

Formal Agreements and the Enclosure Process: The Evidence from Hampshire*

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Abstract

Writings on enclosure after 1700 often concentrate largely on the parliamentary movement, and any discussion of non-parliamentary aspects tends to ignore the distinction between the different processes involved. Amounts and types of land are rarely specified with any precision. An extensive survey of Hampshire casts some light on the progress of enclosure by formal agreement, one specific type of non-parliamentary enclosure. It is shown that this type of enclosure occurred more frequently and covered more land than previously thought, forming a testing ground for techniques employed by parliamentary act. Estimates are given, from the statistics collected, for the acreage involved, and the types of land are shown. The temporal and spatial distribution of formal agreement enclosure is analysed, and a comparison with the extent of parliamentary enclosure is made. Finally, the importance of piecemeal enclosure in Hampshire is highlighted.

IT IS GENERALLY accepted that some 75 per cent of England escaped the effects of parliamentary enclosure, but the extent and timing of other methods of enclosure have remained a matter of controversy. In much of the literature of the enclosure movement there tends to be an assumption, sometimes explicitly stated, that the story of enclosure during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is to all intents and purposes that of the parliamentary movement, and that these other methods were largely a feature of earlier centuries. Wordie, for example, allows a mere 1 per cent of the area of England for enclosure by agreement after 1760 and, on the basis of evidence from Durham and Leicestershire, suggests that 'between 1700 and 1760 the enclosure by agreement movement had run out of momentum', though he gives a figure of some 3 per cent for such enclosures during the whole century.¹ The comments of Kerridge are similarly dismissive since, although he states

that 'through the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, parliamentary enclosures were accompanied by divisions and enclosures neither ratified nor authorized by Act of Parliament', he then says that 'in 1700 about one-quarter of the enclosure of England and Wales remained to be undertaken'. By implication, virtually the whole of his quarter would be accounted for by the parliamentary movement.² Gonner's calculations point in the same direction, for he estimated that the parliamentary enclosure total needed to be raised by only 3 to 5 per cent to allow for other types of enclosure after 1750.³

On the other hand, a minority of writers have argued for the importance of non-parliamentary means. McCloskey, for example, suggests that enclosure other than by private act was a major factor during these centuries. Yelling draws attention to the significance of piecemeal enclosure, though he implies a regional separation, for he states that 'in most piecemeal enclos-

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¹ J. R. Wordie, 'The chronology of English enclosure, 1500-1914', *Econ Hist Rev*, 2nd series, XXXVI, 1983, pp 488, 498 and 502.

² E. Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution*, 1967, p 24. For calculations of parliamentary enclosure, see M. Turner, *English Parliamentary Enclosure*, Folkestone, 1980, pp 178-9, and J. Chapman, 'The nature and extent of parliamentary enclosure', *Ag Hist Rev*, 35, 1987, pp 25-35.

³ E. C. K. Gonner, *Common Land and Enclosure*, 1966 (originally published 1912), p 53.

ure districts there is no extensive coverage of parliamentary awards that can be used to provide a regional framework for the study of enclosure history'.⁴ Butlin stresses the importance of enclosure by agreement, at least in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁵

Part of the problem lies in the absence of precise and detailed statistics relating to non-parliamentary enclosures, which might form the basis for testing the validity of the opposing views. A few authors, such as Hodgson and Mills, have offered figures for the numbers of non-parliamentary enclosures in specific local regions, but even these have normally shrunk from providing acreages, especially of the types of land involved.⁶ The difficulty is further compounded by the fact that non-parliamentary enclosure was not a single process, and the distinction between the different types has rarely been made explicit in the literature.

A classification of enclosures on the basis of legal criteria was provided by Gonner in the early years of this century, but such a definition does not adequately reflect the differences in landscape or holding layout which may be produced.⁷ From a practical viewpoint, it is important to distinguish between piecemeal enclosure, often carried out over a long period of time with the *tacit* approval of the other parties to the system, enclosure by a landowner or landholder who succeeded in consolidating all the land into one hand, and enclosure by formal agreement amongst all the parties

with an interest in the land. The first of these tended to perpetuate holding fragmentation; the second left the landholder with complete freedom of action. Formal agreements, on the other hand, produced effects which were very similar to parliamentary enclosure, with a substantial degree of replanning in most cases. Many, indeed, followed closely the procedures of the parliamentary process, with full powers to interpret the agreement and carry out reorganization being delegated to commissioners, who were then charged with drawing-up a formal award. An agreement drawn up in proper legal form provided a degree of security which was lacking in informal piecemeal enclosures, and also avoided some of the heavy costs involved in piloting a private act through Parliament.⁸ It had the further advantage over an act that the time taken to complete the enclosure was likely to be substantially shorter, without the inevitable delays involved in the formal parliamentary process. The parliamentary route did not avoid the wrangling and horse-trading necessary to achieve an agreement, since a high measure of consensus was necessary between the lord of the manor, the tithe owners and the principal landowners before it was worth attempting to procure a private act.⁹ The advantages of parliamentary action were, therefore, not always obvious unless there was limited but determined opposition, or there was some specific legal barrier, such as the minority or lunacy of one of the major parties, which might have been held to invalidate an agreement. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that formal agreements

⁴ D N McCloskey, 'The enclosure of open fields: preface to a study of its impact on the efficiency of English agriculture in the eighteenth century', *J Econ Hist*, 32, 1972, p 16, note 2; J A Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850*, 1977, pp 71-93 (specifically p 91).

⁵ R A Butlin, 'The enclosure of open fields and the extinction of common rights in England, c 1600-1750: a review', in H S A Fox and R A Butlin, eds, *Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500-1900*, Institute of British Geographers Special Publication, No 10, 1979, pp 65-82.

⁶ R I Hodgson, 'The progress of enclosure in County Durham, 550-1870', in Fox and Butlin, *Change in the Countryside*, pp 83-102; D Mills, 'Enclosure in Kesteven', *Ag Hist Rev*, 7, 1959, pp 82-97.

⁷ Gonner, *Common Land and Enclosure*, p 53.

⁸ For the costs of parliamentary enclosures see J M Martin, 'The cost of parliamentary enclosure in Warwickshire', in E L Jones, ed, *Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815*, 1967, pp 128-51; M E Turner, 'The cost of parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire', *Ag Hist Rev*, 21, 1973, pp 35-46; also evidence in *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century, Reports and Papers, 1799 to 1800*, 130, pp 21-31.

⁹ See, for example, correspondence relating to the Preston Candover Act of 1820 in Winchester Cathedral Archives (hereafter WCA), T3A/1/3/5-7.

played a significant role in the enclosure process even during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the parliamentary alternative was firmly established.

Formal agreements, as here defined, were legally binding documents indicating the consent of all the parties involved in the enclosure. They were a common feature of various parts of the country,¹⁰ and undoubtedly played a significant part in the enclosure movement of several south coast counties. The remainder of this paper explores the significance of this particular aspect of non-parliamentary enclosure as it affected the historic county of Hampshire (excluding the Isle of Wight) during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

I

There is nothing in the Hampshire material to suggest that the use of agreement or act was determined by anything other than legal necessity. Private owners such as Sir Chaloner Ogle and Sir Charles Mill appear to have used agreements where possible and acts where they had to, and their names appear indiscriminately in both types. Occasionally such private owners were pushed into the expense of an act when an agreement ran into difficulties. At North Stoneham it had been agreed in 1736 to enclose the common, but difficulties arose when John Dummer, whose legal guardian had signed on his behalf during his minority, repudiated the agreement on attaining his majority. A revised agreement was patched up, but Sir Richard Fleming, the original lord, had died in the mean time, leaving the estate in the hands of his brother, a lunatic. In the circumstances, the parties prudently sought a confirmatory act in 1744 to avoid any further

challenges.¹¹ The opposite case occurred at Wonston, where a proposed parliamentary enclosure was abandoned when it proved possible to come to a unanimous agreement.¹² Indeed, the threat of parliamentary action was sometimes used as a lever to persuade the parties to settle their differences, as at Itchen Stoke.¹³

Representatives acting on behalf of institutions tended to take a cautious line and prefer an act, though they were nevertheless represented amongst the parties to agreements. The Dean and Chapter of Winchester, one of the principal lords of the manor in the county, showed an overwhelming preference for the use of an act, but were nevertheless involved in the agreement at Baughurst, possibly because, by 1856, the general enclosure legislation had given some legal backing to the idea of enclosures by agreement. Officials representing other institutional owners were similarly inhibited, though this did not necessarily prove a complete barrier to enclosure by this means. Correspondence between Ralph Etwall and the bursar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1789 over the Longstock enclosure shows considerable doubt in the mind of the latter over his right to commit his successors, though he eventually overcame his doubts, encouraged by the willingness of Magdalen College, Oxford, another of the interested parties at Longstock, to go ahead.¹⁴

The various published lists have tended to obscure the contribution of formal agreements to the enclosure history of Hampshire. The fact that the parliamentary enclosure lists of both Tate and Taverner contain appendices of formal agreements showing only one and two respectively,

¹⁰ B English 'Yorkshire enclosure awards', *University of Hull Studies in Regional and Local History*, 5, 1985; Joint Archives Committee for the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland and the City of Carlisle, *Cumberland Enclosure Awards*, 1968.

¹¹ Hampshire Record Office (hereafter HRO), 15M54/1.

¹² Handwritten note dated 13 September 1800, WCA, T2A/2/1/64f.

¹³ HRO, 27M92/51.

¹⁴ Corpus Christi Archives, pkt Cb18 and Cg1.

may mislead the unwary.¹⁵ Naish's unpublished thesis offers a rather more comprehensive picture, mentioning twelve agreements for the period 1706–55 and three for 1755–91, but this covers only the chalklands, and gives no detailed breakdown into open field and other types of land.¹⁶ Jones also restricts his comments to the chalklands, and there is confusion in his account between agreements to convert common downland to other uses in common, and those creating land in severalty.¹⁷ A number of what are at first sight enclosure agreements are actually agreements to convert common down to common arable, such as that for Meonstoke in 1679, or to allow reseedling of land which was then to revert to common, as at Chilbolton in 1623.¹⁸

Present investigations have uncovered a total of sixty-four formal enclosure agreements within Hampshire, thirty-eight of which took place during the eighteenth century and a further ten during the nineteenth.¹⁹ If the convention established by Tate and Turner is followed, six of the eighteenth-century and one of the nineteenth-century agreements would be regarded as parliamentary, since subsequent to the agreement they were confirmed by a private act. This leaves thirty-two and nine respectively, as being purely by private agreement (Appendix 1).²⁰ For comparison, there were thirty-nine parliamentary enclosures during the eighteenth century,

including the six confirmed agreements, and 123 in the nineteenth, including the single confirmed case.²¹ In other words, over 53 per cent of formal eighteenth-century enclosures in Hampshire were, in effect, by agreement, and 45 per cent involved no recourse to Parliament at all. Even for the nineteenth century, almost 7 per cent were achieved without invoking any acts of Parliament, private or general.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to present a complete picture of all enclosures by private agreement. There is, obviously, a possibility that some formal agreements have not survived, or have not yet been discovered. However, a parish-by-parish survey has revealed the means of enclosure for almost all the open-field systems which existed in 1700, and only a handful remain where a lost formal agreement is a possibility.²² Not all the awards seem to have survived, a feature not unknown even amongst parliamentary enclosures, and several agreements probably never involved a formal award, since the land may merely have been staked out in the field. Furthermore, some awards which do exist omit some of the essential details, usually because they allot an unspecified 'residue' to the principal owner. The Herriard award of 1737, for example, omits the acreages of two of the five allotments and records the surrender by one owner of unspecified common rights, thus leaving the other in unfettered possession.²³ In consequence, analysis of the whole group is not possible, and the statistics presented in Appendix 2 refer only to the twenty-three awards

¹⁵ W E Tate, 'A new Domesday of (Georgian) enclosure. Hampshire Section', *Papers and Proc Hampshire Field Club and Archaeol Soc*, 15, 1943, pp 292–6, and 'Field systems and enclosures in Hampshire', *Papers and Proc Hampshire Field Club and Archaeol Soc*, 16, 1947, pp 257–79; L E Taverner, *The Common Lands of Hampshire*, Winchester, 1957, p 95.

¹⁶ M C Naish, 'The agricultural landscape of the Hampshire chalklands, 1700–1840', unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1961.

¹⁷ E L Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*, Oxford, 1974, pp 26–31.

¹⁸ Winchester College Muniments, 13553; WCA, T2A/2/1/64f (which is actually endorsed 'licence to enclose').

¹⁹ That is, including the area in the Bournemouth district which was transferred to Dorset in the modern period.

²⁰ The seven, with act dates, were Odiham (1739), Charlton (1740), Chawton (1741), North Stoneham (1744), East Woodhay (1749), Barton Stacey (1757), and St Mary Bourne (1815).

²¹ These totals include the Warblington fields enclosure of 1812, much of which involved parishes lying in Sussex. They exclude Portsea (1753), which was not an enclosure, Bashley (1815), which was purely an agreement, and Newland Marsh (1861) and Crofton Marsh (1861), which were parts of other enclosures: from the lists in M E Turner, ed, *A Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards by W E Tate*, Reading, 1978, pp 124–31.

²² See J Chapman and S Seeliger, *A Guide to Enclosure in Hampshire, 1700–1900*, Hampshire County Council, forthcoming (1995). For example, a map of Wield dated 1779 (HRO, 105M88/3) shows an 'Allotment' in White Lain Field which does not appear to refer to any known enclosure.

²³ HRO, 38M48/92/14.

dating from after 1700 for which acreage and ownership details are complete. The surviving agreement enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could be argued to be representative of the whole, since those agreements without figures have descriptions of land and owners that are indistinguishable from those which do contain them. There are only three instances of agreements in this period where there is no direct surviving documentation of any kind, their existence being referred to in passing in other sources. It seems reasonable to treat the existing awards as representative of the whole, since survival or otherwise appears to have been a matter of chance.

Thus, a rough estimate of the amount of land affected by formal agreements after 1700, excluding those later confirmed, may be produced by multiplying the total number, forty-one, by the mean acreage per agreement, 523.28. On this basis it may be suggested that formal agreements accounted for some 21,454 acres in Hampshire, or 2.23 per cent of the whole county area. Against this, the parliamentary movement covered 138,291 acres, or 14.42 per cent.²⁴ Once again, the significance of agreements to the eighteenth-century enclosure movement is stressed if this period is treated separately. The acreage dealt with by agreement may be estimated at 16,745 or 1.74 per cent of the county, while acts of Parliament of the same period disposed of 46,368, or 4.83 per cent.

From these figures it will be apparent that formal agreements, on average, tended to deal with smaller acreages than acts. In comparison to the mean figure of 523.28 acres for the surviving awards, the parliamentary mean is 880.40.²⁵ Such a result is

hardly surprising, since it might be expected that there would be a general tendency for unanimous agreement to be easier to achieve where the area and the number of individuals involved were smaller. However, the mean area for agreements is nevertheless substantial, and it is interesting to note that none of them involved very small acreages, as was sometimes the case with parliamentary enclosures. Only three agreements covered less than 100 acres, the smallest being Nea Common in Christchurch with 40.5; parliamentary awards, on the other hand, fell under 7 acres at Petersfield, and four involved less than 15. It seems highly likely that for such very small areas formal agreements were unnecessary: they could usually be dealt with informally, as at Lower Common, Stamshaw, or Hurn Bottom, Ringwood.²⁶ Where this was not possible, then the full power of the parliamentary process was necessary to achieve the required result.

As far as the type of land enclosed is concerned, the situation was very far from that implied by Jones, who states that agreements were primarily for waste and acts for open field.²⁷ In fact, agreement enclosures show an almost equal balance between open field and pasture, 49 per cent as against 46, in marked contrast to Hampshire parliamentary enclosures where the proportion of open-field land was a mere 27 per cent, with pasture making up 63.²⁸ It might seem logical to attribute these differences to the different nature of the two processes, since it would be reasonable to postulate that agreement should be much easier to achieve for open-field land and meadow. The splitting of such lands into individual ownership offered fewer

²⁴ The parliamentary figure was produced by totalling all allotments in all actual awards, and substituting estimates for those where no award exists. The county acreage (958,896) is derived from John Bartholomew and Son's *Gazetteer of the British Isles*, 9th ed, Edinburgh, 1966 reprint.

²⁵ All these figures were derived by totalling the individual allotments in each award.

²⁶ J Chapman, 'The common lands of Portsea Island', *Portsmouth Papers*, 29, 1979, pp 4 and 16-18; HRO, 11M61/57 and HRO, 51M74/1.

²⁷ Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution*, pp 26-31.

²⁸ In each case the missing percentages are made up of common meadow and of old enclosures which were redistributed.

problems and opportunities for dispute than the division of the commons. Apart from possible difficulties over compensation for tithes, which could always be overcome by the simple expedient of continuing to pay them in kind, field division was relatively straightforward, since all rights were in proportion to the existing strips. In contrast, rights on the common might be claimed under a wide range of different headings and might be exercised over the same piece of land, forcing would-be enclosers to value, for example, fuel-gathering rights against pasture-rights, a far more complex problem which was likely to make voluntary agreement much more difficult.

One factor in this difference would appear to be simply a chronological one. Agreement enclosures were predominantly eighteenth century rather than nineteenth century in date, and nationally even amongst parliamentary enclosures field enclosures tended to dominate during the eighteenth century.²⁹ More detailed examination of the temporal patterns confirms this argument. Eighteenth-century agreements show a slight majority for field land, 53 per cent arable against 45 common and waste, and eighteenth-century parliamentary awards for Hampshire show an essentially similar pattern, with 57 per cent and 37 per cent respectively.

Contrasts between the profiles of agreement enclosures and those by parliamentary act or order emerge in other respects.³⁰ As would be expected, the former affected noticeably smaller numbers of allottees, with a mean of only 12.7 against the latter's 35.1. Once more, the range is also markedly different: as can be seen from Appendix 2, the agreements involved between 3 and 53, and only two exceeded

20.³¹ In contrast, parliamentary enclosures ranged from 1 to 369 allottees, and 59 per cent involved 20 or more. As was indicated earlier, parliamentary awards with few allottees tended to reflect doubts about the powers of particular individuals to enter into legally-binding agreements on behalf of their successors rather than an inability to come to an amicable arrangement: the single-owner enclosure at Hartley Wintney appears to have arisen from a desire to clarify the legal status of the common, the lord of the manor being awarded all the ordinary allotments and purchasing all the land sold to raise expenses.³²

II

A striking feature of the formal agreements is that they offer marked patterns both spatially and temporally. Spatially (Fig 1) they avoid almost entirely the heathlands of the county; temporally, they show a series of upsurges and troughs of activity, with peaks in the 1730s and '40s, and in the 1790s (Fig 2). Taken together, the picture presented accords very well with that produced by parliamentary enclosures. In crude terms, the latter affected the chalklands first, spreading to the south only during the Napoleonic War period and reaching the heathlands of the east of the county later still, largely after the General Enclosure Act of 1845. The predominantly eighteenth-century agreements fill in many of the gaps left in the chalklands by the contemporaneous parliamentary phase and, interestingly, the handful of later agreements show a more southerly and easterly tendency, reflecting the similar shift in the centre of gravity of the parliamentary movement. They thus reinforce the geographical pattern presented by the parliamentary movement, indicating that there

²⁹ Chapman, 'Nature and extent', p 33; Turner, *English Parliamentary Enclosure*, pp 186-7 and 190-1.

³⁰ After the General Inclosure Act of 1845 most enclosures were by 'Order', subsequently confirmed by Parliament, rather than by the earlier procedure of individual private acts.

³¹ The incomplete Herriard award of 1737 involved only two parties.

³² HRO, Q23/2/64.

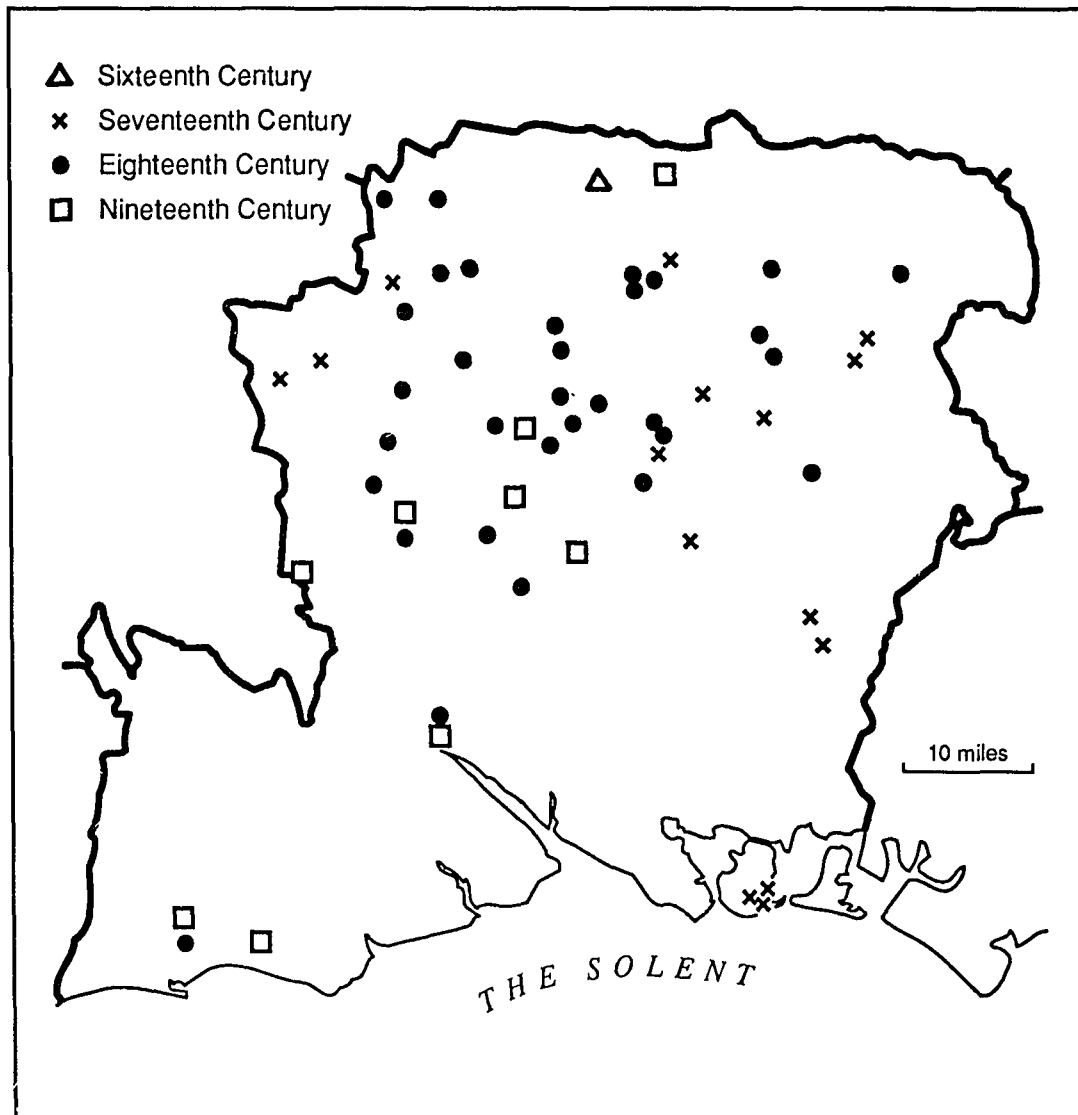


FIGURE 1
Location of Hampshire enclosure agreements

was a genuine spatial spread of enclosure itself through time, rather than mere differences in the date of take-up of different methods of enclosure in different areas.

Ease of access to urban markets was clearly of no significance in determining the pattern, for the eighteenth-century agreements conspicuously avoided the

coast and the immediate vicinity of the growing urban centres of Portsmouth and Southampton, even though both open-field systems and common wastes were numerous in these areas. Nor were these early-enclosed areas particularly favoured with inland waterways or turnpikes. A case might be made for Portsmouth exerting a limited influence, for Portsea Island lost

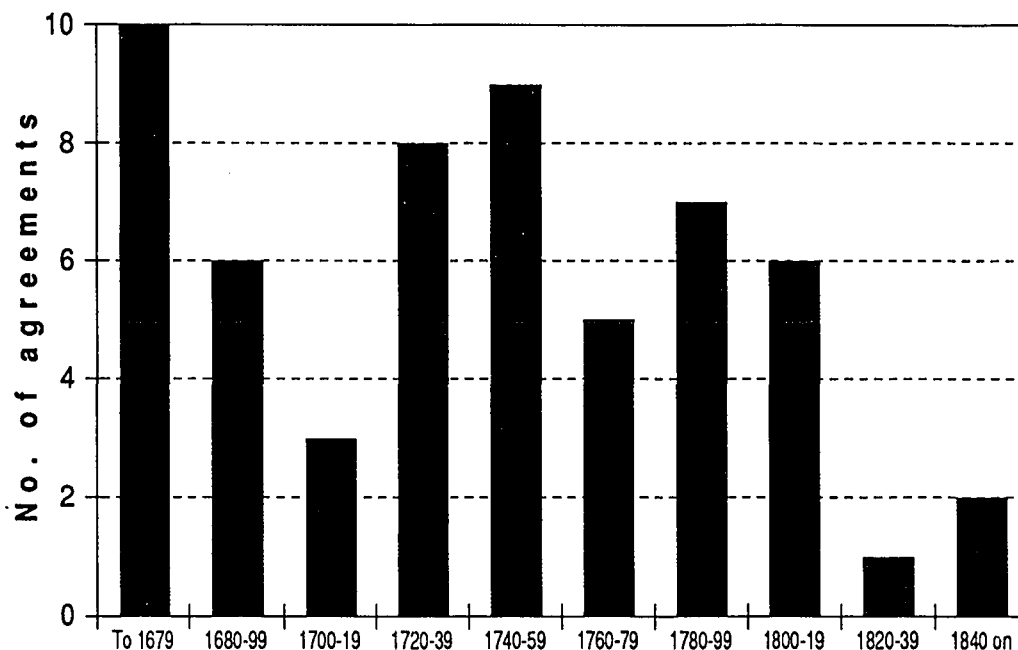


FIGURE 2
Chronology of Hampshire enclosure agreements

two of its communal systems, at Fratton and Milton, to seventeenth-century agreements, and a further one, Copnor, apparently to piecemeal enclosure before 1700. However, the Portsmouth system itself took a further 140 years to disappear, succumbing piecemeal to urban expansion rather than agricultural influences, and beyond the confines of Portsea Island no impact can be detected.³³

A stronger case can be made for the influence of localized agricultural improvements. The progress of agriculture in the chalklands prior to 1750 is well attested, and Kerridge has argued persuasively that significant changes in agricultural methods and systems had affected the Wiltshire chalklands in the seventeenth century.³⁴ The tight clustering of the early Hampshire agreements on the adjoining Hampshire

chalklands would fit logically with such arguments: landowners wishing to take advantage of these new methods would have had an obvious incentive to enclose by whatever means seemed most convenient to them.

III

The foregoing discussion has concerned itself with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it may be noted that the available evidence strongly suggests that formal agreements had their greatest impact on Hampshire during this period. The parish-by-parish survey mentioned earlier indicates that the overwhelming majority of field systems existing in 1600 were still present in 1700. The same applies, though with a rather greater margin of uncertainty, to common pastures and wastes.³⁵ Though

³³ Chapman, 'Common lands of Portsea Island'.

³⁴ Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution*, especially pp 42-51.

³⁵ Chapman and Seeliger, *Enclosure in Hampshire*.

further investigations may well add to the fifteen seventeenth-century agreements referred to here, it seems highly unlikely that these can be more than doubled, which is what would be required to equal the eighteenth-century total. There is, indeed, good reason to suggest that it was the 1690s which saw the use of formal methods become well-established, for four of the seventeenth-century agreements were made in this decade, and that thereafter formal agreements and acts persisted side-by-side until the nineteenth century, with the latter being used prior to 1800 only in more complex or legally difficult situations. Though enclosure by act was dominant in the eighteenth century, to ignore agreements is to understate the amount of formal enclosure by almost a third in areal terms: in terms of numbers of individual enclosures, agreements were even more significant, for they made up approaching half the total. Concentration on the acts also tends to distort the picture of the type of land enclosed: in proportional terms, field land was more likely to be dealt with by private agreement, and common pasture and waste by act over the two centuries under consideration.

Though these results apply specifically to Hampshire, they present a picture significantly different from the one given by the existing literature for the county, and the question must be posed as to how far such patterns might be reflected elsewhere. There is certainly evidence of substantial numbers of formal agreements in Dorset, and published work indicates even more for Wiltshire.³⁶ It is also clear that there are more agreements in Sussex than shown on Tate's list.³⁷ Though it is not possible to offer a comprehensive picture in the

present state of knowledge, it is quite clear that an enclosure movement by formal agreement was in progress in the southern counties during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it seems reasonable to speculate that it was roughly proportional in numbers to the incidence of parliamentary enclosure in each county. Evidence from elsewhere in England makes it clear that such a picture was not unique to the southern counties. The lists produced some years ago by the then Cumberland County Record Office give no fewer than sixty agreements as against 127 parliamentary enclosures, and Lyons has recently offered evidence from Lincolnshire.³⁸ Whether it was confined to the peripheral counties or extended to the midland core cannot yet be determined, but in either case significant questions are raised about the nature of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century enclosures. If the midlands were largely unaffected, agreements elsewhere would go some way to balance the preponderance of enclosures by act there, and indicate that the enclosure movement was far less regionally concentrated in the eighteenth century than has been postulated. One would also need to ask why the midlands found it necessary to adopt the act of Parliament, very largely for open-field land, when other areas of the country were contemporaneously making use of a cheaper and generally quicker means of achieving precisely the same ends. If, on the other hand, enclosure by agreement was equally active there it would imply that enclosure in some counties was almost entirely a product of the eighteenth century.

As a final comment, it must be stressed that the above analysis applies only to enclosures carried out by a formal agree-

³⁶ The Dorset total was derived from a search of the catalogues in the county record office. R. E. Sandell, 'Abstracts of Wiltshire inclosure awards and agreements', *Wiltshire Record Society*, 25, 1969, provides totals for Wiltshire.

³⁷ W. E. Tate, 'A handlist of Sussex inclosure acts and awards', *East and West Sussex County Councils, Record Publication*, 1, 1950.

³⁸ Joint Archives Committee of Cumberland and Westmorland, *Cumberland Enclosure Awards*, 1968; N. Lyons, ed., *Enclosure in Context in North West Lincolnshire*, 1992.

ment. There is, in fact, increasing evidence that much enclosure in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hampshire was carried out without either a formal agreement or an act of Parliament. Instances of lords of the manor or their tenants enclosing by bringing whole townships into their own hands occur in the literature, as do examples of fields disappearing by simple

decay and neglect of communal rights.³⁹ It seems highly likely that the neglected formal agreements are themselves merely the tip of a far greater hidden iceberg of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century enclosures.

³⁹ S W J Waight, 'Corpus Christi College, Oxford - major landowner in Hampshire 1517-1881', unpublished Diploma in English Local History dissertation, University of Portsmouth, 1993.

APPENDIX I Hampshire agreements

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Date</i>		<i>Reference</i>
Kingsclere	1599	Agreement: no award	19M61/159
Fratton	1600	Complete	PRO E 178 2059
Sutton, Long	1618	Agreement: no award	PRO C78/494/10
Wootton St Lawrence	1621	Agreement: no award	21M58/L1-2
Bentworth	1622	References	18M61/Box33/ Bundle3/2
Clanfield	1648	Agreement: no award	Winchester Cathedral Archives T3A/2/3/19
Oxenbourne	1661	Agreement: no award	11M59/E1/158/3/f.138
Swarraton	1662	Agreement: no award	VCH IV, p 195
Sutton Warblington	1667	Agreement: no award	Winchester Cathedral Archives T2A/3/1/114 a-m
Andover	1690	Agreement: no award	Copy/411
Ampert	1693	Complete	75M75/E/T40
Milton (Portsmouth)	1683	Complete	Portsmouth Record Office 1420 A/1
Milton (Portsmouth)	1693	Complete	Portsmouth Record Office 43A/1/6-7
Sutton, Bishop's	1694	Agreement: no award	11M59/E1/152/4/42
Quarley	1698	Agreement: no award	75M75/E/T43
Candover, Preston	17th	Agreement: no award	Winchester College Estate Records 14403
Ibthorpe	1706	Agreement: no award	Corpus Christi College, CL6/5
Facombe	1711	Agreement: no award	2M37/18
Somborne, Kings (i)	1715	Complete	2M37/110
Freefolk	1729	Complete	5M52/E70
Christchurch	1731	Complete	7M54/20
Deane	1733	Document not found	Reference in Naish
Hunton	1733	Complete	2M52/66
Candover, Brown (ii)	1737	Complete	8M58/22
Herriard	1737	Incomplete	38M48/92/14
Vernham Dean	1734	Complete	Winchester College Muniments 9126
Compton	1741	Complete	Q23/2/29
Knights Enham	1741	Complete?	Queen's College Oxford, Box 52, 4.I.56
East Aston	1742	Complete	8M87, unlisted
Farringdon	1749	Complete	18M61/Map19
Stock Charity	1749	Reference to agreement of c 1749	63M84/196
St Mary Bourne	1753	Complete	Copy/66

APPENDIX I (*continued*)

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Date</i>		<i>Reference</i>
Sparsholt	1755	Complete	11M59/E2/59505
Millbrook	1756	Agreement: no award	23M58/242
Dogmersfield	1758	Agreement: no award	15M50/725
Basing	1764	Agreement: no award	10M57/T5
Freefolk Priors	1771	Complete	5M52/E72
Deane	1773	Complete	12M49/Box3
Church Oakley	1773	Agreement: no award	312M87/E2
Clatford, Goodworth	1777	Complete	1M63/1
Micheldever	1783	Agreement: no award	4M62/307
Houghton	1786	Agreement: no award	W/H3/24
Itchen Stoke	1788	Agreement: no award	Q1/21, pp 133-9
Micheldever (Weston)	1788	Complete	4M62/309
Longstock	1789	Agreement: no award	Corpus Christi College, Cb 18/6-7
Candover, Brown (i)	1791	Complete	11M52/647
Herriard	1795	Complete	38M48/92/15
Sutton Scotney	18th?	Document not found	37M85/1/9/4
Millbrook	1806	Agreement: no award	23M58/244
Wonston	1808	Agreement: no award	33M62
Dean, East	1809	Agreement: no award	2M37/555
Christchurch	1811	Complete	Copy/288/41
Milton (Lymington)	1815	Complete	Q23/2/86
Somborne, Kings (ii)	1815	Complete	Q23/2/74
Littleton	1821	Agreement: no award	38M48/1048
Baughurst	1856	Complete	10M57/16
Chilcomb	1884	Complete	38M48/54/15

All references to documents are to the Hampshire Record Office, unless otherwise stated: for the reference to Naish, see footnote 16.

APPENDIX 2
Hampshire agreements with acreages

Parish	Date	Allottees	Total acreage	Common field	Meadow	Pasture	Unspecified	Old enclosures
Aston, East	1742	8	439.44	427.30	0	12.14	0	0
Baughurst	1856	32	41.65	0	0	41.65	0	0
Candover (i)	1791	5	1182.75	335.25	0	630.50	0	217.00
Candover (ii)	1737	6	473.56	454.69	0.03	0	0	18.84
Chilcombe	1882	4	417.95	0	0	417.95	0	0
Christchurch	1731	5	1236.98	0	0	1236.98	0	0
Christchurch	1811	6	40.40	0	0	40.40	0	0
Compton	1740	8	219.27	219.27	0	0	0	0
Deane	1772	3	391.57	302.93	0	63.00	0	25.64
Faringdon	1749	53	425.84	0	0	0	425.84	0
Freefolk	1729	13	207.21	207.21	0	0	0	0
Freefolk	1772	5	371.96	227.94	0	73.23	70.79	0
Goodworth	1776	18	1598.90	960.20	0	638.70	0	0
Clatford	1795	6	269.86	0	0	269.86	0	0
Herrard	1733	8	959.91	422.36	16.21	521.34	0	0
Hunton	1787		725.00	400.00	25.00	300.00	0	0
Itchen Stoke								
Knights								
Enham	1741	7	351.79	351.79	0	0	0	0
Micheldever	1788	4	1279.05	540.19	0	690.02	0	48.84
Milton	1817	16	264.39	0	0	264.39	0	0
Somborne,								
Kings (i)	?1715	9	62.54	62.54	0	0	0	0
Somborne,								
Kings (ii)	1815	6	737.73	454.41	0	187.41	0	95.91
Sparsholt	1755	6	212.23	212.23	0	0	0	0
St Mary								
Bourne	1753	13	125.39	125.39	0	0	0	0
Total		241	12035.37	5703.70	41.24	5387.57	496.63	406.23