

ADDRESS

AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION 1882-83.

BY R. N. WORTH, F.G.S.,

President.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Placed by the favour of my brother members of the Plymouth Institution for a second time in this chair, I have thought it desirable to take, as the subject of my address this evening, some further inquiry into the earlier history of our county ; but chiefly into that of Plymouth and its immediate neighbourhood. Last year I endeavoured to sketch, as fully as time and the conditions of my subject allowed, the leading features of Prehistoric Devon, defining as prehistoric in this relation "all that is antecedent to the Saxon Conquest of the county." That conquest my friend Mr. J. B. Davidson had shown must have taken place between the year 710, in which King Ine fought the Welch king Gereint, and the year 823, in which the Weala and the Defena—the men of West Wales (= Cornwall) and the men of Devon—fought a battle at Gafulford ; while further considerations narrowed its possible limits between the year 728, in which Ine abdicated, and 800, in which Ecgbert came to the throne. The only one of the Saxon kings of Wessex filling the interval to whom the conquest can reasonably be assigned is, as I have already said, that Cynewulf (755-784) who is recorded to have fought so many battles against the Western Welch—the "Brit-Wealas," the Keltic dwellers in Devon and in Cornwall. And while this is inferential, I may remind you of the direct statement of William of Malmesbury, that the first great military act of Ecgbert was the conquest of Cornwall (*circa* 813) ; and his equally direct assertion that in 936 Æthelstan drove the Britons out of Exeter, which up to that time they had inhabited,

sharing equal rights with the English, and fixed the boundary of his province along the Tamar. That is to say, and in my former address I adduced various arguments in support of the contention, the action of Æðelstan made Devon wholly Saxon, and left none of the free Keltic race east of the Tamar, save that perchance here and there in the remoter recesses of the uplands a stray family, or even a petty settlement, escaped observation.

What I wish, so far as possible, to do now is to link on this Prehistoric Past, of which I have already spoken in rapid outline, to our Historic Present, and especially to give you, as completely as I am able, a sketch of this immediate locality during the Saxon period.

We may divide the history of Saxon Devon into three epochs :—

First, the stage of individual colonization by small bodies of men, who planted themselves on Dunmonian soil, either by force or peaceably, gradually encroaching upon the scattered Keltic population, until Exeter itself became so thoroughly Saxonised that towards the close of the seventh century it had a Saxon school, in which Winfred, of Saxon Crediton, the famous Boniface, was trained.

Second, the era of subjugation, dating from the conquest of the Kelts under Cynewulf to their expulsion by Æðelstan. (926.)

Third, the time of undivided Saxon sway, from the Keltic expulsion by Æðelstan to the Norman Conquest. (1066.)

The whole period assignable to Saxon intercourse and rule in Devon would thus extend over four-and-a-half centuries; for Winfred could not have been born in Crediton and educated in Adescanastre, if there had not been a large and fairly concentrated Saxon population in the neighbourhood of Exeter towards the close of the seventh century.

Roughly taken, each of these epochs covers a century and a half. Settlement must have commenced early in the seventh century, and 150 years from 625 brings us to the latter end of the reign of Cynewulf (775); another 150 carries us on to Æðelstan (926); and quite as many years elapsed ere the Conquest begun at Senlac was fully complete.

I have no intention of repeating what has been already said concerning the early Saxon history of Devon. Still less shall I

venture to trace the full history of Saxon intercourse and rule. That is a Herculean task, too great for present treatment, were I qualified for the attempt. It is quite true that the *Saxon Chronicle* is the only history that gives us contemporary information worthy of the name respecting Saxon Devon; and that its local references are very scanty; but fortunately there are extant a large number of Anglo-Saxon charters and deeds relating to the county, and these, when carefully examined, throw much light upon this obscure but most interesting period of our western history. The *Chronicle*, so far as Plymouth is concerned, can hardly be said to afford any light whatever; for its only references to the locality are to Wembury (?), Tavistock, and Lydford, and these in connection with raids by the Danes.¹

It is to Domesday Book that we must turn as our chief source of information concerning Saxon Devon, as well as Saxon England.

But before I confine myself to more local details there is a branch of the history of Saxon Devon which has not, so far as I am aware, been brought under special review, and upon which I wish to remark, since it plays an important part in bridging over the interval between the Prehistoric and the Historic Periods. It has already been shown that "the constitution of Devon is purely Saxon from village to shire; each of its hundreds has a Saxon name; each of its ancient municipalities originated in a Saxon community."

While attempting to bring into one focus the light which the Domesday Survey throws upon the conditions of this part of the county immediately before and after the Norman Conquest, it occurred to me that there were valuable hints to be gleaned, not only from the distribution of the place-names, to which I have already referred, but from the character and distribution of the hundreds—a relic of Saxon organization which has descended to us in little more than a nominal form, but which before the invasion of the Norman had great living force, as the link in the hierarchy of jurisdiction between the court of the township or tything and that of the shire.

A hundred in its origin did not, of course, mean what we understand by a hundred now; it was a numerical term, not a territorial. That a hundred was made up of ten tythings, and that it had a

¹ Asser goes no further.

more indefinite relation to a shire, all authorities are agreed ; but there is much difference of opinion as to what the numerical hundred originally represented. Whether a hundred consisted of a hundred families, and the district in which they dwelt ; or a hundred warriors, and their district ; or the original settlement of the hundred warriors ; and whether the hundred is to be regarded as the ordinary hundred or the Saxon long hundred of one hundred and twenty—these are all more or less debated points. It is clear, however, that territorial hundreds sprang out of numerical hundreds, which bore some definite numerical relation to their free Saxon inhabitants. It is certain also that we cannot be very far wrong if we treat the original hundreds as consisting of families, and as comprising a free population therefore of five to six hundred souls. You see at once what a valuable clue we have here to the density and distribution of the population of the country in Anglo-Saxon times—in the earliest days of organization and rule.

We cannot say when the first division into hundreds took place. It is one of the many good works popularly ascribed to Ælfred, who, as the great Anglo-Saxon lawgiver, has been credited with almost all pre-Norman reform and progress. But while on the one hand hundreds are not mentioned until the time of Eadgar, so, on the other, they were then no new invention, but a direct development of an earlier polity of the Teutonic race ; and, whatever their exact date and origin, we may be sure that when the Saxon Conquest of Devon was complete, and the Saxons in Devon assumed their own form of administration, then were established the courts of the tything, of the hundred, and of the shire.

As the hundred originally was numerical rather than territorial, while it remained a definite administrative factor it retained numerical value. Changes therefore were to be expected. The smaller the hundred the denser the population ; the larger, the more scattered. The increase of inhabitants in any particular locality was followed by a rearrangement of hundred boundaries, and an enlargement of their number. So on the other hand, a loss of population would lead to the disappearance of a hundred, or its amalgamation with another under the double name. The names of the hundreds were probably taken originally from the places where the courts met, which were either more central or more populous than other spots in the district. And here we have another clue to the early relative importance of localities.

The existence of detached parts of hundreds appears to point to two general conclusions. First, that the hundred was originally comprised within a continuous boundary, co-extensive with the most extended area occupied by what, to impress a geological term, I may call its outliers; and therefore that the interposed hundred must be regarded as of later origin. Second, that at the time when the new hundred was carved out of the old one, influences of a territorial, and probably personal, character were at work, which continued certain special spots in their old associations. There is some historical value too in the changes of names originally given to certain hundreds.

And now to apply these principles to Devon. The only complete materials for a knowledge of the ancient hundreds of Devon are found in the Exeter Domesday.¹

Three lists of the hundreds of Devon are contained in that volume. Two of these are simple enumerations of names; the third is a general statement of the contents of each hundred and of its taxation. The first has every appearance of being the oldest, and differs materially from the other two, which correspond more closely with each other, and indeed are all but identical. The third, which should appear to be the latest form, is not, however, quite that agreeing most nearly, so far as names go, with the hundreds of the present day,² which in certain features follow in preference either the first or the second. (Probably in some cases duplicate names were current.) These points will be clearly seen in the following comparative table, wherein I have called the three lists A B and C respectively.

A	B	C	Hidage.	Geld.	Modern Names.
				£ s. d.	
Hertilande	. Hertilanda .	Hertilande .	20	2 2 0	Hartland
Mertone	. Mertone .	Mertone .	48	8 12 6	{ Shebbear in part, prob- ably Winkleigh
Mollande	.				With South Molton
Toritone	. Toritone .	Toritone .	34	7 4 0	Black Torrington
Framintone	. Framintone	Framintone	20	2 14 6	Fremington
Tautone	. Tauuutone	Tauuutone	42	10 0 5	North Tawton
Dippeforde	. Dippeforde .	Dippeforde .	39	7 12 0	Stanborough, Coleridge
Cersuuelles	. Carsuelle .	Carsewilla .	50	9 12 0	Haytor
Taintone	. Tainebruge.	Taintone .	30	5 0 0	Teignbridge
Wenford	. Wenforde .	Wenfort .	54	6 15 0	Wonford

¹ Of the two forms of the Devon Domesday the Exchequer is the later revised edition; the Exeter, as far as it goes, is much fuller in its details.

² These remain practically unchanged from the reign of Edward I., as shown by the Hundred Roll.

A	B	C	Hidage.	Geld.	Modern Names.
				£ s. d.	
Essemenistre .	Eseministre	Eseministre	50	8 4 0	Exminster
Clistone .	Clistone .	Clistone .	27	3 12 4	Cliston
Hermtone .					Ermington
Walchentone .	Ruebge .	Walchentone	25	4 16 0	Roborough
Plintone .	Plintone .	Plintone .	25	3 10 8	Plympton
Cadelintone .	Cadelintone	Cadelintone.	46	5 12 8	West Budleigh in part
Sulfertone .		Sulfertone .	52	10 6 6	Hayridge in part
Lifetone .	Listone .	Listone .	20	4 15 0	Lifton, Tavistock
Tueruerton .	Tuluerton .	Tuuuerton	20	2 14 0	Tiverton
Witric .	Wetrige .	Witric .	30	5 18 6	Witheridge
Clauuerton and Badentone .	Badentone .	Badentone .	25	4 16 4	Bampton
Scireuuelle .	Scireuulle .	Scireuuelle .	50	8 10 0	Sherwill
Brantonee .	Brantone .	Brantone .			Braunton
Moltone .	Sut Moltone	Sut Moltone	22	2 8 7	South Molton
Chridiatone .	Crediatone .	Chridiatone.	20	4 3 3	Crediton
Hertesbie .					Axminster in part (?)
Budeleies .	Budeleia .	Budeleie .	72	12 5 5	East Budleigh
Cullinctone .	Culitone .	Cullintone .	25-3 vir	4 0 8	Colyton
Axamudes .	Alsemude .	Axamuda .	9-1 vir	1 1 5	Axminster
Axaministres .	Axeministre	Axemenistre	50	10 6 0	
Halsbretona .	Halbretona.	Hasbtone .	18½	3 18 0	Halberton
See Mario Otri .	Otrie .	Otri .	25	6 0 0	Ottery
	Alerige .	Allerige .	40	6 7 6	Hayridge
	Hamioth .	Hamiohc .	24	4 13 0	Hemiock
	Ofecolu .	Offecolu .	14	2 14 0	Halberton in part

The first list (A) thus contains the names of 32 hundreds, while B and C have 31 and 32 respectively ; and the modern list totals 33.

The detailed entries in list C for Walchentone and Plintone hundreds are as follows :

In the hundred of Walchentone are 25 hides. The king has there of his tax £4 16s. for 16 hides, and the king and his barons have in demesne 6 hides, 1 virgate, and 2 fertins. Of these the king has in demesne 3 virgates, and Judhel 3 virgates, and Robert of Albemarle half a hide, and William of Pollei 1 hide and 3 virgates, and Robert the Bastard 1 virgate, and Alured 2 hides and 2 fertins, and Ruald 1 virgate, and for one hide which is claimed by the Hundredmen to hold by custom the king has no tax, and for one hide which is held by Godefrid de Valletort the king has no tax, and for 1 virgate and 1 fertin Frotmund of Reginald the king has no tax, and for 1 virgate and 1 fertin held by the Count of Moreton the king has no tax.¹

In Plintone hundred are 25 hides. The king has there of his tax £3 10s. 8d. for 11 hides and 3 virgates, and the king and his barons have in demesne 10 hides and 3 virgates and a half. Of these the king has 5 hides and a half, and William of Pollei 2 hides and 1 virgate, and St. Mary of Alentona 1 hide, and St. Peter of Plintona 2 hides, and Robert the Bastard 2 fertins, and for a hide which the Hundredmen claim by custom the king has no tax, and for half a hide which Serlo holds of Godfrido the king has no tax, and for half a hide which Adzo holds of Reginald the king has no tax, and for a virgate which Frotmund holds of Reginald the king has no tax.

¹ The tax was 6s. a hide, or equivalent at least to £10 now, and was the ancient Danegeld.

In all three lists there is something of a regular topographical arrangement, though B is more consecutive than A, and C than B; but even the last appears to bear traces of the joint work of more than one hand, which would account for the breaks in the continuity. The order of list A is shown in the table. C begins with Lifton, and passes in succession to Hertelande, Toritone, Framintone, and Mertone, forming group number one—West Devon. Next come Brantone, Scireuelle, Sut Moltone, Chridiatone, Tauuentone and Witric—North Devon. Then we have Tuuvertone, Clistone, Sulfertone, Hamiohe, Offecolum, Budeleie, Hasbertone, Otri, Axemenistre, Culintone, Axemuda, and Badentone—another group comprising the whole of East Devon, but not in such direct topographical order as the former. Lastly, there are Esseministre, Taintone, Carsewillia, Dippeforde, Cadelintone, Plintone, Walchentone, Allerige, Wenfort—group number four—South Devon. This group is the only one which there is any very great deviation from the natural sequence, and here we have only to place Cadelintone and Allerigo after Wenfort to make the whole order thoroughly consecutive. It is impossible that such an arrangement can be accidental; and if we look at the map of Devon we shall see that it is really governed by the physical conditions of the county. The first group covers the district west of the Tavy and the Taw; the second that bounded by the Taw on the west, the Creedy and Exe on the east, and Dartmoor on the south; the third lies mainly east of the Exe; and the fourth starting from the Tavy follows round the flank of Dartmoor, and is bounded by the sea and the Exe south and east. The only point where there is any real absence of natural definition is in the vicinity of Exeter and Crediton, and this is precisely the neighbourhood in which there have been the greatest changes in the dispositions of the hundreds. All this seems very suggestive of the division of the county into four districts, treated as such either by the same party of Domesday Commissioners, or by parties acting independently, and in any case commencing their enquiries on the borders of Cornwall near some ancient ford or accustomed passage, and ending somewhere in the neighbourhood of Exeter.

Now these lists clearly show that, although the bulk of the Domesday hundreds may be much the same as those of the present day, there are important variations; while it seems certain, as already

noted, that those which have detached portions were formerly far more extensive than they now are, and have been limited by the encroachments of their neighbours. Such are Lifton, Hartland, Braunton, West Budleigh, Clyston, Wonford, and, so far as the isolated fragment of Devon, now part of Dorset, in which Ford Abbey is situated, Axminster.

Taking the names in order as they stand, we find that Merton is now represented by Shebbear and probably Winkleigh, having been one of the largest hundreds in the county at the time of the Survey. Molland, which only appears in A, is included with South Molton. Dippesforde and Hermtone must be taken together; but while the former appears in all three Domesday lists, the latter is seen in A only, and must therefore be included, for B and C, under one of the adjoining hundreds; that is, either under Plympton or Dippesford. When we consult the map we find that Diptford, whence the old hundred was named, is fairly central for the three modern hundreds of Ermington, Stanborough, and Cole-ridge. It is certainly represented by the two latter, and I believe that it also included the greater part of Ermington, while Plympton took in the portion between the present boundary of that hundred and the Erme. We may perhaps find the reason for the disappearance of Ermington in the fact of the ravages committed on that part of the coast from the sea—partially depopulating the district—and this would help to fix the date of the first list as antecedent to the great Danish invasions. Carswell Hundred is Haytor; and the only thing to notice in Teignbridge is, that the modern name follows list B instead of the other two, which read Teintone. My impression, from the present aspect of the boundaries, is, that there has been a considerable change here, and that Wonford Hundred once occupied the full area of both. Neither Wenford, Esseministre, nor Clistone need further comment now, and Hermtone has been dealt with.

We next come to a hundred which the Lysons were unable to identify, but which to a native of this locality should present no difficulty—the hundred of Walchentone. This still exists in speech in the popular name of Walkhampton—Wackington, and is now represented by the hundred of Roborough. Here we have simply a change of name. This is the second instance in which the modern names follow B; the third is in the omission of Sulfertone.

The chief differences between the ancient and the modern hun-

dreds are to be found in East Devon. Two hundreds whose names appear in A—Clauuueton (with Badentone) and Hertesberie—are not found in B and C, and have not reappeared since. Cadelintone and Axemuda, which are in all three, are likewise gone, with Sulfertone (A and C) and Ofecolum (B and C). Alerige and Hamiohc (also B and C) continue, and West Budleigh has been added.

There is no difficulty in identifying Cadelintone Hundred with the district between the Exe and the Creedy, of which Cadleigh is one of the most important points, and which now contains the hundred of West Budleigh. Hertesberie is not quite so clear, but I believe that it forms part of the hundred of Axminster, and that the river Yarte is represented in the first portion of the name. Clauuueton is manifestly Clayhydon. Starting from these premises we find that at the date of the earliest list (A) the whole of the district east of the Exe and Creedy, and a line running from the head waters of the Creedy north to the Exe and Barle below Dulverton, was comprised within eleven hundreds; namely, those of Cædelintone, Sulfertone, Clistone, Budeleies, See Marie Otrie, Cullinctone, Axamudes, Axaministres, Clauuueton and Badentone, Halsbretona, and Tuernetone. In the latest list (C) that number has, however, increased to thirteen by the addition of Allerige, Hamiohc, and Offecolum, the only loss being Hertesberie. Here, then, we have proof that while at the date of A East Devon was by far the most densely populated district of the county, in the interval between A and C there had been a considerable increase of population. The Saxon was pressing rapidly into the county over the Somerset borders down the valleys of the Exe and Culm; for that is the precise locality where the greatest changes are recorded. As another illustration of the comparative density of population in this district, we note further that of the thirteen hundreds enumerated in C three are the smallest in the county—Axemuda, Offecolum, and Hashtone; while uneven distribution even in that area is also shown by the fact that Budeleie is the largest. The present boundaries continue still more irregular than in any other part of Devon, and bear all the marks of being directly governed by population.

Of lists B and C, as distinct from A, there are only two hundreds that have not descended to modern times, the hundred of Ofecolum, which now forms part of the hundred of Halberton, and that of Axemuda (Axmouth) now included under Axminster.

Two hundreds of modern days, not found in the ancient lists,

have yet to be dealt with, those of Winkleigh and Tavistock, Winkleigh to all appearance is taken out of the original North Tawton Hundred; and Tavistock Hundred seems as if it originally formed part of Lifton. It must be confessed, however, that it is difficult to account for this fact, if it be one, nor in the Domesday details of C does the Abbot of Tavistock appear under Lifton; while in the other hundreds in which the Abbey had property the name occurs. Is it possible that the descent of the Danes upon Tavistock and Lydford in 997 has any connection with this? But the devastation they caused was recovered long before Domesday, wherein Tavistock appears as one of the most populous places in the county, next after the boroughs.

I do not know that we can carry this immediate point much further. Making every allowance for indicated changes, we can hardly reckon the original hundreds at less than twenty-six, and this would give a Saxon population of the county, when Saxon government was first completely established, of about 15,000.¹

To this I will only add, that in the original limitation of the hundreds natural boundaries seem to have been adopted where available, chiefly river courses. For example, Walkhampton or Roborough Hundred lies between the Tamar and Tavy and the Plym, and the original Plympton Hundred no doubt extended from the Plym to the Erme.

It will be of some service in this inquiry if we turn from the ancient civil divisions of the county to the ancient ecclesiastical—from the hundreds to the deaneries. Now while it is quite true

¹ For the sake of comparison and completeness, I give the hundreds of Cornwall.

A	B	C	Hidage.	Geld. £ s. d.	Modern Names.
Rieltone .	Rieltone .	Rilestona .	69-6 fer.	6 10 6	{ Pyder (except east), and probably N.W. of Powder
Conartone .	Conartone .	Conarditonæ	33	2 19 9	
Winnetone	Winnentone	Winnentone	36½	1 16 0	Kirrier
Tibesternæ	Tibestel .	Tibestene .	61½-3 fer.	5 11 9	Powder, except N.W.
Fawitone .	Fauuitone .	Fauuitone .	43½	3 9 0	West, south of East
Stratone .	Stratone .	Stratone .	83-3 vir.	8 6 6	{ Stratton, north of East, Lesnewth
Pautone .	Pautone .	Pautone .	44	None.	
					Trigg, east of Pyder

There were many untaxed hides; St. Petrock (Bodmin) had 30 hides that never gelded; and from the lands of Bristic there was no geld except £17s. 6d. According to the hundreds, the population of Cornwall at the time of the completion of Saxon administration did not exceed 4,000. In Domesday it is enumerated at 5,438.

that the deaneries continue living units of county organization, in a sense which the hundreds have long ceased to fill; and while therefore they have been exposed to more continuous change; there still remains so very remarkable a correspondence between the two as at once to suggest that when the deaneries were first planned the hundreds were taken as a basis, just as in the majority of cases the ancient parish was the child of the manor, or group of manors, belonging to the same proprietor. The hundreds and the deaneries are indeed commonly known by different names; for the ecclesiastical centre of the district was rarely the same as the civil; but still the relationship is distinct; and it is a noteworthy fact that it is best seen in connection with the oldest hundred list than with the newer. Thus the deanery of Tavistock is the old hundred of Lifton—the modern hundreds of Tavistock and Lifton, with a fringe cut off to the north and east—more convenient of access from Okehampton, and joined thereto. Okehampton Deanery takes most of its parishes from Torrington Hundred; and Holsworthy Deanery is wholly formed out of Torrington. Hartland Deanery includes not only the whole of the present Hartland Hundred, but the northern portion of Shebbear, over which the detached portion of which Yarncombe forms a part gives evidence that Hartland formerly extended. Torrington Deanery in the main represents the ancient Merton Hundred, included in the modern Shebbear. The development of Barnstaple naturally drew from all the adjacent hundreds. Shirwell Deanery comprises all Shirwell Hundred and all Braunton, except Barnstaple, Pilton, and Filleigh, which are taken by Barnstaple. Chumleigh Deanery is chiefly North Tawton Hundred. South Molton, as an important centre, includes parts of its own hundred and that of Witheridge. Cadbury takes all West Budleigh, except Washfield, with adjoining parishes, and probably represents fairly well the lost hundred of Cadelintone, but with the bulk of Crediton Hundred added. Tiverton Deanery swallows three whole hundreds—Tiverton, Bampton, and Halberton—with a little more. The other deaneries in East Devon are, as we might expect from the changes in the hundreds, very much mixed. Thus Dunkeswell includes portions of Hemiock and Axminster Hundreds, and may represent the lost Hertesberie. Honiton is chiefly Axminster, with Axmouth and part of Colyton. Plymtree Deanery is chiefly Hayridge Hundred, and may more nearly represent the ancient Silverton. Aylesbeare

Deanery takes in the hundreds of East Budleigh and Ottery, the bulk of Cliston, and a little of Wonford. Other portions of Wonford are included in Kenn Deanery, which, however, is mainly Exminster. Dunsford Deanery, on the other hand, is mostly Wonford, with a small portion of Exminster. Moreton Deanery closely corresponds with Teinbridge Hundred. Ipplepen Deanery is Haytor Hundred, with the detached Wonford parishes of Coombe and Stoke- inteignhead, Hacombe, and the Ogwells added. Totnes and Woodleigh Deaneries correspond in the main with the existing hundreds of Stanborough and Coleridge; but the extension westward into the hundred of Ermington seems to indicate a closer correspondence with the former hundred of Dippesforde, more especially as the whole of the rest of the hundred of Ermington is included with the existing hundred of Plympton in the Plympton Deanery. Until recently the deanery of Plympton also comprised the 'Three Towns and their adjuncts, which now form a rural deanery of their own. The deanery of Tamerton, which represents the hundred of Roborough, no doubt lost Plymouth and its sister communities ages since, in consequence of the proprietorial rights exercised by the Plympton Priory.

Let us now turn to the consideration of Saxon Devon so far as concerns Plymouth and the immediate neighbourhood.

The Chronicles, as I have already said, hardly render any aid. Plymouth is not named in them, but incidentally we have a proof of the insignificance of whatever settlement may have then existed in this vicinity, in the statement of the *Saxon Chronicle*, that in 997 the Danes sailed up the Tamar, assailing Lydford, and burning the minster at Tavistock. Had there been any opportunity for the committal of special ravages on the way it could hardly fail to have been recorded. The only historical fact of the Saxon period immediately connected with this locality, is the record of the defeat of the Danes in 851 at Wicganbeorge. There appears little reason for hesitating to identify this place with Wembury, and the "Viking's earthwork" seems fairly acceptable as a rendering of the name.¹

¹ Okenbury, on the Erne, is suggested by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph as possibly the site of this battle, which would not, however, remove it from our district; while Mr. J. B. Davidson has adduced very strong arguments in favour of Wickaborough, in Berry Pomeroy.

The statement of Risdon, that in the life of St. Indractus, Plymouth is named Tamarworth, rests, so far as I know, upon this sole authority. Whether it be so or not, the assertion has little significance. Tamarworth may fairly be interpreted to mean "the island of the Tamar"—island being one of the usual renderings of many-meaning "worth;" and in such a case would by no means imply the existence of a town of that name. Moreover, had there been such a settlement, how are we to account for its total disappearance at the Norman Conquest.

We pass then from the Chronicles to the second source of information I have mentioned—the Charters, and here we do get a gleam or two of light. My friend Mr. Davidson, whose knowledge of Saxon Devon is so extensive, has kindly placed his investigations at my disposal, and it is to him that I am indebted for the few but important facts I have next to lay before you.

Two Saxon documents refer to this district; one relating to the Monastery of Plympton, and the other to an estate in Meavy.

About the year 904 Eadward of Wessex (Eadward the Elder, son of Ælfred the Great) granted to Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, and the community (convent) at that place, three properties; namely, Wellington (Somerset), consisting of six manors, Buckland (West), and Lidiard (Bishop's, though not so called from the Bishop of Sherborne, but from the Bishop of Wells, to whom it afterwards belonged), consisting together of twelve manors, by way of exchange for "the monastery, which in the Saxon tongue is called Plymentun" (Plympton), to be held on either side by the grantee and his successors in perpetuity. Mr. Davidson remarks, "The original of this deed is a paper writing in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Vit. E. v. fo. 124, b.), being a copy made in 1592, by one Francis Thynne, at the house of William Lambard, Esq., the Kentish antiquary. Of the original nothing seems to be now known. Kemble (K.C.D. v. 156) marks the deed (No. 1083) as being of doubtful authenticity. Collinson (ii.) accepts the statement as to the grant of the three estates to Sherborne, as an historical fact, but says nothing about Plympton or the exchange. The editors of the *Mon. Hist. Britannica*, in their preface (p. 78), speak of the grant 'in exchange for Plympton' as an undoubted fact. The existence of a Saxon monastery at Plympton in 904 is neither impossible nor improbable. All that can be said is that

the document upon which alone (so far as the writer knows) the statement rests is of doubtful validity."

The Meavy charter is a deed of undoubted authenticity. For many years it has been exhibited in a case with others in the King's Library, British Museum, and it has been *fac-similed* by the Palæontographical Society. It is printed in Kemble, No. 744 (iv. 35), and is a grant, in 1031, by King Cnut to his faithful minister (thegn), named Ætheric, of half a mansa (hide) of land at Mæwi. No author or writer pointed out the identity of Mæwi with Meavy until Mr. Davidson made the discovery, but there can be no doubt of the fact. The grant by King Cnut is witnessed by Æthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Queen Emma-Ælfgiffa, and by Bishops Ælfsig of Winchester, Brihtwolde of Ramsbury, Brihtwig of Wells, Ælmer of Selsea, Lyfing of Crediton, Æthelric of Dorchester (Oxon), and Brihtwine of Sherborne. Four duces or earls also sign, namely, Godwin, Hakun, Sihtric, and Hrani; and several abbots and ministri (thegns). The Saxon boundaries of this "half-hide" correspond with the eastern and northern parts of the Meavy parish. Meavy before the Conquest, as we shall see, consisted of four separate portions, or rather there were four separate Meavies. Of the Meavy which was the subject of Cnut's grant, Ætheric was the holder in 1031; Alward in 1066. At the Conquest all four passed to Judhel of Totnes, and as Mr. Davidson suggests, "It may have been this circumstance which caused them to be grouped into one parish. If Lake Meavy be a pre-Norman name, it is probable that the four Meavies were called Church Meavy, Goda-Meavy (se góda Mæwi, the fertile Meavy), Hoo-Meavy (the high Meavy), and Lake Meavy."

The most remarkable feature about this Meavy charter is the fact, ascertained by Mr. Davidson on the spot, that the boundaries of the estate are still clearly traceable, and that one of the landmarks is such a set of stepping-stones as within the past two or three years was so wantonly damaged at Shaugh Bridge. The ancient name for such a passage across a stream was, it now appears, "cleaca"—the Meavy charter, thanks to Mr. Davidson's investigation, affording both the word and its interpretation. The point is so clearly set forth in a letter from Mr. Davidson which appeared in the *Academy* of July 29th, that I cannot do better than quote it:

The boundaries of Cnut's grant are given, and correspond accurately enough with the northern and north-eastern parts of the present parish of

Meavy. They begin thus: 'Ærest on cleaca'—'first at cleaca' or 'the cleaca.' Being struck with this phrase, I resolved, some weeks since, to visit the actual north-east corner of Meavy parish, where it meets Walkhampton and Sheeps-tor, in order, if possible, to ascertain what a 'cleaca' really means. At the spot I found the object of my search, in the shape of a set of stepping-stones, about twelve in number, formed of rough unhewn granite boulders, the surfaces of which are worn down in the middle by the footsteps of an unknown number of generations. This was undoubtedly the 'cleaca' of the boundary; but search for the word in English dictionaries proved altogether fruitless. At length a friend directed me to Armstrong's *Celtic Dictionary*, where 'clach' is explained as 'a stone, pebble, rock;' and 'clachran' as 'a pier, landing-place, stepping-stones in water or on watery ground;' and to O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dictionary*, where 'clachan' is rendered 'a ford, stepping-stones.' So that the word appears to be a survival, through the Anglo-Saxon or Old-English period, from a former age. It may be added that lower down the stream, at Meavy Bridge, is another 'cleaca' or set of stepping-stones.

Where information is so scanty we are glad to welcome light from any quarter, however faint its rays may be; and before we proceed to examine what after all must be our chief authority for the Saxon period in this part of Devon—Domesday—somewhat may be gleaned from the evidence afforded in place-names and surviving customs, of the conditions of the earlier Saxon settlements.

The names of all the rivers in this district, and of several of the smaller streams, are Keltic; and the fact that they have been handed down proves lengthened intercourse between Kelt and Saxon, and continued intercourse from Keltic times. When we pass from names of rivers and prominent points¹ to words connected with settlement and occupation, we find a complete change. Of the names of local manors as preserved to us in Domesday—and bear in mind that manors were originally merely the homesteads or clearings of the individual or the family—nearly all are Saxon. Either, then, the population in Keltic times was very small, the country comparatively unsettled, or most of the Keltic sites must have been abandoned and their names and memory lost. The latter hypothesis cannot be accepted to the full extent required to explain the disappearance of so many traces of a numerous Keltic race.

We conclude therefore with very little hesitation that it was not until Saxon times that this locality commenced to assume a definitely settled aspect, and that the majority of the *tuns*, *hams*,

¹ On the coast there are traces of Norse influence. *Vide* my "Hist. Con. Dev. Place-Names," *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* x. 276-308, and my "Notes on Local Etymologies," *Trans. Plym. Inst.* vii. 39-49.

leys, *stocks*, and *worthies* are of direct Saxon origin and date. Making the fullest allowance for the substitution of new names for old ones, this district, at the time of the Norman Conquest, must have been far more populous than in Keltic days. And a fact to be specially borne in mind is the great preponderance of names of a peaceful class—the simple enclosure of the “*tun*” largely predominates, and the more defensible “*stocks*” are both few and far between. It is probable indeed that the “*stocks*” represent the earlier settlements, when the need of defence was the greater, and thus afford some clue to the sites where the Saxon first planted himself. The distribution of the places so named somewhat favours this idea, and it may be that Plymstock is the Saxon continuant of the ancient and important pre-historic Keltic settlement on the eastern shores of the Sound, the choice of the site being dictated by its contiguity to the convenient little land-locked harbour of Hooe Lake. Ho or Hooe, meaning a “high place,” cannot have been the original name of the parent village, but must have been transferred to it from the adjoining hill.

I remarked in my last address—“There has not yet been found in Devon any certain trace of the Teutonic mark, which would have survived, if at all, only in modified form by the time the county was absorbed in Wessex.” The “mark,” you will remember, was a distinguishing feature of the elder Teutonic civilization—the name given to the lands of a community, at first held in common, undivided, and used equally. In the later forms of the “mark” the meadow and arable land were divided into equal shares, with a shifting from year to year of the portion occupied by each member. In many parts of England lands are still held under this joint and shifting ownership; but Devonshire, when I addressed you last year, had yielded no clear evidence. Singularly enough proof has since come to light of the existence of the “mark” not merely in Devon, but within the precincts of Plymouth itself. In looking through a large number of deeds relating to property within the borough, I found several references to the sale or lease of portions of land under the name of “landscore.” The word at first attracted little attention, for it evidently meant a piece of land “scored” or divided off.¹

¹ Elsewhere it appears as “landshore,” the root idea of the “shore” being the same as that of “shire.”

When, however, I came across the copy of a deed reciting that a certain field was "lyinge in landscore," and elsewhere reference to "landscore land," the matter assumed a very different aspect; and I cannot doubt that we have here a distinct and unmistakeable vestige of the tenure of the "mark." The field in question was that known as Thistle Park, which retained a very mixed and complicated ownership until the present day. Mr. J. Brooking Rowe also informs me that a large quantity of land about Elburton is or has been held in undivided portions. This has probably the same origin; and when we find not only the existence of a well-recognized division of land under such a title as that of "landscore," but the use of the term to signify a peculiar kind of holding, we may be satisfied that the parentage of such a peculiar custom is to be found in the old Teutonic "mark." If so, we have reason for the further inference that this part of Devon was the scene of active Saxon colonization from the sea long before the county could have passed into Saxon hands.

Let us now see what is to be gleaned from *Domesday Book* concerning this corner of the county. No nation in the world possesses an historical document of such antiquity and value as Norman William's great Survey of England, which excited so sorely the wrath of his Saxon subjects; and yet, familiar as its references are, and easy of access as it has been made by its photo-zincographed reproduction, there is no record which has been used to so little general purpose. Here and there for special neighbourhoods, or for a special end, it has been dealt with more or less exhaustively; but the historian has yet to come who will grasp its lessons as a whole, and set fully before us the invaluable story it has to tell of the mighty changes that fell upon the English people as the result of the battle of Senlac.

I need hardly explain the nature of the Domesday Survey. Made by order of the Conqueror, in the year 1086, when he had sat upon the English throne just twenty years, it set forth, to use the terse and indignant language of the writer of this portion of the *Saxon Chronicle*, "what or how much each man had who was a holder of land in England, in land or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nor even—it is a shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do—

an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left that was not set down in his writ." This miraculous perfection of detail, attributed to the Survey by the Saxon scribe, was hardly reached, but the work would be a marvel of accuracy and completeness for any age. The full record is contained in two volumes, is called the Exchequer Domesday, and deals with the whole of England except the four Northern Counties. This is really a revised summary of the original returns; and further details are contained in the more fragmentary records of the Survey called the Exon Domesday, which belongs to the Chapter Library at Exeter, and in the Inquisition of Ely. It is in the Exeter Domesday that the returns of the stock for the Western Counties are to be found; and I purpose to lay both records under contribution.

There is at times much difficulty in identifying the particular estates recorded. Concerning a large proportion of the manors no doubt can exist; but when the old names have been lost, or so mutilated in the course of centuries as to be past recognition, or where there are several manors with the same general name, the task of identification is never easy, and oftentimes hopeless. Occasionally indeed some clue is afforded by the conditions of ownership, the order of occurrence, or by special features which limit the applicability of a description—the existence of a salt-work, for example, or a fishery; and I have found such hints very valuable in tracing some of our local manors, nearly the whole of which we may assign with absolute certainty. Some surprise may be felt at the insignificance of a large proportion of the Domesday estates. Bear in mind, however, that the manor was in its origin merely a farm place—a clearing or enclosure amidst the woods and moorlands, and that every estate was deemed either a manor or an appendant to a manor, and the fact will cease to astonish.

To set forth more clearly than mere description would allow, the general results of my local Domesday analysis, I have prepared a slight sketch-map of the district as it appeared in the reign of the Conqueror, with the names of the manors from the Exchequer Book. In an appendix will also be found details of the various entries, with others of special interest alphabetically arranged; the Exchequer text being supplemented by the additional particulars and variations, if any, of the Exeter. The modern names are also given, and doubtful identifications duly marked. Tables bring

into one view the differing conditions of ownership and occupation, and the various characteristics and values.¹

We all know that the ancient name of Plymouth was Sutton; but when we turn for it to Domesday we are met by one great difficulty in the fact that two Devonshire Suttons are there recorded—Sudtone, held by the Conqueror in succession to the Confessor; and Svtone, held by the king's servant, William Hostiarius, and rented of him by one Richard. The former undoubtedly was a

¹ I do not attempt to assign any definite value to the hide and its divisions. Originally, no doubt, it meant as much land as would maintain a household; thence as much as would take a plough team to manage, and afford the team maintenance. It thus became the Saxon term for "plough land," as carucate was the Norman, and part of the work of the Survey was to reduce the old standard to the new. Arable land only was taxed to the hidage or Danegeld, and as the breadth of arable extended, while the tax on each estate remained in effect a fixed quantity, the disproportion between the hide, which had become a nominal unit of taxation, and the carucate, an actual agricultural factor, is easily explained. The virgate was a fourth of the hide, and the ferding or ferling a fourth of the virgate. Estimates of the area of the hide vary from 120 acres and even more down to 40 acres; and I do not desire to offer an opinion. All that appears certain is that it was originally a "plough land;" and that by the Norman Conquest it had ceased in the present relation to have more than a fiscal bearing—a fact which seems strangely to have been overlooked. The local entries clearly show this; for while in one case a ferling contains $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates, or equivalent to 24 to the hide, and in another a virgate has 10, equivalent to 40, there are cases in which the hide is only stated as equal to two. Where the discrepancy is the greatest, there, as a rule, since the imposition of the hidage geld, the greatest improvements had been made. The acre, mile, and furlong may be regarded as decidedly greater than our measures; and they seem to have been used somewhat roughly, as their only purpose was to estimate non-taxable properties. The total figures given for the various manors fall, as a rule, very far short of the full extent; for nothing was noted that did not have an actual appropriated value, either as arable, pasture (natural pasture, as of any moorland), meadow (and there are indications that this applied chiefly to strath land, by the streams), and wood or coppice. Commonly about a fourth only of the actual area is thus accounted for; but in this locality some of the smaller manors are much more closely estimated. Of the occupiers under the lords or their tenants, the serfs were the lowest, absolute slaves at the will of the lord; the villeins appertained rather to the land, but had certain privileges and rights in return for their service; and the bordars were cottagers—opinions differ as to whether they were more free than the villeins, or intermediate between them and the serfs. Probably they, in part at least, cultivated small patches of ground, and paid a rent in kind, and they may also have been, as Mr. Round suggests, labourers on the lord's demesne.

Plymouth Sutton ; for it is expressly stated to have been appendant, with Macretone (Maker) and Tanbretone (Kings Tamerton), to the manor of Wachetone, or Walkhampton. Was the other Sutton here also? At first sight this would seem probable ; for in after years we read of the manors of Sutton Prior, and of Sutton Vawter, or Valletort, as well as of the tything of Sutton Raf, which, with part of the tything of Compton, were constituted in 1439-40 the incorporated borough of Plymouth. Enquiry at once throws doubt on the hypothesis. It is true that Leland, speaking of the Priory of Plympton, states that "the chirch, and much of the ground whereon Sutton, now caulled Plymmouth, was builded, was longing to one of the Prebendes titulo S. Petri and Pauli of Plympton, a collegiate chirch . . . before the Conquest;" whence the natural inference would be, that here was the origin of Sutton Prior.¹ Domesday, however, is utterly silent about any such holding of the Saxon college in Sutton. We do not know Leland's authority ; but monkish legends are not always to be trusted, and monkish forgeries of title-deeds are not unknown. The division of the original Sutton into Sutton Prior and Sutton Vawter is to be explained much more easily. Henry I. gave the manor of Sutton, with those of Maker and Kings Tamerton, to Reginald of Valletort, and the Valletorts were very liberal benefactors to the Priory. Copies of some of their grants are preserved—of the island of St. Nicholas, of a site to erect a milldam and mills at Millbay, of rights of fishery. It is not until long after the Valletorts held Sutton that we hear anything of Sutton Prior, and then it appears rather as a town and burgh than a manor, though the Prior certainly exercised manorial rights. In the *Nomina Villarum* (7th Edward II., 1314), for example, "John de Dalecurta" (Valletort) is said to own "Sutton Rauff" and the Prior of Plympton "Burgus de Sutton," and in an enquiry made by the Sheriff of Devon, four years later (1318), there is record of the existence of a fishing village and a place for the sale of fish, before the foundation of the ville of Sutton, ere the manor passed out of the king's hands ; while "John de Vautort of Modeton" (Moditonham), and "John de Vantort of Clyst," with the Prior of Plympton, declare that the Prior is lord of two parts of the town, and they of the other third. The history and causes of the division of the manor seem therefore clear. But if

¹ This was the view I formerly inclined to accept, though doubtfully. (Vide *Hist. Plym.* pp. 16, 18.)

this evidence is not deemed conclusive, there is yet another argument. The King's Sutton of Domesday is described as having land for six ploughs. It occupies therefore the fullest limits we can fairly assign to the original Plymouth manor. The enumerated population is just over half-a-dozen—one serf, four villeins, and two bordars. There were upon it fifteen sheep, and it paid twenty shillings a year by weight.¹

Next in age of the Three Towns comes Stonehouse. Here there is no uncertainty. Stanehus—the name is evidently derived from its peculiar and proud possession of a building of “stane and lime”—which had belonged in the days of King Eadward to Alwin the Saxon, was held by Robert the Bastard. There was only land for one plough, and it was occupied by one villein, who paid five shillings annually. Robert had also two villeins in the land of St. Peter of Plympton, which Alwin had held, and these paid another five shillings. If any part of Plymouth land belonged to the Priory before the Conquest, it would in all likelihood be this; but there is not the slightest evidence in support of the suggestion. Indeed the evidence is all the other way.

There are many Stokes or Stoches in the Devon Domesday; but there is no difficulty in identifying Stoke Damerel, which still bears as a distinctive title the name of its Norman lord—Robert of *Albemarle*. It was a somewhat important centre, and had been much improved since the time of Brismar, who held it under the Confessor, the value having increased from forty shillings to seventy. It had land for twelve ploughs, a population of five serfs, sixteen villeins, and four bordars, and was the most important manor of the whole immediate district. If, as I have hinted, we may regard the “stocks” as the earlier Saxon settlements, this may be the place whence Sutton took its name of South-town, and Weston that of West-town, if the cause in each case was identical; but I speak very doubtfully, and really despair of being able to give a satisfactory solution of this problem. It may be, as I have elsewhere suggested, that the Old Town of Sutton Vawter, which undoubtedly preceded Sutton Prior, had an existence and a name earlier even than Domesday; but no continuing town or site seems capable of answering our requirements.

¹ The other Sutton, if association may be trusted, was somewhere on or near the shores of Torbay.

Weston, now Weston Peverel, is the next manor to Stoches. Before the Conquest it belonged to Ulnod, his sole possession in this locality. Under the Conqueror it passed to the famous Judhel of Totnes, the largest Norman landowner in the district; and at the date of Domesday it formed one of a group of manors within what is now the suburban ring of the Three Towns, rented by one Odo, but which had nearly all formed separate holdings. We have also Bureton (Burrington) which had belonged to Alwin; Manadon to Colbert; Witelie (East Whitley) to Godwin; two Modlei¹ (Higher and Lower Mutley) belonging respectively to Godwin and Alwin; Colridge (Coldridge), owned by Edmer; and Leuricestone, by Saulf, all in the lordship of Judhel and all let by him to Odo—an extensive estate, lying well-nigh, in modern parlance, in a ring fence.

These are all familiar names, with one exception—that of Leuricestone. As a rule the entries of Judhel's manors, even more so than those of other local lords, run in fairly consecutive topographical order. His first manor in this immediate locality is Egg Buckland; then come the Mutleys; then Leuricestone; and then Weston. There can be no doubt therefore that Leuricestone belongs to our suburban belt, and little doubt that it is one of the two Lipsons, though that name is certainly more clearly identifiable in Lisistone, the other form in which it appears. I confess, however, that I have hesitated whether Leuricestone did not after all comprise in part the Cattedown district. It really seems compounded of the old names of the estuary and of that rocky hill—Lary and Hingstone. Curiously enough, too, evidence has recently come to light of the existence of a hitherto unrecorded manor, lying between the Suttons and the accepted Lipson, down so late as the middle of the seventeenth century; and there is a quaint echo of the ancient Leuricestone in the later Lulyetts Fee. We may therefore, almost with absolute certainty, regard Lipson and Leuricestone as adjoining estates, the latter ranging to the west of the former.²

¹ This origin of Mutley conclusively disposes of the idea that the name had anything to do with the Maudlyn House, as formerly suggested, and as accepted by me.

² I question whether there are half a dozen persons who are aware of the existence within the precincts of the borough of Plymouth of this manor of Lulyetts or Uletts Fee. So far as I know, it is mentioned only in a seventeenth century manor court-book, which has somehow found its way among the muniments of the Plymouth Corporation, but which has nothing to do

This group of manors calls for little further remark. Some change had taken place in them under the Norman occupation; for Weston had advanced in value from ten shillings to thirty; Witelie from two shillings to seven and sixpence; Colrige, formerly waste, had become worth fifteen pence. The only falling off was in Manadon, from twenty shillings to twelve and sixpence.

Bocheland, which we identify with Egg Buckland, partly by the order in which it occurs, and which had been held by Heche, was retained by Judhel in his own hands. It had a population even greater than that of Stoke Damerel—ten serfs, ten villeins, and eight bordars. But the most interesting fact to us is that it possessed a salt-work—a place on the borders of the Laira estuary, with any corporate property. This book records the proceedings of the courts leet and courts baron of John Giffard and Alice Giffard, his widow, for the manor of “Uletts fee als Lulytts Sparke als Lulettys fee,” with a parcell of the manor of Lypston or Lipson. The first court recorded was held 16th July, 1st James I. (1603), and the last 13th Charles I. (1638). Though the two manors are linked together, and occasionally called “Ulett cum Lypson,” yet the entries of each are kept so far distinct that we can fairly ascertain what the general extent of Uletts Fee was. It certainly reached from Bilbury Street to North-hill, and so far east by Briton-side as the Whitefriars. The Headlands, otherwise described as “a close by the Maudlyn,” was part of the manor; so was Hampton Shute or Close (als Gilwell parke), on part of which Charles Church stands; and so was a certain unnamed close in the occupation of Thomazine Gibbons, which we may identify with Gibbons Fields, and which, as the rent paid to the lord seems to have averaged 3s. 6d. an acre, may be taken as about four acres in extent. No doubt the manor by the date of these courts had been to a certain extent dismembered; for besides Bilbury Street and East Cross Street there is mention of a tenement in Looe Street, and it is probable therefore that its southern boundary extended at least thus far. Moreover the first list of free tenants, under the year 1603, reaches a total of thirty-six, all but three of whom are entered as heirs of former tenants, while in subsequent years the free tenants do not muster a fourth of that number. In the same year there are recorded six conventional and customary tenants for Uletts Fee, and six conventional tenants for Lipson, the gross rental being £5 10s. 5d. A full list of rentals for the year 1619 shows, however, much better results. In that year the rents payable by the free tenants were £1 0s. 9d. yearly, with 1s. payable at Michaelmas; and the conventional tenants paid £22 5s. 8d. The greater portion of this came from Lipson, the property wherein extended over 167½ acres. Of this one John Collyngs held 100 acres, and had to pay in addition to his rent two capons or two shillings yearly at Christmas, while he had abated yearly at Michaelmas 13s. 4d., for the high rent of Plympton Grange. Richard Derry and Austyn Eliot, two other of the Lipson tenants, had to render a capon each yearly, or 18d.

where salt was made by evaporating the sea water—and this was worth two shillings a year. Though the value of the manor was less than that of Stoke, and remained at fifty shillings, it must have had exceptional importance as the occasional residence of its powerful lord.

Contone (Compton) also belonged to Judhel, and was likewise in its way a notable centre. It had been held by Osulf, but was now rented by Stephen, and worth thirty shillings. The population was just double that of Sutton.

It is possible that in the dispossessed Saxon thane Osulf we have the under tenant of Wide (Widely) and Witelie (West Whitleigh). These two estates had been held in the time of the Confessor, with Hanechelole (Honicknowle) and Tori (Tor), by Wadelo the freeman, but had passed to Robert of Albemarle. Hanechelole and Tori had become the manors of the Count of Moreton, the brother of the Conqueror, and were, with many other estates of that great lord paramount, held by Reginald of Valletort, ancestor of the most famous Norman family of the West of the second generation.

So much for our more immediate suburban area.

Following up the Tamar, we come to Tanbretone (Kings Tamerton), already mentioned as being in the King's demesne.

Bucheshire (St. Bude), one of several manors held by the chief thane of the district, the Saxon Alwin, had passed into the hands of Alured the Briton. He likewise held the adjoining estate of Tamerton (Tamerton Foliot), which had enormously improved in value since the days of the dispossessed Inewar, from sixty shillings to a hundred. It had the very large enumerated population of twenty-nine, and a salt-work returning five shillings.

Inewar had also held the adjacent manor of Blachestane (Blackstone), which likewise passed to Alured, and had been by him improved in value from twenty shillings to fifty. Next in the list of Alured's possessions comes Tawi, held by Siward in the time of Eadward. There is no place-name extant that corresponds with this, but it is evidently taken from the river, the Tavy, and perhaps extended along its eastern bank towards Buckland Monachorum.¹ Here too we have a large population—twenty-one in all, and an increase of value from twenty shillings to sixty.

¹ Mr. Davidson suggests Peter Tavy.

This Alured the Briton is so called to distinguish him from another Alured, the Spaniard. He was by no means so fortunate with all his manors as he was with those bordering the Tavy; for several elsewhere show a decrease of value. In this district, however, he was certainly, if we may judge by results, the leading agriculturist of his day, or else the hardest taskmaster. Perhaps both descriptions will apply.

There is only one manor west of the Tavy to which I need call attention, but that is an important one—Birland or Beer—held by Ordulf in the days of the Confessor, but in Norman times by Reginald of Valletort, under the Earl of Moreton. It is one of the most extensive manors noted in the district, having land for fifteen ploughs, and a population of twenty-nine, including three swineherds, who rendered fifteen swine yearly, and seven salt-works, rendering ten shillings. The value here, as in the other Tavy manors, had gone up—from sixty shillings to a hundred.

There is another manor named Tamarlande, which apparently adjoined Birland on the west, and continued the river frontage. The common termination "land" at least suggests association. It seems in some cases to have been specially used of a peninsular area—a tract mainly bounded or enclosed by the sea or by a river; and thus to be somewhat analogous to (? representing) the Keltic *lan* = "an enclosure."

Tracing now the course of the Plym northwards, along its western bank, adjoining Leuricestone we have the easily-identifiable Lisis-tone (Lipson). This had belonged to Godwin; but it had come into the possession of the powerful Count of Moreton, and, therefore, almost as a matter of course, was held by Reginald of Valletort, the most important "tenant" in this locality. Then, as since, Lisistone was a place of small importance; still it had an enumerated population of eight against the three of Leuricestone. Next to Lisistone comes Elforde—the modern Efford—a manor held by Robert the Bastard in demesne, which had belonged to Alwin. It was an estate of fair dimensions, but the chief points in connection with it are that it had increased in value from ten to twenty shillings, and that it had a fishery worth twelve pence a year. Probably this was in the Plym. In later times there was a fishery of some value in what was called Dee myl, or Demyll, poole; but no mill is

recorded in Domesday as having existed, either here or elsewhere, in this neighbourhood—a singular fact. Passing over Egg Buckland, as already mentioned, we have the manor of Torncherie (Thornbury), held by Alured under the Count of Moreton, and previously the land of Alcherl.

The three extensive manors of Bickleigh, Buckland Monachorum, and Sampford Spiney (Bichelie, Bocheland, and Sanford), were to a large extent coincident with the present parishes of that name, and, like Stoke Damerel, had owned Brismar for their Saxon lord. They passed together to William of Pollei. He retained the two former in his own hands, and the third was held under him by Robert. All three had so largely increased in value (in each case the value had doubled) so as to suggest here also either that Brismar was a very stupid or a very easy-going sort of landowner, or William a very clever or a very hard one. William kept them well stocked. Bickleigh had no less than 146 sheep, beside fourteen goats; and its fishery in the Plym was worth five shillings a year, against a total annual value of forty. Buckland was even more important. It had the largest enumerated population of any manor in the district—twelve serfs, twenty-four villeins, and ten bordars, and it possessed both a salt-work and a fishery (in the Tavy) worth ten shillings a year. The stock comprised twenty beasts, forty swine, and 130 sheep, and it was worth 100 shillings annually. Sampford, then as now, was a place of comparatively little importance.

I have said that these three manors probably corresponded very nearly with the modern parishes; but there were some other manors of minor importance within their area. Possibly we shall not err in identifying the Bichecome of Robert of Albemarle with Bickham, and the Cumbe, held by Reginald under the Count of Moreton, with one of the local Combes, though it seems almost hopeless as a general rule to attempt to connect the Combes and Lees, and other frequently occurring titles of the Survey, with places bearing such names now.

Next to Sanford comes Wicerce (Whitchurch), the only place in the district under review giving indication in its name of Christian surroundings. It had been the property of Sawin, but had passed to Ruald Adobed, the owner of Tamarlande, and, as the fact of the existence of a church would almost necessarily indicate, was populous—the inhabitants mustering 43 all told. Tavistock was

the chief centre of population in this part of Devon, and all its surroundings were populous in like manner. There seems ground therefore to suppose that Tavistock held or had held somewhat of the position, next to Lydford, of a provincial capital. Lydford was, however, the chief town of south-west Devon, as Totnes was of the south-east, Barnstaple of the north, and Exeter of the centre; an arrangement, by the way, that could hardly be accidental.

This brings us to the head manor of the ancient hundred—Wachetone, or Walkhampton—a place noteworthy only for being part of the royal demesne. Most of the lands hence between Dartmoor and the Meavy or Plym, downwards to Plympton, were owned by the omnivorous Judhel of Totnes.

There were no fewer than four manors bearing the name of Mewi (Meavy), each of which in Saxon times had been owned by a separate thane or franklin—Alward, Alwin, Edward, and Osulf, but all of which were now the property of Judhel. Two were rented from him by Turgis, who was likewise the tenant of Judhel's lands in Shaugh. Two of the Meavy manors were of course Good-a-Meavy (= the Fertile Meavy; or, if a Keltic derivation is taken, Coed-y-Meavy, the Wooded Meavy), and Hoo Meavy (= High Meavy), and these I take it were the two held by Turgis, as adjoining Shaugh. The larger of the others was the manor granted by Cnut, at the further extremity of the parish; but I am not sure that the fourth was within the present limits of Meavy parish at all, or whether it may not be the modern Sheepstor (anciently Schitestor). There is no name in Domesday which definitely represents this in any form; and Judhel, who owned most of the lands in this neighbourhood, has no Tor that can be identified with it. Sheepstor may, however, have been simply part of the Dartmoor waste, and therefore unappropriated in the Survey. On the other hand, we may find it under the name of Metwi, a manor which had belonged to Alwin, but had become the property of Robert the Bastard, and which seems to have been somewhere in this locality. Its breadth of pasture and wood give it all the characteristics of an ancient upland farm. There are perhaps more grounds for associating with Meavy parish the Coltrestan of Judhel, held by Turgis, and identifying it with the manor of Callisham. The corruption is not greater than is frequently found where no doubt can exist. Moreover, all the other manors held by

Turgis under Judhel adjoined each other, in this very neighbourhood. Still the remaining lands of its Saxon owner Aluric lay between the Plym and the Yealm, and Calstone in Holbeton has a name more nearly akin. The order of succession in Domesday does not help us here; for Coltrestan occurs after Langdon and before Fernhill, and thus may belong to either group. But it was certainly within our district.

The manors of Scage, or Shaugh—for there were two, corresponding to Higher and Nether Shaugh—in the days of the Confessor were the property of Alebric, who owned an extensive tract of land on the borders of the moor in this vicinity, and had Judhel for his successor. To him belonged also Fernehelle (Fernhill); Pidehel (Pithill); Torix, which adjoined the head waters of the Torry brook; Lochetore (Loughtor) on the same stream near Newnham; Odeford (the lower of the two Woodfords near Marsh Mills); Hoveland (Holland); Lege (Lee); and Waliforde (Collaford). Alebric's estates must therefore have stretched very nearly from the Plym to the Yealm. The northern portion generally fell to Turgis as under tenant, the southern to Ralph.

Two other manors on the eastern side of the Plym have yet to be mentioned. These are Brictricestone, now represented by Brixton in Shaugh parish, which had passed from Elmer to Judhel, and was held by Ralph, and the second of the two Odefords—Higher Woodford—which had likewise belonged to Elmer, and had passed to Judhel and Ralph in common with its neighbour. There was evidently a very strong and natural desire on the part both of lords and tenants to make their holdings as compact as possible.

Cornehode (Cornwood) and other manors in that locality had fallen to the Earl of Moreton; and this, like Harford and Beer Ferrers, was in the hands of Reginald of Valletort as under tenant. Cotelie, which I identify with Cadleigh, and which with Cornwood had belonged to the Saxon thane Edmar, was, like its neighbour, fairly populous. The two Bachemores (Baccamoore) were held by Ralph under Judhel.

There is no need to quote the old "furzy-down" rhyme to prove that Plympton is older than Plymouth. Under the name of Plintona it appears in Domesday as the chief centre of the immediate district, and the most valuable manor. It had land in all for twenty-six ploughs, besides woods half a mile in breadth,

and stretching a mile in length. Twenty plough lands were in the hands of the king, and rendered him £13 10s. annually; six plough lands were held by the canons of St. Peter. Six serfs, fifteen villeins, and twelve bordars, dwelt on the royal domains; twelve villeins on those of the canons. The total enumerated population was thus forty-five, besides the canons and other free-men. By the side of such a community as this, little Sutton was nowhere.

The next entry to that of Plintone is Elintone, and the record is that of a manor of almost equal importance. But we have no Elintone in this neighbourhood; and no satisfactory proof of its identity has hitherto be found. The most feasible hypothesis suggested was that the E had been written by mistake for P; and that we have here another Plympton—as we now have Plympton St. Mary and Plympton Erle. But against this we have to set the fact that the blunder, if it be one, is found in both the Exchequer and Exon books, and that they agree also with regard to Plymstock as well as Plympton. And there is a fatal objection in the further fact that if we add Elintone to Plintone, and take also the other manors included within the limits of the Plymptons now, we shall get an acreage far in excess of the area.

I can at best offer a suggestion—may not Yealmpton be intended? It is the adjoining parish to Plympton; its area would fairly accord with the figures given; and what is perhaps quite as much to the purpose, under its present name, or one more nearly approaching to it than Elintone, Yealmpton does not appear in Domesday at all. We may be sure it is somewhere; and the difficulty with regard to the name is more in appearance than reality. “N” is used for “m” in Plintone as it would be on my theory in Elintone; and “e”—with or without the aspirate, or “a” with it—are constantly employed for “y.” When Yarnescombe appears as Hernescoma, and Yartecombe as Erticoma, Yealmpton may easily be read as Elinton or Elintona. Besides, in one instance the Exon Domesday gives Alentona, which is not easily convertible into anything else than Yealmpton. The point is noteworthy; for if this identification is correct Yealmpton 800 years since had an importance second only to Plympton itself. Elintone had land for twenty ploughs, and a recorded population of forty-four; while the portion held by the king returned £12 10s. yearly by weight. It is important also

from another fact, that part of the manor of Elintone was held by the clergy of the ville in alms. The canons of Plintone, and the clergy of Elintone, are the only "religious" recorded in the immediate Plymouth district.¹

I do not wish to ignore any difficulties. The Exon Domesday speaks of the clergy of Elintone as of St. Mary of Alentona; and the existing church of Yealmpton is dedicated to St. Bartholomew, while the dedication of Plympton St. Mary is patent. But a change of dedication is no unusual thing, and we know that Plympton St. Mary does not date as a dedication further back than the beginning of the 14th century.

On the other hand, the situation of Yealmpton is precisely that which all the leading early settlements and religious stations—if I may use a modern phrase—of this part of the county occupied before the Norman Conquest. Take St. Germans, at the head of the Lynher; Tavistock, on the head waters of the Tavy; Plympton, at the "head of the lake" (Pen-lin) which we now call the Laira; Yealmpton, at the head of the tidal waters of the Yale, or Hayle.²

I do not care to lay much stress upon traditions unless their natural origin and purity of transmission can be clearly shown; but we need not ignore the further fact that Yealmpton is reputedly a place of note in Saxon days, and it certainly derives additional importance from the presence of the ancient inscribed stone in its churchyard, which fairly indicates ecclesiastical influence in very early times.

The immediate vicinity was one of considerable prominence; and without attempting to trace all the manors immediately contiguous to the east bank of the Yealm, particular mention should be made of one or two. First we have Niwetone (Newton Ferrars), which Edmar held in the days of King Eadward, and which became one of the estates held by Reginald of Valletort under the Earl of

¹ In the taxation of Pope Nicholas (1288-91) the name is Yalmpton and Yalampton.

² I have elsewhere given reasons for believing Hayle the original form of the name of the river which is now called the Yealm, a word in its present shape inexplicable in either Keltic or Saxon. Hayle is simply Kornu for river; and hayle-ham-ton—the enclosure of the dwelling by the Hayle—the Domesday "*Al-en-tona*" as nearly as one could wish. The "p" is not original either in Plympton or Yealmpton, and both words appear without it down to comparatively recent times.

Moreton. A modern settlement by comparison with its neighbours, it had a recorded inhabitancy of thirty-three, notwithstanding its value had fallen off (and therefore presumably its population also) from six pounds to seventy shillings, the result possibly of the ravages of northern pirates.

Memidlande (Membland) and Lambsete (Lambside) were part of the possessions of Judhel. Hard by is Calstone, which I have suggested as an alternative identification with Callisham of Coltrestan.

Revelstoke does not appear under that name, and I am unable to satisfy myself that it can be identified with any of the Stokes. Can Nattorn or Netton be the manor of Notone? which belonged to the Abbey of Buckfastleigh, and which had an enumerated population of twenty-seven.

The district between the Yealm and the Plym presents hardly any difficulty, but the diminutive character of some of the manors will surprise those who have not learnt how very unimportant in their origin a great proportion of the feudal divisions were. By far the larger number belonged to Judhel. Brixton appears as two manors, a distinction which has continued to the present day, under the name of Brisestone. Both were held under Judhel by William, who also held the adjacent manors of Chichelesberie, Sherford, Ulueveton, Hagwile, Stotescome, Stotdone, and Done. There is no Wembury, but its area is fairly covered by the two Langedone manors, held of Judhel by Waldin. Ho, the last of Judhel's manors in this locality, was tenanted by Stephen, probably the same who held Compton.

With two exceptions the other manors between the lower waters of the Plym and the Yealm had passed to the Earl of Moreton—Harestone (both Higher and Lower), Spredelestone, and Wederige; and these were all tenanted by Reginald. William of Poillei had Gosewelle, and the Abbey of Tavistock Plemestoch; the latter fact showing how utterly baseless is the tradition of "Childe the Hunter," of his death in the snow on Dartmoor, of the will written in his blood

"He that finds and brings me to my tomb
My lands at Plymstock shall be his doom,"

and finally, of the "guile" by which the monks of Tavistock secured the prize.

Four manors only west of the Tamar come within our purview. At the time of the Survey what is now the parish of Maker was divided into two manors of Macretone, one the demesne of the King, with land for ten ploughs; and the other belonging to the Count of Moreton, with land for eight, and held under him by Reginald of Valletort. One of these two manors is in the Devon Survey, and the other in the Cornwall, and they may be taken as corresponding to what, until recent years, was the division of the parish between the two counties. Rame and Antone, both fairly-populous manors, were held by Ermenhald under the Abbey of Tavistock; and it is curious to note that the Abbot of Horton gave the land of Antony a bad name.

The area comprised in the district which we have been considering, and shown in the map, is about 250 square miles, of which, after allowing for water, and for the included parts of Cornwall, something over 200 square miles may be considered to belong to the land surface of Devon. The manors identified as occupying this area are eighty-one in number. Whilst therefore the district itself is just a twelfth the size of Devon (3585 square miles), the manors are one-fourteenth of the total number, which is 1118. The population of the manors enumerated is 812, and as the total population of the county set forth in Domesday, as calculated by Sir H. Ellis, is 17,434,¹ it follows that the average population of

¹ In Devon the villeins formed nearly half the population—8070, the bordars being 4847, and the serfs 3294. In Cornwall a very different state of social relations is indicated, by the bordars mustering 2355, against 1730 villeins, and 1160 serfs. May not this have resulted from the mixed Saxon and Keltic population of the latter county?

I have been careful to speak of the "enumerated" or "recorded" population, and so to guard against the inference that Domesday contains complete census returns. The free classes must be added to the figures given, and we have very little clue as to the proportion they bore. The burgesses in the towns too, who held rather a personal than a class relation to their lords, must in many cases have been heads of families; and so with certain others of the enumerated whose individual position is clearly defined by the character of their occupations. But so far as regards the three great unfree divisions—serfs, villeins, and bordars or cottars—I hold the returns to be generally inclusive, and to cover all who came under these heads, old and young. They were all more or less the property of the lord, or appendant to the soil; and the rigid scrutiny that cast up with all the accuracy attainable every sheep, or goat, or pig, would not have omitted knowingly a single member of the

the local manors is some 50 per cent. less than those of the county generally. In accepting this conclusion it must be borne in mind, however, that this corner of the county included none of the chief centres of population, such as Exeter, Totnes, Barnstaple, and Lydford. Allowing for this, we shall find that the average of the more rural districts is fairly represented here.

Included within our area we have nearly all the hundreds of Roborough and Plympton, with portions of the hundreds of Ermington and of East: comprising the parishes, in whole or in part, of old St. Andrew and Charles (Plymouth), Stoke Damerel, Stonehouse, St. Bude, Tamerton, Beer, Egg Buckland, Bickleigh, Buckland Monachorum, Whitchurch, Sampford Spiney, Walkhampton, Sheeps-ter, Meavy, Shaugh, Plympton Mary, Plympton Erle, Cornwood, Yealmp-ton, Newton Ferrers, Holbeton, Revelstoke, Wembury, Brixton, Plymstock, Rame, Maker, and Antony. Without assuming absolute accuracy, it seems probable that the population of Roborough Hundred was greater than that of Plympton, but that it did not much, if at all, exceed the 500 or 600 which we have regarded as the original hundred population unit. It is impossible to speak with precision on this point, still in all likelihood the population of Plympton Hundred was at least fifty less. We can reckon exactly the population of the eight manors which now constitute the Three Towns—Svdtone, Leuricestone, Lisistone, Contone, the two Modleis, Stanchvs, and Stoches—and we find it 61. This makes a poor figure against the enumerated population of the chief centre in south-west Devon—Tavistock, which had a stated population, in addition to monks and five tenants under the abbey, of 79. Lydford, with its 28 burgesses within the walls and 41 without, had clearly been distanced by the “stock” of the Tavy. For twenty miles, however, in every direction St. Germans was the most important settlement; for it had 92 dwellers, exclusive of the canons. Since Domesday the population of the immediate Three Towns’ area has increased at the very least 2000 times.

serf, or villein, or bordar classes. For all practical purposes, therefore, so far as the Plymouth district is concerned, the figures of the unfree population may be accepted as substantially accurate. They agree closely, moreover, with the hundreds estimate; and I do not believe that the addition of the free folk would increase our total more than 25 per cent. Had there been any burgh within the area, of course a much larger addition must have been made.

From the Hundred enumeration we gather that the number of hides in the county was 927½. The average taxable area of each manor was therefore something less than six-sevenths of a hide. This is rather above the average of the manors within the district under review, which cannot well be put at more than five-sevenths. Still, the difference is not important. The plough lands made a total of 368½, so that there were six times as many actual carucates as nominal hides.

It is not possible to give more than approximate estimates of the extent of meadow, wood, and pasture, in consequence of the doubt that exists as to the value of the old mile and acre. Bringing them as nearly as may be to the present standards, we find, however, that the district did not contain less than twenty square miles of pasture, with quite as much of wood and coppice. The meadow land can be given exactly at 189½ acres. If we estimate the carucate at the 100 to 120 acres which is commonly assigned to the hide as a ploughland—the arable to be worked and the meadow and pasture for the maintenance of the team—we shall get another fifty to sixty square miles, and shall thus be able to account for half our total area. But the extent of the carucate is really speculative, and, as I have said, the general Domesday statistics comprise only the smaller portion of the land—that to which the Commissioners assigned a definite appropriation and value. We may assume therefore that the aspect of this corner of Devon was very much wilder than these figures would indicate, and that, save between the estuaries of the Plym and the Yealm, where individual settlements were more thickly planted, the country was simply dotted with clearings.

It is worth noting too that a large proportion of the manors—more than a third—had no pasture attached, that a fourth were without wood, and that a large proportion had no meadow. The absence of natural pasture is indeed a distinguishing characteristic of the lowlying manors as compared with the upland; while it is the coast manors that as a class are peculiarly characterised by the absence of wood. The general conditions in fact correspond remarkably to those observable at the present day. The chief breadths of meadow land are evidently associated with rivers and streams, and were undoubtedly chiefly natural in their origin.

One very notable point is the fact that the number of ploughs or plough-teams fell far short of the requirements of the arable

land. Only a few manors were adequately supplied, and over the whole district there were not ploughs sufficient for three-fifths of the plough lands.

There are a number of interesting details in the statistics given of the former and present values of the various estates. The total stated value, at the time of the Survey, of all the manors set forth as comprised within the area reviewed was £126 4s. 9d. Money is commonly reckoned as being then worth thirty times its present value, which would give an equivalent rental of £3787 2s. 6d. The present rateable value of the district is at least £500,000. Therefore in the eight centuries that have elapsed since the compilation of Domesday, the annual value of the landed property in this district has advanced 140-fold, while so far as the Three Towns only are concerned it has been ten times as great—1400 times.

We are hardly in a position to contrast the improvement that had been effected between the Confessor's time and that of the Conqueror; for the previous value of the king's and of a few other manors are not stated. Assuming, however, that in them there was no change, we get a Saxon value of £115 13s. 6d., showing a difference of £10 11s. 3d. The net Norman improvement in twenty years was therefore nearly 10 per cent., or in present money £330.

The greatest changes effected by the Conquest were, as might be anticipated, in the ownership. Not a single manor here, at any rate, continued in the hands of its former lay lord, either as owner or as tenant, and the only link left between the old order and the new (church lands excepted) is the fact that Osulf, who had owned Compton and one of the Meavies, both of which passed to Judhel, had become, under Robert of Albemarle, tenant of Widey and East Whitleigh. In the days of the Confessor the lands were divided among thirty-nine proprietors,¹ of whom the larger majority held one or two manors only. Chief were Alebric, with 10½ manors; Alwin, with 9 manors; Aluric, with 8; the king, with 6; while Edmar and Brismar and Wadelo had 4 each. One manor was owned by four thanes jointly, and another by two.

¹ There are variations in spelling of names, which render it doubtful how far in all cases various forms may be associated.

The Conquest reduced these thirty-nine proprietors to ten (to nine only, if Notone is without the area); and one of these owned far more than all the others put together, Judhel, of Totnes, who held no fewer than forty-three manors, including all the lands of Alebric and of Aluric, and a half of those of Alwin, the other great Saxon landowner of the district. Next to Judhel came the Count of Moreton with fourteen manors, and the other chief lay lords, with the exception of Raoul Adobed (who had two) held four each. The Norman tenants were fifteen in number, and by them sixty-three of the eighty-one Devon manors were held, the remainder being retained in demesne.

It will be observed that with the three exceptions of Plintone and Elintone, where the presence of clergy is distinctly stated, and of Wicerce, where it is implied in the name, there is no evidence in our district of any ecclesiastical organization, though at no great distance outside we have also the monks of Tavistock and the canons of St. Germans. This agrees precisely with the testimony of ancient edifices; for with the single exception of Meavy, and that is of later date than the Survey, there is no trace of early Norman church architecture in this neighbourhood. It does not agree with the very early origin sometimes given to the vicarage of St. Andrew. Sutton at the time of the Survey was too unimportant to be a vicarage; but we can very well understand that in the course of the missionary labours of the religious of Plympton, it was selected as of easy access for them, and fairly central for the whole of the wide district originally included in the parish,¹ as one of their chief stations—precisely as meeting-houses are established in the thinly-peopled backwoods of America now. The form of occurrence of the names Macretone and Bucheside equally disposes of the imaginary original dedications to those very doubtful saints, the early St. Machir and St. Budock.

The stations of the British Church in this locality had disappeared under the Saxon rule. Whitechurch indeed seems to afford some evidence of an early origin; and the inscribed stones found at Buckland Monachorum certainly do point to a pronounced early ecclesiastical influence there: still these traces may be connected with the foundation at Tavistock. The dedication of Penny-cross Chapel to the British saint Pancras might appear a stronger in-

¹ The Three Towns and suburban belt.

stance ; but I am convinced that this has simply arisen out of the corruption of the Kornu-British Pen-y-craes—"the head of the cross," probably referring to the crossing of two tracks or roads. On the other hand, though there is no distinct proof (unless the inscribed stone at Yealmpton be taken into account), both Plympton and Yealmpton may have been seats of the Keltic Church ; and we cannot believe that so wide, if so sparsely populated, an area was without some.

There are two or three interesting facts indicated by the stock returns of the Exeter Domesday. Rather over a third of the manors have no stock stated, and therefore were purely arable. Sheep were the most numerous class of farm animals, then as now ; but there were large numbers of half-wild swine among the woods ; and goats were fairly numerous on the uplands, by the coast, and in this immediate vicinity. Thus there were goats at Bickham, Bickleigh, Beer, Coltrestan, Cornwood, Lipson, Newton Ferrers, Rame, Stoke Damerel, Tamarlande, Weston Peveril, Widey, and Whitleigh. Swine are entered at Bickham, Bickleigh, Beer, where there were enough to give occupation to three swineherds ; Blackstone, which had one swineherd ; Buckland Monachorum, Brixton in Shaugh, Coltrestan, Compton, Cornwood, Yealmpton, Feniton, Goosewell, Langdon, Meavy, Membrand, Natton, Newton Ferrers, Stoke Damerel, Staddiscombe, Tamarlande, Tor, Torry, Collaford, and Weston Peveril. Cornwood had also three wild horses, the ancestors of some of our Dartmoor ponies.

Our local examination of Domesday might be carried much more into detail, but I must not trespass further on your patience. In enquiries of this character we can only hope to approximate to the truth, and may well be satisfied if our main conclusions can be regarded as correct. I trust that the attempt now made for the first time, by the aid of the great Norman census, to bridge over the gap in our local history, which here, as elsewhere, yawns between the region of pure inference and the domain of stated fact, may not have been without interest, and may be at least of some value as an aid to future investigators.

APPENDIX.

IN this Appendix the full details of the Domesday entries for the Plymouth district are tabulated from the Exchequer book, with additional notes from the Exeter volume, and the differences between them noted. To give the full translation of both texts here would occupy too much space; and the tables, moreover, afford a far readier means of elucidating and comparing the leading statistical facts.

NOTES TO TABLE I.

BIRLAND.—Three of the eight entered as bordars were swineherds, rendering fifteen swine.

BLACHESTONE.—The one entered as bordar was a swineherd, rendering five swine.

CAME.—Three bordars. (*Exon.*)

DONE.—Formerly Alebric. (*Exon.*)

MIMIDLANDE.—Four bordars. (*Exon.*)

ULVEVETONE.—Three villeins. (*Exon.*)

NOTES TO TABLE II.

ANTONE.—Ermenhald held three parts, and the villeins the other third. (*Exon.*)

BACHEMORE.—Three ploughs. (*Exon.*)

BICHECOME.—Held by Robert of Herrefort. Villeins had four oxen in a plough. (*Exon.*)

BICHELE.—A fishery, rendering five shillings.

BIRLAND.—Seven saltworks, rendering ten shillings.

BLACHESTANE.—A saltwork, rendering thirty pence. None of Alured's manors are entered in the Exon Domesday; but his name occurs in the "Terræ Occupatæ."

BOCHELAND (EGG).—A saltwork, rendering two shillings.

BOCHELAND (MONACHORUM).—A saltwork and a fishery, rendering ten shillings. (*Exon* says pasture one mile long by one mile broad.)

BURETONE.—Noted as having two ploughs.

COLRIGE.—The villeins had one beast in a plough. (*Exon.*)

CORNEHODE.—Three wild horses also; seven bordars. (*Exon.*)

ELFORDE.—A fishery, rendering twelve pence.

FERNEHILLE.—The villein has one ox in a plough. (*Exon.*)

GOSEWELLE.—One cow; and two oxen in a plough by the villeins.

HARESTANE.—Reginald half a plough. The villeins four oxen in a plough; two cattle.

LAMBSETE.—Two acres of meadow. (*Exon.*)

LEURICESTONE.—One of the two ploughs said to belong to Odo, and the other to his villeins. (*Exon.*)

MEWI (3rd).—Half mile coppice. (*Exon.*)

TABLE I.

TABLE SHOWING ANCIENT AND MODERN NAMES OF MANORS, LORDS, TENANTS, AND POPULATION.

Domesday.	Modern Name.	Saxon Owner.	Norman Lord.	Norman Tenant.	Serfs.	Villeins.	Bordars.
Antone	Antony	Abbey of Tavistock.	Abbey of Tavistock.	Emmenhald.	4	12	15
Bachemone	Bacemone	Elouf	Judhel of Totnes.	Ralph	6	16	12
Plintone	Plympton	King	King	Canons	12	12	15
Rame	Rame	Abbey of Tavistock.	Abbey of Tavistock.	Emmenhald.	4	4	15
Sampfurd	Sampfurd Spiney	Brismar	William of Poillet	Robert	1	12	1
Seage	Shaugh	Alebric	Judhel	Turgis	1	4	1
Stage	Shaugh	Alebric	Judhel	Turgis	1	3	1
Sireford	Sherford	Alebric	Judhel	William	2	4	6
Spredelstone	Spiddlestone	Four thanes	Count of Moreton	Reginald	4	4	3
Stanehyv	Stonehouse	Alwin	Robert the Bastard.	Robert the Bastard.	1	1	1
Land of St. Peter of	Plympton	Alwin	Robert the Bastard.	Robert the Bastard.	5	16	4
Stoches	Stoke Damerel	Brismar	Robert of Albemarle.	William	1	1	1
Stotescome	Staddiscombe	Aluric	Judhel	William	1	1	1
Stoddone	Staddon	Alwin	Judhel	William	1	1	1
Svdtone	Sutton	King	Judhel	Walter	1	4	2
Tamarlande	(?)	Sedwin	Ruald Adobed	Walter	1	1	1
Tamerton	Tamerton Foliot	Ineuvar	Alured the Briton	Walter	7	16	6
Tanbretone	Kings Tamerton	King	Alured the Briton	Walter	1	6	2
Tawi	Tavy	Sward	Alured the Briton	Walter	9	6	6
Tori	Tor	Wado	Count of Moreton	Walter	2	3	5
Torix	Torix	Alebric	Judhel	Walter	1	2	1
Tornebetie	Thornbury	Acherlo	Count of Moreton	Reginald	1	3	4
Uluvevstone	Woolaton	Aluric	Judhel	Ralph	1	3	4
Wachetone	Wacheton	King	Judhel	Alured	2	6	4
Walford	Collaford	Alebric	Count of Moreton	William	2	1	1
Wedenge	Withy Hedge	Otre	King	William	1	1	1
Westone	Weston Peveril	Ulnod	Count of Moreton	Reginald	3	1	1
Wierce	Whitchurch	Sawin	Judhel	Odo	8	20	15
Wide	Widely	Wadelo	Ruald Adobed	Odo	3	1	1
Witelic	Whitleigh (West)	Wadelo	Robert of Albemarle.	Osof	1	1	3
Witelic	Whitleigh (East)	Godwin	Judhel	Odo	1	2	1

TABLE I.

TABLE SHOWING ANCIENT AND MODERN NAMES OF MANORS, LORDS, TENANTS,
AND POPULATION.

Domesday.	Modern Name.	Saxon Owner.	Norman Lord.	Norman Tenant.	Serfs.	Villeins.	Bordars.
Antone	Antony	Abbey of Tavistock.	Abbey of Tavistock.	Ermenhald	4	12	15
Bachemore	Baccanoor	Elouf	Judhel of Totnes	Ralph			
Bachemore	Baccanoor	Serie	Judhel	Ralph		4	3
Bichecome	Bickham	Almar	Robert of Albemarle	Robert	1	2	1
Bichelle	Bickleigh	Brismar	William of Poillei		7	7	4
Birland	Beer Ferrers	Ordulf	Count of Moreton	Reginald	5	16	5-3
Blachestane	Blackstone	Incunna	Alured the Briton		5	4	1
Bocheland	Egg Buckland	Heche	Judhel		10	10	8
Bocheland	Buckland Mon.	Brismar	William of Poillei		12	24	10
Bricricestone	Brixton, Shaugh	Elmer	Judhel	Ralph		4	2
Bucheside	St. Eudenaux	Alwin	Alured the Briton		4	5	
Bristestone	Brixton	Sedwin	Judhel	William		4	5
Bristestone	Brixton	Aluric	Judhel	William		4	5
Burstone	Burton	Alwin	Judhel	Odo	2	3	
Chichelesbene	Chittleburn	Ailric	Judhel	William			
Coltrestan	Callisham ?	Aluric	Judhel	Torgis	1	3	2
Colrige	Colridge	Edmer	Judhel	Odo			2
Contone	Compton Gifford	Osulf	Judhel	Stephen	2	6	4
Cornehode	Carnwood	Edmar	Count of Moreton	Reginald	8	8	8
Cumbe	Combe	Aluric	Count of Moreton	Reginald	1	3	2
Done	Down Thomas	Aluric	Judhel	William		4	
Elforde	Elford	Alwin	Robert the Bastard		2	3	1
Elintone	YeaImpton	King	King		10	16	9
Elintone	YeaImpton	King	King	Clergy	2	3	4
Feruchelle	Ferohill	Alwin	Judhel	Turgis		1	
Fineton	Fenton	Edmar	Count of Moreton	Drogo	2	8	4
Gosewelle	Goosewell	Heche	William of Poillei	Robert		1	3
Hagwile	Halwell	Aluric	Judhel	William	1	1	3
Hanechelole	Homeknowle	Wado	Count of Moreton	Reginald	2	2	
Harreston	Hearston	Edric	Count of Moreton	Reginald		2	1
Harstane	Hearston	Suet	Count of Moreton	Reginald	3	3	
Ho	Hoe	Alebric	Judhel	Stephen	1	6	2
Hevelande	Holland	Alebric and Algar	Judhel	Ralph		1	1
Langedone	Langdon	Herke	Judhel	Waldin	1	4	3
Langedone	Langdon	Gode	Judhel	Waldin		4	3
Lambsete	Lambside	Tovi	Judhel	Ralph	3	6	12
Lege	Lee	Alebric	Judhel	Ralph		3	
Leuricestone	Lipson (?)	Saulf	Judhel	Odo	1	2	
Lisitone	Lipson	Godwin	Count of Moreton	Reginald	1	4	3
Lochetore	Loughtor	Alebric	Judhel	Ralph	1	5	3
Macretone	Maker	King	King				
Macretone	Maker	Edward	Count of Moreton	Reginald	4	6	8
Manedone	Manadon	Colbert	Judhel	Odo	1	3	1
Metwi	(?)	Alwin	Robert the Bastard		1	5	
Mewi	Meavy	Edward	Judhel	Turgis	2	4	2
Mewi	Meavy	Osulf	Judhel	Nigel		1	1
Mewi	Meavy	Alward	Judhel	William	1		2
Mewi	Meavy	Alwin	Judhel	Turgis	1	3	2
Mimidlunde	Memblaud	Alberic	Judhel	Waldin	1	5	3
Modlei	Mutley	Godwin	Judhel	Odo		2	
Modlei	Mutley	Alwin	Judhel	Odo		1	2
Nolone	Natton (?)	Alwin the Abbot	Aby. of Buckfastleigh		6	9	12
Niwetone	Newton Ferrers	Edmar	Count of Moreton	Reginald	12	16	5
Odeford	Woodford (Lower)	Elmer	Judhel	Ralph	1	2	2
Odeford	Woodford (Higher)	Alebric	Judhel	Ralph	1	3	2
Pidelhel	Pithill	Alebric	Judhel	Turgis		2	
Piemestock	Plymstock	Sistric the Abbot	Abbey of Tavistock.		5	4	9
Plintone	Plympton	King	King		6	15	12
Plintone	Plympton	King	King	Canons		12	
Rame	Rame	Abbey of Tavistock.	Abbey of Tavistock	Ermenhald	4	4	15
Sanford	Samford Spiney	Brismar	William of Poillei	Robert	1	12	1
Seage	Shaugh	Alebric	Judhel	Turgis		4	1
Seage	Shaugh	Alebric	Judhel	Turgis	1	3	1
Sireford	Sherford	Alebric	Judhel	William	2	4	6
Spredelstone	Spriddlestone	Four thanes	Count of Moreton	Reginald		4	3
Stanchvis	Stonehouse	Alwin	Robert the Bastard			1	
Land of St. Peter of	Plympton	Alwin	Robert the Bastard			2	
Stoches	Stoke Damarel	Brismar	Robert of Albemarle.		5	16	4
Stotescome	Staddiscombe	Aluric	Judhel	William		1	1
Stoblone	Staddon	Alwin	Judhel	William			1
Svdtone	Sutton	King	King		1	4	2
Tamarlande	(?)	Sedwin	Ruald Adobed	Walter	1	1	
Tamerton	Tamerton Foliot	Incunna	Alured the Briton		7	16	6
Tanbretone	Kings Tamerton	King	King		1	6	2
Tawi	Tavy	Sward	Alured the Briton		9	6	6
Tori	Tor	Wado	Count of Moreton	Reginald	2	3	5
Torix	Torry	Alebric	Judhel	Ralph	1	2	1
Torneberie	Thornbury	Alicherlo	Count of Moreton	Alured	1	3	
Oluevetone	Woolaton	Aluric	Judhel	William		3	1
Wachetone	Walthampton	King	King		2	6	4
Waliford	Collaford	Alebric	Judhel	William		1	1
Wederige	Withy Hedge	Otre	Count of Moreton	Reginald	1		
Westone	Weston Peveril	Ulnod	Judhel	Odo	3	1	1
Wicere	Whitechurch	Sawin	Ruald Adobed		8	20	15
Wide	Widley	Wadelo	Robert of Albemarle.	Osulf	3	1	
Witelie	Whitleigh (West)	Wadelo	Robert of Albemarle.	Osulf			3
Witelie	Whitleigh (East)	Godwin	Judhel	Odo	1	2	1

- MODLEI (2).—Half a plough said to belong to Odo. (*Exon.*)
 ODEFORD (LOWER).—A saltwork and a fishery.
 PIDHEHEL.—Now worth four shillings. (*Exon.*)
 TAMERTON.—A saltwork, returning five shillings.
 TORI.—Wood is coppice. (*Exon.*)
 TORIX.—A plough and a half.
 ULUEVETONE.—Three villeins; pasture two furlongs by two furlongs. (*Exon.*)
 WITELIE (2).—Formerly and now worth ten shillings. (*Exon.*)

SAXON LANDOWNERS AND LANDS TEMP. EDWARD
 CONFESSOR.

- AILMAR.—Bichecome.
 ALCHERLO.—Torneberie.
 ALEBRIC, or ALEBRIX.—Ho, Lege, Lochetore, Odeford, Pidehel, Scage (2),
 Sireford, Torix, (and, with ALGAR) Hoveland.
 ALGAR (*with* ALEBRIC).—Hoveland.
 ALBERIC.—Mimidlande.
 ALWARD.—Mewi.
 ALURIC, or AILRIC.—Brisestone, Chichelesberie, Coltrestan, Cumbe, Done,
 Hagwile, Stotescome, Uluevetone.
 ALWIN.—Bucheside, Buretone, Elforde, Fernhelle, Metwi, Mewi, Modlei,
 Stanehvs, Stotdon.
 ALWIN THE ABBOT.—Notone.
 BRISMAR.—Bichelie, Bocheland, Sanford, Stoches.
 COLBERT.—Manedone.
 EDWARD.—Mewi.
 ERMENHALD.—Antone, Rame.
 ELOUF.—Bachemore.
 ELMER.—Brictricestone, Odeford.
 EDMER.—Colrige, Cornehode, Fenitone, Niwetone.
 EDRIC.—Harestane.
 GODWIN.—Lisistone, Modlei, Witelie.
 GODE.—Langedone.
 HECHÉ.—Bocheland, Gosewelle, Langedone.
 INEUUAR.—Blachestane, Tamerton.
 KING.—Elintone, Macretone, Plintone, Svltone, Tanbretone, Wachusetone.
 OSULF.—Cotone, Mewi.
 ORDULF.—Birland.
 OTRE.—Wederige.
 SAWIN.—Wicerce.
 SAULF.—Lauricestone.
 SEDWIN.—Brisestone, Tamarlande.
 SERIC.—Bachemore.
 SISTRIC THE ABBOT.—Plemestoch.
 SIWARD.—Tawi.
 SUT.—Harestane.
 THANES (FOUR).—Spredelestone.
 TOVI.—Lambsete.

ULNOD.—Westone.

WADO, or WADELO.—Hanechelole, Tori, Wide, Witelie.

Thirty-nine landowners, if no duplicates by variations of spelling.

NORMAN LORDS AND LANDS TEMP. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

ABBEY OF BUCKFASTLEIGH.—Notone.

ABBEY OF TAVISTOCK.—Antone, Plemestoch, Rame.

ALURED THE BRITON.—Blachestane, Buchesida, Tamerton, Tawi.

COUNT OF MORETON.—Birland, Cornehode, Cumbe, Finetone, Hanechelole, Harestane (2), Lisistone, Macretone, Niwetone, Spredelestone, Tori, Torneberie, Wederige.

KING.—Elintone, Macretone, Plintone, Svdtone, Tanbretone, Wachetone.

JUDHEL OF TOTNES.—Bachemore (2), Bocheland, Brictricastone, Brisestone (2), Buretone, Chichelesberie, Coltrestan, Colrige, Contone, Done, Fernehelle, Hagwile, Ho, Hovelande, Langdone (2), Lambsete, Lege, Leuricestone, Lochetore, Manedone, Mewi (4), Mimidlande, Modlei (2), Odeford (2), Pidehel, Scage (2), Sireford, Stotescome, Stotdone, Torix, Uluevetone, Waliford, Westone, Witelie.

ROBERT OF ALBEMARLE.—Bichecome, Stoches, Wide, Witelie.

ROBERT THE BASTARD.—Elforde, Metwi, Stanehtvs.

RUALD ADOBED.—Tamarlande, Wicerce.

WILLIAM OF POILLEI.—Bichelie, Bocheland, Gosewell, Sanford.

Ten lords; eighty-four manors.

NORMAN TENANTS.

ALURED.—Torneberie.

CANONS.—Plintone.

CLERGY.—Elintone.

DROGO.—Fineton.

NIGEL.—Mewi.

ODO.—Buretone, Colrige, Leuricestone, Manedone, Modlei (2), Westone, Witelie.

OSULF.—Wide, Witelie.

RALPH.—Bachemore (2), Brictricastone, Hoveland, Lambsete, Lege, Lochetore, Odeford (2), Torix.

REGINALD.—Birland, Cornehode, Cumbe, Hanechelole, Harestane (2), Lisistone, Macretone, Niwetone, Spredelestone, Tori, Wederidge.

ROBERT.—Bichecome, Gosewelle, Sanford.

STEPHEN.—Contone, Ho.

TURGIS.—Coltrestan, Fernehelle, Mewi (2), Pidehel, Scage (2).

WALDIN.—Langedone (2), Mimidlande.

WALTER.—Tamarlande.

WILLIAM.—Brisistone (2), Chichelesberie, Done, Hagwile, Mewi, Sireford, Stotescome, Stotdone, Uluevetone, Waliford.

Fifteen tenants; sixty-four manors.

TABLE II.

TABLE SHOWING EXTENT, CHARACTER, STOCK, AND VALUE OF MANORS.

Name.	Hidage.	Carn- eage.	Pasture.	Meadow.	Wood.	STOCK.				Ploughs.	Former Value.	Present Value.
						Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Goats.			
Antone	$\frac{1}{2}$	6	10 a.	.....	30 a. cop.	7	80	...	...	7	100s.	100s.
Bachmore	$\frac{1}{2}$	4	1 m. $\times \frac{1}{2}$ m.	4 a.	20 a. cop.	2	28	...	...	2	...	20s.
Bichcome	4 v.	4	40 a.	10 a.	20 a.	7	20	...	10	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5s.	15s.
Bichelic	1	8	1 m. \times 4 f.	4 a.	1 m. \times 1 m.	6	146	5	14	5	20s.	40s.
Birland	4	15	5 f. \times 1 f.	.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ m. \times 1 f.	6	...	3	30	6	60s.	100s.
Blackestane	1	4	3 f. \times 1 f.	.....	1 m. \times 3 f.	*	*	*	*	3	20s.	50s.
Sireford	$\frac{1}{2}$	3	.....	1 a. marsh	.....	1	60	...	...	2	20s.	20s.
Spredeistone	1 v.	2	10 a.	1 a.	.....	...	...	...	...	1	20s.	10s.
Stanehrs	1 f.	1	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	5s.
Stoches	2	12	12 a.	$\frac{1}{2}$ a.	2 a.	15	160	12	40	10	40s.	70s.
Stotesome	1 v.	2	20 a.	.....	2 f. \times 1 f.	2	12	1	...	1	5s.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stordone	1 v.	2	20 a.	.....	1 f. $\times \frac{1}{2}$ f.	...	...	...	...	...	5s.	5s.
Svtone	1 v.	6	20 a.	2 a.	3 a. cop.	...	15	...	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	20s.
Tamariande	1 v.	3	2 f. \times 1 f.	12 a.	$\frac{1}{2}$ m. \times 3 f.	5	11	4	9	2	40s.	10s.
Tamarton	2	10	3 f. \times 1 f.	3 a.	3 f. \times 1 f.	*	*	*	*	8	60s.	100s.
Tanbretone	1 v.	6	.....	.....	3 f. \times 1 f.	...	...	...	...	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	20s.
Tawi	1	7	16 f. \times 9 f.	4 a.	16 a. cop.	*	*	*	*	4	20s.	60s.
Tori	1	4	5 a.	3 a.	5 a.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Torix	1 v.	1	12 a.	1 a.	8 a. cop.	2	...	6	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	20s.	15s.
Torneberie	1 v.	2	40 a.	2 a.	.....	5	10	6	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5s.	10s.
Uluvestone	$\frac{1}{2}$ v.	2	2 f.	$\frac{1}{2}$ a.	.....	...	...	...	...	1	10s.	7s.
Wachetone	$\frac{1}{2}$ v.	4	100 a.	1 a.	1 m. $\times \frac{1}{2}$ m.	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	4s.	5s.
Walforde	1 f.	1	.....	.....	2 f. \times 1 f.	3	50	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	60s.
Woderige	1 v.	1	6 a.	.....	2 a.	...	...	2	...	$\frac{1}{2}$	5s.	3s.
Westone	3 v.	4	4 a.	.....	4 a.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wierce	1	12	1 m. \times 4 f.	3 a.	2 m. \times 4 f.	15	180	10	60	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	10s.	30s.
Wile	$\frac{1}{2}$	4	40 a.	20 a.	$\frac{1}{2}$ m. \times 4 f.	*	40	*	*	8	30s.	70s.
Witlie (West)	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	.....	.....	15 a. cop.	1	27	2	16	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2s.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Witlie (East)	$\frac{1}{2}$	3	30 a.	.....	9 a.	...	...	...	...	2	5s.	10s.

The contractions used in this table are: h. for hide; v. for virgate; f. in hidage for furling, in pasture or wood for furlong; m. for mile; a. for acre; cop. for coppice. The hidage shows the taxable area of each manor in Saxon times; the earriage, the Norman plough lands. The stars in the stock columns indicate manors which do not appear in the Exon *Domesday*.

TABLE II.

TABLE SHOWING EXTENT, CHARACTER, STOCK, AND VALUE OF MANORS.

Name.	Hidage.	Caru- age.	Pasture.	Meadow.	Wood.	STOCK.				Ploughs.	Former Value.	Present Value.
						Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Goats.			
Antone	1	6	10 a.	.....	30 a. cop.	7	80	.....	7	100s.	100s.
Bachemore	1	4	1 m. x 1/2 m.	4 a.	20 a. cop.	2	28	.....	2	20s.	20s.
Bichcome	4 v.	4	40 a.	10 a.	20 a.	7	20	5	10	1 1/2	5s.	15s.
Bichelle	1	8	1 m. x 4 f.	4 a.	1 m. x 1 m.	6	146	5	14	5	20s.	40s.
Birland	4	15	5 f. x 1 f.	1 1/2 m. x 1 f.	6	3	30	3	60s.	100s.
Blachestawe	1	4	3 f. x 1 f.	1 m. x 3 f.	3	20s.	60s.
Bocheland (Egg.)	1	6	1/2 m. x 2 f.	1 a.	200 a.	4	70	.....	8	50s.	50s.
Bocheland (Mon.)	3 h. 1 1/2 v.	15	1 m. x 3 m.	3 a.	4 m. x 2 f.	20	130	40	10	50s.	100s.	
Brintricestone	1 v.	3	10 a.	2 a.	.....	.....	31	7	2	10s.	10s.
Bucheside	1	5	.....	4 a.	1/2 m. x 2 f. cop.	.....	.....	.....	3	30s.	30s.
Bristestone	1	2	.....	1 a.	.....	1	80	.....	2	15s.	15s.
Bristestone	1	2	.....	1 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	5s.	5s.
Burstone	1 f.	11	.....	3 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	10s.	10s.
Chichelesberie	1	2	.....	.....	2 f. x 1/2 f. cop.	.....	.....	.....	.....	5s.	12d.
Coltrestan	1	3	1/2 m. x 2 f.	4 1/2 a.	14 a.	5	40	10	22	2	10s.	10s.
Colrige	1	2	.....	1 a.	30 a. cop.	.....	.....	.....	.....	waste.	15d.
Contone	1 h. 1 v.	4	.....	1 a.	20 a. cop.	5	52	2	4	30s.	30s.
Cornehode	1	5	1 m. x 1/2 m.	2 m. x 1/2 m.	10	3	22	3 1/2	40s.	40s.
Cumbe	1	4	.....	1 a.	.....	4	80	.....	2	20s.	10s.
Done	3 f.	3	12 a.	.....	.....	.....	90	.....	2	15s.	15s.
Elford	1	4	.....	2 a.	20 a.	.....	.....	.....	3	10s.	20s.
Elintone	2 1/2	20	10 a.	6 a.	3 f. x 1/2 f.	4	31	10	13	.....	250s.
Elintone, Clergy	1	.....	10 a.	2 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	10s.
Finston	3	6	100 a.	15 a.	6 a.	.....	15	5	.....	80s.	40s.
Fernehelle	1 f.	1	1/2 m. x 2 f.	1 a.	10 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	3s.	3s.
Goswelle	2	2	.....	2 a.	2 a.	3	30	5	1	5s.	5s.
Hagwile	2	2	.....	2 a.	2 a.	.....	20	.....	.....	12s.	10s.
Hancheleole	2	2	3 f. x 1 f.	1 a.	3 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	10s.	10s.
Harestone	2	2	.....	2 a.	.....	2	.....	.....	1	15s.	10s.
Harestone	3 v.	2	.....	.....	1/2 m. x 1 f.	3	15	.....	1	15s.	10s.
Ho	1 v.	2	5 a.	.....	.....	4	40	.....	2	20s.	20s.
Hovelande	1 v.	2	.....	2 a.	8 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	10s.	5s.
Langedone	1	2	4 a.	2 a.	.....	2	84	1	2	10s.	10s.
Langedone	1	2	6 a.	2 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	10s.	10s.
Lambeta	1 1/2	6	.....	3 a.	.....	.....	40	.....	4	30s.	30s.
Lege	1 f.	1 1/2	30 a.	1 1/2 a.	10 a. cop.	.....	.....	.....	.....	3s.	3s.
Leuricestone	1 v.	2	.....	3 a.	8 a.	.....	.....	.....	2	10s.	10s.
Lisistone	1	3	1 v.	1 a.	6 a. cop.	5	23	30	1	20s.	10s.
Lochetore	1 v.	2	30 a.	.....	5 a.	3	5	.....	1 1/2	12s.	12s.
Macrstone, Devon	1 v.	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	117/6
Macrstone, Corn.	1 v.	8	60 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	30s.	20s.
Manedone	1 v.	3	.....	2 a.	31 a.	.....	.....	.....	2	20s.	12/6
Metwi	1 v.	2	100 a.	3 a.	3 f. x 1 f.	.....	.....	.....	2	10s.	20s.
Mewi	1 1/2 v.	4	1/2 m.	3 a.	5 f. x 2 f.	.....	20	.....	1 1/2	15s.	30s.
Mewi	1 v.	1	.....	3 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5s.	10s.
Mewi	1 v.	2	1/2 m. x 2 f.	2 a.	1/2 a. cop.	9	20	10	.....	5s.	7/6
Mewi	1 v.	2	5 f.	.....	4 f.	.....	7	.....	1	5s.	10s.
Mimidlande	1	5	.....	4 a.	1 a. cop.	6	42	7	2 1/2	20s.	20s.
Modlei	1 v.	1	3 a.	.....	2 a.	.....	.....	.....	1	5s.	5s.
Modlei	1 v.	1	1 a.	.....	3 a. cop.	.....	10	.....	1	5s.	5s.
Notone	2	10	20 a.	2 a.	2 f. x 1 f.	4	70	3	6	30s.	40s.	
Niwetone	2	10	60 a.	2 a.	1 m. x 1 f.	10	24	3	10	3 1/2	120s.	70s.
Odeford (Lower)	1	2	1 a.	3 f. x 1 f.	1	40s.
Odeford (Higher)	1	2	1 m. x 1/2 m.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2s.	2s.
Pidehel	1 f.	1	.....	1/2 a.	2 f. x 1/2 f.	.....	.....	.....	.....	5s.	40s.
Plemestoch	1	4	30 a.	1/2 a.	.....	4	70	.....	5	20s.	40s.
Plintone	2 1/2	20	6 a.	20 a.	1 m. x 1/2 m.	5	50	.....	14	.....	270s.
Plintone, Canons	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	35s.
Rame	1	7	30 a.	10 a. cop.	8	100	18	4	40s.	40s.
Sanford	1 v.	1 1/2	1/2 m. x 1 f.	.....	1 m. x 4 f.	.....	4	.....	3	10s.	20s.
Seage	1 v.	1 1/2	1/2 m. x 4 f.	.....	5 a.	.....	.....	.....	1	10s.	10s.
Seage	1 v.	1 1/2	1/2 m. x 4 f.	.....	2 a.	.....	38	.....	1	10s.	10s.
Sireford	1	3	.....	1 a. marsh	.....	1	60	.....	2	20s.	20s.
Spredelestone	1 v.	2	10 a.	1 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	20s.	10s.
Stanehy	1 f.	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5s.	5s.
Stoches	2	12	12 a.	2 a.	15	160	12	40	10	40s.	70s.
Stotescome	1 v.	2	20 a.	1/2 a.	2 f. x 1 f.	2	12	1	1	5s.	7/6
Stodone	1 v.	2	20 a.	.....	1 f. x 1/2 f.	.....	.....	.....	.....	5s.	5s.
Svdtone	1 v.	6	20 a.	2 a.	.....	15	.....	.....	5 1/2	.....	20s.
Tamarlande	1 v.	3	2 f. x 1 f.	12 a.	3 a. cop.	5	11	4	9	2	40s.	10s.
Tamerton	2	10	3 f. x 1 f.	3 a.	1/2 m. x 3 f.	.....	.....	.....	8	60s.	100s.
Tanbrstone	1 v.	6	.....	.....	3 f. x 1 f.	.....	.....	.....	4 1/2	.....	20s.
Tawi	1	7	16 f. x 9 f.	4 a.	3 f. x 1 f.	.....	.....	.....	4	20s.	80s.
Tori	1	4	5 a.	3 a.	16 a. cop.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Torix	1 v.	1	12 a.	1 a.	5 a.	2	6	.....	1 1/2	20s.	15s.
Torneberie	1 v.	3	40 a.	2 a.	8 a. cop.	5	10	6	1 1/2	5s.	10s.	
Uluverstone	1	2	2 f.	1/2 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	10s.	7s.
Wachetone	1/2 v.	4	100 a.	1 a.	1 m. x 1/2 m.	3	50	.....	4	4s.	5s.
Walforde	1/2 v.	1	.....	.....	2 f. x 1 f.	.....	.....	2	.....	5s.	5s.
Wederige	1 f.	1/2	6 a.	.....	2 a.	.....	.....	.....	.....	3s.	3s.
Westone	3 v.	4	4 a.	3 a.	4 a.	15	180	10	60	2 1/2	10s.	30s.
Wiceor	1	12	1 m. x 4 f.	20 a.	2 m. x 4 f.	.....	.....	.....	8	30s.	70s.
Wide	1	4	40 a.	1/2 m. x 4 f.	7	40	2	18	1 1/2	30s.	10s.
Witelis (West)	1	2	15 a. cop.	1	27	16	1	2s.	7/6
Witelis (East)	1	3	30 a.	.....	9 a.	.....	.....	.....	2	5s.	10s.

The contractions used in this table are: h. for hide; v. for virgate; f. in hidage for furling, in pasture or wood for furlong; m. for mile; a. for acre; cop. for coppice. The hidage shows the taxable area of each manor in Saxon times; the carucage, the Norman plough lands. The stars in the stock columns indicate manors which do not appear in the Exon *Domesday*.