



THE DOMESDAY SURVEY OF SOUTH
LANCASHIRE.

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THE Domesday Survey of South Lancashire is included in that of Cheshire, under the subtitle *Inter Ripam et Mersham*. It consists merely of three columns and nine lines of a fourth. Compared with the treatment afforded to Cheshire this seems scant courtesy, but we may find that the task of the Commissioners and of the scribe who made the final abstract of the original returns, was simplified considerably by the broad lines of the history of the district during the 20 years preceding the accepted date of the Inquest. The first column is wholly concerned with the hundred of "*Derbei*," of which some 40 villas are enumerated. The second column proceeds with an account of the customs of the same hundred, customs that, in whole or in part, related also to the other hundreds, unless we except "*Walintune*," which would be rash. Derby Hundred T. R. W., and Newton and Warrington Hundreds T. R. E. and T. R. W., are treated in the

INTER RIPAM ET MERSHAM.

The Identifications of Otegrimele, Erengermeles, and Mele are M^r Farrers.



same column. The hundreds of "Blacheburne," "Salford," and "Lailand" follow—the third column; and the content and valets of all six hundreds occupy the remaining lines. It is thus apparent that our hundred of West Derby has greater prominence in the Inquest than any of the other five.

It may be of interest, though of small importance, to notice the manner in which the scribe plotted out his abstract. The manuscript is a tribute to the care bestowed on it by the clerk. The writing is everywhere clear, there are no puzzling abbreviations, there are few interlineations, and fewer verbal errors. It may be noticed, however, that a few lines at the head of column *b*, page 1, are written in a bolder hand, which suddenly becomes cramped and small about half way through the enumeration of the customs of West Derby Hundred. Probably this is not due to the pre-eminent importance of the customs which appear so prominently, but rather that the scribe fancied his space was limited and economised accordingly. There may have been an intention of detailing the villis of the other hundreds, as had been done in the case of West Derby, a minuteness which was perhaps unessential to the object of the Inquest, the quest of gold. In the record of the customs is a blank sufficient for two lines, left apparently for a further insertion, and in a parenthesis, and placed where it can have no relation to the context, is the very important statement that in each hide there are six carucates. It looks as if the clerk put it where he could find room, with no reference to logic, for it is out of place, and not in any physical line. It is hidden amongst forests and valets, and its obscure position has led at least one Domesday explorer far astray. So much for what may be termed the physical features of our pages.

The meagreness of the entries has been touched upon. We have six hundreds under one lord, the

king now, Roger of Poitou a few years ago. It seems a natural result of this fact that the record should be as brief as possible, and should merely state the assessment of each hundred and its value, and, since there were six hundreds, the sum total, if the aim of the Inquest were to seek for geld or to correct unfair assessments. It may be further noted that, with the exception of the manors which gave their name to the respective hundreds, the values were small and the teamlands few.

Before treating some of the wider problems which the record of this district presents, I would briefly summarise a few of the details given by our Inquest, taking the hundreds in the order of Domesday Book.

A detailed account of West Derby Hundred is given only for the time of King Edward. The villis T. R. E. are to be found, the extent of rateable land, and the values. For the state of things at the time of the Conqueror, we must be satisfied with the names of men whose tenements are not assigned, the content and value and workers of their demesne lands as a whole. Their tenements have not separate and individual treatment.

King Edward, we read, held one manor named "Derbie," with six berewicks. There are 4 hides. The land is 15 teamlands, forest 2 leagues by 1, and a hawk's eyrie. No value given. Of the remaining hides in the hundred, Uctred was the most extensive holder, having 17 villis, many, perhaps all, manors, and containing 4 hides, 5 carucates, 2 bovates. Six more bovates would give him exactly 5 hides of geldable land. In another place in the record we read that in Orrell (?), Halsall, and Hurleston were 3 hides quit from the geld of carucated land. Of these, by referring back, Uctred held Hurleston, which with half of Martin was assessed at half a hide, and was worth 10/8. Perhaps, therefore, we must add another hide to Uctred's tenement. Before leaving this entry, it may be

noticed that here Otegrimele (identified by Mr. Farrer as North Meols) has the variant Otringemele, and Haleshale Herleshala. The Hirletun with half Merretun which Uctred held has been identified with Hurleston in Scarisbrick, and is spelt Hiredun in the second entry. Is it not probable, then, making the analogy of the Otegrimele Otringemele, Heleshale Herleshala entries, that Hiredun is Hirletun, and not to be identified with either Everton or Tarleton? And would it not be somewhat extraordinary that no holder should be assigned to a place bearing the high privilege of exemption from geld, which is the case if Hiredun is *not* Hirletun?

To proceed. All the villis of Derby Hundred are valued, except the royal manor of Derby, Uctred's six manors, assessed *in toto* at 2 hides, of Roby, Knowsley, Kirkby, Crosby, Maghull, Aughton, and his tenement of Acrer (Altcar), which was assessed at half a carucate and was waste. Waste land may simply mean that no oxen were to be found there. There was wood at Derby, Roby, and those other four manors of Uctred, Woolton, Lathom, Melling, and Lydiate. With the exception of Derby and Melling, which was Godeve's, all these places belonged to Uctred—surely a very rich holder in the midst of small tenements.

Of church land, we find that a priest had in Childwall half a carucate of land in frank-almoigne. He owed spiritual, but no secular service. And we discover that the spiritual needs of Walton were not neglected, merely by the incidental statement that at Bootle a priest had one carucate in Walton Church.

The villis once enumerated, the record proceeds to summarise—"All these lands gelded, and 15 manors returned nothing but the geld T. R. E." Other extraordinary tenures are stated in subsequent entries, and may be treated below.

The next entry presents some slight difficulty. This Manor of Derby with these aforesaid hides returned to King Edward of "firma" £26 2s. Of these, 3 hides were free, whose rent he (the King) pardoned to the thanes that held them. They (the hides) returned £3 14s. 8d. This is the entire entry relating to the King's "firma." The opening phrase, "Hoc Manerium Derbei, cum his supradictis hidis," has been construed "This Manor of Derby with *its* aforesaid hides." Now compare this phrase, "cum his supradictis hidis," with the opening words of the "firma" entries of the other hundreds:—

Newton—Totum hoc Manerium.

Walintune—Totum Manerium cum Hundredo.

Blackburn—Totum Manerium cum Hundredo.

Salford—Totum Manerium Salford cum Hundredo.

Lailand—Totum Manerium Lailand cum Hundredo.

With the exception of Newton the formula is the same for each hundred. The "firma" proceeding from the manor is added to that from the hundred, and the whole sum stated. It would appear, then, that "cum his supradictis hidis" of Derby Hundred is merely another way of saying cum Hundredo. It is further noticeable that the word Hundredo is in three of the four cases lined with red, and always written in capitals. The values of the "firma" are as follow:—

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----|----|---|---------------|------|---|----|
| Neweton | £10 | 10 | 0 | Blacheburn... | £32 | 2 | 0 |
| Walintune ... | 14 | 18 | 0 | Salford | 37 | 4 | 0 |
| Lailand | 19 | 18 | 2 | | | | |
| Derby | 30 | 16 | 8 | Total ... | £145 | 8 | 10 |

This is an enormous sum of money, and we may see in it a reason for the very small assessment of the manors. Taking a geld of 2s. on the nominal hide, or 12s. on the South Lancashire hide of 6 carucates, West Derby Hundred, which is assessed

almost exactly at 18 hides, would pay approximately £11 to the geld, while the firma is more than double the quantity, £30 16s. 8d. The city of Chester gelded for 50 hides—£5, at 2s. per hide—and returned of firma £45, and 3 “*timbres pellium martrinum*,” of which the Count had one share and the King two.

At the Conquest the Manor of West Derby, with the rest of the land “*inter Ripam et Mersham*,” was bestowed upon Roger of Poictou; but his rebellion led to the resumption of the estates into the King’s hands, who held them at the time of the Inquest. The political history of this great man, who held land—298 manors in all—in many other parts of England, in the counties of Derby, Nottingham, Norfolk, Lincoln, York, Essex and Suffolk, can be obtained from “*Baines*.” Ordericus Vitalis gives him the character of “*great prudence, moderate temper, a lover of justice, and of discretion and modesty in those he had about him. His constant guides, councillors, and companions were three priests.*” And this was the organiser of two revolts against his sovereign lord and king! And what of the priestly counsel?

He gave 8 hides $3\frac{1}{2}$ carucates in West Derby to eight vassals in unequal shares, varying from 2 hides $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate to 1 carucate. The demesne of these tenants contained 4 plough teams, 46 villains, 1 radman, 62 bordars, 2 slaves, and 3 slaves (*ancillae*). There were 24 ploughs in all, and the whole is worth £8 12s. Roger’s demesne of this manor is worth £8, and now there are 3 ploughs, with 6 bovarii, 1 radman, and 7 villani. These valets T.R.W. total £16 12s. The valets T.R.E., so far as they are given, amount to £12 0s. 6d. No values are assigned to the first two entries and Uctred’s six manors, assessed in all at 6 hides. A comparison then of the values T.R.E. and T.R.W. shows that the land remained at practically the same value.

Of the men of the hundred we find 2 radmen, 53 villains, 6 bovars, 62 bordars, and 5 slaves. What, it may be asked, has become of the 33 nameless thanes in T.R.E., and the 4 radmen, and the other holders, 15 in all, some, at least, of whom may have been thanes, making a grand total of 52? And 53 villani now? There must be that degradation of rank which is so conspicuous in the east.

Newton Hundred seems to have contained but one manor, Newton, assessed at 5 hides, of which one was in demesne T.R.E. The tenants were drengs, and the "reddebat" 30s. The church of the manor had 1 carucate, and St. Oswald of the same villa 2 carucates quit. In the *Testa de Neville* we read that Roger of Poictou gave the church of Wynwick to the canons of St. Oswald with 2 carucates of land. In the church can be seen at the present day an old inscription, part of which Gough has translated:—

This place of old did Oswald greatly love,
Who the Northumbers ruled now reigns above,
And from Marcella did to heaven remove.

North of the church is the well of St. Oswald. Oswald's association with Winwick has led antiquarians to place "Maserfelth" in the district.

The demesne, to continue the Domesday text, has now 9 teams, with 6 drengs, 12 villains, and 4 bordars, and is worth £4. Warrington Manor is assessed at 1 hide, but 34 drengs had 42 carucates and a hide and a half. Give also 1 carucate to St. Elfin. Roger's demesne has 2 ploughteams and 8 men with 1 ploughteam—7 vassals of Roger have land there to the extent of $5\frac{1}{3}$ hides. The whole is worth £4 10s., and the demesne (Roger's) £3 10s.

In order to avoid monotony, the remaining hundreds will be treated without figures.

In Blackburn Hundred, King Edward held 4 manors—Blackburn, Huncoats, Walton-in-the-Dale, and Pendleton. The church at Blackburn had a

small tenement, and the church of St. Mary a quit holding in Whalley. Roger of Poictou gave the whole hundred to Roger de Busli and Albert Greslet. Nine and a half carucates were held by *tot homines*, on a tenure by which the carucates were quit for three years, and therefore, says the record, they are not valued. Croston's Baines' *History of Lancashire* says that it appears from *Baronia de Manchester* that Robert Busli held Blackburne Hundred on a temporary tenure for three years. This may explain the sub-letting of land quit for as many years.

This same Roger had vast possessions in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, with a few manors in Lincolnshire, Devonshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire as tenant-in-capite. Albert Grelley and Roger de Busli were deprived of their hundred when their lord revolted, but appear to have been granted land, Grelly in Salford Hundred and Busli in Penwortham. From Grelly came the house of the Grellys, Lords of Manchester.

In the particulars of this and of Salford Hundred, there is a difficult phrase—"Ad hoc Manerium vel Hundredum adiacebat" or "pertinebat"—so many men or so many berewicks in this manor or hundred. When the firma is given the formula is "Hoc Manerium cum Hund.," which has already been discussed. Now every student of Domesday Book is familiar with the legal phenomenon of land lying fiscally in a manor and physically outside it. The commissioners are only concerned with the geld of a manor, and care nothing about its geography; and when they find a member of a manor lying outside the boundaries, they still speak of that member as lying in. X adiacebat ad hoc manerium wherever x may be. It is just a suggestion, then, that the phrase "Ad hoc Manerium vel Hundredum adiacebat," so many free men, may simply mean that, geographically, the men lie in the hundred, outside the manor, but fiscally they lie in the manor.

The Hundred of Salford was the most valuable of the six—it gave most firma to the King. Besides the Manor of Salford, Edward the Confessor held “Radeclive.” The Churches of St. Mary and of St. Michael held a carucate in Manchester, quit from all customs but the geld. While 28 free men held in Blackburn, we find 21 thanes in Salford. One of these, Gamel by name, held Rochdale by a tenure privileged to the same extent as that of Crosby and Kirkdale held by Uctred. The name Gamel appears among the tenants (milites) who hold by gift of Roger of Poitou. He also had a small manor in Lincolnshire, which he held of the same lord. Another of Roger’s knights (milites) who held in Salford, one Nigellus, seems to have had a son, Fitz Nigel, Baron of Halton and Widnes, whose co-heiress, Maud, married Albert fil Robert de Greslet. Many of these milites, who held in various parts of Inter Ripam et Mersham, may be the predecessors of notable mediæval Lancashire families. They do not appear, at the time of the Domesday Inquest, to have taken a surname from the place which they held. It is possible, even probable, that the Goisfrid of Derby Hundred is identical with him of Salford, that Roger of Derby, Warrington, and Leyland, is the individual who held land under the same lord in Lincolnshire, and similarly with other names which occur in more than one hundred. The absence of the distinguishing tenement-name, if it may be so termed, makes all uncertain.

No manors occur by name in Leyland Hundred, except Leyland and Penwortham, where there were 6 burgesses. There were twelve other manors, assessed at 6 hides and 8 carucates, among which there was one carucate per manor pertaining to Leyland. Part of the hundred was waste.

The sum total of the hidage and valets for the six hundreds is given at the close of the record.

They contain 188 manors, of which 80 hides gelded, less one. Valet, T.R.E. £145 2s. 2d.; T.R.W., when Roger received it, £120; £25 2s. 2d. less. The King has in demesne 12 ploughteams and 9 milites holding a fee, who, with their men, have 115 plough-teams and 3 oxen, making a grand total of 1019 oxen. Roger's demesne was appreciated at £23 10s., what he gave to his knights at £20 11s.

Mr. Round, by his brilliant researches, has proved for the East of England, at least, that the hundreds were assessed at the round number of 100 hides, and that there were such things as half hundreds. The only possible inference from this is that the hundreds were assessed as a whole, and that it was the work of the hundred itself to distribute the burden of taxation among the vills. Turning to our record, a rough calculation of the hidage of each hundred shows that West Derby, Salford, and Blackburn hundreds approximated to 100 carucates, and Newton, Warrington, and Leyland to 50 carucates. Possibly the three last were assessed as half hundreds.

We are faced, in this district, by a constant conflict between the Danish and Anglo-Saxon element. The place-names and the six carucate unit are infallible signs of Danish influence. The assessment of the hundreds on as many hides or carucates is a mark of the Englishman. In the county of York, we find the hundred of 12 carucates, the work of the Danes.¹ Of this hundred there is no trace in South Lancashire. The problem we may face is concerned with the introduction of the table, six carucates = 1 hide. The theory that the hundreds are of Anglo-Saxon making points to the artificiality of the new mode of reckoning. The parts of the *Testa de Neville* which concern this district, measure the land in carucates and bovates. We do not hear of hides. The influence of the Danes on

¹ Round's *Feudal England*, pp. 72-3, 78-9.

Inter Ripam et Mersham may not have been so deep as the place-names would lead us to suppose. Before leaving the six carucate unit, I should like to ask whether the *Testa de Neville* equation, 24 carucates = 1 knight's fee, is not a descendant of the Domesday equation? whether the same unit is not present, the unit of six carucates?

We have wandered far from the Domesday summae. The full T. R. E. valebat is £145 2s. 2d. When we read T. R. E. valebat £145 2s. 2d., are we to understand T. R. E. reddebat de firma?

The solution of the valebat question is difficult. Round has established for the east that assessment bore no ratio to area, or to value in a vill, and still less in a manor. Maitland has the following note: "I think it very clear, from thousands of examples, that the estate is valued as a going concern. The question that the jurors put to themselves is, 'What will the estate bring in, peopled as it is and stocked as it is?'"²

Now, Round's theory on the ratio of assessment and value does not hold locally, for in the case of no less than 21 villis in Derby Hundred, a carucate is worth 2s. 8d. We are struck by the frequent occurrence of 1 carucate, 32 pence; 2 carucates, 64 pence. Another frequent valet is 3s. 4d. per carucate, and this relates in two cases (Huyton and Torbock, and Kirkdale) out of three, where the vill is specified as being quit of all customs but the geld. We read of Derby, that 15 manors returned nothing but the geld (T.) R. E. "Erengermeles" has 2 carucates quit, and "valebat viii solidi" 4s. per carucate. After the entry relating to Erengermeles, we read "this land was quit except geld." If this refers to what follows, we find that North Meols, Lathom with 1 berewick, "Hirleton" and Martin, Melling, Lydiate, 2 manors in Holland, Altcar, Barton and Halsall were so privileged. Of these, Altcar was

² *Domesday Book and Beyond*

waste, which accounts for the exemption. Barton and Holland are valued at the rate of 2s. 8d. per carucate, and the rest at 3s. 4d. and over. At Lydiate there were 6 bovates and wood, 1 league by 2 furlongs, and the valebat was 5s. 4d. It is worth more proportionately than any other manor which is valued in Derby Hundred. The forest may add to the value. This accounts for 11 manors, and Huyton, Torbock, Kirkdale, and Derby make up the requisite 15. We find, then, that exemption from custom increases the value of the land, and that, therefore, the King as lord was immediately concerned in the value of the land, which brings us back again, in local considerations, to the "firma regis." That the value bears some relation to the plough-lands is borne out by two entries in our record. Altcar is assessed at $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate and is waste. There is no ploughing, and accordingly we find no value attached. Roger de Busli and Albert Greslet have land in Blackburn for three years, and therefore, says Domesday Book, it is not appreciated now. The lords have no immediate interest in the plough-lands, for they bring in nothing. Perhaps, when someone has collated all the Domesday entries where the value is not given, some further light will be thrown on the question.

In point of recorded population, Derby was the largest hundred. Salford comes next, and is unique in respect of thanes T. R. W. There are three of them. Warrington only records 8 "homines," whose tenure is not specified. Further particulars are wanting in this hundred. We find in all 3 thanes, 8 homines, 6 radmans, 6 drengs, 111 villains, 81 bordars, 8 bovans (herdsmen), 20 slaves, 3 slaves (ancillae), and 2 priests. In no part was the land extensively cultivated, the teamlands and valets were so small. Of the above men, Derby had 53 villain and 62 bordarii, which is about half of the entire population of Inter Ripam et Mersham.

The large number of villain and bordarii is in striking contrast with the small number of slaves. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire have no slaves at all. We seem to see two processes at work—the degradation of the thane and the free man, and the advance of the slave. The Norman lords were alive to the disadvantage of owning serfs. Having no wergild, the loss was theirs if the slave were killed, and theirs was the loss also if the slave committed a crime. When the lord finds that the work on his demesne can be equally effected by a villain or a bordar, who may also be held responsible to him for geld, he also discovers that the slave, “who is fed at his lord’s board, and “housed in his lord’s court,” (we are speaking of cases where there are very few slaves)—is an unnecessary expense. The villains and bordars, on the other hand, have land of their own, by tilling which they can do at least something towards the support of themselves and families. The lord may even find that the menial work done by the slave can be accomplished by the villain and bordar, for there is no service whatever that cannot be purchased by a grant of land. When we inquire for the services of the villains, we are met by silence, and this throughout Domesday Book. We can say, however, with some certainty, that they help to plough the lord’s lands. Roger’s milites in Derby have $8\frac{1}{2}$ hides (51 carucates) amongst them, but only 4 teams on the demesne. The villains have 20 teams. No doubt these help the work on demesne. The thanes of the six hundreds have sent their reapers to the king’s land one day in August. The villains plough and the villains reap. A parenthesis reveals that these villains had also to help in the making of the houses of the king. In some parts of the realm they make discharge of their dues by a money rent, but we find no similar privilege among local customs.

We have had to use the terms carucates, team-lands, and teams many times during the paper. The terms, which are derivatives of the same word, are never written in their extended form, but are car., caruc., indifferently. One who has transliterated the record of this district uses carucates in all cases, but references to other parts of Domesday Book will lead us to differentiate, and employ terms more strictly correct. The abbreviated form, car., caruc., must be rendered carucata, 120 acres of land which is assessed, and caruca, a team-land or team. Take a Cheshire case. William fil Nigel holds Raby and Harduin of him. Erni held it. "Ibi dimidia hida geldans:" there is half a hide gelding. This is the amount of assessable land. "Terra est una caruca:" there is sufficient arable land for one plough-team. "In dominio est ibi:" there is one team in demesne. "Et unus servus et duo villaini et duo bordarii cum una caruca:" and one slave and two villains and two bordars with one team. Now turn to one of our entries. Dot held Huyton and Torboc. "Ibi una hida:" quit from all custom but the geld. "Terra est iv carucarum:" four teams can plough on the land—"Valebat 20s." No more—the number of carucate, teams, which are actually there are not given. In Uctred's six manors we do not even know the number of team-lands. "Ibi duo hidae:" there are two hides; and the double omission continues throughout the villis of Derby Hundred. In both the cases of Derby, and Huyton and Torboc we have examples of over-rating. Derby is assessed at 24 carucates, and can only plough 15 of them. Huyton and Torboc is rated at 6 carucates, and can only plough 4. An equal assessment would only take geld from as many carucates as could be ploughed. I have tried, then, to read carucatae and carucate into their correct positions. The error of a universal carucate is apparent in the final entry

referring to the teams of Roger's melites. Between them and their men are 115 teams and 3 oxen, not 115 carucates and 3 oxen to do the work.

Before we leave land and its measurement let me refer to the measurement of forest. At Derby there is forest 2 leagues by 1. The leuvae of Domesday Book are measures of 12 furlongs, and are measures of length not area. It is doubtful that there was any clear idea of area at that time. The juries probably had the idea of shape as well as size. A forest 2 leagues by 1 is not the same thing as a forest $4 \times \frac{1}{2}$. If the forest were rectangular the course was clear, measure each side. If of irregular shape it is likely that the longest and shortest diameters were measured. There are no superficial measures in Domesday Book. The acre is 4 perches wide and 40 perches long. A quarter of an acre is 1 perch wide by a furrow-long, and the furrow is measured by the endurance of the oxen. The important measurement is that of width, a perch. An acre will be 4 perches wide, each perch divided from the other by a deep furrow made by a double journey of the plough. The length of the furrow must vary on account of the lie of the land, its boundaries, say a winding river, or a hillside. An acre, then, was counted by four of these beds, which still survive in our fields, for the mark left by a deep furrow is ineradicable. You cannot take a country walk in this district without seeing fields which have been laid out in beds of a quarter of an acre. The typical furlong is a quarentina. The length of a perch, however, has been found to vary—rods of 18, $19\frac{1}{2}$, 21, $22\frac{1}{2}$, and 24 feet have been known in Lancashire.

In Uctred's 6 manors there were woods 2 leagues by 2. While Derby appears to have had a single forest, the woods of Roby, etc., were distributed among the manors, and their extent was not arrived at by a calculation of the area of each and the sum

given at 4 square leagues, but by measuring the lengths and widths of each and giving the addition in the form 2 leagues long and wide. Miles are rare in Domesday Book. By the use of the singular *silva* and the plural *silvae*, I think we can distinguish the cases where the wood was compact and where distributed. There must have been reason for stating that in Blackburn Hundred the wood (*silva*) was 6 leagues by 4, while in Salford the woods (*silvae*) were 9 leagues and a half, by 5 leagues 1 furlong. Similarly in Leyland, the woods are 6 leagues by 3 leagues 1 furlong. The care which has distinguished the uses of *silva* and *silvae* leads us to see a very large compact wood in Newton and Blackburn, and various extents of forest in Derby, Salford, and Leyland. Warrington does not appear to have possessed any. Such is the only topographical information given for our district, but a glance at the map sheds light on the distribution of the vill, for we find they occur principally along the line of coast, and, if we accept the old road from Torbock to Halsall, bordering that road.

It is time to pass to some broader questions relating to Inter Ripam et Mersham. Among the manors we find berewicks. King Edward has one manor named Derby with six berewicks. Uctred held Lathom with one berewick. Of the manor of Newton there were 15 berewicks. The King held Warrington with three berewicks. To the manor or Hundred of Salford pertained 21 berewicks, which as many thanes held for as many manors. The word berewick is a descendant of the venerable Bede's "*vicus*." It passed into our language at an early date in the form "*wick*," which has gone to form many of our place-names, just as *vicus* has become part of many place-names in France. Such are Winwick, Ardwick, and Fishwick in Lancashire. Such are the berewicks and herdwicks of Domesday Book. "*Its name*," says Maitland, "*seems to signify*

“ primarily a wick, or village, in which barley
“ is grown ; but, like the barton and the grange of
“ later days, it seems often to be a detached portion
“ of a manor, which is in part dependent on, and
“ yet in part independent of, the main body. Pro-
“ bably, at the berewick the lord has some demesne
“ land and some farm buildings, a barn or the like,
“ and the villains of the berewick are but seldom
“ called upon to leave its limits ; but the lord has
“ no hall there, he does not consume its produce on
“ the spot, and yet for some important purposes the
“ berewick is part of the manor. The berewick might
“ well be some way off from the hall ; a manor in
“ Hampshire had three berewicks on the mainland
“ and two in the Isle of Wight.” Thus far Maitland.

But in Salford we have the phenomenon of 21 berewicks which, “ for some important purposes,” are actually manors, and are held by thanes. How did these berewicks become manors ? The question is a difficult one ; but, to obtain some light, I have gone to the Lincolnshire Domesday Book, where there are considerably over 100 berewicks. Perhaps we shall find among them manors in process of making.

Two things become prominent when we put together the entries relating to berewicks in Lincolnshire. First, that a great number of berewicks contained meadow, which was considered very valuable ; second, that many berewicks were Inland. Occasionally, we find a berewick which is not Inland, and Inland which is not a berewick. It may be that Inland has in Lincolnshire a special meaning, Inland being generally demesne land, cultivated by the labour of the lord’s labourers, Let us read a few entries :—

Distinguished by the Domesday mark B (berewick), in Winterton there are two bovates of land for gelding. The land is two bovates. It is Inland.

In Riseholm there is one carucate and a half of

land rateable to geld; the land is $1\frac{1}{2}$ team-lands, and it is a berewick in Scampton.

Now Gilbert de Gaunt holds Scampton, but Colswain, the vassal of Gilbert, has in Riseholm berewick 1 team, a mill worth 12*d.* yearly, and 36 acres of meadow. Here, then, is a berewick which might be Inland if it were cultivated for the lord of the manor.

Take an example which combines both cases. In Southey (marked B), Inland in South Willingham, there are 2 bovates of land geldable. Three villains there plough with 6 oxen. There is fishery, and 4 acres of meadow land, and 20 acres of woodland containing pasturage. The Inland, so often exempt, gelds. It is also a berewick, and the lord of the manor has put into it 3 villains to do agricultural labour for him. And now we have the case, and not an isolated one by any means, of a berewick, Cranwell, Inland of the manor of Folkingham. There is one carucate and a half of geldable land, the soke of which Azor had. Goisfrid, one of Gilbert de Gaunt's vassals (Gilbert was lord of Folkingham), has there 6 villains and 1 bordar with 1 team, and seventeen acres and a half of meadow. It is Inland, but presumably Gilbert has given over his immediate interest in the arable and meadow to one Goisfrid, who holds of him. Is it permissible to reason from these examples to our own berewicks?

As 3 villains plough with 6 oxen in Southey berewick, which is Inland in South Willingham, so it may be Derby's 6 berewicks are cultivated by the King's villains, and probably they have been Inland. And as Gilbert de Gaunt put his vassal Goisfrid into the berewick of Cranwell, which pertained to Folkingham, who there had villains with a team, so King Edward placed, in as many berewicks, 21 thanes, who cultivated their $3\frac{1}{2}$ carucates a-piece with their villains, and whose tenements for some important purpose ranked as manors. Meadow is

a noticeable omission of the Domesday of Inter Ripam et Mersham. Did these berewicks, as in Lincolnshire, contain that valuable kind of land?

We now turn to the manors. In the district there were 6 great manors, which gave their names to their respective hundreds. Here must have been situated the hundred courts, to which the tenants owed suit. In some way dependent on these manors, yet independent enough to be manors in themselves, were the other small manors of which Domesday tells us. The summary reckons 188 manors, which I have been able to check. The place-names given in Domesday Book are presumably the names of manors, or vills, or berewicks. In many parts of the Survey the manors and berewicks are distinguished by "M," "B"—marginal notes, to assist the calculations of the officials. These are wanting in the Cheshire and South Lancashire portions. We find them in North Lancashire. When we read "Uctred held Kirkdale," there is nothing to tell us that Kirkdale is a manor. The firma is calculated for this manor of Derby with these aforesaid *hides*, not manors; but "all this land gelded, and 15 manors returned nothing but the geld." We conclude that the other land which rendered all customs consisted of manors, although they are not marked as such. Accordingly, in counting the number of manors in Derby Hundred, I have counted every place-name as the name of the manor, where the manors are named as such, as we have two formulas. "Uctred held 6 manors, Roby, Knowsley, Kirkby, Crosby, Maghull, and Aughton." "Three thanes held Formby for 3 manors"—*pro tribus maneriis*. To this I would oppose the next entry—"Three thanes held Ainsdale." Formby gelded for 3 manors, Ainsdale for 1. For some important purpose, to use Maitland's phrase again, the tenement of each thane in Formby was a manor, while in Ainsdale there was

but 1 manor, having 3 thanes as tenants. Similarly, 3 thanes held Ince for 3 manors; 3 thanes held Allerton for 3 manors; 4 radmans held Childwall for 4 manors; 2 thanes held Woolton for 2 manors; 2 thanes held 6 bovates for 2 manors in Holland. Compare with these examples the following:—Bernulf held Toxteth. There were 1 virgate and $\frac{1}{2}$ a carucate of land. It rendered 4s. Stainulf held Toxteth. These were 1 virgate and $\frac{1}{2}$ a carucate of land. It was worth 4s. The assessment and value are in both cases the same. Perhaps it is merely another way of putting the same thing to say—Two thanes held Toxteth for 2 manors. There were 2 virgates and 1 carucate. It was worth 8s.

We have a beautiful example of the *pro maneriis* in Wirral Hundred. “Tezelin holds of Count Hugo Sumreford. R. and C. and M. held it ‘pro tribus ‘maneriis.’ Two were free men. M. could not go away from his land (recedere). There was 1 virgate of geldable land. It was divided into 3 parts. The ‘land is 3 team-lands.’ Each man has a team-land, but one is not as free as the other two. The whole was held for 3 manors, and it was divided into 3 parts. If Maitland’s definition of a manor holds good—that a manor is a house against which geld is charged—at Sumreford and these places in Derby, each of three individuals is held responsible, either by the lord or by the king, for the geld which is put on his land. Further, it looks as if the land were held in physically divided shares. In Lincolnshire we do not find the term *pro maneriis*. The marginal states the number of manors, 2 or 3 as the case may be. On the other hand, when we read that 5 thanes held Otegrimele (North Meols) we are to suppose that the geld was charged against a single manor, and that the land was held in physically undivided shares. It is probable that the 5 thanes were brothers, and that the father’s rank as thane had descended to each, for, to quote Maitland, theynly

rank was heritable. The men held in parage. One of them, generally the eldest, sometimes each in turn, rendered the services, military or otherwise, due from the land, and the others helped him in money and provisions. We hear of one case where two brothers held for 2 manors, but one bought the other's share and made one manor of two T.R.E.

We must now pass to the customs of the locality, of which we are given a remarkable list. These consuetudines cover rent, services, suit of court, and the geld. They apply, with some modifications, to each of the six hundreds. Military service does not appear; probably that service was not part of the tenure of the thanes, being their duty as men rather than a condition of their rank.

All of these, we read, had custom to render, two ores of pennies for each carucate of land, and, like the villains, made the houses of the king and what pertained to them. The computation of money by ores is perhaps another mark of Danish influence, the *ora* being Scandinavian. It may also be due to the Dane, that the service of thethane and villain is the same. The thanes, further, made the fish ponds, the deer hedges, and the buck stalls (*stabilituras*); and he who did not go when he ought paid 2s., and afterwards went and worked until it was finished. Each of them also sent his reapers on one day in August, to reap the king's corn, under penalty of 2s. Such was the service of thethane. The free men of Newton reaped two days more in the king's fields. Those of Leyland and Salford were exempt from reaping, and did no work at the king's hall; but they made one deer hedge. We find that the king's forfeitures were very high. The customs apply both to the thanes and free men. It may be mentioned that a law of Cnut, in the *Instituta Cnuti*, which orders tithes to be paid by the land of both villains and thanes, identifies the free man and thethane. If any free man committed a theft,

ambush, attacks on houses, or broke the King's peace, he emended with 40s. Whatever customs a man may be quit of, he is not exempt from the last three, which, with fyrd-wite, were the four reserved pleas of the crown. Crosby and Kirkdale were quit of all custom except the broken peace, ambush, attacks on houses, fighting after oath given, paying a debt to anyone, justice being bound to the reeve, and not attending a court at the time fixed by the reeve. Meols, Halsall, and Hurleston were quit from geld, and forfeiture of blood and rape. In Newton two free men had forfeiture of blood, rape, and pannage of their men, that is a pig, or ox, or money in return for herbage. Gamel in Rochdale was quit, except from the six forfeitures; and the men of Leyland had the forfeiture of blood and rape. Some hides in Salford were quit from geld.

With these exceptions, the free men and thanes of the whole district were emendable in 10s. for bloodshed, rape, and absence from the shire moot without reasonable excuse. If any of them stayed away from the hundred court (where, among other dooms, the king's fine, gyldwite, was imposed on him who left geld unpaid), or neglected the summons of the reeve to a plea, he paid 5s. Neglect of summons to service (probably military, since other services are mentioned above) was penalized to the extent of 4s.

Further consuetudines reveal the fact that even thanes and free men were so unfree that they could not leave their land and go where they pleased, without a fine of 40s. A prohibitive penalty bound them to the land. Nor could the rights of heirship be assumed without payment of a similar fine. Those who could or would not pay the fine saw their father's land and money pass into royal hands.

While thanes were occupiers of land in West Derby and Salford, we find a group of 15 drengs in Newton and 33 drengs in Warrington. Their very

name was unusual, for, writes the clerk with a mental note of exclamation, the other land in this manor (Newton) was held by 15 men, *whom they call drengs*. They evidently puzzled the Domesday officials, they were a frequent source of argument to the thirteenth-century lawyers. What was the nature of their tenure? In 1278, eight justices decide that drengage is "certum servitium," and not military service. If they give military service it is not on account of drengage. Let us turn to the Red Book of the Exchequer. We find that early in the thirteenth century Gilbert de Calveley (Northumberland) holds 2 villas for 30s. and per theynagium, and his services are remarkable. He must pay merchet and aid, and on every other day from Pentecost to the Chains of St. Peter, he drives one cart with a trunk to the castle of Bamborough, and in the meanwhile will do no other service and makes suit of court and homage per (William) Bastarde. This is theynage. But Stephen de Moleven has one villa "in Drennagium per 30s." He will plough one day in 40 at the crops of the king, and reap there in autumn with 12 men, and other servitia which Gilbert de Calveley did.

The reaping service brings us back irresistibly to the theyns of South Lancashire. In fact, the records are constantly confusing theynage and drengage. The Red Book of the Exchequer supplies us with a list of those who hold in theynage and drengage. Amongst others, Richard de Molyneux has $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates in exchange of Toxteth for 20s. Land in Bold, Lawick, Ditton, Litherland, Crosby, Thingwall, Bootle, was held on these tenures; while from another list we discover that land in Hamilton, Haskenmore, Chetham, Rokinton, Eggerworth, Heaton, Prestwich, Failsworth, Blackrod, Pendlebury, Rutwind, Clifton, Redish, Chorlton, Trafford, Tonge, was held in drengage. We can collate this list with the *Testa de Neville*, and there

we find that the same land in Chetham, Prestwich, Failsworth, Pendlebury, Chorlton, Clifton, etc., is held in "thanage." We have proof here of the similarity of tenure of the thanes and drengs of South Lancashire. But we must consider the drengs. Notice the carrying service—Stephen must carry a trunk to Bamborough. Associated with this, are the riding services of other men, who held in drengage. They have horses which are at the service of their lords, "they must ride the errands "of the lord, assist him in the chase, carry his "stores, and fight if necessary, but this latter service is of doubtful obligation." The service is analogous to that of the radmans, whose predecessors are to be looked for in the geneats of the later English kingdom. Such were the services of the four radmans that held Childwall for four manors, and of the radman on the demesne land of Derby, and the three radmans of Penwortham.

There are no boroughs in Inter Ripam et Mer-sham, although we find in Penwortham 6 burgesses. They had probably to assist in the keeping of the walls of the place in good repair, for there was a castle, and must have been king's houses there. The termination "bury" occurs in very few of the Lancashire place-names. Pendlebury, Musbury, Samesbury, Salesbury are examples, and it is difficult to say how they affixed the terminal. Even as late as 1341, at the time of the Inquisitiones Nonarum, the jurors of Blackburn, Salford and Leyland say there is no civitas or burgus in those hundreds, while in Derby Hundred Liverpool and Wigan are the only boroughs.

