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Drawing the Lines: A GIS study of Enclosure and Landscape in Northamptonshire

Tracey Partida

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 2014

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ways in which Geographical Information Systems (GIS) can be used, together with documentary sources, to advance the study of enclosure and landscape. The study proposes that the much researched subject of enclosure has been the focus of economic and social history and that the importance of its effects upon landscape has been under-appreciated. The study area is the historic county of Northamptonshire, an exceptionally well documented county, with one of the highest percentages of land enclosed in the parliamentary period. Enclosure from all periods is studied, with the focus on the parliamentary period as having the most extensive sources. The primary source is the historic map, from which the landscape has been digitally reconstructed in GIS using the techniques of landscape archaeology. First the methodology is defined which provides a definition of terms and explores the range and uses of the source materials. Then the process of enclosure, with the key elements of chronology, density and determinants, is explored within the context of previous studies. There follows chapters on the pre and post-enclosure landscapes which examines the influence of land owners and land use. It will be demonstrated that before enclosure it was the agricultural system that created and defined the landscape, while afterwards the landowners were the most influential factor. A final chapter uses case studies to establish a methodology for using GIS in landscape conservation and management. This has shown that GIS is essential for identifying historic features in the complexity of the modern landscape. Furthermore, the use of GIS in this study has enabled important new issues to be identified: the unenclosed landscape was not dominated by arable but was, by the mid-eighteenth century, predominantly pasture; there was no distinct enclosed landscape, it was far more nuanced than has been recognised; some features associated with enclosure, dispersed buildings and simplified road networks, were in fact associated with period rather than process.

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INTRODUCTION

The landscape of enclosure is a neglected subject. Enclosure as a movement - its causes, process, and effects - has received enormous attention and generated much debate for at least a century. This huge literature, which continues to be added to, is testament to the vitality of the topic.¹ However, the debate has remained firmly within the province of economic and social history.² And its key topics have remained essentially constant: the process, chronology, density, determinants, and the economic and social effects of enclosure. If landscape is considered at all it is usually in general, simplified terms, and as peripheral to the main debates. Similarly, there are many studies of landscape as a distinct subject, many of which focus upon the medieval landscape or the enclosed and elite landscapes of parks and gardens.³ Some studies are of activities that take place within enclosed landscapes, notably hunting, and consider the effects that enclosure may have had upon the sport.⁴ Others include

¹ The principal general works from the second half of the twentieth century, as well as those that deal specifically with Northamptonshire are given here. These and many others that deal with particular aspects of enclosure, or particular places in Northamptonshire, are referred to and discussed in the main text: M. Turner, *English Parliamentary Enclosure: Its Historical Geography and Economic History*, (Folkstone, 1980); J. Blum, 'English Parliamentary Enclosure', *Journal of Modern History*, 53, (1981); M. Turner, 'Agricultural Productivity in England in the Eighteenth Century: Evidence from Crop Yields', *The Economic History Review, New Series*, 35, (1982); M. Turner, 'Parliamentary Enclosures: Gains and Costs', *Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History*, 3, (1986b); M. Turner, 'English Open Fields and Enclosures: Retardation or Productivity Improvements', *The Journal of Economic History*, 46, (1986a); J. A. Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850*, (London, 1977); J. R. Wordie, 'The Chronology of English Enclosure 1500-1914', *The Economic History Review*, 36, (1983); J. Chapman, 'The Chronology of English Enclosure', *Economic History Review, New Series*, 37, (1984); J. Chapman, 'The Extent and Nature of Parliamentary Enclosure', *Agricultural History Review*, 35, (1987); G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England: An Introduction to its Causes, Incidence and Impact 1750-1850*, (Harlow, 1997); J. Chapman & S. Seeliger, *Enclosure, Environment & Landscape in Southern England*, (Stroud, 2001); T. Williamson, 'Understanding Enclosure', *Landscapes*, 1, (2000); J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820*, (Cambridge, 1993); S. Birtles, 'Common Land, Poor Relief and Enclosure: The Use of Manorial Resources in Fulfilling Parish Obligation 1601-1834', *Past & Present*, 165, (1999); L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Parliamentary Enclosure and the Emergence of an English Agricultural Proletariat', *The Journal of Economic History*, 61, (2001a); W. E. Tate, 'Inclosure Movements in Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, I, (1949); J. W. Anscomb, 'Parliamentary Enclosures in Northamptonshire: Processes and Procedures', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 7, (1988); J. Martin, 'Sheep and Enclosure in Sixteenth-Century Northamptonshire', *Agricultural History Review*, 36, (1988); D. Hall, 'Enclosure in Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 9, (1997); S. Hollowell, 'Northamptonshire Enclosure: The Commissioners and Other Officials', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 52, (1999).

² Other scholars argue that enclosure was part of an ideological movement concerned with 'improvement', S. Tarlow, *The Archaeology of Improvement In Britain, 1750 - 1850*, (Cambridge, 2007).

³ There is also a separate literature on the aesthetics and ideology of landscape and how it is represented in art and literature, but it does not form part of this study.

⁴ T. Partida, 'The Early Hunting Landscapes of Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 60, (2007); Jonathan. Finch, "'What more were the pastures of Leicester to me?' Hunting, Landscape Character, and the Politics of Place', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 14, (2007); Jane Bevan, 'Agricultural Change and the Development of Foxhunting in the Eighteenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, 58, (2010); M. de Belin, *From the Deer to the Fox*, (Hatfield, 2013).

the landscape of enclosure, especially those concerned with understanding landscape history.⁵ Yet such studies tend to consider the landscape largely in relationship to land use, to particular features within it, especially roads and buildings, or to the supposed association between field patterns and period of enclosure. The implication is that an enclosed landscape is a mono-environment of hedged fields and roads, incidental to, and a by-product of, the more important issues of enclosure and agricultural evolution. Thus the enclosure landscape as a single subject in its own right remains largely unexplored. Crucially, none of the studies, either of enclosure or landscape, uses a Geographical Information System (GIS), as the principal research tool.⁶

This thesis will demonstrate that the landscape of enclosure is far more complex, subtle and nuanced than has previously been credited. It is, therefore, an important topic worthy of study in its own right. The thesis explores these issues through a detailed analysis of all the historic maps for Northamptonshire, an exceptionally well documented county, with one of the highest percentages of land enclosed in the parliamentary period. The study will challenge the accepted notion that the pre-enclosure landscape of Northamptonshire was dominated by open fields, and that the open fields were dominated by arable. And thirdly it will establish a methodology using GIS for the study of enclosure and landscape.⁷ The use of GIS is fundamental to the study.⁸ It has enabled complex interdependent issues to be studied in very fine detail over a large area. Large datasets have been integrated, accurately plotted, and systematically analysed and compared. GIS has enabled almost every enclosure from all periods in the county of Northamptonshire to be studied, rather than adopting a sampling method. In doing so it has enabled a new approach to the enclosure debate, by allowing

⁵ J. M. Steane, *The Northamptonshire Landscape*, (London, 1974); W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape*, (London, 1988); D. Hall, *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire*, (Northampton, 1995); M. Reed, *The Landscape of Britain: From the Beginnings to 1914*, (London, 1997); T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens & Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Stroud, 1998); S. Wade Martins, *Farmers, Landlords and Landscapes: Rural Britain, 1720-1870*, (Macclesfield, 2004); M. Reed, *Discovering Past Landscapes*, (London, 1984); M. Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape: Landscape Archaeology in Local studies*, (London, 1985); S. Rippon, *Making Sense of an Historic Landscape*, (Oxford, 2012).

⁶ There are numerous archaeological studies, including some relating to landscape, that use GIS; an online search returns hundreds of articles, but none specifically about enclosure and landscape.

⁷ MapInfo Professional v8.5.

⁸ The application of GIS to historical and particularly archaeological research is not new and has been used increasingly over the last 25 years; H. Chapman, *Landscape Archaeology and GIS*, (Stroud, 2006). Many local authorities use GIS as a management tool especially in archaeology and planning departments. It has been particularly used in the English Heritage Historic Landscape Characterisation programme <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/research/landscapes-and-areas/characterisation/historic-landscape-character/>. However, the systematic analysis of the quantity of data this thesis contains that concentrates on a particular county and the specific subject of enclosure has not, I believe, previously been attempted.

questions to be addressed in different ways, and by establishing new methods for research, analysis, and management strategies. By adopting the techniques of landscape archaeology to reconstruct the pre and post-enclosure landscapes in GIS it has been possible to explore the changes that enclosure wrought more fully than before. This has led to the identification of some key themes and arguments, and important new insights.

It will be shown that before enclosure it was the agricultural system that created and defined the landscape, and it was the owners, tenants, and occasionally cottagers, who were a visible presence. In contrast, after enclosure it was the individual landowner who defined the landscape, but now owners of rights also became a visible, in some cases the most visible, presence. Enclosure created a new ownership structure and, by extension, a new landscape structure. But it was not only ownership that left a lasting record in the enclosed landscape. Some of the most subtle features that still survive can be identified as fossilised measures of poor relief. It will be established that the enclosed landscape was produced by a twofold process: initially by the commissioners who drew the lines that created the primary layout; secondly by the landowners who sub-divided or rearranged their allotments according to their individual choice. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that some features found in anciently enclosed landscapes, notably dispersed buildings and a simplified road network, were not created as a direct result of enclosure but were related to period rather than process. The study has established that land use in the open fields immediately prior to parliamentary enclosure was not predominantly arable, as is often supposed, but was in many places overwhelmingly pastoral. There is little literature concerning the enclosed landscape that addresses the subject in the manner of this study. That which does exist is largely concerned with studying land use as a means of measuring yields and productivity, rather than any effect it might have had upon the landscape. The debate in this study is therefore essentially new, but it is possible to state that the enclosed landscape is not as obvious as might be supposed, not least because of continuous evolution that has not followed the same trajectory in every place. There are at best indicators rather than identifiers by which to consider a landscape history, and it is unwise to believe there are landscape templates into which the modern landscape can be fitted, measured or valued.

The study begins with a full description of the methodology of data collection and analysis which is applied in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. In Chapter 2 there is an examination of the key elements of enclosure placing this study within the context of other work. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the unenclosed and enclosed landscapes respectively, with particular reference to

land use and landownership. Finally, Chapter 5 seeks to establish and test a methodology for the use of GIS in landscape conservation and management. As this methodology is entirely separate from that used in previous chapters, so this chapter is self-contained. In addition to this main methodology each of the chapters will include a discussion of the sources used and the methods and techniques applied within that section.

CHAPTER 1: METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this project was first devised for projects undertaken by Northamptonshire County Council (NCC), for various local authorities, and later adapted for the Rockingham Forest Trust (RFT).⁹ The methodology was adopted for an Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded project based at the University of East Anglia (UEA) in which I collected much of the data used in this thesis.¹⁰ Many of these datasets have been edited, modified or enhanced as part of the present study.¹¹ In addition to this, many wholly new datasets were created, particularly with regard to the analysis, with some alterations to the original methodology and development of new analysis techniques.¹² A list of the datasets is given in Appendix 1 with an indication of their provenance (as part of a previous project or generated by this study); most will have only a brief description. The exceptions are those datasets considered fundamental to the analysis and these have a full discussion. The three primary datasets, Enclosure Statistics, Base Data Sources, and Township Sources, are provided in the Appendices.

For present purposes enclosure has been divided into two distinct periods: ‘ancient’ and ‘parliamentary period’. ‘Ancient’ is all land enclosed prior to the first by parliamentary act in Northamptonshire in 1727; it includes all the land in townships wholly enclosed before that date, as well as that in townships that still had some remaining open fields. ‘Parliamentary period’ comprises all those enclosures that took place from the first by parliamentary act in Northamptonshire in 1727 to the final in 1901 regardless of the method adopted.¹³ The intention when collecting the base data was to digitally reconstruct and map the landscape at, or closest to, the date of enclosure. For those places enclosed during the parliamentary period the landscape as it was *at* enclosure, in other words, the *pre*-enclosure landscape is

⁹ T. Partida, D. Hall, and G. Foard, *An Atlas of Northamptonshire: The Medieval and Early-Modern Landscape*, (Oxford, 2012); G. Foard, D. Hall, and T. Partida, *Rockingham Forest: An Atlas of the Medieval and Early-Modern Landscape*, (Northampton, 2009).

¹⁰ T. Williamson, R. Liddiard, and T. Partida, *Champion: The Making and Unmaking of Midland Landscapes*, (Liverpool, 2013). The full methodology is available at http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/midlandgis_ahrc_2010/index.cfm?CFID=27860&CFTOKEN=ED4B5FAA-5529-4440-AE5095C15CE5F0E2.

¹¹ In addition medieval period data collected (as part of previous projects mentioned), by David Hall, and digitised and georeferenced by the present author are used in Figures: 1.4, 1.6, 1.7, 3.6, 3.14, 4.34.

¹² Although much of the data were created for projects other than this study I had a significant role in both projects working on data collection, research and analysis, and was responsible for establishing, enhancing and writing much of the methodology.

¹³ See Chapter 2 for methods of enclosure.

recorded.¹⁴ For those places wholly enclosed prior to 1727 the landscape closest in date to enclosure is recorded but that which is showing it as *post*-enclosure. There are a few exceptional examples where pre-enclosure maps of anciently enclosed townships exist, notably Haselbech, Church and Chapel Brampton and Greatworth, and for these additional datasets were created but not included in the base datasets.¹⁵

Sources for the study of enclosure include enclosure acts, awards, agreements, commissioners' records, minute books, claims, schedules, petitions, estate records, parish records, and maps.¹⁶ Many of the same sources are useful for studying landscape. Surveys, terriers, field books and court orders provide additional information. But the primary source for studying enclosure *and* landscape is the map. Archive searches were made online via A2A for any relevant historic maps and documents (surveys, field books and sale catalogues), relating to the historic landscape of Northamptonshire. Most of the maps were located at Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO), but others were found in the Bedfordshire Record Office (BRO); the Bodleian Library; Jesus College, Oxford; Magdalen College, Oxford; the British Library (BL); and the National Archives (TNA). In addition, many were located in private collections, notably at Boughton House, and Burghley House. Where possible the original of each map was located and digitally photographed. This enabled direct on-screen digitising and also provided a convenient copy of the map for reference. Digital photography also allows features not easily seen with the naked eye to be digitally enhanced, thus allowing more accurate data to be extracted. Though emphasis has been on data collected from historic maps a full search of indexed records at NRO was undertaken. Collections of estate records in Northamptonshire are particularly good with one estate alone having over 6,000 catalogued documents.¹⁷ Similarly some of the parish records contain much useful information particularly regarding the operation of the open field systems, and poor relief.

Each type of land use feature shown on the maps was recorded as a separate table (dataset), in GIS. However, it is often not apparent from the maps alone, even from enclosure maps,

¹⁴ The landscape before enclosure is described as 'pre-enclosure' rather than 'unenclosed' as it includes all elements of the landscape including both open and enclosed land use types. Similarly, 'pre-enclosure maps' refers to maps made before final enclosure of a place and they typically show the full landscape including both open and enclosed features.

¹⁵ Additional datasets were created for analysis and for case studies. See chapters 4 and 5 for discussion of Haselbech.

¹⁶ S. Hollowell, *Enclosure Records for Historians*, (Chichester, 2000).

¹⁷ The Fitzwilliam of Milton collection. The Grafton and Buccleuch collections are also exceptionally good and there are at least a dozen other very good family collections.

whether particular land units were being included in the enclosure process. Maps can allow reconstruction of the landscape as it was at enclosure, in its broadest terms, but are not necessarily reliable for calculating enclosure statistics. Additional sources were therefore consulted, in particular the enclosure awards and W. E. Tate's *Domesday of English Enclosure* (see Enclosure Statistics, below).¹⁸ For some townships enclosed in the parliamentary period no enclosure map has been identified, but there are estate plans of the pre-enclosure landscape. In these instances the area of land shown as unenclosed on the map was calculated and compared to the acreage given in the award. If the figures were compatible then the estate plan was used. For those places enclosed by agreement during this period the map closest in date, but pre-dating enclosure, was used. Where no appropriate map has been found then the Ordnance Survey Surveyors Drawings (OSD) were consulted for the non-agrarian land use types of wood, heath, and fen (Figure 1.11).¹⁹ The features shown on these maps were likely to have been in existence at the time of enclosure; there is little evidence for large scale planting immediately after enclosure, rather the reverse, and more unlikely is the retention of, or regression to, heath or fen post-enclosure. The OSDs are not sufficiently accurate in their recording of field boundaries and buildings, so for mapping the settlement areas in townships with no map (from either enclosure period), the OS 1st Edition 1:10560 scale mapping from the 1880s was used.²⁰

Digital mapping for the whole county was created to the same standard, and for case studies additional data was collected in much greater detail. For example, for features not shown on maps, earthwork data was used as well as data from fieldwork survey. Data are mapped to the Ordnance Survey (OS) 1st Edition 1:10560 scale maps from the 1880s. This dataset was deliberately chosen as the base to map to for several reasons: it provides the first systematic, accurate large-scale mapping for the whole county; only three townships had not been enclosed by this date, and so it is possible to compare almost the entire enclosed landscape at a single point in time; many of the features shown on the historic maps from which the base data was produced still survived in the 1880s, which enabled accurate location of features, while for others some remnant features were identifiable, again assisting accuracy and interpretation; and finally, the maps from this survey are no longer subject to copyright.

¹⁸ W. E. Tate, *A Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards*, (Reading, 1978).

¹⁹ The Surveyors Drawings for Northamptonshire were made between 1811 and 1819. They are held at the British Library and can be accessed online <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/>.

²⁰ See Appendix 1 for a description of how the data were collected.

Raster copies of the original maps were scanned and registered (georeferenced) in MapInfo using the modern OS MasterMap for accurate georeferencing.²¹

Data from map sources were digitised directly into GIS. This provides a snapshot of the landscape at a particular moment. But landscapes were not static, and only where there is a series of maps is it possible to trace certain ephemeral features, such as cow pastures and parks, or alterations to field patterns. Where there are maps of different periods for the same place they have all been recorded to separate tables. These tables can be overlaid to allow an examination of landscape evolution and time-depth. Nor are the analytical advantages of GIS confined to map sources. The enclosure data from the awards was collected in Microsoft Access 2002, converted to MapInfo tab. files and linked to other GIS datasets.²² This dataset alone contains 12,837 entries, each with 16 data fields. Other documentary datasets were also imported into GIS (see below). GIS thus enables non-map sources to be displayed as graphic objects. It also has the ability to handle multiple, large datasets. In addition to the standard statistical analysis available from traditional databases, GIS enables the graphic objects to be overlaid to accurately and systematically quantify correlations between them. Thus, the influence of physiographic factors such as soils, geology and topography (Figures 1.1, 1.2), can be examined in relationship to physical components of the landscape and land use, as well as social and cultural influences such as date or period of enclosure and issues of tenure. In addition, it is possible to query and extract information from the base data tables using specific parameters (date, number of landowners, allotment in lieu of, size of plot, and so on), to provide summaries or new tables. The ability to interrogate the data is limited only by the structure of the database (see Databases, below). In addition, GIS can be integrated with other software and converted to different file types to allow further investigation, in particular Microsoft Excel and Access, and Google Keyhole Markup Language (KML).²³ It is also possible to register historic maps and air photographs in GIS, thus enabling greater accuracy in plotting landscape features. All of these data, and the analytical tables that result from it, can be mapped to produce highly accurate plans that can be integrated with modern digital OS mapping. This proved particularly useful for use in fieldwork, and for studying landscape survival, which in turn informs interpretation and decision making.

²¹ MasterMap data were provided under licence as part of the AHRC UEA project.

²² These data were collected by Aleksandra McClain as part of the UEA project.

²³ GIS can also be used to manipulate a Digital Terrain Model (DTM), to create 3D maps over which the reconstructed landscape can be draped, but that has not been attempted in this study.

Because this study is map based it relies heavily on images to illustrate key arguments. For ease of use the numbering method adopted is by chapter and figure number: for example, Figure 12 in Chapter 4 will be presented as Figure 4.12. Tables will be presented in the same manner.

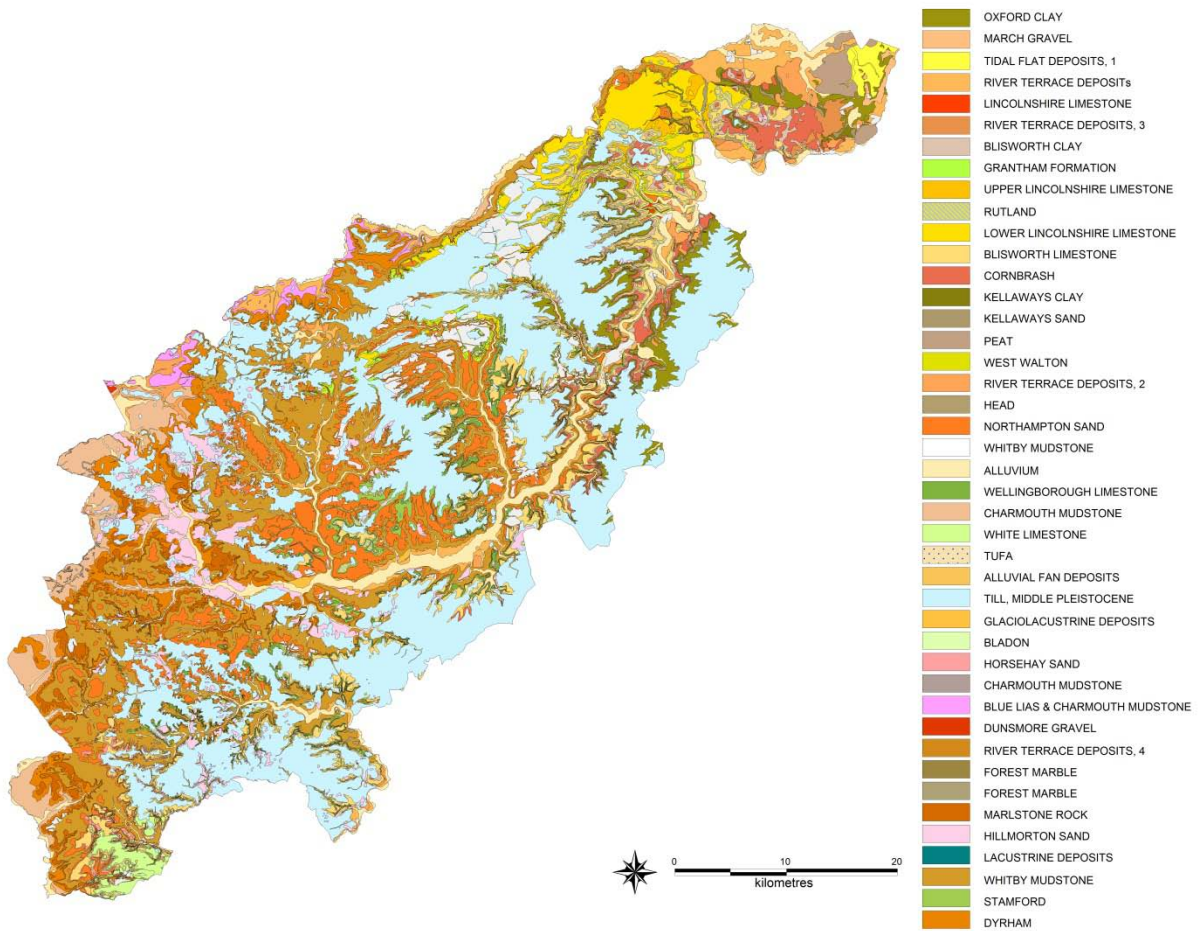


Figure 1.1: Northamptonshire geology. The vast areas of boulder clay (Till) closely correspond to the locations of the forests in Figure 1.5. (Reproduced with permission British Geological Survey (BGS)).

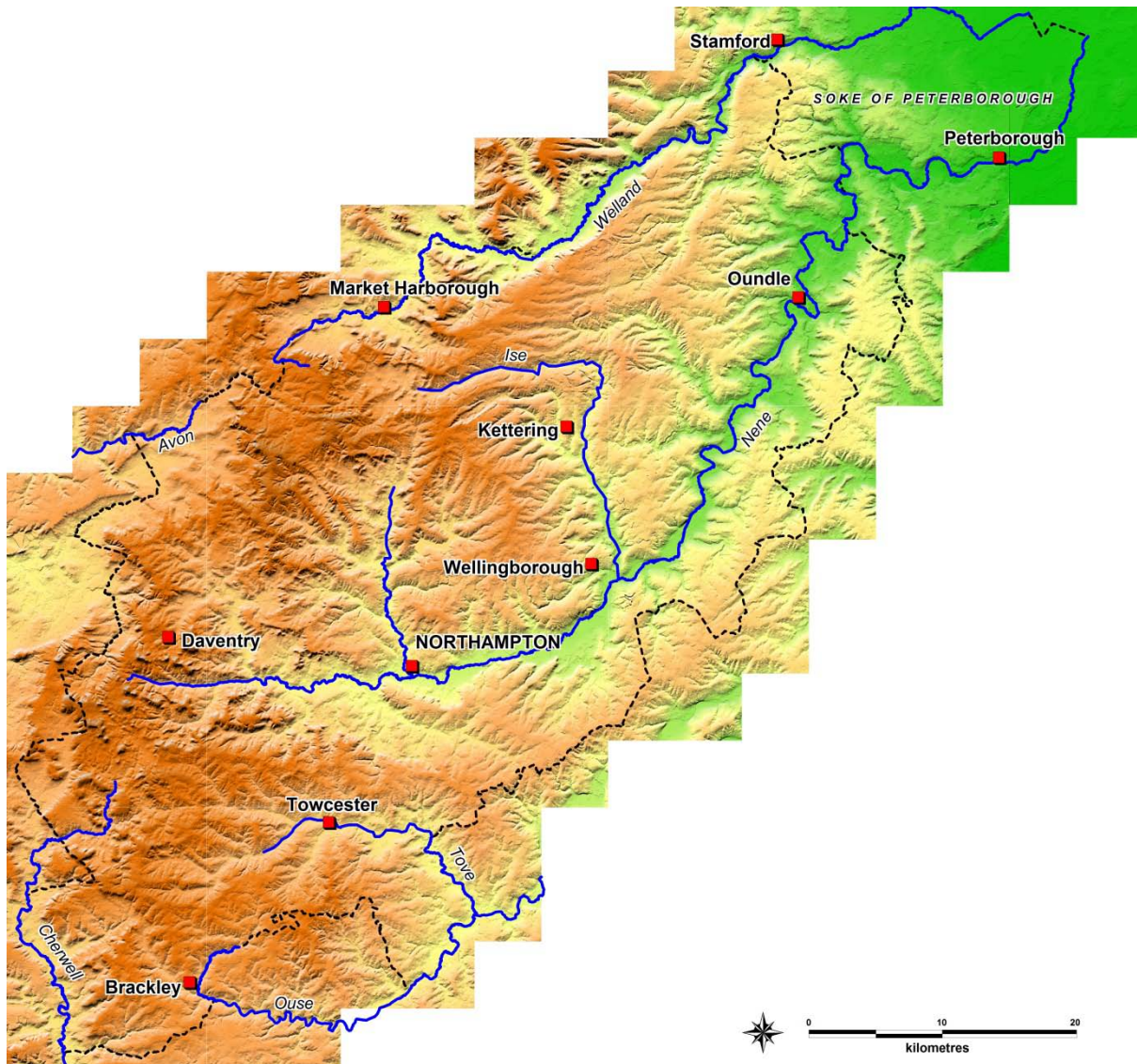


Figure 1.2: Northamptonshire relief, rivers and major towns. Note the very low-lying Soke of Peterborough and the higher ground in the western side of the county. (Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown Copyright licence no. 100026873).

Study Area

The study area is the historic county of Northamptonshire. It was an area of 2,576 km² or 995 mi². It contained approximately 400 townships, three royal forests and other non-township land such as parks, and a large tract of fen in the Soke of Peterborough (Figures 1.1-1.3).²⁴ Data have been collected for all the townships as well as the three royal forests and other non-township land. This scale of study would not be possible without the use of GIS.

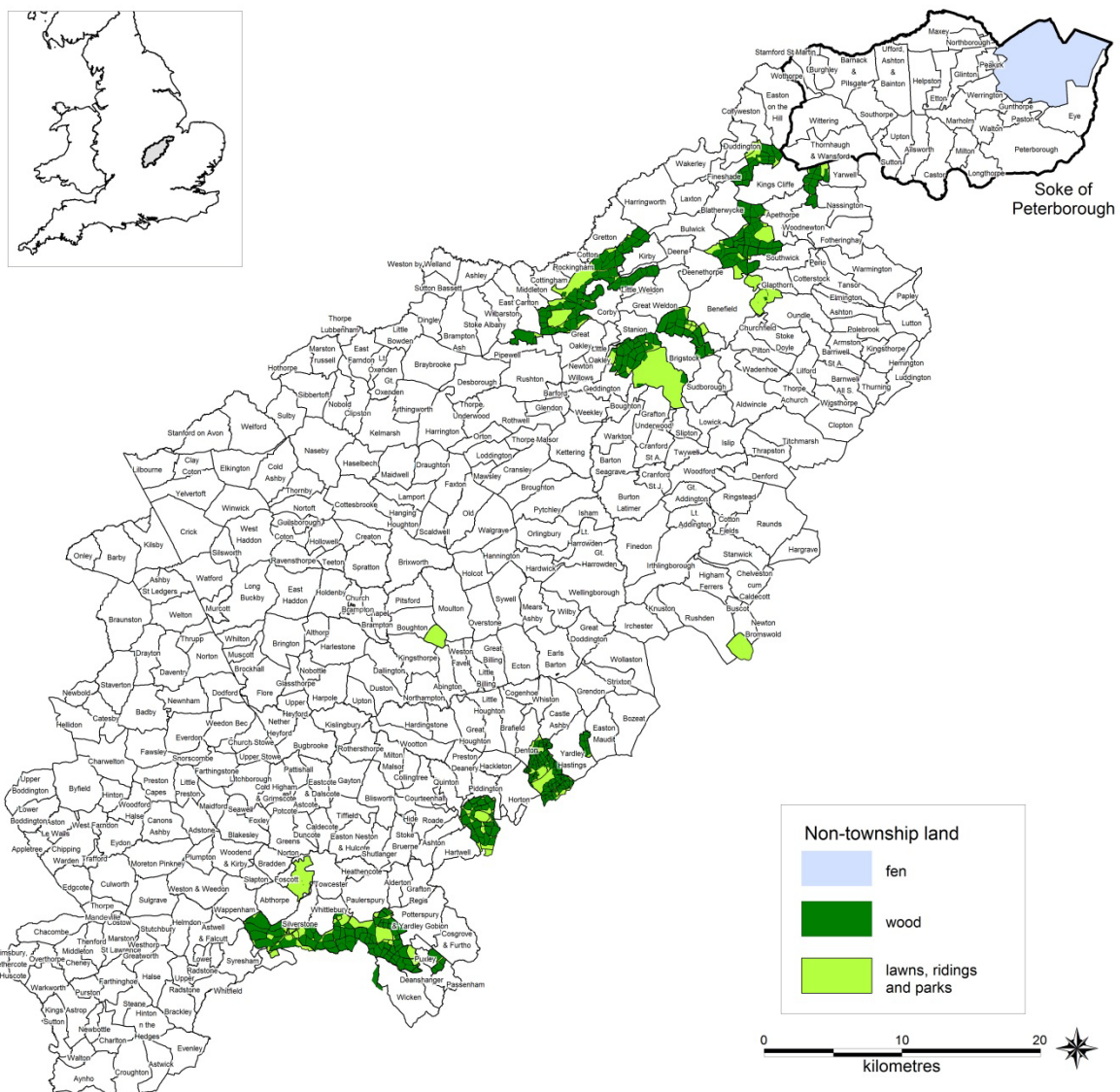


Figure 1.3: The pre-modern county of Northamptonshire showing the townships and non-township land with the Soke of Peterborough outlined. The extent of forest and fen is as it was c.1750. Inset shows the county in its national context.

²⁴ The exact number of townships is difficult to establish due to the often complicated arrangements between settlements and manorial holdings, see ‘Township’ below.

The county boundary used here is that prior to the administrative reorganisation of the 1890s. It includes all the townships within the Soke of Peterborough and those of Little Bowden (now in Leicestershire), Nethercote and Grimsbury (now in Oxfordshire), and parts of Thurning, Lutton and Luddington (now in Cambridgeshire). All the townships now within adjacent counties are included in the study. The county boundary is based upon the township boundaries as given in the historic map sources. The exceptions are Thurning, Lutton and Luddington which are particularly complex as they lay in two counties and map sources give different boundaries at different dates. For example, Thurning is shown on the OSDs of 1817 to be wholly in Huntingdonshire, the enclosure award and map of 1839 refer to it as being in both Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, but the map does not mark the boundary, while the Ordnance Survey First Edition 1:10,560 scale mapping from the 1880s puts it in both with the boundary dissecting the village. However, it is possible that the boundary from the 1880s is an enclosure imposition. Similarly at Lutton and Luddington none of the maps mark the county boundary, though the enclosure map for Luddington refers to the parish as being in both Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, 'or one of them'.²⁵ The boundary for all three has therefore been taken from the OSDs with reference to all other maps (Figure 1.4).

²⁵ NRO Inclosure Plan 22.

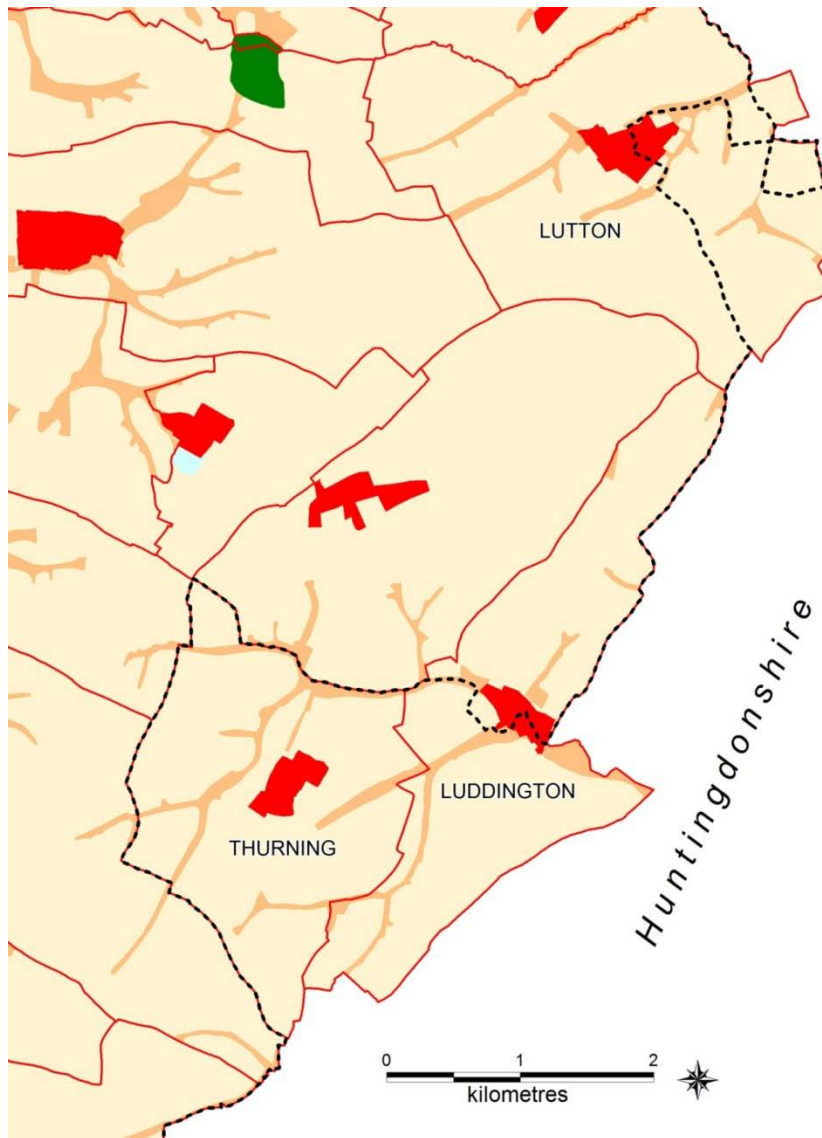


Figure 1.4: The pre-modern county boundary shown as a black dotted line against the township boundaries in red. Lutton and Luddington lay in both Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire (now Cambridgeshire) with the boundary dissecting the villages. Thurning lay in both counties but no map shows the boundary.

Other anomalies occur around Whittlewood and Salcey Forests. It is known that both forests crossed the county boundary and data has been mapped to the extent shown on the 1608 map at Whittlewood, and the 1826 enclosure map at Salcey, with a small area of additional data taken from the OSD of 1814 to complete Salcey Green.²⁶ For this section of the county boundary all the forest and relevant township maps were consulted and it was determined that the OSDs were the most accurate that pre-dated enclosure and so this has been used.

²⁶ NRO Maps 4210, 2912.

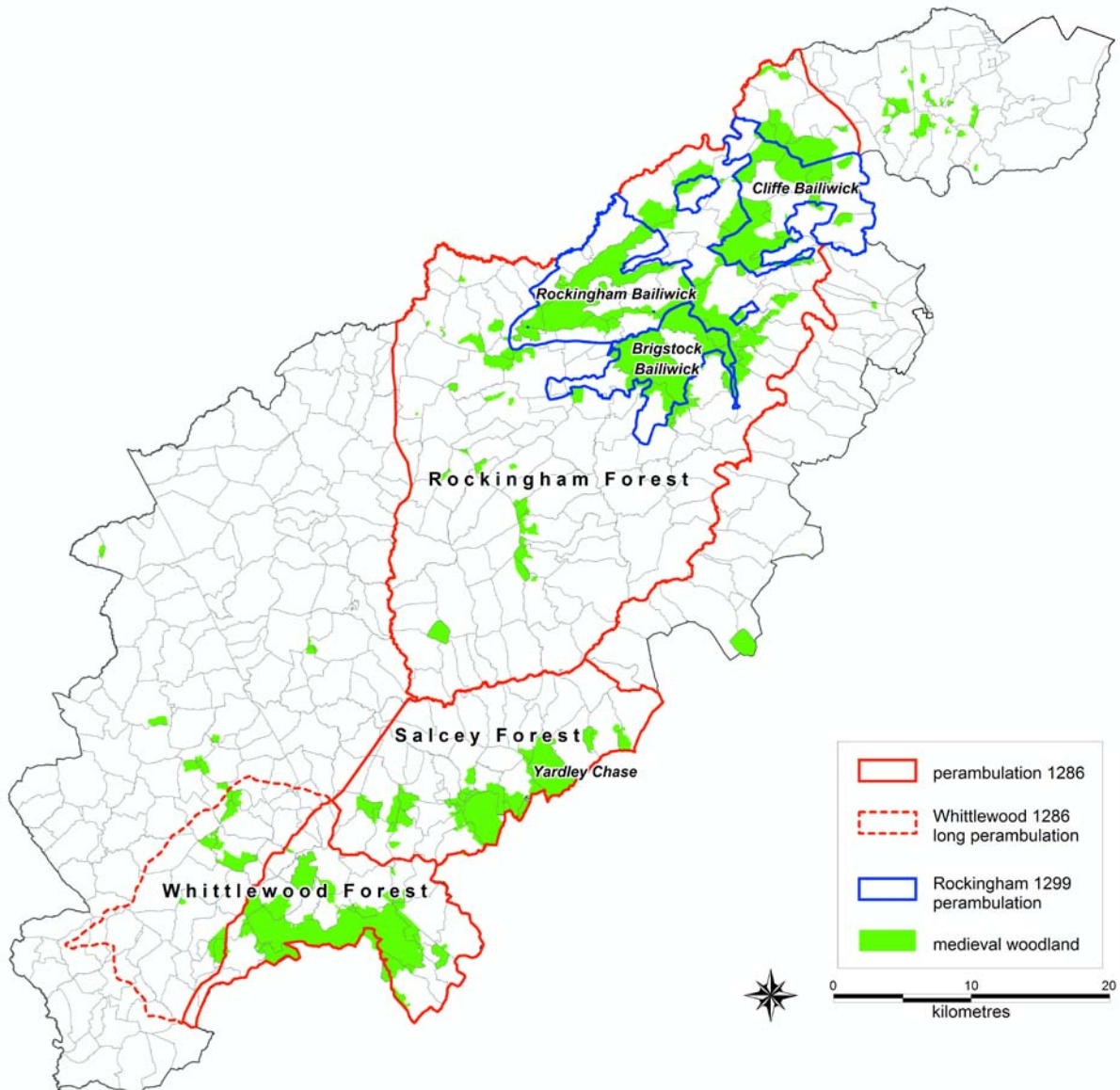


Figure 1.5: The medieval forest perambulations in Northamptonshire.²⁷

The county was divided up into smaller administrative units of hundreds and townships. At this date (pre-1890), parishes were ecclesiastical units and, although in Northamptonshire the parish and township were often the same unit of land, the parish did not influence the way the landscape was organised and managed and so they are not discussed here. Data were collected and analysed by the most influential administrative unit, the township (see below).

²⁷ The sources for the perambulations have been published in, Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), p.24.

Definition of Terms

The problem of a lack of definition for the term ‘enclosure’ was noted by Yelling in 1977.²⁸ He might well have added that there is an undefined terminology for many aspects associated with enclosure. It is a problem that persists to this day. Not infrequently two or more terms may exist, or can be adopted, for the same thing. Often either definition is acceptable as long as the term is used consistently and, more importantly, is clearly defined from the outset. But it is more complicated where the definitions are confused, or the same word is used differently by different scholars. The ways in which some of the more common terms are used suggests that there is an assumption that everyone understands their meaning and so a precise definition is not called for. This is not necessarily so. The most obvious or problematic examples of variable usage are now identified and discussed, and the definitions adopted in this study are introduced.

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure is described by Tom Williamson quite simply as ‘the process by which [commonable] land was converted to private property’; Overton describes a far more complex procedure that ‘could’ involve several different processes.²⁹ It is described by Slater and quoted in Yelling as a progression of three processes to accomplish the event of ‘enclosure’. Those three processes are: the consolidation of holdings; the extinguishing of common rights; and the physical enclosure of the parcel of land. These processes do not happen concurrently, or in any particular order, but for enclosure to occur all three must be achieved.³⁰ Other scholars, while accepting the first two processes, stress the third as being ‘usual’ rather than obligatory.³¹ The lack of an unqualified definition for enclosure is due, at least in part, to additional qualifications regarding classification of type and method of enclosure; whether piecemeal or general, by agreement or by act, and to the fact that enclosure of different types of land was not the same.

²⁸ Yelling, (1977), pp. 5-6.

²⁹ T. Williamson, *The Transformation of Rural England: Farming and the Landscape, 1700-1870*, (Exeter, 2002), p. 7; M. Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy 1500-1850*, (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 147-148.

³⁰ Yelling, (1977), p. 5.

³¹ Mingay, (1997), p.7; Chapman & Seeliger, (2001), p. 10.

The enclosure of land within the communal agrarian system (arable, pasture, and meadow), was land within, and administered by, the township.³² The definition given by Slater can be applied to enclosure of township land with one striking omission; the abolition of communal farming practices. It is perhaps omitted in his description, and in descriptions by most scholars, as being too obvious to point out; yet it is fundamental to the process.³³ Neither the consolidation of holdings nor the physical enclosure of land parcels could be accomplished without removing the communal system. And the ending of common rights was a direct consequence of the termination of communal farming; not the other way around. Common rights might be claimed by non-landowning members of the community for pasturing their stock, for gleaning, and gathering of fuel from rough pasture within the township. But although these people benefited from the communal system they were not farmers and the termination of their rights could have occurred without extinguishing communal farming.

Land outside of the communal agrarian system is invariably described as ‘waste’ by other scholars.³⁴ In this study waste applies *only* to such land when it was not administered by the communal system of village or hamlet, but within which local communities had some form of common rights: the forests and the fen.³⁵ Borough Fen was an area of some 8,000 acres (33 km²), of common pasture in the Soke of Peterborough (Figure 1.3). It was owned by Peterborough Abbey and commonable to all the abbey’s tenants. It was enclosed in 1812, at which time common rights were extinguished, it was parcelled into plots, drained and enclosed by drains rather than hedges, and converted to farm land. At the same time it was made into a parish in its own right called Newborough.³⁶

The enclosure of Rockingham, Whittlewood and Salcey Forests was somewhat different. The woodland was still subject to common rights, but most of it was already consolidated into individually owned blocks of land. Some further consolidation occurred as allotments were

³² Woods within townships were not part of the communal system, but were, effectively, ancient enclosure. See ‘All Ancient Enclosed Land’ in Appendix 1. For a definition of township, see below.

³³ Yelling, (1977), p. 5.

³⁴ But it is not the only land described as such, and ‘waste’ is arguably the most problematic of definitions, see below.

³⁵ A full discussion of how this definition was arrived at is given in ‘waste’, below. For a description of the rights enjoyed by villagers within the wastes see Chapter 3. Some parks also lay outside of the townships, but they had been created from the forest for the Crown, or by grants to private individuals by the Crown. Any common rights attached to that particular parcel would have been extinguished and compensated at the time of enclosure. J. M. Steane, ‘The Medieval Parks of Northamptonshire’, *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 5, (1975), pp. 211-233; Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), pp. 29-31.

³⁶ NRO ML 859.

made to the Crown for forest rights, and to various office holders who were also major landowners, but there were no smallholders in the forest. The usual allotments were also made for tithes, in lieu of common rights and to various institutions for the poor, but this was organised in such a way as to leave the ‘private’ woodland in discrete blocks.³⁷ Physical enclosure was largely unnecessary as barriers were already in place as a means of managing the deer and other grazing stock. Owners were now at liberty to erect fences wherever they chose, but the evidence would suggest that they did not. Where woodland was retained after enclosure the layout remained, and remains to this day, much as it was prior to enclosure. The only part of the forest where this differed was at Rockingham Bailiwick. When this was enclosed in 1832 most of the woodland was grubbed up and converted to farm land.³⁸

Prior to enclosure all land was private property. But whether in a communal agrarian system, or in a communal shared resource, ownership did not admit exclusive rights to land. It was exclusivity that enclosure conferred, resulting in wholly private property. The differences in the processes involved are, to all intents and purposes, irrelevant. The type of land being enclosed should not, therefore, affect the definition. This study adopts a simple definition that describes the *event* of enclosure: the abolition of the communal system and the creation of wholly private property.

TOWNSHIP

Much of the discussion presented in this study will be based on statistical data. The unit by which the statistics have been collected and analysed is the township. A township was, in simple terms, a settlement with its agrarian system. The agrarian system is that farmed solely by a single settlement, which might be either a hamlet or village. It includes land within the communal system as well as that privately owned; open field arable, pasture, meadow, ancient enclosure and woods. It might also include detached blocks of land. It does not include land outside of the agrarian system, regardless of common rights the local community may have held there.

The township was the administrative unit within which communities and their resources were organised from the medieval period to the late nineteenth century. They were reorganised into modern civil parishes in 1894. Prior to this the parish was an ecclesiastical unit of

³⁷ Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), pp. 78-80.

³⁸ NRO YZ 6685; Rockingham Bailiwick Inclosure Award and map.

administration that served different functions to that of the township.³⁹ In Northamptonshire the physical extent of the parish and the township were often coterminous. The township also forms the basic unit by which most of the earlier written sources for the landscape are organised and was normally the unit within which enclosure took place. They appear to have been formed to allow each community to have a balanced range of resources. In some instances they had detached blocks of land, often meadow or wood, which may be the result of manorial links or the division of earlier estates. A detached piece of Pattishall lying within Cold Higham is shown in Figure 1.27. Some township boundaries are known to be ancient and follow, at least in parts, the same course as Saxon charter boundaries, as at Oundle, Kettering, and Badby.⁴⁰

The range of resources within each township was typically arable, pasture, and meadow. Many had access to other resources, the type and amount being highly influenced by the location of the township and its administrative structure. For example, those within the forest perambulations had access to pasture within the woodland which, though highly regulated and linked to particular tenures, gave access to resources additional to those available to 'champion' townships (Figure 1.5).⁴¹ Such shared resources survived until enclosure, when each township received a plot of land in lieu of the lost rights. But these external resources were not administered by the township community and so were not part of the agrarian system and are not included within the township boundary. Defining the extent of a township can be problematic given the complexities arising from intermixed fields between townships or, more often, between manorial holdings. Some township boundaries were only established at enclosure when intermixed land was divided and allocated, and lines were drawn on maps. An attempt has been made to establish the earliest township boundaries by examining all the pre 1880s maps for every township, and other administrative unit, in the county, as well as furlong data, air photos and other documentary sources. Where a boundary is known to be an enclosure creation then an earlier line has been used, if one is known. A GIS database was created with a polygon for each township, and other administrative unit, and all the digital

³⁹ W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 9-11.

⁴⁰ G. Foard, 'The Saxon Bounds of Oundle', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 8, (1991); G. Foard, J. Ballinger, and J. Taylor, (2002), *Northamptonshire Extensive Urban Survey*.

[Http://Ads.Ahds.Ac.Uk/Catalogue/Projarch/Eus/](http://Ads.Ahds.Ac.Uk/Catalogue/Projarch/Eus/); A. E. Brown, T. R. Key, and C. Orr, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Estates and their Boundaries in South-West Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, 12, (1977).

⁴¹ Champion is the term used for the vast unbroken plains of common fields that are commonly associated with Midland counties.

mapping has been linked to those.⁴² There are 386 entries in the Township database, which includes 13 multiple entries (where the township divisions could not be mapped), giving a total of 401 townships.

WASTE

The definition of waste has proved to be the most problematic of all the terms relating to enclosure.⁴³ A definition is essential; partly to understand how the landscape was being managed immediately prior to enclosure, and, perhaps more importantly, because of the way waste is presented in the statistical analysis of other scholars (see below and Chapter 2). Waste is described by Adams as ‘a wide variety of classes of land, all of which were either uncultivated or uncultivable’ that were used as sources of permanent pasture.⁴⁴ Cultivated land is that prepared for the growing of crops and so ‘waste’ is an apt definition for land that lay outside of a township, such as moor, fen, and down. It is particularly applicable to those parts of the country that had wide expanses of open land, such as the downs and moors in southern England or the moors of northern England. In the Midland counties this type of land is rare, and in Northamptonshire only the fen meets the criteria. But in Northamptonshire there was another land use type that was separate to the township yet was not the open grazing land of other wastes: the forests. Forests were as tightly controlled and managed as any agrarian system, and were also productive being ‘farmed’ for timber and underwood, and grazed by deer and other stock. They might justifiably be given a separate category to either agrarian or waste.⁴⁵ However, in order for analysis of the type of land enclosed to be compatible with that made by other scholars, and notable by Turner, for the purposes of this study forests are included within the description of waste. Waste within a township is more difficult to define.

The agrarian system in Northamptonshire townships in the medieval period was the open field system, comprised of arable, pasture, and meadow. Arable was cultivated while meadow, though not prepared by ploughing, was managed to produce a yearly hay crop and so can be included as cropped land. Pasture was not cultivated. Much of it was intermixed with the ridge and furrow strips as balks, headlands, and in ribbons along streams and

⁴² A list of sources for the township boundaries is contained in Appendix 4.

⁴³ This discussion refers to enclosure from the parliamentary period.

⁴⁴ I. H. Adams, *Agrarian Landscape Terms: A Glossary for Historical Geography*, (London, 1976), p. 97.

⁴⁵ Pitt’s *General View* allocates a separate chapter to the forests, see p.35 below.

slades.⁴⁶ Other areas of pasture were more substantial, particularly in the west of the county where as much as 40 per cent of a township was under pasture that had never been ploughed (Figures 1.6, 1.7). This was because it lay on steep hills and/or poor soils; in other words, it was ‘uncultivable’. Other townships had extensive areas of heath that lay on poor soils, had never been ploughed and provided additional grazing.⁴⁷ By the early-modern period additional pasture had been added to the system by the introduction of grass taken from the arable either as leys (groups of strips), or grass ends, or in the large blocks called cow pastures. But this grass was still managed as part of the agrarian system, as common pasture for the local community, and was regulated by ‘stinting’.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The open field system is discussed fully in Chapter 3.

⁴⁷ Many of the heaths had once been a shared resource between several townships, but by the early-modern period the township boundaries dividing most of them had been fixed, see Chapter 3.

⁴⁸ The ‘stint’ was the number and type of animal allowed on the commons by each proprietor. It varied between townships, manors and type of tenure.

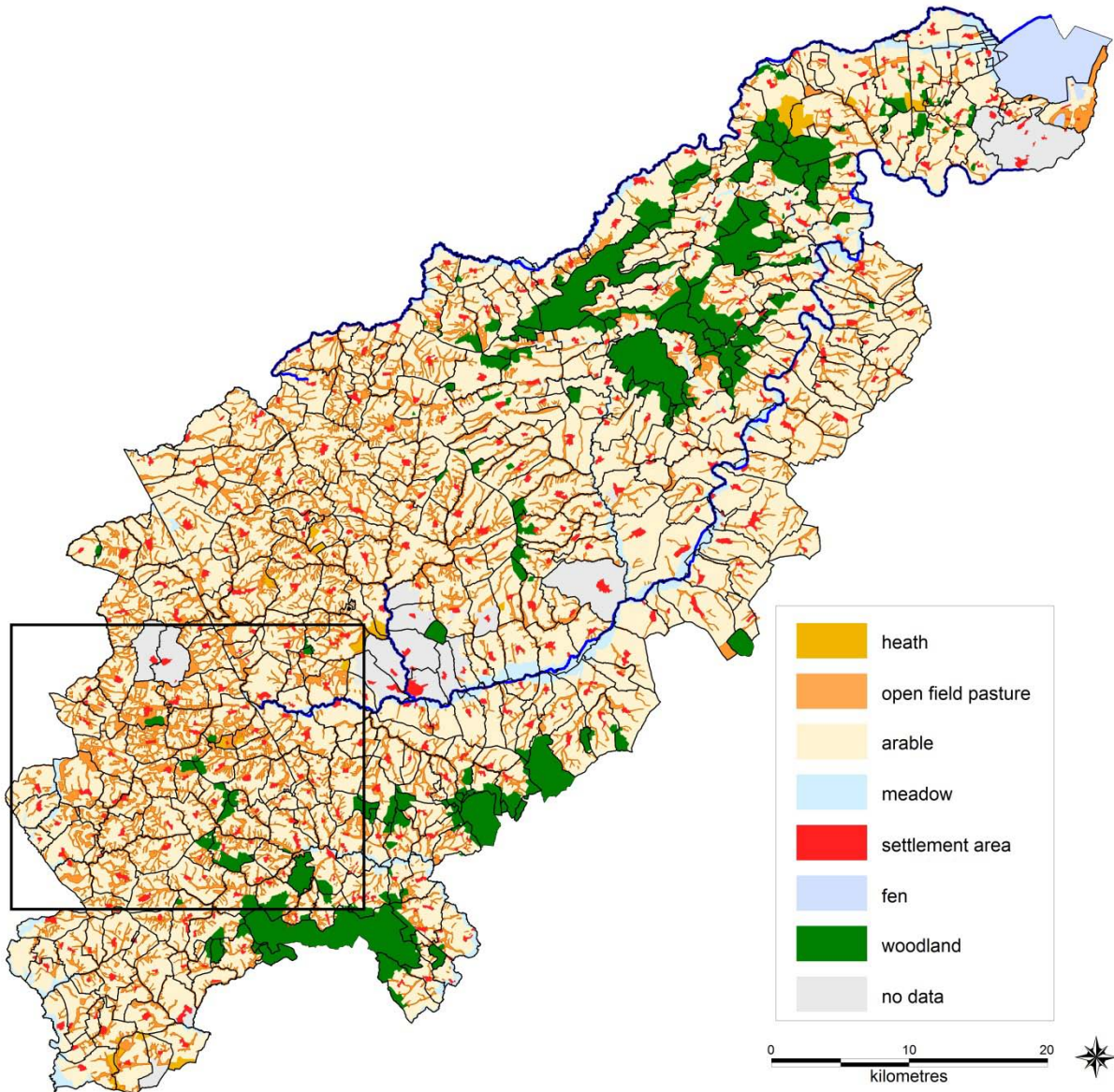


Figure 1.6: Northamptonshire land use in c.1300 at the height of the expansion of the open field system. Note the amount of pasture in the west of the county. (Inset is shown in Figure 1.7).

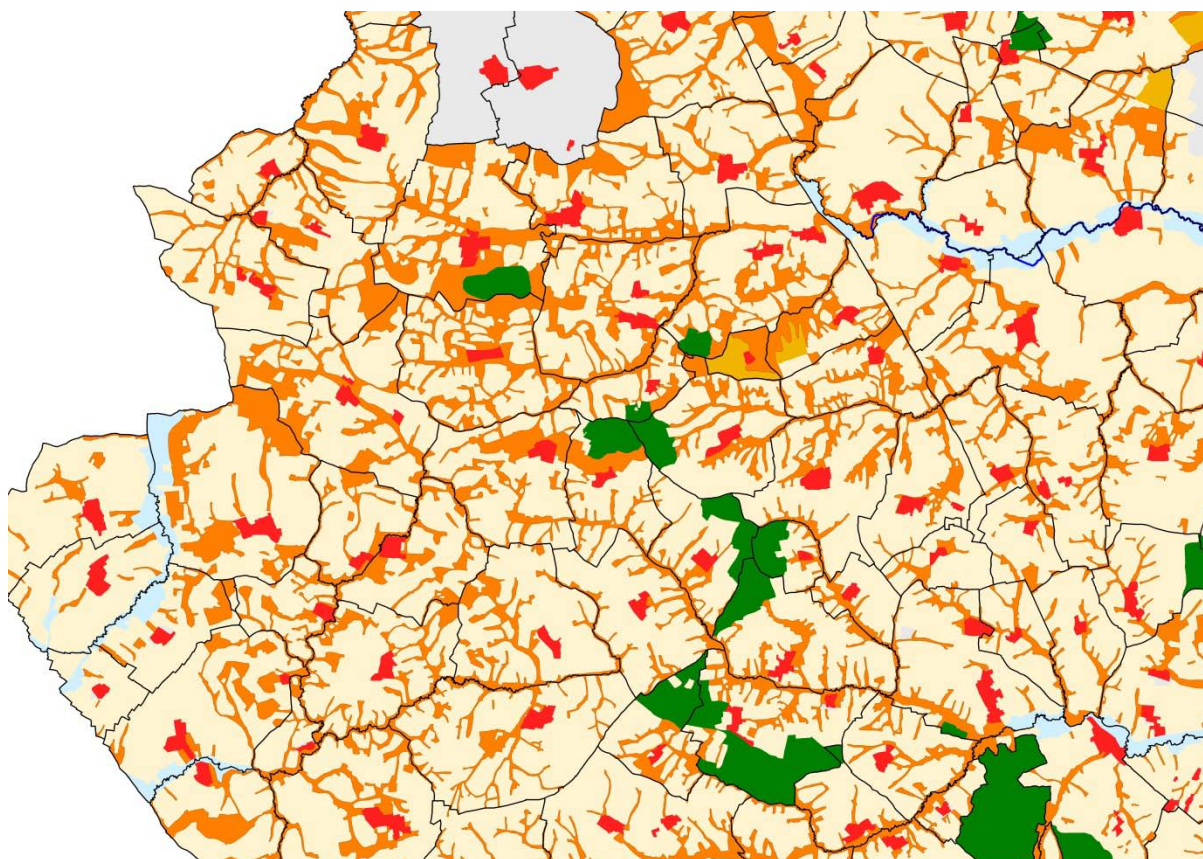


Figure 1.7: Detail from Figure 1.6 showing the extensive tracts of pasture (orange), in the open fields in the west of the county.

The distinction between common pasture within and without a township is made by most scholars, though it is often implicit rather than explicit. Tate and Turner's national statistics are separated into acts containing 'some open field arable', 'common and waste only' or 'open field arable'. Those of common and waste only are clearly referring to non-cultivated land external to the townships; the 14 acts they quote for Northamptonshire are all related to forest or fen.⁴⁹ Those for Northamptonshire containing 'some open field arable' are acts that enclosed various walks and bailiwicks in the forest together with the open fields of some townships. The awards specify how much land is involved of both types so the proportions are easily established. Those termed simply 'open field arable' are actually enclosures of open field systems, the difference being that an open field system includes all the pasture and meadow within a township as well as the arable. From the method in which the figures are tabulated it is clear that Tate and Turner are not classifying pasture within open field systems as waste. There is also confusion over the use of the term 'common', which might or might not also be waste. Mingay makes a distinction between 'waste', which was external to the

⁴⁹ Tate, (1978), p.7; Turner, (1980), p. 22.

open fields, and ‘commons’ that were grasslands within the open fields.⁵⁰ Neeson suggests that in 1750 ‘one acre in six in unenclosed Northamptonshire was common waste’. But her figures are an aggregate of land across the county and include that external to the township as well as within it.⁵¹ Yelling recognises ‘common waste’, ‘common meadow’ and ‘other grassland’.⁵² No definition of waste is given, but it is said in some cases to have been ‘entirely eliminated’ by the expansion of the open fields and ‘other forms of grassland provided instead *within* [my italics] the fields themselves’. This would suggest that waste originally lay outside of the open field system. Chapman and Seeliger also use ‘common and waste’, but without giving a definition of what they mean.⁵³

The somewhat blurred distinction between common pasture and waste might be explained, at least in part, by the lack of clarification in contemporary sources. Pitt’s *General View* written in 1809 claims: ‘The waste land in the county is trifling the proportion of this to the county is so small, that little can be said concerning it’.⁵⁴ Though he doesn’t specify that he is referring only to township land, he clearly is, because Borough Fen is discussed separately, and the forests have a chapter in their own right. The primary sources of the period, the acts and awards, give no definitive description of waste, at least not in Northamptonshire.⁵⁵ Neither the act for the fen or the several acts for the various walks and bailiwicks within the forests uses the word ‘waste’.⁵⁶ That for the Borough fen, which was wholly rough pasture, refers to the land as ‘common’ not ‘waste’.⁵⁷ The woodland of Rockingham Bailiwick and Brigstock Woods with Geddington Chase were enclosed together with the open fields of Gretton, and of Brigstock with Stanion, respectively. In those acts ‘waste’ is included in the preamble but very specifically referring to the open field land in the townships, not the woodland.⁵⁸ Often acts for open field land will include the term but in a general way. A typical example would be: ‘An Act for dividing and inclosing the open and common fields, pastures, meadows, commonable lands, and waste grounds, within the parish of ...’.⁵⁹ Yet in the awards the detailed descriptions of each allotment never use the word ‘waste’ but refer to

⁵⁰ Mingay, (1997), pp. 7-8.

⁵¹ Neeson, (1993), pp. 96-97.

⁵² Yelling, (1977), p. 149.

⁵³ Chapman & Seeliger, (2001).

⁵⁴ W. Pitt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northampton*, (London, 1809) p. 164.

⁵⁵ It is an issue noted by Turner as associated with Midland county enclosures in general. Turner, (1980), p. 22.

⁵⁶ NRO J(D) 601 Cliffe Bailiwick; X1693 bundle 21 Salcey Forest; G3909 Haselborough Walk; G4167 Whittlewood Forest.

⁵⁷ NRO X5084.

⁵⁸ NRO YZ 6685; BSL 65.

⁵⁹ NRO 366P/93. This example is taken from the act for Wilby.

land in a particular field; for example, 'in the east field'. Sometimes the name of a particular piece of pasture ground is given to an allotment location as in 'Ducksford Hill' at Wilby, and occasionally there is a reference to an allotment in the 'cow pasture', as at Creaton.⁶⁰ Even in the townships with substantial heath, that had never been part of the agrarian system, the allotments locations are 'in the heath'.⁶¹ In all the awards examined no allotment is referred to as 'in the waste'.

The only manner in which the term waste is consistently applied is in allotments to the lord of the manor for his 'rights in the waste'. All of the awards examined make some accommodation for this manorial right. Usually there is a general stipulation that encroachments made on the waste within the last 20 years are to be included in the allotted land, as at Abthorpe, Corby and Kettering.⁶² Very occasionally it is possible to locate these plots. At Eye they are specified as 'encroachments made on Eye Green north of Sledge Pool', while at Abthorpe the enclosure map and accompanying schedule conveniently marks the encroachments on the main road as 'on the waste' (Figure 5.4).⁶³ Where it has been possible to identify the exact plot they are often alongside roads and often within or very close to the settlement.

Given the confusion over what is and is not waste, a simple definition has been adopted for this study. The term 'waste' is only be applied to land outside of the agrarian system, that is the forest and the fen, and to specific plots along roadsides.

⁶⁰ NRO Inclosure Volume H, p. 534.

⁶¹ NRO V2793.

⁶² NRO V2797; Inclosure Volume O; YZ 4332.

⁶³ NRO ML854.

Historic Maps

There are a variety of types of map that can be used for the study of the historic landscape: county, estate, enclosure, tithe and the Ordnance Survey. All have peculiar advantages and limitations of use. What they depict, how it is shown and, equally importantly, what they omit, depends on the type of map and its purpose. Some maps are linked to a specific process, such as enclosure or tithe commutation, while those grouped under the umbrella of estate maps might have been commissioned for a variety of reasons. These issues and more are discussed in detail in Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger Kain's *English Maps*, while Sarah Bendall provides a thorough examination of the estate map.⁶⁴ It is not the intention to repeat general principles already established by these scholars or to give a history of map making in Northamptonshire. Rather, examples of general and particular issues that relate to Northamptonshire maps will be given, as well as additional observations made from this study. Descriptions and examples of the various map types used in this study are given below but some general observations are first made.⁶⁵

Care must be taken when extracting information from maps as, regardless of how detailed or finely drawn they might be, all maps require interpretation. When originals are unobtainable copies must be used. Copies need to be treated with caution: negative images will have lost any information contained within colouration and shading; estate copies of enclosure or tithe maps might omit information not relevant to that particular estate; estate copies of earlier maps, even from the same estate, might include changes made in the period since the making of the original but this may not be indicated on the map.⁶⁶ All maps are somewhat cavalier in their treatment of features beyond the remit of that particular map. For example, estate maps are concerned with property boundaries but are rarely interested in administrative boundaries, such as townships or parishes, and so may omit them altogether. The notable exception to that are the forest maps where the primary consideration is an administrative boundary: the perambulation (see below). The condition of the map can also affect its usefulness. Those held in modern archives are stored in climate-controlled atmospheres, and are carefully protected and repaired. But some have evidence of neglect and damage prior to their

⁶⁴ C. Delano-Smith & R. J. P. Kain, *English Maps: A History*, (London, 1999); S. Bendall, *Maps, Land and Society: A History, with a Carto-Bibliography, of Cambridgeshire Estate Maps, 1600-1836*, (Cambridge, 1992).

⁶⁵ Many other examples are given within the following chapters.

⁶⁶ Examples of all these issues have been found. The loss of colour and shading is especially unfortunate when the full implication of how much information that can contains is seen in originals.

deposition; they might be dirty, torn, water and mould damaged, or written upon, and for some the damage is irreparable. Many suffer from simply being old and faded, while those behind glass are extremely difficult to photograph.

Maps are made in response to particular needs. One of the most useful, but also potentially most misleading, types of function is the map made in response to a dispute. Such maps are useful because they are among the earliest to be made, and they often depict land commonable to more than one community and so provide information about the way in which landscape was managed. They can provide very detailed information. However, maps relating to disputes can also be highly biased if they were made by one of the disputants rather than by a court appointed official.⁶⁷ The earliest map identified for the county was made in response to a dispute over enclosure of common pasture in Pipewell Plain in c.1518 (Figure 1.8).⁶⁸ A map of disputed pasture in the north fen of the Soke was ordered to be made by court appointed commissioners in 1543-4 and might be expected to depict the landscape impartially.⁶⁹ It is uncertain who commissioned the 1590 map of Crowfield Common which was an area of woodland pasture that lay between the townships of Radstone, Astwell, Syresham, and the detached blocks of wood belonging to Helmdon and Brackley, and within the parish of Wappenham.⁷⁰ Shared rights here were complicated and clearly disputed. The map shows remarkable detail including numerous boundary crosses, the 'Radstone Oak', perambulation lines, a park pale enclosing land marked 'this was parcel of the common' and marks the part of the common 'now in question' (Figure 1.9). No other pre OS map has been found for this area so without the dispute very little would be known of this landscape. One of the most detailed maps of the county is that of the Cliffe Bailiwick in Rockingham Forest, made in c.1640 (Figure 1.10).⁷¹ It is highly accurate in spite of the stylised villages, and many of the features can be accurately plotted in the modern landscape.⁷² There was good reason for this, as the map was ordered by Charles I in an attempt to reassert the Edwardian perambulation of 1299 (Figure 1.24).⁷³ Every coppice, riding, and other such feature was

⁶⁷ Examples have been published in: Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), pp. 22, 184, 248.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.258. TNA MPC 1/42. The 'map' of the meadow in Fineshade in the cartulary of the Abbey there, dating from before 1208, is technically the earliest map from the county, Delano-Smith & Kain, (1999), p.14. However that of Pipewell Plain is the first which is of a form which can clearly be recognised as map.

⁶⁹ TNA MPI 1/251. Figure 4.9 is an extract of this map.

⁷⁰ NRO Photostat 1026. The original map has not been found so information that might have aided interpretation, such as colour and shading, has been lost.

⁷¹ TNA MR 1/314.

⁷² See Figure 2.6.

⁷³ P. Pettit, *The Royal Forest of Northamptonshire: A Study in their Economy 1558-1714*, 1968), pp. 88-9.

carefully delineated as they were all potential sources of revenue and needed to be shown to be within the forest perambulation. Some of these features appear on no other map; Fotheringhay Park, Morehay Wood and, incidentally, the only known image of Fotheringhay Castle.⁷⁴ The map can be relied upon as an accurate representation of the landscape in c.1640 in every respect except the most important feature, the perambulation itself.

The various types of maps can show similar features in very different detail. Open fields might be depicted as a broad landscape with no detail other than roads and possibly the name of the fields (Figures 1.10, 1.11, 1.17), or in extraordinary detail with each furlong, strip, balk, road and stream, named features and tenants, and even land use indicated by colouration and/or a numeric or character descriptor (Figure 1.12).⁷⁵ Similarly woods might be indicated by name only or by roughly sketched trees (Figure 1.25), as a simple expanse of highly stylised trees (Figure 1.13), or with every coppice, riding and lawn delineated, complete with carefully drawn deer and keepers (Figure 1.14).

⁷⁴ The park has been divided into closes and subsumed within the rest of the enclosed township by the time an estate map is made in 1716, NRO Map 467. Morehay Woods coppice structure was replanned and then grubbed-up after enclosure. Fotheringhay Castle was demolished in the seventeenth century.

⁷⁵ Map of Stanion 1737, Boughton House private collection.

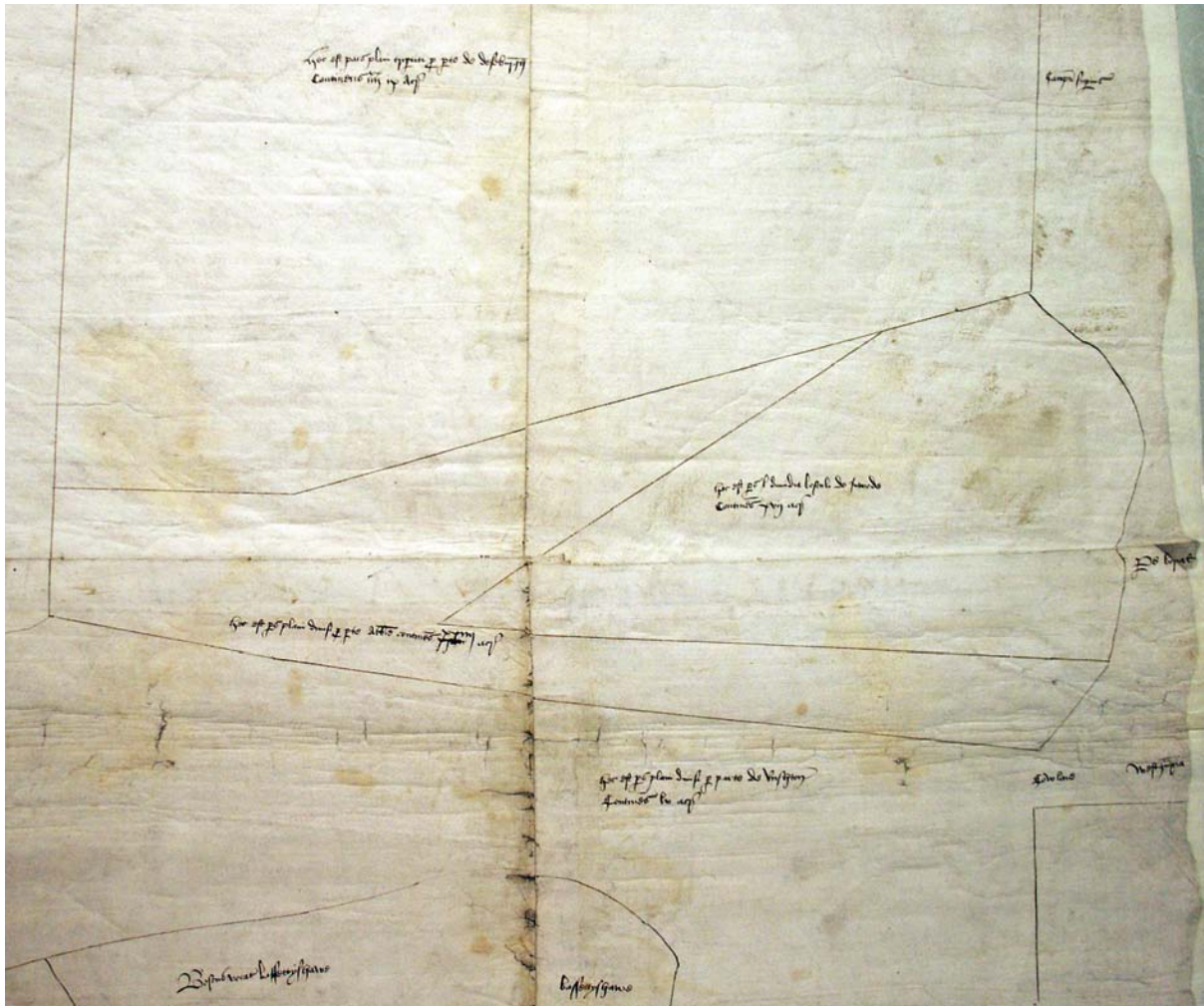


Figure 1.8: The 1518 map made in response to a dispute over common pasture in Pipewell Plain. The simply drawn plots represent the allotments made to Pipewell, Desborough and Rushton.

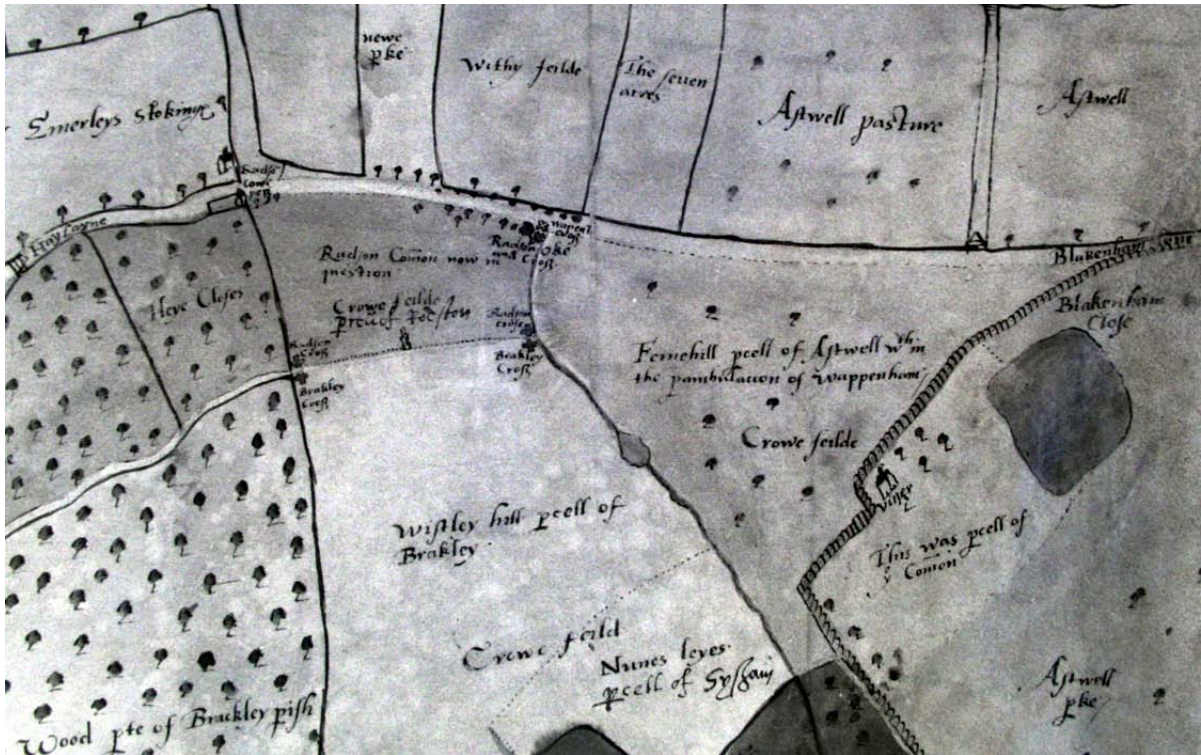


Figure 1.9: Crowfield Common in 1590. This land was commonable to several townships and has one parcel of land marked 'now in question'.



Figure 1.10: Extract from the map of the Cliffe Bailiwick c.1640. The map is highly detailed and remarkably accurate. The different coloured banding indicates perambulation boundaries from different dates and illustrates the importance of original maps.

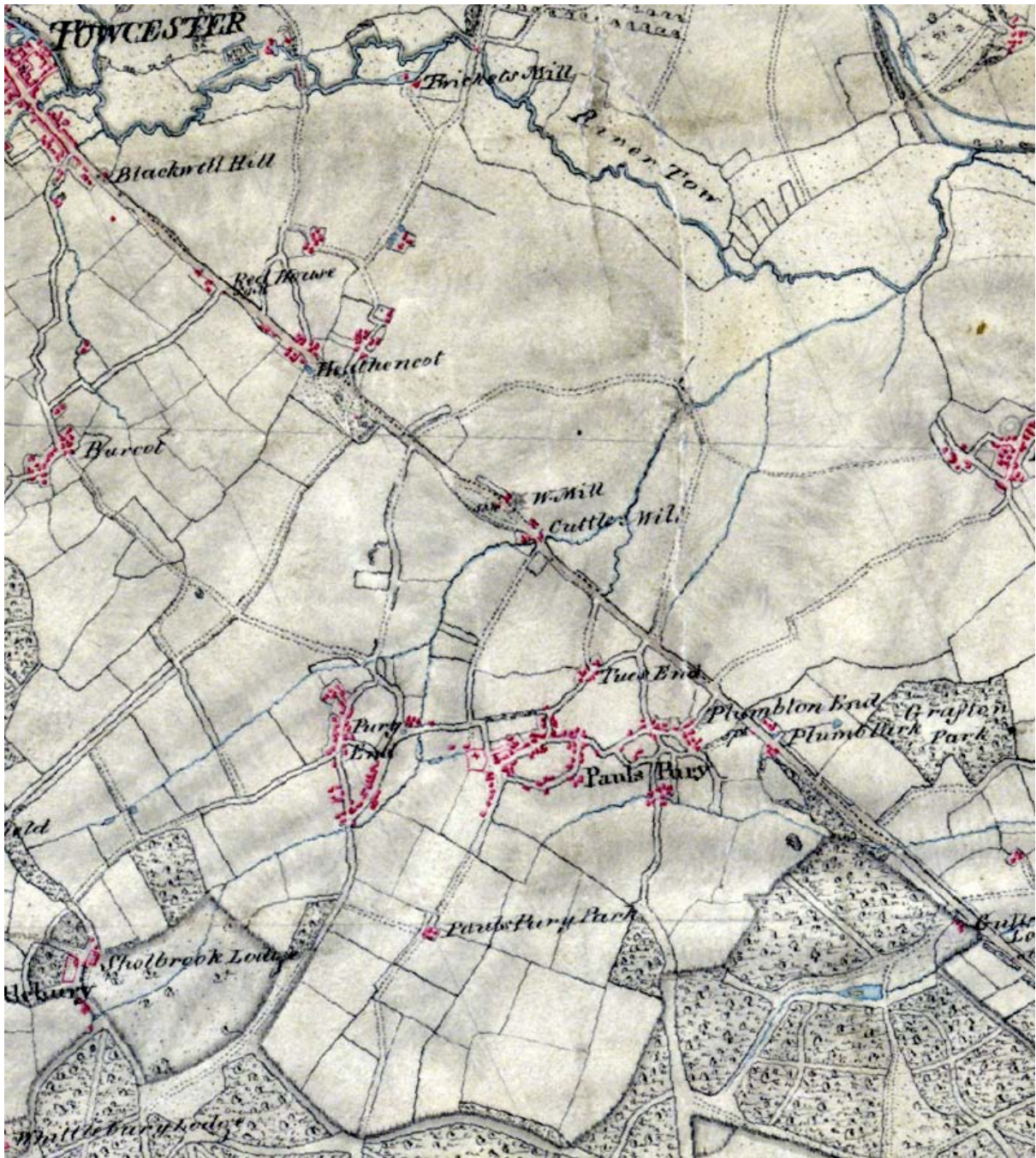


Figure 1.11: The Ordnance Surveyors Drawing of 1814 showing, to the north and east of Paulerspury, the still open fields of Paulerspury, Heathencote, Shutlanger and Alderton amid the ancient enclosures. Woods and ridings in Whittlewood Forest are drawn in detail at the south.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ BL OSD c0203_05/229.



Figure 1.12: Extract from the 1737 map of Stanion. The detail shown in this map (and the others in the Boughton collection) is extraordinary. Every landscape feature is recorded with colour, and numeric and character coding providing additional information. A field book accompanied this map, providing information regarding tenants and land use.



Figure 1.13: Extract from a map of Hardwick dated 1587 showing the woods. From their depiction the species could only be guessed at, though clearly deciduous, but ‘the oak’ was evidently an important landscape marker even though surrounded by other trees.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ TNA MPA 1/104. Trees as markers in the landscape are discussed in Chapter 3.

made of the estate c.1725.⁸⁰ The road on the left is the same as that shown in Figure 1.15. The houses on its left do not sit within the park but each has its own plot, almost certainly encroachments on the roadside waste. The houses to the right of the road do not float in space, but are within the village closes. The single house to the south lay within a road that was hedged on one side only, and is conveniently marked as 'waste', as the land to the south of the village was still open field. The differences between the two maps can be accounted for partly because they were drawn by different surveyors, but also because they had different objectives: one is a map of the park that excludes the rest of the township; the other is a map of the village and open fields (on several sheets) that excludes the park. Both are highly accurate in plotting the features they are interested in and remarkable casual with those they are not. This is typical of estate maps though rarely so readily illustrated.

⁸⁰ NRO Map 457. The map can be confidently dated to 1725 as it was surveyed by Joseph Collier and William Baker who are known to have been working for the estate at this time. It appears to be the draft for a finished, and signed, map dated 1725: NRO Map 463. The finished map is not used here because of its very poor condition.



Figure 1.15: Extract from the 1721 map of Grafton Park. Grafton Regis village lies to the right of the road indicated by a few houses. Features outside of the park have none of the detail of those drawn within it: note the gates and stiles in the hedgerows of the park. Compare to Figure 1.16.

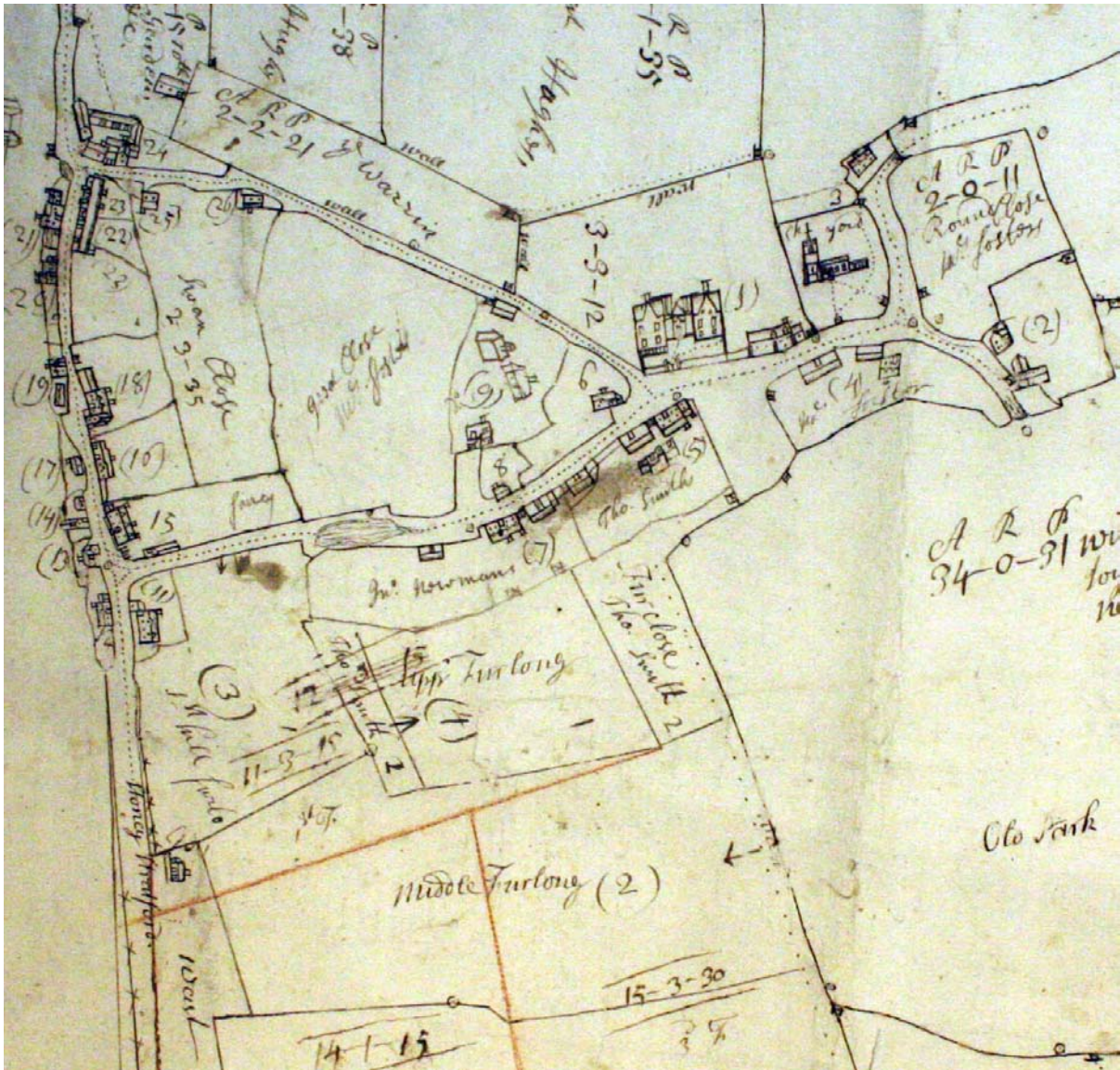


Figure 1.16: Grafton Regis in 1725. The houses to the left of the road lie outside of the park each within its own close on the roadside waste. The village is the focus of this map. Compare to Figure 1.15.

Some features on a map might be well drawn and accurately located but still remain ambiguous. Field closes (temporary enclosures in the open fields that were still commonable), can be difficult to identify, as they may look like ancient enclosure, especially on maps that are copies of the original. They are only shown on pre-enclosure maps and if there is an enclosure award it can be examined to see their exact status. They are subtle features but important indicators of land management in the unenclosed landscape. A different ambiguous feature is seen on an estate map of Fawsley from 1741, which shows hedges at varying widths, but not labelled in any way.⁸¹ It was initially uncertain if this was a peculiarity of style of the surveyor or a real feature. Later it was found that double-hedges, a

⁸¹ NRO Map 853.

ditch with a hedge either side of it creating a wide boundary, were a feature found in other townships belonging to the same estate.⁸² Such a feature may seem insignificant but was clearly of importance to the estate in order to be emphasised on the map. The nineteenth century tithe schedules value double-hedges as wood so they would seem to be as much narrow linear plantations as hedges. The sheer number of them on the Knightley estate significantly contributed to the appearance of the landscape and to the balance of land use.

The schedules, terriers, awards and field books made to accompany maps are, of course, essential reading. They provide additional information regarding tenure, land use, value, names and so on. Field names can be particularly useful in describing soil conditions, identifying lost features such as parks or warrens, for reconstructing piecemeal enclosure, and for indicating former land use; for example, stocking, dibbing, and sarts indicating former woodland.⁸³

Every map up to and including the OS First Edition from the 1880s, or later for those places enclosed after that date, has been examined for every place (township, forest, park, and so on) within the county. More than 1,000 maps were examined and copied, with base data subsequently recorded from approximately 500.⁸⁴ The maps date from 1518 (Pipewell Plain) to 1903 (Sutton).⁸⁵ The map of Pipewell Plain is a simple sketch (Figure 1.8), while at Sutton the enclosure allotments were marked on an OS Second Edition 1:25,000 scale sheet.⁸⁶ The numbers and types of maps copied and studied, excluding the OS, is given in Table 1.1. The estate maps are the most prolific, have the widest date range, while some of the larger estates also had their own copies of enclosure or tithe maps. All were examined to make sure any additional information the copies might contain was not missed, but when recording data priority was given to the original. ‘Reconstructions’ are maps of enclosure allotments reconstructed from the enclosure award to a modern map base. As such the data they contain is limited; they show only the allotment boundaries with an extent of ancient enclosure and, as an interpretation of a written source, are less accurate than original enclosure maps. Sale

⁸² The estate belonged to the Knightley family, see ‘Trees’ in Chapter 4, and Figure 5.1, which shows a remnant of one of these hedges in Charwelton.

⁸³ Examples are given in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5. Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), pp. 19-20.

⁸⁴ See Appendix 3 ‘Base Data Sources’. Eyre’s county map of 1791 (but surveyed before 1757), was consulted particularly for roads, but no data were recorded from it for this study. Bryant’s county map of 1827 post-dates the OSDs which were used in preference.

⁸⁵ TNA MPC 1/42; NRO Map 4433.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 2 for more discussion of the enclosure of Pipewell Plain.

catalogues were used for collection of base data in only three places where no other map was available, but were used extensively for analysis of land use and especially trees in the landscape.⁸⁷

Number	Type
387	estate
412	estate including copies of other types
121	enclosure including estate copies
37	draft enclosure including estate copies
121	Tithe including draft and estate copies
25	forest including enclosure and draft enclosure
10	Sale catalogue
16	reconstruction
64	strip maps including draft enclosure, estate, tithe, reconstruction
747	Total

Table 1.1: The numbers and types of maps used in this study.

No overview of maps would be complete without mention of decoration. In addition to their practical and functional qualities, and what they can reveal of past landscapes and people, maps are often also works of art in their own right. The most highly embellished and colorful are the estate maps, but decoration was by no mean confined to private owners and can be found on every type of pre-Ordnance Survey map. Examples are given in the descriptions below.

⁸⁷ Chapter 4.

ESTATE MAPS

Estate maps are defined by Delano-Smith and Kain as maps of ‘properties in which a single land owner has an interest’.⁸⁸ Bendall describes them as ‘maps which were drawn primarily to show the land of up to three landowners.’⁸⁹ Neither definition is considered suitable for this study, although there are aspects of both descriptions that are appealing. In the first it is the proposition that it is land in which an owner has an ‘interest’ that appeals, and in the second that it can apply to land of more than one owner. In this study ownership is not restricted to land but includes interests within land, such as common or manorial rights, and the numbers of owners represented by an estate map is wholly unrestricted. Estate maps could be made for any number of reasons: as working documents for management; as a means of calculation rents and dues, typically when the estate changed hands through inheritance or sale; when alterations were made, either large scale re-planning or minor modifications; to settle disputes (see above); or as a display of wealth and status.⁹⁰ It is this diversity of function that makes them the most useful group of maps to study; they are not confined to a particular process or period. Estate owners could be institutions: the Crown, colleges, charities, monasteries; aristocratic families; or owners of single farms. The more substantial and wealthier owners were more likely to commission elaborate maps of their entire property, to repeat the process, and to retain their records.⁹¹ There are examples of maps in subsequent chapters that depict farming practice and land use, that show evidence of later annotations revealing changes in land management, or that show minor alterations to roads and villages.⁹² Briefly here we will consider the maps that show more unusual features or that are notable for their aesthetic qualities.

Maps made by Sir Ralph Treswell of the estates of Sir Christopher Hatton in the 1580s are highly detailed, accurate, document the process of imparking and enclosure, and are probably the most beautiful maps in the county (Figures 1.17, 1.18).⁹³ Colour is used throughout, with

⁸⁸ Delano-Smith & Kain, (1999), p. 113.

⁸⁹ Bendall, (1992), p. 11.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

⁹¹ The Montagu (Buccleuch) family at Boughton, Brudenell at Deene, Spencer at Althorp, Fitzwilliam at Moulton, Cecil at Burghley, Fitzroy at Grafton, Compton at Castle Ashby, and Hatton at Holdenby are the major estates with good map collections. The Russell family, Dukes of Bedford, also held property in the county for which the maps collections are very good. There are also many other smaller estates with maps.

⁹² The map of St Andrew’s priory lands in Northampton in 1632 has all the features typically found on an estate map of this period, but has in addition a series of vignettes of farm labours drawn on the appropriate part of the map; hay makers in the meadow for example. Extracts are shown in Chapter 3, Figures 3.9, 3.20, 3.22.

⁹³ NRO FH272. See also Figure 1.14 which is a map from the same series.



Figure 1.18: Holdenby in 1587 after enclosure and creation of a deer park. This map and Figure 1.17 were not just about property but a particular *kind* of property. The well-stocked deer park and mansion house with formal gardens are the home of a wealthy and important gentleman.

Most Northamptonshire maps are not as elaborate as these, but many display the decorative features typically found on maps from the seventeenth century onwards: elaborate cartouche, compass rose, dividers, scale bar and border, with the owner's coat of arms, and house in elevation (Figures 1.19 - 1.22). As Bendall has argued, when maps were hung on walls they could serve a similar purpose as paintings of estates, hence the need for ornamentation.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 177.

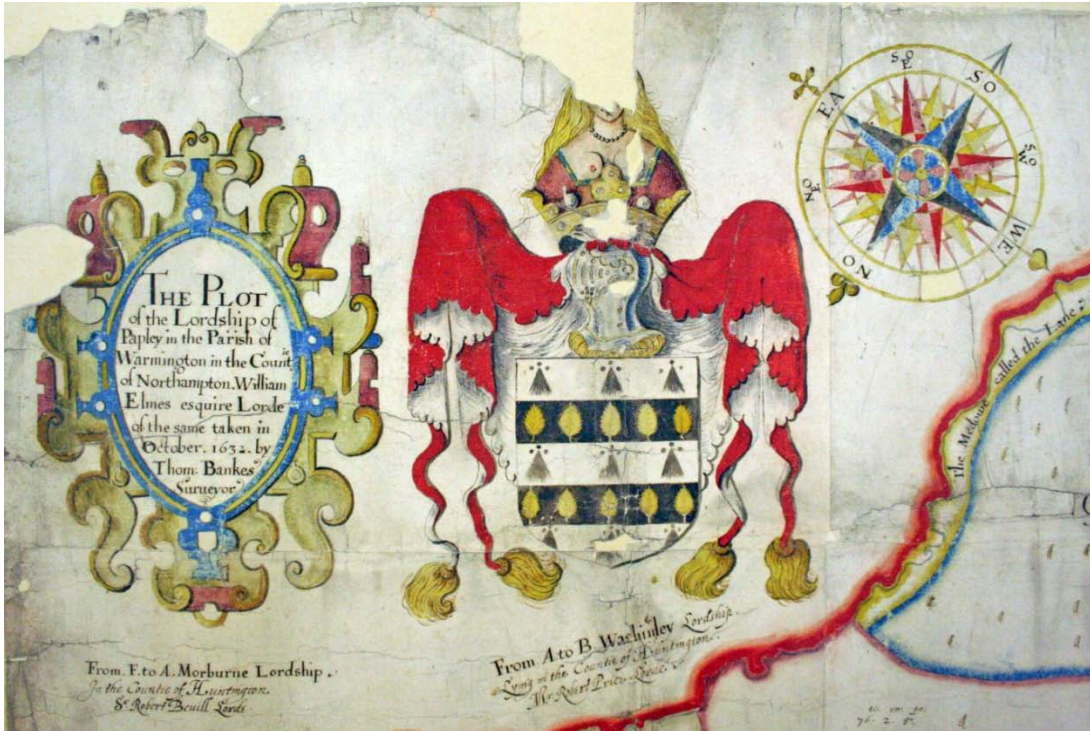


Figure 1.19: The elaborate decoration from a 1632 estate map of Papley. The dividers, out of picture, are similarly decorative and the whole map is very detailed and highly coloured.⁹⁶ The etymology of the place name Papley is ‘Pap(p)a’s clearing’, but it is possible that the bare-breasted woman adorning the armorial device is a pun on ‘pap’.⁹⁷



Figure 1.20: Title cartouche from a 1763 map of Astwick in which the surveyors’ instruments take centre stage.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ NRO Map 2221.

⁹⁷ J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place Names of Northamptonshire*, (Cambridge, 1933), p. 216. The *OED* defines Pap as ‘a woman’s breast or nipple’.

⁹⁸ Magdalen College Maps 54.



Figure 1.21: Armorial decoration on the 1812 map of Easton Maudit. The estate belonged to the Marquess of Northampton and all parts of the map, compass rose, scale bar, and title cartouche, have armorial devices.⁹⁹

The Ecton map of 1703 is unique (Figure 1.22).¹⁰⁰ It displays many of the features typical of an estate map, as well as omitting features beyond the sphere of interest, which in this case means all buildings in the village except the Hall, church and rectory. But what makes it unique are the multi-coloured parcels of land it depicts. These are not ‘lands’ (strips of ridge and furrow) but hides; that is groups of ten lands in one unit. The names marked on each of the hides are not those of the tenants and farmers in 1703 but can be identified with some names recorded on documents from as early as the thirteenth century. Some of the hide

⁹⁹ Compton Muniments.

¹⁰⁰ Unique at least in Northamptonshire. NRO Map 2115.

boundaries survive as archaeological features and can be matched to those on this map.¹⁰¹ Another very rare map is that of Hardwick dated 1684.¹⁰² In most respects it is a typical estate map with all the usual attributes, but it also has the earliest depiction of a fox hunting scene, the only pictorial record to fox hunting found on a map for the county (Figure 1.23). Owning a pack of fox hounds was the province of the elite, and very unusual at this date, but fox hunting did not have the same social cachet as deer hunting. The inclusion of this scene on the map, therefore, was perhaps not intended as a public declaration of status but as a personal expression of pleasure in the sport.¹⁰³



Figure 1.22: The highly colourful and decorative map of Ecton in 1703. In the region of the village it omits all buildings except those of importance, the Hall, rectory and church. Mills in peripheral areas of the township are drawn in equal detail to the buildings shown here (see Figure 3.10).

¹⁰¹ Hall, (1995), pp. 117, 122-124; Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), pp. 12,13.

¹⁰² NRO Map 1432.

¹⁰³ Partida, (2007), pp. 56-57.



Figure 1.23: A fox hunting scene on an estate map of Hardwick 1684.

Maps of the forest perambulations might show it broadly as a line around a roughly drawn area (as that of the three bailiwicks in Rockingham Forest c.1640 (Figure 1.24)), or more precisely like that of the Cliffe Bailiwick (Figure 1.10).¹⁰⁴ Comparison of these two maps shows how much more finely drawn is the Cliffe map. Thornhaugh woods had been disafforested by King John and are shown outside the perambulation on the Cliffe map, but inside the intended perambulation on the forest map.¹⁰⁵ The owner, Francis Russell the Earl of Bedford, was presumably not prepared to rely on maps made by the King's surveyor but had his own made in 1635.¹⁰⁶ It is clearly labelled as the metes and bounds next to and outside ('juxta & extra'), the forest of Cleeve and Rockingham.¹⁰⁷ It shows the perambulation from the intersection of Duddington and Collyweston on the river Welland, to the intersection of Nassington and Fotheringhay on the river Nene; a far greater extent than Russell's own lands. The amount of information shown on the wider area is sparse, but along the border with Russell's lands at Thornhaugh it is very detailed (Figure 1.25). Particularly interesting features are the 'maiden's grave horse race' complete with racing posts, Gilbert's cross as a

¹⁰⁴ TNA MPE 1/459. The map is undated but was almost certainly made at the same time as the Cliffe map when Charles I was attempting to re-draw the forest perambulations (see above).

¹⁰⁵ Pettit, (1968), p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ BRO R1/304.

¹⁰⁷ The Cliffe bailiwick was often referred to as the 'forest' of either Cleeve, Clive or Cliff.

marker at the crossroads, and at the top right the great north road marked simply ‘to Scotland’.



Figure 1.24: Rockingham Forest in c.1640. The green band outlines the perambulation of 1299 when it reached from Stamford to Northampton. The red bands show the shrunken perambulation around the three bailiwicks of Rockingham, Brigstock and Cliffe.

ENCLOSURE MAPS

Enclosure maps are defined in this study as those *intended* to document the process of enclosure: maps created by and for enclosure commissioners, or on behalf of all owners of an enclosure by agreement. Such maps record all land in an impartial manner regardless of ownership. Estate maps can also reveal parts of the process, for example by marking ‘new’ enclosures, or by a succession of maps made immediately before and after the process (Figure 1.17, 1.18).¹⁰⁸ But the primary importance of estate maps is the interests of individual owners and as such they are unreliable witnesses.

There are only three pre-eighteenth century maps that fit the criteria for enclosure maps: the earliest enclosure map in the county, and in fact in England and Wales, is the 1598 map of Haselbech which was made to accompany an agreement (Figure 5.22); the 1634 map of the enclosure of Greatworth is by the surveyors ‘who were appointed by the Commissioners’; and a map of enclosure of one of the great fields at Stanwick in 1663, which was surveyed by ‘gentlemen elected and chosen by the mutual consent of the lord of the manor, rector, and freeholders’ (Figure 4.37).¹⁰⁹ These early enclosure maps are remarkably similar to those from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because enclosure maps had a very simple function; to map the bare essentials of the new landscape, allotment boundaries and roads.¹¹⁰ They are somewhat utilitarian in appearance, especially when compared to estate maps, but are not completely without decoration. The Haselbech map is highly decorative, with full colour, scrolled labels, elaborate cartouches and so on, and it is in fact an example of map making typical of a period rather than a function.¹¹¹ Enclosure maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have far less adornment, perhaps just a decorative compass rose or title cartouche (Figure 1.26). They are invaluable for reconstructing the landscape at a particular, and usually very short-lived, point prior to the organisation of the allotments by owners. They can reveal a great deal about the structure of landownership as well as landscape. Of particular use in the Northamptonshire maps is that that they not only record the land being enclosed but most also provide detailed information about the ancient enclosure.¹¹² This is because in Northamptonshire almost all the enclosure made in the parliamentary period

¹⁰⁸ The process is also documented at another estate belonging to Hatton at Kirby in three maps that show the gradual removal of open fields and part of the village in 1585, 1586 and 1587: Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), pp. 37-40, 237.

¹⁰⁹ NRO Map 531; NRO XYZ 990; NRO BSL 73.

¹¹⁰ Other examples of enclosure maps can be seen in Chapter 4: Figures 4.1, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.10, 4.14, 4.26.

¹¹¹ Bendall, (1992), p. 40.

¹¹² Only six of the enclosure maps do not include the full township, either omitting detail of the settlement or other ancient enclosure.

extinguished the tithe payments, and so all land was included to facilitate this. This is uncommon in other counties, as Delano-Smith has noted that half of extant enclosure maps show only the land to be enclosed.¹¹³ To understand the full process of enclosure the maps must be used with the enclosure awards, which include details of the allottees, what the allotments are made in lieu of, and give a written description of each allotment. But enclosure maps and awards record almost nothing of the unenclosed landscape, usually just the names of the great fields, possibly with the boundaries also shown.



Figure 1.26: A decorative rural scene surrounds the title cartouche on the enclosure map of Warmington 1779.¹¹⁴

To study the effects of enclosure upon the landscape the enclosure map is, ironically, not the most useful type of map. They show the new allotments and road alignments and the extent of land that is being enclosed, but give no indication of the landscape being replaced. The draft enclosure map is of far greater value. This type of map details the landscape that exists as well as the landscape that is being imposed. Thus the full implications of enclosure can be better understood. It is uncertain how many of these draft maps were produced, but far fewer of them survive compared to the full enclosure maps. They are noted by Delano-Smith as being rare before about 1830.¹¹⁵ However, of the 37 found for Northamptonshire only one is later than 1830.¹¹⁶ The drafts can be extremely difficult to analyse, as they contain complex data that has to be unpicked from the superimposed allotment boundaries and new road alignments. Figures 1.27 and 1.28 show the same piece of ground at Cold Higham from the

¹¹³ Delano-Smith & Kain, (1999), p. 129.

¹¹⁴ NRO Map 2864.

¹¹⁵ Delano-Smith & Kain, (1999), p. 132.

¹¹⁶ Collyweston draft enclosure dated 1839: Exeter Muniments (EX/M) M81.

draft and enclosure maps, respectively.¹¹⁷ In the first the open field furlongs are drawn, named and numbered, as are old enclosures, roads and footpaths. Land use is indicated by the name 'leys' indicating pasture within the open fields. To this are added the red boundaries of the new allotments with the names of allottees and size of each parcel. Exchanges of both ancient enclosure and new allotments are also marked in red. Realignment of roads are shown in red, while footpaths being closed are crossed through and the new routes indicated by black pecked lines. The enclosure map (Figure 1.28) is by comparison very simple showing only the new boundaries and those being retained in old enclosures. The complexity of the earlier landscape with its mix of arable furlongs, field closes, greens, open field pasture, cow pastures, and meadows is unseen, thus the enclosure maps give no clue as to how radical the alterations to landscape could be.



Figure 1.27: Draft enclosure map of Cold Higham of 1812. Both the pre and post-enclosure landscapes are shown, creating a complicated and not readily understood image. It is nonetheless of far greater use to landscape study than the simple data drawn on the enclosure map (Figure 1.28). Note also in the bottom-right corner the detached 'Part of Pattishall'.

¹¹⁷ NRO Maps 2913, 2868.

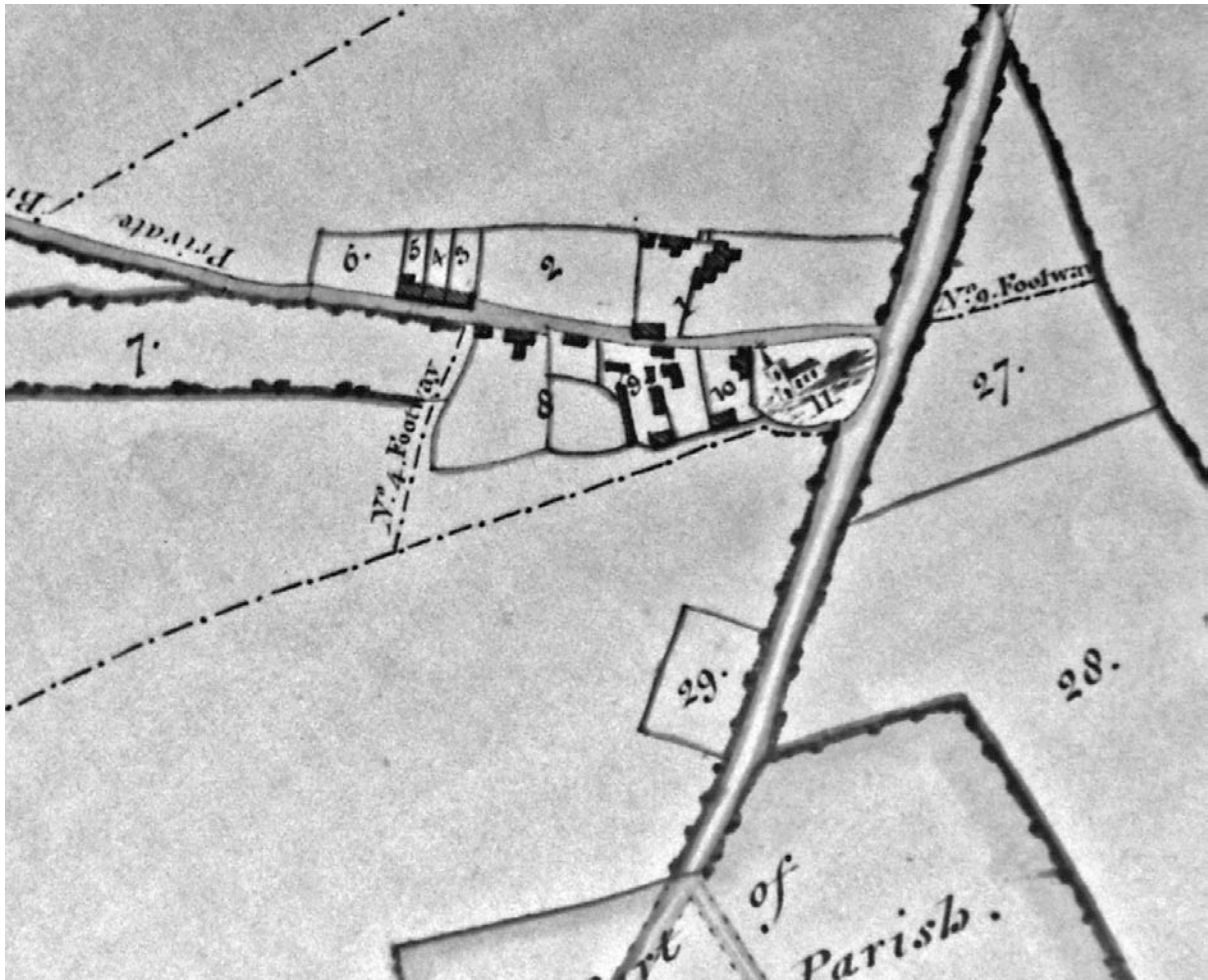


Figure 1.28: Cold Higham enclosure map of 1813. The bare essential of the landscape is shown, compared to the intricate features shown on the draft enclosure map (Figure 1.27).

TITHE MAPS

Tithe maps were created for a specific purpose: to record, value and apportion a tithe rent charge on every parcel of titheable land.¹¹⁸ They therefore all record the same classes of information, though they do not always present it in the same way. The Tithe Commutation Act 1836 abolished the tithe rate on agricultural products, the tax payable to the Church, and replaced it with a yearly monetary payment. To achieve this it was necessary to assess the land subject to tithe payments, which was done systematically across England and Wales. The tithe apportionment was the legal document that detailed each parcel of land: the name and description; state of cultivation (pasture, arable, meadow, and so on); measurement (in acres, roods and perches); and the rent charge (new tithe tax) payable on each parcel. They also record the owner and the tenant of each piece of land.¹¹⁹ They are important documents in their own right, but taken together with the maps they are invaluable to the landscape historian.

The tithe maps record each land parcel with a number corresponding to that in the apportionment. It is therefore possible to reconstruct the layout of closes and settlements, as well as land use and patterns of tenure. Field names can also be indicative of previous land use or settlement, such as ‘Great Chilcotes’ and ‘Little Chilcotes’ in Thornby which indicate the area in which the deserted settlement lay.¹²⁰ This is particularly useful where the whole township was being assessed. In Northamptonshire enclosure usually extinguished the tithes so in many places no tithe commutation was necessary, and for some townships only the small area of still titheable land was mapped. Alderton had only three closes, comprising less than 50 acres, assessed and mapped.¹²¹ At Alderton this is not problematic as there is a series of other maps including pre-enclosure estate maps and a draft enclosure map.¹²² But for many other places the small area covered by the tithe map is the only large-scale historic map before the Ordnance Survey maps of the 1880s. A further disadvantage of the maps is their late date (1836 – 1858). Almost the whole county had been enclosed by this time and for those places enclosed hundreds of years before, the landscape depicted on the tithe maps may

¹¹⁸ A comprehensive discussion of the Tithe Commutation Act and tithe apportionments and maps is given in, R. J. P. Kain & R. R. Oliver, *The Tithe Maps of England and Wales: A Cartographic Analysis and County by County Catalogue*, (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 708-819.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

¹²⁰ NRO T212.

¹²¹ NRO T23.

¹²² NRO Maps 460, 4224, 2906.

bear little if any resemblance to that at enclosure. Charwelton, for example, had been enclosed by 1485 but the earliest complete map is the tithe dated 1847.¹²³ Here, and in other places like it, even with additional information from earthwork data and documentary sources, little can be learned of the process of enclosure and landscape evolution before the first half of the nineteenth century.

The tithe maps' main advantage is that they were surveyed to nationally accepted standards, allowing precise location of features to a modern map base. But tithe maps are by no means all identical. From the inception of the 1836 act, landowners had been allowed to use an existing map if they felt it was sufficient for the purpose. At the same time strict specifications had been issued to which tithe surveyors had to adhere, and all maps, whether old or new, had to meet the requirements. None of the maps submitted in the first year after the act was acceptable.¹²⁴ An amendment to the act was made in 1837 which created first and second class maps; the first were made to the exacting standards originally set out, and the second allowed surveyors far more leeway in the manner in which they surveyed and recorded features. It also enabled many more re-used maps to pass muster.¹²⁵ Re-used maps have been found for Snorscombe, Whiston, Higham Park, Easton Maudit, and Castle Ashby.¹²⁶

Thus, tithe maps contain many similar features but they lack the standardisation of scale, font and styles as seen in the Ordnance Survey. Tithe maps might be in full colour, show water courses, indicate slope, footpaths, distinguish osier beds, park features and so on. They might be highly decorative or very plain and they might be a re-used estate map. Some surveyors were content to use decorative styles only for particular features, usually woods. This can be seen in the maps by Thomas Mulliner for Cottesbrooke, Sibbertoft and Faxton cum Mawsley; by R P Coles at Preston Deanery; on the unsigned map for Easton Maudit; on the Thenford map 'copied' by Davis and Saunders; and on the Wicken map by John Bromley.¹²⁷ Occasionally decorative features are added to the borders of the map, as at Collyweston which sports a particularly elaborate compass rose.¹²⁸ By far the most lavish is that for

¹²³ NRO T45.

¹²⁴ R. Kain & H. Prince, *The Tithe Surveys of England and Wales*, (Cambridge, 1985), p. 62.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

¹²⁶ NRO T205, T150, T130, T199, T180.

¹²⁷ NRO T234, T206, T228, T11, T199, T103, T217.

¹²⁸ NRO T169.

Brockhall (Figure 1.29).¹²⁹ It is a match for many of the fine estate maps made elsewhere, and is the finest of the sequence of maps made for Brockhall from 1614 onwards. Little Preston, Harrington and Preston Deanery are similarly colourful but do not have as many woods or park features.¹³⁰

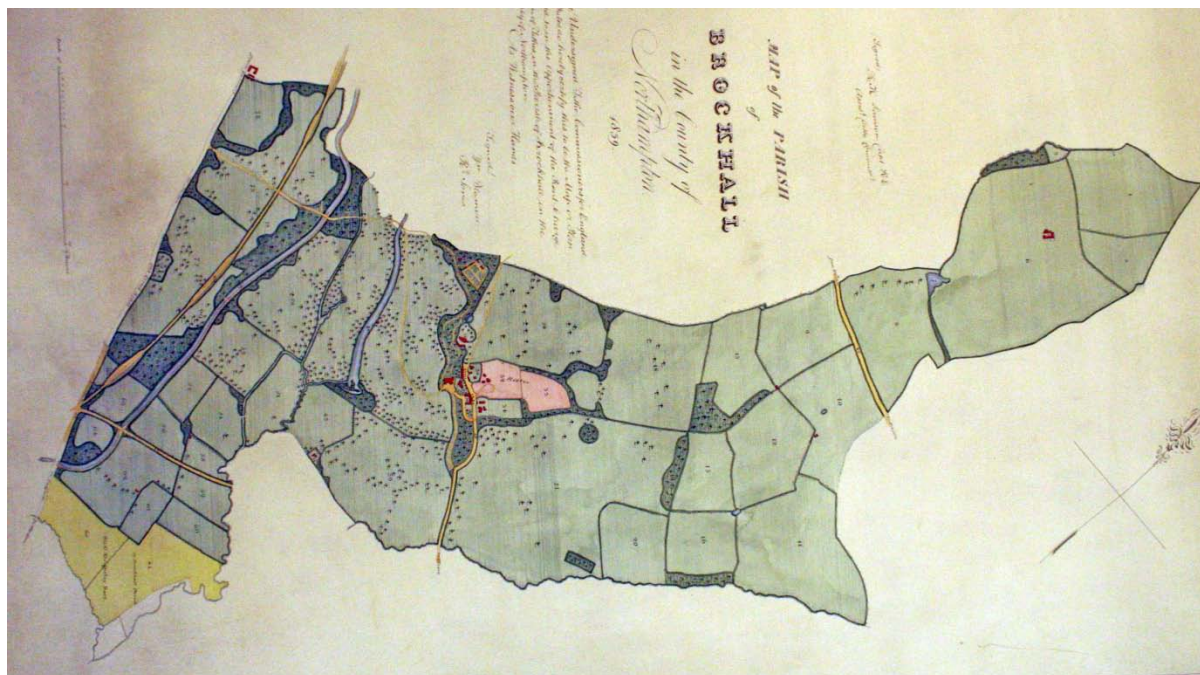


Figure 1.29: The lavishly coloured and detailed tithe map of Brockhall from 1839.¹³¹

¹²⁹ NRO T31.

¹³⁰ NRO T213, T221, T11.

¹³¹ The surveyor was E.F Law who was also an architect. It is possible that this map was intended to illustrate his capabilities as a surveyor, perhaps with the hopes of further commissions. But no other map, of any kind, has been found by this surveyor.

Databases

In addition to the base data tables described below, several hundred tables have been created for analysis and case studies. In some cases data were extracted from the base tables, manipulated, edited, and integrated to create new tables related to particular strands of inquiry. For example, places enclosed at or between certain dates, a particular range of enclosure percentages, numbers of landowners, and so on. In other cases tables were newly created for a particular place or theme. A list of the major datasets used in countywide analysis is given in Appendix 1.

BASE DATA TABLES

The correct structure of the database tables was essential to ensure the data was recorded in a format that would allow parts of that data to be extracted for analytical and/or presentational purposes. In this way all the data could be collected in a single dataset which can be used as the basis for multiple other datasets. For example a single table of a land use type must have fields to cover all attributes such as source reference, source type, name of land unit, acreage, tenant and so on. Similarly the format of the fields used was standardized to enable integration and comparison and analysis of multiple datasets. Fields in different datasets containing the same or similar information are of the same type (character or integer), and of the same length. Failure to standardise the field format would mean that when integrating tables some data could be lost, and certain functions cannot be performed on different field formats. For example, data from a character field cannot be copied into an integer field and will be lost. It was therefore necessary to have an understating of the type of analysis and investigation likely to be required of the data before data collection began.

The sources for the tables ‘Landscape Units’ and ‘Administrative Units’ are historic maps. For anciently enclosed places the estate map was the usual source, but for roughly one third of such places the earliest map identified is that from the tithe commutation period of 1836-50. No map later than the tithe was used for the base data of anciently enclosed places, with the exception of settlement areas as described above. Data were collected by township, or other administrative unit for non-township land, and held in sub-directories by place and date of source. Where more than one map existed for the same place and showed a different pattern of land use then data were digitised from both/all. All the tables were then combined by type and date, to create single datasets by type for the whole county. Where multiple

datasets existed for a single place the combined data were edited to a single dataset that was closest in date to enclosure. Combined tables include the source reference and date of source. The combined tables were used for all analysis of county statistics. A list and description of each of the base tables is given in Appendix 1.

Landscape Units

All historic land use features identified from a particular map source were digitised as separate land use parcels. With the exception of roads and field closes, all were digitised as polygons in order to facilitate computerised spatial analysis. The data are held in separate tables named by place, date and type, for example: 'Abthorpe 1824 building'. For each source map used, six digital tables were typically created: enclosure, building, wood, lawns and ridings, open field, source (extent of historic map). Additional features shown on some pre-enclosure maps such as field closes, meadow, heath, common, cow pasture, parks and designed landscapes were also recorded. Roads were recorded for anciently enclosed places, but only for parliamentary period enclosures if there was a draft enclosure map. Names relating to land use, as given in the source, are recorded in the browser of each dataset. Data in the browser with a '?' prefix indicates where there is uncertainty in the interpretation of the data, often due to a map's illegibility, or its failure to state the function of a particular landscape feature, but where professional judgement has suggested an explanation.

Administrative Units¹³²

Administrative boundaries could be as influential as topography and geology on the way the landscape worked. The township was the primary administrative unit in rural communities and it was therefore essential to reconstruct accurate township boundaries from the earliest possible source. The most accurate and earliest version of the boundaries was established by examining all map sources for each township, as well as all maps for places abutting that township. Map sources were verified, where possible, by other data such as charter boundaries, perambulations and furlong data. For those townships where there is no historic map the township boundary has been drawn from adjoining township maps, with reference to the OS 1st edition 1:10560. A full list of map references is given in the township table. Additional information (such as the fact that the township had detached blocks) is included in the 'notes' field of the browser.

¹³² The county boundary is discussed in 'Study Area' above.

Land that was not within a township was digitised to a table 'non-township land'. It includes land within forest jurisdiction and areas administered by other institutes or private individuals, including Borough Fen, various parks, and assarts (Figure 1.3). Only the portion of each forest lying within the county boundary is given, although both Whittlewood and Salcey extended into other counties.

Northamptonshire Enclosure

The methodology, which includes the datasets collected as part of the AHRC UEA project, is available online, but the primary dataset 'Northamptonshire enclosure' from which many other tables were extracted is discussed here. This dataset is for townships only and does not include enclosures of forests or fen. Data were collected from enclosure awards held at Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO). Awards for a total of 195 townships or groups of townships were recorded, out of a total of 210 awards from the county (that is 93 per cent of the available awards). The only awards not entered into the database were those in formats that were damaged or excessively faded and therefore too difficult to read or use. The data were first collected in an MS Access database, in which each allotment to each landholder was treated as a separate entry. Once recording was complete, the Access database was queried and simplified to create a standard structure for each entry. The database was then imported into Excel and a field 'Decimal Acres' added, which tallied the total acreage from the original acres, roods and perches in each entry. The Excel table was then imported into MapInfo .tab format, and then linked to graphic objects based on the township table. A copy of the original township table was saved as 'Enclosure Townships,' and the names of each township were checked so as to ensure they matched exactly with entries in the 'Township name' field in the Northamptonshire enclosure table. In addition, township polygons were combined if the townships had been enclosed together (for example, Milton Malsor and Collingtree). The 'Northampton enclosure' table was then joined to the new 'Enclosure Townships' table through an SQL query, resulting in the georeferenced table 'Northamptonshire enclosure'.

Enclosure Statistics

The 'enclosure statistics' table contains data for parliamentary period enclosures of townships, forests and fen. Data were recorded from three principal sources: enclosure awards, enclosure maps, and Tate's *Domesday*.¹³³ Data from all three were collected and examined to establish which was the most reliable. The figures tabulated in the awards were found to be the most consistent and data for 180 townships was collected from these. Data from Tate was found to contain anomalies; where multiple townships were enclosed together the amount in each was not always specified, while for 17 places only estimated figures were given. When compared to the figures taken directly from the awards the estimates were found to differ by between 2 and 34 per cent, though usually around 7 per cent. The enclosure maps identify the separate townships, with the notable caveat that some of the boundaries are enclosure impositions, but the figures taken from them can also differ to the awards by as much as 7 per cent. Generally, however, they correlate more closely to the awards than Tate's figures and so have been taken as the secondary source to the awards. Tate's figures have been used where neither award nor map was usable.

Data have been collected for 247 of the 254 townships enclosed and for all the forests and fen. There are only 236 entries for townships as some townships were enclosed together and a boundary between them is not known, or the award did not distinguish the proportions enclosed in each place. Guilsborough and Coton have separate township boundaries but were enclosed together with no indication as to the amount allotted in each place. Prior to enclosure the fields of both places were intermixed and the enclosure plan, though of very poor reproduction, would appear to indicate similar amounts of open field in each. These townships have therefore been joined in this table and the statistics apply to both places jointly. Raunds and Raunds Cotton Fields were also enclosed together and have been treated in the same way. However, for Boughton enclosed with Pitsford; Warkworth enclosed with Grimsbury, Huscote, Nethercote and Overthorpe; and Nether Heyford enclosed with parts of Bugbrooke and Stow IX Churches, no data regarding the amount enclosed in each place has been found and, furthermore, all acreages given by Tate for these places are estimates. Drayton too has only an estimated acreage. Lamport, enclosed with Hanging Houghton, has awarded rather than estimated figures but no indication as to how much is awarded in each

¹³³ Tate, (1978).

place. A map of Hanging Houghton dated 1655 would suggest it was almost all enclosed at this date. If the two townships are joined the amount given in the award is 20 per cent of the total area. If taken as only Lamport the figure is 37 per cent. The difference was felt to be too great and would misrepresent the data. For these reasons the above townships have been excluded from this table.

Of the 236 township entries, 180 were derived from awards, 46 from maps and 10 from Tate. Twelve entries had identical figures given by Tate and from the mapping. The date of enclosure, acreage and percentage of land enclosed, numbers of landowners and various other details are recorded as well as a field 'percentage used', indicating which of the three sources was used for analysis (see Appendix 2). Complications in assessing the percentage of a township enclosed arise where non-township land was included in the enclosure process as at Gretton, where forest and open field was enclosed together, or where the township boundary is known to be an enclosure creation, as several are in the Soke. Thus the percentage allocated in the award may exceed 100 per cent of the total township land. There are five places where this occurs: Gretton, Denton, Glapthorn, Peakirk, Newton Bromswold. For the first four the acreages as calculated from the maps have been used. Newton Bromswold included land farmed in Buscott and here there is no map, but Tate identifies the separate township allotments so that figure has been used.

CHAPTER 2: THE PROCESS OF ENCLOSURE

INTRODUCTION

Enclosure involved the gradual replacement of medieval open fields by the patchwork of enclosures still evident today. In Northamptonshire it began in the fifteenth century and continued until the beginning of the twentieth century. It took more than 400 years to complete the process from the first township to be fully enclosed, Potcote in the south-west of the county, in 1472 to the final enclosure taking place at Sutton in the Soke of Peterborough in 1901. The progression of enclosure across the county was neither systematic nor consistent. There were roughly 400 townships in the county and of those 129 were anciently enclosed, that is wholly enclosed before 1727. In addition many of the townships that saw final enclosure after 1727 already had significant extents of anciently enclosed land. There are data for 247 townships enclosed in the parliamentary period and, of these, a third had 30 per cent or more anciently enclosed land and a quarter had more than 50 per cent.¹³⁴ Thus, by the beginning of the parliamentary period some 43 per cent of the county was already enclosed.

Ancient enclosure was achieved in three principal ways: piecemeal, where some but not all of the proprietors withdrew part of the land from communal farming; general agreement whereby some or all of the land was enclosed by consensus of the majority; or unity of control, whereby all the land was held by a single owner who enclosed in one phase.¹³⁵ The first two types reflect the gradual process of enclosure that was more typical of this period than the later parliamentary. There is evidence of all these types in Northamptonshire and they do not entirely cease when, in the early eighteenth century, enclosure by Private Act of Parliament began to be used. The transition to private acts in preference to agreements was largely due to the long-winded, protracted and complicated nature of the earlier process.¹³⁶ Added to which, the validity of earlier enclosures could be questioned, unless confirmed by a decree in Chancery.¹³⁷ In contrast, the act swept all before it once certain criteria were met: that is agreement on the bill of three-quarters or four-fifths of proprietors (by landholding not number), the lord of the manor, and the tithe holder.¹³⁸ Enclosure by private act of parliament

¹³⁴ There are 236 entries in the main GIS database for enclosure statistics but they represent 247 townships as some were enclosed together and a boundary for the individual places is not known.

¹³⁵ Yelling, (1977), p. 7; Williamson, (2002), pp. 7-8.

¹³⁶ Chapman & Seeliger, (2001), pp. 13-19.

¹³⁷ Yelling, (1977), p. 8.

¹³⁸ Mingay, (1997), p. 60; Overton, (1996), p. 158.

began in Northamptonshire in 1727 at Grafton Regis and at Overstone.¹³⁹ Both were acts ratifying agreements and were therefore the natural progression from the earlier type of enclosure to the new. Indeed the enclosures from the first half of the eighteenth century were more akin to agreements and in Northamptonshire of the seven made in this period five have acts and agreements but no award was made.¹⁴⁰ A further four enclosures were made by agreement only between 1755 and 1809. And there are nine townships for which no exact date or method of enclosure has been established.¹⁴¹

The process of enclosure probably began long before any legal documentation was produced or the outcome achieved. Discussion among interested parties as to the desirability and viability of such a course could, and indeed did, take place over decades before formal measures were taken. Once the intent was established, however, the process that occurred within the two enclosure periods was somewhat different. In contrast, the outcome, in terms of the effects on the landscape, was to a large extent the same (see Chapter 4). Tracing the process within the two periods presents different challenges. For some of those places anciently enclosed there might not be any formal documentation; for others there is perhaps an agreement and more rarely a map. But frequently the date of enclosure can only be determined, or surmised, from indirect sources such as the glebe terriers or estate papers, while the process remains unknown.¹⁴² Fortunately, many of the early enclosures were made by substantial landowners who were important social and political figures who made and kept numerous records of estate management. For the parliamentary period there is a more prolific collection of sources from Agreements or Bills and subsequent Acts, Awards and numerous other documents such as commissioners and surveyors records.

This chapter will examine the key elements of enclosure within the context of the two enclosure periods ‘ancient’ (pre 1727), and ‘parliamentary period’ (from 1727). Examples of the varied sources for the process, chronology, density, and determinants are examined within the respective periods.

¹³⁹ NRO G002; J. W. Anscamb, *Inclosure: Notes on the Parliamentary Acts and Awards for Northamptonshire 1727-1844.*, pp. 1-2. Unpublished, copy available at NRO.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, and Enclosure Statistics Database. See Appendix 2.

¹⁴¹ An approximate date of enclosure has been given using glebe terriers or maps.

¹⁴² The date of enclosure for those anciently enclosed places where no agreement or other formal document has been identified is taken from David Halls ‘Enclosure in Northamptonshire’: Hall, (1997), pp. 350-367.

ANCIENT ENCLOSURE

Overview

Of the 129 townships wholly enclosed prior to 1727 it is possible to date 125 to a particular century, although 70 of these have a qualifier for the specific year, such as ‘circa’ or ‘before’.¹⁴³ Establishing the exact date of enclosure can be problematic, but understanding the process by which it occurred, in gradual steps or at a single stroke, is even more difficult. Enclosure agreements exist for at least 14 places in Northamptonshire. At Deenethorpe an agreement was made between the two principal landowners but was never carried out, though this is unusual (see below).¹⁴⁴ Some agreements refer to part of a township, typically one of the great fields, or consolidation of the demesne lands, others comprise the whole township. Aynho, Litchborough, Loddington, Grafton Regis and Abthorpe are known to have been enclosed in phases and the agreement refers to one of those phases.¹⁴⁵ At Haselbech the agreement refers to the whole township, at Greatworth it covers most of the township and in both cases is accompanied by a map.¹⁴⁶ An exceptional series of maps that document the enclosure process were made for Kirby and Holdenby (see below).

The enclosure of waste involved common rights of people from multiple townships and was necessarily more complicated. Early piecemeal enclosures of this type of land were often illegal and resulted in court cases which in turn produced maps. The earliest map identified for the county is the division of woodland on Pipewell Plain in Rockingham Forest between the townships of Pipewell, Desborough and Rushton in c1518.¹⁴⁷ The block of land allocated to Desborough can be identified as the ‘plain closes’ on the 1776 enclosure map of the township.¹⁴⁸ There were numerous other enclosures like these, some involving small plots of ground, as at Brigstock and Biggin, while others covered substantial areas, as at Duddington.¹⁴⁹ Not all resulted in maps made at the time but the land can be identified from later maps.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ No enclosure date is known for Gunthorpe, Costow, Westhorp and Puxley.

¹⁴⁴ M. E. Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families 1540-1640*, (Northampton, 1956), p. 157.

¹⁴⁵ NRO Th 409; Grant (Li) H.3; YO 883; G2002; G3920. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of Abthorpe.

¹⁴⁶ NRO Map 561; XYZ 991, 990. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of Haselbech.

¹⁴⁷ TNA MPC 1/42.

¹⁴⁸ NRO Map ZB 615.

¹⁴⁹ Brigstock: Pettit, 1968, pp. 166, 168, 169. Biggin: G. Foard, 'Medieval Land Use, Settlement and Industry in Rockingham Forest, Northants', *Medieval Archaeology*, 47, (2001), pp. 41-95. Duddington: TNA MPE 1/459; NRO Map 3633.

¹⁵⁰ Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009).

No maps have been identified that depict the gradual enclosure of a township. Given this dearth of detailed documentation, most of the discussion relating to anciently enclosed places concerns the final enclosure rather than the methods and process that achieved it.

Chronology and Density

All the townships that were wholly anciently enclosed as well as anciently enclosed non-township land of parks and disafforested woodland are shown in Figure 2.1. Such enclosure was slightly more common in the western half of the county, and there are also small clusters of enclosed places in the west and in the lower Nene. In the centre of the county, along the Nene valley and in the Soke there are large blocks of land with no anciently enclosed places. But there is no distinctive pattern to this type of enclosure across the county, and it is easy to over-analyse such tenuous spatial patterning as is evident. The earliest ancient enclosures made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are predominantly in the west of the county with only two outside of this region at Papley and Thorpe Underwood. Most were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some 33 and 44 per cent, respectively. Much has been written on the depopulating enclosures of the Tudor period, but in Northamptonshire the majority of enclosures took place in the seventeenth century; the same pattern that is seen nationally.¹⁵¹ There is no particular geographic pattern to these in Northamptonshire, except for the cluster along the lower Nene.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Overton, (1996), p. 148.

¹⁵² It may be possible to identify more nuanced patterns-within-patterns with further research, for example groups of enclosure within tighter timeframes than a whole century. However, that is beyond the remit of this study.

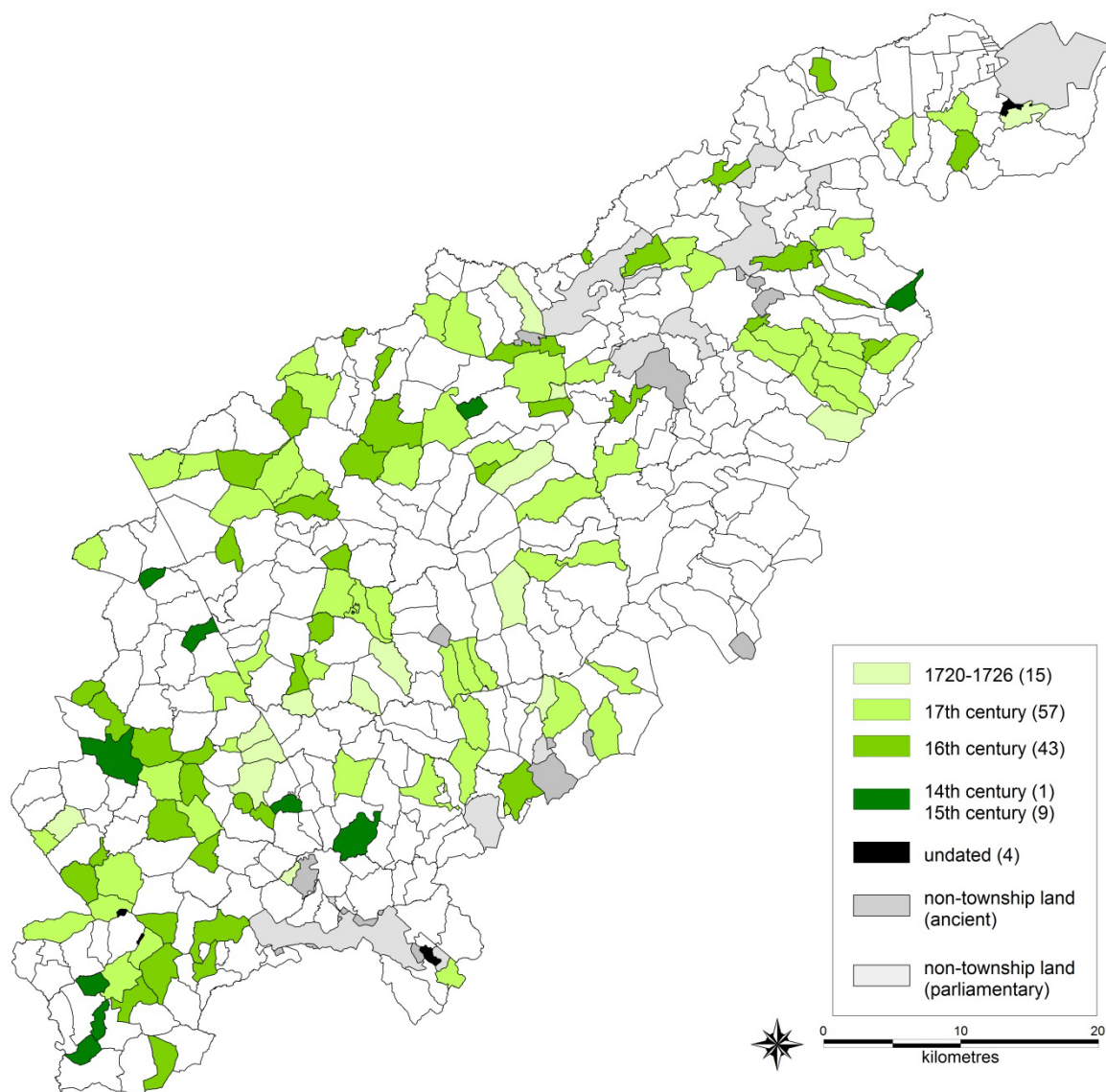


Figure 2.1: All wholly anciently enclosed places. The number of places enclosed in each period is indicated in parenthesis. The forest and fen are represented by the non-township parliamentary land.¹⁵³

Factors that may have affected the location of early enclosure are the size of township, topography and soils, and tenure; both landownership and the type of tenancy.¹⁵⁴ The average size of Northamptonshire townships is 1,555 acres. It ranges from the tiny (74 acres at Costow, 156 at Cotton, 180 at Hide, and 188 at Perio), to some 5,000 acres at Peterborough.¹⁵⁵ Of the ten townships enclosed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries most

¹⁵³ The single fourteenth century enclosure indicated on the map is at Ashby Lodge. However, there is some ambiguity regarding its exact status. It was a separate estate within the parish of Ashby St. Ledgers but it may not have been a separate township. Hall, (1995), Chapter 10.

¹⁵⁴ The latter two issues are discussed in 'determinants'.

¹⁵⁵ Peterborough contained, in addition to the city, the hamlets of Dogsthorpe, Newark, Garton End, and Eastfield as well as the grange at Oxney. There are some caveats in the assessment of township size notably multiple townships assessed together as the boundaries between them are not known.

were very small. Four had approximately 500 acres and another four had less than 1,000 acres. However, the other two are much larger; Easton Neston with Hulcote is some 1,745 acres, while Charwelton, at 2,432 acres, is one of the largest townships in the county. Of the eight smallest, seven are hamlets and might be expected to have small settlements making enclosure a simpler proposition. Easton Neston contained the hamlets of Hulcote and Swardsley, while Charwelton had the two separate settlements of Church and Little or Lower Charwelton. That these larger townships did not have single settlements is of note as it is possible that they were enclosed in phases, with the hamlets or subsidiary settlements and their lands being enclosed in discrete blocks before final enclosure of the whole township. If that is so, then they may have more in common with other townships enclosed during this period than a simple examination of size would suggest. A very similar pattern is seen in the enclosures of the sixteenth century, where 23 of the 43 township enclosed had less than 1,000 acres and 9 had less than 500 acres. The others had between 1,000 and 2,000, and only Kelmarsh with 2,854 acres, exceeded that figure. There is however no correlation between the lowest acreages and actual date within the sixteenth century, as they are spread throughout (Table 2.1).

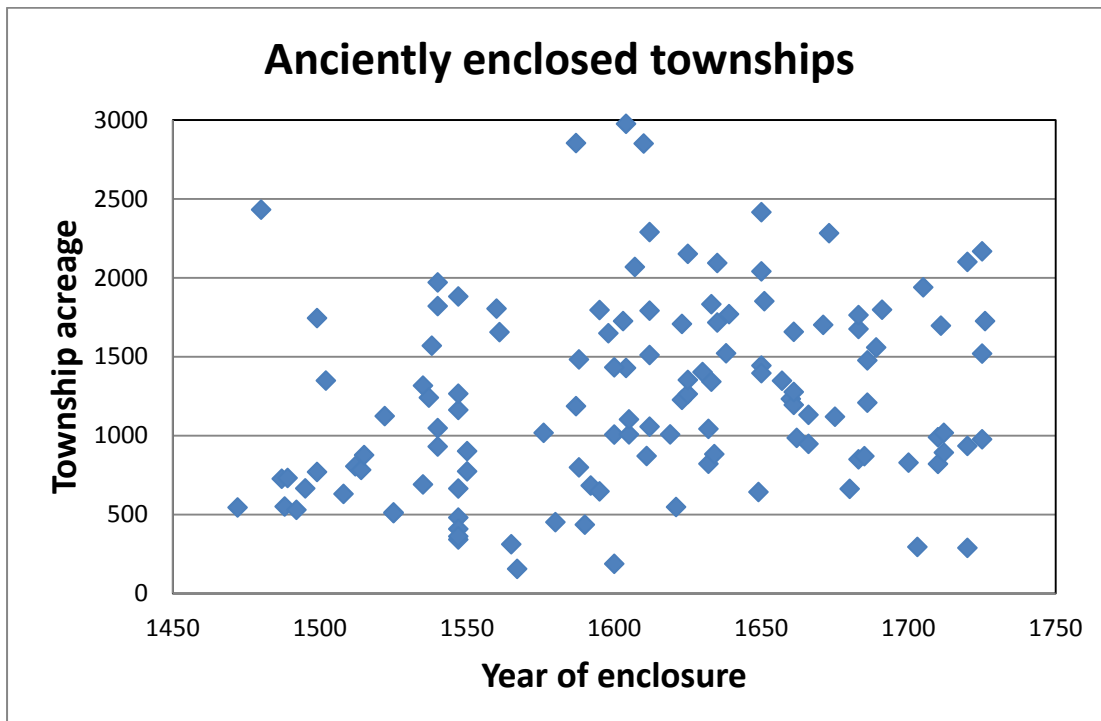


Table 2.1: The acreage of anciently enclosed townships relative to the date of enclosure.

In the sixteenth century there does appear to be an association between size and status.

Thirty-two of the 43 places were hamlets and other small settlements like monastic granges,

most of which were also the smallest in acreage. By the seventeenth century this pattern is lost, with only 10 of the 57 townships enclosed comprising less than 1,000 acres and none less than 500 acres. Most were between 1,000 and 2,000 acres, and nine had between 2,000 and 3,000 acres. Only five of the 57 are hamlets. Of the 15 enclosures from the first quarter of the eighteenth century, eight have less than 1,000 acres and two less than 300 acres, while four of the 15 are hamlets. The small places are predominantly in the west of the county and on the periphery of Rockingham Forest. If there is a relationship between century of enclosure, size of township and status of the settlement it applies only to those made prior to the seventeenth century.

Places wholly enclosed prior to 1727 are only part of the total of ancient enclosure in the county, albeit the major part. Ancient enclosure within townships that achieved final enclosure in the parliamentary period was not insignificant. This is illustrated in Figure 2.2, but it is not possible to plot all the land anciently enclosed. There were 59 townships enclosed in the parliamentary period for which no map has been identified but for which there are enclosure statistics from the awards. Most have very little ancient enclosure and would not significantly contribute to the overall calculation. But 11 have between 30 and 70 per cent and that should be considered when assessing quantities and spatial patterning of enclosure from before the parliamentary period. These townships are indicted in Figure 2.2 by pies.

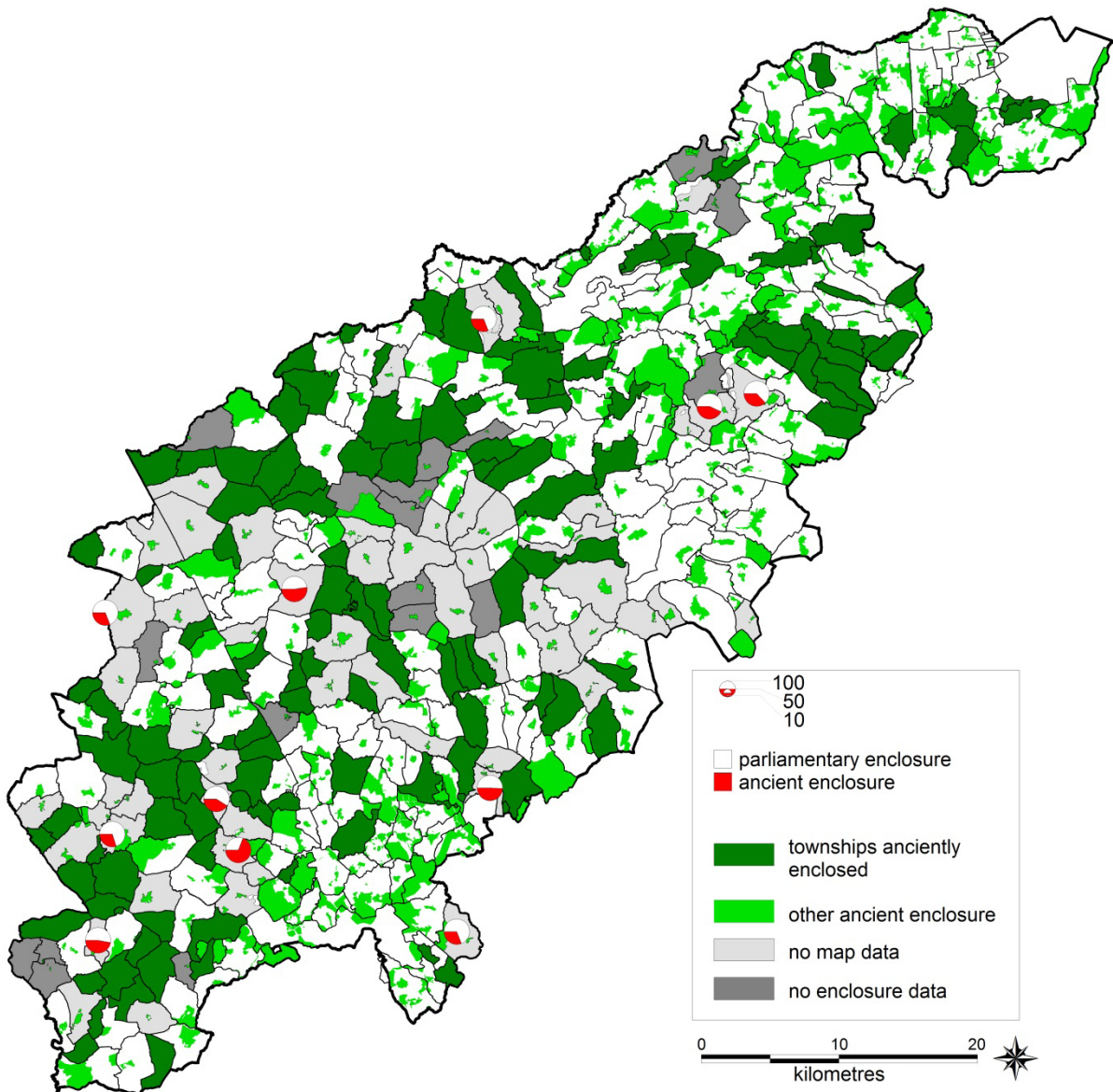


Figure 2.2: All anciently enclosed land in Northamptonshire. The proportion of ancient enclosure between 30 and 70 per cent in townships with no map is indicated by the red section of the pies. White areas are parliamentary enclosed land.

In order to quantify all the ancient enclosure within the county (townships and waste) all the mapped data were combined into a single polygon, giving an aggregate of 992 km² or 39 per cent of the county area. In addition to the mapped data, figures for the 59 places with no map have been calculated from the awards or from Tate's *Domesday*. This adds a further 77 km² giving a total of 1,069 km² or 43 per cent of the county area. However, there are 18 places for which no enclosure statistics are known, which total 110 km². That figure has been subtracted from the county area (reducing 2,576 km² to 2,466 km²) to give the total of ancient enclosure

that is quantifiable, and the total of anciently enclosed land is still 43 per cent of the county.¹⁵⁶

While every effort was made to include all anciently enclosed land, there remain some minor anomalies within the data. The exact status of some woods and roads required resolving. Ancient woodland within a township might have been privately owned but common rights could still be operating. Enclosure documents were examined to see if the wood was included in the enclosure process, in which case it was calculated as parliamentary enclosure, if not it was added to the anciently enclosed table. Ridings within woods were assessed separately. In some cases the entire block of woodland was anciently enclosed, as at Badby. In other places the woods were anciently enclosed but the ridings within them were allotted in the parliamentary process, as at Ashton and Roade. Roads were usually publicly accessible but verges alongside them were often allotted at enclosure, making them partly ancient and partly parliamentary. In order to simplify this all roads within an area of anciently enclosed land have been classified as ancient enclosure, and all roads within an area of parliamentary enclosed land are classified as parliamentary.

The exact nature of some land within settlements also required assessment in spite of the fact that settlements might be supposed to be wholly ancient. There were some plots within settlements that were never enclosed and remain open to this day. In other places these 'greens' were partially enclosed as part of the enclosure process of the whole township, or were encroached upon in the years following enclosure. An assessment of these features showed that the total land involved was so small as to make no difference to the county calculations. The other factor that needed consideration was anciently enclosed land that was re-allotted at enclosure and so was included in the award statistics as part of the allotment total.¹⁵⁷ But once again when an assessment was made the amounts were found to be so small as not to influence the overall figures.

Having established the total amount of anciently enclosed land it is possible to present the data in several ways. Some examples are given here. Each uses the same datasets but GIS allows flexibility in methods of presentation. Figure 2.2 shows the actual land enclosed, insofar as that is possible given the absence of a complete coverage of maps as noted above.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix 1 for the method used to calculate the figures.

¹⁵⁷ The reasons behind such reallocation are discussed below in Parliamentary Period Enclosure.

The land anciently enclosed within parliamentary townships is shaded differently to enable it to be distinguished. It is immediately apparent that within these townships there were substantial blocks of ancient enclosure, far more so in fact than in smaller scattered plots. It is also of note that those parliamentary townships with the most ancient enclosure are heavily concentrated on the periphery of the forests and the fen. Much of this ancient enclosure was disafforested woodland or former deer parks, rather than enclosed arable land. In contrast in the western half of the county there are several townships that have had one or more of the great fields enclosed prior to 1727, while along the Lower Nene there is a noticeable absence of ancient enclosure outside the village core.

Figure 2.3 uses pie charts for both types of enclosure, ancient and parliamentary period. Again it is readily apparent where the concentrations of ancient enclosed land lay. This form of presentation neatly illustrates the dominance of one type over the other. It is particularly useful for those places that do not have a map. The disadvantage to this method is that it does not allow assessment to be made based on where within the township the ancient land lay, for example, in small scattered plots, or a consolidated block, or on the periphery, and so on. In Figure 2.4 the data are displayed using density of colour shading, with the lightest representing the least amount of ancient enclosure. There is arguably little difference in the merits of presentation in Figures 2.3 and 2.4. Both are showing proportions of ancient enclosure and it is largely a question of aesthetic as to which is preferable.

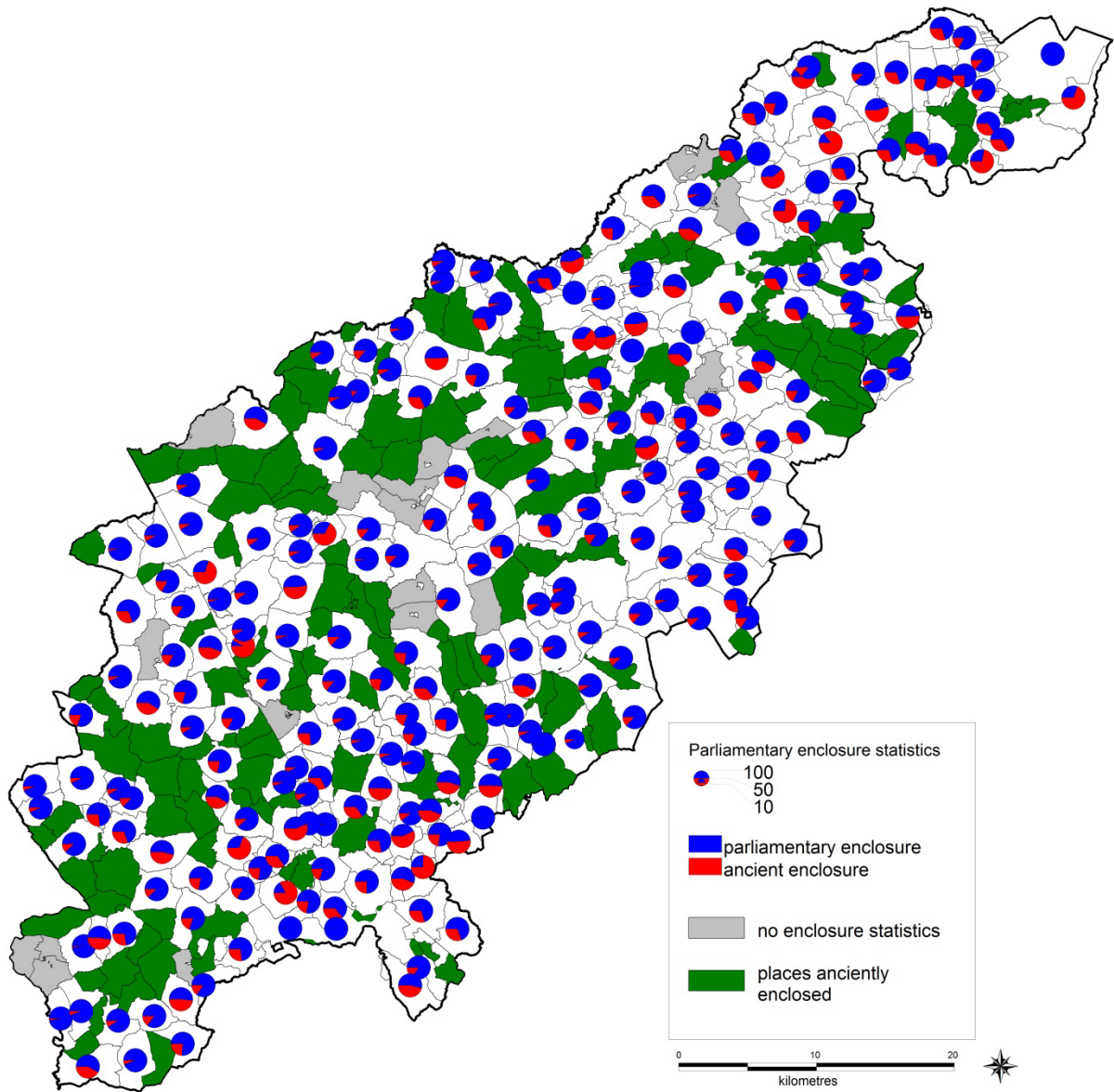


Figure 2.3: The quantity of anciently enclosed land within places enclosed during the parliamentary period, shown proportionally.

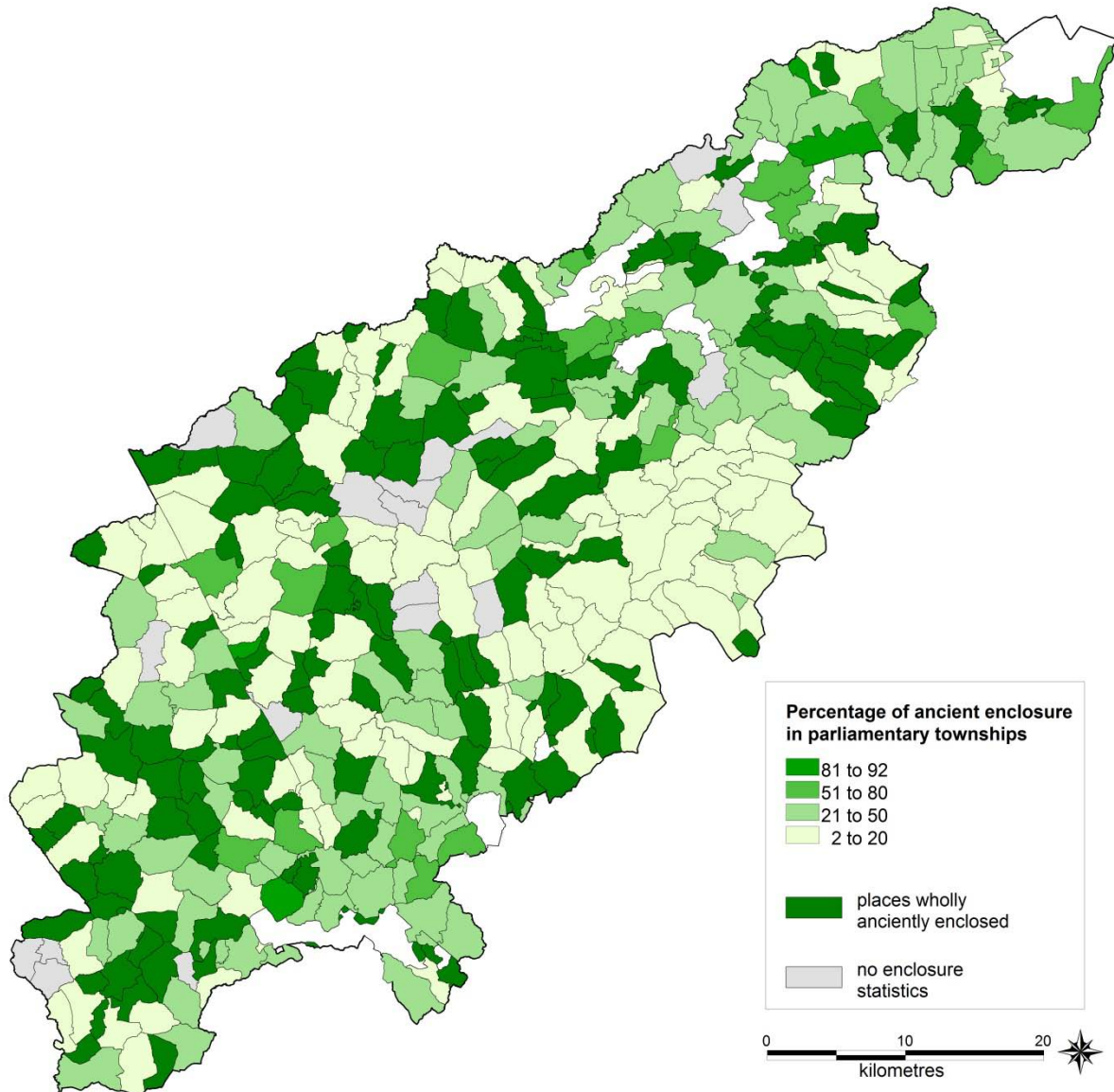


Figure 2.4: The percentage of ancient enclosure within places enclosed during the parliamentary period shown by colour density. White areas were wholly parliamentary period enclosure.

Figures 2.3 and 2.4 were generated in GIS from the main database which is linked to single graphic objects by place: township or waste. This is the simplest way of collecting and mapping the data. However, the most useful method is to map the ‘real’ data: that is, the actual land enclosed, as is represented in Figure 2.2. In addition to providing a visual representation of the amount of ancient enclosure (and by extension the amount of unenclosed land) in the mid-eighteenth century it also allows for more sophisticated analysis to be made, particularly with regard to the determinants of enclosure.

Determinants

Motives for enclosure prior to the first by parliamentary act in the county are not easily determined. This is largely due to the lack of accompanying documentation. And while the motives of eighteenth century and later enclosers are not unequivocal, there is a great deal more evidence to work with. Such evidence as there is would suggest that the principal motive in both periods was broadly the same: a change in agricultural practice and management. In the earlier period this was more closely linked to environmental factors and largely driven by a few substantial landowners. There may also have been different objectives behind piecemeal or gradual enclosure depending on location and tenure. It has been suggested that early enclosures were often on poor soils that were difficult to cultivate and therefore 'better suited to pasture than to the plough'.¹⁵⁸ For many of the townships in Northamptonshire that were enclosed in phases there is a great deal to be said for this argument. Partial enclosure of a township could be achieved in various ways: creating small closes, often on the edge of the township; enclosing the demesne; enclosing one or more of the great fields; imparking. There is evidence for all of these methods in Northamptonshire, some townships having evidence of all four.

Many townships had enclosures on the periphery that were also on poor soils and thus would have been the least accessible for the smallest return, and so likely to have been enclosed with little resistance. Because the data have been collected in GIS it would be possible to assess every identified ancient enclosure in the county to make a quantifiable analysis of the correlation between enclosure and geology.¹⁵⁹ Such a county-wide analysis has not been made for this study, but an example is given for Denford and Titchmarsh where the ancient enclosures are shown against the underlying geology (Figure 2.5). Those on the periphery of the townships are on heavy boulder clay or Oxford clay, both difficult, intractable and (prior to intensive under-draining from the late eighteenth century) producing low yields.¹⁶⁰ In contrast the settlement closes generally lie on the lighter more permeable geologies.¹⁶¹ Denford was finally enclosed in 1765 and Titchmarsh in 1778, but it is unknown at what date the enclosure outside of the settlements took place.

¹⁵⁸ Williamson, Liddiard, and Partida, (2013), p. 136.

¹⁵⁹ There are no large-scale soils maps for the county and so geology has been used as a substitute.

¹⁶⁰ Overton, (1996), pp. 58-59. Williamson, (2002), p. 85.

¹⁶¹ Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), Chapter 5.

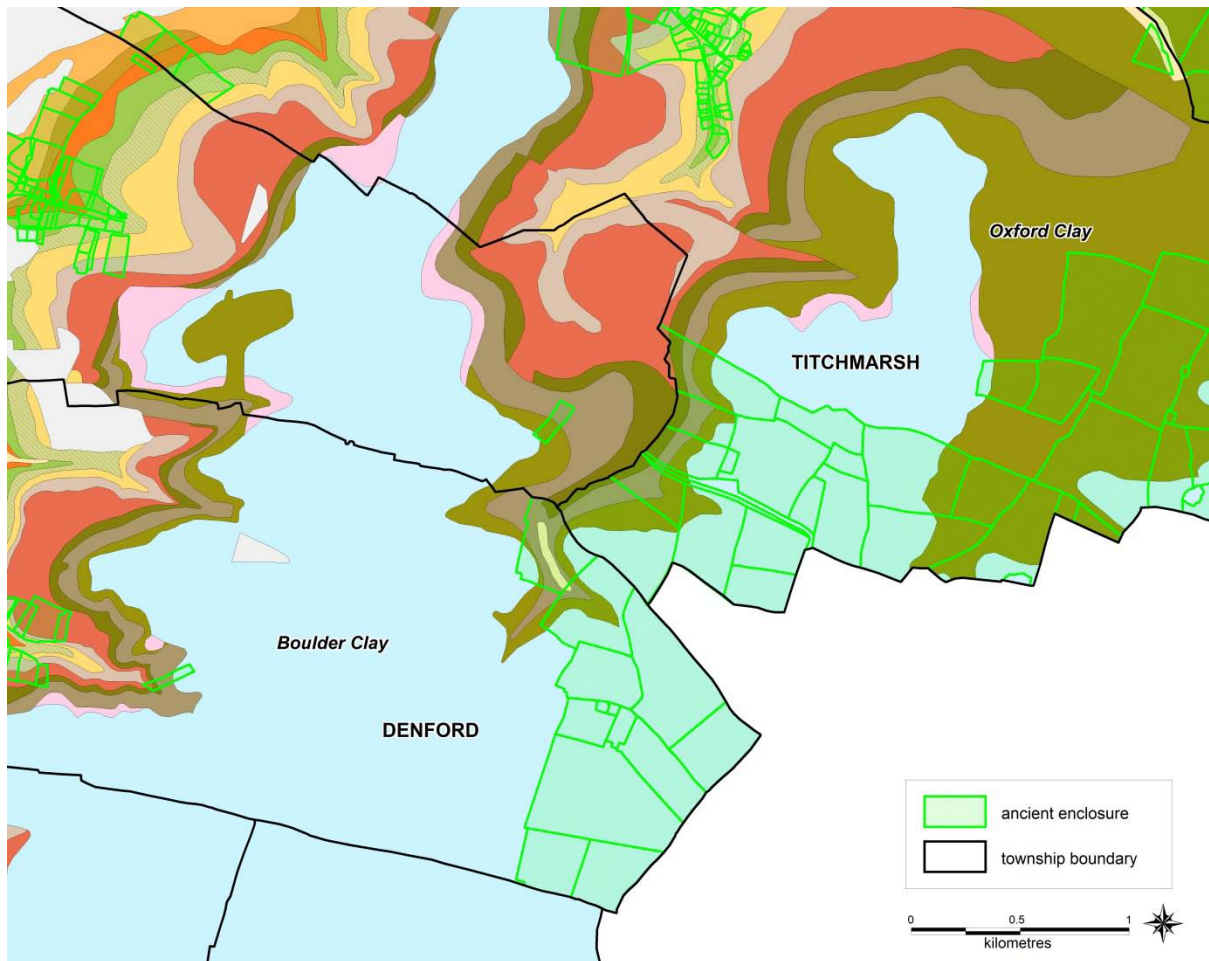


Figure 2.5: Ancient enclosure in Denford and Titchmarsh and its relationship to geology.

For Apethorpe and Kings Cliffe there is additional map evidence from c.1640 (Figure 2.6).¹⁶² The wavy orange line through the middle marks the township boundary between the two; Apethorpe is to the south of it. A small row of closes lay either side of the boundary on the edge of the townships. Apethorpe was enclosed in 1777 and King's Cliffe in 1809 at which dates the extent of closes outside of the settlements was the same as in c.1640.¹⁶³ While the exact date that these were created is unknown we can at least be certain that they were in existence by 1640. The reasons for these enclosures are unclear but the townships lay within Rockingham Forest and as the closes lay next to the woodland, and some are named 'Caluehay', they may represent assarts.

¹⁶² TNA MR 1/314.

¹⁶³ NRO Inclosure Plan 15; Map 2860.



Figure 2.6: Kings Cliffe and Apethorpe in c.1640. Closes on either side of the orange line lie on the edge of the great fields in either township. The detail on this map is highly accurate and many of these boundaries can be identified in the modern landscape. Note also the hedge between the great fields in Kings Cliffe.¹⁶⁴

Enclosure of the demesne also occurred in several townships. Demesnes could be a consolidated block of land lying next to the manor house, or dispersed plots within the open fields just like that of every other landholder. Of the demesnes studied in detail by David Hall 11 of 18 held in a consolidated block were enclosed by 1617. Only four out of 40 of the dispersed type had been enclosed before enclosure of the whole township.¹⁶⁵ The few enclosures of dispersed type are unsurprising as consolidation of land was one of the key components to enclosure and this had not happened. Demesne enclosure was clearly dependent on tenure as *only* the lord of the manor could accomplish it (with the necessary compensations to the rector and commoners). Some demesne enclosures were made for parks. Early deer parks were small and often located away from the settlement.¹⁶⁶ Those at Deene, Kirby, Kettering, Wadenhoe, Aynho, and Holdenby were later creations that were

¹⁶⁴ See 'Hedges' in Chapter 3 for a discussion of hedges within the open fields.

¹⁶⁵ Hall, (1995), pp. 68-75.

¹⁶⁶ Steane, (1975); Partida, (2007).

situated next to the manor house.¹⁶⁷ An exceptional series of maps from the 1580s were made for Sir Christopher Hatton which document the process of park creation at Kirby and Holdenby (Figures 1.17, 1.18).¹⁶⁸ At the same time other enclosures were made, converted to pasture and leased to tenants, for increased rents. Thomas Brudenell from neighbouring Deene was also consolidating his demesne lands at this period, and not only in Northamptonshire but across all his estates. His intention was the reorganisation of tenants' lands and their leases with the aim of encouraging the more substantial tenant and thereby increasing his revenue.¹⁶⁹ Other demesnes might be kept in-hand but farmed independently from the remainder of the township. At Wollaston the demesne was enclosed but remained arable and was on the best land suited to corn and peas.¹⁷⁰ So there is no particular link between enclosed demesne land and poor soils. Rather they were enclosed for a particular function that was not dependent on their lack of productivity.

Enclosure of one or more of the great fields required the agreement of all the freeholders but was not unusual, and occurred at Aynho, Braybrooke, Abthorpe, Stanwick, Cogenhoe, Brackley and Bradden among others. At Aynho and Braybrooke enclosure was achieved in stages much of which can be traced.¹⁷¹ Both have evidence of enclosure of all four of the methods described before final enclosure by parliamentary act in 1792 and 1778 respectively.

In most of the early enclosures from arable land in Northamptonshire the land was converted to pasture. This provided the opportunity to increase rents to tenants or focus on more intensive stock rearing. Increased revenue from rents would seem to be one of the prime motives of enclosure.¹⁷² At Haselbech enclosure in 1598 was brought about by the dominant landowner, Thomas Tresham, for the sole purpose of increasing his rental income.¹⁷³ The plan backfired and he was forced to sell shortly after at a loss, but the motive was clear. But as Overton has pointed out, increased rental income from reorganised leases was not dependant on enclosure.¹⁷⁴ However, without enclosure it required patience and a long-term strategy on the part of the landowner, as it could take years to convert copyhold tenancies to

¹⁶⁷ Foard, Hall & Partida 2009, pp. 40, 231-232, 286. D. Hall, 'Aynho Fields, Open and Enclosed', *ibid.* 56, (2006), pp. 7-22.

¹⁶⁸ NRO FH272.

¹⁶⁹ Finch, (1956), p. 154.

¹⁷⁰ Hall, (1995), p. 69.

¹⁷¹ Hall, (2006); Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), pp. 181-184.

¹⁷² Overton, (1996), p. 162.

¹⁷³ Finch, (1956), pp. 83-87.

¹⁷⁴ Overton, (1996), pp. 151-155.

leasehold or to take customary lands back in hand. Or it took a pragmatic approach to estate management as illustrated by Thomas Brudenell's tactics at Glapthorn. Here his attempts at enclosure were thwarted by tenants with life leases, and other freeholders, so he was content to reorganise his own lands by merging the demesne with the tenant lands, equalising the holdings and doubling the rents.¹⁷⁵ This measured, patient mode of management was something that Tresham's desperate financial situation, as a recusant, did not allow.

Precise evidence for increased rental income as a motive for enclosure is lacking for most places, but there is very good evidence of a change in agricultural practice being the prime motivation, and specifically for sheep farming. It has been pointed out by Yelling that large-scale sheep farming did not necessarily need enclosed land even in champion districts, but crucially was more likely 'where extensive downland occurred'.¹⁷⁶ In Northamptonshire there were no vast commons.¹⁷⁷ There were common flocks kept on the plains and ridings within the Rockingham Forest but these could not be enclosed (at least not legally), and so intensive sheep breeding on a large scale necessarily meant enclosure from the open fields.¹⁷⁸ Some very early enclosures for sheep were monastic in origin though they were usually quite small and did not cover the whole township. When these estates passed into secular hands at the Dissolution the new owners often continued the process of enclosure and converted the remaining open land.¹⁷⁹ Many of the county's major landed families were keen enclosers for sheep farming: the Knightley family at Fawsley; Andrews at Charwelton; Hatton at Kirby; Fitzwilliam at Milton; Brudenell at Deene; Tresham at Rushton; and probably the most influential of all, Spencer at Althorp.¹⁸⁰

Fawsley had been enclosed by Sir Edmund Knightley by 1547. At that time there was a small park but also 2,500 sheep which was at that time the largest flock in the county.¹⁸¹ He grazed a further 500 sheep at neighbouring Charwelton where Thomas Andrews also kept 1,200

¹⁷⁵ Finch, (1956), pp. 154-6; NRO BRU E vii.1.

¹⁷⁶ Yelling, (1977), p. 182.

¹⁷⁷ The notable exception was Borough Fen in the Soke, but this was external to any township and commonable to over 900 tenants or copyholders of Peterborough Abbey. It also provided poor grazing land which would not have been suitable for fattening stock, and at enclosure in 1810 it was drained and converted to arable.

¹⁷⁸ There were frequent and prolonged disputes between commoners from various villages concerning over-stinting on the plains, and also over illegal enclosures. Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), pp. 170, 184, 293, 21-22.

¹⁷⁹ K. J. Allison, M. W. Beresford, and J.G. Hurst, *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire*, (Leicester, 1966).

¹⁸⁰ Other owners of large flocks are listed in: Martin, (1988), p. 51.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

sheep.¹⁸² The Fitzwilliams at Milton in the Soke of Peterborough used their Northamptonshire estates for sheep farming but unlike the Knightleys and Andrews they often leased-out pastures rather than keep their own stock. This was largely due to their precarious financial situation in the late sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, which required that they raise ready cash.¹⁸³ Sheep farming reached its apogee in this period on the Spencer estate. John Spencer acquired Althorp in 1508 when it was already partly enclosed. The Spencers were not only sheep farmers but sheep breeders, which required that their flocks be kept separate from other flocks, and that required enclosure. Land that was suited to sheep rearing was deliberately sought and added to the estate, some of it already enclosed.¹⁸⁴ By 1578 they were keeping 3,691 sheep in Northamptonshire and over 14,000 in Warwickshire. They were also keeping cattle and both flock and herd required good pasture for fattening, so poor soils would not have been targeted.¹⁸⁵

The major families kept the largest flocks but they were by no means the only sheep farmers in the county. In the second half of the sixteenth century John Martin has calculated that the number of parishes with flocks increased by two-thirds.¹⁸⁶ There is also ample evidence for sheep farming recorded on maps from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Many show very large pasture closes from 50 to over 100 acres, as at East Carlton (1723), Hardwick (1684), Newbottle (1621) and Catesby (1638).¹⁸⁷ Others are marked with 'sheep pasture' or 'sheepwalks', as at Hanging Houghton (1655) and on the splendid map of Armston (1716) (Figure 2.7).¹⁸⁸ Yet others are marked with 'sheep pens', as at Plumpton (before 1685) and on a particularly fine map of Papley (1632), which also has a 'ram close'.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁸³ Finch, (1956), pp. 114-115.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁸⁵ Yelling, (1977), p. 183.

¹⁸⁶ Martin, (1988), pp. 50-52.

¹⁸⁷ NRO Maps 704, 1432, 5099, 6388.

¹⁸⁸ NRO maps 567/8; Boughton House private collection.

¹⁸⁹ Jesus College NH P1/3; NRO map 2221.



Figure 2.7: The sheepwalk at Armston in 1716 was part of the Montagu estate as evidenced by the splendid armorial device.

The determinants of enclosure in the pre-parliamentary period were twofold: agricultural practice and landownership. The two were closely linked and underpinned by economic concerns; the desire for increased revenue. Small enclosures on poor soil were created to provide grazing on land that was unproductive for crops, and inconvenient to reach; enclosed demesne might be for a park, or could operate a mini-regime of corn and sheep separate from the township, or was leased to tenants; enclosed great fields were converted to pasture, often for intensive sheep or cattle rearing. It was the intensification of stock-rearing that had the greatest effect on the landscape as this required larger areas of enclosed pasture. But this was very much driven by tenure as it represented not so much a change in general agricultural practice, rather a specialisation on the part of individual owners, and substantial owners at that.

PARLIAMENTARY PERIOD ENCLOSURE

Overview

The process of enclosure in the parliamentary period is more widely understood than that of ancient enclosure. This is largely due to the volume of documentation it produced, as a result of which scholars have tended to focus on this period thereby providing an additional corpus of secondary sources. The range and type of source is discussed within this section. The majority of places enclosed during this period were accomplished by act and award, some 93 per cent, so discussion begins with these as the sources of the two main datasets ‘Northamptonshire enclosure’ and ‘enclosure statistics’.

The period of parliamentary enclosure has been defined here as all those enclosures that took place from the first by parliamentary act in Northamptonshire in 1727 to the final in 1901 regardless of the method adopted.¹⁹⁰ There were 254 townships enclosed in this period as well as 12 wastes.¹⁹¹ Data have been collected for 236 of the township enclosures and for all the forests and fen.¹⁹² The date given for enclosure is that of the act. It does not mark either the beginning or the end of the process. The start may have been many years previously when negotiations were first begun but for most places it is unknown, and the end is more closely marked by the award, though the physical process of enclosure continued even after this.¹⁹³ But it is from the date when the act was passed that the commissioners took over and the communal system of farming ceased. The statistics for the amount of land enclosed and numbers of landowners are taken from the award. The award is used in preference to the act as the latter often gave an estimated acreage of the land to be enclosed whereas the award gives the actual acreage. Nonetheless, the totals of land enclosed and numbers of landowners as given in the award requires some clarification. The awards often include exchanges of land whereby owners use the enclosure process as a means of reorganising their holdings into more convenient blocks. These exchanges can sometimes include ancient enclosure and so the allotment totals are not wholly unenclosed land. However, even where the exchanges

¹⁹⁰ The first was at Grafton Regis, NRO G2002; the last at Sutton, NRO M189.

¹⁹¹ The wastes were not all enclosed by separate act as some separate walks within forests were enclosed together and some forest woodland enclosed with townships. However, they were discrete areas of land and so have been treated as individual places.

¹⁹² The 236 entries in the database represent 247 townships. See ‘enclosure statistics’ in Chapter 1.

¹⁹³ Turner, (1980), p. 67; the full process in Northamptonshire is discussed in Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), Chapter 4.

were numerous they usually only involved very small plots amounting to very little land and so the figures given in the award have been used with no adjustments made for exchanges.¹⁹⁴

The number of landowners recorded in the awards is actually the number of *allottees* who were not all landowners.¹⁹⁵ Allotments could be made to certain persons and institutions for non-landowning rights: to the tithe holder if tithes were being extinguished; to the lord of the manor for his rights in the soil or waste, and as compensation for enfranchisement of copyholds; to churchwardens; overseers of the poor; overseers of the highways; other parish officers; and to individuals for loss of common right. With the exception of the tithe allotments these allocations were usually very small. The lord of the manor was typically allocated less than one half a per cent of the total amount enclosed in lieu of his rights in the soil. The churchwardens could be allotted land for the upkeep of the church, and where there were no separate overseers of the poor within the parish they could also be allocated a poor allotment. In either case the plot would be small, usually less than 20 acres.

Priority is given to data from the awards, where an award was made; where that was not available (due to a damaged or illegible document) then data from the enclosure map has been used. Where neither award nor map has been identified the figures given in Tate's *Domesday* have been used and the source indicated in the database. For these places there are data only for the amount of land enclosed but none for the numbers of allottees. There are 11 townships that had no award and only eight of those have acts: Longthorpe, Wittering, Grafton Regis, Overstone, Faxton, Grafton Underwood, Cranford St. Andrew, and Wakerley. All except Overstone and Wakerley have maps that have been used instead of the award to calculate the amount of land being enclosed. Wicken has reference to an agreement and also has a suitable map, but for ten townships no documents relating to enclosure have been identified and only references, usually in glebe terriers, indicate that were finally enclosed during this period: Upper Radstone, Orton, Cottesbrooke, Draughton, Stanford on Avon, Sudborough, Blatherwycke, Great Oakley, Rockingham, and Thornhaugh. Only the latter three have usable maps. Eight are included in Tate's *Domesday* but only with estimated figures and so have been excluded here. A total of eighteen townships have been identified as

¹⁹⁴ There are 888 records of exchanges in a database of 12,837. Of those 250 have been identified as relating to ancient enclosure and they total 836 acres, or 0.2 of the total land enclosed.

¹⁹⁵ See 'Allotments and Allottees' in Chapter 4.

having no data (Figure 2.2), and none are presented for them in this part of the study, however they may well be included in discussion elsewhere.¹⁹⁶

Chronology and Density

The progress of enclosure from 1727 was slow for the first half of the eighteenth century. Of the 247 township enclosures only 26 were made before 1760. There were then two peaks, the first in the 1770s and the second, less pronounced, in the first decade of the nineteenth century (Table 2.2). This pattern is similar to that seen nationally and demonstrated by Turner, but with a significant variation.¹⁹⁷ Nationally the sharpest peak is the second; for all types of enclosure, and when separated into Turner's sub-groups of 'open-field arable' and 'common and waste'. In Northamptonshire the opposite is true with the sharpest peak very clearly in the 1770s. This anomaly is also seen in some other counties, mostly in the Midlands, and is attributed by Turner to changing economic conditions that made conversion of arable to pasture not only viable but desirable.¹⁹⁸ The second wave he calls 'enclosures in wartime' reflecting the period of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars 1793 - 1815. Nationally this later wave is more closely associated with enclosures of common and waste and the conversion of pasture to arable. But Northamptonshire had very little waste, the forest and fen totalling only five per cent of the county, which may explain why the second wave is less marked in the county. Furthermore, the majority of the waste within Northamptonshire was enclosed from the 1820s onwards, later than the national peak. Waste enclosed in 1805 and 1806, Brigstock bailiwick and Cliffe bailiwick, were already privately owned and after common rights were extinguished they remained wooded.¹⁹⁹ Conversion from waste to arable as a response to the war-time grain market was not the driving force of enclosure in these places.

¹⁹⁶ The townships with no map data or no enclosure data are shown in Figure 2.2. See also 'no enclosure statistics' in Appendix 1.

¹⁹⁷ Turner, (1980), pp. 66-71.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 73-75.

¹⁹⁹ Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009).

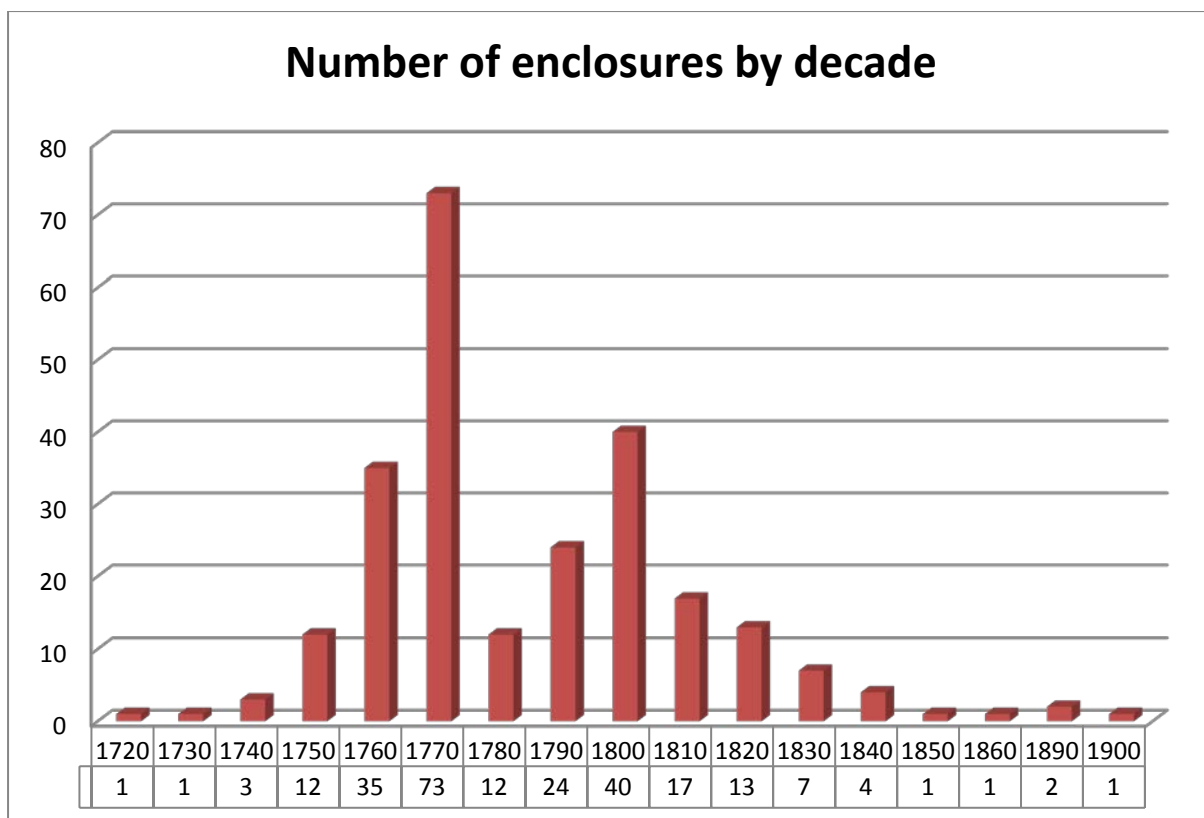


Table 2.2: Northamptonshire enclosure by decade. Figures are both township land and waste.

War was not the only impetus to increasing grain output as a succession of poor harvests in the 1790s had seen a corresponding rise in food prices and poor rates, thus encouraging the expansion of arable onto the wastes and commons.²⁰⁰ But the link between the second wave of enclosure and war-time is a persuasive one, even if not an exact fit for Northamptonshire. So could the same argument be made for the first peak, which coincided with the American War of Independence 1775 – 1783? Of the 82 acts made in Northamptonshire during this period, 56 were between 1775 and 1783. Those made in the first half of the 1770s might also be attributed to the threat or fear of war as hostilities did not erupt unheralded in 1775. Paul Sharp has recently shown that the hypothesis that British reliance on American wheat was a phenomenon of the later nineteenth century is flawed. This is because it ignores the lower volume, but significant and thriving trade in wheat in the eighteenth century, which was only exceeded by tobacco.²⁰¹ It is of particular note that the imports from America between 1770 and 1775 are equal to all those from other foreign markets. Unsurprisingly there is a direct correlation between poor harvests in Britain and increased imports of foreign grain. There

²⁰⁰ Mingay, (1997), p. 23.

²⁰¹ P. Sharp, 'The Long American Grain Invasion of Britain: Market Integration and the Wheat Trade Between North America and Britain From the Eighteenth Century', *University of Copenhagen Department of Economics Discussion Papers* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2008), p. 2.

were poor harvests in 1771 and 1772 which may account for the increasing American imports over this period. Nor did imports entirely cease after war broke out, but trade was hampered by the actual hostilities and by interruptions to American production.²⁰² The loss of American grain imports was undoubtedly felt, but it was not catastrophic; trade continued with Europe and home harvests were generally good. So it is perhaps unlikely that there was a direct correlation between the two events of war in America and enclosure in England; particularly as most enclosure in this phase resulted in conversion of arable to pasture, the exact opposite of what might be expected if increased grain was the motive. A more convincing reason might be the increase in dairy prices from the 1760s which would encourage a change in agricultural regime. And as Overton has pointed out, while enclosure encouraged the intensification of an agricultural system, the actual system was closely linked to local conditions. Put simply, and taking into account production and labour costs: heavy clays might produce poor harvests but made ideal pastures; and poor soils that produced weak grazing could produce rich crops.²⁰³

Mapping the data in GIS makes it possible to examine where within the county the peaks of enclosure occurred (Figure 2.8). Those from the 1770s form no obvious patterns, being spread across the county, and nor do they have any relationship to a particular type of geology which might suggest an environmental purpose to enclosure. There are, however, very distinct clusters of later enclosure in the Soke, along the Nene valley and around the forests. The forests, and many of the adjacent townships, had a very clear relationship to geology as they were predominantly on intractable boulder clay. The Nene valley also had vast swathes of boulder clay. In the Soke the poorer soils took the form of limestones producing heaths, and heavy peat and clay in the fen (Figure 1.1). Environmental conditions account for the location of the forests and fen but it was the administrative structure that governed how they were managed and also accounts for their late enclosure (Figures 1.3, 1.5).²⁰⁴ Whereas in the forests the Crown had once been the major landowner and controlling influence, in the Soke that role had belonged to Peterborough Abbey resulting in a complex tenurial structure. Moreover, many of the townships had shared resources and inter-mixed farms that could only be untangled by enclosing them together. This had hindered earlier attempts at enclosure and almost certainly accounts for the late enclosure of this region.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 8.

²⁰³ Overton, (1996), pp. 160-161.

²⁰⁴ Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009); Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), pp. 78-81.

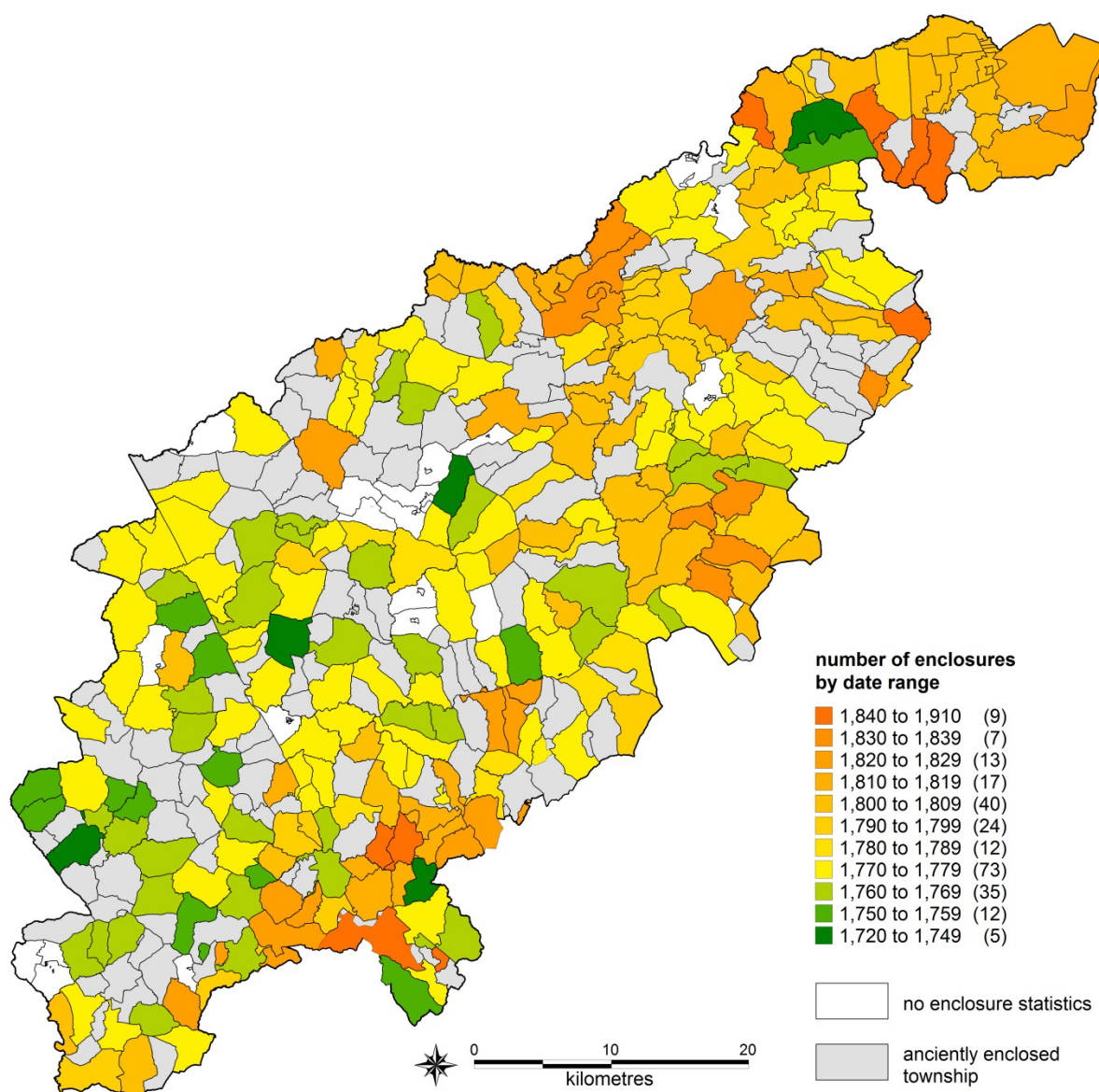


Figure 2.8: The spatial pattern of enclosure in the parliamentary period in Northamptonshire. The figure in brackets indicates the number of places enclosed not the number of acts, as some acts enclosed multiple places.

An examination of the relationship between the date of enclosure and the size of township enclosed is only meaningful if the whole township was enclosed in a single event. In 73 places this did happen (making an allowance of ten per cent of the township size for the settlement area), but the range in size is enormous, from 629 acres at Duncote to 4,244 at Wellingborough. It is also possible to seek for correlations between the date of enclosure and percentage of the township enclosed (Table 2.3), or date and number of landowners/allottees

(Table 2.4).²⁰⁵ Similarly the numbers of landowners can be compared to the percentage of land enclosed (Table 2.5). In none of the scenarios is there an obvious link to the date of enclosure. But anomalies in the numbers of landowners must be addressed before conclusions are drawn. The numbers of landowners are affected by the status of the settlement; towns will obviously have a significantly higher population than villages even if the size of the township is comparable. Therefore some of the highest figures in Table 2.5 represent the towns and larger villages that had a commercial as well as an agricultural character.²⁰⁶ Even then the correlation is not quite that straightforward; at the enclosure of Northampton in 1779 rather than allot numerous small plots to the individual holders of common rights, the commissioners allotted a plot of ground that was at that time used as a racecourse, as a park for the townspeople.²⁰⁷ It remains a park called 'the racecourse' to this day. There were then only 21 allotments made in Northampton which would suggest a settlement of small size and status if numbers alone were considered. However, even with such caveats there is no clear link between the date of enclosure and percentage of land enclosed, or numbers of landowners. A township enclosed in 1810 was no more likely to have more or less land enclosed, or more or fewer landowners than a township enclosed in 1770. In other words, the date of enclosure does not reflect the amount of land enclosed or numbers of landowners involved.

²⁰⁵ There are 35 townships for which the numbers of landowners is not known. These have been removed from the data presented in Tables 2.3 and 2.4.

²⁰⁶ Parish Registers can provide evidence of the occupational make-up of a community but the most comprehensive evidence has been found in the published militia lists from 1777. V. Hatley, *Northamptonshire Militia Lists 1777*, (Northampton, 1973).

²⁰⁷ NRO Inclosure Volume E.

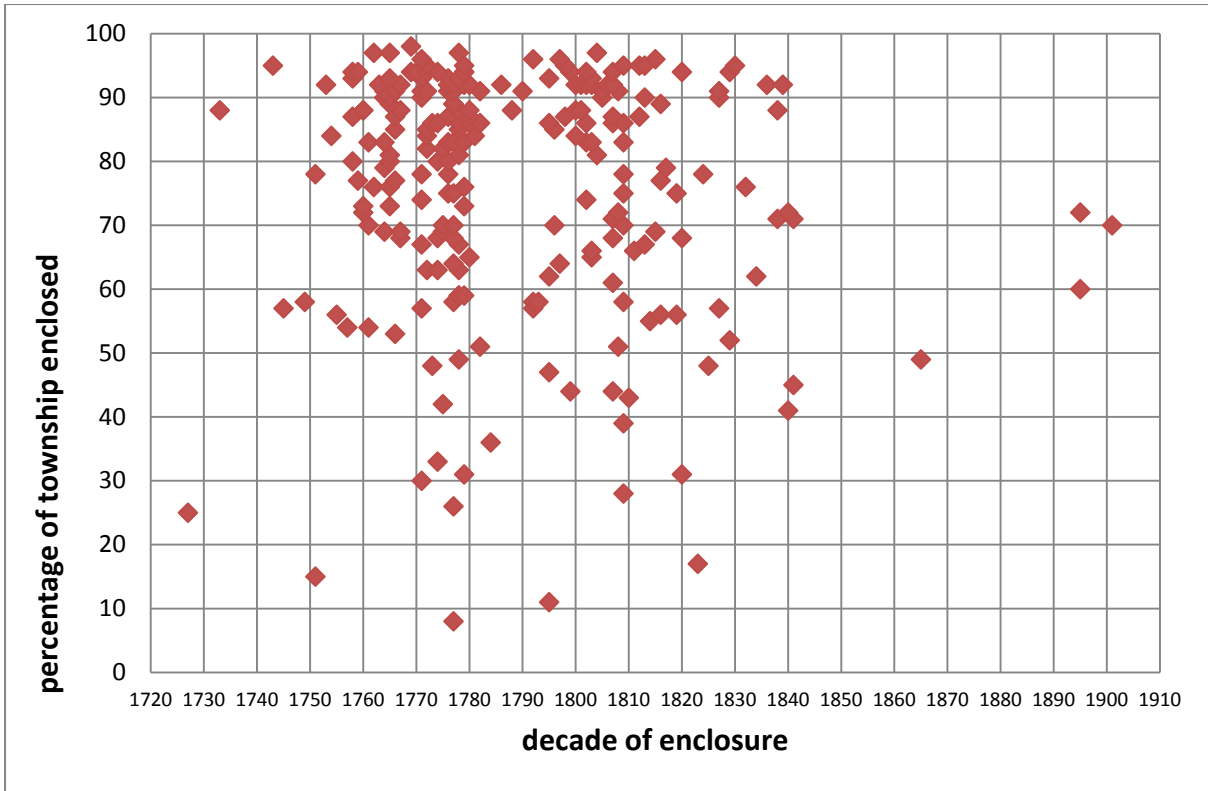


Table 2.3: The percentage of each township enclosed by decade in the parliamentary period.

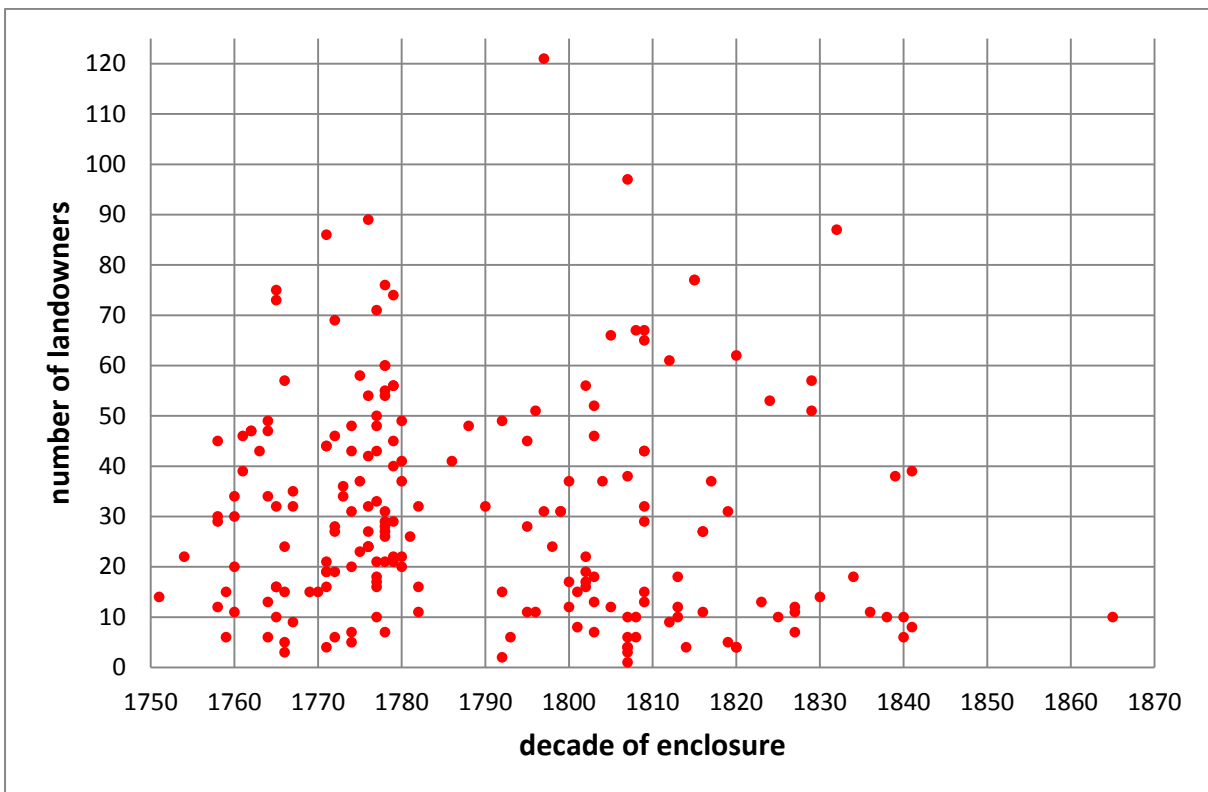


Table 2.4: The number of landowners relative to the decade of enclosure in the parliamentary period.

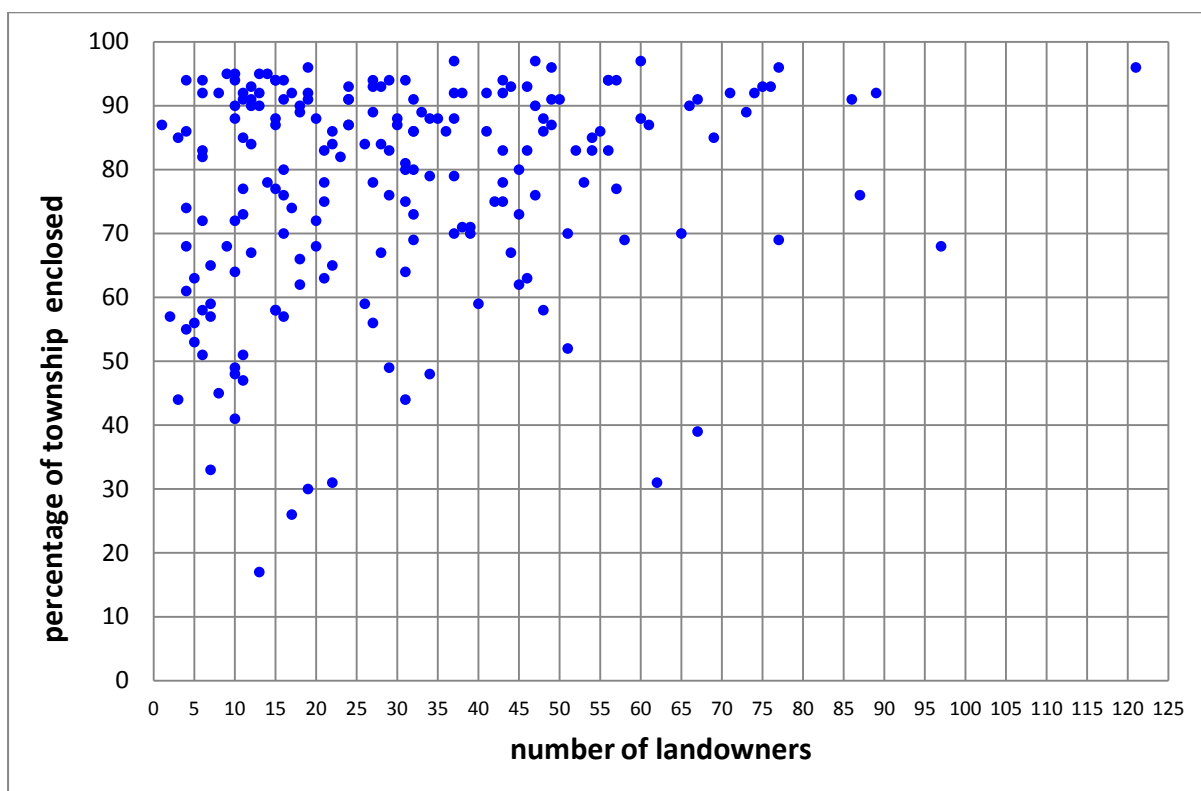


Table 2.5: The number of landowners/allottees in each township relative the percentage of land enclosed.

The total amount of land enclosed by act of parliament in Northamptonshire was calculated by Turner to be 335,587 acres or 53 per cent.²⁰⁸ His enclosure statistics are based on Tate's *Domesday* and the primary source is the act. For the county acreage he provides five base figures with the 53 per cent based on the 1873 county area given in Stamp and Hoskins at 633,286 acres.²⁰⁹ He is well aware of the limitations of calculating statistics from acts alone stating that, 'the statistics ... contain the bare facts' and that 'their function should be as a springboard for other investigations', rather than being taken as an end in their own right.²¹⁰ Wordie has been critical of Turner for overestimating the amount of land enclosed by act at the same time as underestimating other forms of enclosure. But he considers that the two errors are likely to cancel each other out and so the margin of error must be 'certainly no more than 1 per cent ... either way'.²¹¹ Chapman too has been critical of Turner's approach because the figures given in some acts and awards are estimates 'which can be wildly

²⁰⁸ Turner, (1980), pp. 33, 180.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 183; W. G. Hoskins & L. D. Stamp, *The Common Lands of England and Wales*, (London, 1963), p. 92.

²¹⁰ Turner, (1980), p. 32.

²¹¹ Wordie, (1983), p. 488.

inaccurate', and because such a method takes no account of other forms of enclosure.²¹²

Chapman's own calculations, based upon a ten per cent sample of awards from England and Wales, suggest that Turner's figures are an underestimate. Chapman is criticised in turn by Walton for his method of sampling, which Walton considers invalid and that the true figure of 'global parliamentary enclosure acreage ... remains unknown.'²¹³ National studies can present something of a dichotomy: on the one hand the scope of study allows a more meaningful contribution to the academic debate than a more parochial approach can offer; on the other hand localised research is able to analyse *all* the sources rather than using sampling.

This study includes all enclosure, not just those made by act and award, and has refined a method for calculating the amount of land enclosed.²¹⁴ The county acreage has been calculated from the mapped data of townships and all other lands (waste or parks) as 636,500 acres or 2,576 km². But the quantifiable county size (established by subtracting the acreage of townships for which there are no enclosure statistics) is 609,364 acres or 2,466 km². There were 351,313 acres or 1,422 km² of the county enclosed in this period, equating to 57 per cent, considerably more than Turner's figures.²¹⁵ The vast majority of townships (212 out of 236), or 90 per cent, had more than 50 per cent of their land enclosed. But the proportion of land enclosed within a township is of wider interest than a simple calculation of extent; numbers of acres enclosed tells us nothing about the systems that were operating, and it is the *type* of land being enclosed that is of particular importance. Turner's figures divide the enclosure acts into those 'which included *some* open field arable lands' and 'enclosure *exclusively* of common and waste'.²¹⁶ There are two problems with this approach. Firstly there is the issue of including open field land and waste together, an unavoidable consequence if that is what the act does, but of more concern is placing the emphasis on the open field component when that might have been the smaller proportion of the enclosure. In Northamptonshire a total of 31,104 acres of waste were enclosed in this period. Of that

²¹² Chapman, (1987), p. 25; Chapman & Seeliger, (2001), p. 12.

²¹³ J. R. Walton, 'On Estimating the Extent of Parliamentary Enclosure', *Agricultural History Review*, (1990), p. 81; Chapman responds to this critique and there follows an increasingly ill-tempered published exchange: J. Chapman, 'Confidence Limits and Enclosure Estimates: Some Comments', *Agricultural History Review*, 39, (1991a); J. R. Walton, 'Parliamentary Enclosure, the Boot Strap, and a Red Herring or Two', *Agricultural History Review*, 39, (1991); J. Chapman, 'The Bootstrap and Dr Walton's Red Herrings', *Agricultural History Review*, 39, (1991b).

²¹⁴ See 'All Ancient Enclosed Land' in Appendix 1.

²¹⁵ It is 57.6 per cent to be exact but some allowance must be made for rounding of figures in the calculations. The total county percentage of ancient enclosure has been calculated at 53 per cent (see above) so the percentage for the parliamentary period has been rounded down to 57 per cent.

²¹⁶ Turner, (1980), p. 22.

11,506 or 37 per cent was enclosed with the open fields of adjacent townships and in some cases the acreage of waste was significantly greater than that of the open field. Gretton township was enclosed with Rockingham bailiwick in 1832 and there were 1,573 acres in Gretton and 4,806 in the bailiwick; Brigstock and Stanion fields were enclosed with Geddington Chase and Fermyn Woods in 1795 and the summed proportions were 1,078 acres of open field and 3,282 of woodland; Silverstone fields of 643 acres were enclosed in 1824 with the 2,384 acres of Haselborough Walk in Whittlewood Forest.²¹⁷ In all these cases the acreage enclosed would be tabulated by Turner's method within the figures for open field land, which both underestimates the waste and overestimates the open field. Indeed his total acreage for waste in the county is 13,776 acres, which is less than half the actual figure of 31,104.²¹⁸ Secondly, and perhaps more problematic, is the term 'open field *arable*' (my italics) because this implies that open fields were predominantly arable.

This issue has been recognised in Chapman and Seeliger's study of southern England, which has shown that in Dorset, Hampshire, Wiltshire and Sussex the figures for open field, and common and waste are all significantly different than those given by Turner.²¹⁹ Yet even where they have separated the land use into 'field', 'pasture/common and waste', 'common meadow' and 'old enclosed', it is not completely clear what they mean by 'common and waste', or how it has been calculated. For example, in Northamptonshire there are some townships which had large blocks of common pasture, some of which may never have been under the plough, and these are easy to identify from certain maps (though whether they should be classed as waste is another matter). Less obvious is the grass *within* the great fields, particularly when this is in small scattered parcels. It is unclear whether Chapman and Seeliger are *only* counting the large blocks of grass identified from the awards as common pasture or waste, because if so the amount of grass within the study areas is likely to be higher still. Moreover, Chapman's assertion that parliamentary enclosure in Northamptonshire was 75 per cent arable repeats the problem by using the blanket description of 'arable' for open fields.²²⁰ He also asserts that 'the overwhelming majority of awards specify clearly whether the land concerned in any particular allotment was open field, meadow or common waste'.²²¹ In Northamptonshire awards that is *not* the case. Even awards

²¹⁷ NRO YZ 6685; BSL 65; G3909.

²¹⁸ Turner, (1980), p. 178.

²¹⁹ Chapman & Seeliger, 2001, pp. 55, 72-3, 121, 95.

²²⁰ Chapman, (1987), p. 30.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

made only of waste, the forests and fen, do not use the term, while allotments in the townships refer to 'land within [so and so] field' or within the 'common meadow' but never in the waste. Also while meadow is clearly grass, the ratio of grass to arable in the fields is completely missing. Within this study township land is, by definition, open field land rather than waste, but that does not necessarily mean it was predominantly arable.²²² Calculations made here indicate 91 per cent of the land enclosed in the county during this period was township or open field land, and the remaining nine per cent was waste.

Determinants

If the principal motive for enclosure during this period can be attributed to the reason given in the parliamentary act then it can be summed up in one word: improvement. The principal improvement was economic: either through increased rents, increased agricultural productivity, or for landowners with tenants, potentially both.²²³ The many effects brought about by enclosure: consolidation of holdings, abolition of common rights, nulling of existing leases, and so on, were all tending towards the same 'improved' financial end - *if* the wording of the act can be taken at face value. But the wording of the acts becomes increasingly formulaic and the inclusion of certain identical words and passages are a generic description rather than an exact representation.²²⁴ The actual motives of enclosers are not necessarily as clear cut and especially so when there were numerous small land owners who would have farmed their own lands, so rental income was not an issue. For the larger landowners and certainly for the great estates higher rents might well have been an attractive proposition. But farms still required some financial investment in their infrastructure before rents could be increased. For most the simple act of enclosing was investment enough as it provided a discrete area of land free from commonable obligation, improved communications in the newly laid-out roads, neat hedged fields of convenient size, and a newly built farm might also be provided. For the larger estates attempting to attract 'men of capital' a planned farm was more likely.²²⁵ Estate investment in buildings can be seen across Northamptonshire as so many survive in farms and in workers' cottages in villages. Moreover, many estates adopted a house-style of architecture making it possible to identify the estate from the buildings alone. Perhaps the most notable are the seven planned farms built on the Duke of Grafton's estate in

²²² Discussed fully in Chapter 3.

²²³ Overton, (1996), p. 162.

²²⁴ Turner, (1980), p. 95.

²²⁵ Wade Martins, (2004), p. 72.

the south-west of the county between 1839 and 1845.²²⁶ But of these, four were within anciently enclosed landscapes, one had been enclosed some 30 years previously and only two were enclosed in 1840. These were part of a massive building program that included hunt kennels, lesser farm buildings, additions to existing farms and new cottages, rather than a motive for enclosure.

Enclosure by parliamentary act annulled all current leases and this alone might well have provided an incentive to some landowners. Tenancies that had been held on life leases did not enable the landowner to take advantage of fluctuations in the economic climate. After enclosure they could be replaced by yearly or at-will contracts, something described by Wordie as a ‘great blessing’ to the enclosing landlord.²²⁷ That is not to suggest that landlords acting with such motives were necessarily avaricious, but rather it was a practical response to a frustrating and out-dated system. Moreover, as Mingay points out, estate management differed widely and there is plenty of evidence of landlords making allowance for the poorer or elderly and infirm tenants.²²⁸ This can be seen in Northamptonshire on the Spencer estate at Great and Little Brington. The rent rolls survive for ten years and one year prior to enclosure, and for the year after. The rents remain static for the pre-enclosure years, and in the year after enclosure, although most are increased, some stay the same and in one instance is reduced.²²⁹ The latter are the rents of cottages and several entries contain additions such as ‘old servant’ or ‘90 years old and very poor’, indicating that the estate took a paternal attitude to needy tenants. Tenants of the farms would not receive the same consideration, but nor is there any reason why they should expect to. It was in the interests of both tenant and landlord to have a good working relationship, both needed a commitment from the other that investment and increased productivity would be mutually beneficial.²³⁰ Extra money was not the only advantage to the nullification of leases as it also offered the opportunity to rewrite the terms of agreement or seek more suitable tenants; something of particular concern to the landlord if he felt his lands were being mismanaged. At Deene the Earl of Cardigan’s steward, Daniel Eaton, remarks in his regular report that ‘a great many fine hedges are quite riun’d’ partly ‘by the neglect of the tenants’, and he continues, ‘I think there ought to be a clause in every lease to oblige all tenants to cock-hedge & scour the ditches of all the hedges

²²⁶ NRO G3901; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Northamptonshire*, (Harmondsworth, 1973).

²²⁷ Wordie, (1983), p. 504.

²²⁸ Mingay, (1997), p. 98.

²²⁹ NRO SOX 336.

²³⁰ Pitt, (1809), p. 23.

they plash'.²³¹ Undoubtedly some landowners were not averse to the idea of enclosure in the expectation of increased revenue - there is evidence of discussions in some places decades before enclosure actually happened. At Wilby an estate valuation in 1764 notes that 'was it enclosed ... the whole estate would be nearly doubled in its value'. Wilby was not enclosed until 1801.²³² But in general the expectation of increased revenue relied on the assumption of improved agricultural productivity as a result of enclosure.

According to Chapman the 'fundamental underlying motive for enclosure was to make agriculture more efficient'.²³³ Mingay has called such an argument 'a gross over-simplification', and suggests that varied motives, from urban expansion, mineral extraction, tithe commutation and improved roads and drainage, all led to the owners having more valuable land after enclosure.²³⁴ Nevertheless, Chapman's argument is one with which most scholars agree, even though most are more specific. Turner cites the lack of pasture as the dominant impetus to enclosure in the first parliamentary wave and especially in the Midland counties of Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire.²³⁵ It is true that most of the enclosures of open fields in Northamptonshire from this period were converted to pasture, but there was a comparable conversion to pasture *within* the open fields of townships that did not enclosure until after the first wave or well into the nineteenth century. This is discussed fully in Chapter 3, but it suggests that it was not just a change of land use that was needed but a change in land management.

The communal nature of the open field system was perceived as the major obstacle to improved agriculture. The Act for Long Buckby made in 1765 goes into some detail as to the inconveniences of dispersed land lying at some distance from the houses of the owners, the consequent difficulties and expense of transporting manure, trespass onto the property of others in doing so leading to disputes, and general lack of profit and hindrance to 'Improvement'.²³⁶ Later acts tend to be simpler merely pointing out how advantageous enclosure would be to the proprietors and how the dispersal of land in small parcels is

²³¹ J. Wake & D. Webster, *The Letters of Daniel Eaton to the Third Earl of Cardigan 1725-1732*, (Northampton, 1971), p. 8.

²³² NRO X1657.

²³³ Chapman & Seeliger, (2001), p. 20.

²³⁴ Mingay, (1997), pp. 32-33.

²³⁵ Turner, (1980), pp. 150-151.

²³⁶ NRO D.69D.

‘incapable of any considerable Improvement’.²³⁷ Scattered parcels of land were not the only inconvenience to the individual farmer. The communal system required every farmer to adopt the same regime as his neighbour, and rights of common meant every owner’s property would be grazed by every beast in the township.²³⁸ This system was lamented by the vicar of Naseby in his memoirs of 1792, some eighteen years before Naseby enclosure. He remarks ‘A man ever so ingenious in agriculture, hath no opportunity of displaying his abilities at Naseby. He is confined to old customs, and can only do the same thing with his neighbours’.²³⁹ There was a *quid quo pro* in that every farmer shared the rights and had access to others’ land for grazing and the benefit of additional manure. Nonetheless, communal farming would have acted as a deterrent to individual investment if others reaped the benefits or undermined the outlay by abusing the system.²⁴⁰ Over-stinting was a common problem in all open field townships, as the numerous court orders examined demonstrate. It is the most frequently observed item in the orders and the transgression that carried the heaviest fines.²⁴¹ However, this could indicate two things: either the stinting was highly regularised, controlled and manageable; or the repeated orders indicate a lack of control despite the heavy fines imposed. The open fields were capable of modification as evidenced by the introduction of cow pastures, rotational fodder crops and small areas of rye on the most suitable lands, but they were not capable of the intensification of production that ‘improvement’ demanded.²⁴²

Even in the wastes ‘improvement’ was the key. The acts relating to forest enclosure concentrate on the ‘injurious’ effects of common rights on the value of the underwood and timber as well as general mismanagement undermining their economic potential. Pitt’s evaluation of Whittlewood was damning: ‘I know of no land in England, of equal staple, worse misapplied than a great part of this forest’; it was mismanaged under a defective system that rendered it ‘worse than a state of nature’.²⁴³ Abuse of common rights shared between, and fought over, by the forest villages was responsible for much of the decay. Over-stinting was as problematic in the forests as in the townships, possibly more so. Overstocking was common as was stocking with unapproved animals, and not keeping to the prescribed

²³⁷ NRO 92P/115.

²³⁸ Rights of common were very complex and varied between places and between different tenures within places, but everyone with common rights could share the common pastures to the limit of their ‘right’.

²³⁹ C. Viallis & K. Collins, *A Georgian Country Parson: The Rev. John Mastin of Naseby*, (Northampton, 2004), p. 98.

²⁴⁰ Overton, (1996), p. 167.

²⁴¹ NRO SOX 336; FH 937; GD8; Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 747; X3663, are examples but there are many others.

²⁴² Mingay, (1997), p.40; Yelling, (1977), p. 33; Overton, (1996), p.167.

²⁴³ Pitt, (1809), pp. 148-149.

periods.²⁴⁴ Many of the claimants at the enclosure of Rockingham Bailiwick and some in Brigstock Bailiwick alleged unstinted rights as well as stocking ‘all year round’.²⁴⁵ Poaching, wood stealing and overstocking were endemic, by both locals and the forest officers who were supposedly protecting the woodlands.²⁴⁶ Certain rights were interpreted somewhat freely. At Wakefield (in Whittlewood forest), in 1623 seven timber trees were stolen supposedly for maypoles. The right to cut oaks for coronation poles was also claimed at Cliffe in 1702 and Whittlewood and Salcey in 1714 and 1727.²⁴⁷ On the latter two occasions the exploitation was so bad that troops were called in to halt it. The right to collect ‘sere and broken’ wood was often interpreted as ‘green and growing’ either from trees, or more damagingly from hedged coppices. It was taken to extremes in Yardley Chase when, according to a notice in the Northampton Mercury in 1775, ‘the right to carry away the broken wood in Yardley Chase’ was abused by several persons who ‘most audaciously and unlawfully ... cut and carried away the mounds and fences ... in the new enclosures of Denton and in Castle Ashby grounds’.²⁴⁸ The health of the deer was said to suffer from people entering the woods during fence month (fawning season), and because of over-grazing by villagers’ cattle and sheep. Moreover, the forests were looked upon as living larders by some and attracted the poor and displaced who lived on its margins, exploited its resources but had none of the legal rights of the locals.²⁴⁹ Unsurprisingly, the forests were considered to be not fulfilling their economic potential either as timber reserves or as farmland. The act for the enclosure of Rockingham bailiwick specifically states that the land ‘is capable of improvement’ if held in severalty, and goes on to say that the woods ‘would produce a large quantity of timber’ while other areas ‘might be profitably converted into and used as farms’.²⁵⁰

The expectations of both higher rents and greater output of produce are practical (if not necessarily realistic), explanations for motivations to enclose. But there may have been more subtle, though not unrelated, factors at work. Turner refers to ‘diffusion’ as a possible motive for enclosure which may in part explain the ‘wave’ of enclosures seen in the Midlands in the

²⁴⁴ Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), p. 21.

²⁴⁵ NRO Brooke of Oakley 318/1; Hunnybun and Sykes Box 2; 53a1. Unstinted claims were disallowed.

²⁴⁶ Pettit, (1968), pp. 154-157.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²⁴⁸ Anscomb, p. 53.

²⁴⁹ Pettit, (1968), pp. 162-163.

²⁵⁰ NRO YZ 6685.

1770s.²⁵¹ He suggests that successful enclosure in one parish may well have influenced neighbouring parishes to attempt the same. Certainly farmers would have been aware of what was happening in other parishes and not just those immediately adjacent. The vicar of Naseby when lamenting the lack of innovation among the local farmers in not growing turnips, remarks in 1792 ‘they cannot be ignorant of this mode of husbandry’ as it is practised generally ‘at Rothwell’.²⁵² Rothwell is four parishes and some 13.5 kilometres distant. But while diffusion might encourage the *idea* of enclosure, it does not necessarily follow that the motives of enclosers in different places were the same. The numbers of allottees in the enclosures made in the 1770s varies from 3 to 89. But, except in the places with very few landowners there is no link between the number of owners and proportion of land owned. At Easton on the Hill there were 37 landowners but one person owned 80 per cent of the township. His motive would have overridden all others. At Crick there were 89 landowners but the largest held only 18 per cent and the majority less than one per cent. Allotments could be made for loss of common rights that might not have been linked to landownership, but at Crick only three such allotments were made, all other allotments were to landowners and no less than 50 people were named in the act. Agreement and consent would have been required by at least 23 people, and the rector, to meet the requirement of three-quarters of owners by land value. But the mere fact of owners reaching an agreement does not mean they had the same motives for doing so; one farmer might be keen to extinguish the tithes, another to re-write leases, another to extinguish common rights and so on.

It has been suggested by Sarah Tarlow that the enclosure movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was part of a wider Improvement ethos, and crucially that ‘private ownership, and the setting of boundaries and limits around that ownership was important to the culture of ‘Improvement’.²⁵³ It is a compelling argument as the single greatest obstacle to agricultural improvement was the communal farming system with its attendant common rights. Improvement required farming in severalty, and improvement, therefore, could not be made without enclosure. However, enclosure was not an end in itself and improvement required a great deal of post-enclosure investment such as in buildings, equipment, drainage, soil conditioning, and the introduction of new crops or livestock. It is uncertain whether all, or indeed any, of the people pushing for enclosure actually believed in ‘improvement’ as the

²⁵¹ Turner, (1980), pp. 99-100.

²⁵² Viallis & Collins, (2004), p. 98.

²⁵³ Tarlow, (2007), p. 50.

justification for enclosure or whether the word became adopted into the acts simply because it had become a shorthand term for all that was modern, rational, progressive, and in the public interest. As such enclosure could be *perceived* as improving, and therefore justifiable, regardless of the actual motives of the enclosers.

Given that so many factors and personalities were involved it is probably not productive to seek a single motive to enclosure, even within a single place. There may well have been no leading motive, but rather a cumulative weight of attractions and the impetus of the movement itself. If there was a principal motive it appears to have been the *expectation* of increased revenue brought about by an intensification of the agricultural system that could not have taken place without enclosure. Expectation may have been disappointed, as enclosure was not a magic wand that instantly transformed agricultural production and attracted income; it took time, investment and patience. This may, in part, explain why there was a lull in enclosure acts in the 1780s after the first peak of enclosures in the 1770s. If farmers were closely monitoring the progress of other townships that had enclosed they may have become less enamoured of the effects as time went on and remuneration was slow. What enclosure did provide was opportunities lacking in the communal system; the ability to make individual choices and to exploit the potential of the land whether by intensive stock rearing or specialised crop growing.

CONCLUSION

The progress of enclosure in Northamptonshire was not uniform across the 400 years it took to complete. Enclosure made before the first act of parliament in 1727 covered 43 per cent of the county. Of that, 63 per cent was land within wholly enclosed townships, and 37 per cent was enclosed woodland or partial enclosure of townships. Little can be said about the chronology of enclosure within this period (without extensive new documentary research), as most of it is dated to the final enclosure; hence the detail of any 'waves' that might be attributed to certain influences is missing. More can be deduced regarding the motives of enclosure *if* the outcomes can be taken as reflecting the intention. In other words, the conversion to pasture and concentration on particular stock breeding immediately after enclosure suggests that this had been the motive. A similar observation can be made regarding the post 1727 enclosures. Unless specific records can be found that identify the key motives for any particular enclosure, the exact purpose, or combination of purposes, is unclear but can perhaps be deduced from the outcomes. For the later period there would seem to have been more complex factors at work. But the single underlying influence appears to have been an intensification of the agricultural system regardless of whether it was pastoral, arable or the mixed farming that was commonly adopted in Northamptonshire in the nineteenth century.

This study has used all available data for enclosure in the parliamentary period, thereby refining the method adopted by Turner and adapted by later scholars, particularly Chapman. This has enabled the production of fuller and more accurate figures to be achieved for the density and chronology of enclosure than have hitherto been available for this period. By collecting additional data concerning landowners it has also been possible to make other calculations that have not been assessed before on this scale. This is useful in several ways: the numbers of landowners or allottees can provide information regarding the contemporary agricultural system, such as how many people owned land and how many had only common rights. Their number was hugely influential on the post-enclosure landscape, as the more allottees the more allotments and consequently a more divided landscape, while the amount of land owned by individuals was crucial to the instigation of enclosure. Mapping the data in GIS has also allowed spatial correlations between datasets to be identified, notably with geology, and to test hypotheses regarding the location of ancient enclosure.

CHAPTER 3: THE UNENCLOSED LANDSCAPE

INTRODUCTION

To appreciate the effects of enclosure upon landscape it is essential to have a full understanding of landscape as it was before enclosure, since without knowing what is being changed it is impossible to assess how it has been changed. This chapter explores all unenclosed land in the parliamentary period with the focus upon the open fields, as it is here where the greatest difference between the accepted notions and the reality can be demonstrated. Previous studies of enclosure in the Midlands, and Northamptonshire in particular, have tended to consider the open fields as a single entity. From this has resulted the misconception and/or assumption that open fields were almost entirely arable. This fallacy is largely due to reliance by scholars upon quantitative data from enclosure awards in which the diversity of land use is missing. This chapter will demonstrate that pasture within unenclosed townships has been much underestimated and that Northamptonshire by the end of the eighteenth century was not the champion county it had been in the medieval period.²⁵⁴ Data have been taken from a variety of sources, but predominantly maps, and where possible these have been plotted in GIS. Each township or waste is reconstructed from a different source map, or maps, of varied dates. The combined data represent the county landscape in the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 3.1).²⁵⁵ For some places with a greater abundance of sources, particularly pre-enclosure maps that record the variety of land use types, more detailed reconstruction has been possible (Figures 3.13, 3.28, 3.29). These steps provide a more nuanced picture of unenclosed land use and thus enable a clearer understanding of what the landscape looked like and how it was managed and used. It will be demonstrated that by the eighteenth century grass was a significant, and in many cases the dominant, component of the open fields. It is possible to argue from the evidence presented that enclosure was the final stage in the gradual shift from arable to pasture, and that it completed rather than instigated a change in the agricultural regime.

The discussion begins by exploring open field systems and their management. The designations ‘open’ and ‘communal’ relating to the unenclosed landscape have possibly led to an over-emphasis on the restrictions brought about by enclosure. The unenclosed landscape, though largely unrestricted by physical boundaries, was not freely accessible to

²⁵⁴ Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012).

²⁵⁵ For the dates of each source map see Appendix 3.

all; it was managed and controlled and everyone within a local community would have understood that. Exploring the managerial systems in detail provides a greater understanding of exactly how enclosure changed peoples' use of the landscape.²⁵⁶ There follows a detailed examination of the two principal land use types: arable with the various types of crops; and pasture with a myriad variety of common grazing types. Two underestimated land use types in the unenclosed landscape, hedges and trees, are also considered.²⁵⁷ Because of the nature of the sources the focus will be parliamentary period enclosure. Little is known about the detail of unenclosed land use in the areas that were anciently enclosed. It might be supposed that as the post-enclosure land use in the earlier period was predominantly pasture then the former use was predominantly arable. In broad terms this is true but, as will be seen, the arable open fields were not the simple mono-culture that has, to some degree, been taken for granted.

Previous studies have debated the amount of land enclosed in any particular place or period, but have tended to generalise in terms of land use. Simple descriptions of arable or pasture, the ubiquitous waste, and occasional references to meadow are the norm. The variety and balance of crops within the arable component of the open fields are given a great deal of attention, particularly in relation to crop yields, but the balance of grass to crops is allowed much less consideration, or none at all. One of the most detailed discussions of changing agricultural practices and advancing technology in this period is by Mark Overton in his *Agricultural Revolution*. A great deal of attention is given to new types of crops, rotational systems and stock rearing. His emphasis is the increased productivity resulting from the intensification of farming, with statistical analysis largely based on nineteenth century sources and presented by county. But the arguments relate to both open and enclosed landscapes and it is not always clear which is being discussed.²⁵⁸ Turner in *Agricultural Productivity* makes a comparison of the yields from open and enclosed parishes towards the end of the eighteenth century using the Crop Returns as his source.²⁵⁹ The discussion centres on crop yields but there is no consideration of the amount of land within an open parish still under crop, and by extension the amount under grass. He had previously stated that an underlying lack of pasture within the open fields was the cause of much of the pre 1770

²⁵⁶ See Chapter 4: The Enclosed Landscape.

²⁵⁷ It is understood that water was also a key component of the landscape, but it was not systematically recorded on maps and so was not digitised as part of the data collection. It is therefore not part of the discussion here.

²⁵⁸ Overton, (1996), pp. 88-98.

²⁵⁹ Turner, (1982).

enclosures, and that any adaptation of the open field system was driven by the need for more pasture.²⁶⁰ This would suggest that he considered there to be generally little pasture available within the open fields. Chapman gives broad descriptions of land use categories but does not give land use within the great fields, nor does he define the categories in any depth.²⁶¹ Yelling gives the most consideration to grass within the open fields and recognises that the arable extent has been exaggerated.²⁶² Contemporary sources refer to specific Northamptonshire locations. Pitt's *General View* provides the most detail for the whole county and while he too focuses attention on agricultural practice and yields he does also provide some evidence of grass with the open fields.²⁶³ Other sources provide evidence of a great deal of grass within the open fields, especially David Hall's *Open Fields*.²⁶⁴

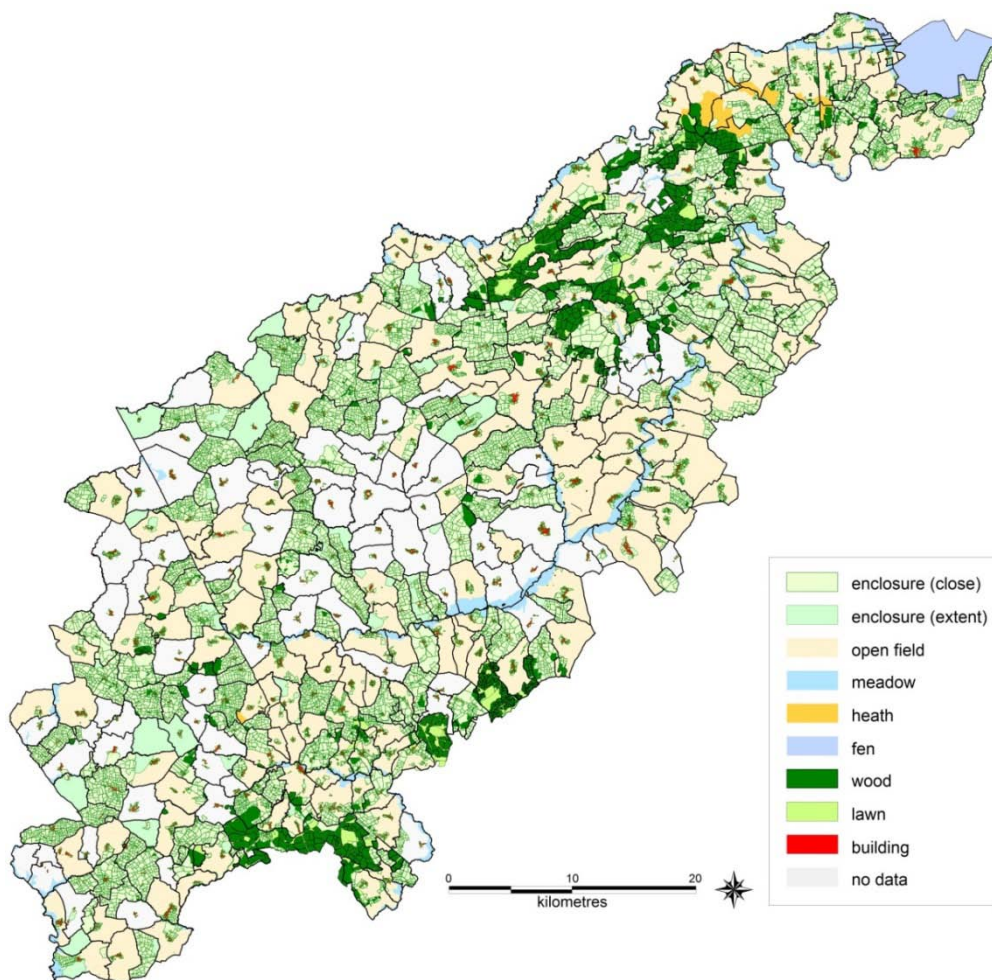


Figure 3.1: The landscape of the mid-eighteenth century reconstructed in GIS from historic maps. Note the lack of sources from the central and western parts of the county.

²⁶⁰ Turner, (1980), pp. 137, 142.

²⁶¹ Chapman, (1987), p. 29.

²⁶² Yelling, (1977), pp. 149-153.

²⁶³ Pitt, (1809), p. 64.

²⁶⁴ Hall, (1995), pp. 20-31, 96-99.

Landscapes are created by environmental factors and by human influence. Each factor can have different effects but they are inextricably linked. In varied landscapes across the country one factor might be more influential than another. However, in Northamptonshire there were no wholly 'natural' landscapes, as even the wastes were strictly managed. As Donaldson noted in his survey in 1794, the county was 'as peculiarly advantageous for cultivation, as it is delightful and ornamental' with 'no dreary wastes, nor rugged and unsightly mountains to offend the eye'.²⁶⁵ Topography and geology influenced the very basic land use categories of arable, pasture, meadow and woodland, as has been discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. In simple terms, land that was very steep, wet, nutrient poor or a combination of all three, was managed accordingly. So steep slopes and/or difficult soils became permanent pasture, periodically waterlogged land became meadow, and heavy clays tended to woodland. Local environmental conditions would affect which particular crops were best suited to certain parcels of land and in some places may have affected the principal crops grown.²⁶⁶ Farmers were well aware of the soils they worked as is evidenced by the names given to certain lands. Boggy Close, Little Clay, Stony Lands, Hassocky Piece and Cats Dirt (meaning clumpy soil) describe the soils, while Pinch Penny and Hungry Hill refer to poor productivity, and Money Pott was presumably particularly fertile.²⁶⁷ Colour and temperature are also used as descriptions, particularly at Thornhaugh where a 'cold white clay', 'light red reach' and 'warm black deep reach' are all marked on an eighteenth century map.²⁶⁸

Influential as the environment was, it was arguably less so than the administrative structure that controlled it. Each township and manor/s within it had its own agrarian system and was largely self-governing. Some were within the jurisdiction of a wider administrative organisation such as the Forest and were also subject to regulations from that body. Being within the forest perambulation gave access to its resources, but it did not confer any control over its management. And while each township's agrarian regime was its own to govern that did not apply to each owner; the communal system ensured that a single custom was followed by all. Evidence for the management of the unenclosed landscape can be found in sources such as estate records, parish records, field books, field orders, court orders, surveys, terriers,

²⁶⁵ J. Donaldson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northampton*, (Edinburgh, 1794), p. 5.

²⁶⁶ D. Clark, 'The Northamptonshire Crop Returns for 1801', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 3, (1964), p. 214.

²⁶⁷ NRO Maps 4675, 3514, 6331, T213; Boughton House private collection: Map of Twywell 1736; BEO 390.

²⁶⁸ BRO R1/305.

tithe schedules and enclosure awards. All of these can provide information about how agricultural systems were organised and managed and the types of crops being grown and stock being reared. But in spite of all the detail they contain, none of them give a clear idea of how the agricultural organisation translated into what the landscape actually looked like. For that we need maps and the most important of the various types are the pre-enclosure strip maps or draft enclosure maps.²⁶⁹ Such maps provide us with the wherewithal to locate and plot the features that are described in the other documents and often reveal additional information relating to land use. This is particularly valuable in building a picture of the wider landscape.

OPEN FIELD MANAGEMENT

The management of the communal system was the framework within which landscape and land use was formed. Each local system was designed to establish and maintain a balance of resources within its own agrarian region. This system was highly regulated. It controlled the way land was managed from the types of crops grown, to when and where they were grown, the number and species of stock that could be pastured and where they could be grazed, what access was permissible at particular times and if limited to certain people. There is a great deal of evidence for these regulations which provides information about the system, the land use and, importantly, the way in which they changed and evolved over time. Management of the communal system was by the manor court or, where there was no strong manorial presence, by a vestry meeting.²⁷⁰ Control of people as well as animals was something of a preoccupation in all townships. The presence of ‘foreigners’ was keenly noted and actively discouraged.²⁷¹ Even locals were not allowed to wander at will across the township. In an open field landscape access may not have been controlled by hedges and gates but it was controlled by usage, and restricted to those who had a right to be there. Each strip was owned, or tenanted, by someone and as such was only accessible to them until the prescribed period,

²⁶⁹ The maps at Boughton House are the finest and include Brigstock, Broughton, Cranford, Denford, Geddington, Grafton Underwood, Little and Great Oakley, Luddington, Stanion, Twywell, Warkton, Weekley and Woodford.

²⁷⁰ Crick’s fields were run by vestry and orders relating to the regulation of agriculture are listed in the Constable Accounts. Payments for pest control like crow scaring and mole catching are interspersed with such payments as that for a night’s lodging ‘to a big bellied woman’ and to ‘getting her out of town’, NRO 92P/119. There are probably more of these types of payment than any other in the accounts. The reasons for this can be found in the Settlement Laws of the period and the fear of an increased burden on the local poor rates. K. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 85; Tate, (1969), pp. 211-212.

²⁷¹ The term ‘foreigner’ implied everyone from outside the local community, i.e. the township.

either after the harvest or during the fallow. Even then commonable land did not mean common to all, access to people and their animals being linked to tenure and holding. There are many orders that stipulate rights of way and their correct usage. At Maxey ‘no horse or beast was to pass upon the foot pad’ and no wagons were allowed in the meadow except for manuring or ‘fetching off the swap’ (the first cut of hay).²⁷² At Helpston farmers had to use the correct passageway and could not lead horses across another’s land to reach their own, while at Broughton shortcuts could not be made from one field to another via the meadow.²⁷³ In addition to restrictions, the right to use certain ways was also protected. At Glinton when an ‘ancient driftway’ was illegally ploughed by John Palmer various parishioners stood bond for £500 to cover legal expenses should the villagers be sued by Palmer for continuing to exercise their right to use it.²⁷⁴ Access might also be limited to particular periods, in the case of stock, and even the time of day in the case of people. The periods at which the different species were allowed onto various parts of the township were often associated with Saint’s Days or some other religious festival. At Brington rams and ridgells (immature rams), were to be removed from the fields on St Bartholomew’s Day (24th August), until Michaelmas (29th September), and at Aynho the meadows were commonable from Lammas (1st August), to Lady Day (March 25th).²⁷⁵ Horses were forbidden to be tethered after sunset at Helpston and on the Sabbath Day in Great Doddington.²⁷⁶

After the harvest non-landowners might be allowed into the fields to glean, but under certain conditions. Only owners were allowed in the peas’ field until the whole field was cleared at Broughton, while no gleaner was allowed in the fields before sunrise or after sunset at Great Doddington. Non-landowners like cottagers sometimes had particular pieces of ground restricted to their use only. The map of Shutlanger and Stoke Bruerne made in 1768 marks ‘cottage land’ and ‘cottage pasture’ respectively. In the former the land is strips of pasture between and around the furlongs (Figure 3.2), and in the latter it is a single block. Thornhaugh had a cottagers’ common hedged against the unenclosed heath.²⁷⁷ There are many references to the poor’s right to cut thorn and furze for fuel, and in the townships with heath, also brakes (fern) and turf.²⁷⁸ Often it is stipulated that they can gather as much ‘as

²⁷² NRO Fitz. Misc. Vol. 747, pp. 49-56.

²⁷³ NRO Montague Old Box 17/154.

²⁷⁴ NRO 136P/36.

²⁷⁵ NRO SOX 336; Magdalen College Maps 54.

²⁷⁶ NRO GD8.

²⁷⁷ BRO R1/305.

²⁷⁸ Anscomb, .

they can carry away on their backs'. Their rights could be protected as much as any landowner's. The overseers of the poor in Glinton determined to prosecute Thomas Elridge for using a carriage to remove thorns 'in direct violation of such ancient practice' to the 'manifest injustice of such poor people to whom of right they belong'.²⁷⁹ In the forest regions access was also permitted to the woods to gather sere and broken wood but was restricted to two days per week.²⁸⁰ In Brigstock bailiwick cottage commons included the right to 'get grass in the coppice with a hook and sickle', to 'gather acorns' and take them home to feed cattle and pigs.²⁸¹



Figure 3.2: Grass strips between the furlongs marked as cottage land at Shutlanger in 1768. Also of note is that the hamlet was called 'Shittlehanger' prior to the Victorian cleansing of some of the more robust English place names.

²⁷⁹ NRO 136P/42.

²⁸⁰ NRO X1693 bundle 21; YZ 4910.

²⁸¹ NRO Hunnybun and Sykes box 2 53a1.

In addition to regulating access, the courts were responsible for all forms of management. Pest control was a continuous problem as evidenced by the very numerous orders concerning it. Payments at Maxey were made for moles, foxes and urchins (hedgehogs), and for ‘the encouragement of the destruction of that pernicious bird the sparrow’.²⁸² Maxey manor court records also reflect the nature of the local landscape in the numerous orders relating to the maintenance of water gates, dykes and drains.²⁸³ Use of the fallow was controlled, as seen at Helpston where it was ordered that any occupier could sow clover for his own benefit provided that ‘for every acre he shall sow he shall sow one half an acre for the good of the community’.²⁸⁴ Agreeing piecemeal enclosure and reorganising the remaining open land as a result was also part of the court’s remit (see below). Opting out of the system without agreement was not acceptable and there are occasional references to people being fined for having attempted it. At Barby John Clark was fined 2s 6d at the court baron in 1738 for ‘inclosing a piece of common ground in the common field and keeping his cows in the same all year’.²⁸⁵ All other fines in the list were for 1d or 2d but the source gives no indication if he was made to remove the enclosure or whether the ‘fine’ was a de facto licence.

The most prolific type of field order relates to the management of pasture and in particular to stinting. Over-stinting was a problem not only because it led to less grass being available, but also to poorer quality grass and therefore inferior stock. It could also lead to animosity in a system that required compliance in order to work. When commoned together cattle were put into the town herd and driven home at night to be kept on their owners’ property. Orders stipulating that all cattle must be kept with the town herd are commonplace. Animals could be tethered separately on their owner’s land and orders relating to the precise positioning of tethered animals to prevent them eating a neighbour’s produce are also frequent. So too are orders requiring animals to carry the town brand. At Maxey geese were to be marked with their owners’ initials on a ring of horn about their necks.²⁸⁶ Hogs were to be ringed, to prevent damage by rooting, and cattle ‘knob’d’, that is, their horns to be tipped with wood, to prevent damage to each other.²⁸⁷ The commons allowance, or stint, was fixed by the amount of land owned or by customary practice for the non-landowning cottagers. Originally the stints would have been applied to yardland holdings and as these became fragmented the stint

²⁸² NRO 110P/258; 153P/29, 105; Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 747, p. 52.

²⁸³ NRO Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 747.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

²⁸⁵ NRO D.583.

²⁸⁶ NRO Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 747, p. 49.

²⁸⁷ NRO 110P/258; 153P/29, 105; Fitzwilliam Misc. Vol. 747, p. 52.

was adjusted accordingly. It is therefore not unusual to see commons for a half or other proportions of a yardland, but the claims for ‘two thirds of a quarter’, ‘right of common for $\frac{2}{3}$ of a cow’ and ‘half a moiety of half a quarter of a yardland’ made at the enclosure of Creaton are particularly intricate.²⁸⁸ Stints varied between townships and even between different manors in the same township. Should anyone not wish, or be unable, to use their allowance they could let it to another for a fee. But such arrangements had to be agreed by the vestry or court and recorded.²⁸⁹ In this way no one lost by not being able to use their allowance while additional pasture became available to others. At Brington the unstinted commons were not let but paid for by a levy raised from all the other proprietors as they all benefited from fewer animals on the common.²⁹⁰ Particular orders were made specifying that no person was to let commons to anyone ‘outside the town’; in other words, to ‘foreigners’.²⁹¹

The numbers of animals permitted are recorded in the orders and are generally described by the simple terms of sheep, cattle, swine and horses, or occasionally ‘beasts’. But many orders are more specific and can include rams, ridgells, lambs, cows, oxen, heifers, calves, hogs, mares, geldings, yearlings, fillies, colts, foals, asses, geese, ganders and goslings. The age at which the young were to be classed as adults and therefore counted as part of the stint is also stipulated. Townships with large common pastures such as heaths and fen enabled greater numbers of animals to be kept. At Easton on the Hill in 1818, just prior to enclosure, a survey records that 90 sheep were allowed for each yardland and 23 for a cottage common, far greater than typically found elsewhere.²⁹² Both Rothwell and Great Doddington had an allowance of only 24 sheep per yardland, and at many other places approximately 30 sheep per yardland and ten per cottage common were usual.²⁹³ Townships within the forest perambulations had additional stinting rights in the woodland. Evidence for the numbers of stock involved is scarce and has been found in enclosure claims rather than court orders. In Brigstock bailiwick the animal stint in the open fields is detailed but for the woodland the references are for ‘beasts, horses and hogs in the time of mast or acorns’, but no figures are

²⁸⁸ NRO A 178.

²⁸⁹ NRO 153P/102.

²⁹⁰ NRO SOX 336.

²⁹¹ NRO GD8; Montague Old Box 17/154; Markham Box 124/4.

²⁹² Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), p. 34.

²⁹³ Pitt, (1809), p. 66; NRO GD 8; Montague Old Box 17/154; SOX 336; Brooke of Oakley 318/1; Anscumb, p. 84.

given. Sheep are not mentioned.²⁹⁴ Rockingham bailiwick stinting claims were particularly complicated as they involved eight townships, various manors, rectories, and different types of holding. In addition to freehold, copyhold and cottage, rights were also held by grant, prescription, custom, usage, deed, or a combination of any of them. Depending on the holding they might claim for varying numbers of sheep, cattle, hogs and horses or just some of them.²⁹⁵

The orders and regulations were intended to keep the system running smoothly and fairly with no one being disadvantaged by the actions of another. They applied to every member of the community from the lord of the manor to cottagers. As complicated as these orders and practices were, there was no excuse for not knowing them as there are frequent jury payments for 'crying the neighbours'.²⁹⁶ The regulations were usually made yearly but occasionally they are for longer, as at Brinton in 1739 when they were to 'be observed and kept for the space of 12 years'.²⁹⁷

LAND USE

Field orders provide enormous detail of the way in which the land was managed but surprisingly little about the crops being grown and virtually nothing about the proportions of different land use types. The evidence for this can be found in a variety of sources but principally the 1801 Crop Returns, the Board of Agriculture County Surveys, enclosure awards and, most importantly, from maps. There are certain restrictions and caveats associated with all of these sources that should be appreciated in advance of any analysis. Data for the Crop Returns were downloaded from Michael Turner's collated figures for England.²⁹⁸ The Returns provide evidence of the arable portion of the landscape and the variety of crops within it. As their concern is crops so, by definition, they omit all grass within the system, including that within the fallow. The Returns were collected by parish not township, unlike the present study. In most places in Northamptonshire the two are conterminous and so the datasets could be linked. In some cases a parish contained two or more townships and so some manipulation was required to make the data compatible. In other cases it was unclear which townships had been included in the parish returns and so

²⁹⁴ NRO Hunnybun and Sykes box 2; 53a1.

²⁹⁵ NRO Brooke of Oakley 318/8.

²⁹⁶ NRO 85P/332; 206P/103.

²⁹⁷ NRO SOX 336.

²⁹⁸ M. Turner, 'Crop Returns for England, 1801', (AHDS History, University of Essex, Colchester, 2005).

these were removed from the data.²⁹⁹ Data collection was not comprehensive. Of the 77 townships still open in 1801, Returns were made for only 46, some 60 per cent. There is also some suggestion that some of the figures returned may be unreliable. The figures were collected by the clergy some of whom deeply resented being ‘degraded by such employment’. A deep-seated mistrust between clergy and farmers also meant some farmers refused to cooperate. Others who did provide figures were suspected of being deliberately misleading and underestimating acreages because of the tithes due on the crops.³⁰⁰ The Returns were condemned by the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement as being ‘so extremely defective that they cannot be at all relied upon’.³⁰¹ However, it is likely that some of the Board’s criticism was the result of sour grapes at not being asked to conduct the Returns themselves. Nor was the Board itself beyond criticism. Its early County Surveys, or *General Views*, from 1794 were widely criticised, with much justification, and many counties were re-surveyed.³⁰² Northamptonshire had three such surveys. The first was made by James Donaldson in 1794. It was clearly not satisfactory as a different surveyor, William Pitt, was chosen for the re-survey in 1797. That too proved inadequate as Pitt was asked to revisit in 1806 and only finally published in 1809.³⁰³ Maps can provide some of the best evidence for land use, but the information they contain is not unequivocal and the countywide coverage is far from comprehensive. It is very rare for maps to indicate the crops being grown.³⁰⁴ This is probably due to the nature of the rotational agricultural system meaning the map would be out of date almost as soon as the ink was dry. But there is no better source for revealing the amount of grass and its exact location and distribution. Large block of grass such as cow pastures and meadows are often recorded. Less frequently, but most significantly, other smaller blocks and strips of grass are shown giving a completely different view of the character of the pre-enclosed landscape. The fact that grass was recorded in great detail suggests its importance to the system and that it was a permanent feature. Yet, even when the map is highly detailed it is not necessarily clear exactly what is being recorded. The 1743 strip map of Great and Little Brington, for example, is one of the most detailed for the county

²⁹⁹ A full discussion of how this was achieved and which particular parishes and townships were concerned is given in Appendix 1.

³⁰⁰ Clark, (1964), p. 213.

³⁰¹ R. Mitchison, 'The Old Board of Agriculture (1793-1822)', *English Historical Review*, 74, (1959), p. 47.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

³⁰³ Pitt’s report is used in preference to Donaldson’s as his is the most comprehensive and he indicates where he is drawing upon Donaldson’s earlier work.

³⁰⁴ Of the 229 pre-enclosure maps examined only one indicated the crops being grown in the great fields: Harringworth 1732, NRO Map 763b. It is more common to see features or topographical elements within the fields such as furlongs or hills named after the crops being grown.

(Figures 3.15, 3.26).³⁰⁵ It marks each individual numbered strip, which might be supposed to be representing the arable lands. However, archaeological evidence and other documentary sources show that a significant proportion of the strips were laid to grass (Figure 3.25). What the map is showing is divisions of ownership rather than land use (see below). This illustrates the need to assess all the sources together rather than relying wholly on one, and not to assume that any particular source contains all the information that might relate to a particular place or subject.

Open field agriculture operated a rotational system whereby, in simple terms, a proportion of the fields were under crop, a lesser proportion under fallow, and each year this ‘rotated’ so that no field was under the same crop or fallow for two years running. Fallow was land left uncropped to allow it to recover nutrients. It might also provide grazing from scrubby weeds or deliberately sown clover, which in turn provided additional nutrients to the soil from manure. In the eighteenth century a minimum of 75 per cent of Northamptonshire townships were operating a three-field system.³⁰⁶ This system has therefore been taken as the base from which to calculate proportions of crop to fallow, while accepting that there were variations in some places. Typically, one of the fields under crop would grow grain (wheat, barley or oats), and the other peas and/or beans, while the third field was fallow. Other grains, legumes and root crops were intermixed and the variety became more complex throughout the eighteenth century. It has been suggested that the open fields were too inflexible to accommodate much integration of new crops, and that the rotational system meant some crops were grown in unsuitable locations and so could never be exploited to their true potential. But the greatest limitation, according to Mingay, was the ‘rigid division between the arable – the open fields – and the pasture in the meadows, commons and open fields.’³⁰⁷ Other scholars, notably Turner and Yelling, credit the system with considerable flexibility, but identify other restrictions, particularly an underlying shortage of pasture.³⁰⁸ Yelling goes on to say, moreover, that flexibility did not imply convertible husbandry. Not only were the arable and pasture components permanent, but the livestock was always a supplement to the fundamental purpose of the common fields as ‘they stood or fell by the produce of their crops’.³⁰⁹ That may have been so in the medieval period but by the eighteenth century there had been great

³⁰⁵ BL ADDMSS 78133 F.

³⁰⁶ Hall, (1995), pp. 52-53, 157-164.

³⁰⁷ Mingay, (1997), p. 24.

³⁰⁸ Turner, (1980), p. 142; Yelling, (1977), p. 146.

³⁰⁹ Yelling, (1977), pp. 152, 159.

changes in agricultural practice. But the system had adapted too and as will be seen in the evidence presented below, the open fields were anything but rigid.

Arable

There is little quantifiable evidence for the variety and quantity of crops being grown before the nineteenth century. The 1801 Crop Returns supply the numbers of acres under any particular crop and are an invaluable resource. Figures for output and productivity are not of primary concern here; rather it is the variety of crops, indicating versatility in the system, that is of interest. The principal grain crops of wheat, barley and oats grown in the great fields were often supplemented by other grains like rye and flax. Root crops also became more common as did sowing nitrogen fixing plants, like clover or sainfoin, in the fallow. Some of these ancillary crops were not new to English agriculture, but their use increased over the eighteenth century.³¹⁰ However, they were grown in small quantities as supplements to the main crops until well into the nineteenth century. Map evidence of this type of crop is not common but, where shown, it is often linked to a furlong or group of furlongs. This is because the furlong, or group of strips, often contained a strip belonging to each farmer thereby ensuring each had a share of the extra crop.³¹¹ A map of Cogenhoe dated 1630 marks a flax land furlong, as does one for Higham Ferrers from 1737, and Grafton Underwood from 1748.³¹² Rye furlongs are on a 1696 map of Aynho and again at Higham in 1737, while the draft enclosure map of Hellidon from 1774 marks Ryedown Hill.³¹³ The most unusual crop identified is on a map dated 1748 of Cranford St John which depicts a small hedged close, approximately one third of an acre, called ‘carroot garden’ within ‘carroot garden furlong’.³¹⁴ The furlong was named from the field close and presumably the occupiers of all the strips shared the produce.³¹⁵ Temporary enclosures in Geddington fields growing turnips and swedes were noted by Pitt in 1806.³¹⁶ But, as informative as the *General View* is, it does not provide quantifiable data and for that we must turn to the Crop Returns.

³¹⁰ Hall, (1995), pp. 16-17; Overton, (1996), p. 101.

³¹¹ Hall, (1995), p. 17.

³¹² NRO Maps X5695, 1004; Boughton House private collection.

³¹³ NRO Maps 4612, 2866.

³¹⁴ Boughton House private collection.

³¹⁵ Field closes are discussed below under the ‘hedges’ section, but in brief they were not enclosures as such as they remained commonable. This close was still extant at enclosure in 1805 and was included in the allotment process, NRO Inclosure Plan 20.

³¹⁶ Pitt, (1809), p. 64.

CROP RETURNS

It is possible to use the Returns to make a calculation of the proportion of a township/s under crop (Figure 3.3 and Table 3.1). It follows that the remaining proportion of the township was under grass of various types. Although the Returns record the acreage under crop at the time of the survey, they do not record grass. Nor do they include the fallow and so do not encompass the full acreage of the arable system.³¹⁷ As the three-field system was the most common at this period it follows that as much as a third of the arable area was under fallow at any one time. The quality of the grazing provided by the fallow would not have been equal to other forms of permanent pasture, and so would not have supported an equal ratio of stock. Nonetheless, it provided some additional fodder and significantly affected the balance of land use. It has been included here within the grass/uncropped component. The settlement occupied some of the un-cropped land but even allowing an average of five per cent of the township area for this, the proportion of grazing land is extraordinary. In Table 3.1 the ratio of grass to arable for the 41 unenclosed townships is shown against the proportion of land still open. Townships with the greatest amount of enclosed land might be expected to have a larger proportion of grass. And indeed the five places with more than 50 per cent ancient enclosure have between 70 to 80 per cent grass. But the majority of places have between 50 and 95 per cent unenclosed land and they too were overwhelming pastoral. There is no correlation between the amount of land unenclosed and the amount of grass within the system. All of the 41 places had less than 50 per cent of their land under crop. The Returns include figures for root crops, some of which were fodder crops grown on the fallow, hence although included within the crop ratio they were in fact part of the livestock element of the system.³¹⁸ The amount of grazing lost on the fallow to root crops is therefore balanced by the nature of the crop. The agricultural regime was clearly geared to grazing. This analysis is strikingly different to that given by Chapman, who states that Northamptonshire Parliamentary enclosure was 75 per cent arable.³¹⁹ Even allowing for Chapman's reference being to *all* Parliamentary enclosure and that these data are for only 41 places, the figures are wildly different: the mean value is just 33 per cent under crop. Moreover, there is ample evidence of large proportions of grass within other townships (see below).

³¹⁷ Turner, (1986a), p. 677.

³¹⁸ Overton, (1996), p. 99.

³¹⁹ Chapman, (1987), p. 30.

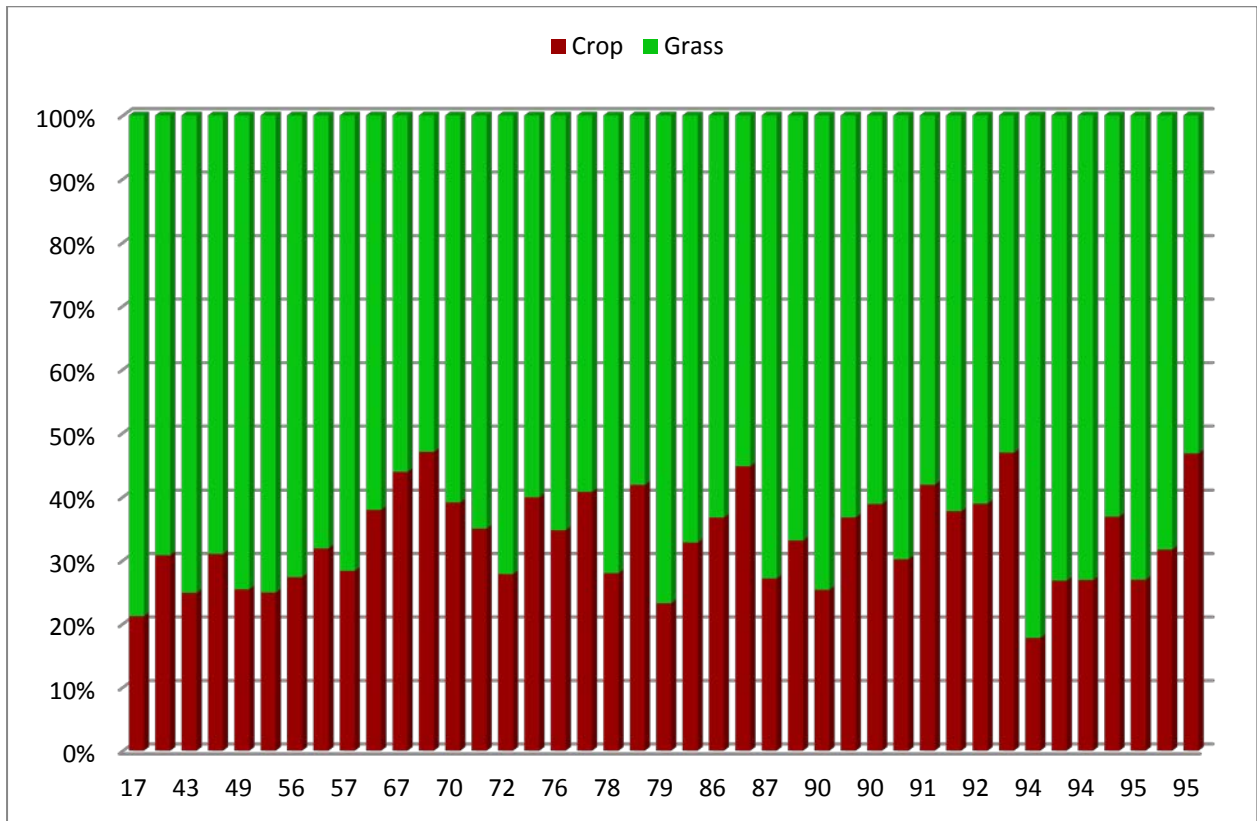


Table 3.1: Ratio of crops to grass taken from the 1801 Crop Returns. The number on the horizontal axis indicates the percentage of the township/parish unenclosed.³²⁰

³²⁰ Order of townships and date of enclosure: Wittering 1749, Woodford, 1763, Denton 1770, Yardley Hastings 1776, Grafton Underwood 1777, Braybrooke 1778, Evenley 1779, Tiffield 1780, Broughton 1786, Polebrook 1790, Barnack and Pilsgate 1800, Bradden 1803, Ashton (Oundle) 1807, Warkton 1807, Weekley 1807, Grimscote and Cold Higham 1812, Easton on the Hill 1817, Little Addington 1830, Collyweston 1841, Southorpe 1841, Sutton 1901.

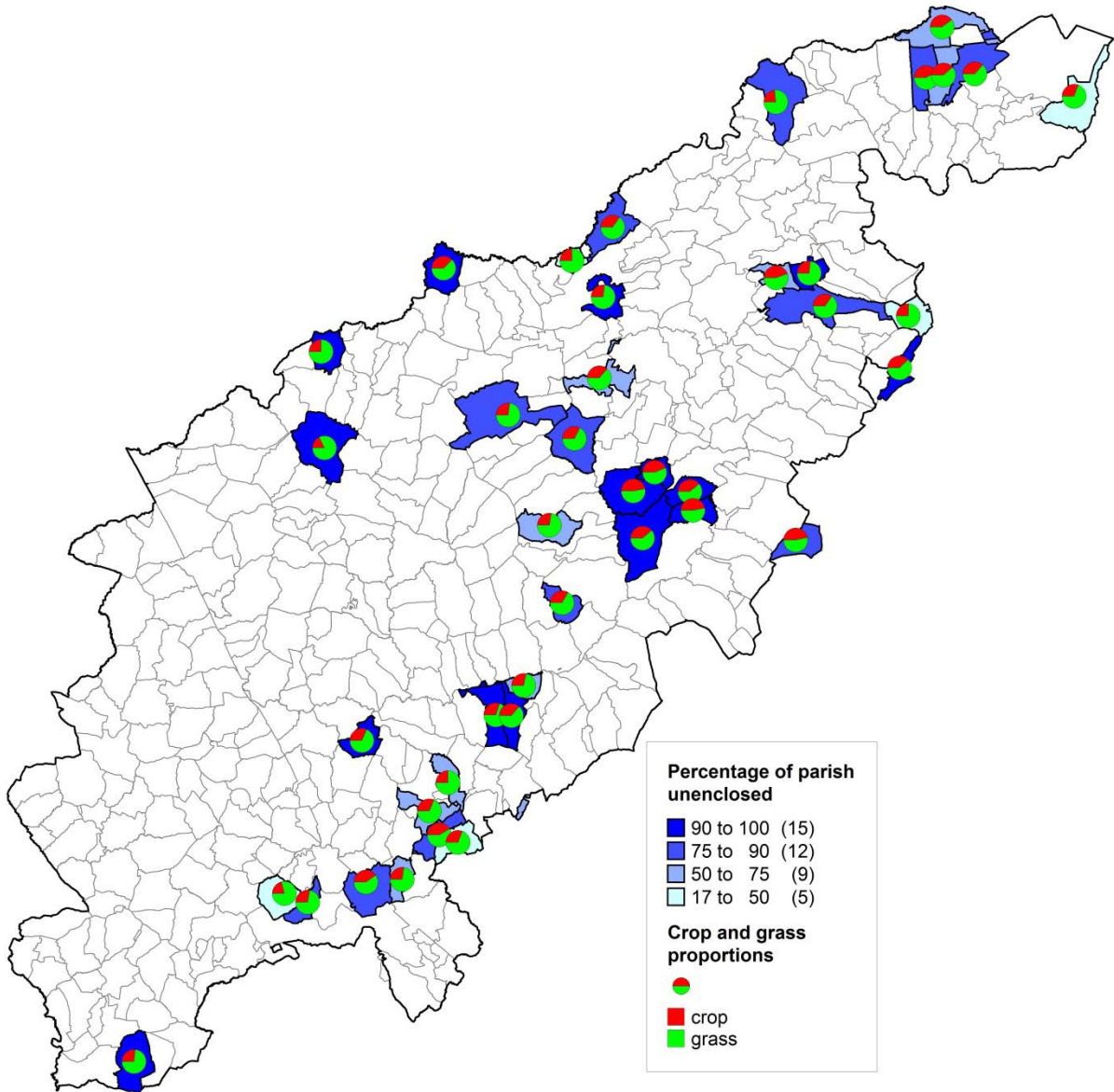


Figure 3.3: Ratio of crops to grass taken from the 1801 Crop Returns shown against the density of land unenclosed. Compare to Figure 4.29 the proportions of cropped and uncropped land in the enclosed landscape.

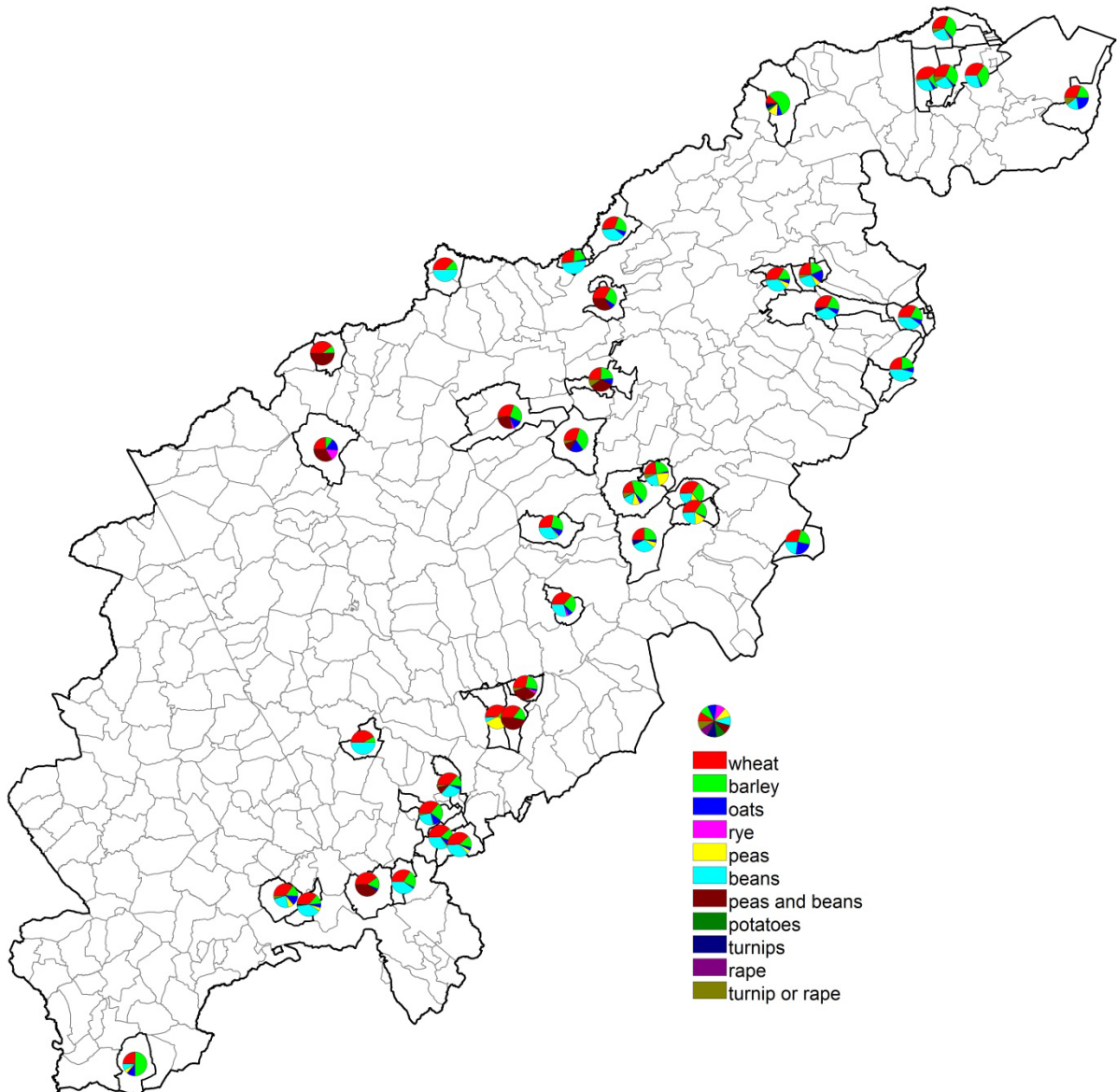


Figure 3.4: Variety of crops in unenclosed townships from the 1801 Crop Returns. Compare to Figure 4.30 which shows the same varieties in the enclosed landscape.

The composition of crops being grown is shown in Figure 3.4. Wheat and barley are the principal grain crops. Oats are only being grown in any quantity at Eye in the Soke of Peterborough, while Hargrave has the most balanced range of crops with almost equal amounts of the four types grown. Barley is grown in greater quantity than wheat in many places and at Easton on the Hill it accounts for 56 per cent of the land under crop. Legumes are of importance in all places, particularly along the Welland Valley where they are grown in equal or greater quantity than grain. It is difficult to assess the amount of land cultivated for turnips as they are mostly included under the heading 'turnips or rape'. As there are no separate entries for rape and only five for turnips it has to be assumed that they were grown together. Both were used as fodder, and rape as a green manure so both presumably grown on

the fallow. Potatoes are grown in 24 places but mostly in very small quantities; the 30 acres at Easton on the Hill being the most grown anywhere. Potato gardens were being introduced at this period as a method of poor relief, but the early ones were very small plots often taken from roadside waste and so are unlikely to have any impact on the Returns.³²¹ While the staple crops account for most of the cropped area there is evidence of a range of other varieties being grown. This indicates that the system was capable of adaptation and flexibility, particularly when taking into account that this accommodation was taking place within a drastically reduced arable area.

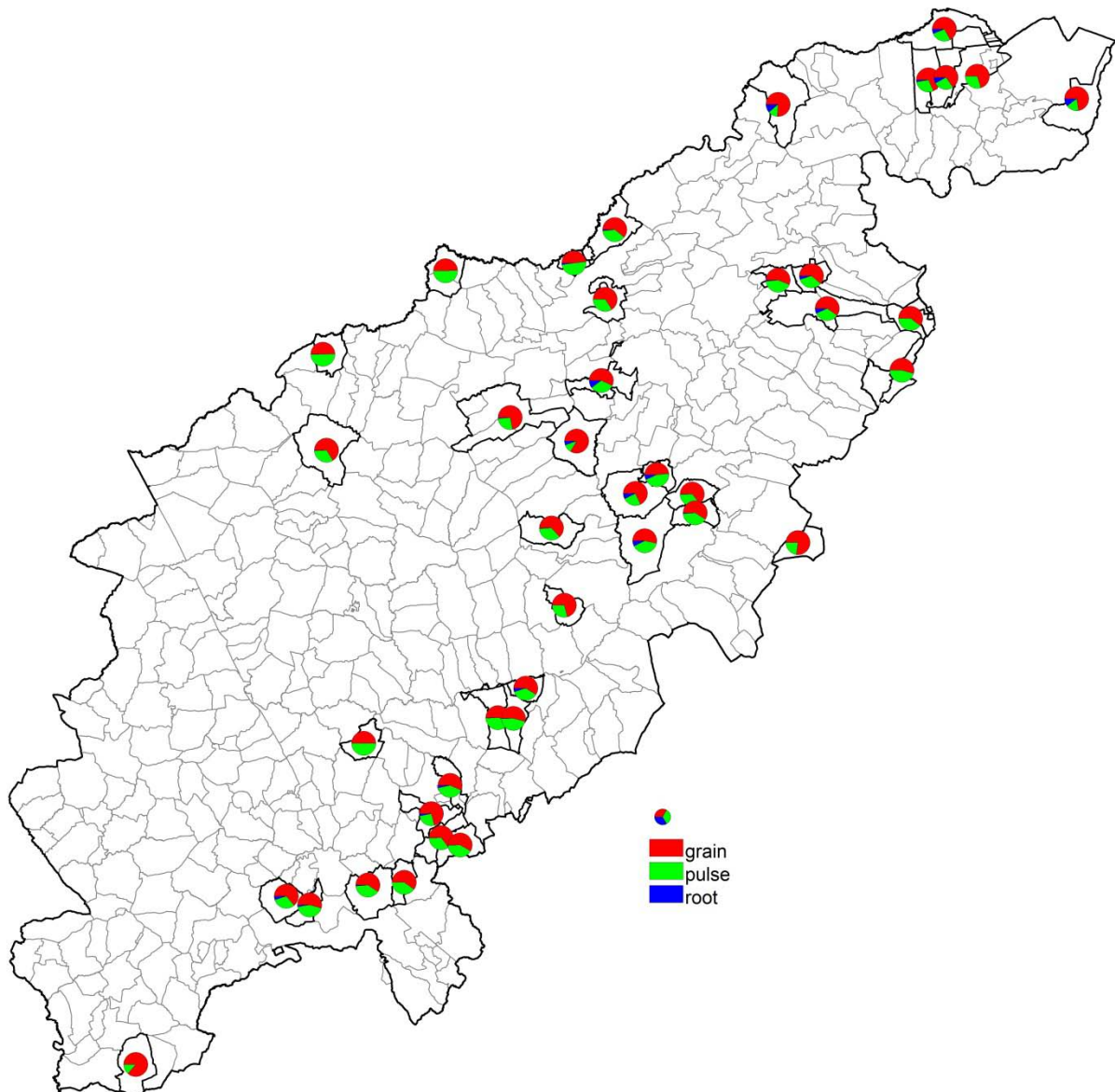


Figure 3.5: The balance of principal crop groups in unenclosed township in 1801.

³²¹ See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of potato gardens.

The variety of crops grown in small numbers was linked to local conditions. It is more instructive to view the balance of categories of crop: grain, pulse or root. Grain crops have the highest proportion everywhere, although there is a similar ratio of pulses in many places, an exact balance in Marston Trussell and a greater proportion of pulses in Rockingham. Root crops are notable by their absence, especially when compared to the amounts grown in enclosed places (Figure 4.31 in Chapter 4). The relative scarcity of field orders relating to crops would suggest that communities had little difficulty in making adjustments for them; it was the grass that required managing. And if the continuous adaptation of field regulations and enclosure before the 1770s can be attributed to a need for additional pasture, the evidence seen here would suggest that by 1801 the need had not abated.

Pasture

Pasture was provided through a range of resources, the type and amount varying between townships depending on location. Enclosures, heath, meadow, waste and the open fields all provided varying amounts of grass. Grass within enclosures was privately owned and farmed, but was part of the overall agricultural regime and therefore contributed to the bias towards pastoral farming in open field landscapes. The other kinds of pasture were a resource shared either between the community of a single township, as with grass in the open fields, or between several townships, in the case of some heaths, meadows and wastes. It is of note that those townships with the smallest amount of grass within the open fields in the medieval period were located along the Nene Valley, within the region of Rockingham Forest or in the Soke, where many of these additional resources were found (Figure 3.14). In the early-modern period this grass was continuously augmented, even within townships that had ample natural resources. All grazing resources were exploited, from the rich meadows to small scraps of waste at the roadsides. Each of the types is discussed below. Emphasis is placed on the grass within open fields, because as we have seen, this has been seriously underestimated hitherto. Townships where it has been possible to quantify the total amount of grass are then examined.

HEATH

Heathland was not extensive across the county but in some townships where it did occur it was considerable. Most of the heath from the medieval period survived in the early-modern period. The extent of heath thereafter fluctuated, expanding or contracting as arable was left to revert to rough pasture or enclosures were taken from it. The extents in both periods in the

area to the north-east of the county on the border with the Soke are shown in Figure 3.6. The 1,730 acres of heath from the medieval in this area had, by the middle of the eighteenth century, expanded to 3,273: a sure indication of the need for additional grazing. However, it is not possible to make this calculation across the county as many of the townships known to contain heath in the early-modern period do not have maps. Some heaths were shared between townships. The boundaries in the shared heaths between Helpston and Ailsworth, and Wittering and Easton on the Hill, for instance, were only fixed at enclosure. A map dated 1640 shows the heaths shared between Helpston, Ailsworth and Etton. Names of the various parts of the heath are marked but there are no township boundaries (Figure 3.7).³²² There is no map of the full extent of the heath at Wittering and Easton, but a post-enclosure map of Wittering conveniently marks ‘intercommon farm’ in the area that was shared.³²³

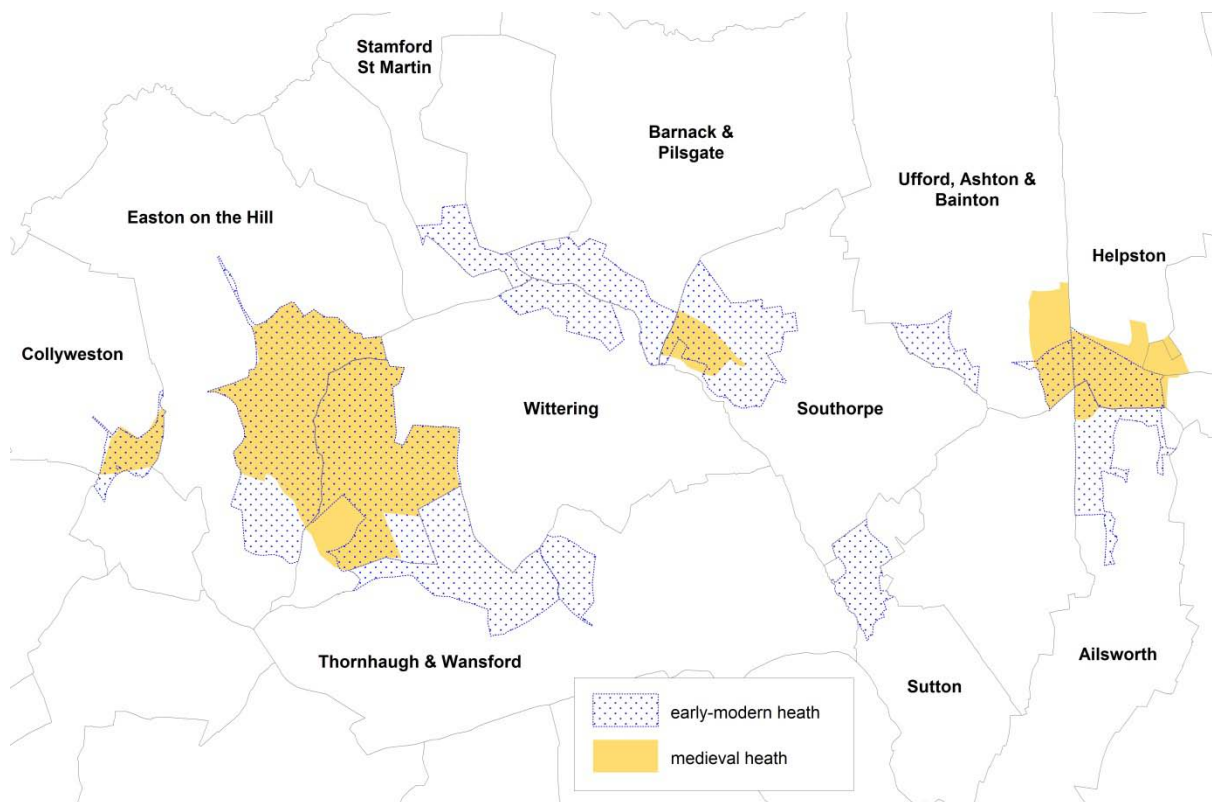


Figure 3.6: Extent of heath from the medieval and early-modern periods in townships on the edge of and within the Soke of Peterborough.

³²² NRO Map 1241.

³²³ EX/M 90.

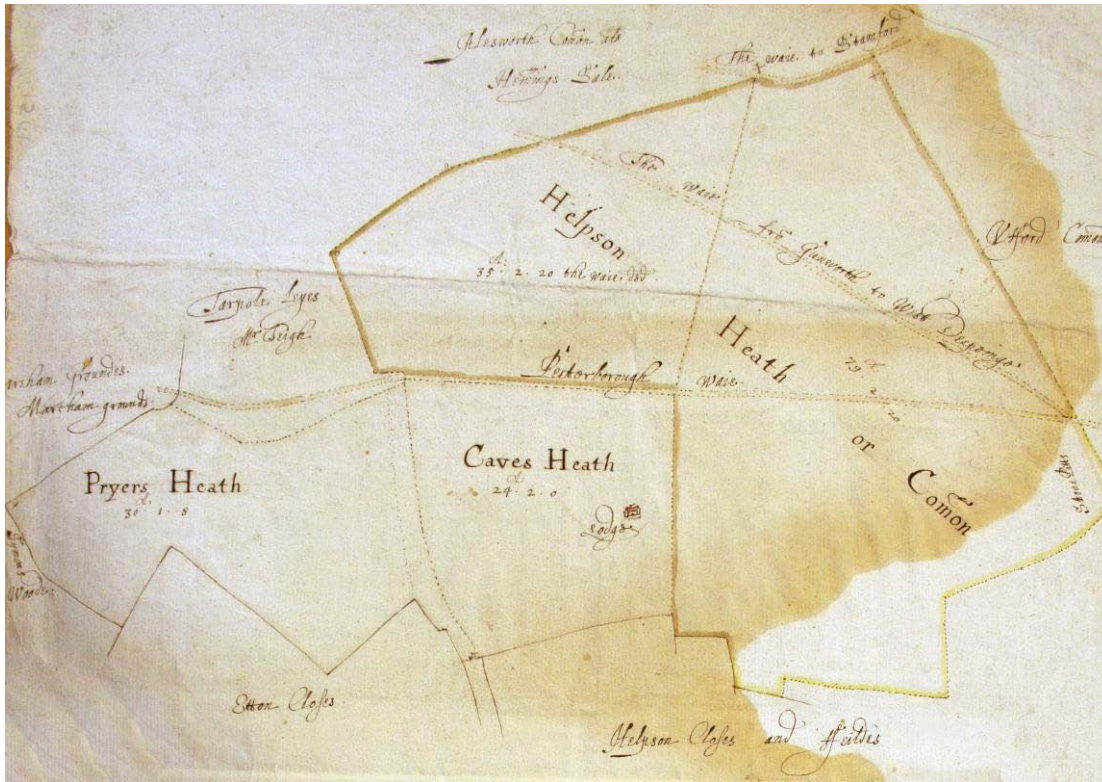


Figure 3.7: Shared heaths at Helpston, Ailsworth and Etton. The map has been rotated to make it legible, so north is at the bottom.

MEADOW

Meadow was arguably the most valuable and valued pasture of all. In the tithe surveys it was calculated as much as eight times the value of other pasture.³²⁴ Whereas most pasture was on poor thin soils, meadow was found on the rich alluvial floodplains of rivers and larger streams. It was not commonable as other pasture, but allotted as part of the yardland. As such the hay belonged to the individual farmer and only after it was cut did the meadow become commonable to the village herds.³²⁵ Meadow allotments were often called 'lots' or 'doles'. A survey of Aynho in 1720 marks the meadow 'swath' doles (Figure 3.8).³²⁶ A swath is clearly related to width of a scythe swipe, but is not an exact measurement as this meadow far exceeds the length that the marked swathes would equate to.³²⁷ While some maps mark a particular land use it is rare for them to show the processes involved in farming it. A particularly fine map of Northampton from 1632 depicts several different agricultural activities including hay making in the meadows (Figure 3.9).³²⁸

³²⁴ Kain & Prince, (1985), p. 51.

³²⁵ Hall, (1995), p. 96.

³²⁶ NRO C(A) 6268.

³²⁷ David Hall pers. comm.

³²⁸ NRO Map 4671.

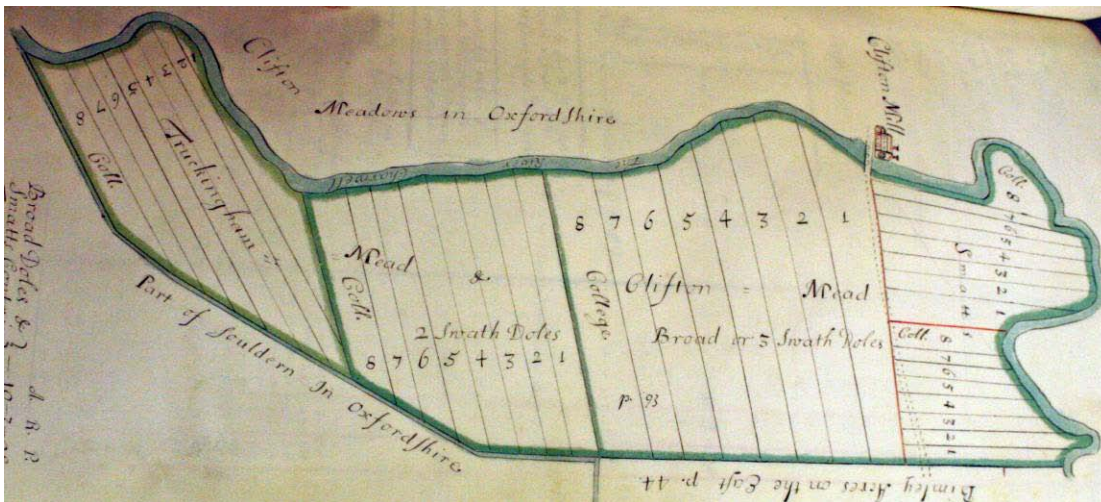


Figure 3.8: Meadow doles at Aynho in 1720.



Figure 3.9: Hay makers mowing in the meadows at Northampton in 1632.

Because meadow was so valuable the townships where it was scarce might have detached blocks elsewhere, or have agreements to share with a neighbouring place.³²⁹ Castle Ashby, Brafield and Alderton all had small blocks of detached meadow.³³⁰ Ecton and Cogenhoe shared a piece of meadow in Ecton called 'The Holme' (Figure 3.10). By this arrangement Ecton cut one part, Cogenhoe the other and 'when the grass is cut both parishes intercommon in the whole'.³³¹ Given the ample meadow seen on the map of Ecton it is likely the agreement was made at the request of Cogenhoe.

³²⁹ Hall, (1995), pp. 98-99.

³³⁰ Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012) pp. 57, 58, 69.

³³¹ 'Useful memorandums relating to my estates' in NRO E(S) Box X1071.

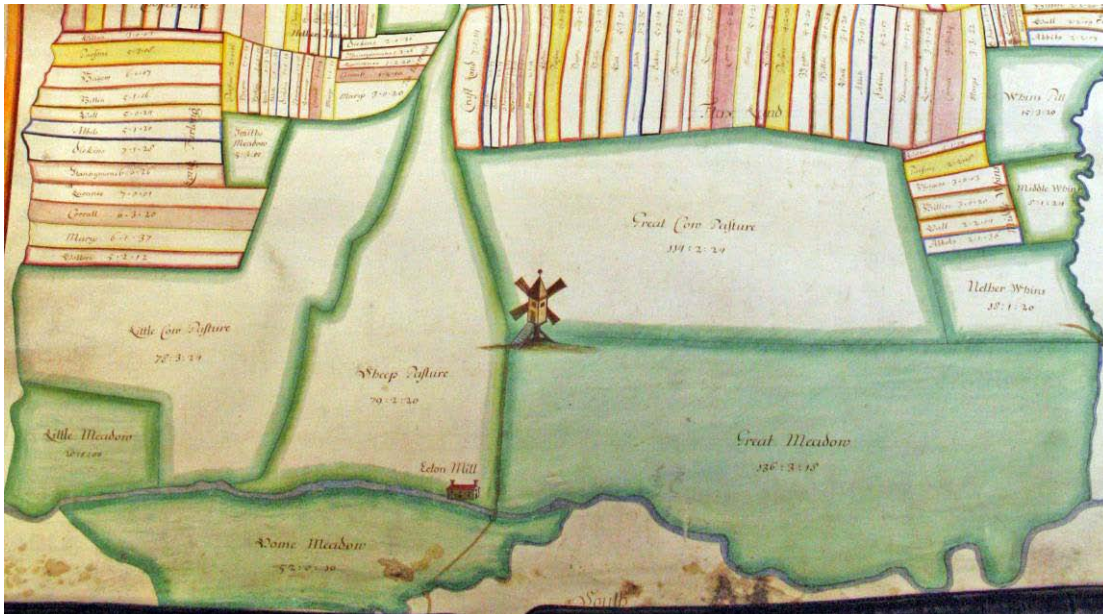


Figure 3.10: Extensive meadows and pastures at Ecton in the Nene Valley 1703. Home Meadow below the mill was shared between Ecton and Cogenhoe.

It was in the Soke where the greatest areas of shared meadow were to be found. The townships of Helpston, Maxey with Deeping Gate, Northborough, Peakirk, Glinton, and Etton with Woodcroft had an intricate intermixing of farms and shared resources. Enclosure of the 6,217 acres with 227 allottees took 11 years to complete, from act in 1809 to the award in 1820.³³² It was only at this date that some of the township boundaries were fixed and the shared resources allocated to each place. The process is most clearly illustrated in the allotments of North Fen and Westings Meadow. North Fen is first recorded by that name in the thirteenth century and first mapped in 1543 in response to a dispute between the ‘king’s tenants of Maxey’ and the people of Glinton who were in dispute over common pasture.³³³ It shows a vast area that is commonable and also depicts the droves leading to it from Maxey and Northborough.³³⁴ At enclosure North Fen was divided between Maxey, Glinton, Peakirk and Northborough. Northborough allotment was contained within the township boundary but the other three townships were allocated detached blocks. Westings meadow was mapped in c.1580 when it was commonable to Helpston, Etton, Marham, Glinton and Maxey (Figure 3.11).³³⁵ It has been possible to plot the extent of this map in GIS against a modern OS background and show the township boundaries imposed at enclosure (Figure 3.12). It was

³³² NRO ML860.

³³³ TNA MPI 1/251. This map includes a small piece of the wet peaty land of Borough Fen but is mostly depicting the broad meadows to the east of Peakirk, Glinton and Maxey. This area was more alluvium than peat. It was, however, referred to in documents as the North Fen. Gover, Mawer, and Stenton, (1933), p. 240.

³³⁴ An extract showing Northborough drove is shown in Figure 4.9. The full map is reproduced in Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), p. 108.

³³⁵ Hall, (1995), p. 293.

divided between Helpston, Etton, Maxey, Northborough and Glinton; the regular boundaries clearly show each township's allotment. The careful allocation of parcels of meadow to each township is indicative of its value.



Figure 3.11: Westings Meadow in c.1580 (NRO Map 1233).

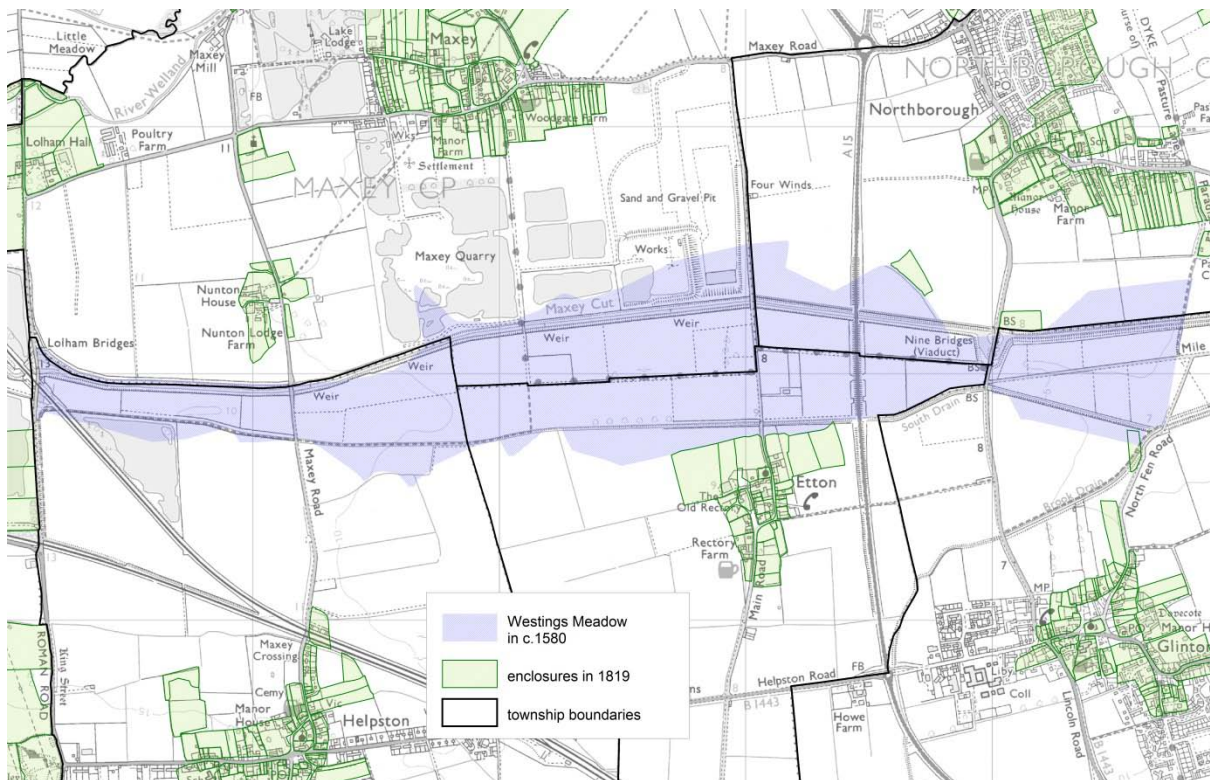


Figure 3.12: The extent of Westings Meadow from the c.1580 map, shown on a modern map background. Ancient enclosures are shown in green to illustrate the relationship between the settlements and the common meadow. The black lines are the new township boundaries, imposed at enclosure, that divide the meadow between the five townships.

WASTE

Additional grazing outside of the township was available to villages within the forest perambulations. The regulations governing the forests were extremely complex and are ably summarized by Pettit.³³⁶ Forest common-of-pasture was originally for cattle and horses only, they were stinted and applicable to certain areas and times of the year. Other pasture, the agistment and pannage, could be purchased. These privileges were originally intended as compensation for the depredations of the deer and as income to the Crown and, as with the open fields, the rights were linked to holdings. Cattle belonging to foreigners were strictly forbidden. By the eighteenth century much confusion, and still more abuse, meant that claims to common-of-pasture had usurped those of agistment. It was now claimed that all kinds of animals had unstinted access to all parts of the forest. Such claims did not pass unchallenged, but it was villagers seeking to protect their rights against other villagers, as much as the forest officers, attempting some control. Animals were required to carry the village brand which allowed excess numbers to be identified. Disputes between villages were common. The disagreement between Brigstock, Weldon and Benefield, for instance, rumbled on for centuries.³³⁷ It was partially resolved by an allocation of land solely for the use of Brigstock, called Brigstock Common (Figure 3.13). But rights of common that were intended to supplement land within the open fields were being ruthlessly exploited by some, not least the forest officers.³³⁸ Grazing on a commercial rather than subsistence scale was now carried out, including selling pasture to foreigners. Flocks of sheep thousands strong were pastured by people from Brigstock on land commonable to them and Benefield. Nor was it just wealthy farmers who took advantage of 'unstinted' commons. Of the 1,200 animals kept by the villagers of Nassington almost half were owned by cottagers.³³⁹ The result of this severe over-grazing was that by the end of the eighteenth century common pasture in the forest may have had less value to the average farmer than might be supposed.

³³⁶ P. Pettit, *The Royal Forest of Northamptonshire: A Study in their Economy 1558-1714*, 1968), pp. 149-158.

³³⁷ Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), pp. 170, 184.

³³⁸ Pettit, (1968), pp. 150, 154, 155, 177.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8, 178.

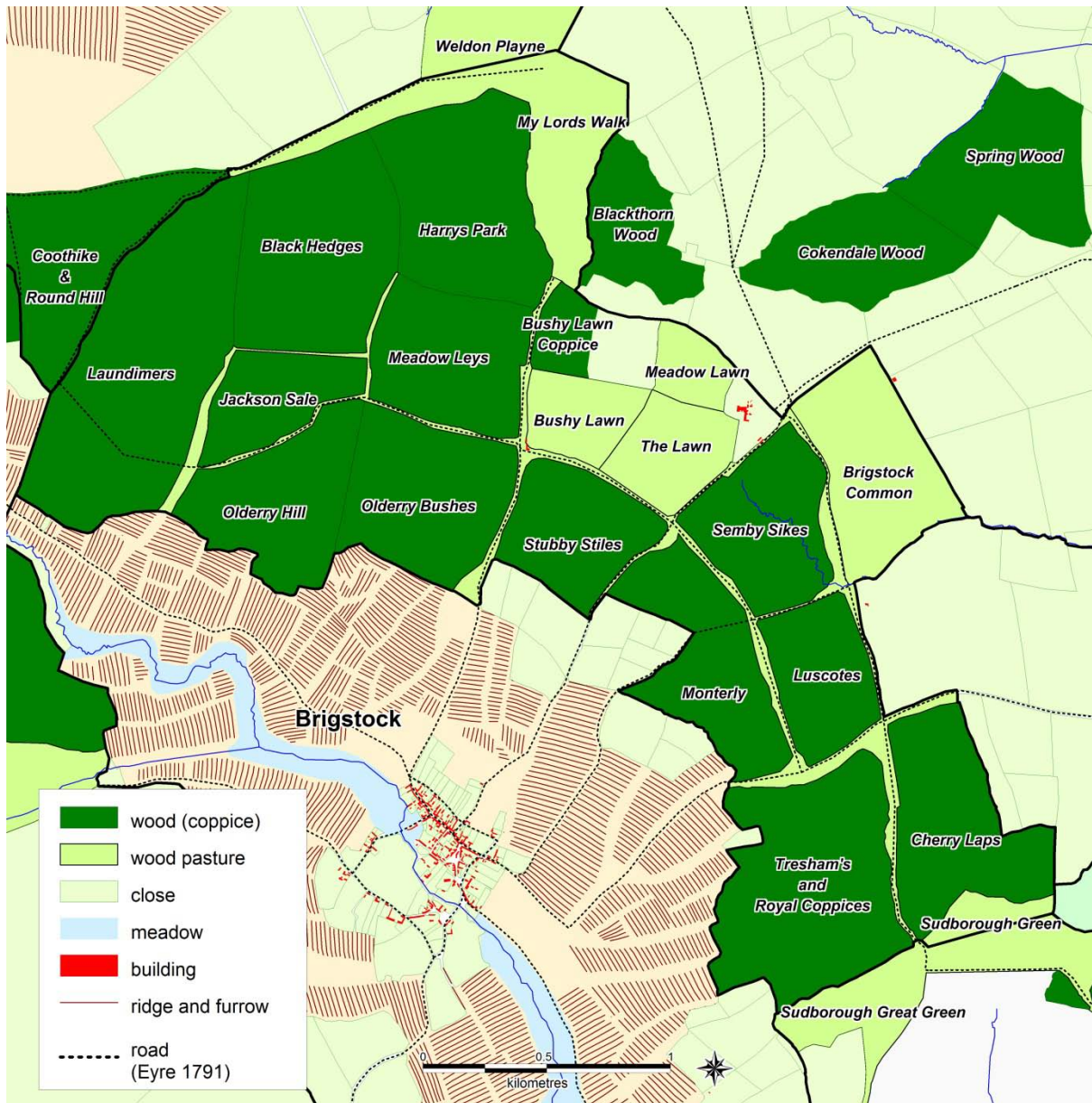


Figure 3.13: Woodland pasture in Brigstock Woods in 1728. Brigstock Common to the right of the woods was once commonable to both Brigstock and Benefield. Note the roads leading from the village, through the open fields and into the woodland pastures.

GRASS IN THE OPEN FIELDS³⁴⁰

There were two broad categories of pasture within the open fields: the grass that had never been ploughed, and the grass added to the system either in lieu of partial enclosure or as a response to the need for more grazing. In the medieval period the open field system was predominantly arable with appurtenant grass in meadows and unploughed pasture. At the height of arable expansion in c.1300 only 12 per cent of the county was pasture of this

³⁴⁰ This refers to grass that is managed separately to the arable fields; it therefore excludes the fallow.

type.³⁴¹ It was by no means evenly distributed, some townships had as much as 40 per cent grass and others as little as one or two per cent. But it is crucial to understand that by c.1300 all land that could be ploughed had been ploughed. From this point the amount of grass in the system did not contract but was added to until enclosure. The proportions of the various types of pasture in the medieval period are shown in Figure 3.14. The extensive meadows along the major river valleys and in the low-lying Soke are immediately apparent, along with a correspondingly low proportion of open field pasture. The locations of the forests are easily identified by the high proportions of woodland, and it is of note that at this period there was virtually no woodland outside the forests. Townships with high levels of open field pasture are in the central and western parts of the county. The larger grazing areas were typically found on higher ground and/or poor soils. Those on the edge of the settlement were sometimes called greens and were found at Brafield on the Green, Great Brington (Figure 3.15), Hellidon, Newnham, Great Houghton, Ashton (in Ufford), Kislingbury, Woodcroft (Figure 3.24), and Warmington . The green at Warmington was particularly extensive at some 77 acres. Drovers could also be substantial and were a feature typically seen in townships of Rockingham Forest and in the Soke, where those leading to the fen were particularly wide (Figure 4.8, 4.9 in Chapter 4).³⁴² Grass was also provided within the great fields, intermixed with the arable as the ribbons and strips of balks, and by the side of slades, streams and roads.

³⁴¹ Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), p. 17.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 110-113.

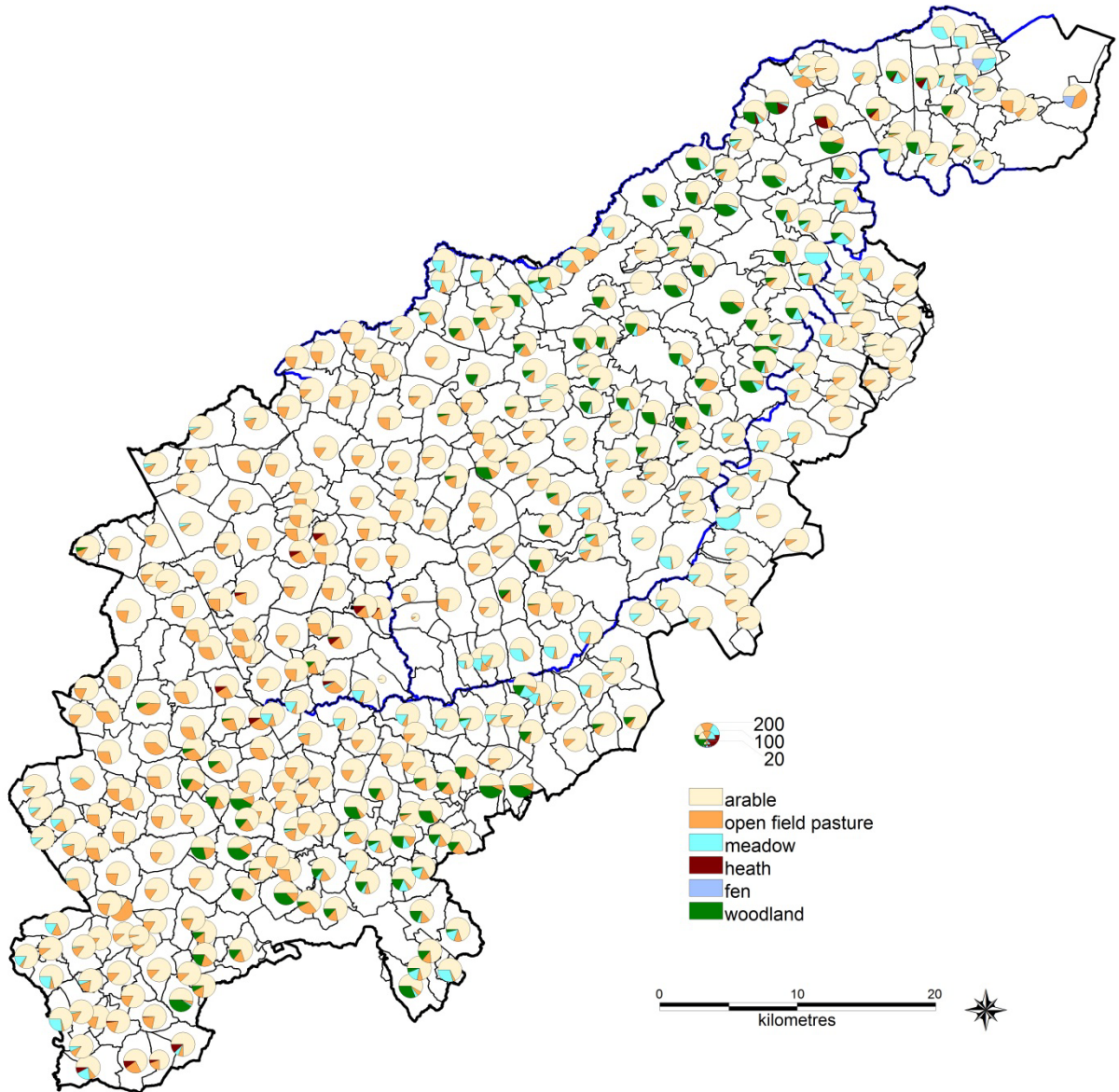


Figure 3.14: Proportions of land use at the height of the expansion of the open fields c.1300



Figure 3.15: The draft enclosure map of Brington showing the large green to the west of the village. Note also the funnel-like drove leading into the green from the village.³⁴³

In the early-modern period the extent of arable was gradually eroded as grass was added to the system in large blocks usually known as cow pastures, or as leys, grass ends, or in strips in and around the furlongs. There were no vast wastes within the county over which to expand, so additional grazing had to be provided within the open fields. The continual addition of such grass, along with increasing regulations regarding its management, is demonstration of its need. It indicates a change in emphasis from intensive arable farming to a mixed farming regime that placed more emphasis on stock-rearing. Root crops that might be used for fodder do not figure significantly in the Crop Returns for unenclosed places (see above), and Pitt had noted that even the large stock farms were feeding principally from grazing.³⁴⁴ It follows that whatever additional feed was needed for stock was being provided by grass. This was not simply a case of increasing numbers of animals requiring more pasture, but a change in the type of animal - specifically horses. Oxen were traditionally used as draft beasts in the medieval period and were only gradually replaced by horses. The stints were therefore originally intended for cattle as few farmers would have kept horses. Some orders from the fifteenth century specify numbers of horses, but they were intended to be as an alternative to cattle in the stint.³⁴⁵ Later orders include both horses and cattle, while some

³⁴³ BL ADDMSS 78133F.

³⁴⁴ Pitt, (1809), p. 28.

³⁴⁵ Hall, (1995), pp. 8-9.

use the term ‘great beasts’ meaning both. But if horses were introduced without a corresponding decrease to the regular cattle stint this would lead to over-pasturing. Orders made at Marston Trussell in 1742 state ‘it has been customary time out of mind to keep ... horses without number and the said field not being sufficient to preserve and keep alive so great a number ... the cattle are always poor and in a weak and languishing condition’.³⁴⁶ The existing stints were reduced from 80 sheep to 56 and 16 cows to two. The un-numbered horses were now fixed to five. The various types of pasture were managed and used differently; each is given a summary with examples below.³⁴⁷

Roads

Many unenclosed roads were of substantial width, but any metalled area would have been only a narrow strip through the centre. The wider area was required for the months of poor weather when it was usual for roads to become difficult or impossible to negotiate. Such verges were classed as waste and, as such, were the property of the lord of the manor who received an allotment in lieu at enclosure. Some of these wastes were substantial in width and functioned as ribbon-like commons. Numerous maps depict them and mark them either as ‘common’, or more specifically ‘cow’, ‘horse’ or ‘sheep’ common (Figures 3.16, 3.17 and 4.32 in Chapter 4).



Figure 3.16: Common pasture along the road leading west from Woodford village in 1731. Note the ‘Way Post’ in the centre.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶ NRO 206P/220.

³⁴⁷ Some types of pasture could fit comfortably onto more than one category. For example, a road and a stream might be encompassed by the same strip of grass which might also be called a cow common. To avoid confusion the various types are included under the heading that they are labelled with on the map.

³⁴⁸ Boughton House private collection.



Figure 3.17: The cow common on the road east of the village at Alderton c.1725.³⁴⁹

Other narrower roads also had associated grass verges and, though small and scattered, they nevertheless provided additional grazing. Such grass was not free to anyone who might choose to use it, as with all other aspects of common grazing it was regulated and could be subject to a rental charge. The ‘town grass’ at Harlestone in 1726 was located along various ‘ways’ and the income went to the churchwardens.³⁵⁰ Many pre-enclosure maps show these grass verges alongside roads but often only indicate it by tinting, rather than defining boundaries, so making it difficult to quantify. However, the numerous allotments and stipulations regarding the use of such land at and immediately after enclosure attest its value (see Chapter 4).

Slades and streams

Grass alongside streams and slades was typically found in all townships. While some had a greater abundance than others, all townships had some supply of water. An indication of its prevalence can be seen in Chapter 1: Figures 1.6 and 1.7, where much of the open field pasture is associated with streams and slades. This type of grass is rarely specifically mentioned in field orders as it is included within the general description of ‘pasture’.

³⁴⁹ NRO Map 4224.

³⁵⁰ NRO 153P/29.

Similarly, pre-enclosure maps rarely depict it in detail, but it can often be identified by close examination. The surveyor of the 1630 map of Cogenhoe was concerned to illustrate the stream, which he labelled three times along its length, and the trees lining it (Figure 3.18).³⁵¹ The grass on either side was indicated but in an ambiguous way that would not be obvious to an inexperienced eye. In many places, of which Cogenhoe is an example, the streams and slades would have been minor features that provided additional, but limited amounts of grazing. In other places the slades could be substantial and be accounted commons in their own right. Denford in the Nene Valley had, in addition to ample meadows, an abundance of wide slades providing pasture (Figure 3.19).³⁵² Brook slade in the centre of the map is some 190 metres at its widest point. Similarly, the 1632 map of Northampton shows the ribbon of pasture either side of a stream and also depicts its function (Figure 3.20).³⁵³ Occasionally archaeological evidence can be found of the same type of feature, though such survivals are unfortunately now rare (Figure 3.21). Pasture alongside streams and slades may not have been of the same quality as that in the rich alluvial meadows, but was nonetheless a valuable resource.



Figure 3.18: A tree-lined stream within the open fields at Cogenhoe in 1630. The grass to either side is not obvious but can be identified as small numbered plots on the north bank and by green tinting on the south bank.

³⁵¹ NRO X5695.

³⁵² Boughton House private collection: Map of Denford 1730.

³⁵³ NRO Map 4671.

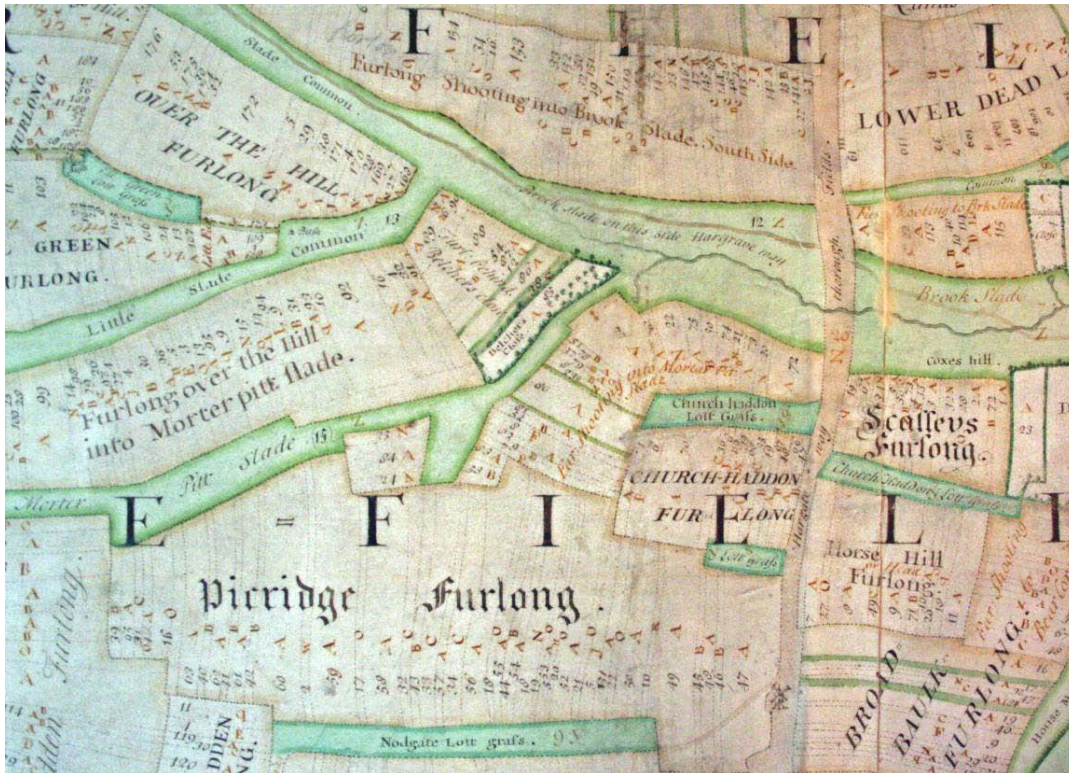


Figure 3.19: The open fields of Denford in 1730 showing the vast amount of grass associated with streams and slades. Note also the thin ribbons of grass that are balks within the furlongs, particularly in 'Broad Balk Furlong' bottom right of the map.



Figure 3.20: Grass alongside a stream being used as an addition to the sheep common at Northampton in 1632.



Figure 3.21: Archaeological remains of the open fields at Kilsby. Note the wide flat pasture on either side of the meandering stream course in the centre of the picture. This can be equated with the type of grass shown in the above maps, especially Figure 3.20. Note also the foreshortened strips in the bottom-left furlong. This series of heads were created by grass ends being laid at the end of the strips. (See ‘furlongs’ and Figure 3.25, below).

Cow pastures

Cow pastures, also known as cow commons, were areas set aside from the arable fields to provide common pasturage for the community (Figure 3.22).³⁵⁴ Unlike the commons associated with slades and streams, which took advantage of unploughed land, cow pastures were specifically created. And, unlike the arable strips and meadow doles, cow pastures did not allocate a specific piece of ground to individual owners. Rather, the cattle were pastured together in the town herd, something Pitt referred to as a ‘promiscuous assemblage’.³⁵⁵ Cow pastures might be created in lieu of enclosure, but more usually by agreement between the owners.³⁵⁶ Some maps show evidence of the creation of a cow pasture and for reorganisation of the open fields after partial enclosure. At Braybrooke a common is shown on the map of 1767 and can be dated using other documentary sources to the enclosure of Loatland and Blackland Fields in 1649.³⁵⁷ Occasionally the map itself provides the detail of the process. At Woodend a map dated 1685 marks ‘The Lords Leys now laid out for a common for Woodend

³⁵⁴ NRO Map 4671.

³⁵⁵ Pitt, (1809), p. 69.

³⁵⁶ Hall, (1995), p. 21.

³⁵⁷ NRO Map 6393. Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), pp. 182-183.

in lieu of inclosing'.³⁵⁸ And at Roade a map of 1768 marks new enclosures, and common pasture being created as a result (Figure 3.23).³⁵⁹ A similar process is documented on maps of Higham Ferrers dated 1737 and 1789.³⁶⁰ These maps are particularly interesting as evidence of piecemeal enclosure and reorganisation continuing in the latter half of the eighteenth century.



Figure 3.22: Large block of land taken from the open fields for use as cow pasture at Northampton. The map is dated 1632 but the date at which the cow pasture was created is uncertain.

³⁵⁸ Jesus College NH P1/2. The map is of Plumpton township but includes some limited information of neighbouring Woodend.

³⁵⁹ NRO Map 440.

³⁶⁰ NRO Maps 1004, 1000.



Figure 3.23: Map of Road dated 1768 documenting the process of partial enclosure and the creation of a cow common in lieu of the lost common rights.

Most maps do not indicate the process by which the cow pasture was created. An undated map of Woodcroft (in Etton) marks various land parcels (Figure 3.24).³⁶¹ Some of these are clearly unenclosed, as demonstrated by the furlong and green names, but it is less obvious for ‘fortie acres’ and the ‘snoe’ (later the ‘snow’). The map was almost certainly created in response to a dispute over common rights, specifically the abuse of stints, on the Snow and Woodcroft Green in 1570.³⁶² Both the Green and the Snow remained open until final enclosure of Etton in 1819 and both features are marked on the enclosure map.³⁶³ But, while the land use of the green can be deduced from the name, the function of the Snow would not have been apparent without these earlier documents. It is therefore likely that, although cow pastures are frequently marked on maps, they are in fact under-represented as some may be marked by name rather than function.

³⁶¹ NRO Map 1251.

³⁶² NRO FM Charter 747; Finch, (1956), p. 116.

³⁶³ See Figure 5.2 in Chapter 5 which shows these features from the enclosure map against the modern landscape.



Figure 3.24: Woodcroft in c.1570. The 'long grene' and the 'snoe' were both common pastures.

Furlongs

There were three types of grass associated with furlongs, leys, grass ends and balks. Leys were groups of strips, or a whole furlong, laid to grass. They remained the property of the individual farmers and only became commonable at the same time as the rest of the great field. This meant they could be used for pasture, if the animals were tethered, or cropped for hay at the choice of the individual farmer. In some parts of the country leys were part of convertible husbandry, whereby they only remained grass for a period and then reverted to arable.³⁶⁴ In Northamptonshire there is no evidence of this in the open fields; the leys were permanent grass.³⁶⁵ They have not been quantified as part of the present study, but they were extremely common. The majority of pre-enclosure maps mark leys, or where they are not specifically named they can be interpreted by colouration on the map. Many other maps simply number the plots of land with no indication of use, so it is likely that leys are underestimated from the map sources.

³⁶⁴ Overton, (1996), pp. 116-117.

³⁶⁵ Hall, (1995), p. 23.

Grass ends, as the name implies, were specified lengths at the ends of arable strips laid to grass. Like leys they remained privately owned by individual farmers. They are probably the most under-estimated category of open field grass as even the most detailed maps do not identify them. However, references to them have been found in field orders, such as that at Brington in 1739 where ‘no occupiers of lands shall plough out any of his Lands Ends in any part of the said fields any further than the Jury for the time being shall appoint by holes or marks...’.³⁶⁶ These foreshortened lands survive as archaeological features (Figure 3.25). The heads at the end of each strip are clearly visible to the left of the picture. Just beyond them the lower profile of the former full length of the strip can also be seen. The lower height is the result of their not being ploughed for as long as the strips in the foreground. Brington was enclosed in 1743 so the field order of 1739 is likely to be a reiteration of existing orders, as four years difference in ploughing is unlikely to cause such a difference in height. The hedge was inserted at enclosure along the stream that marks the furlong boundary. There would have been some pasture on either side of the stream so the strips would not have extended all the way to it; hence the grass ends represented a widening of pasture along the stream. The draft enclosure map is very detailed and this furlong can be seen in the centre of the map immediately below the village (Figure 3.26). The strips clearly stretch all the way to the stream on the right, in contradiction of what the archaeology is showing. This is because the map is showing boundaries of ownership rather than physical boundaries. The two are often coextensive but cannot be taken for granted.



Figure 3.25: Grass ends on a furlong in Brington (see Figure 3.26 below). The heads to the left of the image mark the extent of the foreshortened strips. The lower profile ridges beyond represent the earlier length of the strip before orders were made to grass down a specified length. See also Figure 3.21, which shows two phases of withdrawal of arable strips in favour of grass.

³⁶⁶ NRO SOX 336.

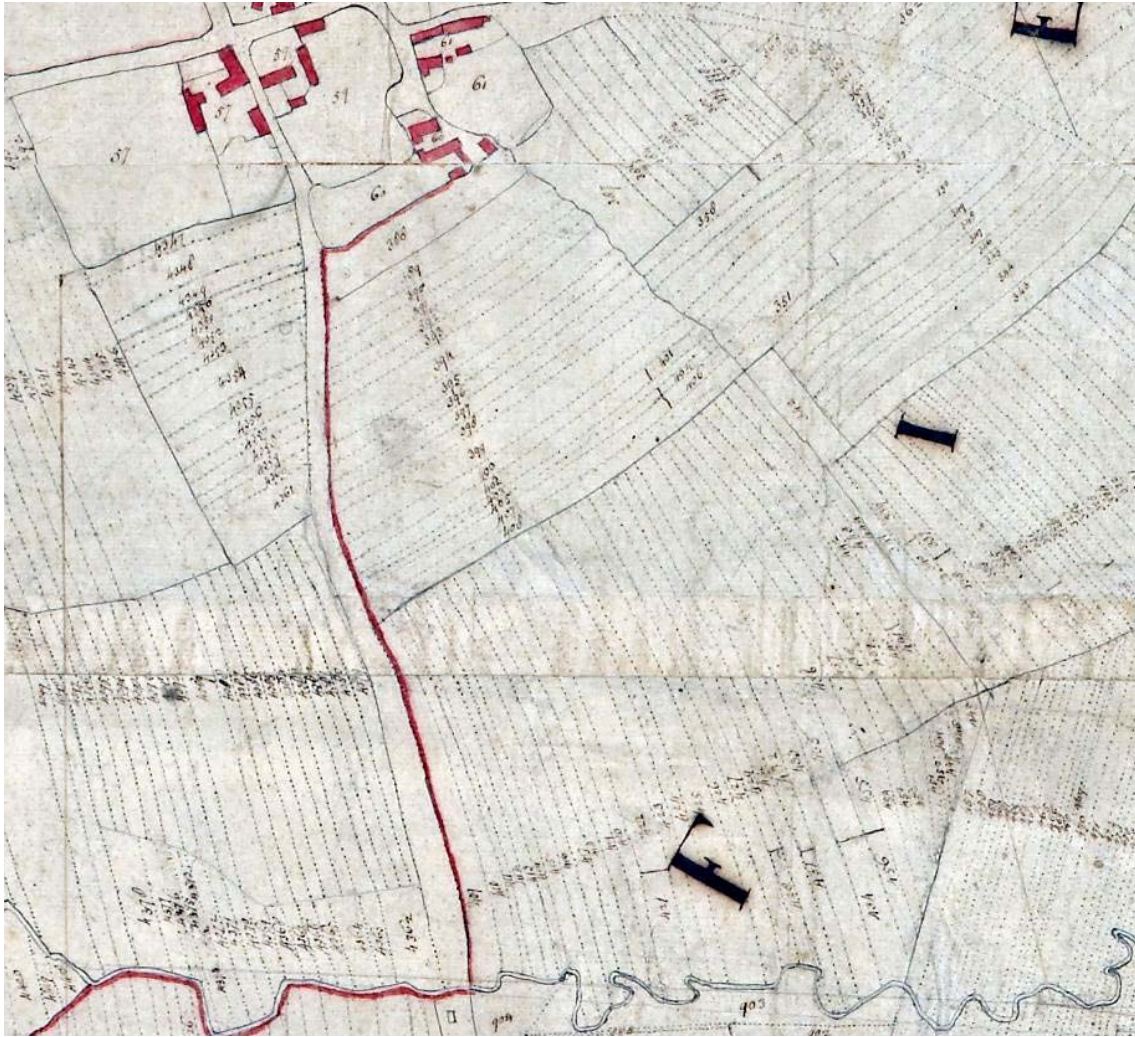


Figure 3.26: Draft enclosure map of Brington. The furlong in the centre of the map immediately below the village is the same as that seen in Figure 3.25 above. On the map the strips extend to the furlong boundary marked by the stream on the right. In reality there would have been a strip of permanent grass alongside the stream, and the ridges have been shortened by grassing down the ends. This is evidenced by written sources and by the surviving archaeology.

Balks were the ribbons of grass in and around the furlongs usually used as access ways.

Gradually the widths were increased and more added throughout the furlongs. Some were common and some held privately, the latter being those between strips rather than around the outside of a furlong.³⁶⁷ Orders regarding pasture rights upon the common balks are rarely found, but orders for their creation and maintenance are more frequently seen. Badby field orders of 1623 stipulate ‘betweene eveie two furlongs throughout the fielde, there shall be left a hadeway of sixteene foote broade’ and ‘betwixt everie halfacre, there shall bee left a baulke of two foote broade, and betweene everie roode, a baulke of a foote broade’.³⁶⁸ They are sometimes indicated on draft enclosure maps by green tinting, but not in a definitive manner that would allow them to be quantified. Occasionally they are marked in such detail that it is

³⁶⁷ Hall, (1995), p. 26.

³⁶⁸ NRO TH1604.

possible to plot them in GIS (see Figure 3.29), but this may be due to the particular stylistic preference of the surveyor. The maps for Little Houghton with Brafield, and Little Addington show extraordinary detail of all the grass within the townships and both were made by John Durham Junior. Some pre-enclosure estate maps also illustrate the balks; they are particularly good on certain maps made for the Duke of Montague in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is possible that this level of pasture was found elsewhere but is simply missing from the map record.

TOTAL GRASS

Having collected data for various types of pasture it was possible to digitise and quantify the amount of grass in some townships. In the data now presented there is a distinct lack of places from the central and western parts of the county. This is due to the lack of sources rather than a lack of evidence, as this area is particularly poorly served by maps. Some evidence may be found in other sources, such as at Naseby where it is remarked by the local vicar that two-thirds of the unenclosed land was pasture.³⁶⁹ Similarly, at Rothwell the enclosure map gives no indication of land use but the award makes reference to the ‘several sheep walks’ and the allocation of land for tithes refers to the ‘tithe hay’, ‘lambs’ and ‘wool’. All of which suggests that Rothwell had a considerable portion of the open fields down to grass.³⁷⁰ However, data are only presented for those townships that had a map enabling it to be digitised. Wider analysis might be possible if more data were available, nonetheless such evidence as there is enables some conclusions to be drawn. The data for proportions of grass and the date of enclosure within selected townships are presented in Table 3.2. There is no correlation between the date of enclosure and amount of grass within a township. In fact the two townships with the most grass are at either end of the date range. Furthermore, those that enclosed in the 1770s, Turner’s ‘first wave’ of enclosure which he equates with a shortage of pasture, did not have any more, or less, grass than any of the others.³⁷¹ For most places it is only the larger blocks of grass that were digitised as these are usually the only ones obviously marked on the source maps. Many leys, balks, meadows and smaller areas of grass are not included in the calculations. Hence it is important to note that the percentages of grass shown are the *minimum* amount in the system at the time of enclosure. At Little Addington, where it was possible to map the different types of the grass, the balks alone accounted for six per cent

³⁶⁹ Viallis & Collins, (2004), p. 97.

³⁷⁰ NRO Inclosure Volume D, p. 589.

³⁷¹ Turner, (1980), pp. 150, 151.

of the total grass in the township (Figure 3.29), and At Clipston in 1737 leys accounted for 45 per cent of the open fields.³⁷²

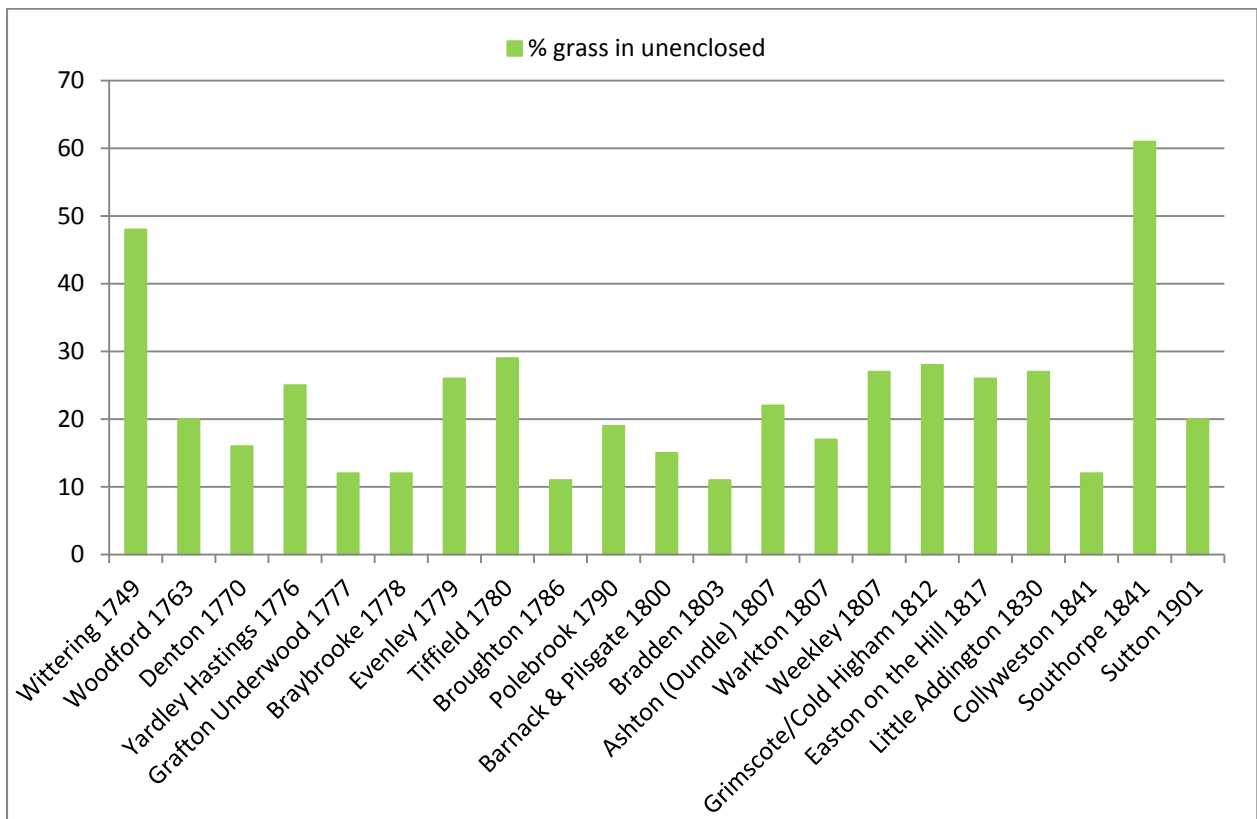


Table 3.2: Percentage of grass in unenclosed land from map sources with the names of the townships and date of enclosure.

Almost all the townships represented have at least of 15 per cent grass in the land still unenclosed. Many have close to 30 per cent and at the upper extreme Wittering has 48 per cent and Southorpe 61 per cent. This can be compared with the proportion of grass recorded for the medieval period in the same places (Table 3.3). To make the calculations comparable between the two periods, the medieval period figures for open field pasture, meadow and heath have been summed. For the early-modern period the figures are sums of the types of grass, discussed above, that it has been possible to map. Woods and woodland are excluded from both datasets. In Table 3.3 medieval data are all the grass as a percentage of the township area; for the early-modern period data are for grass as a percentage of the land that was still open. In other words, they are not comparing the same extents of land but they are comparing the same agricultural system: the open fields. It is possible to see at a glance the different ratios of pasture in the two periods. However, it would be misleading to place too

³⁷² Hall, (1995), p. 23.

much emphasis on conclusions drawn from a simple comparison of ratios. The reality was more complex, even where the amounts from the two periods are the same the grass recorded in one is not necessarily growing on the same pieces of ground, or even on the same type of ground, as in the other. For example, Evenley had similar amounts of pasture from both periods, but only the heath was mapped in both. In the medieval there were also wide ribbons of open field pasture and meadow. In the early-modern neither the meadow nor balks and leys were counted (because they were not quantifiable from the map), but two large blocks of cow pasture were. A similar occurrence can be found at Woodford where the same *amounts* of grass were accounted for by different *types* of grass. Thus, even if the proportions of land use might be similar, the agricultural system did not remain static between the two periods. At Collyweston, Easton, Wittering and Grafton Underwood some of the pasture in the early-modern can be equated with woodland from the medieval. It is of note that woodland in the medieval period was just that *woodland*, it encompassed both woods and wood pasture. Woodland clearance from the medieval to the early-modern was almost always for pasture, either as parks or common grazing, not conversion to arable.³⁷³ This type of grazing could only be found in those townships that had the original extra resources. Other townships had to provide grazing from the open fields and it is striking that the townships that show the greatest increase in proportion of grass in the early-modern period are those where the grass can be equated with the open fields.

³⁷³ P. Pettit, *The Royal Forest of Northamptonshire: A Study in their Economy 1558-1714*, 1968), pp. 149-150.

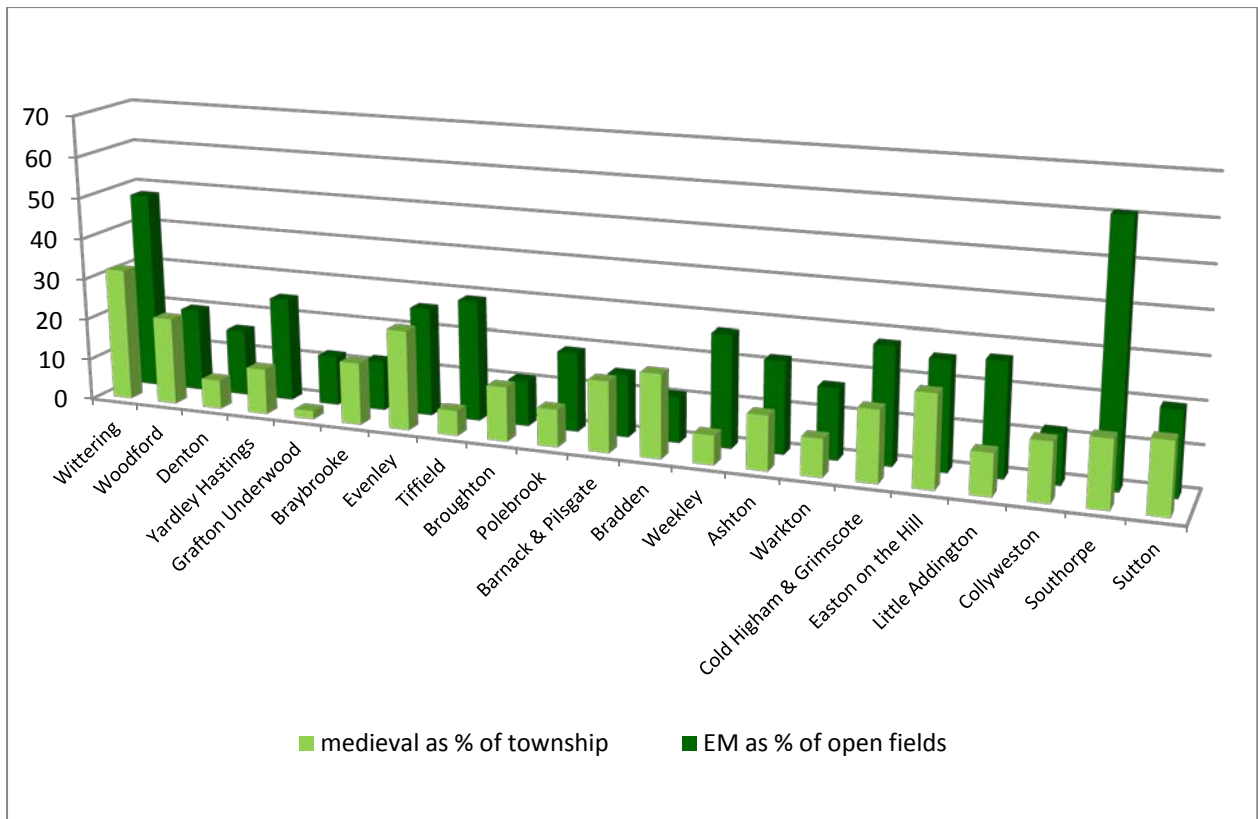


Table 3.3: Comparison of the ratio of grass in the medieval and early-modern periods as a percentage of the open field system.

The varied types of sources make it possible to look at some of this data in more detail. At Yardley Hastings the data were taken from a survey made in 1760. It includes the common grass, but balks and leys attached to yardlands are not included.³⁷⁴ A map was made to accompany the survey which illustrates how complex the intermixing of grass with arable could be (Figure 3.27).³⁷⁵ The leys and slades are intricately intermingled with the furlongs, unlike the large block of cow pasture, called ‘Yardley Pasture’, to the right side of the map. This pasture can be seen to have a low density covering of trees and a network of ridings. It had become an extension of Yardley Chase linking the woods on the east and west of the township. But it had been part of the open field, was still subject to common rights and was included in the enclosure process. Yardley was enclosed in 1776 yet the draft enclosure map shows none of this complexity.³⁷⁶ It does, however, show Grimpsey Leys (bottom centre of Figure 3.27) was now covered in trees, seemingly reverting to wood pasture like Yardley Pasture.

³⁷⁴ Castle Ashby Muniments.

³⁷⁵ Castle Ashby Muniments.

³⁷⁶ Castle Ashby Muniments.



Figure 3.27: The complex intermixing of grass within the furlongs at Yardley Hastings in 1760. Coppice woods in Yardley Chase can be seen on the left of the map. Yardley Pasture to the bottom and right was once part of the open fields but by this date has become woodland pasture of the Chase.

Southorpe was enclosed in 1841 when 55 per cent of the township was comprised of ancient enclosure or woods. But within the 45 per cent that remained open some 60 per cent was pasture of various types - the highest measured proportion of grass in any township. Even here it is only the large blocks of grass that have been counted as these are the only ones marked on the source map.³⁷⁷ The data from this map have been digitised and are reproduced in Figure 3.28. The grass was found on the heath and in the cow commons. There had been a smaller heath in the medieval period, which by this date had encroached upon the open fields.³⁷⁸ If this grass is added to that provided by the enclosures it is clear that on the eve of enclosure Southorpe was almost entirely pasture. Allowing a third of the arable area as fallow, only 12 per cent of the township was under crop at any one time (Table 3.4), and even this may have contained additional grass in balks and leys.

³⁷⁷ EX/M 275L. This map is undated but given the date of c.1841 by Exeter Muniments. This map shows detail of the open fields that is missing from the enclosure map: NRO Map 4431.

³⁷⁸ Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), pp. 2, 7; OSD 267(e).

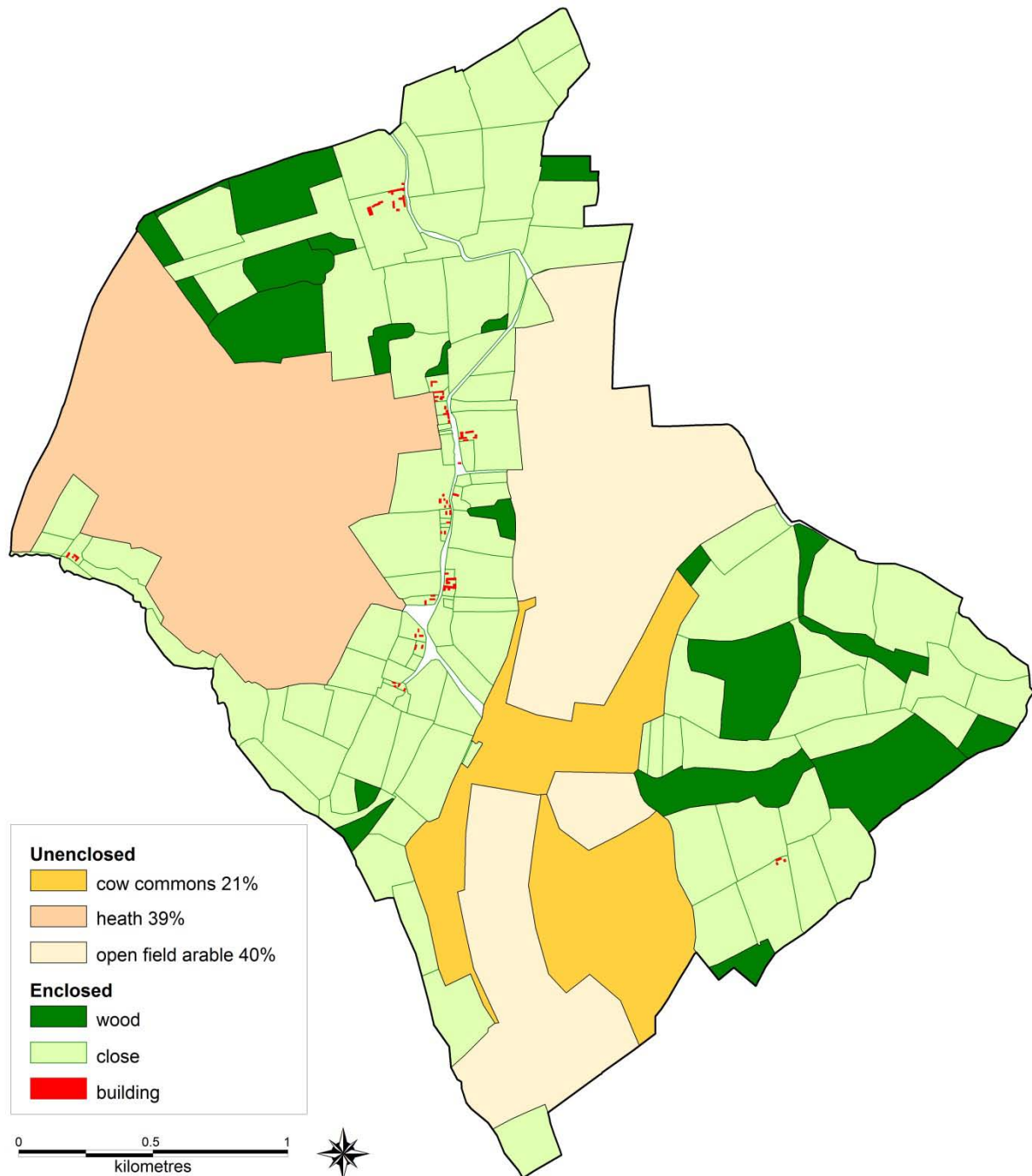


Figure 3.28: Land use at Southorpe c.1841 taken from map sources and reconstructed in GIS. The unenclosed land was at least 60 per cent grass and only 12 per cent of the township was under crop at any one time.

A particularly detailed draft enclosure map for Little Addington made it possible to digitise all the grass including that within the furlongs (Figure 3.29). In the medieval period Little Addington was one of the true champion townships in the county. There had been some open field pasture, and meadow along the Nene, but they only accounted for some five per cent of

the township; the dominant land use was arable.³⁷⁹ At the time of enclosure in 1830 the open fields still dominated the landscape with no enclosure outside the settlement core. But by this date, although arable was still the principal land use, it was now significantly supplemented by pasture; some 27 per cent of the land still open. What is particularly interesting about the map for Little Addington is not so much the amount of pasture it records, but that it illustrates the way in which pasture was managed within the arable. The narrow strips of grass representing the balks, leys and grass ends discussed above can easily be identified. This type of mapped detail is very rare but other sources would suggest that this type of land management was normal.



Figure 3.29: Comparison of grass from the medieval and early-modern periods at Little Addington reconstructed in GIS. Data have been digitised from the draft enclosure map which provides fine detail of the complexity of the open field grass.

For places without adequate map coverage it is possible to study the amount, type and distribution of grass by using the Crop Returns (Figure 3.30). Weston by Welland and Sutton

³⁷⁹ The medieval data are based upon archaeological survey and it was therefore not possible to record all grass within the open fields. However, the disparity between the figure given and the actual sum is likely to be small. For a full discussion of the methodology see http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/midlandgis_ahrc_2010/downloads.cfm?CFID=27860&CFTOKEN=ED4B5FAA-5529-4440-AE5095C15CE5F0E2.

Bassett were enclosed together in 1802, a year after the surveys for the Crop Returns were made. The figures in the Returns were for the two townships together. At that time 92 per cent of Weston and 94 per cent of Sutton were still unenclosed, or collectively 93 per cent. Yet the Returns report only 39 per cent under crop. Some of the remaining unenclosed area can be accounted for by meadow. The enclosure map marks the meadow but, typically, does not provide exact boundaries to enable it to be quantified. However, the extent of meadow from the medieval period has been mapped and the figure from this has been used as it is highly likely that such a valuable resource would have been retained at its full extent until enclosure. Such meadow equates to 20 per cent, leaving a residue of 41 per cent. This residue must be accounted for by other pasture within the open fields including the one third of the open fields that was fallow. The total amount of grass, whether meadow, fallow or cow common, was *at least* 61 per cent of the unenclosed area, as this figure does not include any additional grass found in leys, balks and grass ends. Weston and Sutton, like the other examples given above, were clearly operating an open field system that was geared to pasture rather than arable. Furthermore, there were only three types of crops being grown, wheat, barley and beans, so fodder was primarily provided from grazing. The contribution of grass in the fallow is missing from most of the other examples given above, so Weston and Sutton provide a useful illustration of the bias towards grass in open field townships when *all* the grass is accounted.

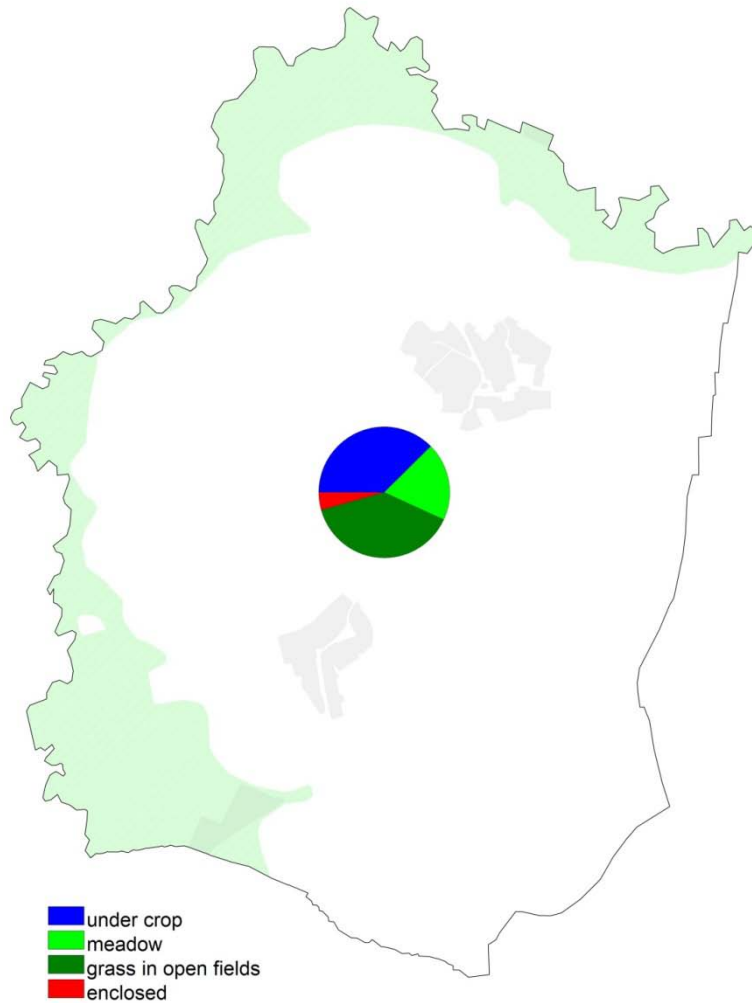


Figure 3.30: The proportions of land use at Weston by Welland and Sutton Basset taken from the Crop Returns and graphed in GIS. Grass, including the fallow, accounted for at least 61 per cent of the unenclosed land.

A similar exercise has been conducted using the same data (map sources), as in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, but also allowing one third of the open fields as fallow. It is essential to include the fallow in the calculations as although part of the arable fields it was nevertheless *permanently* under grass, even if the area concerned was within a different piece of land each year.³⁸⁰ The fallow, therefore, made a significant contribution to the total area of uncropped land within a township. These data are presented in Table 3.4. Only one of the townships, Broughton, has more than 50 per cent under arable. The amounts of ancient enclosure and grass within the open fields appear to be in inverse proportion, at least in some places. Those with the smallest amount of grass in the open fields, Grafton Underwood, Braybrooke, Bradden and Collyweston, have large amounts of ancient enclosure. But it is not a comprehensive

³⁸⁰ The fallow may also have been used to grow root crops but as these were grown predominantly as fodder crops it is reasonable to include it as part of the pastoral regime.

correlation as many townships have large extents of both ancient enclosure and open field grass. There is no distinct pattern in this data whereby it would be possible to assert that a greater or lesser amount of ancient enclosure would mean a correspondingly greater or lesser extent of open field grass. But, it is possible to state that the amount of grass in the open fields has been greatly underestimated. Only Broughton can be described as a champion township.

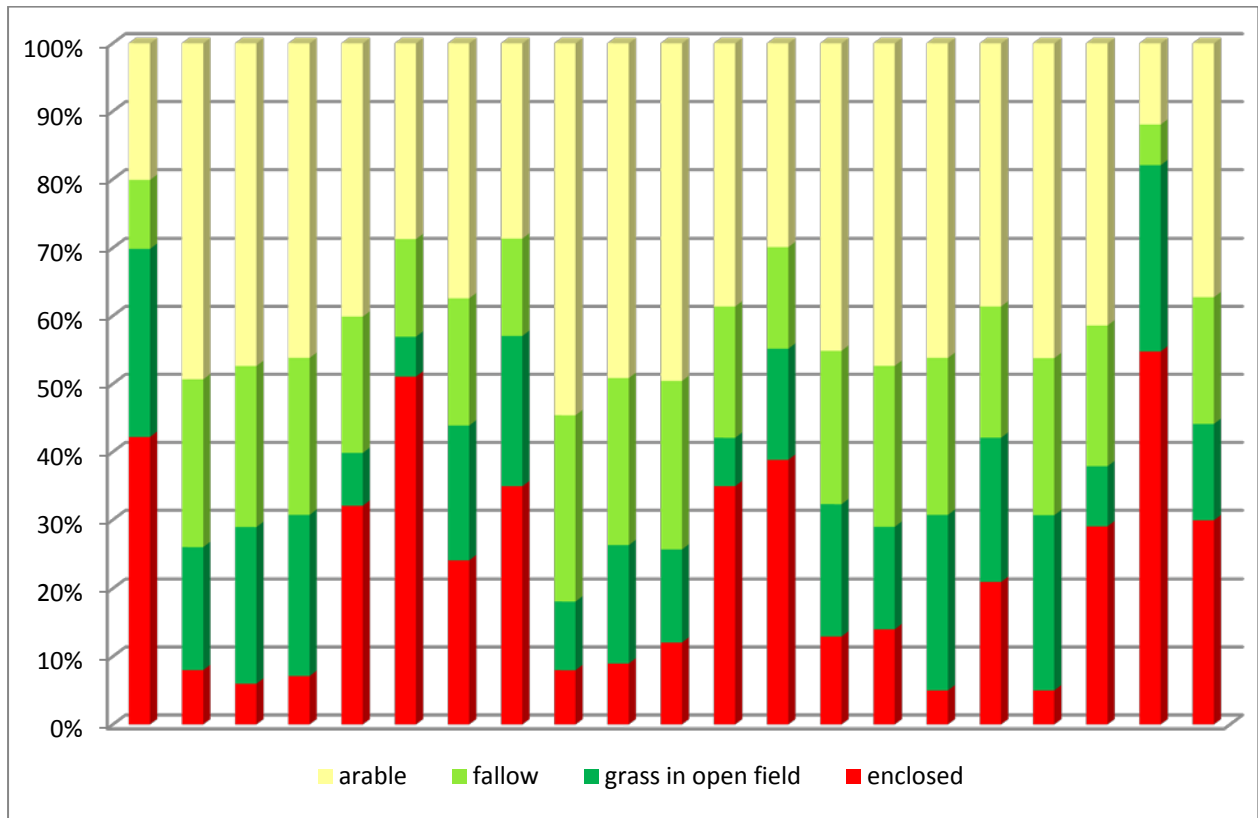


Table 3.4: The total amount of grass in the sample townships allowing a third of the arable area as fallow. Only one township has more than 50 per cent arable.³⁸¹

The evidence presented above supports a hypothesis that the agricultural regime in many, if not most, unenclosed townships was biased towards pasture. This is emphasised when a third of the open fields that represent the fallow are added to the equation. Enclosure can then be seen as the final event in a series of adaptations to the agricultural regime which had involved a gradual but constant erosion of arable. It has also been possible to show that this phenomenon was general: it was not linked to location in the county, amount of ancient

³⁸¹ Order of townships and the date of the map source: Wittering 1730, Woodford, 1731, Denton 1760, Yardley Hastings 1776, Grafton Underwood 1758, Braybrooke 1767, Evenley 1779, Tiffield 1780, Broughton 1728, Polebrook 1733, Barnack and Pilsgate 1800, Bradden 1803, Ashton (Oundle) 1810, Warkton 1808, Weekley 1808, Grimscote and Cold Higham 1812, Easton on the Hill 1820, Little Addington 1831, Collyweston 1841, Southorpe 1843, Sutton 1903.

enclosure, or date of enclosure. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the links between topography, geology and land use that were so apparent in the medieval period were less clear. Additional grazing was provided in the open fields even in those townships where ‘natural’ pasture resources were abundant, suggesting that flexibility was achievable within the existing system. The comparison of Weston and Sutton with Southorpe has shown that grass was the dominant land use regardless of the amount of land unenclosed. And the date of enclosure cannot be equated to the amount of land under pasture.

Hedges

Hedges are the feature most commonly associated with enclosure. The fact that this is for good reason should not presuppose that the open field landscape was devoid of hedges. Hedges could be found encompassing part or all of a township, around one or more of the great fields, separating the meadows or commons, as temporary structures in field closes, or as shelter hedges. Their function was to control stock, whether in the pastures, on the fallow, or straying in from neighbouring townships. They also provided a useful supply of fuel, especially in townships with no woods or access to woodland or heaths that offered fuel in the form of furze and brakes (see above). Most of the evidence for hedges comes from maps, though they are not always clearly marked. In some cases a boundary is drawn as a hedge and often coloured to distinguish it, but in others the boundary is no different to any other line on the map, which may be a property rather than physical boundary. But careful examination can show features such as names, freeboards (see below) or gates indicating a closed physical boundary. Occasionally, evidence for hedges can be found in other sources such as field orders or estate records.

Ring-hedges around the periphery of an unenclosed township could be created by default if the neighbouring townships were enclosed. In this way an unenclosed township could be entirely hedged against its neighbours or be partially bounded. The draft enclosure map of Brafield does not show hedges but marks ‘warren wall furlong’ next to the boundary with anciently enclosed Whiston.³⁸² This proved doubly useful in identifying a walled boundary, rarely seen in Northamptonshire outside of the limestone plateau around Collyweston and Easton, and also for locating a warren at Whiston. Equally, hedges could be found where none of the adjacent townships was enclosed. A map of Denton dated 1760 marks ‘Coopers

³⁸² NRO Map 2928.

hedge furlong' lying next to the boundary with Brafield.³⁸³ There is also a freeboard marked outside the furlong (Figure 3.31). Freeboards were narrow strips of land set along the outside of the hedge of either an enclosed townships or ring-fenced township, which gave the proprietors access to the side of hedge in the neighbouring township for maintenance. Denton was not enclosed until 1770 and Brafield in 1827 but this map demonstrates that at least part of the boundary between them was already hedged by 1760 and that the hedge belonged to Denton. Detailed evidence of a hedge being created between two unenclosed townships can be found in the accounts for 'quicking and diking between Wellingborough and Wilby fields' dated 1735.³⁸⁴ In addition to payments for the ubiquitous quicks and thorns there are also many made for willows; perhaps not surprisingly as the boundary runs along a stream.

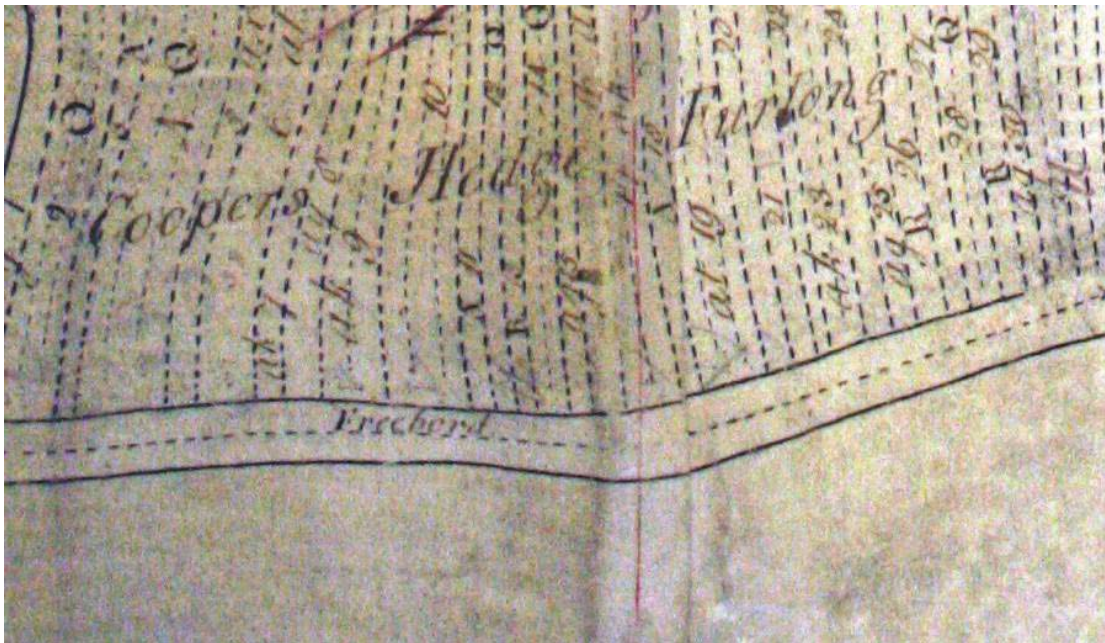


Figure 3.31: Extract from the 1760 map of Denton. Both Denton and the adjacent township Brafield were unenclosed at this date, and no hedge is depicted. However, the name 'Coopers hedge furlong' and the freeboard indicate that a hedge was present.

Hedges could also be found separating the great fields and are marked on maps at Kings Cliffe in c.1640 (Figure 2.6 in Chapter 2), Broughton in 1728, Brigstock in 1734, and Upper Boddington in 1758.³⁸⁵ They are further indicated at Holdenby and Deenethorpe in c.1580 but here by the depiction of gates on an otherwise ambiguous line that in itself is not clearly a hedge.³⁸⁶ At Harlestone payments were made for 'hedging the cow pitts' in 1748, at Marston

³⁸³ Castle Ashby Muniments.

³⁸⁴ NRO 350P/90. Wellingborough was enclosed in 1765 and Wilby in 1801.

³⁸⁵ TNA MR 1/314; Boughton House private collection; NRO Map 3133.

³⁸⁶ NRO FH 272.

Trussell in 1728 for repairing the meadow gate, and the act for Hinton in the Hedges stated that the meadow was to ‘continue to be fenced and mounded’.³⁸⁷ Hedges were also found around field closes, these might be temporary hurdles or dead hedges, or more permanent features. Field closes, also known as Lammas closes, were small plots separated from the rest of the open field but still subject to common rights and included in the allotment process at enclosure. The 1768 maps of Roade marks three plots called ‘Hall fields’ as ‘these 3 pieces are well fenc’d but are oblig’d to be laid open in the proper season’.³⁸⁸ Similarly the draft enclosure map of Cold Higham marks The Lizard Closes which were not ancient enclosure but field closes.³⁸⁹ At Wilby a survey of the manor made in 1764 details the open fields, old enclosure, cow commons and ‘field closes’.³⁹⁰ Some maps mark small pieces of hedge within the open fields that are not enclosing anything and for which the function is unclear. These can be seen at Brigstock, Boughton, and Wollaston.³⁹¹ Denford has numerous hedges throughout the open fields but mostly around the largest cow pasture and between the leys (Figure 3.32).³⁹² A possible explanation for some of these features can be found in a document from Ecton which refers to ‘arbours and shelter-hedges in the beasts and sheep pastures’.³⁹³ The use of these had been in dispute and a court ruling decreed they were to ‘be preserved and kept for the sheltering of herdsman and cattle as according to the ancient and laudable manner’. Furthermore, the lord of the manor was to have ‘the benefit of the lopping popping and plashing of the said arbours and hedges ... preserving, nourishing and keeping the same’. In other words, the arbours and hedges served a purpose for all the commoners but were also being managed for wood. It is probable that the hedges seen elsewhere served a similar function, especially somewhere like Denford which had no woods within the township.

³⁸⁷ NRO 153P/103; 206P/103; Anscomb, p. 44.

³⁸⁸ NRO Map 440.

³⁸⁹ NRO Map 2913.

³⁹⁰ NRO X1657.

³⁹¹ Boughton House private collection; NRO uncatalogued map of Wollaston 1789.

³⁹² Boughton House private collection.

³⁹³ NRO E(S) Box X1071.



Figure 3.32: Denford fields and meadow in 1730. There were numerous hedges (the dark green lines) throughout this unenclosed landscape.

Trees³⁹⁴

Trees in an open field landscape were commonly found within hedges and beside streams where they were often deliberately planted and managed for wood. Those within the hedges were typically oak, ash and elm. Those along the streams were typically willow. But there is evidence that trees could also be found alongside unenclosed roads, on the commons or even among the furlongs. In addition to these groups or rows of trees, solitary specimens were often used as markers in the landscape and are found on maps or described in written perambulations. It is uncertain whether such ‘marker’ trees had been planted with this intent; it is perhaps just as likely that people took advantage of naturally occurring features to orientate themselves in the landscape and incorporated them into perambulations where they coincided.

Maps that depict trees in an open landscape can be found for Kirby in 1580 where the Preste Leys are dotted with trees and there are odd single trees among the furlongs; at Woodford in 1731 where there are trees lining either side of the road across the common and two lines of trees within a furlong; and at Ecton on the enclosure map of 1759 where trees line both sides of the main road from Northampton to Wellingborough that crosses the township (Figure

³⁹⁴ This section refers to individual or small groups of trees in the unenclosed landscape but not to spinneys, coppices or woods.

4.26).³⁹⁵ It might be argued that some, if not all, of these depictions represent artistic licence on the part of the surveyor and hence that they were intended for aesthetic effect rather than practical purposes. However, this seems unlikely, given the accuracy with which some features can be compared to those on later maps (or in some cases are still in existence), and the fact that maps were not simply ornaments but had a legal validity. Moreover, some of the detail they contain can be verified from other sources. At Ecton the trees depicted on the map are specifically referred to in the enclosure award, which states that the road should extend ‘three feet in breadth as well on the north as on the south side of the elm trees now standing or growing thereon and belonging to Ambrose Isted so as to include the said trees into the said road’.³⁹⁶ Isted was the lord of the manor and a document dated 1743 listing some of the customs of the manor refers to his right to plant on any of the waste, town-ground or common so long as ‘the common receives no damage thereby’.³⁹⁷ Most enclosure awards refer to the lord’s right to any trees on the waste or ‘unknown ground’, which could be interpreted as self-seeded scrub of little value, or perhaps another generic inclusion to the award. But the reference from Ecton suggests that the manorial right included the use of such ground to farm timber, albeit on a limited scale.

Another frequent inclusion in the awards is that any trees on the new allotments can be carried away by their former owners within a specified time. There is no specific mention of particular plots or numbers and species of trees, leading to the suspicion that this might also be a general insertion in the award. However, at Wilby an exceptional series of enclosure documents survives which details hundreds of trees in the unenclosed landscape. A valuation of the timber on the allotments made at Wilby in 1802 records some 433 trees, and where species are given they were oak, ash, elm and willow. An earlier valuation made in 1764 also lists the timber in the open fields; at that date there were 513 trees, with all species recorded as oak, ash, elm and willow. Neither valuation includes trees within closes yet it is clear there were a significant number of trees in the Wilby landscape before enclosure. The survival of these documents is particularly valuable as without them the very existence of the trees would not have been known - the enclosure map shows not a single tree in the township. The lack of mapped evidence is unfortunate as, although the trees can be linked to the owner’s allotment, they cannot be linked directly to the location where they were grown. Had this been possible

³⁹⁵ NRO FH272; Boughton House private collection; NRO Map 2121.

³⁹⁶ NRO Inclosure Vol A p. 9.

³⁹⁷ NRO E(S) Box X1071.

it would have enabled a greater understanding of the way in which an underestimated resource in an unenclosed landscape was managed. But it usefully reinforces the point that maps do not necessarily contain all pertinent information, and also shows that open field landscapes may not have been as empty of trees as has been supposed.

Other evidence for trees in the open fields comes from furlong names on pre-enclosure maps. Surprisingly regular are references to crab trees, that is, crab apple trees. These are usually seen in the names of furlongs and can be found at Cogenhoe, Aynho, Weekley, Cranford St John, Higham Ferrers, and at Strixton where the surveyor also drew the tree (Figure 3.33).³⁹⁸ The depiction of the actual tree at Strixton indicates that ‘crab tree’ was not just a name but indicated the presence of such a tree. Crab produced a particularly knotted, twisty grain which did not split and made it ideal for use in cog-wheels for mills.³⁹⁹ Crab apple trees would have been a valuable resource, particularly in landscapes where wood of any kind was scarce. It would be of interest to learn exactly who owned the strips upon which they were planted. Any tree would have provided some shading of the growing crop and therefore lessened the yield; income or usefulness of the tree would therefore necessarily have had to outweigh this disadvantage. It is possible that the tree was grown on ‘town’ land, that is, land belonging to, and rented out by, the parish. Or possibly it was another of the lord of the manor’s perks. At Wilby a terrier listing the lord’s property and rental income from 1764 includes a ‘dwelling with use of an apple tree’.⁴⁰⁰ It is unlikely that any trees in the garden of the rented property would have been separately mentioned and an orchard would be specified, so this perhaps refers to the wood rather than the fruit.

³⁹⁸ NRO X5695; Map 4612; Boughton House private collection; NRO Map 1004; Map 2993.

³⁹⁹ Wake & Webster, (1971), p. 61.

⁴⁰⁰ NRO X1657.

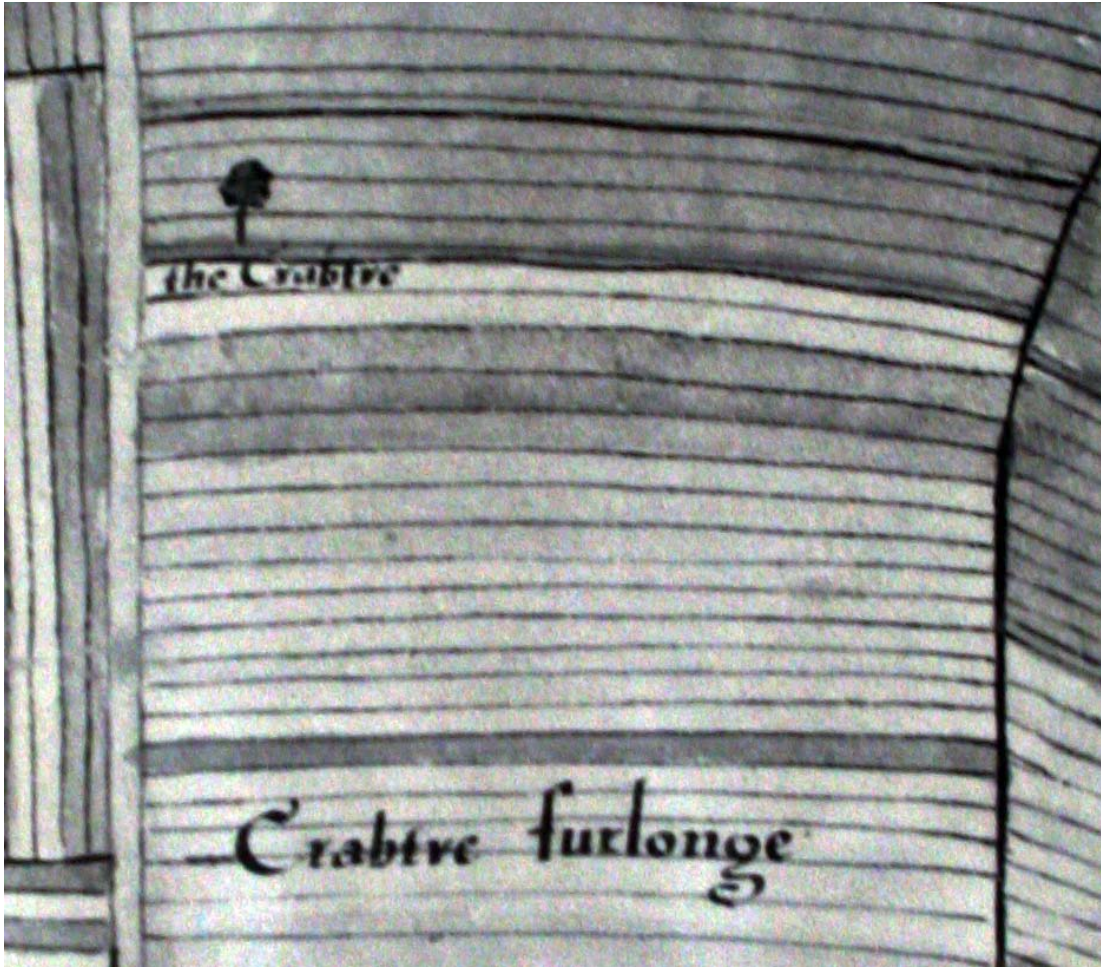


Figure 3.33: Extract from the map of Strixton dated 1595 showing the crab apple tree in crab tree furlong.

Other solitary trees could be found in the landscape and were used as landmarks.⁴⁰¹ These are typically seen on land that was commonable to more than one community and therefore frequently subject to dispute. The common land subject to continuous dispute between Brigstock, Benefield and Weldon has maps and written perambulations that include both the Bocase Tree and the Lincoln Spire. Both are marked on maps from the mid-seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. By 1805, when Brigstock and the woodland were enclosed, the Bocase Tree had been replaced by the Bocase Stone and the Lincoln Spire was unmarked.⁴⁰² Other features typically used as perambulation markers are streams, crosses and graves.⁴⁰³ All are used in this perambulation and would have been easily identifiable. But while the species of these two trees is not given, they must have been significant specimens to have stood out in the heavily wooded landscape in which they were located. Similar solitary trees mark the boundaries of the common between Deenethorpe and Benefield, and

⁴⁰¹ R. Muir, *Ancient Trees Living Landscapes*, (Stroud, 2005), pp. 47-54.

⁴⁰² NRO Inclosure Plan 60. Within the last 20 years an oak tree has been replanted on this site.

⁴⁰³ Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), pp. 21, 48-9.

the heath intercommoned between Thornhaugh and Wittering. They are marked on maps of c.1580 and 1635 respectively as ‘the forked oak’ and ‘the crooked oak’.⁴⁰⁴

But landmark trees were not only found on commons, nor for that matter were landmarks always trees. On the Ailsworth enclosure map, which is a marked copy of the OS 1st Edition 1:25,000 map base dated 1898, ‘Salter’s Tree’ is labelled though not drawn in any fashion that would distinguish it from any other on the map.⁴⁰⁵ It is specifically referred to in the award as a feature to be preserved.⁴⁰⁶ Other features ‘to be preserved’ were the road and bank forming ‘the old Roman road called Ermine Street’ and ‘the two stones called Robin Hood and Little John’.⁴⁰⁷ That Salter’s Tree was included with these features suggests that it had some significance locally. It was located within the open fields at the crossroads of east-west and north-south route-ways. The east-west route is marked on a map dated 1582 of Milton, to the east of Ailsworth, as ‘Salters Way’.⁴⁰⁸ Salter’s tree probably marked a point on an important long-distance route where it was possible to become uncertain which direction to take. But lesser routes of equal, if not greater, importance to the local community might also be marked. At Ecton the 1703 map depicts a tree at the junction of a road and a footpath that heads out across the furlongs (Figure 3.34).⁴⁰⁹ The only other trees drawn on the map are associated with avenues and planting around the Hall. This tree clearly had some significance and its location suggests it was used to mark the divergence of a route that was not particularly obvious otherwise. It is still a public footpath, though now marked by a local authority signpost.

⁴⁰⁴ NRO FH 272; BRO R1/304.

⁴⁰⁵ NRO 60P/204.

⁴⁰⁶ NRO 60P/203.

⁴⁰⁷ These stones are Listed though their original function remains unclear: English Heritage List Entry Number: 1331584.

⁴⁰⁸ MRO Map 1202.

⁴⁰⁹ NRO Map 2115.



Figure 3.34: Extract from the 1703 map of Ecton showing the unnamed tree marking the fork in the road. This is the only tree shown on the map outside of the aesthetic planting around the Hall.

Similarly at Aynho a map of 1696 marks the ‘mile bush’ in the midst of the open fields at a crossroads (Figure 3.35).⁴¹⁰ It was not idly named as from this point it is just under one mile to the villages of Charlton to the north and Croughton the east, and just over one mile to Aynho. In addition to being a ‘milepost’ it would have also provided a useful point of reference in a landscape unrelieved by any notable feature. There were no woods in any of the three townships and nor was there a ring-hedge around Aynho. To the right of the image are small circles lying either side of a wide grey line which denotes the township boundary. These are identified as ‘stones or holes which are the boundaries of the parish’. Although it is called a ‘bush’ it must have had some size in order to serve the purpose of being recognised.

⁴¹⁰ NRO Map 4612.

It is possible that it was in fact a thorn tree similar to the one immortalised by John Clare at Helpston.⁴¹¹ The Langdyke Bush stood at the junction of the townships of Helpston, Ailsworth, Upton and Ufford at the side of the Roman road, King Street. This site was identified by 971 as the hundredal meeting place.⁴¹² The bush was actually a white thorn tree atop a Bronze Age burial mound which was once also the location of a gallows and/or gibbet.⁴¹³ Clearly this location had enormous significance in the landscape, of which the bush was just a part. But this illustrates that trees were considered important markers even when other highly significant markers existed in the same location. There are no early maps of Ailsworth but a map of adjacent Upton dated 1666 marks 'Langdike Bush Close'.⁴¹⁴ The first map it appears on is the OSD from 1814. That such a significant tree is elusive in the map record before the early nineteenth century suggests that other important, and commonplace, trees were perhaps more typical in the landscape than has been previously considered.



Figure 3.35: The Mile Bush is a solitary feature within the open fields at Aynho in 1696. The grey dog-leg border to the right of the bush marks the township boundary. The small circles either side of the boundary are mere stones or holes.

⁴¹¹ J. Bate, *John Clare: A Biography*, (New York, 2003), pp. 52-53.

⁴¹² A. Morris, *Forging Links with the Past: The Twelfth-Century Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Peterborough*, PhD, Leicester (2006), p.265.

⁴¹³ Peterborough HER Record Number: 00786; J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, (Oxford, 1791a), p. 489.

⁴¹⁴ NRO Map 997.

CONCLUSION

The use of GIS has allowed land use data to be accurately plotted, which illustrates how the system and the changes to it were reflected in the landscape. This in turn enables a greater understanding of what the landscape actually looked like, leading to a more informed view of the way in which the local community would have moved and worked within it. How much it is possible to reconstruct is dependent on the sources, but the features plotted above were typical to all places. Thus the analysis of the unenclosed landscape and its management, and particularly its mapping, allows a greater appreciation of the impact of enclosure. What emerges is that the assumption that open fields were a homogenous entity is a fallacy. The fact that this fallacy has prospered among agricultural historians is due partly to reliance upon sources in which the range of land use is missing, but also because grass *within* the arable has been almost entirely disregarded. Even where common pastures have been considered separately to the arable it is only the larger blocks that have been counted. The leys, balks and grass ends have either not been noticed or else disregarded on the grounds that their contribution to the balance of land use was too trivial to be counted. This chapter has shown that in reality the mix of grass and arable was far more complex than has been credited. Some studies have attempted to focus on the intensification that enclosure enabled by comparing crop yields from unenclosed and enclosed townships. However, while in economic terms arable may have been the dominant land use, in terms of landscape it was demonstrably not the largest component. It has been demonstrated in almost all the townships examined that grass was the dominant land use. The few maps sources that do reveal the complexity of land use in the open fields corroborate this, suggesting that grass was far more common than is usually evident in the map record. Hedges and trees in the open landscape emerge as similarly underrepresented in most map sources.

Enclosure, then, was not responsible for a major change in agricultural practice, but was rather the end of a progressive trend towards more pasture. The adaptation of the open field system to accommodate increasing amounts of grass mirrored that of the enclosure process, in that it was a gradual but continual progression over several centuries. It occurred in all parts of the county and was not linked to the amount of ancient enclosure or date of enclosure in any particular place. It demonstrates a shift in the mixed farming regime to a greater balance of stock to arable than had been the case in the medieval period. It also demonstrates that the open fields were eminently capable of flexibility. But it was a flexibility still

constrained by a communal system that was highly organised and controlled, and which ultimately limited innovation and intensification.

Communal farming was something of a double-edged sword. On the one hand farmers shared the risks, and to a certain extent the costs, with all the other farmers. Having land under different crops in different parts of the township meant that if one crop failed it was not a complete disaster as it did not represent all their investment. Their stock would graze with the village herd or flock overseen by a cow-man or boy, pest-control was undertaken on behalf of all, and a village bull and boar provided. Thus the costs of each were shared. On the other hand they were locked into a shared agricultural cycle that dictated how they farmed regardless of personal preference. The limitations of the system came from a lack of choice; from the type of crop grown to the basic choice as to whether an individual wanted to concentrate on crops or stock. The crux of the problem of the open field system was that it disallowed the ability to specialise, and acted as a disincentive to investment. This was perhaps an inevitable consequence of its original design for a different mode of farming. Even where there is evidence of considerable flexibility in the introduction of grass to the open fields, as at Little Addington, much of it was in small, narrow, scattered and inconvenient plots. Farming methods were changing over this period but the most 'revolutionary' innovations could only take place in a landscape farmed in severalty. And while there is evidence of some complex cropping regimes in the open fields, nevertheless community farming did not allow for intensification of either product or method. Variety of crop, drainage, fertilisation, pest control, suitability of soil or location, was not an individual choice or under individual control. The result was an inability to exploit the particular properties of plants grown under particular conditions, or to improve the quality of stock either by selective breeding or improved quality of grass.

CHAPTER 4: THE ENCLOSED LANDSCAPE

INTRODUCTION

The study of enclosure has hitherto focused mainly on cause and process, while consideration of its effects has concentrated on economic and social change rather than the changes that enclosure wrought on the landscape itself.⁴¹⁵ Landscape components like roads and farm buildings have received attention, and the effects of innovations such as drainage have been debated, but the landscape at large is usually dismissed simply as ‘enclosed’.⁴¹⁶ This chapter will propose that such a dismissal misses an important subject. A new landscape was imposed at enclosure, whether through re-planning or more subtle changes. For many places that new landscape was just the start of reorganisation. Enclosure put the owner in control of his own land so that he could rearrange as much as he wanted, or was able and willing to pay for.⁴¹⁷ He was now free to grow what he wanted, where he wanted, raise the stock of his own choosing and build barns or even a house away from the village within his own property. Some of the reorganisations occurred immediately after enclosure, some many years later, and some, such as removing or adding hedges, occurred repeatedly as the agricultural regime demanded.

⁴¹⁵ In addition to the literature concerning the causes and process of enclosure there is also a wealth of published material on the effects of enclosure related to the loss of common and customary rights: P. King, 'Customary Rights and Women's Earnings: The Importance of Gleaning to the Rural Labouring Poor, 1750-1850', *The Economic History Review*, 44, (1991); G. Clark & A. Clark, 'Common Rights to Land in England, 1475-1839', *Journal of Economic History*, 61, (2001); Neeson, (1993); T. Young, 'Popular Attitudes Towards Rural Customs and Rights in Late Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century England', PhD, University of Hertfordshire (2008); L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Labourers, Cows, Common Rights and Parliamentary Enclosure: The Evidence of Contemporary Comment c.1760-1810', *Past & Present*, 171, (2001b); Birtles, (1999); G. Rogers, 'Custom and Common Right: Waste Land Enclosure and Social Change in West Lancashire', *Agricultural History Review*, 41, (1993). And others that focus on the economic implications of enclosure: Shaw-Taylor, (2001a); 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', *The Journal of Economic History*, 32, (1972); J. M. Martin, 'The Small Landowner and Parliamentary Enclosure in Warwickshire', *The Economic History Review*, 32, (1979); R. C. Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman: The Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450-1850*, (Oxford, 1992); W. E. Tate, 'The Cost of Parliamentary Enclosure in England', *Economic History Review*, 5, (1952); M. Turner, 'Cost, Finance and Parliamentary Enclosure', *The Economic History Review, New Series*, 34, (1981); K. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900*, (Cambridge, 1985), especially Chapter 4 'Enclosure and Employment'; Yelling, (1977), especially Chapters 9 and 10 'Enclosure and Farming Systems I and II'.

⁴¹⁶ Extensive searches of the literature have failed to find any that specifically deals with the subject of enclosed landscapes as distinct entities, as opposed to the arena within which certain activities took place (see p.13). Many studies consider land use and especially productivity but do not widen the debate to include the landscape. Similarly studies of changes to agricultural practice and the evolution of farming technology do not consider the landscapes in which they work to be a subject worth consideration in its own right. However, given the vast wealth of literature it is possible that some may have slipped through the net.

⁴¹⁷ Landowners had complete autonomy in their choice of agricultural regime, whereas tenants were still subject to the stipulations of their lease.

Landscapes have been continuously altered since enclosure, some over the course of many centuries. In order to understand the complexities of this evolution it is necessary to untangle the numerous features and their associations. For this GIS is essential, both to facilitate the process and to avoid the danger of making assumptions about what certain features reveal. The techniques of GIS mapping have been applied to reconstruct the enclosed landscape for roughly 40 per cent of the county. This makes it possible to compare post-enclosure with pre-enclosure landscapes, as well as to examine later reorganisations. In some places the patterns of early enclosures or initial allotments remain fossilised in the modern landscape, but it would not have been possible to identify these without a sequence of maps and the application of GIS. This chapter will examine both the immediate and subsequent effects of enclosure (the 'primary enclosure landscape', and the 'secondary enclosure landscape' respectively). These primary and secondary landscapes are examined separately before the field patterns they created are discussed. The results will challenge the assumption that the modern landscape can be dated by the form of the features within it, and especially by the size and shape of enclosed fields. Land use will be considered, and it will be established that this had less influence on the landscape in this period than before enclosure. The discussion will include enclosure from all periods and phases, but the intention is to examine the landscape *after* final enclosure of a particular place. This enclosed landscape paradoxically included some unenclosed places and roads. Very little land was left unenclosed by an enclosure act; the notable exception was Ailsworth Heath. But the most typical kind of unenclosed land was found in village greens. The treatment of village greens at enclosure varied; parts or all might be enclosed but in most villages they remained untouched. However, they were not immune to later reorganisation: there is evidence of some post-enclosure encroachment onto greens that had initially remained open. In the same way, some roads remained open when the landscape around them was enclosed, especially in anciently enclosed places. Some features, such as gravel pits and the sheep wash, remained communal though as they disappear from the map record very quickly it seems likely that they were short-lived. These communal areas were but a tiny fraction of a landscape now farmed in severalty.

Three fundamental questions about the enclosed landscape will be addressed. Firstly, and most importantly, what actually happened to the landscape at enclosure? Before enclosure the agricultural system defined the landscape, whereas afterwards the single greatest influence on the landscape was the landowner. In the primary enclosure landscape that meant the

allottees.⁴¹⁸ There is therefore a discussion on who the allottees were, what the allotments were made for, and how, or if, that is reflected in the landscape. The enclosure commissioners were also highly influential in drawing the lines of the new primary landscape, as it was they who laid out the allotments and specified the width of roads. But the complexity of the initial landscape they planned was in turn determined by the number of allottees and size of allotments. A further influence on the resulting landscape was the amount of land to be enclosed. Where the whole or majority of a township or place was enclosed in a single phase it provided the commissioners with a blank canvas upon which to draw, whereas a smaller area would have been constrained by existing features, especially so with roads.

Secondly, which features within enclosed landscapes were products of enclosure, as distinct from those which appear in enclosed landscapes but not as a direct consequence of the process? The allottees'/landowners' influence continued in the reorganisation that occurred after enclosure. Allotment boundaries were fixed but the subdivision of the land within them was at the choice of the individual owner. Hedged closes within the allotments could be at any size, shape or species, plantations and woods could be planted wherever the owner desired, and buildings of any type could be placed in any location. However, the dispersal of buildings from a highly nucleated settlement into the wider landscape was arguably a phenomenon connected to a period, beginning in the late eighteenth century, rather than the process of enclosure. Similarly, roads set out at enclosure, though not privately owned, could be subtly altered after enclosure. The routes could not be changed without recourse to law but the roadside verges, features most substantial in early enclosures, could be altered.

Thirdly, is it possible to identify the date, or phases of enclosure in a landscape by the features within it? It has been widely agreed that early enclosures tended to be large with curving boundaries that followed existing features such as ridge and furrow or topography, while later enclosures tended to regular shapes with straight alignments regardless of the underlying landscape. Similarly roads in anciently enclosed landscapes are held more likely to follow the contours and take account of existing features resulting in a more sinuous pattern than those seen from the parliamentary period. If so, it would follow that shapes and alignments can be used as identifiers of date or period of enclosure. It will be demonstrated that the reality is nothing like as simple.

⁴¹⁸ The allottees were not all landowners prior to enclosure but some became so by receiving an allotment for a variety of rights. See 'Allottees' below.

PRIMARY ENCLOSURE LANDSCAPE

The primary landscape of enclosure is that drawn up at the behest of the owners. In ancient enclosures the evidence for this landscape is scanty and it is uncertain if the process involved making a map. Maps were one of several tools available for estate management along with surveys and terriers, but could be expensive. Where there was a single owner, or a small group of owners in agreement, it seems unlikely that the expense of map making would have been considered worthwhile.⁴¹⁹ There are only three from this period that might be accurately described as enclosure maps: Haselbech in 1598; Greatworth in 1634; part of Stanwick in 1663. Haselbech and Greatworth involved 11 owners and both were accompanied by an agreement.⁴²⁰ In other places the process is documented on estate maps, though it was not the principal purpose of the map.⁴²¹ The primary enclosure landscape in ancient enclosures is therefore poorly understood for the majority of places. In the parliamentary period it was the enclosure commissioners who laid out the new allotments on behalf of, and in consultation with, the owners.⁴²² In each case a map would have been made to plan and illustrate the new landscape.⁴²³ There are 236 entries in the database but enclosure maps have been found for only 132 places.⁴²⁴ It is therefore possible to examine the primary landscape for over half of those places enclosed in this period. Where maps and agreements do exist from anciently enclosed places they are remarkably similar to those from the later period. This is unsurprising as the principal function was the same: the allocation of allotments of land for ownership and rights. Public facilities, such as stone pits and sheep washes or watering places, were also provided in both periods.

The structure of the primary landscape depended on two key elements: roads, and allottees. The road network formed the structure around which the allotments were set out. It was usually very simple with few roads along straight alignments. The number of allottees had a greater influence on the complexity of the new landscape: the greater the number of allottees

⁴¹⁹ Bendall, (1992), pp. 168-177.

⁴²⁰ NRO Map 531; NRO XYZ 990, 991.

⁴²¹ See 'Historic Maps' in Chapter 1.

⁴²² There were also 19 townships enclosed by agreement in this period, which did not involve commissioners. None of them had an enclosure map made though some have estate maps from the same time which may have served a similar function.

⁴²³ This is evidenced by stipulations in the act requiring a map to be made, and by various references in commissioners' papers and parish records to a map. From 1801 it was a requirement of the General Inclosure Act that a plan be made, Delano-Smith & Kain, (1999), p.126.

⁴²⁴ See Enclosure Statistics, Appendix 2.

the greater the number of allotments, and consequently a more divided landscape. The amount of land they owned or were awarded in compensation for rights was also reflected in the landscape, and the smallholders were often as conspicuous as the greater landowners. The main difference in allotments from the two enclosure periods concerns arrangements for tithes. In the majority of anciently enclosed townships the tithes were not extinguished at enclosure so no allotment was made. In the parliamentary period it was the norm to extinguish the tithes as part of the enclosure process. The allotments made in lieu could be a substantial parcel of land and could have a significant effect upon the structure of the primary landscape. The treatment of the other key element, roads, also differed significantly between the two periods. But perhaps the greatest difference can be seen in the standardisation imposed in the parliamentary period, whereby all land was treated in the same way regardless of whether it belonged to the lord of the manor, the richest landowner, or the humblest cottager. Owners were *told* where their hedges were to go, which species of hedge to plant, which side of the hedge the ditch was to be placed, and so on. Similarly, road alignments, widths and routes were determined for everyone. The owners may have instigated the process by applying for enclosure in the first instance, and they could request a preferred location for their allotment, but it was the commissioners who drew the lines. In anciently enclosed places, by contrast, it was the individual owner who had the greatest influence.⁴²⁵ While it is not known exactly how much standardisation was applied in the earlier period, such evidence as we have suggests it was not as rigorous. Allotment boundaries were fixed but the type of boundary, species of hedge and so on were not.⁴²⁶ Owners could decide what species their hedges would be, but no owner could insist his neighbour planted the same.

⁴²⁵ A group of owners would have to agree the placement of allotments but all else was their personal choice. A single owner would have had almost complete autonomy in arranging the new landscape; with the notable exception of public roads.

⁴²⁶ The paucity of sources means a definitive assessment cannot be made. But of the agreements assessed none mention the species of hedge to be planted or specify the type of detail seen in the parliamentary period enclosures.

*Allottees and allotments*⁴²⁷

Allottees could be individuals, or a group of people, who owned land and/or rights. Allotments were made according to the value of this ownership.⁴²⁸ Tenants did not receive allotments. The primary enclosure landscape is therefore one of private property only, and does not reflect the full tenurial structure of the community. Individuals might receive an allotment for ownership of land and/or rights, which became their personal property to manage as they chose. Certain groups received a general allotment to manage on behalf of the entire community.⁴²⁹ As such they can best be described as public allotments. They represent the smallest amount of land enclosed and had the least effect on the resulting landscape. Public allotments could be made to surveyors of the highways, overseers of the poor, churchwardens, the constable, the parish clerk, the parish council, or other trustees.⁴³⁰ There was no standardisation of office or duties at this period, so in some places one body might undertake a variety of functions; for example the churchwardens might also function as constables or overseers of the poor.⁴³¹ This explains why some parish records often have diverse payments, such as those made to the paupers alongside those for the purchase of gunpowder, or for loads of stone next to ‘whipping the dogs out of the church’.⁴³² Therefore, allotments made to public bodies might be for an unspecified variety of purposes. What they shared in common was size; public allotments were very small. Of those made specifically to the overseers of the poor some three-quarters were less than one per cent of the total amount enclosed. Allotments to churchwardens and for ‘town land’ had a similar ratio.⁴³³ Those for

⁴²⁷ Unless otherwise specified this section relates to parliamentary period enclosures.

⁴²⁸ Value was assessed by both quantity and quality. Commissioners appointed Qualitymen to assess the value of all the land to be enclosed and where each owner’s land lay. Land varied in value according to the type of soil, location, microclimate and so on. Allotments were then made based on the value of land owned with an added allowance for common rights, and a deduction or addition (for the tithe owner) for tithes. This value was measured against the value of the land in the new allotment. Therefore, allotments do not reflect the exact amount of land as owned pre-enclosure. This process is documented clearly at Ecton where in addition to the basic information all the calculations for rights, tithes, and roads as well as the size and value of the new allotments are also given: NRO X1071.

⁴²⁹ Allotments could also be made to institutions such as schools and charities, but these were still privately owned.

⁴³⁰ The offices listed are those most commonly found in documents relating to land and enclosure from the period, but there was an extraordinary range of parochial officers which is admirably dealt with by Tate: Tate, (1969).

⁴³¹ Ibid. pp. 86, 179.

⁴³² NRO Box 54 C 1; 49P/ GB1 X2411.

⁴³³ Town land was public property in the sense that it belonged to the parish but was not publically accessible in the way later public spaces such as municipal parks were. Rather it was land administered by public officials, usually rented out, and the income generated used as poor relief.

the maintenance of roads were probably smallest of all, but are the most difficult to quantify or indeed to identify.

An allotment to, or rather ‘for’ the poor was made in almost every award.⁴³⁴ The poor themselves were rarely allowed access to the land allotted them, rather it was to be rented out by the overseers or churchwardens and the income used in poor relief. At Clipston the income was to be used for fuel, meat, corn or apparel given out on the 24 December each year; Aldwincle was similar though distributed on January 1st. Most poor relief came with a similar proviso to that at Tiffield, where only the ‘most necessitous, industrious and honest poor persons who were not receiving collections from the parish’ could receive benefit. At East Haddon, in addition to buying fuel for the poor, the churchwardens were to use the rent to ‘teach poor children to read and write’. At Ecton the income was to be used for ‘putting out poor children as apprentices and other charitable purposes’. Orlingbury was unusual in that the land allotted to the poor was still accessible to them to ‘carry away on their backs, but not otherwise, the bushes, furze and thorne for fuel’.⁴³⁵ The first specific poor allotment was made in 1751, the last in 1839; the proportion varied little between the two. That is because the use of land to provide poor relief existed before enclosure (see Chapter 3): hence allotments made at enclosure were a continuation of an existing system rather than a new method of relief or a response to changing economic climate. Such allotments made little impact on the landscape due to their small size. They have mostly left little, if any, trace, and since they are difficult to identify in the map record it is uncertain how long they survived after enclosure.⁴³⁶ Examples that survive and still have a parochial use can be seen at Brafield and Naseby, where allotments to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor are now village allotment gardens.⁴³⁷

Churchwardens were responsible for duties associated with the church and for parts of the church fabric. They might receive an allotment for this or for other civic duties. Like the overseers, before enclosure they often had land within the open fields that was rented out, the income being used for the upkeep of the church. Church lands are not uncommon on pre-

⁴³⁴ There are 124 awards that contain a specific poor allotment but many others are concealed within the allotments to the churchwardens or trustees of the town lands.

⁴³⁵ Anscomb, p.169.

⁴³⁶ The most useful post-enclosure maps for identifying ownership and land use were the tithe maps. But as most Parliamentary enclosure extinguished the tithes this source is unavailable. The OS mapping from the 1880s is useful for locating the plot of land, which often survives at this date, but gives no clue as to its function.

⁴³⁷ NRO Map 2838; Inclosure Plan 53.

enclosure maps. Some maps were specific regarding the use of the income, such as ‘bell-ropes furlong’ at Grafton Underwood, and ‘bell rope piece’ at Bradden.⁴³⁸ Like allotments to the poor these have left little trace, except occasionally as field names.

Other public allotments made to the overseers and/or churchwardens in the nineteenth century might stipulate a specific function associated with recreation. The earliest of these identified was at Higham Ferrers in 1838; they are also found at Ringstead in 1839, Stoke Bruerne and Collyweston both in 1844, and Castor with Ailsworth in 1898.⁴³⁹ All were allotted to be set out as a place of recreation, and all were to be maintained by money raised from renting out the herbage. Only at Collyweston and Castor do the plots survive, in both cases as village playing fields.⁴⁴⁰ In addition to the four allotments for recreation grounds at Castor and Ailsworth there were other public allotments for a bathing place, four allotment gardens, and approximately 185 acres of Ailsworth heath were left unenclosed for the public benefit.⁴⁴¹ The number and variety of public allotments at Castor are a reflection of the late date of enclosure. There had been an increasing recognition that open spaces, exercise and recreation were beneficial to public health. Allotment gardens had been extremely popular as a form of poor relief, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴² But more importantly the General Act of Inclosure of 1845 had required the allocation of plots for both recreation and garden allotments.⁴⁴³ Only one of the allotment gardens continues in the same use; Ailsworth Heath is still open and publically accessible.

The most elusive of public allotments were those made for the maintenance of the public roads. These took the form of small stone pits and could be vested in the Surveyors of the Highways, where they existed, or simply designated for public use. They are virtually unidentifiable in the modern landscape. However, another kind of allotment typically made to the Surveyors was the allocation of the roadside herbage. As with other public allotments these were made with the intention of renting out the grazing, with use of the income for upkeep of roads. This indicates two things: firstly, that although the amount of grass in the roadsides is impossible to quantify, it provided sufficient grazing to be worth renting; and

⁴³⁸ Boughton House private collection; NRO Map 2936.

⁴³⁹ Anscomb, pp. 199, 200, 201, 203; NRO 60P/504.

⁴⁴⁰ Only one of the four at Castor and Ailsworth survives.

⁴⁴¹ NRO 60P/503.

⁴⁴² J. Burchardt, 'Rural Social Relations, 1830-5: Opposition to Allotments for Labourers', *Agricultural History Review*, 45, (1997).

⁴⁴³ Birtles, (1999), p. 105.

secondly, along with the allocation of the herbage elsewhere, it is an indication of the recognition of grass as a valuable, and saleable, commodity.

Private allotments made to individuals or organisations formed the structure of the primary enclosure landscape. The number of allottees varied from a single person at Ashton near Oundle, to 209 at Peterborough. Both are atypical. At Ashton William Walcot owned all the land, was the lord of the manor and the impropriate rector. With the exception of two small gravel pits and the public roads, he was awarded all of the land. He also owned all the ancient enclosure in the hamlet and township. Peterborough was the diametric opposite. In addition to the city it contained the hamlets of Dogsthorpe, Newark, Garton End, and Eastfield as well as the grange at Oxney. At Peterborough, unlike the enclosure of Northampton where the commissioners allotted a plot of land for public use in lieu of common rights to the freeholders of the town (see Chapter 2), some 646 individual allotments were made for land and common rights. For the more typical enclosures it was the amount of land owned as much as the number of allottees that had a significant effect on the subsequent landscape structure. This was particularly so where the majority of the township was being enclosed and therefore the new landscape was unconstrained by existing ancient enclosure. When Little Addington was enclosed in 1830 some 95 per cent of the township was still open. There were 14 allottees but three people were allotted 99 per cent of the land. The enclosure map shows the large plots laid out for the principal owners, creating a very simple landscape structure across almost the entire township (Figure 4.1). Substantial landowners such as these therefore had the greatest effect upon the landscape at the moment of enclosure. But the immediate effects were short-lived as such large plots were swiftly divided to make more conveniently sized closes, either for tenant farms or to be farmed in-hand. This is clearly visible in Figure 4.2, where the allotment boundaries to the major owners have been subsumed in a network of closes. The smallholders could be, paradoxically, equally visible and furthermore more likely to retain the original structure created at enclosure. This is demonstrated at Little Addington by the small allotments, mostly to the north-east of the village, laid out for the smallholders (Figure 4.1) and still extant and identifiable in the 1880s (Figure 4.2).⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁴ They are still extant in the modern landscape.

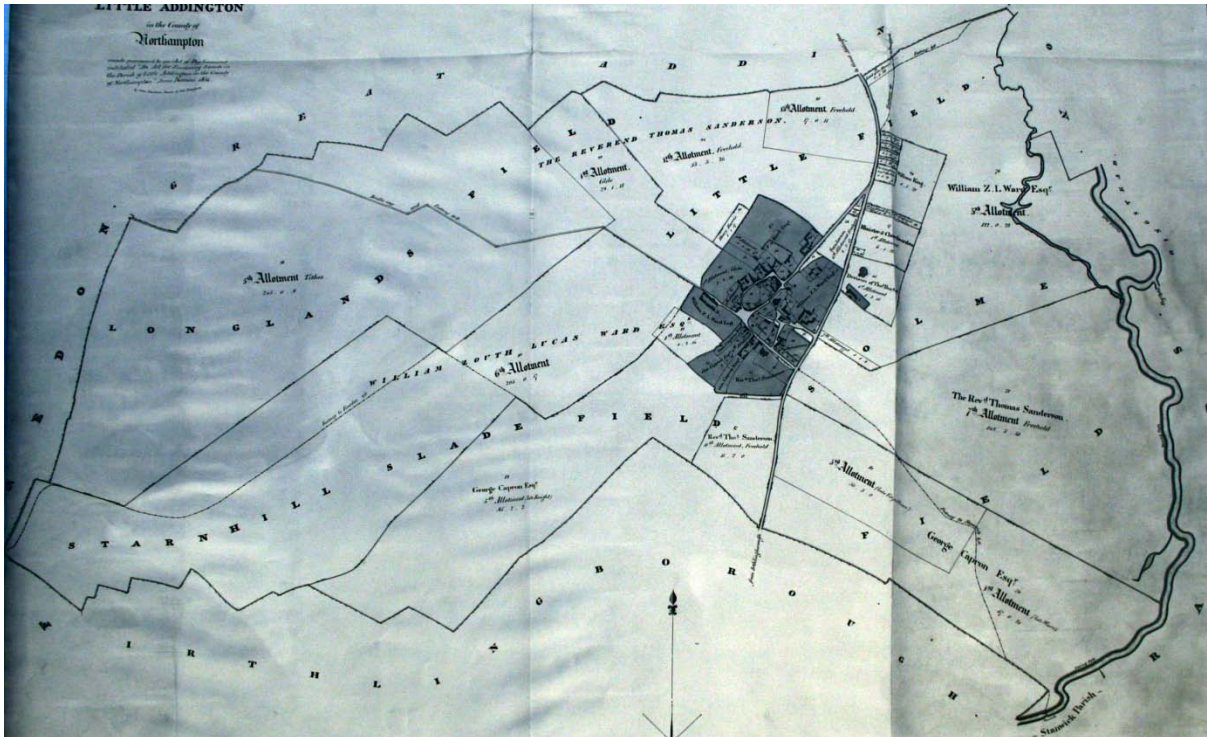


Figure 4.1: Enclosure map of Little Addington. There is no ancient enclosure outside of the village core and the large allotments create a very simple landscape. Note the small group of allotments to the north-east of the village which represent those made to the smallholders.⁴⁴⁵

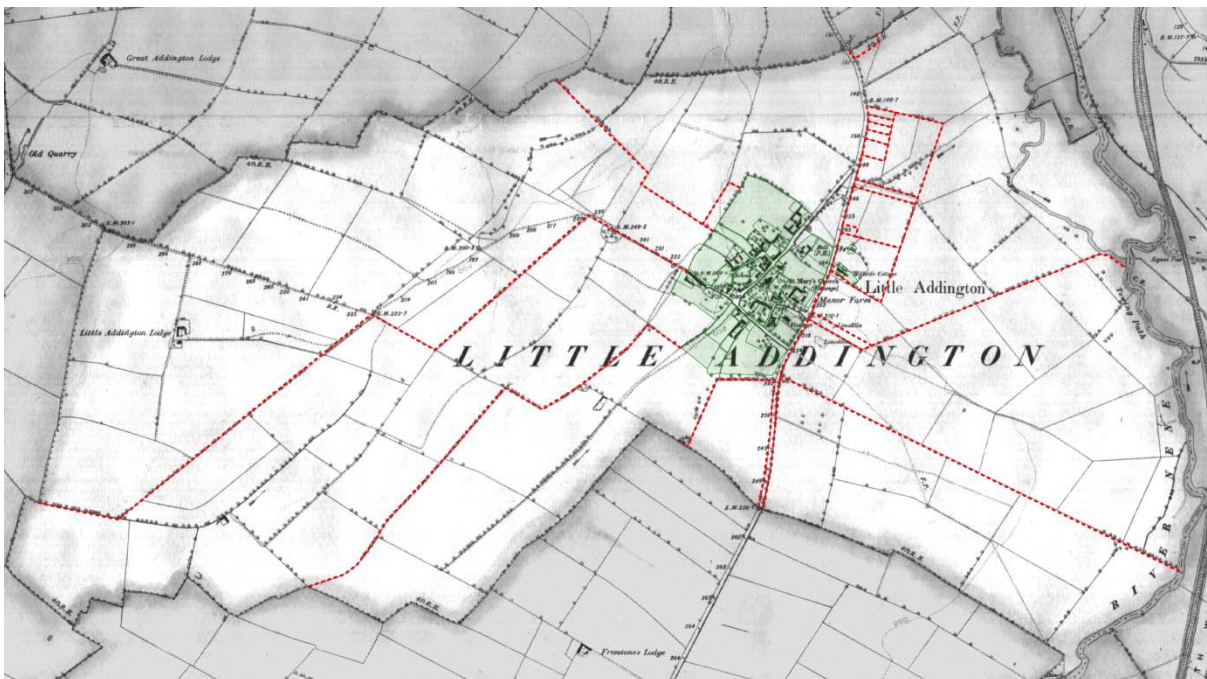


Figure 4.2: Little Addington from the Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 scale mapping of the 1880s. Red dotted lines represent the enclosure allotments from 1830 (in Figure 4.1).⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵ NRO Map 2840.

⁴⁴⁶ Figure 4.2 represents the Secondary Enclosure landscape discussed below: the image has been placed here to allow direct comparison with Figure 4.1.

Small blocks of allotments like these are typically seen close to the village where they would have been most easily accessible to their owners.⁴⁴⁷ This was partly done to accommodate the smallholders' wishes and to offer least inconvenience to them. But it should also be noted that had they been sited elsewhere, access would have had to be provided which might entail crossing another owner's property, and thus the creation of additional rights of way. Commissioners had to be pragmatic in their judgments and in their assignment of allotment location. The pattern of large allotments with a discrete block of small closes is typical where there was a principal owner, or small number of substantial owners, in addition to a larger group of smallholders. This was not only a feature only of parliamentary period enclosures: many similar groups of small closes are seen in anciently enclosed townships that can be equated with allotments made to smallholders. Examples are shown for Braybrooke enclosures made in 1649, Aynho in 1620, and Harrington c.1623 (Figures 4.3 - 4.5).⁴⁴⁸ Some ancient enclosures like those at Braybrooke could be remarkably regular and indistinguishable from those of the later period. In contrast, those at Aynho and Harrington are of particular note as they can be seen to retain the reverse S curve of the open field strips that they enclose. This particular pattern of small closes encompassing a few strips is indicative of ancient enclosure and can help to identify phases of enclosure where other documents are lacking. Many of these groups of 'smallholder' allotments survive in the modern landscape. This is because, although relatively small, they were still workable units, especially where stock-rearing was the dominant regime and hedges were not inconvenient to modern machinery.

⁴⁴⁷ There are numerous examples in the map record of this type of plot grouping.

⁴⁴⁸ Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), pp.182-3 (Braybrooke), p.226 (Harrington); Hall, (2006), pp. 6-22.

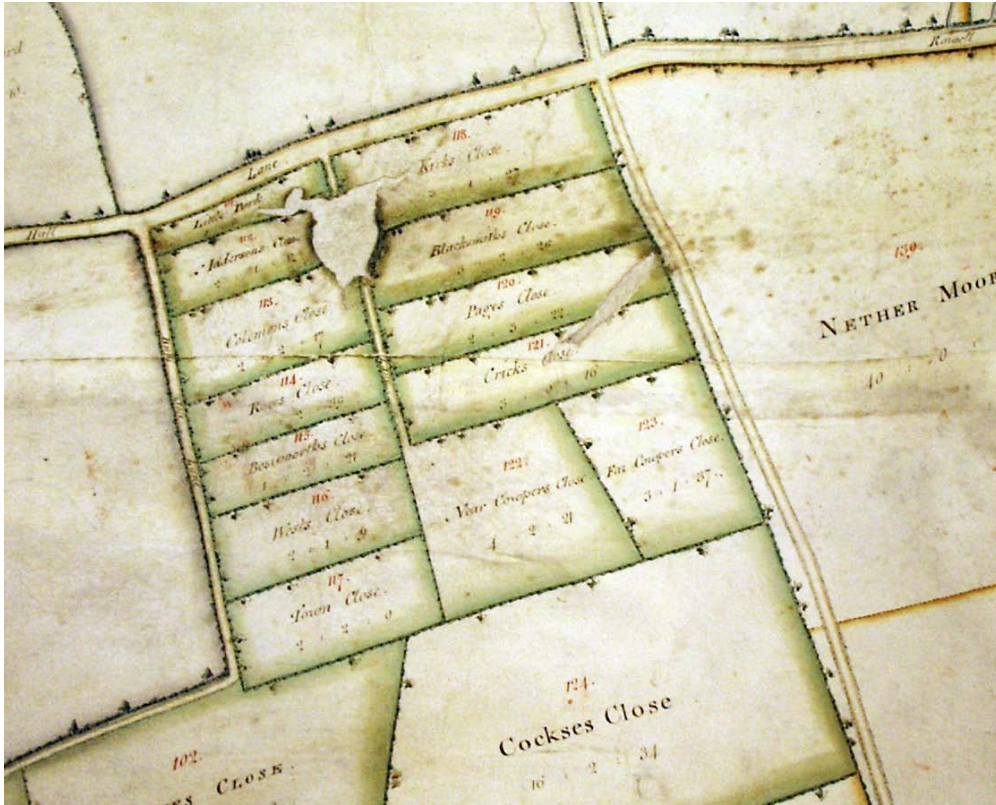


Figure 4.3: Braybrooke in 1767 showing the block of small closes made to the smallholders at one phase of enclosure in 1649.⁴⁴⁹



Figure 4.4: Aynho in 1696 showing enclosures made in 1649. Those to the south of the stream retain the reverse S curve of the underlying ridge and furrow strips.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁹ NRO Map 6393.

⁴⁵⁰ NRO Map 4612.



Figure 4.5: Harrington in 1839 showing enclosures made in c.1623. Those numbered 83-87 retain the reverse S curve of the underlying ridge and furrow strips.⁴⁵¹

In places where there was no principal owner but numerous landholders the pattern created was more complex. When Kislingbury was enclosed in 1779 some 92 per cent of the township was still open and 105 allotments were made to 74 allottees. The complex nature of the new landscape is seen in the enclosure map (Figure 4.6). The odd shapes of many of the allotments can be accounted for by the need for access. As many as possible of the new plots were made to abut roads, even if that required creating dog-leg boundaries that must have been inconvenient to farm. A similar example can be seen at Long Buckby where there were 98 allotments made to 73 allottees.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ NRO T221.

⁴⁵² NRO Map 1556.



Figure 4.6: Kislisbury enclosure map 1779. There were 74 allottees who received 105 allotments between them resulting in a very complex landscape.⁴⁵³

One of the most intricate primary enclosure landscapes was that imposed at the enclosure of Helpston with its neighbours in 1809.⁴⁵⁴ There were 227 allottees who received a total of 698 allotments.⁴⁵⁵ While some people received several allocations, they were not always grouped together which contributed to the complex pattern. Most allotments were very small, yet some of the smallest had arguably one of the most significant effects on the landscape as they altered the layout of two of the villages. At Glinton the central village green and pond was divided into tiny plots that were added as front gardens to adjacent houses (Figure 4.7). At Northborough the central drove that had led to the cow pasture, which was some 385 feet

⁴⁵³ NRO Map 2853.

⁴⁵⁴ The townships of Helpston, Maxey with Deeping Gate, Northborough, Peakirk, Glinton, and Etton with Woodcroft were all enclosed by the same Act. NRO ML860. See also Chapter 3.

⁴⁵⁵ A similar ratio to that seen at Peterborough with its hamlets where there was also a very complex new landscape created at enclosure.

(120 metres) at its widest, was also divided into plots and added as front gardens to existing houses (Figure 4.8).⁴⁵⁶ This drove was first mapped in 1543 as part of a wider map showing the vast intercommoned North Fen into which the drove led (Figure 4.9).⁴⁵⁷ This drove had clearly been a significant feature in the village for at least three centuries, and almost certainly for many more, prior to enclosure.⁴⁵⁸



Figure 4.7: Glinton village on the enclosure map of 1819. The central green is allocated as small plots to the front of adjacent houses.

⁴⁵⁶ This process also occurred at Barby (NRO Map 4084), but it was unusual for all or most of a village green to be allocated thus at enclosure. More commonly just part of the green might be allocated as at Marston Trussell, Brafield, and Orlingbury. NRO Maps 2867, 2838, Inclosure Plan 25.

⁴⁵⁷ TNA MPI 1/251. Discussed in Chapter 3.

⁴⁵⁸ Fieldwork by David Hall has revealed no evidence that this feature was ever ploughed. Nor was it periodically waterlogged meadow or fen. This suggests its agricultural function has always been pasture and the settlement pattern along either side suggests it was created and maintained as a drove from a very early date.



Figure 4.8: Northborough village on the enclosure map of 1819. The wide drove leading out of the village was parcelled out and added to the fronts of adjacent properties.



Figure 4.9: An extract from the 1543 map of North Fen showing the wide drove leading from Northborough village to the North Fen cow pastures.

All allotments, whether public or private, included an allowance in lieu of rights that were to be extinguished at enclosure. They included rights of common associated with landownership or attached to cottages where no land was owned.⁴⁵⁹ Other non-landowning rights belonged to the lord of the manor and to the owners of the great and small tithes. Those made for cottage commons and to the lord of the manor were generally very small. Those made for cottage rights, just like all other allotments for property, went to the owner of the cottage, not the tenant. The tenant would have enjoyed the rights associated with their rented property, but at enclosure it was ownership that conferred compensation. Thus it was not uncommon to see allocations in lieu of cottage rights granted to a wealthy landowner who might also be the lord of the manor. At the enclosure of Newton Bromswold Earl Fitzwilliam received an allotment for 63 cottage rights.⁴⁶⁰ Cottage commons are difficult to quantify because they are rarely listed separately in the awards and, even when they are, it is unclear exactly what rights were attached to different cottages in different manors and townships. However, where it is possible to make an assessment they are very small plots; the 63 at Newton Bromswold amounted to only five and a half acres. As such they made little impact upon the new landscape. Manorial rights also varied between manors and might include rights for such things as minerals, fishery, swannery or free warren, but the universal compensation was for rights in the waste.⁴⁶¹ It is possible to make *some* quantifiable assessment of these allotments, as they are specifically mentioned in both the act and award, generally as a proportional amount that varied from one fifteenth to one eighteenth the 'value of the waste'. A specific allocation is then made, as at Easton on the Hill where the lord receives 11 acres as his allotment for one eighteenth of the waste. However, without knowing what value was put on the waste it is not possible to extrapolate from this to calculate the acreage of waste. These allotments were generally very small, were often placed within or adjacent to a larger allotment to the same person, and were not separately fenced.⁴⁶² Many of the small allotment types discussed above made little impact on the landscape and rarely survive. A notable exception to this is where allotments were made alongside roads (see below).

⁴⁵⁹ The nature of the various types of rights is discussed in Chapter 3.

⁴⁶⁰ NRO Inclosure vol. K, p. 327.

⁴⁶¹ Enclosure did not extinguish all manorial rights but only those specified in the acts and awards. The award for Stoke Albany is very specific about what rights are *not* included: 'The Lord of the Manor may at all times hereafter hold and enjoy all rents, services, courts, perquisites and profits of courts, goods and chattels of felons, fugitives, felons of themselves, and out in Exigent Deodands, waifs, estrays, franchises, jurisdictions, priviledges [sic] and all other royalties to the said manor incident or belonging, or in wise appertaining'. Anscomb, p. 29.

⁴⁶² There are numerous examples in the map sources of such allotments wherein the boundaries are marked differently to those requiring fencing. Also for those places where there is a map made shortly after enclosure it is clear that these boundaries were not fenced separately but subsumed in the adjacent closes.

By far the largest proportion of land allotted for non-landowning rights was that given for extinguishing tithes. In the majority of parliamentary enclosures in Northamptonshire tithes were extinguished on the land being enclosed. The titheable value of some or all of the ancient enclosure might also be included in the calculations. When the Tithe Commutation Act was introduced in 1836 (whereby tithes were substituted by a money payment) only 23 per cent of the county remained titheable, most of it ancient enclosure.⁴⁶³ Tithes were originally a tenth of the produce of the land paid as a tax to the church. Only two of the original three types of tithe were still payable at this period; predial and mixed. These were further split into the great and small tithes. Put simply the great tithes (including hay, grain and wood) were payable to the rector and the small tithes (all others) to the vicar. The reality was anything but as simple and there were complicated rules as to what produce was titheable and when.⁴⁶⁴ For example, turnips were titheable if fed to beef cattle or mutton but not if fed to milking cows or store sheep.⁴⁶⁵ Furthermore, time and custom had ensured that titheable rates varied widely between parishes, and many had been commuted from produce to a money payment. In addition Rectorial tithes were no longer always payable to the clergy.

After the Dissolution approximately one third of the great tithes passed to lay impropiators who could sell or lease them at will. The income from the great tithes was not inconsiderable particularly if the lessee had acquired a 99 year lease at a fixed rent. The Isham family at Lamport took advantage of such a lease prior to the legislation of 1571 that restricted leases to 21 years. The Spencers at Althorp also acquired numerous great tithes in several parishes either by lease or by purchase.⁴⁶⁶ Ownership of tithes by lay people was one of the many resentments felt by tithe payers. What had once been seen as a payment in support of the church and the clergy was now viewed as a simple tax to private individuals. Of more concern was the perception that tithes were an obstacle to the great secular god of 'improvement'.⁴⁶⁷ Farmers might object to the un-earned benefits reaped by the clergy from their improved farms, but whether the tithe system was a genuine deterrent to investment in agriculture is unclear.⁴⁶⁸ Evidence of farmers actually refusing to invest because of the tithe

⁴⁶³ Kain & Oliver, (1995), p. 350.

⁴⁶⁴ Kain & Prince, (1985), pp. 10-22.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8

⁴⁶⁶ Finch, (1956), pp. 20, 40, 61.

⁴⁶⁷ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of improvement.

⁴⁶⁸ The suggestion that farmers resented the clergy benefiting from investment has been put forward by various authors: Mingay, (1997), pp. 45-48; Kain & Prince, (1985), p. 2.

payments is hard to identify. But it is conceivable that investment in new farms and buildings in the newly enclosed grounds soon after enclosure may have been made possible, at least in part, to additional funds being available and a greater willingness on the part of farmers to invest, now that the tithes were no longer payable.⁴⁶⁹ Similarly, the very liberal allowances agreed to for tithe extinguishment at enclosure, in addition to the tithe owners' costs being spread among the other proprietors, suggests the tithe payers were exceptionally keen, if not desperate, to be rid of them. This situation put the tithe owners in a very strong bargaining position, not least because their agreement had to be obtained in order for enclosure to take place.

The titheable value of land was dependent on the type of land: arable, pasture, meadow, woodland, ancient enclosure, orchards, gardens and so on. Owners of land being cleared from tithes would have their open field allotment reduced in proportion to the titheable value of their land. But the allotments made to the tithe owners by the enclosure process were usually very generous and in no way amounted to only one tenth of titheable land. Nationally, by the end of the eighteenth century one fifth of arable and one ninth of pasture were normally allocated.⁴⁷⁰ A similar ratio was used in Northamptonshire, which resulted in some very large allotments being made to the tithe owners. A calculation of land given in lieu of tithes as a proportion of the land being enclosed shows that 17 per cent was the average, and it ranged from 1 per cent to an extraordinary 41 per cent. In those places with a small proportion much of the land remained titheable, such as ancient enclosures and woods, or was non-titheable.⁴⁷¹ Tithe allotments could create substantial estates in their own right, or significantly increase the size of estate of a landholding tithe owner. At Stanwick the rector John Sargeant and the lord of the manor William Drayson each received an allotment for tithes. Drayson's allotment was tiny, just ten acres or three per cent of the total tithe allotment.⁴⁷² But he was already a major landowner and this increased his estate to roughly one quarter of the land being

⁴⁶⁹ See 'Building Dispersal' below.

⁴⁷⁰ Kain & Prince, (1985), p. 23.

⁴⁷¹ The dataset was created by extracting the tithe allotment figures from the main Northamptonshire Enclosure database. Data are for townships only; forests and townships enclosed with forests are excluded due to the excessively complicated nature of associated tithes. There are also some anomalies in the dataset as the awards might specify the amount of tithe allotments in the description but do not indicate it in the summary. Data were tabulated using the summaries so it is possible that some of the figures are underestimated. Also, glebe land and any land that had been monastic were exempt from tithes and so some of the lower figures may represent places where much of the land was not titheable. It was not possible to calculate the allotments in some places as the tithe allowance was summed with that for glebe and common rights.

⁴⁷² It was slightly larger than his manorial allotment of nine acres.

enclosed.⁴⁷³ The church, as represented by the rector, owned a small amount of glebe land, some 29 acres, but the tithe allotment of just over 300 acres increased the estate to a similar size as that of the lord of the manor. Similar proportions were made in other township where there was no glebe land, thus creating new estates for the church. At the enclosure of Piddington and Hackleton both the great and small tithes were held by the lay impropiator Sir Robert Gunning. He held land in the two townships totalling 205 acres. His tithe allotments of 340 acres increased his estate two and a half times with the result that he became the largest landowner in both places. Such large allotments had the same effect upon the landscape as those made to the principal landowners discussed above. Indeed there is no difference in terms of landscape between the two types of allotment. However, of great significance is the change to the local tenurial structure that allotments for tithes could, and demonstrably did have, in parts of Northamptonshire.

What private and public allotments shared in common was the requirement that they be fenced. Regulations in the awards were very specific about the type of boundary that was to be created. Although the term used is 'fence' it actually meant a hedge that was to be protected by an outer fence. The planting to be used was often simply referred to as 'quickset' and sometimes as 'white thorn'; otherwise hawthorn and blackthorn. The term 'quick' actually means 'living' but has come to be synonymous with the dominant hedgerow species of the Midlands, the white-flowered hawthorn.⁴⁷⁴ The outer fences were to be made of posts and rails, set on both sides of the hedge and at a specific distance from the ditch. Specifications for the depth and width of the ditches might also be included. At the enclosure of Helpston in the low-lying Soke of Peterborough many of the boundaries were created as drains rather than hedges. There was more detail concerning these drains, including a separate map, than any seen for either hedges or roads. Each drain was named and had specific instructions regarding its construction, route and how it linked to the rest of the drainage system. There were also general conditions concerning 'the repairing, cleansing, scouring out and maintaining the several drains, tunnels, watergates, sluices, banks and bridges'.⁴⁷⁵ At all enclosures each allottee was responsible for ring-fencing their own allotments, and for sharing the cost of the tithe holders' fencing.⁴⁷⁶ At Yardley Hastings they

⁴⁷³ He also owned ancient enclosure within the township and village.

⁴⁷⁴ Muir, (2005)p. 70. A web-search for 'quickthorn' will return several thousand results for nurseries selling hawthorn.

⁴⁷⁵ NRO ML 860; Map 1075.

⁴⁷⁶ Mingay, (1997), p. 109.

also had to pay for the maintenance of rector's fencing for seven years after the execution of the award.⁴⁷⁷ The commissioners sometimes made attempts to alleviate the cost to the poorer allottees. This happened at Arthingworth, Barby, Mears Ashby, Syresham, Raunds and Whittlebury where some of the smallholders and cottagers had their costs reduced or were exempted from paying; at Raunds it was noted as only applicable to those considered to be 'proper objects of benevolence'.⁴⁷⁸ The commissioners set a time limit within which the fencing had to be completed; usually 12 or 18 months from execution of the award. The stringent regulations that were imposed by the commissioners and applied to all boundaries contributed in no small way to uniformity of landscape created by enclosure.

Roads⁴⁷⁹

Roads were laid out at enclosure before the allocation of allotments and as such were the most influential feature in the structure of the new landscape.⁴⁸⁰ They received detailed attention in the enclosure process. The acts specified many of the general conditions regarding the new road network; including type of route-way, widths, responsibility for maintenance and so on. The detail in the acts varied from place to place, but all included the stipulation that the commissioners had no authority over turnpike roads; though those roads are listed and described in the awards. The awards provide the detail of each individual road: the type (public, private, bridleway, footway, and so on); the route (often simply 'beginning and ending at'); the width (dependant on the type); the allotment of roadside herbage; the fencing (including trees, ditches, gates and stiles); and the maintenance (whether the surveyors or allottee and exactly what they were responsible for). The commissioners could alter the course of existing roads, extinguish them altogether, or lay out wholly new routes. The road network created by this process included existing routes that were being retained, even if left unaltered, because they were now being officially 'appointed' as part of the enclosure legislation. Such existing routes were not always described but were included by a proviso such as that at Crick: 'all the former roads and ways ... as shall not be set out ...

⁴⁷⁷ NRO Inclosure Vol.D.

⁴⁷⁸ Arthingworth, Inclosure Volume I; Barby, NRO N 1521; Mears Ashby, Inclosure Volume E; Syresham, Inclosure Volume C; Raunds, Inclosure Volume N; Whittlebury, M36. How 'small' the smallholder needed to be to be eligible varied from place to place. At Raunds those with no more than ten acres could apply for exemption of all the costs, and those with up to 20 acres could apply for exemption of the road costs. At Mears Ashby only proprietors with less than one acre were exempt – there were four of them.

⁴⁷⁹ Unless otherwise specified this section refers to roads in the parliamentary period of enclosure.

⁴⁸⁰ Yelling, (1977), p. 137. The commissioners' minute books for Yardley Hastings also demonstrate this, Anscomb, p. 84c., and see Whittlebury below.

shall be deemed part of the lands to be divided and enclosed by this Act, and shall be allotted and awarded accordingly'.⁴⁸¹ Roads through ancient enclosure in the township being enclosed were rarely altered, except occasionally in width. Plots alongside roads were sometimes allotted thus narrowing them to the prescribed width. This might occur along some major routes including turnpikes, but was also seen in villages (Figures 4.8, 4.32). At Corby and Tiffield the opposite occurred where certain roads through ancient enclosure were considered too narrow and, at Tiffield, dangerous. The commissioners were authorised to take land from the adjacent enclosures to widen the roads, making due compensation to the owners.⁴⁸²

THE ROAD NETWORK

The effect of such complex, detailed conditions regarding roads was, paradoxically, the creation of a very simple communications network. This can be demonstrated where there are maps for both the unenclosed and enclosed landscape. It is illustrated at Aynho in Figures 4.10 and 4.11. The pre-enclosure network at Aynho included roads, bridleways and footways. Many of the lesser ways would have led across and into the fields to provide access for farmers to reach their lands. After enclosure these were no longer required and it is only the larger public ways that were set out. A similar pattern is seen in other places that also have a series of maps. The most useful type of map for this purpose is the draft enclosure map, which shows both the existing and the new landscape together. From these it is possible to identify realignments of existing routes as well as wholly new ones (Figure 4.12). In addition to there being far fewer roads in the new landscape, the new road alignments are much straighter. There was now no reason for them not to be. It was not necessary to follow furlong boundaries as many of the early ways did, and the process was made simpler where there was not much ancient enclosure to restrict the layout. The constraint that did still exist was the local topography. For those places located on the level plateaus in the eastern half of the county and along the Nene valley, and in the Soke it was relatively simple to layout very straight roads. Roads in the hilly regions in the west and south-west of the county, though still direct in their course, have a less rigid alignment.

⁴⁸¹ NRO ZB 655/7.

⁴⁸² There were specifications at Corby about certain types of enclosure that were excluded from the commissioners' authority, such as gardens and parks. Anscomb, pp. 195 & 119.



Figure 4.10: An extract from the enclosure map of Aynho 1793. There are few newly laid-out roads in a very simple network. Compare this to the pre-enclosure roads as shown in Figure 4.11.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸³ NRO Inclosure Plan 3.

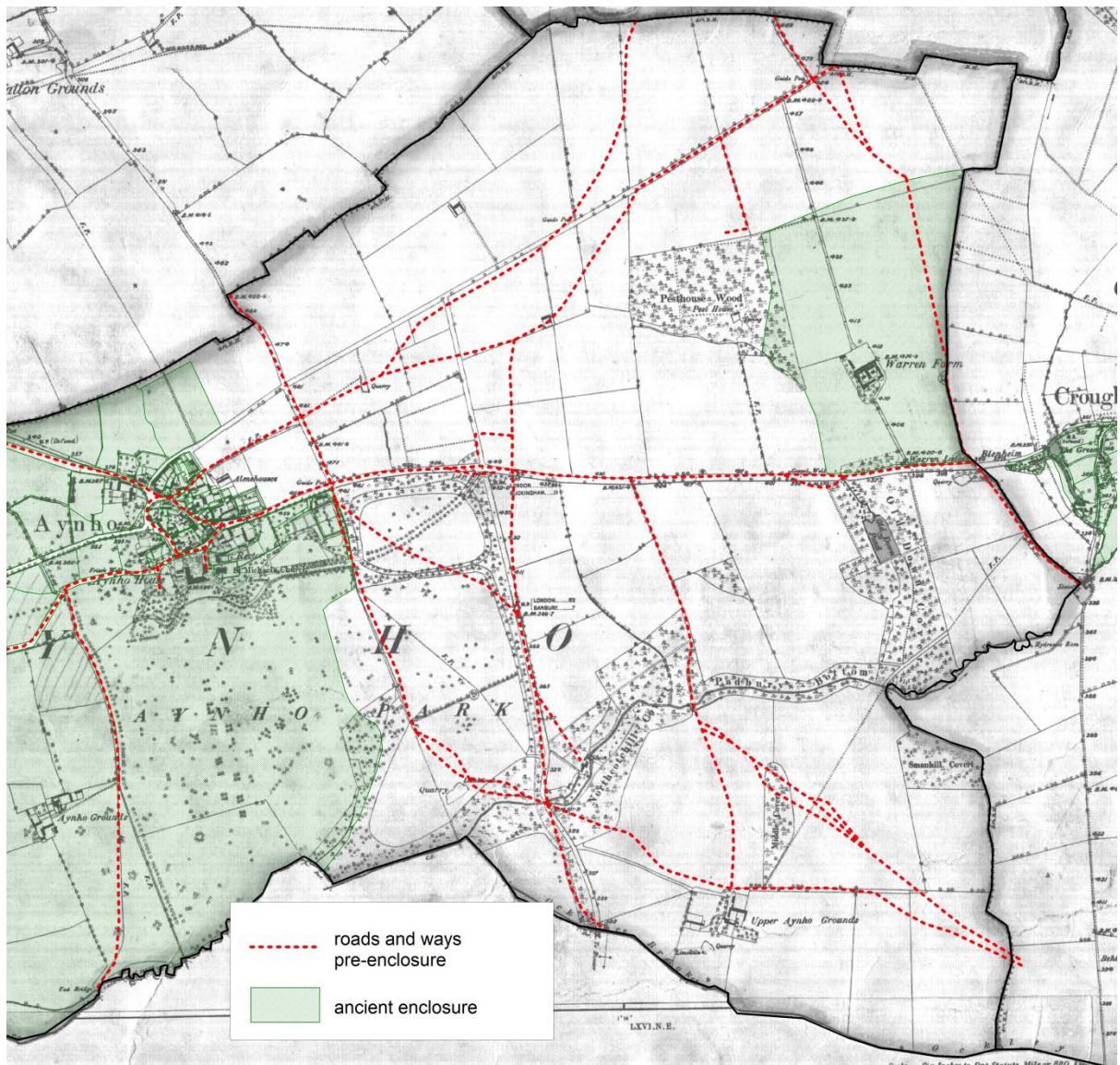


Figure 4.11: The pre-enclosure roads and ways at Aynho viewed against the enclosed landscape of the 1880s. The underlying road network is that laid out at enclosure in Figure 4.10. The complex pre-enclosure road system has been simplified, while the wider landscape has become more diverse with the introduction of hedges and many plantations.

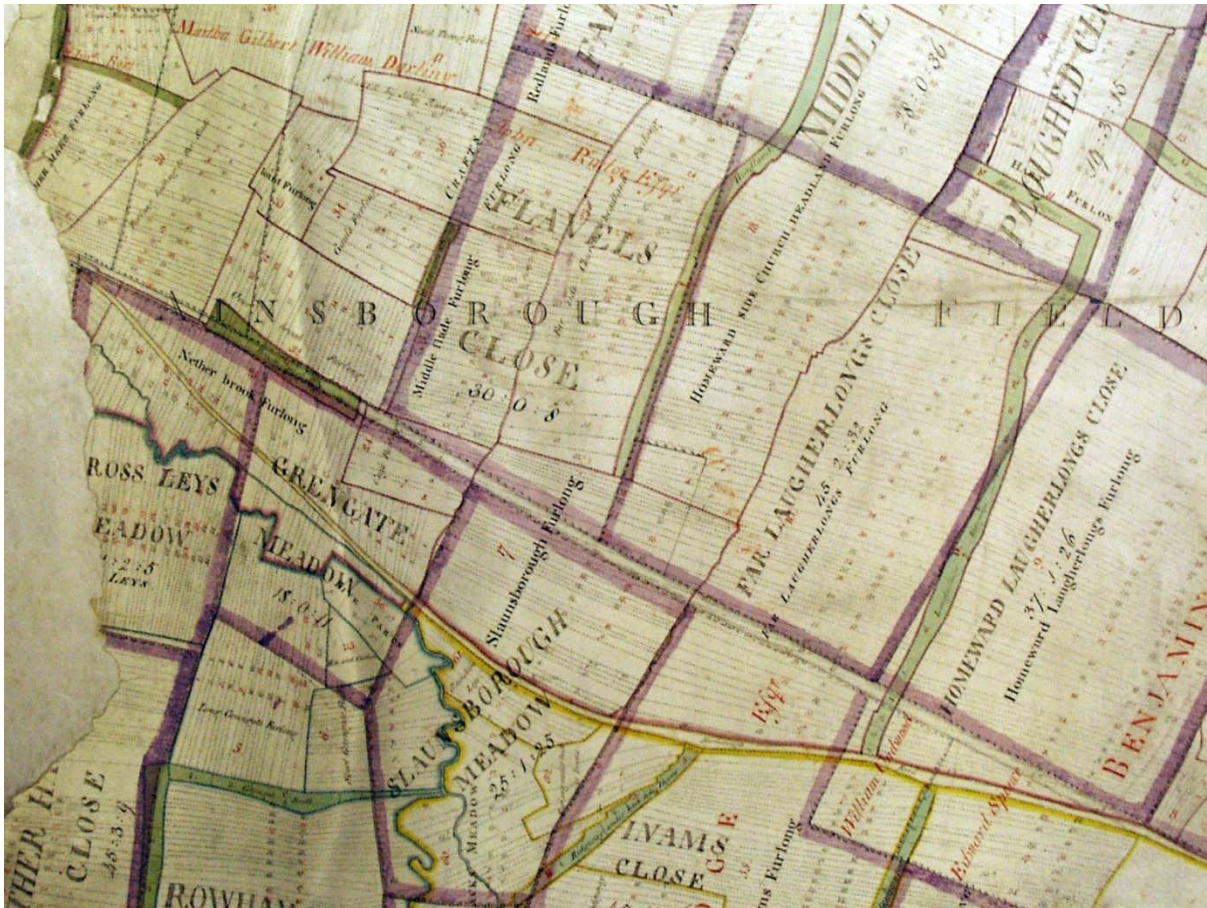


Figure 4.12: Extract from the draft enclosure map of Braybrooke (1767) showing the straight realignment of an existing road.⁴⁸⁴

For those places that have only an enclosure map the new layout can be seen to be simple but it is not possible to demonstrate how radically different it might be to the pre-existing pattern. Written descriptions of roads in the awards are generally very vague and do not indicate if the route is wholly new or a major or subtle alteration of an existing route. A more precise description was probably considered unnecessary as the roads would have been staked on the ground and a map made to accompany the award. The lack of a written description is particularly problematic for the 59 places where no map has been found as the exact road network created at enclosure is impossible to establish.

Roads and associated ‘ways’ in anciently enclosed townships differ in several ways; they are more likely to retain the existing network, follow existing routes, and many would not have been hedged on both sides. Alteration to a road network, whether by closing or diverting, required legislation which was both cumbersome and expensive.⁴⁸⁵ Moreover, early

⁴⁸⁴ NRO Map 6393.

⁴⁸⁵ Williamson, Liddiard, and Partida, (2013), p. 205.

enclosures often involved very few people so the cost of road construction would have fallen to them entirely. Roads were therefore largely unaltered in early enclosures, and so the network and varied types of routes tends to be far more complex. The network at Charwelton as illustrated on the tithe map of 1847 is shown on Figure 4.13.⁴⁸⁶ Charwelton was enclosed by 1485 and the tithe map is the first map of the whole township that has been identified.⁴⁸⁷ It is therefore not possible to know exactly what routes existed in 1485, but it is highly improbable that rights of way would have been added after enclosure across private property. Other places that have a full tithe map show a similar pattern. But what is of note about many of these places is that the complexity of the lesser ways had often been simplified by the time of the OS surveys of the 1880s. This simplification is made around the mid-nineteenth century, hundreds of years after enclosure and was therefore not connected to the enclosure process.

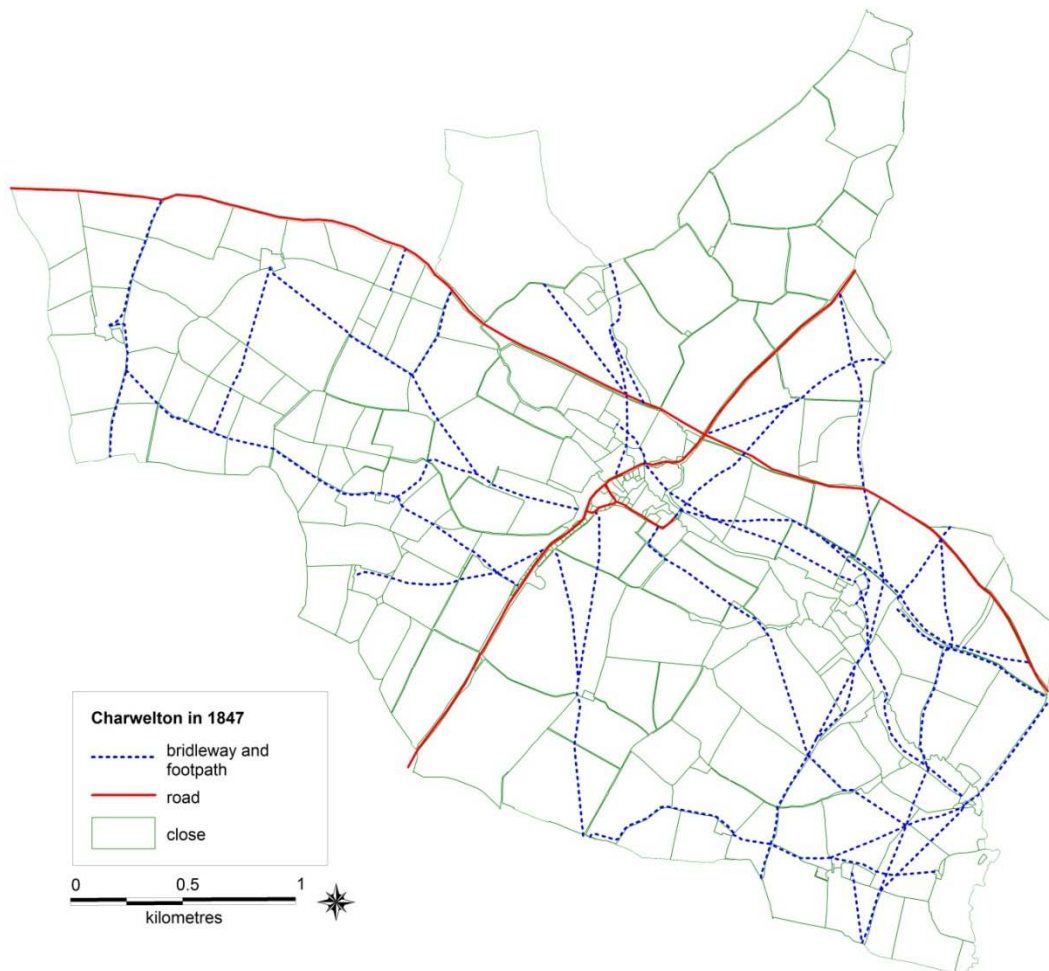


Figure 4.13: The intricate network of roads, bridleways and footpaths at Charwelton in 1847. Only two public roads cross the township, but there was a complex web of lesser ways.

⁴⁸⁶ NRO T45.

⁴⁸⁷ An estate map dated 1777 of a very small area has exactly the same features as the tithe map.

ROAD WIDTH

Documents relating to roads at enclosure in the earlier period are scanty, and where they do exist they contain very little detail. The agreement for the enclosure of Haselbech includes all of the roads in the township but does not mention widths, routes or specify hedging.⁴⁸⁸ The only mention of hedging comes from the stipulation that if the roads are made ‘lanes’ (that is, hedged on both sides) by the owners of adjacent plots then the said owners would become responsible for their maintenance. This would suggest that the intention was for the roads to remain open. Most of them did so until the second half of the nineteenth century; the same period at which a simplified network was being created. The last open road in Haselbech was only enclosed at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Very few roads within the county remain unenclosed and gated.⁴⁸⁹ It is uncertain at what point after enclosure the majority became laned.⁴⁹⁰ Evidence from post-enclosure maps identifies many places where when this did occur some roads were kept extremely wide, although they were rarely a uniform width along their entire length. At Charwelton (enclosed c.1480) they were up to 110 feet, Thornby (enclosed 1623) 100 feet, Clopton (enclosed before 1705) 140 feet, Maidwell (enclosed c.1691) 120 feet, Nobottle (enclosed by 1680) 160 feet, and at Haselbech (enclosed 1598) one road was at its widest some 220 feet across.⁴⁹¹ The purpose of such wide roads was to facilitate the movement of stock and vehicles, particularly in the winter months and particular in areas of heavy soils. It also reflects of the system of road maintenance prevailing at this period (see below). Furthermore, most of these roads were major routes carrying a great deal of traffic and became turnpikes in the eighteenth century. Such wide roads did not usually remain at this width; a rare surviving example is at Clopton. In most cases they were absorbed into the closes which lay on either side, so narrowing the width of the road. But they might also be encroached upon by new small plots laid out along them.⁴⁹²

Roads laid out in the parliamentary period were considerably narrower. The widest were the turnpikes and other major routes, usually set at 60ft.⁴⁹³ Most other public roads were set at 40ft and the width of bridleways and footpaths were also set. There were no set rules,

⁴⁸⁸ NRO Map 561. The enclosure of Haselbech is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁴⁸⁹ There are examples at Charwelton, Arthingworth, Fawsley and Cottesbrooke.

⁴⁹⁰ It would require a sequence of maps to identify this process and that is lacking for the majority of places.

⁴⁹¹ NRO T45, T212, T165, Map 1715, BL ADDMSS 78143, Map 561. Imperial measurements have been used in order to make a more direct comparison with the figures given for parliamentary roads. See Figure 4.19 and Figures 5.22-5.25.

⁴⁹² Discussed in ‘Secondary enclosure landscape’ and as a case study for Haselbech in Chapter 5.

⁴⁹³ At Braunston enclosed in 1775 the turnpike was directed to be 80ft, and at Collyweston enclosed in 1844 it was 50ft.

however, and route width varied not only between townships but also within townships. At Brigstock's enclosure in 1795 the roads were set variously at 50ft, 46ft and 40ft, bridleways at 26ft and footpaths at 3ft.⁴⁹⁴ The bridleways at Brington, enclosed in 1743, were set at 40ft, the same as the roads.⁴⁹⁵ The award contains a useful description of exactly what the term 'bridleway' meant: 'to be used only on foot or horseback and not with carriages or as a drift way for any sort of cattle whatsoever'. At Great Addington, enclosed in 1803, in addition to specifications for ways the width of planks over ditches was also set at 18 inches.⁴⁹⁶ Wider roads facilitated the movement of stock, but that was not their only function. They also provided abundant grazing in the roadside verges; it is highly unlikely that the full width of the road would have been metalled.⁴⁹⁷ Such grass had a value and at enclosure was usually allotted, either to an owner or public officer. This was a continuation of the pre-enclosure system where commons alongside roads were grazed and regulated.⁴⁹⁸ The recipient of the allotment was decided by the commissioners and if it were the owner/s of the adjacent allotments their entitlement might be to the centre of the road, or the full width if bounded on the opposite side by ancient enclosure.⁴⁹⁹ The public officer receiving the allotment was usually the surveyor of the highways, but at Helmdon it went to the parish constable.⁵⁰⁰ The awards also contain the stipulation that no cattle were to graze the roadside for a number of years after enclosure, usually seven, to allow the hedges to grow. At Ashley the condition was more specific and forbade beasts, horse, sheep, lambs, pigs and goats. At Wilby it was ordered that 'cattle feeding upon such herbage being led and not turned loose'.⁵⁰¹ These are further indications that such grazing was the norm.

Occasionally the commissioners made alterations to wide roads running through ancient enclosure by allotting narrow plots from the roadside waste. Some awards stipulate that 'small pieces of land by the sides of the roads could be allotted if in the opinion of the commissioner it did not incommode the public using the roads'.⁵⁰² This included turnpikes and the process is illustrated at Paulerspury enclosed in 1819. The road here was some 160

⁴⁹⁴ NRO Inclosure Vol. L.

⁴⁹⁵ NRO SOX 336.

⁴⁹⁶ NRO ML 1395.

⁴⁹⁷ In all the acts and awards seen no specification of the amount of the prescribed road width that is to be metalled has been found.

⁴⁹⁸ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁹⁹ There are numerous references to this in Anscomb's unpublished notes.

⁵⁰⁰ NRO Inclosure Volume A.

⁵⁰¹ NRO Inclosure Volume N.

⁵⁰² This example is from the award for Stoke Bruerne and Shutlanger, NRO V2796.

feet wide between ancient enclosures, but was narrowed to 60ft by adding liner plots to either side (see below). A similar process occurs on a lesser road at Whittlebury, enclosed in 1797, where narrow linear plots are laid out on one side of a road abutting ancient enclosure (Figure 4.14). The plots on both sides of the road were awarded to the same person. This perhaps demonstrates the hypothesis that commissioners were awarding plots on narrow roads rather than the herbage alongside wide ones (see below). But it might be asked why the commissioners made separate plots to the same person when they could have allotted a larger single plot, and placed the road between this and the ancient enclosure? The answer may be found on the right of the map where the road crosses the township boundary into Paulerspury. This was the fixed point in the landscape that the road had to join. If the commissioners wanted a direct alignment they had no choice but to allocate narrow plots on the south side of the road. This demonstrates that the layout of roads preceded and overshadowed the layout of allotments, as argued by Yelling.⁵⁰³

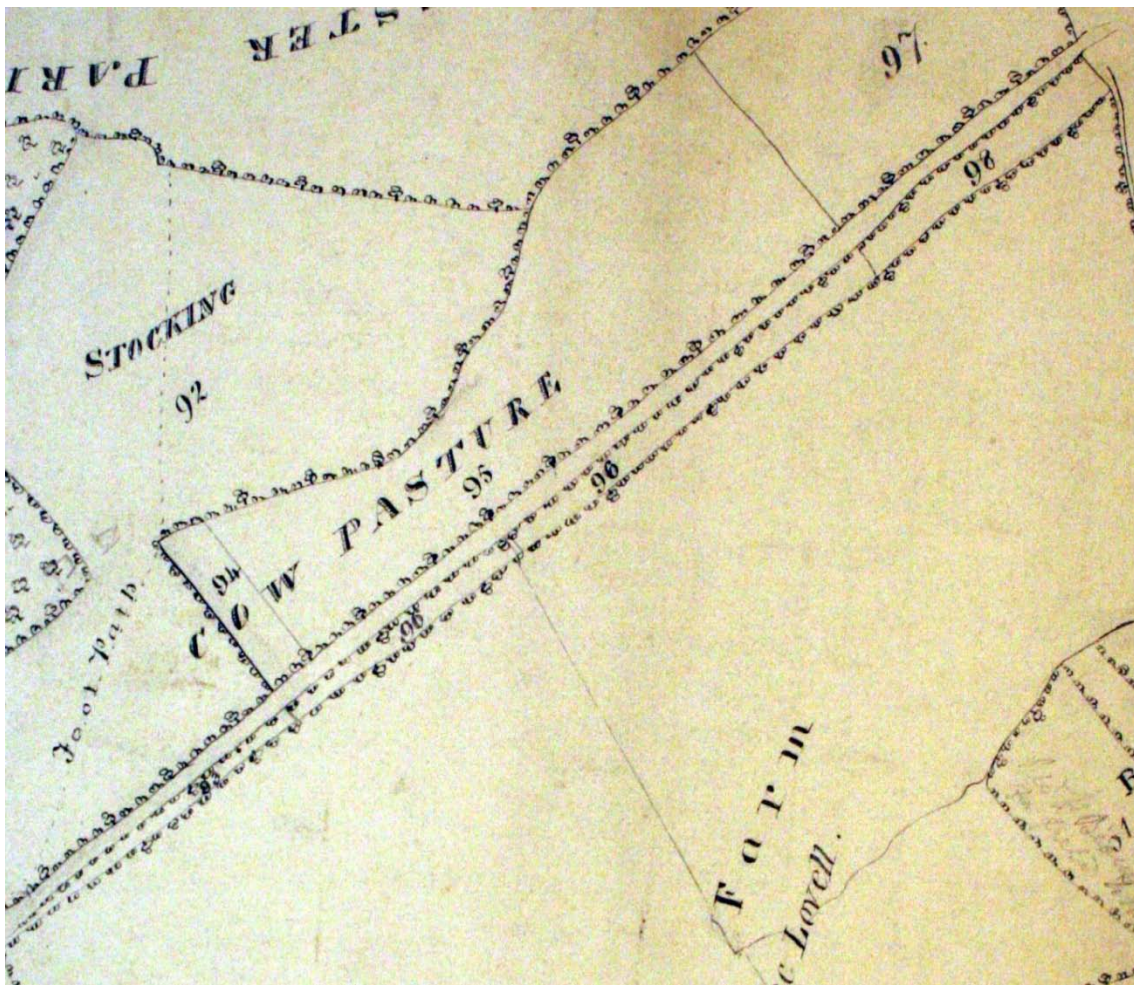


Figure 4.14: The enclosure of Whittlebury showing the allotments of narrow linear closes alongside the road. South of the road was ancient enclosure and to the north enclosure allotments.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ See Footnote 480.

⁵⁰⁴ NRO Map 6100.

The widths of roads determined by the commissioners reduced over time. By the beginning of the nineteenth century most public roads were being set at 30ft. A 30ft road allotted at Naseby in 1820 survives today (Figure 4.15). It is the unwavering width throughout the entire length as well, as the straightness of course that makes this a ‘typical’ enclosure road. But there was still no standardisation and so in some places the widths were 33ft and some still 40ft. It has been suggested by Turner that the reasons for the reduction in road width might be equated with the fear of undesirables setting up camp on the wide verges and so claiming settlement, and thereby poor relief.⁵⁰⁵ Yet given the stipulations as to ownership of that herbage it seems unlikely that such activity would have been permitted, or was widespread enough for it to have become the norm for all enclosure road widths to be reduced. It might instead have been, at least in part, an attempt to simplify the process so that instead of awarding the herbage of wide roads to the adjacent owners it was simply added to their allotment where they might make better use of it. For example it would be more convenient for an owner to graze his stock freely within an enclosure rather than tether or lead them upon a highway (see Whittlebury above). Moreover, prior to the early nineteenth century it was not the norm to require roads to be fenced on both sides immediately after enclosure. From that period it became the common practice along with a reduction in the number of places where the herbage was awarded; most awards from this period make no mention of the herbage. All of these developments may represent an attempt to create a demarcation between public and private property *within* the roadways as well as outside of them.

⁵⁰⁵ Turner, (1980), p. 18.



Figure 4.15: A 30ft wide road in Naseby enclosed in 1820. The straightness of the road as well as the maintenance of the same width throughout its entire length make this a ‘typical’ parliamentary enclosure road.

ROAD CONSTRUCTION

The regulations concerning road construction applied to both public and private roads. They applied to the construction of wholly new roads as well as any alterations and repair of those being retained. Specifications for hedges, trees, ditches, gates, stiles and bridges might all be included. The roads were required to be hedged on one side at least, with a fence erected either side of the growing plants to protect them. The species of hedge was the same as that for the allotments, hawthorn or blackthorn. There was no requirement that hedgerow trees be planted, nor regulations concerning species. But where roadside trees were planted there were frequent instructions as to the distance between them. The majority state they must be 50

yards apart ‘at the least’.⁵⁰⁶ This was to allow the trees to develop a full canopy without too much overshadowing of the roads or the crops on the opposite side of the hedge. Work on private roads was the responsibility of the owner, but the costs associated with public roads were shared by all the allottees.⁵⁰⁷ They were not, however, collectively responsible for undertaking or arranging for the work to be done. That responsibility remained with the commissioners until the work had been certified as satisfactory by the Justices, and only then did the responsibility for maintenance pass to the township.⁵⁰⁸ The task of the road works was effectively put out to tender. There are documents for Yardley Hastings and Wilby that demonstrate the process. At Yardley the commissioners advertised in the local paper for ‘proposals’ for fencing and the maintenance of some of them for seven years; presumably the rector’s.⁵⁰⁹ The agreement made at Yardley includes oak, elm and ash seedlings on each acre, so trees were part of the public highway rather than being planted by owners of adjacent plots. The proposals at Yardley and Wilby are very detailed and very similar in content. At Wilby the tender includes; ‘Two rows of good white thorn quick, planted upon a mound, with a three feet ditch & three battin rails. Two quarter battins, some half battins at the top, with oak post and piles on each side’.⁵¹⁰ The main difference is in cost per acre; in the 25 years between the enclosure of Yardley in 1776 and that of Wilby in 1801 the cost has almost doubled from £1.5s.6d to £2.9s.11d. These costs include labour but not gates and stiles so the final cost would be greater. Road building then, as now, was very expensive and could be the single most expensive item in the overall costs of enclosure.⁵¹¹ It is perhaps one reason why the road network established was usually very simple, and partly why up until the nineteenth century roads were often fenced only on one side.

There is, however, another, more plausible reason for fencing only one side of the road. The act for Warkworth made in 1764 noted that the present condition of the roads was ‘foundrous’ and ‘dangerous’ to travellers. More tellingly: ‘it having been found by experience that the public roads in that part of England called Northamptonshire, soon after the enclosure of the common fields there, become altogether impassable’, the roads were not

⁵⁰⁶ Broughton (1786), Wollaston (1788), Polebrook (1790), Weldon (1792), Wadenhoe (1793), Brigstock and Stanion (1795), Whitfield (1796), Wilbarston (1798), Islip (1800), Barnack (1800), and Wilby (1801) were all specified at 50 yards apart; Ravensthorpe (1795) and Newton Bromswold (1800) at 40 yards; and Deanshanger (1772), and Potterspury (1775) at 30 yards.

⁵⁰⁷ Exceptions were occasionally made for smallholders and cottagers, as discussed above.

⁵⁰⁸ Mingay, (1997), p. 107.

⁵⁰⁹ Anscomb, p. 84.

⁵¹⁰ NRO X9239.

⁵¹¹ Mingay, (1997), p. 107. The costs examined for Northamptonshire tend to support this statement.

to be fenced both sides until the roads were mended.⁵¹² Laning was not prohibited at the enclosure of Wellingborough in 1765 but the award includes the proviso, 'If the public roads are made into lanes by walling, hedging or ditching or otherwise confining the road from the other part of their allotments then the owner must repair and maintain the road'.⁵¹³ A similar condition was made at the enclosure of Harlestone in 1766.⁵¹⁴ These are the same conditions as applied at the enclosure of Haselbech in 1598 (see above). When Old was enclosed in 1767 and Duston in 1776 there was no mention of responsibility for road maintenance, but the herbage was allotted to adjacent owners *unless* the roads 'shall be made into lanes or fenced both sides' whereupon it was awarded to the overseers of the highways.⁵¹⁵ So the owners lost the benefit of the herbage if they enclosed the road, while the surveyors became responsible for the maintenance with the benefit of the herbage to contribute to the cost. These measures do not appear to have been particularly effective: at Evenly in 1779 the act states: 'owing to difficulties having arisen by reason of roads being laned on both sides before they have been repaired, the roads were not to be laned on both sides until the certificate of two Justices had been secured to say they had been repaired. Until this formality had been complied with only one side could be laned as directed by the commissioners.'⁵¹⁶ Clearly laning created problems for road conditions when doing so conferred responsibility for maintenance to individual owners.

From the medieval period maintenance of the road system had been, in one way or another, vested in the manor, and from 1555 in the parish. Every parishioner was obliged to provide either equipment and labourers, or their own labour for a number of days each year. The system was overseen by the Surveyor of the Highways who had been appointed by the parishioners. From 1691 the system changed so that a list of people eligible for the role was passed to the county Justices who then made the appointment.⁵¹⁷ This arrangement was universally agreed to be inefficient. The condition of a great many of the nation's roads made them tortuous to negotiate, impassable for much of the year, and frequently dangerous. The role of surveyor was a yearly appointment that was unpaid, unappreciated and unwelcome. Statute labour was also unpaid and, by all accounts, equally unpleasant and avoided

⁵¹² Anscomb, p. 34.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵¹⁵ NRO Inclosure Volume E, p. 227.

⁵¹⁶ Anscomb, p. 207.

⁵¹⁷ The post carried a variety of names such as 'waywarden' or 'boonmaster' but in Northamptonshire the term used was 'surveyor'. Tate, (1969), p. 243.

whenever possible.⁵¹⁸ The enclosure awards gave responsibility to the surveyor but this was simply reinforcing the existing system. Numerous parish records show that the collection of the road levy from the local populace was as onerous a task after enclosure as it had been before. The surveyors' records at Harlestone show them to be almost permanently 'out of pocket' both before and after enclosure.⁵¹⁹ This problem was so widespread that it was not uncommon for an entire parish to be indicted for failing to 'mend its ways'.⁵²⁰ The system did not alter until the general highway act of 1835 and later nineteenth century legislation.⁵²¹ Enclosure may have created an improved road network, but it did nothing to alter the system of maintenance. The upgraded condition of roads created might therefore have deteriorated in the years following enclosure.

⁵¹⁸ S. Webb & B. Webb, *The Story of the King's Highway*, (London, 1963), pp. 27-39. There are very good surveyor's records for Glington which detail the persons eligible to provide teams and labours, how many of each, what money was payable to compound duty, disbursements and people eligible to serve as officers. NRO 136P/60.

⁵¹⁹ NRO 153P/104.

⁵²⁰ Webb & Webb, (1963), p. 54.

⁵²¹ Tate, (1969), pp. 243, 250.

SECONDARY ENCLOSURE LANDSCAPE

The secondary enclosure landscape was created after the initial laying out of allotments and the road network. Much of this would have taken place immediately after execution of the award. Practical considerations required workable units of land from individual farms to individual fields. But many rearrangements of the landscape were not a direct consequence of enclosure. They would have occurred much later, and indeed continuously, as farmers adapted to the demands of the agricultural regime and changing technology. As part of this process buildings began to appear in the landscape outside the settlement, though in many places not until long after enclosure. Other modifications to the landscape were made that were not a response to agriculture, and can be seen in villages and roads.⁵²² Where there are maps made at enclosure and soon afterwards it is possible to be reasonably certain about when changes occurred and what they involved.⁵²³ For those places that have a sequence of post-enclosure maps it is also possible to chart subsequent changes, or indeed stability, within the landscape. Without such maps it is not possible to demonstrate post-enclosure landscape evolution. That such evolution occurred is, however, undoubted. Common sense would suggest that the landscape did not remain static over hundreds of years, but that a progression of adjustments were made in response to the owners' needs. There is also evidence for former use in archaeological remains and field names. Even if it is not possible to trace all these changes it is possible to examine the resultant landscape towards the end of the nineteenth century. The OS first edition 1:10,560 scale mapping from the 1880s provides a standardized map base against which to measure every part of the county. Only three townships had not been enclosed by this date, so it is possible to compare almost the entire enclosed landscape at a single point. From this it has been possible to establish that this enclosed landscape looks remarkably similar across the county regardless of the date of enclosure, or the original number of landowners.⁵²⁴ GIS enables the unravelling of this landscape and the attribution of a period or exact date to the component features. From this it is possible to test the hypotheses that certain periods of enclosure created particular landscapes, and that the modern landscape can be dated by the features within it.

⁵²² Roads are discussed in 'Land Use' below.

⁵²³ Given that there are 747 maps of various types for the county, excluding the Ordnance Survey, there is a surprising lack of usable ones to illustrate this issue. Many are made hundreds of years after enclosure, or omit parts of the township, or are for the very small townships that are likely to have no nucleated settlement, or are dominated by a park, or contain a deserted or shrunken settlement so that buildings in the landscape might be related to that rather than dispersal.

⁵²⁴ In other words, the number of landowners *at* enclosure.

Fields

There are few anciently enclosed townships that have a map made shortly after enclosure. There are 14 that have maps made within roughly 100 years of the event and almost all reflect the primary purpose of enclosure; very large closes for sheep walks and/or parks.⁵²⁵ The exception to this was Nobottle, discussed below. Deene had a map made at enclosure in 1612 and again in 1635, and Deenethorpe, Armston and the Barnwells have maps made within 33 years of enclosure. At East Carlton the map made three years before final enclosure in 1726 shows an almost entirely enclosed township. It can be assumed that the boundaries shown on these maps are from the initial divisions made after enclosure.⁵²⁶ Such boundaries at Armston, Deenethorpe and Barnwell tend to follow the existing alignment of furlong boundaries. At East Carlton the huge closes in the north do the same, though the pattern is less marked in the south. At Deene the landscape is dominated by the park, and parks, like later enclosures, tend to have boundaries drawn with little or no regard for existing features.⁵²⁷ The large closes north of the park, however, do respect the underlying furlongs, but the smaller closes created in 1612 are very regular and ignore existing features. All these places except Armston and Barnwell have a sequence of later maps which allows the ongoing process of landscape evolution to be examined. That for Deenethorpe has been published by Yelling, and so is not repeated here.⁵²⁸

Horton township, like Deene, came to be dominated by its park. Enclosed in c.1561 when a park was created, a map made in 1622 shows this to be a deer park in the south of the township that incorporates woodland.⁵²⁹ The remainder of the township is comprised of very large closes, but with a group of smaller ones in the east, presumably those of the smallholders. There are also formal gardens and ponds around the mansion house in the village with a separate warren and swannery. In 1728 when the next map is made a landscape park surrounds the house along with extensive avenues and the removal of almost the entire

⁵²⁵ Deene (map 23 years after enclosure), Deenethorpe (28), Armston (33), Barnwell St Andrew & Barnwell All Saints (33); Nobottle (35); Little Billing (57); Hemington (59); Preston Capes (81); Brockhall (61), Horton (61), Plumpton (89), East Carlton (91), Castle Ashby (109). NRO Map 1352; BRU Map 6; Boughton House (private collection); BL ADDMSS 78143; NRO Map YZ 3714; Boughton House (private collection); NRO Maps 855, 5704, 1351; Jesus Coll. NH P1/1; NRO Map 755; Compton Muniments.

⁵²⁶ It is possible that additional boundaries had been added between the date of enclosure and the map but unlikely that the expense of complete rearrangement would have been made. For an extract of the Armston map see Chapter 2, Figure 2.7.

⁵²⁷ They may well incorporate existing features within the park and make use of pleasing vistas outside, but the boundaries around the park are placed regardless of earlier features.

⁵²⁸ Yelling, (1977), pp. 132-134.

⁵²⁹ Hall, (1995), p. 298. NRO Map 1351.

village.⁵³⁰ Many of the larger closes survive, but the ‘smallholders’ closes have been amalgamated into fewer and most have plantations and avenues. This is the typical process for townships with substantial landscape parks. At Horton by the 1880s the pattern of larger closes in the north has been largely broken-up by the railway; the deer park is entirely subdivided; and the landscape park features remnant and fragmentary. At other places like Castle Ashby, Burghley and Boughton the parks continue to dominate to this day. For townships without parks it was usual to see subdivision of large closes by the early eighteenth century. The few maps for the late seventeenth century show the closes to be still fairly large, *unless* they were originally made small. A variation to this general rule can be found at East Carlton. The map made in 1723 just prior to enclosure shows very large closes outside of the settlement (Figure 4.16). There is also a small park in the village but nothing like the scale of those discussed above. The only unenclosed portion is that marked ‘Carleton Field’ to the south and west of the park. The next map dated 1817 depicts massive subdivision south and west of the village. But the big closes to the north remain the same or only slightly reduced (Figure 4.17). This may be the result of the township being held by two estates with differing agricultural regimes, or it is still predominantly a single estate with tenant lands in the south and in-hand in the north. The later explanation seems more plausible given the very small settlement and dominance of the hall and park. This pattern remains largely intact in the 1880s with some boundaries slightly straightened. In the modern landscape the large closes are still visible and many others have been created as hedgerows have been removed in the overwhelmingly arable landscape.

⁵³⁰ NRO Map 1350.



Figure 4.16: East Carlton in 1723 three years prior to enclosure. Only 'Carleton Field' to the south and west of the park is unenclosed. Most of the landscape is comprised of very large sheep walks.⁵³¹

⁵³¹ NRO Map 704.



Figure 4.17: East Carlton in 1817. The very large closes to the south of the village have been much subdivided. Those to the north remain largely the same size as in 1723.⁵³²

⁵³²NRO Map 755.

In addition to early closes generally being large, they also *generally* had curving boundary alignments. An examination of the map record reinforces this point, as does an examination of surviving boundaries in landscapes that are known to be of a particular date or period. But the map record also demonstrates that straight alignments were not an invention of the parliamentary period but were being introduced by the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵³³ Many closes created at this period are as regular as any introduced later, with the notable exception of where they use a watercourse as a boundary. Watercourses from this period are likely to be retained in their existing form, whereas those from the later period are far more likely to be straightened (Figure 4.18).



Figure 4.18: The deeply-cut winding stream that was unaltered at the enclosure of Benefield. The picture is taken from a gated road that runs through ridge and furrow. It represents a tiny pocket of ‘unimproved’ landscape in Northamptonshire.⁵³⁴

It has been suggested by Yelling that this type of arrangement in the earlier period was the product of planned allocation of land resulting from a general agreement.⁵³⁵ The evidence would suggest that such an arrangement was even more likely where all or most of the land was under single ownership. In such cases any regularity of field plot would be applied to the

⁵³³ Closes with regular boundaries are not completely absent from even earlier landscapes, as noted for those dated 1612 at Deene above, but they became more widespread from the end of the seventeenth century.

⁵³⁴ Benefield was enclosed by act and award in 1820 when Jesse Watts Russell was awarded 85 per cent of the land. But a map in the possession of the Watts Russell family and dated 1747 shows the whole township to be already enclosed. It is uncertain at what date this occurred. The estate was purchased by the Watts Russell family in 1820 (Major J Watts Russell pers. comm.), so the enclosure act may simply be a ratification and legalisation of an event that had already taken place.

⁵³⁵ Yelling, (1977), p. 131.

whole township rather than just the pieces owned by a particular person. It can be seen at Hemington, Barnwell St Andrew, Barnwell All Saints, and Little Billing all of which were in single ownership. It reaches its apogee at Nobottle. Nobottle was acquired by the Spencer family by the end of the sixteenth century.⁵³⁶ There may have been some enclosure existing at that date but it was fully enclosed by 1680.⁵³⁷ A map made in 1715 shows what is probably one of the most regular landscapes in the county (Figures 4.19, 4. 20).⁵³⁸ The whole township has been laid out for the convenience of the tenants. Each farm in the hamlet has a 'home close' next to the buildings, and a contiguous group of closes radiating out like the spines of a fan. Each 'spine' has been arranged in such a way to allow the farms access to their land without crossing another property. To the north of the road at least one of the closes is allocated to each farm and is accessible from the main road. The only properties in the hamlet that are not tenant farms are three cottages. There has been no building dispersal following enclosure, probably because the township is small and the needs of each tenant accommodated within the settlement. The notable feature that the map does not illustrate is topography. The settlement sits on sloping ground and in a dip with the land rising on most sides, but falling away towards Glassthorpe (where the scale-bar and dividers are on the map). This is illustrated in Figure 4.21 where the closes are shown against contour data. The layout of the spines pays no regard to the underlying landscape. It is not possible to see any complete spine from the ground, so the local landform did not influence the regularity of the enclosed landscape.

⁵³⁶ For a discussion of the Spencer family's sheep farming activities see Chapter 2. Finch, (1956), pp. 39, 176.

⁵³⁷ Hall, (1995), p .216.

⁵³⁸ BL ADDMSS 78143.

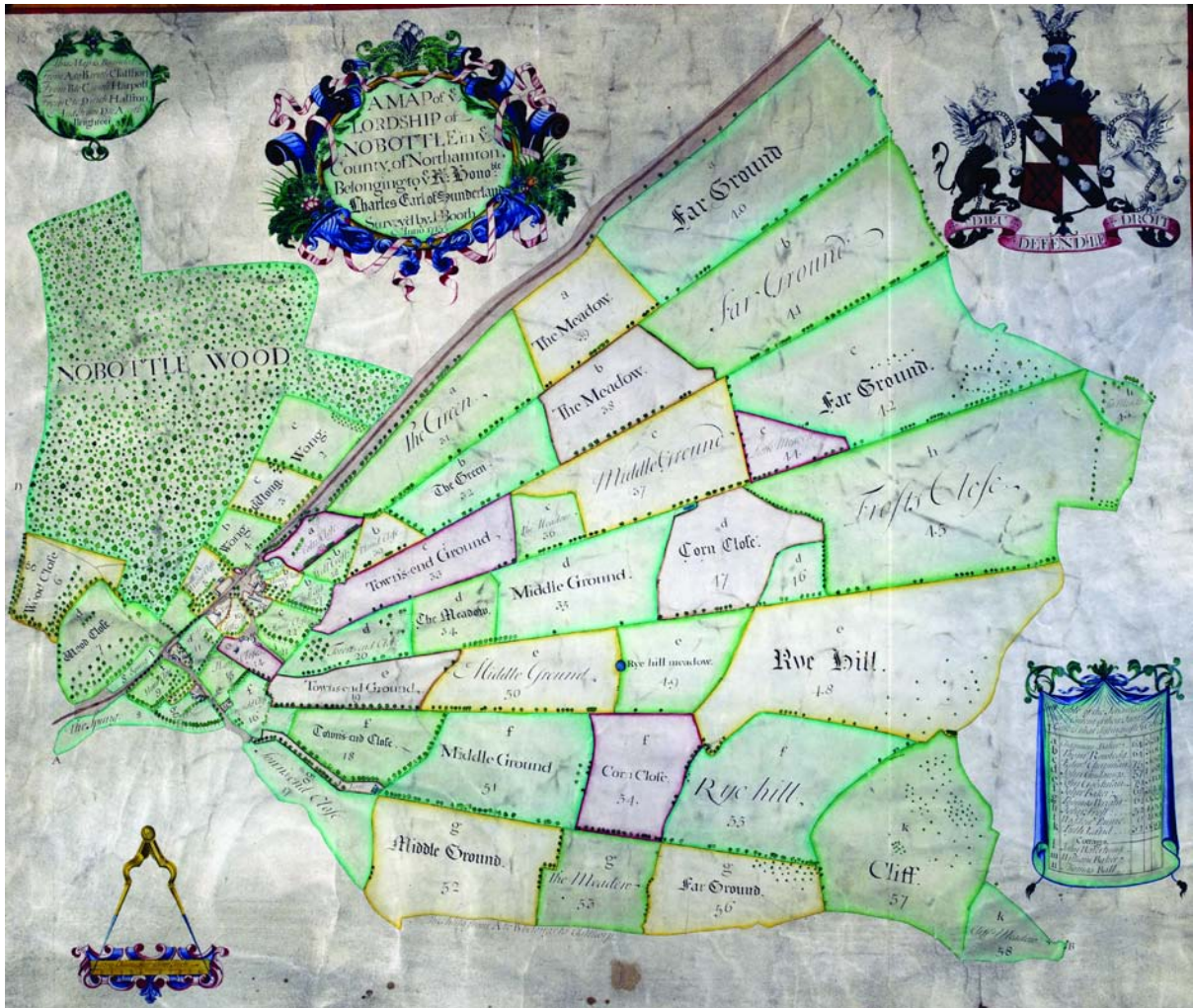


Figure 4.19: Nobottle in 1715. Enclosed by 1680 Nobottle has one of the most regular landscapes in the county.

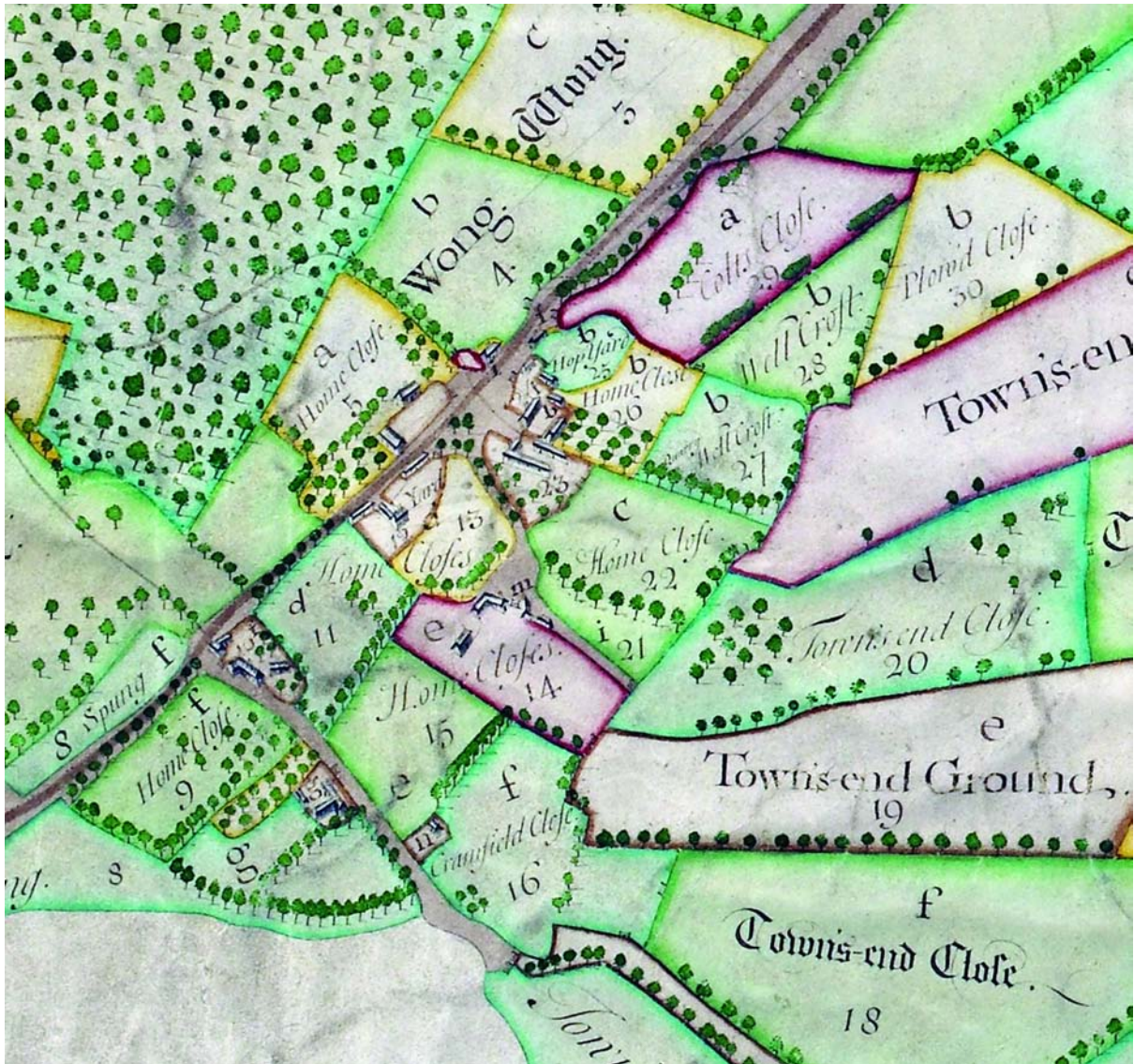


Figure 4.20: An extract from the 1715 map of Nobottle showing detail of the settlement. Each separate farm is identified by a character that corresponds to the closes in one of the 'spines'. Each has been arranged to allow access from the farm to the closes without having to cross another's property.

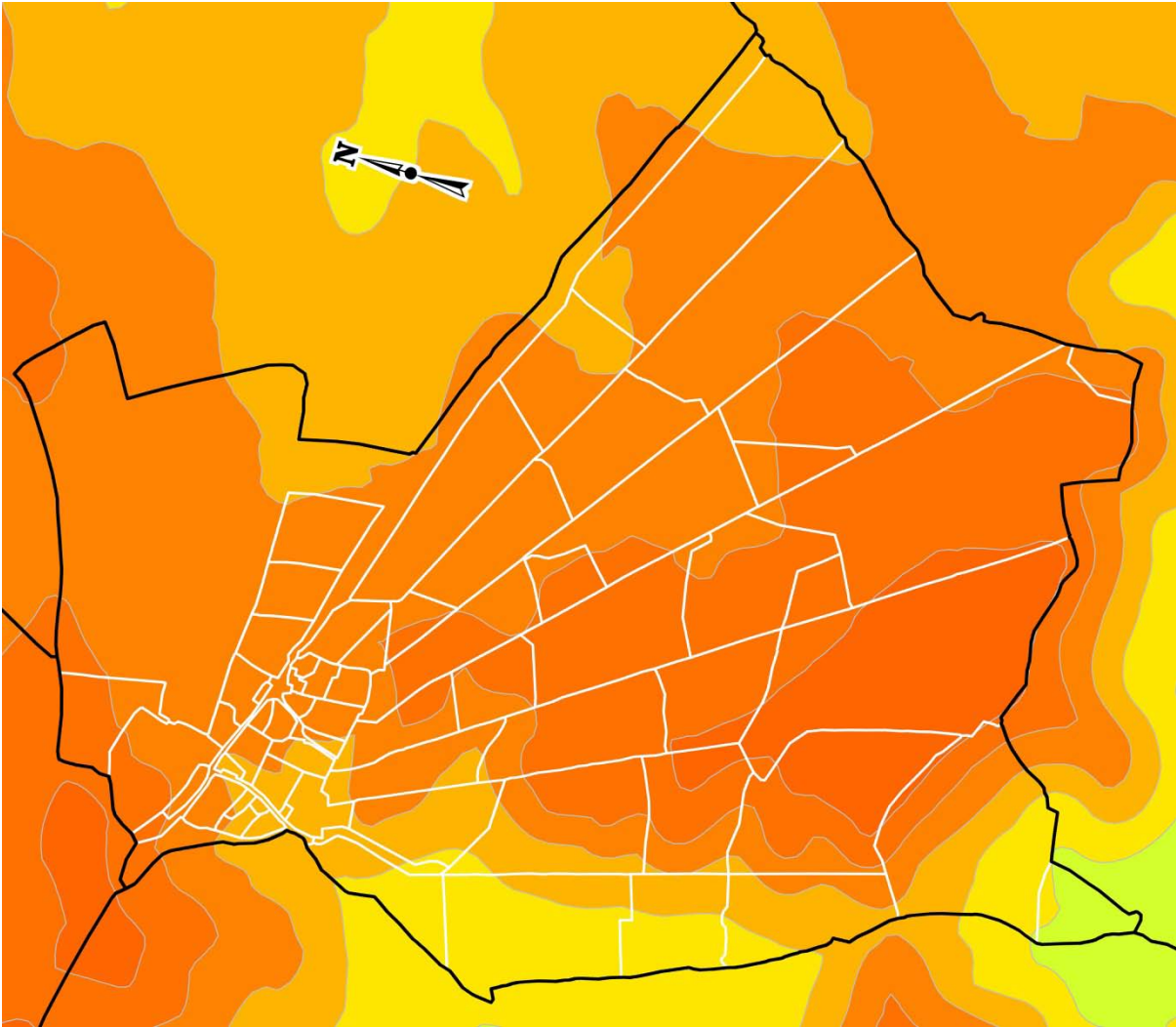


Figure 4.21: Nobottle closes from the 1715 map (Figures 19 and 20), superimposed on a background of contours at 10m intervals. The image has been rotated to match Figure 4.19. (Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown Copyright licence no. 100026873).

Townships enclosed during the parliamentary period are better served by maps in general, but not necessarily after enclosure. Most parliamentary period enclosure extinguished the tithes so no tithe map was made, and very few had post-enclosure estate maps. Places that do have maps made within 30 years of enclosure show, not surprisingly, a subdivided landscape.⁵³⁹ But at Collyweston, Hinton in the Hedges, and Higham Ferrers maps were made within two years of enclosure.⁵⁴⁰ All three show the landscape to be already fully divided. But all three were dominated by a major landowner, or as at Higham, by two major estates. It was essential for these estates to subdivide the land rapidly for their tenants. The Hinton map is

⁵³⁹ There are only seven such places and all are in the ownership of a single or two large estates: Barnack and Collyweston (Earl of Exeter); Denton (Earl Compton); Higham Ferrers (Earl Fitzwilliam and the Duchy of Lancaster); Hinton in the Hedges (Cartwright of Aynho), Knuston (Sparke family); Paulerspury (Duke of Grafton and Earl Pomfret).

⁵⁴⁰ At Collyweston it was a tithe map (NRO T169), and at Hinton and Higham estate maps: NRO C (A) 3734/1; NRO Map 1656.

similar to that of Nobottle as it shows the tenants lands to be grouped, though not in quite such an impressive arrangement, and the farms to be still within the village (Figure 4.22). This landscape at Hinton is far more typical of Northamptonshire townships after enclosure than is Nobottle.

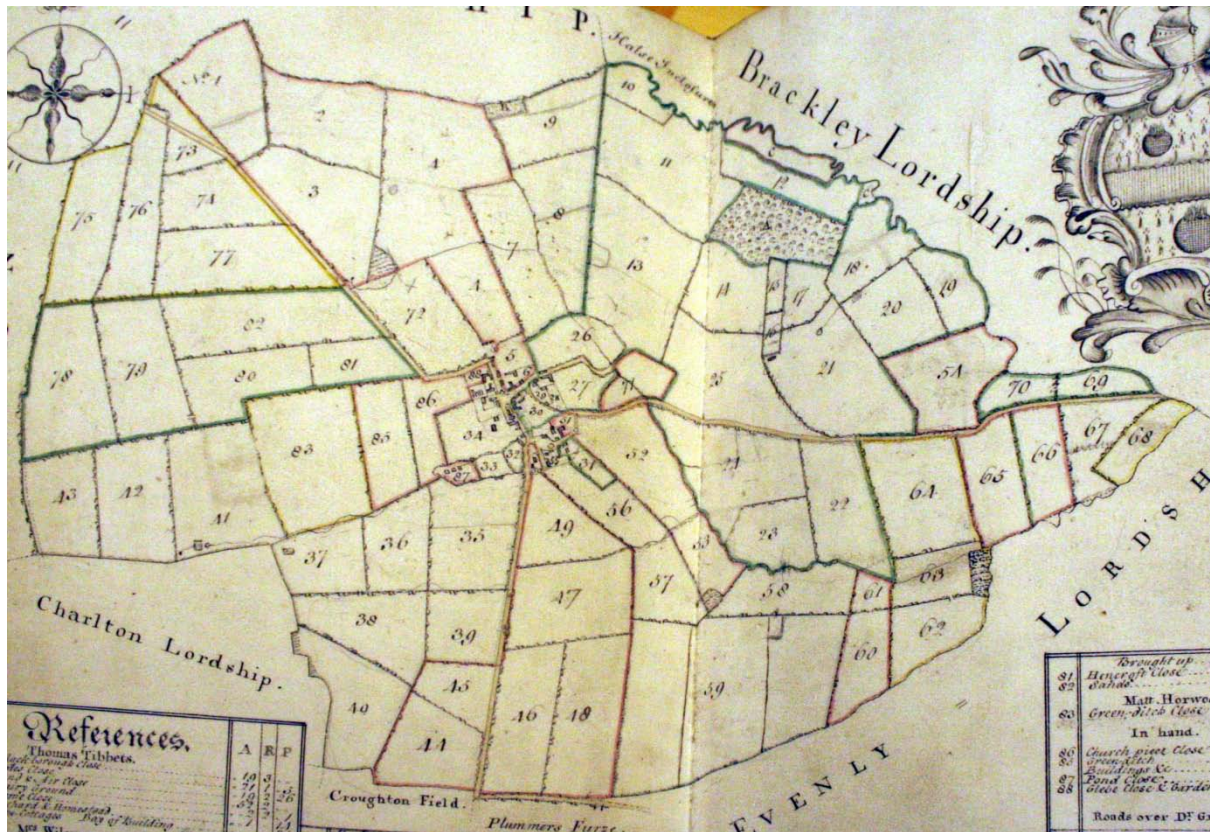


Figure 4.22: Hinton in the Hedges in 1768 two years after enclosure. The tenant lands are identified by colour and are arranged as separate groups of closes. Each tenant has access to his land without having to cross another's property.

Owners of smaller allotments would also need to divide their land into workable plots, but for them there was not the same level of urgency, nor perhaps the same level of funds available. Without sufficient map evidence to explore this issue it is not possible to state exactly when most of the secondary landscape was created. But it is possible to say that by the 1880s the enclosed landscape looked much the same across the county (Figures 4.23, 4.24).⁵⁴¹ In Figure 4.23 a group of townships is shown with their enclosure date. Stoke Doyle enclosed in 1689 retains fairly large irregularly shaped closes. Lilford enclosed in 1632 also has large closes but here they are very regular, and the township is almost entirely comprised of a park. Oundle enclosed in 1807 has, outside of the encroaching Biggin Park in the north-east, multiple small closes reflecting the 97 allottees. Ashton lies adjacent and was enclosed by the

⁵⁴¹ See also Figures 4.2, 4.11, 5.27.

same act, but had a single allottee. The field patterns are remarkably different because of this, but if pattern alone were examined it might suggest very different dates of enclosure for the two places. In Figure 4.24 a different group of townships is shown, this time with the number of allottees at enclosure. There is little difference between these or between these and the townships in Figure 4.23. Furthermore, if size and shape of closes are taken as indicators of date of enclosure then Cranford St Andrew, enclosed in 1775, might be thought to be of a similar date to Stoke Doyle. At Cranford it is the small number of allottees that is reflected in the landscape, presumably because they created fewer and bigger farms. Indeed it might be argued that it is the size of settlement that is more of an indicator of the likely field pattern; the smaller the settlement the fewer and larger the closes, and vice versa.

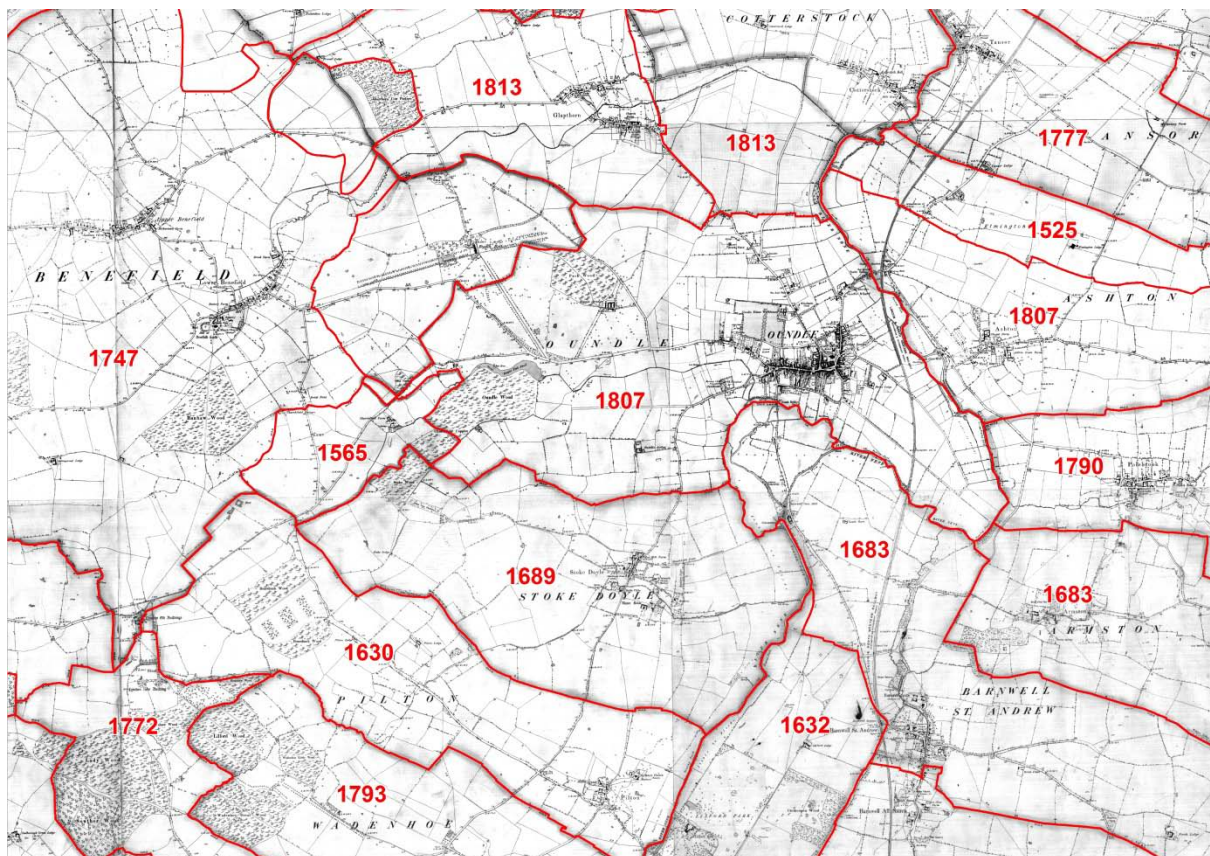


Figure 4.23: A group of townships in the 1880s along the Nene Valley and the southern edge of Rockingham Forest. The numbers indicate the date of enclosure. In spite of the wide range of dates the landscape looks remarkably similar in all the townships.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴² No date is shown in the two small areas to the north west of Oundle because these are not townships but assarts from the forest. Called Biggin they were made in the twelfth century and Biggin Hall now lies on the site of the former monastic grange. Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009), p. 255.

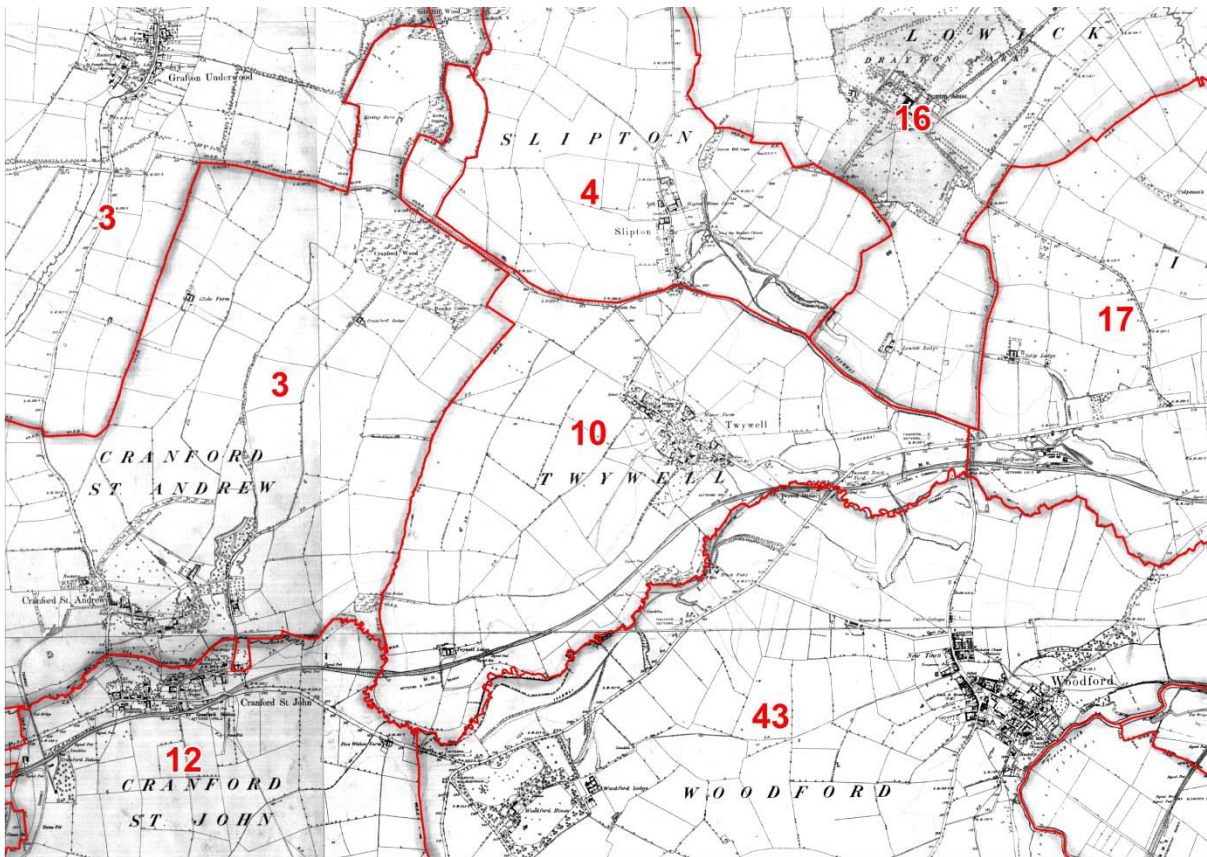


Figure 4.24: A group of townships in the 1880s along the Nene Valley and the southern edge of Rockingham Forest. All were enclosed in the parliamentary period and the numbers indicate the number of allottees. The landscape at this date looks remarkably similar regardless of the original number of landowners.

But similarities in the landscape were also partly due to the practicalities of farming and the need that all farmers shared for access, water, drainage, convenient sized closes, barns and so on. It was also due to a continuous process of tweaking. This is demonstrated by a series of maps made for the Duke of Bedford's estate at Thornhaugh. When final enclosure took place in 1751 the only part of the township that remained open was the heath intercommoned with Wittering. A series of maps dated 1635 (Figure 1.25), 1729, 1751, 1757, 1818 and 1838 shows various parts of the township with varying amounts of detail.⁵⁴³ These maps show a continuous progression of sub-division or amalgamation of closes, and building dispersal. Of particular note is the realignment of boundaries so that the closes remain much the same in overall pattern but the outlines become rigidly straight. This occurs across the whole township (illustrated for the eastern side of the township in Figure 4.25), and begins between

⁵⁴³ BRO R1/304, uncatalogued map of Sacrewell Farm, R1/305, R1/162, R1/164; NRO T198. Only the 1818 and tithe map show the whole township in full detail. The 1635 map is very fine but its primary function was to record the perambulation of Rockingham Forest which runs along the southern edge of the township. The detail contained for this area is exceptionally good on both sides of the perambulation, but less defined for the remainder of the township.

1818 and 1838. Other features that contribute to the similarity are the numerous plantations and trees within hedgerows, and the dispersal of buildings into the landscape.



Figure 4.25: Amalgamation of closes and realignment of hedges at Thornhaugh. Blue lines from the map of 1818 and red lines from the tithe map of 1840 are shown against the OS mapping from the 1880s. Many of the earlier curving boundaries have been straightened, while others that were already straight have been realigned.

Building Dispersal

Prior to enclosure there would have been few buildings outside the settlement core. The exceptions were mills, warren houses, and lodges associated with hunting. After enclosure it was possible for landowners to place houses and barns within the wider landscape.⁵⁴⁴

However, the evidence suggests this did not begin to happen on any scale until the second half of the eighteenth century, regardless of the date of enclosure. Maps made in the seventeenth century of townships already enclosed show very little building dispersal, and then only barns not houses. Other building dispersal may have existed but simply not been mapped, nonetheless the lack of evidence suggests it must have been extremely rare. Maps

⁵⁴⁴ Other types of building such as the aforesaid, and those associated with the communications networks of railways, canals and roads are not part of the assessment.

from the eighteenth century show more dispersal, and farms as well as isolated barns could now be seen in the wider landscape. At Abington a map made in 1671 shows approximately three-quarters of the township to be already enclosed.⁵⁴⁵ At this date there were only two barns within closes outside the village. Abington was a single estate township that changed ownership at this date, which was the probable reason for the map's creation.⁵⁴⁶ In 1742 another map was made which shows enclosure to be complete, much sub-division of the closes, and four farms that had been built in the northern half of the township.⁵⁴⁷ A survey made to accompany the map identifies these buildings as 'house, barn and yard'.⁵⁴⁸ One of these is in the location of the barn from the earlier map, but the barn in the south of the township has been removed. The new owner has also removed much of the village to expand his park, so the placing of farms in the wider landscape was clearly part of a complete re-planning. Preston Capes was enclosed in 1661 and also had a map made in 1742.⁵⁴⁹ Here there were only two farms outside the settlement. It was also a single estate but there was no park and the village remained intact, and was considerably larger than Abington had been even before the re-planning. Maps of other places indicate buildings but do not identify their function. However, where they are a single structure they are likely to be barns. Farms required a complex of structures including dwelling house, barns, stock-sheds, stables, storage and so on. Stowe IX Churches was enclosed c.1710 and a map made in 1773 shows seven single structures.⁵⁵⁰ When the tithe map was made in 1839 four of the seven buildings survived and were identified as barns.⁵⁵¹ One has been completely removed; another replaced by a larger building conveniently named 'Waterloo Barn' thus identifying the date of construction; and a third replaced by a farm complex, which is the only farm outside of the two settlements.

Tithe maps are invaluable for identifying the function of a building as each is recorded in the accompanying schedule. An examination of the tithes maps of anciently enclosed places shows that all have some dispersed buildings within the township. Most had a mix of farms and separately located barns. But the majority of places did not have more than three farms

⁵⁴⁵ NRO Map 4524.

⁵⁴⁶ J. Bridges, *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, (Oxford, 1791b), p. 401.

⁵⁴⁷ NRO Map 471.

⁵⁴⁸ NRO YZ 3714.

⁵⁴⁹ NRO Map 855.

⁵⁵⁰ Stowe IX Churches is the name of the parish which contained the two townships, and village and hamlet respectively, of Church Stowe and Upper Stowe. They were enclosed together by 1716 when the estate changed hands. Bridges, (1791b), pp. 87, 90. NRO Map 2837.

⁵⁵¹ NRO T10.

and only one or two separate barns.⁵⁵² Such townships were usually small with a correspondingly small settlement. Greatworth and Culworth were exceptions with only two farms each but 11 and 30 barns respectively.⁵⁵³ Both were almost entirely pastoral so the barns probably represent stock sheds. Larger townships tended to have more farms, though usually only four, and a greater number of barns. The greatest number of farms was found at Gayton and Winwick which both had eight, but Gayton had only a single barn, while Winwick had 11.⁵⁵⁴ Though similar in size and enclosed around the same time, the two townships differed in significant ways. In 1720 Gayton had a fairly large nucleated settlement with 42 houses and was owned by four estates.⁵⁵⁵ Only one dispersed farm is mentioned at this date. The number of houses in the settlement remained unchanged on the tithe map, though it is impossible to know how recent the many farm buildings are. The agricultural regime in 1841 was mixed which may explain the presence of only a single isolated barn; arable fields did not require barns, and stock could be housed close to their feeding grounds within the dispersed farmsteads. Winwick village in 1720 had only 14 houses but ‘four in the grounds’ and the township was a single estate.⁵⁵⁶ Winwick also has a map dated 1778, which shows that the additional four farms seen on the tithe (though not the barns) were in existence by this date. By the time of the tithe in 1839 the farms had additional appurtenant buildings and the free-standing barns have been built. There were now only 11 houses in the village.⁵⁵⁷ The township now had five owners, but three shared the same name and owned three-quarters of the land. The agriculture is mixed but with the emphasis on pasture. It is probable that it was the break-up of the single estate at Winwick that resulted in farms being located outside of the settlement in the newly created smaller estates.

The few maps made shortly after enclosure for the parliamentary enclosed townships show very few dispersed buildings. However, the sample of maps is so small as to have little meaning. But whatever the extent of dispersal, the settlements remained highly nucleated into the nineteenth century. It is a point commented on by Donaldson in his *General View* who observes: ‘In this county ... the farmers still live crowded together in villages as was the

⁵⁵² These are not the barns within a farm complex but completely separate structures in another field or different part of the township. Individual barns are counted as a single unit, and groups of barns are counted the same in order not to conflate the figures.

⁵⁵³ NRO T190, T230.

⁵⁵⁴ NRO T15, T225.

⁵⁵⁵ Bridges, (1791b), pp. 26, 264.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.602.

⁵⁵⁷ There were 11 separate buildings identified as houses but some may not have been individual dwellings, but multiple occupancies. One entry in the schedule that refers to two houses lists it as ‘six tenements & gardens’.

practice in remote ages and when the system of open or common field husbandry universally prevailed'.⁵⁵⁸ He does not understand this 'inconvenient' arrangement and further remarks that the buildings are as badly constructed as they are improperly placed. The reason for at least part of the poor state of the buildings is, he believes, the tenurial system. Leases were commonly held on a yearly basis and maintenance costs fell to the tenant.⁵⁵⁹ It is hardly likely that a tenant with such a tenuous future would invest significant amounts of his own money in a rented property. Of interest are Pitt's comments in the revised *General View* in which attributes the farms being 'pent up' in villages to: 'very probably' a 'weak police and unsettled government'. In the current state of civilisation and security he supposes that as buildings decay they will be transferred to their 'proper' place'.⁵⁶⁰

Cost was perhaps the single greatest obstruction to building dispersal. If on-going maintenance of existing properties was a problem then investment in wholly new farm complexes would have been beyond the reach of all but the wealthiest landowners. Individual barns would have been far more affordable, which perhaps explains their ubiquitous presence regardless of farm dispersal. There is some evidence of significant estate outlay in dispersed farms, some of which was a direct consequence of enclosure. At Ecton a program of planned farm building was undertaken by Ambrose Isted as a direct result of enclosure. Isted was lord of the manor and owned 81 per cent of the township. At enclosure in 1759 a block of land in the south-west was awarded to the rector, a few small plots close to the village to smallholders and one to the overseers, with the remainder awarded to Isted. At this date there were two distinct settlement areas with the main village and church to the west and Little Ecton to the east (Figure 4.26).⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸ Donaldson, (1794), pp. 38-42.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., Appendix, p.3.

⁵⁶⁰ Pitt, (1809), pp. 25-26.

⁵⁶¹ NRO Map 2121.



Figure 4.26: The enclosure map of Ecton 1759. The discrete settlement of Little Ecton to the east was removed at enclosure. Detail of the hall and park has been omitted. But note the tiny trees drawn along both sides of the Northampton to Wellingborough road; these are specifically mentioned in the award as elms.

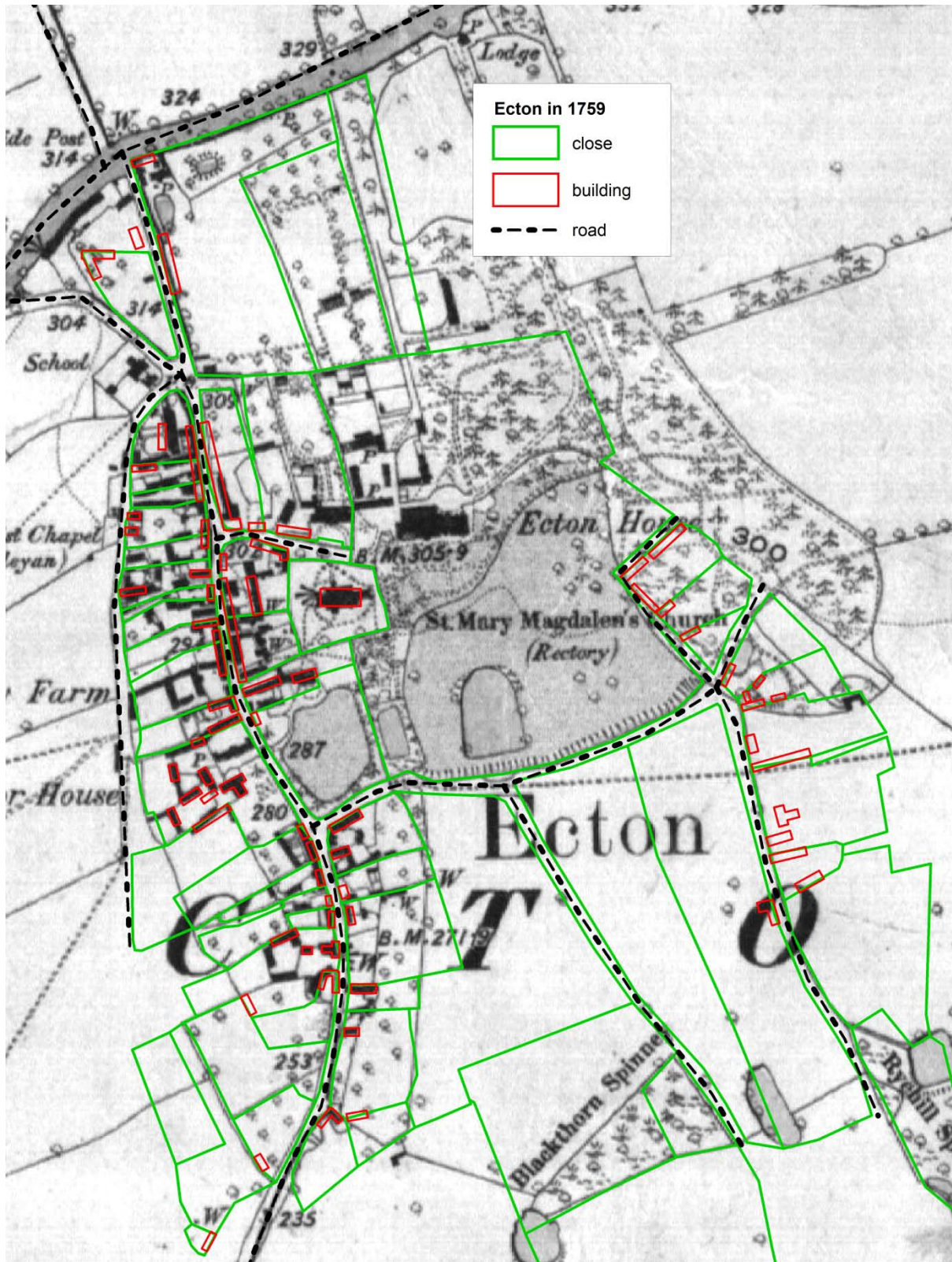


Figure 4.27: Data taken from the 1759 enclosure overlaid against the OS 1:10,560 scale mapping from the 1880s. Little Ecton on the east has been removed and part of it absorbed into the park plantations.

Small parcels of land that Isted did not own were either purchased or exchanged and added to his park.⁵⁶² His own tenants in Little Ecton were moved and after enclosure he continued to expand and improve his park and gardens. Data taken from the enclosure map have been overlaid on the OS 1:10,560 scale mapping from the 1880s to illustrate the re-planning (Figure 4.27). But he also replanned the landscape outside of the village creating five planned farms: Ecton, north, south, east, and west lodges. The footprint of all the farms is the same in the 1880s. It seems probable that Isted moved some of his tenants to these new farms at, presumably, substantially increased rents. This is the earliest example of such systematic planning of new dispersed farms. Probably the most ambitious project of rebuilding and new building was undertaken on the Grafton estate in the south of the county.⁵⁶³ Here it was not as a consequence of enclosure, but at the urging of the Duke's newly appointed steward John Gardner. Gardner was appointed in 1837 and in the 1840s set about an ambitious plan of building and rebuilding across the estate including buildings within villages and in the wider landscape. Ten model farms were built in seven townships with many of the buildings designed by Gardner using styles adapted from pattern books (Figure 4.28).⁵⁶⁴ It is clear from the plans that these farmsteads were intended for pastoral farming, and it was Gardner's specific intention to attract a 'better' tenant, paying a 'better' rent by providing 'better' farms.⁵⁶⁵ The rebuilding program did not extend to cottages probably because the returns would not justify the investment, but it may also have been the result of a liberal attitude towards the poorer classes in the community. When Pitt wrote of this estate in 1809 he remarked that cottage rents were kept deliberately low with the intention that cottagers should be able to afford their own repairs, and the estate 'never makes cottages a source of revenue'.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶² NRO Inclosure Vol. A, p.6

⁵⁶³ The Honour of Grafton was a large estate that held land or rights in 24 townships and in Whittlewood Forest. Ownership of between 30 and 90 per cent was held in 13 townships.

⁵⁶⁴ S. Wade Martins, *The English Model Farm: Building the Architectural Ideal, 1700-1914*, (Macclesfield, 2002), pp. 19, 118-9.

⁵⁶⁵ P. Riden & C. Insley, (eds.), *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton*, 2002) 5.

⁵⁶⁶ Pitt, (1809), p. 29.



Figure 4.28: The model farm at Charlock in Abthorpe, one of seven created on the Grafton estate in the 1840s.

In other places there were similar, if less ambitious, schemes of rebuilding in the nineteenth century that included estate workers cottages in villages. This is demonstrated by the numbers that survive, many of which display a ‘house’ architecture as well as locally sourced materials. Much of this building can be dated by the materials especially the Welsh slate that became the ubiquitous roofing material after the introduction of the railways. In townships with no wealthy landowner the farmers were obliged to provide their own buildings. This may explain why in places like Kislingbury, Long Buckby and Clipston, all of which had multiple smaller landowners, many of the farms remained in the village, and even in the 1880s there are few in the wider landscape. At Clipston there are working farms within the village to this day. And such an outcome might also be attributed, at least in part to the agricultural regime. At Clipston in 1881 the census returns record nine farmers, six graziers and five shepherds. Graziers rented land and so did not need to live outside of the village; similarly shepherds did not need a permanent dwelling with their flocks.

Farms and barns were not the only buildings to leave the village, though they were by far the most common until the latter part of the nineteenth century. By the 1880s building dispersal was universal but by this time there are other influences at work. Many settlements had become, or were becoming industrialised, especially by the boot and shoe industry. It is possible that it was easier and more practicable for the farms to move out of such places. Building dispersal had a profound effect upon the landscape, but it was not an automatic

consequence of enclosure. Rather it was as a result of a combination of influences from landownership to the agricultural regime. Moreover, it was associated with a period from the late eighteenth century onwards, gathering pace throughout the nineteenth century, regardless of date of enclosure.

LAND USE

Land use had little effect upon the enclosed landscape from the parliamentary period. The structure of the landscape had been created by the process of enclosure and by the landowners; land use functioned within that structure, but did not create or influence it.⁵⁶⁷ Pastoral land tended to have more buildings outside of the settlement (see above), but still within a landscape very much like that in predominantly arable areas. Pasture and arable remained the primary land use types, but in an enclosed landscape there were further resources in hedgerows and trees.⁵⁶⁸ Sources for land use in the enclosed landscape of the mid-nineteenth century include, crop returns, tithe surveys, sale catalogues, and estate surveys.⁵⁶⁹

Trees

Hedges were not only property boundaries and stock-proof barriers - they also provided fuel, albeit on a limited scale. Hedgerow trees provided a greater economic benefit. There are very few sources that provide quantifiable data for trees within the enclosed landscape. Tithe summaries record woods and plantations, but by value rather than species, and they do not record trees in the hedgerows. Similarly most sale catalogues that refer to plantations do not mention species. Others give a value of trees in the hedgerows, but do not provide species or numbers.⁵⁷⁰ However, a sale catalogue made in 1758 of the deceased Duke of Powis' estate in Upper and Nether Heyford, Glassthorpe and Newbold, records both species and number of trees in the hedgerows for most of the sale lots.⁵⁷¹ The catalogue also indicates that some of

⁵⁶⁷ Not until the second half of the twentieth century that is.

⁵⁶⁸ Trees in this context refer to those in hedgerows and in plantations, not those in ancient woods as they were not the product of enclosure.

⁵⁶⁹ Data for both tithe summaries and Crop Returns were collected by parish not township. There were problems associated with the data from both. The main issue with the Returns was that farmers had no legal obligation to provide information, and much that was provided was unquantifiable. The tithe surveys differed in that they were legal documents, accurately drawn, which provided a systematic record of every parcel of land within a parish. The only exception was glebe land, but in some places that too was recorded. However, tithe surveys were not as standardised as they might have been; very few contained a summary of land use, for example, and some that did omitted data.

⁵⁷⁰ NRO A95; SC 234.

⁵⁷¹ NRO ZB 1837. Some descriptions only record the total number of trees.

the trees are timber, in other words, of some substantial growth, or are thriving in the ‘fine young quick fences of about eight years growth’.⁵⁷² Those that are enumerated are all elm and ash. There are a great number of trees in all of the lots; one farm in Heyford of 133 acres had 659 elm and ash trees ‘exclusive of willows’. Willows are mentioned in other lots but only when being excluded from the enumeration, which suggests their value was not as great as the elm and ash. Estate surveys can provide even more detail. A survey of John Darker’s estate with lands in Gayton, Tiffield, Kislingbury, Milton, Litchborough and Upper Heyford was made in 1791.⁵⁷³ Each tree within every hedgerow is recorded.⁵⁷⁴ Almost all were oak, ash and elm with a very few poplar and beech. Some were pollarded and some grown for timber. One 72 acre farm in Litchborough had a total of 392 trees in the hedgerows.⁵⁷⁵ On another farm at Gayton there were 84 ash and elm in the hedges of a two acre close.⁵⁷⁶ On the Knightley estate at Fawsley with lands in Charwelton, Preston Capes and Little Preston double-hedges were almost as common as the usual hedge. Tithe schedules record the land use of double-hedges as ‘wood’, which suggests a great number of trees and that this type of hedge may have been more akin to plantations than hedges.⁵⁷⁷ If these estates were representative of the landscape in general then there were many hundreds of trees in the hedgerows.

Other trees were added to parks either as individual specimens or in plantations. Plantations were also added to the wider landscape outside of the parks, and were often comprised of varieties of fast growing conifers. All were valuable as an economic resource, either as timber or for recreational pursuits of hunting and shooting, but some of those in parks had an even greater aesthetic value. When Daniel Eaton is writing to the Earl of Cardigan to suggest the removal of 60 ‘mere headless trunks’ in the park at Deene, while acknowledging the economic value attached to them he notes ‘if I thought them ornamental I should be unwilling to have the beauty of the park defaced at any rate’.⁵⁷⁸ Trees continued to be planted as

⁵⁷² The eight year old quick fences were in Nether (Lower) Heyford which was enclosed in 1750. The other townships in the catalogue were all anciently enclosed.

⁵⁷³ NRO YZ 2183.

⁵⁷⁴ The trees within closes and in plantations were also recorded, but are excluded from the figures in the examples used.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁷⁷ NRO T229, T45.

⁵⁷⁸ Wake & Webster, (1971), p. 94.

allotments were subdivided and more hedges created. By the 1880s trees cover the landscape in hedges, plantations and dispersed in parks and fields.⁵⁷⁹

Arable and Pasture

The gradual progression from arable to pasture seen in the unenclosed landscape of the eighteenth century did not result in a universal shift to pasture after enclosure. Arable remained an important part of the agricultural regime, and in some cases was it the dominant land use. Crop Returns are quantifiable for 162 enclosed parishes. Only five parishes had more than 50 per cent of the land under crop, a similar ratio to that seen in the unenclosed parishes (Figure 4.29).⁵⁸⁰ For the other 157 places there was very little balance between the cropped and uncropped; the emphasis was strongly biased away from arable. However, the Returns did not differentiate any land that was not under crop and therefore give a simplified picture of land use. The uncropped land was not all pasture, but comprised of various types including pasture, the settlement area with gardens, orchards, and woods. Many enclosed places, both ancient and parliamentary, had significant areas of ancient woodland which had been augmented by plantations and spinneys, this diversity is completely missing from the Returns. Tithe surveys and the resultant schedules and maps were a more accurate portrayal of land use.⁵⁸¹ Data have been collected from the few tithe schedules to include a land use summary and is shown in Table 4.1. It is clear that although woods were insignificant in many places, in others they were substantial. The balance of arable to pasture is also of note, particularly so as the figures *are* representative of pasture and not just uncropped land. In the 20 places recorded eight have more arable, and 12 more pasture. In addition, for some places that did not have a summary, land use was plotted in GIS by individual parcels.⁵⁸² Both assessments show that although there were significantly varied ratios in individual townships, nonetheless, if these data were representative of the county then there was an overall balance of land use that is perhaps surprising given the trend toward pasture in the unenclosed landscape. There is no direct link between the date of enclosure and the predominance of a particular land use in the 1840s. Those places with a majority of arable had enclosure dates

⁵⁷⁹ See Figures 4.2, 4.11, 4.23, 4.24, 5.14, 5.27.

⁵⁸⁰ Compare to Figure 3.3.

⁵⁸¹ However, as most places enclosed in the parliamentary period had the tithes extinguished as part of the process they had no surveys made. There are only 20 places for which usable data from the tithe summaries has been found. In addition, the summaries excluded non-titheable land and none of the examples shown provides data for the whole township. At Castle Ashby the figures account for only 49 per cent of the township.

⁵⁸² Comparison was done on-screen as the data were not in a form that would allow tabulation.

from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Those dominated by pasture had a similar range of enclosure dates but notably also had three from the sixteenth century. There was a trend, therefore, for the earliest enclosures to remain largely, but by no means wholly, pastoral.

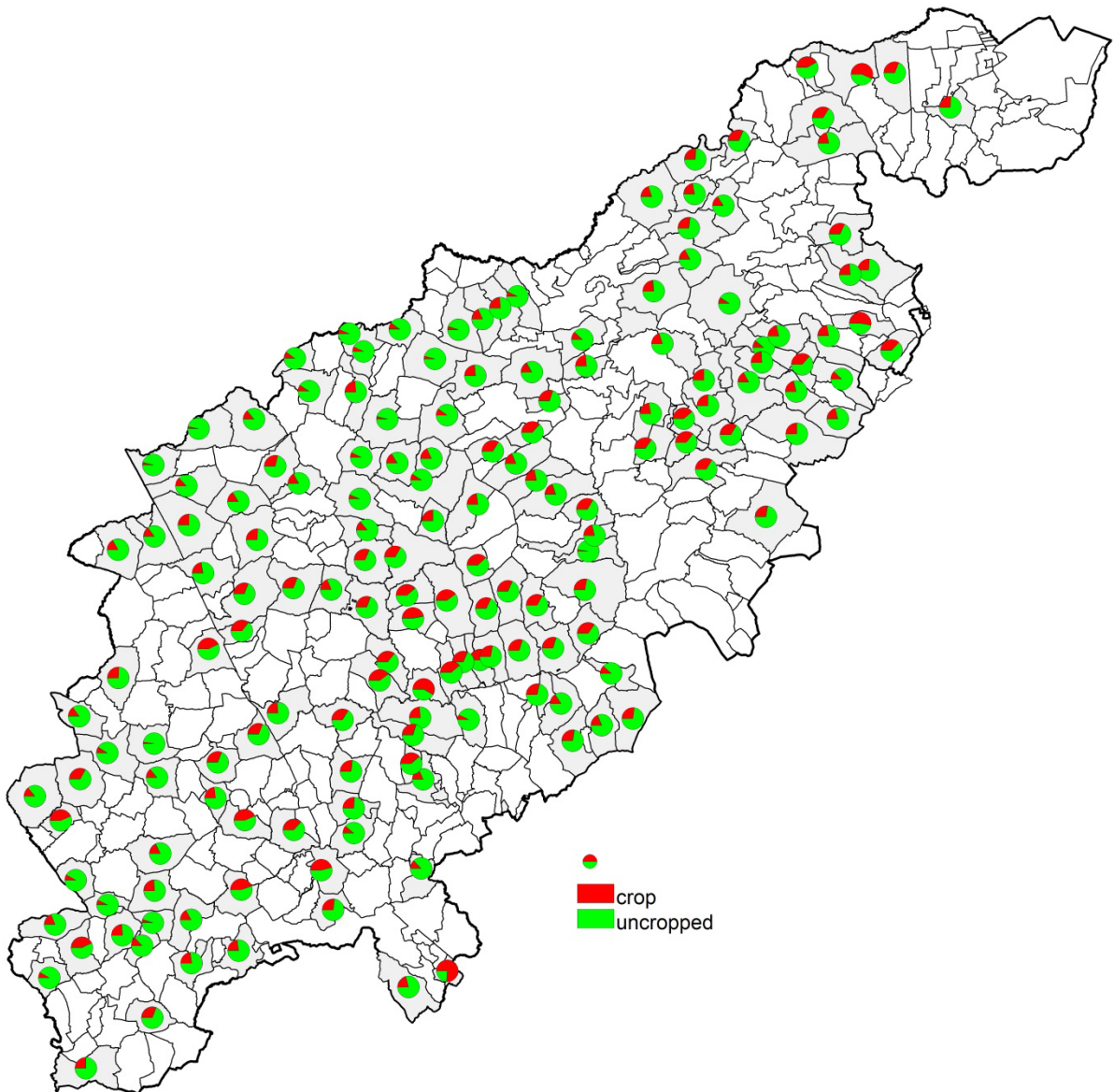


Figure 4.29: Proportions of land under crop and uncropped from the 1801 Crop Returns.

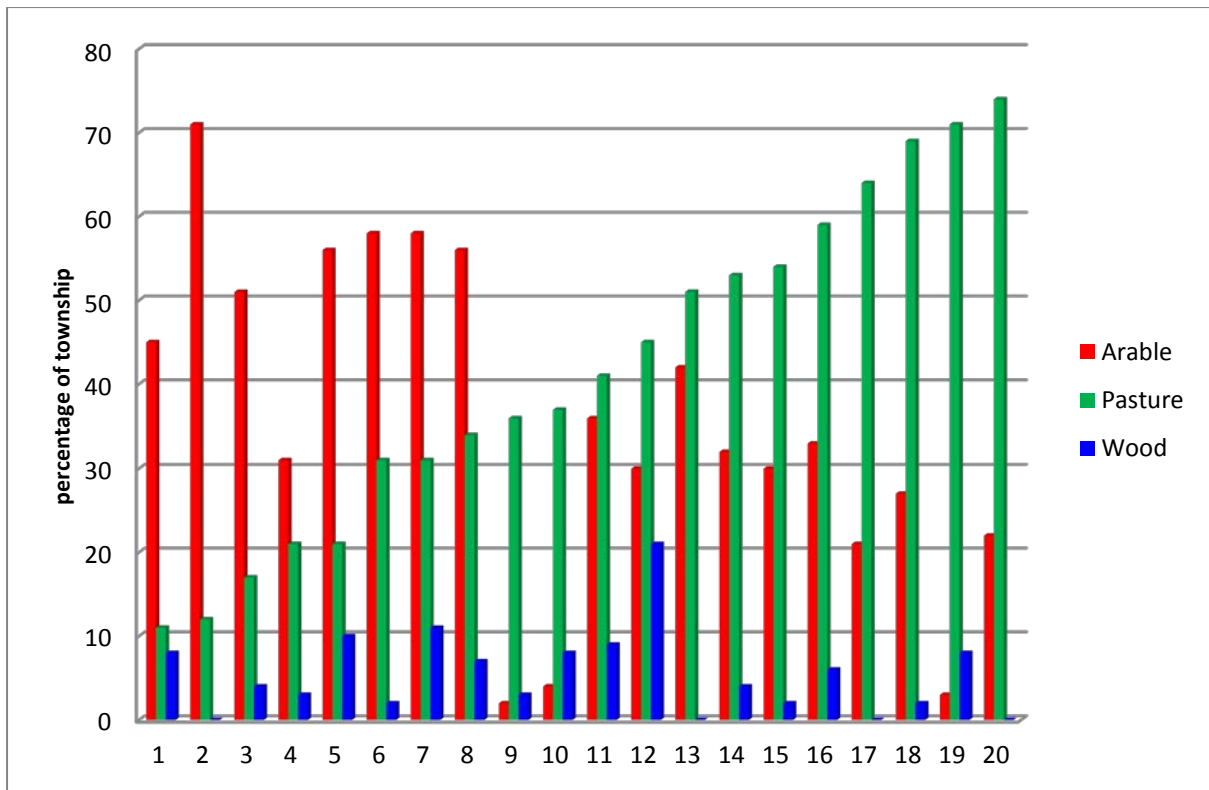


Table 4.1: The balance of land use in 20 townships from the tithe summaries. Most have a definite bias to either pasture or arable.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸³ 1. Thornhaugh. 2. Shutlanger. 3. Upton (Soke). 4. Stoke Bruerne. 5. Sywell. 6. Abington. 7. Marholm. 8. Stowe IX Churches. 9. Mawsley. 10. Castle Ashby. 11. Wicken. 12. Abthorpe. 13. Paulerspury. 14. Paston. 15. Courteenhall. 16. Armston. 17. Glassthorpe. 18. Little Preston. 19. Brockhall. 20. Moreton Pinkney.

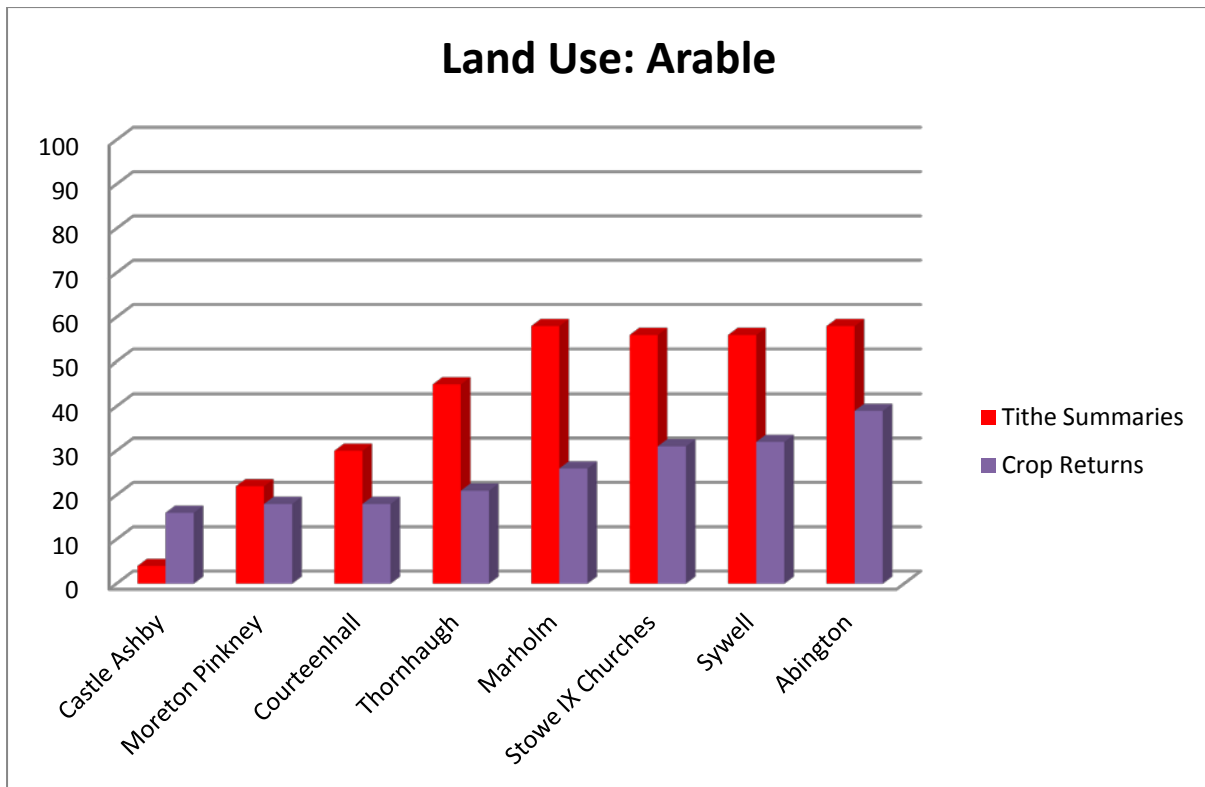


Table 4.2: The varied percentages of arable in seven townships in 1801 and c.1840. In all but one place (Castle Ashby), the tithe summaries record substantially more arable than the earlier Crop Returns.

Comparable data from the tithe summaries and the Returns exist for just seven places, but they are in various locations across the county and land use was not linked to any common environmental factors. Acreage of arable land is the only directly comparable dataset and is shown in Table 4.2. There are significant differences in the proportions of arable shown between the two surveys of c.1801 and c.1840.⁵⁸⁴ To cross-check this the un-tabulated data plotted in GIS (see above) were also compared with the Returns. The majority show very similar amounts of arable from both datasets. If both surveys are giving reasonably accurate proportions of land use, then for the seven places in Table 4.2, and quite probably in others, there had been a major shift from pasture back to arable towards the middle of the nineteenth century. This is partly the result of an agricultural cycle of growth and depression beginning at the end of the eighteenth century. It was instigated by a succession of poor harvests and the Napoleonic Wars creating increased demand and inflated prices. The years following the end of the Wars were a period of economic depression, but prices had begun to recover towards the end of the 1830s.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁴ Castle Ashby, dominated by parkland, was the only place to show a decrease in arable between the two surveys.

⁵⁸⁵ Wade Martins, (2002), p. 115.

It is possible to use the Crop Returns to examine the types of crop being grown - an opportunity that the tithe schedules do not allow (Figure 4.30). These varieties can also be compared to what was being grown in the unenclosed places.⁵⁸⁶ But the number of different types makes comparison difficult. Of more use is a comparison of the main groups of grain, pulse, and root crop (Figure 4.31).⁵⁸⁷ From this it can be seen that the balance of crops in enclosed and unenclosed places was very different. Grain crops dominate in all the enclosed townships. Root crops were more prolific than pulses and what's more they are concentrated in the central region of the county. Pulses are found in significant proportions only in the south-west and lower Nene Valley. This pattern may be partially linked to environmental factors, especially soil types as the areas in which pulses dominate all have heavy clays.⁵⁸⁸ But it might also suggest different agricultural regimes with the areas having the highest ratio of root crops perhaps indicative of a mixed pastoral and agrarian system. It is difficult to assess this in detail from the Returns as the figures are the total acreage for each parish not individual farms. In other words, some could be growing all one crop, or just a few, and others a variety.

⁵⁸⁶ Figure 3.4.

⁵⁸⁷ Compare to Figure 3.5.

⁵⁸⁸ See geology map Figure 1.1.

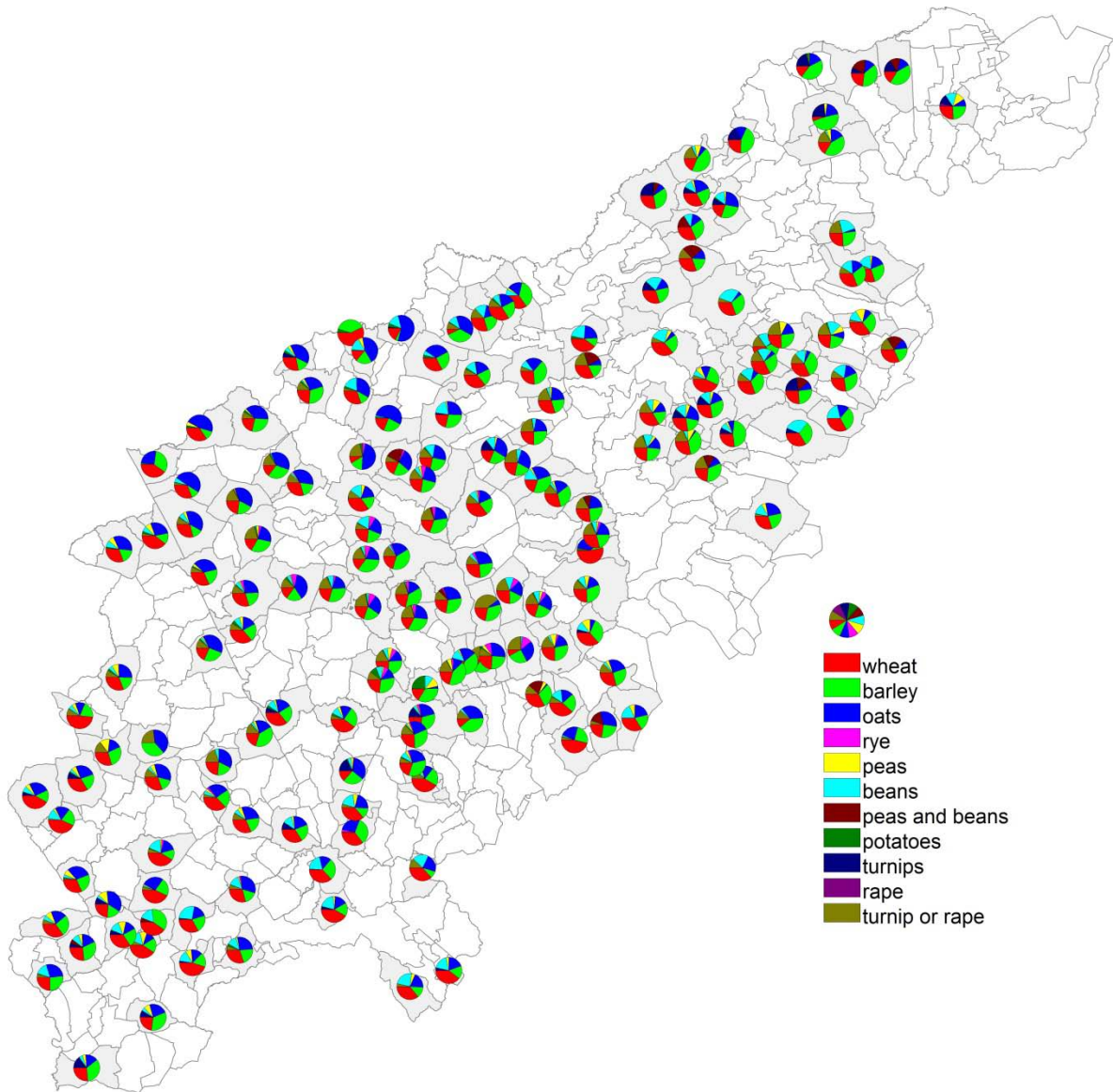


Figure 4.30: The diversity of crops from the 1801 Crop Returns.

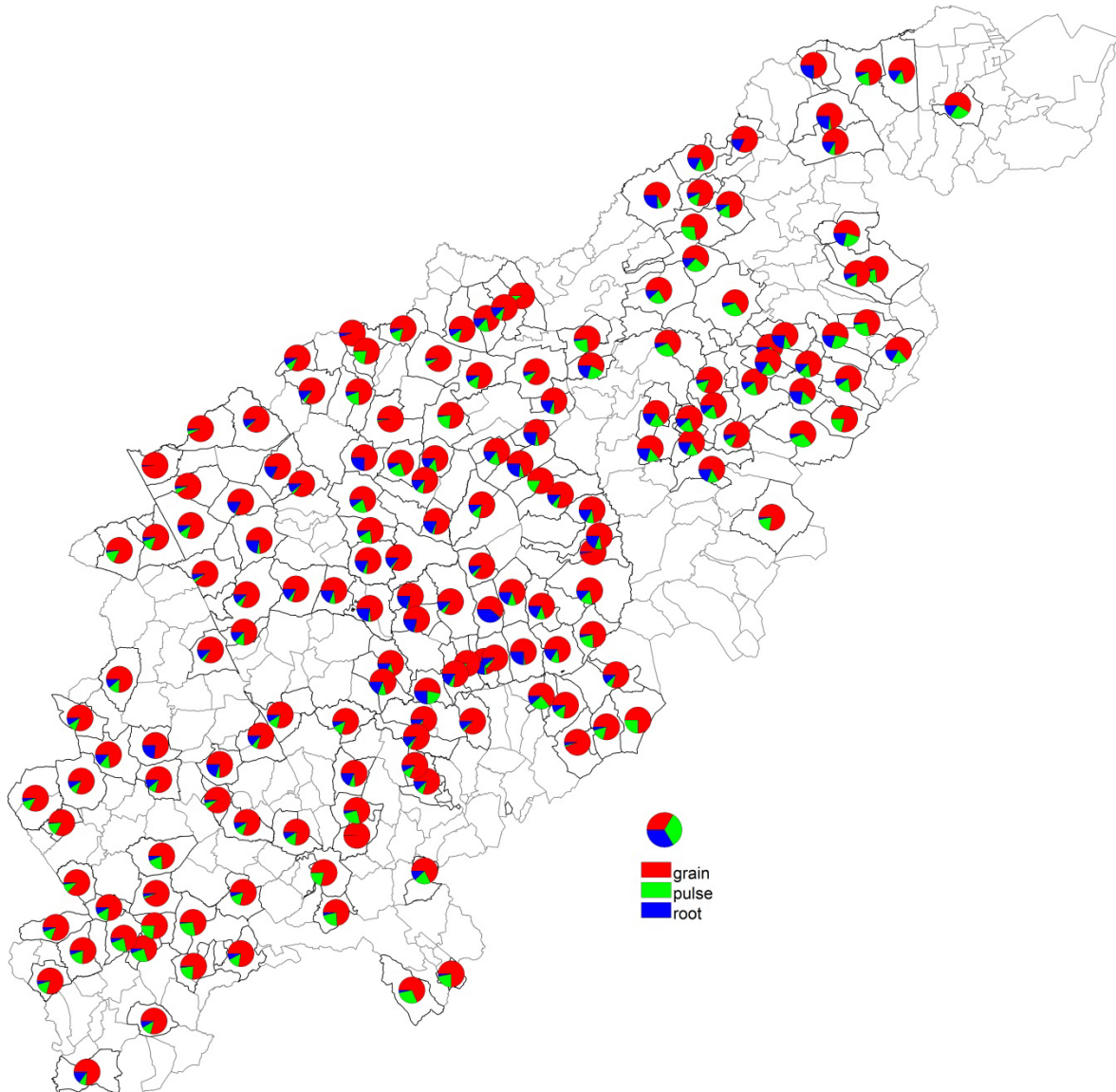


Figure 4.31: The principal crop groups in enclosed parishes in 1801. The various grains dominate in all places.

In the enclosed landscape farmers were able to target the best areas for particular crops and manage the land more effectively, so increasing yields and income. That being so, the acreage under crop could have remained the same as in the pre-enclosure landscape and still provide better results. Yet the extent of arable expanded. This did not necessarily mean there was a focus upon agrarian agriculture, but is more likely to indicate an intensified mixed regime. An expansion of root crops, in particular, might indicate a growth in livestock production as their calorific value, in turnips especially, is far greater than that of grass.⁵⁸⁹ Therefore an intensification of the whole system could have increased the production of

⁵⁸⁹ Overton, (1996), p. 99.

livestock by, paradoxically, reducing the extent of pasture. A mixed agricultural system was the norm in the county throughout the nineteenth century and High Farming, as the system of intensification was known, 'generally' practised.⁵⁹⁰ It is probably as a result of such a commonly adopted system that the enclosed fields in the 1880s have such similarities: either crops or livestock could be equally accommodated in the same enclosed fields.

One particular effect upon the landscape that can be attributed, at least in part, to land use can be seen in small plots alongside roads. Such plots can further be attributed to a specific root crop, the potato. Potatoes were grown in such locations as a means of providing additional poor relief. Increasing poor rates towards the end of the eighteenth century were of national concern and prompted various responses.⁵⁹¹ One was to provide land for the poor to grow their own food. The various schemes proposed, the motives of the proposers, and arguments for and against are given in Burchardt's *Allotment Movement in England*.⁵⁹² The most popular and widely adopted scheme was the provision of potato gardens. The Board of Agriculture in particular had encouraged increased production of potatoes.⁵⁹³ Plots for potatoes could be provided in the margins of fields, on the waste, or on the wide verges alongside roads.⁵⁹⁴ Such plots were intended to be temporary, and if any were made in the fields within the county they have left no trace. But those alongside roads survive in many townships, whether entire, fragmentary, or as archaeological features. Others can be found in the map record.

Small, narrow plots alongside roads are found on maps from the nineteenth century, but not before. They are most commonly seen on tithe maps. Such maps recorded mostly anciently enclosed land within which roads were generally very wide, and thus able to accommodate such plots. The function of these plots can be found in tithe map schedules. At Greatworth they are described as 'garden[s] in Welsh Lane'; at Farthinghoe, Gayton and Watford as 'gardens taken from the waste'; at Sudborough, Stowe IX Churches, Dingley, Moreton Pinkney, Charwelton, Nortoft, Thornby and Haselbech simply as 'gardens'; and at

⁵⁹⁰ G. E. Fussell, "'High Farming' in the East Midlands and East Anglia, 1840-1880', *Economic Geography*, 27, (1951), pp. 76-79.

⁵⁹¹ J. Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK, 2002), p. 11.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-34.

⁵⁹³ Mitchison, (1959), p.47.

⁵⁹⁴ In Northamptonshire it is highly unlikely that any were made on the wastes of forest and fen. These locations at great distances from any village would hardly have been convenient even for low maintenance crops such as potatoes. Some plots alongside roads are variously identified as 'on the road' or 'on the waste'; at Watford both descriptions are given for plots that lay close to each other on the same road.

Paulerspury as ‘potato gardens’⁵⁹⁵ There is evidence for the creation of some of these places at Haselbech (see Chapter 5), and Paulerspury. Paulerspury was enclosed in 1819 but had blocks of ancient enclosure in the south of the township lying either side of Watling Street (the modern A5). The road was a major thoroughfare and turnpike, and was at its widest some 160 feet across. At enclosure narrow linear plots between the closes and the road were awarded to the Duke of Grafton (Figure 4.32).⁵⁹⁶ In February 1834 Paulerspury vestry minutes record: ‘a plan to obtain potato grounds for the poor be taken into consideration at the next vestry’.⁵⁹⁷ There is no further mention of this in the vestry minutes, but the tithe map of 1839 shows the new linear plots along Watling Street to be subdivided and identifies them as ‘potato gardens’ (Figure 4.33).⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁵ NRO T190, T139, T2, T41, T186, T10, T140, T215, T45, T30, T212, T213, T182.

⁵⁹⁶ NRO Map 2926; ML 1405.

⁵⁹⁷ NRO 255P/301. There was another vestry meeting held on 6th March at which a plan was devised to pay the expenses of anyone who was ‘desirous to emigrate to America’. Emigration of the poor to the Colonies, either willing or forced, was another proposed method of poor relief. Snell, (1985), pp. 111-112.

⁵⁹⁸ NRO T182.

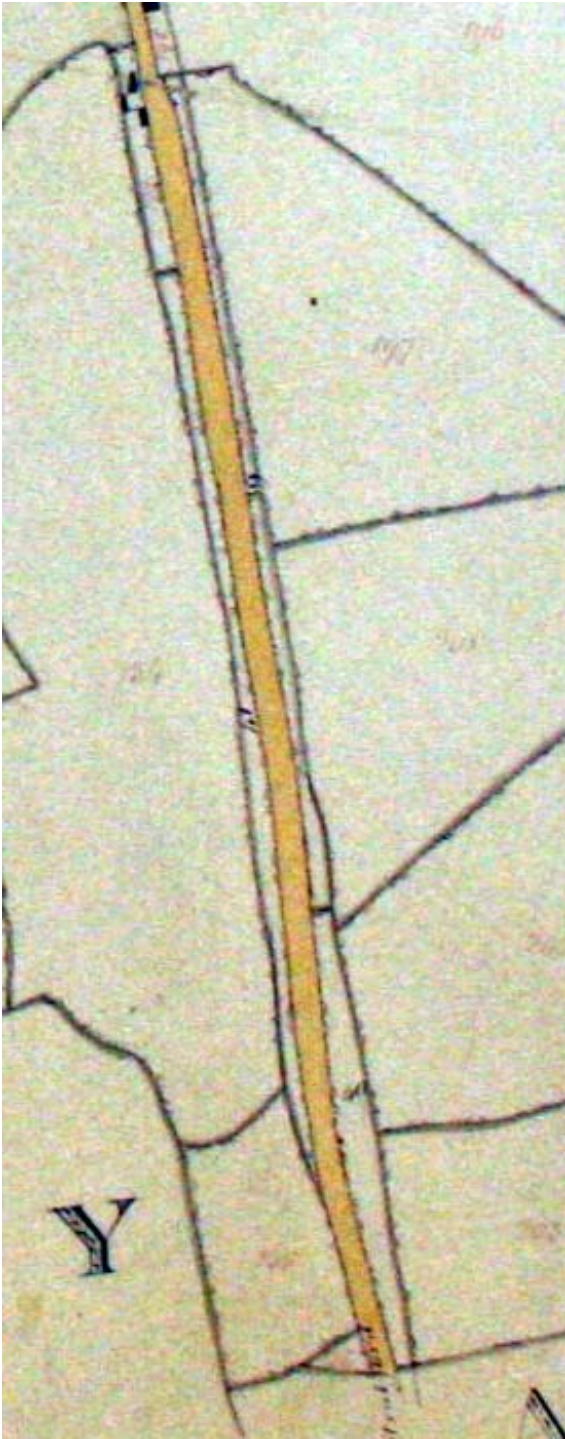


Figure 4.32: New very narrow plots allotted in 1819.

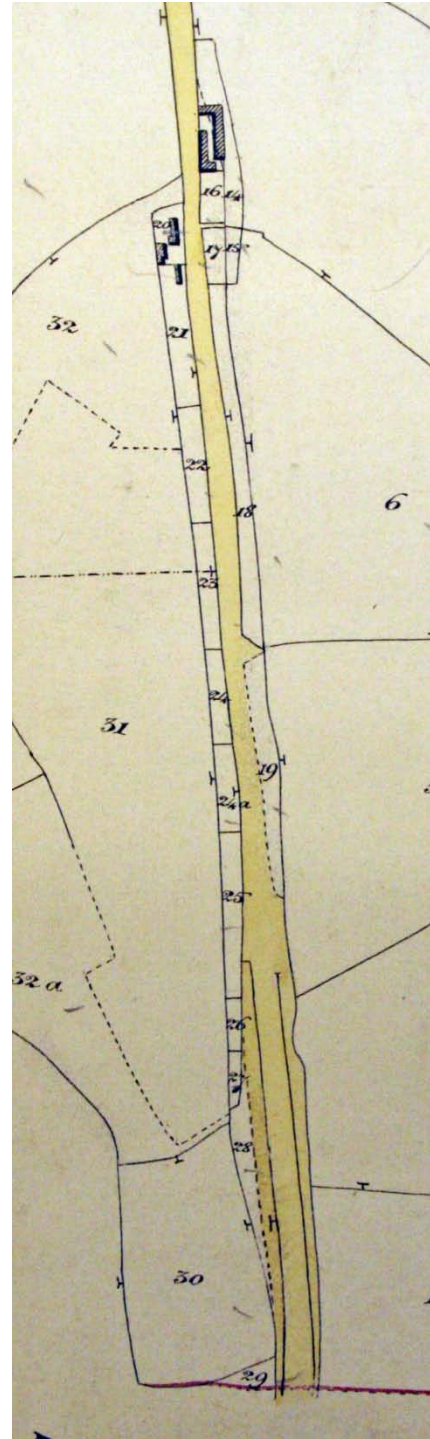


Figure 4.33: Subdivided plots in 1839.

This type of plot can be seen in numerous places on the OS mapping from the 1880s across the county, indicating that it had been a fairly common practice. It was not only seen in anciently enclosed places but in any place where the roads were wide enough to accommodate the plots. The most unusual example is found on a strip map of Luton dated

1864 made just before enclosure in 1865.⁵⁹⁹ A row of small closes lay along one side of a very wide road, approximately 150 feet, on the edge of the village (Figure 4.34). Behind the gardens lay ancient enclosure and in front were open fields; the grey line below the pound marks the edge of the furlongs. These plots were not marked on the earlier tithe map and were not allotted at enclosure.⁶⁰⁰ By the 1880s they had been absorbed into the adjacent close, presumably because the land was in the same ownership, and no trace survives. It is extremely rare to find potato gardens on roads in an open field landscape but that is because by the time the movement began most of the county was already enclosed.

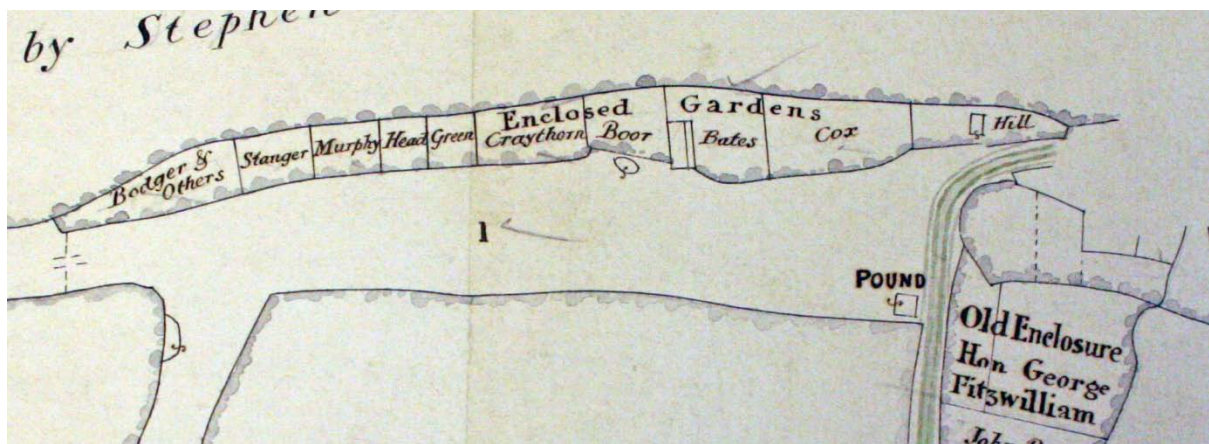


Figure 4.34: The potato gardens at Lutton in 1864.

Potato grounds were precursors to allotment gardens and differed principally in that the former were usually let by tenant farmers only for the growing season and only at a time of need. Allotment gardens were more organised, let annually by landowners or by parish officers who might purchase land for the purpose, and were intended to be at least long-term if not permanent.⁶⁰¹ Allotment gardens were created at Kettering in 1817 specifically to let to the poor to grow potatoes. Money was raised by private subscription, land rented and seed potatoes purchased.⁶⁰² The Vestry took over the management in 1819, appointed a Spade Cultivation Committee and staked out 88 allotments partly on land allocated to the poor at enclosure in 1804. No traces of these survive due to modern development.

Originally intended as a temporary measure potato grounds have become fossilised in the landscape and are a common feature in the county, if mostly overgrown and concealed. Of

⁵⁹⁹ NRO Map 2111B.

⁶⁰⁰ NRO T241; NRO Map 2111A.

⁶⁰¹ Burchardt, (2002), p. 245.

⁶⁰² S. A. Peyton, *Kettering Vestry Minutes 1797-1853*, (Northampton, 1933), p. xix.

note are those located along the Welsh Land and the Banbury Lane, both are well known drovers routes (Figure 4.35). It might be supposed that these particular plots are most likely associated with pasturing cattle en route to market. But although convenient enclosed plots within wide verges may well have been used by drovers they weren't necessarily created by or for them. Wide roads were necessary for transporting cattle but it is highly unlikely that drovers could have pastured their beasts wherever they thought fit and certainly not overnight. Grass within each township, enclosed or otherwise, was, as has been demonstrated, managed just like any other resource. It is therefore doubtful that parish officials would have allowed large numbers of cattle belonging to 'foreigners' to avail themselves of such a valuable resource, at least not without agreement and some form of payment. No record of any such an arrangement has been identified, and where drovers' records have been studied they were clearly using taverns with grazing facilities and, equally importantly, water, as stopping places.⁶⁰³ The wide roadside verges may have served multiple functions over the centuries but the strongest evidence for the small enclosed plots along them is that they are the archaeological remains of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century poor relief.⁶⁰⁴



Figure 4.35: An enclosed linear plot taken from the Banbury Lane in Eastcote.

⁶⁰³ R. Moore-Colyer, 'A 19th Century Welsh Cattle Dealer in Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 5, (1974), pp. 121-126.

⁶⁰⁴ Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012), pp. 77-78.

FIELD PATTERNS

The landscape of small hedged fields with farms, barns, trees and plantations seen across the whole county towards the end of the nineteenth century was the result of the processes and influences discussed above.⁶⁰⁵ The patterns created by the network of fields were the result of initial enclosure boundaries, subsequent sub-division, and continuous reorganisation over many, in some cases hundreds, of years. The modern landscape is the result of further reorganisation some of which, from the second half of the twentieth century particularly, was profound, sweeping away hedges over hundreds of acres. It is questionable then, if the modern landscape can be dated simply by a correlation of size and shape of field. Many of the 129 anciently enclosed townships originally had patterns with the typical indicators of early enclosure; few, large fields, with irregular boundaries. So too did the blocks of ancient enclosure in otherwise open townships. The map evidence supports this. However, others did not conform to this orthodoxy and displayed a great deal of regularity in smaller fields (see Nobottle above).⁶⁰⁶ Similarly most of the 266 places enclosed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries display the regular forms associated with that period.⁶⁰⁷ But not all exhibit the rigidity that has come to be associated with enclosure from this period.

The large size of early closes can be attributed to their purpose: sheep farming.⁶⁰⁸ The purpose of the irregular shape, however, is not quite as obvious. It is possible that the curving boundaries were intended to prevent the stock from hiding in sharp angled corners, so making them easier to control. But the shapes might equally be due to ease of construction and cost. Many of the early close boundaries are aligned with furlong boundaries. In some cases the furlongs are separated by a headland and in others by a ribbon of permanent pasture. Placing a hedge along such a relatively level boundary would have been simpler, and therefore less expensive, than building a hedge over a series of steeply ridged open field strips. Snorscombe was enclosed in 1508 and the first map identified made over 300 years later in 1816.⁶⁰⁹ At enclosure Snorscombe was owned by the Knightley family, notable enclosers for sheep farming, and it is still in the same family in 1816. The pattern of closes in 1508 would hardly have remained static until 1816. Yet when the closes from the map are reconstructed in GIS

⁶⁰⁵ Castor, Ailsworth and Sutton were the only townships still unenclosed in the 1880s.

⁶⁰⁶ Other places with remarkably regular closes imposed at enclosure are Plumpton enclosed in 1604, Jesus College NH P1/1, and the partial enclosure at Stanwick in 1663, see below.

⁶⁰⁷ There were 254 townships and 12 wastes enclosed in this period, see Chapter 2.

⁶⁰⁸ See 'Ancient Enclosure' in Chapter 2.

⁶⁰⁹ Hall, (1995), p. 263. The map is an estate map dated 1816 that was re-used as the tithe map. NRO T205.

against the furlongs and open field pasture it can be seen that the boundaries closely follow the open field features (Figure 4.36).⁶¹⁰ Some of the 1816 boundaries were almost certainly created at enclosure in 1508. It is unlikely that those around the smaller closes are of that date, yet they too are aligned with the underlying features. This might suggest that they were created relatively soon after initial enclosure, or, more likely, that sheep farming continued to dominate. Pasture is the main land use in 1816 and there are two ‘ram’ closes. Almost all of these boundaries survive in the modern landscape, which means Snorscombe is one of the very few places where it is possible to assess period, (if not date), of enclosure, by the shape (but not size), of fields with a reasonable degree of accuracy.

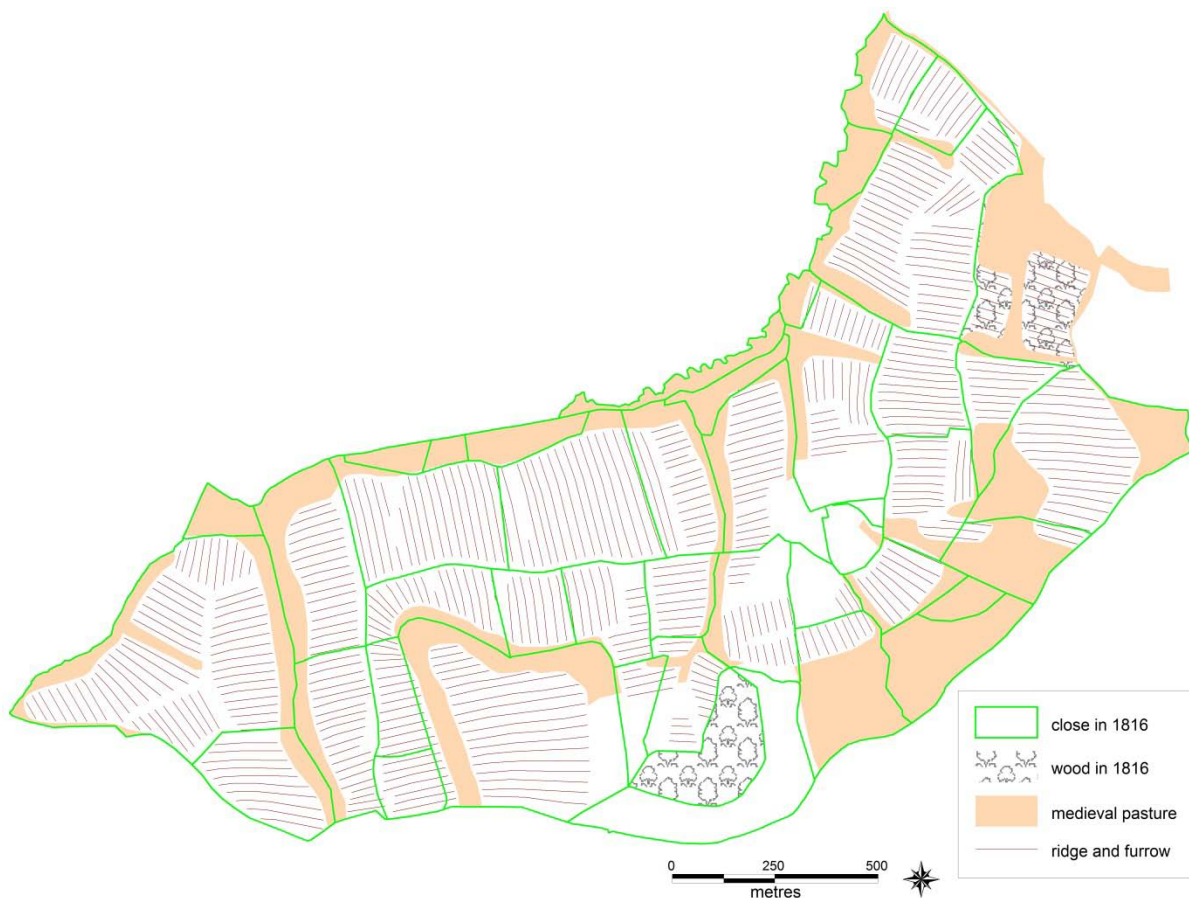


Figure 4.36: The relationship of field boundaries in the nineteenth century to features from the underlying open field system at Snorscombe. White areas are settlement or woods.

Culworth enclosed in 1612 and mapped in 1839 displays a similar pattern of irregularly shaped closes aligned with furlong boundaries, many of which survive.⁶¹¹ But most

⁶¹⁰ Open field data are taken from David Hall’s fieldwork and was digitised independently of the early-modern map data. Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012).

⁶¹¹ NRO T230.

townships that in the nineteenth century showed a correlation between field shape and the underlying pre-enclosure system have lost most or that entire pattern in the modern landscape.⁶¹² Still others had lost any such relationship before the nineteenth century.⁶¹³ Even more commonly seen in the nineteenth century were anciently enclosed townships with very regular field boundaries. For the majority of these it is unknown what such regularity can be attributed to; reorganisation or an original pattern. Few places have a sequence of maps that identify reorganisation, but there are for Thornhaugh (above), for Halse, and Southwick. A map of Southwick was made at enclosure in 1600, another in 1794, and another in 1834.⁶¹⁴ The landscape changes in-between each map, and not just subtle alterations but complete re-planning. By the 1880s it has changed again from the pattern seen in 1834. Much of the 1880s pattern survives in the modern landscape, but any attempt to date the fields from their shape is doomed to failure.

There is no single landscape pattern to the closes from parliamentary period enclosure. In the eighteenth century many places display regular boundaries, as well as small closes with irregular boundaries that follow the underlying features; Weston and Weedon, Wappenham, and Grafton Underwood for example. Enclosures made in the nineteenth century undoubtedly feature the most regular shapes and boundaries. But that is largely because of their location in the county; on the level plateaus in the east, the low lying levels of the Soke and the lower Nene Valley (Figures 4.2, 4.23). In the west and around the forest areas they are less regular; Roade, Ashton, Paulerspury and Alderton for example have many closes with curving boundaries that respect the underlying furlongs. In addition to this there were 62 townships enclosed in the parliamentary period that had a third or more ancient enclosure. Some displayed the forms typical of early enclosure but others had shapes that could easily be attributed to the nineteenth century. Stanwick was partially enclosed in 1663 when a map was made of the great field being divided (Figure 4.37).⁶¹⁵ Much of this very regular pattern survived in the 1880s and looked no different to the remainder of the township, which had been enclosed in 1834. Hedgerow removal in the twentieth century has ensured that little from either phase survives, and even if it had would be indistinguishable.

⁶¹² Gayton, Rushton, Newton Willows, Barton Seagrave, Loddington, and Upton (Northampton).

⁶¹³ Hemington, Armston, Pipewell, Papley and Clay Coton.

⁶¹⁴ Halse, NRO Map 4320, T214; Southwick, NRO Maps 5329, 5330. The map of 1834 is in a private collection.

⁶¹⁵ NRO BSL 73.



Figure 4.37: A map made at enclosure of one of the great fields at Stanwick in 1663. Note the regularity of the new closes that would not be out of place in a nineteenth century enclosure.

CONCLUSION

The enclosed landscape is the product of two phases of the enclosure process: the primary phase that created the structure of the new landscape, and the secondary phase that subdivided the original allotments. The primary phase differed between ancient and parliamentary periods of enclosure. Ancient enclosure was more likely to respect underlying features, have large closes, wide roads on their original course, and retain footpaths. Parliamentary enclosure was more likely to disregard underlying features, have a new road network, eliminate many of the footpaths, and have a series of rigorous conditions that applied to all. The initial landscape of ancient enclosure reflected the motivations behind it and, to a certain extent, the numbers of landowners. Very large closes were associated with sheep farming or parks and only a single owner, or small group of owners, could reorganise the landscape in this way, especially so an entire township. The numbers of owners were also reflected in the primary landscape from the parliamentary period; few owners meant a very simple pattern not unlike that seen in ancient enclosure, multiple owners created a more complex pattern. But the motivations of enclosure from this period could not be seen in the landscape, because the initial pattern was never intended to be final. The secondary landscape, from both periods, was created as a response to the needs of landowners. In ancient enclosure it is uncertain how long it took for the initial structure to be broken up. In the parliamentary period the secondary phase was begun as soon as the first phase was finished. But in either case the secondary phase did not end, but continues to this day.

After enclosure individual farmers were no longer locked in to a communal system. This meant they could adopt their preferred method of agriculture, be it arable or pasture. But, by the nineteenth century, neither type was reflected in the landscape, as neither required a specific size or shape of field. Both could be conducted equally well in conveniently sized closes and such closes are what could be found across the entire county by the end of the nineteenth century. It is the similarity of field pattern that provides a clue as to the preferred method of farming that had been adopted by that time; a mixed regime of crops and livestock. Barns found in the wider enclosed landscape were associated with livestock farming and where these were prolific it may indicate a stronger bias to permanent pasture. But even in such places the field sizes were alike those in the rest of the county. There was no such thing as an arable, or a pasture landscape by the middle of the nineteenth century; mixed farming had created a homogenous landscape. It is not, therefore, possible to identify land use from

field patterns of the nineteenth century. Nor is it possible to date enclosure from land use. Mixed farming seems to have been the norm, and trees and hedgerows were predominantly of the same few species regardless of the original date of enclosure. Moreover, some features, buildings and plantations, were peculiar to period rather than process and appeared in enclosed landscapes around the same time regardless of date of enclosure.

There are no templates to field patterns; one size, and indeed shape, does not fit all periods. There are indicators and attributes that help identify period, but no definitive rules. Certain features can be attributed to a given period with reasonable confidence. Closes with reverse s boundaries that encompass a few strips are almost certainly from initial enclosure, as any reorganisation is unlikely to revert to the pattern of a defunct system; while very straight roads and accompanying fields that take no heed of the underlying features are very likely to be later. However, most, if not all, the features associated with early enclosure no longer existed in their entirety by the nineteenth century - reorganisation meant many fields were as regularly shaped as those from the parliamentary period. And while there was a much greater degree of standardisation in the parliamentary period, no single set of conditions applied to all. Thus where field patterns conform to the accepted canon it is not absolutely certain that they are of that period; patterns attributable to either period can be found in both. And, as has been seen above, by the first standardised large-scale maps series from the Ordnance Survey in the 1880s most of the landscape looked very much the same. Twentieth century development and changing agricultural practice, all but obliterating vast areas of hedgerows, has only hastened and exacerbated the potential for misinterpretation. By plotting features from different dates in GIS it has been possible to pick out hedges from different phases of enclosure in the very complex multi-boundaries found in the modern landscape. This provides a more accurate interpretation of landscape evolution, but also illustrates that in the modern landscape what is left of historic features are often only fragmentary traces subsumed in centuries of landscape change. The reality of field pattern analysis is, therefore, far more nuanced than has previously been recognised.

CHAPTER 5: ENCLOSURE, GIS AND CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

This study contends that the landscape of enclosure has been as overlooked within conservation and management strategies as it has been within academic debate. The commonest features from the enclosure process, hedges, have some measure of protection but as individual features rather than as integral parts of the wider landscape. Moreover, the conservation of hedges is largely concerned with biodiversity issues, the fauna and flora, rather than the underlying process that created them.⁶¹⁶ This chapter seeks to establish and test a methodology that will trace the enclosure process, identify, and then assess features from it in the context of the wider landscape, to provide recommendations for conservation and management. One of the key advantages in using GIS is that it enables quantitative and comparable analysis of numerous datasets. This is particularly relevant to establishing conservation and management strategies. For example, the proportion of survival or loss of features like hedges can be assessed against factors such as land use or landownership. This is significant because, if it is possible to identify factors that influence survival or loss, it might be possible to incorporate mitigating factors into a management strategy.⁶¹⁷ Furthermore, the datasets can be integrated with others, such as any relating to ecological issues, that might also be included in a management strategy. A discussion of the assessment process that considers the method established and examines the importance of GIS is given below. This is followed by three case studies that illustrate and test the method.

A new approach such as that proposed and demonstrated here is necessary as management of historic landscapes has been informed since the 1990s by the English Heritage Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) Projects.⁶¹⁸ These use GIS to map field patterns in the

⁶¹⁶ The criteria for 'Important Hedgerows' include those that mark a parish or township boundary, incorporate an archaeological feature, or are associated with an archaeological site. But 'important' enclosure hedges are those that 'form an integral part of a pre-Parliamentary enclosure field system'. How 'integral' should be interpreted by those making decisions is not made clear, and clearly parliamentary period hedges have no importance whatever. The majority of the criteria are concerned with numbers and species of animals, birds and plants. <http://www.hedgebank.org.uk/UK-hedgerow-legislation.htm>.

⁶¹⁷ The question of what such strategies might encompass and how they might be implemented are beyond the remit of this study and it is not the intention to engage in a debate regarding current policy, or make recommendations for management schemes.

⁶¹⁸ O. Aldred & G. Fairclough, *Historic Landscape Characterisation - Taking Stock of the Method*, (London, 2003).

modern landscape and apply classifications of their supposed historic origins.

Northamptonshire's HLC has been incorporated into the county's Historic Landscape Character Assessment.⁶¹⁹ This divides the county into 12 landscape character 'types' based on the HLC model of 'form, degree of survival and date of origin'.⁶²⁰ This thesis has demonstrated that form is an unreliable indicator of date of origin and origins are not always as obvious as has been supposed. Furthermore, the methodology adopted by the HLC's uses fewer and less rigorous sources with no standardised approach resulting in incompatible and unquantifiable data between counties. The problems inherent in HLC are well known and in 2007 an entire volume of *Landscapes* was given to the subject which published the papers given at the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) conference in December 2006.⁶²¹ The issue has been more recently discussed in some detail, and using much of the same data as in this study, by Williamson et al in *Champion*, and concludes, in much the same way as this thesis, that 'variations in field patterns may have less to do with the chronology of enclosure as an 'event' than with the patterns of ownership and farming which developed in the places in question over several centuries'.⁶²² More detailed analysis of the two approaches could, and indeed should, be made but does not form part of this study.⁶²³

METHODOLOGY

There are four key stages in the conservation and management assessment proposed. Each stage is linked to the next and at each stage the use of GIS is fundamental. The primary features introduced into the landscape at enclosure in Northamptonshire were hedges, and trees within the hedgerows. New roads might also be made or existing routes realigned. The assessments and surveys focus upon hedges and trees, with limited discussion of roads, from both ancient and parliamentary period enclosure. After enclosure other features also appeared; buildings were dispersed from the settlement into the wider landscape, and

⁶¹⁹

<http://www.northamptonshireobservatory.org.uk/docs/dochistoriclandscapecharaterassessment2070705160342.pdf>

⁶²⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

⁶²¹ D. Austin, S. Rippon, and P. Stamper, *Landscapes*, 8, (2007).

⁶²² Williamson, Liddiard, and Partida, (2013), p. 208.

⁶²³ Further research is intended using case studies from the data collected as part of this study and comparing those with their HLC 'types'.

plantations, spinneys and coverts were introduced. These are not included in the assessments or case studies, though the methodology could equally well be applied to them.⁶²⁴

The first stage of assessment is digitally to reconstruct the historic landscape, identifying particular features and their associations with the processes that created them. This makes it possible to target particular locations where some form of management might be appropriate. For example, where a landscape was created as a result of a particular process, such as enclosure, at a particular period and survives intact, or reasonably intact, there are good arguments for an effective management strategy to ensure its conservation. Where the landscape is fragmented with just a few surviving features the same argument for conservation of a wider landscape cannot be made. However, in such cases smaller areas with few features might warrant conservation if they are exemplars of the wider landscape and particularly so where such features are rare. These exemplars need to be selected on the basis of a detailed understanding of the evolution of the landscape - what was typical, and where the best examples exist today and have the potential for long term conservation. Reconstructing the historic landscape in GIS allows identification of landscapes for further assessment. Ideally the whole township should be mapped, as historically Northamptonshire's agricultural landscape was managed by township. But even limited reconstruction has value especially if a particular area is known to be vulnerable. For each of the case studies a full reconstruction was made including time-depth analysis using maps and other documents from different periods. This may not always be possible but a basic reconstruction is essential to enable the second stage desk-based assessment of survival.

The second stage desk-based assessment uses the reconstructed historic landscape data with modern OS vector data. Overlaying the two datasets enables a rapid assessment to be made of survival, loss, and new additions to field boundaries and roads, thus indicating how much of the structure of the enclosure landscape survives. This level of assessment can be achieved very rapidly and is particularly useful for identifying where there is significant loss of the historic landscape structure. However, this type of assessment has a limited value for additions to the landscape, and for surviving features and its results should be treated with caution. There are some anomalies within the OS data which can give an inaccurate view of

⁶²⁴ Watercourses are another feature that might be considerably altered at enclosure thus significantly changing the drainage and character of the landscape. However, lack of identification on pre-enclosure maps precludes their inclusion in the surveys.

modern boundaries if the general 'line' dataset is taken to represent field boundaries. For example some, but not all, footpaths are included in this dataset and where these are not alongside a field boundary they can give a false impression of the divisions within a landscape. This is easily corrected by comparison with OS Explorer maps that delineate all rights of way. More problematic is that occasionally a boundary that is known to exist will be omitted on the OS dataset.⁶²⁵ However, these omissions are rare and do not undermine the usefulness of the approach. The greatest drawback from this type of assessment is that the OS data delineate boundaries but give no indication as to form (i.e. whether the boundary is a hedge, a fence, or a wall). In Northamptonshire the predominant boundary type introduced at enclosure and in its immediate aftermath was the quickthorn hedge. Where the structure or underlying pattern of the enclosure landscape survives but the form of the boundaries has changed, then the criteria for conservation and management may differ according to where both structure and form survive. Furthermore, modern OS data identify boundaries but not remnant features from former boundaries. The GIS data can be converted to the file format .kml (Keyhole Markup Language) that enables it to be overlaid with vertical aerial photography, such as Google Earth. It is then possible to identify remnant features such as the line of a former hedgerow where the hedge has gone but the trees survive (Figure 5.1). Where hedges do survive the species within them and their overall condition can vary widely. Assessment of these issues requires the third stage analysis by field survey.

⁶²⁵ For example, at Haselbech.

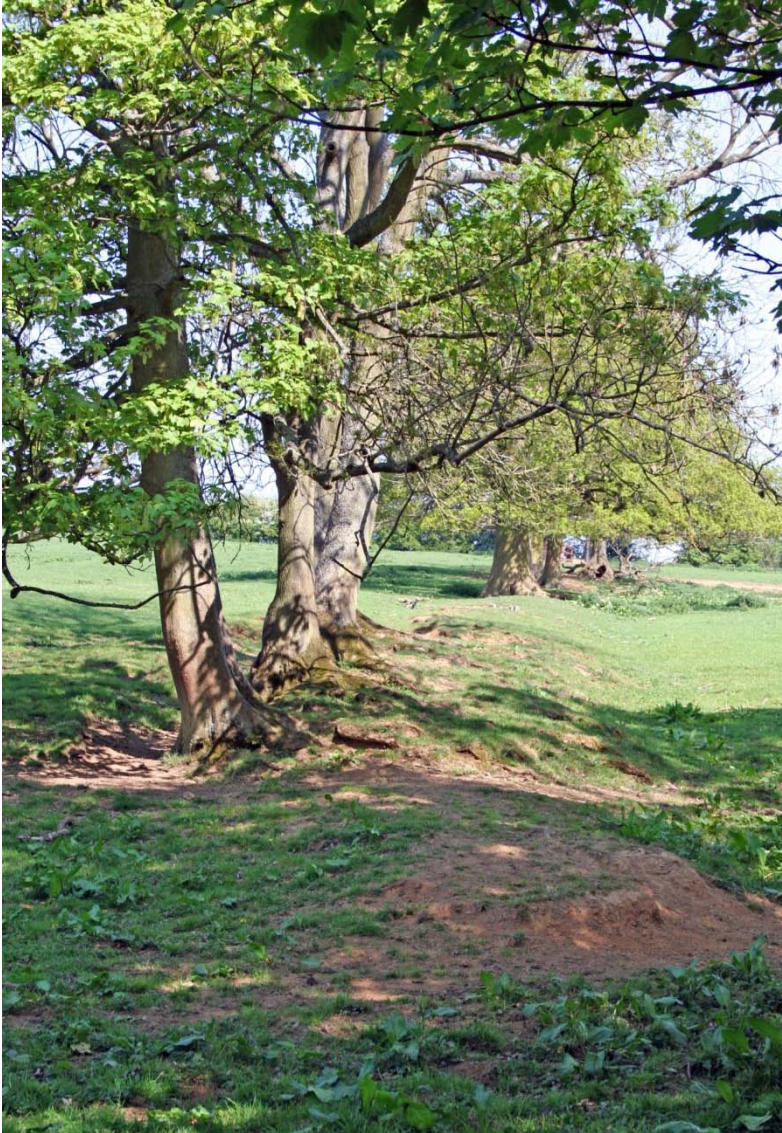


Figure 5.1: A remnant double-hedge at Charwelton.

Field survey is essential to record the condition of historic features, and also to verify the data from the desk-based assessment. The second stage assessment uses data derived from historic map sources and some features are not apparent from maps, or were never recorded. In particular, trees are under-represented on pre-enclosure maps, or are representative rather than actual, which means that individual trees can only rarely be identified as being those shown on early maps. However, they are included in field survey as they contribute significantly to the landscape character and, with a few exceptions, were introduced as a result of enclosure. Maps showing the historic data against a background of Google Earth can be printed and taken into the field. Using the data from both sources enables the accurate location of features which are not always obvious from the ground, either because they have been removed altogether or because many features from different phases and periods are

overlain creating confusion. An example is shown in Figure 5.2 where the ancient enclosures at Woodcroft in the Soke of Peterborough are shown in white against the modern landscape on Google Earth. In addition to the instant identification of post-enclosure boundaries, the re-alignment and loss of early boundaries is also readily apparent.⁶²⁶ This proved extremely useful during field survey as it allowed the location of lost boundaries to be examined carefully on the ground in order to establish if any features survived. In addition it greatly assisted in the interpretation of earthworks to be identified as belonging to former closes, buildings, and a road.



Figure 5.2: Ancient enclosures at Woodcroft are shown in white against the modern landscape. Surviving, lost and re-aligned historic boundaries are more easily identified from this mapping than they are on the ground.

⁶²⁶ This is the same area shown on the c.1570 map in Figure 3.24. Some of the features shown on the sixteenth century map, and in particular ‘the snow’, can be identified in the modern landscape by using this technique.

Hedges are the primary features from the enclosure process. They formed allotment boundaries and also the boundaries of roads, as *most* roads were hedged at enclosure. Hedges, trees in hedgerows and, to a limited extent, roads were recorded as part of the field survey for the case studies below. A simple record of current land use, arable, pasture, wood or set-aside, was also included in the survey to enable analysis of contributory factors to the condition of the historic landscape to be explored. For the purpose of field survey of hedgerows a methodology was devised whereby a numeric descriptor from 1-7 was used to indicate condition.⁶²⁷ It is possible to record more than one descriptor for the same hedgerow, as its condition may not be consistent throughout its entire length. For analysis hedges have been categorised by taking the first number recorded as the primary condition. Those recorded as wire or wood fences are *only* wire or wood, and wire fences that are typically added to reinforce hedges are not indicated. Furthermore, wire and wood fences are only recorded where they occupy an historic boundary, modern fences are not shown. Species are also recorded where possible and ideally surveys should be undertaken at a time when hedges and trees are in leaf to assist identification. It is important to include species of hedges as hawthorn and blackthorn were so commonly used in enclosure hedges that, even where a hedge remains in its original location, if it is now of mixed species it would indicate a change to the fabric of the historic landscape. However, there is no attempt to date the hedgerow from the number of species it contains. This form of landscape assessment is now largely discredited and in the words of Richard Muir ‘there is no reason to believe that the age of a hedgerow can be gauged by counting the species in it, any more than the age of a bus is signalled by the number of passengers travelling in it’.⁶²⁸ Similarly tree species were recorded to assess any changes in the historically predominant species of oak, ash and elm. Data were recorded on hard-copy maps in the field which were later transcribed to fair-copies. Data from the fair-copy maps were digitised and tabulated with species, source (surveyor) and additional notes included in the database. This database can be analysed and compared to the historic map and modern OS data. From this it is possible to identify those boundaries that survive as hedges, their component species and condition, as well as number, species and age of hedgerow trees.

⁶²⁷ 1 = laid, 2 = maintained, 3 = grown out, 4 = fragmented, 5 = badly deteriorated, 6 = wood fence, 7 = wire fence.

⁶²⁸ Muir, (2005), pp. 88-93.

The final stage of the assessment is an analysis of the data collected which will inform recommendations for conservation and management. Detailed data of individual features provide information regarding survival, loss and condition, but it is also essential to have some understanding of the forces that have influenced this. Ideally information regarding landownership should be collected, but when this is not possible some information can be gleaned from data held by the Multi-Agency Geographic Information for the Countryside (MAGIC).⁶²⁹ Having data for current land use is also vital. Land use is rarely recorded on enclosure maps, thus preventing a direct comparison of the two periods. Tithe maps are the most useful systematic record of land use in the first half of the nineteenth century, but they show titheable lands only and only 74 townships in Northamptonshire are fully covered thus limiting the extent of analysis. The Land Utilisation Survey of Britain from the early 1930s is a comprehensive survey of the whole county and so comparison with this period can be made.⁶³⁰ However, what is arguably more significant than an analysis of land use continuity or change over time is the assessment that can be made of the correlation between land use and survival and condition of other features, notably hedgerows and hedgerow trees. Putting the data in GIS allows statistical analysis to be made of the survey area, but also comparison between areas thus enabling assessment of the rarity value of particular landscapes. Furthermore, the database can be continually updated thereby allowing change to be monitored. As with the historic map data shown in Figure 5.2 the survey data can also be converted into .kml files so allowing it to be used with Google Earth.

⁶²⁹ It is not always possible to collect landownership data due to multiple owners and tenants in a single township and, often, unwillingness on the part of proprietors to part with the information.

<http://magic.defra.gov.uk/default.htm>.

⁶³⁰ S. H. Beaver, *The Land of Britain: Northamptonshire; Soke of Peterborough*, (London, 1943).

CASE STUDIES

The townships of Abthorpe, Badby, and Haselbech were selected as case studies to explore and test the method described. All three have varied enclosure progressions. They were enclosed at different periods, by different means and had different numbers of landowners. In addition they have a varied range of sources, thus usefully illustrating the depth of analysis that is possible where sources are good, or conversely the limited assessment that can be made where they are limited. The enclosure history of each township is briefly discussed. The second stage desk-based assessment was undertaken in all townships. The third stage assessment by field survey was not undertaken at Haselbech; at Badby approximately one third of the landscape was surveyed; at Abthorpe the entire township was surveyed. Landownership data were not collected in any of the surveys but some information from MAGIC was assessed. The field surveys were undertaken by volunteers after training in the field by the author.⁶³¹ All volunteers were provided with prompt-sheets detailing the method that included example photographs of the various types of hedge condition, as well as historic and modern maps for use in the field and for fair-copies. The fourth stage of analysis and recommendations for conservation and management was completed for all four case study areas but is not included as part of this study.⁶³²

Abthorpe

Abthorpe with Charlock was enclosed in stages, beginning in c.1438 at Charlock and ending with final enclosure of the remaining open field at Abthorpe in 1823. Charlock had been a grange belonging to Luffield Abbey and the lands were intercommoned with Abthorpe and Silverstone. There was probably partial enclosure in 1410, when there was a dispute over rights with Silverstone, and then in 1438, when a grant was made to the Priory allowing them rights in severalty.⁶³³ In Abthorpe fields the earliest record of enclosure is in 1610 when a Decree and Award was made to 'Sir George and Sir Hatton' (his son) to hold certain lands in severalty. Although this is the first known record of enclosure, some had already occurred by this date as some closes are named: Canthill close and Moore Close in the East Field and Poundy Close and Dardale. The lands to be enclosed included '*Bucknell Woods, Westfield,*

⁶³¹ This was undertaken as part the historic landscape component of an HLF funded project 'Rose of the Shires' for the Rockingham Forest Trust and managed by the author. <http://www.rockingham-forest-trust.org.uk/>. Partida, Hall, and Foard, (2012).

⁶³² Reports prepared as part of the project that include the names of the volunteers, maps outlining their area of survey, and the conservation and management recommendations can be found on the Trust website <http://www.rockingham-forest-trust.org.uk/>.

⁶³³ Hall, (1995), p. 167.

Westfield meadowe, Challock Greene, Towe Greene Lane, Hedge Mill Leys that part of the ground called beyond the Woods ... the Hais Barn Field Bucknell Field als Long Bucknells and the quick sett hedge between Long Bucknells and Wydymore and Poundy Furlong.⁶³⁴

Exactly where all these lands were is uncertain. Some can be identified by field names but when partial enclosure occurs the remaining lands are reorganised and names are often moved or lost.

Sir George was excluded from the remaining open lands which were to be exclusively farmed by the *'Freeholders Farmors and Tenants of Abthorpe and Foscutt aforesaid by way of intercomoning one with another'*. It was also stipulated that the enclosure was not to impede access to either the newly enclosed grounds or other land; *'said Farmors Tenantes and Freeholders shall forever hereafter have such fitt and conveyent passages to the said Groundes soo inclosed and to be inclosed and to other of their Groundes in the Fields of Abthorpe and Foscutt as shall be needfull with least hurt'*. The access ways then created are still extant: green lanes can be seen on Figure 5.3 running between the Withymoore closes and above the Headshaw closes. More enclosure had taken place by 1652, when various closes are named in a terrier including one called 'Edshaws or Withymoore side' and another called Handley Leys. This same terrier also refers to common land in West Field and South Field.⁶³⁵ By 1823 the great fields are Yantwood, Green Hedge, and Shutlake. Using later documentary sources, particularly the enclosure map and documents from 1823, it has been possible to reconstruct some of these early enclosures from the names given (Figure 5.3).

⁶³⁴ NRO G3920.

⁶³⁵ R. J. Chapman, *The Story of a Northamptonshire Village*, (Northampton, 1992), p.359.

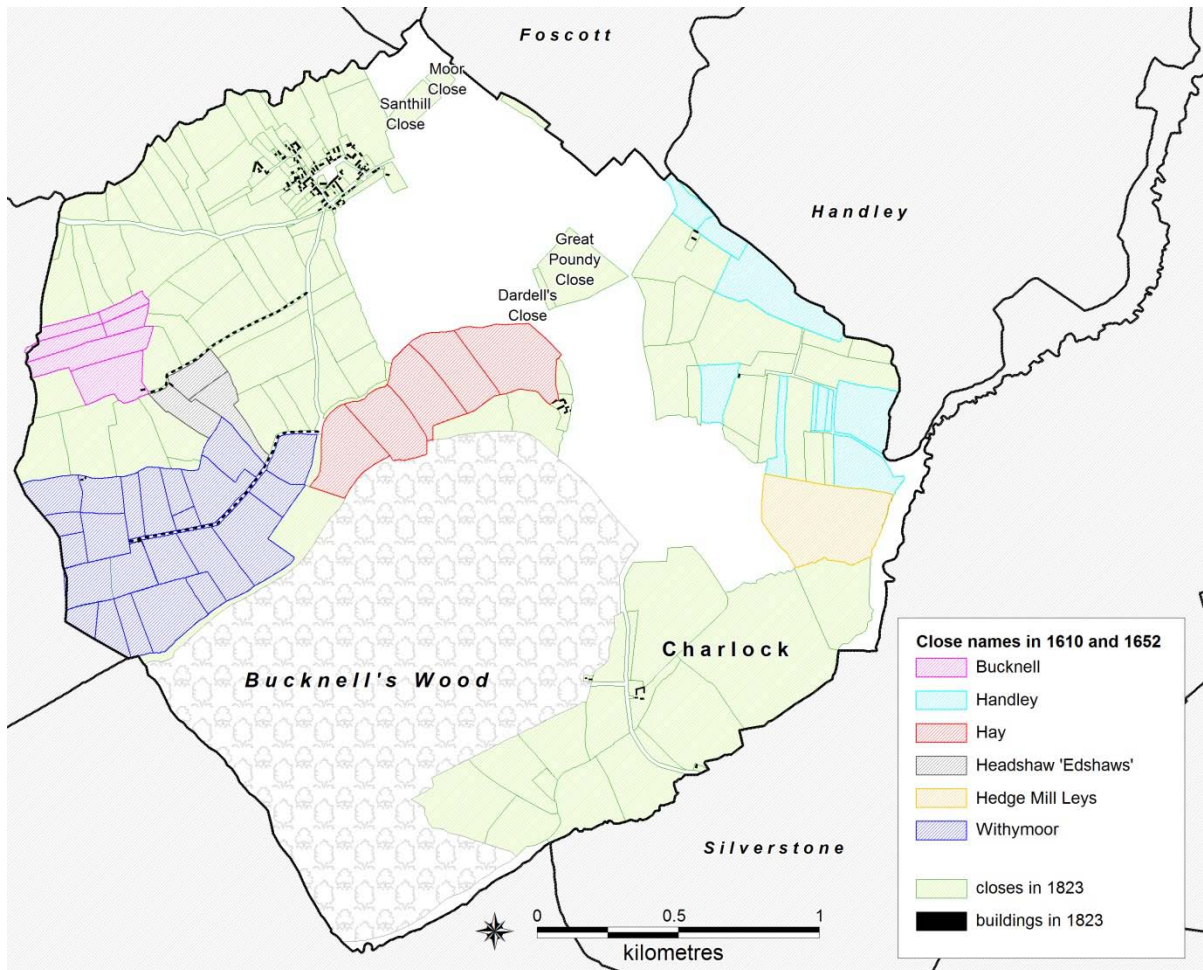


Figure 5.3: Reconstruction of enclosure phases at Abthorpe from documents and map sources. The white area is the land still open in 1823. Access ways created by the early enclosures are marked by black dotted lines.

When final enclosure took place in 1823 only 18 per cent of the township was still open.⁶³⁶ One quarter of the township was the ancient Bucknell Wood which had at one time been even bigger, as indicated by the coppice names in the closes on its southern boundary. There were 13 allottees but no allotment was made to the poor or for stone pits to maintain the roads. There were also numerous exchanges made as landowners took the opportunity to consolidate their holdings. Certain specifications in the award refer to encroachments on the waste and are typical of awards in general; encroachments made within 20 years prior to the passing of the act were deemed to be part of the waste, and allotted; those older would be accepted as ancient enclosure. The enclosure map shows such plots which are identified in the schedule as 'on the waste', and as either 'allotments' or 'cottages and gardens' (Figure 5.4). These features have become fossilised in the modern landscape and can still be identified today (Figure 5.5).

⁶³⁶ NRO G4025.

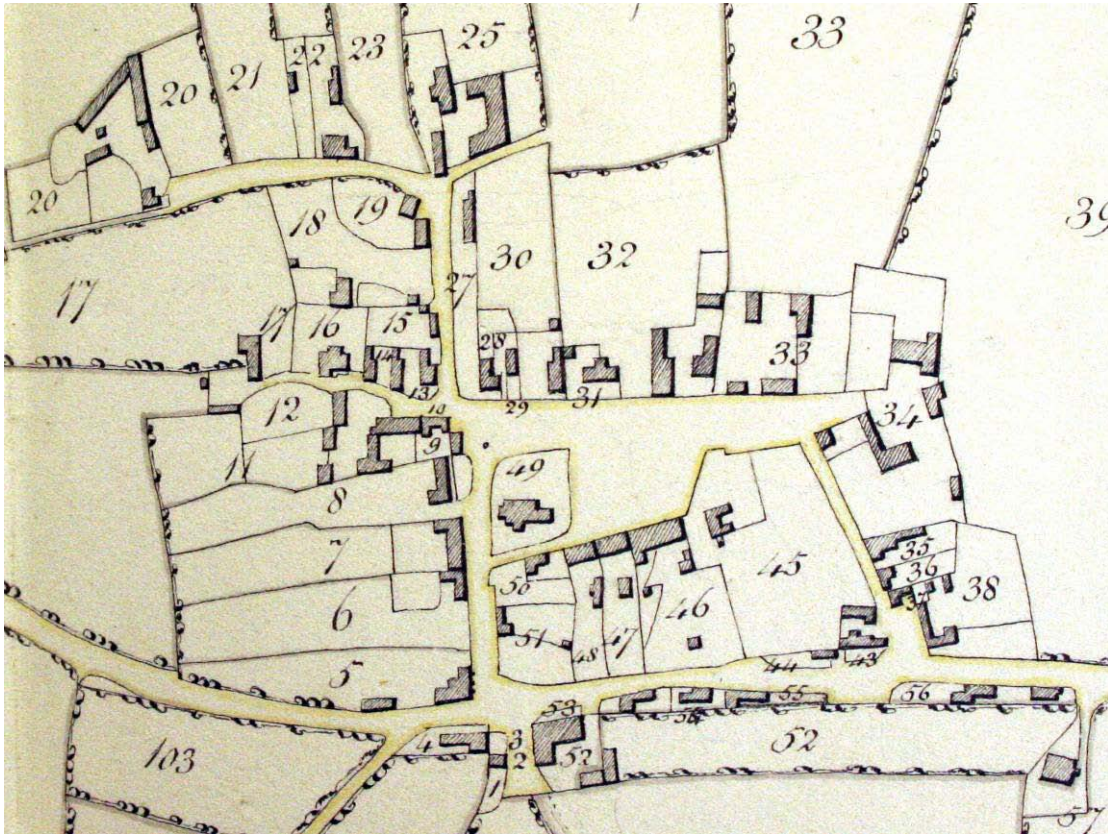


Figure 5.4: Abthorpe village on the enclosure plan of 1826. Numbers 1 and 3 are allotments and were therefore encroachments made within the previous 20 years. The other plots along the road are all classed as ancient enclosure.



Figure 5.5: The white cottage at the top of the road is the un-numbered plot to the right of number 53 on the enclosure map (Figure 5.4). The garage and front gardens of the other houses are plots 54 and 55 on the same map.

DESK-BASED ASSESSMENT

The survival of historic hedgerows at Abthorpe and Foscott was calculated through a desk-based assessment that fully encompassed both townships (Figure 5.6).⁶³⁷ This map shows the survival and loss today of hedges that existed at Foscott in 1725 and immediately before parliamentary enclosure in Abthorpe in 1824: the ancient enclosures (red); those that were added at enclosure, the allotment boundaries (blue); and those that were created after enclosure which appear on the tithe map of 1839 (green).⁶³⁸ To determine which boundaries were added at enclosure the draft enclosure map, final enclosure map and award were all used. Not all the boundaries shown on enclosure maps were intended to be hedges. Some are marking plots being exchanged to consolidate holdings and so are grouped together with only the outer boundary being hedged. All these were identified using the schedule attached to the map and the award, and only those intended to be hedges are mapped. It is important to understand these distinctions otherwise the loss of boundaries may be taken to be greater than is in fact the case. Lost boundaries are indicated by dotted lines. There has been significant loss of hedges from all periods. Only those associated with roads surviving reasonably well regardless of date.

⁶³⁷ Foscott was included at this stage to allow comparison with the field survey undertaken by volunteers.

⁶³⁸ Foscott is included on the enclosure map for Abthorpe but is also shown on an earlier map of c.1725 (NRO Map 458) from which the data are taken. There were no boundaries added to Foscott at enclosure but some had been added by the date of the tithe map.

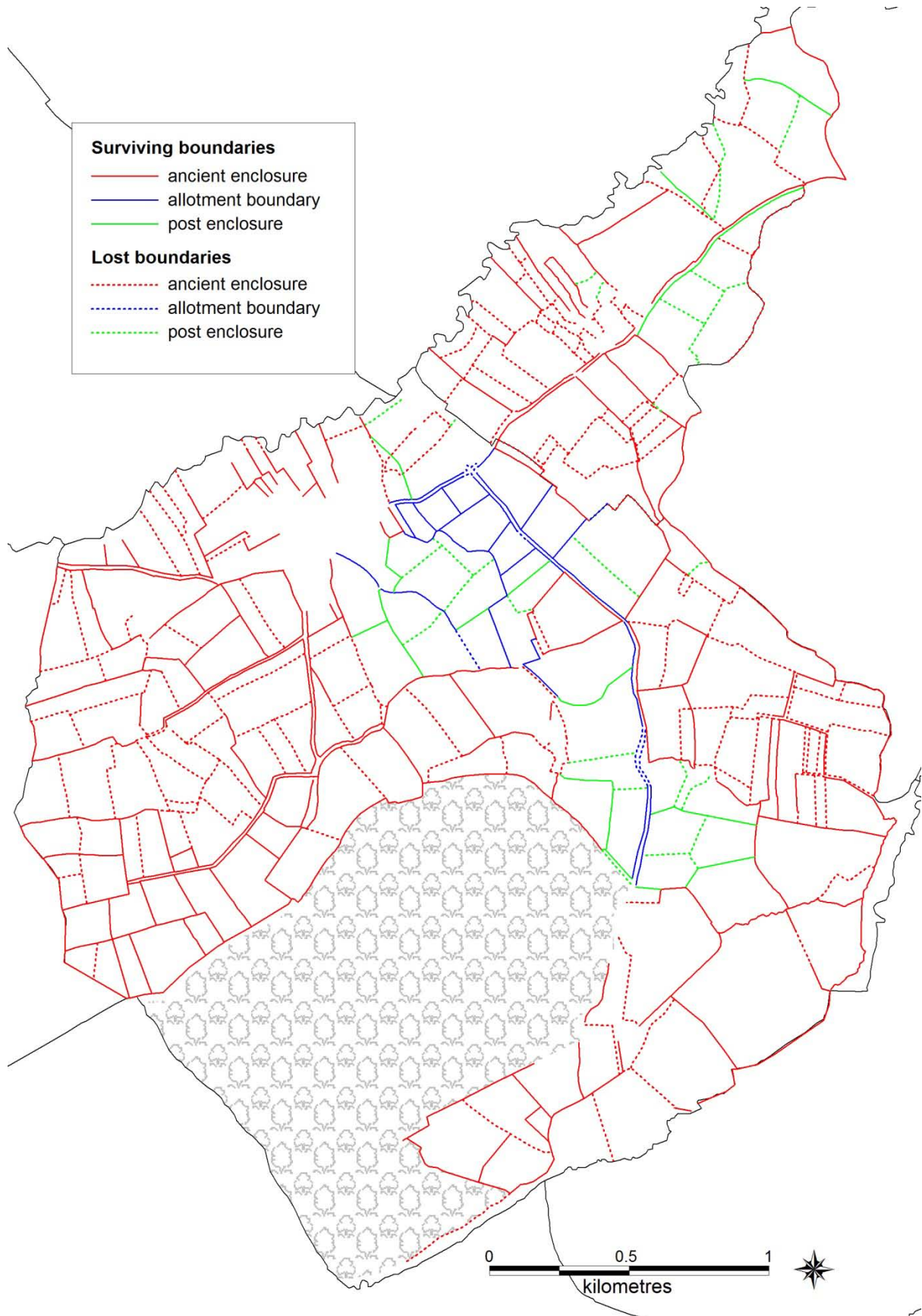


Figure 5.6: Survival and loss of hedges at Abthorpe and Foscott mapped from the desk-based assessment.

LANDSCAPE SURVEY

Field survey was undertaken across the whole townships of Abthorpe and Foscott . Hedge condition was recorded in all areas. Hedge species were recorded only in a small area. Similarly the location of trees was recorded in all areas but species only recorded in the same areas as hedges. Land use was recorded in all areas, with gaps around farms and other buildings.

The dominant hedge species is hawthorn and blackthorn, usually mixed. Only two of the hedges, where species were recorded, did not contain either or both hawthorn and blackthorn. Other species frequently seen mixed with the thorns are field maple, dogwood, and hazel. Surviving and lost historic hedges are shown against modern land use in Figure 5.7. There is very little survival of hedges in any of the arable areas, which is unsurprising as their original stock-proof function is lost and small closes do not suit modern machinery. But there is also significant loss in the areas of pasture, particularly in the east of Abthorpe around the Handley closes. At Foscott there is very poor survival in all areas. Hedges within pasture areas have also lost at least part of their function as they are typically reinforced with wire to control stock. But while this might explain their condition it does not explain their loss as only a very few have been wholly replaced by wire or wood fences (Figure 5.8). An explanation might be found in landownership. At the enclosure of Abthorpe in 1823 much of the area around Handley closes was in the possession of several small owners, as indeed was the large block of what is now arable to the south-west of the village (Figure 5.3). Today the land is consolidated into just a few farms some clearly favouring an arable regime and others pasture.⁶³⁹ Land use in an enclosed landscape is determined by the will of the landowner and, to a lesser degree, the tenant. However, the number of landowners arguably has as much influence. Numerous small owners create numerous small closes, as hedges are maintained as property boundaries. A single owner could also create numerous small closes, should he so choose. But only a single large owner can remove hedges over a wide area.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁹ Landownership data were not collected as part of the survey but data from the Multi-Agency Geographic Information for the Countryside (MAGIC) <http://magic.defra.gov.uk/default.htm> would suggest that most of the land in both Abthorpe and Foscott is held by only half-a-dozen owners.

⁶⁴⁰ The influence of landowners on the enclosed landscape is discussed in Chapter 4.

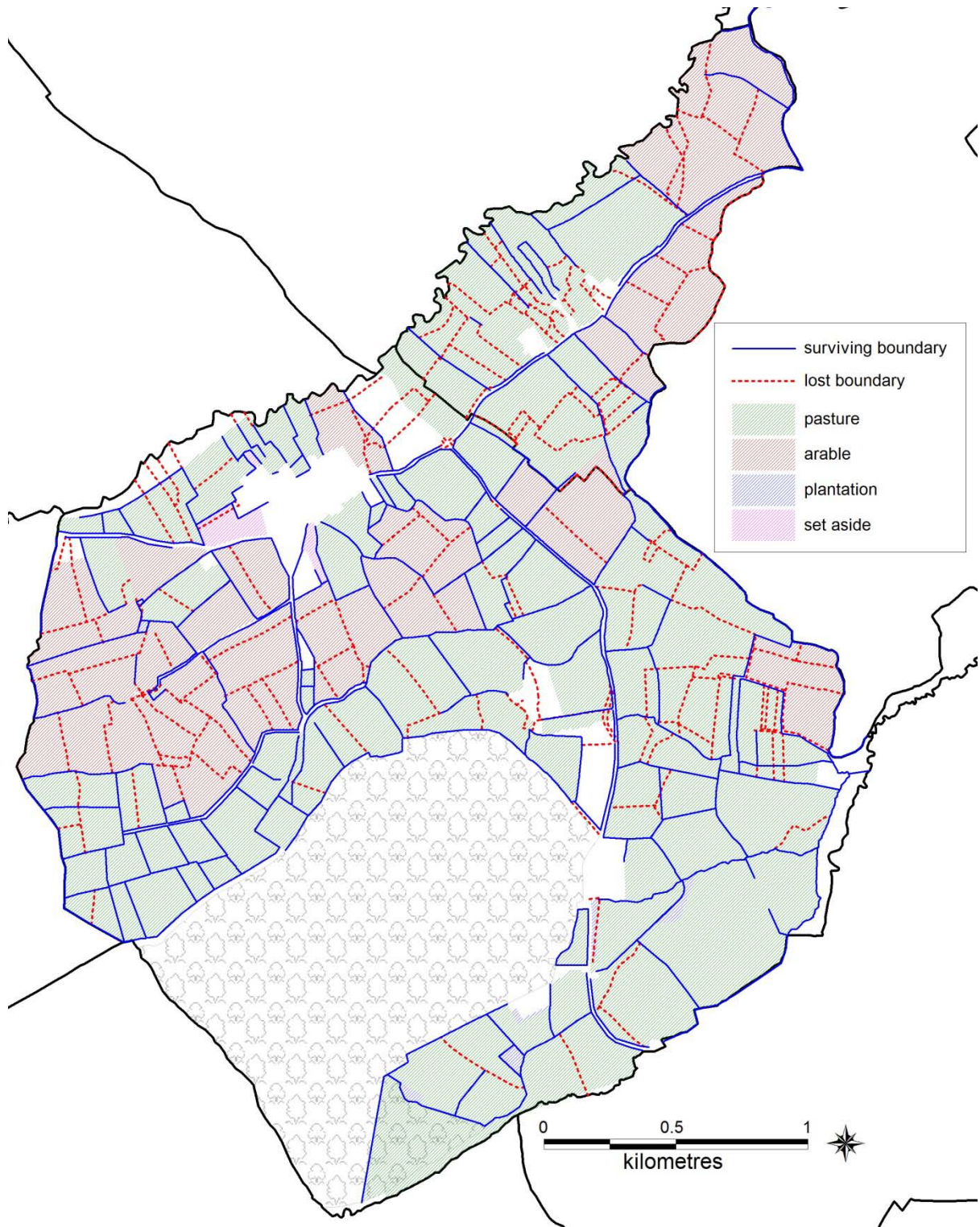


Figure 5.7: Abthorpe and Foscott survey data showing land use with survival and loss of all historic hedges.

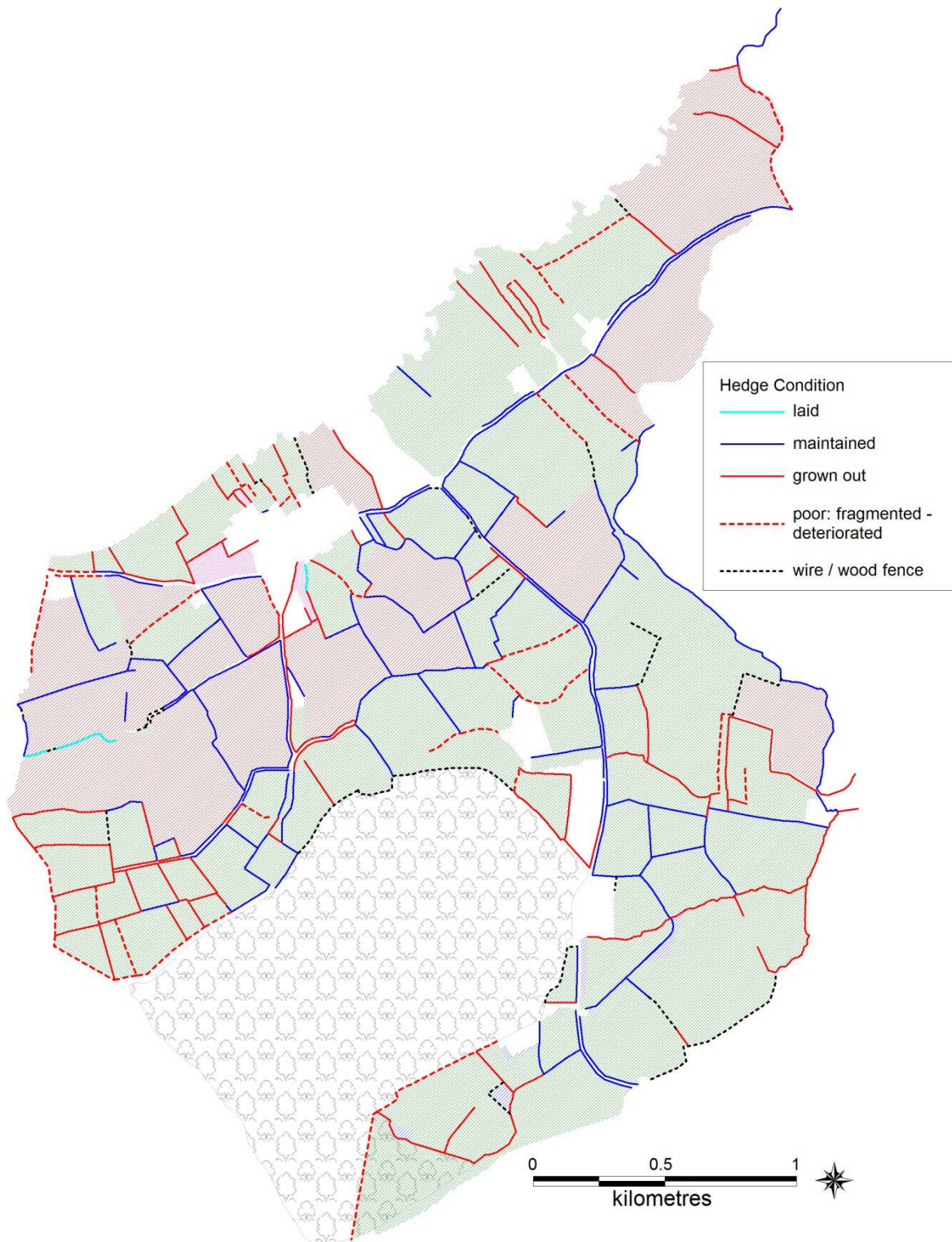


Figure 5.8: Hedgerow survival and condition shown against land use at Abthorpe and Foscott. Modern land use as in Figure 5.7.

The same argument can be made for Foscott where there was only one owner, the Duke of Grafton, in 1725, 1823 and 1839. But here the land was tenanted and was being organised to suit the number of tenants. There were eight tenants in 1725 and most of these shared the

small closes to the south and south-west of the hamlet. The larger closes to the north and north-east were almost all held by a single tenant Valentine Barford (Figure 5.9). The tenurial structure in 1823 is not known as enclosure allotments are not concerned with tenants, only owners. But many of the hedges that have been lost at Foscott had already gone by 1823, particularly those south of the settlement where the smaller closes and majority of tenants were. Clearly the land was being reorganised by this date. In 1839 almost all of the land in Foscott was held by just two tenants both with the same family name 'Barford'. The tenancies were split along a north-south axis bisecting the settlement, roughly the same division as seen between the multiple tenants and Valentine Barford in 1725. Those in the south where the hedges had been removed were wholly pasture. Those in the north were reorganized, but not by the removal of hedges, rather by their addition to what appear to have been large sheepwalks to create smaller arable closes. Two large closes of roughly 30 acres were divided into three and four smaller closes. This is contrary to what happens in some regions in the nineteenth century, notably Norfolk and Suffolk, where hedges were being removed around smaller closes to accommodate the machinery used in arable cultivation.⁶⁴¹ It is not until the second half of the twentieth century that the arable regime results in large-scale hedge removal in Northamptonshire.

⁶⁴¹ Wade Martins, (2004), p.102.

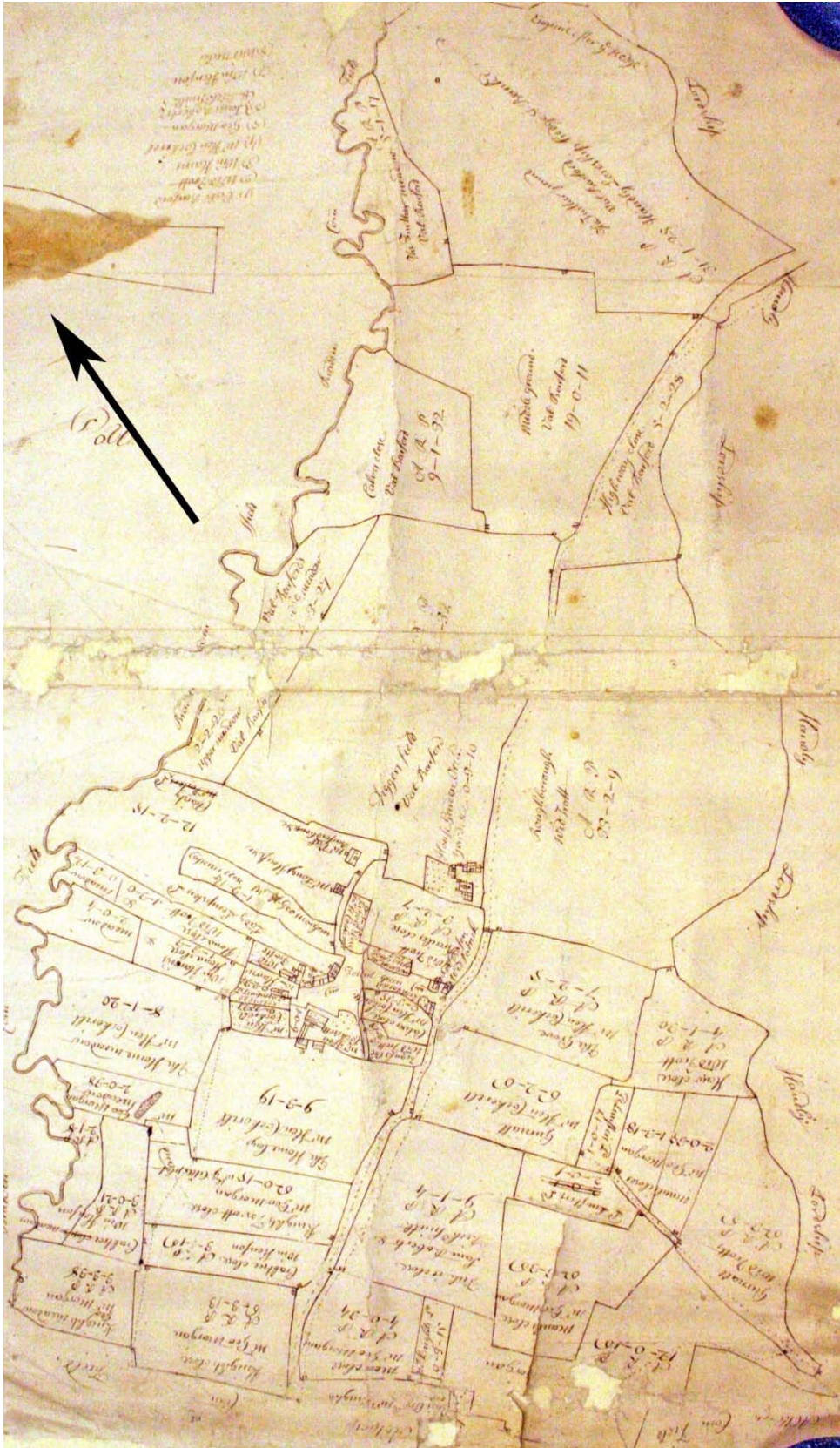


Figure 5.9: Foscott in c.1725. Note the large closes to the north of the settlement and the group of much smaller closes to the south.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴² NRO Map 458.

It is possible to quantify hedgerow loss in relationship to land use, but there are certain caveats. Ideally the total length of hedgerow from any period should be calculated separately for the fields of pasture and the fields of arable, thus allowing the proportions of survival and loss to be measured against land use. However, a fundamental problem is caused by hedges being shared between fields of arable and pasture on either side, which raises the question of which should they be attributed to, or should they be attributed to both? To do either would skew the data as they would either be under or over counted. Moreover, hedges alongside roads are maintained by law and so their survival is not wholly linked to land use. However, it can be seen in Figure 5.7 that all of the lost boundaries occur *within* particular areas of land use, not on the boundaries between them. The method adopted, therefore, calculates only the hedges within fields measured against land use. The sum of historic boundaries, both surviving and lost but excluding the outer boundaries of the fields, has been calculated. The sum of lost boundaries has then been calculated as proportion of that figure. The total length of historic hedgerows within the arable areas was 17.13km. The length of hedgerows lost is 13.78km or 78 per cent. In the pasture fields the total length of historic hedgerows was 36.77km. The length of hedgerows lost 18.98km or 51 per cent. Therefore, half have been lost in the pasture fields and just over three-quarters in the arable fields. Without information relating to landownership the land use might have been interpreted as the dominating, or sole, influence on hedgerow loss. Having more datasets and the ability to map them in GIS enables a more holistic interpretation to be made.

In Figure 5.8 the surveyed hedges are classified by condition against a background of land use. From this it can be seen that those hedges that do survive in the arable fields are generally being maintained, and the only hedge to have been recently laid is in this area. Many of these hedges form property boundaries or the division between arable and pasture fields and so might be expected to survive and be managed effectively (Figure 5.10). The hedgerows in the pasture fields are generally in poorer condition. This is especially noticeable around Withymoor, at the top left of Bucknell Wood (marked on Figure 5.3), and is particularly unfortunate as this area represents one of the earliest phases of enclosure. Very few of the hedges show signs of having been previously laid and this is indicative of their overall poor condition, with many of the hedges having grown out or containing large gaps. This is largely due to the addition of wire fences to hedges meaning the hedge can be allowed to deteriorate (Figures 5.11, 5.12).



Figure 5.10: A managed hedge that is reinforced with wire. On this side with the wire the land use is pasture, on the opposite side it is arable.



Figure 5.11: The remnant of a hedge that has been allowed to deteriorate, its function replaced by a wire fence.



Figure 5.12: This remnant hedge is being cut at the top but is being worn away on the lower stems by stock rubbing through it. Note the scraps of fleece left on the stems. Behind the hedge is a wire fence that now controls the stock.

Trees in hedgerows and on the line of former hedges were recorded, but not those in plantations or shelter belts. A total of 422 trees were recorded with species given for 205 (Figure 5.13). Over half are ash and another quarter are oak. The next most prolific species recorded was willow though they are more commonly associated with streams rather than hedges. There are nine other species, most having only a few examples. Fruit trees are often found in the vicinity of former settlement, and plum and crab apple trees are found in the hedges of closes which has been attached to cottages formerly standing in Foscott. It is also possible to see where trees survive on the line of a former hedgerow though the hedge itself has gone. This is most evident around the Handley closes. However, in most cases, and especially in the arable areas, the loss of the hedge has also resulted in the loss of associated trees. An extract of the survey data shows the location of surviving trees, in the south-west corner of Withymoor, in relation to those depicted on the OS 1:10,560 scale mapping of the 1880s (Figure 5.14). The OS mapping from this series accurately located trees. It can be seen that even where the hedgerow survives the number of trees in the modern landscape is far fewer than historically.



Figure 5.13: Trees recorded at Abthorpe and Foscott. Species are indicated where known. Data are presented with all the surveyed hedges (blue lines) and land use.

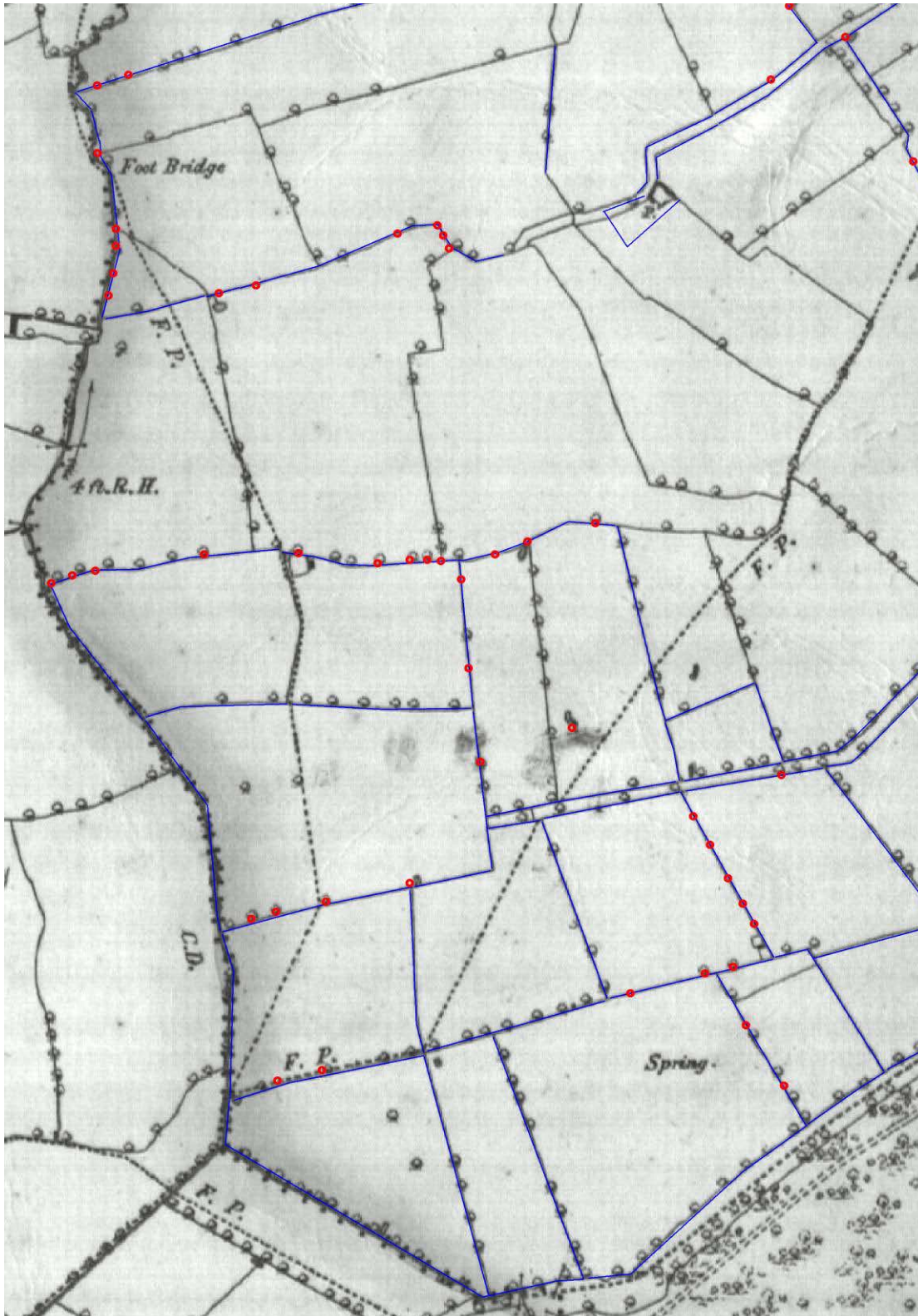


Figure 5.14: Trees recorded at Abthorpe in red against the Ordnance Survey map of the 1880s which accurately records the position of trees. Blue lines are surviving historic hedgerows.

Badby

At the enclosure of Badby, in 1799, 59 per cent of the township was still open field.

Enclosure of the demesne had taken place in 1592, represented by the consolidated block of enclosures in the eastern side of the township (Figure 5.15). This land had been farmed by the manorial tenants, including villagers from Newnham (the adjacent township to the east) as well as Badby. A map dated 1637 shows that part of this area, to the east of Badby woods, was called the Stockings and Berry Close (Figure 5.16).⁶⁴³ The name ‘stockings’ indicates former woodland, suggesting that the woods once extended up to the township boundary, while Berry Close normally indicates land belonging to the manor.

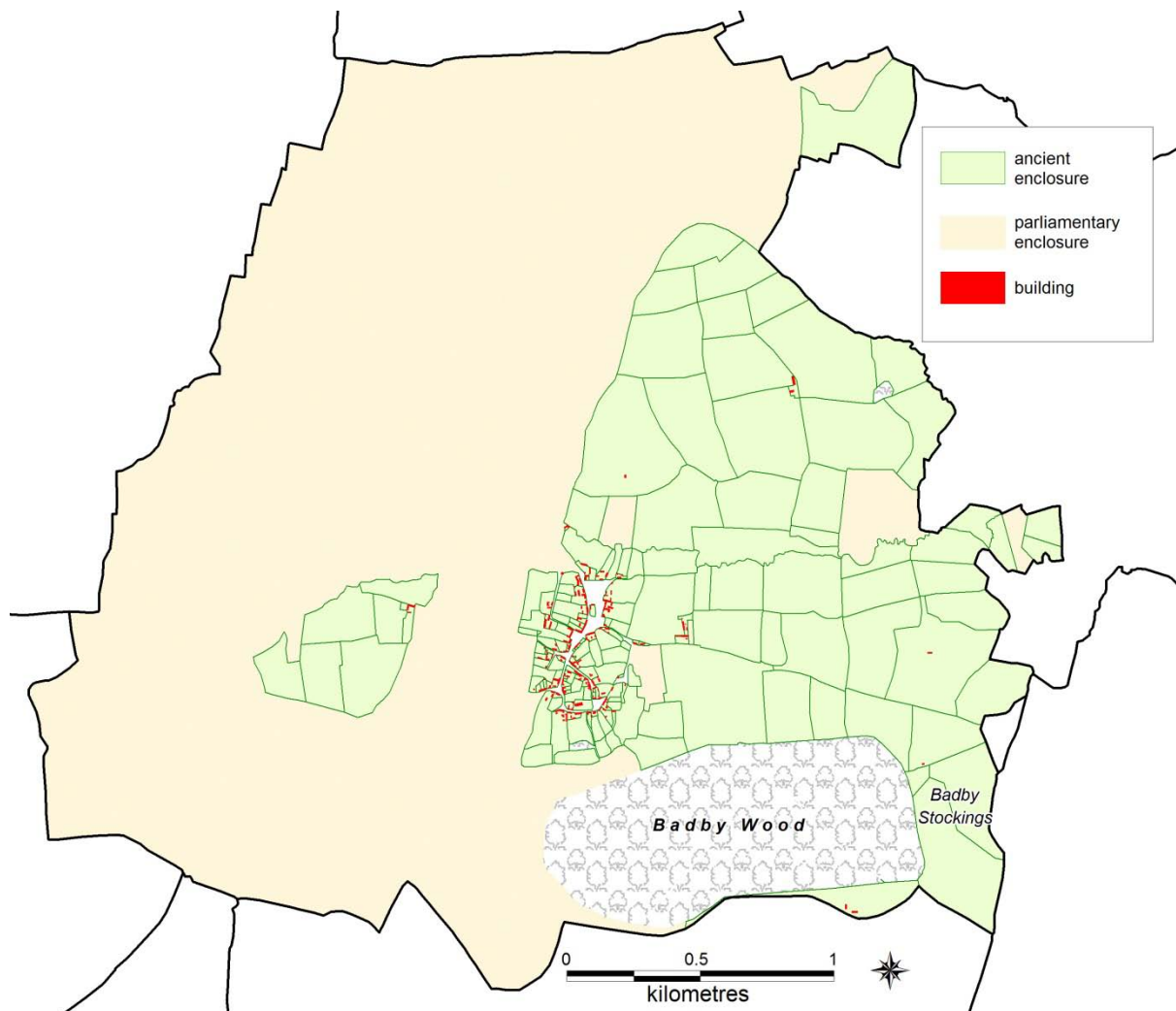


Figure 5.15: The landscape of Badby at enclosure in 1799.

⁶⁴³ NRO Map TH3339.

records survive, including numerous court orders from the sixteenth century onwards, indicating a strong manorial presence. As most of the properties were held by copyhold, exchange of property was strictly controlled passing among the same families by inheritance. Many of the familial names given in the enclosure award can also be found on documents from the sixteenth century.⁶⁴⁵ Several of the ‘family’ allotments are grouped together, particularly the smaller ones, suggesting that they were being farmed together. Each of the allotments was accessible from a road. Only the main north-south road through the township (a turnpike from 1765, and the modern A361) was required to be enclosed, all other roads, including those through the ancient enclosure, were unenclosed and gated. Seven allotments were made for stone, gravel or mortar pits. Four of these were small irregular plots along the eastern side of the main road to the north of the village. All of these survive as lay-bys.

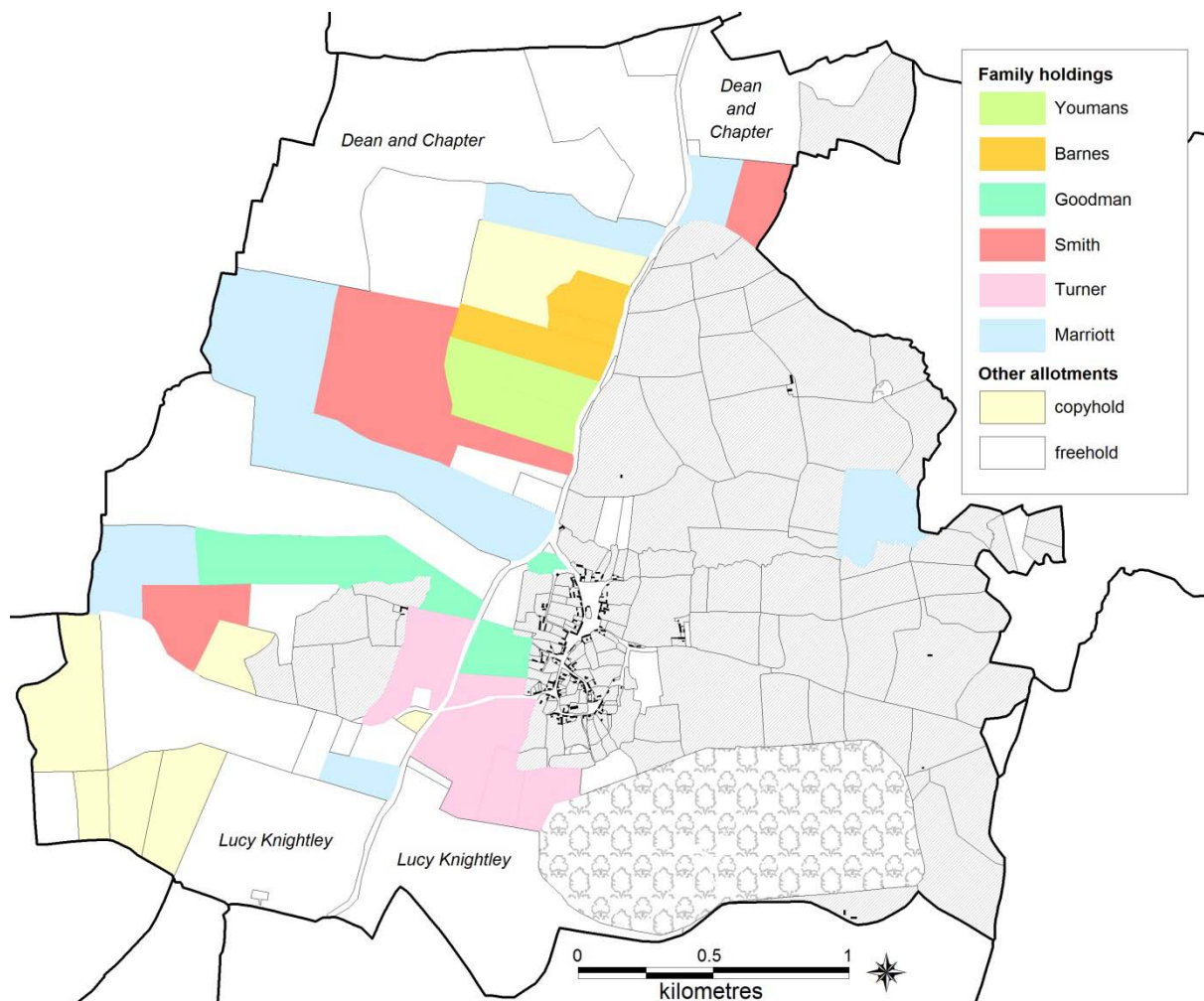


Figure 5.17: Enclosure allotments at Badby in 1799 indicating tenure and familial association. Allotments made to the two principal landowners are named.

⁶⁴⁵ NRO Fermor Hesketh Baker 714/147-152; X9779, and numerous other documents in the Thornton collection.

DESK-BASED ASSESSMENT

The survival of historic hedgerows at Badby was calculated through a desk-based assessment across the whole township (Figure 5.18). Survival and loss of hedges is indicated by period: ancient enclosures (red); those that were added at enclosure, the allotment boundaries (blue); and those that were created after enclosure and are shown on the OS mapping from the 1880s (green). Lost boundaries are indicated by dotted lines. The most significant hedgerow loss is from within the ancient enclosures where very few of the early boundaries survive. A greater proportion of the enclosure allotment boundaries survive, though there were few created at this period. By the 1880s the large enclosure allotments had been heavily sub-divided to create smaller closes, but many of these have since also been removed.

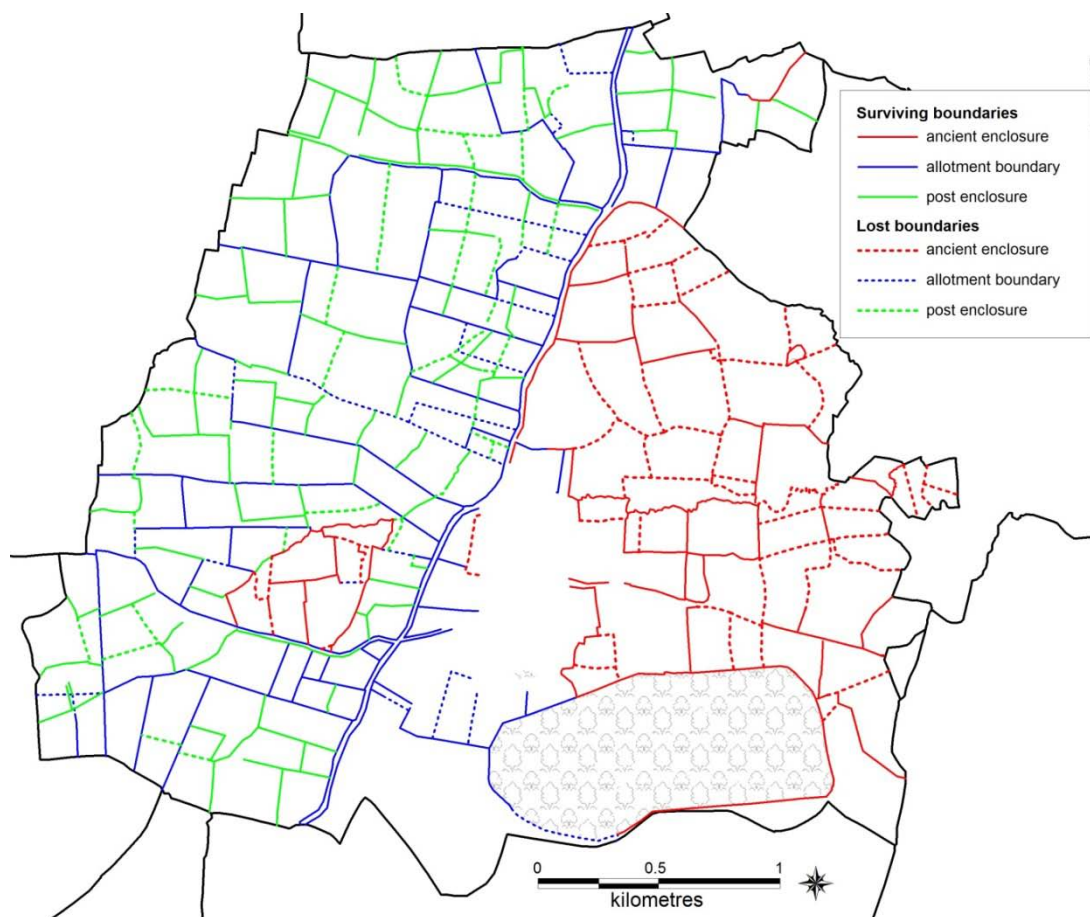


Figure 5.18: Survival and loss of hedges at Badby mapped from the desk-based assessment.

Creating the data in GIS has enabled them to be quantified as well as geographically referenced and illustrated (Table 5.1). The total length of historic hedgerows, those shown on maps up to and including the OS 1880s, has been calculated as 85km. The total lost is 24km or 28 per cent. This can be broken down into the three periods: ancient enclosure, allotment

boundaries, post-enclosure. It is the ancient enclosure that has seen the most significant loss; some 12km, or 43 per cent, of the total 28km. The second largest period of loss is from the post-enclosure boundaries. There were 25km in total and 7km or 28 per cent lost. The allotment boundaries total 33km and these have seen the least loss; 6km or 18 per cent.

There is the potential for bias in the data with regard to the allotment boundaries. These boundaries include hedges along the turnpike road for almost its entire length on both sides. Some 6km or 22 per cent of the surviving boundaries are accounted for by the roadside hedgerows. Hedges alongside roads are required to be maintained so the survival of these may have little to do with factors affecting hedges elsewhere, such as land use or landownership. Furthermore, the allotment boundaries are ownership boundaries and as such might be expected to be maintained, if ownership remains in different hands on either side of the hedge, and so would be unaffected by land use. Current landownership has not been recorded and land use only partially so these hypotheses cannot be tested here.

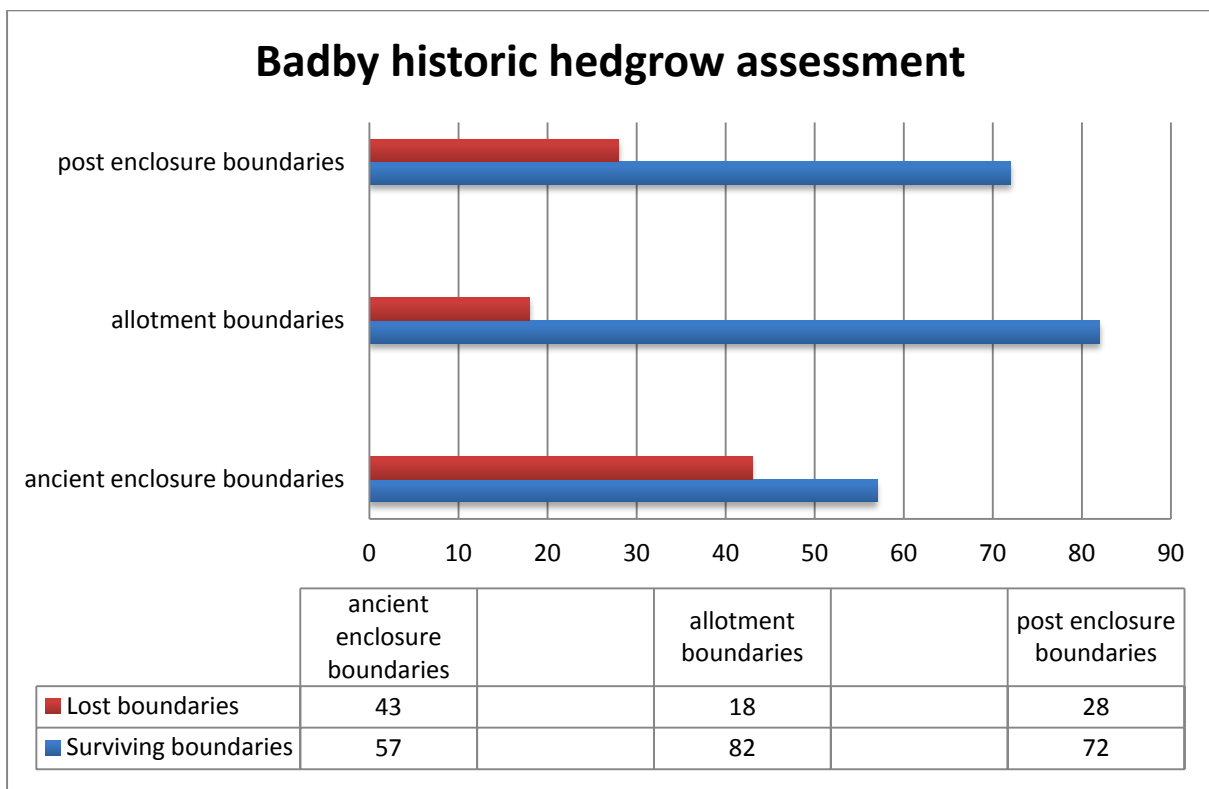


Table 5.1: Percentages of hedgerow survival and loss from different periods at Badby.

LANDSCAPE SURVEY

Field survey was undertaken in areas containing both ancient and parliamentary enclosure covering about one third of the township (Figure 5.19). Approximately half the hedges surveyed for condition also had species recorded. A total of 584 separate trees and their species were recorded, together with land use. The dominant hedge species is hawthorn and blackthorn, usually mixed. All of the hedges, where species were recorded, contained either or both hawthorn and blackthorn. Other species are frequently seen mixed with the thorns: the most prolific were crab apple, elder and wych elm. Species in the eastern side of the survey area were identified as predominantly hawthorn and blackthorn, but other varieties were not noted. In the western side a more rigorous recording was made with all species noted. The eastern area is predominantly arable and the western almost entirely pasture. If the species had been recorded to the same standard in all areas it might have been possible to assess if there is any correlation between variety of species and land use.

In Figure 5.19 all the hedges surveyed and the hedges lost are shown against the modern land use. It is immediately apparent that there has been massive loss of hedges in the fields under arable cultivation. This occurs across the whole township but data are only presented for the areas surveyed by fieldwork. The condition of surviving hedges is shown against land use in Figure 5.20. Their overall condition is very poor regardless of whether in arable or pasture fields. Those in the block of closes in the south-west corner of the township are particularly bad. This area is wholly pasture, but so is the block of closes immediately north where the hedges are being maintained. Landownership was not recorded but a logical explanation to this pattern is that they are in different ownership.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁶ A search of the MAGIC website shows the fields around the poorly maintained area to be within a Stewardship Scheme, while the area in question is not.

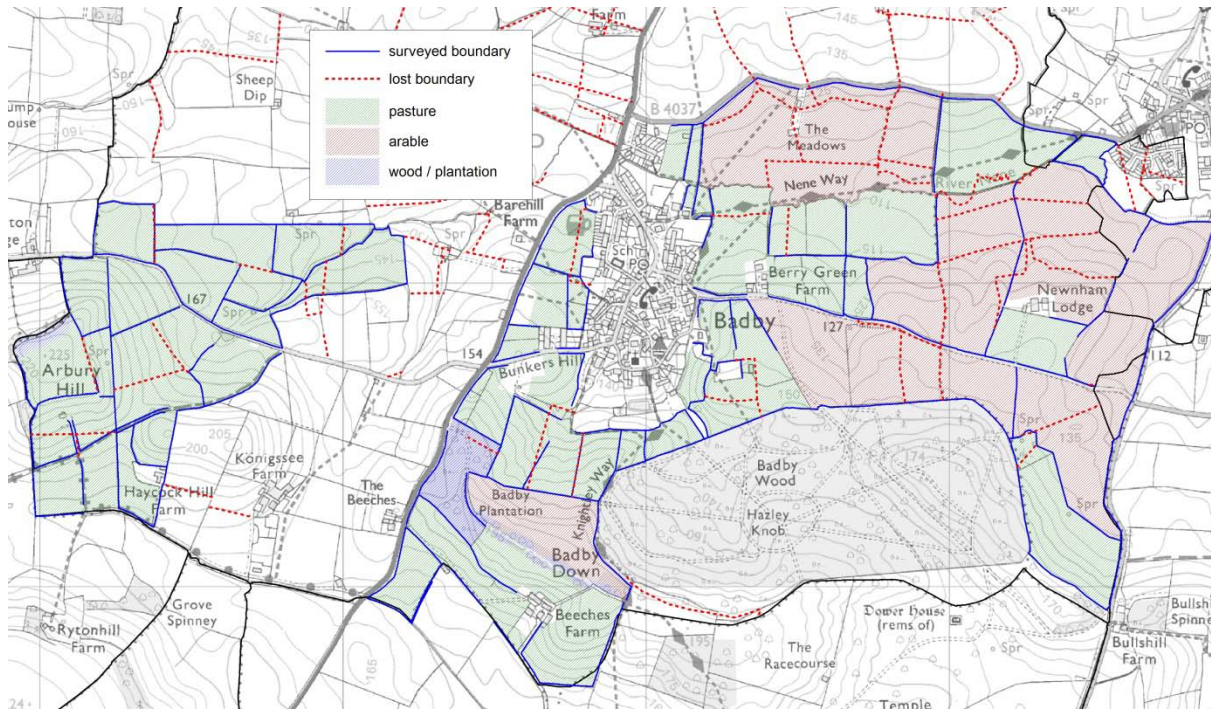


Figure 5.19: Badby survey data showing land use and each hedge surveyed, as well as hedges lost.

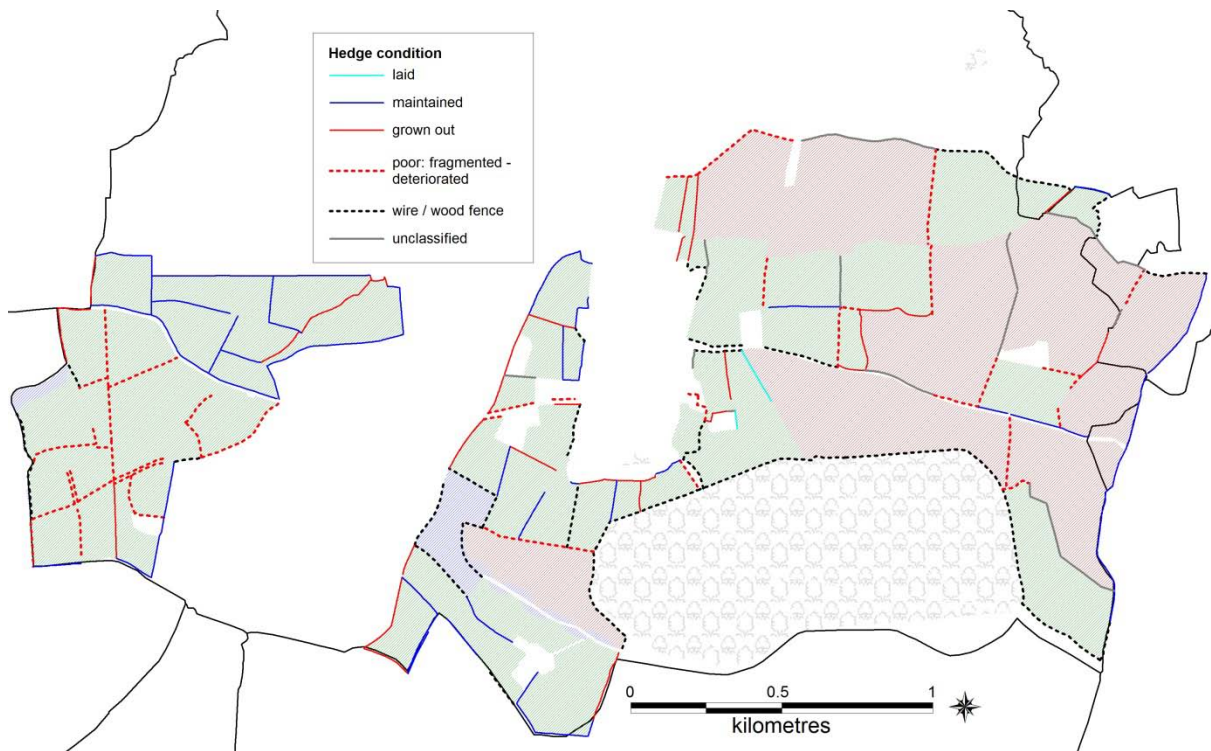


Figure 5.20: Hedgerow survival and condition shown against land use at Badby.

Trees in hedgerows and on the line of former hedges were recorded, but not those in plantations or shelter belts. At Badby along the western end of Bunkers Hill (to the west of the village, Figure 5.19) the ash and sycamore were too numerous to count and these are indicated on the map by a star symbol (Figure 5.21). The dominant species are ash, 44 per

cent, and oak, 20 per cent. Sycamore is almost as common as oak and the numbers may even be greater if all individual trees were counted. There are also significant numbers of willows, most along the line of the river Nene. There is a mix of other tree species, identified in the legend. It can also be seen where trees survive on the line of a former hedgerow, though the hedge itself has gone. In most cases the loss of the hedge has also resulted in the loss of associated trees.

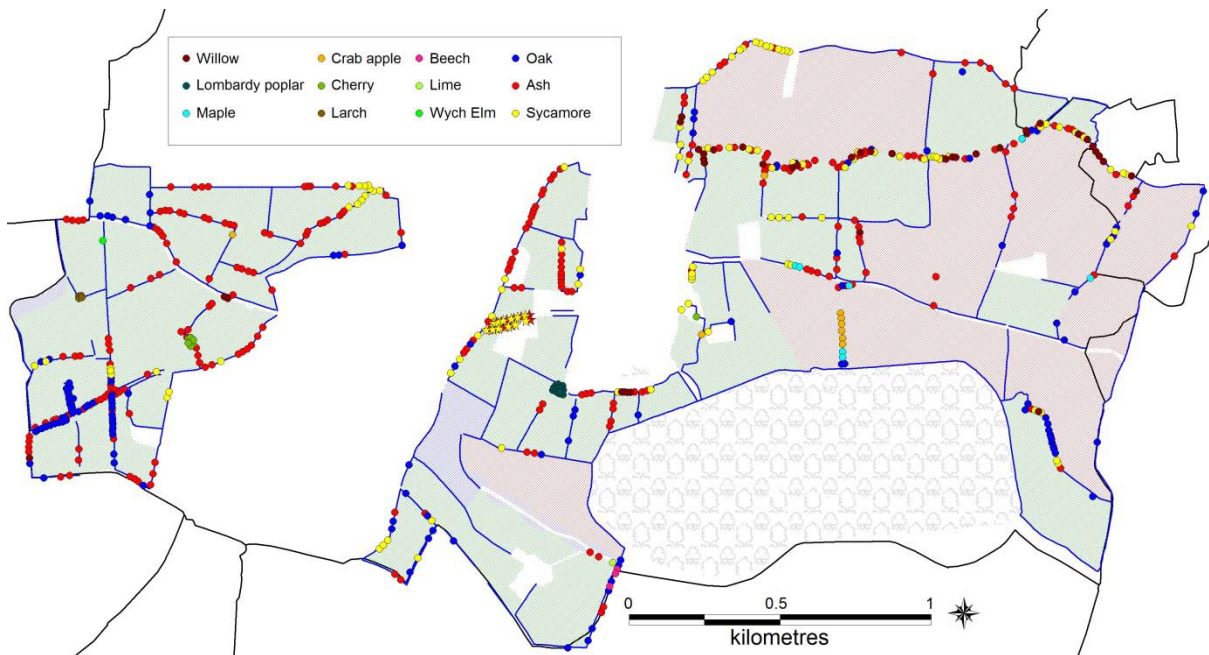


Figure 5.21: Trees recorded at Badby. Circles represent single trees. Stars represent multiple trees that were not counted (only ash and sycamore). Data are presented with all the surveyed hedges (blue lines) and land use.

Haselbech

Haselbech was enclosed in a single phase in 1598. The map and agreement which detail the process survive (Figure 5.22).⁶⁴⁷ Early enclosed townships like Haselbech have a landscape history of continuous reorganisation. How much of that reorganisation can be traced, however, is dependent on the sources. At Haselbech the first map after enclosure to encompass the whole township is the tithe map of 1840, some 240 years later.⁶⁴⁸ There are also two eighteenth century maps but they cover a very small area and while one of these is particularly useful for tracing the evolution of the village and the park, they are both of limited value for the wider landscape.⁶⁴⁹ At enclosure there were 11 allottees, with Sir Thomas Tresham the majority landholder. It was largely at Tresham's behest that enclosure took place. He was a keen encloser for sheep farming, who made other early and equally unpopular enclosures at Rushton.⁶⁵⁰ But his principal purpose at Haselbech was increased revenue from rents. The plan ultimately backfired, but not before the eviction of 'some sixty persons' who either could not or would not pay the vastly increased amounts.⁶⁵¹

Due to the small number of allotments the landscape structure created at enclosure was very simple, and very similar to that at Little Addington enclosed in 1830 and discussed in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.1). The agreement describes the plots and specifies that the land is to be held in severalty and '*without intercommoning for ever hereafter*'. It does not provide any specifications for hedges. Some features were to remain communal: the stone pit was to be open to all inhabitants '*between St George's day and Michaelmas*' for repair of their own buildings and they were to have '*free passage*' to said pit; and the way to Chadwell Spring was to be left open for all to water their cattle.⁶⁵² The roads or 'ways' are of particular interest. At enclosure most were hedged on one side only, running through each of the new fields via gates. The route to Naseby called the Naseby Way in 1598 was the only enclosed road in the township. Two other roads crossed the township, and the agreement makes specific mention regarding their enclosure; '*... [if] such ways to be now open and hereafter shall be made lanes ... every owner and occupier of any land(s) making any lane of any of the said now open ways shall be charged with the repair of the same ways within the same*

⁶⁴⁷ NRO Map 561.

⁶⁴⁸ NRO T231.

⁶⁴⁹ NRO Maps 569, 5429.

⁶⁵⁰ Finch, (1956), p.87.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶⁵² NRO Map 561. The Agreement is attached to the map.

lanes ...'. A road that is 'laned' is hedged both sides, in others words, 'enclosed'.

Transferring responsibility for the maintenance of enclosed roads to adjacent owners may explain why roads within early enclosures were often left open.



Figure 5.22: Haselbech enclosure map of 1598 (north is at the bottom). The blue lands were allotted to Sir Thomas Tresham. Naseby Way runs from the corner of the village above the red plot.

The enclosed Naseby Way was of considerable width being some 65m (220feet) at its broadest and roughly 50m for much of the rest of its length.⁶⁵³ At enclosure it was agreed that the herbage be shared between all proprietors, so possibly the creation of such a wide road was a deliberate method of retaining a communal pasture. Wide roads in the unenclosed landscape were not unusual and are seen on detailed maps.⁶⁵⁴ They were also sometimes preserved in the anciently enclosed landscape that followed.⁶⁵⁵ In most cases they have not

⁶⁵³ Units of road width have been given in Chapter 4 in feet to allow comparison with other units of measurement in that Chapter. In this chapter units are from modern survey and, consequently, metric.

⁶⁵⁴ See Figures 3.16, 3.17, 3.19, 4.32.

⁶⁵⁵ Examples are given in 'Road Width' Chapter 4.

survived as the closes on either side have encroached into the road absorbing part of the width, or they have been encroached upon by small plots being laid out within the road. Evidence of both these processes can be seen at Haselbech (Figures 5.23 - 5.25). In the closes nearest to the village there are earthworks of the former edge of the road, as seen on the earlier maps (Figure 5.23).⁶⁵⁶ The original southern line of the road is evident as a bank within the close south of the road, and the northern boundary can be seen behind the houses. The addition of houses within the road began in the eighteenth century; just one house with a small plot on the map of 1750.⁶⁵⁷ Other houses had been added to form a row by 1840 (Figure 5.24). It was still a wide unenclosed road in 1840, gated at the end next to the village. The tithe schedule measures and values it as roughly nine acres of pasture. So in 1840 it still had the same function as when enclosed in 1598, the difference being it was no longer shared but in the hands of a single owner.⁶⁵⁸ By the 1880s the road is at its narrower modern width. The estate changed hands in the 1850s and it is likely that the reorganisation occurred soon after.

⁶⁵⁶ RAF VAP 106G\UK\636 4184.

⁶⁵⁷ NRO Map 5429.

⁶⁵⁸ NRO T231.



Figure 5.23: The east-west bank and ditch directly below the road marks the former southern edge of the Naseby Way. The northern boundary can be seen behind the houses that line the road. Other earthworks indicate former closes and buildings from the shrunken village of Haselbech.

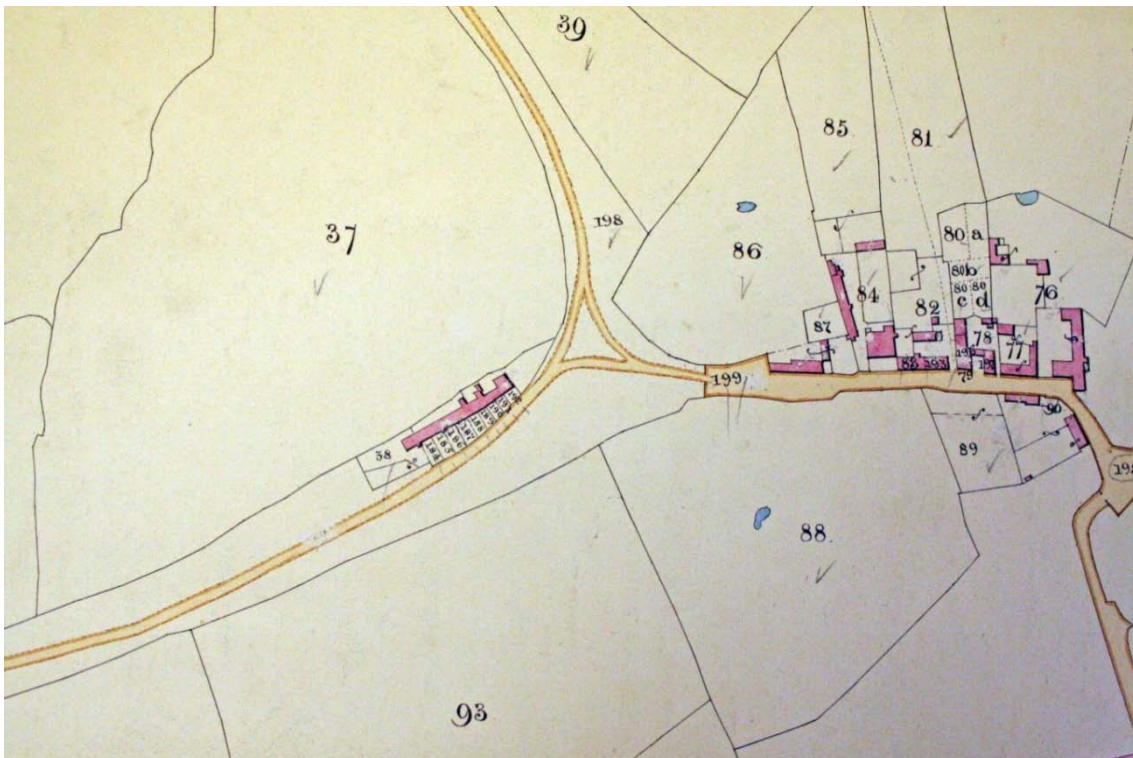


Figure 5.24: The Naseby Way was still a very wide unenclosed road in 1840.

Further west towards Naseby the road has been encroached upon by small plots along either side, first seen on the tithe map dated 1840 (Figure 5.25). The eighteenth century maps do not show this part of the township so it is uncertain when they were created. However, it is likely that they represent a method of poor relief beginning in the late eighteenth century. An undated map (but post-dating the tithe map) marked ‘enclosure of waste’ shows further plots being added within the highway boundary on the northern side of this road.⁶⁵⁹ The tithe schedule describes these plots as ‘gardens’. Similar plots are seen on other tithe maps where they are also called ‘gardens’ or in some cases ‘potato gardens’. Potato gardens were small plots of land often alongside roads that were let on a temporary basis to the poor to grow potatoes. They were precursors to allotment gardens and were introduced towards the end of the eighteenth century.⁶⁶⁰ Some of the plots at Haselbech survive today and, though much overgrown, they and others like them are significant features that should be included in any landscape management strategy. The road remained at this width until the second half of the nineteenth century.

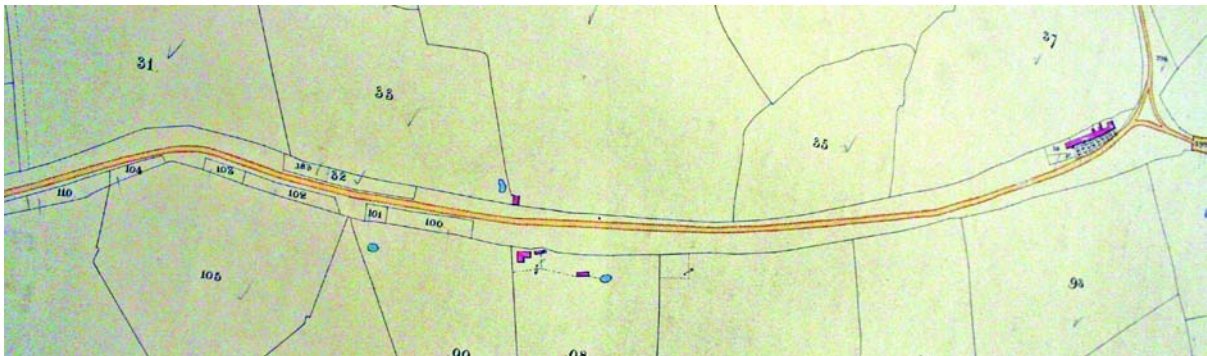


Figure 5.25: Encroachments on the waste on Naseby Way.

⁶⁵⁹ NRO Map 4774.

⁶⁶⁰ Discussed fully in Chapter 4.

DESK-BASED ASSESSMENT

The survival of historic hedgerows at Haselbech was calculated through a desk-based assessment across the whole township (Figure 5.26). The maps used in the assessment were the enclosure map of 1598 and the tithe of 1840. The large enclosure allotments had been massively sub-divided by 1840, and although the enclosure boundaries remain largely intact they are subsumed within the later pattern. In the absence of good maps from the intermediate period it is impossible to know when these sub-divisions occurred. The closes that are shown on both eighteenth century maps are virtually identical to those on the tithe map. The proportions of survival and loss have been calculated from the GIS data. Those from 1598 survive better proportionally, 67 per cent to 55 per cent from 1840. Thus almost half of these later boundaries have been lost. The modern landscape at Haselbech is predominantly arable and most of the lost hedges are within the arable areas. But this is not the only explanation for their loss, as much of the change was underway by the 1880s. Figure 5.27 is an extract from the OS 1880s map of the south-east quarter of the township. The OS mapping is particularly useful as it shows the one feature that none of the earlier maps have: trees. Tithe and estate maps do indicate woods in all their forms; copse, spinney, plantation, covert and so on, but they generally do not show trees within hedgerows or anywhere outside of woods.⁶⁶¹ The OS map adds a dimension lacking from other maps, thus giving a greater understanding of what the landscape actually looked like. Moreover, it also provides clues as to why the landscape is changing that, at least in part, explains some of the lost hedgerows. It can be seen from this map that in this area of the township there has been the addition of substantial planting along the stream, and two avenues leading from the Hall have been planted. There is significant loss of hedgerows in this area. Some it would appear to make way for the avenues, and others as part of a re-planning programme as new more regular boundaries have replaced them.

⁶⁶¹ Occasionally an estate map will show trees and tithe maps sometimes depict trees in parks and avenues, but the practice is inconsistent. None of the pre 1880s maps for Haselbech show trees.

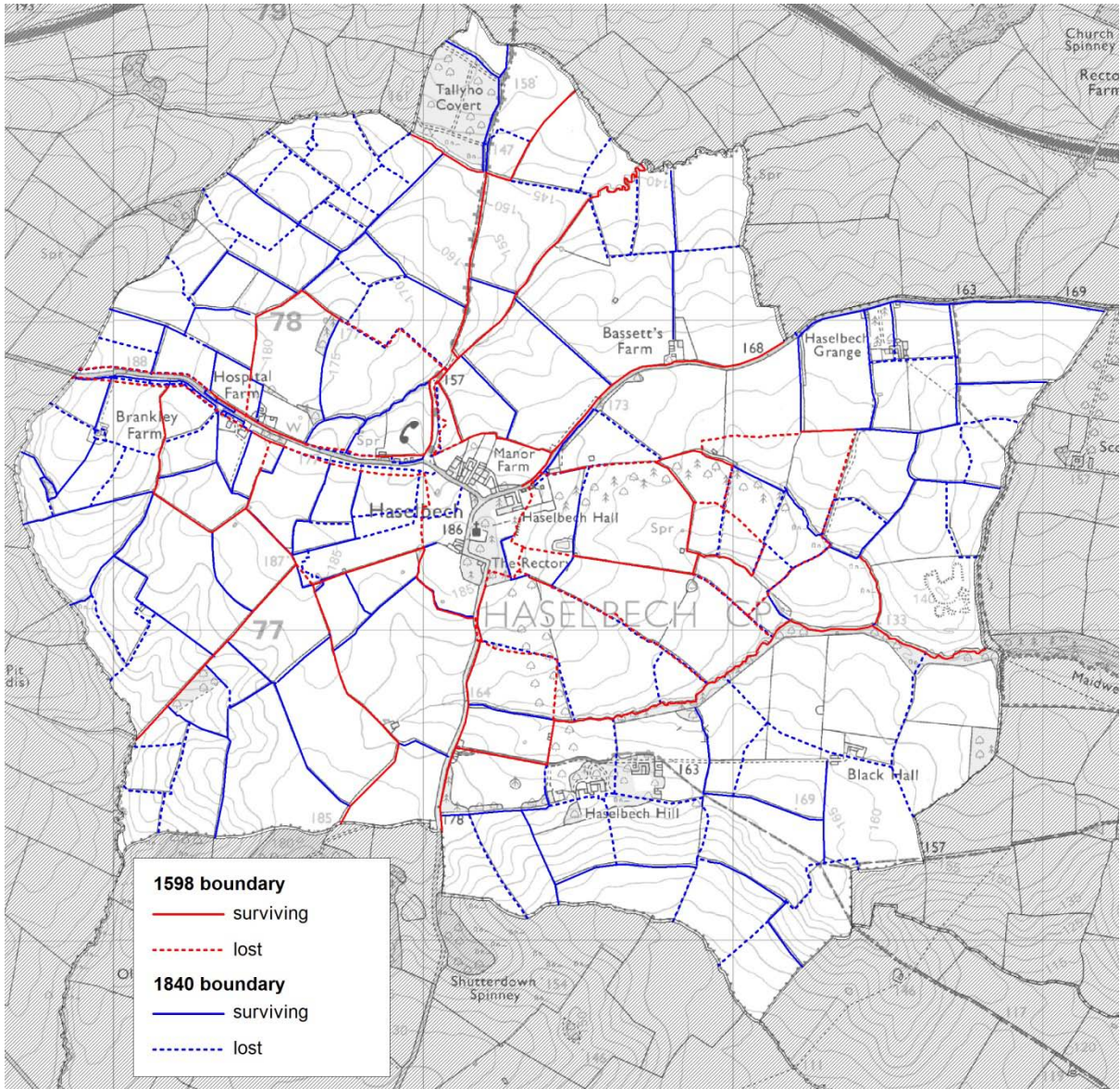


Figure 5.26: Survival and loss of historic boundaries at Haselbech.



Figure 5.27: The south-east quarter of Haselbech in c1880. There has been some reorganisation of the landscape since 1840 as evidenced by the insertion of avenues and plantations, the loss of some hedgerows and insertion of new more regular hedges. Compare to Figure 5.26.

CONCLUSION

The use of GIS has allowed all the historic landscape features to be mapped and analysed, and the identification and addressing of the factors that might influence their survival and condition. Changes in farming practice, environmental factors such as disease, and tenurial structure have all been seen to have had an influence on the survival of the historic landscape within the modern. It has also demonstrated that the key factor in the landscape is the landowner. The addition or removal of hedges has always been the owner's decision and, subject to regulations protecting some hedges, it still is. Land use, too, is the choice of the landowner. Although land use is highly influenced by market forces, modern machinery and chemicals make this far less constrained by soils, topography and drainage than was the earlier case.

The three case studies above illustrate various aspects of the proposed methodology. How much can be achieved is dependent on the historical sources, current resources, and the enclosure history. The more complicated the landscape evolution, the more time-consuming the process of mapping and assessment. The method has been designed to identify key areas of landscape to be targeted for further stages of assessment. The first two stages of assessment are essential for disentangling the historic threads within modern landscape and are especially useful for targeting areas that may survive unrecognized and subsumed by later modifications. The value of the fourth stage is linked to the abilities of the field surveyor. This study used volunteers for field work and was necessarily constrained by their knowledge and restrictions of time. This does not undermine the method, but some information regarding the surveyors should be included with the metadata which can then be factored into the analysis.

The field surveys in Abthorpe and Badby identified some common features. The dominant hedge species are hawthorn and blackthorn. These were the two species that the enclosure awards specified should be planted. New hedges have also been observed to be either or both hawthorn and blackthorn. There is therefore remarkable continuity in the hedgerows. The overall condition of the hedges in Abthorpe and Badby was also similar in that they are generally very poor. If the hedges alongside roads are removed from the assessment, as they are required to be maintained by law, then the overall condition is even worse. Hedges have been found to survive less well in arable fields where they are more likely to be entirely

removed, than those in fields of pasture. The loss of hedges in arable areas is partly because their stock-proof function is redundant and also because a network of small hedged closes are unsuited to modern machinery. But conversely where hedges do survive in arable they are also likely to be in better condition and actively managed, than those in pasture where they are usually reinforced with wire and allowed to deteriorate. Hedgerows were historically managed by laying, to maintain their stock-proof function, a practice that continued into the twentieth century. Many of the hedges show the evidence of past laying, but none seem to have been laid in recent decades, as wire has replaced that function. At Abthorpe another factor affecting hedgerow survival was identified, and that is the consolidation of landholding. At enclosure there were numerous small closes owned by many individuals who would have maintained hedges as property boundaries. Today large blocks of land are held by fewer people thereby making this function also redundant. Further research across the rest of the county would be required to assess if this is typically the case. Hedges have some measure of protection under The Hedgerows Regulations 1997, which legislate on the removal of hedgerows or acts causing their destruction.⁶⁶² However, this does not address a lack of effective management that results in the eventual disappearance of hedgerows. The assessment of hedges in the case studies has shown that those that are not maintained or poorly maintained will deteriorate, fragment and grow out and eventually be lost altogether. This then destroys any historic pattern within the landscape.

The species of trees were also found to be the same in both places, oak and ash closely followed by sycamore.⁶⁶³ Tree species was not always recorded but the position of trees was. This is still useful as it enables an assessment of how 'tree'd' the landscape is. It can also be measured against the OS from the 1880s which accurately recorded the location of individual trees. Thus the degree of change in the number of trees in the landscape, which significantly contributes to the overall character, can be made. Tree species is also important to character assessment. Historically, Northamptonshire was dominated by oak, ash and elm.⁶⁶⁴ The elms were lost to Dutch elm disease, which had a transforming effect on the English landscape in the second half of the twentieth century. Elm suckers and seedlings are common in hedgerows but due to the nature of the disease they do not reach maturity.⁶⁶⁵ Ash may face a

⁶⁶² <http://www.hedgeline.org.uk/UK-hedgerow-legislation.htm>.

⁶⁶³ These same species in hedges and trees were found in other places where field work has been done.

⁶⁶⁴ See Chapters 3 and 4.

⁶⁶⁵ <http://www.forestry.gov.uk/fr/HCOU-4U4JCL>.

similar fate in which case the landscape of Northamptonshire, and England at large, will be enormously further altered.⁶⁶⁶

Wide roads from early enclosures, unenclosed roads, and roadside plots have all been identified as having a distinctive character, and as becoming increasingly rare. The process of enclosure of open roads following ancient or parliamentary enclosure is a topic which has not been studied in detail. What is clear is that very few such roads remain unenclosed today. Similarly, the addition of roadside plots and their subsequent loss is a largely unexplored subject. Their loss is just one of a series of small changes in the Northamptonshire landscape which, cumulatively, have significantly eroded its historic value. This argues for active conservation of good examples, both as exemplars for interpretative purposes and for their evidential value. It is possible to make assessments of landscape survival and the condition of particular features over as limited or wide an area as needed or resources dictate. But to make meaningful judgements about causes, or to assess their rarity value, it is necessary to survey as wide an area as possible and preferably the whole township. For example, the survival and condition of hedges could be assessed against land use to see what, if any, are the correlations, but such results would have little meaning if only one type of land use had been surveyed. The same principle applies to trees where it might also be possible to ascertain if their presence is linked to the condition of the hedges as well as the underlying land use. Similarly the rarity value of a feature, such as the roadside plots at Haselbech, can only be appreciated where there is comparable information from other townships and ideally across the whole county.

Individual features in isolation do not make landscapes. Although conserving the one does, up to a point, conserve the other, if it is only individual features that are protected then the overall pattern, the 'landscape', is lost. Hence, each of the components should be assessed in the context of the whole. Informed decisions require informed information and the more information that can be gathered to assist the process the better. In doing so GIS has been demonstrated to be a vital tool.

⁶⁶⁶ <http://www.forestry.gov.uk/chalara>.

CONCLUSIONS

Enclosure and landscape are inextricably linked. Yet, oddly, the landscape *of* enclosure has been a Cinderella subject: overlooked, un-regarded and under-estimated. This study has sought to redress that by examining the enclosed landscape as a distinct entity and not simply the by-product of a much explored process. To achieve this a new approach to the study of enclosure has been adopted in the application of GIS to the analysis of the landscape of an entire county. This was used, firstly, to provide a thorough understanding of the unenclosed landscape; prerequisite if the effects of enclosure are to be understood. Secondly, it was used to examine the enclosed landscape in the immediate aftermath of enclosure, and in subsequent years as the landscape evolved. By applying the techniques of landscape reconstruction using GIS it has been possible to challenge the accepted notion that Northamptonshire in the mid-eighteenth century was dominated by open fields, and that the open fields were dominated by arable. Far from being 75 per cent arable - a figure so often repeated it has become canonical - it has been demonstrated that open fields in parliamentary period enclosures had a mean value of just 33 per cent under crop. It has also been possible to refine calculations of the amount of land enclosed in the parliamentary period from the accepted 53 per cent to a more accurate 57 per cent. Furthermore, an examination of the enclosed landscape has enabled us to contest the theory that landscape can be dated by the form of fields: the period base to shape relationship is in fact far more nuanced than has been credited. It has been possible to do this by using GIS, which enabled the systematic analysis of all enclosures rather than sampling, and thus provided more rigorous investigation and demonstrable conclusions.

There were three principal influences on the unenclosed landscape: administration, agricultural practice, and the environment. Agricultural practice was limited by technological advancement and constrained by environmental conditions, but all were outweighed by the administrative system. The unenclosed landscape was shaped and defined by open field communal farming. Communal farming involved shared responsibility and shared risk, but 'shared' did not mean equal, particularly with regard to access. This is another finding of the thesis: in some circles there has been a perception of openness in the unenclosed landscape, an openness equated with freedom, that did not, in fact, exist. Such an impression is partly due to the term 'open' which is clearly, but incorrectly, interpreted as 'free' (as in freely

accessible), but it is arguably mostly due to the lack of physical boundaries in the landscape. In the enclosed landscape travellers are channelled along prescribed routes and, on most roads, physically separated from the landscape even where the route follows the same course as it did before enclosure. The view from such rights of way is often obscured by the very features that make it up - hedges and trees. Thus there is a sense of separation from the landscape after enclosure. But while such physical constraints did not exist in the pre-enclosed landscape, the supposition that the corollary is openness or freedom of access stems from a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of open field systems. It was not possible for anyone to go anywhere at any time. It has been shown that the landscape was very strictly controlled by usage and custom. Communal farming had to be highly organised and managed in order to function. Enclosure did not bring organisation to the landscape; it simply changed the manner in which organisation worked. Control, therefore, was not a construct of enclosure; control had always existed, but enclosure made it manifest.

Newly imposed boundaries served as physical demarcations of property, so ownership, too, became visible in the enclosed landscape. Smallholders became more visible than the great landowners as the plots allotted to them are readily identifiable, whereas the larger landowners became anonymous by the division of their land into workable farming units. Beyond this, new land owners created by the provision of land for rights appeared for the first time in the landscape. Enclosure created, to a very great degree, a private landscape that was shaped by individuals. Yet the landscape was not wholly private, and the greatest influence on the structure of the enclosed landscape was, ironically, the one communal feature that remained: roads. The new landscape was designed around the road network. Roads within ancient enclosure were usually left unenclosed, partly because responsibility for their maintenance passed to the owner who laned them. What this research has shown is that, surprisingly, a similar process occurred in the parliamentary period up until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Until this time many roads were not required to be hedged both sides. This is contrary to the general understanding that parliamentary enclosure inevitably created enclosed roads. Similarly, it has been noted that the width of roads prescribed in awards narrowed over the course of the eighteenth century, with the oft repeated reason being as a deterrent to undesirables settling on the wide verges and claiming residence. But the strict control over roadside herbage that has been demonstrated in this study suggests that such a hypothesis is highly unlikely. A more likely explanation is that it

was an attempt to provide a more effective means of road maintenance, as well as a more useful allocation of herbage.

This research has demonstrated that enclosure did not change land use in such a dramatic way as has been supposed. Nor did land use after enclosure have the significant effect on landscape structure as had been seen in the unenclosed landscape. Certainly, in anciently enclosed places the enclosed landscape was predominantly pastoral. But in the parliamentary period the post-enclosure agricultural regime continued to be mixed as it had been in the communal system. Open fields were capable of accommodating both arable and pasture and adapting the amounts of each to fluctuating economic demands. But they were wholly unsuited to the intensification that was needed to provide the highest yields and outputs, and so unlikely to attract significant investment. After enclosure farmers were at liberty to grow or raise what they chose and where they chose. And although still restricted by the constraints of technology and environment they were now able to target the best soils for the most appropriate crop and concentrate breeds in herd and flock away from the 'promiscuous assemblage' of the community. Thus, in the enclosed landscape yields could be higher from smaller areas of land and the size of herds increased without expanding the extent of pasture. Furthermore, a mixed agricultural regime could be adequately accommodated within the same fields. In the enclosed landscape of the late nineteenth century one size (of field) really did fit all, and it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that land use, and specifically arable, had a major influence on field size and form.

This study has identified areas for future research. It has enabled a wholly new interpretation of a roadside feature that has been lost in plain sight for at least two hundred years: potato gardens. These features can be found across the county, in other Midland counties, and beyond. They are wholly under-researched. This is possibly because they were a rapid response to immediate need rather than a long-term strategy for poor relief, and so they may have left little trace in either the documentary record or in the landscape. But they were a response to poor relief that appears to have been a national phenomenon, and as such they are an important physical manifestation of social and economic conditions that warrants further investigation. A further field highlighted here concerns the simplification of road networks and footpaths in anciently enclosed townships. This has been shown to be associated with a period in the nineteenth century and not with the process of enclosure itself. It requires more research to establish the exact reasons for its occurrence at this time, and the methods with

which it was achieved. A similar period rather than process incidence is seen in the dispersal of buildings into the landscape after enclosure. In anciently enclosed places such dispersion does not occur on any great scale until the later eighteenth century. More investigation is required that broadens the research to include wider social and economic conditions that may have influenced this process. The findings of this thesis are not only applicable to Northamptonshire but have relevance to the wider debate regarding enclosure. Social issues and the effects of enclosure upon various classes within local communities were not studied here, nonetheless there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the exact nature of 'rights' within the unenclosed landscape and the effects of their subsequent loss at enclosure needs to be re-evaluated. Similarly, the methodology presented here is not only relevant to Northamptonshire but could, and should, also be applied to other landscapes across the country, which would allow their accepted enclosure histories and statistics to be tested. Perhaps of greatest importance is the need for the methodology to be thoroughly tested against the HLC, as planners and others with a responsibility for landscape management should have access to and be using the most rigorous data.

GIS has been demonstrated to be a valuable tool in the reconstruction, and thereby understanding, of historic landscapes. By reconstructing past landscapes and particularly the evolution of landscapes it has been possible to challenge the accepted notion that size and shape of field equals date or period of inception. They do not. Continuous evolution, which is the very essence of the modern landscape, is lost in such simplistic definitions. At best field size and shape can indicate rather than identify the date of a particular boundary creation. Finally, GIS emerges as invaluable in providing a method for establishing conservation and management strategies. The identification of historic features in the modern landscape enables them, and more importantly the wider landscape in which they are located, to be targeted for protection. The recognition of individual historic features is of course necessary in understanding and appreciating the value of historic landscapes, as they are the building blocks that make up the whole. But an historic landscape has a value that is much greater than the sum of its parts, and an enclosed landscape has a value that is beyond the process that created it. This study has demonstrated the need for a greater appreciation of, and more research into, a neglected aspect of landscape history, and has established a methodology for doing so.

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF DATASETS

Base datasets

The first 16 tables listed (‘enclosure’ to ‘ancient enclosed townships’) were created as part of previous project work but have had subsequent additions and edits for this study.⁶⁶⁷ All the other tables, and numerous others not included here, were newly created as part of this study. The number of polygons created for each data set has been given as an indicator of the volume of data collected, though it must be noted that some land use types notably ‘open field’ and to a lesser degree ‘fen’ might cover almost an entire township with a single polygon. In order to give a clearer picture of the primary land use types the total acreage (for the whole county) of each land use type, and miles (for those recorded as polylines), is also given. Certain land use features, particularly hedges and open field pasture such as cow commons, are only recorded on pre-enclosure strip maps or draft enclosure maps. The small number of features recorded is, therefore, as a result of the sources available rather than a lack of the features in the landscape. Moreover, landscape features can be transient and appear and disappear without record if a map is not made at the opportune time. This applies especially to cow commons, already mentioned, and also to parks which can be created, disparked and converted to other land use without appearing on any map. The parks table therefore should not be taken as a definitive data set of the county’s parks, the few entries are only those recorded on historic maps. Similarly only certain roads are recorded and therefore the numbers of features in the table is small. Individual case studies used multiple data sets and many additional ones to those listed in the Appendices.

The first 12 tables listed below (‘enclosure’ to ‘land use’) have the same data structure and contain the fields:

Notes: a free text field that records field names relevant to the parcel of land, but for the ‘roads’ table it might also indicate if the road was open or enclosed or where it came from and went to.

Source: archive or published reference.

Date: the date of the source.

⁶⁶⁷ Foard, Hall, and Partida, (2009); Williamson, Liddiard, and Partida, (2013). Data collected as part of the AHRC funded project at UEA (from which *Champion* is published) are available to be downloaded at http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/midlandgis_ahrc_2010/index.cfm?CFID=27860&CFTOKEN=ED4B5FAA-5529-4440-AE5095C15CE5F0E2.

ENCLOSURE (30,937 POLYGONS. 209,521 ACRES)

Each ancient enclosure as identified from the map source was digitised as a separate polygon. Names relating to former land use such as ‘lawn’ or ‘old’ were recorded in the browser.

BUILDING (31,587 POLYGONS. 1,038 ACRES)

Each building was mapped a separate polygon and names relating to function such as ‘mill’ or ‘church’ were recorded in the browser.

WOOD (1,882 POLYGONS. 36,910 ACRES)

All woods, coppices and plantations were digitised and names recorded in the browser. Double-hedges were also recorded as woods as they were classed as such in the tithe awards.

LAWNS, RIDINGS, GREENS (196 POLYGONS. 8,220 ACRES)

All woodland pasture such as ridings, plains, shires, lawns and greens was digitised with names recorded in the browser. Where greens were identified within or around villages, as opposed to just being an open space, they were also digitised.

OPEN FIELD (179 POLYGONS. 227,968 ACRES)

A single polygon covering the full extent of the open field within each township was digitised. Land use, such as arable or pasture, within the open field is not identified in this table – see ‘land use’ below.

HEATH (15 POLYGONS. 3,399 ACRES)

Polygons of heath/s within each township were digitised and names recorded in the browser.

FEN (6 POLYGONS. 9,035 ACRES)

Polygons of fen were digitised and names recorded in the browser.

ENCLOSURE EXTENT (15 POLYGONS. 16,047 ACRES)

Where a township, or block of land within a township such as one or more of the great fields, is known to have been anciently enclosed but no map has been found giving the detail of the landscape, then a single polygon encompassing the whole area is digitised. This extent will exclude the settlement area, mapped separately from the OS 1st Edition 1:10,560 scale maps, unless there is no surviving nucleated settlement shown on the OS in which case the polygon will encompass the whole township.

ROAD (1,716 POLYLINES. 750 MILES)

In townships enclosed during the parliamentary period (1727 – 1901) pre-enclosure roads where identified on the map source were digitised as polylines. In anciently enclosed townships all roads were digitised.

HEDGE (255 POLYLINES. 48 MILES)

Hedges within the open fields were recorded in this table. They may relate to field closes, i.e. land separated from the open field system but still commonable during the appropriate season, or hedges separating the great fields. Hedges around enclosures are *not* recorded in this table.

PARK (53 POLYGONS. 17,126 ACRES)

Park boundaries were digitised and names recorded in the browser. Where more than one map source exists showing changes in the boundaries both around and within the parks, then all were recorded.

LAND USE (67 POLYGONS. 4,554 ACRES)

Significant areas of pasture within the open fields was recorded where shown and names recorded in the browser. Smaller ribbons of grass such as baulks between strips and around furlongs were not recorded as part of the base data.

SOURCE (483 POLYGONS)

A single polygon was mapped to the extent of the source map and attributes relating to it: name of the township, archive or published reference, date of map, and additional notes recorded in the browser. Multiple maps may have been examined in which case all are listed in the source field of the browser with the primary map appearing first in the list. For details relating to the maps themselves e.g. type, surveyor and data shown, see ‘map sources’ below.

TOWNSHIP

Township name: If more than one name is given separated by a semi-colon it indicates that they were separate townships but the boundary between the two has not been established. If a township includes more than one settlement but is known, or thought, to have been a single land unit then both names are given using the conjunction ‘and’ e.g. Weston and Weedon. Townships with the same name have a qualifier in parenthesis e.g. Upton (Soke), or Upton (Northampton) to indicate their location within the county.

Source: the full archive or published reference/s.

Notes: any additional information such as the existence of detached blocks.

MAP SOURCES (747 POLYGONS)

Place name: The name of the place/s covered by the map. Where more than one township is shown, both names will appear in this field with that having the greater area shown appearing first and separated by a semi-colon. Forest maps will have the name of the Forest first followed by any townships or forest walks and bailiwicks also covered by the map e.g. 'Whittlewood Forest; Whittlebury'.

source: archive or published reference.

type: estate, draft enclosure, enclosure, tithe, forest, sale catalogue, reconstruction. The latter refers to existing reconstruction maps and not to data reconstructed as part of this study.

year: the date of the map. Where this is uncertain a probable date is given and qualified in the 'notes' field.

coverage: numeric field. 0 = no maps; 1 = minor area covered; 2 = part of township covered; 3 = most of township covered; 4 = all of township covered.

village: refers to the nucleated settlement only. Search terms are 'all'; 'some', where only part of the village is shown, usually with estate maps where the owner is interested only in his own property; 'sample', where (occasionally) only the principal buildings in a settlement are shown such as the church and manor.

open field: 'yes' if any data relating to open fields is shown. Left blank if no data is shown.

enclosed field: 'yes' if any data relating to closes is shown. Left blank if no data is shown.

woodland: 'yes' if any data relating to woods is shown. Left blank if no is data shown.

open field data: detailed features of open field such as great fields, strips, furlongs, roads etc. shown on the map; 'landuse' indicates non-arable open field features, such as cow pastures.

enclosed field data: detailed features of the enclosed landscape such as closes, allotments, names, roads etc. shown on the map. The existence of a schedule is also noted here whether it is within the map, as typically found on estate maps, or separate as typically found with tithe maps.

woodland data: detailed features of the woodland such as wood, coppice, riding, plantation etc. as shown on the map.

settlement data: nucleated or dispersed to indicate the type of settlement shown. 'Building' implies a single structure shown on the map; 'sample' implies more than one building shown,

but less than is known to exist (e.g. the manor house and church may be the only buildings shown within a nucleated village).

notes: free text field providing additional and qualifying information relating to any of the fields within the table. Where there are no map sources this is indicated by the statement 'no maps' in this field.

surveyor: name of the surveyor as indicated on the map.

ANCIENT ENCLOSED TOWNSHIPS

This table incorporates data for all the 129 townships wholly enclosed prior to 1727.

Township name: The name of the township.

Enclosure year: the year of final enclosure where it is known. There are five entries for which no enclosure date is known, though they are known to be ancient.

Qualifier: the date of enclosure for anciently enclosed townships is often inexact so a qualifier such as 'before' or 'circa' is added in this field.

Map year: The date of the map is important to know as it is often much later than the date of enclosure and the features recorded cannot, therefore, be said to date from enclosure.

Proprietor: Where the principal proprietor at the time of enclosure is known the name is recorded here.

Acreage of township: total acreage of the township

notes: a free text field recording any additional data considered to be relevant

ENCLOSURE STATISTICS

A table 'enclosure statistics' was created which incorporates data for all the places, townships and waste, enclosed during the parliamentary period. There are 248 entries in the database with 17 fields in each entry. The field 'acreage used' was used to calculate the total acreage of enclosure in the parliamentary period.

place name/s: If more than one township name is given separated by a semi-colon it indicates that they were separate townships but the boundary between the two has not been established. If a township includes more than one settlement but is known, or thought, to have been a single land unit then both names are given using the conjunction 'and' e.g. Weston and Weedon. Townships with the same name have a qualifier in parenthesis e.g. Upton (Soke), or Upton (Northampton) to indicate their location within the county. Wastes are recorded as separate polygons where a boundary could be identified from a map. For example

Sulehay and Westhay were enclosed together as part of the Cliffe Bailiwick but were discrete units and have been digitised as separate polygons.

enclosure year: usually the same date as 'act year' but included to cover those enclosures for which no act was made.

act year: date of parliamentary act.

award year: date of parliamentary award.

Acreage of place: acreage as calculated from polygon.

Acreage map: acreage interpreted as parliamentary enclosure from map.

Acreage Tate: acreage of parliamentary enclosure as given in Tate's 'Domesday'.

Acreage award: acreage of parliamentary enclosure as calculated from the award.

Percentage map: parliamentary enclosure from the map sources as a percentage of the township.

Percentage Tate: parliamentary enclosure as given by Tate as a percentage of the township.

Percentage award: parliamentary enclosure as calculated from the award as a percentage of the township.

Percentage used: the percentage used in all calculations. Priority is given to figures from the award, followed by figures from the maps and then from Tate.

Ancient percent: the percentage of the township already enclosed at the time of the Award. This is a simple calculation of the township total as 100, minus the figure from 'percentage used'. It therefore includes the settlement and all ancient enclosure within the township as well as other non-parliamentary enclosed land such as private woodland.

Number landholders: The number of landholders receiving allotment in the award. This includes all allottees so institutions and allotment in lieu of rights e.g. manorial and tithe are also counted.

Majority landholder: The landholder with the greatest allotment total. This has been calculated on allotments of 30 per cent and above of the total allotment for the township.

Where two landholders held the same amount of land they are both given.

Percentage holding: The percentage awarded to the largest landholder as a percentage of the allotment total.

Notes: a free text field recording any additional data especially in regard to anomalies such as acreage including multiple townships.

Analysis datasets

There were numerous datasets created for analysis purposes, only the principle ones are listed here.

SETTLEMENT AREAS MAPPED FROM OS FIRST EDITION 1:10,560 SCALE MAPPING

The criteria adopted for mapping the settlement area from the 1880s OS maps was to include closes with buildings, but with reference to the OSDs to exclude post 1810s expansion. In addition, earthwork data was used to establish if vacant closes in the 1880s may have formerly had occupation. In spite of this the data from this source is not as rigorous as the other base data sets.

ALL ANCIENT ENCLOSED LAND

This table is a compilation of several other data sets and brings together all land that was anciently enclosed, regardless of land use, into a single extent. Where a township or other land unit, such as a park, was wholly anciently enclosed that whole area is included in this table.⁶⁶⁸ Added to this are the tables 'enclosure' and 'enclosure extent'. Assarts from the forest are included as ancient. In contrast closes existing prior to parliamentary enclosure but included in the enclosure process, such as those associated with lodges in forests, are excluded from this table. Woods within parliamentary enclosed townships that are known, or believed to have been, anciently enclosed are also included here. Acts, awards and maps were checked to establish the status of these woods at enclosure i.e. whether common rights were still in operation. Railways and canals with their associated sidings and closes are included, as are those rivers and roads within anciently enclosed areas. Settlement areas were assessed to establish the status of large open areas, that is, blocks of land greater than 0.5 acres, but not broad roads and road junctions. Maps were examined to determine if the open area was included in the allotment process, was still open on the OS mapping from the 1880s, or is identified as a village green or market place, and if so it was excluded from the table.

NON-TOWNSHIP LAND

This table comprises all the land that was outside of the townships and includes polygons for all of the forests, chases, disafforested woods, parks and fen. Some was anciently enclosed and some parliamentary.

⁶⁶⁸ This includes those parks that were outside of a township, such as Handley Park or Higham Park.

NO MAP DATA

There are 59 townships enclosed during the parliamentary period for which no pre-enclosure or enclosure map could be found. These have been mapped as a single polygon for each township, but excluding the settlement areas which were mapped from the OS 1880s or tithe maps. Data from enclosure awards exists for all these places so statistical analysis can be made but not mapped as other data.

NO ENCLOSURE STATISTICS

There are 18 townships enclosed during the parliamentary period for which incomplete or no data has been found: Blatherwycke; Boughton (Northampton); Cottesbrooke; Draughton; Drayton; Grimsbury, Nethercote and Huscote (hamlets in a single township); Hanging Houghton; Lamport; Nether Heyford; Orton; Overstone; Overthorpe; Pitsford; Stanford on Avon; Sudborough; Upper Radstone; Wakerley; Warkworth. Most are also 'no map data'. Exceptions are Cottesbrooke, Blatherwycke, Sudborough and Wakerley, where small amounts of data from OSDs or estate maps exist but are limited to only part of the township or to woods.

Datasets from other sources**CROP RETURNS**

Data were downloaded from Michael Turner's collated figures for England in an Excel database.⁶⁶⁹ The data for Northamptonshire were extracted to a separate file and a copy of the township table in MapInfo created to import the Returns data into. Crop Returns data were collected by parish and the data for this study was collected by township, so some manipulation was required to make the Excel data compatible with the MapInfo graphic objects. In some cases it was unclear if the parish listed in the Returns included the dependent hamlets and where this could not be resolved the places were removed from the dataset. Castor was removed as it was uncertain if the figures included the townships of Ailsworth, Milton, Sutton and Upton. Similarly Paston may have included Werrington, and Furtho include Cosgrove, but both were removed. The data were then imported into MapInfo and linked to the township polygons. In the instances where a parish was known to contain two or more townships the polygons were combined: Upper and lower Boddington, Church and

⁶⁶⁹ Turner, 'Crop Returns for England, 1801'.

Chapel Brampton, Deene and Deenethorpe, East and West End Hardingstone, Upper and Lower Heyford, Upper and Lower Radstone, Church Stowe and Upper Stowe, Great and Little Weldon, Brigstock and Stanion, Lamport and Faxton, Peakirk and Glington, Weston by Welland and Sutton Bassett. Aldwinckle has a double entry in the Returns, for the two parishes, but a single polygon in the township table, in this instance the entries from the Returns were combined. Fields were added to the table to allow calculations of the amount of land under crop in any place: township acreage, total crop acreage, percentage of township under crop, percentage of township not cropped. Columns were automatically updated for the entire datasets by a simple computer query.

APPENDIX 2***Enclosure Statistics***

Category of each field is as below.

- A place name
- B enclosure year
- C act year
- D award year
- E acreage place
- F acreage from map
- G acreage from Tate
- H acreage from award
- I acreage used
- J % from map
- K % from Tate
- L % from award
- M % used
- N % ancient
- O number of landowners

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Grafton Regis	1727	1727		1366	345	318		345	25	23		25	75	
Chipping Warden	1733	1733	1744	2091		1831		1831		88		88	12	
Brington Great; Brington Little	1743	1743	1743	2308	2187	2162		2187	95	94		95	5	
Faxton	1745	1745		1835	1053	1170		1053	57	64		57	43	
Wittering	1749	1749		2804	1614			1614	58			58	42	
Farthingstone	1751	1751	1752	1536		1162	1193	1193		76	78	78	22	14
Thornhaugh; Wansford	1751			3107	451			451	15			15	85	
Hinton	1753	1753	1753	908		833		833		92		92	8	
Welton	1754	1754	1755	1969		2520	1655	1655		128	84	84	16	22
Norton	1755	1755	1755	1850	1102	901		1102	56	49		56	44	
Wicken	1757			2490	1353			1353	54			54	46	
Helmdon	1758	1758	1759	1985	1634	1565	1586	1586	82	79	80	80	20	45
Lower Boddington	1758	1758	1759	1347		2849	1257	1257		212	93	93	7	12
Upper Boddington	1758	1758	1759	1783	1682	2849	1684	1684	93	160	94	94	6	29

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Woodford Halse	1758	1758	1759	1193		1038	1041	1041		87	87	87	13	30
Slapton	1759	1759	1759	657		471	503	503		72	77	77	23	15
Ecton	1759	1759	1759	2291	2192	2146	758	2192	96	94	33	96	4	6
Blakesley	1760	1760	1761	1571		1477	1377	1377		94	88	88	12	30
Marston St Lawrence	1760	1760	1761	1609	1395	1206	1167	1167	87	75	72	72	28	20
Sulgrave	1760	1760	1761	2028		1884	1777	1777		93	88	88	12	34
West Farndon	1760	1760	1761	683		498	498	498		73	73	73	27	11
Eydon	1761	1761	1762	1671		1096	1171	1171		66	70	70	30	39
Moreton Pinkney	1761	1761	1761	2425	1321	1270		1321	54	52		54	46	
Wappenham	1761	1761	1762	1810		1574	1511	1511		87	83	83	17	46
Caldecote	1762	1762	1763	923	897			897	97			97	3	47
Towcester	1762	1762	1763	1803	1379	2176	2177	2177	76	121	80	80	20	47
Woodford	1763	1763	1764	2256	2135	2110	2077	2077	95	94	92	92	8	43
Ashby St Ledgers	1764	1764	1764	1468	1270	1189	1223	1223	87	81	83	83	17	6
West Haddon	1764	1764	1765	2691		2494	2408	2408		93	90	90	10	47
Newnham	1764	1764	1765	1658	1563	1485	1484	1484	94	90	79	79	21	34
Everdon Great; Everdon Little	1764	1764	1765	1915		1734		1734		91		91	9	49
Stoke Albany	1764	1764	1765	1722		1190		1190		69		69	31	
Guilsborough with Coton	1764	1764	1764	1456		1375	1312	1312		94	90	90	10	13
Syresham	1765	1765	1766	1742	1259	1321	1263	1263	72	76	73	73	27	32
Wellingborough	1765	1765	1767	4244		4037	3933	3933		95	93	93	7	75
Denford	1765	1765	1766	1744	1404	1400	1404	1404	81	80		81	19	
Hardingstone East End	1765	1765	1766	1262	1176	2352	953	953	93	186	76	76	24	16
Hardingstone West End	1765	1765	1766	1658	1355	2352	1331	1331	82	142	80	80	20	16
Twywell	1765	1765	1766	999	885	1000	892	892	89	100	90	90	10	10
Long Buckby	1765	1765	1766	3467	3252	3027	3009	3009	94	87	89	89	11	73
Spratton	1765	1765	1766	2239		2163		2163		97		97	3	
Hinton in the Hedges	1766	1766	1767	1491		1262	1262	1262		85	85	85	15	3
Thenford	1766	1766	1767	956		561	510	510		59	53	53	47	5

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Great Doddington	1766	1766	1767	1624		1507	1482	1482		93	91	91	9	24
Harlestone	1766	1766	1767	2539		2267	2200	2200		147	87	87	13	15
Kingsthorpe (Northampton)	1766	1766	1767	2010	1631	1583	1535	1535	81	79	77	77	23	57
Old	1767	1767	1768	2077		1976	1822	1822		95	88	88	12	35
Arthingworth	1767	1767	1768	1746	1533	1390	1188	1188	88	80	68	68	32	9
Great Oxenden	1767	1767	1768	1353		1250		1250		92		92	8	
Cosgrove; Furtho	1767	1767	1767	2368		1627	1627	1627		69	69	69	31	32
Middleton Cheney	1769	1769	1770	1737	1696	1624		1696	98	93		98	2	0
Knuston	1769	1769	1769	929		870	874	874		94	94	94	6	15
Denton	1770	1770	1771	1082	1016	1452	1424	1016	94	134	132	94	6	15
Denton woods	1770	1770	1770	473	473			473				100	0	
Earls Barton	1771	1771	1772	2294		2076	2083	2083		90	91	91	9	86
Lowick	1771	1771	1771	2019		1181	1142	1142		58	57	57	43	16
Slipton	1771	1771	1771	771		579	570	570		75	74	74	26	4
Eastcote; Dalscote	1771	1771	1772	1236	833	2589		833	67	209		67	33	44
Pattishall	1771	1771	1772	800	744	2589		744	93	324	77	93	7	44
Murcott	1771	1771	1772	703	673	1306		673	96	186	45	96	4	19
Watford	1771	1771	1772	2249	675	1306		675	30	58	45	30	70	19
Astcote	1771	1771	1772	645	580	2589		580	90	401		90	10	
Weston and Weedon	1771	1771	1772	2303	1780	1788	1788	1788	77	78	78	78	22	21
Astrop	1772	1772	1773	1706		1611	1611	1611		94	94	94	6	27
Charlton	1772	1772	1773	1378	1302	1249	1249	1249	95	91	91	91	9	19
Deanshanger	1772	1772	1773	918	773	900	900	773	84	98	98	84	16	28
Thorpe Achurch	1772	1772	1773	1603	1480	1305	1306	1306	92	81	82	82	18	6
Aldwincle	1772	1772	1773	2842		1823	1811	1811		64	63	63	37	46
Moulton	1772	1772	1773	3128		2713	2636	2636		87	85	85	15	69
Laxton	1772	1772	1773	1386		1334		1334		96		96	5	3
Irchester	1773	1773	1774	1846		1604	1594	1594		87	86	86	14	36
East Haddon	1773	1773	1773	2744		1259	1259	1259		46	48	48	52	34
Hellidon	1774	1774	1775	1652	1394	1500	1322	1322	84	91	80	80	20	31
Staverton	1774	1774	1775	2208		2126	2081	2081		96	94	94	6	43

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Warmington	1774	1774	1775	3218	2886	2763	2758	2758	90	86	86	86	14	48
Harringworth	1774	1774	1775	3400	2119	2182	2130	2130	62	64	63	63	37	5
Duddington	1774	1774	1775	1354	980	930	923	923	72	69	68	68	32	20
Hollowell	1774	1774	1775	1064	380	363	347	347	36	34	33	33	67	7
Potterspury; Yardley Gobion	1775	1775	1776	2443	1554	1764	1705	1705	64	72	70	70	30	37
Scaldwell	1775	1775	1775	1238		1047	1015	1015		85	82	82	18	23
Braunston	1775	1775	1776	3251		2275	2247	2247		70	69	69	31	58
Cranford St Andrew	1775	1775		1395	588	787		588	42	56		42	58	3
Walgrave	1776	1776	1777	2373		1824	1779	1779		103	75	75	25	42
Weedon Bec	1776	1776	1777	1933	1758	1687	1611	1611	91	87	83	83	17	54
Desborough	1776	1776	1777	2389	1900	1795	1601	1900	80	75	67	80	20	32
Duston	1776	1776	1777	1817		1393	1426	1426		77	78	78	22	27
Yelvertoft	1776	1776	1777	2314		2137		2137	92	92		92	8	56
Crick	1776	1776	1777	3345		3145	3079	3079		94	92	92	8	89
Clipston	1776	1776	1776	1522	1327	2673		1327	87	176	95	87	13	24
Nobold	1776	1776	1776	1356	1263	2673		1263	93	197	95	93	7	24
Yardley Hastings	1776	1776	1777	2235	2091	2076	2042	2042	94	93	91	91	7	24
Mears Ashby	1777	1777	1778	1668		1400	1486	1486		84	89	89	11	33
Tansor	1777	1777	1778	1499	1427	1344	1340	1340	95	90	89	89	11	18
Thorpe Malsor	1777	1777	1777	922	627	623	594	594	68	68	64	64	36	10
Yarwell	1777	1777	1778	1206	892	3701	847	847	74	307	70	70	30	16
Nassington	1777	1777	1778	1682	1435	3701	1390	1390	85	220	83	83	17	43
Grafton Underwood	1777	1777		1820	1246	1229		1246	68	68		68	32	3
Kilsby	1777	1777	1778	2363		2207	2185	2185		93	92	92	8	71
Holcot	1777	1777	1778	1391		1311	1274	1274		94	91	91	9	50
Apethorpe	1777	1777	1778	1679	493	3701	462	462	29	220	26	26	74	17
Woodnewton	1777	1777	1778	1388	1096	3701	1045	1045	79	267	75	75	25	21
Welford	1777	1777	1778	3116	1899	1836	1803	1803	61	59	58	58	42	48
Muscott	1777	1777	1778	523	44			44	8			8	92	
Whilton	1777	1777	1778	963		875		875		91		91	9	
Byfield	1778	1778	1779	2750	2661	2566	2560	2560	97	93	93	93	7	76
Maidford	1778	1778	1779	1051		647	618	618		62	59	59	41	26
Rushden	1778	1778	1779	3771	3494	3425	3330	3330	93	91	88	88	12	60
Titchmarsh	1778	1778	1779	3963	2697	2723	2648	2648	68	69	67	67	33	28

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Isham	1778	1778	1779	1394		1316	1295	1295		94	93	93	7	27
Flore	1778	1778	1779	2118	1917	1857	1792	1792	91	88	85	85	15	54
Harpole	1778	1778	1779	1938		1722	1675	1675		89	86	86	14	55
Wootton	1778	1778	1779	1972		1688	1593	1593		86	81	81	19	31
Braybrooke	1778	1778	1779	2884	1520	1428	1422	1422	53	50	49	49	51	29
Bulwick	1778	1778	1779	2081	1269	1272	1240	1240	61	61	59	59	41	7
Northampton	1778	1778	1779	1336	907	895	841	841	68	67	63	63	37	21
Barby	1778	1778	1779	2652	2511	2450	2382	2382	95	92	97	97	3	60
Collingtree	1779	1779	1780	692	649	2330		649	94	337	89	94	6	56
Evenley	1779	1779	1780	1830	1480	1445	1389	1389	81	79	76	76	24	29
Milton Malsor	1779	1779	1780	1473	1380	2330		1380	94	158	89	94	6	56
Woodend; Kirby	1779	1779	1781	1761		556	547	547		32	31	31	69	22
Great Billing	1779	1779	1778	1376		1159	1139	1139		84	83	83	17	21
Bugbrooke	1779	1779	1780	2230	1639	1580	1633	1633	73	71	73	73	27	45
Kislingbury	1779	1779	1780	1841	1768	1741	1699	1699	96	95	92	92	8	74
Little Bowden	1779	1779	1780	1427	1355	1313		1355	95	92		95	5	
Badby	1779	1779	1780	2290	1370	1325	1347	1347	60	58	59	59	41	40
Tiffield	1780	1780	1781	1269	962	1015	819	819	76	80	65	65	35	22
Grendon	1780	1780	1781	1722		1598	1577	1577		93	92	92	8	37
Thrapston	1780	1780	1781	1151	1068	1042	1016	1016	93	91	88	88	12	20
Brixworth	1780	1780	1781	3148		2746	2747	2747		87	87	87	13	49
East Farndon	1780	1780	1781	1529	1490	1400	1218	1218	97	92	86	86	14	41
Little Harrowden	1781	1781	1782	1549		1363	1332	1332		88	84	84	16	26
Hackleton	1782	1782	1783	1079		1500	987	987		139	91	91	9	16
Piddington	1782	1782	1783	1078		1500	547	547		139	51	51	49	11
Creaton	1782	1782	1783	1302		1162	1120	1120		89	86	86	14	32
Great Oakley	1784	1784		1777	641			641	36			36	64	
Broughton	1786	1786	1787	1741	1652	1642	1604	1604	95	94	92	92	8	41
Wollaston	1788	1788	1789	2836	2565	2548	2500	2500	90	90	88	88	12	48
Polebrook	1790	1790	1791	1380	1303	1285	1256	1256	94	93	91	91	9	32
Aynho	1792	1792	1793	2529	1636	1435	1475	1475	65	57	58	58	42	15
Little Weldon	1792	1792	1794	729	702	2305	725	702	96	316	99	96	4	49
Great Weldon	1792	1792	1794	2702	1580	2305	1544	1544	58	85	57	57	43	2
Weldon Woods	1792	1792	1794	511				511				100	0	
Wadenhoe	1793	1793	1795	1197	763	713	689	689	64	60	58	58	42	6
Ravensthorpe	1795	1795	1796	1492	1443	1400	1385	1385	97	94	93	93	7	28

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Stanion	1795	1795	1805	1146	574	561	532	532	50	49	47	47	53	11
Brigstock	1795	1795	1805	1894	1078	1220	1182	1182	57	64	62	62	38	45
Wothorpe	1795	1795	1797	627	72			72	11			11	89	
Stamford St Martin	1795	1795	1797	764	659	600		659	86	79		86	14	
Fermyn woods	1795	1795	1805	1621				1621				100	0	
Geddington Chase	1795	1795	1805	1661				1661				100	0	
Whitfield	1796	1796	1797	1072	927	921	906	906	86	86	85	85	15	11
Ufford; Ashton; Bainton	1796	1796	1799	2905	2113	2051	2037	2037	73	71	70	70	30	51
Sulehay	1796	1796	1806	821				821				100	0	
Morehay	1796	1796	1806	3266				3266				100	0	
Westhay	1796	1796	1806	1294				1294				100	0	
Whittlebury	1797	1797	1800	1144	466	640	735	735	41	56	64	64	36	31
Raunds with Raunds Cotton Fields	1797	1797	1800	4447	4073	4008	3930	3930	92	90	88	88	4	121
Bozeat	1798	1798	1799	2597	2307	2287	2248	2248	89	88	87	87	13	24
Wilbarston	1798	1798	1801	1653		1528		1528		95		95	5	
Duncote	1799	1799	1801	629	591	1345		591	94	214		94	6	31
Greens Norton	1799	1799	1801	1732	761	1345		761	44	78	55	44	56	31
Newton Bromswold	1800	1800	1803	830		700	889	700		84	107	84	16	12
Barnack; Pilsgate	1800	1800	1810	2498	2271	2192	1510	2271	91	88	88	88	12	37
Islip	1800	1800	1801	1387	609	1282	1269	1269	44	92	92	92	8	17
Wilby	1801	1801	1803	1153	1021	1019	1014	1014	86	88	88	88	12	15
Chelveston cum Caldecott	1801	1801	1807	1800	1697	1682	1660	1660	94	93	92	92	8	8
Hargrave	1802	1802	1804	1413	1256	1246	1208	1208	90	88	86	86	14	22
Hannington	1802	1802	1803	1245	950	909	919	919	76	73	74	74	26	17
Sutton Bassett	1802	1802	1804	747	714	1671	700	700	96	224	94	94	6	16
Daventry	1802	1802	1804	1964	1721	1692	1634	1634	88	86	83	83	17	56
Weston by Welland	1802	1802	1804	1028	984	1671	945	945	96	163	92	92	8	19
Bradden	1803	1803	1804	1038	704	689	671	671	68	66	65	65	35	7
Burton Latimer	1803	1803	1804	2746	2629	2584	2546	2546	96	94	93	93	7	46

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Gt. Addington	1803	1803	1804	1251	1177	1151	1152	1152	94	92	92	92	8	13
Walton	1803	1803	1805	933	618	1221	615	615	66	131	66	66	34	18
Werrington	1803	1803	1805	1414	1245	609	1180	1180	88	43	83	83	17	52
Kings Sutton	1804	1804	1805	1307	1224	1186	1262	1262	94	91	97	97	3	37
Kettering	1804	1804	1805	2804	2258	2262		2258	81	81		81	19	
Finedon	1805	1805	1808	3652	3334	3353	3299	3299	91	92	90	90	10	66
Cranford St John	1805	1805	1807	948	895	877	863	863	94	93	91	91	9	12
Ashley	1806	1806	1808	1224	1132	1110		1132	92	91		92	8	
Croughton	1807	1807	1808	2160	2095	1890	2025	2025	97	88	94	94	6	10
Luddington	1807	1807	1810	1100	1017	2628	1086	1017	92	239	99	92	8	6
Ashton (Oundle)	1807	1807	1811	1322	1136	2590	1152	1152	86	196	87	87	13	1
Warkton	1807	1807	1810	1476	1300	2628	1276	1276	88	178	86	86	14	4
Oundle	1807	1807	1811	2216	1481	2590	1513	1513	67	117	68	68	32	97
Geddington	1807	1807	1810	1626	1139	1192	1193	1193	70	73	71	71	29	38
Little Oakley	1807	1807	1810	776	348	2628	344	348	45	339	34	45	55	3
Weekley	1807	1807	1810	1250	841	750	756	756	67	60	61	61	39	4
Blisworth	1808	1808	1809	1959	861	982	1004	1004	44	50	51	51	49	6
Irthlingborough	1808	1808	1813	3704	3533	3452	3379	3379	95	93	91	91	9	67
Orlingbury	1808	1808	1811	1926	1361	1366	1380	1380	71	71	72	72	28	10
Longthorpe	1809	1809		1255	348	1240		348	28	99		28	72	
Maxey	1809	1809	1820	2477	1864		1728	1728	72		70	70	30	65
Northborough	1809	1809	1820	760	656		629	629	86		83	83	17	29
Peakirk	1809	1809	1820	619	535		768	535	86		124	86	14	32
Glinton	1809	1809	1820	1572	1246		1185	1185	79		75	75	25	43
Etton	1809	1809	1820	1309	806		765	765	62		58	58	42	15
Helpston	1809	1809	1820	1852	1524		1442	1442	82		78	78	22	43
Rothersthorpe	1809	1809	1810	1268	1212	1200	1199	1199	96	95	95	95	5	13
Kings Cliffe	1809	1809	1813	2622	1074	1061	1033	1033	41	40	39	39	61	67
Rockingham	1810			655	282			282	43			43	57	
Peterborough	1811	1811	1821	4971	3376	3218	3262	3262	68	65	66	66	34	209
Rothwell	1812	1812	1819	3260	2925	3197	2834	2834	90	98	87	87	13	61
Cold Higham	1812	1812	1813	1173	1111	1067		1111	95	91	63	95	5	9
Borough Fen	1812	1812	1822	8248	8428			8248				100	0	
Marston Trussell	1813	1813	1815	1347	1228	1224	1206	1206	91	91	90	90	10	18
Glaphthorn	1813	1813	1815	942	631	1109	1177	631	67	118	125	67	33	12

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Cotterstock	1813	1813	1815	1025	969	505	506	969	95	49	49	95	5	10
Quinton	1814	1814	1815	1082	526	520	593	593	49	48	55	55	45	4
Middleton	1815	1815	1825	953	919	1720		919	96	180	80	96	4	77
Cottingham	1815	1815	1825	1106	762	1728		762	69	156	80	69	31	77
Ashton (Roade)	1816	1816	1819	1184	907	910	910	910	77	77	77	77	23	11
Hide	1816	1816	1819	180	161			161	89			89	11	27
Roade	1816	1816	1819	1460	813	1036	1036	813	56	71	71	56	44	27
Easton on the Hill	1817	1817	1820	3230	2298	2664	2630	2630	71	82	79	79	21	37
Alderton	1819	1819	1821	928	570	879	521	521	61	95	56	56	44	5
Paulerspury	1819	1819	1821	3019	2178	2085	2262	2262	72	69	75	75	25	31
Eye	1820	1820	1821	2702	854	815	825	825	32	30	31	31	69	62
Benefield	1820	1820	1825	4280		4350	2914	2914		102	68	68	32	4
Naseby	1820	1820	1822	3413	3293	3255	3221	3221	96	95	94	94	6	4
Abthorpe	1823	1823	1826	1656	319	309	274	274	19	19	17	17	83	13
Silverstone	1824	1824	1826	912	647	1423	709	709	71	156	78	78	22	53
Haselborough Walk	1824	1824	1826	2384				2384				100	0	
Hartwell	1825	1825	1828	1457	664	586	704	704	46	40	48	48	52	10
Salcey Forest	1825	1825	1826	1891				1891				100	0	
Brafield on the Green	1827	1827	1829	1320	1222	2716	1189	1189	93	206	90	90	10	12
Cogenhoe	1827	1827	1829	995	575	2716	571	571	58	273	57	57	43	7
Little Houghton	1827	1827	1829	1689	1585	2716	1530	1530	94	161	91	91	9	11
Brackley	1829	1829	1830	2633	1460	2285	1372	1372	55	87	52	52	48	51
Corby	1829	1829	1831	1355	1070	1303	1280	1280	79	96	94	94	6	57
Little Addington	1830	1830	1831	1135	1092	1087	1081	1081	96	96	95	95	5	14
Gretton	1832	1832	1837	2080	1573	1145	2853	1573	76	55	137	76	24	87
Rockingham Bailiwick	1832	1832	1837	4806	4806		4785	4785				100	0	
Stanwick	1834	1834	1838	2025	1289	2000	1248	1248	64	99	62	62	38	18
Thurning	1836	1836	1839	1010	950	927	927	927	94	92	92	92	8	11
Higham Ferrers	1838	1838	1839	1710	1185	1261	1509	1509	69	74	88	88	12	10
Buscot	1838			225	159			159	71			71	29	
Ringstead	1839	1839	1841	2011	1839	1983	1866	1866	91	99	92	92	8	38
Shutlanger	1840	1840	1844	1075	769	1266	982	769	72	118	91	72	28	6
Stoke Bruerne	1840	1840	1844	1540	639	1350	692	692	41	88	45	45	59	10

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Southorpe; Walcot	1841	1841	1841	1882	864		847	847	46		45	45	55	8
Collyweston	1841	1841	1844	1564	1038	1569	1118	1118	66	100	71	71	29	39
Whittlewood Forest	1853	1853	1856	6408				6408				100	0	
Lutton	1865	1865	1867	1510	719	727	737	737	48	48	49	49	51	10
Castor	1895	1895	1898	2438	1752	2595		1752	72	106		72	28	
Ailsworth	1895	1895	1898	1568	946	2595		946	60	165		60	40	
Sutton	1901	1901	1903	922	646	614		646	70	67		70	30	

APPENDIX 3

List of maps sources for all GIS data

- Abington - 1742 - NRO Map 471
- Abthorpe - 1824 - NRO Map 2942
- Adstone - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Ailsworth - 1898 - NRO 60p/504
- Alderton - 1819 - NRO Map 2906
- Aldwincle - 1817 - OSD
- Aldwincle - 1796 - NRO Map 3761
- Aldwincle - 1816 - NRO Map 6331
- Althorp - 1778 - BL ADDMSS 78129 D
- Apethorpe - 1778 - NRO Inclosure Plan 15
- Appletree - 1840 - NRO T208
- Armston - 1716 - Boughton House,
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- Arthingworth - 1768 - D Hall
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- Arthingworth - 1880 - OS 1st edition
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- Ashby St Ledgers - 1764 - D Hall
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- Ashby St Ledgers - 1880 - OS 1st edition
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- Ashley - 1807 - NRO Map 3002
- Ashton (Oundle) - 1810 - NRO Inclosure
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- Ashton (Roade) - 1817 - NRO Map 2932
- Aston (Ufford) - 1799 - NRO 331p/502
- Astcote - 1771 - D Hall reconstruction
- Astcote - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Aston le Walls - 1840 - NRO T208
- Astrop - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Astwell - 1765 - NRO SC 234
- Astwick - 1840 - NRO T133
- Aynho - 1793 - NRO map 2816
- Badby - 1779 - NRO Map 942
- Bainton - 1799 - NRO 331p/502
- Barford - 1830 - Glendon & Barford estate
map private collection
- Barby - 1778 - NRO Maps 4084
- Barnack - 1800 - EX/M 275L
- Barnwell All saints - 1716 - Boughton
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- Barnwell St Andrew – 1716 - Boughton
House, Lordship of Barnwell
- Barton Seagrave - 1842 - NRO T185
- Benefield - 1824 - NRO Inclosure Plan 4
- Biggin - 1919 - NRO Box X5394 Smith of
Oundle 511/1 sale catalogue
- Blakesley - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Blatherwycke - 1847 - NRO T189
- Blisworth - 1808 - NRO Map 2931
- Borough Fen - 1822 - NRO ML 859
- Boughton - 1715 - Boughton House,
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- Boughton (Northampton) - 1880 - OS 1st
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- Bozeat - 1799 - NRO Map 2839
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- Brackley - 1829 - NRO map 841
- Brackley - 1839 - NRO T214

- Brackley - 1590 - NRO Photostat 1026
- Brackley - 1763 - Magdalen College Maps
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- Bradden - 1803 - NRO map 2936
- Brafield on the Green - 1829 - NRO Map
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- Brampton Ash - 1839 - NRO T166
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- Brigstock - 1805 - NRO Inclosure plan 60
- Brigstock Parks - 1750 - TNA MPI 1/250
- Brixworth - 1848 - NRO Map 3014
- Brockhall - 1672 - NRO Map 5704
- Broughton - 1728 - Boughton House,
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- Bugbrooke - 1779 - NRO 53p/331
- Bulwick - 1728 - NRO Map 763a
- Burghley - 1814 - EX/M 101
- Burton Latimer - 1803 - NRO Inclosure
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- Byfield - 1779 - NRO Map 3495
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- Caldecote - 1844 - NRO T7
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- Castle Ashby - 1841 - Compton
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- Castor - 1898 - NRO 60p/504
- Catesby - 1638 - NRO Map 6388
- Chacombe - 1840 - NRO T43
- Chapel Brampton - 1793 - BL ADDMSS
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- Charlton - 1773 - Charlton & Newbottle,
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- Chelveston cum Caldecott - 1801 - NRO
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- Churchfield - 1845 - T114
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- Clipston - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Clopton - 1840 - NRO T165
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- Duddington - 1775 - NRO map 2857
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- East Farndon - 1781 - NRO Map 5499
- East Farndon - 1880 - OS 1st edition
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- Eastcote - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
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- Elmington - 1838 - NRO T108
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- Eydon - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
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- Farthingstone - 1880 - OS 1st edition
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- Glendon - 1830 - Glendon & Barford
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- Glinton - 1819 - NRO ML 860
- Grafton Regis - 1725 - NRO Map 463
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- Great Houghton - 1612 - D Hall
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- Great Houghton - 1839 - NRO T153
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- Hardingstone West End - 1766 - D Hall
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- Hargrave - 1802 - NRO 152p/512
- Hargrave - 1802 - D Hall reconstruction
- Harlestone - 1829 - NRO A95
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- Higham Ferrers - 1839 - NRO V2793
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- Holcot - 1839 - NRO Map 4044
- Holdenby - 1842 - NRO T224
- Hollowell - 1755 - NRO Inclosure Vol. D
- Hollowell - 1848 - NRO T151
- Horton - 1622 - NRO Map 1351
- Hulcote - NRO T188
- Irchester - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
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- Isham - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
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- Marholm - 1772 - NRO Map 1072
- Marston St Lawrence - 1760 - NRO map
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- Newbold - 1758 - NRO ZB 1837
- Newbottle - 1621 - NRO map 5099
- Newnham - 1764 - NRO Maps 3140
- Newton Bromswold - 1880 - OS 1st
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- Nobold - 1776 - D Hall reconstruction
- Nobottle - 1715 - BL ADDMSS 78143
- Northampton - 1779 - NRO Map 5700
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- Onley - 1840 - NRO Map 4418
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- Oundle - 1810 - NRO Map 2858
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- Papley - 1632 - NRO Map 2221
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- Pattishall - 1771 - D Hall reconstruction
- Pattishall - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560

- Paulerspury - 1819 - NRO Map 2926
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- Pilton - 1769 - NRO Map 3768
- Pilton - 1838 - NRO T115
- Pipewell - 1650 - TNA MPE 1/457
- Pipewell - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Pitsford - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Plumpton - 1604 - Jesus Coll NH P1/1
- Polebrook - 1733 - Boughton House,
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- Potcote - 1812 - NRO map 2913
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- Scaldwell - 1851 - NRO Map 681
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- Sibbertoft - 1841 - NRO T206
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- Silverstone - 1826 - NRO Map 2996
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- Slipton - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Snorscombe - 1851 - NRO T205
- Southorpe - 1843 - NRO Map 4431; EX/M
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- Southwick - 1794 - NRO Map 5330
- Southwick - 1834 - G Johnston
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- Steane - 1783 - BL ADDMSS 78146 A-D
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- Stoke Doyle - 1848 - T207
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- Sudborough - 1839 - NRO Map 5154
- Sulgrave - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Sutton - 1903 - NRO Map 4433
- Sutton Bassett - 1802 - NRO Map 2999
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- Thorpe Achurch - 1772 - NRO Map 3773
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- Thorpe Malsor - 1880 - OS 1st edition
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- Thorpe Mandeville - 1774 - NRO map
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- Towcester - 1840 - NRO Map 4473
- Trafford - 1779 - NRO 56p/501
- Twywell - 1736 – Boughton House, Manor
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- Ufford - 1799 - NRO 331p/502
- Upper Boddington - 1758 - NRO map
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- Upper Heyford - 1758 - NRO Map 4179
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- Wakerley - 1772 - NRO Map 4124
- Walgrave - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
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- Warkworth - 1880 - OS 1st edition
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- Warmington - 1775 - NRO Map 2864
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- Weedon Bec - 1880 - OS 1st edition
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- Weekley - 1808 - NRO Inclosure plan 18
- Welford - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Welford - 1778 - G Pitcher reconstruction
- Welford - 1844 - NRO T298
- Wellingborough - 1803 - NRO Map 3635
- Welton - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Werrington - 1805 - NRO Map 4432
- West Farndon - 1880 - OS 1st edition
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- Weston and Weedon - 1593 - NRO map
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- Weston by Welland - 1802 - NRO Map
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- Weston Favell - 1798 - NRO Map 470
- Whilton - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Whiston - 1840 - NRO T150
- Whitfield - 1608 - NRO Map 4210
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- Wood Burcote (Towcester) - 1840 - NRO
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- Yardley Gobion - 1776 - NRO map 4214
- Yarwell - 1778 - NRO Inclosure Plan 15
- Yelvertoft - 1880 - OS 1st edition 1:10560

APPENDIX 4

List of map sources used for township boundaries

- Abington - NRO Map 471
- Abthorpe - NRO Map 2942
- Adstone - NRO Map 855, T215, T213;
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- Ailsworth - NRO Map 2674
- Alderton - NRO Maps 2906, 2926, 4211,
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- Aldwinckle - NRO Maps 3761, 6331, 2885,
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- Althorp - BL ADDMSS 78129 D
- Apethorpe - NRO Inclosure Plan 15
- Appletree - NRO T208
- Armston - Boughton House, Lordship of
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- Arthingworth - adjacent township maps
- Ashby Lodge - D Hall reconstruction
- Ashby St Ledgers - NRO T41; D Hall
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- Ashley - NRO Map 3002
- Ashton (Oundle) - NRO Inclosure Plan 1
- Ashton (Roade) - NRO Maps 2932, 4218,
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- Aston (Ufford) – see Ufford
- Astcote - D Hall reconstruction
- Aston Le Walls - NRO T208
- Astrop - NRO Inclosure Plan 20, Map
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- Astwell and Falcutt - NRO Map 2645,SC
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- Astwick - NRO T133, 118p/15
- Aynho - NRO Map 4612
- Badby - NRO Map 942
- Bainton – see Ufford
- Barby - NRO Maps 4084, 4418
- Barford - Glendon & Barford 1830 private
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- Barnack and Pilsgate - EX/M 275L
- Barnwell All saints - Boughton House,
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- Barnwell St Andrew - Boughton House,
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- Barton Seagrave - NRO T185
- Benefield - NRO Inclosure Plan 4
- Blakesley - NRO Maps 461, 713, 4219,
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- Blatherwycke - TNA MR 1/314; NRO
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- Blisworth - NRO Map 2931, Inc. 9
- Boughton; Boughton House,
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- Boughton (Northampton) - NRO FH 272,
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- Bozeat - NRO Map 2839

- Brackley - NRO Map 841
- Bradden - NRO Maps 2936, 458
- Brafield on the Green - NRO Map 2828
- Brampton Ash - NRO T166, T140; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Braunston - NRO Map 4084; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Braybrooke - NRO Map 6393, Map X9947
- Brigstock - NRO Inclosure Plan 60; TNA MPI 1/250
- Brixworth - NRO Map 1555, FH272
- Brockhall - NRO Map 5704, T31
- Broughton - Boughton House, Lordship of Boughton 1728
- Bugbrooke - NRO 53p/331
- Bulwick - NRO Maps 763a, 4527; TNA MR 1/314, MPE 1/459
- Burghley - EX/M 275L, 276L
- Burton Latimer - NRO Inclosure Plan 7
- Buscot - NRO Map 1663
- Byfield - NRO Map 3495
- Caldecote - D Hall reconstruction; adjacent township maps
- Canons Ashby - NRO Map 855, T215; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Castle Ashby - Compton Muniments 1348
- Castor - NRO Maps 2674, 1202
- Catesby - NRO Map 6388
- Chacombe - NRO T43
- Chapel Brampton - NRO FH272
- Charlton P. Hayter, 2000 (reconstruction); OS 1st edition 1:10560; adjacent township maps
- Charwelton - NRO T45, Map 6388
- Chelveston cum Caldecott - NRO Maps 3007, 1004
- Chipping Warden - NRO T20, T160, T16, 56p/501; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Church Brampton - NRO FH272
- Church Stowe - NRO Map 2837, T10; Northamptonshire Archaeology Vol. 16, pp 136-141
- Churchfield - NRO Map 2858
- Clay Coton - NRO T178
- Clipston - D Hall reconstruction
- Clopton - NRO T165
- Cogenhoe - NRO Maps 2841, 3659
- Cold Ashby - NRO T212, Map 3125; SRO HB 56 2803; BL ADDMSS 78136 A; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Cold Higham and Grimscote - NRO Maps 2913, 2868
- Collingtree - NRO Map 2846
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- Corby - NRO Inclosure Plan 11, Map 2919
- Cosgrove and Furtho - NRO Maps 6325, 4214
- Costow - NRO Map 2677
- Coton - NRO Map 2176, LBY 1465
- Cotterstock - NRO Maps 4526, 2991, 2842
- Cottesbrooke - NRO Map 4427, T234
- Cottingham - NRO Inclosure Plan 48, Maps 2329, 2919
- Cotton - NRO Maps 2328, 2329, FH272
- Courteenhall - NRO Maps 464, 2915, 1349, T28
- Cranford St Andrew - NRO Maps 1388, 3019

- Cranford St John - NRO Map 3019
- Cransley - NRO Maps 1430, 5505, T154, T228; Boughton House, Lordship of Boughton 1728; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Creaton - NRO T151, 184, Maps 4427, 1555; OS 1st edition 1:10560
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- Croughton - NRO Map 3513A+B
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- Daventry - NRO Inclosure Plan 14, Map 942; A Brown reconstruction
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- Denton - Compton Muniments Map 1348
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- East Carlton - NRO Map 704
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- East Haddon - NRO Inclosure Plan 28, T184, FH272, Map 1556; BL ADDMSS 78129 D; BL ADDMSS 78133 F
- Eastcote and Dalscote - D Hall reconstruction
- Easton Maudit - Compton Muniments, Easton Maudit 1812, Yardley Chase 1760
- Easton Neston and Hulcote - NRO T188
- Easton on the Hill - NRO Inclosure Plan 15; EX/M M399
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- Elkington - NRO Map 3125; BL ADDMSS 78136 A; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Elmington - NRO T108
- Etton - NRO ML 860
- Evenley - NRO 118p/15
- Eydon - NRO T215, T203, T160, 56p/501; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Eye - NRO 121p/10
- Falcutt – see Astwell
- Farthinghoe - NRO T139; BL ADDMSS 78146 A-D
- Farthingstone - NRO T8, ZB 1837
- Fawsley - NRO Map 853; OS 1st edition 1:10560
- Faxton - NRO Map 702

- Finedon - NRO Map 625
- Fineshade - TNA MR398, MR 1/314
- Flore - NRO Map 5259
- Foscott - NRO Maps 458, 2936
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- Glassthorpe - NRO ZB 1837
- Glendon - Glendon 1830 private collection
- Glinton - NRO ML 860
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- Grafton Underwood - Boughton House,
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- Great Addington - NRO Inclosure Plan 2
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- Great Doddington - NRO GD3, Inclosure
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- Great Everdon - NRO Map 853, T205; OS
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- Great Harrowden - NRO Map 1488
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- Great Oakley - NRO Map 895, FH272,
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- Great Oxenden - LRO MA\EN\A\199\1
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- Greatworth - NRO T190
- Greens Norton - NRO Maps 4219, 2897
- Grendon - NRO Maps 2993, 2839,
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- Gretton - NRO Inclosure Plan 17, FH272
- Grimsbury; Nethercote and Huscote - OS
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- Grimscote – see Cold Higham
- Guilsborough - NRO LBY 1465, T30,
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- Gunthorpe - NRO T65
- Hackleton - adjacent township maps
- Halse - NRO T214
- Hanging Houghton - NRO Maps 567, 568
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- Hardwick - TNA MPA 1/104
- Hargrave - NRO 152p/512
- Harlestone - NRO A95; BL ADDMSS
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- Harpole - OS 1st edition 1:10560

- Harrington - NRO T221, Map 4642
- Harringworth - NRO Map 4527
- Hartwell - NRO Maps 453, 360, 440,
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- Haselbech - NRO Map 561
- Heathencote – NRO Map 2926
- Hellidon - NRO Inc. Plan 54, Map 6388
- Helmdon - NRO Map 1702, T156
- Helpston - NRO ML 860
- Hemington - Boughton House, Lordship of
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- Hide - NRO Maps 2932, 447
- Higham Ferrers - NRO Map 1004
- Hinton - NRO Maps 3495, T45, T9
- Hinton in the Hedges - NRO C(A)3734/1
- Holcot - NRO Map 4044
- Holdenby - NRO FH272
- Hollowell - NRO T151, T184, Map 2176,
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- Horton - NRO Maps 1351, 1350
- Hothorpe - NRO Map 2867, T206; OS 1st
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- Knuston - NRO Map 832, Inclosure Plan
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- Lamport - NRO Maps 2683, 557, 568
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- Litchborough - NRO T219, Map 713
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- Little Preston - NRO T213

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