

ENCLOSURE & AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN
NORTH-WEST LINCOLNSHIRE FROM
CIRCA 1600 TO 1850.

Thomas M. Smith, MA

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Abstract

This study sets out to establish the link between enclosure and agricultural improvement in a group of parishes in north-west Lindsey, Lincolnshire between the sixteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century. In particular it emphasises the continuity of enclosure history through time, rather than concentrating only on the period of parliamentary enclosure as has often been the case in the past, and on links to agricultural improvement which include land reclamation, draining and warping. It shows that a simple explanation of enclosure in terms of driving up rents and allowing individual farmers to take their own farming decisions, fails to take into account the particular local circumstances of this area. Using a combination of enclosure documents and related material such as glebe terriers, land tax assessments, census materials, the 1801 agricultural returns and estate papers it sets out to show how agricultural improvement transformed both the landscape and the farming techniques in this area. In this process it covers a range of related topics including landownership, population, and the socio-economic structure of the villages of north-west Lindsey. It shows clearly that in this area enclosure is as much as anything associated with land drainage, and with improvements brought about by warping. These processes were interwoven, and separating enclosure out as a single movement underestimates the complexity of the farming arrangements required to ensure the most productive farming in this area.

Contents

List of Figures	iv	
List of Tables	v	
List of Plates	vii	
Acknowledgements	ix	
Abbreviations	x	
Introduction		1
1 Historiography of enclosure		7
2 Methodology		38
3 Time and place		77
4 Reasons for enclosure		92
5 The long chronicle of improvement		144
6 Drainage, warping and enclosure		190
7 Case studies		250
8 The new landscape of north-west Lindsey		294
Conclusion		333
Bibliography		349

Figures

Fig 1: Manley wapentake and, inset, shown within Lincolnshire	2
Fig 2: To show study area landscapes	3
Fig 3: The proportion of each parish or township <u>not</u> enclosed by act.	78
Fig 4: Number of acres enclosed in each half-decade in the study area	80
Fig 5: The Study Area between the three rivers	190
Fig 6: Number of Owners and Owner-occupiers 1783-1830	310

Tables

Table 1: Parliamentary Enclosures in East Midland Counties, by time period	17
Table 2: Fines on enclosing landowners 1635-8	23
Table 3: Messingham Glebe Lands 1686	42
Table 4: Distribution of 'Enclosure Agreements' by counties	47
Table 5: Types of parliamentary enclosure in Lincolnshire	79
Table 6: List of study area places, enclosed by act, in chronological order	84
Table 7: Acreages of closes and prices bid per acre in 1798 and 1799	127
Table 8: Home Office Acreage Returns	297
Table 9: Absolute numbers of owners by parish, 1783 to 1830	307
Table 10: Absolute numbers of owner-occupiers by parish, 1783 to 1830	309
Table 11: Percentage proportion of owner-occupiers by parish	310
Table 12: Numbers of surviving owner and owner-occupier surnames	312
Table 13: Surnames disappearing between enclosure and LTA date	314
Table 14: Study area population 1801-1851	318
Table 15: Size of the agricultural labour force	319
Table 16: Social and Occupational breakdown from 1851 Census	324

Plates

Plate 1: part of the West Field , Messingham terrier 1686	42
Plate 2: The Frodingham terrier of 1671	44
Plate 3; Part of the Chancery Decree for Waddingham	46
Plate 4: The Whitton LTA of 1790	56
Plate 5: Alkborough petition 1765	61
Plate 6: Waddingham petition 1768	62
Plate 7: Winterton Inclosure Act 1769	63
Plate 8: Old enclosures in Ashby west field	99
Plate 9: Alkborough parish, from the Ordnance Survey 1824	101
Plate 10: Detail of: 'A Plan of the Manor of Normanby...'	117
Plate 11: <i>Stamford Mercury</i> , 4 October 1805	122
Plate 12: Eastern half of the Messingham Enclosure Award map of 1804	128
Plate 13: Bryant's map of 1828 shows Holme Common	132
Plate 14: Places mentioned in the Twigmore grange charter	145
Plate 15: Position of the Walcot and Haythby DMVs	149
Plate 16: 1662 Redbourne glebe terrier reporting the loss of the glebe	157
Plate 17: Enclosure for Woodland, Twigmoor, 1696	159
Plate 18: Broughton Inclosure petition	169
Plate 19: <i>Rutland and Stamford Mercury</i> , 25 August 1815	171
Plate 20: Part of the preamble of the Inclosure act of East Santon	172
Plate 21: Detail of East Santon Inclosure map 1833	173
Plate 22: Broughton west of Ermine Street, from Bryant's map of 1828	175
Plate 23: <i>Stamford Mercury</i> 12 Feb 1847	177
Plate 24: Detail of Wilkinson and Fotherby's map of the Ancholme levels	195
Plate 25: Outfall of the New Ancholme into the Humber at Ferriby Sluice	199

Plate 26: Remains of ridge and furrow in the grounds of Scawby Hall	201
Plate 27: '...the probable improvement which may arise...'	203
Plate 28: Hibaldstow from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey	206
Plate 29: Advert to tender for draining the carrs of Hibaldstow	208
Plate 30: Commissioners' Minute Book, 20 May 1800	210
Plate 31: <i>Stamford Mercury</i> , 20 Oct 1797	218
Plate 32: Messingham parish with its township of East Butterwick	222
Plate 33: <i>Stamford Mercury</i> , 13 October 1854	223
Plate 34: To show position of un-warped area called Butterwick Hales	224
Plate 35: Ashby Enclosure Act 1801, part of section XIX, p.12	225
Plate 36: Detail of Ashby Enclosure map	227
Plate 37: Part of the plan accompanying the Award of 15 Apr 1843	232
Plate 38: Part of paragraph 66 of the Frodingham Enclosure Act	234
Plate 39: On a modern aerial photograph, the area warped by 1847-51	235
Plate 40: Plan of an area of 235 acres awarded to seven owners	236
Plate 41: Detail of: 'A Plan of the Parish of Flixborough	237
Plate 42: Part of Robert Barker's 1835 calculations	239
Plate 43: Detail of map of the Ancholme levels	253
Plate 44: Part of the Chancery Decree for Waddingham	256
Plate 45: Advertisement in the London Gazette 18 August 1752	261
Plate 46: Waddingham from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey	262
Plate 47: Waddingham Cow Fold Award Map 1847	264
Plate 48: Winteringham from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey	266
Plate 49: Detail of map of the Ancholme levels	269
Plate 50: Modern aerial photo to show the phases of enclosure	271
Plate 51: Winteringham 1719 closes in Cliff and West Fields	273
Plate 52: Winteringham 1719 closes in West and Middle Fields	274
Plate 53: Winteringham 1719 Church, rectory and site of Hall	275
Plate 54: Winteringham 1719 'Composition to cottagers'	276

Plate 55: Winteringham Enclosure Act of 1761	278
Plate 56: The drain from the clough to the Haven in 2009	284
Plate 57: The petition which led to the Turnpike Road Trust'	336

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*That is the land of lost content,
I see it shining plain,
The happy highways where I went
And cannot come again.*

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
ERYA	East Riding of Yorkshire Archives
IHRL	Institute of Historical Research Library, WC1E 7HU
LAO	Lincolnshire Archives Office
NELA	North East Lincolnshire Archives
TNA	The National Archives

Introduction

This thesis considers an area of twenty-eight parishes and townships in north-west Lindsey, from the sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century and determines the connection between enclosure and agricultural improvement. Instead of focussing exclusively on the era of the parliamentary act, it stresses the unbroken flow of enclosure history through time, and its relationship to agricultural improvements such as land reclamation, draining and warping. It shows that a straightforward explanation of enclosure in terms of forcing up rents and allowing individual farmers to take their own farming decisions ignores the local circumstances of enclosure. The thesis sets out to show how agricultural improvement changed both the landscape and farming techniques in the area. To do this, it employs a combination of enclosure documents and other records, such as glebe terriers, land tax assessments, census materials, the 1801 agricultural returns and estate papers. A range of related topics including landownership, population, and the socio-economic structure of the villages of north-west Lindsey is also considered. The thesis demonstrates clearly that in north-west Lindsey enclosure is, as much as anything, associated with land drainage and with the improvements brought about by warping. These processes were interwoven, and to separate enclosure out as a single movement is to misjudge the intricacy of the agrarian arrangements which were needed to ensure the most productive farming in this area.

The study area

The part of north-west Lindsey which is being studied has an area of about 74,350 acres or 116 square miles.¹ It comprises that part of the county which was formerly known as Manley wapentake, one of the thirty-five ancient divisions of Lincolnshire. The practical advantages of using a wapentake as an

area for study, long after its administrative functions have been superseded, are several. Firstly original documents in archive offices (for example land tax duplicates), are often ordered by wapentake, secondly official surveys, like the decennial census, are arranged and totalled by in the same way, while early directories follow a similar layout.



Fig 1. Manley wapentake and, inset, shown within Lincolnshire

There are four main types of landscape within the study area:

First, the Trent Levels are defined by the river to the west and in the east by the line of springs on the scarp slope at the foot of the Lincoln Edge. The greater part of the levels comprises the low-lying floodplain areas of the River Trent running through the study area from north to south. Second, the high ground of the Lincoln Edge extends from Whitton at the Humber Estuary in the north to the study area boundary in Waddingham, and is an elevated area approximately 9km wide. The western boundary is clearly defined by the down slope of the western north-south escarpment rising out of the lowlands of the Trent Levels. The eastern boundary roughly follows the western edge of the Ancholme Valley floodplain.

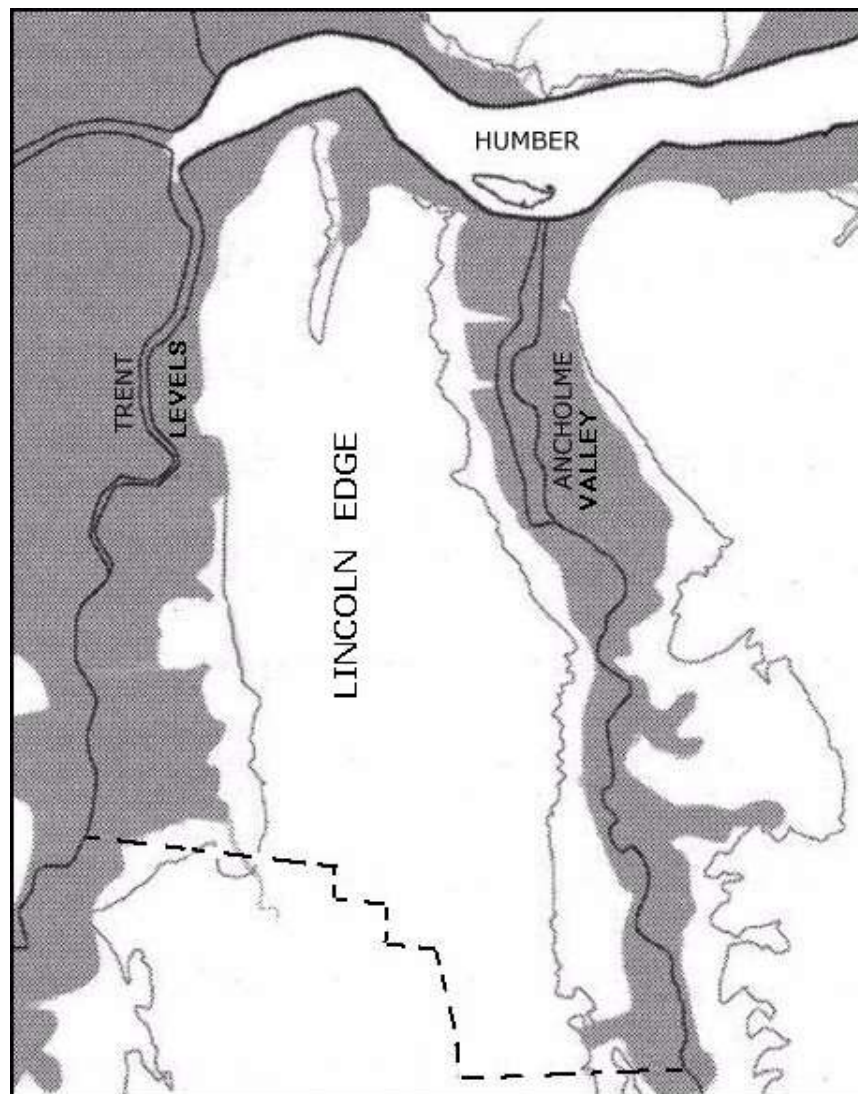


Fig 2. To show study area landscapes

Third, the Ancholme Valley is about 6km at its widest and is the area, either side of the course of the old river Ancholme that extends south, from the Humber Estuary, into the Lincolnshire Fens. The eastern boundary of this study area landscape is marked by the old river, but geographically, beyond the study area, is marked by the Lincolnshire Wolds escarpment. The fourth type of landscape is formed by the land which extends inland from the Humber estuary to approximately the 10m contour.

Structure of this thesis

Chapter one discusses the historiography of the enclosure movement, in a national context, and pays particular attention to its chronology, the different types and the debates about its impact.

Chapter two gives an explanation of the methodology employed in this thesis, with a breakdown of the source material that has been examined. Particular attention is paid to the value of glebe terriers as evidence for old enclosure and to the difficulties associated with discovering those few Chancery decrees which actually did have the effect of validating Lincolnshire enclosure agreements. The use of land tax documents in researching social history is discussed, and problems surrounding the interpretation of the Lincolnshire land tax assessments are enumerated, with an explanation of how the source is to be used in the study. Other sources such as the many documents associated with parliamentary enclosure, tithe files and the 1851 census enumerators' returns are also discussed.

Chapter three establishes the size of the movement in terms of acres, density and geographical location and splits the chronological sequence into 'old enclosure' and enclosure by act, discussing possible reasons for its timing. The study area parliamentary enclosures are tabulated chronologically, and are

categorized into types of act using Turner's classification, with details of numbers of owners and their allotments. Finally in this section, some comments are made about the commissioners and their influence on enclosure and improvement in the area.

Chapter four tries to elucidate some of the reasons for enclosure and improvement in the individual townships of the study area. It is not suggested that any one reason was the catalyst for the process in a particular township; rather the combination of reasons involved is explained.

Chapter five narrates the chronicle of enclosure in the study area, from the agricultural improvements of the Cistercians in the thirteenth century to the final few acres which were enclosed in the 1870s, not for any agrarian reason, but to establish title to the mineral wealth that lay buried under the ground. Along the way, early enclosure associated with deserted and shrunken settlements, the 1607 Inquisition of Depopulation and the effect of the Civil Wars of the mid-seventeenth century are discussed. Long term familial acquisition of land, with the object of agricultural improvement, is a feature of the study area and this is considered. There were notable delays in the implementation of improvement in some part of the area and these are next examined

Chapter six shows the significance of drainage and the locally important technique of warping in agricultural improvement. The chapter looks at the two very different ways of proceeding to enclosure used in the area; first drainage in the valley of the Ancholme with examples from Scawby, Hibaldstow and Waddingham and then warping in the lower Trent valley showing the experience in parishes from Messingham, north to Burton upon Stather. A history of drainage and the lesser known technique of warping in the study area is provided. It is suggested that the agricultural propensity, in those parts of the

parishes bounded by rivers, was firstly towards repossessing the land from water, rather than for any schemes for redeploying existing cultivated land.

Chapter seven uses two parishes, Waddingham and Winteringham, as case studies to show the diversity of agricultural improvement. The studies discuss the use of (what is a rare mechanism in Lincolnshire) the Chancery decree as a means of ratifying enclosure and the extent to which flood protection, drainage and wetlands reclamation was an integral part of the enclosure process.

Chapter eight describes the new landscape of north-west Lindsey in the middle of the nineteenth century and the impact of enclosure, using a variety of sources including land tax returns and 1851 census material. It finds, at the end of the period being studied, a countryside changed not merely visually but socio-economically by agricultural improvement.

The years that followed the rediscovery of ironstone in north-west Lindsey in 1859 brought about a scarring of the landscape, a rapid population explosion and the sudden growth of the former tiny settlement of Scunthorpe into a town which dominated the study area. There had however, been an earlier, more unhurried, agrarian transformation of the area, and this thesis considers it.

Reference

¹ Sum of the areas of parishes in: W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire* (1856)

1. A historiography of enclosure

Introduction

In the five centuries before 1850 a large part of the rural landscape of England was altered beyond recognition; from a land of medieval agrarian systems and procedures, and an ancient way of living and thinking, to one whose structure was erected less on community solidarity, and more on farming for individual profit. This landscape of open fields and commons was not ubiquitous, but was most widespread and characteristic of a large swathe of central England. Its primary area was in a broad band from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire diagonally across the country to the south coast, including parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, large areas of the midlands, and parts of south central England.¹ On either side of this zone, there were areas where, because of the nature of the soil or the lie of the land, open fields had never existed or had long disappeared; among them were the high ground of the west and north (Devon and Cornwall, the Welsh Marches, the Pennines and the Lakeland counties), Essex with its marshland and Kent with its hop-fields. Here, if the land was farmed at all, other field systems prevailed.²

Field systems had variations even within the landscape of open fields and commons, but the following may be typical of the system that was found in central England.³ In the open-field system of agriculture there were three kinds of land. Arable land, used for growing crops, lay in a number (usually two or three) of very large fields. Within these large fields, individuals owned or rented land in a number of long, thin strips scattered around the field system. The fundamental feature of the open fields was that although the individual strips were individually farmed, after the harvest, or in fallow years, the fields were opened up to common grazing for all persons enjoying common pasture rights.

The second type of land was common meadow; individuals grew hay for winter fodder on their portion of the common meadow. After the hay harvest the meadow was opened to common grazing. The third kind of land in the system was the common waste. This was permanent common grazing land, on which all those who had common rights could pasture their stock. Not every village had all three types of land, and all villages had indeterminate amounts of 'old enclosures' which was enclosed land free of common right.⁴

These open fields and commons of the old landscape of central England, had worked well where there were limited markets and a relatively small amount of market specialisation, but the communal rights and the organisations associated with them, made less sense, and were less economically appealing, when ideas about private property were changing, and new notions about the 'autonomous individual' were emerging.⁵

Enclosure was the manifestation of the change in ideas about common property; the process whereby open fields, common lands and wastes were swept away, to be replaced by smaller fields surrounded by hedgerows or stone walls. It meant also the abolition of rights of common, such as pasturage, pannage, turbary and estover, enjoyed by villagers over some or all of the open lands in a parish, and the redistribution of the land into individual ownership.

In practical terms it meant the end of strip farming, of common pasture, and of rights over the waste. Although the most obvious consequence was the visual appearance of the landscape, important social, economic and technological changes also followed enclosure, the effects of which historians continue to ponder.

Official enthusiasm for enclosure has ebbed and flowed over the years. During the sixteenth century Tudor governments were concerned at the progress of enclosing, engrossing (the amalgamation of two or more farms into one) and

the conversion of arable to pasture. They feared depopulation and the resulting threat to the country's defence. The measures they took varied from gentle to severe, from parliamentary acts which could not be enforced, to energetic county-by-county investigations, followed by prosecutions and heavy fines.

An early distinction should also be noted; that of 'good' *versus* 'bad' enclosure. John Hales a leading anti-enclosure government official, in his instructions to the enclosure commissioners in 1548, said that 'where a man doth enclose and hedge in his own proper ground where no man hath commons,' that is, where it was done legally, its benefits outweighed its problems.⁶

During the reigns of James I and Charles I, the government lost much of its antipathy, and after the last large-scale enclosure enquiry took place in 1607, it ceased its opposition to the principle of enclosure, while continuing to keep up the pretense of opposing it in practice. Offenders were prosecuted intermittently, but their transgressions were pardoned on payment of a money fine. The punishment of enclosers had become little other than a way of raising revenue.⁷ After the Civil War the practical arguments for enclosure were perhaps stronger as landlords had been hard hit by the conflict and the increased rents, which would be obtained by the improvement of agricultural land, were more attractive. There were no government attempts at regulating enclosure and its progress was left in the hands of local landowners, who in the more settled political situation, were able to set about the process determined only by local conditions, such as the freeholder consensus, the length of tenant leases and crop preferences.⁸

Timing of Enclosure

Because of the work of W.E. Tate, edited and enlarged by M.E. Turner, there is little argument concerning the number of acres enclosed by parliamentary

means, but the effect of other periods of enclosure remains open to debate.⁹ As long ago as 1912, Gonner in his *Common Land and Enclosure* had stated that, 'there can be no doubt that the quantity of waste or wild land of which little use had been made, and which passed into the area of cultivation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was large.'¹⁰ In 1983 Wordie calculated from Turner's statistics of parliamentary enclosure, and from other estimates of private and gradual enclosure in the years after 1500, a limited picture of the disappearance of the open fields. By approximating the probable acreage of enclosure before 1500 and adding this to the post-1500 estimates, he computed a grand total for acreage. This however resulted in a figure representing only about three quarters of the land area of England and the rest was unaccounted for. Wordie decided that this 24% balance could only be apportioned to the seventeenth century, which has been little written about in the records.¹¹ Turner warns, however about this point, and wrote that:

..if there was that much seventeenth century enclosure, then unlike other enclosure movements it passed with remarkably little contemporary reporting. More likely, there was more non-parliamentary enclosure throughout the last 500 years than we can assuredly measure.¹²

Wordie's calculations produce the following chronology:

Already enclosed in 1500	c.45.0%
enclosed between 1500-1599	c.2.0%
enclosed between 1600-1699	c.24.0%
enclosed between 1700-1799	c.13.0%
enclosed between 1800-1914	c.11.4%
Commons remaining in 1914	c.4.6%

R.A. Butlin, J.V. Beckett and especially, J. Chapman have all questioned Wordie's results, particularly the suggested acreages of seventeenth century enclosures when compared to the sixteenth. Chapman also doubted whether Wordie had satisfactorily distinguished between enclosure of open fields and enclosure of commons and wastes.¹³ Wordie later accepted that he might have over-stated the amount of seventeenth century enclosure by using data from the Tudor commissions of inquiry that had been mainly concerned with conversion to pasture. He felt however that this over-statement was comparatively small and argued against the accusation that he had ignored the wastes in his calculations.¹⁴

Another complication is the extent to which land included in a parliamentary act was already enclosed; some acts will have simply confirmed earlier agreements. Kerridge makes much of this, suggesting that this exaggerates the real impact of parliamentary enclosure and distorts the chronological pattern.¹⁵

The debate however continues as, more recently, Clark and Clark have concluded that in the main parliamentary enclosure period between 1750 and 1840 there was very little enclosure by private means. Also while there was private enclosure in the years 1600-1750, it was limited and they suggest that no more than one acre was enclosed by private means for every four acres later enclosed by Parliament.¹⁶

It is clear from the table above, whatever its statistical shortcomings, that enclosure had been a more or less continuous feature of agrarian history for hundreds of years and it confirms (what we can in any case infer from award maps featuring areas of 'old enclosure') that, while parliamentary enclosure was a very important element of that process, other periods and types of enclosure were historically significant, even if poorly documented by comparison.

Types of Enclosure

a) Piecemeal enclosure

Piecemeal enclosure usually involved only the land of a particular individual and not of the entire manor. Although it could mean that only very small areas of land were removed from the open field or the waste bit-by-bit, in time the process might eventually result in the enclosure of all the land in a parish. If not, it might be completed by parliamentary award in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yelling noted three features implied in piecemeal enclosure: that enclosure was completed in more than one stage, and often in many stages; enclosure was the act of an individual, or limited group of persons, rather than of the whole body of common-field proprietors acting in unison; and that the enclosure was a 'disorderly process', frequently involving only limited consolidation.¹⁷

Yelling distinguished piecemeal from general enclosure; the former 'covers a range of processes in which action is taken either by individuals or by groups of varying sizes up to, but *not including*, the whole body of proprietors.'¹⁸

There may be references in private estate or manorial records to piecemeal enclosure, but as it was often a unilateral activity undertaken without regard for fellow parishioners in the field, these are rare. Beresford drew attention to the possibilities of using glebe terriers as an indicator of the existence of open fields, and hence the possibility of tracing their gradual elimination by the change in the nature of the terrier.¹⁹ He noted that bulky terriers listing a multitude of open-field strips tended to become one or two sheets when all they had to record was a few consolidated blocks. Glebe terriers are a valuable source where they are numerous and exist at frequent intervals.

Chambers and Mingay thought the process of piecemeal enclosure would have a logical termination; 'left to itself the development of the open fields would no doubt have arrived in the fullness of time at completely enclosed and

individually managed farms....Enclosures by agreement . . . and by Act of Parliament speeded up the process'.²⁰ It must be debatable that the process would lead eventually to complete enclosure. That did not happen in Europe where most governments did little to encourage consolidation until the end of the nineteenth century and even then at mid-twentieth century there was still much parcelling of holdings.²¹

b) General enclosure

General enclosure implies that all the landowners with common field rights acted in unison so that a single decision was arrived at, from which enclosure proceeded. In the simplest case, a general enclosure could be made as a result of 'unity of control', because one person owned the whole of a former common-field township.

If a single individual did not control the township, some sort of agreement would be necessary to achieve general enclosure. It was not essential at all periods for every landowner to be a party to the agreement, but some substantial measure of consensus would clearly be necessary. The ideal situation would be one where there was completely harmonious consent to all the many disparate provisions regarding the old communal husbandry system, but this must have been unusual. It is to be expected therefore that agreements will contain some degree of compulsion that may be detectable by a modern researcher. Once general enclosure had taken effect, all common rights were extinguished and land was held 'in severalty', the role of the manor court in regulating agriculture came to an end, and control by individuals began.

Many early enclosures of common lands, pastures and manorial wastes, whether made by popular agreement or by compulsion, have left no formal

record at all, but again there may be references in private estate or manorial records, many of which are now held in county archive offices. The difficult negotiations that had lead to a successful enclosure might however increase the likelihood that some means would be sought of making certain that the provisions of the agreement were adhered to. One or more of the landowners themselves might have a complete change of heart, or there might be disputes about some aspects of the agreement.²²

Because registration in London was expensive and perhaps remote, some landowners might deposit a copy of the agreement with the Clerk of the Peace to the county concerned. While this did not grant any additional legal status on the enclosure arrangements, it did provide a reference copy and so guard against loss of the original and, in the event of any future disputes, provide an answer to any accusations that the original had been tampered with.²³ Contentious enclosures, particularly those that were resisted by force, may have resulted in legal proceedings before local or central law courts, such as the Court of Requests or Star Chamber. Enclosures that involved the commutation of tithes might produce records belonging to the Exchequer Court, as that court had jurisdiction over tithe disputes. These classes of records can be found in the National Archives.

From the mid-16th century, enclosures were sometimes enrolled by decree of one of the equity courts, especially Chancery and Exchequer.²⁴ Beresford, drawing on Miss E. M. Leonard's work of 1905, considered that the Court of Chancery had a special role in the history of the enclosure movement.²⁵ This came about because of the Court's willingness to accept cases where it was necessary for the title of land to be established and where redistribution of land holdings had taken place or was about to take place. Some of the cases heard arose from genuine disputes of land title, but usually the actions were collusive. A collusive action took place between the persons claiming title and another, (sometimes fictitious) party who claimed in open court to dispute the claims of

the first. In fact, the second party acted with the full cognisance of the first, so that when his dispute failed, the right of title of the first was established, it was confirmed by the court and finally enrolled as a decree.

Chancery decrees are to be found at the National Archives in the series C 78. Only a proportion of the 2,250 *rotuli* have been indexed and the finding aids are imperfect and very unsatisfactory. E.M. Leonard's main example, the village of Brandsburton in Yorkshire, is not found in the *Index Locorum* for instance.²⁶ Similarly Beresford's table of 260 enclosure agreements enrolled during the period 1547-1770 contains none for Hampshire, while Chapman and Seeliger have found several examples in that county.²⁷

Some of the confusion in studies of Chancery Decrees and formal enclosure agreements in general, may be due to the imprecise wording employed, which could lead to misinterpretation. While an agreement 'to divide the Down' may seem conclusive, and this phrase was used in genuine enclosures, the word 'division' could refer to the creation of additional common field, and so was not an enclosure in the legal meaning of the term.²⁸ There is thus a potential both for over and under-estimating the numbers of agreements to enclose.

c) Parliamentary Enclosure

General enclosures by agreement suffered from a number of severe disadvantages. The consent of *all* proprietors was required, and this was sometimes, depending on numbers, difficult to obtain; the death of any one of them before an agreement could be enrolled in Chancery might invalidate months of lengthy negotiations. Further, even when agreement had been reached, a dissatisfied party or his successor could at any time in the future question it. A party to an agreement might, for example, decide that the land that he had been allotted was inferior and he might try, in consequence, to overthrow the agreement. The only way in which these disadvantages could be

overcome was by obtaining a private Act of Parliament.²⁹ This was a method of enclosure adopted only very slowly and it did not become at all popular or widespread before the second half of the eighteenth century.

Historians have long tried to explain the greatly increased pace of enclosure that began at this time. Some believed that the reason lay in the domination of English society by the landlords, their commercialization of agriculture, and the establishment of capitalistic farming.³⁰ Before 1793 what Thompson had called 'the new agrarian 'posture' showed itself as a move to enlarge pasture land and reduce arable, while in wartime conditions, post-1793, arable was at a premium and the area given over to it needed to be increased. The device that enabled this enlargement was parliamentary enclosure.

The number of parliamentary enclosures, by time period, in Lincolnshire and neighbouring counties is shown in Table 1.

Parliament did not legislate that enclosure had to be undertaken; it was local owners who took the initiative for the enclosure of their parish. It may be that a small group of owners called a meeting to try and reach a consensus that a private Act of Parliament be sought. Once local agreement on the practicality of local enclosure had been reached by the owners of the majority of land in the parish, and when the main provisional outlines of the proposed enclosure had been settled locally, the normal sequence of events might be as follows. A petition from local owners was sent to Parliament asking for an Act to enclose the parish. The local Enclosure Bill was introduced, considered in Committee, and after going through normal parliamentary procedure it, usually, became an Act. The Act of Parliament authorising an enclosure named commissioners and allocated to them the duties of receiving claims to land, allocating property to private and public owners, laying out roads and other pathways, and publishing an award. For most parliamentary enclosures a copy of the Act, and one or more copies of the award, often together with the accompanying map, survive in the public records.³¹

Table 1. Parliamentary Enclosures in East Midland Counties, by time period.

	Derbys	Leics	Lincs	Notts	Rutland	Total East Midlands
1590-1699	1	1	2			4
1700-1759	4		5			9
1760-1769	9	8	18	11		46
1770-1779	20	11	65	24	1	121
1780-1789	15	6	13	1	0	35
1790-1799	13	17	58	28	1	117
1800-1809	13	8	44	25	8	98
1810-1820	13	3	31	10	0	57
1820-1829	15	3	14	10	1	43
1830-1839	9	1	26	1	1	38
1840-1849	7		30	14	2	53
1850-1859	6		14	8	3	31
1860-1869	1		10	2		13
1870-1879	1	1	6	1		9
1880-1889			1		3	4
1890-1899			0			0
1900-1929			3			3
	127	59	340	135	20	681

Source: Derived from R.J.P. Kain, J. Chapman and R.R. Oliver (eds.), *The Enclosure Maps of England and Wales 1595-1918* (Cambridge, 2004) pp.62,85,87,107,111

The process of parliamentary enclosure, in many of the parishes of the study area, has been narrated at length in the works of Rex Russell.³² Because of this, it has not been thought necessary, throughout this thesis, to give a

comprehensive account of the procedures, but to use footnotes to indicate where relevant material can be found.

Many of the earlier parliamentary enclosures did not take long to complete, perhaps as little as one year. In Nottinghamshire the average length of time between the passing of the enclosure act and the enrolment of the enclosure award was between one and a half and two years before 1780.³³ Nationally, later enclosures (particularly those after about 1790) seem to have taken longer to complete, partly because it was more likely that they would include large areas of unenclosed common and waste, and in consequence be more contentious, and also because greater numbers of claimants to land were involved.³⁴ The greater the number of claimants, the more likely it was that the enclosure took place later, and also the longer it took to complete.³⁵ Turner found that in Buckinghamshire in the 1760s, there were on average 26 landowners per enclosure. The number rose to 32 by the 1790s, but to 47 in the 1810s and to 58 by the 1840s.³⁶

d Drainage and warping

A special form of enclosure was the draining of the Fenlands around the borders of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and especially in Lincolnshire where the Isle of Axholme and the valley of the Ancholme, which is partly in the study area, were drained. This was carried out by enterprising individuals or 'improvers' generally under Royal mandate, who with the help of workers and ideas from the Low Countries drained marshy areas, using straight canals, ditches and embankments. The improved landscape which resulted replaced an economy based on exploitation of the marshland, with one based on arable and pastoral farming. This was done in the face of bitter opposition from local communities, since drainage involved the destruction of local common rights to the extent of

destroying the whole traditional Fenland way of life at a stroke. Opposition took both legal and illegal forms, involving petitions to Parliament and full-scale riots.³⁷ This form of enclosure dates principally to the seventeenth century, particularly the period before the English Civil War.³⁸ It has been suggested that the role of drainage, in land reclamation, was even more important than the role of enclosure.³⁹

An even more localised type of enclosure, almost unique to the study area, was the process called warping.⁴⁰ This was the practice of letting turbid river water flood onto the land, so that its suspended sediment could form a layer, before letting the water drain away.⁴¹ In this way poor soils were covered with fertile fine silt, and their rentable value was increased. The technique was first practised in the 1730s and the last few acres of Lincolnshire land, which could be improved by the method, were warped in the 1880s.⁴²

The Impact of Enclosure

a) The impact of pre-Parliamentary or 'old' enclosure

In 1459 a chantry priest, called John Rous, petitioned Parliament about enclosure and depopulation in Warwickshire. He claimed that whole villages had disappeared and their churches were in ruins because arable land had been turned into open pasture for sheep. Rous repeated his allegations in a digression in, what was ostensibly, a royal history that he had been commissioned to write, his *Historia Regum Angliae* of 1486. He provided a list of depopulated villages which he had seen emptied during his own life-time and for some of them he compared the population at that time, with that of the Hundred Rolls of 1279.⁴³ Beresford has noted that while a few of his villages had been re-settled, the main thrust of his argument, that enclosure was a cause of depopulation, still stood.⁴⁴

Parliamentary statutes, either to limit enclosures or maintain tillage, were issued in 1489, 1515, 1516, 1534, 1536, 1550, 1552, 1555, 1589, 1593 and 1597, the general principle being that anything which led to depopulation was an offence against common law; the large number of acts promulgated in little more than a century indicates how inadequate they must have been.⁴⁵

It was during this period of legislation that Thomas More in his *Utopia* (1516), which perhaps was intended to reveal more about the England of his own time, than to describe the blueprint for a future idealistic society, tackled the question of depopulation and enclosure. More makes his character Raphael say that one reason for the multiplication of thieves and beggars in England is the increase in grazing land and then offers some solutions to the problem. He suggests the return of land to arable so that farmers could go back to their homes and continue their skilled occupations, and also the limiting of the amount of wool produced, so that the nobility would not be so tempted to take land for sheep pasture. In this way, he suggests employment would increase and the number of thieves and beggars would fall.⁴⁶

During the county's major revolt of the 1530s, the Lincolnshire Rising, the common people give no real indication that they had strong feelings about such agrarian grievances as enclosures and in fact one of the leaders of the rebellion, Vincent Graham, had previously had his own enclosures, at Langton near Horncastle, torn down in 1531.⁴⁷ They may in fact have had little more enthusiasm for the rebellion itself as, at one point, stragglers had to be spurred on with the cry: 'God's blood, sirs, what will ye now do? Shall we go home and keep sheep? Nay, by God's body, yet had I rather be hanged.'⁴⁸

The surviving Lincolnshire returns of the Inquisition of 1517, while only relating to the soles of Bolingbroke and Horncastle, and the wapentake of Candleshoe, find that the scale of depopulating enclosure was insignificant, although there were instances of disagreement between large sheep and cattle farmers who

overstocked commons or turned them into private pastures, and the smaller men who were the losers.⁴⁹ Only two lawsuits concerning Lincolnshire farmers complaining of flocks of more than 2,400 sheep came to court however, and only four of the 583 prosecutions relating to enclosures in the same Court of Exchequer, between 1518 and 1568, occurred in the county.⁵⁰

Manning suggests that while enclosure was not new in the sixteenth century, it did not cause major social disturbances in the Middle Ages because of the comparatively low population density at that time. Manning contends that enclosure disputes 'were primarily a response to the pressure of expanding population upon available land resources after 1530.'⁵¹

In a 1974 article Manning had suggested that it was the peerage and gentry that played a more significant part in initiating forcible destruction of enclosures than any peasant tenants and smallholders.⁵² He analysed seventy-five Star Chamber cases dealing with enclosure riots during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI and found that in twenty-nine instances the casting down of hedges was organised by peers or gentlemen; in four cases by order or a manorial court or municipal officials, and in three cases riots were the indirect result of failure to comply with a crown order commanding the removal of enclosures. In four cases the destruction of enclosures can be blamed on townsmen, and three cases to clerics; in another four cases he found clergy or lesser gentry leading tenants and small holders; but in only twelve instances could Manning find that the levelling of hedges was instigated by yeomen, husbandmen, labourers or craftsmen. Even taking into account the fourteen cases where the social status of the anti-enclosure rioters could not be determined accurately, only about one-third of these riots were attributable to peasant initiative. Enclosure riots, concluded Manning, were just one sort of violence employed by the gentry in pursuing quarrels with rival gentry.⁵³

Some scholars such as Moore see later developments, in which the gentry became more enthusiastic about enclosures, as a cause of the English Civil war in the seventeenth century.⁵⁴ Certainly in Stuart times enclosure leading to depopulation was an offence against the common law. Commissions inquired into it, and the government used the courts to fine offenders. Tate writes that 'From about 1607 to 1636, the Government pursued an active anti-enclosure policy'.⁵⁵ In 1607 the agrarian changes in the Midlands had produced an armed revolt of the peasantry, beginning in Northamptonshire, where there had been stirrings of unrest since 1604. The revolt was soon suppressed, but promises of redress were only complied with to the extent of the setting up of the 1607 Inquisition of Depopulation and the gentry were soon enclosing again. In 1619 there were good harvests, the price of corn fell and commissions were appointed to *grant pardons* for breaches of the depopulation acts; this is perhaps why, in 1624, all depopulation acts, except two acts of 1597, were repealed.⁵⁶

The price of corn rose and fell, but by the 1630s enclosure was out of favour again and from 1635-8 enclosure 'compositions' were charged in thirteen counties, some six hundred persons in all being fined, the total fines amounting to almost over £46,000 (see Table 2). Enclosers were being fined in Star Chamber as late as 1639, but this court was to disappear in 1641 and the Stuart intermittent policy of fining enclosers, whether out of a conviction that enclosing was wrong or, more probably as a money-raising device for an impoverished king, went with it.

Table 2. Fines on enclosing landowners - (£)

Year ->	1635	1636	1637	1638	Total 1635-8
Lincolnshire	3,130	8,023	4,990	2,703	18,846
Leicestershire	1,700	3,560	4,080	85	9,425
Northamptonshire	3,200	2,340	2,875	263	8,678
Huntingdonshire		680	1,837	230	2,747
Rutland		150	1,000		1,150
Nottinghamshire			2,010	78	2,088
Hertfordshire		2,000			2,000
Gloucestershire				50	50
Cambridgeshire			170	340	510
Oxfordshire			580	153	733
Bedfordshire				412	412
Buckinghamshire				71	71
Kent				100	100
Grand Total £					46,810

Source: E.C.K. Gonner, *Common Land and Inclosure*, (1912), p.167

It is not clear how much enclosure of open fields took place during the Commonwealth, but there seemed to have been few legal or administrative

attempts to stop it happening. In 1656, Edward Whalley, the Major-General in charge of the Midlands, took fairly drastic action in response to petitions complaining of local enclosures.⁵⁷ He brought in a Bill 'touching the dividing of the commons', but it failed and was not even given a second reading. This was the last bill to attempt to regulate enclosure. Ten years later, in 1666, another bill was read in the Lords, to confirm all enclosures made by court decree in the preceding sixty years. It was also unsuccessful, but the fact that it was introduced shows what a fundamental change there had been in the attitude displayed by those in authority towards enclosure.⁵⁸

After the Restoration there were no more depopulation commissions and no more prosecutions, by the state, of enclosers. Tate thought that there was little chance that Charles II would upset the gentry and clergy by showing undue concern for the poor.⁵⁹ In any case the financial hardships of the gentry due to wartime expenditure, the fines that had been levied on them and the static or falling prices of grain made agricultural change a priority, which could not be hindered by any concerns about enclosure.⁶⁰

b) The impact of Parliamentary enclosure

While it is clear that the main landowning families, and the Church, emerged from parliamentary enclosure in a favourable economic position, the identity of those who fared less well is more difficult to determine. Historians have debated for many years whether, following enclosure, land tended to be transferred away from lesser landowners and become part of large estates. If this was the case, did these, newly landless, individuals have to give up their self-employed status and become part of a freshly created proletariat working on the larger landholdings, or did they, perhaps, join an exodus to the growing centres of the industrial revolution?

Why should parliamentary enclosure cause this to happen at all? The first reason is that the small landowner, although his land could have doubled in value, might not be able to provide his share of the costs of enclosure, for new roads, fences, hedges and the fees of the commissioners etc., and he would be forced, in consequence, to sell up. It may also be that the owner-occupier, especially if he were elderly, would decide that he wanted no part in the newfangled farming culture and that it would be a suitable time for him to give up work. The second reason is that at enclosure common rights disappeared and the commons and wastes were incorporated into new farms. Those who had had no land at all before enclosure, and who had relied on common rights for food and fuel and a place to graze their animals were suddenly deprived of this resource and, especially if the enclosure award did not compensate them, would be obliged to find new ways to gain a living.⁶¹

The most celebrated and significant critic of parliamentary enclosure was probably Karl Marx who had claimed in *Capital* of 1867: 'About 1750, the yeomanry had disappeared, and so had, in the last decade of the 18th century, the last trace of the common land of the agricultural labourer'.⁶²

Marx refers to two sorts of people in his text, the agricultural labourer, which probably included the cottager, and the independent peasant by which, without defining him, he may well have meant, the owner-occupier farmer.

Because of this important book, the notion of the owner-occupier or yeoman farmer being separated from his land by parliamentary enclosure became the conventional view amongst historians. In 1911 John and Barbara Hammond published *The Village Labourer 1760-1832* in which they put forward the idea (which mirrored Karl Marx's) of an increasing social divide between the gentry and aristocracy on one hand and the working class on the other.⁶³ The Hammonds viewed enclosure as the means by which the poor were deprived of landownership and common rights and their ideas were substantiated by, what seemed to them, to have been a noticeable decrease in owner-occupation of

land by the late nineteenth century. The prevailing view was therefore negative, and was that parliamentary enclosure had been a device to reduce the, once proudly independent, small farmer to a state of servitude.

Davies added a complication to the debate when he wrote in 1927 about a number of midland counties (including the Lindsey part of Lincolnshire), which had been heavily enclosed and decided that '...by 1780 the owner occupier had ceased to be an outstanding feature of the English rural economy...'and that almost 90 per cent of the land at this date was in the hands of tenant farmers. In other words, the small landowner had already disappeared *before* the main period of parliamentary enclosure. He also found, however, that there had been a general increase in 'all grades of occupying owners' between about 1780 and 1832.⁶⁴ Davies' conclusions were based on his studies of a previously under-exploited source, the Land Tax returns (LTAs) and his, subsequently controversial, assumption that a constant relationship existed between the tax paid and the land which was held, the so-called, 'acreage equivalent'.⁶⁵

The whole debate began to be reviewed critically again in the 1940s. First Tate claimed that the aristocracy and Parliament had not conspired together to force through enclosure bills;⁶⁶ then Lavrovsky suggested in a 1942 article that, in the case of the earlier parliamentary enclosures, the 'peasant class' did indeed suffer although, as the eighteenth century came to a close, their lot improved, a greater proportion of land being held by them than before. Despite this Lavrovsky concluded that, generally, enclosure eroded the social and economic welfare of the poorer classes. This was due in part to the land that was gained by the church or impropriate rectors in commutation for tithes.⁶⁷

Chambers, writing about the East Midlands (in a study which included thirty-seven Lindsey parishes), concluded that, at the turn of the eighteenth century, there had been an actual increase in the number of owner-occupiers, a finding which directly challenged the claims of the Hammonds.⁶⁸ Mingay had a more positive view of the consequences of enclosure too, and in 1968 he published

the results of an investigation into the fate of both owner-occupiers and tenant farmers. He decided that although there could have been a decline in the number of this joint group, there were still large numbers of them remaining in those parts of the country where they had traditionally flourished before enclosure. The proportion of land acreage farmed by them, however, had declined and, Mingay found that this had been reduced to about 11 to 14 per cent by the end of the eighteenth century and that there was a further slight decline to a lower proportion during the next hundred years.⁶⁹

Studies in the 1970s and 1980s in Buckinghamshire and Warwickshire further investigated the small farmer after enclosure, but to avoid the, by now, well known problems with the land tax of which acreage equivalent inconsistency was only one, they concentrated on the turnover of landowners' surnames. In Buckinghamshire Turner concluded that the turnover of small landowners every two or three years was as much as 50-60 per cent and that a large proportion of the new owners were cottagers.⁷⁰ Martin undertook a similar study in Warwickshire and found that, as in Buckinghamshire, there was a turnover in small landowners but also that the total number of small landowners reduced by as much as 39 per cent. The reduction on absentee owners was greater than that of the owner-occupiers who cultivated their own land.⁷¹

Neeson has offered a much less positive view of the effects of enclosure. In her 1993 book, which used similar turnover studies amongst Northamptonshire land tax returns, she found that villages after enclosure had high rates of turnover of small landholders, a reduction in the sizes of holdings and that there were fewer small owner-occupiers and tenants, but more large tenants and landowners. Further, she claims that common rights were more widely held by villagers before enclosure than is generally believed, that these common rights had considerable economic value and thus their disappearance

led to a substantial decline in the quality of life.⁷² Her view is similar to that offered in 1911 by the Hammonds.

Allen listed a number of changes to the well-being of the agricultural labourer, brought about, he thought, by both the economic and non-economic aspects of parliamentary enclosure. He believed that the welfare of labourers deteriorated even though their wages did not fall. This was because employment in agriculture fell and surplus labour accumulated, and it was thus impossible for all labourers to find work at the prevailing wage.⁷³ If a family had access to the commons because of the ownership of a farm or a cottage, it received an allotment in consequence, but writers have disputed whether these small awards of land were equivalent to the value of the rights of common they had lost. It may be that the value of the land received was swallowed up by the cost of fencing it.⁷⁴

Allen suggests that the economic structure of the family unit was altered by parliamentary enclosure. While the whole family, husband, wife and children, were employed on seventeenth-century farms, later farm amalgamations reduced the job opportunities of women and children much more than that of men. The subsequent surplus male labour further decreased the requirement for female and child labour in agriculture, because men were given precedence over women in hiring. Many women in the countryside became unemployed, and the family unit became much more reliant on the earnings of the husband, or on the charity of the parish.⁷⁵

Allen argues that a significant effect of parliamentary enclosure was the 'de-skilling' of the rural population. The yeoman farmer had had to actively manage his few acres and that incentive to mental application vanished when he was reduced to a labourer. Yeomen had been able to perform all the jobs on their farms but, suggests Allen, most became ploughmen with much more limited skills. The few skills that they did have were acquired with more difficulty, because children could no longer be taught by watching their parents. The 'de-

skilling' of the wives was even more dramatic and many would become redundant. The effect was a tragic loss of the pool of talent in the rural community. Before parliamentary enclosure, the open field village had been managed co-operatively by the farmers, according to the rules of a manorial court, and had, from its own community, provided the required officials. A measure of parochial democracy had existed which, with parliamentary enclosure, vanished. There was what Allen calls 'a narrowing of horizons', which together with declining incomes, meant that the condition of the farm labourer deteriorated after parliamentary enclosure.⁷⁶

Thirsk saw the intangible effect, the *consequence*, of enclosure starkly:

After enclosure when everyman could fence his own piece of territory and warn his neighbours off, the discipline of sharing things fairly with one neighbour was relaxed, and every household became an island to itself. This was the great revolution in men's lives, greater than all the economic changes following enclosure.⁷⁷

If there has been a recent change in emphasis in the historiography of enclosure, it may be that there has been a move towards greater data collection and analysis to demonstrate its impact. In 1985 Snell published *Annals of the Labouring Poor* and argued that far from creating employment as some had claimed, enclosure reduced it, often immediately and certainly in the long run, and he emphasised the differential gender consequences of enclosure.⁷⁸ His methodology was based on large numbers of poor law settlement examinations to demonstrate that enclosure made the seasonal incidence of unemployment worse, especially in arable counties.⁷⁹

Conclusion

Enclosure studies in the past might be said to have divided into two periods. At the end of the nineteenth and the start of the twentieth centuries a number of books examined the events, mainly in the era of parliamentary acts, which had led to the poor conditions of the small farmer and labourer. By the nineteen-thirties and forties a new generation of historians had less interest in the deprivations of the workers and were keener to look at the relative importance of different sorts of enclosure and their consequences for agricultural improvement.

The sharpest divisions amongst scholars may be said to concern the characterisation of enclosure as expropriation. On the one hand, E.P Thompson thought of enclosure as 'class robbery', and that the English peasant had been driven, by its means, from the land. Kerridge took an equally extreme, but opposite, view that it was 'a monstrous and malicious slander' to claim that 'capitalism thrive on unjust expropriations.' He saw enclosure more as agricultural improvement and thought that there had been no illegal dispossession.⁸⁰

Two political extremes like these are difficult to reconcile, but this thesis will attempt to settle the debate in the study area, as well as contributing to other questions. It will examine the whole long sequence of different sorts of agricultural improvement, will construct its chronology and compare it with estimates for England as a whole. The thesis will look at the consequences for landownership, population and occupational patterns in the area and contrast the findings with other analyses. The motivations for enclosure will be considered and judgements made as to whether they were affected by the nature of the study area landscape, or whether such generally important motivations, like the desire for increased rent, prevailed.

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⁵⁸ *Ibid*; Thirsk, 'Agrarian History, 1540-1950' , p.219

⁵⁹ W. E. Tate, *English Village*, p.128

⁶⁰ J.V. Beckett, *A History of Laxton: England's Last Open-Field Village* (Oxford,1989) ,p.107

⁶¹ J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay agree, and then disagree, with this assertion, in the same book. *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880* (1966): 'Many [labourers'] cottages carried with them the right to use the common for grazing a few beasts and for getting fuel.' pp.19-20, but then they write, 'even before enclosure the majority of cottagers had no rights of common', p.97

⁶² K. Marx, *Capital* (reprinted 1990), p.883

⁶³ J.L.&.B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer 1760-1832* (1911)

⁶⁴ E. Davies, 'The Small Landowner 1780-1832, in the light of the Land Tax Assessments', *Economic History Review*, 1st ser., I (1927)

⁶⁵ The Land Tax returns had been used before in: A.H. Johnson, *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner* (Oxford, 1909; reprinted with a new introduction by J. Thirsk, 1963), and H.L. Gray, 'Yeoman Farming in Oxfordshire from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 24 (1910)

⁶⁶ W.E. Tate, 'Members of Parliament and the Proceedings upon Enclosure Bills', *Economic History Review*, 1st ser. 12 (1942); in his last book, of 1967, he went as far as to say that the Hammonds had written 'one of the most brilliant works of historical fiction in the English tongue.' W. E. Tate, *The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movement* (1967), p.180

⁶⁷ V.M Lavrovsky. 'Parliamentary Enclosure of the Common Fields in England at the End of the Eighteenth Century and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century' (review by Hill, C.), *Economic History Review*, 12 (1942)

⁶⁸ J.D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and the Small Landowner', *Economic History Review*, 1st ser. 10 (1940)

⁶⁹ G.E. Mingay, *Enclosure and the Small Farmer in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (1968), pp.14-15

⁷⁰ M.E. Turner, *Enclosures in Britain 1750-1830* (1984), pp.74-5

⁷¹ J.M. Martin, 'The Small Landowner and Parliamentary Enclosure in Warwickshire', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 32 (1979), p.335

⁷² J.M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge, 1993), p.221 et seq.

⁷³ R. C. Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman: The Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450-1850* (Oxford, 1992), p.287

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p.288

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp.289-90

⁷⁷ J. Thirsk, *Agricultural Change: Policy and Practice, 1500-1750* (Cambridge, 1990), p.109

⁷⁸ K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), p.22

⁷⁹ J. Burchardt, 'Agricultural History, Rural History or Countryside History ?', *Historical Journal*, 50, 2 (2007), p.470

⁸⁰ E. P. Thomson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1964), p.218; E. Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* (1969), p.93

2. Methodology

The aim of the thesis is to establish the link, in north-west Lindsey, between enclosure and agricultural improvement, including land reclamation, draining and warping between the sixteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century and to pay particular attention to the continuity of enclosure history through time, rather than merely concentrating on the period of parliamentary enclosure. In order to show how enclosure changed both the landscape and the farming techniques in the area, a number of related topics including landownership, population, and the socio-economic structure of the villages of north-west Lindsey are also considered.

To do this it was necessary to collect data from a number of original sources, which covered the study period of two-hundred and fifty years. The principal sources were glebe terriers, Chancery decrees, land tax assessments from 1783 to 1830, together with the copious documentary evidence generated by the parliamentary process. The 1851 census for the study area, relating to some fourteen thousand names was also analysed into social and occupational groups. The twenty-nine tithe files, for the townships and parishes of the study area, were examined at The National Archives. Data for those of the study parishes and townships mentioned in the 1801 Crop Survey was analysed. The pages of the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* were searched for references to enclosure. These sources are considered in turn below.

Glebe terriers and old enclosure

Although the major part of his income will have come from tithes, the parish priest may also have come into possession of small strips in the open field, gifted or bequeathed by parishioners over the centuries. In some villages sufficient land might have been accumulated in this way to create a

consolidated holding or even a small farm, but in most cases the amounts received were small. A result of the English Reformation was a tendency for the gradual passing of this church property into the possession of the laity and one way that the practice could be halted was the glebe terrier, which contained a record of the endowments of each benefice.¹ The very existence of such a document helped to prevent the further transfer of the title of church lands and possessions. Indeed if a peasant had to make sure that he did not lose part of his land to his neighbours by surreptitious shaving of his strips or selions, how much more important it must have been for a rector or vicar, who was probably new to the area, to know exactly what land was his, by virtue of his parochial office. A local landowner might, for instance, have taken the opportunity of a change in vicar to incorporate glebe land into his own holdings. In Redbourne the 1638 terrier lists various church lands, but the 1662 terrier speaks sadly of twelve acres of glebe which formerly belonged to the vicarage but 'since the improvement of the lordship... are lost'.² At Thornton, near Horncastle, the glebe terrier of 1828 noted 'it appears by a terrier of 1707... that there were many lands stated to belong to the vicarage, those of which the present incumbent is in possession are one acre of land'.³ Rex Russell observes that Thornton was 'privately enclosed', and suggests that the enclosers had simply appropriated the intermixed glebe strips and abolished the cow gates in the Ox Pasture which were recorded in the 1707 terrier.⁴ It is perhaps possible that some clergy tried to avoid the added difficulty of glebe lands that were intermixed and so could not be described accurately, by consolidating the lands into closes within common fields; closes which would have been more visible than anonymous strips.

At first terriers dealt only with the plots of land belonging to the parish church and the furnishings of the parsonage house, but within a short time such items as parish boundaries, charities, and inventories of church goods were required by the bishop.

The collection of glebe terriers in the Lincolnshire Archives contains perhaps an average of a dozen for each of the, over six hundred, parishes in the county.⁵

The earliest terriers date from 1577, and from 1605 onwards there are examples at frequent intervals throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The use of these documents has its difficulties however; they are often cursory, sometimes undated and it is clear that the most undemanding way to prepare a terrier was to reproduce the previous one.⁶

Another difficulty in using terriers is that agrarian landscape terms, or their definitions, may vary by parish. Some may be peculiar to an area, while others could be specific to a settlement; we are not to know. For example amongst a description of glebe in the East Field in Scawby in 1662 is found the first intimation of enclosure in that parish, 'a closse of John Mawmill gent', but also the imprecise terms 'land', 'broad land' and 'narrow land'.⁷ It is not clear if 'land' and 'broad land' are the same and are twenty-two yards wide, 'narrow land' being eleven yards wide, or whether instead in Scawby, a land is twenty-two yards wide, a broad land eleven yards and a 'narrow land' is five and a half yards. By the time of the next glebe terrier, thirty-five years later, in 1697 village definitions may have changed.

In the same 1662 terrier, glebe allotments in the meadow of Scawby are listed, and the measure used for grassland is the 'gadd'.⁸ Adams believes that 'gad' is a regional variant of perch normally of fifteen statutory feet in length although he found that perches themselves varied from fifteen feet to twenty-four feet.⁹ The Dorset gad was fifteen statutory feet and one inch, but the Lincolnshire gad was only ten feet. A gad could be also be a measure of grassland equal to a swathe, or six and a half feet.¹⁰ Cameron however thinks that the 'gad' is a measure of *area* equal to a rood. (qv)

For some parishes the extent of the church land is set down in painstaking detail, and each strip is located exactly in furlong and field. Some are so detailed, define so many discrete parcels and name so many holders of land, that, it is perhaps possible that with help from estate and tithe maps, a detailed map of the field system of the community before parliamentary enclosure might be constructed.

In the case of the Messingham terrier of 20 August 1686, for example, there are a very large number of strips of glebe land listed in each of the four open fields of the parish; the West, East, South and Lowbeckhill fields. This last field must be, the one called elsewhere in the terriers, the North field as it contains the Bottesford Beck which roughly delineates the north of the parish. Shown below is a small part of the terrier which details the 'gads', or (what Cameron takes to mean) roods of land, in the East Field¹¹:

In the East Field.

One gad and a halfe by Cowgate side, Thomas Bishop on the South,
Thomas Taylor on the North.

Three gad more in the same furlong, John Major jun. on the South,
Thomas Stocks on the North.

Two gad in Lowman Mear, John Major on the South, Thomas Taylor on
the North...¹²

The phrase 'four gad and four foot' in the terrier suggests that Ian Adams' definition may be the correct one here, and it would point to a length of forty-four feet, with an unknown breadth.

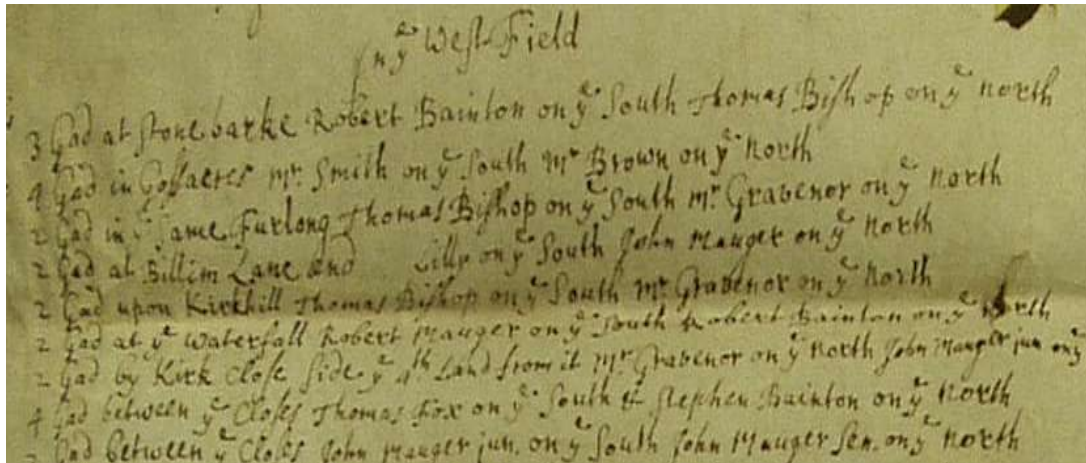


Plate 1: part of the West Field , Messingham terrier 1686

If Cameron is right however and the “gad” is a measure of *area*, then an analysis of the glebe lands in Messingham shows that there were ninety-seven plots spread throughout the four open fields varying in area from one to nine gads (a quarter of an acre to two and a quarter acres), with the most frequently occurring areas being forty plots of two gads (half an acre) and twenty-five of four gads (one acre). The total area in the common fields was 275.5 gads or nearly 69 acres in Cameron’s view.

The following table summarises the Messingham glebe in 1686:

Table 3 Messingham Glebe Lands 1686

Size in gads	Number of plots	Total Area gads
1	4	4
1.5	11	16.5
2	40	80
3	11	33
4	25	100
5	2	10
6	1	6
7	0	0
8	1	8
9	2	18
97		275.5

Source: Reworked from LAO Messingham Glebe Terrier 1686

At the time of parliamentary enclosure in 1804, the Bishop of Lincoln and the vicar were awarded, in total, as much as 139 acres of land in lieu of glebe and common rights.¹³

Perhaps what we see in the 1686 Messingham terrier is a snapshot, a frozen moment in a continuing process of the consolidation of holdings in the common fields. It seems likely that this merging would continue, for the convenience of the inhabitants (including the incumbent), by the simple expedient of exchanging handily-located plots of similar quality.¹⁴ Various closes are mentioned in the document, amongst them Kirk Close, Wood Close, St. John's Close and Mell Close although there is no evidence that there was sufficient enclosed land ever to form a 'Glebe' or 'Church Farm'.

Did the vicar himself work on his strips during the week, was he able to employ labourers or did he rent his land out to others in the village? Canon law was clear that ministers were not allowed to forsake their calling, follow a trade or *farm for profit*.¹⁵ There seems no clue to what actually happened in the terriers examined, except for the evident observation that Messingham's ninety-seven plots would have been too much for the vicar to work by himself, whether they were measured in length or by area. The terrier for that village mentions the parish clerk and a tenant crofter living on glebe land so it is possible that they helped in the fields together with any servants living in the vicarage.¹⁶

The parish of Frodingham has twelve glebe terriers dating from 1601 to 1822 but some are very brief and others are difficult to decipher apparently due to dampness.¹⁷ The first legible terrier of 1671 mentions a close and uses an old unit of length, the 'stong', meaning a rod, pole or perch that is, five and a half yards.¹⁸

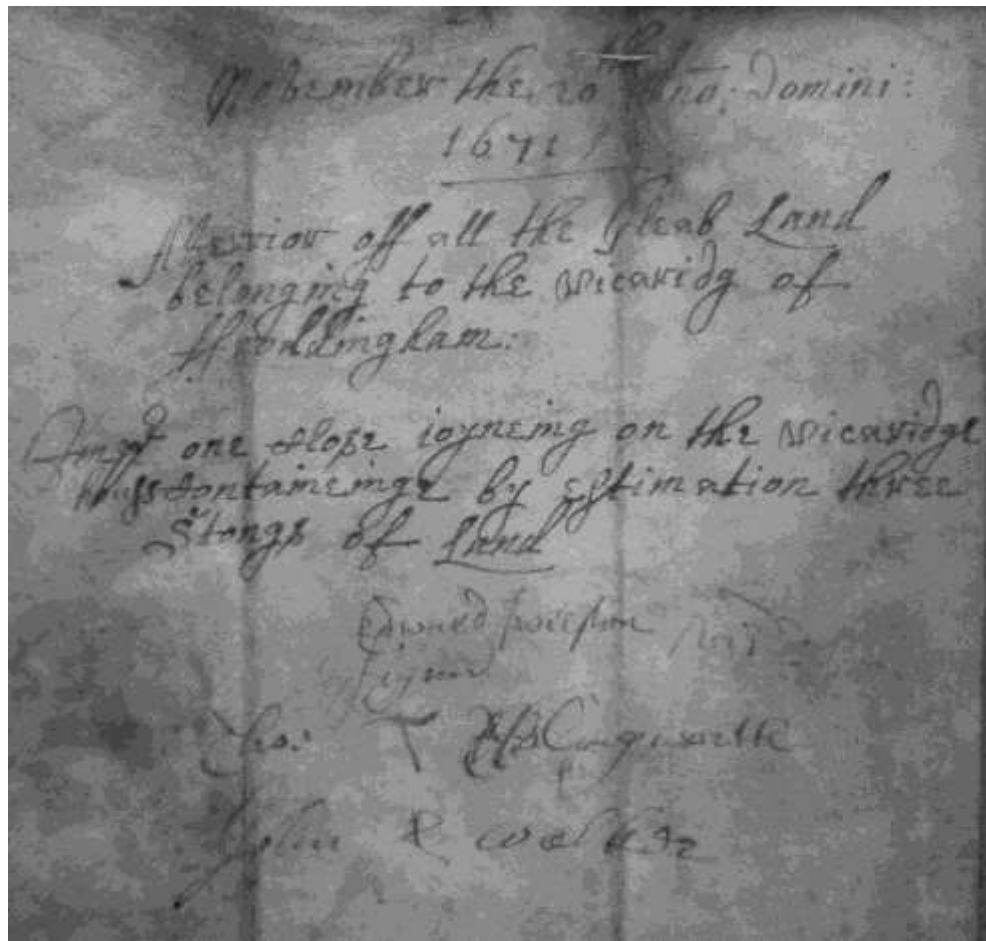


Plate2: The Frodingham terrier of 1671

By 1679 the land belonging to the church has been augmented by three 'lands' and by 1686 a small close had appeared in the terrier. In 1706 the glebe land is once again listed and an unusual word 'warbetts' makes an appearance. C.W. Foster, suggested that this word meant 'a rent which if not paid on the first day must be paid two-fold on the second; three-fold on the third, and so on, indefinitely.'¹⁹ The inference is that these harsh terms were being imposed on notoriously poor rent payers. Cameron prefers instead to describe the word as meaning an allotment of land that is 'subject to some form of defence or protection'.²⁰ There is no terrier between 1706 and 1788 by which time church land amounts to just an acre and a half.

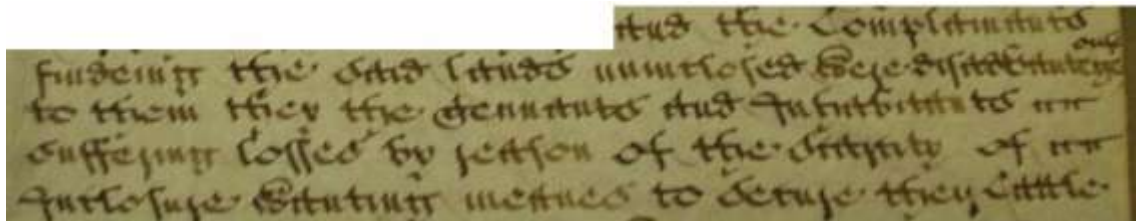
It is clear that open field agriculture was widespread in the study area, and while some parsons had little glebe, others must have been moderately large cultivators of land. From the first glebe terriers for the area of 1577 there are mentions of closes in the study parishes and some evidence of consolidation of holdings. During the English Civil Wars the episcopate was abolished by Parliament and was not restored till 1660. The glebe however was not seriously tampered with and continued to be used to support the clergy. Visitations and terriers resumed in 1662 and the spate of new closes listed from that date, perhaps indicates that enclosing had continued, during the upheavals of those times.²¹

In general it is perhaps possible that the evidence of enclosure derived from glebe terriers may understate the process, as the formation of closes may have been led by yeoman farmers, with agricultural acumen, who had the necessary drive to organise the consolidation of strips, rather than by incumbents who merely owned land by virtue of their office, and had less interest in agrarian improvement and may not even have been resident in the parish.

Chancery Decrees

It was from about the mid-sixteenth century that enclosures begin occasionally to be enrolled by decree of the Court of Chancery and the earliest agreement found seems to be that for Condover, near Shrewsbury, which was made in May 1550 and enrolled in 1586.²² The apparent purpose of obtaining a decree was that 'the Court was supposed to be competent to enable trustees and guardians to consent in order to bind their successors and wards, and even to bind dissentients'.²³ A difficulty influencing interpretation of any decree arises from the distinction that has to be made between genuine or collusive suits. Beresford suggested that the key to the difference is the language used, and

that 'where the defence is more fully and vehemently stated or the plaintiff more querulous it may be guessed that there was genuine disagreement'.²⁴



'Plate 3: Part of the Chancery Decree for Waddingham TNA: C78/1096/2' And the complainants findeing the said landes uninclused were disadvantageous to them they the tennantes and Inhabitants suffering losses by reason of the scarcity of Inclosure wanting meanes to secure their cattle...'

There are 2,257 rolls (or *rotuli*) of decrees and orders of the court of Chancery in series C78 at The National Archives. The rolls are made up of parchment membranes sewn end to end, evidently from collections of some thirty to forty membranes which are usually, but not always, in date sequence. As each membrane is approximately 45cm in height, an unrolled *rotulus* can measure nearly twenty metres and may only be comfortably examined in sections of two or three metres. Decrees are written in the very distinctive Chancery Hand, the set style of handwriting used for the enrolment of acts of Parliament and other important documents, until 1836.²⁵ While each membrane is written in the hand of one clerk, more than one hand can often be found in a *rotulus*. Each clerk seems to have had a slightly different way of making certain letter-forms, like the capitals 'W', 'B', and 'S'. Perhaps this was the only way that the clerk could stamp his own personality on the, otherwise anonymous, task.

The first one hundred and thirty *rotuli* (C78/1-130) have been calendared, entry by entry, and indexed both by place and personal name in four volumes of the List and Index Society.²⁶ These entries are in rough chronological order from the 1530s to a little after the end of the reign of Elizabeth.²⁷ There is no complete index to the rolls from C78/130 onwards.

Sample rolls from C78 were calendared as part of a project sponsored by M.W. Beresford between 1974 and 1976.²⁸ Beresford's researchers examined twelve thousand cases in 749 sample *rotuli* and recorded 260, what they described as 'enclosure agreements' amongst them, which were tabulated by county:

Table 4:

Distribution of 'Enclosure Agreements' by counties:			
Bedfordshire	3	Norfolk	16
Berkshire	4	Northamptonshire	26
Buckinghamshire	7	Northumberland	1
Cambridgeshire	12	Nottinghamshire	3
Cheshire	0	Oxfordshire	8
Cornwall	0	Rutland	2
Cumberland	1	Shropshire	3
Derby	5	Somerset	5
Devon	5	Staffordshire	9
Dorset	5	Suffolk	2
Durham	1	Surrey	1
Essex	2	Sussex	5
Gloucestershire	10	Warwickshire	19
Hampshire	0	Westmorland	1
Herefordshire	2	Wiltshire	8
Hertfordshire	1	Worcestershire	0
Huntingdonshire	7	Yorkshire	23
Kent	2	Montgomeryshire	1
Lancashire	1	Monmouth	2
Leicestershire	30	Uncertain	1
Lincolnshire	24		
Middlesex	2	TOTAL	260

Source: M.W. Beresford, 'The Decree Rolls of Chancery as a Source of Economic History, 1547-C.1700' *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 32 (1979), p.8

Unfortunately a catalogue of the twelve thousand cases was never published, nor an index made, nor was there even a listing of the two hundred and sixty place names.²⁹ A typescript copy of the three volume list was lodged in the Institute of Historical Research and the entries for Lincolnshire have now been examined.³⁰ The list of rolls reveals that numbers 121-750 were inspected as a *complete series* (except that number 163 was missing) and these were *not*

sampled, like the remainder, at a rate of one in five, or one in ten. These 630 rolls have a confused internal chronological sequence, but the run includes most of the reigns of James I, Charles I and II, together with the Commonwealth period. All of the Lincolnshire entries, which were found in the Beresford list, fall within this period. The first is a dispute concerning Cadney, Howsham and Newstede (198/10) in 1605, and the last relates to Bulby in Irnham (736/15) in 1667. Beresford suggested that the enrolment of enclosure decrees became more popular in the 1630s and may have reached a peak in the 1660s.³¹ It is difficult to generalise with only a small number of Lincolnshire cases; all that can be said is that there were noticeable gaps in litigation during the 1620s and 1640s.

The text and tables in Beresford's article, specifically refer to numbers of 'Enclosure Agreements'.³² This is perhaps somewhat equivocal as the list produced by the project includes, as well as cases where ratifications of agreements to enclose were actually being sought, disputes which touch on *other aspects* of land litigation. The entries for Evedon and Bassingham do indeed describe the Chancery Court ratification process, but elsewhere, for example, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden complains that although he has drained and enclosed the sea marsh at Sutton, he has not received the agreed 3,500 acres which is owed to him.³³ Richard Towneley in Nocton complains that he wishes to make a sixty-acre deer park, but the vicar protests that he has common pasture rights in the area of land concerned.³⁴ While enclosure, or at least agricultural improvement, is certainly at issue in these cases, they are *not* enclosure agreements.

Only twenty-two *rotulus* references, which could be ascribed to the county, were found. It may be that Beresford or his researchers have adopted another system of accounting; perhaps parishes or townships are being counted. Boughton, Asgarby and Howell are the subject of one Chancery dispute, but Asgarby is a township in Boughton parish while Howell is a separate, if adjacent

parish.³⁵ Perhaps places that are mentioned several times, are only listed once. Laughterton and Kettlethorpe are mentioned twice, in 1651 and 1667.³⁶ Swinderby is mentioned twice, because an agreement of 1629 was the cause of friction over several decades;³⁷ Sutton is mentioned twice, once on its own and once in a case, concerning marshland, jointly with the parish of nearby Gedney.³⁸

Ditchfield appears in the Lincolnshire list with Benjamin Laney, who was Bishop of Lincoln at the time, as defendant.³⁹ Because Ditchfield is in Buckinghamshire, the original decree was examined to determine if this place was wrongly included in the Lincolnshire list because of the Episcopal connection. The text of the decree itself however clearly has Bitchfield, which is a small parish about seven miles south-east of Grantham.

Beresford's summary table is not a list of enclosure agreements, as it includes cases concerned with other aspects of land litigation, but the three volumes of typescript produced by his researchers in 1978 do provide a useful catalogue of the cases, by *rotulus* number, heard at the Court Of Chancery over a lengthy period of time. They do appear, in different ways, to be concerned with enclosure or agricultural improvement and some of these are actual *ratifications* of enclosure agreements in the way that we have come to understand the term from Beresford's description.

The National Archives does not possess a complete catalogue to Chancery Decrees, but does have available a nineteenth-century finding aid, which is a ten-volume manuscript list of dates of entries and names of plaintiffs relating to rolls from the years 1649 to about 1760.⁴⁰ There is also a more modern (perhaps twentieth century) manuscript finding aid, a one-volume list of place names mentioned in rolls, for almost the same period.⁴¹ Because of its small size however, it seems very unlikely to be a comprehensive listing and Miss E.

M. Leonard's, main example, the parish of Brandesburton near Drifffield, does not appear in it.⁴²

Two strategies were adopted when searching for enclosures in cases from Chancery decree rolls. The first was to examine the four volumes published by the List and Index Society, which cover the first one hundred and thirty rolls, for names of persons, and places that might be relevant. There is hardly a reference to enclosure in these volumes however, and this must be partly because, as already noted, enrolment begins to become noticeable after the time span which these volumes address.⁴³ Another reason may be inexact phrasing, which could lead to a case, being included, or excluded, from the *corpus* of enclosure related cases. A reference to the area being 'divided' for example may indicate an authentic enclosure or might merely indicate the formation of an extra area of common field.⁴⁴ It may also be the case that the word 'enclosure' itself had connotations of depopulation that had to be avoided, and so another, more oblique, word or phrase would be used in its place.

After the List and Index Society volumes had been examined, the finding aids at the National Archives were consulted. The *index locorum* (IND 1/16960A) was checked for likely place names, although it was realised that a promising reference, even if leading to a case about land, may well have nothing at all to do with enclosure. Leasehold and copyhold lands may be at issue, disputes about debts and legacies seem very common, and even disagreements about marriage settlements occur. The ten-volume *index nominum* (IND 1/16961A) was then examined. Clearly it is an advantage if the likely name of the plaintiff is suspected, and still better if that surname is an unusual one. Even so it is probably an example of serendipity if, armed with only a familiar surname as evidence, an enclosure suit is eventually found amongst the decree rolls.

The second strategy which was adopted when searching for enclosures in cases in Chancery decree rolls was to search for mentions of 'inclosure by decree' in other classes of documents, or in books of reference. For example, in the case

of Waddingham in Lincolnshire, William White's 1856 *Directory* of that county mentions that 'the greater part of the parish was enclosed by a Decree of the Court of Chancery'.⁴⁵ A document amongst the Redbourne papers in Lincolnshire Archives, which is undated, but with other papers of *circa* 1736, mentions Redbourne's neighbouring village and comments that 'Waddingham was a large open common town consisting of large cornfields, pastures and common till the year 1700'.⁴⁶ With these two items of information it was possible to search, with a measure of confidence, the decree rolls around the year 1700 and hope to find one which has the required case. In fact Waddingham was discovered enrolled in a *rotulus* marked '13 W', that is the thirteenth regnal year of William III, or 1701-2, and was found subsequently to be listed in volume five of the *index nominum* of plaintiffs as 'Maudson, Bainton *et al*'.⁴⁷

The Waddingham suit was the only Chancery decree found to have a connection with the study area, and was not amongst the twelve thousand cases examined by Beresford's team; it was found instead, by deduction, from references in other documents. It is discussed in detail in chapter 7. It may be that there are other Lincolnshire decrees concerning agricultural land which remain to be discovered amongst the *rotulus* sequences that were sampled at only one in five, or at one in ten. A very few of them may indeed validate agreements to enclose, but it is likely that most will be real (rather than collusive) disputes about other topics.

A less arduous way, to discover a chancery decree concerning enclosure, is to find a *copy* of the agreement, catalogued in a county archive office. LAO has a copy of Chancery decree 637/1 of 19 Feb 1656, (listed above) which has the effect of ratifying the enclosure of Bassingham. This enclosure had begun, years earlier in 1629, with a petition to the principal landowner, the Countess of Warwick, from her 'poore tenents' listing the many reasons why they

favoured 'farming in severalty, inclosure and drainage'.⁴⁸ In the same archives is an exemplification, or legal copy of a chancery decree dated 13 December 1729, specially prepared for the Earl of Cardigan.⁴⁹ The decree confirms an agreement of 20 March 1728 between the Earl and the rector of Little Ponton concerning tithes, and to purchase Wood Close and certain other lands by way of exchange for other listed closes, totalling about 130 acres.⁵⁰ The original of this exemplification has yet to be found amongst the chancery decree *rotuli* in TNA.

It would be only about eighteen months later, in 1731, that a very similar agreement, between the rector and lord of the manor of Biscathorpe, to exchange glebe and other lands to facilitate enclosure, was validated *not* by chancery decree, but by a new device to Lincolnshire, the parliamentary act.⁵¹

Parliamentary acts came into fashion because an agreement to enclose could not be made with the opposition of even one person who dissented from it and not even Chancery Court would assist the majority against the dissentient.⁵² Enclosure by agreement does not seem to have gone immediately out of use; acts simply became more popular because of the certainty they gave and the fact that they could overcome opposition.

The notion therefore that, from the early seventeenth century, the hard bargaining necessary for enclosure by agreement had, as its consequence, an increasing tendency to opt for validation by a Chancery decree does not seem to be entirely correct.⁵³ There are, admittedly, a few of these where the 'necessary fiction of a dispute' was established by *collusive* action among the land owners, and so when the court decided in favour of the defendants, the legality of the enclosure was much more firmly established and recorded.⁵⁴ It would be perhaps more correct to say that the seventeenth century was a period when portions of parishes in Lincolnshire were enclosed by agreements between landowners, and the Court of Chancery was the preferred court to

enrol the agreement, in those minority of occasions when this action was thought necessary. Where the church was involved, the agreement was more likely to be enrolled by the Court.

Land Tax

In order to attempt to gauge the effects of parliamentary enclosure on the number of landowners and the proportion of owner occupiers, the land tax returns for all the parishes in the study area have been analyzed both for ownership and owner occupation for the years 1783 and 1830.⁵⁵

Ginter has warned that although land tax returns, or assessments, (LTAs) have been used to address some very large questions in British social history, including the fate of the small landholder after enclosure, they are 'treacherous' and 'nasty little documents'.⁵⁶ Despite this considerable *caveat*, many of the returns for the study area have been analysed with a view to determining not only what happened to the smaller owners in the study area, but also whether the structure of landownership within parishes may have had a bearing on the form and the timing of enclosure.

The land tax was a property tax dating from the late-seventeenth century. Originally it was a tax on land and, to lessen the possibility of avoidance, it became one in which county, wapentake (or hundred) and parish quotas were set, rather than a personal tax. These quotas became fixed and this was confirmed by law in 1798.⁵⁷ The tax assessments for any particular parcel of land were therefore arrived at an early stage of the life of the tax and stayed at that level until final abolition in 1963.⁵⁸ In 1780 the government gave instructions that duplicates of the assessments were to be kept by Clerks of the Peace so that they could be employed, in place of an electoral register, to determine which members of the parish were entitled to vote.⁵⁹ As a result, the

records in many county record offices include fairly complete runs of the duplicate land tax assessments from 1780 to 1832. After 1832, with the passing of the Reform Act, the assessments no longer were helpful for electoral purposes.

The land tax returns served a more martial purpose in 1795 when they were of help to magistrates in the urgent recruitment of sailors for the war against Napoleon. It was determined from the returns that there were 11,905 inhabited dwellings in the nineteen wapentakes of Lindsey and parishes were grouped into multiples of seventy houses, each of the seventy to provide one recruit.⁶⁰ On 20 April 1795 Thomas Goulton and William Wilson, of Alkborough sent in their account of volunteers enrolled to the Clerk of the Peace for the Division of Lindsey, which shows that the wapentake of Manley had raised seventeen men out of an assessment of twenty-eight. The neighbouring wapentake of Yarborough only managed two from an assessment of twenty-one. An examination of the records reveals the difficulty that the villages had in providing native volunteers. Although Solomon West, a 24-year-old labourer from Whitton, did go to sea, some of the seventeen were paid substitutes.⁶¹ James Lynch, a 27 year old cooper of Enniscorthy, County Wexford, for example, served as a substitute for Roxby, Appleby, Burton Stather, West Halton and Whitton.⁶²

In the Lincolnshire Archives there is a good collection of LTAs for Manley Wapentake from 1782 to 1831 with a few years entirely missing for the study area and occasional years absent, or partly illegible, for individual parishes.

As already noted by Ginter, there are reasons to be cautious when using LTAs for local history, and in particular in using them to track changes in landownership and in quantifying the magnitude of holdings. The LTA duplicates usually appear in a tabular form with headings consisting of the owner or

proprietor's name, the occupiers' name and the amount of tax that has been assessed. The very structure of the LTA with its neat columns of figures seems to demand conversion to a spreadsheet, but a number of opportunities for confusion are mentioned in the literature and others have come to light during the present study.

In a 1927 article, an early researcher, E. Davies, had made the controversial assumption that a constant relationship existed between the tax paid and the land which was held, the so-called, 'acreage equivalent'.⁶³ This is probably the principal pitfall with land tax documents, because since rental values varied so much from field to field, it is actually unsafe to draw any firm conclusions concerning acreages farmed, from the monetary values that were paid.

There are however other difficulties with LTAs that need to be borne in mind when considering them as a source of information about landownership. It may be that the smallest tax-paying owners are brought in or left out of the assessment in order to 'balance the books' and achieve the quota that was fixed in 1698. The Whitton LTA of 1790 is reproduced below. (plate 4, below) In the ninety or so years since the quota was fixed, rents had increased and it was no longer necessary to levy at the rate of four shillings in the pound each quarter, nor to tax the very poorest tenants at all, in order to accumulate the required sum of £13. Instead of the 5% originally required, a rate of approximately 1.5% was needed, and this is the sum that was charged in the Whitton document below. The amount collected in 1790 summed to 6/2¼ *more* than the quarterly requirement of £13. Confusingly while most of the listed tenants are assessed at 1.5%, one or two unaccountably pay more than this and so the excess over £13 is more than it need to be. We can only speculate where the surplus went.

Occupiers often held land in more than one parish and so it cannot be assumed that they live in the parish where they are listed in the LTAs. As a variant of this

complication, a very few parcels of land in the study area are actually crossed by parish boundaries and so have entries in the LTAs of two adjacent parishes.

County of Lincolnshire (An Apportionment made in pursuance of an Act of Parliament - most passed in the 30th Year of his present Majesty's reign for granting and sold to his Majesty's Majesty's Land in the said County) To be raised in Great Britain for the Service of the Year 1790

Name of Proprietors	Name of Occupiers	Yearly Rent	Sums Assessed Quarterly
The Rev. Mr. Coakwell	Mr. Coakwell & Sharp	£5.12.0	0.10.0 ³ / ₄
	Robert Sutton	41.5.0	0.12.0 ¹ / ₂
	Sam ^l Batters	130.14.0	2.1.14 ¹ / ₂
	Widow Lawverp	3.15.0	0.1.6
	Jn ^o Langtons Jun ^o	38.13.0	1.2.0 ³ / ₄
	Tho ^o Walkers	8.15.0	0.2.6
	Widow Skirke	3.10.0	0.0.10 ³ / ₄
	Tho ^o Gelf	7.2.0	0.2.10 ¹ / ₄
	Will ^m Hill	4.12.0	0.1.2 ¹ / ₂
	Jn ^o Booth	2.5.0	0.0.7 ¹ / ₄
	Jn ^o Gelf	3.10.0	0.0.10 ³ / ₄
	Robert Greenp	6.10.0	0.1.9 ³ / ₄
	Rich Langtons	149.0.0	2.5.2 ³ / ₄
	Widow Sharp	45.4.0	0.13.7
Tho ^o Goulton Esq ^r ?	Jn ^o Walkers	87.1.6	1.6.3 ¹ / ₄
	Tho ^o Curme	172.10.0	2.11.11 ¹ / ₂
	Rich ^o Booth	3.12.0	0.0.10 ³ / ₄
	W ^m Carters	2.10.0	0.0.7 ¹ / ₄
	Jn ^o Barley	1.5.0	0.0.3 ¹ / ₂
	Widow Weatherill	3.0.0	0.0.10 ³ / ₄
	Jos ^o Dinsdale	5.0.0	0.1.6
	Jn ^o Epworth	20.0.0	0.6.0 ¹ / ₂
	Robert Carters	1.0.0	0.0.3 ¹ / ₂
	Jn ^o Wade	4.2.0	0.1.2 ¹ / ₂
	Will ^m Dead	3.2.0	0.0.10 ³ / ₄
	Widow Petheramp	4.2.0	0.1.2 ¹ / ₂
	Cuth ^o Brain	3.12.0	0.0.10 ³ / ₄
	Tho ^o Wade	0.3.0	0.1.9 ³ / ₄
Jn ^o Weatherill Executors	Jn ^o Dolbe	1.0.0	0.1.2 ¹ / ₂
J ^o Weddoby	Jn ^o Weddoby	20.0.0	0.6.0 ¹ / ₂
Perkins	Eliza Wade	4.0.0	0.1.2 ¹ / ₂
	Jn ^o Lamong	6.0.0	0.1.9 ³ / ₄
	Robert Carters	3.0.0	0.0.10 ³ / ₄
	Jane Scarborough	9.0.0	0.1.0
		£	13.6.2 ¹ / ₄

Plate 4. The Whitton LTA of 1790 showing that Thomas Goulton owned nearly all of the land. The sums assessed actually total £13-6-2¼. (LAO: LTAs, Manley wapentake)

In one case 'Widow Wetherill' in Whitton parish is almost certainly the same person as the 'Execs of Wetheril' in West Halton, because a particular wooded field, still known as Weatherill's Holt, is split in two, by the boundary of these two parishes.

Before 1798, when standard printed forms were introduced to replace entirely handwritten returns, there was sometimes uncertainty, in the absence of headings to columns, as to whether the owners or occupiers were listed as proprietors. It is believed that this source of error has been eliminated by careful examination of the study area documents.

There are other difficulties; the names could be out of date, as changes were not always updated in the next assessment and the presence of the term 'late', perhaps for a number of years, in front of a person's name, could indicate either death, or the sale of the property.

From 1798, the tax could be redeemed or 'exonerated' with the payment of a lump sum equal to fifteen years' annual tax. Proprietors' names would have to be retained on the list until 1832 because of the need to record voting rights, but in theory details of occupiers could have been omitted. Happily this does not appear to have been the case in the study parishes, and comprehensive details of exonerated parcels of land seem to have been kept.

Where the word 'ditto' or ditto marks occurs in the assessments, it sometimes means owner occupation, rather than the same occupier, as on the line above. In other words, at times the ditto is being used *horizontally*, rather than in the conventional vertical way and the use is not always immediately apparent to the researcher. Where this use occurs, it can be the quirk of an individual compiler and a change of compiler (indicated by a change of handwriting), after a number of years, may reveal the correct meaning.

The poorest inhabitants of the village are simply not listed in land tax duplicates. For example the Whitton 1831 census recorded 245 people; 134

males and 111 females in fifty-four houses.⁶⁴ However the Whitton LTA for 1830, lists only forty-one tax-paying properties⁶⁵; some families were therefore either sharing houses or lived in properties exempted from paying tax, either officially, or due to some local application of the poor rate. If the poorest properties had suddenly disappeared from a run of LTAs due to statutory exemption at some known point in time (at enclosure or in 1798 for instance), it would be relatively easy to take account of them in the analysis, but their perpetual absence from the record has serious statistical implications. Ginter makes much of this shortcoming of LTAs and it is certainly difficult to account for something, the extent of which is not known.⁶⁶ It is therefore important to keep in mind that a proportion (perhaps a considerable one) of properties is not present, and to hope that its absence does not skew any analysis of landownership.

Finally it must be remembered that the names listed on a parish LTA, are often the summation of several townships with different enclosure experiences. The Frodingham land tax document of 1783, for example, listed twenty-seven owners, of which six were owner-occupiers. By 1830, the number of landowners had fallen to seventeen while owner-occupiers had risen to eight. Parliamentary enclosure of the townships within the parish of Frodingham however occurred over a period of sixty-three years; the Crosby award is dated 1812, the Scunthorpe and Frodingham award is dated 1834 and the two Brumby awards were in 1871 and 1875. There were several different reasons for enclosure in the parish, involving a wish to organize open field arable, a desire to enclose waste and an urgent need to establish title to land, beneath which was ironstone. In addition, Crosby was dominated by the Sheffield family, Scunthorpe and Frodingham by Henry Healey and Brumby by Lord Beauchamp; there were also considerable areas of old enclosure in Scunthorpe, Frodingham and especially Crosby. In all these circumstances, when disparate

townships such as these are being summed, care must be taken when drawing inferences.⁶⁷

Turner has suggested that the controversial use of acreage equivalents can be avoided by means of the method of 'surname turnover', which is based on personalities rather than on the size of holdings. In this, the total number of landowners in a given year is calculated; the total numbers of surviving original names are then computed for subsequent years which, allowing for family or corporate inheritance, indicate the extent of turnover of holdings.⁶⁸ Turner used this method to analyse the impact of parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire and Neeson has used a substantially similar technique to investigate enclosure in Northamptonshire.⁶⁹

In addition to an owner/owner-occupier five-year interval analysis for the complete study area parishes for the period 1783 to 1830, all the surnames, in a sample of nine of the study parishes, have been analysed using Turner's method above. The nine parishes were selected as they had complete and legible runs of LTAs and (in parishes enclosed by act) had proportions of their areas enclosed from 1761 to 1833. They include two parishes where there was no parliamentary enclosure, Roxby and Flixborough. A total of 2,447 surname records were extracted and analysed, from ninety land tax returns dated at five year intervals from 1783 to 1830.

When faced with a stack of land tax assessments in a record office, a policy regarding a uniform scheme of correction and editing of surname entries is required. Inheritance was assumed if: a former owner no longer appeared in the later return, *and* a person with the same surname appeared on the later return, *and* the newcomer owned at least one parcel of land which was taxed at the same, or similar sum, as the former owner.⁷⁰

Inheritance has *not* been assumed if a surname, although fulfilling the above criteria, reappears *later* than the *next* LTA of the series examined.

There are obvious inherent weaknesses in a method that depends on tracking surnames in rural parishes at the turn of the eighteenth century. In the case of names that are common throughout the country, Smith, Brown, Clarke for example, an entry from one LTA may have no association with a similar entry in a later year. A Fred Smith who disappears in 1790 may have no familial connection to a Will Smith who appears in 1795 and will have not have bequeathed his field to him, simply because they share a frequently occurring name. On the other hand it must *not* be assumed that because entries have uncommon surnames, inheritance is certain. Several, nationally infrequent, names occur in the study area; Spilman in Whitton, Westoby and Burkill in Winteringham, Taffinder in Burton-upon-Stather and Chafer in West Halton for example. These families may have been settled in the area for generations, and heads of households who are cousins, or second cousins, (like the various Spilmans) would not necessarily leave their properties to each other. The occasional exception has therefore been made, to the Turner/Neeson method outlined above, to take account of locally known genealogical anomalies.

On the other hand a surname disappearance should *not* really be counted when a widow marries and merely changes her name, or where a son-in-law inherits. Turner and Neeson sensibly ignore these complications, and this study does the same, although it is likely that surnames will have disappeared in this way.

The results of these landowner, owner-occupier and surname analyses are discussed in chapter 8, The new landscape of north-west Lindsey.

Documentary evidence of parliamentary enclosure

It is likely that the greatest proportion of enclosure literature concerns the period when the process was undertaken by act of parliament. This may simply be because the sources of information are so extensive, systematic and easy to access.⁷¹ A single township's improvement could have associated with it, a

petition to parliament for a bill, the resultant act, minutes of the commissioners appointed by the act and an award, with its accompanying map. There may also be estate papers and correspondence in county archives which provide context and additional information, although in the case of the study area, despite there being many fine collections in Lincolnshire Archives such as the Nelthorpe and Sheffield papers, relevant material is meagre.

Numbers of petitions, published in the *Journals of the House of Commons*, were examined in the search for the contemporary motives for acts, but it was found that the form of words used, was uniform and seemed to have become standardized. Turner provided a probable reason when he wrote 'the statement of improbability might mean little more than the country solicitor using existing bills to frame succeeding petitions and it *should not necessarily* be assumed that this was the sole motive or indeed the main motive for instigating enclosures.'⁷² If any of the wording of the petitions had differed markedly and given atypical reasons, then these would have been useful, but none was found. This petition for Alkborough is representative:

forth, That there are within the said Parish, certain open and uninclosed Parcels of Arable, Meadow, or Pasture Ground, called *Alkborough Field*, Two other Parcels of Arable, Meadow, or Pasture Ground, called *Sandfield*, and *Bonding*, and Two other uninclosed Parcels of Meadow or Pasture Ground, called *The Lugs*, and the Common, containing in the whole 2000 Acres, or thereabouts, which lie intermixed and dispersed in small Parcels, and, in their present State, are capable of very little Improvement, and, in many Respects, are attended with Disadvantage and Inconvenience to the several Proprietors : And therefore praying, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for the Division and Inclosure of the several Lands and Grounds above mentioned, in such Manner, and under such Regulations, as the House shall think proper.
Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, pursuant to the Prayer of the said Petition : And that Mr. *Whicheot*, Mr. *Fairfax*, and Mr. *Hewett*, do prepare, and bring in, the same.

Plate 5. Alkborough petition. Source: *Journals of the House of Commons 1688-1834*, vol 30, 24 January 1765, p.57

It was noted that in a relatively early petition of 1768, cooperation between landowners was such that it was possible to ask for leave to enclose portions of lands, *in different parishes*, at the same time. The petition (plate 6, below,) and the subsequent act sought to enclose parts of the townships of Waddingham, Atterby and Snitterby in Waddingham and Bishop Norton parishes.⁷³ The agrarian link was the low-lying nature of the lands, which could be improved following better drainage in the Ancholme valley, rather than any ecclesiastical boundary.

A Petition of *John Richardson*, Gentleman, Lord of the Manor of *Snitterby*, the Reverend *Robert Carter*, Rector of *Waddingham cum Snitterby*, *John Boxeman*, Esquire, *Frances Purver*, Widow, *Edward Forster*, Esquire, *Charles Wigelficorth*, *Charles Aylroppe*, and others, Proprietors of Lands, and otherwise interested in the Open and uninclosed Arable Fields, Common Pastures, Carrs, and Waste Grounds, or other Open and Common Lands and Grounds, within the Township of *Atterby*, in the Parish of *Bishop Norton*, in the County of *Lincoln*, and within the Township of *Snitterby* and *Waddingham*, in the Parish of *Waddingham*, in the same County, was presented to the House, and read; Setting forth, That the several Properties of the respective Owners of the said Fields, Lands, Carrs, and Grounds, lie intermixed and dispersed in small Parcels, and, in their present Situation, are incapable of much Improvement: And therefore praying, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for effecting the Purposes aforesaid, subject to such Regulations as to the House shall seem proper.

Atterby,
&c.
Inclosure

Plate 6. Waddingham petition. Source: *Journals of the House of Commons 1688-1834*, vol 31, 14 January 1768, p.499

In the case of Winterton, although the petition had been completely conventional in its wording and repeated that the fields *etc* were intermixed and incapable of much improvement, the act went into greater detail and, for example, made the point that there were not enough enclosures to keep cattle for tillage and manuring.⁷⁴

And whereas the several Lands and Grounds of the said Proprietors in the said Lands, Grounds, and common Pastures lie intermixed, and dispersed in small Parcels in and over the same, with those Parts thereof held of the Soke of *Kirton* and of the Manor of *Burton upon Stather* as aforesaid; and the present antient Inclosures in the said Township bearing a very small Proportion to the said open Arable Fields, *Ings, Leys, Braywaters, Old Calf Croft*, and stinted Pastures, that the said Proprietors cannot keep a sufficient Stock of Cattle for Tillage, and manuring the said open Arable Fields, by reason whereof the same are capable of very little Improvement, and in many Respects attended with Disadvantage and Inconveniency to the Parties:

And although the Dividing and Inclosing of the said Lands and Grounds would be of a publick Utility, and a considerable Benefit to the several Persons interested therein, ~~Yet~~ the same cannot be accomplished without the Aid and Authority of Parliament;

Plate 7. An Act for Dividing and Inclosing certain Open Lands, Grounds, and Common Pastures in the Parish of Winterton, in the County of Lincoln. 25 October 1769

No enclosure counter petitions have been found, although before the act was obtained which enabled the Level of Ancholme to be drained in 1767, there was a counter petition from a landowner who claimed that the scheme would be injurious to his property.⁷⁵ His worries were assuaged by amendments to the final bill and the scheme went ahead. Although a drainage act, its effect was very like an enclosure, as agricultural improvement was the object and the end result.

The files of Lincolnshire Archives were searched for commissioners' minutes relating to parliamentary enclosures in the study area. Three sets of minutes were found. Amongst the Yarborough estate papers were preserved the minutes relating to the Upper Santon enclosure of 1833.⁷⁶ The minutes relating to the Ashby enclosure of 1809 were found in the Brown, Hudson and Hudson (solicitors of Barton-on-Humber) Deposit. Together with these minutes were public notices relating to the enclosure bundled with a badly faded copy of the Award, which was without a plan.⁷⁷ The minutes of the Hibaldstow enclosure

of 1803 were found in the Stubbs deposit, a collection of papers from the long established Brigg solicitors' firm of Hett, Davy and Stubbs. The minutes are bound into a volume of over one hundred pages, which is preceded by a copy of the act.⁷⁸

All of the awards and accompanying plans were found in Lincolnshire Archives except that those for: Brumby Common, Brumby Moors, Hibaldstow, and Scawby which were lodged in North East Lincolnshire Archives at Grimsby. The Alkborough award and plan were found in University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections.

Tithe Files

All twenty-nine tithe files, for the townships and parishes of the study area, were examined at The National Archives. There were twelve places where no tithe remained to be commuted in 1836.⁷⁹ Eight files contained a copy or draft of a voluntary agreement for commutation of tithes and nine places where a draft award was imposed by an assistant tithe commissioner.⁸⁰ In the case of places with a voluntary agreement, there was in every case, the local tithe agent's or assistant commissioner's report on the fairness or otherwise of the agreement.⁸¹

Maps were found for the seventeen places where voluntary or imposed agreements applied.⁸²

These files contained some interesting data on local farming in the years around 1840, and descriptive material on the local rural economy and society. Most files contained observations about land use and Flixborough was noted as having a three-course rotation with both good and poor quality pastures, while

Twigmoor, Roxby and Gunness has four-course rotations and both Cleatham and West Halton had five-course rotations.

In general there were some indications of deference by the assistant tithe commissioner towards the landowner or his agent. In Alkborough the landowner's bailiff refused to give straightforward answers as to whether notices of meetings to decide on a voluntary award had been posted properly on the church door, or the manner in which the meetings had been conducted.⁸³ In Roxby the agent for the principal landowner, Mr Elwes, admitted to the Assistant Tithe Commissioner that he was the *only party* at the meeting which he had himself called in the church to discuss the agreement, despite adjourning the meeting twice, to see if any of the other smaller landowners would appear. He was, suspiciously, unable to recall when in fact the meeting had been held.⁸⁴ In Flixborough the assistant tithe commissioner was persuaded to treat all of that parish and Normanby, in the neighbouring parish of Burton, as one unit, as it coincided conveniently with the estate of the landowner Sir Robert Sheffield. The report, when it reached London, was annotated with a message of rebuke.⁸⁵

In all eight cases, the agreements were confirmed.

Newspapers

Copies of the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* on microfilm, and in the large bound volumes in Lincoln Central Library were searched for references to enclosure. Numerous examples of announcements concerning the various stages of parliamentary enclosure were found and they have been used to illustrate the thesis.

1851 Census

The population characteristics of the study area were examined by classifying the social and occupational status of the fourteen thousand individuals who appear in the census enumerators returns.⁸⁶ The classifications used were based on those of Mills and Schürer except that group 5 'Manufacturers' and group 6 'Extractive Industries' are absent, as they were not found in the study area and numbers of children and housewives were also noted for the present study.⁸⁷

It is recognised that there are difficulties with the census returns. The main one must be that at the time of data collection on 30 March, seasonal and casual agricultural workers are under reported. More workers would have been noted, many of them women, if the census had been during hay-making, the cereal harvest or at potato picking time. The following day was Mothering Sunday and in Lincolnshire, as elsewhere, it was often the case that farm and domestic servants would have leave to visit their parents, perhaps in another parish.⁸⁸

The instructions to the 1851 enumerators were complex and, in effect, required a thorough itemised description of the farming unit and its resources. The enumerators were required, for example, to collect detailed information about acreages of farms and numbers of employees living-in as part of the household schedule, and separately numbers of workers living out.⁸⁹ In practice this was not always done and so it proved impossible to make an inventory of the acreages of all the farms in some parishes, or to make a comparison of numbers of workers listed by farmers, with persons enumerated as 'ag labs'. Some enumerators give meticulous job titles while others often left details of occupation unwritten. It was also difficult to distinguish between farm workers who lived with the farmer, sometimes called 'servants in husbandry', and domestic servants who were sometimes described as 'in service'.

The census only required those persons returning themselves as 'farmers' or 'landed proprietors' to give details of land held, so there is hardly any information about landholding by people in other occupations. This must seriously understate the numbers of occupiers of land and must be especially true at the lower end of the acreage scale where dual occupations were more common. Although wealthy businessmen and clergy no doubt held some of these unrecorded holdings, many must have been held by rural tradespeople. It has been argued that 'nearly all tradesmen also followed some form of agriculture either as a major or subordinate source of income', which suggests that to differentiate too much between tradespeople and small farmers is unwise.⁹⁰

It is not surprising that the instructions for the 1861 census were much less convoluted.⁹¹

There are many other complications amongst the fourteen thousand names, but an effort has been made to be consistent in classifying them, even though standards of enumeration varied so markedly across the study area.

1801 Crop Returns

Comprehensive agricultural statistics did not begin to be collected nationally until 1866, but some limited information had been collected during the Napoleonic wars, about seventy years before. Although this was a time when the country was interested in its changing agriculture, the reasons for the data collection were, actually the fear of invasion, a food blockade by the French Navy and series of poor harvests in the second half of the 1790s. The Home Office circulated inquiries about crops in 1793 and 1795, but the results of a survey in 1801 are much better known. In that year the clergy of England and Wales were requested to return to their diocese details of the acreage under wheat, barley, oats, rye, turnips, rape, peas, beans and potatoes, for their

parish on a printed *pro-forma*. Unfortunately they were not asked to comment on the acreage under fallow, permanent grass or temporary grass, thus greatly reducing the value of the returns. Probably because farmers were suspicious of being asked about acreages by the clergy and wondered whether their questions had something to do with tithes, the returns are understated. Scholars generally agree that these returns do under-estimate the actual acreage but that the proportions between the crops recorded are accurate.⁹² Another difficulty is that the returns do not indicate the, presumably, large amounts of crops, particularly potatoes that were grown in small plots and private gardens. In the study area, acreages accounted for only about 29% of the land area in the places returned. As well as the missing fallow and grassland, many places are omitted; Redbourne, Hibaldstow and Messingham amongst them. The whole of the parish of Winterton is missing; it is assumed either that the large number of landowners in this open parish made the task of data collection too daunting or that the respondents proved intransigent in the face of the vicar's questioning. The return for Broughton simply states that 'the farmers...cannot be prevailed upon to make the return of their crops...'.⁹³ Many clergymen also made comments on local land use and farming practice, and information on crop yields is sometimes recorded. After the returns had been collected together by dioceses, they were sent to the Home Office and are now kept in The National Archives. Conveniently the extant returns have been published by the List and Index Society and relevant statistics have been extracted for this study.⁹⁴

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¹ R. Potts, (ed.), *Calendar of Cornish Glebe Terriers, 1673-1735*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, vol 19 (Exeter, 1974), p.viii

² LAO: Glebe Terrier Bundle, Redboune, 1638 and 1662

³ LAO: Glebe Terrier Bundle, Thornton by Horncastle, 1828

⁴ E. and R.C. Russell, *Old and New Landscapes in the Horncastle area* (Lincoln, 1985), p.94

⁵ M.W. Barley 'Farmhouses and Cottages, 1550-1725', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1955), p.301

⁶ In the case of a non-resident vicar, who rented out his glebe entirely and so did not know his neighbours in the fields, reproducing the previous terrier must have been very tempting.

⁷ LAO: Scawby Glebe Bundle, 1662. The previous terrier of 1634 seems to be very similar.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ I. H. Adams, *Agrarian Landscape Terms: a Glossary for Historical Geography* (1976), p.9

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), p.72, Prof. Cameron is clear that 'gad' is a dialect word meaning a rood or quarter acre of land.

¹² LAO: Messingham Glebe Bundle, 1686

¹³ This does not include a total of 805 acres awarded to Bishop and vicar. in lieu of tithes; LAO: Enclosure award and plan. 1804. [LAO: Messingham Par Co. Accession number: 2007/54.]

¹⁴ It was also necessary to have a tenorial structure that accepted the exchange of strips.

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- ²⁵ Except that a rotulus of 1652 during the Commonwealth period (including the decree relating to Boughton, Asgarby and Howell), was found to be partly in secretary hand. (TNA:C78 398)
- ²⁶ M. Zell (ed.), *Chancery Decree Rolls: 36 Henry VIII - 5 & 6 Philip & Mary (C78/1-15)*, List & Index Society, vol 160 (1979); K. Wyndham (ed.), *Chancery Decree Rolls: 1-20 Elizabeth I (C78/15-45)*, List & Index Society, vol 198

(1983);K. Wyndham (ed.), *Calendar of Chancery Decree Rolls: C 78/46-85*, List & Index Society, vol 253 (1994);R.W. Hoyle and M.M. Norris (eds.), *Calendar of Chancery decree rolls: C 78/86-130*, List & Index Society, vol 254 (1994)

²⁷ There are three mentions of study villages in these one hundred and thirty *rotuli*, but none is concerned with enclosure: C78/20/41,C78/64/6 and C78/67/3

²⁸ M. W. Beresford, 'The decree rolls of Chancery...'

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.3

³⁰ IHRL, London WC1E 7HU, Ref: B.1019/Ber

³¹ M. W. Beresford , 'Habitation versus Improvement:', pp.60,56

³² M W Beresford, 'The decree rolls of Chancery...', for example, the titles of the tables on p.2 and p.8.

³³ Chancery Decree rolls: Evedon 396/10, Bassingham 637/1 and Sutton 350/2

³⁴ Chancery Decree roll: 419/3

³⁵ Chancery Decree roll: 398/14

³⁶ Chancery Decree rolls: 736/10, 567/3

³⁷ Chancery Decree rolls: 377/2, 575/12, and see note 20, below.

³⁸ Chancery Decree roll: 409/1; Presumably the 'Sutton' referred to here is Long Sutton with its four townships.

³⁹ Chancery Decree roll: 738/6

⁴⁰ TNA: IND 1/16961A

⁴¹ TNA: IND 1/16960A

⁴² TNA: C78/605/3; E.M. Leonard, 'The Inclosure of Common Fields in the Seventeenth Century'.

⁴³ Perhaps the most unambiguous reference is C78/130/2 of June 1608, in List & Index Society, vol 254, which refers to the 'ratification of an indenture for the enclosure of fens, moors and commons of Stuntney' in the Isle of Ely.

⁴⁴ J. Chapman and S. Seeliger, 'Enclosures by non-parliamentary means: some comments on the records', *Archives*, Vol. XXII, 95 (1996), p.102; For example the calendar entry in List & Index Society, vol 253 for the Condoover Chancery Decree (C78/85, no. 15), referred to in note 2 (above) does not mention 'enclosure', but refers to an 'allocation of 200 hundred acres for tenants' allotments'.

⁴⁵ W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire* (1856), p.606

⁴⁶ RED 2/4/2/5

⁴⁷ TNA: C78/1096/2 Decree in Chancery, Enclosure of Waddingham; Maudson and Bainton were just two of the many freeholders of Waddingham, not the principal landowners.

⁴⁸ LAO: Bassingham Par 17/3, Copy of Chancery Decree; Misc Dep 264.

⁴⁹ LAO: MISC DON CIV 8, Exemplification of a Decree in Chancery, 13 Dec 1729

⁵⁰ LAO: LITTLE PONTON PAR/5/2, Articles of agreement dated 20 Mar 1728

⁵¹ LAO: MISC DON 277/1

⁵² D. Brown and F.A. Sharman, 'Enclosure: Agreements and Acts', *The Journal of Legal History*, 15:3 (1994), pp.269—86

⁵³ For example : J. A. Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850* (1977), p.8; J. Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *Agrarian History of England and Wales; IV 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967), pp.237-8

⁵⁴ M.W. Beresford, 'Habitation vs. Improvement: The Debate on Enclosure by Agreement,' in F.J. Fisher, (ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1961), p.58

⁵⁵ LAO: Land Tax Returns, Manley Wapentake; 1785 LTAs are missing and 1784 LTAs are only partly legible.

⁵⁶ D.E.Ginter, *A Measure of Wealth: the English Land Tax in Historical Analysis* (1992), p.xxv

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp.3-4

⁵⁸ LTAs for Burton-upon-Stather, alone in Manley Wapentake, also contain assessments based on the salary of the resident excise-officer, as well as the stock-in-trade of the village merchants.

⁵⁹ From 1780, payment of land tax on freehold property worth £2 or more a year qualified a man to vote.

⁶⁰ F. W. Brooks 'Naval Recruiting in Lindsey, 1795-7' *English Historical Review*, Vol. 43 (Apr,1928), pp.233-4

⁶¹ LAO:LQS/B/11/18/110

⁶² LAO:LQS/B/11/16/100

⁶³ E.Davies, 'The Small Landowner 1780-1832, in the light of the Land Tax Assessments', *Economic History Review*, 1st ser., 1 (1927); The Land Tax returns had however been used before in: A.H.Johnson, *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner* (Oxford, 1909; reprinted with a new introduction by J.Thirsk, 1963), and H.L. Gray, 'Yeoman Farming in Oxfordshire from the

Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 24, no. 2 (1910)

⁶⁴ BPP, 1833 xxxvi-xxxviii,(149) *Abstracts of the Answers and Returns*, p.352

⁶⁵ LAO: LTAs Manley Wapentake, 1830

⁶⁶ D.E. Ginter, pp.33-43

⁶⁷ J. V. Beckett, 'Land tax administration at the local level 1692-1798' in M.E. Turner and D. Mills (eds.), *Land and Property: The English Land Tax, 1692-1832* (Gloucester, 1986) discusses who paid, and how much tax was due.

⁶⁸ M.E. Turner, 'Parliamentary Enclosure and Landownership Change in Buckinghamshire,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 28:4 (1975), pp.565-81 discusses the methodology.

⁶⁹ J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge, 1993)

⁷⁰ Both Turner and Neeson used very similar criteria: M.E. Turner, 'Parliamentary Enclosure', p.567; J.M.Neeson, p.344

⁷¹ W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday ...*, p.39

⁷² M.E. Turner, *English Parliamentary Enclosure* (Folkestone,1980), pp. 94-95

⁷³ *Journals of the House of Commons 1688-1834*, vol 31, 14 January 1768, p.499

⁷⁴ *Journals of the House of Commons 1688-1834*, vol 32, 8 February 1770, p.670; LAO: DIOC/LDAP/2/65

⁷⁵ *Journals Of The House Of Commons*, Twelfth Parliament of Great Britain: sixth session (11 November 1766 - 2 July 1767), 30 March 1767; LAO:2 RED 4/8/1

⁷⁶ LAO: YARB/17/3, Upper Santon Inclosure Act and Commissioners' minutes 1825-1832

⁷⁷ LAO: BH 7/1, Public notices and Minutes of Commissioners' meetings with four rates levied, 1801-9; Copy of Ashby award, no plan 1809; LAO: KR/2/10 Kirton Court Book, Wapentake Court of Manley 1808-1810, Copy of Ashby Award *with* plan.

⁷⁸ LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6 Commissioners' Minute Book and various Hibaldstow enclosure documents

⁷⁹ TNA: IR18/5227 Santon, 4778 Bottesford, 4714 Ashby, 5450 Yaddlthorpe, 4809 Burton-upon-Stather, 4931 Frodingham and Scunthorpe, 4866 Crosby, 5013 Hibaldstow, 5112 Manton, 5113 Messingham, 5238 Scawby-cum-Sturton and 5409 Whitton

⁸⁰ Award imposed, TNA: IR 18/4711 Appleby, 4805 Burringham, 5020 Holne (*sic*), 4798 Broughton cum Castlethorpe & Ravensthorpe, 4794 Brumby, 5375 Twigmore, 4811 East Butterwick and 5418 Winteringham

⁸¹ TNA: IR18/4702 Alkborough, 4921 Flixborough (with Normanby), 4841 Cleatham, 5204 Redbourne, 5218 Roxby cum Risby, 5385 Waddingham cum Stainton, 4990 West Halton, 4968 Gunness and 5429 Winterton

⁸² Microfilm copies at TNA: IR20/

⁸³ TNA: IR18/4921

⁸⁴ TNA: IR18/5218

⁸⁵ TNA: IR18/4841

⁸⁶ 1851 Census Enumerators' Returns HO107/2115, 2116 and 2117; A WEA group analysed a partly overlapping geographical area for a 1970 census study, but its results could not be reconciled with the analysis done for this present study, and they have therefore been ignored; *vide* P.M. Tillott & G.S. Stevenson, *North-West Lindsey in 1851* (Sheffield, 1970)

⁸⁷ D.R. Mills and K. Schürer (eds.), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Oxford, 1996), p.143

⁸⁸ *Guardian*, 1 February 1854; M. Anderson, 'Mis-specification of servant occupations in the 1851 census: a problem revisited', *Local Population Studies* 60 (1998), p.61

⁸⁹ E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* (2005), pp.106-7

⁹⁰ B.A. Holderness, 'Rural Tradesmen 1660-1850: A Regional Study in Lindsey', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* vol. 7 (1972), p.77

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p.107

⁹² For example, M.E. Turner, 'Arable in England and Wales: estimates from the 1801 Crop Return', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 7-3 (1981) pp.291-302

⁹³ M.E. Turner, (ed.), *Home Office: Acreage Returns (HO 67): List and Analysis Part II Jersey to Somerset, 1801*, vol. 190 (List and Index Society, 1982), p.103

⁹⁴ *Ibid*; TNA: HO 67/15 Home Office Acreage Returns 1801

3. Time and place

The part of north-west Lindsey which is being studied has an area of about 74,350 acres or 116 square miles.¹ It is a simple matter to sum the areas divided and allotted by the parliamentary commissioners in the 114 years between 1761 and 1875, and these amount to about 35,220 acres, or 55 square miles.² It would seem, arithmetically therefore, that the areas that were enclosed, from earliest times, *by other means* amounted to 39,130 acres or 52.6% of the study area.³ The exactness of this cannot be determined, however, since it is certain that some of the land that had been listed in enclosure awards had already been enclosed, perhaps for many years, and was included in the award perhaps to add extra legitimacy to its status.⁴ In the case of Winteringham for example, three of the great fields of the parish had been organised into closes by 1719 and yet were included in the confirmatory enclosure act of 1761.⁵ An area which could have been included in the total for 'old enclosure' is instead included among the acres enclosed by act. The parish is discussed at length in chapter 7.

All that can be said is that at least half of the study area was enclosed by non-parliamentary means, but that 47.4% of the area is listed in awards as the result of acts. The map below (fig.3) shows the proportion of each parish, or township, which was *not* enclosed by act of parliament.

Densities of enclosure (that is, acres of lands enclosed by parliamentary award expressed as a percentage of county area), have been calculated by M.E. Turner. These figures have been reworked for Lincolnshire, to show the total amount of land enclosed by acts which included some open fields arable, and by those acts which were concerned with common and waste.⁶ By classifying the study area enclosure acts using the same method, numbers have been produced which

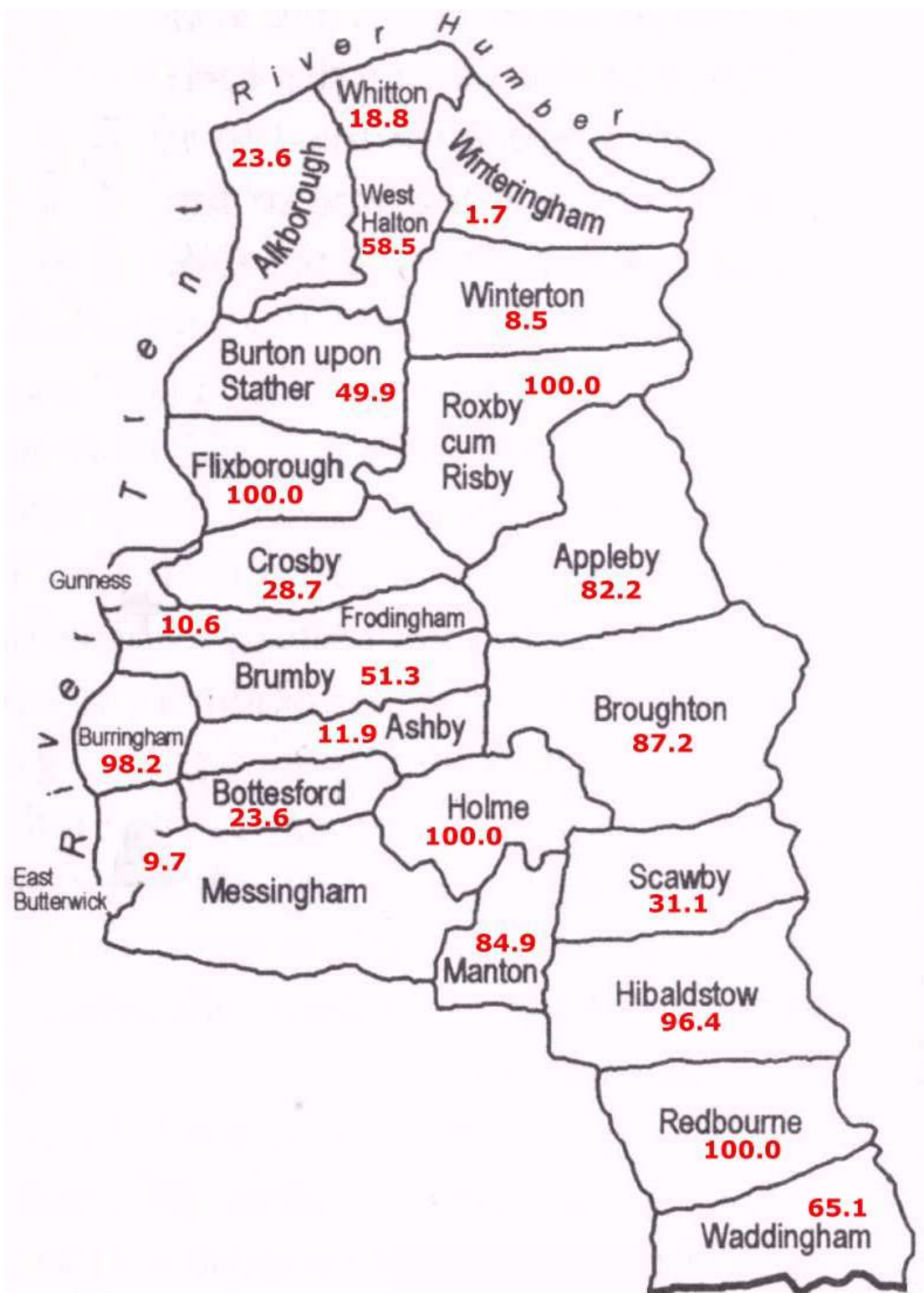


Fig 3. To show the proportion of each parish or township enclosed, other than by parliamentary means.

enable the area being studied, to be compared with Lindsey as a whole, and with the other divisions of the county (table 5, below).

Table 5. Types of parliamentary enclosure in Lincolnshire
(est. acreage, and as % age of the Division)

DIVISION	ACRES	OPEN FIELD ARABLE	COMMON & WASTE	TOTAL
Holland	263,120	27,259	72,139	99,398
		10.4%	27.4%	37.8%
Kesteven	469,377	183,977	20,621	204,598
		39.2%	4.4%	43.6%
Lindsey	972,796	289,202	76,662	365,864
		29.7%	7.9%	37.6%
Total LINC	1,705,293	500,438	169,422	669,860
		29.3%	9.9%	39.3%
Study Area	74,350	31,130	4,097	35,227
		41.9%	5.5%	47.4%

Source: Reworked from M. E. Turner, *English Parliamentary Enclosure, its Historical Geography and Economic History* (Folkestone, 1980), p.45

Lincolnshire is a large and diverse county and this is reflected in the table. This shows that the county as a whole had a density of 39.3%, and that Kesteven and Lindsey had widespread areas of open-field arable at the start of the parliamentary enclosure era, whilst Holland, which was chiefly an area of fens, contained a high proportion of common and waste.

The study area percentage of 47.4 % is noticeably higher than Lindsey, of which it is a part, or indeed the county as a whole. This tends to confirm Turner's observation that the 'broad areas of high or low enclosure within the counties do not give a true picture of parliamentary enclosure' and that a smaller unit is required.⁷

The study area figure is high and approaches those of the counties with the highest densities of parliamentary enclosure, Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire all of which had over 50 per cent of their land enclosed by act; and is comparable with Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutland and the East Riding, which had between 40 and 50 per cent.⁸

The study area figure is high because of the large number of acres enclosed by acts, which included mention of open field arable in their preamble. Six of these acts, those which enclosed parts of Burton upon Stather, Flixborough, Frodingham, Ashby, Burringham and Messingham were parishes by the Trent where the desirability of warping the low-lying land was a strong element in the decision to enclose. As noted in chapter 6, covering the poor peaty soils by fertile river silt, using the process called warping, had to be *preceded* by enclosure. This was because 'warpable' fields had to be first identified and delineated, and space made for large warping drains. If warping had not been an element in their agricultural improvement, the lands might instead have been enclosed piecemeal, over a long period, and not by parliamentary enclosure, and so the density percentage would have been less.

The first parliamentary enclosure in the study area was of part of Winteringham, in 1761, and the process continued for 114 years and twenty-two acts until Brumby Common was enclosed in 1875. Fig 4 (below) shows the chronology of parliamentary enclosure in the study area, as measured by the number of acres enclosed in each half- decade.

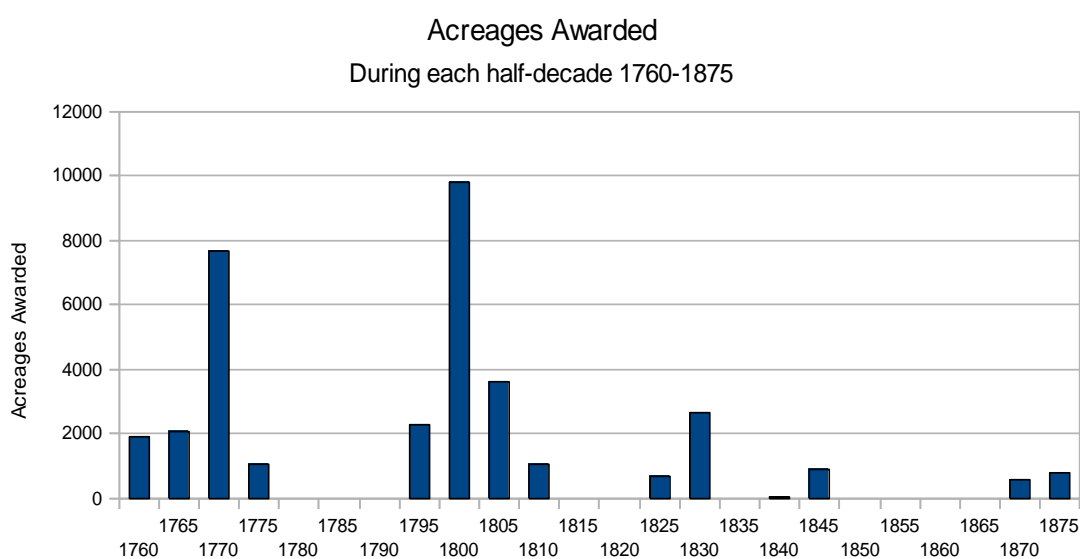


Fig 4. The number of acres enclosed in each half-decade in the study area.⁹
(Dates begin the half decade)

Yelling has warned about enclosure that, 'Even when studied within regions of limited extents it remains an extremely complex process, which interrelates with numerous economic and social variables.'¹⁰ Despite this complexity, efforts have been made, to correlate the timing of English parliamentary enclosures with food prices and other factors. Schumpeter produced tables of prices of consumer goods and cereals which demonstrated the increasing prices of foodstuffs from 1760s to the 1780s; prices which increased markedly in the 1790s and on into the new century, before peaking in 1811/13, and then collapsing after 1814/15.¹¹ T.S. Ashton showed that, after 1760, the times of busiest enclosing activity (which he measured in terms of acts passed) coincided with, or followed times of high commodity prices. This seeming link did not account however for the marked decline in English enclosures in the 1780s, and so it was necessary to find another factor to account for this decline in activity. Ashton thought that he had found the factor in the changing interest rates which, he wrote, were so high in that decade 'as to make enclosure highly expensive, and for many impossible.'¹² Turner agreed with the assessment and commented that, for open field arable enclosure between 1755-80, 'on the whole the results seem to confirm Ashton's belief that interest rates were the most sensitive indicator of the decision to enclose.'¹³ Between 1781-1819 he decided that, 'For open field arable...there were good *statistical* results with seemingly a very good relationship involving the rate of interest, wheat prices and war with the incidence of enclosure.'¹⁴

It will be seen from the table above that, in the study area, after an initial burst of enclosing activity in the 1760s and 1770s, there was a decline in the number of acres enclosed through the 1780s, until a revival of activity in the mid 1790s which lasted until the 1810s. The government passed the first General Enclosure Act in 1801.¹⁵ This legislation was intended to make the process simpler and cheaper, by establishing a number of general terms and conditions

which would have the effect of hastening the passage of individual Bills. In particular the Act made it simpler for proprietors to enclose commons and heathland and moorland waste. About 36% of acres were enclosed in the first period and 48% in the second period leaving 16% to be enclosed between 1829 and 1875.

The General Enclosure Act of 1836 had enabled owners to carry out an enclosure if two thirds of the interests agreed and commissioners were appointed to carry out the enclosure in the same way that they did under private acts. If *seven-eighths* of the owners agreed to the enclosure, no commissioners were necessary at all. This act was intended to deal with the enclosure of open-field arable. An 1840 Act extended this method of enclosure to open lands.¹⁶ These acts do not seem to have affected the enclosure chronology in the study area, except for Burringham in 1843 (q.v.)

The experience in the study area is similar to the national situation in which two periods of twenty years accounted for a total of eighty percent of all enclosure enacted.¹⁷

While parliamentary enclosure had begun in Winteringham in 1761 it did not mean the end of enclosing activity, *by other means* in the study area. It is perhaps important to mention that although a new method of carrying out the business of enclosing was coming into vogue, old methods still persisted. In Ashby in 1784, for example, after seven parliamentary acts had been used to enclose study area land, George Healey and sixteen other owners, occupiers and cottagers reached an agreement between themselves to enclose, and increase the production of fodder crops in part in the township. The text of the agreement does have the feel of a parliamentary award and it may be that Healey had borrowed wording from documents that he had recently seen.¹⁸

Enclosures by private act had begun in Lincolnshire in 1731, when the first authorised the exchange of glebe and other lands, between the rector and the

lord of the manor of Biscathorpe near Louth.¹⁹ The next six from 1734 to 1757 were all acts which confirmed an agreement, and one of them, which concerned Stallingborough a few miles east of Winteringham, might have helped the earl of Scarbrough in his decision to use an act to validate the agreement.²⁰ Winteringham was a case where the landowners motives for enclosure were known, because a memorandum the earl wrote in 1784 had observed that enclosure enabled a landlord to charge more rent and noted also that there was 'not a feeling that enclosed villages looked better, or they were examples of advanced methods of farming'.²¹

The table below (table 6) shows a list of study area places, enclosed by act, in chronological order, with acres awarded and number of owners receiving allotments of various sizes. The table was constructed with the aim of spotting correlations between the temporal sequence of enclosure and other factors.

It had been initially postulated that a correlation might exist in the study area, between the chronology of parliamentary enclosure and the type of soil enclosed, or the agricultural land classification of the farmland. At the beginnings of the period of parliamentary enclosure in 1761, the fields of Winteringham had been the first to be enclosed; fields which are now classed as 'two' (very good) by Defra.²² And in 1875, at the end of the period, it was the poor sandy soils of Brumby East Common that brought up the rear. Any attempted analysis of this type however, is inevitably made suspect, both by the passage of time and by deliberate human modification of the landscape. Parts of the Trent-side parishes, which would have been graded 'poor' at the start of the period, have been turned into the most fertile land in the study area by the process of warping and the sandy soils of Roxby cum Risby, Santon and Manton have been improved by manuring. Nevertheless the early acts *did* enclose land of the better sort where the process was more likely to bring rapid financial returns, while later acts were concerned with land which was inferior, sandy or, in case of 'warping parishes',

low-lying land which was sodden peat and liable to inundation. The hoped for correlation is no stronger than that. The factors that weaken the association, between time and soil quality, are people and events.

Table 6 Study area places, enclosed by act, in chronological order

List of study area places enclosed by act, in chronological order													
Date of Award	Type of Act	Acres Awarded	Number of owners receiving (acres) :										Owners of General Allotments
			> 500	499	99	49	24	9	5	(Winteringham Act confirmed an agreement)			
1761	Winteringham (1)	1928	1	2	4	3	7	11	5				n/a
1768	Alkborough	2091											33
1770	Waddingham	1280	0	1	2	10	8	16	16				53
1771	Scawby cum Sturton	2216	1	5	1	2	3	0	6				18
1772	Winterton	3184	1	6	4	5	4	6	34				60
1773	West Halton	1013	0	2	3	2	2	1	6				16
1775	Whitton	1080	1	0	0	0	1	0	6				8
1797	Bottesford	1317	0	2	2	0	4	1	0				9
1798	Winteringham (2)	953	0	1	0	2	14	21	10				48
1803	Hibaldstow	4233	2	6	1	2	9	3	0				23
1804	Messingham	5560	3	7	8	7	12	6	9				52
1806	Burton upon Stather	1769	0	4	4	3	4	3	11				29
1809	Ashby in Bottesford	1855	1	4	0	0	3	2	5				15
1812	Crosby in Frodingham	1074	1	0	1	1	2	2	5				12
1829	Manton	683	1	0	0	0	0	0	0				1
1833	Santon in Appleby	921	1	1	0	0	0	0	0				2
1834	Frodingham	1754	1	1	2	3	6	2	9				24
1843	Burrougham in Bottesford	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	28				28
1848	Waddingham Cow Fold	17	0	0	0	0	0	1	4				5
1849	Broughton	883	1	0	1	2	2	0	2				8
1871	Brumby Moors in Frodingham	605	0	1	0	2	1	3	0				7
1875	Brumby Common in Frodingham	785	1	0	3	0	0	0	0				4
		35227	16	43	36	44	82	78	156				455
Type of Act: A = Enclosures including some open field arable. B = Enclosures NOT including some open field arable. C = Enclosures mainly of open field arable under the General Act of 1836 E = Enclosures including open field arable under the General Acts of 1845 et seq F = Enclosures NOT including open field arable under the General Acts of 1845 et seq													

Sources: LAO: Lindsey Enclosure Awards; E & R.C. Russell, *Landscape changes in South Humberside* (Hull, 1982), *passim*; W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), pp.47-8, Turner's classification of Acts (A to F) has been used.

Thirsk has suggested that the probability of enclosure taking place sooner rather than later rested mainly on the *number* of owners in villages. She thought that, whether before or after the introduction of parliamentary acts, enclosure was easier where there were few owners. In places with many owners, enclosure was likely to be a slower and more difficult affair than in less populated settlements where a resident manorial lord had authority that could not be seriously challenged, or where owners were few and a consensus could easily be reached.²³ This seems to have been the case with non-parliamentary enclosure, because Appleby, Flixborough and Roxby together with the Walcot estate in Alkborough and the Normanby estate in Burton were partly or substantially enclosed at earlier times, in circumstances such as she describes. Thirsk's effect cannot be seen, in relation to parliamentary enclosure, in the study area, where the timing of enclosure does not seem to be delayed by sheer numbers of owners. In fact there is a moderate positive correlation (+0.68) between the acres awarded, in chronological order, and the number of owners awarded general allotments.²⁴ This correlation indicates that an enclosure is slightly likely to be *earlier* rather than later, with more acres to be awarded and more owners. This admittedly is not *quite* what Dr Thirsk was arguing against, and there is only a small positive correlation of +0.42 between the number of owners and the simple order in which villages or townships were enclosed. It also must be remembered that as the years went by, and more land was enclosed, there was less land left to enclose.

The table above shows that Waddingham in 1770 had fifty-three and Winterton in 1772 had sixty owners at enclosure and these were amongst the first flush of activity. Waddingham could have been the *earliest* in Lincolnshire but the main landowner, James Thompson, chose instead to validate his 1699 agreement with other owners, to divide and allot 2,075 acres of the best soil of the parish, by use of a 1701 Chancery decree. The 1770 parliamentary act (above) enclosed a

further portion of the parish by this new means. A case study, in chapter 7, discusses the parish of Waddingham in detail.

The changing face of the Commissioner

The Waddingham Chancery decree of 1701 had described how the freeholders had appointed a surveyor and named 'five persons of good quality who should allott every mans quantity of land'. In some detail the decree had related that after viewing the 'feillds, lands, meadowes and commons,' those persons 'having a due regard to each mans quantity and quality did alott & plott all the said feillds and comons by a certaine writeing, under their hand'.²⁵ The court may well have regarded independent outsiders as adding credibility to the agreement, and the appointment of five may have been either because there was more than one manor in the parish, or because the Attorney General had to be represented, as Crown land was involved.

By the time the parliamentary act had superseded the Chancery decree, three Commissioners was the standard number. This was because there were three landed interests involved in the process, the lord of the manor, the owners of the tithe and the other landowners; each needed to be represented to make certain that a fair distribution of land was made. Any more would have meant extra expense and might have increased the chance of disagreement. Sometimes just two commissioners were appointed by the act, with a third gentleman named to act as arbiter if the two disagreed. This was the case in Whitton in 1773-5 where there were only two landed interests, the lord of the manor and the Bishop of Lincoln, and Thomas Dennisson of Normanby was to arbitrate, if the two commissioners came into conflict.²⁶ Three commissioners were appointed in the first twelve acts relating to the study area, although in the case of three enclosures a replacement commissioner had to be appointed because the original appointee died.²⁷ John Burcham acted five times in the

study area between 1798 and 1833 and his time was noticeable for the length of the process. Messingham took five years, Burton upon Stather three, Crosby five, Santon eight years and Manton a surprising twenty-four years. Burcham, was the sole commissioner during the lengthy Grimsby enclosure and, for unexplained reasons, that enclosure took thirteen years, between 1827 and 1840. Burcham must have received substantial fees for his efforts, fees which were usually paid on a daily basis, but the total amount was not revealed in the Grimsby award.²⁸ As many as seventy enclosures have been found that mention Burcham as commissioner, in Rutland, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire as well as in Lincolnshire and perhaps more wait to be discovered. It seems that for some of the period between 1801 and 1841, when he died, he was working on the enclosures of as many as five or six parishes at the same time. Part of the reason for the length of time the Manton enclosure took could therefore have been caused by the pressure of work elsewhere, or by deliberate procrastination on Burcham's part, in an effort to maximise his fees. At his death in Coningsby in 1841 he left the remarkable sum of £600,000.²⁹

Three was the normal number of commissioners until Crosby (1807-12) and Manton (1805-1829) where only two were appointed, and here the reason was probably that two of the three interests, land and tithe, were subsumed into the main owners. Thanks to the General Enclosure Act of 1836 only *one* official, a land surveyor, was required to oversee the enclosure of twenty-seven acres of Burringham in 1843. Seven-eighths of the interests had agreed the improvement and the owners themselves could carry out the enclosure without any commissioners being needed.³⁰ Gone too was the familiar award wording; it was replaced by a greeting from the surveyor and a short preamble mentioning the owners' agreement to enclose.³¹

By the time of the Broughton enclosure (1846-9), as mentioned in chapter 5, the process could be undertaken at arm's length by the filling in of forms. The Broughton award was signed by William Blamire and George Darby. As MP for East Cumberland, Blamire was one of the leading advocates of the commutation of tithes and in 1836, under the new Commutation Act, was made its first commissioner. He is remembered for his evidence to parliamentary committees, in which he warned about the decline in the number and the fortunes of the yeoman farmer.³² In 1845 he was invited to become commissioner in charge of the enclosure of commons and wastes under legislation passed, as noted above, to speed up and reduce the cost of enclosure agreements. William Blamire supervised the enclosure of about 350,000 acres of common and waste land, including Broughton Common and Carrs, and such was the extent of his efforts that it was said of him that he 'helped to re-make the face of rural England.'³³

References

¹ Sum of the areas of parishes in: W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire* (1856)

² LAO: Lindsey Enclosure Awards; E & R.C. Russell, *Landscape changes in South Humberside* (Hull, 1982), *passim*

³ A small, but unknown, proportion of this 52.6% will, of course, have consisted of the areas of the toft and crofts which made up the settlements. Gilbert Slater recognised this problem in *The English Peasantry and the Inclosure of the Common Fields* (1907), p.191, and generalised that the percentage was greater than a sixth, but less than one third of the area of the common fields.

⁴ E. Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution* (1967), pp.20-4; W. E. Tate includes confirmatory acts, such as Winteringham in 1761, in his *Domesday* and M.E. Turner has not deducted them from his total acreage figures. This study

therefore does the same. W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), p.160

⁵ LAO: MISC DEP 625/1 Map of the Manor of Winteringham, 1719

⁶ M. E. Turner, *English Parliamentary Enclosure, its Historical Geography and Economic History* (Folkestone, 1980), p.45

⁷ *Ibid*, p.50

⁸ *Ibid*, Appendix 3, pp.180-1

⁹ The date of the Award, rather than that of the Act defines the half decade, because in many study area enclosures, processes were of long duration. Ashby and Santon each took eight years, Hibaldstow seven and Manton a surprising twenty-four years, for example.

¹⁰ J.A. Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure, 1450-1850* (1977), p.2

¹¹ E.B. Schumpeter, 'English Prices and Public Finance, 1660-1822', *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 20:1 (1938), p.35

¹² T.S. Ashton, *An Economic History of England : the 18th Century* (1955), p.41

¹³ M. E. Turner, *English Parliamentary Enclosure...* p.124.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.125

¹⁵ 41 Geo. III. c. 109

¹⁶ 6 & 7 Wm. IV, c.115; 3 & 4 Vic., c.31

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.66. Eighty percent of numbers of Acts, rather than acres.

¹⁸ LAO: Misc Dep 77/16; the agreement is discussed in the chapter on the reasons for enclosure.

¹⁹ W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), p.160

²⁰ LAO: MF/2/109, 1737; W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday...*p.160; The enclosure of Winteringham is used as a case study elsewhere in this thesis.

²¹ T. W. Beastall, *A North Country Estate: the Lumleys and Saundersons as Landowners, 1600-1900* (Chichester,1975), p.90

²² Agricultural Land Classification (ALC) 1:250,000, M2/1 Northern Region (1979)

²³ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming; The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (1957), pp.294-6

²⁴ Spearman Rank Coefficient Correlation.

²⁵ TNA: C78/1096/2 Decree in Chancery

²⁶ LAO: DIOC/LDAP/3/34, An Act for dividing and inclosing several open fields, lands and grounds, in the parish of Whitton, co. Linc, 1773

²⁷ John Renshaw died in 1802 and was replaced by Thomas Parkinson in Hibaldstow, by John Burcham in Messingham and by Benjamin Codd in Ashby.

²⁸ E. Gillett, *The Enclosures of Scartho, 1795-1798 and of Great Grimsby, 1827-1840* (Grimsby, 1970), Appendix 4

²⁹ *Ibid*; Turner calls John Burcham 'infamous' in, 'Enclosure commissioners and Buckinghamshire parliamentary enclosure', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol 25:2, (1977), p.128; T. W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1978), p.31

³⁰ 6 & 7 Wm.IV c.115; W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday...*, p.329

³¹ LAO: Lindsey Award/160, 1843

³² J. V. Beckett, 'The decline of the small landowner in England and Wales 1660-1900' in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs: Essays for Sir John Habakkuk* (Oxford, 1994), pp.102,104,108-9

³³ D. Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: its Administration* (1963), p.167

4. The reasons for enclosure

Introduction

This section tries to elucidate some of the motivations for enclosure and improvement in the individual townships of the study area. It is not suggested that any one reason was the catalyst for the process in a particular township; rather it is proposed that a combination of reasons may have been involved in each of them.

The promise of increased productivity and rents

Writers on agricultural matters, such as Arthur Young, thought that the open fields, with their scattered strips, were highly unproductive and that where communal controls were imposed, they prevented the use of new crops. While some modern writers have argued against this view, contemporary opposition to enclosure of the common fields was based on supposed injustices associated with the process, or even superstition and not on disagreements over their benefits.¹

It seems likely therefore that the principal underlying reason for enclosure in the study area, although perhaps often overlain with, one or more, other immediate reasons, was the expectation that the enclosure of fields would result in increased productivity and 'more opportunities for money-making than did commonfields.'² The inconveniences and annoyances of the open field system and the problems associated with the grazing of animals are cited so often in enclosure documents that it is difficult to accept any other motive as being more important. Waddingham's plaintiffs to the Chancery Court in 1701, for example, had set out their complaint as follows:

And the complainants findeing the said landes uninclosed were disadvantageous to them they the tennantes and Inhabitants suffering losses by reason of the scarcity of Inclosure wanting meanes to secure their cattle and releive them in the winter season & suffering casuall losses in their stock goeing on the comons belonging to Waddingham ...³

Numerous parliamentary enclosure acts for the area have slight variations on what had become a very familiar rationale and litany, by 1795, in the Act for Hibaldstow:

And whereas the Lands and Grounds belonging to the several Proprietors in ... Open Common Fields, Meadows, Pastures, and Leys, lie intermixed and dispersed in small Parcels, and are in their present State incapable of much Improvement, and it would be of great Advantage to the several Proprietors, if the said Open Common Fields,... etc.. were divided and inclosed, and specific Parts allotted to the several Persons interested therein, in Proportion to their respective Properties, Rights of Common, and other Interests... ⁴

There is a significant difference in the wording of the Burringham enclosure rationale as, in 1836, an act had been passed which smoothed the progress of the enclosure of open and arable fields, and authorized the enclosure of such fields by commissioners when two-thirds of the interests affected were agreed, without any further parliamentary authority.⁵ It is the Award of 1843, written by a land surveyor, which carries the motives for the enclosure in Burringham. After noting that the several common lands of the townships,

...consisted of small slips of land which lay dispersedly and intermixed with the inclosed lands and were subject at certain times to right of intercommon for the depasture of cattle and other live stock therein which had been found inconvenient and detrimental by reason of the lands not being capable of permanent occupation and improvement

and... that in order to remedy these inconveniences and render the common lands improveable it had been considered beneficial for the Township and the several proprietors, owners and persons interested therein that the Lands over which such common rights existed should be inclosed , apportioned, divided and allotted....⁶

The core sentiment however is very similar to those expressed in earlier years and carries the hope of increased financial returns.

There is a consensus amongst *modern* writers that while the open-field system was more adaptable to new crop rotations than was once thought, enclosure did result in increases in agricultural productivity. Turner, offered the most upbeat appraisal and reckoned that yields of grain in 1801, were up to a quarter higher in enclosed parishes than in those that remained unenclosed. Agricultural output was also increased by bringing marginal land into regular cultivation, by reducing the amount of annual fallows and by changes in land use. McCloskey reached a rather less sanguine conclusion by comparing rents at the end of the eighteenth century on enclosed and open-field land. He decided that the increase in rents of 50 to 100 percent after enclosure would have meant that that enclosure raised productivity by only 10 to 13 percent.⁷ There are however, as noted above, the positive and even enthusiastic views of contemporary writers like Arthur Young and the other authors of the Board of Agriculture county reports published, between 1793 and 1815. Taking all this into consideration, it is reasonable to suppose that the belief of very many landowners and tenants will have been that enclosure was, for the most part, beneficial and something to be desired, and that this was the most common motive for the process in the study area.

Changes in landownership

If a broad unanimity of opinion existed in favour of enclosure, what was the spark which led to the process actually taking place in the study area? In some cases the catalyst may have been a change of ownership, through death, or the purchase of land, which brought a new, a younger or more entrepreneurial personality to the fore. In Hibaldstow the initial impetus for parliamentary enclosure came from one of the main landowners in that parish, Lord William Beauclerk, who had his country residence in neighbouring Redbourne, and who would have come into ownership in 1791 when he married Charlotte Carter-Thelwall. She was the heiress of the late Rev Robert Carter-Thelwall of Redbourne. The main landowner in Hibaldstow however was William Dalison, and, as in the later act of 1805 for the enclosure of Manton, he is described as 'a lunatic in the custody of the Lord High Chancellor'. Lord William Beauclerk will have realised that while the parish was overdue for improvement, because of the mental state of the leading landowner, a conventional agreement was not going to be possible and a parliamentary act was the sensible course of action.⁸

At Ashby in Bottesford parish, the 1801 act to enclose what remained of the township may have been motivated by the arrival of Philip Skipworth, who had bought some or all of the property owned by George Healey, an earlier encloser of land by agreement.⁹ It may possibly have been a joint enterprise with two other landowners who were non-residents. The Act reveals that a John Julius Angerstein, Esquire, was Lord of the Manor, and that a John Fardell, Gentleman, was Impropiator and entitled to all 'Tythes of Hay, Corn, and Wool and to certain Glebe lands'. Neither of these men were residents, or even indeed farmers. Angerstein, (c.1732–1823) was a marine insurance broker and an art connoisseur whose earnings from his business activities enabled him to support the upkeep of two residences, one in Pall Mall and

another, a country house at Blackheath. Besides investing in art, he was an enthusiastic purchaser of farmland and at his death he left the enormous sum of half a million pounds.¹⁰ John Fardell (1744-1805) held the post of Deputy Registrar in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln and Stow, and effectively was the key figure in transacting the Church's legal business at Lincoln, including the lease and purchase of Church land.¹¹ Because of the expertise he built up and the wealth that he accumulated, he was thus able to invest in property on his own account and there are records of purchases of land at Thorpe on the Hill, Welton and Bottesford parsonage.¹² All three men will have realised the beneficial effects which enclosure would have at Ashby.

In Winteringham the arrival of a new owner, Robert Smith, might have been the catalyst for the 1795 enclosure. Sometime in the early 1790s the fifth Earl of Scarbrough, because of his debts, had had to sell to Robert Smith the Winteringham Estate. Smith (1752-1838) was the eldest of the four sons of the banker Abel Smith. While his three younger brothers retained an involvement with banking, Robert's branch of the family seem to have become detached from that business, to the extent that he showed his disdain for the rest of the family and first tried politics as M.P. for Nottingham and then afterwards became a landowner.¹³

Soon after his purchase of 2,422 acres, which had been valued at £52,197, Smith began the procedure for parliamentary enclosure by having a notice published in December 1794, in the *Stamford Mercury*.¹⁴

Winteringham Intended Inclosure. The proprietors of the uninclosed parts of the parish of Winteringham are requested to meet at the house of Mr. George Bell in Winteringham aforesaid, on Wednesday the Seventeenth of December, Instant, at Ten O'clock in the Morning, to take into consideration the expediency of applying to Parliament the next session, for an Act for inclosing the same.

The second Act for 'dividing and enclosing a certain piece of pasture land in... Winteringham... called the Cow Pasture, comprising . . . the Marsh, Rotten Sykes, Low Groves and Western Greens, and other Land . . . lying between the same Pasture and the River Humber; and for Dividing, Inclosing, and Apportioning certain other Pieces of Meadow and Pasture grounds. . . called the Composition Closes, and Hall Closes . . . and for other purposes' was passed in 1795.¹⁵

Robert Smith, later to become Lord Carrington, was a different sort of owner in the study area; not a traditional land-owning aristocrat, but instead the scion of a banking family. He probably saw the land like capital, as a subject for investment and his arrival must have been the catalyst for enclosure.

The challenge of a rising animal population

Turner has suggested that one reason for enclosure was the inflexibility of the open-field system in the face of a rising animal population. The result of this shortcoming was a shortage of land for pasture, and (says Turner) this led to a crisis, before 1750, and for thirty years or so afterwards.¹⁶ This seems to have happened in part of the township of Ashby, in Bottesford parish, where an intriguing agreement of 1784 to enclose and increase the production of fodder crops, looks like a precursor to the later full enclosure of 1801, as it incorporates many of the features that one would expect to find in a parliamentary enclosure award.¹⁷ Some of the common fields were to be divided, and fenced, communal rights were to be extinguished, (or at least suspended) and numerous rules were laid down for aspects of agricultural activity.

The prime mover behind the agreement will almost certainly have been George Healey; he was an attorney who would easily have been able to design and draw up the agreement. He was probably resident in Gainsborough, but owned

land, at a distance, in Scunthorpe and Frodingham townships as well as at Ashby, and he no doubt wished to see an improvement in the profitability of his investments by an increase in pasture land. At the time surrounding parishes were being improved, and this also must have been a catalyst for change. The wording of the agreement has the distinct tone of a pastiche of a parliamentary award and it may be that Healey has borrowed phrases, clauses and paragraphs, from contemporary documents. The agreement, of 3 June 1784, is between George Healey, and sixteen other owners, occupiers and cottagers. It was for the 'Improvement of Lands in the several open Arable fields there, by sowing of Turnips and Clover'. All or parts of the East, North and West fields of Ashby were included in the scheme, apparently ignoring the South field. The idea seems to have been to enclose the agreed area over a period of several years, and, in the first year of each newly enclosed portion, to grow clover and turnips.

The agreement has seven sections containing detailed instructions and admonitions relating to most of the contingencies that the designer of the agreement could envisage; how things were to be done and the penalties which were to be imposed if they were not.¹⁸

The agreement was to continue in force for nine years, from June 1784. A comparison of the signatories of the agreement, with the names of owners and occupiers appearing in the 1790 Ashby land tax assessment indicates that the list contains a mixture of (principally) owners in the parish, and occupiers.¹⁹ One name cannot be identified as being in either category; she may have been the only cottager, involved in the agreement who was not, as well, an occupier of land.

There is no indication whether the 'turnip and clover' agreement was thought successful and whether its provisions were in operation at the end of the nine-year term. However, the repeated warnings and cautions to the various parties, and the continual emphasis given to penalties, punishments and

charges contained in the agreement, may indicate that agrarian concord throughout Ashby was always a distant prospect or that, as the agreement was being drawn up, the scale of the antagonism to it became more apparent. When the surveyor Anthony Bower came to draw a plan of the township in 1801-2, in preparation for parliamentary enclosure, some sixteen years after the agreement, he did depict a number of small, mainly rectangular ancient enclosures in the West field (see plate 8, below).²⁰

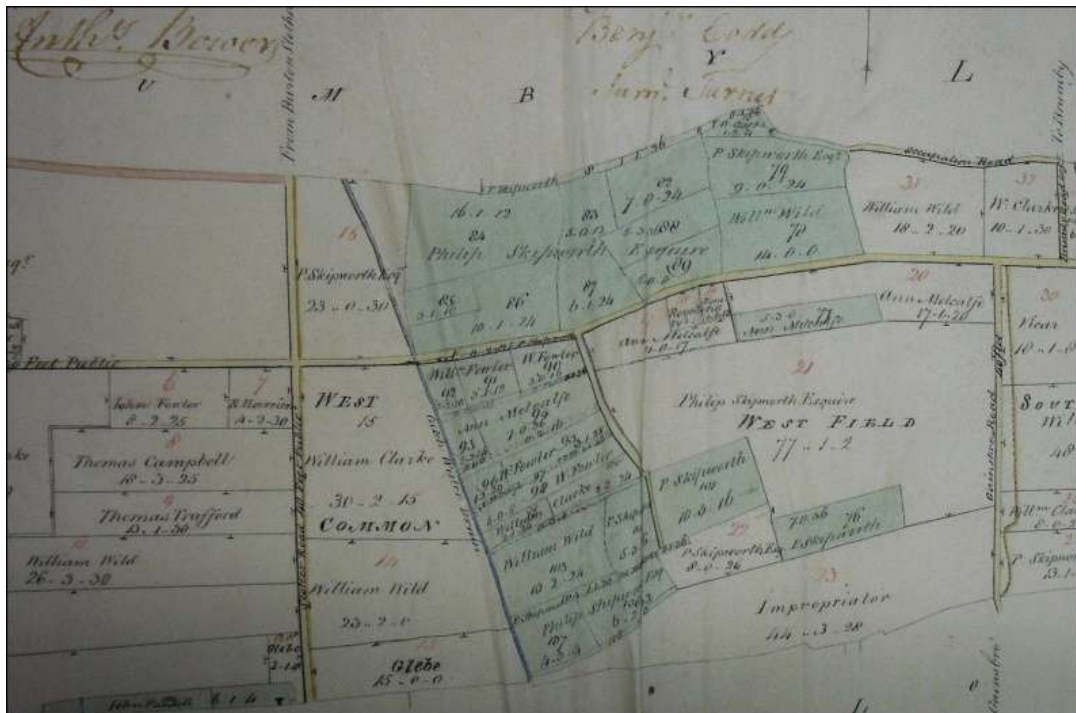


Plate 8. Old enclosures in Ashby west field. Surveyor's signature at top left. ²¹

Although some of the owners had changed, and notably George Healey had been replaced by Philip Skipworth, these seem to be the old closes that were set out in the early years of the agreement.²² By 1801-2 the enclosure stimuli had changed and so it is not clear whether the lands were still being used for the production of fodder crops, and whether some or all had reverted to conventional arable use.

To bring unproductive land into use

From very early times it seems as though landowners have seen enclosure as a means of bringing unproductive land into use. These lands may have been unproductive, because they had been deserted at some time, or because the soil itself was far from good and was not used for agriculture for that reason. In the study area, land in this category either surrounded the sites of abandoned settlements and former religious houses, or was situated on the coversands which are one of the characteristic soils of this part of north Lincolnshire.²³

Alkborough is a parish where the presence of unproductive land formerly belonging both to abandoned settlements, *and* the sites of former religious houses may well have provided the opportunity for an enterprising landowner to enclose with the object of increasing income. About six hundred metres to the south of Alkborough village are three or four relatively modern houses which mark the site of Walcot deserted medieval village (DMV), whose earthworks and toft boundaries survive in the surrounding fields.²⁴ A further five hundred metres south of Walcot DMV, is the site of Haythby, another deserted medieval village.²⁵ At some time in the past its territory has been shared between Alkborough and neighbouring village of West Halton. Perhaps Haythby was depopulated, or seriously undermined, by changes in climate and by the famine of 1315-22, or the Black Death of 1349. The presumed site of the settlement centre, which has a trackway, enclosure banks and possible house sites, and is shown as a notch in the middle of the southern boundary of the map, is actually in West Halton parish, but some of its ancient closes are within the Alkborough boundary. As an added complication part the territory of the settlement of Coleby called 'Coleby closes' lie on the southern boundary of Alkborough parish. Coleby was a *vill* in Domesday Book, but at some distant time it has lost its independence and its territory has been divided between Alkborough and West Halton. The parish boundaries of the two villages run

between the remains of Coleby Hall, with its moat and fishpond, and the settlement of Coleby itself.

These changes, which have altered township delineations, are evident on the map and show themselves as a tongue of West Halton parish inserted between Alkborough to the north and Burton upon Stather to the south. This particular irregular parish boundary shape was used by Beresford as an example of a possible indicator of deserted medieval villages.²⁶

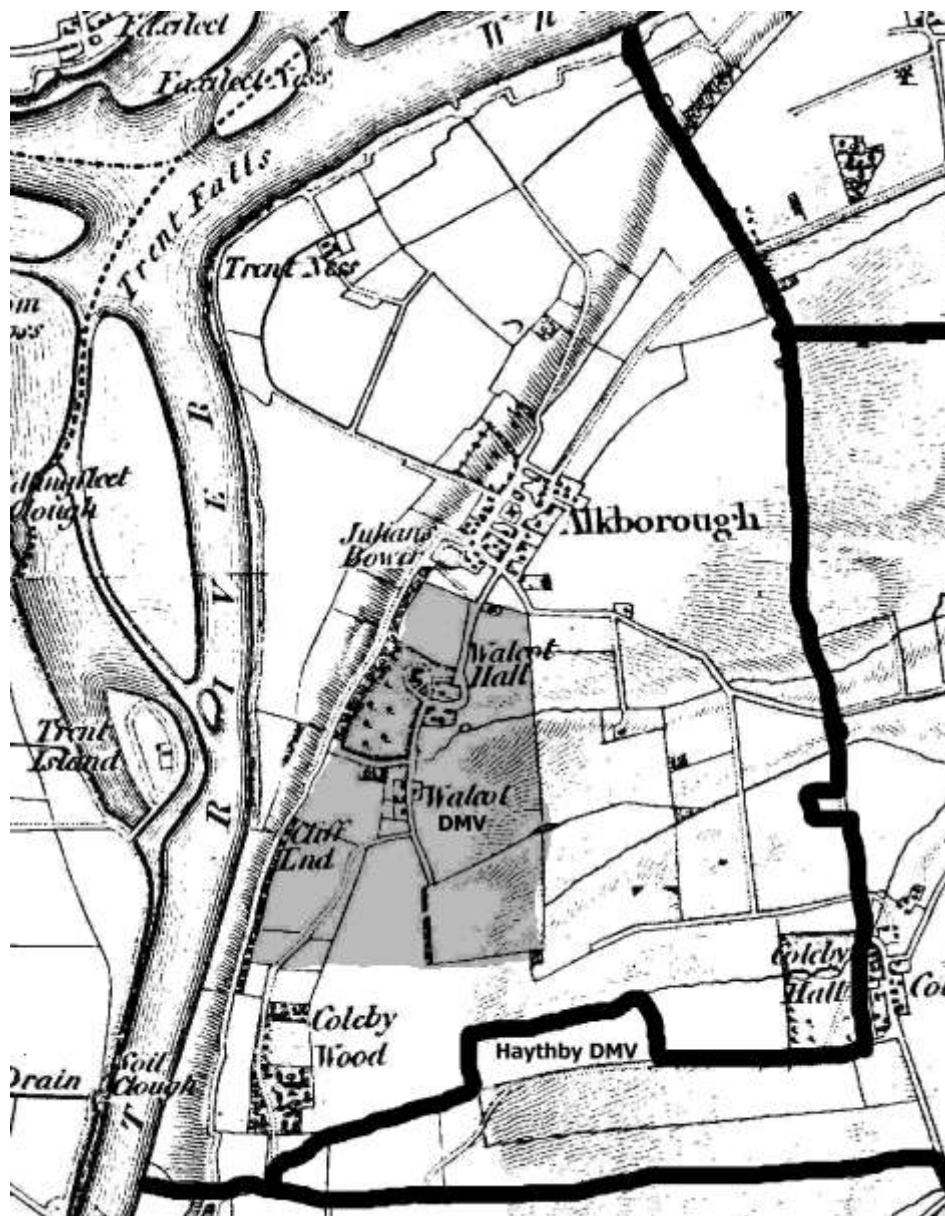


Plate 9 Alkborough parish, from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey, 1824 , amended to show the position of Walcot and Haythby DMVs and old enclosures outside the village as a darkened area.

The beginnings of ancient enclosure in the parish of Alkborough may be associated with the former presence of two manors. The larger manor, of Peterborough Abbey, was centred in the deserted settlement at Walcot while the Spalding Priory property, which was later to become a manor, was located in the southern part of the modern village of Alkborough. There was once here a small cell with three Benedictine monks, a secular chaplain, and a prior; it came to an end in 1220 when the monks were withdrawn to Spalding. Its location was identified when the former lands of the priory were given, in 1624, to Magdalene College, Cambridge by Frances, dowager Countess of Warwick.²⁷

The 1607 *Brief of Depopulations* has a number of entries for the parish amongst which there is a mention of a Martin Brighthouse:

'Convercion of errable lande to pasture for feedinge of sheepe and other cattell': Awkborough — Martin Brighowse esq deceased hath inclosed & Converted lx acres²⁸

According to Maddison, Martin Brighthouse, who was accused of converting those sixty acres in Alkborough, was of a family which came from the village of Brighthouse, near Halifax. Born in 1547 he married Margaret Leeds of Coleby in about 1590 and had four children, including a son William born in 1588, and he died in London, aged about fifty, in 1597.²⁹ He was described as 'of Coleby' so it is assumed he lived in Coleby Hall on the West Halton parish boundary.³⁰ In 1583 a document lists him, with a Nicholas Hamerton as servants of Chief Justice Sir Christopher Wray who had land at nearby Winteringham.³¹ Brighthouse was still being talked about some thirteen years later. In a dispute of 1620 between Nicholas Hamerton and the vicar of Alkborough, plaintiffs and Martin's son, William Brighthouse, defendant, concerning the tithes of Walcot and whether, or not, they were due to the rectory of Alkborough, an eighty-year-old

witness, Peter Odlinge of Coleby confirms that 'the (Walcot) tithes then renewing are payable to the said (Alkborough) Rectorye', but he also mentions the enclosure of Walcot and the loss of common rights that had happened during his lifetime:³²

To the third Interr he saith that Martin Brighouse Esquire deceased in the interrogatory named, did in his Lyfe tyme cause a great parte of the said Lordship of Walcott to be inclosed and converted the same from tilladge to pasture & he further saith that the same groundes soe converted are more fit for Corne grounde than pasture as he saieth it And that they same are high and hard groundes & not Lome and Marris growndes And he also saith that the said groundes soe inclosed & converted weare almost halfe the corne feildes of Walcott aforesaid and further to this Interr he cannot depose

To the forth Interr he saith that the farmers & occupiers of the said Rectorie or Parsonadge of Aukburrow & ther under teanancy at the tyme of his remembrance, before the said groundes weare inclosed used to have & had commons of pasture in the said inclosed grounde for their beastes & cattell Levant & couchant upon the said Rectorye of Aukborow & Lande there at such tyme & tymes in the yeare as the corne and haye growing in the said feildes was Reaped and carried awaye & in such parte and in full Libertie as the inhabitants of Walcote did use in the same feildes and further to this said Interr he cannot depose

The deposition confirms, what the 1607 *Brief of Depopuations* had found, that the late Martin Brighouse had converted, in late Tudor times, part of Alkborough parish, around the deserted settlement called Walcot, to pasture, although it was more suitable for arable cultivations than other parts of the parish. Modern day observation and field walking confirms the view of the old

witness. The witness also pointed out that they had lost the right to graze their cattle on the stubble after the corn had been harvested. The result of the dispute is not clear but, as noted elsewhere, enclosure disputes that went to court were often ended in a form 'which preserved the interests of the enclosers and improvers.'³³ Perhaps therefore Alkborough residents effectively lost their ancient rights to pasture their animals in Walcot's closes and, for the time being at least, the land remained in pasture. Whether this was the reason why Walcot became a DMV is not certain, as it could have been a shrinking settlement for very many years, but this lack of inhabitants may well have been the reason why Martin Brighouse was emboldened to enclose it.

To effect drainage and warping

While the making of closes could be a solitary affair with one farmer surrounding a few strips with a hedge and putting it to a new use, enclosure was, by its nature, a joint operation with cooperation, collaboration and teamwork important elements. Drainage and warping could not usually be undertaken by a single farmer, unless that farmer had a field immediately adjacent to a river. In that case a drain could be made to outfall to the river, or a sluice gate could be built which would let muddy water into an embanked field. The farmer in this situation however would find himself faced with a considerable expense. If drainage and warping could be incorporated into the enclosure process, with numbers of farmers agreeing to share the cost of construction, then the cost would be reduced, and this very important element in agricultural advancement could come about.

There is a problem of definition, because Lincolnshire enclosure acts merge almost imperceptibly into drainage acts and some may not be considered as part of enclosure history, because they are not primarily enacted for the

purpose of enclosure. It is not absolutely clear, for example, if the Washingborough and Heighington enclosure Acts of 1827 and 1829 were more about drainage than enclosure. They speak of 'embanking, draining and improving' but had the effect of enclosing part of the parish.³⁴ The act which enclosed 2,435 acres of Skellingthorpe in 1804, looks at first sight to be a drainage act, and talks of 'embanking, draining, and improving certain lands' before adding, almost as an afterthought, 'also for inclosing lands in the said parish.'³⁵ Similarly Friskney was enclosed by an Act of 1809 which has every appearance, from its opening paragraph, of being chiefly intended to prevent cattle drowning in fields that are 'frequently overflowed with the Tides.'³⁶

This problem of definition is less difficult in the study area, where a number of self-evident enclosure acts do mention draining and warping as principal activities to be undertaken, and those important components may have been the catalyst which sparked the process of enclosure.

In Hibaldstow, a parish with many acres in need of draining, the landowners commissioned a survey before applying for an act to enclose. A surviving document is evidently the result of a request, by them to two men, who had acted as enclosure commissioners elsewhere, to undertake an enquiry into the financial viability of enclosing the parish. Dated 6 November 1795, it is entitled 'The Report of John Parkinson and Samuel Turner, respecting the probable improvement which may arise by an application to Parliament for enclosing the Lordship of Hibaldstow...'.³⁷ The enclosure of Hibaldstow and the hydrological aspects of the process, are discussed in detail in chapter six.

In the Bottesford cum Yaddlethorpe enclosure, drainage too must have played a part in the decision to enclose. At parliamentary enclosure in 1794-7 two new watercourses were dug which improved the drainage of the low-lying lands below, and to the west of Yaddlethorpe township. As in the later Ashby award

of 1801-9, provision had been made for future agricultural improvement, by the staking out of a strip of land, on the northern boundary with Ashby, where a drain could be cut, if warping of the low lands became practicable. It is marked on the Award map as 'intended warping drain' and is thirty feet wide. This may be the first reference, to improvement by warping, in an award on the east side of the Trent.³⁸

To preserve or confirm mineral rights

In some parts of England, the requirement to preserve mineral rights or have them confirmed was a significant motive for enclosure.³⁹ In Brumby township in the present study area, mineral rights were also an issue. As noted elsewhere, the last parliamentary enclosure award that was made in the entire study area was in Frodingham parish, and was of 785 acres of the East and West Commons of Brumby township in 1875. Four years earlier 605 acres of Brumby Moors had been awarded by the same parliamentary method.⁴⁰ A total of 1,309 acres was thus enclosed in the 1870s in a township which contained 2,852 acres, and so a little over 1,500 acres of, presumably, the common fields had therefore already been enclosed by the Earls of Beauchamp using other means.⁴¹ A *Stamford Mercury* article, as early as 1864, had suggested that agricultural improvement for the West Common was in the offing:

We understand the trustees of the late Earl Beauchamp, the principal owners of Brumby Common . . . along with the proprietors of some small inclosures contiguous thereto, have in contemplation the warping of the common. ... It is hoped that this hitherto unproductive valley may be made to smile with plenty. The rich alluvial deposit of the river has effected marvels already, and this is the only accessible waste on Trent side unreclaimed.⁴²

In 1867 the *Stamford Mercury* was able to report:

Passengers along the Trent and Ancholme railway may observe to the South of the line between the Frodingham ironworks and the river Trent a large tract of land containing several hundred acres, now in the process of warping by the tidal waters of the Trent. This wild, unproductive, and to the present time almost valueless tract. . . belongs to several proprietors, but chiefly to Earl Beauchamp and Charles Winn, Esq.⁴³

While the West Common was seen as capable of agricultural improvement by warping, there is little doubt that the incentive for the enclosure of the Brumby *East* Common, will have been the discovery of ironstone in 1859, in the adjoining fields of Frodingham and Scunthorpe. In these circumstances, according to Kain *et al*:

... lords of the manor had to make a judgement whether to take their full allocation of land, normally one-seventh, and lose any rights to minerals which might be found subsequently, or to take a smaller amount, usually one-sixteenth, and retain their rights to anything which might be exploited in the future. Where rights were to be maintained, appropriate arrangements had to be made for access by the lord of the manor, with appropriate compensation for the allottee.⁴⁴

The neighbouring fields were already being exploited and it was reasonable to suppose that productive seams of ore would extend under Brumby, so Charles Winn, as Lord of the Manor, naturally chose the second option. The following extract from the award makes this plain:

And I further declare that I do reserve and set out to the said Lord of the Manor of Brumby all Mines, Minerals, Stone, and other sub-strata under the land to be enclosed, together with a right to enter the said Land when enclosed for the purpose of opening, working, or winning such Mines, Minerals, Stone and other sub-strata, compensation to be

made by the persons exercising such right for any damage to the surface which may thereby be done.⁴⁵

Subsequently, mining of iron ore did extend into Brumby township, so Winn's use of an act of parliament, to stake his claim, by enclosure, to the minerals under Earl Beauchamp's fields, had proved worthwhile.

A shortage of building land

It is generally established that the probability of enclosure taking place sooner rather than later rested mainly on the number of owners in villages. Before or after the introduction of parliamentary acts, enclosure was easier where there were few owners. In places with many owners, enclosure was likely to be a slower and more difficult affair than in less populated villages where a resident manorial lord had authority that could not be seriously challenged, or where owners were few and consequently a consensus could more readily be reached.⁴⁶ With the Winterton commoners' protracted and violent history of opposition to the drainage and improvement of the parish since the 1630s by Monson and others, it is perhaps surprising that the parish, with its many freeholders, was ever enclosed and, it should not perhaps have been expected that Winterton would have applied for an act to enclose the open fields and pastures as early as 1770.⁴⁷ Despite many owners in the parish however, land was concentrated in a few hands. The Act, in its opening paragraphs, lists those with interests in the parish: the Prince of Wales, Edward Holgate, the Earl of Mexborough, James Stovin, John Holden, John Dent, Elizabeth Donkin and 'the several Proprietors of Messuages, Cottages, Tofts... Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments'.⁴⁸ The Award (when it came in 1772) allocated 77.5% of the general allotments, to the seven largest landowners and 85.3% to the largest eight.⁴⁹ Since it was necessary, for the success of a Bill, that the proprietors of three-quarters or four-fifths (there was no fixed rule) of the land to be enclosed, should be in favour, there would have been no difficulty in obtaining

a bill to enclose, even if it were necessary to force the measure on any recalcitrant, of the other proprietors, who might have been against it.⁵⁰

There may however have been an additional reason for the relatively early parliamentary enclosure in Winterton and that is that it might have been seen as a means of solving a housing problem by removing the constraining effects of the common field. The Act makes no mention of this motivation but instead recites that the common fields 'are capable of very little Improvement,' and states that there were so few enclosures 'that the proprietors cannot keep a sufficient stock of cattle for tillage and manuring.'⁵¹ At the time of the Domesday survey Winterton was divided into as many as eight holdings.⁵² The largest holdings were those held by the King as part of his soke of Kirton-in-Lindsey and by Earl Hugh as part of his soke of West Halton, each reckoned at 4 carucates. Together the holdings supported a large population consisting wholly of sokemen and bordars totalling thirty-three.⁵³ It is tempting to speculate that this existence of a comparatively large number of owners in 1086 continued somehow, over the centuries and was the reason why, in the nineteenth century, it had become an 'open village' with numerous freeholders. The presence of many owners might possibly have been the reason why only a relatively small area of land, within the parish, had become 'old enclosure' by the time of parliamentary enclosure in 1770-2, because, in these circumstances, it might be more difficult to form consolidated holdings which would be worth enclosing. The acreage awarded in 1772 was 3,185 acres; therefore only 294 acres or 8.5% had already been enclosed, and much of that was accounted for by the tofts and crofts of the township.⁵⁴

The number of landowners (and, to some extent, the operation of the poor laws) affected the way villages developed in the nineteenth century. Because a large number of people had been awarded land at the Winterton enclosure, the parish could grow. Population would expand if housing was made available, and this could only be provided if owners of land were willing to sell land for

building. A comparison of housing growth in Winterton with that in the adjoining parish of Roxby-cum-Risby (in which the Elwes family owned nearly all the land) illustrates the point. Between the census of 1801 and that of 1851 Winterton grew from 174 to 311 houses, an increase of about 79%; in the same period neighbouring Roxby-cum-Risby grew from 48 to 62 houses, up by only 29%.⁵⁵ J. A. Clarke commented on the Winterton situation:

The chief defect with regard to the houses of the poor is in their number, for in many localities on the Wolds, Cliff, and other districts, the no-cottage systems seems to prevail ... The population is very unevenly distributed; and the cause invariably assigned is the unwillingness of parishes and proprietors to rebuild old houses or erect new ones in consequence of the 'Law of Settlement'. They wish to keep down the population in their respective parishes, with a view of having less poor-rate to pay. At Winterton, for instance, are numerous freeholds and other small occupations of land, arising in a great measure from the reluctance of neighbouring landowners to rebuild or erect cottages. Labourers thus driven out of other parishes find a home here, and many are able to hire an acre or more of land (for perhaps £5 per acre), which their families, being out of the reach of paid employment, cultivate: whilst themselves are obliged to walk a great distance before and after their day's work.⁵⁶

By the time of the first extant Land Tax Duplicate in 1783, the number of owners in Winterton had risen, from the enclosure total of sixty, to sixty-six, and by 1830 the list of proprietors had reached a remarkable 129.⁵⁷ A lesser motivation for enclosure in Winterton might therefore have been to provide building plots for the expanding population.

Emulation

The psychological influence of agricultural improvement and enclosure, on neighbouring owners of open fields and common rights, could well have been a significant factor throughout the study area. Unwillingness to change or inertia in nearby parishes would have been overcome if a programme of improvement had been obviously successful, and it would have encouraged the proprietors there to emulate their neighbour. Amongst the reasons put forward to enclose Bassingham in a 1656 petition to the landowner, the Countess of Warwick, were that neighbouring Brant Broughton is 'lately inclosed', that Carlton le Moorland is 'cast to be inclosed', that Coleby is 'consulted upon to be inclosed' and that Navenby intends to convert its pasture into hayground.⁵⁸

If the improving landowner was the leading proprietor in the district, then the emulation effect might be greater and more immediate. Such a landowner, in the study area, was the Sheffield family at Normanby, owners of the whole of Flixborough, a large proportion of Burton upon Stather and of important holdings in other parishes.

The Sheffields seem to have been settled in Lincolnshire since the thirteenth century and by the middle of the fifteenth century, through various fortunate marriages, they had become, according to Canon Stonehouse, the largest landowners in the Isle of Axholme and the most important family in the district.⁵⁹ At the end of the sixteenth century Edmund Sheffield, third Baron Sheffield, bought a new estate in Lincolnshire, which centred on the township of Normanby.⁶⁰ This property supplemented the family's existing Lincolnshire estate at West Butterwick which was in the swampy land of the, pre-Vermuyden, Isle of Axholme. The Normanby property was larger, and it may have become the family's principal seat because it was believed to be more salubrious than Butterwick. In the 1590s Edmund built a large house at Normanby, which was used into the seventeenth century, while the family steadily increased its influence.⁶¹ In 1600 the manor of Flixborough,

immediately south of Normanby, was added to the estate when John Sheffield married Grisill, daughter of Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.⁶² It was John Sheffield's grandson, another John who adopted the title Marquess of Normanby when he was raised to that honour in 1694 and who again included the township name, when he was raised to a dukedom in 1702, as Duke of Buckingham and Normanby. The inclusion of Normanby in his title perhaps shows that he had some satisfaction in possessing his North Lincolnshire estate, and it may additionally have been designed to emphasise that he was long-established in England, and not one of those who had recently arrived from the Low Countries at the Revolution of 1688.⁶³ This pleasure in possession however did not apparently extend to actually visiting the estate, and soon after his death in 1721, it was noted that 'he had an 'unwillingness to take the pains to visit his estates at some distance from London in the space of 40 years.'⁶⁴ In these circumstances it is unlikely that much agricultural improvement had, by that time, been carried out at Normanby, or Flixborough. The Duke of Buckingham and Normanby had served both in the army and navy and, as part of his life in courtly circles in London, had become a patron of the poet Dryden. In 1703 he began to build a great house in St James's Park, on land granted by the Crown.⁶⁵ The life of an agrarian improver in the isolation of the north Lincolnshire countryside would have given him little opportunity to pursue these other activities. A steward, Francis Downes, was in charge of the Normanby estate while the Duke was in London, but surviving reports do not paint a flattering portrait of him. The steward was accused of selling wood from the estate and of growing hemp and flax for his own benefit as well as allowing tenants to 'keep their farms at shameful rents.'⁶⁶ The Duke *was* alert to the income which could be made from his estates however, as alum shale was dug from property he owned at Mulgrave, near Whitby and which was sold in London.⁶⁷ He seems nevertheless to have been more interested in this raw material, rather than in farming his properties in Burton and Flixborough.

In his will the Duke left his estates to his only surviving, legitimate, son Edmund but, aware that his legitimate descendants might die out he made provision for an illegitimate son, Charles Herbert, to inherit his property if this should happen.⁶⁸ The Duke died in 1721 leaving his widow Catherine and the five year old Edmund, the second Duke, to manage the properties. The following year George Prissick was appointed as steward to replace the disgraced Downes.⁶⁹ Prissick's family seem to have been Lords of the Manor of Carlton-in-Cleveland, near Middlesbrough for several generations, and George, the eldest son of the family at the time, was apparently steward at the Sheffield's other properties at Seaton and Mulgrave in Yorkshire, as well as those in Lincolnshire.⁷⁰ The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were times when land stewards were becoming a recognisable profession, letting estates, drawing up accounts, handling enterprises and even acting as electoral agents.⁷¹ Prissick, presumably with the agreement of the Duchess, commissioned in 1722 a survey of the Normanby Estate from the Stamford Land Surveyor Edward Laurence, to ascertain states of repair and values of holdings, and this would have helped him to justify an increase in the rents of tenants, by thirty percent, by 1725.⁷² It is known from this work, that Laurence had strong views concerning agricultural practice on land leased by the Sheffields. For example he advocated ending the 'paring' or burning turf, enforcing the use of all dung on the farm of its origin, stipulating that only poor land was to be sown with rape, hemp, flax or mustard and stopping the conversion of pasture and meadow to tillage, except poor land that was covered with coarse grass and moss.⁷³

As well as surveying and valuing the Estate between 1722 and 1727, Laurence may well have provided insights into the long-term direction that agrarian improvement at Normanby should take, and may have given advice concerning such matters as the proportion of arable to pasture and the progress of enclosure.⁷⁴ His book of 1727 *The duty of a Steward to his Lord*, has

interesting general observations, some clearly related to his work in Lincolnshire and George Prissick's predecessor Downes. Laurence maintained, for example, that the gentry should allow generous salaries to their stewards, who could, if inadequately paid, adopt other means of enriching themselves.⁷⁵ He preached the advantages of consolidating small holdings into larger farms, so called 'engrossing'. He suggested that stewards should prevent piecemeal enclosures by individuals, that leaseholds be substituted for copyholds, that freeholds on the estate which lie in intermixed strips be bought up, as the essential precursor to any successful scheme for the enclosure of open-fields and commons. His advice is unambiguous: 'lay all the small Farms, let to poor indigent People, to the great ones, but this must be done with discretion' not forgetting that 'it is much more reasonable and popular to stay till such Farms fall into Hand by Death.'⁷⁶ Above all Edward Laurence was a believer in enclosure and contended that, through the better and more economical management which would result from the process, the way would be open for the increase of production and for the raising of rents.⁷⁷

Following Laurence's work considerable amounts of money were then spent renovating cottages and farm buildings and by ploughing up the deer park, which made more land available for arable cultivation. In documents of 1767 concerning an agreement between the rector of West Halton and Sir Charles Sheffield it is made plain that the Dowager Duchess had been closely involved in the decision to alter the use of the deer park.⁷⁸ While her late husband had much preferred the attractions of the metropolis, his widow was clearly focussed on improving the Lincolnshire estates. Unlike his mother, no documentary evidence has been found that the young second Duke was at all interested in agriculture and when he died, without issue, aged only nineteen in 1735, the line of the Dukes of Buckingham and Normanby became extinct.

The first Duke's illegitimate son, Charles Herbert, was now thirty-three and he might have thought that his claim to the estates was straightforward, but the

Dowager Duchess (and now grieving mother) began a program of litigation designed to overturn the provisions of the old Duke's will. The settlement of the lawsuits in 1736 granted the Duchess the estate at Mulgrave, with its valuable alum works, which had been settled on her at the time she married the old Duke, and the remaining estates, including Normanby, were granted to the illegitimate Charles Herbert. The Duchess continued to try and restart proceedings to have the judgement set aside, and in 1739 Charles Herbert obtained a permanent injunction preventing her from ever again contesting the matter.⁷⁹

George Prissick was still the steward at Normanby and he compiled a collection of information, concerning the estate, for his new employer. It is plain that Charles Herbert knew little or nothing about Normanby, as his steward found it necessary to point out that 'Botterwick lays on the west side of the River Trent about five miles distance from your other estates - All the rest of your estate lyes on the east side of the said river'.⁸⁰ Charles Herbert had never lived in Lincolnshire, and he had Buckingham House in London as a much more attractive residence. Normanby Hall was a small house, built out of the ruins of the 1590s mansion, in an obscure parish in a deeply unfashionable county. In the 1750s however he seems to have resolved to make Normanby his country seat, as he sold a property in Essex for £40,000 which might have made a rival seat.⁸¹ In 1754 he asked a landscape gardener to draw up plans to transform the area surrounding the house and although the resulting ambitious plans were not put into practice, changes were made, stables and farm buildings were constructed and the house was improved.⁸² This was perhaps the most likely time for a programme of enclosure to begin on the estate at Normanby. Whether this programme was one of wholesale enclosure within the space of a year or so, or one of piecemeal enclosure over thirty years, is not known.

By 1755 Charles Herbert had changed his name to Charles Sheffield and in that year was created a baronet. A few years later, in 1762, he sold Buckingham

House in St James's Park to the King.⁸³ Unlike his father, Sir Charles Sheffield took an active interest in the administration of his estate and documents indicate that buildings were maintained, and rents were promptly collected.⁸⁴ By 1795 the 860 acre manor of Coleby in neighbouring West Halton parish had been added to the Sheffield's properties by Charles' son, Sir John Sheffield.⁸⁵ It was Sir John who provides firm evidence of enclosure as it was in 1778, four years after his father had died, as he commissioned John Snape to make plans of the manor of Normanby, the manors of Burton and Thealby in the parish of Burton upon Stather, and a plan of the parish of Flixborough.⁸⁶ The Normanby plan (plate 10, detail below) is on parchment, 656x1010mm at a scale of eight chains to one inch, or 6336:1 . It shows quite clearly that, by 1788, the whole of the manor of Normanby had been enclosed and divided into named closes. All the closes had been hedged, except several in the Carrs and Ings to the west of Burton Wood, which were separated instead by drainage ditches.

Neighbouring landowners, large and small, will have watched the activities of the Sheffield family on the Normanby estate over the decades. They will have taken careful note of the appointment of stewards, the arrival of Edward Laurence the land surveyor, the consolidation of holdings, the ploughing up of land for arable and the planting of hedges to make closes on the estate. By the 1750s most of the more fundamental changes will have taken place, and the altered appearance and the new successful agricultural practices of Normanby will have been plain for all to see. While the making of closes and the improvement of estates had been going on for centuries in a small way, the activities at Normanby will, locally, have amounted to a revolution in estate management, and must have made a great impression on the landowning neighbours of the Sheffields.

popular, parliamentary act with its award; Alkborough in 1768, Waddingham cum Stainton, 1770; Scawby in 1771; Winterton, 1772, West Halton, 1773 and Whitton in 1773. Each of these parishes certainly had its own *extra* reasons for enclosure, but the exemplar of progress and achievement may very well have been the Normanby estate of the Sheffield family.

As a physical expression of fitness to be a member of gentry

The squire, in the scheme of things, was dominant in the small parishes of north Lincolnshire. He was the centre of power and society, the patron of most things that went on in the parish, the trendsetter and the opinion maker. If agricultural improvement was needed in the countryside, he would likely lead its advance and new machinery, techniques and crops would first see the light of day on his land. Only he was likely to be able to understand the legalities of enclosure and have the wherewithal to take the process from idea into reality.⁸⁷ This was the function of the squire or the leading resident landowner in the parish and to *maintain* his status in the eyes of his tenants and other smaller owners, this was the thing *that he had to do*. And so it was that, in some parishes, the need to use enclosure and agricultural improvement as a physical expression of fitness to be a member of gentry, will have been a motive of the process itself.

It is probable that this will have been one of the reasons that persuaded the Goulton family to enclose the unenclosed portions of Alkborough in 1768 and the neighbouring parish of Whitton in 1773. At the time of Thomas Goulton's decease in 1825, he was still increasing his holding in Alkborough and was virtually the sole owner of Whitton. Mills thought that the motivation for purchases such as these, had to do with the fact 'that it took more than the acreage of one parish of average size to sustain a gentry family.'⁸⁸

In Manton parish the Darwins bought up and enclosed piecemeal, the township of Cleatham between about 1624 and 1710. Because more than one generation was involved in a determined project like this, it was not the whim of one man but the mission of the family to dominate the township. Richard Darwyn, inherited land at Marton near Gainsborough and elsewhere, and in his will, dated 1584, 'bequeathed the sum of 3s. 4d. towards the setting up of the Queene's Majestie's armes over the quearie doore in the parishe church of Marton.' Richard's son William Darwin, who was described as 'gentleman,' appears to have been a successful man and while retaining his ancestral land at Marton, he acquired through his wife, and by purchase, an estate at Cleatham, twenty miles to the north-east and went to live in that township.⁸⁹

An account of the lengthy piecemeal process of enclosure was published by Eleanor Russell using records lent to her by the owners of Cleatham Hall.⁹⁰ In 1624 William Darwin (d.1644) of Cleatham and his son, also William, began acquiring property in the township. In that year they bought a toft and cottage;

Thomas Lee of Cleatham, Yeoman, sells to (in consideration of £15) Mr William Darwin, Gent, of the same place and William his son and heir, 'All that Toft and Cottage in Cleatham with Croft adjoining, together with the Commons and Common of Pasture Right.'⁹¹

In 1628 they purchased a large estate, including the Hall for £700, which must have been a major part of the township.

Feofment between Francis Bickley Citizen and Draper of London and William Darwin the Elder of Cletham or Cleatham, and William Darwin the Younger; Francis Bickley grants to William Darwin Senior and William Darwin Junior for £700. That Capital Messuage or Tenement with buildings and gardens, etc. in Cleatham. 11 oxgangs of Land, Meadow and Pasture in Cleatham. That other messuage...and one close called The Hall West Garth abutting onto the highway east and a certain

meadow west Cottage abutting on the highway east and Postlands West. One Hempland Close of meadow or pasture called Dove Coat Close abutting on the aforesaid way west, and the Church lane, east. Park Close or Waste Lane. Welbeck Close Lamberbeck meadow or pasture next Church Way east and Little Moor west. Close of meadow or pasture adjoining to a hill abutting on Churchway west and Bromby south.⁹²

William Darwin, the younger (1620-1675) served as Captain-Lieutenant in a troop of horse during the Civil war and when the royal armies dispersed or retreated to Scotland, his estates at Cleatham were sequestrated by Parliament, and only redeemed on his signing the Solemn League and Covenant, and by his paying a large fine. During the Commonwealth, William Darwin became a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and during that time he married the daughter of Erasmus Earle, serjeant-at-law.⁹³ The family continued to buy property and land in nineteen further transactions. For example in 1644:

Robert Bennett of Hibaldstow, Labourer, and Ann his wife, Christopher Spalding of Toft Newton, Yeoman, and Mary his wife. Daughters and co-heirs of Hugh Bracken late of Cleatham deceased, to Mary Darwin of Cleatham, widow. Messuage with Croft with buildings and all the estate etc.⁹⁴

It seems as though William senior's widow, Mary had taken the opportunity to buy some land and buildings when it came onto the market, at the death of a neighbour. In 1650 Mary, and her son, made a substantial purchase of land and property from the well-known Anderson family, both in Cleatham township and in the next parish, Hibaldstow:

Indenture between Edmund Anderson of Dunholme, Gent, and William Anderson son and heir, and Mary Darwin and William Darwin, for £335 paid by Darwins for all their messuages, pastures, closes feedings

woods underwoods, together with all the houses etc. in Cleatham and Hiberstow.⁹⁵

Many of the purchases include land that is already in closes, so there is often the prospect of enclosed land being consolidated into larger blocks. In 1707 the family took the opportunity to buy 162 acres of property, mostly in closes, from a gentlemen who was evidently turning part of his inheritance into cash.⁹⁶

These purchases continue until 1710, when the last was one was made, and by then the family owned most of Cleatham, apart from some common land. William's eldest son, another William (1655-1682) married into the Wareing family and his wife Anne inherited Elston manor and hall near Newark. William and Anne ended the time of the Darwins in Lincolnshire by moving from Cleatham to Elston and so climbed another rung in the social ladder.

A manifestation of the continuing superiority of the gentry after enclosure was the emergence of game shooting as a popular sport.⁹⁷ This too might have been a motivation to reorganise the landscape. In north Lincolnshire in 1805, soon after the main thrust of enclosure had been completed and the commons and wastes had been divided, there was already evidence that the leading landowners saw the countryside as a place of recreation to be jealously guarded against trespassers. In the *Stamford Mercury* (plate 11, below) three of the main landowners in the study area, Sir John Sheffield, William Watson and Thomas Goulton, reminded all and sundry to stay away from the newly enclosed estates.

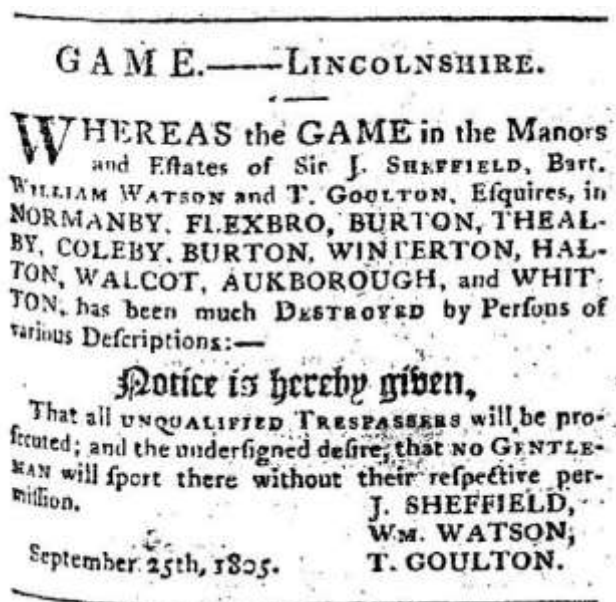


Plate 11: *Stamford Mercury*, 4 October 1805

To validate property swaps and tithe abolition.

While it was customary to include provisions in parliamentary acts to abolish tithes and replace them with allocations of land or annual payments, these were usually the subsidiary aims of a process whose principal object was to divide the common fields and make closes. Occasionally the *main motive* for enclosure acts seems to have been to make lawful schemes involving the swapping of lands and the abolition of the tithe. In Alkborough in 1765 Christopher Goulton had to obtain a general consensus for enclosure, but his son Thomas should not have needed to worry about such things in neighbouring Whitton and a parliamentary act should not have been necessary at all, as such a large proportion of the parish was owned by the Goultons.⁹⁸ The reason for the Whitton act seems to be that Thomas Goulton wished to rid himself of the need to pay tithes and to pay off both the vicar and the Bishop of Lincoln completely. It seems also that he had made a complex agreement with the main tithe owner, the Bishop of Lincoln, which involved the building of a farmhouse on land in the parish that would be awarded in exchange for existing land and buildings, and he was making sure that the agreement would be

watertight.⁹⁹ The act goes into the matter in some detail. The Commissioners were ordered to award to the Bishop of Lincoln and the Vicar:

... such Parcel or Parcels of the Remainder of the ... Open Fields, Common, Ings, Carr, and Ness ... as ...shall in the judgement of the ... Commissioners, contain or be equal in Value to one full Seventh Part thereof ...

This, together with land equal in value to one-eighth of the old enclosed lands, was to replace the payment future tithes, and the act continues:

... to be in lieu of, and as a full Recompence and Satisfaction for all and great and small Tythes, Dues, Duties and Payments whatsoever, arising, renewing, increasing, or happening, or which should or might at any Time or Times ... arise, renew, increase, or happen within the said Open Fields, Commons, Ings, Carr, and Ness ... or within the antient enclosed Grounds in Whitton ...¹⁰⁰

Thomas Goulton's descendant, James Goulton Constable, noted in 1889 that:

It was under the sanction of these Commissioners that the Bishop of Lincoln gave Thomas Goulton the old homestead belonging to the Rectory with the decayed dwelling house, barns and stables situated in the village, on the south side of the Church yard, in exchange for two acres of land in the Ings, on condition that Thomas Goulton built a new dwelling house, barns and stable on some part of the land allotted to the Bishop of Lincoln in the Ings. Thomas Goulton, therefore, in fulfilment of this condition built the homestead known to this day as Bishopthorpe.¹⁰¹

The appropriately named farm can be seen on the 1824 Ordnance Survey map surrounded by the 150 acres of land allotted to it at the enclosure. This arrangement does seem munificent, because together with the 54 acres awarded to the vicar in lieu of tithes and rights of common, the amount of

ecclesiastical land amounted to something approaching a fifth of all the newly enclosed land in the parish.¹⁰²

To mitigate the cost to the parish of the poor

The poor were not always overlooked when enclosure was being contemplated. Some communities saw it as an opportunity to deal with the poor rate, in the same way that they would later see the tithe. If the poor rate liability could not be extinguished entirely, enclosing some land and vesting it in trustees, whose remit was to produce as much rent as possible to offset the rate, might be an attractive plan. In Waddingham, when a Chancery Decree was being sought in 1700 to confirm an agreement to enclose, explicit provision was made for them with twenty acres set aside and,

fenced at the said freeholders charge and be lett to depasture by the then present Overseers and Church wardens, for the yeare being, and the money ariseing distributed amongst the poor of the said Towne by the Ministers, Church wardens and Overseers, yearly for ever.¹⁰³

From 1757 the inhabitants of Messingham enclosed about 75 acres of the East Common Field, divided it into nine closes, from six to fifteen acres, and then rented the grazing, each Old Lady Day (5 April), to the highest bidder. The motive in this case was not directly to offset the poor rate, but to try to correct a previous attempt at benevolence. These particular closes had come about in an unusual way; twelve years earlier, in May 1745 the Messingham vestry book reveals that it had decided to build a 'Workhouse and House of Maintenance' and the cost of this was estimated at sixty pounds. This money was to 'be raised by the Poor Tax Bill, by an equal lay in 7 years.'¹⁰⁴ It was found, after a few years however, that the workhouse was a financial burden to the community and on 11 April 1757 the vestry met again with a proposed solution to their problem.¹⁰⁵

We whose names are underwritten, Minister, Churchwardens, Inhabitants and owners of the Town of Messingham in Publick Vestry having taken into our consideration the present state and condition of our said town...do find it encumbered with a Heavy Debt contracted many years ago by building the workhouse & likely to be opprest with a numerous poor: in order therefore to discharge the said Debt & to relieve this our Town from the like oppression hereafter have come to these resolutions following:

First to make application to our worthy Lord of the Manor for leave to take in and inclose part of our East Common for the good and benefit of our said Town. And

Secondly having obtained his Consent, to take in and inclose sixty or seventy acres more or less in that part of the Common which lies on the north side of the way leading from Whirlamore Gate to Holme Gate according to the direction of the Trustees hereafter to be named for that purpose. And Thirdly the rents or profits of the said inclos'd Ground to be paid into the hands of the Trustees & by them to be appropriated to the uses & purposes following...

It seems clear that, although there was no parliamentary enclosure in the study area at the time, the inhabitants of Messingham already appreciated that the making of closes was likely to be a profitable enterprise. The vestry book goes on to detail that first the expenses of the enclosure were to be repaid, and then the 'overplus' at a rate of ten pounds per year was to go to pay off the town debt, and after that had been done, the profits were to be used for the maintenance of the poor.¹⁰⁶ The Lord of the Manor was Francis Bristow, and he signed, in a spidery hand, a note in the vestry book that he 'heartily gave his assent and concurrence to the undertaking.'¹⁰⁷ Within a couple of days

work was in hand to make the enclosures and, from April to June 1757, the vestry book has two pages of expenses associated with their setting up. Cartloads of timber were brought from nearby Broughton Woods at 4s 6d per load, banks were dug at 9d per rood, hundreds of 'furrs' were made (presumably fir posts) and money was frequently spent on ale for the labourers.

In the 1 June 1757 the vestry met again to devise some rules and to let the new closes for the first time:

Mett according to notice to let the closes & came to these following regulations, 1st to let the said closes until Lady Day next; 2^{ndly} To let the said closes to the best Bidder; 3^{dly} That all the Tenants enter to the Fences as they find them; 4^{thly} That every Tenant that takes a close to pay 5s down & to have it allow'd in the first half year Rent; 5^{thly} That every person shall have Chase and Rechase from one close to another according as the gates as sett.¹⁰⁸

Nine closes totalling a little over seventy-five acres were let for £39-4s-0d with the warning that they are 'not to be plowed this year'. The original arrangement for the carving out of closes from the east common with Mr Bristow was for a period of six years, but subsequently it was renewed annually with closes being let to the highest bidder, with the repeated stipulation that they were not to be ploughed or dug up. Because the closes were let to the highest bidder and demand for grazing might vary with the economic climate, there was a difference between the price bid per acre, from year to year. This is shown in a comparison between 1798 and 1799; £64 being raised in 1798 at an average price of 85p per acre and only £52 the following year, at an average of 69p per acre (see Table 7, below). Yields of wheat in the 1790s are

well documented, but information about cattle and sheep is less well recorded, so it is not clear what led to the variation.¹⁰⁹

Table 7 : To show acreages of closes and prices bid per acre in 1798 and 1799

	Acres				1798 £	1798	1799 £	1799
Closes	Acres	Rods	Perch	Dec Equiv	Rent	£ per acre	Rent	£ per acre
1	8	0	0	8.000	12.05	1.51	9.45	1.18
2	6	2	30	6.688	5.80	0.87	4.50	0.67
3	6	2	0	6.500	4.30	0.66	3.20	0.49
4	8	3	20	8.875	3.40	0.38	2.50	0.28
5	14	3	30	14.938	7.60	0.51	5.90	0.39
6	5	3	15	5.844	7.50	1.28	5.25	0.90
7	7	0	34	7.213	9.00	1.25	8.00	1.11
8	7	0	0	7.000	6.00	0.86	4.85	0.69
9	10	1	10	10.313	8.40	0.81	8.40	0.81
Totals				75.369	64.05	0.85	52.05	0.69

The meetings, to let the closes, continued annually until 1799 when, with the Enclosure Commissioners beginning their work, there was a final entry in the vestry book¹¹⁰:

20 March 1799, Memorandum it was agreed...at a publick vestry to lett the intacks ...to the best bidder to occupy until Old Lammas Day next 1799, or longer if the Commissioners think proper...¹¹¹

By this time parliamentary enclosure was underway, and so it would seem that the commissioners deemed the lettings of the new closes to be no longer appropriate. The geographical position of the nine closes made in 1757 is not completely clear, because the only ones in the East Common, shown in Anthony Bower's 1804 plan, form a compact group, close to the parish boundary with Twigmore township.

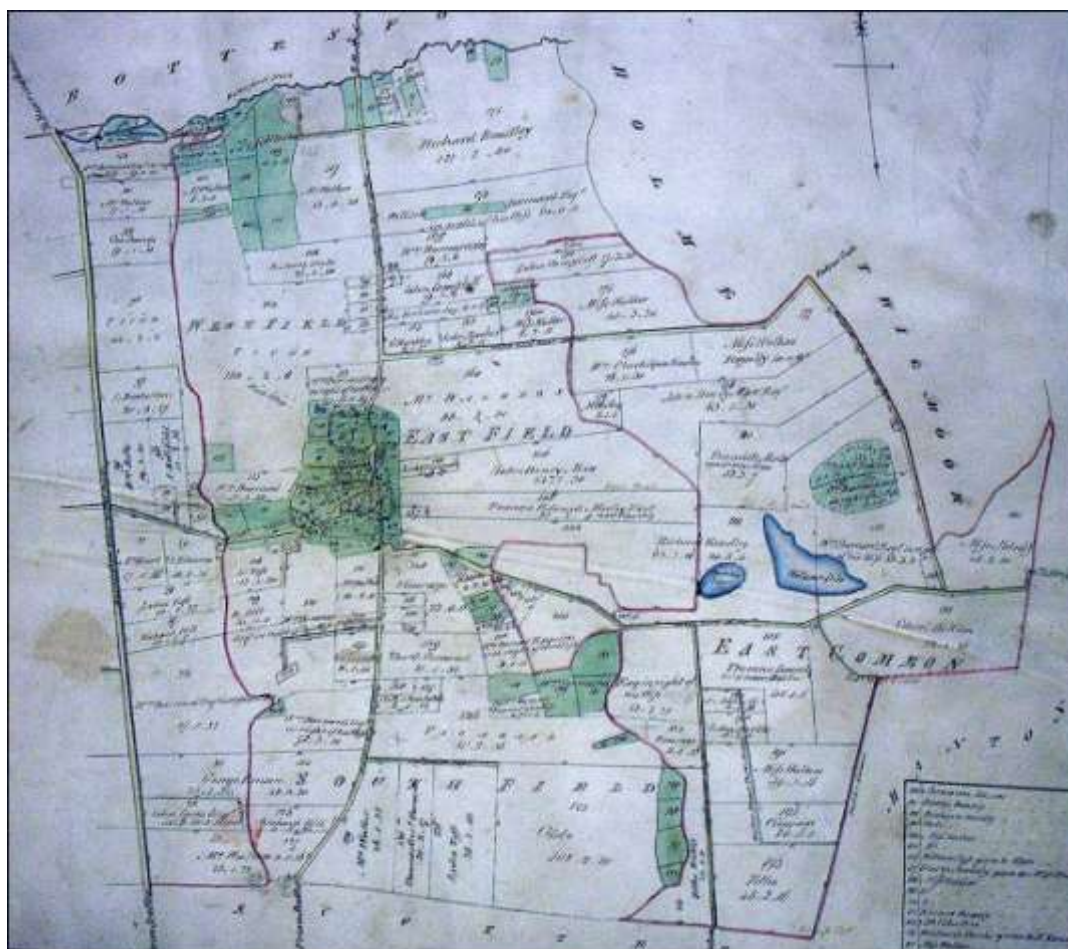


Plate 12: Eastern half of the Messingham Enclosure Award map of 1804 showing old enclosures in green, including those of 1757 at right. (LAO: Messingham PAR CO.1)

It is possible to discern the site of this group in the landscape today, but both Bower's plan itself and field walking indicate that these old enclosures were, between twenty and twenty-five acres in extent, that is to say much smaller than the seventy-five acres that had been let for forty years or so. It may be that there was some amalgamation or other re-arrangement of agricultural land, immediately before parliamentary enclosure either to make the task of the commissioners easier or to reduce the amount of bureaucracy for the landowners.

Satisfactory reason for enclosure not found

Holme is an example, happily rare in this study, where field walking demonstrates that organised enclosure has taken place, but documentary evidence for it is meagre. Not only was there no parliamentary enclosure, but also references to the formation of closes are rare. The timing and the identity of the instigators of enclosure are obscure.

The township of Holme is 2.5 km to the southeast of Bottesford and consists of a small group of houses surrounded by bumpy, sandy fields; it has the appearance of a shrunken settlement. Raventhorpe deserted medieval village is about 1.8 km to the north-east of Holme, and about 1 km to the south-east are a few dwellings accessible from Twigmore in Manton parish. Until recently, Holme Hall, a small old country house, stood to the north of Holme. Cameron noted that 'Holme Hall lies on a distinct island of land above the 75 contour.'¹¹² The old hall has now gone and has been replaced by a golf clubhouse, and only the hall's lake remains as part of the water hazards of the course. The island of sandy land is however very obvious and fits very well the place name meaning, of 'raised firm land in the marsh'.¹¹³

Little has come to light about the early history of the township and few documents mentioning the place exist in either the Lincolnshire Archives or The National Archives. Allen, in his history of the County, notes that the manor of Holme was once the property and seat of a family named Morley who inherited large possessions in this county but in consequence of their adherence to the Catholic faith after the Reformation they became 'objects of persecution and endured fines and sequestrations until their inheritance was quite gone'.¹¹⁴ The Bottesford antiquarian and historian Edward Peacock (1831 - 1915), wrote in 1866 that :

The Morleys of Holme only alienated their lands within living memory and several of their descendants in the male line yet exist in humble life. As the *family documents are lost or dispersed* the editor has not seen evidence from which to compile a pedigree of the generations...¹¹⁵

The earliest settlement of the Morleys at Holme has not been ascertained.... On the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, 1192, John Morley, son of Morley did homage to Sir John Bussey, of Hougham, Knt., for certain lands in Holme... In 1547, William Morley, gentleman, served upon the jury of the court of the Manor of Bottesford.¹¹⁶

but by 1580:

Thomas St. Paul, of Snarford, returned the names of John and Margaret Morreleye among the persons in this county 'indited for hearing of Masse.' Margaret Morreleye was convicted for this breach of the penal laws.¹¹⁷

The problems of the family continued and in 1684, a widow Morley was mentioned in a list of Bottesford parishioners who were excommunicated by the vicar Robert Hornsby.

The 1783 land tax assessments for Bottesford, which included Holme township, list a John Morley as the principal proprietor. The assessment also records about fifteen other owners, but it is not possible to determine how many of these held land in Holme township.¹¹⁸

N. Lyons reports that Holme was considered to have 'long since been enclosed' in 1839 and cites the *Report of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities* of that year. Elsewhere in the Commissioners' report however (which concerns the funding of a charity hospital in Worlaby, Lincolnshire) it becomes clear that the Holme referred to, is in Nottinghamshire, and may be the township in North Muskham parish, which was enclosed in 1771.¹¹⁹

The usually reliable terriers are silent, as no mention of closes and intakes appear in those of 1601 and 1606, for the township for Holme in Lincolnshire.¹²⁰ De la Pryme refers to a 'Chappel Cloase' on his travels in 1697, but he does not make it clear whether he is in Holme in Bottesford parish, or in neighbouring Appleby; it may be that he was not sure exactly where he was as he walked across the sandy warrens.¹²¹ The tithe award is more helpful, (if very late) and mentions in 1841, Bank, Bassack, Belton's and Calf Closes, Carrot Garth together with Chapman's, Cinquoin, Clegg, Home Common Close, Coulson's, Cow, Cox, Croucham's, Dawson's, Everatts Fiddle, Field, Four Acres, Hassock, Little Hill, Hillside, Holland's, Home, Horse, Far House, Low, Marshall's, Low Moor, Morley, Nathan's, Nine Acres, Great Pea, Pepper, Raventhorpe, Rowley, Rye, Seaton Croft, Seed, Sharp and Wood Closes.¹²² Many of these closes seem to be named for families and nine of the surnames (if they are indeed such) appear in the Bottesford baptismal register as christenings in the seventeenth century.¹²³

The closes listed would probably have been to the south and west of Holme Hall, as land to the east is shown as Holme Warren on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey and as Holme Common on Bryant's map of 1828 (below).¹²⁴ This area, warren or common, appears to be sandier than the rest of the township and is now mainly woodland.

The timing of Holme's enclosure is not clear, but it seems reasonable to assume that most of it took place in a piecemeal fashion during the long period that the Morleys owned land in the township, and that evidence for enclosure was lost when the family papers were dispersed.



Plate13, Bryant's map of 1828 shows Holme Common.

Of the reasons discussed above, it seems probable that the perceived potential for increased productivity and rents was the most pervasive, and this perception was heightened in those parts of the study area where 'new' acres could be brought into cultivation by drainage and warping. However it appears that in north-west Lindsey, as perhaps elsewhere, the local timing of enclosure was the result of a combination of pressures and circumstances whose importance varied according to the particular case.

References

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- ¹ R. C. Allen, 'The efficiency and distributional consequences of eighteenth century enclosures', *Economic Journal* 92 (1982), pp.937-52; D. N. McCloskey, 'English open fields as behaviour towards risk', in P. Uselding (ed.), *Research in Economic History* (1976), pp. 124-70 ; W. E. Tate, 'Opposition to Parliamentary Enclosure in Eighteenth-Century England', *Agricultural History*, 19 (1945),

pp.137-142; G. Slater, *The English Peasantry and the Inclosure of the Common Fields* (1907), p.91

² M. Overton, *The Agricultural Revolution in England: the Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1850* (Cambridge, 1996), p.165

³ TNA: C78/1096/2 Decree in Chancery.

⁴ LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6 Copy of Enclosure Act of 1796 bound into the Commissioners' Minute Book.

⁵ 6 & 7 Wm.IV c.115; W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), p.329

⁶ LAO: Lindsey Award/160 ,1843

⁷ M.E. Turner, 'Agricultural Productivity in England in the Eighteenth Century: Evidence from Crop Yields ', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 35 (1982), pp. 498-9, 505. ; D.N. McCloskey, 'The Open Fields of England: Rent, Risk, and the Rate of Interest, 1300-1815,' in D. Galenson, (ed.), *Markets in History* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 21-4.

⁸ LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6 Copy of Enclosure Act of 1796 bound into the Commissioners ' Minute Book.

⁹ According to A.R. Maddison (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, The Harleian Society (1902-6) Vol 2 p.478, George Healey had died in 1794

¹⁰ F. Martin, *The History of Lloyd's and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain* (1971), p.145, et seq.; *The Annual Biography and Obituary*, Vol. 13 (1824), p.275

¹¹ C.M. Lloyd, M.E. Finch (eds.), *Letters from John Wallace to Madam Whichcot, and some Correspondence of John Fardell, Deputy Registrar, 1802-5*, Lincoln Record Society, 66 (Lincoln, 1973), pp.45-9

¹² *Ibid*, p.49

¹³ Y. Cassis, *City Bankers, 1890-1914* (Cambridge, 1994),p. 236

¹⁴T. W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution...*p.87. Some land will have been lost by erosion to the Humber; *Stamford Mercury* 5 December 1794

¹⁵ LAO: BH/7/4 Winteringham (Cow Pasture) Enclosure Act [1795];bound with: Barton on Humber Enclosure Act, 1793; Barrow on Humber Enclosure Act, 1797; Ancholme Drainage Act, 1761-1766.

¹⁶ M. E. Turner, *English Parliamentary Enclosure, its Historical Geography and Economic History* (Folkestone, 1980), pp. 135-51; M. E. Turner, 'English Open Fields & Enclosures: Retardation or Productivity Improvements', *Journal of Economic History*, 46:3 (1986), p.673

¹⁷ LAO: Misc Dep 77/16, 'Improvement of Lands in the several open Arable fields there by sowing of Turnips and Clover' (This is a 1943 copy of the agreement which notes that 'original of 3 June 1784 is in Lord St. Oswald's estate office').

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ 'Principally' owners, as some proprietors of land were of course, also occupiers of other owners' lands and therefore appear in both columns of the land tax assessment.

²⁰ Closes, which appear on parliamentary enclosure plans and award maps, are often referred to as 'old' or 'ancient' and frequently are marked as such. It is clear that they may not be ancient at all and might instead, like those in Ashby West field, have been made only a little before the map.

²¹ LAO: KR/2/10 Kirton Court Book, Wapentake Court of Manley 1808-1810

²² *Vide* note 9, above.

²³ M.D. Bateman, 'The Origin and Age of Coversand in North Lincolnshire, UK' in *Permafrost and Glacial Processes* 9 (1998), pp.313-4

²⁴ Centred near grid reference SE 879 208

²⁵ Centred near grid reference SE 883 193

²⁶ M.W. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (1954), p.331

²⁷ LAO:LC5/ 1/1; P. L Everson, D. Stocker, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford, 2006), pp.97-8; D. Knowles, R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), p.52

²⁸ LAO: MCD708; The returns are discussed by J.D. Gould, 'The Inquisition of Depopulation of 1607 in Lincolnshire' , *Economic History Review*, 264 (1952), pp. 392-6

²⁹ A.R. Maddison, (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, Vol 1 (1902), p.175

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ LAO: NEL VII/12/3 13 August, 1583; Chief Justice Sir Christopher Wray (died 1592) was the judge who had passed sentence on Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587.

³² TNA:E134,18Jas.I,Trin.1; Thirsk mentions this document in *English Peasant Farming* (1957), p.181, but writes of Martin Brighthouse as though he was still alive in 1607.

³³ K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (1983), p.179

³⁴ LAO: WG/13/6/1 Washingborough and Heighington Enclosure Act;
LAO: WG/13/6/2,Washingborough and Heighington Enclosure amendment Act,'An Act for amending and enlarging the Powers of an Act of His present Majesty, ...' : 22 May 1829

³⁵ W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), p.167; LAO: MON/3/34/4 Drainage and Enclosure Act, 'An Act for embanking, draining, and improving certain lands in the City of Lincoln and County thereof ... 20 July 1804'.

³⁶ LAO: FRISKNEY PAR/17, 'An Act for embanking, inclosing, and draining Lands within the Parish of Friskney, in the County of Lincoln'. 27th May 1809.

³⁷ LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6 'Report of John Parkinson and Samuel Turner' 6 Nov 1795

³⁸ In the Althorpe area, across the river, warping clauses were included in the enclosure award of 1794, and by 1799 it is recorded that three hundred acres of land had been warped: R. van de Noort, S. Ellis, *et al*, *Wetland Heritage of the Ancholme and Lower Trent Valleys: an Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 1988), p.110

³⁹ For example in Staffordshire and County Durham: D. Brown, 'The variety of motives for parliamentary enclosure: the example of the Cannock Chase area, 1773-1887', *Midland History*, 19 (1994), pp. 105-27; R. I. Hodgson, 'The progress of enclosure in County Durham, 1550-1870', in H.S.A. Fox & R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500-1900* (1979), pp.83-102

⁴⁰ LAO: Lindsey, Brumby award 119; LAO: Lindsey, Brumby award 154

⁴¹ W. White, *ibid*.

⁴² *Stamford Mercury*, 17 June 1864 quoted in : R. E. Armstrong (ed.), *An Industrial Island*, p.20

⁴³ *Stamford Mercury*, 12 July 1867, *ibid*.

⁴⁴ R. J. P. Kain, J. Chapman and R. R. Oliver (eds.), *The Enclosure Maps of England and Wales, 1595-1918* (Cambridge, 2004), p.7

⁴⁵ LAO: Lindsey award 119, Old Brumby (East and West Common) enclosure award and plan

⁴⁶ For example: J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, pp.294-6

⁴⁷ K. Lindley, *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution* (1982), p.45; J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (1957), p.191; TNA: E178/6301, Winterton Certificate as to the affect of defendant's drainage works on plaintiffs' lands (Inhabitants of Winterton v. Sir John Monson); LAO: Monson 7/17/46 'Statement of Winterton case'; 7/18/5 'Interrogatories and depositions of witnesses on behalf of the freeholders of Winterton against Sir John Monson'.

⁴⁸ LAO: DIOC/LDAP/2/65, 'An Act for dividing and inclosing certain open lands, grounds and common pastures in the parish of Winterton, co Linc', [1770]

⁴⁹ LAO: Winterton Par. 17 Inclosure Award and Plan 1772

⁵⁰ J. A. Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850* (1977), p.55

⁵¹ LAO: DIOC/LDAP/2/65; A rising animal population is therefore another likely motivation in Winterton.

⁵² TNA:E31/2/2 Great Domesday Book 1086/7, Wintrintone, There are seven entries; C. Gowen Smith, *A Translation of that Portion of Domesday Book which relates to Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire* (1870), pp.16-17,79,113,171,177,179, 193, 237

⁵³ P.L. Everson, D. Stocker, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford, 2006), p.291

⁵⁴ LAO: KR/2/2, Sokemote of Kirton Saturday, and Wapentake Courts of Aslaoe, Corringham, Kirton Friday and Manley Wapentakes, 25 Jan 1772 - 12 May 1775, pp.22-46

⁵⁵ W. Page (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Lincoln* , Volume 2 (1906), p.373-4; *Abstract to the Answers and Returns to the Population Act 41 Geo III.1800* (1801), p.201

⁵⁶ J.A. Clarke, 'On the Farming of Lincolnshire', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, 12 (1851), p.405

⁵⁷ LAO: Land Tax Assessments, Winterton 1783, 1830

⁵⁸ LAO: Misc Dep 264, 'Enclosure petition to Lady Francis, Countess Dowager of Warwick, from her tenants ...in favour of improvement of Bassingham by farming in severalty, inclosure and drainage'.

⁵⁹ W. B. Stonehouse, *The History and Topography of the Isle of Axholme* (1839), *passim*.

⁶⁰ The date is uncertain as archival evidence for Normanby purchase has not been found, although there is a record of Edmund, Lord Sheffield purchasing five acres of meadow in Flixborough, and land in Burton Stather and Walcot, from Anthony Girlington. (LAO:Sheff/A/54/5 2nd Feb. 1590/1); A. S. Larken, (ed) *Lincolnshire Pedigrees:Vol. 3, G-O* (1903), pp.404 has 'Nicholas Girlington sold Rectory of Burton Stather to Edmund, Lord Sheffield, 1589'.

⁶¹ A. Smith, 'A Valued Asset? The Sheffield family and their Lincolnshire estates 1702-1774' in *East Midland Historian* (2004), p.39

⁶² LAO: Sheff/G/9, 21 Nov. 1600 Indentures of lease by way of marriage settlement. Edmund lord Sheffield K.G. to sir Edmund Anderson L.C.J. of Common Pleas, Sir Thomas Monson kt. of Carlton and Richard Williamson esq. of Grays Inn. Property: the manor of Flixborough to be held, as augmentation of the jointure of Grisill, daughter of Sir Edmund Anderson Chief Justice of the Common Pleas , who is to marry John son and heir of Lord Sheffield.

⁶³ A. Smith, 'A Valued Asset?...', p.39

⁶⁴ J. Sheffield, *Miscellanea from the Works of John Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby and Duke of Buckingham* (1933), p.22

⁶⁵ A. Smith, 'A Valued Asset?...', p.41

⁶⁶ NELA: 524/A/5 *Book of misc information about the rent roll of the estates when Charles Sheffield succeeded the 2nd Duke*. 30 Oct 1735; A. Smith, p.42

⁶⁷ LAO: Sheff E/3/2 'Duke of Buckinghamshire's estate at his death'

⁶⁸ J. Sheffield, *Miscellanea...* ,p.262

⁶⁹ Francis Downes' memorial tablet in Burton Church paints the entirely opposite view of his character: ' A man of sound Faith and strict morals, whose extensive knowledge in Business, unwearied Diligence, and Readiness in offices of Friendship, joined with an Humility which increased wth his Fortune procured him the Esteem of most. He died, much lamented, on the 10th of August 1733, aged 63' . Perhaps it is the word 'most' that is significant.

⁷⁰ 'Treasury Books and Papers: December 1736', *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, Volume 3: 1735-1738* (1900), pp. 195-204; 'A History of the County of York North Riding: Volume 2 (1923), pp.232-4

⁷¹ J.V. Beckett, 'Estate management in eighteenth-century England: the Lowther-Spedding relationship in Cumberland,' in J. Chartres and D. Hey (eds.), *English Rural Society 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.55-7

⁷² NELA: 524/A/4/1 'Terrier of lands with the maner of Conesby and Townships of Burton, Normanby, Flixborough, Crosby and Houghton belonging to his grace the Duke of Buckingham. Lord of the said Manner. Surveyed and valued by Edw. Laurence Anno 1724'; A Smith, p.45: £1,693 in 1722 to £2,188 in 1725

⁷³ NELA: 524/A/4/1

⁷⁴ Laurence dedicated his book, written, in 1727, to the Dowager Duchess.(E. Laurence *The duty of a steward to his lord ... design'd ... for the ... stewards and tenants of his grace the duke of Buckingham* (1727) p.i, second and third editions of which were published in 1731 as *The Duty and Office of a Land Steward*

⁷⁵ E. Laurence, *The duty of a steward to his lord...*p.8

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.35

⁷⁷ The views of Edward Laurence, and his brother John, with regard to enclosure, are discussed in: Lord Ernle, *English Farming: Past and Present* (1912), pp.151-2,154,198,297

⁷⁸ LAO: Sheff/E/3/18 'Statement of the case between Dr. Madan and Sir Charles Sheffield as to tithe of the old park in Conesby' 1767

⁷⁹ V. Rumbold, *Women's Place in Pope's World*, (Cambridge, 1989), p.185

⁸⁰ NELA: 524/A/5, *Book of misc information about the rent roll of the estates...* There is no indication that wholesale enclosure had begun by this time.

⁸¹ LAO: Sheff/E/3/1 *A memoranda book 1737-53*, the Leez Priory estate in Essex; A. Smith, 'A Valued Asset?...', p.46

⁸² NELA: 524/A/7/2 'A Plan of Normonby Park the Seat of the Honble Charles Sheffield Esqr by Fras. Richardson 1754'

⁸³ J Richardson, *The Annals of London: a Year-by-Year Record of a Thousand Years of History* (2000), p.208. The house was eventually re-built as Buckingham Palace.

⁸⁴ LAO: Sheff/E/3/3 *undated* About Charles Sheffield's Lincolnshire estates'; Sheff/E/3/4, *Memoranda 1738-58*, Accounts and notes concerning timber and deer sold.

⁸⁵ LAO: Sheff/E/3/11 1795; Charles' son John bought the manor after valuation by John Parkinson; A. Smith, 'A Valued Asset?...', p.47

⁸⁶ NELA: 524/A/9/2 Flixborough; 524/A/9/3 Normanby; 524/A/9/4 Burton and Thealby. Sir John also commissioned, at the same time, plans of West Butterwick (524/A/9/5) and of the 'Manor of Crosby in the Parishes of West-Horton and Froddingham (524/A/9/6).

⁸⁷ J. S. Watson *The Reign of George III, 1760-1815* (Oxford, 1960), p.37

⁸⁸ D.R.Mills, 'Canwick (Lincolnshire) and Melbourn (Cambridgeshire) in Comparative Perspective within the Open-Closed Village Model', *Rural History*, 17:1 (2006), p.6

⁸⁹ F. Darwin (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, including an Autobiographical Chapter*, vol.I (1887), pp.2-3

⁹⁰ E. Russell, 'The enclosure of Cleatham, 1624-1710'. in D. Tyszka, K. Miller and G. F. Bryant, (eds.), *Land, People and Landscapes: Essays on the History of the Lincolnshire Region* (Lincoln, 1991). The principal documentation was an 'Abstract of the Title of Joseph, Thomas and Robert Marris, Devises in Trust in the will of Charles Wigelsworth, late of Louth, to the Manor and township of Cleatham, contracted to be sold to Messrs. Matthew and Geo: Maw', of 1801, lent to Mrs. Russell by Mr. and Mrs. I. Fowler of Cleatham Hall.

⁹¹ E. Russell, 'The enclosure of Cleatham, 1624-1710', p.115

⁹² *Ibid*, p.116

⁹³ F. Darwin (ed.), *The Life and Letters...*, pp.3-4; No doubt William's great-grandson, the physician Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802), derived his given name from the Earle family. The grandson of Erasmus Darwin was, of course the naturalist Charles Darwin (1809-1882).

⁹⁴ E. Russell, 'The enclosure of Cleatham ', p.117

⁹⁵ *Ibid*.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p.118

⁹⁷ J. Chapman, 'Parliamentary enclosure in the uplands: the case of the North York Moors', *Agricultural History Review*, 24 (1976), pp. 1-17

⁹⁸ In 1790 The Whitton land tax assessment shows that he was paying 90% of the tax. (LAO: Whitton LTA, 1790).

⁹⁹ It may be that Thomas Goulton had learned the lessons, and had seen the advantages of a parliamentary act, from the experience of his father, Christopher Goulton, in enclosing Alkborough a few years earlier.

¹⁰⁰ LAO: WHITTON PAR/17/1 Enclosure award and plan 1775

¹⁰¹ Note written by James Goulton Constable, in this writer's collection.

¹⁰² Judgements about the degree of munificence perhaps depend on the valuation of the common rights.

¹⁰³ TNA: C78/1096/2 Decree in Chancery

¹⁰⁴ The decision to build a workhouse may have been prompted by the passing of Knatchbull's Act in 1722, *vide* for example: R. Price, *British Society, 1680-1880: Dynamism, Containment and Change* (Cambridge, 1999), p.168

¹⁰⁵ LAO: Messingham PAR/13/1, 'Book concerning the New Closes' 1735-1799

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 11 April 1757

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 13 April 1757

¹⁰⁸ 'Chase and re Chase' is to drive flocks of sheep or herds of cattle, at certain times, from one sort of ground to another.

¹⁰⁹ M. E. Turner, J.V. Beckett, and B. Afton, *Farm Production in England, 1700-1914* (Oxford, 2001), p.134 and p.173

¹¹⁰ LAO: Messingham PAR/13/1

¹¹¹ Old Lammas Day was 12 August.

¹¹² K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire, Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), p.75

¹¹³ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁴ T. Allen, *History of the County of Lincoln: from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (1833), p.216

¹¹⁵ Present writer's italics; E. Peacock, *English Church Furniture, Ornaments and Decorations, at the Period of the Reformation. As Exhibited in a List of the Goods Destroyed in Certain Lincolnshire Churches, A.D. 1566* (1866), p.242-3

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ LAO: LTA Manley Wapentake, 1783

¹¹⁹ N. Lyons, *Enclosure in Context in North West Lincolnshire* (Scunthorpe, 1988), p.41; *Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring concerning Charities (County of Lincoln) 1837* (HMSO, 1839), p.515; W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), p.205

¹²⁰ LAO: Holme Terrier Bundle

¹²¹ A. de la Pryme, *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary*, Surtees Society, 54 (Durham, 1870), p.80

¹²² TNA: IR 29/20/175, Holme township in Bottesford parish

¹²³ LAO: Bottesford Baptismal Register, 1603-1965; Chapman, Dawson, Everatt, Holland, Marshall, Morley, Rowley, Sharp and Wood

¹²⁴ While some regard Bryant's 1828 map of Lincolnshire as a useful supplement to the Ordnance Survey Old Series, Wheeler and Mills have warned about the reliability of some of the names found on it: R. Wheeler & Joan Mills, 'On the reliability of farm names on Bryant's map of Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Past & Present*, 37 (1999), pp.7-9.

5 The long chronicle of improvement

This chapter attempts to show that agricultural improvement, in the study area, took place over several centuries in different forms, and that sometimes different forms were used in the same parish.

The influence of the Cistercians

The earliest documentary indications of agricultural improvement in the study area are associated with the monastic grange which once stood at Twigmore in Manton parish. When a monastic house acquired holdings in a district, a grange or farm was established from which the neighbouring arable was cultivated and the pastures managed. The land acquired is at the heart of the study area, and the holdings stretch beyond the immediate locale of the grange, into the neighbouring parishes of Holme, Broughton, Scawby and Messingham. A detailed entry in a cartulary of Peterborough Abbey lists the holdings and gives clues to the farming operations, of the grange at Twigmore, which was conveyed to the Cistercians of Louth Park abbey in about 1216.

The charter reads in part:

Grant in free alms to the monks of Louth Park of all the land in Raventhorpe ... as far as the boundary of Holme in length and the boundary of Manton in breadth; and ... as far as the hill by the boundary of Manby, as it has been surveyed and divided by dykes, and so by the boundary of Manby, and of Broughton and of Scawby to the boundary of Manton again; and common pasture in Raventhorpe for 500 sheep, ten cows, their woodland [?] horses, two plough-teams of oxen with other common rights over turf and heath; and

Martynwell furlong lying to the north... They are also granted whatever they can turn into arable land and 20 acres of cultivated land in Holme... and common pasture and fuel from turf and heather; and the site of their grange in Twigmore, surrounded by a ditch or moat, and three acres in the tofts of Raventhorpe, and whatever they have dyked in Manton outside their grange... ...every kind of land, including the common of the whole vill and the easements pertaining to his fee; and the whole furlong called 'great slets' on the east of the vill ... and 2 bovates with their appurtenances in the fields of Messingham... They are also confirmed common pasture in the fields of Messingham for fifty mares with three-year-old foals and the right of dyking and enclosing and turning to their own uses however they wish anything which pertains to the fee of Peterborough Abbey contained within these boundaries...¹

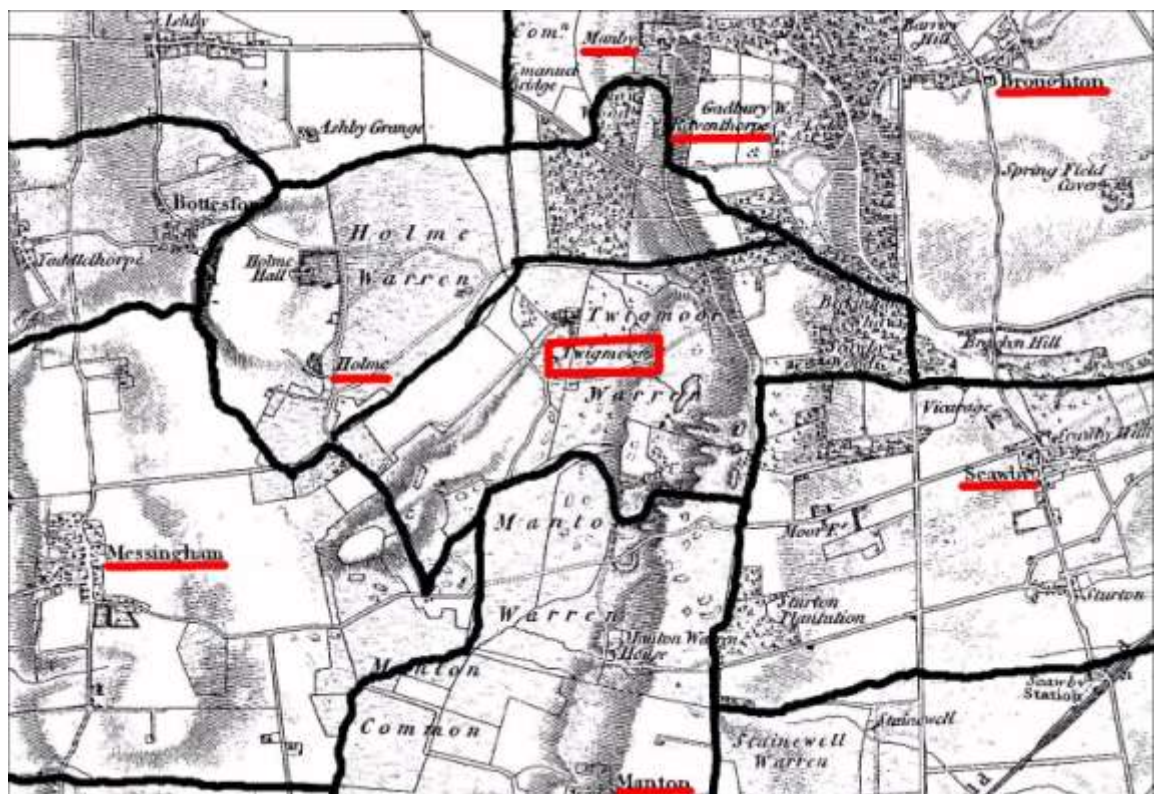


Plate14. Places mentioned in the Twigmore grange charter (in red) extend into the five parishes of: Manton, Messingham, Holme, Broughton and Scawby

The charter confirms the land transferred to the Cistercians, on which the abbot and convent of Peterborough had established their grange and seems to describe a fairly cohesive block surrounding Twigmore (plate 14, above).

The new and intensive Cistercian type of farming, which made fuller use of all available land by assarting, draining and enclosing for pasture may well have begun to be carried out at this time.² This religious order was renowned for reclaiming waste and woodland and bringing it to cultivation and, after a few years, Cistercian granges were encircled with fertile arable and well managed pasture. While they did not originate or monopolise the wool trade they were the first to develop sheep farming on a large scale.³

Such a system of grange agriculture helps to explain the ease with which land might be enclosed, for the advantages of closes for stock farming will have been obvious at a very early time. In that grange system, it was then only a small step to consolidate the strips of the old agriculture into arable closes, whether hedged or not, and the example of sensible and practical agriculture which was established would have spread, as secular neighbours emulated best practice in the grange holdings. The lay brothers who actually worked the land and tended the animals were recruited mainly from tenants of land that had come into Cistercian ownership;⁴ they would probably have made eager publicists of the new agriculture that the order had established.

The history of the site is unclear, but Louth Park Abbey seems to have parted with Twigmore and its outlying lands by 1428 to the Bussy family, which held it until 1542.⁵

If the Cistercian intensive type of farming was introduced, it would account for the large areas of long established enclosed land, later found in those townships which had been listed in the charter. In Twigmore itself for example, most of the land of the township was listed as enclosed, in a terrier of May 1638.⁶ There is no indication who commissioned the terrier, but an examination of documents amongst the Nelthorpe papers, suggest that by 1631 the

Nelthorpe family, of the neighbouring parish of Scawby, were owners.⁷ The terrier lists Twigmore hall and a large number of closes, among them; Hall closes, High close, Holbecke close, Newhall close, Scalby close and Sciphams close, which Cameron thought was derived from the Old English, 'scypen' for a cow shed.⁸

Elsewhere in neighbouring townships there is implicit evidence of early enclosure. In Broughton, a parish of 6918 acres, the final 13%, or 883 acres, of the parish was enclosed by parliamentary means in 1845-9, the rest containing the township of Castlethorpe, and the tiny hamlets of Gokewell, Manby and Raventhorpe having been enclosed by other means. As well as the Cistercian agricultural activity in Broughton parish, there was also a nunnery of the same order at Gokewell. The religious house was founded by William de Alta Ripa prior to 1185, formerly stood in the north-west part of the parish and at the dissolution it had a prioress and six nuns. The endowment of the priory consisted only of some small parcels of land in the neighbourhood and so it is unlikely that it was ever at the centre of any significant agricultural activity.⁹ Until about 1970 a solitary farmhouse stood on the site, and part of the doorway of the nunnery was incorporated into it; nothing now remains of the house.

Holme is mentioned five times in the Twigmore charter. As noted in chapter 4, field walking demonstrates that organised enclosure has taken place in the township, but documentary evidence for its timing is meagre. Not only was there no parliamentary enclosure, but also references to the formation of closes are rare. It is assumed that the earliest closes were formed either during the time of the Twigmore grange farming operation, and afterwards in a piecemeal fashion during the long period that the recusant family of Morley owned land in the township, and that evidence for these later enclosures was lost when the family papers were dispersed.¹⁰

Nearly 70% of Scawby parish was enclosed by parliamentary means in 1770-1 leaving about one thousand acres which had been enclosed by other means. Part of this may well have been lands mentioned in the Twigmore charter, but some may have been enclosed by the canons of nearby Thornholme Priory which was located just over the parish boundary in Appleby parish.¹¹ Over ninety per cent of Messingham's 6160 acres was parliamentarily enclosed in 1798-1804, and so up to ten percent could have been improved by the Cistercians much earlier. The charter explicitly mentions dyking and enclosing in Messingham.

It is thus suggested that some of the ancient closes in the parishes surrounding Twigmore grange are the result of enclosing activity in the time of the Cistercians.

Early enclosure associated with deserted and shrunken settlements

At Twigmore itself some depopulation may have taken place when the grange was established, with the inhabitants being resettled or absorbed into the religious community as lay brothers.¹² Other places mentioned in the charter, such as Raventhorpe (centred at SE936079), Manby (SE936088) and Manton (SE934026) are listed as either deserted or shrunken medieval villages.¹³ It is not certain whether these places became depopulated because of deliberate action by the Cistercians, or whether they were the target of religious acquisition *because* they had few people. There are however other deserted or shrunken settlements in the study area, which are not associated with religious houses, whose depopulated status could have provided the spur for the early making of closes.¹⁴

By about 1600, the former settlements of Darby (SE878180) in Burton-upon-Stather, Walcot (SE879210) in Alkborough parish, Haythby (SE883193) in West Halton parish, Great and Little Conesby (SE894138 and SE933010) in

Flixborough parish, and Sawcliffe (SE912145), High Risby and Low Risby,(SE920148 and SE930150) all in Roxby parish, had either been deserted or greatly depopulated.¹⁵ Walcot is now just a few houses and a road sign proclaiming its existence, but some, like the three in Roxby parish, are only represented by single farms, At Little Conesby an isolated church site and graveyard and a rectangular moated site remain, partially covered by soil from iron stone workings. At Great Conesby and Haythby nothing is left, except barely discernible crop marks at certain times of the year.¹⁶



Plate 15. Position of the Walcot and Haythby DMVs shown amongst the old enclosures coloured green, on the Alkborough Parliamentary Award map of 1768¹⁷

Perhaps these settlements were depopulated or seriously undermined by the Black Death of 1349, or by earlier famine, disease and changes in climate.¹⁸ Great Conesby was amalgamated with other hamlets to form a *villata* for taxation purposes in 1316 and this could have been an early effect of the famine of 1315-22.¹⁹ Some of the communities listed are, however, on sandy soils and poor farming techniques or simple misfortune could have led to sand blowing and crop failures. Several of those deserted, like the three in Roxby parish, lay close together, either on or very near sandy areas. These are probably the lands said to be 'vacant' or 'vacated' in the 1350s and 1360s in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*.²⁰

All these deserted and shrunken settlements lie at the heart of locales which were not enclosed by parliamentary act and had been anciently enclosed. It is thus suggested that their depopulation was the incentive for early secular enclosing activity and that this activity could have spread into neighbouring communal farmland. No evidence has been found that that this activity routinely replaced abandoned arable strips with pastures for sheep.²¹

Gainsthorpe in Hibaldstow parish (SE956011), however, is an example of a deserted settlement that does *not* seem to have provided the seed or nucleus from which old enclosure grew. The *Survey of the soke of Kirton in Lindsey* of 1616 mentioned the site and remarked on its agriculture:

... as touching Gamblethorpe... there is neither tofte, tenement or cottage standing, onlie the ruynes of the towne appeareth at the south end of the lordship, and about half a mile to the North is the ruynes as it seemeth, of the Church, and some farmhouse near it. It is now a spacious shepe pasture and some arable lande, and a warren, containing nere a thousand acres in the whole. It keeps 1500 sheepe, and the tenants of Hibaldstow, under colour of their copie, enjoy most of the profits.²²

Perhaps Gainsthorpe was simply a minor secondary settlement as its name suggests and could not survive the vicissitudes of climate or disease that the centuries brought to it.²³ At some point the inhabitants departed the place and likely joined their neighbours in Hibaldstow township to make a more viable community. Gainsthorpe may have been abandoned at a distant time when pressure on land was less, and there was no particular immediate need for it to be used for pasture; its former site therefore was gradually incorporated into Hibaldstow's common land as the situation required.

At the parliamentary enclosure of Hibaldstow in 1796-1803 the site of the former settlement to the west of Ermine Street was divided and allotted to the Vicar, having been part of an area called 'Old Leys or Upper Common'.²⁴

The 1607 Inquisition of Depopulation

The Church, disease, weather and type of soil were not the only reasons for depopulation however and by 1600 a cause for concern was the practice of tenants being bought out or expelled by landowners, so that more intensive arable farming could take place or so that arable could be turned to pasture. This had seemingly happened at Great Conesby in Flixborough (listed above) during the sixteenth century under the Anderson family. De la Pryme, much later, referred to these activities and described William Anderson as 'onely a miserly gripeing husbandman of Flixburrow who had such good luck to scrape together as to make all his posterity great even unto this day'.²⁵

By this time the Crown was particularly worried about the conversion of arable land to pasture, because it was thought to lead to unemployment as well as depopulation, a reduction in the supply of grain and consequent social tension. This tension had led to a series of riots, from 30 April to 8 June 1607, which came to be known as the Midland Revolt. As a response to the Revolt and general worries about the extent of the enclosure movement in late Tudor and

early Stuart England, a special Commission was set up to make inquiries about it.

Returns for six of the seven counties surveyed by this Commission of *Inquisition of Depopulation of 1607* are lodged in The National Archives, but the Lincolnshire returns have not survived. An abstract of them exists however at the British Library, under the title 'Breife of Depopulacons taken by vertue of the commission for Lincolne'.²⁶ A photocopy of this abstract is lodged at the LAO.²⁷ The 'briefe' makes a distinction between the decay of farms for various reasons and the conversion of arable land to pasture. It seems likely that much of the land converted led to decay of farmhouses although not all farms were decayed for this reason; some were the consequence of 'engrossing', that is the putting together of two or more farms. Although it has no details of the number of people affected or even the dates of the events, the abstract shows that by the early years of the reign of King James I, there had been some depopulations in the study area and that the matter was of some concern. The abstract is divided into seven sections, five of which have entries that refer to the study area.

The Commission had found examples of 'Waistinges and decaies of husbandrie and cottages' in six parishes; In six more it found 'Convercion of errable lande to pasture for feedinge of sheepe and other cattell'. In a further six, there were instances of 'The takeinge of the landes from houses of husbandry and makeinge cottages of them or lettinge them stand emptie.' For seven parishes it listed cases of 'Ingrossing of Farmes and makeinge of houses of husbandry cottages or lettinge of them stand emptie' There was only one case, at Brumby, of 'Decayes of Churches and Chauncelles' where the steeple had fallen down, but the Commission found no examples of 'Greate depopulacions and decaies of husbandries' or 'Stoppinge and straighteninge of highways by inclosure'.

As mentioned elsewhere, J. D. Gould has pointed out the impossibility of compiling accurate figures for acres enclosed or even the number of farms decayed, left vacant or turned into cottages, as some numbers are missing and, where they exist, they often do not total correctly within sections.²⁸ He does however draw two general conclusions for the whole of the county. First, by the early seventeenth century, the movement towards sheep farming in Lincolnshire had become much more important than in earlier times and, secondly, the number of farmhouses either 'decayed' or abandoned was not just greater than in any other county investigated, it was substantially greater than in the other six counties put together.²⁹ However the absence of 'greate depopulations and decaies of husbandries' in the study area certainly suggests that the enclosure that had taken place, had not caused widespread depopulation.³⁰

The evidence of glebe terriers

Glebe terriers provide additional evidence that enclosure was taking place at this time.³¹ In West Halton parish, for example, mentions of closes occur in the terriers from 1583 when *Roxbie Close* appears. Unless this was land in some way owned by the nearby parish of Roxby, it is probably from the surname *Roxby*. Snowden is a well-known surname in the area, and this is probably the origin of *Snouden Closes* in the terriers from 1590 to 1668.³² In Whitton, immediately to the north of West Halton, the first written indications of enclosure appear in the Glebe Terrier of 1601, *the kemp close*, perhaps from a surname and *the Abbat close*, either a surname or perhaps a reminder that, until the Reformation, the village was owned by Welbeck Abbey in Nottinghamshire.³³ If the closes were named for surnames, it may indicate that early close making was associated with entrepreneurial families, rather than geographical or other features.

By the early years of the seventeenth century it seems certain that all the parishes of the study area had seen the formation of closes. Some townships had seen enclosure from the waste and considerable reorganisation of the arable and pasture, because of the legacy of the religious houses. Others saw agricultural change caused by a few increasingly entrepreneurial landowners, like the Andersons and Wrays (mentioned in the 'briefe'), who converted arable to pasture and also amalgamated holdings, allowing some farmhouses to fall into decay.³⁴

That level of popular agitation which had provoked the Crown into action and into the formation of a commission of enquiry was not, however, evident in the study area.³⁵ The common notion that enclosure automatically caused social upheaval must be modified by the likelihood that many instances were carried out by agreement amongst the inhabitants, in order that both landlord and tenants could increase their productivity.³⁶

The principal scheme of agricultural improvement in north-west Lindsey in the first half of the seventeenth century was the drainage of land either side of the Old Axholme by the installation of a sluice gate at South Ferriby and the straitening and embanking of that river. This was carried out under the direction of a local landowner, Sir John Monson, in the years 1638-40 and although the works were allowed to decay during the Civil War, the Ancholme valley was eventually drained to the lasting benefit of the community.³⁷

The General Survey of 1616

In 1616 commissioners, including the English topographer John Norden, were appointed to make a '*General Survey of the Soke of Kirketone in Lindsey*' as well as various manors and lands belonging to Prince Charles, later Charles I.³⁸

This *Survey* provided interesting details about the state of agricultural improvement in the study area.

In Bottesford they found confusion over the status of the Prince's land and noted that the tenants Robert Morecroft and John Shaw 'will not acknowledge these landes to be the Princes but their absolute fee simple'. The survey speaks of *6 bouvates terre customarie per estimationem, duas bouvates de warneot per estimationem*. and refers to the digging of peat in the common marsh; *Communiam et turbariam in mariscus*.³⁹

In neighbouring Ashby the survey mentions land belonging to the Prince of Wales and records the commons of Ashby as being seven hundred acres:

vizt: East more 400 acre and West more 300 acre' , but also notes a dispute concerning the digging of peat, '700 acres wherof 280 acres they pretend their turbary by seuerall deedes'.⁴⁰

In Frodingham parish the commissioners found a confusing situation and noted that the several settlements 'lye muche intermixte'. The *Survey* describes the extent of common lands, pointing out the problems of separating them for surveying purposes:⁴¹

The townships of Brombye als Burnebye, Scunthorpe, Frodingham and Gunyes lye muche intermixte confininge one the other in one parish and therefore untill a more playne distinction they are here sett downe together especiallie for the comon feilde lande though in the office severally founde.⁴²

The *Survey* also provides the first evidence of enclosure together with the areas enclosed, in a list of land rented to William Bellingham: 'Four closes adjacent to the (Brumby Manor) house, 57 acres'; 'One close (arable) on the East of the

house, 13 acres'; 'One close called Castle Garth 3 acres' and 'Two other closes of pasture called W'closes, 12 acres'.⁴³

The ancient right to cut turf, or peat, for fuel in areas of boggy land was clearly important, but the conclusion to be drawn might be that the ownership of these lands by a distant and exalted landowner had held back the formation of closes. The royal absence had led to an anarchy of claims and confusion over lands which lay 'much intermixte', and the disorder would only be cleared up by a rational division and allotment, which would come from enclosure.

The Civil Wars and afterwards

The influence of Prince Charles on the narrative of enclosure in north west Lindsey however was not quite finished. In the turmoil of the Civil Wars, some years later, unlawful enclosure was carried out by tenants at the expense of their landlords. The vicar of Hainton, near Market Rasen, for example had noted in the 1640s that the first enclosure of the fields in his own parish:

...was clandestinely supported by the confusion and iniquity of the times.

A great many enclosures in this county are of no better extraction than this, and a base one it is.⁴⁴

Within the study area, the facts are not quite as plain as this, but church land seems to have been lost in the same period at Redbourne. At some time, the entire parish has been enclosed by the landowners, but evidence is lacking in family estate documents. The Redbourne glebe terrier of 1638 listed various lands all over the common fields, but the 1662 terrier did not and Rev. Edmund Smith related sadly:

We are informed that twelve acres of glebeland in the fields hath formerly belonged to the Vicaridge as free common throughout the field and pastures but since the improvemint of the lordship, both are lost

and only pasture for fowre coves from mayday to martin-mass are allowed for both which the vicar cannot claim as due, but is affirmed to be the courtesie of the patron Edmund Smith vicar

Later terriers refer to 'four cove gates in a pasture called Redburne Hayes' and later still, 'four cowgates in beanelands'.⁴⁵

It seems probable therefore that the 'improvemint' had happened after 1638, during the Civil Wars, but that news of the loss of glebe to enclosure had to wait until the first visitation after the Restoration. The landowner Oliver Style, from his country seat at Watringbury near Maidstone two hundred miles away, had foreseen the financial advantages that agricultural progress could bring to his new investment and, taking advantage of the 'turmoil', had enclosed not only his own lands, but the few acres belonging to the church. Such was the power of the patron that this could take place without overt opposition.⁴⁶

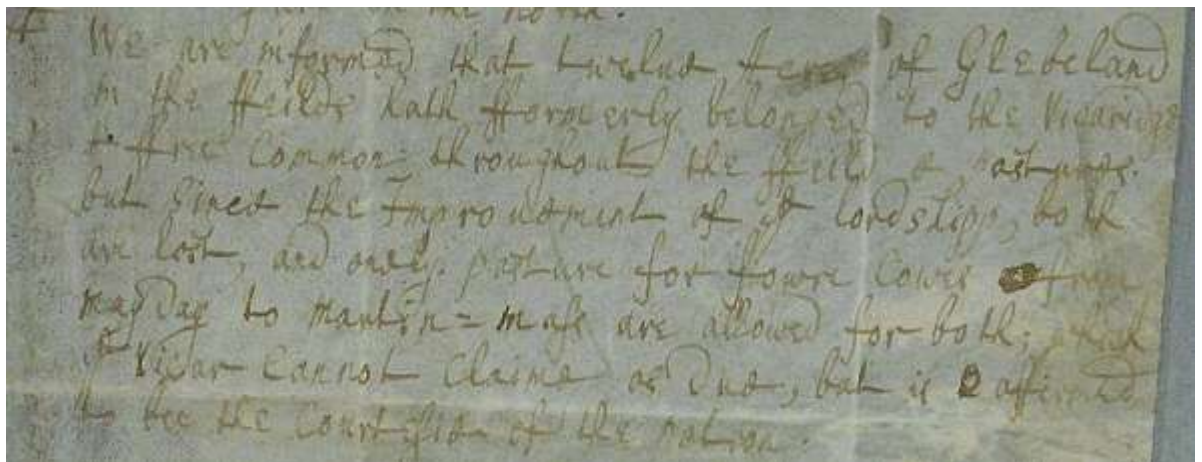


Plate 16. The 1662 Redbourne glebe terrier reporting the loss of the glebe.

The loss of glebe was not the only consequence noticed, as in 1697 the local antiquary, and curate of nearby Broughton, Abraham de la Pryme, wrote:

This day I went to Redburn... this town was very much larger than it is now... within the memory of man there were above eighty farmers therein, whereas now there is not above thirty. It is pastureing that has undon it.⁴⁷

Enclosure cannot always have meant conversion to pasture at this time, but here it does, and is confirmation of what had happened in Redbourne.

Closes were not always made for the conversion of pasture or arable. Some landowners planted trees to ensure supplies of fuel and timber. At Twigmoor in Manton parish in 1696 a memorandum (see plate 17, below) records, in what must be the handwriting of Sir Goddard Nelthorpe (d.1704) of Scawby a newly made enclosure for woodland:

'Aprill:7th:1696 was my new intack in which is inclosed the Oakes & ashes & heasells survaied by the sixteene foot & halfe poole and the number of acers given into be by my survaies was fiteene acers & sixteene peartches w_ch was inclosed in one peece of ground called my high wood & in the ~~parish~~ Lordship of twigmore.

Aprill:7: 1696 was one peece of wood ground at the west end of my high wood surveyed by a sixteene foot & halfe foot poole & ye number of acers was given into me to be fiteene Acers & sixteene poole by my surveyes.'

⁴⁸

This seems to be the only reference among the Nelthorpe papers regarding the development of woodland, but the deep poor sandy soils of the township, mean that trees remain a better use for the area than arable.

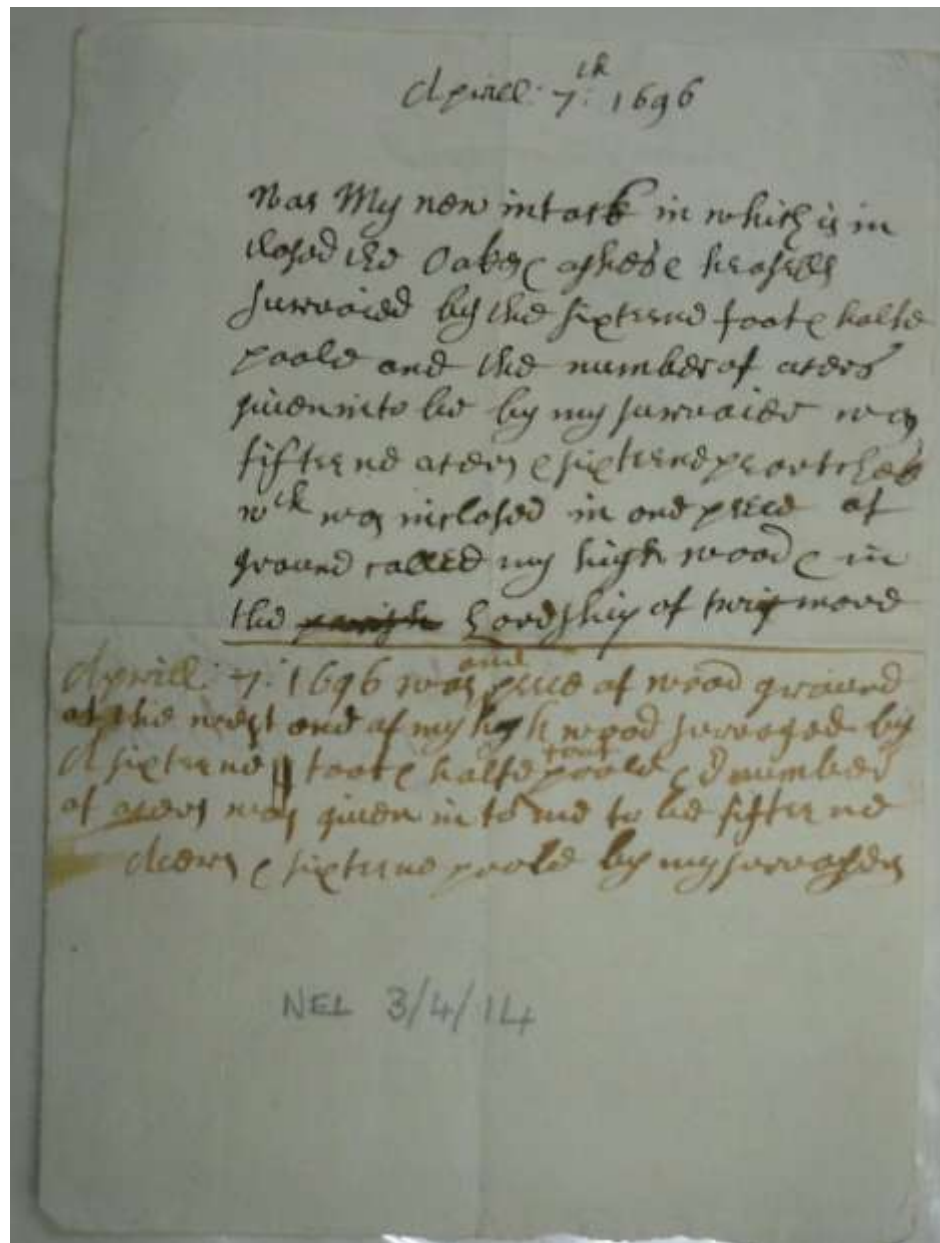


Plate 17. Enclosure for Woodland, Twigmoor, 1696

Piecemeal acquisition by families

A feature of pre-parliamentary enclosure in north-west Lindsey was the gradual depletion of the common fields and the long quiet transformation of the landscape by familial piecemeal acquisition.

The activities of the Darwin family of Cleatham seem to have been a drawn out affair conducted over several generations, by an upwardly-mobile yeoman

family.⁴⁹ The story of the improvement of Roxby is the history of the Elwes family who acquired land piecemeal over a period of one hundred and seventy years and eventually became landowners of almost all the parish.

The early history of enclosure in Roxby-cum-Risby is difficult to determine but seems to have been associated with the two families of Hamerton and Elwes.⁵⁰

Nicholas Hamerton was at Risby in 1600 and Sawcliffe by 1617, both in Roxby parish and was said in 1619 to have recently erected the manor house at Sawcliffe.⁵¹ S. A. Johnson reported that the terriers of Roxby-cum-Risby showed that glebe land was dispersed in 1606 but had been consolidated and enclosed by 1618, so it seems probable that Hamerton had been involved in this.⁵² Jeremy Elwes, a London gentleman, then appeared on the scene. Jeremy was the son of Geoffrey Elwes, an alderman of the city of London and member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and Jeremy was also a Londoner, having been admitted to the freedom of that city in 1618. It may be that he had been sufficiently successful in business to set himself up as a country gentleman in Lincolnshire, because of his family connections with Nicholas Hamerton of Sawcliffe, who was his uncle by marriage.⁵³

On 25 May, 1622 Jeremy Elwes bought from Hamerton the 'manor or reputed manor' of Risby, 'the old lill fields, the new lill fields and lill garths, the meadow known as lill ings in Appleby, the messuage called the grange of Risby, and everything relating to the manor', including the rectory, for £2,500. A few days later, on 30th May, Elwes granted Nicholas Hamerton a lease of the premises for life at a rent of £200.⁵⁴ By 1634 Hamerton was at Walcot in Alkborough and the Elwes family was purchasing land, which was both 'dispersed in the fields' and in closes, in Roxby-cum-Risby parish.⁵⁵

In 1628 Jeremy Elwes acquired his first interest in Roxby by paying £550 to John Eastoft (from the village of Eastoft (*sic*) in the Isle of Axholme), for the rectory in the township 'with appurtenant property'.⁵⁶ A few years later, in 1641, Elwes, who was described as 'of Broxbourne, co. Hertford', bought the

manor of Roxby and lands that had been formerly owned by George Lyon esq. deceased, for £250.⁵⁷ This sum seems to be a bargain, unless it was only a part-payment of a rather larger figure. The title deed correspondence does not suggest that Elwes actually resided in Roxby, he is 'of Broxbourne' or 'of the city of London' and so it is possible that his uncle Hamerton was acting for him in the Lincolnshire land market. In 1647 Edward Bowden of Roxby gentleman, and Mary his wife mortgaged to Jeremy Elwes land in Roxby, listed in a terrier of lands that was 'dispersed in the church field in broad and narrow lands', in the middle and south fields and elsewhere, together with meadow and pasture.⁵⁸ There is no mention that the mortgage was redeemed and, later, further property in Roxby was acquired from the Bowdens. In 1655 the ox close of 20 acres was mortgaged to Jeremy Elwes 'of Gray's Inn, esq.', who was the son of Jeremy, senior and in 1657 a messuage and various lands including both enclosed pastures and dispersed arable, which had been bequeathed to Mary Bowden, were bought for £1000. In the same year further land was leased, from Mary Bowden, for one hundred years.⁵⁹ The acquisitions continued; lands occupied by Francis Dent were bought in 1641, and in 1658-9, about seventy acres of arable with meadow and pasture in the common fields, ings and north cliff and far closes were purchased from a family called Lawson.⁶⁰ In 1662, various carr grounds totaling 182 acres which were part of the 5,827 acres granted to Sir John Monson, for draining in the 1630s, the low-lying land adjacent to the river Ancholme, were bought, and in 1667, two closes and three acres of meadow were acquired from Thomas Pennyman of Stokesley in Yorkshire.⁶¹

By this time it may be that the choicest parts of Roxby had been acquired because, from 1654, Jeremy Elwes junior began to purchase land which had belonged to the late Francis Tyrwhit in Kettleby, Kettleby Thorpe, Wrawby and Brigg. This was property which would form a compact block in, and to the east of Brigg and which left Roxby as an outlying estate.

In 1761 Cary Elwes (1718-82) who was Jeremy junior's great nephew, although presumably in favour of the enclosing activity in Roxby, was not so enthusiastic about *parliamentary* enclosure, as is shown by his response to the suggestion that another parish, where he owned considerable land, should be enclosed by that method. He was afraid that enclosure would make the farmers of Wrawby, east of the Ancholme, too independent of his control. 'I chuse' (*sic*), he wrote, 'my tenants to be all under my immediate protection, never to lease out my own prerogative, not to have them raised by any hand but my own.'⁶²

The last acquisition of property in Roxby as revealed by the Elwes title deeds, is the purchase by *his* son, Robert Cary Elwes of the Cliff closes in 1793.⁶³

A few miles to the south, in Scawby, about one thousand acres were enclosed over a long period by the Nelthorpe family and it would seem, like the Elwes family in Roxby, that there was a family ambition from the 1620s to build up holdings and own the entire parish. The Nelthorpe family were hampered however by the chaotic descent of the manor, and in consequence seem to have lost sight of their objective. Because of this they were never able to arrange a private enclosure 'by agreement', and instead the family had to rely on a parliamentary act in 1770.

The descent of the manor of Scawby is complicated and is made more so because various branches of the family intermarry into other distant branches of the same family and because property was bequeathed to cousins, or even an uncle, as the male line failed.⁶⁴ During the time that the manor and baronetcy was descending in this unsatisfactory manner through the decades, land and other property in Scawby was being bought and sold by the Nelthorpes and other landowners, and there is occasional evidence of enclosure. In 1627 a cottage and seven acres of land 'lately enclosed, called Carr Ground' was sold by John West a tanner of the township of Sturton in Scawby to Richard Nelthorpe, and in 1633 Arthur Cressey, yeoman of Scawby

sold to Alexander Emerson, of Brigg, 'a close of meadow in Scawby'.⁶⁵ A few months later Alexander Emerson, sold John Lighfoot, yeoman a piece of land for £12 called Ings Close.⁶⁶ In 1664 Richard bought a cottage and some hempland for £18 from a Hull wine cooper called John Bewley.⁶⁷

A document of 1666 conveys from Richard Nelthorpe to Sir John Monson of Burton, four closes of lands and eight acres of meadow and pasture in Scawby, in return for other lands in Scawby. This was perhaps an exchange, which would make agriculture more convenient to both parties by consolidating various properties and does indicate also the existence of enclosed land already.⁶⁸ Land transactions continued and in 1669 Richard Nelthorpe purchased for £135 a messuage, hempland, four oxgangs of land and a cottage in Scawby from Christopher Turswell and Anne his wife.⁶⁹ In 1669 he bought a close of meadow in Scawby for £34 from John Greene and Magdalen his wife.⁷⁰ He was not above making smaller purchases, as in 1671 he bought one selion of arable land in Scawby for £15 from Thomas and Dorothy Gillyat.⁷¹

The acquisitions went on, and in 1680 Richard and Elizabeth Stocks of Castlethorpe, tanner, and John Stocks of Messingham a husbandman, sold to Richard Nelthorpe, the North Close in Scawby, together with two oxgangs of arable land in the parish. Later in the same year there were more purchases from tanners; Richard bought from Stephen Burkenshaw, tanner of Broughton, Thomas Smyth, tanner of Broughton, William and John Greene, tanners of Scawby three pieces of carr ground in Scawby called the Cottagers' Carr for £64.⁷² Finally Richard Nelthorpe buys a cottage and hempyard in Scawby from David Popplewell for £20.⁷³

The Nelthorpe's ambitions seemed to have run out of steam by 1685, but at the time of the Scawby Enclosure Act of 1770 one thousand acres of the parish (31%) *had* been enclosed and the family had made their mark on the landscape with 2216 acres remaining to be enclosed by the award. This area was divided into seventy-seven new plots by the parliamentary commissioners

and awarded to eighteen landowners. A feature of the award is the size of some of the fields; nine of the Nelthorpe general allotments were over one hundred acres. This was perhaps to reduce the amount of money that would be needed to hedge the allotments, such hedging being usually specified in enclosure awards. Whatever the reason, the ambitions of the Nelthopes had been realised, ultimately, by the more convenient means of parliamentary enclosure.

The 1788 Appleby glebe terrier is unusual as it not only lists the possessions of the church in that year, but also mentions, by reference to earlier terriers, the losses of glebe and tithe to the Winn family's enclosing activity over the years.⁷⁴ It is signed by 'Stepⁿ Moore' ,who was vicar of Appleby from 1780 to 1807, and whose patron was Sir Rowland Winn:⁷⁵

It appears by the terrier exhibited in 1707 that there were then three Cottage Houses with a considerable quantity of Glebe Lands all belonging to the Church for the Repairs thereof, all of which is so mixed and blended with Sir Rowland's Winn's estate that it is absolutely impossible to be ascertained.

In evidence given to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1895, the Winn family's land agent mentions that in Appleby there had been a system of allotments since 1711, whereby forty-two holdings, each with three and three quarters acres of grass and a half acre of garden were let to agricultural labourers and others.⁷⁶ If this information was true, and not merely an attempt to improve the Winn family image, it seems that from the early eighteenth century an unknown proportion of the land had been organised into small closes, and that plots were being rented to tenants as a form of recompense for common rights that they had lost. It does not seem that the church had been similarly recompensed.

A lack of ancient closes

Not all the parishes in the study area provide plentiful examples of old enclosure. Winterton parish is noticeable by its lack of ancient closes. It may be that the reason for this lies in the distant past. At the time of the Domesday survey Winterton was divided into as many as eight holdings.⁷⁷ The largest holdings were those held by the King as part of his soke of Kirton-in-Lindsey and by Earl Hugh as part of his soke of West Halton, each reckoned at 4 carucates. Together the holdings supported a large population consisting wholly of sokemen and bordars totalling thirty-three.⁷⁸ A sokeman was a free man enjoying extensive rights, especially over his land, while a bordar was a feudal tenant holding a cottage and usually a few acres of land, at the will of his lord and bound to menial service. It is tempting to speculate that this existence of a comparatively large number of owners in 1086 continued somehow, over the centuries and was the reason why, in the nineteenth century, it had become an 'open village' with numerous freeholders. The presence of many owners could have been the reason why only a relatively small area of land, within the parish, had become 'old enclosure' by the time of parliamentary enclosure in 1770-2. In these circumstances, it might be more difficult to form consolidated holdings which would be worth enclosing. The acreage awarded in 1772 was 3,185 acres; therefore only 294 acres or 8.5% had already been enclosed, and some of that was accounted for, by the tofts and crofts of the township.⁷⁹

Delays and impediments

In earlier times enclosure, whether it was by private agreement or by validation through an action in the Chancery court, had required the undisputed consent of all the owners of both land and common rights. There was also the drawback that its validity could be challenged in a court of law, even many years later. By contrast, the passing of a private bill of enclosure allowed the process without unanimous consent, could lay down the conditions by which the award would be made, and was much less prone to litigation.⁸⁰

In the study area parliamentary enclosure should not be seen as the procedure which 'transformed the landscape' as is claimed by some commentators, but rather can be viewed as a more convenient way of enclosing areas of open land that remained, for one reason or another, in a patchwork of enclosure that had begun centuries before.⁸¹

While this new method could smooth its progress, there were still delays and impediments for various reasons, even when the number of landowners was few. Illness, quarrels between owners, tardiness by the commissioners and indifference, all played a part in holding-up the completion of the enclosure of the study area.

Manton township might have been enclosed twenty years or so before the award was made in 1829. When the act was passed in 1805, the owner of practically all the land in the township was William Dalison, but the act describes him as 'a lunatic in the custody of the Lord High Chancellor.'⁸² Part of the reason for the lengthy enclosure of Manton must be the circumstances of William Dalison's illness and a succession of deaths in the family. William Dalison himself died in January 1809. His only sister and heiress, Frances Isabella Master, died in December 1818 leaving Manton and the rest of her

estate to her cousin William Hammond, on condition that he should take the name Dalison and restore the family home in Kent. Unfortunately he died in November 1821 without having changed his name and it was his son Maximilian Dudley Digges Hammond who finally assumed the name Dalison. After the death of Frances, three Devisees in Trust were appointed to oversee the estate and its enclosure, but the circumstances of those appointments is not clear from the award and the reader is left to ponder the motivations of the various appointees and wonder if any of them had reasons to delay its signing. Only a quarter of the township had remained to be enclosed and the late William Dalison had been by far the predominant owner, so the question arises as to why parliamentary enclosure was required at all. Perhaps it was to do with tithe and glebe and the legalising, or regularising, of property swaps between the church and the Dalisons. The award mentions exchanges of land between the Dalison Trustees and the Rector and it appears as though some of the glebe land, that had been scattered throughout the area of old enclosure, was consolidated into an area immediately surrounding the church.

The reason for the length of time that it took for the award to be signed remains uncertain however, and difficulties with the succession of the title cannot explain all the delay. Perhaps it is noteworthy that one of the two Manton commissioners, John Burcham, had been the only commissioner during the protracted enclosure of Grimsby and, for reasons that are not clear, that process took thirteen years.

There is no clue as to who had been the originator of the idea of parliamentary enclosure in Manton. It may be that William Dalison, who was born in 1730, had spent part of his long life enclosing those parts of the township that could be enclosed without difficulty, and that it was always his intention to complete the task by parliamentary means, and was only prevented by infirmity from doing so.⁸³ Perhaps the entire township had *already* been enclosed and it was thought legally sensible to validate some, or all, of the most recent

improvements by an act and award. On the other hand it could be that legal advisors of his sister believed that inheritance problems, while William Dalison was confined as a lunatic, could be eased by an act and award. If he had not been a lunatic, then enclosure by an act may not have been needed at all.

It might be thought that, in townships and parishes with few owners, it would be easy to organise parliamentary enclosure, but family rivalries or seeming indifference on one side sometimes made the process lengthy and complicated. While the estate of Lord Yarborough was centred on a very large block of land some miles to the east, the family had substantial holdings in the study area. A manuscript of 1813 indicates that an attempt was made by Lord Yarborough to initiate parliamentary enclosure in Broughton in August of that year.⁸⁴ He may well have thought that the time was overdue for the parliamentary enclosure process to start in Broughton. To the west Ashby had been enclosed by an act between the years 1801-9; to the east, across the Ancholme, Wrawby had been enclosed in 1801-5. Scawby to the south had succumbed to an act in 1770-1. Only to the north at Santon township in Appleby parish was there land still to be enclosed and, in that parish, Lord Yarborough was in dispute with the other major landowner, Charles Winn.

In November of that year a petition was presented in parliament setting forth the standard reasons for enclosure in Broughton.

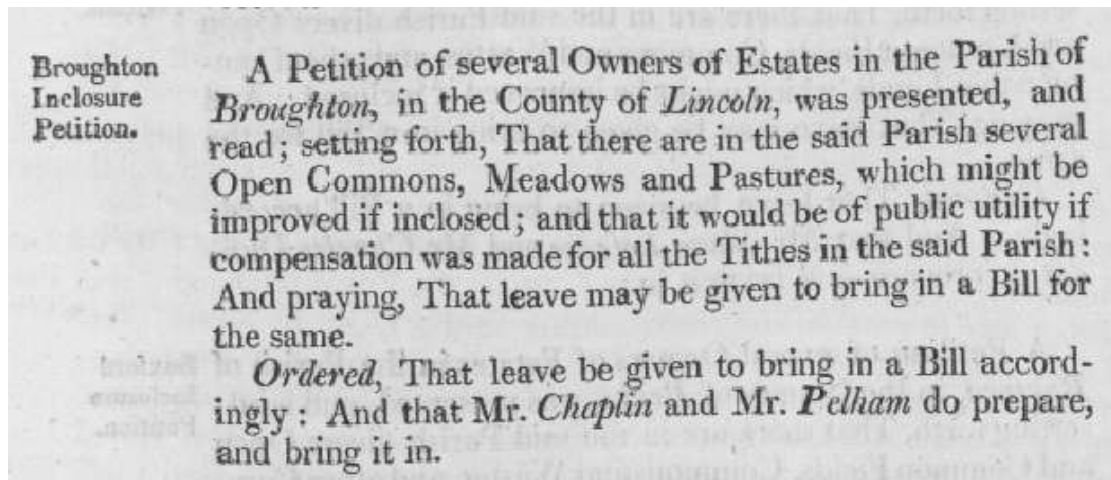


Plate 18. Broughton petition Source: *Journals of the House of Commons 1688-1834*, vol 69, 17 Nov 1813, p.38

Despite a fellow north Lincolnshire landowner, Charles Chaplin, and Lord Yarborough's own son C. A. Pelham being ordered to prepare the bill, after those dates there is nothing to be found in the record and it appears that the venture was abandoned.⁸⁵ The other major landowner in Broughton, Mr E. Anderson Stephens of Bower Hall, Steeple Bumstead in Essex had his seat in a region that was not noted for enclosure by parliamentary means. By 1813 there had only been twenty-one parliamentary enclosures in that county, and none of them had been in the immediate area of Bower Hall.⁸⁶ Although he might reasonably have hoped to see his new Lincolnshire possessions producing more rent as enclosed lands, for some reason this was not the right time for him to make a move.

Whatever the reason for the delay in enclosing Broughton in 1813, Lord Yarborough was not to be thwarted in his desire for agricultural improvement and he turned his attention to another of his properties, the township of Santon, one mile to the north in Appleby parish.

The land tax assessments confirm that in 1782 there were only two landowners, Winn and Yarborough, paying the tax in Appleby parish. In 1820

the total tax for the 5,180 acre parish was £140-12-0 of which Lord Yarborough paid £12-9-6 for the 921 acres of Santon.⁸⁷ If all the land of the parish had been of equal value, it would have been expected that Yarborough would have to pay exactly £25 in tax.⁸⁸ In fact £12-9-6 is almost exactly half that figure, so it can be reckoned that Santon was thought to be half as valuable per acre as the rest of the parish. Modern day field walking confirms this, as the land to the west of Ermine Street is noticeably poorer and sandier than that lying on the east side, on the slope down to the Ancholme. While the Winn family had pursued a policy of agricultural improvement in their part of the parish, it would seem that this was not the case in that part of Appleby that had not been sold to Winn, and was still in the possession of Anderson's descendant Lord Yarborough. Perhaps this seeming neglect was partly because East Santon hamlet was an outlying property on poor soil, and Lord Yarborough's agricultural improvements had thus far been concentrated on better land, in the relatively compact block of his 55,000 acre estate, based on Brocklesby, about twelve miles to the east.⁸⁹ A general survey of the Yarborough estates was carried out in 1809-10 and mention was made of just two closes in High Santon; Pond close and Santon Close.⁹⁰

On 25 August 1815 the first of three weekly notices were published in the *Stamford Mercury*, by the solicitors Hesleden and Nicholson of Brigg, that ' . . . Application is intended to be made to Parliament, in the next session, for leave to bring in a Bill for inclosing lands and making compensation for tithes, within the Hamlet of East Santon otherwise Upper Santon, in the parish of Appleby. . '.

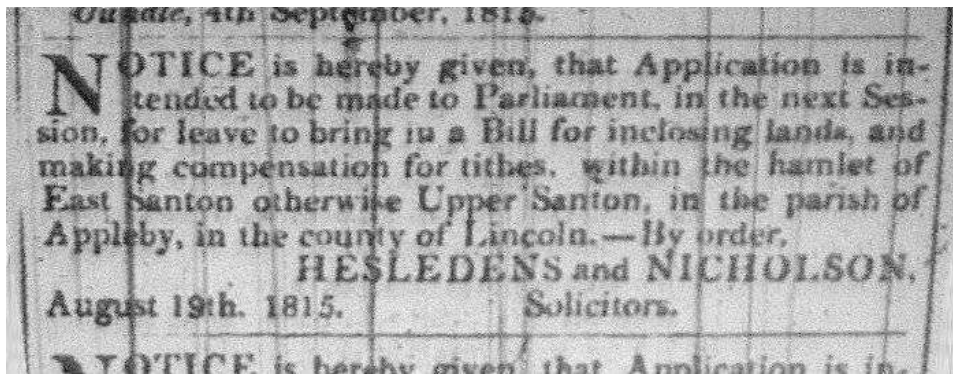


Plate 19. *Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 25 August 1815

Nothing more, however, was heard about the enclosure of East Santon for ten years and a petition has not been found requesting leave to introduce a bill. In general, large proprietors in a parish were likely to have welcomed the prospect of enclosure and done nothing to stand in its way. If there were smaller owners, the larger ones might well have been in the forefront to persuade them, or perhaps to bully them, into agreement. This was not of course the case in Santon, as there were only two owners. While both families tended to be on different sides of the political fence: Winn, the Tory and Yarborough, the Whig, this does not seem sufficient reason to prevent an enclosure from proceeding.⁹¹

The clue to the delay is perhaps in the wording of the enclosure Act's preamble, when it finally came in 1825.⁹²

Unusually the Act incorporates the phrase 'is or claims to be' in respect of both Charles Winn and Lord Yarborough, so it seems likely that some sort of internecine conflict, over rights and properties, had caused the hiatus.

And whereas the Right honourable *Charles Anderson* Lord *Yarborough*, claims to be Lord of the Manor of *East Santon*, otherwise *Upper Santon*, aforesaid, and is or claims to be sole Proprietor of all the Messuages, Homesteads, Lands and Tenements in *East Santon*, otherwise *Upper Santon*, aforesaid :

And whereas *Charles Winn*, Esquire, is Lord of the Manor of *Appleby*, and as such claims to be entitled to all Manorial Rights in and over the Lands and Grounds situate lying and being in *East Santon*, otherwise *Upper Santon*, aforesaid ; and is or claims to be the Owner of the Rectory Improprate of the Parish of *Appleby* aforesaid, and as such entitled to the Improprate Tithes of the Hamlet of *East Santon*, otherwise *Upper Santon*, aforesaid :

Plate 20. Part of the preamble of the Inclosure act of East Santon 1825

(LAO: YARB/17/3)

In 1817 Charles Winn had succeeded to his estates on the death of his brother John and in 1823 C.A. Pelham, the first Lord Yarborough, had died and he had been succeeded by his son, also C.A Pelham, the second Lord. The indications are perhaps that, after ten years of delay caused by the failure to make an agreement between John Winn and the first Yarborough, by 1825 the two sides in the quarrel (with a new team in place), had decided to proceed with enclosure leaving the parliamentary commissioners to make an attempt at reconciling the claims.

The minutes of the commissioners are stilted, staccato and incomplete, and plainly betray the frustration that must have been felt as they encountered claim and counterclaim from the two proprietors, made on their behalf by their agents; William Dinsdale for Lord Yarborough and John Saunderson Bennett for Charles Winn. Often a Commissioners' meeting began with the words: 'There being no proprietors present...' and ended without anything substantive being recorded.

One point is clear from a very early stage, Lord Yarborough did not accept Charles Winn's claim that he was Lord of the Manor of Upper or East Santon. It

is to be supposed that Yarborough considered that he had retained this, when his Anderson ancestor had sold the rest of the parish to the Winn family. The award was finally signed on 26 February 1833, which was about eleven months after the Commissioners' minutes had become a succession of almost blank pages, with only a few words on each.⁹³

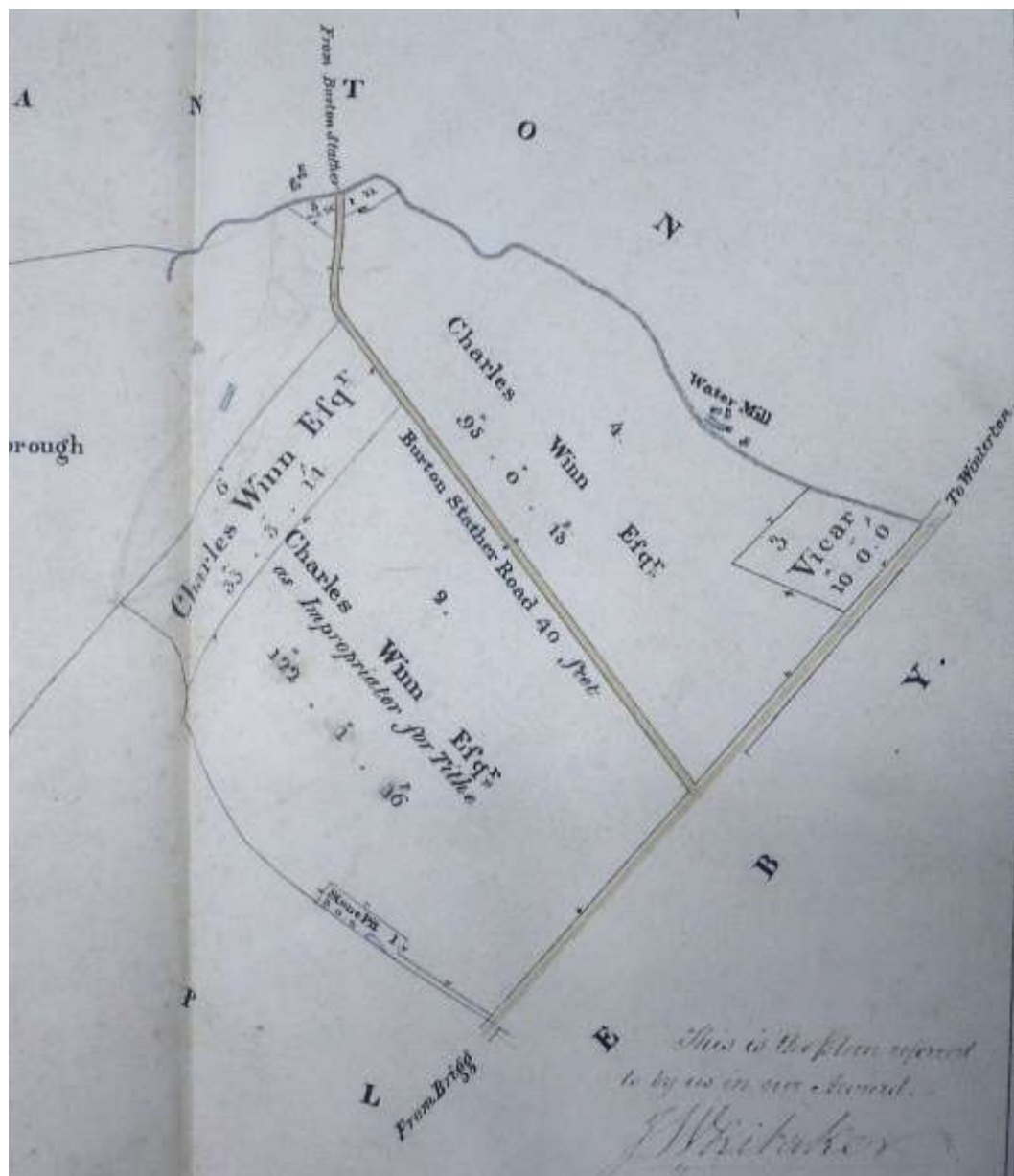


Plate 21. Detail of East Santon Inclosure map 1833 (LAO: APPLEBY PAR/17/1)

While the 1833 Award had the effect of exonerating from tithes all lands in east Santon, a dispute of 1846, sparked by the arrival in Appleby of an assistant tithe commissioner, did manage to embroil the hamlet once more. The old animosities still sparked and Charles Winn made several objections to the draft tithe award; amongst these was the claim that he should have had some of the land awarded to the vicar at the 1833 parliamentary enclosure. After a great deal of correspondence between the parties, the assistant tithe commissioner pronounced that he was not persuaded by Mr Winn's arguments and the vicar retained his land.⁹⁴

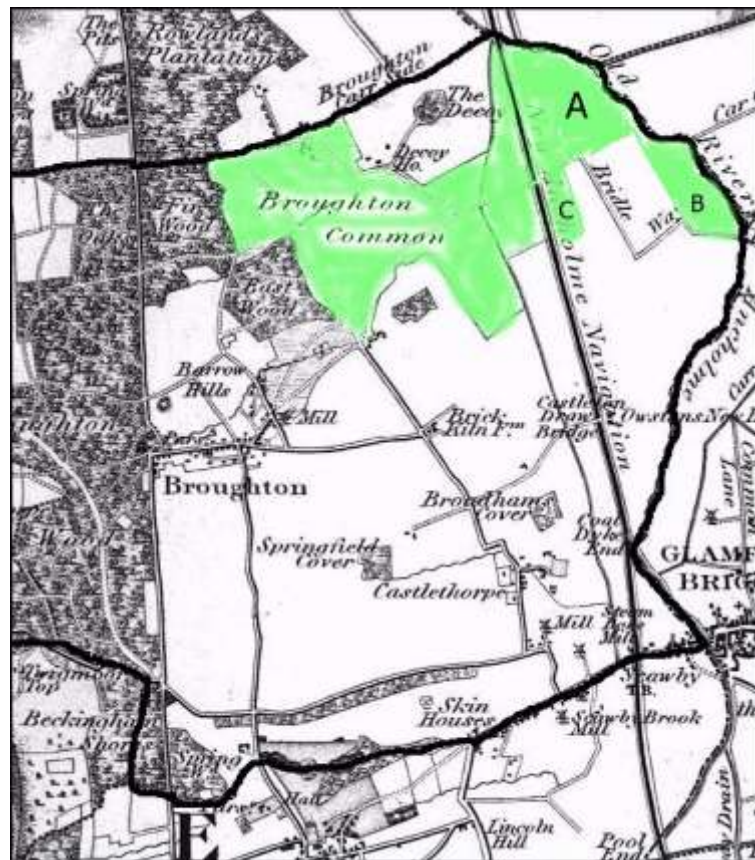
With Santon in Appleby parish now enclosed, the former M.P. C.A Pelham, now the second Lord Yarborough, turned his attention to his late father's unfinished business in Broughton.

Although the Yarborough estate papers are silent on the subject of enclosure in Broughton it seems likely that, in the years since the first attempt at parliamentary enclosure in 1813, the piecemeal process carried on, with those areas which seemed logical and appropriate, being formed into closes and larger enclosures. Because such a large proportion of the land in the parish belonged to the two men, it would not be necessary to devise formal agreements, which would have tended to find their way into the records.⁹⁵

The General Enclosure Acts of 1836 and 1840 had eased legal requirements to enable enclosure to take place without Commissioners. The twenty-six acres of Burringham township in Bottesford parish were enclosed in this way. Because it seemed that some smaller owners had been ill-treated as a result of enclosures carried out under the 1836 and 1840 General Acts, an 1845 General Enclosure Act was passed. This Act attempted to provide better safeguards against discrimination by the appointment of assistant commissioners and surveyors who enquired into the intended enclosure before it could go through, and who

were responsible for executing it.⁹⁶ Waddingham Cow Fold, as well as Broughton Common and Carrs was enclosed in this way.

The owner, of a large part of the parish, since 1813 had been E. Anderson Stephens of Bower Hall, but he died in 1844 and trustees, acting for his daughters, then began the process of selling his Broughton properties to John Coupland (who was also representing the 2nd Lord Yarborough), to Joseph Moore and to other smaller purchasers.



**Plate 22 : Broughton west of Ermine Street, from Bryant's map of 1828, amended to show extent of 1846-9 Parliamentary Enclosure
A = Town Carr, B= Low Carr and C= Old Man Carr**

It seems significant that the description of the lands that were intended to be enclosed, thirty years or so before, in 1813 had been all-embracing, with mention being made of every type of land, 'all the open Commons, Meadows, Pastures, Cars, Commonable Lands and Waste Grounds,' while, in February 1846, when Broughton's parliamentary enclosure was successfully set in train,

(and the sale of the Stephens estate not yet completed) only the common and three named carrs were listed, and so it is likely that these lands were all of the parish that remained to be enclosed. The award, which commutated the tithes of Broughton, had been confirmed by the tithe commissioners on the 19 October 1841, so this aspect of the process was no longer a complication.⁹⁷

An application to enclose 'Broughton Common, the Town Car, the Old Man Car, and the Low Car' was received by the authorities on 7 February 1846; the intended area was stated to be 878 acres 2 roods 16 perches.⁹⁸

The enclosure was administratively very different from earlier parliamentary enclosures in the area, because it was conducted in part, at arms length, by the 'Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales' who managed the process by issuing *pro-forma* letters from their office on New Street, Spring Gardens, next to Admiralty Arch in London. Some of these *pro-formas* survive in the deposited records of Nicholson, Hett & Freer, solicitors of Brigg.⁹⁹ The first, dated 7 February 1846, acknowledges the receipt of an application for the enclosure of lands in Broughton and requests that Lord Yarborough's power of attorney be forwarded to the office. Soon afterwards, on 16 March, the Commissioners sent a public announcement of the proposed enclosure, and asked that it be fixed to the 'principal outer door' of the parish church 'on Sunday next before Divine Service.' On the 20 May they ordered that a meeting be called for Wednesday 10 June at the Red Lion Inn in Broughton and that notices of the meeting be deposited at the inn and, as before, fixed to the church door. Matters were moving quickly, as on the 1 July, the Commissioners send notices of a meeting to be held to appoint a Valuer, and, asked whether the presence in Broughton of an Assistant Commissioner, was necessary. The expense of accommodation and travel could be avoided if the Assistant Commissioner did not journey up to Lincolnshire, but the 1845 Act offered this option, as a safeguard in the enclosure process, if it were thought necessary.

Not only was the Valuer to be appointed, but it was also required that the meeting should themselves reach an agreement with the valuer as to how he was to be paid. John Burt of Welbourn near Lincoln was appointed Valuer and was soon at work dividing and allotting the common and carr lands.¹⁰⁰

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didates will be required on the day of election.
By order, JOHN HETT, Clerk to the Board.
Brigg, 29th January, 1847.

BROUGHTON INCLOSURE.

I, JOHN BURTT, of Welbourn, in the county of Lincoln, the Valuer acting in the matter of the Inclosure of the *Broughton Common*, the *Town Car*, the *Old Man Car*, and the *Low Car*, situate in the Parish of BROUGHTON, in the county of Lincoln, *do hereby*, pursuant to the statute in that case made and provided, *give Notice*, that from and after the First day of the third month commonly called MARCH now next ensuing, it is intended to DISCONTINUE and STOP UP the PUBLIC ROADS or WAYS passing through the said Lands about to be inclosed hereafter mentioned and described, that is to say—

One Public Road or Way, commencing at the present Common Gate next the village of Broughton, and extending in an Eastwardly direction across the said Broughton Common on the South side of the Bleaching-house, and terminating at the Road leading from Appleby to Brigg, at the distance of one chain or thereabouts from the Common Gate commonly called Wressle-house Gate.

One other Public Road or Way, commencing at the said Road leading from Appleby to Brigg, at the distance of two chains or thereabouts from the said Wressle-house Gate, and extending in a North-eastwardly direction across the said Broughton Common for the distance of twenty-two chains or thereabouts, and terminating at the point or place where the said Road or Way lastly described forms a junction with the Public Road or Way recently set out by me across the said Common, and called the Ancholme Road.

Witness my hand, this twenty-seventh day of the first month commonly called January, one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven. JOHN BURTT.

Witness, THOS. FREER, Solicitor, Brigg.

The LONDON HORSE, CARRIAGE, and LIVERY COMPANY.—Provisionally Registered.

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Plate 23. Stamford Mercury 12 Feb 1847

The final *pro-forma*, of 2 August 1847, instructed the Brigg solicitors to prepare a report which would enable staff in London, who had already examined the plan, to draw up and engross the Award. There are notes of claims and objections in the solicitors' files, and no doubt it took time to deal with these before the Award could be signed in January 1849.¹⁰¹

A total of a little over 883 acres was awarded in 1849, of which 704 acres, almost eighty percent, went to Joseph Moore, a Lincoln solicitor. Moore's address was 'The Close, Lincoln', and his work seemed to have been concerned

with church leases.¹⁰² He could well have been employed by the Archdeaconry of Lincoln and Stow in the Registrar's office at Lincoln and it may be that, because of the expertise he had built up there and also the wealth that he accumulated, Joseph Moore was able to invest in property on his own account. The surveyor was not a local man, but a Mr M. Brady who was perhaps sent from London to draw the plan, which would accompany the award. He signed it giving his address as 55, Chester Street, Kennington Lane in Lambeth. The plan is notable for the small amount of detail that is shown on such a large scale map; old enclosures are not shown for example. It is drawn at three chains to one inch, and measures 178cm x100cm, or nearly six feet long, by over three feet wide. Despite its size, only the north-eastern quadrant of the parish is depicted on the plan. Large sizes were not unusual for plans made under the 1845 General Enclosure Act.¹⁰³

Here the delay in enclosing Broughton must have been mainly due to the wait for the absentee landlord E. Anderson Stephens to die, but would have been stimulated by the General Enclosure Acts which facilitated the process and by the appearance of Joseph Moore who wished to invest in land.

The last parliamentary enclosure award that was made in the study area was in Frodingham parish, and was of 785 acres of the East and West Commons of Brumby township in 1875. Four years earlier 605 acres of the Moors in that same township had been awarded by the same parliamentary method.¹⁰⁴ A total of 1,309 acres was thus enclosed in the 1870s in a township which contained 2,852 acres, and a little over 1,500 acres of (presumably) the common fields had therefore already been enclosed by the Earls of Beauchamp using other means.¹⁰⁵

Perhaps a reason for the late enclosure of Brumby Moor and the West Common was that the 4th Earl Beauchamp did not wish the expense of improving land some of which was subject to regular flooding, or perhaps was indifferent to the

condition of land far from his residence in Worcestershire.¹⁰⁶ After his death, in 1863 aged 79, his successors seemed to have taken a different view and arranged for the low-lying land to be warped, before arranging for an award confirmed by a provisional order.¹⁰⁷

Although Brumby Moor in 1871, and the *West* Common by the river Trent in 1875, were enclosed for agricultural reasons, there is little doubt that the discovery of ironstone, in the fields of Frodingham East Common and Scunthorpe East Common in 1859, will have been the incentive for the 1875 enclosure of the adjoining Brumby *East* Common

Conclusion

And so at the end of an agrarian process, lasting hundreds of years, the enclosure of these last few hundred acres of the study area was not motivated by any wish for agricultural improvement, but rather by thoughts of the mineral wealth, which was known by that time to be buried under the ground.

The transformation of the whole area had taken took place over several centuries in different forms, and sometimes different forms had been used in the same parish. Any notions that parliamentary acts alone had been used to transform the landscape, during the period of the four Georges, do not apply in the area.

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- ² D. M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971), p.62
- ³ D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1979), pp.64-5
- ⁴ According to T. Head, *Medieval Hagiography: an Anthology* (2001), p.496
- ⁵ C. Moor, *The History of Manton: Derived from Various Published and Manuscript Sources by Oxoniensis, and Reprinted from the 'Gainsburgh News'* (Gainsborough, 1903), pp.5-6
- ⁶ LAO: Nel III/4/11, 'Tarrier' of lands of the manor of Twigmore lying within the parish of Manton, the hall and various closes, 6 May 1638
- ⁷ LAO: Nel III/4/1-14
- ⁸ K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire, Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), p.80
- ⁹ W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln*, Vol. 2 (1906), p.156
- ¹⁰ E. Peacock, *English Church Furniture, Ornaments and Decorations, at the Period of the Reformation. As Exhibited in a List of the Goods Destroyed in certain Lincolnshire Churches, A.D. 1566* (1866), pp.242-3
- ¹¹ W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln*, Vol.2 (1906), pp.166-8; The remains of the priory are most likely centred at SE 965 125.
- ¹² J. E. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994)
- ¹³ N. Loughlin, and K. Miller, *A Survey of Archaeological Sites in Humberside carried out for the Humberside Joint Archaeological Committee* (Hull, 1979), p.177

¹⁴ C.W. Foster (ed.), *Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey* (Lincoln, 1924), p.lxxxii

¹⁵ Place name evidence in K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire, Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), pp.52, 93-4

¹⁶ C.W. Foster, (ed.), *Lincolnshire Domesday*...pp.liii-lxxxvii; Canon Foster mentioned most of the deserted or reduced settlements known in his time, but others like Sawcliffe and Darby have been recognised more recently and, no doubt, others remain to be found.

¹⁷ University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections: Records of the Clerk's Department of the Trent River Authority and its predecessor bodies, 1760-1975, ref: RC.L.6, Alkborough Enclosure Award and Plan, 1768

¹⁸ B. Dodds & R. Britnell, *Agriculture and Rural Society after the Black Death: Common Themes and Regional Variations* (Hatfield, 2009), p.150

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.liii. Great Conesby seems to have combined with the hamlets of Crosby to the south and Gunness to the west.

²⁰ G.Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1985), p.171 referring to documents in TNA under category C135.

²¹ E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1941), p. 35: 'It is difficult to find signs of that whole-sale substitution of pasture for arable farming which, according to textbooks , happened after the Black Death.' The same opinion appears in J.L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy, 1150 - 1500* (London, 1980), pp.207-45. Other scholars suggest that there was indeed a shift from arable to pastoral farming in the late fourteenth- century; see for example, B. M. S. Campbell and M. Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming, c.1250 - c.1850', *Past & Present*, 141 (1993), pp.38-105.

²² LAO: Misc Dep 77/1, *Survey of the Soke of Kirton in Lindsey*, 1616. (A copy of the original, which is in the Cambridge University Library, at Ff.4.30)

²³ 'Gamal's secondary settlement, outlying farmstead or hamlet' , K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire, Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), p.70

²⁴ LAO: Hibaldstow Par /17/2, 1803

²⁵ A. de la Pryme, 'A Letter of the Reverend Mr Abr. de la Pryme to the Publisher, concerning Broughton in Lincolnshire...', *Philosophical Transactions* Vol. 22 (1700 - 1701) , quoted in R. E. Armstrong, ed., *An Industrial Island: A History of Scunthorpe* (Scunthorpe, 1981), p.5

²⁶ British Library, Add.MS 11574, fos. 66–94 *A Briefe of Depopulacons Taken by Vertue of the Commission for Lincolne Kesteven and the County of the Cytie of Lincolne*

²⁷ LAO:MCD708; The returns are discussed by J.D. Gould, 'The Inquisition of Depopulation of 1607 in Lincolnshire', *Economic History Review*, 264 (1952), pp.392-396

²⁸ J.D. Gould, 'The Inquisition of Depopulation', p.394

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.395

³⁰ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming* (1957) pp.181; But great depopulations were reported in the villages of Blyborough and Cammeringham to the south of the study area.(LAO:MCD708)

³¹ This subject is discussed in greater detail in the methodology section on Glebe Terriers.

³² LAO: Terrier bundle, West Halton

³³ LAO: Whitton Glebe Terrier Bundle; W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Nottingham*, Volume 2 (1910), pp.129-38

³⁴ Sir William Wray, together with his father, had destroyed three townships elsewhere in Lindsey. He was subsequently prosecuted in Star Chamber, fined

and ordered to rebuild farms and to restore lands in three villages to arable: J. Walter, ' "The Pooremans Joy and the Gentlemans Plague": A Lincolnshire Libel and the Politics of Sedition in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 203:1 (2009)

³⁵ A number of prosecutions followed the 1607 commission, including the conviction of twelve Lincolnshire enclosers who had been active to the south of the study area: *vide*, J. M. Martin, 'Enclosure and the Inquisitions of 1607: An Examination of Dr Kerridge's Article "The Returns of the Inquisitions of Depopulation" ', *Agricultural History Review*, 30 (1982) , pp.41–8.

³⁶ M.W. Beresford, 'Habitation Versus Improvement: The Debate on Enclosure by Agreement', in F. J. Fisher (ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England, in Honour of R H, Tawney* (Cambridge, 1961), pp.40-69, but Roger Manning, contends that Beresford exaggerated the extent of real agreement and ignored intimidation by landlords in R.B. Manning, *Village Revolts; Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford, 1988), chapter 5.

³⁷ An account of the Ancholme drainage scheme is given in the chapter, Drainage, Warping and Enclosure.

³⁸ LAO: Misc Dep 77/1 'General Survey of the Soke of Kirketone in Lindsey' 1616 This is a handwritten copy of the original in the Cambridge University Library, at Ff.4.30

³⁹ Cameron defines the word 'warneot' as meaning an allotment of land that is 'subject to some form of defence or protection' : K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire, Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), p.101

⁴⁰ LAO: Misc Dep 77/1

⁴¹ The survey *does* mention enclosures in the soke of Kirton in Lindsey at Wharton near Blyton , and at Northorpe according to J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming; The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (1957), p.181

⁴² LAO:Misc Dep 77/1,

⁴³ *Ibid*

⁴⁴ LAO: D & C, DIV/59 quoted in J. Thirsk, (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. V.II, 1640-1750: Agrarian Change* (Cambridge,1985), p.318

⁴⁵ LAO: Glebe Terrier Bundle, Redboune,1638, 1662, 1668,1700

⁴⁶W. K. Morton (ed.) *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol 7 (Horncastle, 1901), pp.38-9, apparently being derived from the Dalison family muniments deposited in the Kent County Record Office.

⁴⁷ A. de la Pryme, *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary*, Surtees Society, 54 (Durham, 1870), p.135

⁴⁸ LAO: Nel III/4/14, 'Memorandum of an Intake'

⁴⁹ In Manton parish the Darwins bought up and enclosed piecemeal, the township of Cleatham between about 1624 and 1710. The activities of the family are described in the Reasons for Enclosure chapter.

⁵⁰ More complete details of the purchases can be found in the Elwes family papers in the Lincolnshire Archives and in the Lincolnshire Archives Committee, *Archivists' report 20, 17 March 1968 - 15 March 1969* (Lincoln, 1970), pp.9-12

⁵¹ LAO: Elwes 1/2/2,9,10 . This is the same Nicholas Hamerton who with Martin Brighouse of Alkborough were servants of Chief Justice Sir Christopher Wray.

⁵² S.A. Johnson, 'Some Aspects of Enclosure ', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports*, 9:2 (1962), p.144. The present writer could not however find in the LAO, the two glebe terriers of 1606 and 1618, which Johnson mentions in his article.

⁵³ *Archivists' report 20*, p.10; Geoffrey's sister Isabel Elwes, had married Nicholas Hamerton

⁵⁴ LAO: Elwes 1/2/5-7

⁵⁵ E. Green, 'The Gentry of Lincolnshire in 1634', *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, II (1890), p.39; LAO: Elwes 1/2/9-21

⁵⁶ LAO: Elwes 1/1/7

⁵⁷ LAO: Elwes 1/1/9

⁵⁸ LAO: Elwes 1/1/11

⁵⁹ LAO: Elwes 1/1/14-16

⁶⁰ LAO: Elwes 1/1/10,17-21

⁶¹ LAO: Elwes 1/1/22-25,26

⁶² G. Jackson, 'Cary Elwes-Lord of Brigg', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 2:12 (1965), p.8; Wrawby was enclosed forty-five years later in 1805.

⁶³ LAO: Elwes 1/1/26-55

⁶⁴ Maddison, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. II, pp.424-5 and pp.702-6 and T. R. Leach, *Lincolnshire Country Houses and their Families: Part Two* (Lincoln,1991), p112-3

⁶⁵ LAO: NEL VI/14/3/2, 16 February 1626/7; LAO: NEL VI/7/2 30 November 1633

⁶⁶ LAO: NEL VI/11/6, 4 July 1634

⁶⁷ LAO: NEL V/3/22, 17. November 1664

⁶⁸ LAO: NEL VI/13/17, 25 Sep 1666

⁶⁹ LAO: NEL V/3/23, 25 September, 1665; LAO: NEL VII/3/11, 15 January 1668/9

⁷⁰ LAO: NEL VI/14/3/12, 26 April 1669, Indenture of bargain and sale.

⁷¹ LAO: NEL VI/14/3/15, 1 August 1671, Indenture of bargain and sale.

⁷² LAO: NEL VI/10/19, 29 January 1680/1, Indenture of bargain and sale; NEL VI/10/22 22 December, 1681, Indenture of bargain and sale.; It may be that the tanners were selling steeping pits in the Carrs, which were no longer needed.

⁷³ LAO: NEL VI/15/12, 9 April 1685 Indenture of bargain and sale NEL VI/14/3/44 11 June 1689; Indenture of grant; NEL VI/17/11, 4 Sept. 1691

⁷⁴ LAO: Terrier bundle, Appleby

⁷⁵ LAO: Register XXXIX, *Episcopal Register of Bishops John Green, Thomas Thurlow and George Pretymen*

⁷⁶ LAO: Scorer Farm 3/7, Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Report on the County of Lincolnshire, by Mr. Wilson Fox, Assistant Commissioner C.7671, XVI* (1895), p.93

⁷⁷ TNA:E31/2/2 Great Domesday Book 1086/7, Wintrinton, There are seven entries ; C. Gowen Smith, *A Translation of that Portion of Domesday book which relates to Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire* (1870), pp.16-17,79,113,171,177,179, 193, 237

⁷⁸ P.L. Everson, D. Stocker, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford, 2006), p.291

⁷⁹ LAO: KR/2/2, Sokemote of Kirton Saturday, and Wapentake Courts of Aslaoe, Corringham, Kirton Friday and Manley Wapentakes, 25 Jan 1772 - 12 May 1775, pp.22-46

⁸⁰ J. Blum, 'English Parliamentary Enclosure [Review Article]', *Journal of Modern History* 53 (1981), p.478;

⁸¹ For example: R. Muir, *The New Reading the Landscape: Fieldwork in Landscape History* (Exeter, 2000) and many others

⁸² LAO: Lindsey Award/179, Manton Enclosure Award and Plan 1829 (bundled with a copy of the Manton Enclosure Act, 1805).

⁸³ The Hibaldstow Act of 1796, which involved William Dalison, had made no mention of his infirmity, so perhaps dementia had afflicted him in old age; LAO: Lindsey Award/38 Hibaldstow Enclosure Award and Plan 1703, (bundled with Act of 1796)

⁸⁴ LAO: Stubbs 1/27, Notice of Intended Inclosure, 1813

⁸⁵ R. G. Thorne, *The House of Commons, 1790-1820, Volume 1* (1986), p.243; No news items have been found that would indicate opposition to enclosure.

⁸⁶ Steeple Bumpstead was not parliamentarily enclosed, and none of the surrounding parishes (except 38 acres of Sturmer in 1845) was enclosed in that manner, *vide*: W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), pp.110-114

⁸⁷ LAO: Land Tax Assessments, Appleby 1782, 1820.

⁸⁸ Based on the 921 acres of the Santon Enclosure Award, being 17.8% of the entire parish.

⁸⁹ B. Short, *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.212-3; C. K. Rawding, *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, 2001), pp.56-62

⁹⁰ LAO: Yarb 5/1/33, General survey and valuation, High Santon *et al* (1809-10)

⁹¹ R. J. Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1973), pp.166,253
R. G. Thorne, (ed.) *The House of Commons, 1790-1820, Volume 1* (1986), p.67;
H. S. Smith, *The Parliaments of England: from 1st George I., to the Present Time, Volume 2* (1845), p.144

⁹² LAO: YARB/17/3, Upper Santon Inclosure Act and Commissioners' minutes, 6 Geo 4, c 26 'An Act for inclosing and exonerating from tithes lands in the hamlet of East Santon otherwise Upper Santon In the parish of Appleby in the county of Lincoln'

⁹³ LAO: APPLEBY PAR/17/1 Award and plan for East Santon (also called Upper Santon) together with the oaths of impartiality of the enclosure commissioners.

⁹⁴ TNA: IR 18/4711 Appleby and IR 18/5227 East Santon; LAO: YARB 3/3/3/3/2, The bundle contains copies of abstracts of title, requisitions on title, memoranda, correspondence, and sketch plans and dates from 1846-9

⁹⁵ In 1825, Mr Stephens paid about a quarter of the total land tax, while Yarborough paid almost half of it. LAO: LTA Manley 1825, Broughton land tax assessment.

⁹⁶ 8 & 9 Vic. c.118; W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday...*, p.329

⁹⁷ TNA:IR29 20/59 and IR18 4798, Broughton

⁹⁸ *Reports from Committees*, 22 January - 28 August 1846 Session, PP, Volume 6, Part 2, p.21

⁹⁹ LAO: Stubbs /1/27/2-3, Broughton Common Enclosure correspondence

¹⁰⁰ John Burt had worked as a valuer, surveyor and as a referee in land disputes from the early 1830s; for example, LAO: 2 RED 4/9/5/5, 25 January 1832. He was a member of a well known Quaker family, *vide* M.B. Bowen, *The Burts: a Lincolnshire Quaker Family 1500-1900* (Hull, 1937)

¹⁰¹ LAO: Stubbs /1/27/4-6

¹⁰² *Reports from Commissioners*, 31 January -15 August 1850 Session, PP, Volume 20, p.77

¹⁰³ R. J. P. Kain, J. Chapman and R. R. Oliver (eds.), *The Enclosure Maps of England and Wales, 1595-1918* (Cambridge, 2004), p.173

¹⁰⁴ LAO: Lindsey, Brumby award 119; LAO: Lindsey, Brumby award 154;

¹⁰⁵ W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire* (1856), p.599

¹⁰⁶ G.E. Cokayne, V. Gibbs, *et al* (eds), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant* (Gloucester, 2000), vol II, p. 42

¹⁰⁷ W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday...*, p.172; LAO:Lindsey Award/154, Brumby (Moors) Award and Plan 6 Mar 1871 and Lindsey Award/119, Old Brumby Award and Plan, 17 Feb 1875

6. Drainage, Warping and Enclosure

The study region is surrounded on three sides by water; the rivers Trent, Humber and Ancholme, and because much of the land is low-lying, it is notable for the proportion of its surface area that has been subject to hydrological problems of one sort or another. The lower Trent valley and the Ancholme valley lie respectively to the west and east of the Lincoln Edge, both of whose watercourses flow south-north to join the Humber. The lower Trent is bounded in the west by the slightly higher ground of the Isle of Axholme, and the eastern boundary of the shallow valley of the Ancholme is defined, in its lower reaches, by the scarp slope of the Lincolnshire Wolds.

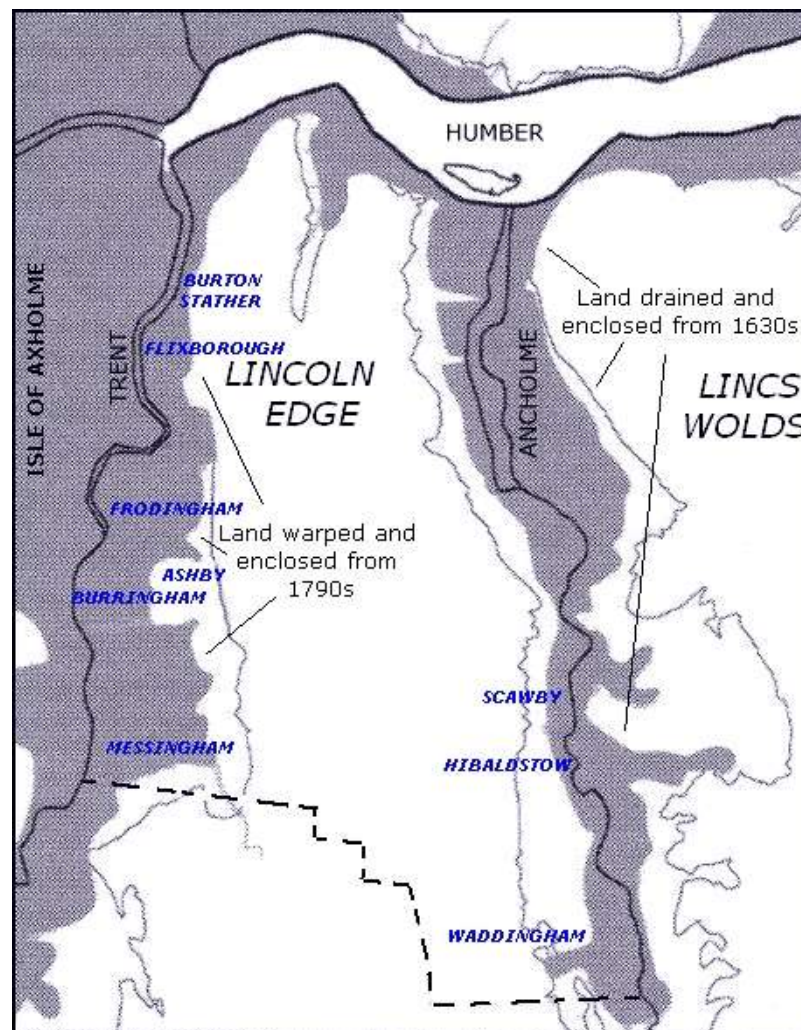


Fig 5. The study area between the three rivers; 10 m contour with peats and silts in grey.¹ Townships used as examples in this chapter in blue.

In this landscape of tidal rivers and low-lying land, landowners who wished for agricultural improvement had two entirely different, ways of proceeding. In the east, in the lush valley of the Ancholme, it was first necessary to hold back the Humber tidal surges and drain the landscape, after which it would become worthwhile to enclose the carrs. In the west however, in the valley of the Trent, the problem was of poor quality low-lying peats and sandy soils, which were protected from inundation by long established earthen banks. Here it was essential to *first* enclose the lands by the Trent, before it would become practicable to apply the technique of 'warping' to them; the procedure that would cover the poor soils with fertile fine silt and increase their rentable value.

This chapter suggests that the reclamation methods of Cornelius Vermuyden and his Dutch adventurers in the Isle of Axholme in the 1620s, provided the inspiration for the initial drainage and enclosure works in the Ancholme valley. These later works were neglected over time, and in the 1630s, a more successful draining of the Ancholme valley and straightening of the river was carried out, when the unusually rainy decades of the 1750s and 1760s made this imperative. The new drier landscape, which resulted from the drainage works of 1767-8 provided the impetus for a period of private and parliamentary enclosure in the parishes south of the Humber outfall.

Meanwhile, in the west of the study area, increasingly entrepreneurial owners began to apply the engineering methods of the same adventurers to the locally naturally occurring phenomenon of warping. By adapting the water management techniques of the Dutch, large areas of poor low-lying land adjacent to the Trent, were *artificially* 'warped'. A necessary precursor to this artificial warping was enclosure by private or parliamentary means, as this would demarcate the land in 'warpable' areas and provide the opportunity to make space for warping drains.

The two very different ways of proceeding to agricultural improvement will now be discussed.

Drainage and enclosure in the valley of the Ancholme

Throughout the centuries low-lying lands and marshlands in the study area were always in danger of being flooded, either by the run-off from heavy rainfall or by spring tides. Land drainage was rudimentary, relying on ditches, while riverside defences consisted of earth or clay banks covered in turf, sometimes faced with wooden piles or stone walls. It was traditionally the responsibility of local landowners and their tenants, to manage their maintenance; some were negligent and did not look after their banks and ditches, with the result that the Trent or the Humber broke through, flooding their land. If this flooding had been exclusively limited to their own lands, there would have been little problem, but often, the flooding spread across lands belonging to other owners, causing damage to crops and buildings. It was to prevent this physical damage and the consequent legal wrangling that, in 1531, an act of Parliament was passed which appointed Commissioners of Sewers throughout England charged with the drainage of low-lying land and the embankment of land liable to flooding.² An inquisition taken, in the area, in July 1583, contains several dozens so called 'verdicts' which were presentments by the local jury to the Commissioners listing, by parish, what needed to be done, by whom, and in some cases what had failed to be done. Owners' responsibilities depended on the size of their property, and it was the jury's task to present those it thought guilty of negligence.³ The most important directives are about the banks which kept the rivers at bay:

Item they doe further psent that all trent banks betwixt fflixbrough stather & Butterwick shall be sufficiently repaired before Michaelmasse

next & so kept from time to time in payne of every rood defectiue iij^s
iij^{d4}

Often the instructions are detailed and explicit (as in the following example), but as will be appreciated, it might have been difficult to persuade the owners and tenants, in several neighbouring townships, to coordinate their work or even to do the work at all:

Item they doe further p_sent that the Sewer betwixt Winterton & Cowlby shall be sufficiently ditched and scowred from Roxby close to Burton bridges by the freeholders & Tenants of Winterton, every man his owne one yeard & an halfe wider, & two foot deeper then it is now before Michaelmasse next & so kept from time to time in payne every Rood defectiue three shillings foure pence. And from Burton bridges to the North end of ould Couleby by the freeholders and tenants of Cowlby and from the North end of ould Cowleby to Haughton warth bridge by the aforesaid inhabitants of Cowlby on the west side & tenants of the Hall Ings on the east side. And from Haughton warth bridg to the watermill by the inhabitants of Hawlton aforesaid every man against his owne, the which sayd Sewer shall be diked a yard & an halfe wider & two foot deeper then it is now before Michaelmasse next & so kept from time to time in payne of every Rood defectiue iij^s iij^d to be levyed on every one making default.⁵

The influence of the Commissioners of Sewers on the inhabitants of low-lying and marshy areas of the country seems to have been less than effective, and so in 1585 a general drainage act was presented to Parliament.⁶ Despite deteriorating climatic conditions in the 1590s which led to greater flooding and loss of life, it was not passed until 1600.⁷ In that year *An Act for the recovery and inning (sic) of drowned and surrounded grounds and the draining of watery*

marshes, fens, bogs, moors and other grounds of like nature became law.⁸ Although the act had been intended for the fenlands of East Anglia, it was first used in the Isle of Axholme, much of which was royal property. After years of discussion and negotiations, Charles I contracted in 1626 with the Dutch engineer Cornelius Vermuyden to drain thousands of acres of land in the Isle of Axholme, which is immediately to the *west* of the study area. Vermuyden announced the completion of his work a little over two years later.⁹

The *eastern* edge of the study area is delineated by the river Ancholme which flows northward through central Lindsey, into the Humber estuary at South Ferriby. So long as it could be kept navigable, it was an important channel for the movement of goods from the Humber estuary inland, as far as Brigg. Lack of maintenance however continually caused it to silt up and there were recurring complaints of deterioration, because of a lack of scouring followed by inadequate repairs.¹⁰ By the beginning of the seventeenth century the Ancholme had become a mere tidal creek of the Humber and, with its flanking marshes, was a serious obstacle to east-west travel as well.¹¹ Landowners with properties either side of the Ancholme began to agitate, for a far-reaching scheme of drainage similar to that which they had recently seen completed in the Isle of Axholme by Vermuyden. They wanted a scheme that would keep their own waterway open, and make the fields alongside more productive.¹²

An undated document tells how at a meeting of the Court of Sewers 'great lords and owners on the level' on both sides of the Ancholme from Bishopbridge to Ferriby Bridge had decided to 'contract with the foreign undertakers', when a landowner from Owersby called Sir John Monson objected to the foreigners' price, saying it could be done 'for a fourth less'.¹³ The Court of Sewers gave the contract to Monson and in return he was promised 5,827 acres of the drained land. Sir John invited all the other lords and freeholders affected by the drainage scheme to become partners with him, and out of twenty-six lords of

manors, fourteen agreed to do so.¹⁴ Work began in 1638 and included a sluice gate at South Ferriby which would stop the Humber tides from regularly inundating the low-lying lands of the parishes either side of the newly straightened river. The work was completed in February 1640, and Monson received his allotment of acres. A problem quickly arose because the commoners were very hostile to the effects of the scheme and the lords and freeholders, who had earlier promised to contribute to the cost of the work, saw they would have little chance of gaining any benefit from the drainage, and so declined to pay their shares. When the Civil War broke out, the commoners moved back onto their old land, and Sir John Monson's new drains and works were neglected. Because building material for the sluice itself had been taken from the ruins of the nearby Thornton Abbey, its decay and collapse was ascribed to 'a just judgement of God'.¹⁵

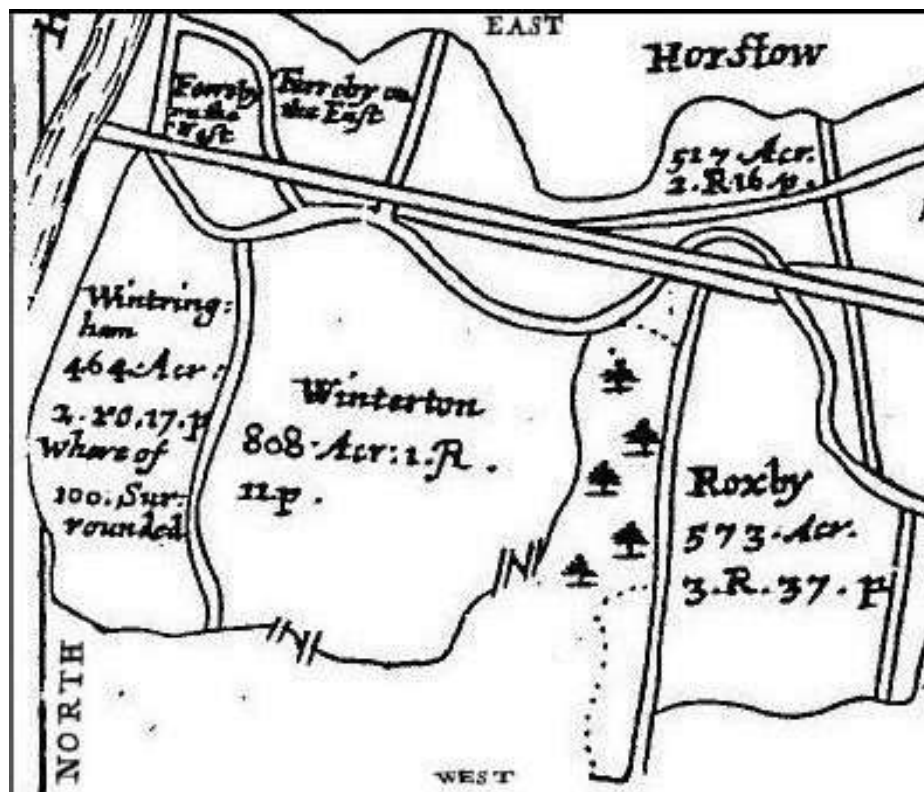


Plate24. Detail of Wilkinson and Fotherby's map of the Ancholme levels ,1640

The map of 1640 (plate 24, above) by surveyors Francis Wilkinson and John Fotherby of the Ancholme levels, from Sir William Dugdale's *History of imbanking and drayning...*, shows the outfall into the Humber, and the acreages in the study area, to the west of the new river Ancholme in Winteringham, Winterton and Roxby, which had been drained and enclosed by Sir John Monson.¹⁶

In 1662 Monson's workmen were abused and threatened by the men from Winterton, and the cargravers, the parish officers responsible for the village's drainage works, were accused of building banks which interrupted the whole Ancholme drainage scheme.¹⁷ In 1665 the commoners of Winterton claimed that the manure from their livestock, fed in pastures that were facing enclosure, was essential to the successful tillage of their arable land.¹⁸ The dispute went to the Court of Sewers and in a majority verdict on 4 October 1666, six of the eleven commissioners, who had been ordered to investigate the matter for the Exchequer rejected the claims of the commoners and came down in favour of Monson's undertaking. However, the remaining commissioners handed down an entirely opposite, minority report, supporting the commoners, and confirmed that the inhabitants of Winterton had been 'prejudiced, not bettered', by the drainage and enclosure works.¹⁹ Despite Monson and his fellow undertakers' legal victory, by the end of the seventeenth century the condition of the river had deteriorated, leading to criticism about the failure of the undertakers and their descendants to maintain vital works.

For the fifty-year time period to 1750, estimates by weather historians indicate that rainfall may have been about 10% below current levels, and that the 1740s were as much as 17% below. This dryness is perhaps the reason why there was no obvious clamour for the sluice to be repaired.²⁰ Apart from the entirely predictable inconvenience of high spring tides, it may well have meant that the carrs and low-lying ground were less likely to be regularly inundated

during these decades of lower rainfall. After 1750 , estimated values of rainfall show very different conditions. In England the wettest series of summers (since records began in 1697) was 1751-60 with 127% of the average to that date. The 1760s were also very wet with average rainfall of 117%, 1763 being the worst year of the decade with 181% of average. The years 1775-84 were not much better with 115% of average.²¹ It seems therefore that after a long period of dry weather, when the farmers of the Ancholme valley were able to undertake cultivations, despite the ineffective stemming of the tides by the decaying sluice gate, climatic conditions changed significantly. Rainfall increased to the point, where some of the low-lying lands were under water much of the time. This important detail is known because, in January 1767, a petition, from various owners of land in the Ancholme valley, was presented to the House of Commons:

That many Thousand Acres of Land within the said Level have several Years been almost entirely under Water for great Part of the Year to the Loss of the Proprietors and Detriment of the Public; and that the said Lands may be effectually drained; and a navigation from the *Humber* to *Glanford Brigg*, and to *Bishop Brigg* in the said County, made, to the great Advantage of the Land Owners and Promotion of Commerce: And therefore praying the House to take the Premises into Consideration and to give such Relief as to the House shall seem meet.²²

Various witnesses confirmed to a committee of the House appointed to consider the petition, that the Level of Ancholme had indeed been under water for several years, and that the carrs 'in general were very bad owing to their being overflowed', were of little value, but would greatly increase in value, if they were to be drained. On 11 February an engineer called Thomas Yeomans, was introduced to the committee by the petitioners and he told them that he

had surveyed the area from the Humber outfall down to Bishopbridge a few months before, in September 1766, and:

upon taking an exact view of the Level, he is of the Opinion that Whole may be effectually drained and a Navigation made, that the Drainage and Navigation are connected together and that he apprehends it is necessary to begin the Drainage first: the Expense of both will be about £16,000 for completing the Work, through the whole Level being near Twenty Miles.²³

The committee was convinced by the evidence and on 27 Feb 1767 Lord Brownlow Bertie presented a drainage bill to the House and it was read for the first time.²⁴ All was not plain sailing however as on 30 March, two new petitioners appeared to object to the bill and claimed that the drainage scheme that was proposed in the bill would be injurious to their property.²⁵ The committee agreed to make amendments, and noted that the modified bill would have the effect of draining 18,669 acres of 'carrs and low grounds' It was submitted to the House on 16 April.²⁶

On the 20 May 1767 royal assent was received for:

An Act for the more effectual Draining the lands lying in the Level of Ancholme, in the County of Lincoln, and making the River Ancholme navigable from the River Humber, at or near a Place called Ferraby Sluice, in the County of Lincoln, to the Town of Glamford Briggs; and for continuing the said Navigation up or near to the said River, from thence to Bishop Briggs, in the said County of Lincoln.²⁷

The engineer, Mr Yeomans, had already surveyed the Levels and so it is not surprising that the crucial part of the whole scheme, the construction of a new sluice gate, was soon afterwards completed



Plate 25: Outfall of the New Ancholme into the Humber at Ferriby Sluice. Here at low tide, the remains of the gate of 1767 can be seen in the middle foreground.

The Act had stated,

... they should erect or cause to be erected a new Sluice in the River *Ancholme* at or near *Ferraby Sluice* for stemming the tides and its neat Capacity or Waterway should not be less than Forty feet wide and of sufficient Height, with double pointing doors towards the *Humber*, to shut out the Flow of the Tides...²⁸

As soon as the new sluice gate was in place, not only were the low grounds of the Level safe from inundation, but drainage began, as the gates could be opened at each low tide to allow the escape of excess water from the land, and then closed as the Humber tide rose. Later improvements were made in 1802, 1825 and 1844, by John Rennie and his son, Sir John, to lower the bed of the New Ancholme and to replace Mr Yeoman's gate.²⁹

With the consequent end to tidal flooding for twenty miles south of the Ancholme outfall in 1767, agricultural improvement became practical in the carrs and other low-lying portions of the parishes. Previously farming had been spasmodic. In dry seasons some crops had been grown, even if, like hay sometimes it had to be harvested in boats, but in practice the Levels had been useful only for the taking of fish and wild fowl.³⁰ Drainage and embanking works were at last worthwhile as they would not be overwhelmed by the tides, and enclosure schemes could be pursued to the general betterment of the whole area.

As examples, drainage and enclosure schemes in Scawby and Hibaldstow parishes are discussed below. Waddingham is the subject of a separate case study, and so is only mentioned briefly at this point.

In 1769-70 came the first of the parliamentary enclosures, in the valley of the Ancholme, when 'certain lands and grounds' in the townships of Atterby, Snitterby and Waddingham were enclosed, including approximately 1,280 acres of the low-lying Waddingham North Carrs.³¹ Earlier enclosure by private agreement (discussed elsewhere) had accounted for portions of these parishes, but the new drier landscape encouraged enclosure, of almost all the area, to be completed.

Next came Scawby. By the time of the 1770 Scawby Enclosure Act, the tofts and crofts of the township of Scawby had been enclosed, as also had been the area around Scawby Hall, long the home of the Nelthorpes (see plate 26).



Plate 26: Remains of ridge and furrow visible in the grounds of Scawby Hall.

About 2,216 acres of the parish remained to be enclosed by the usual parliamentary process; this did not however include the, formerly inundated, carr grounds by the Ancholme.³² The parliamentary committee investigating the petition to enclose, from Edward Nelthorpe and the other smaller landowners, noted that a total of 580 acres of carr grounds existed.³³ These can only have been the lands enclosed by Monson in the 1620s and transferred to the Nelthorpe family, as a scheme partner, when the original Ancholme drainage scheme was completed. Dugdale's 1640 map of the Ancholme Levels shows an area of 571 acres 1 rood, 16 perches of carr lands.³⁴ Although enclosed at that time, they were noted in the 1770 Act and listed in the Award. The Award lists over 270 acres of plots in the carrs which would have to continue to pay Nelthorpe nine pence per acre, per annum.³⁵ It is clear that Edward Nelthorpe was including the carr lands, at parliamentary enclosure, to regularise their legal position at a time, when the new drier landscape meant they were available for cultivation.

The surveyor was Edward Johnson, who was to be made a commissioner when one of the original commissioners, John Grantham, died before the award was made.³⁶ The 2,216 acres were divided into seventy-seven new plots and awarded to eighteen landowners. A feature of the award is the size of some of the fields; nine of the Nelthorpe general allotments were over one hundred acres. This was perhaps to reduce the amount of money that would be needed to hedge the allotments, such hedging being usually specified in Enclosure Awards. Subsequently the fields were subdivided and, for example an allotment awarded to Nelthorpe of 183 acres is today partitioned into twelve smaller fields.³⁷ As well as awarding plots of land the commissioners oversaw the laying out of eight public roads, together with nine private roads and five footpaths. The Commissioners further improved drainage by ordering the construction of two public drains together with instructions for their scouring and upkeep. In Scawby they could now do so, and be sure that the new drains would not be overwhelmed by tidal waters. The commissioners signed the award on 18 December 1771.

More than twenty years went by before Hibaldstow was enclosed by parliamentary means. This may possibly have been because the landowners were unconvinced as to the long term security of the sluice gates at South Ferriby, or more probably because there was some disagreement as to the financial gains to be had from drainage and enclosure. When enclosure *did* come it had, unusually, been preceded by a commissioned piece of cost-benefit analysis, and enclosure was done in two distinct parts, firstly the division and allotment of lands and secondly the drainage of those lands.

Lincolnshire Archives has the commissioned document (plate 27 above) which demonstrates due diligence by the landowners. It is evidently the result of a request by them, to two men who had acted as enclosure commissioners elsewhere to undertake an enquiry into the financial viability of enclosing the parish. Dated 6 November 1795, it is entitled '*The Report of John Parkinson and Samuel Turner, respecting the probable improvement which may arise by an application to Parliament for enclosing the Lordship of Hibaldstow...*'³⁸

The main body of the document is a table, listing the lands to be enclosed and estimates of their value (from twelve shillings to twenty-five shillings per acre), together with the proportion of tithe payable on each sort of land (from one ninth up to one fifth). Below the table Samuel Turner lists some explanatory comments and compares the extra rent that could be expected, with the cost of the works to be undertaken:

Observations:-

The open field lands being cropp'd only once in two years, are worth 14/- per acre in the cropping year, in the fallow year (being Common) they may be worth 3/- pr. acre, which makes 17/- per acre for 2 years—viz. 8s./6d. each year, the improvement by an inclosure will be 6s/6d. per acre or something more.

The Commons or Old Leys in their present state are of very little value to the occupiers, the sheep and other stock kept upon the common are unimprovable, and subject to great loss, which make the commons dearer to the occupiers at 2s./6d. per acre in their present state than they will be at 10/- per acre, the improved value when inclosed.

The meadows and Carr Land when properly drained and embanked, will make very good arable land, better worth the 15/- per acre above

stated, than 10/- per acre in their present state. The obtaining the above improvement will cost the Proprietors about 5 year's purchase, and supposing the Estate worth 30 years purchase, is 1/6th of the improved value. The average of the land in its improved state is about 13s./8d. per acre, 1/6th of which is about 2s./3d. per acre, the money to be expended to effectuate the above improvements.

Saml. Turner

The unequivocal nature of Turner's report must have persuaded the landowners that the proposed enclosure and drainage works were advantageous to them and that it would prove cost-effective because, in the next few months, a draft bill went through its stages and became the Act of 1796.

The Act appointed three commissioners, John Parkinson of Asgarby (who had assisted with the viability report), John Renshaw of Owthorpe in Nottinghamshire, and John Wilbar of Barton upon Humber. Anthony Bower of Lincoln was appointed surveyor. They were authorized to 'direct the course of husbandry' and the fees of the commissioners were set at 'two guineas per day, and no more' for each day that they were either actually managing the enclosure, or were travelling to and from Hibaldstow. Importantly the act also laid down that the commissioners should specify which of the new allotments, or parts of allotments, would be subject to a drainage tax to be used for 'the more effectual draining the Lands within the level of Ancholme', and that they should 'set out and appoint... Drains ...Water Gates.... Sluices or Engines... and Banks sufficient to protect and defend the Low Lands...'³⁹

The commissioners set to work and the records of the many meetings held by them are bound into a volume of over one hundred pages of minutes, which is preceded by a copy of the act.⁴⁰ Their first meeting was on 9 and 10 June 1796 at the White Lion Hotel in Brigg when:

All persons having or claiming right of common or other interest upon the said open common fields, meadows, pastures, leys, and other commonable lands and waste grounds, are desired personally, or by their agents, to attend, and to deliver into the said Commissioners, an account in writing . . of their respective claims and interests, and of the messuages, cottages, tofts, or toftsteads, in respect whereof they . . . claim such right of common . . .

The following meeting was on 20 July at Rebecca Good's inn at Spital in the Street when objections to claims delivered to Richard Nicholson would be considered, and those people who had not yet submitted objections could deliver them personally for consideration. At the meeting it was decided that objections 'be affixed upon the Church Door of Hibaldstowe that the Proprietors and Persons interested may see the same'. They also resolved to meet again at the Angel Inn at Brigg on 19 September when they announced the staking out of five main public roads and highways within the parish of Hibaldstow.

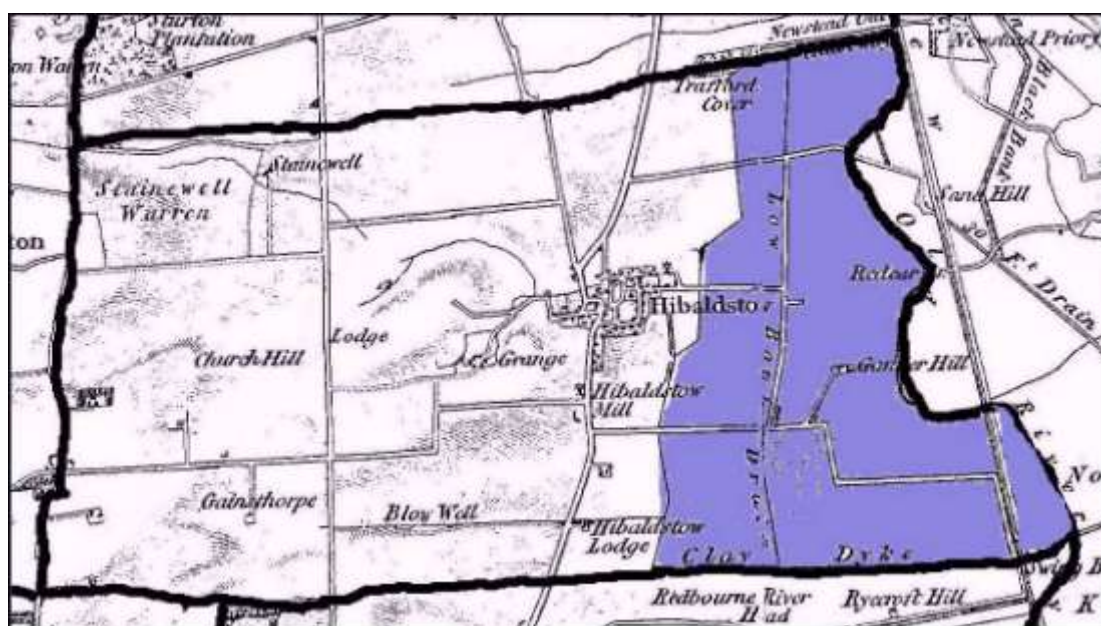


Plate 28: Hibaldstow parish, from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey, 1824.
Amended from Ordnance Survey contours to show probable extent of carr lands.

Two months later the commissioners met again at the Angel Inn at Brigg and during the five days from 7 to 11 November appear to have finished their valuations of land and common rights. In January 1797 the commissioners had a two-day meeting at the Red Lion in Lincoln, where claims concerning common rights and ox pasture gates were resolved. Between 18 and 23 February, the Commissioners were back in Lincoln, this time favouring the Saracen's Head Hotel, and because claims had been settled they began the process of drawing lines on plans and making calculations with the aim of designing the patchwork of allotments. They also made a cash demand on those who would be receiving land and allocated the estimated costs of the enclosure amongst them; this came to £6983.⁴¹ They were back at the Saracen's Head between the 8 and 15 March, and the minutes report that 'they were employed in dividing and allotting the Lordship ... to the different Proprietors', and very soon afterwards these new proprietors, to whom lands were soon to be awarded, were able to pick up the provisional lists of their allotments, from the Inn at Spital in the Street. On 5 April 1797 all Rights of Common and all Tithes were extinguished and owners were able to take up possession of their new allotments. At the same time instructions for fencing the new plots was given and this was to be overseen by John Wilbar.

This was by no means the end of the business of the enclosure, as those of the new proprietors, with low-lying land, now had to consider the plans for drainage drawn up by the surveyor, Anthony Bower.

Hibaldstowe Inclosure.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,

THAT the Commissioners named and appointed in and by an Act of Parliament made and passed in the 36th Year of the Reign of his present Majesty intituled "An Act for dividing
" and enclosing the open common Fields, Meadows, Pastures,
" Leys and other commonable Lands and Waste Grounds in
" the Lordship of *Hibaldstowe* in the County of *Lincoln*," do intend to meet on *Monday* the Twenty-second day of *May* instant at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon at the Inn of Mrs. *Rebecca Good* in *Spittle* in the said County of *Lincoln* for further proceeding in the Execution of the said Act; when and where they will be ready to receive Proposals in Writing sealed up from any Person or Persons desirous of undertaking the cutting and making the Drains, Banks, Sluices and other Works necessary for the Purpose of draining the Carr-Lands within the Lordship of *Hibaldstowe* aforesaid; the Plans, Sections, and Particulars whereof, may in the mean time be inspected at the Office of Mr. ANTHONY BOWER Surveyor *Lincoln*.

The Person or Persons who shall undertake the above Works will be required to provide Barrows, Planks, and all other requisite articles, and to find Security for the due Performance of his or their Contract. Dated this first day of *May* in the Year of our Lord 1797.

By Order of the Commissioners,

R. NICHOLSON

CLERK.

MOZLEY and CO, Printers, *Gainsborough*.

signed 1/20/96

Plate 29. Advertisement to tender for draining the carrs of Hibaldstow

(LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6)

On 1 May 1797, the Commissioners invited sealed-bid tenders for the contract to undertake the making of drains, banks, sluices etc. which would have the effect of draining the carr lands of the parish. Richard Nicholson, clerk to the commissioners, invited prospective contactors to inspect the plans at the Lincoln office of Anthony Bower, the surveyor (see plate 29 above).⁴² On 23 November the Commissioners met once more, this time at the White Lion, in Brigg, and then went, a mile or so south, to Hibaldstow to inspect the drainage works and approved them. At the same time they met with, and considered a complaint from, the agent, Mr Bentham, who was looking after the interests of the Lord of the Manor, William Dalison. The agent was disappointed with his allotted land, his proportion of expenses, and various other matters.

These grievances were resolved at their next meeting which was held, this time, at the Angel in Sleaford, on 5 January 1798, to suit the convenience of the agent.⁴³

At this stage there may have been some serious thought about the expense of the drainage works, as the Commissioners met again at the Angel in Brigg in May, to consider the feasibility of the proposed embanking of the carr lands. It was agreed, however, by the few owners actually affected, that the 'intended embankment was both proper and Expedient, and should be forthwith carried into Execution.' Over a year then seems to have gone by before the next meeting and the minutes refer to the works again. In June 1799 the Commissioners went to see the work in progress on the embankments, and agreed that it should be completed. At the same meeting the Commissioners ordered that their clerk Richard Nicholson should prepare a draft of the Award and that the surveyor Anthony Bower should help. There is nothing amongst the documents to explain why this was not done, simply that at the following meeting, at Spital in the Street on 20 November 1799, the order was repeated with slightly more emphasis: 'Mr. Nicholson ... do prepare a Draft of the Award

... by the next Meeting, for the Perusal and Settlement of the Commissioners'.⁴⁴

The clerk had a practice in Brigg and perhaps, while labourers worked on the draining and embanking, he had returned to the bread-and-butter work of a country lawyer. By the time of the next meeting in February 1800 at Redbourne the Commissioners were at last able to discuss a draft of the Award and also made a visit to Hibaldstow Carrs to inspect the newly constructed banks and drains. They returned to the Redbourne Inn on 19 May for a three-day meeting to examine the Award once more and read it to those proprietors who were in attendance.

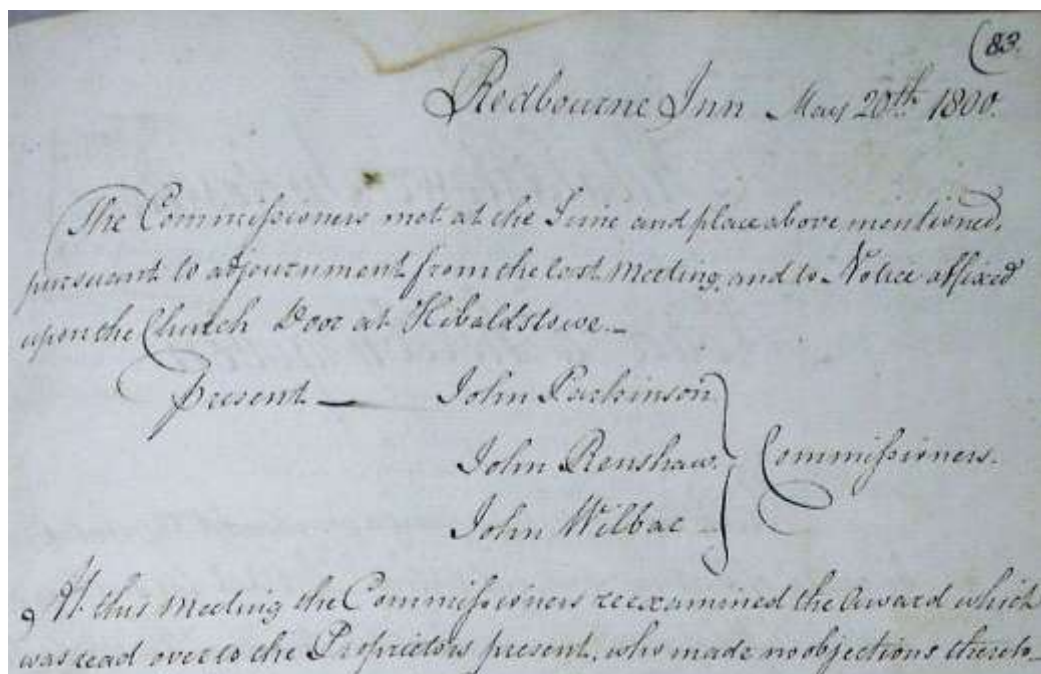


Plate 30. Part of page 83 from the Commissioners' Minute Book, Redbourne Inn, 20 May 1800 (LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6)

There were no objections to the Award (see plate 30., above) and it may be that the Commissioners and their immediate team celebrated the fact that evening since an invoice survives, amongst the enclosure documents, for ten dinners and large amounts of ale, porter, sherry and port which was authorised for payment by Mr. Parkinson and Mr. Renshaw.⁴⁵

At the next meeting, at Spital on 10 July 1800, accounts prepared by Mr. Nicholson were considered and it was decided that a second cash demand, amounting to over £774, would have to be made on the proprietors to cover enclosure costs, this sum to be paid by November. There were no more meetings in 1800 and just one in 1801, when on 3 February there was a meeting at the White Hart in Gainsborough to make some minor amendments to the Award. At that gathering Richard Nicholson was ordered to advertise the next meeting in the press at the White Hart in Market Rasen on 13 August 1801 at which, it was hoped the Award would be signed and the enclosure finally completed. In fact the minutes do not mention completion, but instead describe the examination of further accounts and expense claims and the discovery that a further cash demand would have to be made on the proprietors totalling £377. The Commissioners had intended to meet again in November 1801 but before they could do this, one of the Commissioners, John Renshaw, died. Evidently he had been looking after the interests of the church in the enclosure process, as the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and the Vicar of Hibaldstow were asked to appoint another Commissioner in his place. An entire year went by and the minutes record that the meeting in November, 1802, was at the Redbourne Inn with a Mr. Thomas Parkinson, of Scawby in place of Renshaw.⁴⁶ The principal topic discussed was, once again, accounts. A concluding meeting was arranged for 3 January 1803 at the White Hart in Lincoln, when the Award was signed and the enclosure was at last executed. The total land enclosed was 4,232 acres and 2 roods, or about 96.4% of the total area of the parish.⁴⁷

The business of the parliamentary enclosure of Hibaldstow had been divided into two distinct parts; first came the ending of common rights and the hedging and fencing of new allotments, and then secondly, and probably of equal

agricultural importance, came the making of sluices and embankments and the draining of low-lying land.

Having discussed some examples of drainage and enclosure in the east of the study area, warping and enclosure in the west of the Area are now considered.

Warping and enclosure in the lower Trent valley

The canalisation of the old Ancholme, the draining of its valley and the consequent enclosure of some of the townships along its banks, can be directly attributed to lessons learned while watching the transformation of the Isle of Axholme by the Dutch adventurers. The influence of the Dutch on English farming had been long-lasting and extensive, from the design of windmills and barns to that of agricultural drainage systems. Arguably the most important innovation was the introduction of turnips and clover into the arable rotation, but there were other novelties as well; fodder carrots, cole and madder were introduced, with varying degrees of success.⁴⁸ It does *not* seem however that warping can be included in the list, and in fact the technique does not appear to have been practised anywhere in the Low Countries. This is not too surprising since, because of the topography, Dutch engineers were constructing embankments and great sea-dikes and sluices and in general, pumping water by one means or another from one level *to a higher level*. Warping, the north Lincolnshire notion of letting water flood onto the land, so that its suspended sediment might form a layer, before letting the water drain away, would have seemed anathema to them.

Dr Thirsk (quoting the Victorian writer John Tomlinson) writes however that '...Dutch and Flemish settlers had improved much of the new land of the levels

(of Hatfield Chase in the 1620s) by warping'.⁴⁹ It is by no means certain though that the word is being used, at this early time, in its later sense, and it may possibly mean here that the settlers had discovered that the land was more fertile, after a winter flood had deposited sediment. Lord Ernle asserted that 'warping was brought from Italy to the Isle of Axholme in the eighteenth century, and by its means the deposits at the estuary of the Humber were converted into "polders", ' using the Dutch word for land reclaimed from the sea.⁵⁰ In 1831 J.C.Loudon described a similar process that had been seen in Tuscany:

The Italian process called *colmata* is nothing more than a variety of the British process called warping. In the Val di Chiana in Tuscany, fields which are too low are raised and fertilised by the process called *colmata* which is done in the following manner: The field is surrounded by an embankment to confine the water, the dike of the rivulet is broken down so as to admit the muddy water of the high floods... This water is allowed to settle and deposit its mud on the field The water is then let out into the river at the lower end of the field by a discharging course called *scolo* and in French, *canal d'écoulement* ⁵¹

Rather than try and ascribe a foreign origin to the practice of warping however, it seems more likely, that it was founded on the repeated observations of a local and natural occurrence. The spring tides regularly overflowed the banks of the rivers, and deposited rich, fertile sediment or 'warp', and this led in time to warping being done in a controlled manner with embankments and sluice gates.

Some credit for this should be assigned to the Dutch. The inhabitants of the Ancholme and lower Trent wetlands will have seen the methods of Vermuyden's

adventurers and learned how to make effective banks and sluices and generally manage the hydrology of the landscape in a much better way than their ancestors; those forbears who had caused the Commissioners of Sewers to issue so many directives. There was no need to search for a name for the new technique; 'warp' was already used, in local dialect, to mean an accumulation of mud, or the silt that blocked ditches and drains, a sand bank in the river or even a portion of raised ground between two furrows.⁵²

The first reliable report of warping, in its modern sense, seems to come in the 1730s from Rawcliffe, about four miles west of the confluence of the Ouse and Trent, where a small farmer called Barker used the technique. A few years later in 1743 Richard Jennings, from the neighbouring village of Airmyn, was warping on a greater scale.⁵³ References to the practice are then almost non-existent until George Rennie's *General view of the agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire* in 1793, and the reports to the Board of Agriculture begin to appear.⁵⁴ By 1799 Arthur Young was able to give a detailed description of warping in north Lincolnshire.⁵⁵ Most modern accounts of the process however seem to be based on a paper written by Ralph Creyke, as late as 1845, in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*.⁵⁶ This explained to a national audience, a practice apparently little known, and seemingly unique to the lower reaches of the Trent and Ouse.

Before about 1800 warping had been carried out on a very small scale in the county, and Dr Thirsk thought that that no more than about fifteen hundred acres had been warped, but by the middle of the nineteenth century nearly seven thousand acres of land had been improved in this way.⁵⁷ Warping was particularly suited to this part of the lower Trent basin, as the high tides of the river, when combined with the adjacent low land situation of the fields to be warped, made the practicalities of the process relatively simple. The warping process covered the unproductive peaty and acidic soils, the sandy soils and

the heavy clay of the area with light, well-drained silt. The fertility of this deposited silt was in part due to the great amount of raw sewage that was discharged into the river from the many towns within the vast catchment area. Warping was expensive as specially made sluice gates had to be built, and embankments with sloping sides had to be constructed around the fields in order to contain the water. Water was allowed into the embanked fields, during the spring tides, through these gates, and when the tide was at its height, the gates were closed. As the tide ebbed, the water was allowed to escape slowly back into the Trent, having deposited most of its mud on the surface on the enclosure in which it had been penned. The result was a perfectly flat field, and if warping was carried out, during the several spring tides, for two or three years, a layer of fertile silt of perhaps a metre or more, would have been laid down. As the process was expensive it was generally the prerogative of wealthy landowners and could only practically be carried out where the land to be improved was in a few hands, and agreement could be reached to share the costs.

A number of the study area townships, where drainage and warping affected enclosure, will now be discussed.

In 1825 Archdeacon Bayley, vicar of Messingham decided that a description should be written of the changes that parliamentary enclosure had brought to the village and he asked his curate, John Mackinnon, to write the account.⁵⁸ There is thus a nearly contemporary, before-and-after, portrayal of Messingham:

The farmers' houses were of mean construction, built of dirt taken from the street and covered with straw or stubble. The habitations of the poorer people were composed of the same materials, but covered with ling, turf or star-thack.... it contained many acres of land, yielded but

little, and that principally rye, which was cultivated for home consumption. Much of the high land being of a sandy nature grew nothing but gorse and ling, which were plentifully stocked with rabbits; these prolific animals must ever be considered the bane of agriculture, and a great impediment to every kind of agricultural improvement. The low lands which were situated between the village and the Trent being of a boggy nature, for want of proper drains produced but little herbage, which gave support to a few sheep and large flocks of geese. Both above and below the town in various parts of the lordship, there were extensive pieces of water, some of them containing many acres; these abounded with various kinds of fish, but particularly in pike and eels, the former weighing from two to twelve pounds.⁵⁹

Mackinnon went on to comment, unflatteringly on the lack of resourcefulness of the inhabitants:

...no haughty Esquire lived here to interrupt him in his amusements, or were any found to envy him the pleasures they yielded. Here dwelt a peasantry rude in manners and uncultivated in mind, but if they had not the advantage which intercourse with more civilized life invariably affords; if they were not blessed with affluence and power they might boast of their freedom and their plenty... In this state of retirement and rustic simplicity, the mind wanted but little recreation.⁶⁰

Before parliamentary enclosure, Mackinnon notes, Messingham had 'three great divisions the East Common, the Field and the West Common.'⁶¹ It seems that the Field was, as might be expected, sub-divided and 'North', 'South', 'East' and 'West' fields are mentioned in the glebe terriers from 1634 onwards.⁶² From the lesser number of glebe strips in the East and West fields it is possible that these were smaller than the North and South fields, and were perhaps cultivated as one field on either side of the settlement of Messingham and that,

in consequence, a three-field system of agriculture was in operation. As well as the enclosures of 1757 near to the eastern parish boundary, there were more by the river associated with the tofts of East Butterwick township, and a few closes on the northern parish boundary with others to the south of the settlement of Messingham.⁶³

It was the autumn of 1796 when advertisements first appeared in the *Stamford Mercury* calling interested owners to a meeting at the Black Moor's Head Inn at Gainsborough. This announced the intended enclosure of East Butterwick, together with its neighbouring townships of Ashby and Burringham, and was 'to consider the Expediency of the.... Inclosure and what Terms shall be offered to the Lord of the Manor and Tythe Owners.'⁶⁴ Nothing more seems to have been heard of this plan, for a joint enclosure of lands in the three townships, but in September 1797, again in the pages of the *Stamford Mercury*, was a notice that an application was to be made for an Act for 'dividing allotting, draining, embanking, improving and warping the several Open and Common Fields, Ings, Meadows, Pastures, Moors, Commons, Wastes, and other uninclosed Lands and Grounds within . . . East Butterwick and Messingham.... also for making a Compensation for the several Tythes arising within the said Townships, and for other Purposes.'⁶⁵ A month later proprietors were invited to meet at the Sun Inn in, Scotter'... .to receive the Answers of the Tythe Owners to the Proposals offered to them and to consult on other Matters relative to the said Inclosure.'⁶⁶ (see plate 31 below). The notice was signed by, Mr. William Barnard, a large landowner in the parish.⁶⁷

Negotiations amongst proprietors of land and tithe must have proceeded satisfactorily as in 1798 an Act was passed for 'dividing, inclosing, allotting and improving the several open and common fields, ings, meadows, pastures, moors, commons, wastes and other inclosed lands and grounds within the township of Messingham. and that part of the hamlet of East Butterwick which

is in the parish of Messingham...⁶⁸ Significantly though, mention of warping had disappeared from the preamble to the Act. This is probably because the proprietors were not willing to commit to the expense of that further improvement of the low-lying parts of the parish, at a time when there would be plenty of outgoings in relation to the enclosing work itself.

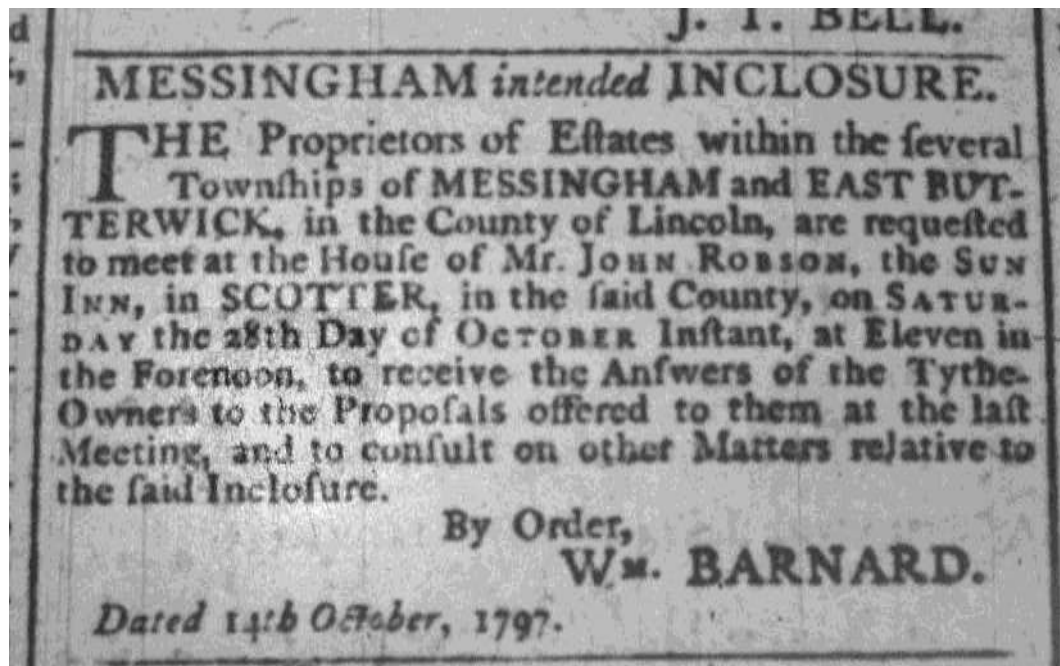


Plate 31. *Stamford Mercury*, 20 Oct 1797

The area to be enclosed was estimated at five thousand acres and the principal proprietors were Margaret Walker, lord of the manor, the Bishop of Lincoln impropiator of the rectory and grange, Mrs. Mary Sanderson of Hammersmith, Middlesex, his lessee; the Rev. Edward Jorden, Vicar, John Henry Maw, Francis Edward Morley, Mr. Barnard in right of his wife, Richard Roadley and Samuel Simpson.⁶⁹

The Act appointed the three Enclosure Commissioners and also named the Surveyor. All had local knowledge; two of the three, John Renshaw and Samuel Turner, had just finished enclosing neighbouring Bottesford in 1797, while the third, Benjamin Codd of Glentworth was to be appointed to succeed

John Renshaw and continue the enclosure of Ashby in 1802. The Surveyor, Anthony Bower had just completed work on the award map of Bottesford and was to start on the Ashby enclosure in 1801, before finishing Messingham in 1804.

The Messingham Enclosure award was signed on 15 December 1804 and stated that the new owners had to ditch and fence their lands within three calendar months of the execution of the Award, (by March, 1805) and it records that the 'payment of all Tithes and the enjoyment of all Rights of Common' had ended on 13 February, 1800.⁷⁰ No costs are mentioned, but Mackinnon states that the expense of this enclosure amounted to £13,773 13s 6½d. A document in the Lincolnshire Archives, however, gives the higher figure of £15,078 14s 10d.⁷¹ The award plan shows that, in the former West Common, the Commissioners had laid out five Public Drains which were to be maintained by the owners of lands in the West Common together with those in the Trent Ings, Carr, and Side Ings. Banks had been built along the courses of the Bottesford Beck which formed the northern parish boundary and the tiny River Eau which formed part of the southern boundary with Scotter with the aim of preventing those water courses flooding the low-lying lands.⁷² To the east of Messingham township, two additional public drains had been constructed, to be kept in good condition at the expense of owners who had lands in the former East Common. By the river Trent, the drains were only a part solution to the problem of low-lying unproductive land. While warping is not specifically mentioned in the award, its undertaking at some time in the near future, is perhaps foreshadowed by the appointment of a contactor who was to maintain the drains for a limited period only:

And we do order and direct that all the Drains, Sewers, Cloughs, and Banks shall be cleansed, maintained, and kept in repair by JOSEPH

THACKRAY of Gainsburgh at the Yearly Salary of Thirty pounds per annum for two Years next ensuing the Execution of this Award⁷³

Six, forty feet wide, public roads, were laid out, together with twelve private roads, and the Surveyors of the Highways were awarded thirteen plots of land totalling thirteen and a half acres from which material to repair them could be dug. A total of almost 5,546 acres had been allotted, nearly eleven percent more than the 5,000 acres estimated in the 1798 Act, and of this, 1,131 were Special Allotments.⁷⁴ The ten landowners who were each awarded more than one hundred acres of General Allotments, accounted for sixty percent of the total while the remaining forty-three owners shared forty percent. Since the old enclosures, mapped by Anthony Bower totalled, nearly 489 acres, the total area of the parish was found to be 6,035 acres.

John Mackinnon, curate of the parish, continued his account of the parish and mentioned warping as an operation separate from the enclosure process:⁷⁵

From this time the state of the Lordship underwent a material alteration, and the village ... to improve. Draining only would have been instrumental in bettering the condition of the lands, but from their proximity to the river Trent, and the lowness of their situation, warping, conducted by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, has been adopted at the expense of about ten pounds an acre, by which process the lands readily let at sixty shillings an acre, and bring abundant crops of wheat, beans, and potatoes.

Edward Peacock, the editor of Mackinnon's account of Messingham, thought that his estimated cost of warping was too low, and the yearly rental too high, while Dr Thirsk, in *English Peasant Farming*, commented that:

At Messingham, where nothing is known of the circumstances of the warping agreement, except that it followed enclosure, the cost of the

operation was £10 an acre. This was relatively cheap. On an average, the cost was £12-£20, including the cost of the sluice and main drain, but the value of the land was raised from next to nothing to between £60 and £100 an acre.⁷⁶

The Revd. John Parkinson of East Ravendale who wrote a diary, in three volumes, of happenings and tittle-tattle in local parishes, recorded the beginnings of warping in Messingham:

11 December 1811. Mr Roadley is warping 200 acres at Messingham; 50 he has warped already; 40 he hopes to complete next year & 90 afterwards. He lays on the warp, as I understood him, near a yard deep... the land, when made, lets for 50 an acre. It takes three years to lay such a coat on.⁷⁷

It seems likely that Mr Roadley, one of the parish's leading landowners, had deliberately caused the warping operation to be separated from the parliamentary enclosure of 1798-1804 so that he could complete the warping of his allotments in the low-lying areas of the parish, in his own time and according to the constraints of his budget. No documentation has been found as evidence for the exact timing of warping, but it seems from Parkinson's comments, as long as five years must have passed, after the completion of the parliamentary enclosure process, before it got under way. This may be an indication that the fruits of enclosure were not immediate and that several profitable agricultural seasons had to go by, before the task of embanking fields and making sluice gates could begin.

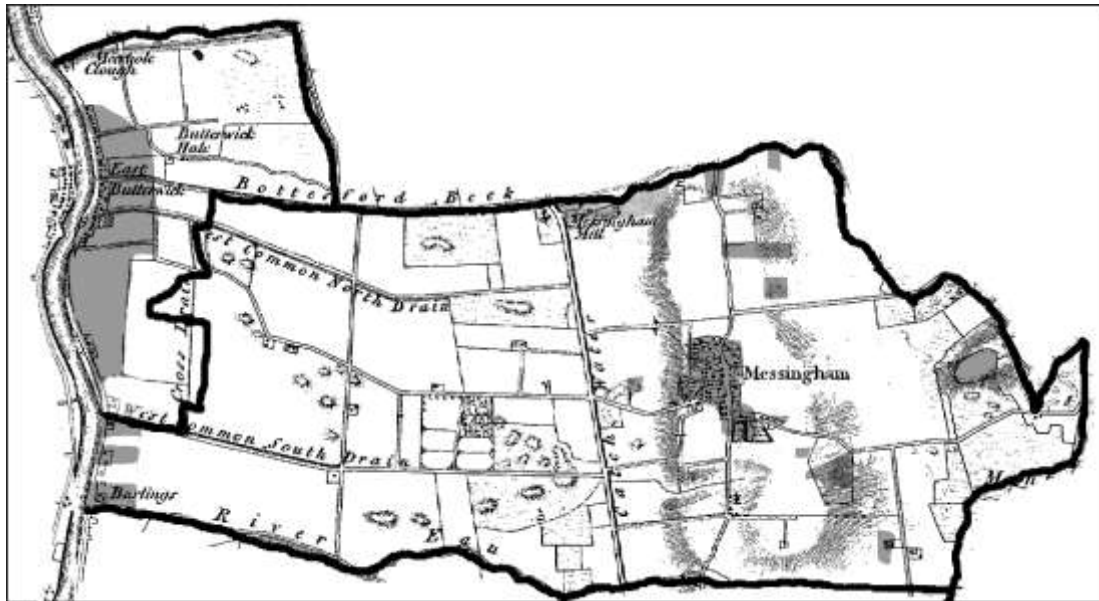


Plate 32. Messingham parish with its township of East Butterwick, from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey, 1824. Amended to show township boundaries and areas of old enclosure (in grey) in 1798 (LAO: Messingham Par Co. 2007/54)

The first edition of the Ordnance Survey map of 1824 (plate 32, above) shows that the western part of the parish was in the process of being warped with the North and South West Common drains leading to allotments, some of which were still marked as containing scrub or marsh.

The warping was supervised by a Commissioner appointed by virtue of 'Articles of Agreement for warping and Improving Lands within the parish of Messingham...'. This supervision evidently went on for many years, and the last mention of the agreement found was in 1854, some forty years after the business of warping will have begun. (Plate 33, below). Warping continued for such a long time because in some areas, especially where the original level was of peat, the land settled. It could settle from three feet, above a datum, to one foot because of this effect. If the original surface had been clay or sand, then the settling would be less. In any case if the settling was only slight, the landowner would be inclined to warp the land again, as the investment in outfall sluice and embankments had already been made. An annual layer of fresh fertile silt from the high equinoctial tide would be welcome after crops

had been harvested and, following treatment, the land would be dry enough for ploughing early in the New Year. Warping would continue year by year until the cost of maintaining the sluice and drains exceeded the perceived agricultural advantage, or perhaps until expertise in the mechanics of warping had died out.⁷⁸

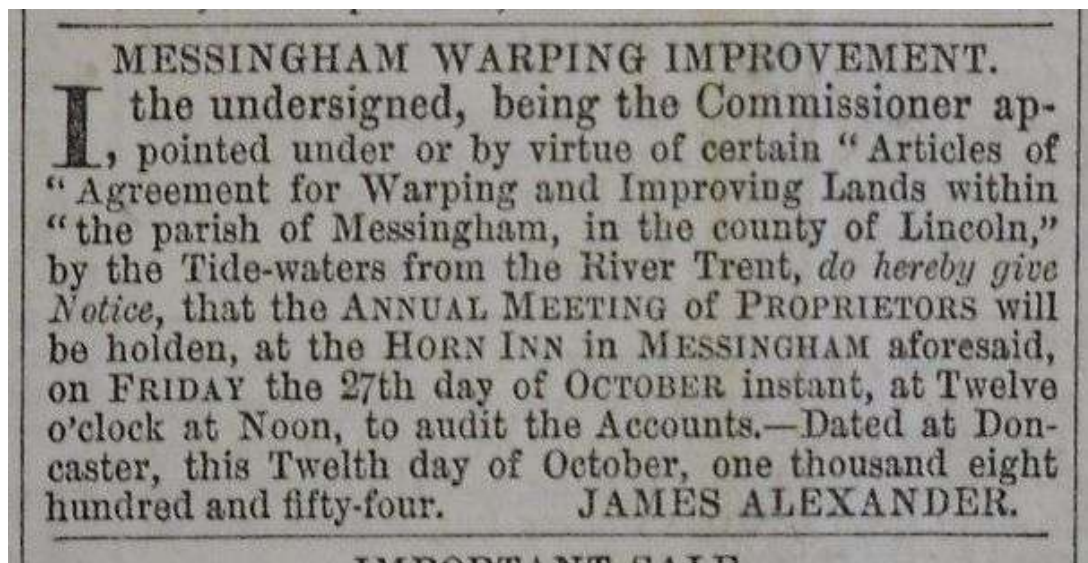


Plate 33. Stamford Mercury, 13 October 1854

The work of warping the low-lying land did however remain incomplete, as an angular piece of land known as Butterwick Hales, centred at SE 847062, in East Butterwick township and bordering Messingham township is un-warped. It is noticeably lower than the surrounding land, has standing water in it and is today used as pasture. White's *Directory* noted in 1856 that it was about sixty acres and 'was purchased by the drainage commissioners, and is used as a receptacle for water in time of floods.'⁷⁹



Plate 34. To show position of un-warped area called Butterwick Hales

At Ashby, three miles to the north of Messingham the relationship between warping and parliamentary enclosure was different. The township's territory does not lie on the banks of the Trent but is separated from it by Burringham. Because of this, the Act authorizing enclosure had to recite in detail the additional powers which were necessary for the Commissioners to be given, to enable warping to be carried out. (Plate 35, below) Essentially provision was made for it, by buying land in Burringham and by allotting space for a warping drain, with an outfall to the Trent, which could be dug when it was needed, or when the Ashby proprietors could afford it.

41^o GEORGII III. Cap. 74.

Commissioners shall think proper and expedient for protecting and defending the said Lands and Grounds from the Upland Water that may be liable to overflow the same, and also for effectually draining and for warping the same by Means of the Waters of the River *Trent*, and otherwise improving the said Lands and Grounds, so as the Quantity of Land in the said Township of *Ashby*, to be cut for the Purposes of draining and warping, do not exceed Forty Acres Statute Measure; and for the better effecting such Purposes, the said Commissioners are hereby authorized and empowered to join and connect any of the Drains and Sewers to be made by virtue of this Act with any Drains or Sewers made or to be made in any Parish or Place adjoining or near to the said Township of *Ashby*, into which Drains or Sewers there is or shall be any legal Right to drain Waters from any Lands or Grounds within the said Township of *Ashby*, and to make any Contracts or Agreements with the Owners of any Drains or Sewers for that Purpose, and also to purchase any Lands or Grounds in any adjoining or neighbouring Parishes or Places for obtaining the best and most effectual Outfall into the River *Trent*, for draining, warping, and improving the said Commons, Lands, and Grounds, and to make, cut, and erect all such Drains, Bridges, Tunnels, Cloughs, and other Works, in, through, and over such Lands so to be purchased as shall be most conducive to the Ends aforesaid, and also to agree with the Proprietors of any

Plate 35: Ashby Enclosure Act 1801, part of section XIX, p.12

At the time of the Parliamentary Act of 1801, there about 320 acres of old enclosures consisting of the tofts and croft of the township, together with the rectangular closes in the West field, which are to be associated with a 1784 private enclosure agreement.⁸⁰ There were therefore 1855 acres of land still to be enclosed.⁸¹ The Act reveals that John Julius Angerstein, Esquire, was Lord of the Manor, and that John Fardell, Gentleman, was Impropiator and entitled to all 'Tythes of Hay, Corn, and Wool and to certain Glebe lands'. Neither of these men were residents, or indeed even farmers. Angerstein, (c.1732–1823) was a marine insurance broker and an art connoisseur whose earnings from his business activities enabled him to support the upkeep of two residences, one in Pall Mall and another, a country house at Blackheath. Besides investing in art, he seems to have been an enthusiastic purchaser of farmland and, at his death, the value of his estate was half a million pounds.⁸² John Fardell (1744-1805) held the post of Deputy Registrar in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln and Stow, and effectively was the key figure in transacting the Church's legal business at Lincoln, including the lease and purchase of Church land.⁸³ It seems likely that because of the expertise he built up and the wealth that he accumulated, he

was able to invest in property on his own account and there are records of purchases of land at Thorpe on the Hill and Welton and of Bottesford parsonage.⁸⁴

The preamble to the Act of 1801 continued with the usual motives for improvement *without* mentioning the word warping. Perhaps the term was still considered a little known local barbarism at that time, and not appropriate for the first page of a parliamentary act. The Act appointed three Commissioners; Francis Otter, of Stainton le Vale, John Renshaw, of Owthorpe, Notts and Samuel Turner, of Buslingthorpe. Anthony Bower, of Lincoln was appointed Surveyor. Most of the forty-seven pages of the Act are devoted to detailed instructions to the Commissioners; how farming was to be allowed to continue during the enclosure process, how they were to determine which of the land could be improved by drainage and warping, how new highways and footpaths were to be laid out and how some could be closed.

Minutes of the meetings of the Commissioners, with public notices relating to the enclosure together with a badly faded copy of the Award, without a plan, are in the Brown, Hudson and Hudson (solicitors of Barton-on-Humber) Deposit at the Lincolnshire Archives. An excellent fully legible copy of the Award, with its plan, signed by the surveyor Anthony Bower and the three surviving commissioners, is included in the 1808-30 Kirton in Lindsey Court Book.⁸⁵ It is therefore possible to follow both the course of the enclosure proceedings, and to study the provisions of the Award.

The Commissioners held their first meeting on 3 August 1801 at the Angel Inn, at Brigg. By the 24 May 1804, after many meetings, the process seemed to be nearing its conclusion and the Commissioners were at the Spital Inn, where they worked through a copy of the Award and declared that it was 'now ready to be Ingrossed'. Work on the roads was ordered to be completed by the 11

July. On that date the Commissioners meet at Ashby to view the roads, but work was still proceeding so they at once went to Brigg and met from 11 to 13 July, where they make several small changes to the Award. They were again at Ashby and Brigg from 1 to 4 October. At Ashby, the roads and various other building works were examined, while at Brigg further changes were made to the Award, including, very significantly, the addition of a clause concerning warping, 'should this become possible'. Anthony Bower's plan of Ashby (plate 36, below) clearly shows that embankments had been constructed at the low-lying west end of the township and form its boundaries on three sides.⁸⁶ The zigzag course of an 'intended warping drain' was drawn on the map, but as noted, for warping to have been possible, the drain would have to have an inlet/outlet to the River Trent, across the fields of the neighbouring township of Burringham to the west.

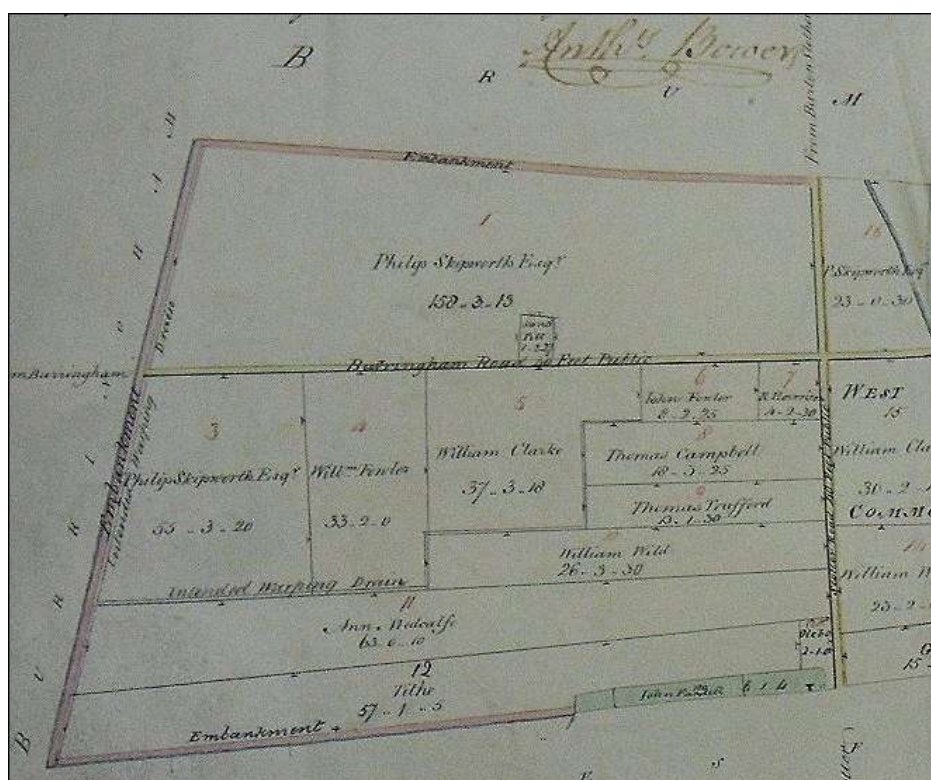


Plate 36. Detail of Ashby Enclosure map. Embankments in pink and the zigzagged 'Intended warping Drain'. (LAO: KR/2/10)

The Commissioners clearly believed that the enclosure, at least, was approaching its conclusion as they directed that '... all Accounts whatever relating to this Inclosure be ready for Examination at our next Meeting...'. That next meeting was back at the Angel in Brigg, on the 3 to 5 December 1804. It was evident that the Commissioners wished to wind everything up, and sign the Award on Tuesday 5 February 1805. On that date they met, at the Angel, and noted that the Award could not be signed as some of the rates were unpaid. They ordered their clerks to take legal action '... and do give Notice for a further Meeting when they shall deem it expedient...' There is then an unexplained hiatus of four years before the minutes resume, at Brigg, on Friday 10 February 1809. At that meeting various bills were paid, a fourth rate of £257 was levied and the Commissioners finally signed the Award.⁸⁷ Everything was ready for the low-lying lands of Ashby to be warped; the embankments had been constructed and space had been left for a warping drain to be dug to link with the Trent, by way of Burringham. The delay in the enclosure process from 1805-9 was almost certainly because the Ashby commissioners were waiting for the Burringham owners to begin their own enclosure, or at least to permit this linking section of the warping drain to be dug. By 1809 the Commissioners had evidently run out of patience with Burringham and they concluded the Ashby enclosure, with the warping, which the Act allowed, yet to be started. It was not for some twenty years before the process of enclosure would begin in Burringham, and Ashby could be warped. When it came, it was done privately, by a landowner called Henry Healey in a program of improvement which included drainage and warping.

Burringham is a township by the Trent, of 1,450 acres, bounded on the north by Brumby, on the east by Ashby and on the south by East Butterwick. In 1856, William White described it as once being 'a low swampy moor which has been improved by warping upon it the silty deposits of the Trent.'⁸⁸

As already noted, advertisements had appeared in the *Stamford Mercury* in autumn 1796 asking owners to a meeting at the Black Moor's Head Inn at Gainsborough to discuss the intended enclosure of Burringham, together with its neighbouring townships of Ashby and East Butterwick. It was 'to consider the Expediency of the.... Inclosure and what Terms shall be offered to the Lord of the Manor and Tythe Owners.'⁸⁹ Although, as already described, Ashby was enclosed in 1801-9, nothing more was heard of this plan for a joint enclosure of lands in the three townships, and it seems to have been abandoned.

Because, warping was expensive, it could only practically be carried out where the land to be improved was in a few rich hands, and agreement could be reached to share the costs. In 1799 such an agreement was apparently made between William Hall of Hull and a local landowner, Thomas Peacock, for 'draining and warping land at Botsford (*sic*) and East Butterwick under the superintendence of Anthony Bower.'⁹⁰ This involved land in Burringham township in Bottesford parish, and in East Butterwick, across the township boundary to the south. This proposed scheme must also have been abandoned, as nothing more was heard of it either. Achieving a consensus for agricultural improvement often proved difficult, but when the expense of warping and draining is also an issue, agreement will have been even harder and the arrangements may well have foundered on concerns about cost.

Henry Healey is the name, particularly associated with the warping of land, in the area. He was born Henry *Holgate*, the youngest son of Edward Holgate of High Risby in Roxby, and Jane, sister of George Healey of Frodingham, and when his uncle died in 1824, he inherited property in Frodingham, Crosby, Scunthorpe, West Halton as well as in Burringham which was, at the time, said to be worth in excess of one hundred thousand pounds.⁹¹ By the terms of his uncle's will, Henry Holgate was required to adopt the surname Healey.⁹² He seems immediately to have begun a vigorous programme of enlargement and

improvement of the late George Healey's estate, as he raised over thirty thousand pounds by mortgages to acquire additional property, including in 1834 Ashby Duck decoy in Ashby township, and 350 acres of land which bordered his Burringham property. The newly renamed Henry Healey built a large house, near the Duck decoy with ornamental grounds, which became his family home and which he called, despite its size, Decoy Cottage.⁹³ He was more celebrated however for the construction of the warping embankments and drains which were built in Burringham, a mile or so to the west of his new home. In the twenty years after 1828, he spent an estimated £31,000 on these works. Compensation, which had to be paid to his neighbours, added several thousand pounds more, when the Healey drain broke on several occasions.⁹⁴ It may be that he overstretched his finances in improving his land in Burringham by warping, as he had sold off his properties in Frodingham and Crosby by 1842.⁹⁵ As he was by far the major landowner in the township, and he had expended such a great amount of money over the years, it seems very likely that it was Healey who finally carried out the warping of Ashby and largely created the drained and warped landscape of Burringham that is seen today.

In 1836 an act was passed which smoothed the progress of the enclosure of open and arable fields, and authorized the enclosure of such fields by commissioners when two-thirds of the interests affected were agreed, without any further parliamentary authority. Where seven-eighths of the interests were agreed, the owners themselves could carry out the enclosure and no commissioners being needed.⁹⁶ Perhaps as a result of this act discussions took place in 1837 concerning the few acres of Burringham which were yet to be enclosed. Two plans exist, dated 1823, of 'Burringham Moors', one of which bears a note written by Healey himself:

'Ferry Boat Inn, Burringham, 4 October 1837. This is the plan referred to in the Resolution this day adopted by the persons interested in the

open and common arable, meadow and pasture lands or fields in the township of Burringham...'⁹⁷

The resolution passed that day has not been found, but the plan delineates narrow east/west strips of land, with a key in the margin, which names the strips and gives their individual areas. There are nineteen strips and a few other tiny portions of land, which total just 27 acres, 1 pole and 16 perches, or only about 1.8% of the area of the township.

The award that resulted six years later is not the work of parliamentary enclosure commissioners, but of a land surveyor, William Rawson, from Barton upon Humber. Rawson will have been familiar to many of the landowners, as he had surveyed Frodingham and Scunthorpe in 1828, and he was able to be employed by them, because evidently seven-eighths by value of the interests, had agreed the enclosure of these few acres.⁹⁸ The familiar introduction of the old enclosure awards is replaced by a greeting from Mr Rawson and a preamble which refers to the resolution of 1837:⁹⁹

Whereas by an agreement in writing bearing date 16 October 1837 (*that is nearly two weeks later than the date on the plan*) and made in pursuance of a resolution passed at a meeting of the owners and proprietors of the open or common lands...duly called and held under and by virtue of an Act of Parliament... Between Henry Healey ...of Decoy Cottage...and the several other persons...interested...

There follows the names of twenty-eight landowners.

...After reciting that the several common lands of the townships of Burringham ...consisted of small slips of land which lay dispersedly and intermixed with the inclosed lands and were subject at certain times to right of intercommon for the depasture of cattle and other live stock therein which had been found inconvenient and detrimental by reason of

the lands not being capable of permanent occupation and improvement and further reciting that in order to remedy these inconveniences and render the common lands improveable it had been considered beneficial for the Township and the several proprietors, owners and persons interested therein that the Lands over which such common rights existed should be inclosed , apportioned, divided and allotted....

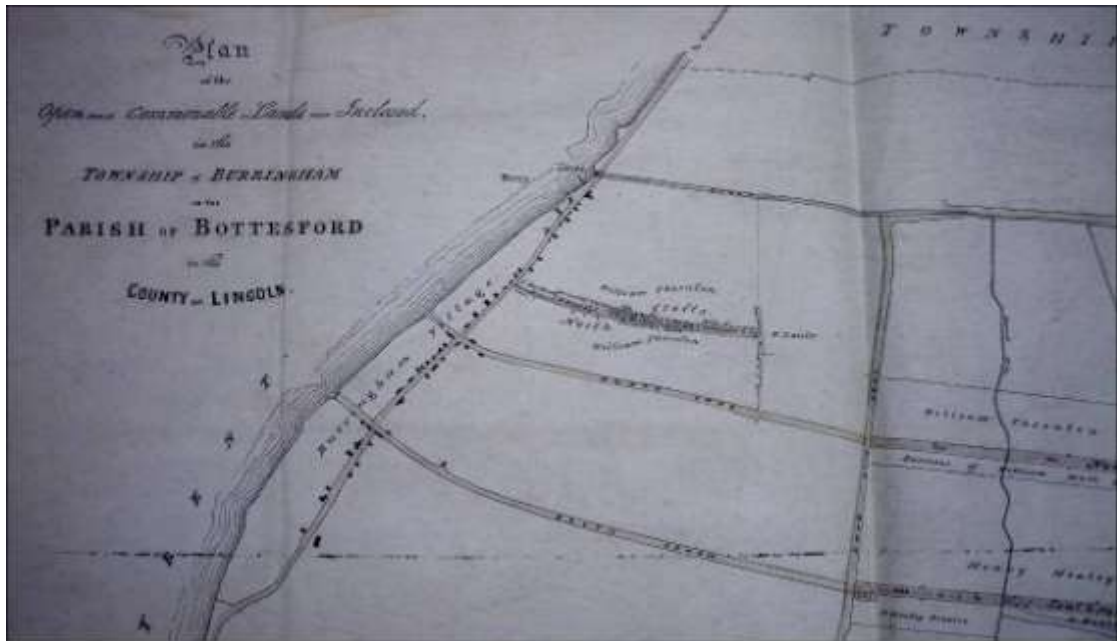


Plate 37 Part of the plan accompanying the Award of 15 Apr 1843, showing the western ends of the long strips.

A section of the map accompanying the award is shown, above (plate 37). By examining the map and comparing it with the modern landscape, the rationale behind the enclosing of twenty-seven acres becomes clearer. At the end of the warping process, a number of narrow strips of land remained; these may well have been the remnants of embankments built in the 1820s to aid Henry Healey's agricultural ambitions. By 1837 it was presumably thought that better use could be made of them, and some have become lanes and sections of roads, while other strips have disappeared and now form part of the rectangular fields.

Henry Healey sold his land across the river, in Althorpe and West Butterwick, in 1854, and he was left with a compact estate in Burringham and Ashby of about one thousand acres.¹⁰⁰ He died in 1868 and the Burringham/Ashby estate was sold in 1869.¹⁰¹

The experience in Frodingham, north of Burringham township, was different again. Although permission was given in the 1831 Enclosure Act to warp, it seems that the commissioners had learned their lessons and were no longer willing to wait, on the whims and caprices of neighbouring landowners, before being able to undertake warping as part of their duties. Instead, the Act appointed the biggest owner to carry out warping.

A petition had come before the House in 1831 requesting, enclosure and drainage of the townships of Frodingham parish.¹⁰² The House committee, in approving the petition, seems to have added 'warping' to the wording.¹⁰³ Before the bill could proceed, a counter petition from a local landowner, Mrs. Sally Smith, was considered and approved, which effectively removed Bromby township from the enclosure.¹⁰⁴ The Act was passed on 23 August 1831 and allowed 'inclosing, draining and warping' in the rest of the parish of Frodingham.¹⁰⁵ The Act is conventional until paragraph sixty-six, which states that after the lands capable of being warped had been identified by Commissioners, it would be lawful for Frodingham's leading landowner, Charles Winn, to undertake the warping himself.¹⁰⁶ (Plate 38, below)

LXVI. And be it further enacted, That after the Determination of the said Commissioner as to the Lands and Grounds capable of being warped shall have been made and finally concluded, it shall and may be lawful for the said *Charles Winn*, his Executors or Administrators, and he and they is and are hereby authorized and directed, to erect, cut, and make in, through, under, or upon the said Lands and Grounds, and also any Land within the said Townships or Hamlets of *Frodingham*, *Scunthorpe*, and *Gunhouse* (otherwise *Gunnas*), lying between the said Lands and Grounds and the River *Trent*, all such Banks, Cuts, Sluices, Dams, Cloughs, Watercourses, Culverts, Bridges, Roads, and other Works as shall be necessary for warping the said Lands and Grounds, and also to remove, alter, repair, support, and maintain, or cause to be removed, altered, repaired, supported, and maintained, all such Cuts, Drains, Dams, Banks, Aqueducts, Culverts, Outlets, Sluices, Cloughs, Engines, Bridges, Tunnels, Roads, and other Works as the said *Charles Winn*, his Executors or Administrators,

Plate 38 Part of paragraph 66 of the Frodingham Enclosure Act

A series of subsequent paragraphs laid out in detail the rights and obligations of Winn in carrying out the work. Most importantly, Winn's estate was to be answerable for 'misconduct in the warping'.¹⁰⁷ Landowners were to be charged by Winn a total of twenty pounds per acre, for the work of warping. As soon as an acre of land was embanked and ready for the process to begin, the owners were to pay ten pounds per acre to Winn. When warping was 'well and effectually completed' as determined by 'engineers' appointed by the Act, the balance of ten pounds per acre was to be paid. Those appointed, Edward Shaw Peacock of Bottesford and Mark Faviell of Amcotts, were not engineers in any modern sense, but were local farmers and landowners who would have experienced warping in their own parishes and would have known what successfully completed warp looked like.¹⁰⁸ They must also have been acceptable to all the affected landowners. After successful completion of warping, the Act provided for the appointment of a Warping Commissioner to be paid for by a warping rate, charged on the owners of warped lands.¹⁰⁹ The Enclosure Commissioners had abrogated any responsibility they once had, for this part of enclosure, to the leading landowner of the parish, but had tried to

maintain some sort of fairness, by writing into the act safeguards for lesser landowners.¹¹⁰ The warping cost is at the top end of Dr Thirsk's estimate of twelve to twenty pounds per acre.¹¹¹

The area that the act encompassed was about 1,962 acres, and the award three years later enclosed a little over 1,754 acres, so 208 acres had already been enclosed before that time.¹¹² The area of warpable land identified in the 1834 award was a little over 504 acres of the the low-lying land called the carrs and moors in Scunthorpe and Frodingham townships. About 269 acres was owned by Winn, and the rest, amounting to about 235 acres, between Gunhouse Ings and Frodingham Moors had been awarded to seven other owners.¹¹³ (Plate 39, below)



Plate 39 On a modern aerial photograph, the area warped by 1847-51

It would have seemed sensible, following the award, to immediately drain and warp the whole of this area, as part of the continuing program of agricultural improvement, and as authorized by the Act. A notice had appeared in the *Stamford Mercury* just ten days after the Act was published, announcing the intention to drain and warp the lands that were being enclosed;¹¹⁴ and an

undated plan existed showing how the area of 235 acres might be warped and laid out, with ditches between owners' plots¹¹⁵ (Plate 40, below).

The progress of warping is not clear from the remaining records, but it was not finished until 1847, when the 'engineers' Peacock and Faviell signed a declaration that it had been completed 'as well... as the situation and level will admit'¹¹⁶.

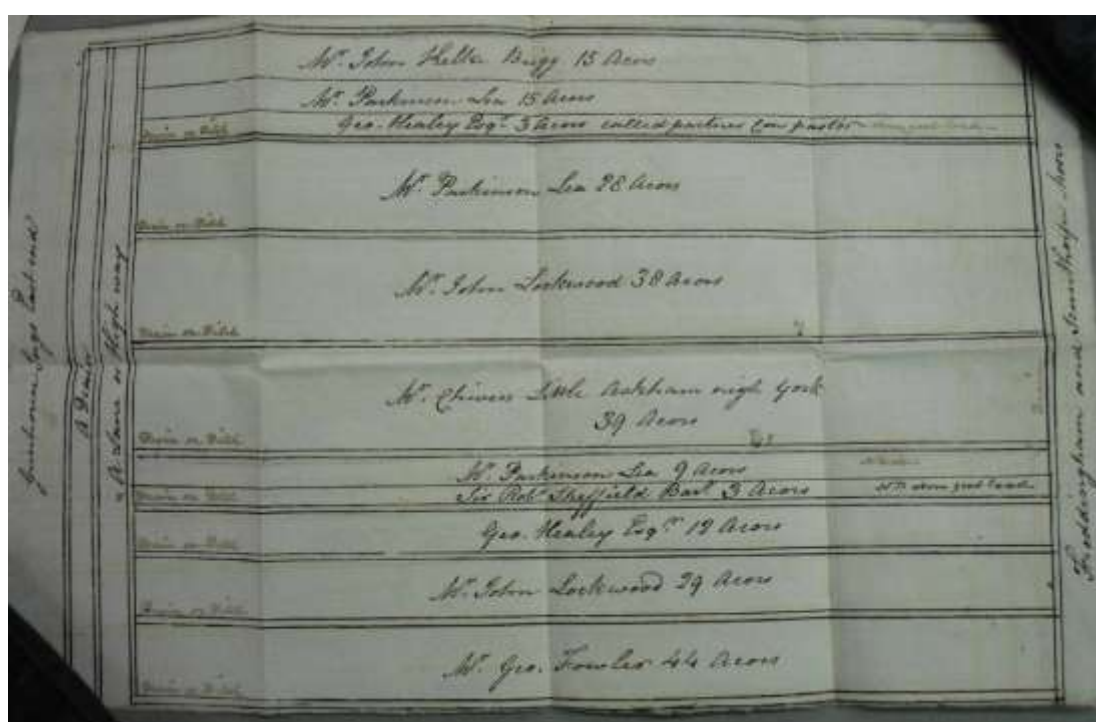


Plate 40. Undated plan of an area of 235 acres awarded to seven owners, showing how it might be drained and warped (LAO: Sheff/E/52/2)

It is now apparent why the remaining 'warpable' part of the parish, Brumby West Common, should have been excluded at this time. It had not been possible to obtain agreement to enclose and warp from the Brumby landowner Mrs Sally Smith when the rest of Frodingham parish was enclosed. It was not until 1867 that the area was improved, by which time its owner had become the Earl of Beauchamp, of Madresfield Court, Worcestershire.¹¹⁷

In some parts of the study area the desire to warp the low-lying land was a spur to enclosure, but in two parishes this could not be said to be true, as enclosure had already taken place *before* the new technique became fashionable.

North of Frodingham are Flixborough and Burton Stather parishes, home to the Sheffield family. The Sheffields seem to have been settled in Lincolnshire since the thirteenth century and, by the mid-eighteenth century, had an estate called Normanby, which consisted of the whole of Flixborough parish and the southern half of Burton. Sir John Sheffield provides firm evidence of enclosure, as in 1778 he commissioned John Snape to make plans of the manor of Normanby, the manors of Burton and Thealby in the parish of Burton upon Stather, and a plan of the parish of Flixborough.¹¹⁸ Snape's maps shows that nearly all the Sheffield family property had been enclosed by that time.



Plate 41. Detail of: 'A Plan of the Parish of Flixborough in the County of Lincoln belonging to the Honble Sir Jno. Sheffield, Bart. Surveyed in 1778 by John Snape' (NELA:524/A/9/2)

The Sheffield family had thus been early agricultural innovators and had led the way, in the study area, with the enclosures on their Normanby estate. In the years that followed however, it had become the custom to drain and warp the low lying lands in association with parliamentary enclosure, or as soon afterwards as practicable. This had not happened with the Sheffield's estates as warping had only begun to be a recognised technique in the 1790s.¹¹⁹ The family must have looked at their low-lying tenanted land by the river (plate 41, above) and wished that its productivity, and its rentable value, could be increased to equal that of other parishes, that had been warped later. Any such talk of warping of the low-lying lands on the Sheffield estates will have been more controversial at this stage, as tenants were established in their plots, and would not have wished to lose one or more years of cultivations, so that the landlord could charge more rent.

There were discussions about the possibility of warping land below Burton wood in 1827, but nothing seems to have come of them.¹²⁰ In 1835 there had been discussions based upon a paper which examined the possibility of warping 255 acres of land in Flixborough township and 334 acres below Burton wood *without* the construction of a new warping sluice; instead an existing drainage sluice called Neap Clough would be used. The author of the paper (who was, almost certainly, the Normanby estate manager Robert Barker), thought that £600 could be saved in this way and he thought that (should) 'the summer prove tolerably dry, it is possible that the land in question might be raised 18 inches and some of it 2 feet in one year, at any rate not more than two years would be required.'¹²¹ He estimated how much extra rent would be produced by the land; at Flixborough after warping; he thought that rents could increase by 164% and in the fields below Burton wood by 134%. It was not an easy calculation because as well as the considerable cost of the process itself,

landowners would need to accept a much reduced rent from tenants for an indeterminate time.¹²²

Land to be warped at Humbermouth by Wap Drain

Owner	Area	Cost before warping	Cost after warping	Saveance in Rent
W. Chapman	61	110 5	128 3	17 8
A. Chapman	63	60 7	96 10	36 3
J. Hall	30	13	63	50
W. Chapman	30	12	63	51
J. Chapman	38	36	72 10	37 10
Joseph Tallant	28	33	36 12	31 12
W. Darby	5	3 1	10 10	8 9
D. Brier	5 1/2	7 9 8	11 11	4 1 8
W. Brier	6 1/2	5	9 9	4 9
W. Brier	6 1/2	3 8	9 9	6 1
John Robinson	8 1/2	8 19 9	17 17	8 17 3
Total	335	201 13 9	533 10	333 12 3

Two years' rent lost, at least 115 13 9
Expenses of warping, at 4 pence 114 0 1
Cost of land, including loss of Rent 1600 0 0
Expenses of land 3000 0 0
It would be 14 pence Rent.

Land warped below Burton Wood

Owner	Area	Cost before warping	Cost after warping	Saveance in Rent
W. Chapman	10	9 10	21	11 10
J. Chapman	12	11 0	25 4	13 16
Joseph Tallant	60	36	126	72
J. Chapman	55	40	115 10	75 10
J. Chapman	38	40	79 16	39 16
J. Tallant	30	40	102	62
W. Brown	14	12	29 8	17 8
W. Brier	60	60	136	66
W. Darby	8	7	16 16	9 16
W. Brier	8	7	16 16	9 16
Chapman's Car	11 1/2	11	26 3	15 3
Rev. C. Sheffield	5	5	10 10	5 10
J. Sheffield	1 1/2	1 10	3 3	1 8
John Roberts	1	1 10	2 2	1 12
Total	334	300 3 0	701 8 0	381 5 0

Two Coughs (if a Cough were done) according to the Burton method, done much sooner and much cheaper without cost.
Keeping expenses 1600
Two years' Rent lost 600
Expenses 3000
It would be 15 pence Rent.

Plate 42: Part of Robert Barker's 1835 calculations concerning warping on the Normanby estate (LAO:Sheff/E/5/50)

It seems that warping was underway in the years 1840-47, on some of the land at least, and in November 1843, Barker produced a further set of calculations to show its progress.¹²³ In 1846-7 a further sixty-nine acres were warped, and the process was completed in 1848-9 when seventy-three acres were warped.¹²⁴

A large drain together with a 'cleugh' into the Trent still exist just south of the landing stage at Burton, so it seems that that Barker's idea for saving money was not acted upon, and a new warping drain was in fact constructed. A small amount of land near the 'cleugh' remains unwarped and it may be that one or two of the other smaller owners in Burton Stather were unwilling, or unable, to warp their land for reasons of cost.

The Sheffield family had paid the price for not warping at the same time as enclosure, but by 1850 all the riverside parts of their Normanby estate would have been as productive as neighbouring parishes.

A curious consequence of warping was the disappearance of Will-o'-the-wisp or *ignis fatuus*, the ghostly light sometimes seen at night or twilight over bogs, swamps, and marshes. A correspondent wrote in 1852 to *Notes and Queries*:

Fifty years ago he might be seen nightly dancing over bog and brake; but since the process of warping has been discovered, which has made valuable property of what was before a morass, nearly the whole of the commons between Gainsborough and the Humber have been brought into cultivation, and the drainage consequent thereon has nearly banished poor Will.

Any person wishing to make his acquaintance would probably succeed, if he were to pass a night next November, on Brumby or Scotton common.¹²⁵

Brumby west common was not to be warped until 1867, while Scotton common had to wait until 1884-5, by which time, with the complete disappearance of the old marshy landscape and its replacement by a new fertile and productive terrain, 'poor Will' had danced his last.¹²⁶

Conclusion

Schemes of water management involving the digging of ditches are almost always associated with enclosure, but in the study area, more advanced techniques were necessary to convert this landscape of tidal rivers and low-lying land to more productive use. In the east of the area, changes in climate encouraged the taming of the Ancholme by a sluice gate, and enclosure was then worthwhile. In the west, covering the poor peaty soils by fertile river silt,

using the process called warping had to be *preceded* by enclosure. This was because 'warpable' fields had to be first delineated and identified, and space made for large warping drains.

Because of the constructional work involved, drainage and warping schemes were likely to be more expensive than other agricultural improvement. These costs were justified however by the prospects of the increased rents which would come from an end to inundation and greatly increased fertility.

As Beckett has observed, 'it is possible that in their fascination with the enclosure of open fields, historians have overlooked the fact that the general trend of enclosure may have been towards land reclamation rather than reorganization of the arable.'¹²⁷ It certainly does seem that the agricultural tendency, in those parts of the study area parishes bounded by rivers, was firstly towards repossessing the land from water, rather than schemes for redeploying existing cultivated land.

References

¹ Based upon a map in: R. van de Noort, *The Humber Wetlands: the Archaeology of a Dynamic Landscape* (Macclesfield, 2004), p.23

² 23 Henry VIII c 5 (Statute of Sewers); A. M. Kirkus (ed.), *The Records of the Commissioners of Sewers in the Parts of Holland 1547-1603* (Lincoln 1959), p.xi, *passim*.

³ Lincoln county, commissioners of sewers, *An Inquisition taken before the Commissioners of Sewers for the County of Lincoln, 1583* (Ripon, 1851), *passim*

⁴ *Ibid*, p.12

⁵ *Ibid*, p.14

⁶ R. Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth [and James I] ...: Elizabeth, 1581-1590* (1865), p.229

⁷ E. Royle (ed.), *Issues of Regional Identity: in Honour of John Marshall* (Manchester, 1998), p.33

⁸ W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1968), p.119

⁹ R. van de Noort, *The Humber Wetlands...*, p.157; J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming* (1957), p.117

¹⁰ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming* (1957), p.190

¹¹ H. Neumann , 'The paleo-environmental survey of the Ancholme Valley' in R. van de Noort, S. Ellis, et al, *Wetland Heritage of the Ancholme and Lower Trent Valleys: an Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 1988), pp.75-6

¹² *Ibid*, p.190

¹³ LAO: MON 19/7/1/10 ; Owersby is about 4 miles north of Market Rasen and a mile from the New River Ancholme.

¹⁴ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, p.190; LAO:MON 3/9 dated 1635 is a copy of a law empowering Sir John Monson to cut a sluice for the purpose of draining the Ancholme basin, but it notes that the number of acres was actually 5,287.

¹⁵ E. A. Labrum (ed.), *Civil Engineering Heritage: Eastern and Central England* (1993), p.49

¹⁶ W. Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking and Drayning ...* (1662), p.89

¹⁷ LAO: Monson 7/17/46 'Statement of Winterton case';7/18/5 'Interrogatories and depositions of witnesses on behalf of the freeholders of Winterton against Sir John Monson'.

¹⁸ TNA: E 134/17Chas2/East14, 'Wm. Place, Wm. Baldwin, John Nevell, Thos. Hilbert, Jacob Cooke, John Girdley, Wm. Snowden, Wm. Everingham, on behalf of themselves, Wm. Holland, and divers other inhabitants and freeholders of Winterton. v. Sir John Monson, Touching plaintiffs' claim to a parcel of ground "adjoining to the river of Aucholne within said lordship," and defendant's claim thereto by force of an Act of Parliament of 13 Chas. 2'

¹⁹ K. Lindley, *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution* (1982), pp.227-8

²⁰ H.H. Lamb, *Climate, History and the Modern World* (1995), pp.76-77; H. Flohn & R. Fantechi, *The Climate of Europe, Past, Present, and Future: Natural and Man-Induced Climatic Changes, a European Perspective* (Dordrecht, 1984), p.55

²¹ H.H. Lamb, p.246

²² *Journals Of The House Of Commons*, Twelfth Parliament of Great Britain: sixth session (11 November 1766 - 2 July 1767), 26 January 1767

²³ *Ibid*, 11 February 1767

²⁴ *Ibid*, 27 February 1767

²⁵ *Ibid*, 30 March 1767

²⁶ *Ibid*, 16 April 1767

²⁷ *Ibid*, 20 May 1767

²⁸ LAO: 2-RED/4/8/1

²⁹ A. Straw, 'The Ancholme Levels north of Brigg: A history of drainage and its effect on land utilization', *East Midland Geographer*, 3 (1955), p.40; LAO: MON/21/2/D/2. 'A large plan of the drainage of the Ancholme' surveyed in 1767-1768 by E. Johnson and J. Dickenson

³⁰ A. Straw, p.40

³¹ LAO: Lindsey award /113 Snitterby, Atterby and Waddingham, 29 Nov 1770

³² LAO: Lindsey award/77 Scawby Enclosure Award and copy Plan, 18 Dec 1771; ERYA: DDTH/11, Vol. 1764-1824, pp.167-184

³³ *Journals Of The House Of Commons*, Thirteenth Parliament of Great Britain: third session (9 January 1770 – 19 May 1770), 27 February 1770

³⁴ W. Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking ...* (1662), p.89

³⁵ LAO: Lindsey award/77

³⁶ Edward Johnson of Hull went on to be a commissioner for the enclosure of West Halton in 1772-3 and Whitton in 1773-5.

³⁷ Ordnance Survey, Ancholme Valley map, No. 281, Scale 1 in 25,000 (2006)

³⁸ LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6, 'Report of John Parkinson and Samuel Turner' 6 Nov 1795

³⁹ Hibaldstow Enclosure Act, 25 October 1795, p.20

⁴⁰ LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6, Commissioners' Minute Book.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6; The clerk to the commissioners, Richard Nicholson, was an attorney-at-law at a Brigg solicitors', and it was a successor firm, Hett, Davy & Stubbs, which made the Stubbs Deposit in which these documents are found.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6 The expenses for ten persons amounted to £5-11-2.

⁴⁶ It is tempting to speculate that Thomas Parkinson of Scawby was a relative of Commissioner John Parkinson of Asgarby, although no evidence has been found for this. Thomas Parkinson does not seem to have acted in the capacity at any other time.

⁴⁷ LAO: Stubbs 1/20/6

⁴⁸ G. E. Fussell, 'Low Countries' Influence on English Farming', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 74, No. 293 (1959), pp. 611-622; D. Neave, *The Dutch Connection: The Anglo-Dutch Heritage of Hull and Humberside* (Hull, 1988), *passim*.

⁴⁹ J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian history of England and Wales 1640-1750*, Vol V, I (Cambridge, 1985), p.79; J. Tomlinson, *The Level of Hatfield Chase and Parts Adjacent* (Doncaster, 1882)

⁵⁰ Lord Ernle, *English Farming: Past and Present* (1912), p.114

⁵¹ J. C. Loudon, *An Encyclopædia of Agriculture* (1831), p.330

⁵² J. Wright (ed.), *English Dialect Dictionary*, vol. vi (Oxford, 1905), p. 387-8; Warping should not be confused with the other form of artificial land reclamation: the deliberate accretion of estuarine alluvium. This involved the construction of embankments to enable the trapping of sediments carried naturally by the waters of the Humber. This type of reclamation was used, for example, from the seventeenth century onwards, to build up the area round Sunk Island Sand between Hull and Spurn Point. (M. Dinnin, 'Introduction to the palaeoenvironmental survey' in R. Van de Noort and S. Ellis (eds), *Wetland Heritage of Holderness: an Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 1995), *passim*)

⁵³ J. C. Loudon, *An encyclopædia...*, p. 332

⁵⁴ G. Rennie, et al, *General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (1793), p. 166

⁵⁵ A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (1799), pp. 276-7

⁵⁶ R. Creyke, 'Some account of the process of warping' in *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, vol. 5 (1845), pp. 398-405

⁵⁷ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming* (1957), p. 291

⁵⁸ J. Mackinnon, (edited by E. Peacock), *Account of Messingham in the County of Lincoln* (Hertford, reprint 1881)

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 8-9

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 9

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 16

⁶² LAO: Glebe terrier bundle, Messingham, 1634 and 1686

⁶³ LAO: Messingham Inclosure Award and Plan PAR CO.1 (also listed as LAO: Acc. Number: 2007/54)

⁶⁴ *Stamford Mercury*, 17 October 1796

⁶⁵ *Stamford Mercury*, 22 September 1797

⁶⁶ *Stamford Mercury*, 20 October 1797

⁶⁷ Barnard paid 21% of the parish land tax in 1800. (LAO: Land Tax Assessments, Manley Wapentake, 1800)

⁶⁸ LCL: Messingham Inclosure Act, 1798

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ LAO: Messingham Inclosure Award and Plan, PAR CO.1

⁷¹ J. Mackinnon, p.19; LAO: Misc Dep 22/27

⁷² LAO: Messingham PAR CO.1

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ But Turner has 5,560 awarded acres, in: W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), p.166

⁷⁵ J. Mackinnon, pp.19-20

⁷⁶ *ibid*, editor's note; J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming* (1957), p.291

⁷⁷ LAO: 1 Dixon/16/3 'Diary notes of the Revd John Parkinson of Ravendale, 1804-26', p.206

⁷⁸ The practice of warping over long periods is discussed in 1909 [Cd. 4461] *Royal Commission on Coast Erosion and Afforestation. Volume II. (Part II)*, pp.108-120, especially p.118

⁷⁹ W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire* (1856), p.603

⁸⁰ LAO: Misc Dep 77/16, 'Improvement of Lands in the several open Arable fields there by sowing of Turnips and Clover'

⁸¹ LAO: Brown, Hudson and Hudson 7/1, Ashby Inclosure and Drainage Act, of 1801

⁸² F. Martin, *The History Of Lloyd's And Of Marine Insurance In Great Britain* (1971), p.145, *et seq.*; *The Annual Biography and Obituary*, Vol. 13 (1824), p.275

⁸³ C.M. Lloyd, M.E. Finch (eds.), *Letters from John Wallace to Madam Whichcot, and some Correspondence of John Fardell, Deputy Registrar, 1802-5*, Lincoln Record Society, 66 (Lincoln, 1973), pp.45-9

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.49

⁸⁵ LAO: BH 7/1, Public notices and Minutes of Commissioners' meetings with four rates levied for the enclosure, 1801-9; Copy of Ashby award, no plan 1809; LAO: KR/2/10 Kirton Court Book, Wapentake Court of Manley 1808-1810, Copy of Ashby Award with plan. The original Ashby award with plan is thought to be with the Scunthorpe Town Clerk.

⁸⁶ LAO: KR/2/10. There was no need for a fourth embankment, on the eastern margin of the area to be warped, as the ground rises naturally on that side.

⁸⁷ LAO: BH 7/1, Public notices and Minutes of Commissioners' meetings with four rates levied for the enclosure.

⁸⁸ W. White, *History...* p.596

⁸⁹ *Stamford Mercury*, 17 October 1796

⁹⁰ John Rylands Library: RYCH/3102 Articles of agreement between William Hall of Kingston upon Hull, and Thomas Peacock of Northorpe, ... under the superintendence of Anthony Bower, 1 Jan. 1799.

⁹¹ Lincolnshire Archives Committee, *Archivists' report 22, 1 April 1970 - 23 March 1971* (Lincoln, 1970), p.53

⁹² LAO: 2 TGH 1/4/6 Note concerning an entry in London Gazette re. change of name, 23 August 1824; A.R. Maddison (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, The Harleian Society (1902-6), pp.477-8

⁹³ Lincs, *Archivists' report 22*, p.53

⁹⁴ LAO: 2 TGH 1/31/4/3

⁹⁵ This was to prove a costly error, as ironstone was discovered on these lands, in the late 1850s, by the Winn family.

⁹⁶ 6 & 7 Wm.IV c.115; W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), p.329

⁹⁷ LAO: BH 7/11/6 Two pre-enclosure plans dated 1823 of 'Burringham Moors'.

⁹⁸ Provision of the act: 6 & 7 Will. 4, c. 115.

⁹⁹ LAO: Lindsey Award/160 ,1843

¹⁰⁰ LAO: 2 TGH 1/31/4/14

¹⁰¹ LAO: 2 TGH 1/31/5/6 and 1/31/3

¹⁰² *Journals of the House of Commons*, First Year of the Reign of King William the Fourth, 17 February 1831

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 8 March 1831

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 11 July 1831

¹⁰⁵ 1 & 2 Wm.IV c.57, *An Act for inclosing, draining, and warping Lands within the Townships or Hamlets of Frodingham, Scunthorpe, and Gunhouse (otherwise Gunnas), all in the Parish of Frodingham in the County of Lincoln*, 23 August 1831.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, paragraph 66

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, paragraph 68

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, paragraph 69

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, paragraph 76

¹¹⁰ By 1847 an act had been passed (10 & 11 Vict.,c.38, English Drainage Act, 1847) which in effect authorized any person interested in draining and warping his lands, to clear a way through all obstructions, wherever it was worth the expense of the works and the compensation to his neighbours.

¹¹¹ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming...*, p.291

¹¹² LAO: Lindsey Award/125, Frodingham, Scunthorpe and Gunness Enclosure Award and Plan, 22 Aug 1834; W. White, *History, Gazetteer*, p.598-9

¹¹³ LAO: Lindsey Award /125; LAO: Stubbs/1/249 Minutes of evidence, accounts, lists of proprietors, for the drainage of Frodingham warped lands, in accordance with the Enclosure Act. Henry Grantham, commissioner.

¹¹⁴ *Stamford Mercury*, 2 Sep 1831, p.2 column 4: *Notice for drainage of lands in hamlets of Frodingham under Act of Enclosure*

¹¹⁵ LAO: Sheff/E/52/2. The area is immediately north of the A18 between Gunness and Scunthorpe

¹¹⁶ LAO: Stubbs/1/249

¹¹⁷ G.E. Cokayne, V. Gibbs, *et al.*, (eds.), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant* (Gloucester, 2000), vol. II, p.41; LAO:_Lindsey Award/125; LAO: Lindsey, Brumby award 119

¹¹⁸ NELA: 524/A/9/2 Flixborough; 524/A/9/3 Normanby; 524/A/9/4 Burton and Thealby. Sir John also commissioned, at the same time, plans of West Butterwick (524/A/9/5) and of the 'Manor of Crosby in the Parishes of West-Horton and Froddingham' (524/A/9/6).

¹¹⁹ Plans to warp Morton Carr, north of Gainsborough with sketches of sluices etc, were being discussed in 1796. (LAO:1-Dixon/21/4/1/4)

¹²⁰ LAO: Sheff/E/1/27

¹²¹ LAO: Sheff/E/5/50; In a dry year, the flood water at spring tides carries a higher proportion of solid matter.

¹²² LAO: Sheff/E/5/50

¹²³ LAO: Sheff/E/5/48

¹²⁴ LAO: Sheff/E/5/55, Land below Flixborough Hill

¹²⁵ *Notes and Queries* (1852); s1-V: p.574

¹²⁶ *Stamford Mercury*, 12 July 1867 quoted in R. E. Armstrong (ed.), *An Industrial Island: A History of Scunthorpe* (Scunthorpe, 1981), p.20; LAO: Lindsey, Brumby award 119; LAO: Lindsey award 176, Scotton and East Ferry Enclosure Award and Plan, 18 Mar 1885

¹²⁷ J.V. Beckett, *The Agricultural Revolution* (1990), p. 37

7. Case studies

Case studies describing the enclosure histories of two unusual study area parishes, Waddingham and Winteringham, are given to provide examples of the diversity of experience of agricultural improvement.

Although the enclosure histories of most parishes are poorly documented before the advent of parliamentary enclosure, it is sometimes possible to throw sufficient light on the process, by use of manuscript evidence, so as to show it both as a *continuing strand* in the chronicle of a village, and also to account for the *whole area* of the parish. Both case study parishes fall into this unusual category

Each parish had early enclosure; Waddingham used one of the few Lincolnshire Chancery decrees to validate their improvements while Winteringham employed an early act of parliament to confirm the agreement that had already been made. Later a conventional act was then required to enclose further parts of each parish.

Both histories showed the extent to which flood protection, drainage and wetlands reclamation was an integral part of the improvement process in north Lincolnshire.

The two hundred year enclosure of Waddingham

Waddingham lies north of Lincoln and to the east of Ermine Street. Having an area of 3720 acres, its western parish boundary is the Roman road, and its eastern boundary is marked by the course of the old River Ancholme.¹

Various periods of enclosure can be recognized in the parish. Since time out of mind the small closes (or tofts) on which the cottages stood, together with the closes (or crofts) associated with, and usually adjacent to them, will have existed at the village core. Later, at some time before, (perhaps long before) the Ancholme was straightened and embanked in the 1630s, various

enclosures, called the Thack Carr Closes, were laid out by the river. These were presumably osier beds for basketwork, eel traps, thatching spars, firewood, fencing and other uses.² Other early enclosures are known in the village, Lordship Close, New Close, Munson Close, Towne End Close, Parsonage Close and so on.³

The 1607 'Breife of Depopulacons' had made no mention of any particular enclosure problems in Waddingham, although in nearby villages such as Burringham and Bottesford there had been various objections to the conversion of arable land to pasture for sheep.⁴ With the exception of the Midland Revolt of 1607 there were few significant disturbances, between the Lincolnshire Rising of 1536 and the English Civil War. There were, however, numerous (what Manning calls) 'village revolts'.⁵ These were minor insurrections, usually parochial, involving villagers acting together to protect manorial custom, at a time when many landowners were attempting to assert their claims to land, unqualified by any common rights.⁶ Evidence is slight that statutory penalties against enclosure protesters were ever applied at the Quarter Sessions or Assizes and manorial courts did not seem to settle such disputes; instead the process was for complainants to initiate a private prosecution for riot at the Court of Star Chamber.⁷ In 1608 a suit came before the Court involving a dispute between a group of Waddingham husbandmen together with their wives, and Phillip Adams, the owner of a close who had attempted to end their manorial rights.⁸

It is clear from the defendants' answers to the interrogatories that although they all readily acknowledged the 'compleynante's inherytance' in a long established close called Ingscofts in Waddingham, they considered it to be Lammas land. Between 25 March and the end of July the owner could raise a crop of hay in the hedged and ditched enclosure, but this had to be cut before Lammas Day, 1 August, after which local people's animals were allowed on to his land until Lady Day, the following 25 March. Perhaps encouraged by the

successful suppression of the Midland Revolt a few months earlier, the owner of the close, Phillip Adams of neighbouring Snitterby, stopped up the 'gapstead' or entrance hoping to have the sole use of his close throughout the year.⁹ The husbandmen who were used to grazing their cattle in the Ingscredits, wondered how they could reclaim their rights and believing that married women, as *femmes covert*, were outside the law and would be immune from prosecution, arranged for their wives to remove the entrance obstruction.¹⁰ This was despite a warning by the constable of Waddingham to 'forbeare the throwinge downe of the...inclosure':¹¹

But they the said persons, thinkeing as yt should seeme that the castinge downe of the fences and hedges of the said closes would be a greater offence and more greevislie punished in them, then if yt should be done by weomen, . . . did . . . move, persuade and procure othere weomen to the number of fortie or thereabouts to go to cast downe the said hedge and fences.¹²

The forty women seem to have been the entirety of the Waddingham wives, and their husbandmen spouses waited together, a 'furlonge' away, should they be needed. The women were alleged, by the constable, to have been armed, but only one of them admitted to have actually carried a weapon, a 'littel wodde'. Both husbands and wives were prosecuted in the Court of Star Chamber for riot and the women were charged additionally with assault.¹³ Jannett Wapplet explained in her evidence that she was a poor cottager, that William, her husband, was a day labourer and that they held a cottage with attached freehold rights.¹⁴ Their tenancy meant that they had common rights to graze their animals in Philip Adam's close, but she had been prevented from exercising this right by the blocking of the 'gapstead' and that was the reason that she broke down the fence.¹⁵

It is not clear, from the surviving documents, what penalty, if any, was meted

out to the defendants, although they were ordered not to repeat their actions. Wrightson suggests that enclosure disputes in the Court of Star Chamber were often ended by settlement, sometimes by arbitration, but more usually in a form 'which preserved the interests of the enclosers and improvers.'¹⁶ Perhaps therefore the defendants effectively lost their ancient rights to pasture their animals in Phillip Adams' close.

Part of the territory of Waddingham was drained and enclosed by Sir John Monson and his adventurers in the 1630s. Wilkinson and Fotherby's map of 1640 shows 707 acres either side of the new straightened Ancholme as part of the finished scheme.¹⁷ As explained elsewhere, this land returned to its marshy state, as the levels were neglected and the sluice gate at the Humber outfall fell into disuse. It would form part of the lands enclosed by act in 1769-70 (*q.v.*) and so, like other similar areas by the Ancholme in neighbouring parishes, would be enclosed twice.

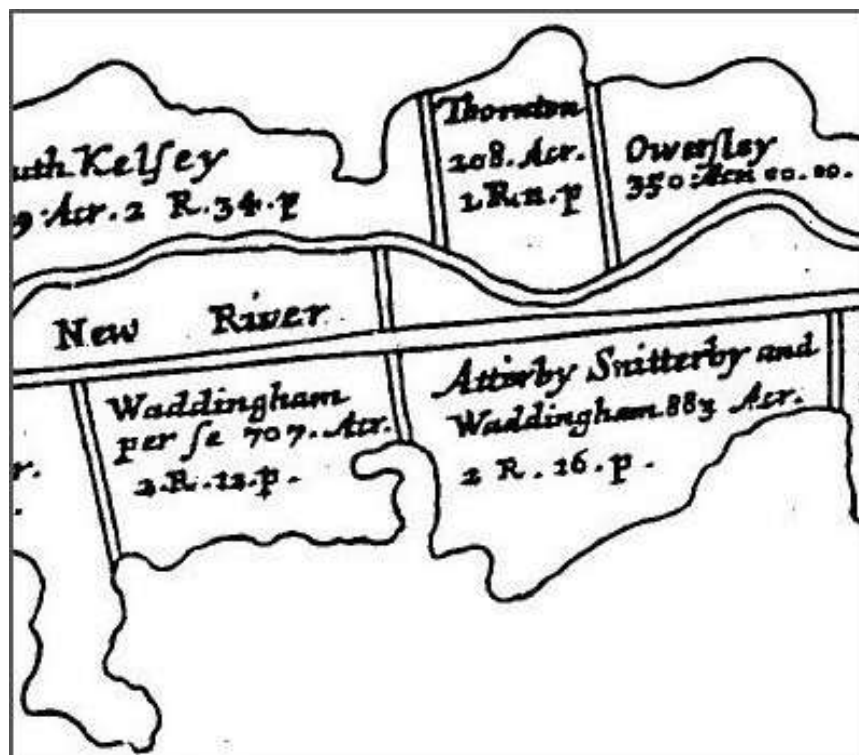


Plate 43. Detail of Wilkinson and Fotherby's 1640 map of the Ancholme levels
(North is to the left of the image)

In 1699 a large part of the parish, including the common fields and some meadows and wastes, was enclosed by agreement and this was confirmed by a Decree in Chancery of 1701.¹⁸

It may be useful to consider what could have caused such a revolutionary agrarian step to have been taken at this particular time. Hadley believes that Waddingham was in medieval times divided into two parishes, one of which seems to have been associated with a lost settlement called 'Stainton'. The parish also included the township of Snitterby, which was in a different wapentake, that of Aslaoe.¹⁹ Waddingham village contains two individual nuclei, one of which may represent the location of Stainton.²⁰ Present day Stainton Avenue runs roughly from west to east, towards the site of what must be the lost settlement. The plan of the village has two different alignments and Everson believes that it came into being in different periods.²¹ Surprisingly however, the churches associated with the two nuclei were located very close to each other which, Everson suggests, meant that there was a core area where the communities of both Waddingham and 'Stainton' came together for worship.²² While it seems likely therefore that the inhabitants of Waddingham and 'Stainton' were involved in social and manorial interactions which often brought them into contact with each other, even though they were divided between several manors and two parishes, there may well have been clear distinctions between them.²³ One of these distinctions could have been the existence of two completely separate open field systems, each trying to make the best use of its land and topographical setting. What caused the survival of the two, presumed, different common-field patterns to come to an end? A catalyst for change may have been the upheavals of the English Civil War, and the dislocation of civil society which resulted from it. The vicar of Hainton, near Market Rasen, had noted in the 1640s that the first enclosure of the fields in his own parish 'was clandestinely supported by the confusion and iniquity of the times'.²⁴

It may however have been as simple as a melding of the two townships, symbolised by the decision not to rebuild Waddingham's parish church of St Peter in 1687, but instead to pull it down and unite the benefice with that of St Mary's church in Stainton. The building is now known confusingly as the Church of St Mary & St Peter, Waddingham.²⁵ The unification of the two congregations may have provided the impetus for the cooperation which will have been essential for agrarian reform and for the agreement to enclose a major part of the now joint parish.

The personality of the principal landlord, James Thompson may have played a part; he may have been anxious to increase the rent from his property. Overton suggests that 'Contemporaries were virtually unanimous that enclosed fields offered more opportunities for money-making than did commonfields.'²⁶ Unfortunately Thompson himself, is something of a mystery. His will of 1719 describes him as a gentleman of Ropsley in Kesteven, a village some fifty miles to the south of Waddingham and reveals him to have owned land and other property in Ropsley and in several other parishes between Grantham and Boston. Strangely he does not mention his wife by name and leaves her little, the greater value of his bequests going to his nephews and in monies to endow schools in several villages where he had land.²⁷ Perhaps he had acquired his land in the open fields of Waddingham by marriage and, not having a child himself, he bestowed his wealth on the children of his siblings and in educating the youngsters of the village. It is possible he had aspirations to found a dynasty and become a country gentleman. He was frustrated in this and so, just as his fellow gentry in Kesteven were doing, he resolved to turn the common fields of Waddingham in Lindsey, into the enclosed landscape of today.²⁸

In order that the enclosure agreement of 1699 could be confirmed by the Chancery Court it was necessary for both parties in the case to relate the

sequence of events leading to the enclosure, and explain how it was done, all the while maintaining the pretence that the case was a genuine dispute between the main freeholders of the village on one side, and the principal landowner James Thompson, together with the Rector of Waddingham, the Bishop of Lincoln and (because the living was in the gift of the king), the Attorney General on the other. The church had a keen interest in enclosure agreements, as glebe lands might be swallowed up in exchanges; tithes might be commuted to fixed payments in an age of rising prices and common lands that had been set aside for the repair of church fabric might be lost.²⁹ The church had therefore to be involved in the agreement and their worries assuaged.

The Waddingham case was thus collusive and James Thompson, who must have been the prime mover, will have acted with, it is to be hoped, the full knowledge and agreement of the freeholders.³⁰ When his pretended dispute 'failed', the rights of those freeholders to divide the land was established, was confirmed by the court and finally enrolled as a decree.

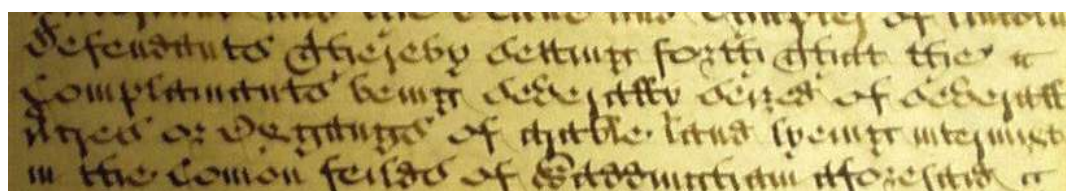


Plate 44; Part of the Chancery Decree for Waddingham TNA: C78/1096/2: ' Defendants Thereby setting forth that the Complainants being severally seized of severall Acres or Oxgangs of arable land lyeinge intermixt in the comon feilds of Waddingham aforesaid '

Having named both sides in the 'dispute', the plaintiffs set out their complaint:

And the complainants findeing the said landes uninclosed were disadvantageous to them they the tennantes and Inhabitants suffering losses by reason of the scarcity of Inclosure wanting meanes to secure their cattle and releive them in the winter season & suffering casuall losses in their stock goeing on the comons belonging to Waddingham ...

Firstly they make an agreement with James Thompson that the Rector should have sixty-eight acres for glebe and £94 per year for the tithe and then they appointed commissioners to arrange the consolidation of the strips, or 'lands' in the open fields into more convenient plots for the freeholders:

And the quality and quantity of every man's arable landes, leayes and headinges, lyeing in the said fields of Waddingham should be laid together in one or more convenient plotte or plottes to be held and enjoyed in severall Dividends with hedges and ditches or other sufficient fences, and that all convenient wayes should be laid out for all plottes to have A Free Accesse to their grounds and that the fences, which every one should make and maintaine as belonging to their groundes, should be likewise sett out by five commissioners therein and hereinafter mentioned.

The poor were not forgotten and provision was made for them with twenty acres set aside and,

fenced at the said freeholders charge and be lett to depasture by the then present Overseers and Church wardens, for the yeare being, and the money ariseing distributed amongst the poor of the said Towne by the Ministers, Church wardens and Overseers, yearly for ever.³¹

Much in the manner of the parliamentary acts which began to be popular some years later, the decree relates how the freeholders had appointed a surveyor and 'five persons of good quality who should allott every mans quantity of land.'

mr James Thompson and the parties thereafter named, having retained and agreed with Mr Thomas Chapman of Ingoldsbe to be Surveyor, and haveing nominated Richard Burnett of Lincolne, Edward Leggerd of Grasby, John Bradley of Burton, Thomas Hooley of Kirton in Holland and Edmund Wells of South Kelsey, all in the said county of

Lincolne, gentlemen, or the major part of them, to allot and plott every mans quantity of land and where the same should lye. And sett out the private wayes, passages, commons, lanes and droves for the said persons use, to come to their plottes and to sett out fences to the said plottes to be maintained by the owners thereof.

Just as in later years parliamentary commissioners would then begin their work, the decree recounts what had happened in Waddingham:

...haveing received Information of each mans quantity from the said Surveyor, and having, in Company of the said lord and severall of the said Freeholders, viewed the said feillds, lands, meadowes and comons and sett values thereof, according to the best of their Judgments, and having a due regard to each mans quantity and quality did allot & plott all the said feillds and comons by a certaine writeing, under their hand...

In the absence of a map the agreement went on to describe, at considerable length, fifty-three new 'plottes' for the thirty-two freeholders.³² Their position in the landscape was established by reference to each other and to existing old enclosures, together with the new ways and footpaths which would have to be laid out, to and through them and the hedges that would have to be planted. For example, in the case of William Fox:

And to and for William Fox one plott to containe twenty six acres two roods and six perches to lye in the said comon between the herein last plotted plott on the north and the next herein to be plotted plott on the south and to abutt on Thack carr closes on the east and on feild lands hereinafter to be plotted for James Thompson gen on the west. And did order that the said William Fox fence the north side and west end of the said plott and that a way doe lye over the west end of the said plott to

the three last plottes plotted and a way downe the said plott to the Thack carr closes lyeing at the east end thereof.

The advantages of the map, which almost always accompanies a parliamentary award, quickly become clear to the reader of a decree concerning enclosure.

To further satisfy the anxieties of the rector Mr Harvey, details were given of the proportions of the £94 per annum, each freeholder by name, would pay to the church each quarter, the penalties for late or non-payment and the detailed ways of obtaining payment *in extremis*:

that if any of the persons before mentioned, their heirs and assigns, should at any time refuse or neglect to pay the said Thomas Harvey, or his successors, the said sumes hereinbefore charged quarterly, as the same grow on or within forty dayes after that, then it might be lawfull for the said Thomas Harvey, or his successors, to enter upon the lands and dishaine for all tythes and arreares then due, and the said distresse, to impound and keep three dayes at the owners charge, and if the said owner did not pay the said tyth within the said three dayes, then the said distresse to be appraised by two or more indifferent appraisers and then to be sold by the said Thomas Harvey or his successors rending back the overplus, if any be, to the owners thereof.

At this point in the document, the tone abruptly changes and the various parties to the agreement that has just been so meticulously described, begin to relate their difficulties with it, and how in fact nothing of it can be agreed without a decree of the court.

The Rector claimed that any agreement regarding tithes and glebe was not valid without the consent of the Bishop and the Attorney General; statements by them were then read out which supported the agreement. The freeholders and principal landowner claimed that their articles of enclosure had never actually been agreed, but the Court observed (probably with tongue in cheek)

that allotments had already been fenced and that all parties were 'in quiet possession of the same'. This was admitted to the Court and the enclosure of Waddingham with Stainton was confirmed on the 27 February 1701 and was subsequently enrolled.

Over two thousand acres, or about 56% of the parish, had been described and allotted in the agreement, almost all of it arable and meadowland between the Roman road on the west and the lower and wetter carr land to the east. About 954 acres (46%) of the whole enclosure were awarded to James Thompson himself, including one single plot of 710 acres which, although now divided into more manageably sized fields, seems to survive as the area surrounding, and to the west of, Waddingham Grange farm, (see plate 46, below). It is difficult not to wonder if many of the new fields listed, were *already* unofficially farmed by the freeholders as 'plottes' rather than 'landes'. Farming through (parliamentary) enclosure is well known and has been discussed in the literature, but to arrange for the whole scheme to be organised and implemented, and a Chancery Decree to confirm it, all in one twelve month period, as the account in the decree would have us suppose, does seem remarkable.³³

James Thompson's estate at Waddingham did not stay long in the family as by 1734 there was correspondence between Revd. William Mompesson and William Carter, the owner of neighbouring Redbourne concerning drainage, indicating that Mompesson was the owner.³⁴ By August 1752 Mompesson had died and the estate, now of 640 acres was being advertised for sale in the *London Gazette*.

TO be sold, pursuant to a Decree of the High Court of Chancery, before Edmund Sawyer, Esq; one of the Masters of the said Court, at his Chambers in Lincoln's Inn, The Manor of Waddingham; alias Stainton Waddingham, with the Messuages and Buildings, and Arable, Meadow and Pasture Lands thereto belonging. containing 640 Acres, situate in Waddingham, in a pleasant, healthy, Sp rting Country, within Twelve Miles of Lincoln, Nine of Gainsborough, and Six of Brigg and Caister, and Two of Kirton in Lindsey, and adjoins to Lincoln Heath, late the Estate of the Rev. William Mompell n, deceased. For farther Particulars, enquire at the said Master's Chambers.

Plate 45. Advertisement in the *London Gazette* 18 August 1752

Twelve hundred and eighty acres of land, more or less adjacent to the River Ancholme and roughly forming the eastern third of the parish of Waddingham still remained to be enclosed, and nearly seventy years elapsed after the Chancery Decree before this was accomplished; the reason for the delay was the river itself.

As noted elsewhere in this thesis it was not until 1767 that a new sluice gate was erected at the South Ferriby outfall of the Ancholme.³⁵ With the resulting end to tidal flooding, agricultural improvement then became possible in the low-lying lands either side of the river and in 1769-70 came the first of two parliamentary enclosures when 'certain lands and grounds' in the townships of Atterby, Snitterby and Waddingham were enclosed, including approximately 1,280 acres of the Waddingham North Carrs.³⁶ Although the award map cannot be found, it would seem that contiguous areas of three parishes close to the river were enclosed. Fortunately the written award does distinguish in which parish each plot was situated, as the commissioners have written in the margin 'Here end the Waddingham allotments', so the lands awarded, and the total area enclosed, in Waddingham can be determined.³⁷ There were fifty-five awards of land, the greatest being 224 acres allotted to Lord Monson and 198 acres to Henry Broadhead esq.³⁸ Because the area was low-lying, an award of a little over seven acres was made to support the work of the bank-master, the

official responsible for the upkeep of the parish drains. The Enclosure Award directed that the plot should:

be let yearly by auction on Easter Tuesday, and the rent applied towards the cleansing and repairing the public drains in North Carr for ever.³⁹

The Charity Commission of 1839 found that the bank-master was letting the allotment, for ten pounds *per annum*, and was using the rent to maintain both bridges and drains in the parish.⁴⁰

The enclosure also made provision for highway repairs by awarding Thomas Cressey a plot called Stonefield of about 24 acres, but ordering also that the town of Waddingham should have liberty to dig stones in the plot for the repairs of the highway for ever, 'there being two acres in addition given to the said Thomas Cressey, in lieu of the said privileges granted to the town.' Perhaps because the poor had already been allowed rents from twenty acres in the earlier Chancery Decree, the Commissioners merely acknowledged their continuing existence by allowing them the use of an allotment called Hemp-Dykes for hemp retting.⁴¹

It is sometimes suggested that one of the reasons that parliamentary enclosure became the preferred way to enclose land was that enrolled Decrees in Chancery could be open to further litigation.⁴² As already pointed out, even when an agreement had been reached, a dissatisfied party or his successor could at any time in the future question it. In 1828 however the rector of Waddingham William Cooper brought an action in the Court of Common Pleas arguing that the land awarded to his predecessor rector in the 1770 *parliamentary* award had been wrongly calculated, because the commissioners had become confused about the tithes in the two adjacent parishes, which were

also dealt with by the award.⁴³ The rector's action failed however and the award of 1770 was confirmed.

In the absence of contemporary maps for either of the two major enclosures, an attempt has been made in plate 46 (below), using a section from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey of 1824, to show those areas that may have been enclosed by Chancery decree in 1701 and by parliamentary awards in 1770 and in 1848. The boundary between the two areas, A and B, has been delineated using the field boundaries from the tithe map of 1840, and by reference to modern mapping data, showing areas at risk of flooding, produced by the U.K. Environment Agency.⁴⁴ The boundary does not pretend to be anything more than conjectural, but does not appear unreasonable when the landscape is walked, and seems to approximately correspond to the acreages which have been deduced.

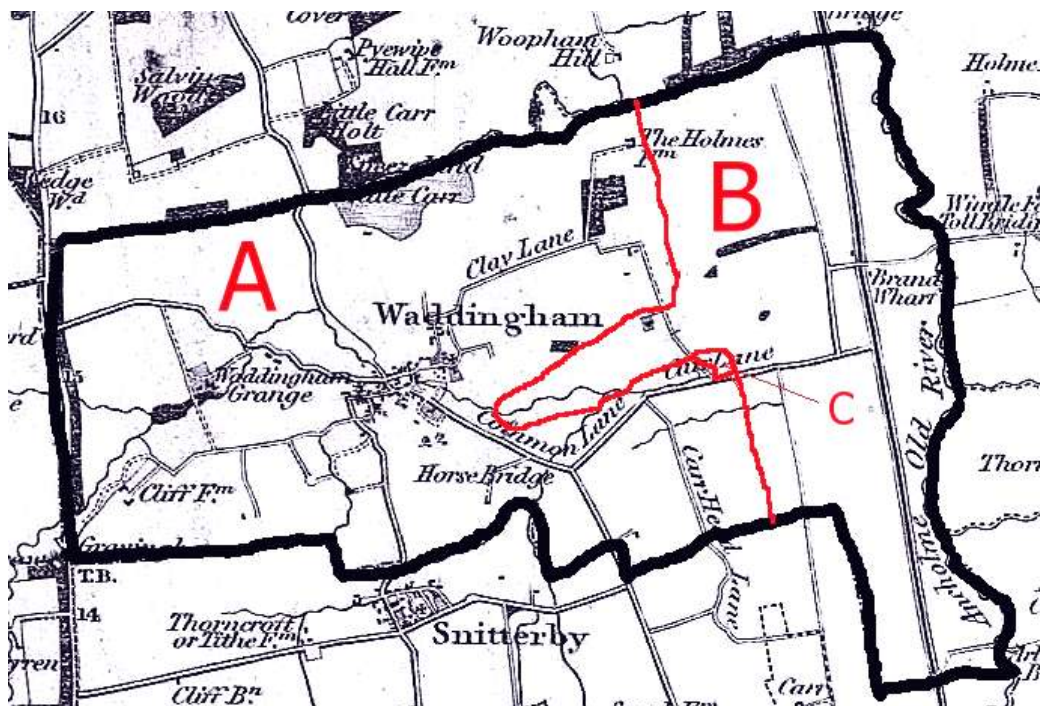


Plate 46. Waddingham parish, from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey, 1824 amended to show the areas which may have been enclosed by Chancery Decree in 1701 (A), by Parliamentary Enclosure in 1770 (B) and the tiny Cow Fold Enclosure of 1848 (C).

Finally the 1848 Waddingham Cow Fold parliamentary award completed the enclosure of the whole parish, when the process formally embraced a single area of a little over seventeen acres, which had long since been fenced or hedged.⁴⁵ It seems certain that this was the twenty acre plot of land set aside in the 1699 Agreement for the use of the 'poore of the said Towne' and formerly known as Poor Close; perhaps its area had been eroded over the years by its neighbours. The Charity Commissioners in 1839 had found that the Close had been let every year by auction in six allotments, and noted that the total rental in 1838, of fifteen guineas, was carried to the overseers' account for the relief of the poor. They found that this rental had been so appropriated every year since 1705 and, without specifying a reason in their report, remarked that it was 'rather doubtful whether this application of the rent of Poor Close is proper.'⁴⁶ Perhaps this was the explanation why these last few acres were enclosed, by parliamentary means, in 1848. The Commissioners divided the Cow Fold into five (rather than six) allotments varying in size from a little over one acre to a little more than nine acres.

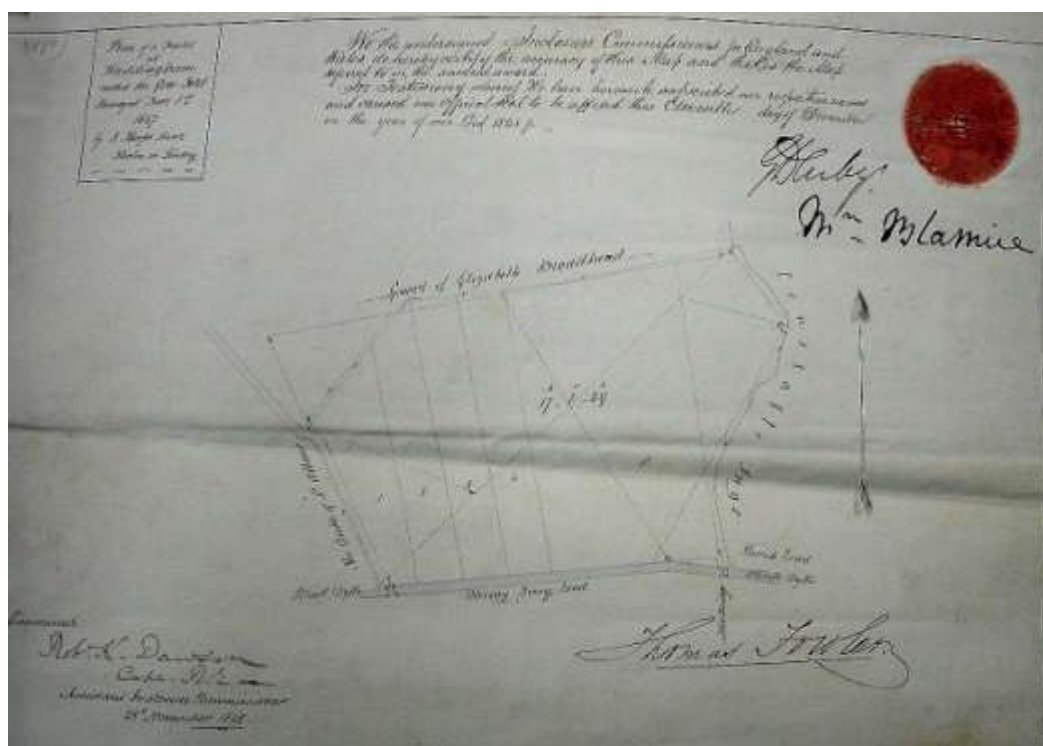


Plate 47: Waddingham Cow Fold Award Map 1847 (LAO: Lindsey Award/158)

Its position in the landscape (confirmed by both the Tithe map of 1840 and the Enclosure Award), places Poor Close at the very edge of that area, next to Constable Ings, which would have regularly flooded before 1767.⁴⁷ It seems therefore that the original Agreement, while having ostensible regard to the needs of poor, allowed them the use of land, which was of marginal utility at best.

The stages of the piecemeal enclosure can be tabulated as follows:

1.The tofts and crofts of the village	= 348 acres (9.4%)
2.The dispute of 1608, probably...	= 0 acres
3. The 1630s Ancholme Drainage	= 0 acres
4.The Chancery Decree of 1701	= 2075 acres (55.8%)
5.Parliamentary Enclosure of 1769-70	= 1280 acres (34.4%)
6.Cow Fold Enclosure of 1848	= 17 acres (0.4%)
Total acreage of the parish	= <u>3720 acres</u>

Waddingham's enclosure had thus taken well over two hundred years and there is little reason to suppose that this was unusual in the study area, or elsewhere.

Winteringham

Winteringham, lies on the south shore of the Humber estuary and is bounded on the east by South Ferriby, on the south by Winterton and on the west by Whitton and West Halton.

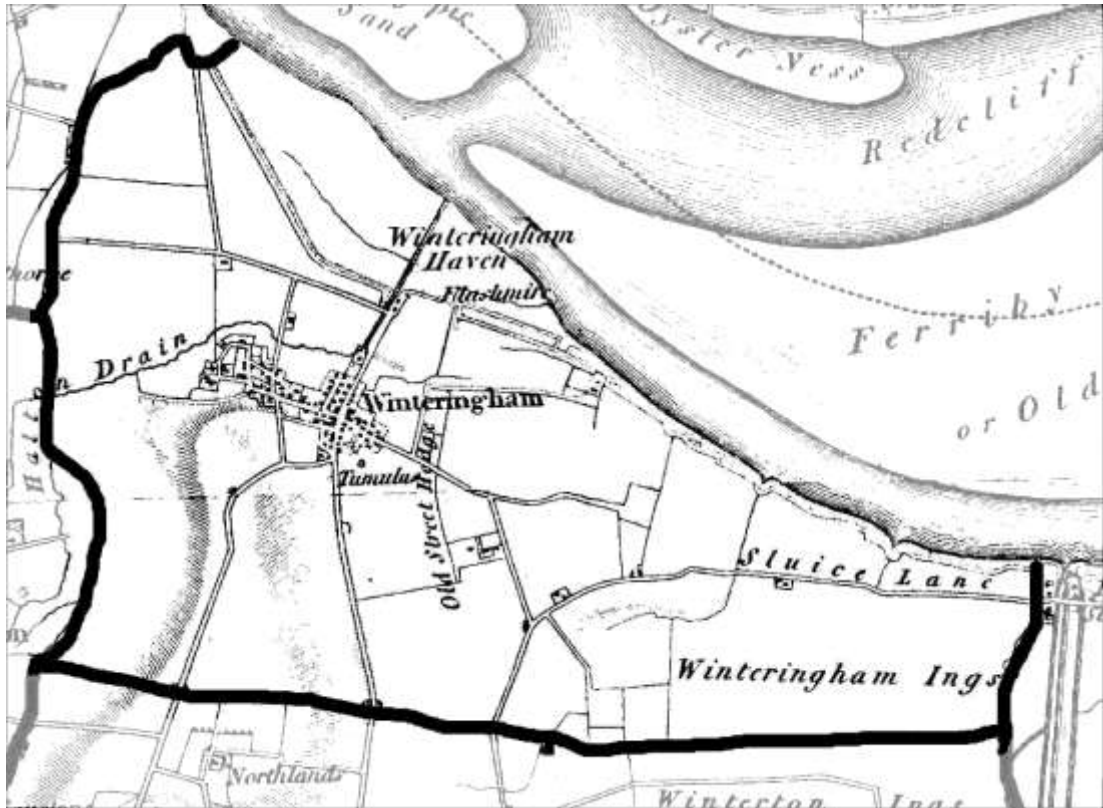


Plate 48 : Winteringham parish, from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey, 1824.

When Arthur Young visited the parish at the end of the eighteenth century, he was full of praise for its crop growing abilities:

...But the finest estate I have seen of some time for soil is the lordship of Wintringham; it consists of three descriptions of land; marsh called here warp and *grove*; strong loam under the bean husbandry; and dry loam for turnips All three are excellent. The marsh is a tract of alluvion of the Humber, deposited to the depth of six feet and apparently as good at bottom as at top The bean land is not a strong loam; but a friable sandy loam, with clay enough in it to give it rather too adhesive a tenacity for

turnips. The turnip land is a reddish, friable, rich loam, dry but putrid; a finer soil can scarcely be seen, adapted to every crop that could be put into it.⁴⁸

As well as benefiting from good soil, Winteringham favours the aspiring chronicler by having a manorial descent which is not too knotty to disentangle, and by possessing an estate plan of 1719, together with enclosure acts of 1761 and 1795, which make its farming history less obscure than some of the parishes in the study area.

There *is* confusion surrounding the area of the parish, because of the continual action of estuarine erosion and deposition. Some authorities, like White's *Lincolnshire*, include the tidal waters within its bounds, that is, some thousand acres of the Humber to the middle of the estuary is included, while others do give the land area, but fail to note the date of the survey which produced the figure.⁴⁹ The First Edition of the Ordnance Survey map printed in 1824, shows clearly that there were fields, now washed away, between Sluice Lane and the Humber, at the time it was surveyed in about 1822, and that Read's Island did not then exist, merely a sand bank named 'Ferriby Sands or Old Warp' (plate 48, above). This study uses the area, drawn onto a plan of the parish in 1719, which was 2,932 acres.⁵⁰

In the 1580s the manor of Winteringham was owned by the tenth Baron Dacre, otherwise Gregory Fiennes, whose father had been convicted of the murder of a gamekeeper, his lands confiscated, and had been hanged at Tyburn in 1541. His mother was Mary Nevill, a member of a well-known Lincolnshire landowning family, so it may be that the manor had descended to her.

As with study settlements on the Trent, the Inquisition of the Commissioners of Sewers, taken in 1583, has orders, concerning sewers and dykes in Winteringham, with the object of maintaining or improving agriculture:

Item they do further p_{re}sent that the sayd Sewer from the South end of Winteringham Cowgang to Winteringham haven shall be sufficiently diked & scowred by the towneship of Haughton & Winteringham hall gartes from the haven to the north end of Haughton aforesaid & from the north end of Haughton Ings to Humber by the township of Winteringham aforesaid which sayd sewer shall be sufficiently dyked by the said towneship eight foot wide in the toppe & five in the bottom, & two foot deeper then it is now before Michaelmasse next comeing & so to be kept from time to time in payne of iij^{li}.⁵¹

In 1589, to settle a debt for £5,000, Gregory Fiennes was obliged to hand over the manor to Sir Christopher Wray, who was Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench and a former Speaker of the House of Commons. By the mid-seventeenth century, it was owned by his grandson Sir John Wray who lived at Glentworth.⁵² Elizabeth Wray, the only child and heir of Sir John married Nicholas Saunderson. The Saundersons were merchants and landowners who had built up estates in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire through marriage and purchase in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They had bought considerable property at Saxby in Lincolnshire and, in 1549, Sandbeck in the West Riding of Yorkshire, a former possession of the Cistercian abbey of Roche was acquired. Roche itself was bought in 1627, and in the early eighteenth century Glentworth and the parish of Winteringham were inherited by the Saundersons from the Wray family by this marriage to Elizabeth.⁵³

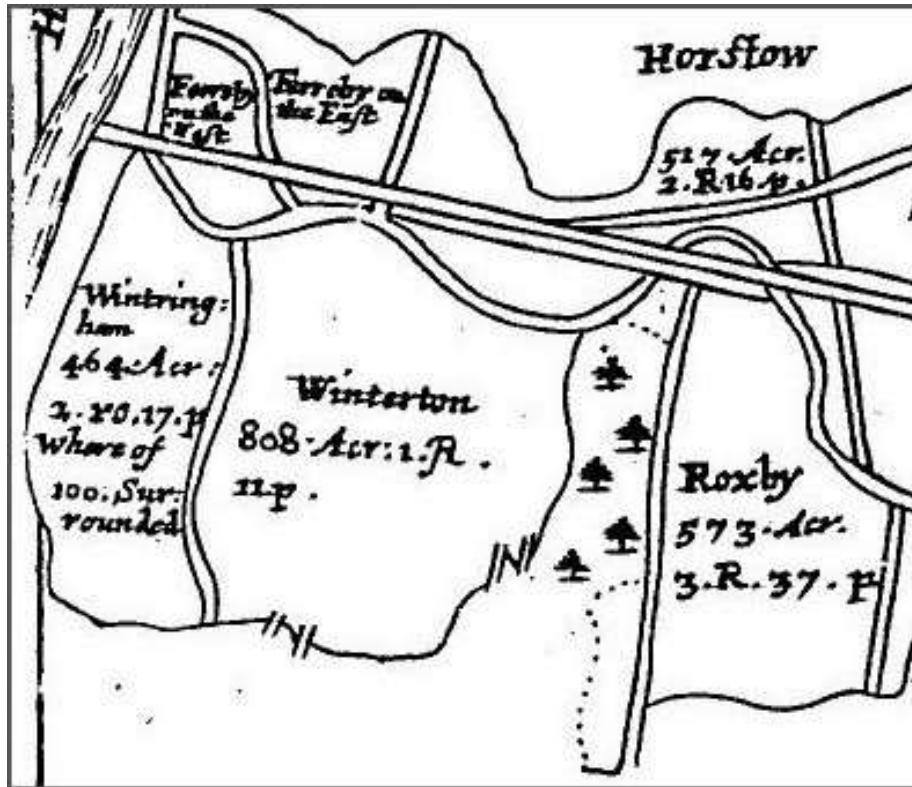


Plate 49. Detail of Wilkinson and Fotherby's map of the Ancholme levels ,1640

Draining and enclosing had already taken place in the Ancholme levels in the 1630s, and part of the parish is pictured on Wilkinson and Fotherby's map (plate 49) printed in Dugdale's history.⁵⁴ North is to the left of the map and the improved river course crosses from right to left, to fall into the Humber estuary at Ferriby Sluice. An area of 464 acres is shown, to which is added the words 'wherof 100. Surrounded'. The implication in the use of the word 'surrounded' is that there had been new flood damage as *a result of* the drainage works and that parts of the formerly dry lands, an area of one hundred acres, had been rendered flood-prone.⁵⁵ While not all the inhabitants were happy with the results, it may have been these improving works, by Sir John Monson, which were the catalyst for the formation of enclosures as, during the time that the Wray family owned the manor, the large rectangular field known as the 'Compositions', (shown on the 1719 plan) was first

mentioned in an inventory of 1653.⁵⁶ A few years later a terrier of 1693, refers to glebe lands 'as they are accounted since the Inclosures'.⁵⁷

It seems that there were three phases in the enclosure of Winteringham, and they will first be summarised, with the aid of an amended aerial photo, and then discussed in turn.⁵⁸ First, by the time of the plan of 1719 a programme of consolidation and partial enclosing of the common fields had already taken place. This may also have included some changes to the common rights of the cottagers. The 1625 terrier had spoken of 'the east, middle & west feildes', and the 1693 terrier of 'the Cliffs', and of these four great fields of the parish, three had been organised into closes by 1719; The Cliffs, the West Field and the Middle Field (plate 50, bottom left).

The second phase, in 1761, was an agreement made between the Earl of Scarborough, and the Rector, the Reverend Thomas Adam to enclose some of the open fields of Winteringham, and it was validated by an Act of Parliament. The agreement included the 'old enclosures', that is, the three great fields noted above, on the 1719 map, plus the East Field, the Ings and the Ancholme Marsh, (plate 50: all below the blue line).

The final phase was the enclosure, by a conventional Act in 1795, of the rest of the parish; the Marsh, the Rotten Sykes, Hall Close and the Compositions. (plate 50: all above the blue line)



Plate 50. Modern aerial photo of the parish amended to show the phases of enclosure.

It is assumed that the serious process of enclosure had begun during the time that the manor was owned by the Wray family. Worries about the extent of the enclosure movement in late Tudor and early Stuart England, had led to the

creation of a special commission to make inquiries about it and the surviving, abbreviated, report for Lincolnshire, the 1607 Abstract of *Breife of Depopulacons*, has entries under three section headings for Winteringham; Sir William Wray is mentioned in all of them.⁵⁹

'Waistinges and Decayes of Husbandrie and Cottages' - John fforman
gent hath decayed a farme howse. Martin Brighowse esq deceased
decayed all the barnes & out howses belonginge to the Manor howse
ther.

S^r. Willm Wray hath decayed a barne & stable belonginge to a farm
howse called the Chaunterye howse.

'Convercons of Errable Land to Pasture for Feedinge of Shepe and Other
Cattell' - Nicholas Girlington esq the lyke for vxx acres. Sr. Willm Wray
hath converted xx acres of arable into pasture.

' Takeinge of Landes from Howses of Husbandrye and Makinge Cottages
of them or Lettinge them stand Emptie' - Sr. Willm Wray. Hath made a
howse of husbandrie a Cottage.

Several names recur in the Winteringham section of the 'briefe', among them, as already noted, Sir William Wray who was married to Anne Girlington, the daughter of Nicholas Girlington of Normanby, who also is mentioned. The late Martin Brighouse, whose activities at Winteringham are referred to, was still being talked about some thirteen years later in connection with Alkborough parish enclosure. (*q.v*)

As noted already, in the early years of the eighteenth century the manor of Winteringham was inherited by the Saundersons from the Wray family and it was James Saunderson who, in 1714, became Viscount Castleton, of Sandbeck when his father died, that appears to have taken an interest in the village by

commissioning the estate plan of 1719 from Joseph Dickinson.⁶⁰ Although Saunderson continued to live at Sandbeck near Maltby, he evidently felt that it was time to appraise his Lincolnshire property by the Humber.

Joseph Dickinson's plan reveals that, by 1719, three of the great fields in the south west of Winteringham had already been organised into closes and, the helpful addition of a key to the plan, shows that some of these closes were tenanted by one person, some by two or three and others by many. In plate 51 (below), at the parish boundary with West Halton and Whitton, the Low Far Cliff the Near Cliff and the Near Cliff each have the same thirteen tenants, but the closes called Mitchell Cliff and Long Close each have just one tenant, denoted by the lower case letter 'b', Thomas Mitchell.

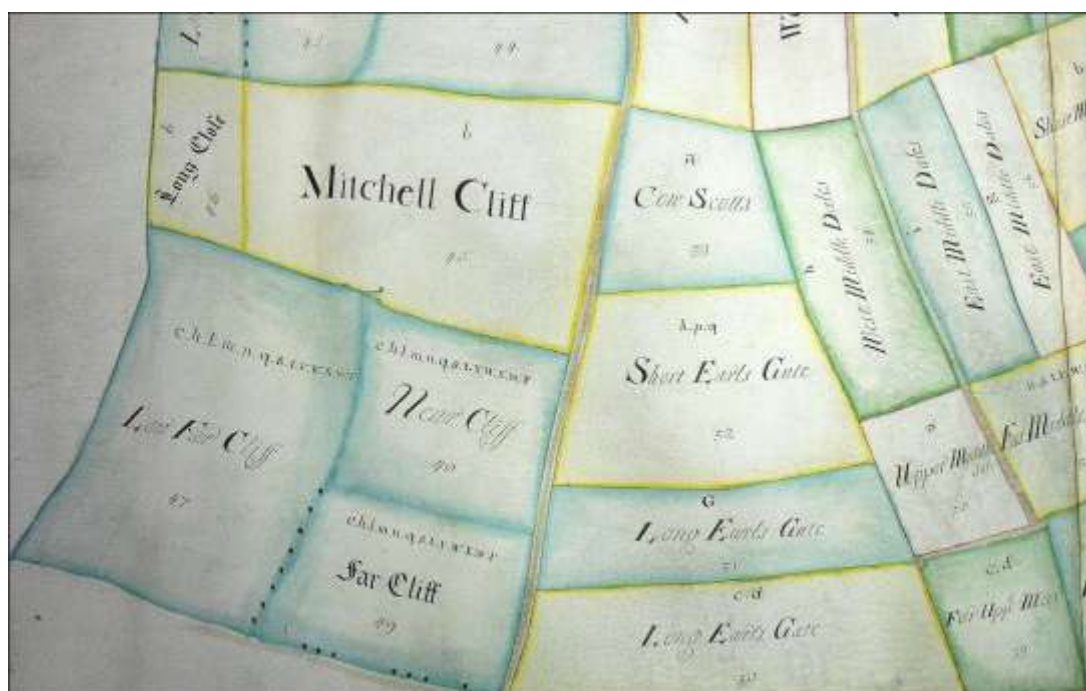


Plate 51. Detail of Winteringham 1719 estate plan; closes in Cliff and West Fields

In the West Field of Winteringham (plate 52, below), Cockthorne is tenanted by six individuals, but a close called Swallow, probably a named part of the former open field, has been subdivided into two smaller closes, one in the tenancy of

William Harrison (denoted by an '=' sign) and the other shared by three tenants; Robert Snowden, William Williamson and William Hornsby. Similarly an area called Mare Hill has been divided into four closes, each with either one or two tenants. At the left of the plate, in the former West Field, the area called Broad Lands has been formed into three closes also with varying numbers of tenants.

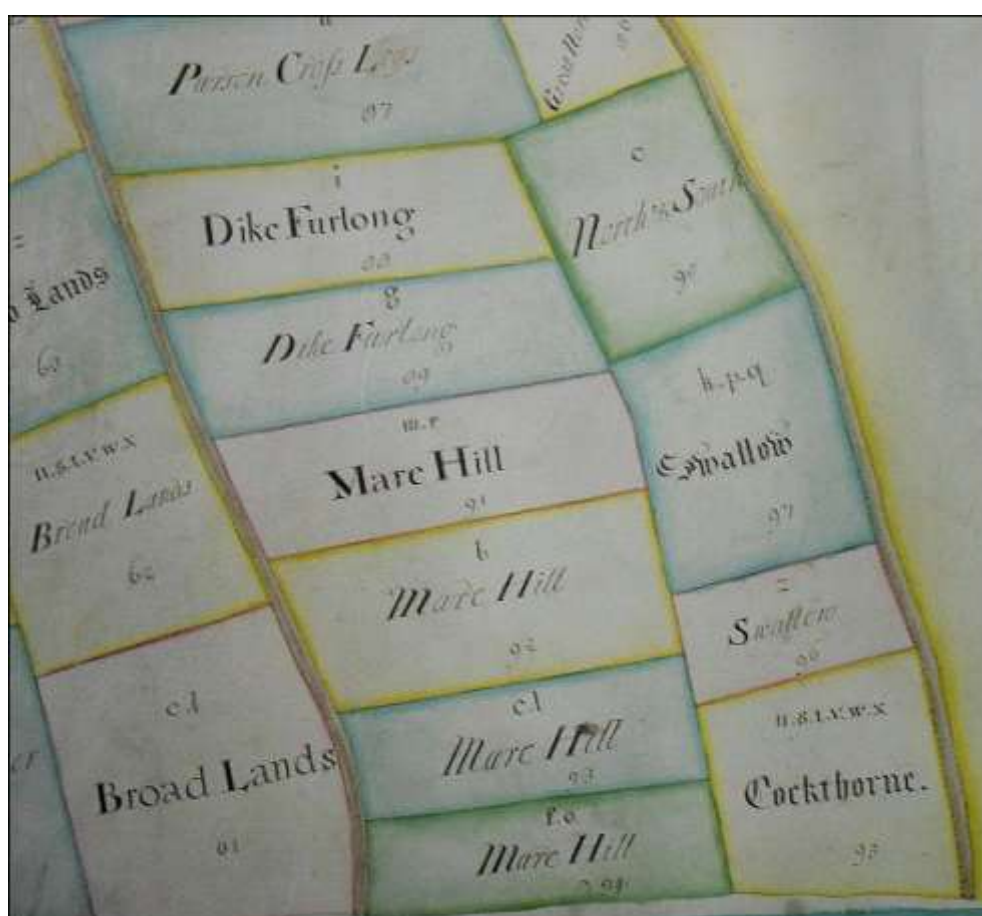


Plate 52. Detail of Winterringham 1719 estate plan; closes in West and Middle Fields

The township centre (plate 53, below) is shown with the tenancy of closes similarly denoted by letters, so that it is possible to determine that Thomas Fowler ('G') rented the area around the church, while a farmer called Blaze Ferrise ('F') held a number of contiguous closes to the east of the church. Ferrise's inventory is dated 18 November 1719 and gives an insight into the

circumstances of a farmer who died in the year of the estate plan.⁶¹ He may have lived in the house, shown on the bottom right of the plan, in the close called 'Yard', where West End Farm now stands. His house had rooms called, house, parlour, 'next room', kitchen and dairy, and he owned four horses, twenty-five cattle, twenty-three sheep, eleven pigs of various ages plus 'four geese and polen in the yard'. In his barn and 'on the belforayes', or temporary farm building, was an unnamed 'crop' worth £60, and he had six acres of wheat and rye, six and a half acres of 'clotes' and twelve acres of 'enem land' in the East Field, which at the time must have been still unenclosed.⁶²



Plate 53. Detail of Winteringham 1719 estate plan; Church, rectory and site of Hall

To the east of the township and, to the north of the road towards South Ferriby, the 1719 plan shows a feature in the landscape which is labelled 'Composition to cottagers' (plate 54, below), an area of land consisting of fifty-three strips with a direction of cultivation roughly north-south and a width of about 935 yards.

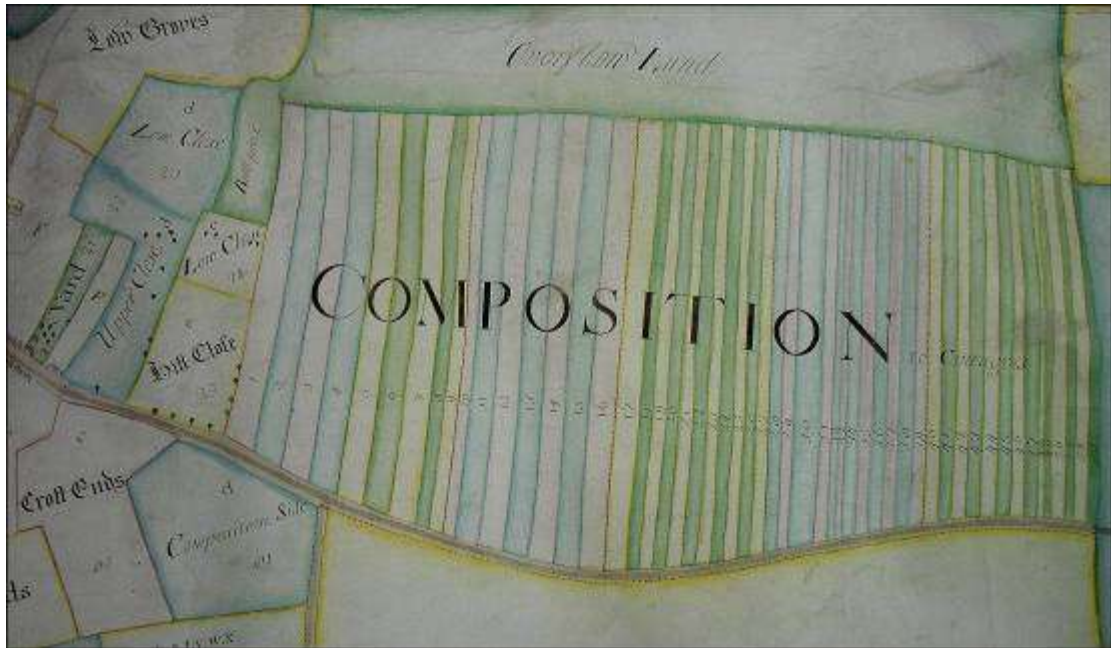


Plate 54. Detail of Winteringham 1719 estate plan; 53 strips, 'Composition to cottagers'

Nothing can be found in the record to indicate the precise origin of this feature, in Winteringham but the etymology of its name, at its most basic, implies 'an agreement' and it is sometimes used with the meaning of 'payment by agreement in lieu of, or in discharge of, some other financial or legal obligation'.⁶³ Either the agreement was between the owner of the lands and the vicar, that it should in future be exempt from the payment of tithes, because the vicar had been given money or land elsewhere or, more plausibly, that the land had been granted, by agreement, to the cottagers, in place of rights they had formerly had in the common fields. Support for the second explanation is given in evidence produced during a court case of 1862 concerning tithes, as it was suggested then, that the 'Composition' was amongst areas of land that were still titheable.⁶⁴ In addition to this, amongst several manorial bye-laws, written into the front of the Winteringham general parish register, and dated the 23 October 1674, one indicates that the question of common rights for cattle had become a matter of concern at that time:

...for the settling the peace and quiet...That every occupier of every messuage, cottage or toft shall be allowed to have common of pasture

in Wintringham Marsh, Rotten-Sikes, Low Groves and Western Green for four cows, or other beasts as long as they are not steers above two years old, and for one horse, mare and gelding and no more. If a person has more than one house or toft in his own hands then he shall keep no more than one horse in the pastures but a beast instead of the horse.

If an occupier of a messuage, cottage and toft is not able or does not want to stock the common with his own beasts or horse then he may let his beastgates, plus the right to have another beast but no horse, to any other person or dweller in Winteringham.⁶⁵

If this second explanation is indeed the correct one, then by 1719, not only had there been extensive, systematic formation of closes, but also, that other pillar of later enclosing activity, the extinguishing of common rights had somehow taken place. The enclosure to the west of the township, called 'Hall Closes' on the 1719 plan (plate 50) is also marked 'to the cottagers', so it seems likely that this was the product of a similar or identical arrangement. James Saunderson who had become Viscount Castleton in 1714, on the death of his father, himself died in 1723. As he was childless, all his honours became extinct and his estates including Winteringham were bequeathed to his cousin on his mother's side Thomas Lumley, third Earl of Scarbrough, who assumed, by act of parliament, the additional surname of Saunderson.⁶⁶ This owner of Winteringham, died in 1752, leaving his property to his son Richard the fourth Earl of Scarbrough, and it was the fourth Earl who began the second phase of the enclosure of the parish by applying for an act of parliament in 1761. Enclosures by private act had begun in Lincolnshire in 1731, when the first authorised the exchange of glebe and other lands, between the rector and the lord of the manor of Biscathorpe near Louth.⁶⁷ Most of the few Lincolnshire acts between then and the late 1750s, merely confirm an agreement to enclose and there is, in consequence no award or map.⁶⁸



A N
A C T
F O R

*Inclosing and dividing several open Fields
and commonable Lands within the Manor
and Parish of Wintringham, in the County
of Lincoln.*



WHEREAS there are several open Fields and commonable Lands within the Manor and Parish of Wintringham, in the County of Lincoln.

And whereas Richard Earl of Scarborough is Lord of the said Manor of Wintringham, and Patron of the Rectory thereof; and Frances Countess Dowager of Scarborough for the Term of her natural Life, and the said Richard Earl of Scarborough are seized of, and Owners and Proprietors of all and every the said open Fields and commonable Lands within the said Parish, excepting the Glebe Lands belonging to the Rector of the said Parish.

2nd

The enclosure act of 1761, 'An Act for Inclosing and dividing several open Fields and commonable Lands within the Manor and Parish of Wintringham, in the County of Lincoln' (Plate 55, left) was passed principally to register the agreement, between the rector and the fourth earl of Scarbrough, concerning allotments made to the former in exchange for his glebe lands in the open fields and to an annual money payment in lieu of tithes.

If the agreement had been made a few years earlier, a different method might have been used and it may have been expected that some written record of enclosure would exist amongst the Scarbrough Estate Papers, or the Church records at Lincoln. Alternatively the agreement might have been validated by the promulgation of a Chancery Decree, following some spurious legal proceedings and would be found, (with difficulty) at the National Archives. The earl of Scarbrough must have felt that these means of effecting enclosure were somehow insufficient to the need of the occasion. First, the provisions of the agreement are complicated and second, perhaps the earl believed that the agreement might be challenged at some future time by ecclesiastical authorities. He may also have been influenced by the outcome of the earliest Lincolnshire enclosure act, Biscathorpe in 1731, which was 'An Act for Exchanging the Parsonage House and Glebe Lands in Biscathorpe in the County of Lincoln, for other Lands belonging to the Lord of the Manor, and for giving a

Recompence to the Rector in Lieu of his Tythes, to enable the Lord of the Manor to inclose the Common Fields.⁶⁹ Stallingborough is only twenty miles away and that parish too, might have encouraged the use of a parliamentary act. Here the 1737 legislation confirmed an agreement in Stallingborough involving, a fellow north-Lincolnshire landowner, Mathew Boucherett, thirty-seven other proprietors of lands and common rights, and the Bishop of Lincoln.⁷⁰ Whatever the reasoning of the earl, Winteringham was the first enclosure act in north-west Lindsey.⁷¹

The act of 1761 involved the enclosure and division of approximately 1,900 acres of land in the parish. The main changes brought about were the enclosure of land in the East Field, Groves, Folding, Ings and Ancholme Marsh (see plate 55. above), some small repositioning of the roads in the parish, and a reorganisation of fields and tenancies. The Rector, the Rev. Thomas Adams received 146a. 3r. 24p. in lieu of glebe, and a further annual payment, by the Earl to the Rector, of £100. 16s .3d. in place of tithes. The rector was also permitted to stock the Cow Pasture 'with five gates' with either cattle or horses, or he was authorised to let these rights instead. The act recognised the reality of the continual action of estuarine erosion and deposition, because for every acre of land that had been previously embanked or might in the future be embanked, from the Humber adjoining the Groves, the rector was to receive an additional sixpence per acre, in lieu of tithes.⁷² The prescribed routes of four, forty-foot wide roads, all of which must have existed in some form prior to 1761, were officially established by the act, and the earl of Scarbrough agreed to 'appoint them' within six months of the act; first, a road or way over the old Middle Field to Winterton, second, a road or way over the old West Field leading towards Roxby, third a road or way over the old East Field to the Winterton Field and finally a road or way beginning at East Field Lane and passing over the Groves towards South Ferriby.

The 1761 enclosure was not an immediate financial success however, and it was believed at the time that the scheme had not been correctly carried out; perhaps because there had been too little experienced supervision. The parish was first let at a succession of relatively low rents; £809 in 1765 increased to £1,295 in 1766, to £1,395 in 1770 and to £1,858 in 1777.⁷³ A note of 1784, by the earl's agent, stated that:

the cause of Winteringham being before let at a less value, arose from the Inclosure, and the Tenants being under restrictions respecting the Nourishment and Care of the Quicksetts, which was very inefficiently fenced and some parts not fenced at all, so that the Tenants could not occupy their farms to the best advantage.⁷⁴

A few years later, Arthur Young typically saw the good side of the process. After a visit to see the Rector, he produced some statistics to demonstrate the increase in well-being that enclosure had brought:

I wished to procure, while in the county, the births and burials of many parishes, but was unable to effect it; a few I was favoured with; some of which will shew in what manner inclosure has operated to diminish or increase the people. The Rev. Mr Knight favoured me with the Births from,

1732 to 1763, both inclusive, being 32 years	=413
Ditto from 1765 to 1796, both inclusive, being 32 years	=607
Increase since the inclosure	=194
Deaths from 1732 to 1763 =354, and 1765 to 1796	=398
Increase since the inclosure	=44
Difference between the births and burials, 1732 to 1763	=59

The comparison in this parish is therefore striking in every point of view, and proves that a vast increase of population has taken place since the inclosure.⁷⁵

By 1793 the fifth Earl of Scarbrough, because of his debts, had had to sell the Winteringham Estate to Robert Smith, who was later to become Lord Carrington.⁷⁶ Smith (1752-1838) was the eldest of the four sons of the banker Abel Smith. While his three younger brothers retained an involvement with banking, Robert's branch of the family seem to have become detached from that business, to the extent that he showed his disdain for the rest of the family and first tried politics as M.P. for Nottingham and then afterwards became a landowner.⁷⁷

Soon after his purchase of 2,422 acres, which had been valued at £52,197, Smith began the procedure for parliamentary enclosure by having a notice published in December 1794, in the *Stamford Mercury*.⁷⁸

Winteringham Intended Inclosure. The proprietors of the uninclosed parts of the parish of Winteringham are requested to meet at the house of Mr. George Bell in Winteringham aforesaid, on Wednesday the Seventeenth of December, Instant, at Ten O'clock in the Morning, to take into consideration the expediency of applying to Parliament the next session, for an Act for inclosing the same.

The second Act for 'dividing and enclosing a certain piece of pasture land in... Winteringham... called the Cow Pasture, comprising . . . the Marsh, Rotten Sykes, Low Groves and Western Greens, and other Land . . . lying between the same Pasture and the River Humber; and for Dividing, Inclosing, and Apportioning certain other Pieces of Meadow and Pasture grounds. . . called

the Composition Closes, and Hall Closes . . . and for other purposes' was passed in 1795.⁷⁹ The three commissioners appointed were Francis Otter 'late of Coleby, now of Stainton Vale', Samuel Turner 'late of Cammeringham, now of Buslingthorpe' and Benjamin Codd of Glentworth who were to receive a fee of £63 each for their work.⁸⁰ The surveyor was to be Anthony Bower.

A few days after taking the oaths of office, the three commissioners indicated their priorities and showed how seriously they took the matters of flood protection, drainage and wetlands reclamation in the enclosure process, by arranging for the following notice to be published in the *Stamford Mercury* on 26 June 1795:

Bank and Clough to be Made. The Commissioners appointed to inclose certain open Lands, in the Parish of Winteringham.... intend meeting at the House of MR. GEORGE BELL in Winteringham... on Wednesday the 1st Day of JULY next, at Ten O'clock in the Forenoon, at which time and place, they intend to receive the Estimates or Proposals of any Person..., who may then offer the same, for making a BANK,..... adjoining the RIVER HUMBER, which is intended to be about Three Quarters of a mile in length, Seven Feet in Height, Two Feet in Breadth upon the Top, Three Feet Batter next to the Humber, and One Foot and Six Inches Batter within; and also for cutting a new DRAIN to the Mouth of the Haven of Winteringham.....and erecting a CLOUGH with a Ten Feet Waterway across the same.⁸¹

Matters seem to have moved very quickly, because by September of that year the clough appears to have been under construction and the Commissioners were seeking quotations for making a new drain to the clough and the digging of a new haven in the Humber:⁸²

Drain and Haven to be Made. The COMMISSIONERS appointed to inclose certain open Lands in the Parish of WINTERINGHAM...intend meeting at

the House of MR. GEORGE BELL in WINTERINGHAM on Monday the Twelfth Day of OCTOBER next, at Ten O'clock in the Forenoon; at which time and place they will be ready to receive the Estimates and Proposals and to contract with any Person or Persons who may then offer the same, for cutting a NEW DRAIN from the Warehouses near the Town of Winteringham.... to the Clough now building there; the bottom thereof to be Ten Feet Wide and to batter Eighteen Inches to every Foot rise - and also for cutting a NEW HAVEN in a direct line from the Said Clough to low Water Mark in the Humber, with a Ten Feet Bottom and to batter Two Feet and a Half to every Four Rise. By order of the Commissioners.

The Commissioners of Sewers in 1583 had mentioned a haven at Winteringham, but this may have fallen into disrepair and could have been completely silted up by 1795. The cutting of a new haven seems an unusual project to be included as part of the process of enclosure, but it would have had agricultural uses as it would enable, more easily, the movement of animals and crops to the north bank and the important town of Hull, as well as the import of goods such as guano. It may also indicate that the whole enclosure project was part of a greater scheme by Lord Carrington; a man who did not have the upbringing of a rent-collecting land owner, but had a background of commerce and the financial world, and was fundamentally an entrepreneur, even if he had turned his back on his banking family.



Plate 56. The drain from the clough to Winteringham Haven in 2011

Roads and ways in the southern part of the parish were laid out as prescribed in the 1761 act, but the Commissioners now needed to lay out ways through the northern part and so in April 1796 requested quotations for stoning these highways in the *Stamford Mercury*.⁸³

Winteringham Inclosure The Commissioners for inclosing the Marsh at WINTERINGHAM, do hereby give Notice, that they will, at their MEETING, to be holden at the House of MR. GEORGE BELL, at WINTERINGHAM aforesaid, on Monday the Second Day of May, next, receive proposals and contracts for covering the Roads over the said Marsh with Stone, of such thickness, and a such Manner as they shall then direct. By order of the Said Commissioners.

The Winteringham Award was signed on 12 January 1798. The original Award and map are not to be found; M.E. Turner suggested in 1978 that the originals were in the custody of the parish council, but unfortunately this is not now the case.⁸⁴ A copy of the Award, (but not the map) exists in the Brown Hudson deposit at the Lincolnshire Archives.⁸⁵ Tithes and Common Rights had been

abolished from 5th April 1796. The former remaining open fields and marsh had been allotted to forty-eight owners of general allotments and to two owners of special allotments. The Lord of the Manor, Lord Carrington, received special allotments of 111 acres in lieu of common rights on the Marsh, or over eleven percent of the total area being enclosed. In making this generous award, it may be that the commissioners recognised that this was land that was situated on the Humber side of the newly constructed flood bank. It would be inundated several times a year, and would, in time, disappear because of erosion, as indeed it has. The Rector, the Honourable and Reverend John Lumley, younger brother of the 5th Earl of Scarbrough, (who was still patron of the Rectory although he had had to sell the manor) was a non-resident Rector.⁸⁶ He was awarded in lieu of great and small Tithes, seventy-six acres of land in the Marsh, and a further twelve acres in place of his Common Right and Beast Gates in the Cow Pastures. Two hundred acres had been therefore allotted in special allotments, while the general allotments totalled 737.4 of which Lord Carrington received another 310 acres, and the remaining forty-seven owners shared 427.4 acres. A general order stated that allotments were to be fenced within three months of the date of award. Because the area enclosed in 1798 bordered the Humber and the small village of Whitton, it was not necessary to lay out any major roads, but foot roads, a bridle road and private carriage roads were made., Four public drains had been laid out and these run eastwards towards the Haven drain, which must have been constructed early in the enclosure process. Field ditches, running into the public drains, all had to be at least four feet deep.

Lord Carrington's interest and concern for his Lincolnshire estate and his tenants does not seem to have diminished after enclosure, as Arthur Young reported that:

..a man (is) employed whose only business is to be constantly walking over every part of the estate in succession, in order to see if the fences are in order: if a post or a rail is wanting and the quick exposed, he gives notice to the farmer, and attends again to see if the neglect is remedied. This upon a tract of land large enough to bear the expence, is an excellent system.⁸⁷

At Wintringham, Lord Carrington has built several new farm-houses, barns &c with conveniences for new farms, and at a rate which shews the cheapness of such works in this country.⁸⁸

No instance of breaking up grass land that I had heard of in Lincolnshire. proves the extraordinary fertility of that county more clearly than that at Wintringham, on the estate of Lord Carrington, who, upon the high price of corn, was willing to indulge his tenants with the leave which they desired, of ploughing 200 acres, and for which they offered a compensation in rent; a great part of which, however, upon the sudden fall in the price of grain, which happened soon afterwards his Lordship, I was informed, *spontaneously remitted*.⁸⁹

At Wintringham, upon Lord Carrington buying the estate, he made all the cottagers tenants to himself, and all have cows and gardens.⁹⁰

Thomas Stone ridiculed the good news about rents and agricultural practices that Arthur Young reported. In his review of Arthur Young's survey, he said:

Mr 'Land taster' Young values this estate upwards of five shillings per acre more than its present letting. Upon the whole after attentively pursuing Mr Young's statements of the rents of estates in partial instances not comprising collectively one twentieth part of the county

picked up from vague reports at market ordinaries in morning rides &c and in many of those instances... it is impossible for an average rent to be drawn or fixed on any description of soil for any purpose of calculation.⁹¹

Despite the derision of Thomas Stone, and the excessive approbation that Young lavished on everything to do with the estate, from owner to soil quality, it is apparent that Winteringham *is* different to other parishes in this study. Its undoubted fertility made it the subject of extensive early enclosure, such that by 1719, some of the open fields had been already been enclosed and partial abolition of common rights had taken place. A new owner enclosed the southern part of the parish by agreement with the Rector using a fresh weapon in the encloser's armoury, an Act of Parliament. Then a totally different sort of owner arrived on the scene; not a traditional land-owning aristocrat, but instead the scion of a banking family. He saw the land like capital, as a subject for investment, quickly arranged the enclosure of the rest of the parish, and followed up the process with a continuing program of after-care for land and tenants.

Conclusions

Both Waddingham and Winteringham, at opposite ends of the study area, show that where the surviving evidence is more wide-ranging than usual, the long chronicle of agricultural improvement is seen to be more complex than might have been expected.

Waddingham provides an example of a 'village revolt', but we only know this because a unilateral attempt at enclosure was the subject of a court case. One of the features of the study area is the *lack* of evidence for insurrections against the agrarian changes that were taking place, and it is to be wondered if there were others which, because of the lowly status of the objectors, are lost

to the records. A major part of the parish was enclosed with the help of a Chancery decree. As has been demonstrated in this thesis, these documents are unusual in Lincolnshire when they actually perform the function of ratifying an agreement to enclose, but it is interesting to see how this document of 1701 anticipates some of the wording of later parliamentary acts and awards. The parliamentary act, when it did come in 1769, was prompted by an event twenty miles or so to the north, when the new sluice gate controlling the flooding of the Ancholme basin, meant it was practicable to drain and enclose the low-lying lands. That sluice gate had in turn been made necessary, this thesis has suggested, by a climate change to one of several decades of warmer wetter weather. And so it becomes clear that the reasons for enclosing activity are not always immediately evident.

Winteringham with its three distinct phases provides a ready chronological example of the sequence in which such a rich area of land might be improved. Winteringham was recognised by Arthur Young as one of the places where the different sorts of soil were all excellent and this may have been the reason why there had been extensive enclosure by the time of the 1719 estate map. There was no doubt that the expense of rearranging the strips in the Cliff, West Field and Middle Field into larger units, would soon increase the rents that could be charged by the Saunderson family. The second phase by an act which had the effect of ratifying an agreement, in the way a Chancery decree might once have done, included land that was lower and less well drained. Finally a conventional act, later enclosed those portions that remained and tackled the outstanding problems of the parish, the lack of a river embankment, a large drain and its accompanying sluice gate.

References

- ¹ W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire* (1856), p.606
- ² K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), p.115. 'Thack' refers to thatching materials; TNA:PROB11/91 Will of Thomas Turswell, Yeoman of Bishop Norton, Lincolnshire, 22 May 1598 mentions 'tenn swathes of Thacke grownde in Waddingham Thack Carr'
- ³ K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire, Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), pp.113-8
- ⁴ LAO: MCD708 Abstract of *Breife of Depopulacons taken by vertue of the commission for Lincolne*.
- ⁵ R. Manning, *Village Revolts, Social Protest and Popular Disturbances England 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1988) pp.3,64
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (1983), p.179
- ⁸ TNA: STAC 8/42/11, Adams v. Burrell and others: Lincoln
- ⁹ A 'gapstead' is a hole in a hedge or a gateway: E. Peacock, *A Glossary of Words Used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire*, Second Edition (1889), p.228
- ¹⁰ K. Lindley, *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution* (1982), p.254
- ¹¹ TNA: STAC 8/42/11
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ For women in all manner of disputes, *vide* R. A. Houlbrooke, 'Women's social life and common action in England from the fifteenth century to the eve of the civil war', *Continuity and Change 1* (1986), pp.171-189
- ¹⁴ She is also called 'Jennet Whapplod' elsewhere in the same set of documents.
- ¹⁵ TNA: STAC 8/42/11
- ¹⁶ Wrightson, *English Society*, p.179
- ¹⁷ Sir W. Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking and Drayning...*, p.89
- ¹⁸ TNA: C78/1096/2 Decree in Chancery
- ¹⁹ D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw - Its Social Structure, c. 800 – 1100* (2000), p.210
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ P. L. Everson, C. C. Taylor and C. J. Dunn, *Change and Continuity: Rural Settlement in North-West Lincolnshire* (1991), p.13

²² *Ibid.*

²³ D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, p.212

²⁴ LAO: D & C, DIV/59 quoted in J.Thirsk, (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. V.II, 1640-1750: Agrarian Change* (Cambridge,1985), p.318

²⁵ LAO: Waddingham FAC8, Waddingham Church Faculty to take down the church of St Peter and to unite the benefice with that of St Mary, 30 July 1687.

²⁶ M. Overton, *The Agricultural Revolution in England: the Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1850* (Cambridge, 1996), p.165

²⁷ TNA: PROB 11/572 Will of James Thompson, Gent. of Waddingham, Lincs.

²⁸ For examples of pre-parliamentary enclosure in Kesteven see: J.A. Johnson, '17th-Century Agricultural Practice in Six Lincolnshire Parishes' in *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 18 (1983); S. McA. Stevens, 'Non-parliamentary enclosure: Kesteven, Lincolnshire, 1536-1750 Lincolnshire' (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, Nottingham 1999)

²⁹ Manning, *Village Revolts*, p108

³⁰ 'In general, enclosure by decree was enclosure by agreement' according to M.W. Beresford, 'Habitation versus improvement', in: F.J. Fisher, (ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1961) p.57.

³¹ 'Depasture', to feed livestock by grazing them on pasture; The arrangements surrounding this twenty acre allotment, which became known as Poor Close, was commented on in an 1839 Charity Commissioners Report and became the subject of an 1848 Enclosure Act, vide 1839 XXXII *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Concerning Charities and Education of the Poor in England and Wales* Part 4, Lincolnshire, p.484

³² The decree has ten thousand words, most of which describe the plots.

³³ J.V. Beckett, M.E. Turner, and B. Cowell, 'Farming through Enclosure', *Rural History*, 9:2 (1998)

³⁴ LAO: RED 3/1/4/1/3 May 1734

³⁵ C.J. Page, *History of the Ancholme Navigation* (Lincoln, 1969), p.1

³⁶ LAO: Lindsey award /113 Snitterby, Atterby and Waddingham, 29 Nov 1770

³⁷ This is written in the margin of the sixteenth sheet, and it is immediately followed by the words: 'Snitterby allotments begin here.'

³⁸ Lord Monson was the great-grandson of Sir John Monson; G. Norgate, 'Monson, John, second Baron Monson (1727-1774)', rev. M. Kilburn, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Vol 38 (Oxford , 2004), p.677

³⁹ LAO: Lindsey award /113, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ 1839 XXXII *Report of the Commissioners ... Concerning Charities and Education of the Poor* Part 4, Lincolnshire, p.484

⁴¹ LAO: Lindsey award /113, *ibid.*

⁴² J. Thirsk, *Chapters from the Agrarian History of England and Wales: Agricultural Change: Policy and Practice, 1500-1750* (Cambridge, 1990), p.207

⁴³ P. Bingham, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Common Pleas, and Other Courts* (1829), pp.116-130

⁴⁴ TNA: IR 30/20/353 Waddingham tithe map; U.K. Environment Agency website, accessed 10 March 2011, <http://maps.environment-agency.gov.uk/wiyby/wiybyController?x=498500.0&y=396500.0&topic=floodmap&ep=map&scale=4&location=Waddingham,%20Lincolnshire&lang=e&layerGroups=1,&textonly=off>

⁴⁵ LAO: Lindsey Award /158 Waddingham Cow Fold Award and Plan (1848)

⁴⁶ 1839 XXXII *Report of the Commissioners ...* Part 4, Lincolnshire, p.484

⁴⁷ The Cow Fold Enclosure field is marked on the Tithe Map, (TNA: IR 30/20/353) as field 448 with an area of 16 acres, 1 rod, 15 perches. The Award Map of 1848, however, notes its area as 17 acres, 1 rod, 29 perches.

⁴⁸ A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (1799), p.10; Young seems unsure of the difference between 'marsh' and 'warp', and does not attempt to translate the Lincolnshire dialect word 'grove' meaning a field in which shallow parallel ditches had been dug.

⁴⁹ W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire* (1856), p.614 gives 3,970 acres

⁵⁰ Lao: MISC DEP 625/1

⁵¹ Lincoln county, commissioners of sewers, *An Inquisition taken before the Commissioners of Sewers for the County of Lincoln, 1583* (Ripon, 1851), p.15; 'Haughton' is West Halton immediately to the west of the parish.

⁵² T. W. Beastall, *A North Country Estate: the Lumleys and Saundersons as Landowners, 1600-1900* (1974), p.77

⁵³ B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland*, 2nd edn (1844), pp.470,585

⁵⁴ Sir W. Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking and Drayning...*, p.89

⁵⁵ An obsolete meaning of 'surrounded' was 'overflowed' or 'flooded', *vide* O.E.D., Vol XVII (1989), p.307. Damage in the Ancholme valley caused by Monson's works is discussed in: K. Lindley, *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution* (1982), p.15

⁵⁶ LAO: Inventory 156/251, Edward Roberts Feb 1653; A transcription is given in: D. Neave (ed.), *Winteringham 1650-1760* (Winteringham, 1984), p.70

⁵⁷ LAO: Glebe Terrier bundle, Winteringham 1693

⁵⁸ The aerial photo has been amended by reference to the 1719 plan (LAO: MISC DEP 625/1) and a copy of the Winteringham Cow Pasture Award 1798 in LAO: Brown Hudson deposit 7/1, which is bound into a foolscap volume with the Barnetby Award of 1768.

⁵⁹ LAO: MCD708 *Abstract of Breife of Depopulacons taken by vertue of the commission for Lincolne*.

⁶⁰ LAO: MISC DEP 625/1 Map of the Manor of Winteringham 1719, Surveyed for [James Saunderson] Earl of Castleton by Joseph Dickinson. Includes names of tenants; Joseph Dickinson seems to have been a well known local surveyor; he surveyed, for example, Joseph Mellish's estate at Fenwick near Doncaster in 1717 (University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections: Mellish MSS 63/2).

⁶¹ LAO: Inventory 206/83; transcribed in: Winteringham Local History Group, *Winteringham 1761-1871* (Hull, 1980), p.145

⁶² 'Clotes' may be clods or cultivated land, (*vide O.E.D.*, vol 3 [1989], p.352) and the valuation on it, of £7-11-6, may be the value of the work, perhaps harrowing, that has been put into it; 'Enem' - Perhaps a miss-spelling of emmer or durum wheat (*vide O.E.D.*, vol 5 [1989], p.182); 'enem land' land that is going to be sown in the springtime for the crop. Formerly, but no longer, grown in England according to: C. M. Woolgar, D Serjeantson, T. Waldron, *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (2006), p.49

⁶³ *O.E.D.*, vol 3 [1989], p.625; No origin is suggested by Prof. Cameron in: K. Cameron, *The Place Names of Lincolnshire, Vol. 6* (Nottingham, 2001), p.123

⁶⁴ Re The Tithe Commissioners and Lord Carrington in: *The Law Times Reports*, Volume VI, March to September 1862 (1862), p.820

⁶⁵ LAO: Winteringham PAR/1/2 General register, Baptisms 1674-1737/38. Marriages 1674/1675-1737/38. Burials 1674-1737/38. At front: manorial orders and byelaws made at court leet, with names of the tenants 1674; It is not certain why horses had become such a concern to the villagers.

⁶⁶ Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history*, p.470

⁶⁷ W.E. Tate (ed., M.E. Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Reading, 1978), p.160

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ LAO: MISC DON 277/1, Biscathorpe Inclosure Act 1731

⁷⁰ LAO: MF/2/109 Stallingborough Inclosure Act 1737

⁷¹ LAO: LDAP/2/14 Winteringham Inclosure Act

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Quoted in T.W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1978), p.133

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (1799), p.421

⁷⁶ DDCL/2925 3-4 Jun 1793

⁷⁷ Y. Cassis, *City bankers, 1890-1914* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 236

⁷⁸ T. W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution...*p.87. Some land will have been lost by erosion to the Humber; *Stamford Mercury* 5 December 1794

⁷⁹ LAO: BH/7/4 Winteringham (Cow Pasture) Enclosure Act [1795]; bound with: Barton on Humber Enclosure Act, 1793; Barrow on Humber Enclosure Act, 1797; Ancholme Drainage Act, 1761-1766.

⁸⁰ Francis Otter was later to be a Commissioner at Ashby in Bottesford in 1809; Samuel Turner had been a Commissioner at Bottesford cum Yaddlethorpe in 1797 and would go on to assist with Messingham in 1804, and Ashby in Bottesford in 1809; like Turner, Benjamin Codd would act at Messingham in 1804, and Ashby in Bottesford in 1809.

⁸¹ 'Batter' is the slope of a wall, terrace or bank from the perpendicular (*O.E.D.* vol.1 [1989], p.1006); 'Clough' is the outfall sluice of a drain communicating with a tidal river and provided with flood gates (*O.E.D.* vol. III [1989],p.364). The local word for it however is 'cleugh', which is pronounced as 'clue'.

⁸² *Stamford Mercury*, 18 September 1795

⁸³ *Stamford Mercury*, 29 April 1796

⁸⁴ Tate (ed., Turner), *Domesday of English Enclosure Acts*, p.169

⁸⁵ LAO: BH 7/1, Copy of award, Winteringham (Cow Pasture) Award 1798 bound into foolscap volume with the Barnetby Award of 1768. Also has a schedule of Winteringham tithe payments, amount per acre payable by proprietors and also their assessment to repair the Humber bank.

⁸⁶ Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History*, p.478

⁸⁷ A. Young, *General View...*,p.19

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.34

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.198; present writer's italics.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.413

⁹¹ T. Stone, *A Review of the Corrected Agricultural Survey of Lincolnshire, by Arthur Young, Esq. Published, in 1799* (Edinburgh,1800), p.46

8. The new landscape of north-west Lindsey

It would be difficult to attempt a description of husbandry in north-west Lindsey at the end of the eighteenth century without reference to the writings of Arthur Young, the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture. He undertook a series of journeys throughout the British Isles and France describing agricultural activity, and published his *General View* about Lincolnshire in 1799, with a second edition in 1813.¹

Nearly thirty years earlier, in the days before most of the changes brought by parliamentary enclosure, Young had visited Lincolnshire and had seen 'little but what merited condemnation.'² He was still expecting, he said, to find it 'in a very backward state.'³ He quickly determined the landownership situation;

'In the angle of country in the north-west of the county, the land is possessed by half a dozen persons. The coast from Ferraby Sluice to Gun-house inclusive, nearly all belongs to Lord Carrington, Sir John Sheffield and Mr. Goulton'.⁴ He described the area's landscape and pointed out that some land, just to the south of the study area, was open field and yet to be enclosed.

The space from Tilby to Scunthorp, four miles long, north and south, and three miles broad, east and west, chiefly light sand; but producing good turnips, barley, and rye. From Scunthorp to Messingham, part sand, part cold clay, and much open field. Winterton, good channelly loam, on a limestone substratum, Wintringham, very rich; Alkborough, mixed sand; Halton, good arable; Roxby, part sand, good barley, and turnip, and some wheat, Coalby, good wheat and beans, excellent loam. These form the nook south of the Humber. Under the whole country, generally speaking, stone is to be found at various depths.⁵

Dr Thirsk refers to this expedition as a 'fleeting inspection' and Grigg points out that he 'cantered through Lincolnshire in twelve weeks' and complains that it is 'clear that that he had often not visited some of the places he describes so vividly.'⁶ Since the county has almost seven hundred parishes, it could hardly be otherwise. A close examination of the text suggests that Young visited the estate of the Sheffields either at Normanby or Burton-upon-Stather and spoke to Sir John Sheffield, his brother, the Reverend Robert, or the land agent, before progressing to Alkborough where he may have been entertained by Thomas Goulton. A description of the 'noble scenery' and the view of the three rivers from Goulton's 'beautiful grounds' at Walcot Hall suggest a pre-prandial stroll with the landowner.⁷ Perhaps the following morning he rode to Winteringham and spoke to Lord Carrington or his agent. From these three contacts alone, he could have secured sufficient titbits concerning the agriculture of north-west Lindsey to fill the pages of his *General View*:

Mr. Goulton at Alkborough last year (1796) dibbled peas on sward and got 7 quarters an acre' ;... Mr. Goulton has dibbled wheat with success and his tenant Mr. Richard Langton at Whitton has this year 13 acres . On the whole it has succeeded greatly'; ... Mr. Goulton remarks...that turnips are best manured with short dung ...

and so on.⁸

Much of the text has the character of self-congratulatory gentry tittle-tattle and there is scarcely a mention of the poorer members of the farming community in north-west Lindsey. Thirsk thought that it was not a general view at all, but 'the restricted view of the progress of a minority.'⁹ Because however of the details of contemporary farming practices that it contains, it is one of the best assessments we have, until James Caird's description of Lincolnshire in 1851.¹⁰

Statistics from the 1801 Crop Returns have been extracted for all those study

area places for which information was collected (table 8, below).¹¹ The returns contain data relating to townships and parishes which account for only about half of the study area.¹² Of this area, just 29% is accounted for by the crops recorded and it is assumed that the rest was in fallow, permanent or temporary grasses. Writers agree that these returns under-estimate the actual acreage of each crop, but that the proportions between the crops recorded are accurate.¹³ The most noticeable feature of the study area figures is the predominance of grain crops which accounts for two-thirds of the acres returned. The high proportion of oats in Ashby (36% of all crops returned) may well have been because the place was being warped at the time, and oats is the lead crop in these circumstances, as it can be planted on new, poor or even salty soils with a greater chance of success than other cereals.¹⁴ It may have been growing on land that had been flooded at Winteringham, for the same reason, and so would explain the 23% in that place, which was otherwise predominantly wheat land. Low oats figures elsewhere, may indicate that available waste in those parishes had been brought into cultivation in earlier years. Rye is a poor-soil crop so its high figures on the dry sandy soil at Flixborough and Frodingham seem appropriate. Turnip too is a light-land crop and the high figure in some areas (assuming it was mainly turnips rather than rape) suggests that sheep were being fed off the fields, without the fear of foot-rot. Peas and beans were widely grown in the study area, although at this time presumably, as fodder for cattle. While beast could be turned out onto pea fields to eat both peas and pea 'straw', field beans would need to be harvested and dried for winter feed, as cattle refuse to eat bean 'straw'.

Clover might have been grown, but was nowhere recorded perhaps because the crop may have been regarded as coming under the heading of temporary grasses. As it put nitrogen back into the soil, it was used as part of a four-course rotation and so it is not possible to tell therefore whether this idea was

widespread in northernmost Lincolnshire. Arthur Young only mentions seeing it, as part of a rotation, in Winterringham.¹⁵

Table 8.

acres of crop	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Potats	Peas/ Beans	Turnip/ Rape	Rye	Other	total acres returned	area * & % returned
Alkborough	235	653	48	32	144	85	5	0	1202	2767
%	20	54	4	3	12	7	0	0	100	43
Appleby	287	257	76	32	81	265	50	0	1048	5180
%	27	25	7	3	8	25	5	0	100	20
Ashby	22	28	132	16	13	121	35	0	367	2105
%	6	8	36	4	4	33	10	0	100	17
Burton	287	193	55	19	82	262	24	0	922	3534
%	31	21	6	2	9	28	3	0	100	26
Flixborough	39	74	31	27	26	178	53	0	428	2355
%	9	17	7	6	6	42	12	0	100	18
Frodingham	160	98	36	24	69	99	110	0	596	1962
%	27	16	6	4	12	17	18	0	100	30
Roxby	292	376	65	9	126	330	39	0	1237	4830
%	24	30	5	1	10	27	3	0	100	26
Scawby	213	254	124	15	55	350	20	0	1031	3216
%	21	25	12	1	5	34	2	0	100	32
Waddingham	369	320	373	10	26	340	30	0	1468	3720
%	25	22	25	1	2	23	2	0	100	39
West Halton	385	236	53	94	142	232	36	0	1178	2942
%	33	20	4	8	12	20	3	0	100	40
Whitton	83	93	9	9	56	59	18	0	327	1330
%	25	28	3	3	17	18	6	0	100	25
Winterringham	640	157	294	30	110	22	9	0	1262	3970
%	51	12	23	2	9	2	1	0	100	32
study area	3012	2739	1296	317	930	2343	429	0	11066	37911
%	27	25	12	3	8	21	4	0	100	29
Lindsey	37960	33143	27643	3567	17850	31603	2858	84	154708	
%	25	21	18	2	12	20	2	0	100	
Holland	6867	2117	12453	621	1164	3462	1	230	26915	
%	26	8	46	2	4	13	0	1	100	
Kesteven	16888	20920	19297	671	7594	15002	456	5	80833	
%	21	26	24	1	9	19	1	0	100	
All Lincs	61715	56180	59393	4859	26608	50067	3315	319	262456	
%	24	21	23	2	10	19	1	0	100	
ENGLAND	1031811	585332	817425	65748	329167	288433	26399	3407	3147722	
%	33	19	26	2	10	9	1	0	100	

Source: M.E.Turner, (ed.), *Home Office: Acreage Returns (HO 67): List and Analysis Part II Jersey to Somerset, 1801*, vol 190 (List and Index Society, 1982), *passim*; The areas of places are from *White's Directory... (1856)*

The only other crop of any significance was the potato, which was increasing in popularity at this time, and its poor showing in the returns will have been because amounts grown in private vegetable gardens were not included.¹⁶ Small quantities of other crops were grown elsewhere in Lincolnshire, flax, hemp (once ubiquitous in inventories) and mustard, for example, but they do not seem to have been found in the study area.

The high figure for turnips (assuming that it was mainly that crop rather than rape) at Burton-upon-Stather is intriguing. The parish had yet to be enclosed by parliamentary means and one would have expected, in an open-field settlement, that wheat and barley would be the main crops to the exclusion of most others. Turnips accounted for 28% of the acreage however, and it seems unlikely that this large area could have been sown, on un-enclosed land, without some special agreement between growers and cottagers, unless in fact the place was, in fact, *already* enclosed. It may be that the parliamentary process, which began two years after the returns were collected, merely served to make legally binding a state of affairs that already existed. In his comments to the statistics the Rev. Sheffield makes no mention of open-fields, or indeed any crop of rape.¹⁷

By 1830 the work of enclosure was nearly done. The ancient landscape that had been nibbled at by piecemeal enclosure, for several centuries had, in a relatively short time, been all but gobbled up and consigned to oblivion. Some of the poorer sandy central parts of the study area around Appleby and Frodingham were about to be divided and fenced, the remaining twenty-seven acres of Burringham would soon be reorganised and it only remained to apportion Broughton common when the dispute between E. A. Stephens and Lord Yarbrough ended, with the death of the former. Almost as an afterthought, in the 1870s, Brumby common and moors were tidied up and that was that.

Inclosure came, and trampled on the grave

Of labours rights, and left the poor a slave...¹⁸

John Clare had written these words in about 1824, and yet it seemed that there had hardly been an angry word in north-west Lindsey. The Midland Rising of 1607 had barely touched Lincolnshire and, in the north of the county, the *Inquisition* of that year had found little evidence of depopulation. It was true that the women of Waddingham had been reprimanded for tearing down the 'gapsteads' in 1608 but, after that unpleasantness, concord apparently

descended on the landscape, or at least the record is silent on the subject. In 1648 the people of Winterton stopped up one of the dikes that Sir John Monson was constructing, arguing that while it protected neighbouring Roxby from flooding, it did so only by damaging their own land.¹⁹ It was one of a number of interventions they made while the work of drainage and enclosure by the Ancholme was proceeding, but they seem to have had no visceral objection to enclosure, as despite having many freeholders, they applied for an act to enclose the open fields and pastures of Winterton as early as 1770.

The only protest in Winterton came from a parish official in doggerel form. Amongst the claims sent in to the commissioners by those persons who considered themselves entitled to allotments was one from the pinder, Richard Cowper. The parish pinder was an endangered profession as the need for an official, who would capture and impound animals which strayed onto common or open lands, would disappear or be greatly reduced, as those lands were enclosed. Because his claim was in rhyme, Cowper may have been something of a wag and was hoping that his humour could persuade the commissioners to grant him some land, in the absence of any more tangible reason.²⁰ He began his claim by reciting the income streams to which he had been accustomed and then expressed his fears for the future, with the imminent prospect of enclosure, and perhaps gave voice to a wider village anxiety about the coming revolution:

When those my Dues I do Colect
None of my Master Do object
A Sup of Ale to me they give
With pie and ale how well I live
But aw alass I Do Suppose
Y^t all y^e feildes will be inclos'd
What will insue I cannot tell
It may prove ill or it may be well

If y^e kind Gen^t men of Our Comishon
Will grant me leve them to petition
By thear Plastick power be so kind
Leave me as Good as me thay find
I am Content no more Ile say
Your Petitioner Shall ever pray

He concludes with an appeal for a specific portion of the waste:

1 Jaⁿ 1771 Winterton

Worthey Gentlemen May you therefore be pleased to Grant to Your Poor
Petitionr, if in your power, y^t peice of y^e Princes Wast called Goose hill
Lane to Roxbey for the suport of a Horse or Cow or pleas lett mee aney
Waste Elcewhear for provision for my Cattle and Suporte of mv Poor
famley
Worthay Gen^t I am your Hb^{le} Serv^t
Rich^d Cowper

Because Richard Cowper could not claim ownership of lands, tenements or tithes or any rights, such as beast or sheep-gates, it appears his enterprising and amusing doggerel was in vain and he was not awarded any land at all at enclosure.

If there was more substantive opposition to parliamentary enclosure, it has not come to light. In the fens in 1767 at Haut Huntre 'desperate persons . . . in the dead of night shot into the windows of several gentlemen whom they thought active in procuring the act.'²¹ No such high drama has been discovered in the study area, and even references to counter petitions in the pages of the Commons Journals are absent. Nor do local newspapers contain references to

opposition to enclosure; if there were any cases, they must have been on a very small scale.

Some would have been disadvantaged in the process however, and the dearth of evidence for their identity must be because of their lowly status. There were clear losers in the 1803-6 enclosure of Burton upon Stather and Coleby where there were some very small inhabitants with little or no land, but with numbers of common rights. Six of them had no land at all before enclosure, and were rewarded by the commissioners with tiny plots which they would have had to sell.²² Another indicator of distress following enclosure may be found in vestry accounts. Whitton vestry accounts indicate that benefits disbursed in the ten years after parliamentary enclosure in 1775, increased by 84% from a yearly average of £20.56 before enclosure, to £37.87 in the ten years afterwards. The growth in assistance must indicate that there was a rise in the incidence of poverty post-enclosure. Very steep increases in poor relief did not come, however, until the lean years just before the turn of the century when there were poor harvests in 1797, 1799 and 1800. In those years the amounts disbursed were £113, £119 and £130 respectively.²³

A difficulty in identifying those who had been disadvantaged by enclosure, certainly in the years following 1815, is that after the Napoleonic wars the rural economy slumped. 'In the period 1814-16 the agricultural industry passed suddenly from prosperity to extreme depression' noted Lord Ernle. 'Farms were thrown up, notices to quit poured in; numbers of tenants absconded. Large tracts of land were untenanted and often uncultivated.... many large farmers lost everything and became applicants for pauper allowances'.²⁴ Ernle extracted these striking words from contemporary statements of rural distress, of which the best documented was an enquiry undertaken by the Board of Agriculture in early 1816. The rural economy had had to adjust suddenly to the ending of a long period of conflict. Agriculture had been stimulated by the wars, when farmers spent large sums on enclosure and the cultivation of additional land and

perhaps borrowed to buy new equipment. After the wars, with grain prices falling and agriculture still the largest source of wealth and employment, its health was a matter of national concern.

The Agricultural State of the Kingdom in February, March and April, 1816 is the collation of the 326 replies the Board received to a questionnaire sent out in February of that year to its locally based correspondents. There were nine questions asking for detailed information on tenancies, farm vacancies, evictions, rent abatements, and other indications of rural distress. The Board wanted to know whether arable farming was suffering more or less than grazing: they asked about sheep farming: and whether the wartime shortage of paper currency had caused any problems. One question was specifically about the poor and how they were faring in comparison with 1811 and 1812. In addition the Board wanted their correspondents to suggest remedies to alleviate rural distress.²⁵ There were twenty-one replies from Lincolnshire, rather more than the average for the English counties, perhaps indicating that the county had been more affected by an increase in cultivated land, due to wartime enclosure. In the study area, there were replies from Sir Robert Sheffield (1786-1862) on the Normanby estate (which included Flixborough and the southern part of Burton-upon-Stather parish), from Thomas Goulton on the Walcot estate (which included much of Alkborough and practically the whole of Whitton) and from Robert Barker of Burton-upon-Stather.²⁶ Compared to other parts of Lincolnshire, where correspondents noted great suffering amongst the labourers, unoccupied farms and notices to quit, the study area reported relatively little distress. There were no unoccupied farms, just two notices to quit (at Burton), and while rent abatements of 20% had been agreed at Burton and Walcot, Sir Robert Sheffield had held his ground and refused any on his Normanby estate. Both Thomas Goulton at Walcot and Mr. Barker (referring to both Burton-upon-Stather and the Normanby estate) mention the practice of allowing poor

cottagers to keep cows and to provide them with small amounts of land to graze them on. Also the provision of as much garden land as labourers can cultivate 'without neglecting the farmer's business' is remarked on, and Goulton says that this has been the custom for over fifty years, by which he presumably means, since the time of enclosure.

There were no comments about sheep or the wartime shortage of bank notes, but Sir Robert Sheffield clearly felt that he should offer solutions for the national situation and suggested that grain imports should be prohibited and that the poor rate should be regulated.²⁷

The study area's seemingly contented situation contrasts strongly with other parts of the county where farmers and labourers were suffering greatly and the lack of money was affecting additional sections of the economy. Even in small country towns, trades people noticed that farmers were reducing their expenditure, and the report notes that '...their daughters come no longer to the milliners and dancing masters, etc., who have thus lost their best customers.'²⁸

There was genuine poverty in the study area however and, because of it, a workhouse at Winterton. The arrangement seems to have been to let it to a contractor who would maintain the poor at the very lowest price per head. An advertisement from 1830 stated the requirements:

Wanted: a man and his wife, of industrious habits and unexceptionable characters, to take the management of the poor of the parish of Winterton ... and four adjoining parishes.... Any persons desirous of contracting are requested to send in immediately... stating the mode of employment, and at what amount per head per week they will provide for the paupers.²⁹

An economic upturn during the mid-1820s brought little respite from the increasing cost of the poor. Spending on relief in England and Wales was £6.8m in 1830 and real expenditure on the poor increased by 23% from 1817 to 1832.³⁰ Following a harvest failure in 1829 there was violent rural unrest and in

the south of England the 'Captain Swing' disturbances of 1830-1831 caused anxiety among landowners who feared a complete breakdown of the social order. Sir Robert Sheffield, thought that there would be attempts by the labourers to raise their wages. 'The Wages in this Part are 2s a day', he informed Lord Brownlow, the Lord Lieutenant, 'and if any refractory spirit should show itself here among the Labourers it will be for an increase of Wages ... but a stand will be made at present at two shillings'.³¹ In north-west Lindsey, the firing of stacks, or at least the *threat* of incendiarism seem to have been a much greater worry than the machine breaking in the south. Handbills were produced offering rewards, local associations were formed and, in February 1831, a troop of fifty yeomanry cavalry was enrolled and stationed in Winterton. While there *were* some outbreaks of stack burning in Lindsey, and a farmer at Barrow-on-Humber dismantled his threshing machine after threats, no evidence of related criminal activity has yet been found in the study area.³² In London the response of the Government was to set up a comprehensive inquiry, in the form of a Royal Commission, into the 'administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws'.

In the spring of 1832 the Commissioners sent questionnaires to all parishes in England and Wales of which about 10% replied. These were collated as *Rural Queries* and *Town Queries*. Only twenty Lincolnshire rural parishes responded, but Burton-upon-Stather was one of them.³³ The answers of Edward England, the assistant overseer, are more revealing than the survey of 1816 and perhaps give a more realistic overview. He reported that earnings varied from £27 to £36 per annum. These were higher wages than most of the others responding and may have been a result of alternative work available in that parish's Trentside boatyards. There was however, not a single family where the mother and children could earn even £5 a year in farm work. There were some more fortunate inhabitants, who had inherited cottages, or a little capital. Most lived mainly on potatoes, but those who had a little land, kept cows and grew

potatoes as well, and Edward England thought that their families were well fed. Burton was quite unusual in that people with a cottage and land for two cows had been known to save as much as £300, their cottage and land costing them £10-£14 a year in rent. While he reported that there were seventy agricultural labourers in the parish, he thought that only forty were actually needed, except at harvest time. Twenty-seven had received outdoor relief in the previous week and the poor rates (of £312 a year in 1831) provided for those eight or nine employed on the roads, and a woman and two children in the workhouse at Winterton. He believed that 'reviving the old law' and making 'both parties do penance during the time of Divine Service' could reduce the eight or nine bastards per year, chargeable to the parish. In answer to the last question, 'Can you give the Commissioners any information respecting the causes and consequences of the agricultural Riots and Burning of 1830 and 1831?' Edward England gave a considered and compassionate reply:

The Labourer who finds himself and family starving when surrounded with corn stacks, &c. which he has perhaps laboured hard to produce, and of which he cannot obtain a portion sufficient to satisfy the cravings of hunger, thinks himself an injured man, and an outcast of society. He becomes careless of consequences and, stimulated by revenge, endeavours to reduce the man whom he fancies to be his greatest enemy to the same level with himself, by destroying his property.³⁴

In the wake of the Royal Commission's report came the Poor Law Amendment Act, which received Royal Assent on 14 August 1834. The Act provided for the setting up of Poor Law Unions and the building of workhouses. In 1835 a workhouse for 200 inmates was built, on Wrawby Street in Brigg. It covered the fifty parishes of the Glanford Brigg Union, including the study area parishes, and its first chairman was Sir Robert Sheffield of Normanby Park.³⁵

It is thus difficult to separate out the harm which may have been caused to some smaller owners by reason of the study area enclosures, from problems due to the general decline in the rural economy. The message that comes down to us from other owners (in a rare example of contemporary observation) is instead, one of improvement. An author, signing himself 'JS', wrote in the *Saturday Magazine* in 1833 that Messingham had once been:

...a swampy tract of peat and peat earth interspersed with barren sand hills and large pits of water, and when in a state of open common, presented an appearance singularly wretched and dreary. It was observed by an old lady, who had travelled over a great part of Europe, that the most miserable place she had ever seen was a village called Messingham in Lincolnshire.

However, the author went on to comment that:

After that time (*the 1804 enclosure*) a great and rapid improvement took place. The land was better cultivated, new houses were built, roads made, and a general air of comfort and cleanliness superseded the former squalid wretchedness of the place.³⁶

It is plain that the main landowners, were economically enhanced by parliamentary enclosure, but it is less obvious what had been the effect on other owners and whether the landownership structure of parishes had been altered. By using land tax records it is possible to look at changing landownership patterns in the study area. The three tables which follow summarise at five year intervals, first the number of landowners, between 1783 and 1830, secondly those of them that were owner-occupiers and lastly the proportion of owner-occupiers.

Table 9. Absolute numbers of owners by parish, 1783 to 1830 and percentage change over the period

	* 1783	1790	1795	1800	1805	1810	1815	1820	1825	1830	Inc%
Alkboro'	29	28	29	23	29	28	27	28	26	26	-10.3
Appleby	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	4	3	50.0
Ashby	13	13	12	11	11	13	15	20	23	35	169.2
Bottesford	12	11	11	11	7	10	14	22	32	27	125.0
Broughton	14	14	15	13	11	11	10	20	20	20	42.9
Brumby	15	14	14	12	12	11	12	12	12	13	-13.3
Burringham	31	30	30	31	31	34	35	37	43	43	38.7
Burton Stather	36	35	34	34	35	34	40	42	29	29	-19.4
Crosby	8	8	8	7	7	7	8	14	16	17	112.5
Flixboro'	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0.0
Frodingham	27	27	25	24	22	22	21	19	19	17	-37.0
Hibaldstow	20	24	25	20	18	17	17	33	30	35	75.0
Manton	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	33.3
Messingham	47	48	48	52	50	50	48	50	55	68	44.7
Redbourn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.0
Roxby	5	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	0.0
Scawby	25	25	22	22	20	20	22	34	41	48	92.0
Waddingham	56	56	57	60	62	66	67	72	85	97	73.2
West Halton	19	17	17	15	16	16	16	17	17	17	-10.5
Whitton	9	9	7	6	6	5	4	5	3	3	-66.7
Winteringham	54	61	56	46	50	59	60	57	54	60	11.1
Winterton	66	74	80	82	97	97	102	105	120	129	95.5
Totals	494	506	503	482	498	514	532	602	641	699	41.5

Source: LAO: Land Tax 1783 to 1830 *1785 LTAs are missing and 1784 LTAs are only partly illegible.

Both Martin in Warwickshire and Turner in Buckinghamshire had found reductions in the absolute numbers of owners in the years following enclosure and Turner found that this happened in all types of parish, whether old-enclosed, or of recent or current enclosure.³⁷ By contrast the total number of landowners in the study area rose over the entire land tax period by 41.5%, from 494 to 699, while owner-occupiers increased by as much as 89%. The present findings are more in agreement with those of E. Davies and of J.D. Chambers who found, in separate studies of parishes in the midlands, that there had been an actual increase in the number of owner-occupiers³⁸

In addition this present study found that the *proportion* of owner-occupiers increased until 1815, before declining to the end of the period (table 11).

The experiences of the study area parishes are very different and do not lend themselves to easy categorisation. In the 'closed' settlement of Appleby, as well as in two villages not enclosed by act, Flixborough and Roxby, hardly any landownership change took place, except that in the last named, the few remaining owner-occupiers declined in number and the dominant landowner, Robert Cary Elwes increased his holding.³⁹ Whitton, which at enclosure in 1773 might have been thought of an 'open' parish with eight owners awarded general allotments, became more like a 'closed' parish through the period, as Thomas Goulton, of neighbouring Alkborough, bought land in the parish as it came onto the market, at the deaths of the few residual owner-occupiers. By the time of Goulton's own decease in 1825, he had increased his holding in Alkborough and was virtually the sole owner of Whitton.

Some of the figures in the table confirm what is seen in estate papers. The fall in the number of owners in Burton-upon-Stather from a high of 36 in 1783 to 29 in 1830 reflects the purchase by Sir Robert Sheffield of several, apparently small and medium, farming properties which had passed at death into the hands of heirs, who presumably wished to realise their value. During these five years familiar names from the LTAs, such as Waterland, Westoby, Driffill, Fowler and Young, all feature in deeds bought by Sir Robert, and the size of his landholding was increased by several hundreds of acres.⁴⁰ It would seem that engrossments in the study area were opportunistic and not the result of any deliberate expulsion of smaller owners. In some parishes, while the evidence of legal papers has not come to light, it is clear from examining land tax assessments that non-resident owners sold land from time to time to tenants and others, which increased the number of parochial landowners. In Ashby where the number of owners rose dramatically towards the end of the period, a business called The Royalty Land Company disposed of its holdings between 1825 and 1830, and several of the tenants became owners.⁴¹ In Messingham an already large number of owners increased, because the Barnard family sold land in the

1820s and 1830s and similarly, in Waddingham, Monson land was sold to widen the ownership of the parish. In Winterton sixty people had been awarded land in the 1772 award, but only thirty were paying land tax in 1783. By 1830 there are sixty-eight owners listed; the main reason for the increase seems to be that, in this 'open' parish, some of the larger owners sub-divided and sold their plots for housing.

J. M. Martin's finding that in 1780, in Warwickshire, the owner-occupiers were strongest in parishes that had been enclosed in the previous thirty years was not confirmed in the study area. The percentage of owner-occupiers in study area parishes, enclosed from 1761 to 1775, was found to be 37.6% of all owners, rising to 51.3% in 1830 and this was found to be very similar to those enclosed after 1783; 39.7% rising to 52.7%.⁴²

Table 10 Absolute numbers of owner-occupiers by parish, 1783 to 1830
and percentage change over the period

	* 1783	1790	1795	1800	1805	1810	1815	1820	1825	1830	Inc%
Alkboro'	11	14	15	11	19	20	17	11	9	8	-27.3
Appleby	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Ashby	3	3	3	4	7	9	9	10	11	25	733.3
Bottesford	0	1	1	2	2	4	7	12	18	16	∞
Broughton	7	10	11	8	8	6	6	17	15	13	85.7
Brumby	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	6	50.0
Burringham	26	25	22	21	21	24	27	25	24	28	7.7
Burton Stather	14	14	18	19	22	19	25	24	13	15	7.1
Crosby	1	1	1	1	0	2	3	4	5	3	200.0
Flixboro'	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	1	1	-50.0
Frodingham	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	8	33.3
Hibaldstow	8	8	8	7	8	9	9	16	13	13	62.5
Manton	3	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	-66.7
Messingham	19	20	22	25	26	28	28	30	34	41	115.8
Redbourn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.0
Roxby	3	3	4	2	2	2	3	3	1	1	-66.7
Scawby	16	16	15	15	14	15	16	20	25	34	112.5
Waddingham	10	10	19	24	37	35	35	41	40	40	300.0
West Halton	5	5	6	5	6	6	8	9	6	6	20.0
Whitton	2	2	4	4	5	4	4	4	3	3	50.0
Winteringham	23	22	29	24	35	39	43	31	34	36	56.5
Winterton	30	30	28	35	41	45	55	59	63	68	126.7
Totals	194	200	221	221	267	281	307	329	328	367	89.2

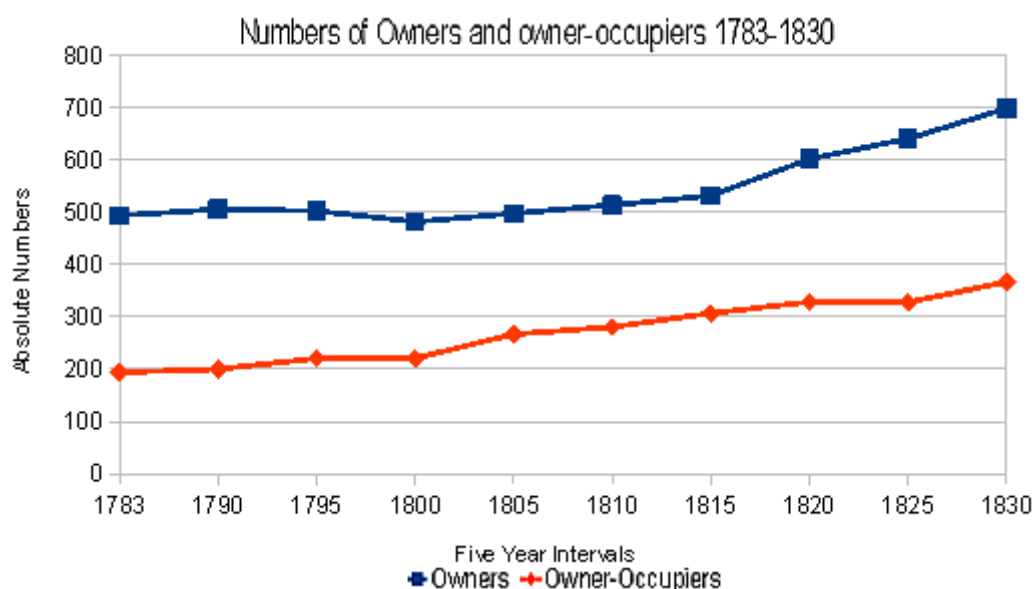
Source: LAO: Land Tax 1783 to 1830 *1785 LTAs are missing and 1784 LTAs are only partly illegible.

**Table 11. % age proportion of owner-occupiers by parish, 1783
to 1830**

	* 1783	1790	1795	1800	1805	1810	1815	1820	1825	1830
Alkboro'	37.9	50.0	51.7	47.8	65.5	71.4	63.0	39.3	34.6	30.8
Appleby	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ashby	23.1	23.1	25.0	36.4	63.6	69.2	60.0	50.0	47.8	71.4
Bottesford	0.0	9.1	9.1	18.2	28.6	40.0	50.0	54.5	56.3	59.3
Broughton	50.0	71.4	73.3	61.5	72.7	54.5	60.0	85.0	75.0	65.0
Brumby	26.7	28.6	28.6	33.3	33.3	36.4	33.3	41.7	41.7	46.2
Burringham	83.9	83.3	73.3	67.7	67.7	70.6	77.1	67.6	55.8	65.1
Burton Stather	38.9	40.0	52.9	55.9	62.9	55.9	62.5	57.1	44.8	51.7
Crosby	12.5	12.5	12.5	14.3	0.0	28.6	37.5	28.6	31.3	17.6
Flixboro'	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0
Frodingham	22.2	22.2	20.0	20.8	22.7	22.7	28.6	31.6	31.6	47.1
Hibaldstow	40.0	33.3	32.0	35.0	44.4	52.9	52.9	48.5	43.3	37.1
Manton	100.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	50.0	50.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
Messingham	40.4	41.7	45.8	48.1	52.0	56.0	58.3	60.0	61.8	60.3
Redbourn	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Roxby	60.0	75.0	80.0	50.0	40.0	40.0	60.0	60.0	20.0	20.0
Scawby	64.0	64.0	68.2	68.2	70.0	75.0	72.7	58.8	61.0	70.8
Waddingham	17.9	17.9	33.3	40.0	59.7	53.0	52.2	56.9	47.1	41.2
West Halton	26.3	29.4	35.3	33.3	37.5	37.5	50.0	52.9	35.3	35.3
Whitton	22.2	22.2	57.1	66.7	83.3	80.0	100.0	80.0	100.0	100.0
Winteringham	42.6	36.1	51.8	52.2	70.0	66.1	71.7	54.4	63.0	60.0
Winterton	45.5	40.5	35.0	42.7	42.3	46.4	53.9	56.2	52.5	52.7
Totals	39.3	39.5	43.9	45.9	53.6	54.7	57.7	54.7	51.2	52.5

Source: LAO: Land Tax 1783 to 1830 *1785 LTAs are missing and 1784 LTAs are only partly illegible.

The graph (**Fig 6**) which follows summarises the tables, above.



The surnames from land tax returns can also be used to examine the *persistence* of family names in parishes, following enclosure. A total of 2,447 surnames in ninety LTAs, from nine sample parishes, were edited and transcribed to yield the information concerning surviving surnames in table 12, which follows.⁴³ These were nine parishes where complete and legible runs of LTAs made the analysis practicable and were, in the case of the parishes enclosed by act, those which had proportions of their areas enclosed from 1761 to 1833. Two of the parishes (Flixborough and Roxby) had not experienced enclosure by act, but had been enclosed entirely by other means. Using 1783 as the base year, the table shows numbers of surviving original owners, allowing (as explained in the land tax section of the methodology chapter) for family or corporate inheritance.

Turner, in his study of parishes of Buckinghamshire, found a gradual reduction in original owners, adjusted for inheritance.⁴⁴ In the nine sample parishes in the study area, 222 original landowner surnames declined to 62 over 47 years, a decrease of 73%, of which owner-occupier surnames fell from 90 to 31 (-66%). As in the Buckinghamshire study it was found that parishes of old enclosure, the 'closed' ones of Appleby, Flixborough and Roxby, showed little change.

Table 12. Numbers of surviving owner and owner-occupier surnames

	Alkboro'	Appleby	Burton Stather	Flixboro'	Roxby	West Halton	Whitton	Winteringham	Winterton	Totals
Number of Surviving surnames										
1783	29	2	36	2	5	19	9	54	66	222
1790	24	2	27	2	4	14	4	44	50	171
1795	23	2	25	2	3	11	5	36	38	145
1800	15	2	21	2	3	10	3	28	33	117
1805	15	2	14	2	3	10	3	23	30	102
1810	11	2	13	2	3	10	2	21	27	91
1815	12	2	12	2	3	10	2	18	21	82
1820	12	2	12	2	3	9	2	15	18	75
1825	10	2	10	2	3	9	1	11	18	66
1830	9	2	8	2	2	9	1	11	18	62
Of which Surviving own/occ										
1783	11	0	14	2	3	5	2	23	30	90
1790	12	0	11	2	3	4	2	16	23	73
1795	12	0	11	2	2	4	3	16	15	65
1800	8	0	12	2	1	4	3	17	19	66
1805	9	0	7	2	1	4	2	16	13	54
1810	6	0	7	2	1	4	2	16	14	52
1815	5	0	8	0	1	5	2	15	12	48
1820	3	0	5	0	1	5	2	9	12	37
1825	3	0	5	1	0	4	1	9	11	34
1830	3	0	5	1	0	3	1	9	10	32
% surviving owner/occupiers										
1783	37.9	0.0	38.9	100.0	60.0	26.3	22.2	42.6	45.5	40.5
1790	50.0	0.0	40.7	100.0	75.0	28.6	50.0	36.4	46.0	42.7
1795	52.2	0.0	44.0	100.0	66.7	36.4	60.0	44.4	39.5	44.8
1800	53.3	0.0	57.1	100.0	33.3	40.0	100.0	60.7	57.6	56.4
1805	60.0	0.0	50.0	100.0	33.3	40.0	66.7	69.6	43.3	52.9
1810	54.5	0.0	53.8	100.0	33.3	40.0	100.0	76.2	51.9	57.1
1815	41.7	0.0	66.7	0.0	33.3	50.0	100.0	83.3	57.1	58.5
1820	25.0	0.0	41.7	0.0	33.3	55.6	100.0	60.0	66.7	49.3
1825	30.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	44.4	100.0	81.8	61.1	51.5
1830	33.3	0.0	62.5	50.0	0.0	33.3	100.0	81.8	55.6	51.6

LAO Land Tax Assessments (LTAs) 1785 LTAs are missing and 1784 LTAs are only partly illegible.

The LTAs show that Appleby was almost entirely owned by the Winns of Appleby Hall, with only about one per cent being owned by others, typically members of the Yarborough family. Unusually, except in 1815, no occupiers are listed in the LTAs. In that year however it is revealed that there were forty-nine occupiers including John Winn, Lord Yarborough and his brother C.A.Pelham. Flixborough

was totally owned by the Sheffield family who lived at Normanby Hall in neighbouring Burton-upon-Stather. No doubt the Normanby Estate and all of Flixborough parish was farmed as one entity, since the correspondence of the Sheffields' land-agent seems to make no distinction between the two parishes, and the same occupier names feature in both parishes throughout the period.⁴⁵ Roxby was almost all in the possession of the Elwes family. Robert Cary Elwes had married Caroline Anderson, the eldest daughter of the first Lord Yarborough in 1797 thereby uniting these two local landowning families.⁴⁶ The major holdings in the parish were all farmed by Elwes' tenants and based on the three DMV sites, High and Low Risby and Sawcliffe. As the years went by, the few other small owner-occupiers moved away and left their land for tenants to farm. The parishes, enclosed by parliamentary means, had different ownership experiences. In Alkborough, the major owners at enclosure in 1768 were Christopher Goulton (1709-1783), the Quaker moneylender Jonathon Dent and Magdalen College, Cambridge, but there were thirty other owners. Over the period of the LTAs there was a considerable surname turnover, and the number of owner-occupiers at first rose and then fell as owners moved away and rented their land. In West Halton, at the 1773 enclosure, the main and absentee landowners were William Watson and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. In time, after the death of Watson, the parish acquired a resident landowner in Benjamin Burnett, a Hull surgeon who seems to have crossed the river in 1805 to spend his retirement in more rural surroundings and, perhaps live the life of a minor squire.⁴⁷ At Burnett's death in 1825 the land was sold to a family called Slater who were occupiers for a while before moving away. Analysis of the LTAs reveals no obvious distinctive landownership pattern and while there was considerable surname turnover, actual numbers of both owners and owner-occupiers vary little. As noted above, in Burton-upon-Stather, the Sheffield families bought up plots of land as they became available and the former owner/surnames either disappear or continue as occupiers.

In the big 'open' parishes of Winteringham and Winterton the surnames of owner-occupiers tend to survive for longer through the period.⁴⁸ It seems likely that this is because those owner/surnames maintained their presence by leaving agriculture and becoming tradesmen and craftsmen in a manner that was not viable for owner-occupiers in smaller settlements.

Surnames in the six sample parishes enclosed by act, have also been analysed in a different manner in order to show how rapidly landownership changed after enclosure. The presence of surnames awarded land were compared with the first extant land tax assessment, or an appropriate LTA soon after enclosure, and the results were tabulated by the acreage of land that had been allotted at enclosure.

Table 13. Surnames disappearing between enclosure and LTA date, by acreage.

Parish	Date of Award	Date of LTA	Total of surnames gone	over 500 acres	100 to 499 acres	50 to 99 acres	25 to 49 acres	10 to 24 acres	5 to 9 acres	less than 5
Alkborough	1768	1783	11				2	3	2	4
Burton Stather	1806*	1805 *	5		1	1				3
West Halton	1773	1783	4							4
Whitton	1775	1783	4							4
Winteringham (part)	1798	1800	15				1	5	8	1
Winterton	1772	1783	28		5	1	3	1	1	17
Totals			67	0	6	2	6	9	11	33

*

*The details of lands awarded were known in 1804.

Source: LAO: Land Tax Assessments; Lindsey Enclosure Awards; E & R.C. Russell, *Landscape changes in South Humberside* (Hull, 1982)

It is evident from the table above that, in the wake of parliamentary enclosure, changes in landownership came quickly. It will be seen that almost half (33) of the surnames that disappeared soon after parliamentary enclosure belonged to owners with less than five acres, and nearly 80% (53) of disappeared surnames had owned less than 25 acres. The 'open' parish of Winterton was an exception with a number of larger owners taking the opportunity to sell up. The evidence of

subsequent LTAs suggests that some of this land in Winterton was quickly subdivided amongst smaller owners, with homes being built and let to labourers.⁴⁹ No owner/surname, that had been awarded more than 500 acres, disappeared between the two dates. Perhaps it is possible that this high turnover of smaller owners, in the years immediately after enclosure, was the result of a buoyant market in land stimulated by the prosperity enjoyed by larger owners, rather than any inability on the part of smaller ones to pay the costs of enclosure. It is difficult to interpret the evidence of price movements, the land tax and enclosing expenses. In general the disappeared names were replaced by the names of new families, and while Neeson may be right to suggest that 'the effect of enclosure on the last generation of open-field peasants was profound', it would not be correct to say (in these few parishes anyway) that the English peasantry disappeared.⁵⁰

All was not well however and a letter to *The Times*, written while, the Enclosure Act of 1845 was going through committee, was trenchant in its criticism of enclosure's impact and speculated on what a farm labourer would say if *he* were summoned to testify before it.⁵¹

Employment...is always precarious - that the former enclosures did not better the condition of his father or grandfather - that it will not raise wages from 12 shillings in Lincolnshire. He is steeped in poverty to the lips; that he is ill-fed, ill-housed and he might add that he has reached this condition during those reigns wherein 4,000 act of enclosure have passed - these acts have added much to the comfort and wealth of most gentlemen, but he has never seen one day-labourer the better for them...⁵²

The writings of James Caird provide an account of farming practice in the middle of the nineteenth century and he recognised the improvements that have been made:

The agricultural reputation of Lincolnshire is due more to the stride it has made in a given time, than to any real pre-eminence above the best farmed counties. A hundred years ago it was almost a *terra incognita*, its land boundaries impassable fens, desolate heaths, and broad rivers with no important sea port and lying out of the track of the traveller. Till the reign of George III the county remained in a neglected state, the fee simple of the now cultivated wolds and heaths worth little more than their present annual rent: the fen districts an unwholesome reedy waste, prolific of ague and aquatic birds.⁵³

He appreciated especially the improvements carried beside the Trent by the technique of warping:

Peat moss of the most sterile character has been by this process covered with soil of the greatest fertility, and swamps which in the memory of our informant were resorted to for leeches are now, by the effects of warping, converted into firm and fertile fields.⁵⁴

He misunderstood however the hydrological action by which warping comes about. He plainly believed that the fertile muddy soils which formed the warp came *up* the river from the sea, and were usefully deposited in this manner, as far as thirty miles from the ocean. In reality, the mud came *down* the Trent from central England, and the warping technique was limited to about thirty miles up-river, by the diminishing spring tidal range.⁵⁵

It has not proved possible to identify any study area lands for which a long series (twenty years or more) of rent records was available, so that the impact of enclosure, on rents paid, could be measured. Suitable lands would have been

difficult to locate anywhere as, although the process would have had an impact on many places, other of the many factors in the association between landlord and tenant would certainly not have remained static over the course of a number of years.⁵⁶ Contemporary observations do provide some evidence. Just to the west of the study area in Barton, immediately before enclosure in 1792, the estimated rental of the land used for agricultural purposes had been £2,000. Soon after enclosure it rented for £6,000 and by 1856 it had reached £12,000.⁵⁷ Samuel Sydney wrote in 1848 of land in an unnamed north Lincolnshire village which had rented, as waste pasture before improvement, for two shillings per acre and which had risen 'after turnip culture and sheep feeding' to twenty-five shillings per acre.⁵⁸

In the first five decades of the nineteenth century, the county's population increased by 95%, Lindsey's increased by 87% and that part of Lindsey which is the study area, increased by 88%. The experiences of the individual study area settlements (table 14, below) were however very different. Between the census of 1801 and that of 1851 Winterton for example, grew from 773 to 1665 people, an increase of about 115% and in the same period its neighbour Roxby-cum-Risby grew from 273 to 330 people, a rise of only 21%.⁵⁹

Table 14. Study area population 1801-1851

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	% Period Inc
Alkborough	345	368	428	467	528	468	35.7
Appleby	394	385	534	517	505	481	22.1
Bottesford	104	71	101	112	153	144	38.5
Ashby	192	239	288	378	429	456	137.5
Burringham	233	239	338	410	624	551	136.5
Holme	33	62	39	49	49	51	54.5
Yaddletorpe	74	43	87	106	133	146	97.3
Broughton	729	747	827	915	913	1240	70.1
Burton	482	526	762	760	799	899	86.5
Frodingham	550	495	552	599	701	789	43.5
Flixborough	173	199	216	270	211	199	15.0
Hibaldstow	443	523	522	632	688	801	80.8
Manton cum Twigmore	52	77	81	74	83	102	96.2
Cleatham	43	60	117	76	99	96	123.3
Messingham	377	697	855	924	1368	1117	196.3
East Butterwick	128	191	248	326	378	416	225.0
Redbourne	200	215	270	300	377	354	77.0
Roxby cum Risby	273	269	350	373	339	330	20.9
Scawby cum Sturton	518	658	838	942	1050	1606	210.0
Waddingham	343	377	447	523	678	834	143.1
West Halton	204	322	374	359	424	425	108.3
Whitton	207	187	212	245	217	190	-8.2
Winteringham	678	709	716	726	694	824	21.5
Winterton	773	821	1015	1295	1373	1665	115.4
Study area	7548	8480	10217	11378	12813	14184	87.9

Source: Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population tables. I. Numbers of the inhabitants, in the years 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, & 1851. Vol. II, pp.2,50-4

The table below (table 15) shows the size of the agricultural labour force, from the 1851 census for Roxby, and for the villages around it. The numbers of respondents enumerated as agricultural labourers are shown, and are compared with the, generally lower, figures given by the farmers, who were asked for the information along with their acreage.⁶⁰ There is uncertainty as to whether enumerators and farmers specified accurately, both their living-in farm servants and agricultural labourers, but this study assumes that they did for the most part, in the selected parishes.⁶¹ In some other study area parishes, the figures are confused or even missing. It will be seen that in the 'closed' villages of

Appleby and Flixborough, the numbers claiming to be 'ag-labs' and the returns of the farmers are similar, but in Roxby, there must have been a large daily trek of workers, to-and-fro, along the footpaths between that village and the neighbouring 'open' village of Winterton. If, as seems probable, workers were also supplied to other 'closed' parishes, their movement from Winterton is hidden within the figures.

Table 15. Size of the agricultural labour force

Agricultural workers	enumerated In census	farmers' returns *	Difference
Alkborough	85	43	42
Appleby	121	115	6
Burton	138	109	29
Flixborough	48	39	9
Roxby-cum-Risby	89	137	-48
West Halton	96	85	11
Whitton	45	36	9
Winteringham	96	65	31
Winterton	256	97	159
Totals	974	726	248

* 'in-' plus 'out-workers'.

Source: 1851 Census Enumerators' Returns HO107/2117

There is a very significant variation, of nearly two hundred and fifty in the selected parishes, and Beastall suggested, in his study of Lincolnshire agriculture, that farm employment prospects were poor and that 'in March 1851 no more than two-thirds of the county's labourers had work...' ⁶² It is however, at least, possible that these workers, who were not included in the farmers' returns, were mainly on short-term contracts, rather than permanently unemployed labourers. If Beastall was correct in his gloomy assessment, then the workforce would only be fully employed during the four to six weeks of the cereal harvest. ⁶³ Samuel Sidney had written in seeming contrast, in 1848, that 'the labouring population seems barely equal to the agricultural wants of North

Lincolnshire' and that the 'crops are got in by the indispensable aid of travelling bands', by which he probably meant Irish itinerant workers.⁶⁴ Sidney was also probably referring to those few harvest weeks when the labourers were fully employed.

One likely reason for the increase in Winterton's population, is therefore a shortage of accommodation in the neighbouring 'closed' parish of Roxby owned by the Elwes family.

The new poor law had kept the parish as the unit of rating and settlement and this was an advantage to the major landowners, whose sparsely populated 'closed' parishes, such as Redbourne, Manton and Appleby, kept the relatively low poor rates they had enjoyed under the old poor law. In consequence, after 1834, there continued to be differences in the burden of poor rates among parishes within the Glanford Brigg Union. The only common charges in the union were those connected with the poor law establishment, the cost of building and maintaining the workhouse at Brigg, paying salaries, and so on. Otherwise, each parish was assessed on the number of its settled paupers receiving either outdoor or indoor relief, and this was naturally a much heavier burden on more heavily populated parishes. In order to keep down the rate burden in his parish a large landowner might refuse to build or repair labourers' cottages, and might even pull down existing ones, when they became empty. This seems to have happened in Whitton where the number of houses actually declined sharply, between 1831 and 1841, (54 down to 42) and the place took on more of the characteristics of a 'closed' parish with a population decline of 8%.⁶⁵ In the 'open' parishes, like Messingham, Waddingham and Bottesford by contrast, cottage ownership was more widespread, and new ones could be built with fewer objections from landowners. The 'open' parish was typically much more populous than the 'closed', although Mills' definition of a population range from 300 to 500

inhabitants in the case of the 'open' settlement, compared with 50 to 300 in the 'closed', is not seen in the study area.⁶⁶ As indicated in the table above, a synergistic relationship developed between 'open' and 'closed' parishes, the excess of population in the one making up for the deficiency of labour in the other.⁶⁷ It was not until the passing of the Union Chargeability Act of 1865, which ended parochial settlement and chargeability, and spread it across the entire union, that the tendency declined to build cottages in 'open' parishes, for those labourers who worked in 'closed' ones.⁶⁸

This manipulation of poor law regulations was not the only spur to population growth or decline. Another important driver was the effect of agricultural improvement especially where, as in the case of drainage and warping, this special type of improvement, (rather than merely reorganising the arable), had brought formerly unproductive acres into cultivation. These new areas of highly fertile land needed agricultural labour and the effect is seen plainly on the study area. In Bottesford parish, the townships of Ashby and Burringham (warped c.1809) saw population increases of over 130% while, in East Butterwick (warped c.1804), warping transformed the Trentside settlement, as its 680 acres were able to support many more workers.

Scawby increased by over two hundred percent in the first half of the nineteenth century, but here the growth was due to the rise of the regional centre of Brigg on the other side of its parish boundary. Scawby became effectively a suburb of this small market town and the number of houses increased from 222 to 342, in the ten years before 1851 alone.⁶⁹

Agricultural work was of course the principal employment in all the study parishes (table 16, below) and although the more populated parishes tended to have lesser percentages of farmers and farm workers, the rank correlation was weak.⁷⁰ The parish with the highest percentage of resident farmers and agricultural workers was Roxby, although as already noted, it had as well, to

'import' workers who lived in neighbouring parishes. There was no statistical correlation between the proportion of agricultural workers and the numbers of resident owners, or the acreage of the parish.⁷¹ Scawby's low proportion of farm workers was, as already indicated, due to the encroachment of the town of Brigg. Domestic service was a significant occupation in the study area and there were concentrations of servants in the houses of the larger landowners, with the Winns at Appleby, the Sheffields at Burton and Flixborough and the Duke of St. Albans at Redbourne.

There was strong positive correlation between the proportions of trades and craftsmen and the population of parishes.⁷² A moderate correlation also existed between trades and craftsmen and the numbers of owners-occupiers in the more open parishes like Winterton, Burton-upon-Stather, Waddingham and Winteringham.⁷³ In Burton many of the craftsmen were associated with boat building. A boat yard had been established at Alkborough, on the Trent, in about 1788 and it moved to Burton Stather in 1800 where a slipway was built at a cost of £1,000. Houses were erected for the workers and this large yard was operated until late in the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Most villages supported from twelve to fifteen trade or service occupations, the most frequently occurring being dress and shoemaking. Winteringham with thirty-three and Winterton with fifty-seven different trade or service occupations, were notable for the size and wide range of their employment with midwives, clock-makers, plumbers, architects, lawyers, vets and even a 'cole porter' listed.⁷⁵

There was a positive correlation between the proportions of professional, independent and retired persons and the population of parishes, but it was not as strong as that of the trades and craftsmen.⁷⁶

The smallest proportions of children occur in Roxby, Appleby and Flixborough, with Roxby quite noticeably below the average for the study area (35.2%) at 23.6%. It seems very possible that this is because, in these 'closed' parishes, suitable homes were restricted by the leading landowner and while Whitton had a

relatively high 32.1% proportion of children, this was likely to fall as the pulling down of cottages, already mentioned, took effect.

The census had only required those persons returning themselves as 'farmers' or 'landed proprietors' to give details of land held, so there is hardly any information about landholding by people in other occupations.⁷⁷ This must seriously understate the numbers of occupiers of land and must be especially true at the lower end of the acreage scale where dual occupations were more common. Although wealthy businessmen and clergy no doubt held some of these unrecorded holdings, many must have been held by rural tradespeople. It has been argued that 'nearly all tradesmen also followed some form of agriculture either as a major or subordinate source of income', which suggests that to differentiate too much between tradespeople and small farmers is unwise.⁷⁸ In Lincolnshire villages for example, the carpenter as elsewhere, was often the undertaker, and he may have owned a small piece of land as well. In the 1851 census he will have been called 'carpenter', so are his funeral duties to be regarded as secondary, and his farming as tertiary occupations? Similarly the innkeepers may have kept a stable and owned a little pastureland for travellers' horses. Because agricultural work was a minor part of the working week, it should not be concluded from the census that the small owner-occupier, the English peasantry, was no longer present.

Table16 Social and Occupational breakdown of study area from 1851 Census

	<i>Farmers+Ag Labs</i>	<i>Servants</i>	<i>Trade+Craftsmen</i>	<i>Prof+Ind+Ret</i>	<i>Housewives</i>	<i>Children</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Alkborough	23.7	8.3	6.8	4.1	16.5	32.7
Appleby	29.8	10.4	6.1	2.6	15.1	26.3
Bottesford	25.6	4.6	9.1	1.8	16.8	33.4
Broughton	20.3	8.6	10.0	2.7	16.4	34.5
Burton	19.4	10.5	11.7	3.0	16.7	32.4
Flixboro'	28.0	11.6	8.3	1.4	16.0	29.4
Frodingham	30.2	6.7	7.0	1.7	17.0	30.5
Hibaldstow	25.8	7.1	9.9	0.7	16.7	34.0
Manton	29.8	10.1	2.5	2.0	15.2	32.3
Messingham	21.7	7.0	8.0	2.7	16.4	38.5
Redbourne	26.6	11.3	5.6	3.4	12.7	32.8
Roxby	32.8	8.0	4.9	2.1	17.2	23.6
Scawby	10.1	6.6	13.9	4.5	16.8	40.9
Waddingham	19.4	6.0	6.8	2.4	16.7	44.0
West Halton	30.3	8.8	4.5	2.6	16.3	31.2
Whitton	26.3	10.5	6.8	2.1	16.8	32.1
Winteringham	15.7	8.5	9.3	3.5	17.0	36.9
Winterton	18.1	7.1	13.6	2.7	17.4	35.8
Study Area	21.5	7.6	9.5	2.7	16.6	35.2

Source: Reworked from 1851 Census Enumerators' Returns HO 107/2115, 2116, 2117

Hobsbawm and Rudé have suggested that the passive response to the labourers' defeats in the riots of the 1830s was the rise of religion.⁷⁹ It is possible that the failure of the riots was some sort of catalyst for the decline of the old culture in general. While there were isolated instances of stack burning, in general by the

1840s, the era of riots and incendiarism had given way, to mutual societies and education. The decade saw the formation of friendly societies together with the construction of dissenting chapels, day schools and Church of England National Schools across the study area.⁸⁰ Activity in 'closed' parishes like Flixborough, Roxby and Redbourne, which were dominated by a single landowner, was more muted.⁸¹ Any threats, in the study area, of incendiarism in the 1840s did not cause lasting panic amongst the farmers and landowners, as they had done previously. Not only were landowners themselves better off than in earlier decades, but also they would have seen that the rural world had subtly changed in only a few years.⁸² There were many more chapels and chapelgoers in 1851 than before, and, in some villages, Appleby, Burton-upon-Stather, and Winterton, over 70% of the children in the census were described as 'scholars'.⁸³ Chapelgoers and their lay-preachers, parents with children at school and members of friendly societies were less likely to be desperate stack-burners, and more likely to be workers and trades people, with increasing self-belief and optimism in the changes that agricultural improvement had brought.

The parishes had been affected not only sociologically by agricultural improvement, but visually as well; the visual impact of the transformation depended, to some extent, upon the amount of land which was formerly held in common and what proportion of it had been enclosed in earlier times. No part of Roxby, Flixborough and Redbourne had been enclosed by act. In some parishes like Appleby, Broughton and Hibaldstow parliamentary enclosure was merely a tidying of what were just loose ends of the landscape. In still other parishes, Ashby, Messingham Winterton for example, almost all the land was altered by the Commissioners. In fact however there is little difference in the visual effect of these three sorts of parish in the landscape of roads and hedges. The later parliamentary enclosures did *not* produce a tedious pattern of rectangles, but are only slightly more regular and ordered than those of old enclosure. All the parishes integrated ancient features, such as irregular

woodland, ponds and winding streams, into their new plans, so only the observant can easily spot the curve of an old headland, or a hedge that is not completely straight.

If somehow the Cistercians of Twigmore could have returned, they would surely have commended the improvements of the centuries, but they might not have liked the bustle, and the lack of solitude in the mid-nineteenth century countryside. Like Tennyson's *Northern Farmer*, they would have marvelled at the changes that had happened in Lincolnshire:

Dubbut looäk at the waäste: theer warn't not feäd for a cow,
Nowt at all but bracken an' fuzz, an' looäk at it now,
Warn't worth nowt a haäcre an' now theer's ots o' feäd,
Fourscore yows upon it an' some on it doon in seäd.⁸⁴

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¹ A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (1799)

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³ *Ibid*.

⁴ *Ibid*, p.18

⁵ *Ibid*, p.10. By Tilby he means Thealby, Coalby is Coleby; both are in West Halton parish.

⁶ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming...* (1957), p.210; D.B.Grigg, *The Changing Agricultural Geography of England* ', p.76

⁷ A. Young, *General View ...* (1799), p.3

⁸ *Ibid*, pp.127,142,266

⁹ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, p.261

¹⁰ J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (1852)

¹¹ M.E. Turner, (ed.), *Home Office: Acreage Returns (HO 67): List and Analysis Part II Jersey to Somerset, 1801*, Vol. 190 (List and Index Society, 1982), *passim*

¹² 37,911 acres of 74,350 in the study area; Turner found that the figure was 82% for the whole of Lindsey, 75.9% for all of Lincolnshire and 46.7% for England.

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¹⁴ J. M. Suttie & S. G. Reynolds, *Fodder Oats: a World Overview* (2004), p.216

¹⁵ A. Young, p.143

¹⁶ W. Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe: from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (1980), p.208; for example see Winteringham parish in M.E. Turner, (ed.), *Home Office: Acreage Returns (HO 67)*, p.118

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²³ LAO: Whitton Vestry Accounts 1750-1800: Average amount disbursed 1776-1785, compared with average for the years 1763-1773.

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²⁵ *The Agricultural State of the Kingdom in February, March and April, 1816*, P.P., 1816, p.2

²⁶ Robert Barker was Sir Robert Sheffield's steward.

²⁷ *The Agricultural State...*, p.150-164

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.313, said of Woodbridge, Suffolk.

²⁹ *Saturday Magazine*, 15 Jan 1830, quoted in E. Gillett, *The Humber Region in the Nineteenth Century* (Hull, 1982), p.49

³⁰ D. Eastwood, *Governing Rural England* (Oxford, 1994), p.135; G.R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990), p.196

³¹ T.L. Richardson, 'The agricultural labourers' standard of living in Lincolnshire, 1790-1840: social protest and public order', *Agricultural History Review*, 41:1 (1993), p.15

³² R.C. Russell, *Three Lincolnshire Labourers' Movements* (Barton-on-Humber, 1994), pp.28-31

³³ *Answers to rural queries, with indices*, P.P., 1834, p.290

³⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁵ R.J. Olney, *Rural Society and County Government in Nineteenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1979), p.134

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⁴⁰ For example: LAO: Sheffield deposit A/3/7-8, A/4/3-4 and A/9/8.

⁴¹ LAO: Land Tax Assessments Ashby 1825, 1830

⁴² In chronological order: Winteringham, Alkboro', Waddingham, Scawby, Winterton, West Halton and Whitton *compared with* Bottesford, Hibaldstow, Messingham, Burton Stather, Ashby, Crosby, Manton, Appleby, Frodingham, Burringham, Broughton and Brumby.

⁴³ The analysis previously appeared in this writer's: 'Life and Labour in north-west Lindsey: The effects of agricultural change in nine parishes of Lincolnshire' (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, Nottingham 2007)

⁴⁴ M.E. Turner, 'Parliamentary Enclosure...', p.566-7. Some 18% between 1782-92

⁴⁵ For example LAO: Sheff/A/1-9

⁴⁶ *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1852), volume 1, p.377

⁴⁷ Information from a marble monument in the church of St. Etheldreda, West Halton.

⁴⁸ Burton-upon-Stather shows the same effect to some extent.

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⁵¹ 8&9 Vic. C.118; *The Times*, 27 March 1844, p.5

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⁵⁸ S. Sidney, *Railways and Agriculture in North Lincolnshire* (1848), p.73

⁵⁹ *Abstract of the Answers and Returns...* P.P. 1833 (XXXVIII), p.352

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⁶¹ J.A. Sheppard, 'East Yorkshire's Agricultural Labour Force in the mid-Nineteenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, 9 (1961), pp.43-54: the difficulties are discussed.

⁶² T.W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1978), p.117

⁶³ Very much as Edward England had reported in 1832.

⁶⁴ S. Samuel, *Railways and Agriculture in North Lincolnshire* (1848), p.72

⁶⁵ *Abstract of the Answers and Returns*. P.P. 1833 (XXXVIII), p.352; P.P. 1844 (XXVII), p.171

⁶⁶ D. R. Mills, 'English Villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth century: a sociological classification', *Amateur Historian*, vi (1965), p.276

⁶⁷ J. Caird, p.197

⁶⁸ A. Brundage, *The English Poor Laws* (Basingstoke, 2002), p.104

⁶⁹ Census of Great Britain, 1851. Population tables. I. Numbers of the inhabitants...p.52

⁷⁰ Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of -0.48

⁷¹ Number of owner-occupiers found on the 1830 land tax returns; C.K. Rawding found a negative correlation between percentages of agricultural workers and resident landowners: *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, 2001), p.177

⁷² Spearman's rank coefficient of 0.80

⁷³ Spearman's rank coefficient of 0.65

⁷⁴ N.R. Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry 1700-1914* (Lincoln, 1982), p.69

⁷⁵ If not a misspelled carrier of coal, perhaps a *colporteur*; a peddler of devotional literature.

⁷⁶ Spearman's rank coefficient of 0.46

⁷⁷ E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* (2005), p.106

⁷⁸ B.A. Holderness, 'Rural Tradesmen 1660-1850: A Regional Study in Lindsey', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* vol. 7 (1972), p.77

⁷⁹ E.J. Hobsbawm & G. Rudé, *Captain Swing* (1969), p.291

⁸⁰ R. C. Russell, *From Cock-Fighting to Chapel Building* (Heckington, 2002), *passim*

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⁸² R.C. Russell, *Three Lincolnshire Labourers' Movements* (Barton-upon-Humber, 1994), p.63

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Conclusions

A chronology of enclosure

Conventional wisdom suggests that the landscape of north-west Lindsey was transformed between the 1760s and about 1810, as the result of two principal waves of parliamentary enclosing activity. This thesis suggests instead that the countryside had been almost continuously changing, certainly from the time of the Cistercians' arrival in the area, if not earlier. It is now possible to offer a chronology of enclosure in the study area.

By 1600 there was a measure of enclosure in all the villages of the study area although the open-field system still prevailed. Some of the ancient closes in the parishes in the central part of the study area, Manton, Holme, Broughton, Scawby and Messingham, were the result of enclosing activity, during the time the Cistercians of Louth Park Abbey held a grange at Twigmoor in Manton parish between 1216 and 1428. The lay brothers made these closes on grange holdings and their secular neighbours emulated the agricultural practices they saw, on their own lands.

By about the same period, the former settlements of Darby, Haythby, Great and Little Conesby, Sawcliffe High Risby and Low Risby had either been deserted or greatly depopulated. They might have fallen victim to the Black Death or to earlier famine, disease and changes in climate or, because they were on poor soils, to inadequate farming techniques. All these deserted and shrunken settlements lie in locations that were not enclosed by act and had instead been anciently enclosed. It has been suggested in this thesis that their depopulation, for whatever reason, was the inducement for early secular

enclosing activity and that this activity could have widened into adjoining communal farmland. From 1531 Commissioners of Sewers were charged with the drainage of low-lying land and the embankment of land liable to flooding. It may have been in this period that the banks which guard the study area rivers, were constructed, and land suitable for farming began to be reclaimed from the Trent and Humber.

From 1577 glebe terriers provide evidence that the making of closes in the area was widespread. Some terriers are additionally informative and the Redbourne terrier of 1662 indicates that 'since the improvemint of the lordship', former glebe land had been appropriated by the patron. In the 1580s or 1590s the township of Walcot, in Alkborough parish, was converted from 'tilladge to pasture'. A deposition confirms, what the 1607 *Brief of Depopulations* found later, that the landowner, Martin Brighthouse, had changed the land use, although it was more suitable for arable cultivations than other parts of the township.

The 1607 *Brief of Depopulations* revealed that there had been some conversion of arable land to pasture and also some engrossing of farms. Several of those who are named in the *Brief* were known gentry entrepreneur landowners whose activities span several parishes. Because no 'greate depopulacions and decaies of husbandries' in the study area were listed it seems that what enclosure had taken place, had not caused widespread depopulation.

The principal scheme of agricultural improvement in north-west Lindsey in the first half of the seventeenth century was the drainage of the low lands either side of the Old Axholme by the installation of a sluice gate at South Ferriby and the straitening and embanking of that river. The closes that were made as a result of this enterprise in Winteringham, Appleby, Scawby etc., did not all survive, when the Ancholme levels were neglected, and some, like Town Carr, Low Carr and Old Man Carr in Broughton, shown on Wilkinson and Fotherby's

1640 map of the Ancholme levels as having been drained and enclosed by Sir John Monson, had to be *re-enclosed* in a later era, by act of parliament.

At the end of the century one of the very few chancery decrees in Lincolnshire, which validated the enclosure of part of a parish, was used in Waddingham. An agreement of 1699, affecting a little over two thousand acres (56%) of Waddingham, was confirmed by the Chancery Court and enrolled in 1701.

By 1719 in Winteringham, not only had there been extensive and systematic formation of closes, but also common rights had been extinguished. In 1757 the inhabitants of Messingham enclosed about 75 acres of the East Common Field, divided it into nine closes, and then rented out the grazing, each year to the highest bidder. The arrangement seems to have continued until parliamentary enclosure was underway in 1799.

John Snape's plans, for the Sheffield family, of the manor of Normanby, the manors of Burton and Thealby in the parish of Burton upon Stather, and the parish of Flixborough, drawn in 1778, indicate that all these areas have been divided into named closes and had nearly all been hedged. Whether this programme was one of comprehensive and rapid improvement within the space of a few years, or one of more leisurely piecemeal enclosure over the thirty years since Charles Sheffield commissioned the scheme in 1754, to transform the area around his house, cannot be established by documentation. It however seems most likely that the programme was carried out over a number of years, and that it must have made an impression on the lesser gentry, and other landowners in neighbouring townships, and shifted their attitudes in favour of agrarian progress.

It is impossible to determine accurately what percentage of the study area had been enclosed by the time of the first parliamentary enclosure in 1761. After that year 47.4%, or 74,350 acres, were enclosed, but it seems very likely that lands already made into closes were included in that figure. It may be that as

much as 60% of the area being studied was already enclosed by this time, although the physical differences of straight roads, new banks and ditches and quickthorn hedges, which characterised later enclosure by act, would not have been so evident. They might, at this time (if they had been asked), have professed that not a great deal of the landscape had changed in their lifetime, and they would have perhaps thought that things had been much the same for generations.

The Alkborough enclosure act of 1765 was the earliest in the study area that did not confirm an agreement. It was prompted either by the chief landowner's, Christopher Goulton's, Yorkshire relatives who were, at the time, enclosing their lands near Bridlington, or because of a desire to copy the Sheffield family's activities, or perhaps by the act of the same year which authorised the area's first turnpike and indicated a better transportation infrastructure for what had been up to that time, an out of the way area. For the larger owner making turnpikes, like enclosing, was 'a highly profitable investment in financial terms', and Goulton may have been impressed by the effects of recent turnpiking such as the White Cross to Beverley turnpike of 1761.¹

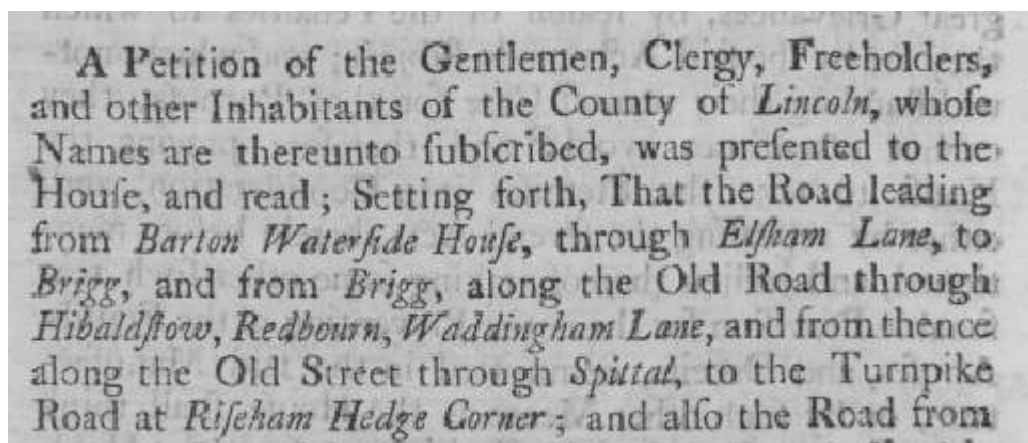


Plate 57: The petition which led to the 'The Barton Waterside to Riseholme Turnpike Road Trust' of 5 Geo3 c88 (1765), usually called the Brigg Turnpike Trust, (LAO: STUBBS/1/1)²

The setting up of a new sluice gate at the Ancholme outfall into the Humber in 1767 made the low lands either side of the river Ancholme safe from inundation and capable of being drained and improved. It has been suggested in this thesis, that the motivation for this installation was a series of very wet seasons in the 1750s and 1760s. The first of the parliamentary enclosures, in the valley of the Ancholme came in 1769-71, when 'certain lands and grounds' in the townships of Atterby, Snitterby and Waddingham were enclosed, including approximately 1,280 acres of the low-lying Waddingham North Carrs. Soon afterwards at Scawby in 1770-1 the Nelthorpes enclosed 2216 acres some of which had been enclosed by Monson in the 1630s and then abandoned as Civil Wars and neglect of the original sluice gate, affected the drainage.

From 1770 the desire to emulate the improving Normanby estate may well have motivated others of the Sheffield's family's neighbours into action. Within a few years, portions of several nearby parishes received the attentions of the parliamentary commissioners. At Winterton in 1770-2 James Stovin and the Earl of Mexborough were the main landowners behind the enclosure of over three thousand acres. West Halton quickly followed in 1772-3 when William Watson was the principal beneficiary and neighbouring Whitton was the next to enclose in 1773-5 when Thomas Goulton, son of Christopher enclosed over one thousand acres.

In 1784 at a time when parliamentary enclosure had become the recognised way to improve agricultural land, part of Ashby was enclosed by private agreement between the owners and occupiers. The motivation may have been a shortage of land for pasture. This method avoided the expense of an act, but echoed, in the wording of the agreement, the phrases and clauses of parliamentary jargon.

It might have been expected that Hibaldstow, in the Ancholme valley, would have been enclosed at the same time as neighbouring Scawby, but over twenty

years passed before it was that parish's turn in 1796. This may conceivably have been because the landowners were unconvinced as to the long term security of the sluice gates at the Humber outfall. It is more likely however that there was some difference of opinion as to the economic gains to be had from drainage and enclosure, as this is suggested by the evidence of a commissioned piece of cost-benefit analysis.

From the 1790s owners began to apply water management techniques to the locally naturally occurring phenomenon of warping. Within a few years, portions of Messingham, Burton upon Stather, Ashby and Crosby had been artificially warped as part of the process of parliamentary enclosure.

From 1805 enclosure by act was used for the most part to fill in gaps and tie up loose end. The process ended in the 1870s with parts of Brumby being enclosed, not for any agricultural reason, but instead to establish ownership of ironstone beneath the fields.

This study's findings give some credence to Wordie's computed figure of 47%, for the amount of enclosure before 1600.³ Activity in the parishes surrounding Manton from the time of 1216 and the presumed emulation of the farming methods of the Cistercians together with documentary evidence in the 1607 *Brief of Depopuations* give confidence to a considerable percentage having being enclosed by that time. It is thought that in the study area the figure will not have been quite as large as 47%, since the amount of later parliamentary enclosures associated with warping and draining will have been higher.

Wordie had attributed the 24% of his computation that could not be accounted for elsewhere, to the seventeenth century.⁴ It had been thought that an examination of the Chancery decrees associated by Beresford with enclosure and enumerated in his well-known paper might reveal details of enclosure agreements dating to the seventeenth century and would support Wordie.⁵ This thesis found instead that any belief that there was a marked inclination for

confirmation by chancery decrees in the seventeenth century is mistaken. When the twenty-two (Beresford's table has 24) Lincolnshire chancery decrees were identified and examined, it was found that they included, many disputes which touched on *other aspects* of land litigation, as well as some cases where ratifications, of agreements to enclose, were actually being sought.⁶

It was not possible therefore to use the documentary evidence of decrees to assign much more enclosure in Lincolnshire to dates in the seventeenth century, and so Wordie's assessment of the amount of non-parliamentary improvement could not be refined.

In general this study found that agricultural improvement was a continuing process which was taking place from at least the time of the Cistercians. Its pace varied as a result of a combination of pressures and circumstances, whose importance differed according to the particular case. The causes were not always completely understandable by reference to the commercial purpose of the desire for increased rents. The methods used to enclose changed with time, from the natural consolidation of strips, to more formal agreements, through a period when Chancery decrees were sometimes used to validate them. The process ended with the century-long era of enclosure by private act, which concluded when the last piece of unenclosed land was allotted.

Changing landownership patterns

The study looked at changing landownership patterns in the study area by using an analysis of land tax assessments. It was found that the total number of study area landowners increased over the entire land tax period (1783-1830) by 41.5%, while owner-occupiers rose by as much as 89%. This is quite the opposite of the findings of both Martin in Warwickshire and Turner in Buckinghamshire who saw reductions in the absolute numbers of owners after enclosure.⁷ This study's findings agree with those of Davies and of Chambers

who found, in separate studies of parishes in the Midlands, that there had been an actual increase in the number of owner-occupiers.⁸ This present study also found that the *proportion* of owner-occupiers increased until 1815, before declining to the end of the period.

The percentage of owner-occupiers in study area parishes, enclosed from 1761 to 1775, was found to be 37.6% of all owners, rising to 51.3% in 1830 and this was found to be very similar to those enclosed after 1783; 39.7% rising to 52.7%. Martin's finding that in 1780, in Warwickshire, that owner-occupiers were strongest in parishes that had been enclosed in the previous thirty years was therefore *not* confirmed in the study area.⁹

Surnames were also analysed in nine sample parishes to establish the extent of turnover of holdings. Analysis of the LTAs reveals no obvious distinctive landownership pattern and while there was considerable surname turnover, actual numbers of both owners and owner-occupiers varied little. In the large 'open' villages of Winteringham and Winterton the surnames of owner-occupiers tended to survive for longer through the period.

Six of the nine sample parishes were enclosed by act and these were analysed in a different manner to order to show how rapidly landownership, by size of acreage allotted, changed after enclosure. Almost half of the surnames that disappeared soon after parliamentary enclosure belonged to owners with less than five acres, and nearly 80% of lost surnames had owned less than 25 acres. It was found that the lost names were replaced by names new to landownership in the parish. In Buckinghamshire, Turner had concluded that the turnover of small landowners every two or three years was as much as 50-60 per cent and that a large proportion of the new owners were cottagers.¹⁰

Although it is not certain that the newcomers, in the six study area parishes, actually farmed the land, this study agreed that there was a rapid turnover of

owners, and found no evidence that small landowners were in danger of becoming extinct.

Population and occupational status

An examination of the census returns for 1801-51 revealed that while the population of the study area, as a whole, had increased by 88%, there were important variations within it. Many of these could be ascribed to the 'open' or 'closed' characteristic of the parish; the 'closed' settlements of Roxby and Appleby had a small population increase and Whitton's actually declined. In 'open' parishes, like Messingham, Waddingham and Bottesford by contrast, increases were greater as landownership was more widespread and new cottages could be built with fewer objections from dominant landowners. Another important driver of population growth 1801-51 was the effect of agricultural improvement especially where, as in the case of drainage and warping, the improvement had brought formerly unproductive acres into cultivation. These new areas of highly fertile land needed labour and in Bottesford parish, the townships of Ashby and Burringham (warped c.1809) saw population increases of over 130% while in East Butterwick (warped c.1804) warping transformed the Trentside settlement, and its population increased by 225%.

Using the census returns it was found that in 1851, after almost all agricultural improvement had taken place, farming employment prospects were poor. The numbers of respondents who were enumerated as 'ag labs' in Roxby and surrounding parishes were compared with the generally lower figures given by the farmers, who had been asked for the information along with their acreage.¹¹ Nearly two hundred and fifty *more* respondents described themselves as agricultural workers, than were returned by the farmers. It must have been the case that there was only full employment, in the study area,

during the cereal harvest, and it seems probable that Beastall is correct in thinking that no more than two-thirds of labourers were employed at other times.¹²

The population characteristics of the study area were examined by classifying the social and occupational status of the fourteen thousand individuals who appear in the 1851 census enumerators returns.¹³ Agricultural work was the principal employment in all the study parishes, and it was found that there was weak correlation between the proportion of agricultural workers and the numbers of resident owners, or the acreage of the parish.¹⁴

Allen argued that a significant effect of parliamentary enclosure was the 'de-skilling' of the rural population; he thought that, when reduced to a labourer, the incentive to mental application required by a small farmer disappeared.¹⁵ It seems possible that what happened instead was that some former small farmers developed new skills and became trade or craftsman in the larger settlements. It was found that there was a strong positive correlation (Spearman's rank coefficient of 0.80) between the proportions of trades and craftsmen and the population of parishes. Winteringham with thirty-three and Winterton with fifty-seven different trade or service occupations, were notable for the size and wide range of their employment, with for example clock-makers and plumbers as well as numerous shoemakers.

The smallest proportions of children were found in Roxby, Appleby and Flixborough, with Roxby quite noticeably below the average for the study area (35.2%) at 23.6%. It is likely that this is because, in these 'closed' parishes, suitable homes were restricted by the leading landowner.

It was thought unwise to draw any firm conclusion from the numbers of people designating themselves as 'farmers'. The census had only required those persons returning themselves as 'farmers' or 'landed proprietors' to give details

of land held, so there is hardly any information about landholding by those with dual occupations.¹⁶

Warping and the density of parliamentary enclosure

The study area density of parliamentary enclosure was found to be 47.4 % (defined as, acres of lands enclosed by the awards expressed as a percentage of the study area). This is higher than Lindsey, of which it is a part, and also higher than Lincolnshire as a whole.¹⁷ The reason for the high density is that a greater proportion of the study area, than elsewhere, consisted of parishes where improvement by warping had to be *preceded* by parliamentary enclosure in order to create suitable allotments and to establish title.

Motivations for enclosure and the importance of land reclamation

A number of motivations were identified as the spur to agricultural improvement in individual townships and parishes. The promise of increased productivity and rents was found to be a general cause, but other reasons were often present. The catalyst to action was sometimes, as in Hibaldstow, Winteringham or Ashby, a change in ownership and the arrival on the scene of a fresh personality who was more open to the idea of change. In Ashby another motivation seems to have been a shortage of land for pasture.¹⁸ This might have been a more widespread problem in the study area, but it found its expression as a reason for enclosure in a 1784 agreement to enclose parts of the township, which preceded full enclosure by act, a few years later.

Another reason was found to be the desire to bring unproductive land into use. In the study area, land in this category either surrounded the sites of abandoned settlements and former religious houses like Walcot, or like Haythby

DMV, was situated on the coversands, which are one of the characteristic and poor soils of this part of north Lincolnshire.

At Winterton it was thought that a reason for the relatively early parliamentary enclosure was that it might have been seen as a means of solving a housing problem by removing the constraining effects of the common field. The act of 1770 makes no mention of this motive, but the land tax reveals a steady increase in the number of proprietors by 1830.¹⁹

In a number of townships and parishes it was found that emulation of the Sheffield family may well have been the spur to action. Each of the parishes: Alkborough in 1768, Waddingham cum Stainton, 1770; Scawby in 1771; Winterton, 1772, West Halton, 1773 and Whitton in 1773 certainly had its own *extra* reasons for enclosure, but the exemplar of progress and achievement may very well have been the nearby Normanby estate of the Sheffield family.

There were also a number of examples of enclosure, Thomas Goulton in Alkborough and the Darwin family in Cleatham where the leading landowner or squire may have felt that to maintain his status in the eyes of his tenants and other smaller owners, enclosure was the thing *that he had to do*. And so it was that, in some parishes, the need to use agricultural improvement as a physical expression of fitness to be a member of the gentry that will have been the motive for the process itself.

Occasionally a principal reason for enclosure acts seems to have been to make lawful schemes involving the swapping of lands and the abolition of the tithe. Whitton was thought to be example of such an act because, as well as extinguishing the irritation of tithe, it brought together the church's properties dispersed across the parish and consolidated them at a distance from the main settlement.²⁰

In Waddingham and Messingham enclosure will have been seen as a good way to mitigate the cost to the parish of the poor, by arranging allotments of land which would fund the poor rate.²¹

The requirement to preserve mineral rights or have them confirmed was a significant motive for enclosure in Brumby township.²² The validation given by the act would enable the minerals under the ground to be exploited and so in a rather different sort of way, the land would become more productive.

The promise of increased productivity and rent could be detected in most of the agreements and acts in the study area and this was thought to be the underlying driver of agricultural improvement. The second most important driver in the area however was found to be the desire to drain and warp those lands which lay on the banks of rivers. Enclosure is very often associated with the making of ditches, but in the study area, more advanced methods were necessary to convert the landscape to productive use. In the east of the area, changes in climate were the spur to the building of an effective sluice gate for the Ancholme outfall, and for associated embankments. These ended regular inundations and made enclosure worthwhile. In the west, enclosure had to come before the technique of warping, which covered the poor peaty soils by fertile river silt. The enclosure process identified both those plots which could be warped, and the spaces which would be needed for the related warping drains.

While historians debate the connection between agricultural improvement and productivity in England as a whole, there seems little doubt that, in the study area, the prospect of developing land that had been near worthless, because of its poor quality or because it was subject to regular inundation, was a powerful motivation for drainage and warping. Land that had been of little value could be made to produce crops and could be let out at greatly increased

rents. The pessimistic estimates of some historians as to the advantages of enclosure did not apply to the low-lying lands of the study area where yields and rents will have been increased to much higher figures

This thesis has asserted that the different phases of enclosure, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, cannot be compartmentalised into convenient discrete units, but are linked and continuous with only the tempo of activity to mark their identities.

It found no evidence of depopulation in the seventeenth century and the *Inquisition* of 1607 did not mention it as a concern. Nor was it linked later with the era of parliamentary enclosure. In fact when it was associated with warping it was an agent of population *growth*, as areas of highly fertile land needed labour and workers were drawn to newly warped parts of the study area.

The study found that the importance ascribed to Chancery decrees as a method of validating Lincolnshire agreements in the seventeenth century is not as great as had been thought. It was determined that Beresford's well known list of 'Enclosure Agreements... by Counties' includes, as well as cases where ratifications of agreements to enclose were actually being sought, disputes which touch on *other aspects* of land litigation.²³

It has established that the idea that the only spur to a parliamentary act, was the promise of rent increases by redeploying existing cultivated land, is incorrect. In the study area, the desire to use the technique of warping was a principal driver to enclosure, as it was a necessary precursor to the technique.

The thesis has confirmed the view that the number of small owner-occupiers increased after enclosure, and that any belief that enclosure had led to the elimination of the small owner-occupiers was mistaken. Thomson's characterisation of enclosure as 'class robbery' is not appropriate in the area and while it is difficult to prove Kerridge's view that there had been no unjust

expropriation, the whole long process seems to have been carried out with scarcely a murmur of protest.

Regional differences in enclosure history have been highlighted in other studies at the county level. This present study has demonstrated the influence that drainage, and especially the technique of warping, have made to the chronicle of agricultural improvement in a part of the county of Lincolnshire.

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