

Enclosure in Kesteven

By DENNIS R. MILLS

INTRODUCTION

GENERALLY speaking, the enclosure movements of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries assumed their greatest importance in the areas where the open-field system had been most firmly established, that is, in the 'Midland Triangle' and scarpland England, with the exception of parts of the south-east. Although it has long been recognized that there were local and regional contrasts within these areas, many of them still remain to be studied in detail. Detailed studies are essential to a fuller understanding of the variations in the pace of enclosure from one period to another and from one place to another. The present paper has therefore been prepared in an attempt to summarize some of the source material for Kesteven and to put forward some tentative conclusions based upon it. Particular attention has been paid to the mapping of enclosure evidence and to relating it to what is known of soil conditions, land utilization, and differences in land tenure and ownership. Some consideration is also given to the economic effects of enclosures, since they provide a very important clue to the original motives for enclosure.

The subject was approached in the first place by means of the Parliamentary awards, data from which were mapped wherever possible.¹ This method not only revealed the extent of private enclosure in parishes where there was also an award, but also helped to throw into sharper relief the distribution of those parishes wholly enclosed by private agreement. Enclosure of this type was then investigated by reference to glebe and town terriers, estate papers, and other documentary and printed sources.

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF KESTEVEN AND THE SELECTION OF SAMPLE AREAS

Although it is not the largest of the three Divisions of Lincolnshire, Kesteven embraces within its bounds a relatively large part of the English scarpland and is comparable in size with Oxfordshire and modern Surrey. It is approximately elliptical in shape and contains three major landscape divisions, each of them elongated from north to south. In the west there is a section of the Lias Clay vale; in the centre is an upland, generally known in

¹ The awards are in the custody of the Kesteven County Council. The writer wishes to thank the Council and Mr J. E. Holman for placing these documents at his disposal. Dates quoted are those of award maps, unless otherwise stated.

the north as the Heath and in the south as the Kesteven Plateau, which consists of Middle Jurassic rocks, principally limestones, marlstones, and clays; and in the east this upland is succeeded by a strip of largely peaty fenland contiguous with the Fens of Holland and Lindsey. But within these broad divisions there are many local variations in geology, soil, slope, natural drainage, and water supply which are reflected to a very great extent in the patterns of early settlement and township boundaries.

A close study of these patterns has made possible the division of the 215 townships into seventeen groups, each group containing townships of similar physical geography.¹ The present discussion is concerned with only three of these groups, or Regions, which have been selected in such a way that all three major landscape divisions are represented.

THE GRAFFOE TERRACES (Fig. I)

This Region is situated within the Liassic Clay Vale which sweeps across northern Leicestershire, eastern Nottinghamshire, and western Lincolnshire in a curving strip about ten miles wide. In the area to the west of Lincoln, however, the 'solid' clay is overlain by extensive spreads of fluvio-glacial gravels, forming a series of terraces at heights of 40–110 feet. Although most of the Region is now drained by streams of the Witham system, the watershed between that river and the Trent has remained relatively unstable even in recent historic time.² The physical keynotes of the area are therefore threefold: a remarkable lack of steep gradients, a mixture of clay and sandy soils, and a liability to flooding in the northern and eastern parts.

The gridiron pattern of township boundaries, so characteristic of clay vales, is absent from the Graffoe Terraces, for although the townships are roughly oblong in shape, their overall pattern is as irregular as that of the terraces on which they are laid out. Each of the early settlements was established on a gravel site located, with the exception of North Scarle, near the junction of gravels and clay. It is probable therefore that the township fields generally lay on either side of the village, some on clay soils, some on the sandy soils of the gravels, as at Swinderby and Thorpe.³ In addition to normal agricultural townships there were four areas which retained the status of extra-parochial land well into the nineteenth century: these were

¹ See D. R. Mills, 'Regions of Kesteven devised for the purposes of agricultural history', *Reports and Papers of the Lincs. Architectural and Archaeological Soc.*, VII (2), 1957, pp. 60–82. Readers would find useful the Quarter-Inch Geological Map.

² See J. S. Padley, *Fens and Floods of Mid-Lincolnshire*, Lincoln, 1885, Plan 1.

³ Thorpe Enclosure Award; a Swinderby glebe terrier refers to North and Middle Clay Fields and South Sand Field.—Lincs. Archives Office (=LAO), Ter. 6/522, 1613.

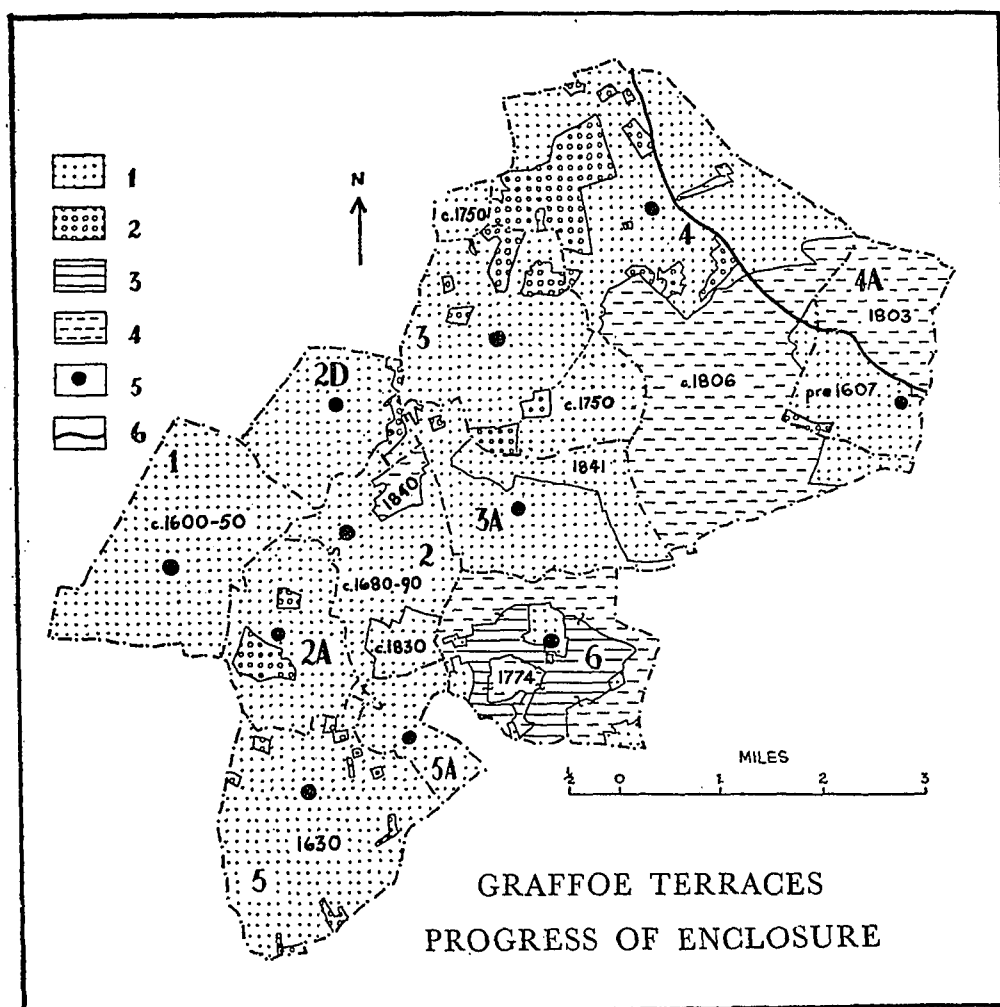


FIG. I

KEY: 1, Privately enclosed; 2, Woodland; 3, Enclosed by Act from open arable field; 4, Enclosed from common waste; 5, Grouped settlements; 6, Western limit of Fen.

TOWNSHIPS: 1, N. Scarle; 2, Eagle; 2A, Eagle Hall; 2D, Swinethorpe; 3, Doddington; 3A, Whisby; 4, Skellingthorpe; 4A, Boultham; 5, Swinderby; 5A, Morton; 6, Thorpe.

Eagle Hall, the site of a preceptory of the Knights Templars, and the three attached granges of Morton, Swinethorpe, and Eagle Woodhouse.¹

In terms of enclosure history, the distinctive feature of this Region is the fact that only approximately 24 per cent of the total area was enclosed by

¹ *White's History and Directory of Lincs.*, 1872, sub Eagle, Swinethorpe, and Morton. Since Eagle Woodhouse contained only 110 acres, it has been included with Eagle for present purposes.

Parliamentary awards. Belonging to a similar period was a small but significant area of private enclosure (about 5.6 per cent of the total); its significance lies in the fact that there is so far little evidence of private enclosure in the other selected Regions after about 1740 (see Table, p. 96). With the exception of those in Thorpe, the open fields of this Region had been enclosed privately before 1700; Parliamentary enclosure was therefore largely concerned here with the areas of moorland and meadow which had survived earlier action. It is interesting to notice that even in North Scarle, where enclosure was complete by 1664, the field land was affected earlier than the wastes. Thus an episcopal letter of that year records that about 1614 the East Field was enclosed, followed about thirty years later by two more fields, and finally after another fourteen years by "the common waste and other desert grounds."¹ Thus an attempt must be made to explain, not only the early incidence of enclosure in this Region, but also why the open fields were the first areas to be affected.

It is now a familiar idea that where lords were in possession of the greater part of the land in a manor, they were able to press enclosure at an early date. Of this type of enclosure there appear to be certainly two, and possibly four, examples in the Graffoe Terraces (see Appendix). The case of Boultham was recorded by the inquisition of depopulation of 1607. "Wm. Broxholme, esq., being owner of all the houses and lands in Boultham (except 2 houses) hath decayed all of them by taking the Lands, Meadows, and Pastures from them and hath converted the arable into pasture and enclosed the same."² Likewise at Doddington the greater part of the estate, excluding the moors, had been enclosed by the Burghs before the survey of 1585.³

A second category of old-enclosed land lay in the extra-parochial areas of former monastic ownership, while yet a third category belonged very largely to free- or copy-holders at the time of its enclosure. This last category includes the whole of North Scarle and Swinderby and the greater part of Eagle. The Swinderby enclosure, which took place in 1630, was succeeded by virtually thirty years of litigation between the Disney family (as lords of the manor) and the copyholders, who numbered 23 in 1628. In this year an agreement was reached between the parties to carry out the enclosure of 929 acres of common field and 1,180 acres of moor and waste. The final

¹ LAO, Ter. 10/88, 1664.

² BM, Julius Caesar Papers, Add. MS. 11574, fo. 66. From the evidence of the enclosure act in Boultham Church the fen grounds appear not to have been enclosed, although they may have been removed from common usage. I am much indebted to Dr Joan Thirsk for the loan of her transcript of these Papers and for considerable patient advice in the preparation of this article.

³ R. E. G. Cole, *History of Doddington*, 1897, pp. 54-5.

agreement of 1658-9 can be counted at least a partial victory for the copyholders, since by that agreement they became freeholders.¹ It is important to inquire, however, why they and their neighbours in Eagle and North Scarle were apparently willing parties to enclosure.

The one circumstance common to freeholder, copyholder, tenant, and lord in the Graffoe Terraces was the nature of the soil. It is not difficult to imagine that by the sixteenth century the sandy soil areas of the open fields had become exhausted by constant cropping, while on the other hand it was felt that the clay areas would be more profitable under grass.² Peasant farmers were not averse to extensions of pasture farming,³ and while they could have resorted to a type of ley farming as elsewhere, enclosure was clearly a better solution to their difficulties. It is perhaps instructive to recall that Thorpe was the only parish in this Region in which open fields remained until the eighteenth century, and that it is in this parish only that a calcareous sandstone gives rise to an area of rather better sandy loams. Did landowners in Thorpe hesitate to follow the local fashion of enclosing because they did not suffer such a crying need to improve the fertility of their soil?

So much for early enclosure. The later phase, beginning about 1740 and lasting for a little over a century, was concerned (except in Thorpe) solely with the enclosure of common moorland and meadow. There appear to be three major reasons why this enclosure did not occur earlier.

First, the soil was very poor; and secondly, the northern parts of Skellingthorpe and Boultham were liable to flooding.⁴ A third reason may lie in the fact that although they were the least valuable part of the parish, the enclosure of commons could often occasion the most trouble. The division of the commons had been much debated, for example, at Swinderby in the previous century, and collections of eighteenth-century estate papers frequently contain correspondence about claims to common rights in parishes

¹ Cole, 'Swinderby Inclosure, A.D. 1629-1658', *Deanery of Graffoe Magazine*, June 1896-Aug. 1897. I wish to thank Mrs J. Varley and Mrs D. M. Owen for helping me to trace this reference and for a considerable amount of assistance with other documentary material.

² BM, Julius Caesar Papers, *loc. cit.*, ff. 66, 68, 69. Conversion of arable to pasture is specifically mentioned at Boultham and Skellingthorpe, while the conversion of houses of husbandry into cottages is reported at Eagle and Whisby. At Eagle in 1656 the tenants and copyholders, petitioning for enclosure, stated that "most of the land now tilled is more proper for grass, and that moor ground now eaten as common is fitter for corn, as is proved by experience amongst our next neighbours . . ." (W. O. Massingberd, 'Enclosures and Depopulations in Lincolnshire', *Lincs. N. and Q.*, x, 1908-9, p. 76).

³ Joan Thirsk, *Fenland Farming in the Sixteenth Century*, University of Leicester, Occasional Papers, No. 3, 1953, p. 41.

⁴ LAO, LD 71/4.

about to be enclosed.¹ Perhaps no better example could be found than Skellingthorpe itself, where, although the Act was passed in the session 1803-4 and the enclosure carried out in 1806, the award was not finally enrolled until 1830. Much of the delay was due to disputes over drainage, disagreements between commissioners, and other matters; but not a little confusion appears to have been caused by the claims to common rights made by the lord of the manor of Boultham and by large numbers of freeholders and tenants in North Hykeham.²

On the other hand, the enclosure of moor in Doddington, Whisby, and Eagle Barnsdale by private agreement was made possible by the fact that in each case only one lay owner was involved. Here there was no need to invoke the new method of enclosure, a circumstance which only serves to emphasize how the new legal machinery facilitated the solution of disputes almost invariably attendant upon the enclosure of a whole parish.

THE NORTHERN FEN MARGIN (Fig. II)

Although the western extremity of the Northern Fen Margin lies only a mile or so from the easternmost part of the Graffoe Terraces, there are marked differences of physical build between the two Regions. Eastwards of the clay vale one encounters the steep scarp of the Cliff, capped by the relatively resistant Lincolnshire Limestone. This is succeeded by the gentle dip slope some six to ten miles long which may be divided into two parts. The western part is the Heath proper, about five to six miles wide, with heights ranging between 100 and 200 feet above sea level. Here the limestone outcrops, but in the eastern part it is replaced by a strip, one to four miles wide, in which there is a mixture of soils derived from both solid rocks and drift at heights of 30-100 feet. This area may be termed the central zone of the Region, for on its eastern flank are the peat Fens stretching away eastwards for a distance of three or four miles to the River Witham at heights barely above sea level. The townships of this Region are characteristically long and narrow, and include within their boundaries portions of each of the three physical zones. Towards the Lincoln Gap, in the north, the central zone narrows considerably and the townships become less elongated.

With one exception the early settlements of this Region were made at the junction of the limestone and the central zone, generally in a shallow valley which afforded some shelter and a supply of water. A further advantage of these sites was their proximity to the areas of soil most suitable for the

¹ E.g., LAO, Aswarby, 5/14 *re* fen in Timberland in east Kesteven.

² LAO, LD 71/20-22 and TLE 37WD, especially 3/IX.

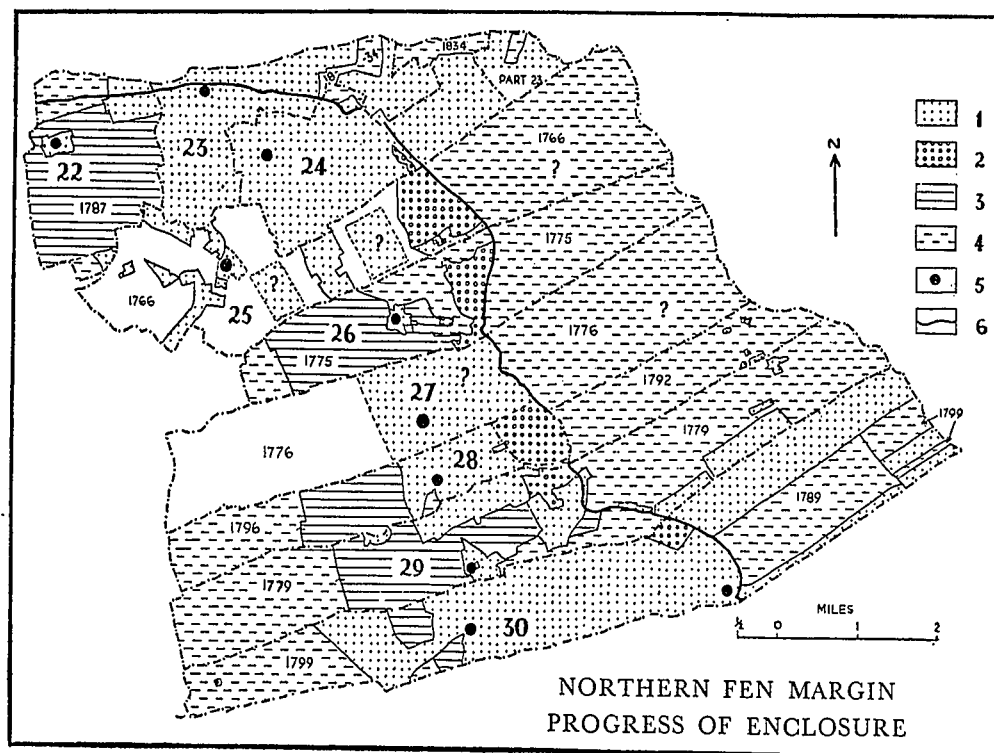


FIG. II

KEY as for Fig. I

TOWNSHIPS: 22, Canwick; 23, Washingborough; 24, Heighington; 25, Branston; 26, Potterhanworth; 27, Nocton; 28, Dunston; 29, Metherringham; 30, Blankney. In 30, Linwood is marked on the edge of the Fen.

establishment of open fields; at least, that is the impression to be gained from the evidence of the eighteenth century.¹

The remarkable feature of this Region's history is that 23,000 acres were enclosed by Parliamentary awards, representing about 62 per cent of the total area; except for 349 acres of fenland enclosed in 1834, the whole of this work was carried out in the brief period between 1766 and the end of the century (see Table). Between about 1700 and the beginning of this period there appears to have been a lull in enclosing activity, as there probably was in the Graffoe Terraces, for only in the case of Blankney is there evidence of private enclosure after 1700.²

¹ The exception was Linwood in Blankney, a monastic settlement overlooking the Fens (C. W. Foster and T. Longley, *The Lincolnshire Domesday*, Lincoln Record Society, xix, 1924, p. liv).

² It must be remembered, however, that the main source of evidence is glebe terriers, which became less reliable and less numerous in the eighteenth century.

Within the old enclosed lands of this Region three types of enclosure may be identified:

(1) Former monastic land—at Linwood in Blankney, Sheepwash in Canwick, and Nocton Park.

(2) Almost the whole of the parish of Washingborough, which included the township of Heighington, had been enclosed by 1700.

(3) In the other townships there was little early enclosure on the Heath, rather more in the Fens, but most of all in the central zone of mixed soils where the open fields were to be found. The latter area also contained large patches of woodland in the townships of Nocton and Potterhanworth.¹

The experience of the Northern Fen Margin, in regard to monastic land, was therefore similar to that of the Graffoe Terraces. This type of enclosure probably belongs to a period much earlier than the sixteenth century and may be partly explained by the fact that monastic foundations were often granted blocks of demesne land, for the Statute of Merton (1235-6) recognized the lord's power to enclose his own demesne, whereas in the case of waste he had to leave a 'sufficiency' for the tenants.²

Turning to Washingborough, it is impossible to cite any particular reason for early enclosure; it was clearly not a case of a single dominating lord, for both townships contained substantial numbers of freeholders. Such was the case also at neighbouring Branston where 500 acres were enclosed in 1682, apparently at the instigation of the freeholders; but this enclosure was an instance of the third category listed above, for which a partial explanation can be put forward.

In that part of the central zone which overlooks the Fens large areas were occupied in the eighteenth century by common pasture or woodland. These areas marked the spreads of heavy Boulder Clay soil and the very light soils of gravel terraces. However the predominant soils in this zone are medium and heavy loams which undoubtedly were the most fertile soils in the Northern Fen Margin before the effective drainage of the Fens. The key to progress was therefore to enclose some of this fertile area, leaving aside the common pastures and meadows of Heath and Fen, the enclosure of which might in any case have presented unwelcome problems as at Swinderby. Thus the 500 acres at Branston, which represented a quarter of the arable,

¹ Woodland was generally not enclosed in the normal sense, but gradually absorbed in the lord's demesne.—W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land*, Oxford, 1920, p. 22.

² Curtler, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Demesne land was granted at Vaudey in Edenham, Nocton Park, Kyme, and Eagle Hall.—VCH *Lincs.*, II, pp. 144, 169, 173, 211. For details of Linwood see D. M. Williamson, 'Kesteven Villages in the Middle Ages', *Lincs. Historian*, II (2), Spr. 1955, pp. 16-17.

were enclosed for conversion to pasture; it was said to be much needed for the cattle in wet years when the Fens were flooded, the arable having been left untilled because draught cattle could not be properly maintained.¹ The presence of very large common pastures on the Heath and in the Fens did not necessarily imply, therefore, that there was sufficient pasture of good quality for the feeding of draught beasts.

The manner in which the better soil areas were enclosed first is well illustrated by Blankney, where a succession of informative glebe terriers shows that enclosure was taking place to the east of the village in the early seventeenth century. Only in the eighteenth century were the less attractive areas to the west enclosed, and enclosure was still incomplete there at the time of the award of 1799. Enclosure had also been taking place in the Fen in the early seventeenth century, for in 1633 an agreement was signed between the lord of the manor and a yeoman concerning the rearrangement of Fen closes to their mutual convenience.² The lord was Sir William Widrington whose family resided in Blankney in the early eighteenth century (if not before) and was replaced by the Chaplins. The latter family owned about ninety per cent of the township at the time of the award. It is therefore tempting to ascribe to the influence of these families the advanced stage of private enclosure in Blankney; on the other hand, Nocton was similarly owned, yet less than a quarter of the parish had been enclosed when the award was carried out.

The sudden and extensive impact of the Parliamentary enclosure movement in this Region has already been touched upon. Although the Northern Fen Margin was not alone in this respect,³ it is possible to detect an additional reason for hurrying on the enclosure of Fen districts. The first serious attempt made in the eighteenth century to improve the drainage of these Witham or northern Fens took place in the 1760's, and since it was concentrated wholly on the river itself it was not sufficiently successful to make the Fens suitable for arable farming.⁴ This could only be achieved by considerably improving and extending the small drainage dykes in the Fen itself and by erecting windmills to pump water off the land into the river and the dykes. Schemes were devised whereby owners of land in the Fens paid for drainage by means of an 'acre tax', i.e. on a *pro rata* basis. These schemes were first operated under the Act of 1761, enclosed, common, and half-year's land all being assessed on different scales; but when the need for

¹ LAO, Benefice Papers, 2/30. ² LAO, Cragg 5/1/19.

³ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, 1957, pp. 212, 238-9, 262-3, and 292.

⁴ S. H. Wheeler, *The History of the Fens of South Lincolnshire*, London, 2nd ed., 1895, pp. 153-4.

further work arose, enclosure was obviously an expedient course of action. In the first place, it increased the revenue from the drainage rate; in the second, it facilitated the purchase of land for dykes and embankments; and in the third place, it enabled the owners to get a bigger return from the land. Thus in all the parishes of this Region Fen enclosure either preceded local drainage or was carried out by means of a joint drainage and enclosure Act.¹

The optimism of those who pressed for enclosure and drainage was clearly justified, for contemporary commentaries speak of heavy crops, particularly of oats and coleseed, being grown on the newly turned soil of the Fens. In the same period the open Heaths were enclosed, one Act usually sufficing for the whole of each township. The Heaths had been renowned for their bleakness and loneliness, for their rabbit warrens, and for poor sheep pasture which was apt to burn up in the summer, but all this was changed by the adoption of the Norfolk system of farming.²

THE SOUTHERN LIMESTONE HEATH (Fig. III)

Persons travelling southwards along the Jurassic upland from Lincoln are conscious of subtle yet appreciable changes in the appearance of the landscape. The summit levels rise from around 200–250 feet to about 350–400. With the increase in height is associated a deeper dissection of the plateau surface by both dry and occupied valleys. To the south of the Ancaster Gap, the upland is often known as the ‘Kesteven Plateau’, a name which recognizes the prevalence of very low angles of dip and the conspicuous similarity in summit heights. A further difference between north and south lies in the fact that large patches of Boulder Clay, mostly derived from Jurassic clays, are found on the plateau south of Ancaster, whereas the limestone to the north is almost completely free of drift.

The Southern Limestone Heath contains fourteen small townships, several of which are members of multi-township parishes. The characteristic township shape is that of a broad oblong, stretching from west to east from crest to crest across the valley of a southward-flowing stream (e.g. Little Bytham), or, more occasionally, half-way, from crest to stream (e.g. Couthorpe). Thus in each township there was land by the river suitable for meadow; while on the hilltops and hillsides the mixture of crech (limestone) and clay soils appears to have been largely occupied by the open arable fields, with the exception of woodland and very small areas of common pasture.

During the period 1767–1818 about 40 per cent of the Southern Lime-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 182–9; Thirsk, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 and 214.

² Thirsk, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–8, 257–62, 276–82.

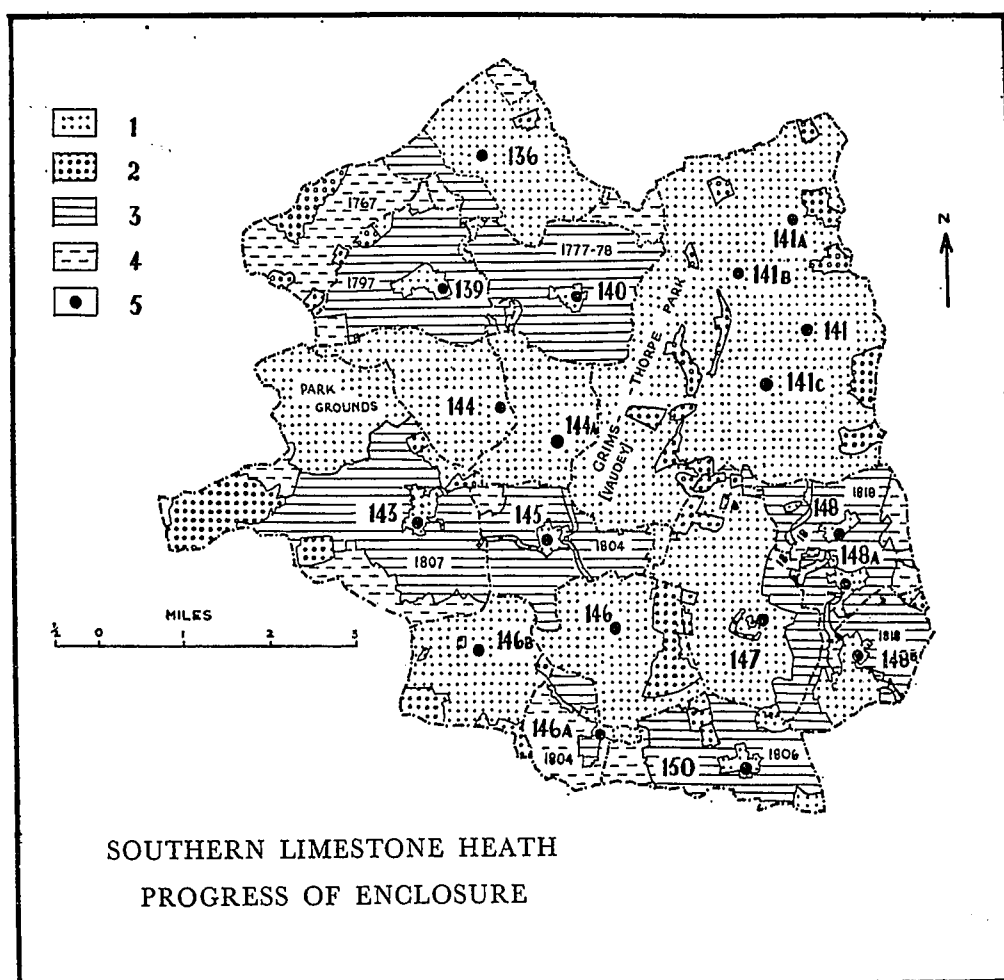


FIG. III

KEY as for Fig. I

TOWNSHIPS: 136, Corby; 139, Swayfield; 140, Swinstead; 141, Edenham, with 141A, Elsthorpe, 141B, Grimsthorpe, 141C, Scottlethorpe; 143, Castle Bytham; 144, Counthorpe; 144A, Creeton; 145, Little Bytham; 146, Careby; 146A, Aunby; 146B, Holywell; 147, Witham; 148, Toft; 148A, Lound; 148B, Manthorpe; 150, Carlby.

stone Heath was enclosed by various Acts (see Table). This Region therefore bears some comparison with the Graffoe Terraces, where Parliamentary enclosure was a long drawn-out process affecting an area which, by the standards of north-east Kesteven, was relatively small. An immediate distinction must be made between the five townships that were wholly enclosed before 1700, and the eight in which well over two-thirds of the land was enclosed by award. Only Witham-on-the-Hill is left aside; in this township 476 acres were enclosed by award, out of a total of 2,167.

A combination of three circumstances appears to have brought about the enclosures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. First, there was a shortage of pasture, not only for the more commercially-minded farmer, but probably also for those who practised the normal husbandry of an open-field township. A comparison of a typical award map for this Region (e.g. Little Bytham) with one for the Northern Fen Margin (e.g. Metherringham) immediately reveals how small were the common meadows and pastures of the Southern Limestone Heath in the eighteenth century. Moreover it is well known that in the previous century farmers of this locality were in the habit of hiring pastures in the fenland to the east.¹ Furthermore, there are frequent references in glebe terriers to 'lands' in the open fields which were either partially or entirely grassed down. Some of these lea lands remained in that state for upwards of a century and probably reflect both a shortage of pasture and difficulties of cultivation.

Secondly, it is important to notice that several powerful landed families were resident in this neighbourhood in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries. Thus the presence of the Bertie family (dukes of Ancaster) at Grimsby Castle in Edenham, the Hatchers at Careby, the Goodalls and Reynardsons at Holywell, and the Hackets at Creeton (where whole townships were enclosed without an award), and the Harringtons and Johnsons at Witham (where early enclosure was very extensive) serves to emphasize, in this Region at least, the importance of the gentry in relation to the early enclosure movement. These families were not only manorial lords, but also the principal, if not the sole, lay landowners.

On the other hand, it is clear that the same or similar families owned considerable areas of land in the townships which were enclosed by award. Although such townships generally contained a sprinkling of small freeholders, the gentry were in a powerful position and could probably have enclosed if they had pressed the matter sufficiently. The third circumstance which led to early enclosure therefore appears to be that the gentry had some particular reason for enclosing townships in which they resided. There is little evidence that 'landscaping' was important before the late seventeenth century. A more plausible reason is that the gentry were themselves farming considerable parts of their home manors and were thus led to a policy of selective enclosure.

The price revolution of the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods was a hard time for the gentry; their expenses rose, yet they had little chance of raising their rents quickly owing to the system of long leases and copyholds for life or other long periods which then obtained. Amongst four possible

¹ Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, p. 176.

solutions open to them, which Professor Tawney has listed, is the following: "... He could expand his own business activities, run his home farm, not to supply his household, but as a commercial concern, enlarge his demesnes, and enclose for the purpose of carrying more stock or increasing the output of grain."¹ It is clear that the Hatchers pursued this kind of policy at Careby, while there is a strong suggestion that Grimsthorpe was the scene of extensive sheep farming at least as early as 1584.²

In contrast with the progress made by the early enclosure movement, enclosure by award was relatively slow, and in 1800, when the movement had virtually finished in north-east Kesteven, there were still several townships unenclosed. The way in which this Region lagged behind is perplexing, especially in view of the residence of so many landed gentry, but a partial explanation may be put forward. While enclosure in north-east Kesteven paved the way to the extension of grain acreages to meet the demands of an expanding industrial market, it could have had only limited effects in that direction in the Southern Limestone Heath. There the unenclosed land was already very largely under cultivation, and although enclosure could have led to improved yields it could have made possible no appreciable increases in grain acreages (apart from the elimination of fallow). In fact, Arthur Young observed that in south Kesteven "upon soils clay and mould, which do for grazing, inclosure changes arable to grass; but upon creech continued arable."³

On the other hand, it is important to consider whether enclosure in this period was the effect of a progressive attitude to farming rather than the cause. In the middle of the nineteenth century south Kesteven was the one part of Lincolnshire which was picked out by Clarke to receive his stinging criticism.⁴ What a similar observer might have said in 1800 is not clear; nevertheless, the suspicion lingers that poor farmers and a conservative tradition failed to help, if they did not positively hold back, Parliamentary enclosure in this Region.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that within the relatively small compass of the areas studied there occurred wide differences in the timing and pace of enclosure. Never-

¹ R. H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640', in *Essays in Economic History*, ed. E. M. Carus-Wilson, London, 1954, pp. 184-5.

² Thirsk, *Fenland Farming*, p. 51; and *English Peasant Farming*, p. 176; LAO, ANC 1/3/19.

³ A. Young, *A General View of the Agriculture of the Co. of Lincoln*, London, 1799, p. 468.

⁴ J. A. Clarke, *The Agriculture of the County of Lincoln in 1851*, London, 1852, pp. 124-5 and 151.

theless it is possible to make several general observations at two levels, the regional and the parochial.

Each of the three regions appears to have been strongly affected by national changes in the prosperity of agriculture. Only in this manner is it possible to account for the two great waves of enclosing activity which occurred approximately between 1500 and 1640 and between 1750 and 1840. These were periods of farming prosperity, a fact which establishes the importance of the economic factor in relation to enclosure.

The form of the enclosure, however, varied from one region to another, for the economic benefits to be gained from enclosure depended partly on the physical circumstances of the region. Thus, for instance, early enclosure proceeded rapidly in the Graffoe Terraces, where soil exhaustion was most keenly felt. Within each region, too, there were variations in the pace of enclosure. In the Northern Fen Margin early enclosure was most apparent in the central zone, for it was in this zone that enclosure could bring the greatest benefits. Of the two remaining zones, the limestone Heath was less affected by early enclosure than the Fens, a fact which suggests that land improvements on the Heath were virtually impossible until the value of turnip cultivation was recognized in the second half of the eighteenth century.

At the parochial level the pattern of events is less easy to interpret, since so much depended upon local personalities and balances of power. Nevertheless there is evidence in all three regions that resident lords and monastic foundations were generally associated with early enclosure. Enclosure by manorial lords was not merely a result of their social dominance, but also, as Professor Tawney has pointed out, a result of the peculiar way in which they were open to economic pressures. At the opposite extreme, townships which contained a large number of freeholders were enclosed later, unless exceptional difficulties of farming forced unanimity upon them, as in the Graffoe Terraces and at Branston. The case of Branston is outstanding, since it occurred in 1682, during a general lull in enclosing activity.

Finally, some points of comparison may be made with two neighbouring counties where enclosure history has been studied. In Leicestershire Parliamentary enclosure was marked by an extension of permanent pasture, and not of arable farming, as was generally the case in Kesteven.¹ In both Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, as in Kesteven, the factor of landownership is one of many factors which must be considered in explaining the course of enclosure history. On the other hand, an interesting point of contrast

¹ H. G. Hunt, *The Parliamentary Enclosure Movement in Leicestershire, 1730-1842*, unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1955 (1956), p. 240.

occurs between Nottinghamshire and Kesteven in the eighteenth century: while private enclosure was of little importance in Kesteven during that century, in Nottinghamshire over forty per cent of the total land was enclosed by this method, in contrast to the twelve per cent enclosed before 1700.¹ Such a big difference between neighbouring counties in both the timing and the method of enclosure serves to emphasize that many more local studies of enclosure must be made before a full understanding can be reached.

TABLE TO SUMMARIZE ENCLOSURE IN SELECTED REGIONS OF KESTEVEN

PERIOD AND TYPE OF ENCLOSURE	GRAFFOE TERRACES	NORTHERN FEN MARGIN	SOUTHERN LIMESTONE HEATH
Enclosed privately by 1700	72.0% 15,743 acs.	36.2% 13,827 acs.	60.0% 18,020 acs.
Enclosed privately 1700-1800	2.08% 450 acs.	0.7% c. 300 acs.	Nil? Nil?
Enclosed by Act 1700-1800	7.09% 1,530 acs.	61.1% 23,355 acs.	15.1% 4,528 acs.
Open in 1800	18.83% 3,854 acs.	0.9% 349 acs.	24.3% 7,172 acs.
	21,577 acs.	37,831 acs.	29,720 acs.
Enclosed by both methods 1700-1870	28.8% 5,834 acs.	62.7% 24,453 acs.	39.4% 11,809 acs.

APPENDIX ON SOURCES

Most of the sources upon which this paper is based are quoted in detail in Appendices 4, 9, and 16 of my M.A. thesis: D. R. Mills, *Population and Settlement in Kesteven, c. 1775-c. 1885*, University of Nottingham, 1957 (1958). The following is a list of additional sources, mostly relating to land-ownership, which are quoted neither in my thesis, nor in the footnotes above:

(a) DOCUMENTARY

Kesteven Land Tax Duplicates, 1808 (LAO).

Whisby Tithe Award, LAO F32.

Branston Tithe Award, LAO E541.

¹ J. D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1932, p. 149.

(b) PRINTED

Burke's Peerage, 1898, *sub* Chaplin.

R. E. G. Cole, *Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolnensis, A.D. 1705-1723*, Lincoln Record Society, IV, 1913, pp. 22, 29, and 43.

LAO, Archivists' Report, 1948-50.

A. R. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Peerages*, Harleian Society, 1903-6, II, pp. 40, 437, and 461; III, p. 1041.

NOTES AND COMMENTS (*continued from page 74*)

held later in the day, Mr George Ordish was re-elected Chairman.

FUTURE CONFERENCES

A Joint Conference on Scottish Agricultural History will be held with the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University, on Saturday, 26 September 1959. Further details may be obtained from Mr George Houston, Department of Political Economy, University of Glasgow.

The One-Day Joint Conference with the Association of Agriculture will be held in the Institute of Education, University of London, on Saturday, 5 December 1959.

The Annual General Meeting and Conference for 1960 will be held at Harper Adams Agricultural College, near Newport, Shropshire, from the evening of Thursday, 7 April, till breakfast-time on Saturday, 9 April.

SCOTTISH STUDIES

Scottish Studies, Volume 3, i, 1959 (the Journal of the School of Scottish Studies of the University of Edinburgh) contains three articles bearing on the Statistical Accounts of Scotland. F. V. Emery of the Oxford University School of Geography gives a geographical description of Scotland prior to the Statistical Accounts. Arthur Geddes of the Edinburgh University Department of Geography writes about the Statistical Accounts of 1790-1825 and 1835-45. Finally, A. M.

Struthers of the Scottish Council of Social Service discusses the progress of a pilot scheme for a third Statistical Account after the Second World War. In the same number Ian Whitaker records the types of wooden harrows used in North Uist.

The Scottish Historical Review, Volume 38 (1), 1959, contains two articles of interest to readers of the AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW. The first is a description of the custom of taking the cattle to summer shielings or upland pastures, which was once a common feature of Highland farming; it is by Victor Gaffney, a former research student at Edinburgh University. The other is by Asgaut Steinnes of Oslo and deals with the existence of the Scandinavian 'Huseby' (technical name for a royal administrative farm of military character) land system in Orkney in the ninth and tenth centuries.

FORTY YEARS OF DANISH FARM RECORDS

Det landøkonomiske Driftsbureau (The Danish Institute of Farm Management and Agricultural Economics) has recently published a survey entitled *Technical and Economic Changes in Danish Farming*. The Institute was established in 1916 and between 1916 and 1957 analysed no less than 32,402 sets of farm accounts. The present publication summarizes the trends in Danish farming, which these accounts reveal, between 1917 and 1957.