2	0	0		Riculf of the Bishop
		<u>12</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>		

TEDRESHAM

1	Wlul, man of Asgar the Staller	1	2	0		William and Rannulf of the Bishop
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MEESDEN

1	Alward, man of Abp. Stigand	1	0	0		Payn of the Bishop
---	-----------------------------	---	---	---	--	--------------------

BARLEY

1	A man of Abp. Stigand	1	2	0		Adam of the Bp. of Bayeux
2	The Church of Chatteris	3	2	0		The Church of Chatteris
3	Bewin a thegn of the King	4	2	10		William de Othurville
4	A sokeman of the King	1	0	10		Eudo fitz Hubert
	A sokeman, man of Toghil	1	0	10		
5	Algar, man of Wiegard			20		Ansfrid of Geoffrey de Bech
6	Three sokemen, men of E. Aelfgar	1	0	10		Tetbald of Hardwin de Sealers
	A sokeman, man of E. Gurth	2	0	0		
	A sokeman, man of E. Harold	1	0	0		
		<u>17</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		

BUCKLAND

1	Sailt, man of Lewin	3	3	0		Osbern of the Bishop of Bayeux
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HODENHOE

1	Three sokemen, men of Abp. Stigand, and a sokeman man of Earl Aelfgar	1	0	15		Osbern of the Bishop (1)
2	Three sokemen, men of Aelfgar	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>		Tetbald of Hardwin
		<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>		

1. The Bishop of Bayeux.

	80			
1066	H	V	A	1086
LAYSODN				
1 A sokeman, man of Abp. Stigand				Osbern of the Bishop (1)
A sokeman, man of Earl Harold				
Two sokemen of the King	1	0	0	
2 Aldred a thegn of the King			6	Walter of Eudo
3 Elnor of Bemington		2	0	Humphrey of Peter de
4 Two sokemen of the King		1	1	Valonges
Two sokemen of the King		3	6	Tetbald of Hardwin.
Godid, a man of Asgar		2	0	Rumold of G. Eustace
Godid			20	Two knights of G. Eustace
	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	
WORNEYBURY				
1 Alward, man of Earl Harold		1	0	Robert of Count Eustace
2 Gode, man of the King		3	0	
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
WAKELY				
1 Eddeva the Fair		1	10	Count Alan
2 Alward, man of Earl Harold		1	10	Robert of Count Eustace
3 Edric, a man of E. Aelfgar		1	10	Tetbald of Hardwin (2)
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	
BARNSDON				
1 Alward, man of Earl Harold	1	0	0	Robert of Count Eustace
2 A sokeman, man of Eddeva			7½	Peter and Tetbald of
				Hardwin (2)
A sokeman, man of E. Aelfgar			7½	
A sokeman, man of Earl Gurth			15	
	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	
ASPENDEN				
1 Alred, thegn of the King	1	2	0	Richard de Sachzville
				of Eudo fitz Hubert
BEAUCHAMP				
1 Godid, man of Asgar (3)	2	0	0	Rumold of G. Eustace
WIDIALL				
1 Sired, a sokeman, man of	1	3	0	Hardwin de Sealers
Earl Harold				
Alward a sokeman, man of	1	2	0	
Earl Aelfgar				
Seven sokemen of the King	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	
	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	
HORHEAD				
1 Wiward, man of Asgar the	3	1	0	Two Englishmen of Count
Staller				Eustace
2 Wiward, man of Asgar (3)		1	0	William of Ralf Baignar
3 Alnod a thegn of Abp. Stigand	1	2	0	Goduin of Edgar Athelin
Ulwin, man of Asgar (3)	1	0	0	
Alward, man of Almar of		0	0	
1. Bernalington of Bayeux.				2. Hardwin de Sealers.
	3.	Asgar the Staller.		

1066	s'			1086
Seven sokemen of the King	H	V	A	
	3	1	0	
	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	

ALSWICK

6 Alnar a man of Earl Gurth 6 0 0 William of Ralf Baignard

SUNDERSELE

1 Alvred, man of Asgar(1) 2 0 0 William of Robert Gernor

SAPEHAM

1 Two sokemen, men of Goduin of Bendfield 2 0 0 William of Robert Gernor

BORESON

1 Lewin, man of Goduin of Bendfield 15 William of Robert Gernor

2 Four sokemen, men of Asgar the Staller 2 9 Turald of Geoffrey de Mandeville

3 Nine sokemen, men of Asgar(1) 1 1 4 Count Eustace

1 3 22

COCKENHATCH

1 Algar, man of Wigar 1 0 12 Ansfrid of Geoffrey de Bech

BARKWAY

1 Two men of Asgar the Staller 3 0 0 Hugh of Geoffrey de Mandeville

2 A sokemen, man of E.Aelfgar 1 0 Two men of Hardwin

3 A sokeman, man of Eldret 15 Goduin of Edgar Atheling

1 2 0
4 3 15

NEWSPELLBURY

1 Aldred a thegn of the King 4 0 15 Eudo fitz Hubert

A sokemen, man of E.Aelfgar 3 0

A sokeman, man of Aldred 1 0

5 0 15

ANSTAY

1 Alward, man of E.Aelfgar 2 0 0 Payn of Hardwin

2 Alward a thegn of E.Harold 5 0 0 Count Eustace

5 2 0

THE HUNDRED OF BRAUCHING

WIDFORD

1 Eldred a thegn of the King 3 0 0 The Bishop of London

2 Alward, man of Abp.Stigand 1 0 0 Tedbert of the Bishop

4 0 0

CHALDEAN

1 Eldred a thegn of the King 2 0 0 Roderi of the Bishop

1. Asgar the Staller.

1066	82			1086
BISHOPS STORTFORD	H	V	A	
1 Eddeva the Fair	6	0	0	The Bishop of London
THORLEY				
1 Edsi a man of God eod			20	Roderi of the Bishop
2 Godid man of Asgar	4	0	0	Geoffrey de Mandeville
	4	0	20	
WESTMILL				
1 Achi a thegn of E. Harold	7	1	0	Anschilil of Reb. Gernon.
2 Sexi a housecarl of K. E ^g	4	2	0	Roger of Ralf de Todenl
A sokeman, man of Anschil		1	0	
of Ware	12	0	0	
WICKHAM				
1 Four sokemen	2	0	20	Humphrey of the Bishop of
				Comances
2 Three sokemen, one man of				Two knights of the Bishop
Bp. William, one man of				of London.
Eddeva, and one man of Asgar	1	15		
3 A sokeman, man of Godid		8		A sokeman of Geoffrey de
				Mandeville
4 Two sokemen, men of Asgar	1	0	3	Two knights of Geoffrey
5 Three sokemen of the King		3	5	Roger and Osbert of
	4	0	21	Geoffrey de Bech
EIA				
1 Suen a man of Harold	2	0		Peter of the Bp. of
				Bayeux
THUNDRIDGE				
1 Alned of Bp. Stigand	1	0	0	High de Grentmaisnil of
				the Bishop of Bayeux
BRAUGHING				
1 A thegn of the King	4	0	0	Count Eustace
A thegn of Asgar	1	0	0	
	5	0	0	
STANSTEAD				
1 Alwin of Godtone	11	0	15	Rennulf, brother of Ilgei
Four sokemen, men of	4	0	0	
Anschil				
Ten sokemen, men of Alwin	3	0	0	
2 A sokeman, man of Asgar			15	A sokeman of Geoffrey de
				Mandeville
3 Godmund, a thegn of the King	3	0		Godmund of the King
4 Bettice, man of Wlwin of		2	0	Geoffrey de Bech
Astwick	19	2	0	
WARE				
1 Anschil of Ware	21	2	0	High de Grentmaisnil
A sokeman, man of Anschil	2	0	0	
A sokeman, man of Earl Gurth		2	0	
	24	0	0	

1066	H	V	A	1086
EASTWICK				
1	Wlwin a thegn of E. Harold	2	0 0	Rainald of Geoffrey de Bech
STANDON				
1	Archbishop Stigand	5	0 0	The Wife of Richard de
	Six sokemen, his men	6	0 0	Clare.
		<u>11</u>	<u>0 0</u>	
HUNSDON				
1	Lewin a man of E. Harold	3	0 0	Adeliz wife of Hugh
	Alwin of Godtone	1	0 0	
		<u>4</u>	<u>0 0</u>	

THE HUNDRED OF DACORUM

TITEBERST				
1	Alward of the Abbot of St. Albans	2	0 0	Adam of the Bishop of Bayeux
2	The Church of Westminster	1	0 0	The Church of Westminster
	The Church of Westminster	3	0 0	Geoffrey de Mandeville of St. Peter
3	A sokeman of the Abbot of St. Albans	2	0 0	Geoffrey of the Abbot of St. Albans
4	Threesokemen, two men of Asgar the Staller and the third man of the Abbot	3	0 0	Ralf of Geoffrey de Mandeville
5	A sokeman, man of the Abbot	2	0 0	Lovet of Geoffrey de Bech
		<u>4</u>	<u>0 0</u>	
WHEATHANSTEAD				
1	The Church of Westminster	10	0 0	The Church of Westminster
ALDENHAM				
1	The Church of Westminster	9	0 0	The Church of Westminster
	Blaquin, man of the Abbot of St. Albans	1	0 0	Abbot of St. Albans <i>Secretary de Bech of the Abbot</i>
		<u>10</u>	<u>0 0</u>	
LANSLEY				
1	The Church of St. Albans	4	2 0	The Church of St. Albans
	The Church of St. Albans	1	0 0	The Count of Mortain
		<u>5</u>	<u>2 0</u>	
REDBOURN				
1	Abp. Stigand of the Abbot of St. Albans	7	1 0	The Church of St. Albans
2	Alwin a huntsman of E. Lewin	1	0 0	Wiget of the Bp. of Lisieux
3	The Church of St. Albans	3	15 0	Anelger of the Abbot
4	Seward a sokeman of K.E.	2	0 0	Rannulf of the Count of Mortain
		<u>8</u>	<u>3 15</u>	
APSBURY				
1	Godrie a man of Stigand	3	0 0	The Church of St. Albans.

1. Assessed at 3 hides in 1086.

1066		H	V	A	1086
WINDRIGE					
1	Osbern a man of Stigand monk, and holding his man.	1	2	0	Geoffrey de Bech of the Church of St. Albans
2	Eilmar a man of E. Lewin	1	2	0	Ralf of Geoffrey de Bech
		<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

KENSWORTH
1 Lewin cilt of the King 10 0 0 St. Pauls of London

CADDINGTON
1 Lewin (cilt) 10 0 0 St. Pauls of London

TISCOTE
1 Two sokemen, men of
Brictric 1 2 0 Robert de Oigii
Two sokemen of Osulf
son of Frane 1 2 0
A sokeman, man of Edmer 1 0 0
Attule 4 0 0

BARWYTHE
1 Osulf son of Frane 5 0 0 Baldric of Robert de Toden

FLANSTEAD
1 Achi a thegn of the King 4 0 0 Ralf de Toden

BUSHEY
1 Lewin a thegn of the King 14 0 0 Geoffrey de Mandeville
A sokeman, man of Queen
Edith 1 0 0 A sokeman of Geoffrey de
Mandeville
15 0 0

GREAT GADDESSEN
1 Wiwen of the Abbot of St. Albans 6 0 0 (1) Edward of Salisbury

SHENLEY
1 The Church of St. Albans 6 0 0 The Church of St. Albans
2 A sokeman, a housecarl of
of the King, and a sokeman
man of Earl Lewin 0 0 0 Rennolt of the Count of
Mortain.
3 Two sokemen, men of Asgar 3 0 Geoffrey de Mandeville
Asgar the Staller 7 0 0
9 3 0

THE HUNDRED OF TRING

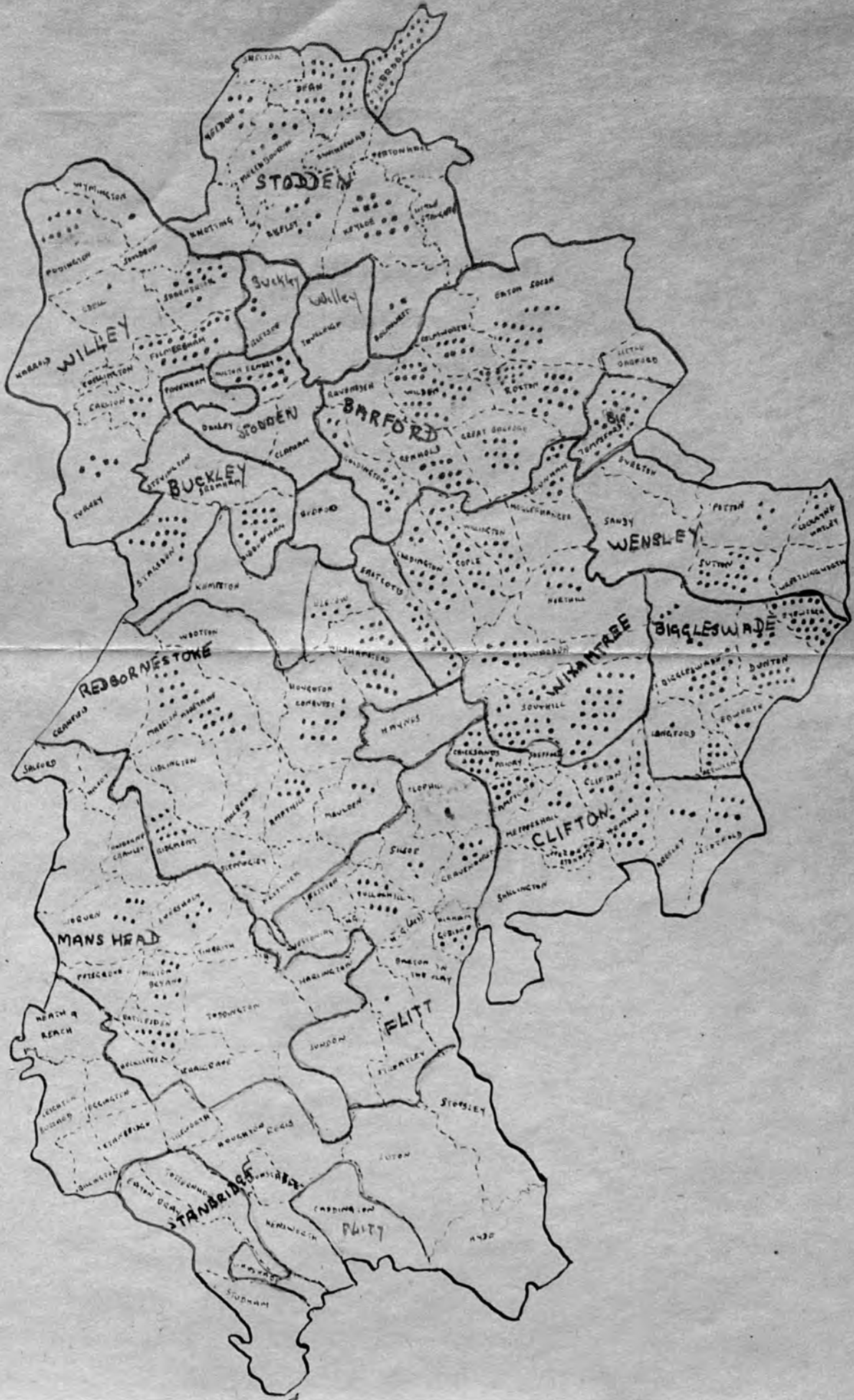
PUTTENHAM
1 Earl Lewin 4 0 0 The Bishop of Bayeux

1. Assessed at 3 hides in 1086.

1066	85 H V A			1086
GREAT BERKHAMSTEAD				
1 Edmar a thegn of the King	13	0	0	The Count of Mortain
ALDBERY				
1 Alvin a thegn of the King	10	0	0	The Count of Mortain
PENDLEY				
1 Eddeva the nun	2	0	0	The Count of Mortain
WIGGINGTON				
1 Brietric, man of Queen Edith	3	2	0	Humphrey of the Count of Mortain
Goduin, man of Ingelric	3	0	20	
Leuric, man of Osulf	2	0		
	<hr/>			
	7	0	20	
DUNSLEY				
1 Ingelric			20	A widow of the Count
2 Ingelric			1 10	Maigno the Breton
	<hr/>			
	2		0	
GUBBELCOTE				
1 Eddeva of Ingelric	1	2	0	Fulcald of the Count of Mortain
MISWELL				
1 Wiga, man of Osulf son of Frane	2	0	0	Roger of the Count of Mortain
2 Osulf son of Frane, a thegn	14	0	0(1)	Half of Robert de Todent
	<hr/>			
	14	2	0	
BOORSROFT				
1 Lewin a thegn of the King	1	2	0	Lewin of the Count
HEMEL HEMPSEAD				
1 Two brothers, men of E ^l Lewin	10	0	0(2)	The Count of Mortain
LITTLE GADDESSEN				
1 Edmer Attale	5	0	0	Humphrey of the Count
TRING				
1 Ingelric	31	0	0	Count Eustace
Two sokemen, men of Osulf	2	0	0	
A man of the Abbot of Rausey	5	0	0	
Three sokemen, men of Ingelric	1	0	0	Three sokemen of the C.
	<hr/>			
	39	0	0(3)	

1. Assessed at 3 hides, 2½ virgates in 1086
2. Twenty hides of this village are in the hundred of Cashio
3. Assessed at 5 hides 1 virgate in 1086.

BEDFORDSHIRE IN 1066.



BEDFORDSHIRE IN 1086



BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.
SHOWING SOKEMEN IN
BOTH 1066 AND 1086



DUNSTY

SECKLOE

MOULSOE

STOTFALD

ROWLEY

LAMVA

MURSLEY

WADDESDON

ASHENDON

COTTESLOE

YAROLEY

IXMILL

STONE

MESBURY

LEE

GREAT MASEENDON

LITTLE MASEENDON

RISBOROUGH

BURNHAM

PESBOROUGH

STOKE

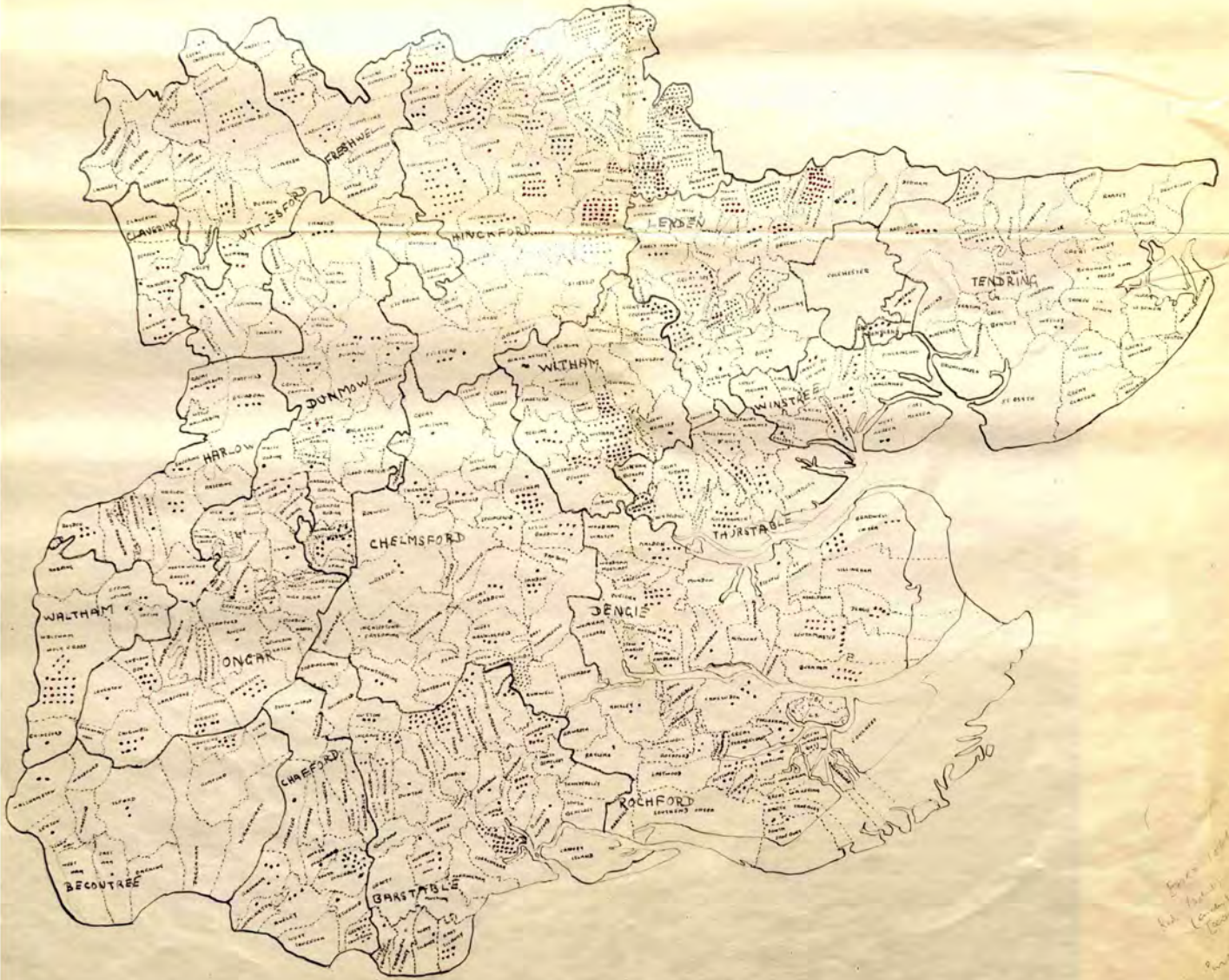
CAMBRIDGESHIRE in 1066



CAMBRIDGESHIRE
IN 1086.



ESSEX IN 1086



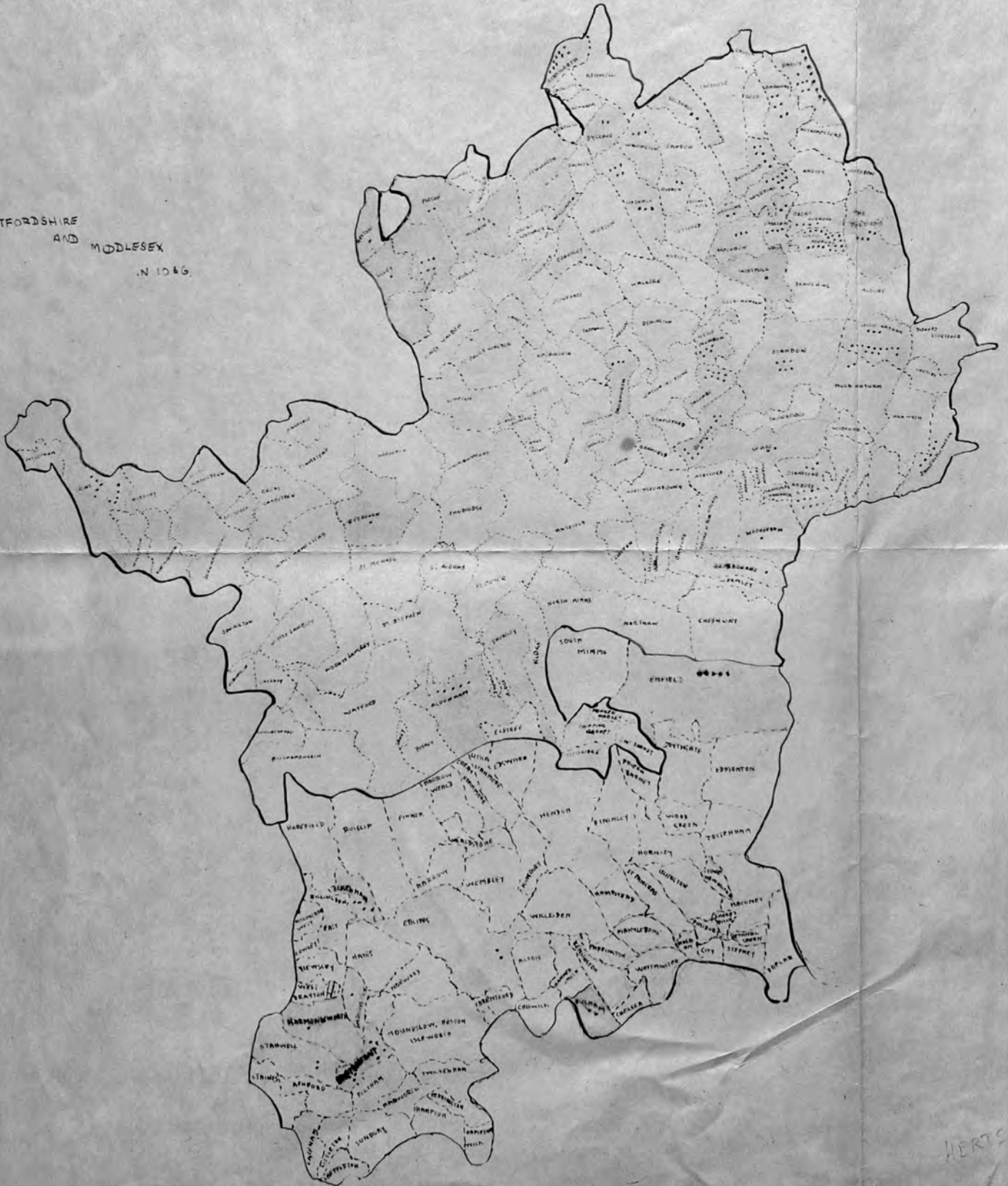
*Original map
from the
County of Essex
Library
Essex
1086*

ESSEX IN 1086



W. H. Stiles

HERTFORDSHIRE
AND
MIDDLESEX
N. 1066



HERTS

HERTFORDSHIRE
IN 1086



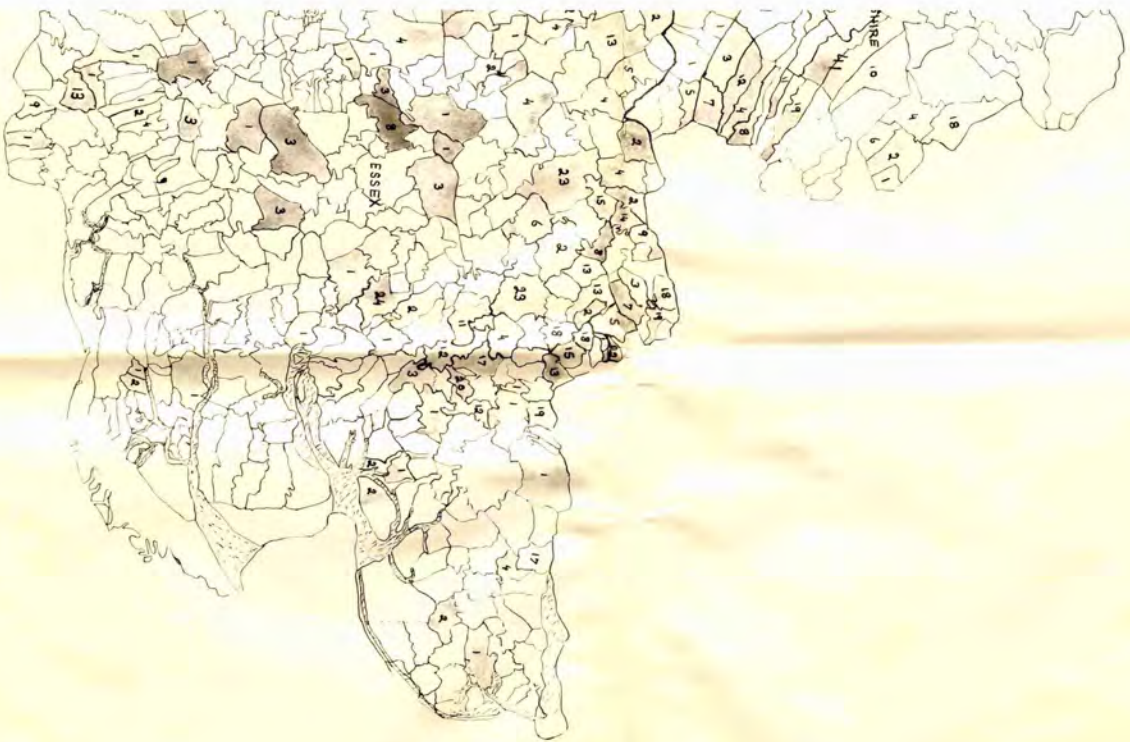


NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Handwritten notes:
1886
1856



M.P. OF THE SOUTHERN DANELAW
 THE FIGURES INDICATE THE NUMBER 'A' FROM VILLAGE 1884



EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR USE WITH THE MAPS

Certain hamlets and other places in which sokemen are recorded are not shown on the Ordnance Survey Index maps, from which these maps have been drawn, and therefore these sokemen have been shown in the parishes in which the hamlets are situated. The following is a list of these hamlets and the parishes to which they belonged. There is also a list of places which cannot be identified and in which there are sokemen. These sokemen cannot be shown on the maps.

MIDDLESEX

Greenford	is in the parish of	Ealing
Hatton	" " " "	East Bedfont
West Bedfont	" " " "	Stanwell

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Waldridge	is in the parish of	Dinton
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BEDFORDSHIRE

Subpho	is in the parish of	Renhold
Segenhoe	" " " "	Ridgmont
Cainhoe	" " " "	Clophill
Chauston	" " " "	Roxton
Wyboston	" " " "	Eaton Socon
Stratton and Holms	are " " "	Biggleswade
Broom and Stanford	" " " "	Southill
Millow	is " " "	Dunton
Ridgwell	" " " "	Felmersham
Farndish	" " " "	Poddington
Westcotes	" " " "	Eastcotes

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Whitwell	is in the parish of	Barton
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HERTFORDSHIRE

Charlton	" " " "	Hitchin
Temple Dinsley	" " " "	"
Wickam	" " " "	Little Hadham
Titeberst	" " " "	Aldenham
Libury	" " " "	Little Munden.
Newsellsbury	" " " "	Barkway
Stonebury	" " " "	Little Hornead
Boreson Green	" " " "	" " "
Barksdon Green	" " " "	Aspenden
Ley Green	" " " "	Kings Walden
Luffenhall	" " " "	Clothall

Horwellbury is in the parish of Kelshall
 Tiscote " " " " " Tring

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Pillesgate is in the parish of Barnack
 Knuston " " " " " Irchester
 Nortoft " " " " " Gillsborough
 Glasthorpe " " " " " Floore
 Comb " " " " " Clipston
 Tolthorpe " " " " " Little Casterton
 Farndish " " " " " Poddington (in Beds)

ESSEX

Bendish " " " " " Radwinter
 Stevington End " " " " " Ashdon
 Newnham " " " " " "
 Pledgdon " " " " " Henham
 Bendfield " " " " " Stanstead Mountfist
 Hassingbroke " " " " " Atanford le Hope
 Putsey " " " " " Canewdon
 Blunts Hall " " " " " Witham
 Michaelstow " " " " " Wamsey
 Claret " " " " " Ashen
 Goldingham " " " " " Bulmer
 Stanstead " " " " " Halstead
 Bapthorne " " " " " Birdbrook
 Beauchamp " " " " " Ovington
 How Hall " " " " " Finchingfield

Sokemen in the following places which have not been identified are not shown on the maps.

Bedfordshire	Kenemondewick	2 sokemen in 1066
	Estone	6 sokemen in 1066, 4 in 1086
Cambridgeshire	Werateworde	12 sokemen in 1066
Hertfordshire	Bricewolde	2 sokemen in 1066, 2 in 1086
	Flexmere	1 sokeman in 1066, 1 in 1086
	Sapeham	2 sokemen in 1066,
	Rodehangre	1 sokeman in 1066.
Northamptonshire	Waletone	3 sokemen in 1086
Essex	Wringehala	1 sokeman in 1066, 1 in 1086
	Binneslea	1 " " 1066
	Celvestona	5 sokemen in 1066, 5 in 1086
	Cheneboltuna	15 " " 1066, 15 in 1086
	Nivetuna	1 sokeman in 1066, 1 in 1086

There are also 22 freemen and 18 sokemen in the hundred of Hinckford who have not been marked on the maps.

For the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Essex, Bedford and Hertford there are two maps each; the first to show the number of sokemen and free men in 1066 and the second to show the position in 1086. There is only one map for Buckinghamshire and on this the sokemen of 1086 are marked by a cross.

There is also only one map for Northamptonshire on which the villages from which the sokemen and free men have disappeared have a heavier shading. On all maps sokemen are marked by black dots (and crosses in the case of Buckinghamshire), and free men by red dots. The numbers of sokemen alone appear on the large map of the whole region. This map shows the distribution of sokemen in 1066.

Map of the East of England

County	1066	1086	Notes
Cambridge	1066	1086	
Huntingdon	1066	1086	
Essex	1066	1086	
Bedford	1066	1086	
Hertford	1066	1086	
Buckinghamshire	1066	1086	1086 sokemen marked by crosses
Northamptonshire	1066	1086	Disappeared villages shaded

Map of the East of England

County	1066	1086	Notes
Cambridge	1066	1086	
Huntingdon	1066	1086	
Essex	1066	1086	
Bedford	1066	1086	
Hertford	1066	1086	
Buckinghamshire	1066	1086	
Northamptonshire	1066	1086	