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The Conqueror's Footprints in Domesday

Attention was long ago called to the connexion between the movements of the two armies before the battle of Hastings and the wasted manors in that Rape mentioned by Domesday, but the principle deserves to be carried further. It need not be confined to manors absolutely wasted, and may well be applied to William's march on London. We know that he harried the country as he passed--Domesday gives us for most manors the value just before and just after the Conquest--and we ought by these signs to be able to track his footsteps.¹ It is worth trying, for the account left by his chaplain, William of Poitiers, is meagre, and Freeman's commentary in part doubtful.

We start at Romney, William's first point from Hastings on his way to Dover. After each manor named shall be placed first the value in pounds T.R.E., secondly that of 1067, and thirdly that of 1086; where several entries are combined the number is noted in square brackets.² We go five miles east to Burmarsh (20-10-30), then ten miles to Folkestone (120-40-145). Here part of the army seems to have stopped, for besides this large depreciation four neighbouring manors³ were together valued T.R.E. 49l., later 20l. Seven miles further bring us to the gates of Dover. Here William stayed for a week, and accordingly we find the record of great destruction, the value of ten manors⁴ lying north and east of Dover being T.R.E. 157+l., later only 43l. Then he moved northwards. The main body marched apparently to Patricbourne (18-10-19) and Bekesbourne (12-7-12), but were stopped by William's illness for a day or two,

1 Ellis, i.314. Worc. Chron.: 'He ... hergode ealne thone ende the he overferde oth thaet he com to Beorhhamstede.'

2 Identifications are taken from the various county Domesdays, Larking's Kent, Moody's Hants, Airey's Beds, Bawden's Bucks and Herts, Mowat's Notes on Oxf. Dom., Lyson's Berks, and the maps in Furley's Weald of Kent, Manning's Surrey and The Sussex Extension. As they can easily be found, references are not generally given.

3 Posting (10-5-14). Saltwood (Hythe) (16-8-29), Newington (12-3-12), Eastwell (D.B.13 b.2) (11-4-8).

4 Ewell (12-5-10), Shebbertswell (8-2-8), Colred and Popeshall (11-2-11), Waldershare (7+-3-7), 'Pesinges' in E.Langdon (5-o-6), Mongeham (22-10-26), Norbourn (80-20-76), 'Gollesberge' (12-1-9+). Small manors near larger ones are not always mentioned either here or later.

during which they moved east of Canterbury to Littlebourne (25-20-32), Preston⁵ (10-6-14), Sturry (50-45-50), and Chislet (53-40-78.) The whole country between Canterbury and the south coast is ravaged, but amid the general destruction there are some notable exceptions. The archiepiscopal estates, Adisham (40l.) Wingham (77l.) Bishopsbourne (20l.), Petham (17l.) and Stigand's private manor of Barham⁶ (40l.), do not lose a shilling. Were they spared to conciliate the church or to tempt the archbishop at a critical moment? Barham suggests the latter; Saltwood was not spared a few days earlier, nor Orpington a few days later, though both were Canterbury manors. The fact points to a certain discipline in William's soldiers, and tends to confirm the chaplain's account of them before they started.⁷

The figures round Canterbury, compared with those near Dover, show that, in spite of his illness, William did not halt for more than a day or two, but pressed on, as his chaplain tells us, for London.⁸ Avoiding the old Roman road through Rochester, the army concentrated⁹ at Lenham (28-16-28). Twelve miles further a group of four manors,¹⁰ T.R.E. 36l., later 21l., west of Maidstone, seems to mark the next camp. Another ten miles bring them to Seal¹¹ (Lasela) (30-16-24), eight more past Cudham (20-16-24) and Chelsfield (16-12-25) to Orpington (2) (17-9-27), and so by Eltham (16-12-20), Lewisham (16-12-30), and Camberwell (12-6-14), within striking distance of Southwark, to a camp at Battersea (80-30-75). The damage recorded in Kent exactly fits our other information. East of a line through Faversham and Ashford the whole country (except Thanet) is ravaged, most near Dover, where William stopped longest, less by Canterbury, where he halted, but not so long. West of this line I find no considerable reductions in value besides those noticed;¹² as William presses forward the damage is confined to the line of daily halting places.

⁵ D.B. 12 b. 2.

⁶ Ibid. 9 a 2: 'Tenuit Stigandus sed non erat de episcopatu.'

⁷ Duchesne, p. 197. 'Rapina interdicta' ('ad Portum Divae').

⁸ P.205: 'Noluit indulgere sibi moras ibi agendo.' Carmen, 1.623 (Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 868): 'Per spatium mensis cum gente perendinat illinc' (? Dover or Canterbury); but may we translate 'through the month,' i.e. till 1 or 2 Nov.? Nothing else will fit the other evidence. The Senlac dead were buried 15 Oct.; if William himself slept only four nights ('quinque dies,' Carment) at Hastings, one near Romney, and seven ('octo dies,' W. Pict.) at Dover, he would be taken ill 28 or 29 Oct.

⁹ The right from Ospringe (20-15-20) and Eastling (2) (13-7-10). The centre from Chilham (40-30-? 80). The left from Folkestone by Brabourne (20-13-21), Pluckley cum Pevington (20-13-21), Stelling (15-8-14), Crundall, and Elmsted.

¹⁰ Addington (8-5-6), Birling (12-6-12), Ditton (8-5-8), Ryarsh (8-5-6).

¹¹ Larking, p. 43, app. La Sela was the old name (Hasted, i.334).

¹² Except 'Assetune' (?), Darenth, and Gillingham. Small manors of 60s. or less are in general neglected, and all reductions of only 20s., 30s., or even 40s.

We have now tested the Domesday evidence, and may follow it where other information is vague or lacking. From Camberwell a loop of damage runs twenty miles south to Bletchingley and Westerham,¹³ touching five-and-twenty manors, together T.R.E. 305l., afterwards 187l. These are not, as near Dover, scattered over a broad district, but lie only a mile or two apart in a line, though a looped line, and mark, no doubt, the track of a foraging expedition. It was obviously politic not to eat up all the nearest food first; if mere ravage had been intended to draw out the Londoners, the raid would hardly have been carried straight away for twenty miles. But William did not stay long before London. He could not cross the river, and after burning Southwark he apparently marched to Mortlake (together 11-6-11+) to Molesey (3), Ditton (2), and Walton (2?) together (34-20-43). He does not, however, seem to have followed the river any further, but to have struck south fifteen miles to Guildford,¹⁴ where we find damage at Shalford (16-9-20), Bramley (40-30-60), and Godalming (25-20-80).

From Guildford he turned west past Compton and Wanborough (15-9-15) to Farnham (55-30-47), then into Hants to Crondal (3) (24+-12-32) and Warnborough (12-6-10); next to Nateley and Basing (together 14+-9+-19), raiding, perhaps, to Strathfieldsaye (15-12-15); thence to Ellisfield, Nutley, Farley, and Dummer (together 33-14-25); so to Micheldever (60-40-93), and thence by Sutton Scotney (2) (12-8-10) northwards to Hurstbourn (36-26-40). At this time¹⁵ we may probably date the surrender of Winchester, and perhaps the fleet sent him reinforcements from Fareham.¹⁶ There had been time to enlist fresh troops since Hastings, and a strong left wing now appears marching through Alresford (40-20-57), Easton (34-12-34), Headbourn Worthey (25-10-15), before the gates of Winchester, Crawley (35-28-42), Clatford (20-15+-20), Fifield (5-2+-5), to the west of Andover, Tidworth (10-5-10), and so probably through the eastern edge of Wiltshire to Lambourn (49-33-44) in Berkshire. The right and now weaker column goes from Hurstbourn by Upton (4-2-4) and Easton Crux (6-3-6) to Highclere (12-7-11).

13 Tooting, Merton, Ewell, Cuddington, Banstead, Woodmansterne, Chipstead, Merstham, Gatton, Nutfield, Blethingley, Chivington, Godstone (Wachelstead), Oxstead, Tandridge, Titsey, Limpsfield, Westerham; then back by Woldingham, Tillingham, Farley, Chelsham, Beddington, Wallington and (Carsh)aulton.

14 Perhaps by (Ash)stead (10-6-12), Gomshall (15-10-20) and Albury (10-5-9); but the last two could be raided from Guildford.

15 Carmen: 'Post alio' (from E. Kent) 'vadit ... Guincestram misit.'

16 Through Fareham (18-10-16), Wickham (10-4-7), Bishops Waltham (31-10+-30), Droxford (26-20-26), Exton (16-12-20), Warnford (22-14-22), West Meon (20-16-30), and East Meon (60-40-60). Thence to Alresford is an easy march. A party seems to have met them from Farnham by Hartley Maudit (8-3-7) and Farrington (15-12-21).

Except on this line I find no considerable losses in Surrey or in northern Hampshire. The damage runs in a crooked but continuous line. It does not spread wide. From Battersea William seems to have pressed steadily forward; destruction fell on the line of daily halting places, but he did not seriously injure the country on either side.

From Lambourn the left or main column sweeps round the north-western border of Berks¹⁷ through Shrivenham, Farringdon, and Longworth to Sutton Courtney, near Abingdon, and so apparently by¹⁸ Whittenham (20-15-20), across the river at Wallingford.¹⁹ The right wing marches from Highclere on a smaller curve²⁰ by Wantage and Hendred, and thence, it seems, by²¹ Aston (12-6-10) and²² Basildon (25-20-25) to the old crossing of the Ickneild way from Streatley to Goring.

Freeman makes William receive the submission of the Saxon leaders a few days later at Great Berkhamstead, and then march straight to London, but Domesday tells us a rather different story, which agrees better with the authorities. For a moment we lose the scent in the enormous manor of Bensington, for which we have no figures, though Dorchester (16-13-17), a little to the west, seems touched. The next traces are in two directions: (a) a long march to the north at Thame (20-16-30), Bledlow (20-12-22), and Risborough (10-5-16); (b) two marches to the east, where, near Slough, we find twelve manors²³ valued T.R.E. 150l. and later 61+l. It seems probable that the main body marched north, keeping

17 By Lambourn (57 b.1) (49-33-44), Ashbury (59 b.1) (35-20-40), Shrivenham (57 b.2) (35-20-45) and Watchfield (59a.2) (15-10-14+), Coxwell (2) (57 b.2) (24-18-24) and Coleshill (63 a. 1) (7-2-5), Farringdon (57 b.2) (16-12-21) and Eaton Hastings (61 a.2) (10-5-9), Longworth (Ordia, 58 a. 1) (30-20-25), Hanney (60 a. 2) (10-8-14), Steventon (57 b. 2) (25-20-22), and Sutton (57 b. 2) (30-20-50).

18 D.B. 60 a.2.

19 W. Pic. 208: 'Transmeato flumine ... ad oppidum Guarengafort pervenit.' The crossing is a puzzle. There is no damage either round Wallingford at Sotwell (59 b. 2), Brightwell (58 a. 2) and (56 b. 2), Cholsey (Clapcot, 61 b. 1, is doubtful), or at 'Garinges' (158 a. 1; 'Wareford,' 59 a. 1, is now Garford); there can have been no camp at either place. Benoit distinctly puts 'Walengford' on the south bank. Perhaps the army crossed and camped in Bensington, while William himself lodged at Wallingford. Gul. Gem. p.288: 'ad urbem W. gressum divertit, transmeatoque vado fluvii legiones ibi catra metari iussit.' But this camp may have been further on.

20 By Winterbourn (58 a. 1) (6-2+-4), Brightwaltham (57 a. 1) (6-3-5), Farnborough (59 a. 2) (9-6-1), Charlton by Wantage (57 a. 1) (8-4-8) and Ardington (16-12-16), Hendred (57 b. 2 and 64 a. 1) (14-9+-19). Also further east by Peasmore (62 b. 2) (6-3-5), Beeden (58 b. 2) (11-6-8), and Hodcot in Ilsley (61 a. 1) (6-1+-3) to Aston or Basildon.

21 D.B. 60 a. 2.

22 Ibid. 57 a. 1.

23 Taplow (8-3-8). Hitcham (5-1-4), Woburn (10-6-15), Burnham (10-6-10), Horton (6-2+-6) Iver (Evreham) (12-5-22). And in Middlesex Hayes (40-12-30), Stanwell (14-6-14), Harmondsworth (25-12-20), Bedfont (2), and Feltham (20-8-13). Windsor (15-7-15) seems to have been raided across the river. It is just possible that a detachment may have marched straight from Molesey to Windsor and crossed there.

west of the Chilterns, which would protect their flank, while a force was detached either eastwards from Goring or south-west from Bledlow to camp near Slough, and cover the road from London through Henley between the hills and the river to Wallingford, by which William could be taken in the rear.

From Bledlow, whether it arrived there direct or by way of Slough, the main column marched on north through eastern Bucks, following the line of the present railway to Buckingham through Ellesborough and Stoke (Mandeville) (together 28-16-26), Weston (15-8-15), Aston (?Clinton) (20-10-18), Waddesden (30-16-30), Hardwick (16-10-15), Claydon (2) (9-4-8), Padbury, Tingewick, and Thornborough together (30-20-30). We do not find damage in Bucks west of this line,²⁴ nor in Oxfordshire. Then it turned eastwards by Beachampton, Woolverton, Loughton, and Linford (2), near Stoney Stratford (together 32+-21-31), and so to Hanslope (24-20-24), Sherrington (10-7-10), Olney (12-7-12), and Lavendon (6) (13-4), at the northern corner of the county. A right wing moved from Risborough more to the east by Buckland (10-3-8), Wiginton (Herts) (6-2-4), Aston Abbots, Cublington, and Mentmore (together 30-19-28), and Linslade (10-5-10) to Brickhill (2) (15-9-12) and Simpson (8-1-6), near Fenny Stratford.

In Bedfordshire the scent is confused by a number of valuations of the type T.R.E. al., 1067 a-bl., 1086 a-bl., but from Olney the left wing appears to have marched due east from Turvey and Stagsden to Potton, and so through the corner of Cambridgeshire²⁵ by Morden (2) (26-18-26+ and Meldreth, where six entries are together valued 58*-26+-47*, throwing off a column which made a circuit nearly reaching St. Neots and Cambridge,²⁶ while the right wing from Fenny Stratford marched further south from Apsley Guise to Stotfold.²⁷ In any case if William marched north

²⁴ At Haddenham, Dinton, Edgecote, Marsh Gibbon, Steeple Claydon, or in the whole hundreds of Tichessele (except Kinsey by Thames) and Essedene (except Oving), where valuations of the type a, a-1, a-1 do not suggest ravage. In Oxfordshire some forty manors, which alone have triple valuations, are all untouched except Shifford (10-5-7) and Dorchester (2) (27-21-47), opposite Longworth and Wallingford, and Banbury (2) (46+-39+-44). In the east, adjoining Bucks, Hardwick, Fringford Stratton, Bicester, Chesterton (159 b. 1), Wendlebury, Ambrosden, Merton, Stanton St. John, all tend to the type 'valet et valuit al.'

²⁵ The line seems to be Turvey (4-2-4), Stagsden (5-2-5), Elstow (10-2-5), Harrowden (6-2-?), Cardington (3) (10-7-9+), Sandy (18-13-17), Potton (13-5-12), Meldreth (8-2-6 and 14-6-10), Whaddon (6-1+-5 and 4*-3-4*), Wendy (10-6-8), Barrington (16-8-12).

²⁶ Willington (6-2-7), Barford (2) (13+-6-19), Blunham (3) (19-12-15), Tempsford (12+-8-10+), Roxton (2) (19+-7-13), Eaton Soccon (4) (31+-13+-24+), Caxton (14-6-11), Toft (2) (9-1+-6), Eversden (16-6-9), Harston (10-4+-8), Trumpington (5-1+-4), Duxworth (8-5+-7+).

²⁷ Apsley (10-5-8), Millbrook (5-1+-3), Ampthill (4-2-4), Silsoe and Pulloxhill (24-13-18), Campton (3+-1-3), Conthill (19-14-18), Langford (15-10-15), Stotfold (20-12-25).

through East Bucks, and south through East Herts, he must have crossed Bedfordshire somewhere.

The army now enters Hertfordshire, where we find abundant signs of ravage on the eastern side. They are roughly contained in an inverted triangle of which the base runs from the north-east corner to Hitchin, and the apex lies to the south at Enfield, the army concentrating as it nears London. The left and larger wing leads us from Meldreth through Barley (3) (9-3+-6+), Barkway (6-3-6), Westmill (2) (34-20-29), and Standon (34-16-34) to Stanstead (20-10-17), close to Hertford. From Westmill it throws out a column by Great Munden (16-12-16), Bennington (14-6-12), Braintfield and Tewin (together 9-3+-7). The right wing from Stotfold apparently marched by Radwell (10-2-5) and Bygrave (12-8-10), Clothall (10-5-7), Willian (12-4-10), Wymondley²⁸ (3-1-3), Aston (20-14-18), Knebworth and Ayot (12-5-10 and 5-1-3) to Hertingfordbury (10-6-8). We do not find damage in the western hundreds of Essex, Uttlesford, Clavering, and Harlow. If the exact tracing of the march has been too fanciful, it is at least clear that there is a great semicircle, or rather horsehoe, of damage between West Bucks and Oxfordshire on the one side and Essex on the other, the base lying between Wallingford and Hertford.²⁹ From the hills south of Hertford the Normans looked down on the London plain, with the city some fifteen miles in the distance, and here, if we are to reconcile the chaplain with the English authorities, 'within sight of the city,'³⁰ at Little Berkhamstead (5-2+-5)--not, as is generally said, at its greater namesake--William received the submission of the capital. We follow the signs of the army to camps at Enfield (50-20-50), Edmonton (40-20-40), and Tottenham (26-10-25).

Domesday confirms the chaplain's details; will it allow of the fight before London, for which there is some positive authority?³¹

²⁸ Hitchin (4-2-6), Offley (15-8-11), and Hexton (16-11-17+) seem to mark the path of some stragglers from Beds.

²⁹ In mid-Herts we do not find much damage. There is some on a line south from Beds by Streatley (2) (11-4-8) and Caddington (Beds) (5+-2), Flamstead (12-9-11) and St. Albans (24-12-20). Kensworth, Caddington (Herts), Letchworth, Redborn, Sandridge show little or no loss. I doubt if Kimpton (15-12-12), Gaddesden (25-20-20), Mimms (10-8-8) are due to the ravages of 1066.

³⁰ W. Pict. 205. 'Statim ut Londonia conspectui patebat' ... No one would say this of Great Berkhamstead (24-20-16), thirty miles off. Nor does a place in the N.W. corner of the county suit Florence, who says William wasted 'Kent ... Middlesex, and Hertfordshire till he came to Beorcham.' The figures too with Tring (25-20-22), Hemel Hempstead (25-25-22+ and 25-22+-22+), Langley (Abbots) (15-12-14) and (King's) (8-4-2), and even Caishoe (30-24-29) contrast strongly with Enfield, Edmonton, and Tottenham; it is twenty miles to Harrow (60-20-56).

³¹ Gul. Gemet. p. 288; Carmen, l. 663 ff. There was, of course, no siege; a skirmish was the utmost foundation for all the fine writing in the Carmen.

The cavalry might easily be pushed forward from Hertford, though hardly from Great Berkhamstead, thirty miles from the city. The 'Carmen,' however, says distinctly that the attack was directed from Westminster. Can it have been made by the force left at Slough? It would not disagree with the figures to suppose that this force, after ravaging the south-western corner of Middlesex as far as Hampton (40-20-30), moved slowly north³² along the western border to Harrow (60-20-56), still near enough to cover the road from London to Henley, but drawing closer to the army in Bedfordshire. They may well have prepared some battering rams, and, as William marched south through Hertfordshire, may have advanced and won a skirmish with the Saxons near Westminster. This would not happen under the chaplain's eye. They certainly did not take up a position at or near Westminster, for we find no great damage in that direction.³³

It remains to deal with the depreciations in West Sussex and South Hants. These were clearly due to the fleet. We find damage running up (a) from Brighton and Rottingdean (or Newhaven), and (b) from the river mouth at Shoreham. On the Arun (s) the damage is comparatively small, but (d) from Chichester harbour the whole rape (and also the north-west part of Arundel rape) was raided, for nearly every manor shows a loss.³⁴ While William marched through Surrey and Hants the fleet seems to have lain at Chichester, to act as a base in case of need.

Our girones have traced William's movements from Hastings to the surrender at Berkhamstead, but they have more than a topographical interest. They bear evidence in favour of the chaplain's accuracy, but strongly against the 'Carmen.' They are fatal to Stigand. His submission at or near Wallingford is seen to have preceded the general surrender, not by two or three days, which might be compatible with honesty, but by two to three weeks, and we can no longer doubt that he deserted the falling cause. They give also some test of William's numbers. It is obvious that a large army, living, as his did, on the country it passes through, must move on a wide front. It cannot march in several divisions one behind another, for the rear would starve. Now up to Hurstbourn William seems to have moved on a front that was far from

³² Through Northolt (12-5-10), Ruislip (30-12-20), Harefield (14-8-12), and in Herts Rickmansworth (20-12-20+), Caishoe (30-24-28).

³³ Chelsea (9-9-9), Westminster (12-10-10 and 6-1-3), Kensington (10-6-10). The two last are signs, not of a long camp.

³⁴ (a) Brighton (3) (28+-21-36), Patcham (100-50-80), Ditchling (80-25-72+), Plumpton (25-15-25), Barcombe (12-6-8), Iford (50-20-42), Rodmill (60-20-37), Ovingdean, Bevendean, Rottingdean (13-9-16). (b) Shoreham (25-16-35), Kingston (15-5-14), Finden (28-20-28), Clapham (8-4-6), Steyning (28-20-25), Wiston (12-4-12), Wapingthorn (5-1-4), Thakham (14-10-14). (c) D.B. 25 a. (d) Ibid. 23, 24.

that was far from wide, and his camps seem fairly concentrated. The evidence suggests that he had nothing like 50,000 men when he marched from Canterbury, probably not half that number. There would be losses on the road, but he seems to have been considerably reinforced in Hampshire. The Domesday evidence does not favour the idea that he deliberately set himself to waste the country far and wide. In West Kent, Surrey, and Hants the belt of damage is comparatively narrow; if pure devastation had been his object he could surely have made it much wider. In North-Eastern Bucks also, in Sigelai and Muselai hundreds, where the two columns were ten miles apart, many manors between them are untouched.³⁵ It would not suit him to create between himself and Normandy the desert which Wace makes Gyrth suggest as the best obstacle to his advance. Indeed, he cannot have had much time for mere devastation; he could hardly have covered some 350 miles between Canterbury and Berkhamstead within seven weeks, if he had allowed his troops to be scattered for wide-spread ravage. The destruction on the line of march was enough to strike terror of his presence, and was, perhaps, the more ruthless with that special object. The Chronicle need not be taken to mean more than this.

Let us now divide the valuations into two groups. Taking (1) the ravaged manors noticed above, and (2) the larger manors, which were not touched, we get these totals:³⁶ --

***** TABLE GOES HERE *****

³⁵ E.g. Dunton, Stewkley, Winslow, Swanbourn, Horwood, Whaddon, Stoke, Woughton, Stantonbury.

³⁶ Besides smaller entries I have excluded from both columns (1) forty cases (excluding the archbishop) where the value in 1086, in all 1,107l., exceeds so much (50 per cent.) that T.R.E., in all 685l., as to suggest change of size; also a dozen similar reductions; (2) valuations (except in W. Bucks) of the type a, a-b, a-b; in Kent, Surrey, and Hants they are very few; (3) some doubtful cases, e.g. Chilham, Kent; (4) from Hants the Isle of Wight and the S.E. hundreds of Egheiete, Fordingbridge, Rodbridge, Rodedic, and Bovre.

³⁷ D.B. 23 and 24 a. to Mundreham. The increase in 1086 is mainly at Silleton (16l.) and Hertinges (20l.) Borne is excluded. Arundel (col. 2) represnets 24 b. and the adjoining hundred of Bredford in Bramber.

³⁸ Of these 24 'in demesne' were valued 452-469-731, and reddiderunt 935l. The Rochester manors (13) give 93-93-158.

Outside the line of march the immediate effect of the mere 'jar of conquest' on the value of land in the south-east seems to have been very slight. These counties bore the first, though not the heaviest, brunt of the struggle, yet few manors lose 10 per cent. of their value, while to far the greater number exactly the same value is assigned for 1067 as for 1065. We may well doubt whether instances of heavy loss--sy, more than 20 per cent.--in other counties were not in all cases due to some special cause rather than to mere general depreciation, for primitive agriculture would not be much touched by autumn war, unless the corn plough-teams and live stock were actually destroyed. The ravaged manors in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hants had fully recovered by 1086. If this was so even round Hastings and Dover, what must have been the treatment of the Northern manors, still waste after twenty years? There not only the cattle, but most of the men, must have been slaughtered or driven out of the country. The difference in value of both 1 and 2 between 1065 and 1086 is very small. If the valet represented the net value to the lord, the rent obtainable from a farmer, then the figures suggest that, whatever change there may have been in the position of villani, their services cannot practically have been much increased.

In Berks, Bucks, Beds, Cambridge, and Herts recovery seems less complete. This may or may not be connected with another feature. In Berks we find a number of valuations of the type T.R.E. al., in 1067 a-bl., and also in 1086 a-bl., or occasionally 20s. more. All over the county, well out of William's path, we find such manors scattered quite promiscuously, so far as one can see, amongst other manors which show no variation. In Western Bucks the type is nearly universal, but the reduction small, generally 20s. In Beds and Cambridge the type, easily traced in the summaries by Mr. Airey and Dr. Walker, is common, and the reductions often large, but scattered, as in Berks, amongst other manors which do not fall. In the face of the figures for Kent, Surrey, and Hants 39 it is difficult to think that this type is due either to mere decay or to William's march. Whatever be the explanation of these entries, they prevent us from carrying column 2 beyond Hants and Bucks.

F. BARING

33 In these counties the type is rare. I notice in Kent Sholden (11 a. 1) (15-1+-1+, Swanton (11 a. 2) (10-1+-2), Titenton (13 a. 2) (12-6-7); Surrey, Balham (36 a. 2) (6-1-2); Hants, about a dozen, five in Manebridge hundred.