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Domesday Book and the Origins of Edmonton Hundred

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DOMESDAY BOOK AND THE ORIGINS OF EDMONTON HUNDRED

by

Stephen Doree

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INTRODUCTION

> Then at Christmas (in 1085), the king (William I) was at Gloucester with his council, and there held his court for five days...
> After this, the king had much thought and deep speech with his council about this country — how it was occupied, or with what sort of people. Then he sent his officials all over England into every shire [county] and had them find out how many hundred hides [land units] there were in the shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to receive in twelve months from the shire. Also he had a record made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and abbots and earls... what or how much everybody had who was occupying land in England, in land and cattle, and how much money it was worth... And all these records were brought to him afterwards. (EHD.ii,161)

Thus did the chronicler at Peterborough record how King William I, the 'Conqueror' set up the great enquiry known ever since as the Domesday Survey.[1] This great survey, the first and last in our history, was undertaken in 1086, twenty years after the successful Norman invasion.

The returns were compiled county by county. Edmonton Hundred lay within Middlesex, but on the borders with Hertfordshire and Essex. Middlesex lay within the same Domesday circuit as Hertfordshire, though there are some interesting differences in the manner in which the information is presented. Essex lay within a different circuit, and its returns, in what is usually known as the 'Little Domesday', are quite differently set out — so differently, indeed, as to lead the unwary to suspect that the social pattern was quite different on either side of the Lea Valley. The Middlesex Domesday provides much more information than do other county returns about the various social classes; on the other hand, the Essex returns are much fuller all round, and have not been so smoothly 'processed' by the civil servants of the day. The result is a most marvellously illuminating *tableau* of this middle part of the lower Lea Valley in the late 11th century. But, by cross comparison, it is also possible to see that interesting material has been omitted. This has to be one major regret — for instance, the Lea Valley manors of Essex had considerable sheep farms, but this sort of material is not available for the Middlesex manors. The other regret is that there are no 'follow-up' materials available: Domesday Book stands alone in splendid isolation, there has never been a comparable survey since.

This pamphlet attempts to use the information provided by Domesday Book first to compose some sort of 'portrait' of Edmonton Hundred as it was in 1086, and then secondly, to use some of the details of that portrait to suggest how the Edmonton Hundred had originated and developed. This pamphlet makes no claims to finality. It is presented as a contribution to the debate concerning local origins and early history. If it provokes disagreement and discussion, it will have amply justified its publication.

PART I. EDMONTON HUNDRED IN THE DOMESDAY BOOK

The written history of Edmonton Hundred begins with a bang rather than a whimper. Suddenly, after centuries of silence, there is a detailed description of the communities that formed the land unit known as Edmonton Hundred: Enfield, Edmonton, South Mimms and Tottenham. The areas covered by Hadley, Potters Bar and Wood Green are included but they are not separately mentioned. This description is contained in Domesday Book.

What does Domesday Book tell us of this area? Edmonton Hundred consisted of three estates, called 'manors'. Two of them, Enfield and Edmonton, were very extensive, Edmonton having South Mimms as a separate member (or 'berewick') eight miles away on the wooded uplands. Together these two manors covered about 25,000 acres and were so closely associated as to constitute almost a single estate.[2] In 1086, Enfield and Edmonton were in the hands of a Norman who had fought for William the Conqueror at Hastings, Geoffrey from Manneville in Normandy — hence his name Geoffrey 'de Mandeville' — who had taken over these two estates *en bloc* with most of the lands of his English predecessor, Ansgar, a high ranking official of King Edward the Confessor before 1066, who had died in prison following William's successful accession to the English throne (see below).

The other manor within the Hundred, Tottenham, was very much smaller than its two northern neighbours, and was held in 1086, by the Countess Judith. Tottenham was one of the few estates in this area (apart from those controlled by the Church) which had passed as smoothly as circumstances would allow from English to Norman control, since its English Lord, Earl Waltheof, had made his peace with the new King William after 1066, and married his niece Judith. However, Waltheof had subsequently repudiated his oath of allegiance to William, and was executed in 1076, leaving his widow Judith in control of Tottenham. Both of these Normans, Geoffrey and Judith, held very extensive lands scattered over many counties, and it is impossible to know how often, if at all, they visited their Lea Valley estates, or 'manors', to use the now fashionable French term popularised by Domesday Book.

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Whether or not they visited the area, these Edmonton Hundred manors were immensely valuable. Domesday Book has at least two criteria for measuring the worth of manors to their holders: there was a tax assessment, expressed in the Old English terms of 'hides' and 'virgates' (respectively 120 and 30 acres, though these terms mean more than just that); and there was also a valuation in money terms, which, since it varied quite sharply over the twenty years since the conquest and sometimes contained some very specific amounts (as in the case of Tottenham), was presumably a statement of either rental value or of revenues actually received. Both sets of figures were obtained from local peasant juries, perhaps supplemented by earlier estate records.

These manors made their Norman holders, like their English predecessors, rich, even if their other vast lands are not taken into account. This was especially true of Geoffrey de Mandeville. In Edmonton and Enfield alone his taxable wealth (of 65 hides) amounted to 7% of the entire taxable wealth of Middlesex, among the richest of English

counties, though the smallest.[3] The total (rental) value of these manors in 1086 was even more striking, being equal to 12%, or one eighth, of the entire rental value of the county. He was not the largest Norman landholder in the county, but he was the largest single lay (that is, not ecclesiastical) landholder in the three neighbouring counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex combined,[4] and came seventh in rank order among the lay landholders of Norman England (Corbett 1929, p.511) even though he was not an earl. About half of these lands had been acquired from his English predecessor Ansgar.

The rental values of the Edmonton Hundred manors had not remained constant in the recent past, however. The Middlesex Domesday gives valuations, expressed in money terms, for three points in time: the 'days of King Edward', that is, before 1066; when the manor or estate was 'received' by its new lord; and 1086, when the survey was made. Like Hertfordshire and the rest of Middlesex, the Edmonton Hundred manors had fallen considerably (50-60%) in 'value' between 1066 and the time when they were 'received', but, unlike the rest of Middlesex, had almost recovered their pre-Conquest values by the time the survey was taken.

What is the explanation of these sharp changes in 'value'? One strong possibility is that the transfer from English to Norman lord was accompanied by a considerable amount of violence and disruption that has not been recorded. Though this might account for the Edmonton and Enfield evidence, it hardly accounts for the sharp fall in the valuation at Tottenham, where there had been a 'peaceful' transfer from English husband (Earl Waltheof) to Norman wife (Countess Judith), but where the 'value' had fallen from £26 to £10 (62%) between 1066 and the time when Judith 'received' it. Another possibilty is that the advance of the Norman army on London from the north in 1066 was accompanied by devastation (if only from foraging expeditions) from which the locality had not recovered when the transfers of local estates took place.[5] A plausible explanation is made more difficult by the fact that, whereas the Edmonton Hundred values had almost recovered their pre-Conquest 'values' by 1086, the rest of Middlesex was still 16% below its former value, the Hertfordshire manors immediately to the north of Enfield were still badly depleted in value, while across the Lea Valley, in Essex, values had actually risen by over 50% (though some of that increase may be accounted for by changes in estate management).

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The basis of wealth of these Edmonton Hundred manors was land – the land with its stock of people and resources. Though Domesday Book makes no claim to be a census of population, it does provide us with numbers that make it possible to estimate minimum size of population. Thus, a total of 267 persons is recorded for Edmonton Hundred in 1086 — 114 for Enfield, 87 for Edmonton with South Mimms, and 66 for Tottenham. Given Tottenham's much smaller size, it seems that Tottenham was more densely settled in the late 11th century than either of its northern neighbours. If this figure of 267 persons is multiplied by five to allow for (unrecorded) women and children, the population of Edmonton Hundred would have been about 1350, though this is almost certainly an under-estimate.

These people were ordered in three major ranks known, in descending order of social status, as 'villeins', 'bordars' and 'cottars'.[6] All 135 'villeins' in this Hundred were landholders, one or two of them considerable landholders by the peasant standards of their age — Enfield and Edmonton each had a 'villein' holding one 'hide' of land, that is, about 120 acres of arable with appropriate amounts of meadow, pasture and woodland. Such men would have been rich in their day. The average 'villein', however, held about 23 acres of land, slightly less than the standard villein holding of that time.

One step down the social ladder came 49 'bordars', their lower rank indicated by the fact that they held less land than the 'villeins', an average of seven acres each. Lower still were the 61 'cottars', averaging half an acre apiece, though most of them in fact held no land at all. At the very bottom of the social scale were 14 slaves, but it is clear from fuller entries in the Essex Domesday across the River Lea that slavery was in rapid decay after the Norman Conquest, many of the slaves of 1066 (or their children) becoming 'cottars' by 1086.

Domesday Book also reveals important changes at the upper end of local rural society following the Norman Conquest. Before 1066 there were five landholders in Enfield known as 'sokemen', sharing six 'hides' of land (that is, holding about 144 acres each on the average, with corresponding amounts of pasture and meadow). 'Sokemen' were very unevenly distributed hereabouts in the 11th century. There was a light scatter of 23 'sokemen' in Middlesex, mostly on the western side of the county, but none at all recorded in the east except for the five at Enfield. They were rather more numerous in the Lea Valley, the small towns of Stanstead (Abbots) and Waltham having ten and six respectively. Twenty years later, in 1086, the Enfield 'sokemen' had vanished, in common with all their Middlesex counterparts, while nationally, especially in eastern England, 'sokemen' as a class were in decline (Hallam 1981, pp.29-30; Miller 1978, pp.21-25). It is not easy to locate the lands of these one-time 'sokemen' among the peasant holdings of Enfield, described in 1086. Elsewhere, such lands were often merged into the demesne lands held directly by the new Norman lords, or distributed to armed retainers known as 'knights'. Two 'Frenchmen' appear in Tottenham in 1086, but there is no mention of such newcomers in Enfield. Much later, in the 13th century, there were five knights sharing a holding ('fee') in Enfield of five hides (Fees, p.898): it is possible, though incapable of proof, that these later knights were settled on the former 'soke' lands of Enfield.

Possibly there were other groups of people in Edmonton Hundred at that time not recorded in the great Survey, since deficiencies can often be detected where parallel texts occur.[7] For instance, Domesday Book does not consistently record the presence of priests: very few are recorded in Essex, even in places where a pre-Conquest church is known to have existed, and evidence from Kent shows that the main Domesday Book seriously under-records priests and churches, there being four churches known to exist in that county for every priest recorded in the Survey (Lennard 1959, p.293-294). Domesday Book records 18 priests in Middlesex, two of them in Edmonton Hundred, one at Enfield the other at Tottenham. Since every Middlesex priest is recorded as a landholder (averaging about 60 acres) it is well within the bounds of possibility that there were priests and chaplains without glebeland whose presence would have gone unrecorded. Within two generations of Domesday Book, churches are explicitly recorded at Tottenham, Enfield, Edmonton and South Mimms, together with a hermitage at Hadley.[8] Only archaeological evidence could ever reveal if these

churches are of pre-Conquest foundation. In so far as dedications may have historical value, St. Andrews and All Hallows suggest a pre-Conquest origin for the parish churches of Enfield and Tottenham (thereby corroborating the Domesday Book evidence). St. Giles suggests a 12th century Norman origin for South Mimms church, while All Saints at Edmonton could be of either Anglo-Saxon or Norman origin.[9]

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All the people recorded in Edmonton Hundred were the 'men' of their manorial lords, Geoffrey or Judith. It is far from clear, however, what obligations, if any, this involved. Before the Norman Conquest services in England owed to a lord could be quite heavy, and many of these re-appeared in later centuries as labour services, sometimes commuted to a money payment.[10] The Middlesex Domesday shows that the 11th century 'villein' could occasionally be quite rich — as at Enfield — but the Essex Domesday shows that he was not a 'free man'.[11] The Enfield 'sokemen' of pre-Conquest years had enjoyed a certain amount of independence — they could give their land or sell it 'without their lords' consent' — but this had gone by 1086.

Both before and after the Conquest, the villein class in particular was responsible for cultivating or managing that part of the manorial lands that belonged directly to the lord. Such land was said to be in 'lordship' (Latin '*dominium*') or in 'demesne', to use the Norman-French term of Domesday Book. In Middlesex generally, where there were 'demesne' lands, they accounted for about a quarter of the lands of the manor. In Edmonton and Enfield, however, Geoffrey de Mandeville's demesne lands accounted for almost half the total lands of these two manors, 16 out of 35 hides in Edmonton, and 14 out of 30 hides in Enfield;[12] (the Tottenham figures on this matter present problems and cannot be used in this general description without qualification).[13] Thus Geoffrey de Mandeville's local demesne at Enfield, Edmonton and South Mimms was upwards of 11,000 acres (or 17 square miles in aggregate).

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But if Geoffrey held just under half the land of these two estates 'in demesne', that same demesne contained only about a fifth of the ploughteams. Domesday Book measures arable land in this district by the number of ploughteams it could keep at work, each ploughteam consisting of a notional eight oxen. There is, in fact, no universal agreement on the number of acres that constituted the Domesday formula of 'land for one ploughteam'[14] (or 'ploughland', as some modern writers prefer), and it is therefore hazardous to attempt to convert the 50 or so ploughteams of the Edmonton-Enfield estate into acres of arable land; moreover, there is more than a hint that the land was not being worked to capacity.[15]

The ten slaves of these two manors — the class that is normally associated with the demesne ploughteams in Domesday Book — would presumably have been too few to manage the 8 demesne ploughteams, since at least two slaves were usually required for each team. It follows that some of the actual work of cultivating the demesne lands of Edmonton, Enfield and South Mimms would have fallen on the peasant classes. The men with the most land, that is the 'villeins', would have been responsible for providing

the ploughteams, since draught animals required meadows and pasture for their upkeep, and such lands, Domesday shows, were largely in the hands of the villein class. But much of the actual labour, especially the low-status work of ploughing, must have been the responsibility of the 'bordars' and 'cottars', the 'demesne-orientated people' of Domesday society (Harvey B.1977, p.102). Whether this demesne arable consisted of compact blocks of land or of strips scattered among the arable strips belonging to the 'men' of the two manors at that time it is impossible to state.

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The ploughteams of the men and the lords required pasture but especially meadowlands as the source of hay for winter feed. The Edmonton Hundred manors were among the minority (15%) of Middlesex manors which had sufficient meadows for their ploughteams, while some, such as Hendon, had amounts of recorded meadowland so pitiful in relation to their needs as to be ludicrous. All the Lea Valley manors had meadowlands that corresponded to their ploughteams needs (though Enfield may have had more) and, with Staines in the west of the county, are unique in Middlesex for yielding a revenue from what is described as the 'surplus': 25 shillings from Edmonton and Enfield, and 10 shillings from Tottenham.[16] Only two other places in the county yielded any additional revenue from their meadowlands, and one of those belonged to Geoffrey de Mandeville. Although the Middlesex Domesday does not state the amount of meadowland a single plough team required, evidence from the Essex Domesday suggests a rough average of between two and four acres per team, depending presumably on the quality of the meadows, but it is hazardous to press this evidence too far. Since Domesday Book, however, specifically refers to a 'surplus' in the Edmonton Hundred manors, there must have been some means available to dispose of this surplus hay, but there is no evidence of any market between Cheshunt and London.

Incidental resources listed by Domesday Book were mills at Edmonton and Enfield (each worth 10 shillings), a fishpond at Enfield (worth eight shillings) and a weir for catching fish at Tottenham (three shillings). But the most startling resource was the woodland and wood-pasture. In this area, Domesday Book measured the extent of such woods by the amount of swine pasture that it could contain. All the Domesday manors on the Middlesex-Hertfordshire borders, from Enfield and Cheshunt in the east to Harefield and Rickmansworth in the west, had large amounts of woodland. Edmonton and Enfield, with room for 2000 pigs each, were among the estates with the largest amounts of woodland — the only other estates with as much were Harrow and, possibly, St. Albans. However, since Edmonton and Enfield lay under a single lordship, these two manors combined controlled the largest single block of woodland and wood-pasture in the whole Middlesex-Hertfordshire area. It does not follow that each manor had exactly 2000 pigs each: Enfield's wood-pasture yielded a revenue of 43 shillings a year, while that of Edmonton yielded 12 shillings a year: the inference is that Enfield had more actual pigs than Edmonton.

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This vast belt of woodland on the Middlesex-Hertfordshire borders also contained three hunting parks, at St. Albans, Ruislip and Enfield (others were at Ware and Ongar). Parks were a rare feature on the Domesday landscape, and those manors that possessed them were unusual and distinctive. The Enfield park of 1086 was probably the hunting enclosure known later as Old Park, but within two generations Enfield Park extended as far as Hadley (Pam 1984, pp.10 ff)(Dugdale iv, p.16).

Such, then, was Edmonton Hundred as it was described by Domesday Book in 1086. Some of these features were already immensely old — such as the woodlands, and some of the place names. Other features were recent — the valuations and the actual populations, which had undergone change since 1066. Other details, such as the hides and the ploughlands, were basically old but may have undergone considerable revision in the medium-term past. But all the characteristics which Domesday Book outlines — the estates, the lordships, the assessments, the pattern of society and resources — invite a closer historical inspection. Indeed, the size, shape and style of Edmonton Hundred, together with its uneasy position in the administrative geography of Middlesex, suggest that it may have been a land unit of great antiquity which had undergone recent, and perhaps even drastic change. To this historical background we must now turn.

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PART II. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF EDMONTON HUNDRED

For nigh on a thousand years, a hundred was a subdivision of a county concerned with administration, justice and taxation. Hundreds and counties appear to have different origins, however. In the south Midlands, counties like Hertfordshire were first mentioned in the early 11th century, but may well be at least a century older than that. Hundreds, however, appear to have been even older, notwithstanding the fact that some of them did not reach their final form until well after the Norman Conquest. A recent theory has associated certain hundreds with 'multiple estates', that is, estates with an area of extensive lordship, some of which, it has been claimed, may go back to early Saxon, sub-Roman or even earlier times (Jones 1961 and 1971). Clearly, if such 'multiple estates' were able to survive as recognisable entities through invasions and wars, it can only be because they fulfilled some long-term purpose. Thus, the royal estates at Kingsbury (St. Albans) and Hitchin long survived because they were the focal points for the collection of 'food rents' for peripatetic kings, and their immemorial rights of extensive lordship were known as 'soke' at the time of Domesday Book, a term that was used in connection with Waltham; significantly, all three places were the focal points of the Domesday hundreds of Albanstow (later Cashio), Hitchin and Waltham.

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At first sight, Edmonton Hundred does not seem to fit the category of land units with an ancient high status. Yet there are features and anomalies that suggest that this Hundred, or at least a major part of it, had extensive rights of lordship associated with it, and discharged special functions. First, there was the inordinate size of Enfield: 15,206 acres in earlier centuries; even after extensive losses, Enfield parish still contained 12,653 acres in 1801 and was the largest in the Lea Valley; for sheer size, it was matched in this region only by St. Albans (sub-divided before the Norman Conquest), Barking and Waltham, each of which were historically distinctive.

Secondly, even a casual glance at the map will show that Edmonton Hundred does not easily fit the local administrative geography of county boundaries. This Hundred seems to 'intrude' into Hertfordshire, while the greater part of the hundred lies to the north of the main line of the Middlesex-Hertfordshire border (see map 2). Yet there was evidently a compulsive reason for placing this Hundred within Middlesex and not Hertfordshire.

Thirdly, there is the name. The Edmonton Hundred of Domesday Book continued to be alternatively styled the 'half hundred of Mimms' by the royal clerks until well into the following century.[19] Since 'Mimms' is a pre-English name, it is likely to be the earlier name of the hundred. Moreover, its status as a 'half hundred', fully borne out by the Domesday statistics which show it to have been less than half the average size of the Middlesex hundreds (measured in hides), suggests that it may once have been associated with territories with which it no longer had a link by the time of Domesday Book.

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Evidence of such an earlier linkage is provided by the 'house history' of Waltham Abbey, the *De Inventione*,[21] written by a former canon of that house in the 1170s, but based on earlier materials. According to this author, the minster church of Waltham Holy Cross had been founded by Earl Tofi 'the Proud', a high ranking official under King Cnut (Canute) in the early 11th century. Tofi, he informs the reader,

> held many estates within the bounds of this place... Enfield, Edmonton, Cheshunt, Mimms and the barony which Earl William de Mandeville now holds.[22]

Here, then, is near-contemporary evidence of a link between the main block of lands of Edmonton Hundred with Waltham, to the east of the River Lea. Moreover, Waltham was the largest unit in what Domesday Book calls the 'half hundred of Waltham' (VCH Essex, i, p.429). Is it possible that the two 'half' hundreds of Edmonton and Waltham, facing each other across the Lea, were originally the two halves of an undivided Lea Valley hundred?

The idea is attractive, and does have some further circumstantial evidence in support. Hundreds were, among other things, tax areas made up of one hundred (or in this region, 120) of those tax units known as 'hides'; the lands of Earl Tofi mentioned by this author – Enfield, Edmonton, Mimms, Cheshunt and Waltham – contained 125 'hides' at the time of Domesday Book, almost the exact number for a full hundred. Moreover, to the north of Waltham lay the 'half hundred' of Harlow, one of whose component estates, Hatfield Regis (Broad Oak) had three detached members called 'berewicks' at Amwell, Hertford and Hoddesdon in the days of King Edward the Confessor (VCH Essex, i, p.429): thus, the Harlow half hundred in Essex had a clear earlier link with lands in a different hundred within a different county, on the far side of the River Lea. If, as Domesday Book implies, Harlow half hundred had 'lost' lands in Hertfordshire, it was equally possible for the half hundred of Waltham to have 'lost' lands on the west bank of the River Lea.

Again, there are strong indications that one part of Edmonton Hundred, Tottenham, had at one time been the western half of a Lea Valley estate with Walthamstow on the opposite side of the Lea, since both these places were held by Earl Waltheof before 1066 — his only lands in the whole region. Of course, it is possible that Tottenham and Walthamstow had come under a common lordship only shortly before the Norman Conquest, but certain features of Tottenham (to be discussed later) suggest that, at the time of Domesday Book, it was a severed portion of a larger and older estate, and that the link with Walthamstow was of some antiquity.

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In fact, however, the author of the *De Inventione* offers no support for the view that Earl Tofi's lands of Waltham, Cheshunt, Enfield, Edmonton and Mimms had a prior existence as a discrete estate. In a key passage he informs us:

> After Tofi's death, his son Athelstan succeeded him, but he lost Waltham which Earl [later King] Harold obtained... He was succeeded by his son Athelstan, the father of Ansgar, the staller when England was

> conquered by the Normans, whose inheritance King William, the conqueror of the land, gave to Geoffrey de Mandeville, great-grandfather of the present Earl William. Athelstan succeeded his father not in the total possessions his father had held, but only in those lands which belonged to the staller, which Earl William now holds. For Tofi acquired wide possessions for himself, besides his own inheritance... but the son, Athelstan, lacking the shrewdness and wisdom of his father, lost many of his possessions, among them Waltham (Stubbs 1861,pp.13-14, translation).

Thus the author makes a clear distinction between Earl Tofi's 'inheritance' and his acquired 'possessions'. His son Athelstan had lost the 'possession' of Waltham, but was able to pass on to his son Ansgar the 'inheritance' of the office of staller together with the lands that belonged to that office. Domesday Book informs us that this same Ansgar, staller to Edward the Confessor, had held Enfield, Edmonton and Mimms before 1066. The implication is clear: Edmonton, Mimms and Enfield were lands that belonged to a particular hereditary office, and had no historic link with Waltham before the time of Earl Tofi, who had acquired that estate as a 'possession'.

From this evidence we can see that Edmonton, Mimms and Enfield — that is, the greater part of Edmonton Hundred — had belonged to the office of an important royal minister before 1066: they were 'ministerial' lands which presumably had some specific function before the Norman Conquest. What was that function, and how did this arrangement originate?

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The answer may be pursued through the career and role of the last Old English lord of Edmonton and Enfield, Ansgar, staller to the Confessor, 'provider of the king's court', and possibly a port-reeve of London.[23] Ansgar stands forth as the premier landholder in the combined counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex.[24] His lands had an interesting pattern. They mostly lay on, or close to, county boundaries: besides Edmonton and Enfield, he held Northolt, Shenley, a small estate at Ashwell, large ones at Sawbridgeworth and (Saffron) Walden and a discontinuous block of numerous smaller estates in western Essex, in the region of Great Waltham and High Easter which he had acquired in dubious circumstances[25] (and which apparently were not part of the lands 'inherited' from Tofi). This 'borderland' pattern of estates is too pervasive to have been coincidence. Nor was this all: at Hertford, a major defensive point in the 11th century, Ansgar held seven out of the 33 houses, together with a 'holding' in the borough; and, four miles away, he also held a small estate at Hoddesdon commanding the junction of the Lea and Stort rivers (VCH Herts, i, pp.300 and 330-332).

Ansgar briefly emerges from anonymity in the midst of the crises of 1066, if we are to believe the testimony of a near-contemporary versifier.[26] The author describes how Ansgar, who was wounded, had charge of the defence of London following the Battle of Hastings and tried to trick the Norman Duke William into accepting a bogus surrender of the City; the ruse failed, the besieging Duke William became master, later king, and Ansgar died in prison (Blake 1962, p.165 and note). His lands and position passed to the Norman newcomer, Geoffrey de Mandeville, who had 'crossed the sea in the king's service' as the Middlesex Domesday says (VCH Middx, ii, No.98, p.129) and who was to

exploit the latent resources of Ansgar's hereditary office: once the Conqueror had built the Tower of London, Geoffrey became its first constable (the term echoes the meaning of the word 'staller') and sheriff of London and Middlesex.[27] His grandson, Geoffrey de Mandeville II, Earl of Essex, was to reveal the full potential of Ansgar's wealth and power and was to become the very model of a 12th century 'overmighty' subject.[28]

This later development of Ansgar's office casts a retrospective light on its origins: the hereditary office of staller, held by Ansgar, was closely associated with the defence of London, and his lands were the outer works of London's defence system. London had long been vulnerable to attack from the north along the Lea Valley, and this vulnerability did not end in 1066 — there was a French army at Hertford as late as 1216 (Powicke 1953,p.9). A large and well-organised estate in the midst of the lower Lea Valley was therefore a good barrier — and such a barrier was the composite estate of Edmonton and Enfield. Moreover, it made sense for Ansgar's grandfather, Earl Tofi, to enlarge this estate with the inclusion of Waltham, though Waltham was to succumb to the political ambitions of Earl (later King) Harold. But how far back before the time of Earl Tofi did apprehensions over the security of London reach?

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The link between the Lea Valley and the security of London first appears in the written record at the time of the Danish wars of the later 9th century. The Danes overran and settled eastern England, but their military defeat in the west by Alfred the 'Great' of Wessex in 886 and his capture of London shortly afterwards led to a treaty between the two leaders, Alfred and Guthrum, marking out a new boundary between Wessex and the southern 'Danelaw':

> First, concerning our boundaries: up the Thames, and then up the Lea and along the Lea to its source, then in a straight line to Bedford... (EHD,i, No. 34, p.380).

By about 890, therefore, Alfred's kingdom of Wessex had reached the Lea Valley and absorbed the Edmonton-Enfield area, and the River Lea was a clear military and political frontier. But it was not a secure frontier, as the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* records for 894:

> The Danes, who were encamped on Mersea rowed their ships up the Thames and then up the Lea...
>
> In this year (895), the aforesaid army made a fortress by the Lea, twenty miles above London. Then afterwards, in the summer, a great part of the citizens (of London) and also of other people marched till they arrived at the fortress of the Danes, and there they were put to flight...
>
> Then later, in the autumn, the King (Alfred) encamped in the vicinity of the borough (London) while they were reaping their corn, so that the Danes could not deny them that harvest (EHD,i, p.188).

The Chronicle goes on to relate that Alfred succeeded in dislodging the Danes from their two Lea Valley strongholds and that, in the years 912 and 913 his son, Edward the Elder, constructed two fortresses at Hertford (presumably in the vicinity of the former Danish strongholds) as the prelude to the English reconquest and recovery of the Danelaw (EHD, i, pp.193-194). The River Lea thus became not merely a frontier, but a defended

frontier hinging on Hertford. Two centuries later, vestiges of this defensive strategy may still be detected in Domesday Book: the man charged with the defence of London had an important stake at Hertford, and between that fortress and his City base lay his most significant territorial link — the 'ministerial' estate of Edmonton-Enfield.

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The Chronicle extracts also reveal that the security link between London and the lower Lea Valley had economic as well as military aspects: the Danish presence in the vicinity of Hertford imperilled the grain harvests of the Lea Valley and, thereby, the existence of London. There is no means of realistically estimating what proportion of London's grain came from the lower Lea Valley, but the ploughteam totals of Domesday Book suggest that the large arable estates on both sides of the Lea from Cheshunt and Waltham to the Thames were, and had long been, an important part of London's food base.

Though the size of London's population at this time is not known — it has no entry in Domesday Book —it must have been in the region of 10,000 (Loyn 1962,p.176). Towns cannot exist without food surpluses from rural areas and, historically, surpluses on the scale required for the sustenance of major cities are more likely to come from large 'capitalist' estates than from small subsistence estates. Of the 51 estates in the Lea Valley south of Hertford recorded in Domesday Book, the five largest — Edmonton, Enfield, Waltham, Stepney, Cheshunt and Stanstead Abbots — accounted between them for over half the taxable wealth and arable lands. Of course, it does not automatically follow that the Domesday statistics apply to an earlier time — the author of *De Inventione,* for example, maintained that Waltham was of negligible importance before the time of his hero Earl Tofi (Stubbs 1861,p.9). But the economic realities that made possible the life of an important city like London imply the existence of surplus-generating estates over a long period of time.

Edmonton and Enfield combined constituted just such an estate. It was large and important by the time of Domesday Book, containing 20% of the taxable wealth of the lower Lea Valley and 16% of its arable resources; it comprised the greater part of the hundred within which it was situated; it was the largest estate held by the foremost lay landholder in the combined counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex; and it was no mere *ad hoc* assemblage of lands spatchcocked together on the eve of the Norman Conquest but estates recognised for two generations at least as part of the hereditary lands of the staller who had a particular brief to safeguard the interests of London.

Though it would be unwise to assume that the Edmonton-Enfield estate enjoyed its special status much before the time of Earl Tofi, with whom this status is first clearly associated, the underlying strategic and economic needs which such a status served to satisfy had their own independent historical logic: estates which provisioned London in the 11th century may well have been perpetuating a role which they had discharged for as long as London had an existence as a major urban centre. That existence long antedated the Danish wars of the 9th century, when Alfred had thought London worthy of capturing and defending: the historian Bede referred to London in the 730s as a capital city of the East Saxon kingdom and 'a trading city for many nations who visit it by land and sea' (Bede, p.102). Indeed, even Roman London had need of estates that

could supply provisions, and there is every reason to believe that the Roman estates of the lower Lea Valley[29] were serving the needs of London in much the same way as their Domesday successors.

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Before considering the possible earlier shape of Edmonton and Enfield, it is first necessary to examine Tottenham, the other estate of Edmonton Hundred. In Domesday book, 'Toteham' appears to be small and relatively insignificant, but there are anomalies and oddities in the record that suggest that Tottenham had declined considerably in status in the later Old English period.

First of all, its Domesday assessments are distinctly curious. It had a tax assessment of five 'hides' (a term current in this area) together with a further two 'carucates' (the northern term for a hide, which is not used in the local counties except in the Tottenham entry); there is no explanation offered by Domesday Book for this additional component. Again, the ploughteam totals are discordant: there was land for ten ploughteams, but 14 ploughteams were present, though there was apparently no land to accomodate them. Yet again, Tottenham is the only Middlesex manor where a payment of three ounces of gold was required in addition to its usual money valuation. Any one of these oddities might be attributed to scribal error, but the presence of all three anomalies suggest that Tottenham was not an estate that corresponded to the normal pattern.

Secondly — and this may be part of the explanation — Tottenham may have escaped the worst of the sort of turbulence that must have accompanied the transition from English to French lord, since its English lord, Earl Waltheof, had made his peace with the Conqueror, survived the Norman Conquest with his lands intact, married the Conqueror's niece, the Countess Judith, but then had rebelled and suffered execution in 1076. Even so, as we have seen, there was a sharp fall in Tottenham's value between 1066 and the time when Judith 'received' it, presumably in 1076, and so it may not have escaped devastation altogether. It could be, therefore, that some of these anomalies may have been derived from earlier records, since Earl Waltheof's extensive lands had constituted an important estate in pre-Conquest England,[30] and, like others, it may have had its own records (Harvey S. 1971).

Thirdly, Judith had not only acquired Tottenham from her late husband, but also Walthamstow immediately opposite to the east of the River Lea, a more important estate in Domesday terms (VCH Essex, i, pp.555-556). Both manors were locally distinctive in having a Domesday valuation which included 'ounces of gold'; moreover, the points where their later parish boundaries reached the River Lea were so close (see map 3) as to suggest the strong possibility that Tottenham and Walthamstow had once been two halves of a single Lea Valley estate. The fact that neither Waltheof nor Judith had any other lands in these three counties strengthens this possibility.

Fourthly, a Scottish record of the early 14th century refers to the 'manor of Tottenham and Tottenhamshire' (Rothwell 1957, p.369; Barrow 1973, pp.9 ff). This is late evidence for an early feature: a pre-Conquest small 'shire', the Old English term for what some might now call a 'multiple estate', that is, an estate with rights of extensive lordship. If this evidence is valid — and it is unlikely to have been invented at so late a date — it means that Tottenham had once been important, though there is no sign of this

former importance in the Domesday entry. It is pertinent to enquire, however, how far this lordship may once have extended. It presumably covered Tottenham Wood (in Hornsey parish), but did the Tottenham ('Toteham') of Domesday Book once include the Tottenham Court area ('Totehele'), at that time controlled by the canons of St. Pauls? Did the lordship of Tottenham ever extend westwards as far as Totteridge ('Tata's Ridge'),[31] a medieval swine pasture of Hatfield in Hertfordshire, more than a dozen miles distant? If so, then Tottenham lordship would once have extended as far westward as did its northern neighbour, the lordship of Edmonton and Enfield. And if — but only if — Tottenham and Walthamstow were complementary halves of what had once been a Lea Valley estate, did the lordship of this estate extend a corresponding distance eastwards, into what we today know as Epping Forest?

This pre-Conquest status of Tottenham, to which Domesday Book makes no reference, is echoed in an early 12th century charter granted by Countess Judith's son-in-law, King David of Scotland and Earl of Huntingdon (Lawrie 1905, No.53,p.48). Three salient points emerge from this charter. First, his tenants were styled 'men of the land and soke of London and Tottenham'; whatever this means precisely, it seems to confirm that Tottenham's area of lordship extended beyond the boundaries of historic Tottenham to include a wide sweep north of London. Secondly, the charter is addressed to his 'reeve', though no such official is mentioned in Domesday Book; reeves are often associated with former royal estates,[32] or at least with estates with some claim to importance — though it is of course possible that the office of reeve in Tottenham was a post-Conquest creation. Thirdly, his chief tenant and under-tenant, both Englishmen, owed obligations not merely to their lord, but also to the Bishop of London and his officers. These apparently incidental details may contain the essential key to understanding why Tottenham was within Edmonton Hundred at the time of Domesday Book.

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It seems that Tottenham was a fragmented estate by the time of the Norman Conquest, Waltheof's lordship notwithstanding, and that a major factor in this process of fragmentation was the Bishop of London and the canons of St. Pauls. To the east lay Hornsey (containing Tottenham Wood) held by the bishop as part of his extensive manor of Stepney (Madge 1938,pp. 31ff), while to the south lay Islington and Stoke Newington, held by the canons, as they also held 'Totehele' (the Tottenham Court Road area[33]). The pattern is suggestive of encroachment on the part of the ecclesiastics. Though they held no land in Tottenham itself according to the Domesday Survey, the early 12th century charter (Lawrie 1905, p.48) makes it clear that the Bishop had a well-established position in Tottenham by the time of the Norman Conquest, since the English tenants there had obligations to provide hospitality to the bishop, archdeacon and other diocesan officials.

The evidence hints that the lord of Tottenham and the Bishop were locked in some historic rivalry for the same territory as they had once, perhaps, competed for the same jurisdiction and lordship, though the details of this conflict (if it existed) are now hidden from view. By the time of Domesday Book, much of the area that must have lain within the former 'shire' of Tottenham lay in Ossulstone Hundred, then dominated by the bishop and canons, while the nucleus of the Tottenham estate lay in Edmonton Hundred, almost as an appendage. Did this mean that, at some point prior to the

Norman Conquest, what was left of the old Tottenham estate was placed within Edmonton Hundred to secure it from further encroachment by ecclesiastical predators? Ossulstone Hundred was large by local and contempory standards — 220 'hides', 70% of which were in the hands of the Church by 1066. This lends colour to the suspicion that successive bishops and canons had long been inflating Ossulstone Hundred with their acquisitions[34] in the hope that this hundred might become an ecclesiastical 'liberty' outside the jurisdiction of the king's sheriff — the abbots of St. Albans succeeded in creating just such a 'liberty' out of their dominance of Albanstow (later Cashio) Hundred, and there are other examples.

If Tottenham was indeed the most recent member of Edmonton Hundred, it follows that the southern boundary of the Hundred was correspondingly recent by the time of the Norman Conquest. The remaining boundaries of the Hundred, however, follow the Middlesex county boundary with Essex and Hertfordshire, and are much more ancient. Any enquiry into the origins of the land unit known to later times as Edmonton Hundred, and, in particular, of the 'ministerial land' that came into the hands of Tofi and Ansgar must attempt to assess the antiquity of the bounds that enclosed it.

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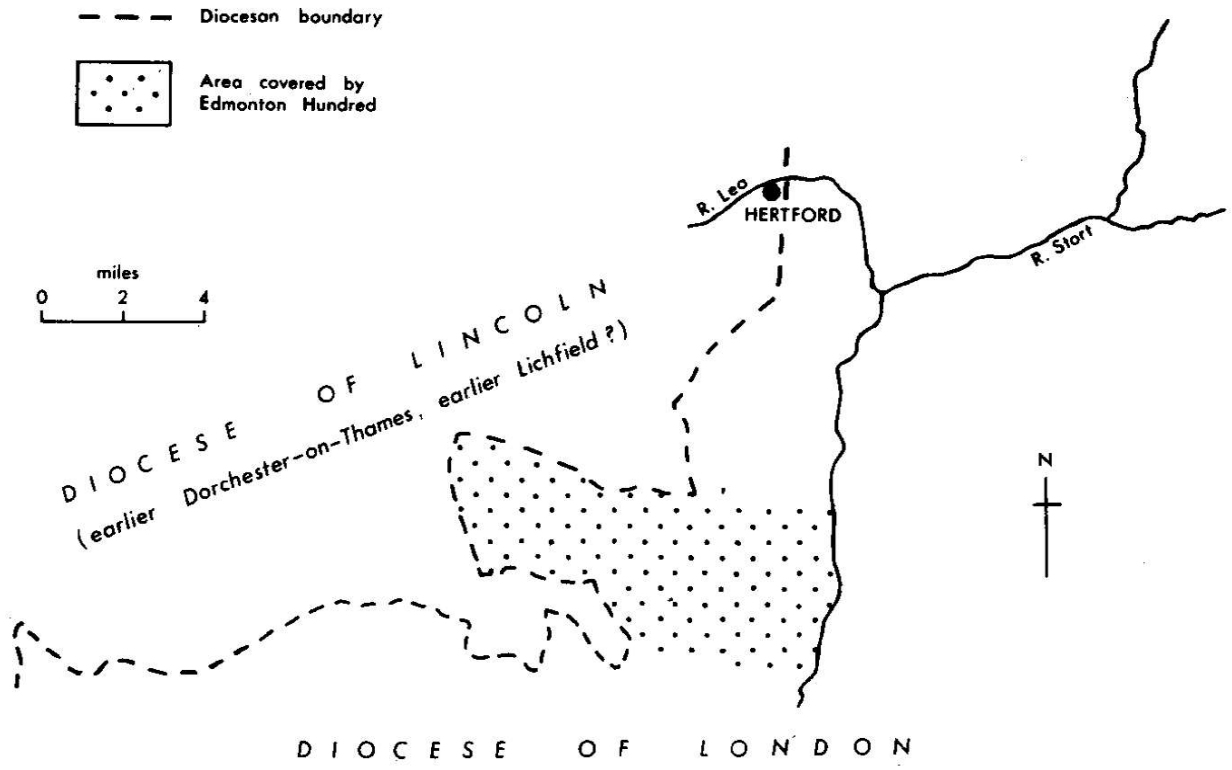
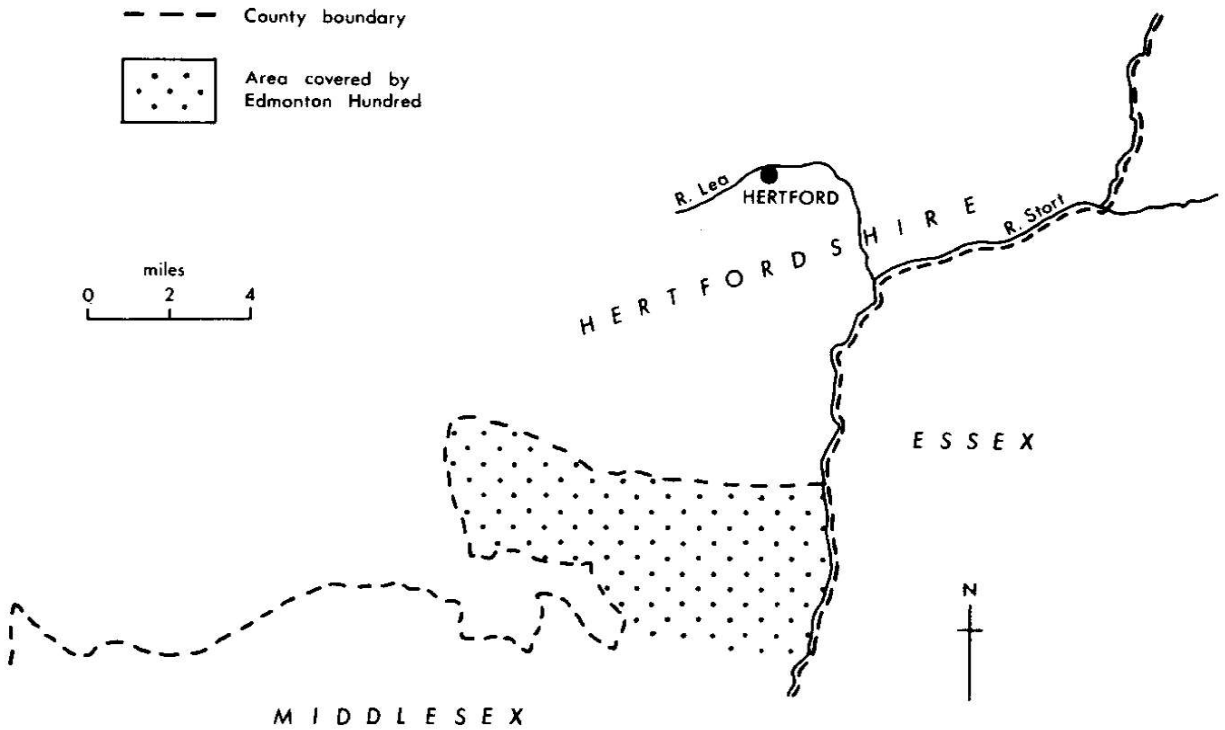
The evidence of geography and the Domesday Book combine to suggest that there was something distinctly odd about the place of Edmonton Hundred in Middlesex. It had a tax assessment less than half that of the average of the Middlesex hundreds, and fully justified its contemporary designation as a 'half' hundred. It occupied that north-eastern corner of the county which looks like a 'salient' into Hertfordshire (see map 2), being enclosed by that county on two sides. The eastern boundary of the Hundred was the River Lea, which was also the county boundary with Essex. Since these boundaries define the greater part of the circuit of Edmonton Hundred, it is justifiable to invoke evidence of the antiquity of those boundaries in a search for the origins of the Hundred.

Hertfordshire is first mentioned in 1011, but the origin of counties in eastern England is ascribed by medieval and modern historians to Alfred the Great and Edward the Elder,[35] a view which is locally corroborated by evidence that the River Lea became a political frontier by the Alfred-Guthrum treaty of c.890 and persisted as a line of administrative division after the conquest of the southern Danelaw east of the River Lea after 916 (EHD,i, pp.195 ff).

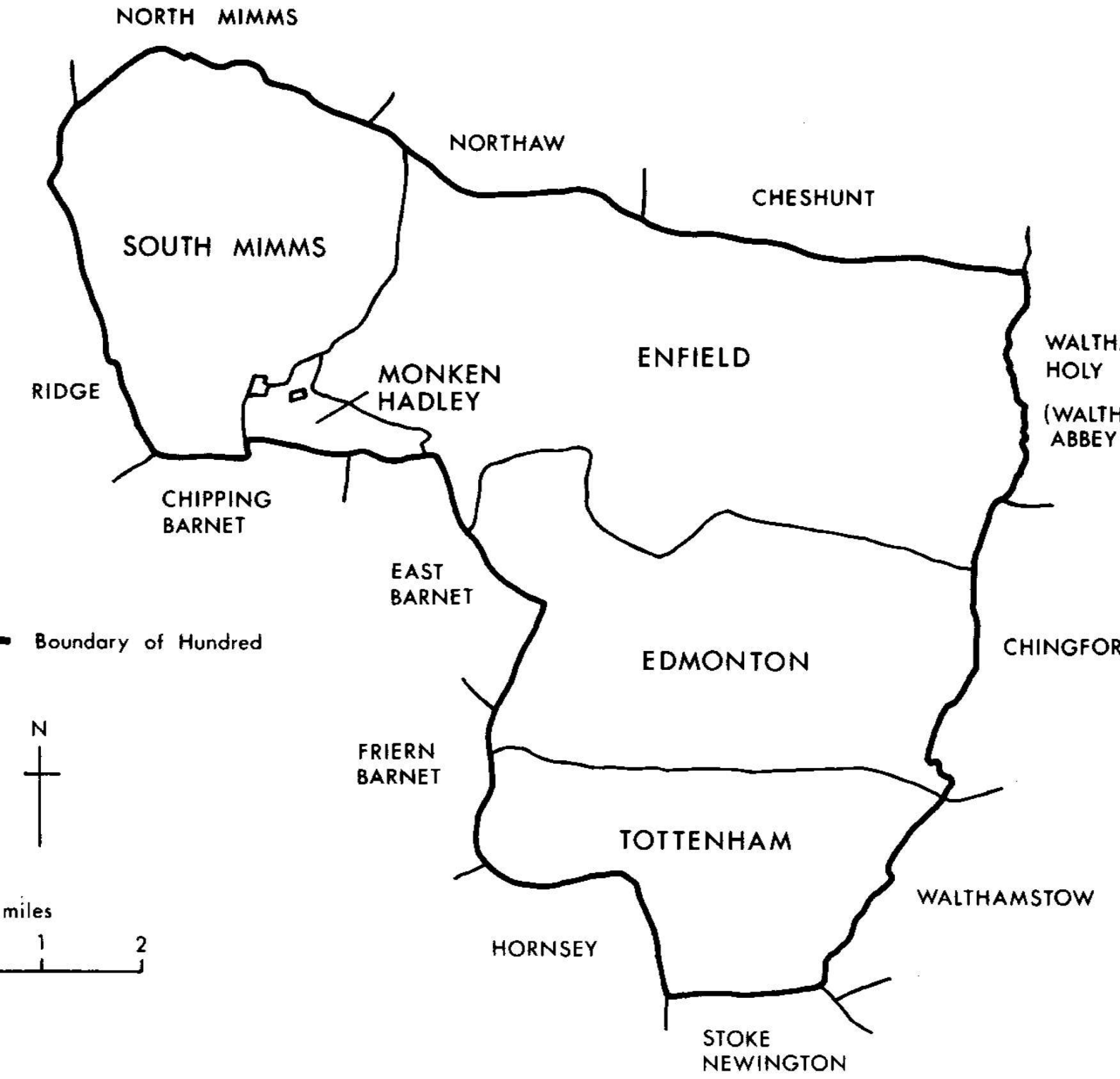
It is uncertain whether the River Lea was a boundary before the time of the Danish invasions and wars. Some centuries earlier, in an unrecorded process, the kings of the East Saxons (who gave their name to Essex) absorbed the territory of the Middle Saxons (who gave their name to Middlesex), made London their chief city (Bede,p.102) and extended their authority to Surrey (Whitelock 1981,p.11) and the district of Hemel Hempstead (EHD,i, No.63,p.449). This together with other evidence which we shall consider below, strongly suggests that the old East Saxon kingdom may have also controlled central and southern Hertfordshire as far as the Chiltern Hills. If this is true, it follows that the area of Edmonton Hundred was well within the old East Saxon kingdom in, say, the 7th century, and that the River Lea was not at that time a boundary. However, there would originally have been a boundary somewhere between the East Saxons and Middle Saxons, and it is possible that the River Lea had earlier been a 'folk' boundary.[36]



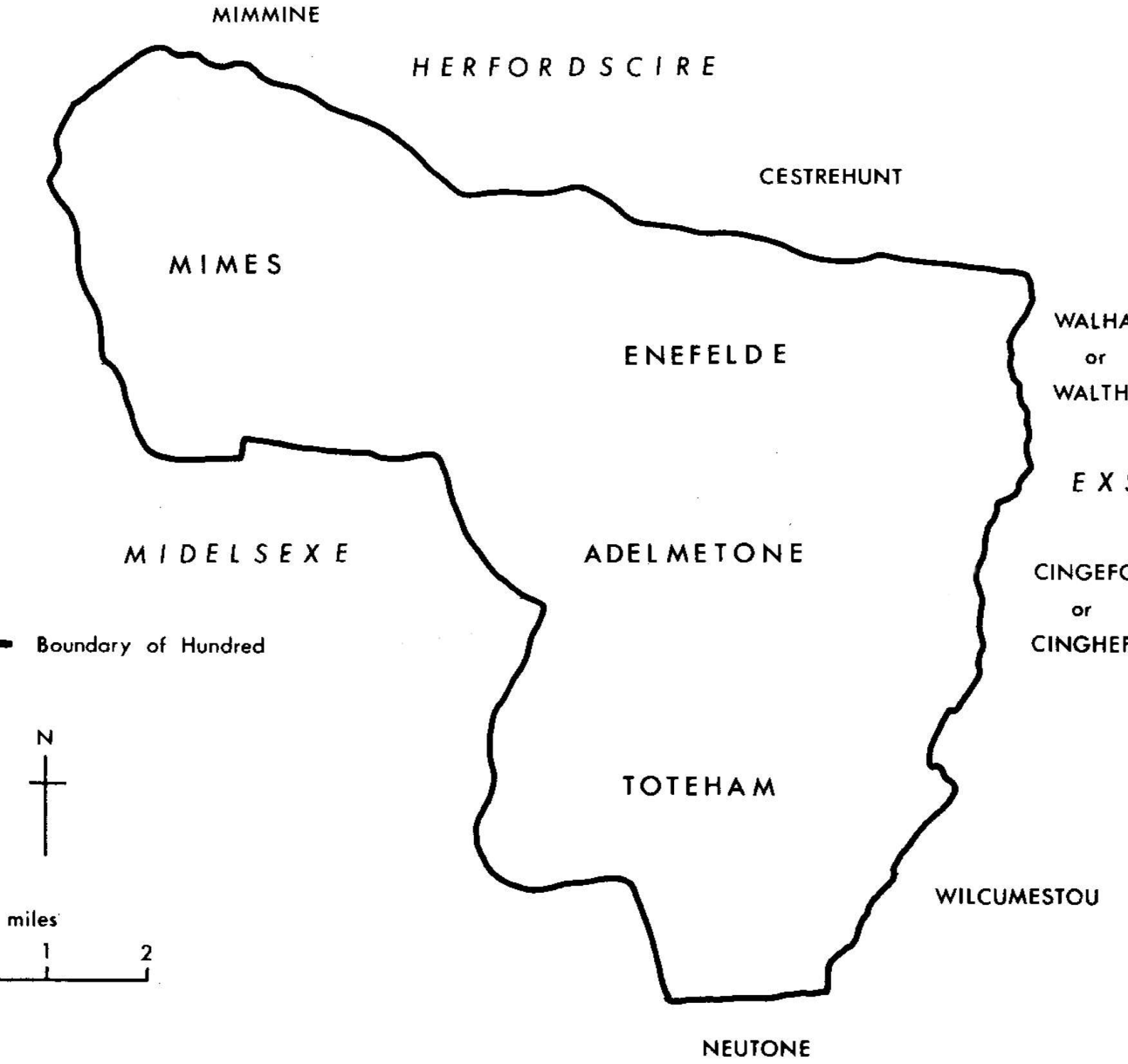
MAP 1. The Edmonton Hundred Area in Relation to Dioceses



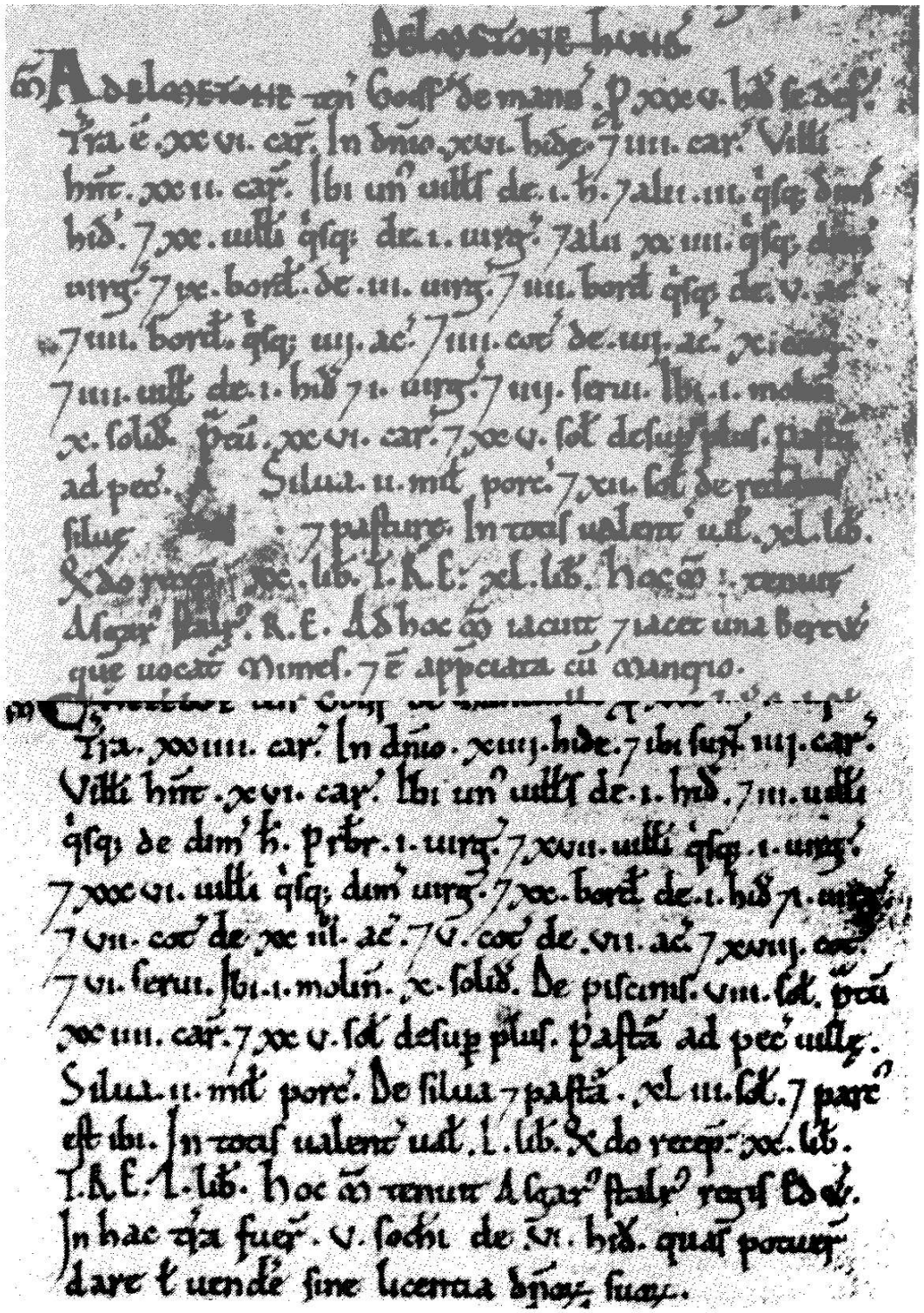
MAP 2. The Edmonton Hundred Area in Relation to Counties



3. Edmonton Hundred in the Early 19th Century



4. Edmonton ('Delmetone') Hundred
at the time of Domesday Book 1086.



Edmonton and Enfield in the Domesday Book
(for translation see Appendix I)
(Reproduced by permission of the Public Records Office)

To the north and north-west, Edmonton Hundred was enclosed by a boundary that was also the Middlesex county boundary with Hertfordshire, and we have already noted that this boundary is no later than the early 11th century and probably a century or so older than that. However, this same boundary, east of the point where Cheshunt meets Northaw, was also the boundary of the diocese of London (see map 1).

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Early dioceses were the 'parishes' of early kingdoms, the diocese of London being originally the 'parish' of the East Saxon kingdom. Dioceses were established following the mission of St. Augustine in 597, but the basic framework of the diocesan system, as it was to survive for centuries, was associated with Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus and the synod of Hertford of 673 (Bede, pp.209-212). Diocesan boundaries tended, on the whole, to be very durable, but there were changes, some of them later than the Norman Conquest. How old is the diocesan boundary that enclosed Edmonton Hundred and that split Mimms into northern and southern halves?

The reader must be warned that the evidence for this matter is frail, unclear and ambiguous, and that the assessment presented here is merely provisional.

The line of the diocesan boundary can be definitely established by the mid-13th century, but its existence (though not its exact definition) is clearly implied by William of Malmesbury in the 1120s;[37] from the context of his reference, this boundary was of pre-Conquest origin. Did it date from the early 10th century, when a great deal of diocesan reorganisation took place following the conquest of the Danelaw by King Alfred and his successors? Possibly, but the shape of the London diocese, which included Essex, Middlesex and the eastern third of Hertfordshire (see map 1) in no way corresponded to the phases of the conquest of the Danelaw. An earlier point of origin must be sought.

The diocese of London included that part of Hertfordshire that lay east of the Roman Road Ermine Street (but included all Cheshunt): this means that east Hertfordshire must once have lain within the East Saxon kingdom, but the boundary which follows the Roman Road looks like a negotiated frontier.[38] There is also evidence that the authority of this kingdom extended to the Hemel Hemsptead area as late as 705, though the diocese of London did not. All this suggests that the old East Saxon kingdom may once have covered much of what is today central and southern Hertfordshire, though this cannot definitely be proved.[39] If this is true, it would mean that the boundary of the London diocese 'froze' the political frontier of the East Saxon kingdom after it had begun to shrink but before it vanished altogether.

When was this? In broad terms, it must have been in the later 7th or 8th century, when the kingdom of Mercia came to dominate south-eastern England. At the time of the synod of Hertford in 673, the bishop of London was already a Mercian nominee (though he did not attend that synod). In subsequent centuries Hertford lay just outside the diocese of London (see map 1) and it is possible that the synod itself was responsible for defining the diocesan boundary.[40] On the other hand, Mercia evidently detached the Hemel Hempstead district from the East Saxon kingdom sometime after 705, and it could be that the diocesan boundary reflects an undocumented process of land transfer. Evidence is accumulating that 'conquests' by Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of their

neighbours often took the form of transfers of large estates, and the London diocesan boundary may confirm this. There was a curious kink in the line of this boundary as it skirted the area of Edmonton Hundred (see map 1); but this same boundary also severed Mimms in two parts. The evidence strongly suggests that a process of estate transfer had been interrupted when the diocesan boundary was defined, and there may be an echo of this in the later claim made by successive abbots of St. Albans to Edmonton and Enfield on the grounds that the abbey had been granted these places by their founder, King Offa of Mercia (Dugdale ii,No.43,p.217; Riley 1867,p.507).

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Though the origins of the diocesan boundary cannot be located precisely, it was clearly older than the county boundary with Hertfordshire in this area.[41] Four conclusions follow for Edmonton Hundred. First, the northern boundary of this hundred (earlier known as the 'half Hundred of Mimms') must be as old as this diocesan boundary which divided the earlier Mimms territory into two halves. Secondly, however old the diocesan boundary may have been, the area known as Mimms was even older (on the archaeological principle that what is cut through is older than the agency which does the cutting). Thirdly, the area enclosed on two sides by this diocesan boundary — Enfield, South Mimms and Edmonton at the very least — must have been a single land unit at the time the boundary was established, probably in the 7th or 8th century. Fourthly, the land unit of Mimms, of which Edmonton Hundred was a substantial fragment, was so old as almost to be an original feature on the map of Anglo-Saxon England.

Some of the place names in Edmonton Hundred may confirm this impression of high antiquity. 'Mimms' is apparently a pre-English name which may have some association with the River Mimram, the name of which is Celtic (Ekwall 1960,p.237). Skeat long ago suggested that Mimms might have been an old folk-district, a *regio* (Ekwall 1960,p.237) while Jackson drew attention to the high incidence of Celtic place names in the sub-Chiltern region (Jackson 1953,p.204); most recently, Rutherford Davis has advanced the thesis that the whole region of southern Hertfordshire from Hemel Hempstead to Braughing was a late Celtic kingdom (Davis 1982,*passim*), and this putative kingdom would have covered much of the earlier Mimms territory. The historic meeting-place of Edmonton Hundred was possibly Moot Plain,[42] which lies a short distance to the north of Camlet a name which has been ascribed to 'Arthurian legend' (Gover 1942,p.72) but which contains a Celtic element.[43] Other names such as 'Aldwick' and 'Old Fold' in South Mimms, and 'Oldbury' and 'Brimsdown' ('Grimsdown') in Enfield also suggest considerable antiquity.[44] There are no doubt others.

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There can be no doubt that Geoffrey de Mandeville's composite estate of Edmonton, Enfield and South Mimms was already very old by the time of its first description in Domesday Book. For three generations before the Norman conquest it had been the hereditary estate of a royal official. Its association with the royal court from the time of Earl Tofi onwards suggests that it may have formerly been either a royal estate or part of

a royal estate, before it became a 'service' estate in the hands of an important royal minister. There is no explicit evidence of such an earlier status, but Domesday Book offers a hint.

Royal manors were completely absent in Middlesex at the time of the Domesday survey, despite their crucial importance for the life-support system of royal courts not merely before but also long after the Norman Conquest. Royal manors had similarly been absent in neighbouring Essex and Hertfordshire in 1066, but Domesday Book shows how careful King William had been to resume direct control over at least those royal estates which Edward the Confessor had granted to Earl Harold and his dependants. Such former royal estates in those counties are marked by the presence of 'sokes' and 'berewicks'.[45] These trace elements enable us to identify some of the former royal estates in Middlesex.

In Domesday Book, South Mimms was a 'berewick' of Edmonton manor, an outlying portion of Geoffrey de Mandeville's demesne. It was a subordinate member of the estate in 1086 (it has no separate entry in the Domesday survey), but the earlier name of the half hundred together with the probable location of the hundred meeting-place in the vicinity indicates that it had been an earlier focus of control. Its status as a Domesday berewick hints that it may in former times have functioned as a point for the collection of the food-rents ('feorms') that supported perambulating kings and their courts. Domesday Book reveals in pre-Conquest Enfield the presence of five 'sokemen': sokemen were free peasants who were often to be found on ancient royal demesne (Miller 1978, p.118). Again, in later centuries, Edmonton Hundred never passed out of royal control (VCH Middx, v, p.129). This may be retrospective evidence that Earl Tofi's 'ministerial estate' was formerly a royal one.

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Domesday Book offers a further hint of royal antecedents: it recorded a park at Enfield. The presence of a park, a private hunting-ground, denoted a special rank for an estate and its lord, because hunting-rights were traditionally associated with kings, and the needs of royal courts, a tradition which the Norman kings were to revitalise in their forest laws. Other Domesday parks on the wooded uplands of the Middlesex-Hertfordshire borders were at Ruislip and at St. Albans, both important estates with royal associations. St. Albans contained the old Kingsbury site, while Ruislip was held before 1066 by an important official who had duties elswhere in connection with the Queen's hunting (Ellis 1883,i,pp.113 and 306). Could it be that Ansgar, lord of Enfield and its park before 1066, who was not only a staller but a 'provider of the royal court' (Robertson 1939, p.464) had duties in connection with the King's hunting?

There is further possible indication that Domesday manors which possessed parks also possessed a distinguished past: the dedication or site of their parish churches. Dedications alone are treacherous historical evidence, but may have value when used in conjunction with other material. It may thus be significant that the churches at Ruislip and Ongar, where there were parks in the late Anglo-Saxon period, are dedicated to St. Martin, a dedication that frequently dates from an early phase of the Conversion and which is often associated with a Roman site (Levison 1946,pp.259 ff.). The churches at St. Albans are all of pre-Conquest origin, that of St. Michael's standing close to the site

of the temple of Roman Verulamium. St. Mary's at Ware is not necessarily an old dedication, but the church itself and the Domesday park lie near an important ford on the Roman road Ermine Street. These places either had been, or were, royal estates at the time of Domesday Book.

In this context of the nearest other estates with Domesday parks, the dedication of Enfield church to St. Andrew may be of historical significance. The dedication itself is associated with the earliest phases of the English conversion to Christianity, and was especially popular in the 7th and 8th centuries.[46] The dedication to St. Andrew together with the extraordinarily large size of the medieval parish combine to suggest that Enfield church was originally founded to serve the needs of the far-flung estate, of which it was the original religious focal point. Was it therefore a former minster, a church created in the early days of the Conversion to serve royal estates which were large fragments of kingdoms? True, the Middlesex Domesday offers no support for the view that Enfield church had been a minster — but then it failed even to record the presence of a priest at Staines where there was an important minster in 1086 (Darby 1971, p.135).

Recent research has emphasised the extent to which early Anglo-Saxon minsters were sited on, or in the immediate vicinity of, Roman structures (Rodwell 1984, pp.1-23), and the known minsters of the area —Braughing, Welwyn, Hitchin, St. Albans —all conform to this pattern. Even the 'new minster' of the early 11th century at Waltham is now known to be but a few yards from a substantial Roman structure in the market square.[47] Enfield church lay at the edge of a highly-developed arable area that had long been exploited, to judge from the Domesday evidence. The name of Enfield contains the element *-feld*, which is one of the very few occuring quite frequently in records written before 750 and which, in the West Midlands and Suffolk, often denotes land cleared in Roman times (Hook 1982,p.175; Scarfe 1972, pp.183-185). Evidence is accumulating in neighbouring Essex that the basic 'grid' of the local landscape is a Roman one: in the Roding valley the land units are thought to be not merely pre-Saxon but pre-Roman (Rodwell 1978),[48] while in north-western Essex the thick woodland cover recorded in Domesday Book is now known to have grown over abandoned Roman farmlands (Williamson 1984, p.230). There is abundant evidence of Roman activity and settlement in the Enfield area (Gentry 1976; Gillam 1973 and 1977), but there is so far wanting the one vital piece of evidence that might clinch the claim that St. Andrews originated as a minster: the presence of a Roman structure in the immediate vicinity of the church. In default of such evidence, it is relevant to note that Silver Street, which runs alongside the church, was known as 'Ermine Street' in the late 13th century[49]: could it be that Ermine Street was diverted from its original course at an early date to pass between Enfield church and the ancient site of 'Oldbury', in much the same way that Watling Street was diverted, well before the Norman Conquest, to pass by St. Albans Abbey? The matter clearly awaits further investigation.

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A case can therefore be made for the view that the Mandeville estate of Domesday Book had once been a royal estate, or part of one. In the case of Countess Judith's estate at Tottenham, Domesday Book reveals nothing of its status before the time of her late husband, Earl Waltheof — unless the curious form of the tax assessment and the rental

which, like its Walthamstow partner, included a component measured in 'ounces of gold' are also hints of a particular type of historical evolution. Other evidence, which we have already examined, shows that Domesday Tottenham had a reeve and an associated 'shire', tokens of a possible earlier status as a royal estate. But if the two estates, out of which Edmonton Hundred was formed in the early 10th century, were originally royal estates, the question naturally arises: royal estates of which kings?

Recent research in Anglo-Saxon history tends increasingly to show that the manors and parishes of medieval England were formed out of earlier, large ('multiple') estates as they broke up, and that this process of fragmentation was far from complete by the time of the Norman Conquest.[50] Some such estates are thought to have an unbroken pedigree that reaches back to Roman or even pre-Roman times. In the Anglo-Saxon period, such large land units ('shires') were areas of authority and lordship ('soke'), the focus of which was a hall or royal 'vill', which the king and court visited periodically to consume their food-rents, which were the tributes of their subjects and the central pillar of the social system. After the conversion to Christianity, such royal vills contained the minster churches, the 'parishes' of which corresponded to the area of the lordship of the estate (Sawyer 1983,pp.277 ff).

Our examination of the estates that comprised Edmonton Hundred at the time of Domesday Book shows that the Edmonton-Enfield-South Mimms estate almost certainly, and the Tottenham estate more hazardously, conform to the model of a 'multiple' estate. Thus, though there are no written sources for Edmonton Hundred before Domesday Book, the examination of the Domesday evidence itself and of other component features (besides the argument of analogy) leads to the conclusion that the Mandeville estate had enjoyed an integrity for some centuries, and had survived a succession of different dispensations. Incoming kings hastened to exploit an organisation of resources that had sustained the rule and ascendancy of their ousted predecessors (Sawyer 1982, pp.105 ff). There is no more telling example than the Norman Conquest itself: Domesday Book shows that the Old English aristocracy, represented by Ansgar and Waltheof, had been smashed, but that the system of estates which had underpinned their authority survived unimpaired, nay strengthened. If, therefore, the Edmonton Hundred estates as they are described in Domesday Book had earlier been royal estates, they may well have served West Saxon, Danish, Mercian, East Saxon, perhaps even Middle Saxon kings — and there is no inherent reason why such estates were not performing a similar role in Roman or pre-Roman times.

One final question must be asked. If these estates were so valuable to kings, why did they grant them away to subjects, and when?

The most likely time for such a grant was the early 10th century, when the West Saxon kings following Alfred the Great acquired a vast amount of land from their conquest of the southern Danelaw, with which they could afford to be generous to trusted officials and servants. There was also the problem that, as the West Saxon kingdom grew till it covered all England, it became more difficult to control each locality. The king's standard response was either to visit each locality in turn, taking with him the whole apparatus of the royal court and living off the food-rents; or to

delegate his power and authority ('soke') to servants and officials, granting them royal estates for their personal support and for the discharge of any duties associated with those estates (Brown 1973, pp.51-52). Domesday Book shows clearly that in Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Essex, the second option was chosen, since little or no land was in royal hands by 1066. The evidence of the Waltham Chronicle confirms this: the 'ministerial' estate of Edmonton-Enfield-Mimms had passed out of royal control before the time of Earl Tofi in the early 11th century.

Evidence converges on the 10th century as the most likely time for those structural changes that were to shape Edmonton Hundred. Royal administration became more sophisticated as all Danish areas came under the control of the West Saxon kings; in the wake of administrative changes came a new fiscal system for the colletion of tax —'geld' —,[51] which was collected hundred by hundred and county by county. This implies the refashioning of existing estates into the units known as 'hundreds', and the organisation of multiples of hundreds to form the new counties. It was probably more convenient to rationalise existing estate boundaries into a new system than to invent a completely new nationwide system: which may explain why Edmonton Hundred consisted very largely of just one estate, and why the pre-existing diocesan boundary should have been pressed into service to delimit the new Hertfordshire to the south. Furthermore, though the old popular courts continued to meet in the open air at the old centres – as, indeed, the laws of Henry I insisted that they should (EHD ii, No. 57, p.460) — the need to organise the collection of taxes and dues necessitated the establishment of tax-collecting-points at more populous centres. Accordingly, all over eastern England hundreds slowly changed their names from tribal to settlement centres (Anderson 1934, pp.38 and 53) and the half hundred of Mimms merely conformed to this wider pattern. It might have been more logical to create a new administrative centre in Enfield, but it is possible that the late inclusion of the 'rump' of the old Tottenham estate in the hundred made it sensible to select a more southerly location for the new administrative centre. Hence, the half hundred of Mimms slowly became Edmonton Hundred, but the transition was not complete by the time the Domesday survey was made.

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CONCLUSION

Domesday Book is both less, and more, than a mirror of its own time. It is less, because the record we have omits many details that were irrelevant to its original purpose and includes some that have been garbled in transmission. It is also more, because, with other evidence, it provides pointers to relict features that recall something of the process of earlier development. Some of these features were ancient, some more recent, and others were so novel as to be still in the process of development.

Edmonton Hundred enshrined both change and continuity. The hundredal system had not fully settled down in eastern England by the time of Domesday Book: some hundreds changed their name; some vanished; others continued to grow.[52] Edmonton Hundred was in process of changing its name by the time of Domesday Book, but otherwise it had reached a stable point: it neither gained nor lost territory after this time. Thus 'Edmonton Hundred' was a new name to describe an old institution.

At the same time, the impact of the Norman Conquest was dramatic rather than structural, as the new foreign masters strove to exploit their estates more ruthlessly. This need to extract revenues ensured that the new Norman masters had no need to disrupt an estate system that yielded such handsome returns and that sustained their power so effectively. Geoffrey de Mandeville and the Countess Judith were thus the latest occupants, by the time of Domesday Book, of an ancient shell of land and lordship that had once been occupied by Danish lords, Saxon kings and perhaps even by Celtic chieftains.

APPENDIX I : Edmonton Hundred Entries in Domesday Book

9. LAND OF GEOFFREY DE MANDEVILLE . . .
EDMONTON ['DELMENTONE'] HUNDRED

Manor. Geoffrey de Mandeville holds EDMONTON ['ADELMETONE']. It is assessed [lit: 'it defends itself'] at 35 hides.
There is land for 26 ploughteams.
In demesne [i.e. in Geoffrey's own hands] are 16 hides and 4 ploughteams. The villeins have 22 ploughteams.

There is 1 villein of 1 hide, and 3 others of ½ hide each. There are 20 villeins of 1 virgate each, and 24 villeins of ½ virgate each, and 9 bordars of 3 virgates, and 4 bordars of 5 acres each, and 4 bordars of 4 acres each, and 4 cottars of 4 acres and 10 cottars.
And there are 4 villeins of 1 hide and 1 virgate, and 4 slaves.

There is a mill (rendering) 10 shillings. There is meadow for 26 ploughteams and (rendering) 25 shillings from the surplus. There is pasture for the cattle. There is woodland for 2000 pigs, and 12 shillings from the renders of the wood-pasture.

The total value is £40; when received £20; in the days of King Edward [i.e. before 1066] £40.

Ansgar, staller of King Edward, held this manor. To this Manor belonged and still belongs a berewick [i.e. an outlying member] which is called [South] Mimms and is assessed with the Manor.

Manor. Geoffrey de Mandeville holds ENFIELD ['ENEFELDE']. It is assessed at 30 hides. There is land for 24 ploughteams. In demesne are 14 hides and 4 ploughteams. The villeins have 16 ploughteams.

There is 1 villein of 1 hide, and 3 villeins of ½ hide each. There is a priest of 1 virgate, 17 villeins of 1 virgate each, and 36 villeins of ½ virgate each, and 20 bordars of 1 hide and 1 virgate, and 7 cottars of 23 acres, and 5 cottars of 7 acres, and 18 cottars and 6 slaves.

There is one mill (rendering) 10 shillings. From the fishponds (are rendered) 8 shillings.

There is meadow for 24 ploughteams and (rendering) 25 shillings from the surplus. There is pasture for the cattle of the vill [i.e. settlement]. There is woodland for 2000 pigs and 43 shillings from the renders of the wood-pasture. There is a park there.

The total value is £50; when received £20; in the days of King Edward £50.

Ansgar, staller to King Edward, held this manor. At that time there were 5 sokemen of 6 hides, which they could give (away) or sell without the permission of their lords.

24. LAND OF THE COUNTESS JUDITH. EDMONTON ['DELMETONE'] HUNDRED.

Manor. Countess Judith holds TOTTENHAM ['TOTEHAM'] of the King. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 10 ploughteams. In demesne are 2 carucates [i.e. hides] of land in addition to these 5 hides, and there are two ploughteams. The villeins have twelve ploughteams.

A priest has ½ hide, and (there are) 6 villeins of 6 virgates, and 24 villeins of ½ virgate each, and 12 bordars of 5 acres each, and 17 cottars.

There are two Frenchmen of 1 hide and 3 virgates, and 4 slaves.

There is meadow for 10 ploughteams, and (rendering) 20 shillings from the surplus. There is pasture for the cattle of the vill. There is woodland for 500 pigs. From 1 weir (are rendered) 3 shillings.

The total value is £25 and 15 shillings and 3 ounces of gold; when received £10; in the days of King Edward £26.

Earl Waltheof held this Manor.

APPENDIX II :

Questions asked of each Hundred Court by the Domesday Commissioners (From the *Ely Inquest*, Darby 1977, pp.4-5)

1. What is the name of the manor?
2. Who held it in the time of King Edward?
3. Who holds it now?
4. How many hides are there?
5. How many ploughteams are there in demesne, and how many among the men?
6. How many villeins are there? How many cottars? How many slaves? How many freemen? How many sokemen? [N.B. no questions relating to bordars].
7. How much woodland is there? How much meadow? How much pasture? How many mills? How many fisheries?
8. How much has been added or taken away?
9. How much was the whole (manor) worth? How much is it worth now?
10. How much has, or had, each freeman and sokeman?
    All this (information) is to be given in triplicate: that is, in the time of King Edward; when King William gave it; and at the present time.
11. Can more be had than is being had?

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1. Translations of Domesday Book for the relevant counties are in VCH Middlesex vol i, pp.119-129; VCH Herts vol i, pp.300-344; and VCH Essex vol i, pp.427-578. See also Morris 1975. The entries for Edmonton Hundred are translated in Appendix I.
2. 'Evidence of intercommoning in the 13th century and later suggests that the two manors were originally run as one estate', Pam 1980, p.13. Other later evidence, e.g. that the mills of Enfield and Edmonton were in fact a double mill under one roof confirms this impression, *ex inf* David Pam.
3. Darby 1977, p.359, Appendix 12: Middlesex came eighth in rank order of shillings per square mile and fourth in terms of shillings per ploughteam. Rutland was not at that time a county.
4. Statistics derived from Baring 1909 (Middlesex and Hertfordshire), from Boyden 1981 (Essex) and from Darby 1977 pp.336-361.
5. For a more detailed elaboration of this view see Finn 1971, especially pp.107-115. Darby 1977, pp.245-246 discusses Baring's view that the English surrender took place at Little Berkhampstead outside Hertford, and that the Norman army must have moved down the Lea Valley on to London.
6. Or as the translator John Morris has it, 'villagers', 'smallholders' and 'cottagers'.
7. There are various Domesday 'satellites' which duplicate some of the entries of the main (Exchequer) Domesday and which sometimes provide varying detail. Thus, at Hatfield (Herts) the Exchequer Domesday records 53 men, the Ely Inquest records 60 men, a 13% divergence (Darby 1971, p.55).
8. The tithes of Tottenham, implying the presence of a church, are mentioned in 1107 (Regesta pp.69-70), while a church is first recorded in 1132 (Lawrie 1905, No. 98, p.78). The other churches are referred to in a grant by Geoffrey de Mandeville II to Walden Abbey in c.1136 (Dugdale, vol iv, p.146).
9. 'The site of the church (of Edmonton) on the line of the former Roman road and its dedication to All Saints suggests great antiquity', (Pam 1980, p.6). St. Giles was a saint made popular by the Normans; his name was associated with hunting (Oxley 1978, p.123).
10. These burdens could be quite onerous before the Norman Conquest, see EHD ii, pp.813-816 for examples. There is a recent discussion in Miller 1978, pp.112ff.
11. e.g. 'Benfleet. . . In this manor there was at that time (before 1066) a certain free man with half a hide who has now become one of the villeins', (VCH Essex i, p.428).
12. There is a discrepancy in the entries for both Edmonton and Enfield. The number of hides actually in the hands of the peasants and on the demesne totalled 28¾ at Edmonton and 27 at Enfield, whereas the official assessments were 35 and 30 respectively (see Appendix I). Such discrepancies were quite common on some of the larger Middlesex manors. There was a similar discrepancy at Sawbridgeworth (another Mandeville manor), the only manor in Hertfordshire to record details of lands held by the peasants. The explanation might be arithmetical error, or out-of-date official assessments.

13. See Appendix I: Tottenham has a tax assessment of 5 hides, but the entry mentions a further 'two carucates of land' ('carucate' was the term for a hide in the Midlands and north of England). It is unclear what the unusual use of this term signifies here.
14. Lennard 1959, p.393 equates the Domesday ploughland with 100 acres, but this equation does not work, for instance, in Hertfordshire. For a recent argument that plouglands were a form of fiscal reassessment see Harvey S. 1975 and her latest essay in Sawyer 1985.
15. At Enfield there were 24 ploughlands but only 20 ploughteams, an unexplained shortfall of 4 teams. There was also another unexplained shortfall at Isleworth which, like Enfield, shared its lord with a neighbour, and it may be (as David Avery has suggested in an unpublished paper) that the shortfall was the result of intercommunal agriculture. Elsewhere the commisioners noted the number of teams required to make up a full manorial complement, no doubt in response to the official directive that they should note 'whether more could be taken from the estate than is being taken', EHD, ii, No. 215, p.882 ; see Appendix II, 11. The Lea Valley manors in Essex show a 3% decline in team numbers since 1066.
17. i.e. Waltham Holy Cross, popularly known as Waltham Abbey (though the secular college did not become an abbey until 1177).
long after the two manors came under different lords in the 13th century suggests that the work of reclamation may have preceeded the Conquest, *ex inf* David Pam.
17. i.e. Waltham Holy Cross, popularly known as Waltham Abbey (though the secular college did not become an abbey untill 1177).
18. I am grateful to David Pam for this figure.
19. B.L. Add MSS 14252 ff 126-127. This record is discussed and analysed in VCH Middlesex, i. pp.135-137.
20. Gover 1942, p.76 cannot suggest a derivation. Ekwall 1960, p.327 echoes Skeat's suggestion that it may have been an old folk name.
21. 'The Finding of our Holy Cross in Montacute (Somerset) and its Conveyance to Waltham', Stubbs 1861. A new translation of this work is in progress.
22. Stubbs 1861, p.9, translated. The position of Earl Tofi is discussed by K. Bascombe in Huggins 1976, pp.76 ff.
23. Ansgar, or Esgar (there are other spellings). His title of 'staller' occurs in the Domesday entries (see Appendix I). For other references to his position see Robertson 1939, p.464, Harmer 1952, pp.560-1, and Brooke and Keir 1975, pp.371 and 192-3.
24. Evidence derived from Baring 1909 and Boyden 1981, pp.20-21.
25. Disputes with Ely Abbey are recorded in the Essex Domesday (VCH Essex, i, p.509b) and in Blake 1962, pp.165-166.
26. 'Song of the Battle of Hastings' by Guy of Amiens (Morton and Munz 1972). Whether this poem is strictly contemporary is in doubt.
27. Brooke and Keir 1975, pp.371-372, and EHD ii, No. 45, p.435. Though not an earl, Geoffrey was a baron who ranked eighth in Norman England, (Corbett 1929, p.511).

28. Round 1892. For a more up-to-date assessment see Davis 1967, pp.62 and *passim*.
29. There is no comprehensive account of the Roman Lea Valley, but see especially VCH Essex iii, pp.155,162-3,175,197-8, Gentry 1977 and Gillam 1973.
30. According to the calculations of Corbett 1929, p.511, Waltheof's estate was of the second rank in pre-Conquest England; Judith considerably added to this (Ellis 1883, i, p.340).
31. Gover 1938, pp.149-150; the name exists in a pre-Conquest charter.
32. Brooke and Keir 1975, pp.194-195. There is a cryptic reference in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to a 'Clayhanger' from whence King Edmund emerged to attack the Danes who were besieging London (EHD, i, p.226) which has been tentatively identified with Clayhill, Tottenham (Gover 1942, p.79). Battles tended to be fought in the vicinity of royal estates (Sawyer 1983, p.284), but this is meagre evidence for the view that Tottenham was once a royal estate.
33. VCH Middlesex, i, No. 25, p.121. The canons had held this estate about 80 years previously, when they were required to contribute one man for a warship (Robertson 1939, No. 72, pp.145-146). Robertson's assertion that this estate was Tottenham is incorrect, as the text itself demonstrates.
34. The bishops and canons had already pursued a policy of territorial acquisitions in Essex (Hart 1957 b, p.40). Abbots of St. Albans complained that Edward the Confessor had taken away 'almost the whole of their lordship between Barnet and London' (Riley 1867, ii, p.50): Barnet is not mentioned in the Domesday Book, but the area was shared out between the abbot and the bishop, probably before the Conquest, and became attached to their respective hundreds of Albanstow (Cashio) in Hertfordshire and Ossulstone in Middlesex. Since Totteridge ('Tata's Ridge') was also held by the abbot of Ely, we may be witnessing the results of an ecclesiastical 'carve-up' of Tottenham's natural hinterland.
35. Hertfordshire is first mentioned in 1011 (EHD, i, p.221). The traditional view was set down by William of Malmesbury in c.1125 (Stubbs 1887, i, p.129). The best recent discussion of the origin of hundreds is Loyn 1974 and 1984 pp. 133-135, but an older discussion (Taylor 1957), though largely superseded, still has some value.
36. In the earliest records, Middlesex is described as a 'province' (Gover 1942, p.1), the same term that was used to describe former kingdoms once they had been absorbed by more powerful neighbours. The River Lea may have been the boundary between the East and Middle Saxons (as the River Stour was the boundary between the East Saxons and the South Folk) — as late as the 790s,London was described as lying 'on the boundary of Essex and Middlesex, though the City properly belongs to Essex' (Asser, p.68).
37. Stubbs 1887, i, p.101. The boundary can be established from a tax return of 1254 (Lunt 1926, pp.290-291), but the first map of the diocese is in Newcourt 1708, i.
38. cp. Watling Street, which was used to mark a negotiated boundary between Wessex and the Danelaw in the Midlands by the Alfred-Guthrum treaty of c.790.

39. It seems, from an 8th century Mercian tax list known as the Tribal Hidage that much of Hertfordshire (excepting the Hitchin district) must have lain within the East Saxon territory (Hart 1971, pp.133-135), but this conclusion is not indisputable.

40. Diocesan organisation was one of the purposes of the synod (Bede, pp.210-211); the stipulation of chapter 2 'That no bishop intrude into the diocese of another' clearly implies the existence of diocesan boundaries.

41. The Middlesex-Hertfordshire boundary westwards from Barnet bore some relationship to the earthwork Grim's Dyke and may therefore have been a much more ancient line, but as a *county* boundary cannot antedate the creation of Hertfordshire.

42. 'Mote Plane' is marked on a map of 1658 (PRO, MPC 50A) at approximately TQ29 285990. The Ordnance Survey 2½" map marks this site as 'Roundhedge Hill'; in later centuries, the court of Roundhedge on Posterne Plain near Enfield was the administrative centre of the hundred (*ex inf*, David Pam).

43. The place name element that gave rise to Camlet must also have given rise to such Celtic names as Camulodunum (Colchester) and Camel and Camelot in Somerset (Gelling 1978, p.44-45). Camlet was not merely the name of the moat and house (which was demolished in 1440) but of other local topographical features.

44. Aldwick field is first mentioned in 1437, (Hatfield House MS, CR 14/27; I owe this reference to Brian Warren). For Old Fold and Brimsdown see Gover 1942, pp.77 and 72. Oldbury appears on the 1803 Enfield enclosure map at approximately TQ39 334964 (Robinson 1823, map and pp.61-64). Gelling 1978 has argued that 'wick' especially in the form 'wickham' derives from Latin '*vicus*' (p.78) and that 'Oldbury' in some contexts is prehistoric (p.145).

45. e.g. Hatfield Regis (Amwell, Hertford and Hoddesdon), Havering (Loughton and possibly Leyton), Hitchin (Charlton, Offley, Pirton and 'Wilei').

46. St. Andrew's name had missionary connotations: St. Augustine, from St. Andrews Rome, founded St. Andrews cathedral Rochester. The earliest written evidence for a London dedication is that of St. Andrews Holborn (Oxley 1978, p.117). The minster church of Hitchin, centre of a *regio*, was formerly dedicated to St. Andrew. For the St. Andrew cult of the 7th and 8th centuries, especially in England, see Krappe 1932.

47. *Ex inf* Dr. Kenneth Bascombe.

48. In medieval Edmonton, the Roman road, as 'Garsonsway' marked the limits of individual strips but did not act as a field boundary (*ex inf* David Pam). This may be similar to the Roding Valley pattern. See also Avery 1965.

49. 'Godfrey de Beston, in the reign of Edward I, granted a house (adjoining the churchyard) which he had purchased of Richard de Plessitis.... The said Richard added to it a piece of ground for a garden lying between the churchyard and the highway called Ernyngstrate', B.L. Harl MSS 3697, cited in Lysons 1795, ii, p.312.

50. There is a large, and growing, literature on 'multiple' estates. The best starting point is Sawyer 1976, especially the chapter by Jones. Other important discussions are in Jones 1971, Bishop 1982 and Hook 1982.

51. Later known as 'Danegeld', a defence tax: which was the reason why the Edmonton Hundred manors in Domesday Book were said to 'defend' themselves for their stipulated number of 'hides'.

52. Examples in the local region are Albanstow (which changed its name to Cashio, which then became swollen with the St. Albans manors), Tring (which merged into Dacorum Hundred) and 'Thunorslow' in Essex (which vanished).

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