

The Remaking of the English Landscape:
An Archaeology of Enclosure

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Doctor of Philosophy
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by

Hannah Kate Sackett
School of Archaeology and Ancient History

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Hannah Kate Sackett

The Remaking of the English Landscape: An Archaeology of Enclosure

This thesis presents a study of the enclosure of the English landscape from an archaeological perspective. Enclosure is the process by which the medieval system of open fields and commons was replaced with privately owned, enclosed fields. It took several different forms and took place over a long timespan, from the 1200s to the 1800s.

After outlining recent developments in the areas of post-medieval and later historical archaeology and past approaches to the study of enclosure in an English context, the thesis sets out the framework for an archaeology of enclosure. An important part of the thesis involves the development of the idea of 'documents as material culture,' which allows legal papers, maps and plans associated with enclosure and land management to be examined from an archaeological perspective.

The focus of the thesis is a detailed case study of enclosure in Buckinghamshire, in particular the Chilterns in the south of the county and the clay vales immediately to their north. This area has been chosen due to the differing chronology and character of enclosure in the Chilterns and the adjacent vale. The aim of the thesis is to use specific observations about enclosure in the study area to make broader points about the nature and diversity of enclosure in general. There is an awareness throughout the thesis of the role that the discussion of enclosure has played in the study of the development of capitalism and modernity.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to study the enclosure of the English landscape from an archaeological perspective. Enclosure is the process by which the medieval system of open fields and commons was replaced with privately owned, enclosed fields. It took several different forms and took place over a long timespan, from the 1200s to the 1800s. Enclosure has been more commonly studied by economic historians, historical geographers, and landscape historians. However, in recent years it has been demonstrated that archaeologists can make a worthwhile contribution to the discussion of this subject.

The focus of the thesis is a detailed case study of enclosure in Buckinghamshire, with a particular focus on the Chilterns in the south of the county and the clay vales immediately to their north. This area has been chosen due to the differing chronology and character of enclosure in the Chilterns and the adjacent vale. The aim of the thesis is to use specific observations about enclosure in the the study area to make broader points about the nature and diversity of enclosure across the country. There is an awareness throughout the thesis of the role that the discussion of enclosure has played in the study of the development of capitalism and modernity.

This introductory chapter discusses recent developments in the areas of post-medieval and later historical archaeology, with particular reference to Johnson's (1996) call to utilise the analysis of material culture, architecture and landscapes in the study the emergence of capitalist and modern world views. The chapter goes on to address some of the difficulties of undertaking such a study, and outlines potential ways in which archaeologists can contribute to the understanding of this period as well as setting out the specific approach taken in this thesis.

Chapter Two looks at past approaches to the study of enclosure in an English context. Particular emphasis is placed on understanding the processes by which enclosure was created, accepted and resisted over time.

Chapter Three sets out the framework for an archaeology of enclosure. It explores theories and practical methodologies which can be utilised in the study of landscapes and enclosure. It also develops the idea of 'documents as material culture,' which will allow the legal papers, maps and plans associated with enclosure and land management to be examined from an archaeological perspective.

Chapters Four to Six present the evidence from the case study. Chapter Four introduces the study area and goes on to discuss the development of field systems and land divisions in the area, as well as examining the nature of early enclosure across the study area. Chapters Five and Six focus in more detail on the era of parliamentary enclosure (c.1750- c.1850), examining the chronology, implementation and nature of enclosure across the study area, as well as the impact of enclosure on the landscape and the local population.

Chapter Seven draws conclusions from the case studies, and addresses the specific questions laid out in Chapter Three. This chapter places the information generated in the case study in a wider context and establishes the contribution archaeologists can make to the study of this topic.

Post-medieval and later historical archaeology

The study of post-medieval and later historical archaeology in Britain has long been concerned with the detailed recording and description of archaeological, architectural and documentary evidence (West 1999, 5). In recent years, however, a number of archaeologists have sought to take the study of post-medieval material in new directions. Explicit calls for a new approach to the study of post-medieval archaeology are made by Matthew Johnson in his 1996 work *An Archaeology of Capitalism* and by Sarah Tarlow and Susie West in their edited volume *The Familiar Past?* (1999). Other interpretative approaches to the study of this period include Carman (1999), Frazer (1999a), Tarlow (1999a) and Williamson (1999). Many of these and similar works have drawn on the work of American historical archaeologists such as Deetz (1977), Glassie (1975) and Leone (1988; 1995) who have long been asking interesting questions of their material. Historical archaeologists in America have situated themselves in relation to the discipline of anthropology, and are interested in issues such as ethnicity, gender and kinship (West 1999, 7). They have also paid particular attention to the study of groups about whom history may be silent; for example "immigrants, children, women, slaves and free African Americans" (Leone 1995, 251).

While new perspectives in British historical archaeology are not unified in their approach to the study of the archaeological record, they do share a concern with using archaeological material (which may include architectural, landscape and documentary evidence as well as smaller forms of material culture such as pots or clay pipes) to actively engage with the historical debate concerning the changing nature of society from the late medieval into the later historical period. Such works do not present the archaeological evidence as interesting in its own right; rather they stress the importance of understanding the archaeology within a historical context. This is not to say that archaeologists should fill in or illustrate gaps in historical knowledge, but that they should seek to use their understanding of their material to write sophisticated accounts of the lives of people and communities in the past.

Such academics are working to find a positive and productive way forward for historical archaeology. British archaeologists studying historical periods have often found their relationship with documentary evidence and historians to be a problematic one. David Austin, in outlining this long-standing uneasy and uneven partnership, has drawn attention to the way in which archaeologists in the past were heavily reliant on historical agendas and texts in the formulation of archaeological research topics (1990, 13; 24). He has also suggested that this reliance is, in part, the reason for historians' relative lack of interest in the work of their archaeological counterparts (1990, 13; see also Moreland 2001, 10-13).

In light of this, Austin has urged historical archaeologists to free themselves from too close an association with historians and documentary accounts of the past; instead they should draw guidance from the theoretical approach to material culture current in British prehistory (1990, 29-235) and base their research on an understanding of the material culture of the period, rather than the available documentary evidence (1990, 35).

Austin is making an important point; archaeological evidence is rarely suitable for reconstructing historical events or the lives or actions of notable individuals in the past. It

may, instead, be able to tell us about aspects of the past not touched upon by documents and historical accounts. From the study of artefacts and landscapes we can start to understand the 'everyday' aspects of life - the houses people lived in, the routes they took across the landscape, the pots they used, the food they ate, the ways in which they buried and commemorated the dead. Bill Frazer (1999a), in line with Leone (1995), has similarly emphasised the way in which archaeology can access the people, as well as the practices, about which history is silent.

However, there are problems with Austin and Thomas's suggestion that archaeologists should first "read and translate the archaeological text in its own terms" before placing it "in parallel or as a dialectic with texts from other sources" (1990, 51). In particular, it is undesirable and impractical for an archaeologist to be ignorant, or feign ignorance, of the historical and social context in which the artefacts, architecture and landscapes were created. The dialectic between archaeological evidence and other sources of information (primary sources and academic accounts) should be ongoing throughout the course of a piece of research. If archaeologists wish to work in historical periods they need to make full use of existing contemporary sources and historical narratives, as well as engaging with the ideas, issues, debates and approaches of historians and theorists which relate to their chosen field of study.

Some authors, notably Johnson (1996), have specifically drawn attention to the need to situate the work of archaeologists in relation to more general academic discussions of the period. The work of many major theorists, including Marx (eg Marx 1976; see Bottomore and Rubel (eds) 1963, 137-54), Durkheim (1893), Weber (1958) and Foucault (1977) have discussed the shift from feudalism to capitalism and have produced theorised approaches to the study and understanding of capitalist societies. Johnson argues that medieval and post-medieval archaeologists should move away from creating non-interpretative accounts of material culture and instead engage with this significant area of debate concerning the shift from feudalism to capitalism (1996, 1).

In light of this, Johnson has suggested that academics involved in studying late medieval and post-medieval material culture should be actively involved in the writing of an archaeology of capitalism by tracing the role of material culture in the development of capitalism (1996, 17). Johnson gives a broad definition of capitalism, referring to the relationship between capitalist and wage labourer, the importance of the factory system and mass production and the commoditization of land, objects and labour (1996, 7). He also notes the change in attitudes and beliefs associated with capitalism, such as the significance of individualism and the acquisition of wealth and the development of work discipline (1996, 8). Suggested topics for research include changing forms of spatial order and settlement (1996, 17), the changing nature of the significance, production and consumption of objects (1996, 179) and the increased authority and circulation of maps and documents (1996, 118).

An Archaeology of Capitalism?

Johnson's call to theorise and contextualise the archaeological study of the late medieval and post-medieval period in Britain should not be ignored. The emergence of capitalism is a major area of study and archaeologists should be able to contribute to it in ways that would compliment work carried out in other academic disciplines (see below

for discussion of the role of archaeology in this debate). It should, however, be stressed that the study of the emergence of capitalism is only one of many issues worthy of address by post-medieval and later historical archaeologists.

The task of the archaeologist who chooses to tackle the issue of the emergence of capitalism is not straightforward or unproblematic. There are many difficult questions to be answered and many complex concepts involved in the study of capitalist and emergent capitalist societies. The following discussion outlines some of the problems which may be encountered in attempting to create further archaeologies of capitalism, and goes on to define the line of enquiry taken in this thesis.

Characterising Capitalism

The biggest problem in approaching the study of the emergence of capitalism is to define capitalism as a topic for study. Many historians have chosen to work with, or from, a Marxist definition of capitalism, discussing issues such as the forces and relations of production (see Hilton 1985, 8). Meanwhile, many historical archaeologists have worked with the idea of Georgianization or the Georgian Order. This idea has been much developed in the work of American archaeologists such as Deetz (1977) and Glassie (1975), and has been drawn on by Johnson (1993, 1996) in a British context. Johnson describes the Georgian Order as “a consistent set of rules applied to architecture, material culture, and ways of living” (1996, 202). Elements of the Georgian Order include the individualisation and standardisation of architecture and material culture; for example the mass production of tea services or the use of pattern books in the design of houses (1996, 203).

One of the problems of working with a very tightly defined definition of capitalism, such as that offered by Marxism or the idea of the Georgian Order, is that it makes discussions of social change and regional variation problematic. Is capitalism to be viewed as a concrete system, whose principles endure in spite of regional differences and change over time? And if capitalism is described as a coherent, contained system, is it to be believed that there was a point at which capitalism crystallised and that the transition from feudalism to capitalism was complete? Such an approach puts the neatly defined concepts of feudalism and capitalism into direct opposition with one another.

In the discussion of the transition to capitalism many academics have created such an opposition. Some nineteenth century writers looked back on the medieval period with nostalgia, as a Golden Age of co-operation, while others contrasted the medieval period unfavourably with the more enlightened attitudes that followed the Renaissance (Courtney 1997, 11). Judgmental comments regarding the shift from open fields to enclosed landscapes can be found in more recent literature; for example, Roden describes post-medieval enclosure in terms of the “disintegration of medieval field systems” (1975, 363), while Chenevix-Trench claims that [parliamentary] “enclosure destroyed the foundations of the rural civilisation of England” (1975, 428). Meanwhile, Rackham has noted a very different attitude to this transition, which interprets “strip-cultivation as a relic of pristine barbarism, once universal, surviving in places by force of habit until the Age of Enlightenment swept it away” (1997, 170).

Oppositions in the study of the shift from feudalism to capitalism have been reinforced by the way that historians, and historical archaeologists following in their wake,

have generally allocated 1500 as the start date for the study of 'modern' history. The creation of such a firm boundary has deterred many medievalists and post-medievalists from extending their studies across this time-line. It has also led to some of them making assumptions and generalisations about the period outside their specialisms (Courtney 1997, 11). Historical archaeologists (eg Gaimster and Stamper 1997; West 1999, 8-9) are now taking steps to address this problem. Particular emphasis has been placed on pushing the boundaries of post-medieval archaeology back into the medieval period in order to acknowledge that the ideas and practices related to modernism and early forms of capitalism did not spring from nowhere in the sixteenth century.

Oppositions and stark contrasts have been made between non-capitalist and capitalist societies in other areas of study. Mitchell's discussion of the colonisation of Egypt (1988), for example, highlights a sharp distinction between the order and inflexibility of the colonisers as compared with the fluidity of the social practices of the local population. The Europeans are presented as experiencing their surroundings by placing an emphasis on the visual and by objectifying the world (1988, 5-13), while the local population place more emphasis on bodily experience and have a more rounded, sensual experience of the world (1988, 44-55). Mitchell acknowledges the problems of opposing the colonisers and the indigenous population, but concludes that is to some degree "inevitable" (1988, 49).

In terms of the oppositions that are seen to exist between pre- or non-capitalist and capitalist societies, academics have described the differing attitudes towards objects, land and labour. For example, objects made in non-capitalist societies have been described as inalienable, that is they are inextricably bound up with the identities of the people involved in their production; the social relations involved in the production, exchange and use of artefacts in such societies cannot be broken down (Thomas, 1991; Weiner, 1992). The relationship to land and labour in pre- or non-capitalist societies has also been described as inalienable or embedded (eg Johnson 1996, 82). In contrast, the advent of mass production has been seen to alienate people from the goods which they produce and purchase. In a capitalist society goods, land and labour can all be viewed as commodities; objects which can be exchanged for other goods or to be bought and sold with money. (Macfarlane 1987, 223; Marx 1976, 166; Morrison 1995, 60-77).

At a general level such observations highlight the strong differences that can be seen to exist between certain non-capitalist and capitalist societies. However, one of the reasons that these societies seem so different is that they are being directly compared and held up in opposition to one another. Thus the features of non-capitalist and capitalist societies are generalised in order to highlight the differences between them. Subtleties of understanding and interpretation become impossible under such an approach.

Beyond Opposition

Numerous academics have now challenged the use of opposition in the discussion of pre- or non-capitalist societies and capitalist societies. Some studies have highlighted the problems caused by placing capitalism in opposition to other forms of society, while others have suggested ways of blurring boundaries or of moving beyond opposition.

The contributors to Carrier's edited volume "Occidentalism" (1995), for example, have drawn attention to the way in which the creation of oppositions has the effect of reducing and simplifying our understanding of capitalist societies. The numerous case studies in this volume clearly demonstrate the diversity and complexity of beliefs within Western capitalist societies. Meanwhile, other anthropological studies have questioned the depiction of capitalism as a clearly defined and unchanging system. Sahlins work on the creation of multiple 'cultures of capitalism' (1988) has shown that while indigenous societies have been forced to work with the colonisers' capitalist framework, they have done so from their own cultural perspective, bringing together their own beliefs and accommodating those of the incomers in a way that can produce novel forms of capitalism and new interpretations and appropriations of capitalist goods and practices. Related studies have also shown that Western beliefs and practices have been altered through colonialism and globalisation and contact with other peoples, landscapes and world views (for example see Hannerz (1987) on the idea of 'creolisation'). The work of Sahlins and other anthropologists (eg Hugh-Jones 1992; Miller 1998) has firmly stated a case for an understanding of capitalism and modernism that is not unitary and homogeneous. Such studies highlight the problems of using a neat definition of capitalism, including the idea of the Georgian Order, as a framework for study.

At a broad level, the Georgian period is notable for a growth in centralisation and circulation of ideas and goods. Mass production of household goods and the use of pattern-books in the design and construction of houses (Johnson 1996, 203) give the appearance of a growing standardisation in capitalist society in Britain and its colonies.

However, at a local level there is diversity of beliefs and practices. Mass produced objects may look the same, but they may be used or appropriated in a whole range of ways (Miller 1987). Williamson's regional studies of landscape gardens in England (Williamson 1998, HGT and Williamson 2000) have clearly demonstrated that there was much regional variation and appropriation of ideas and designs put forward by the more famous landscape gardeners.

Diversity and regional difference is also visible in a colonial context. 'Standardised' forms of Georgian architecture which were constructed in new landscapes and new materials took on new trajectories; the wooden houses studied by Glassie (1975) may have drawn on the layout and sense of order of a contemporary brick-built house in England, but these houses built on different continents were by no means interchangeable.

Other studies have sought to break down the barrier between capitalist and pre-capitalist (or non-capitalist) societies. Bruno Latour, for example, has chosen to break down the very idea of the 'modern', claiming that dividing line between people with a modern world view and those in other societies does not exist (1994). Other works have demonstrated that inalienable objects, gift exchange and relationships with place and landscape are still to be found in capitalist society (eg Carrier 1995; Casey 1987; Glassie 1982; Miller 1987).

This is important for historical archaeologists studying feudalism and capitalism, since it breaks down the dividing line between these two concepts and suggests that there may be links and connections, as well as differences, between medieval, post-medieval and later historical societies. By focusing on the emergence of capitalist beliefs and practices it is possible to ignore the continuation of social practices more commonly

associated with the medieval period. For this reason it is desirable for post-medieval and later historical archaeologists not to focus solely on producing archaeologies of capitalism, as in doing so they may look mainly for evidence connected to the growth of capitalism (eg mass produced artefacts, increasingly standardised architecture) and overlook evidence that demonstrates the complexity and diversity of society at a given point in time, as well as downplaying connections with practices more commonly associated with the medieval period (see below for other problems of writing a linear account of history).

If it is accepted that differences within capitalist societies are not negligible and that the many different forms of capitalist beliefs existing in the world are being constantly remade and renegotiated, as well as challenged, by people on a daily basis then care needs to be taken in the study of medieval, post-medieval and late historical archaeology. While acknowledging that centralisation, standardisation and mass production are identifiable features of the later historical period, the study of these shifts in social organisation and practices should not be studied to the detriment of understanding regional variations, interpretations and resistance to these changes.

By refusing to place capitalism in opposition to pre-capitalist and non-capitalist societies, academics can create a more complex and subtle picture. Capitalist societies and peoples can be seen to have similarities as well as differences with other societies and peoples both past and present. In taking this approach it is also possible to move away from simplistic, reductionist and over-generalised characterisations of capitalist societies.

Discussions of Transition

In working to bring subtlety to the understanding of capitalist societies, archaeologists need to handle different scales of history and social change. Archaeologists such as Austin and Thomas (1990, 53), Bintliff (1991) Gosden (1994, 192), Fleming (1998, 160) and Knapp (1992), have argued for the benefits of studying change over longer periods of time than those generally chosen by historians. As already noted, certain beliefs and practices that make up part of the modern world view are evident in the medieval period. It is therefore important to look at change and the development of ideas over a long time scale; to acknowledge the *longue durée* of social change (Braudel, 1985; Gosden, 1994; Verhaeghe, 1997).

The study of change over a long periods needs to be done with care. It is easy to over-simplify society and social change. The differences between feudal and capitalist societies can be easily exaggerated; but over-emphasising similarity, as well as difference, over long periods of time is also problematic since it can have the result of blurring the distinctions between different historical periods. In tracing aspects of modernism or capitalism back to the early medieval period (Hodges 1989), for example, the great distance of time and the massive cultural differences between England in 800 and 1500 are belittled. Studies should examine both connections and differences between different historical periods in order to maintain an appreciation of the historical specificity of people's beliefs and practices at any point in time. Tarlow has argued that discussions of later historical archaeology should take into account both "the deep historical and the specifically modern" (1999b, 269). Archaeologists also need to examine the connections between different timescales, for example of the individual or

the community and the long timescale of history and social change (Gosden 1994, 192; see further discussion in Chapter Two)

It is also important not to fall into the trap of writing a linear account of change. In tracing the 'origins' or emergence of capitalism it is important to acknowledge that capitalism was not an inevitability. The actions and agency of individuals and groups should not be ignored or suppressed by the discussion of large scale structures or impersonal historical changes. The complexity, the contradictions, the strands of resistance and change within each society should not be lost from sight (Hobsbawm, 1998; Thompson, 1991a; see Chapter Two).

Different approaches to the study of social change are examined in the following chapter. Along with other archaeological works (eg Barrett 1993; Dobres and Robb, 2000) this thesis draws on the ideas of practice theory, as set out by Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984) and utilised by Connerton (1989) and Schatzki et al (2001). The main point taken from these works is that social beliefs and practices have to be continually remade and are continually renegotiated. The significance of this is that it highlights the importance of the individual in the creation of social change. Instead of depicting people at the mercy of grand forces of history, it is possible to see that individual and communal choices and actions in the past had a very real impact on their society and the material world around them. In terms of the topic of enclosure, small acts, such as creating an assart, encroaching onto common land, planting a hedge or maintaining a ditch all contributed to the gradual shift from the open field system to enclosed, privately owned fields. It is important to see the connection between these small choices and the major social changes that occurred from the late medieval period onwards.

It is this perspective, of the need to look at the level of everyday choices as well as more dramatic changes over time, that makes archaeology such a suitable subject for approaching the study of change from the late medieval into the later historical period.

The Role of Archaeology

Historians have sometimes characterised historical archaeology as only being useful in illustrating historical narratives (see Austin 1990, 13; 24-8). However, the work of a great many historical archaeologists has demonstrated that archaeologists can use their study of material culture and landscapes, combined with an understanding of the historical context, to write complex narratives. Archaeologists can study periods or regions for which there is very little historical evidence. And archaeologists (along with academics in related disciplines such as landscape history, architectural history and social history) can write about the intimate details of life - household artefacts, architecture, burial practices, and so on - which are generally ignored by large scale historical narratives.

It is this intimate perspective that gives archaeologists the potential to look at variation within capitalist societies. One of the strengths of archaeology lies in its profusion of detail; in the richness and diversity of archaeological evidence. However necessary it is in an academic discipline to make generalised observations as a framework to our studies, there will always be exceptions to the rule, there will always be fragments of the archaeological record that refuse to fit into a tidy framework: the world and the people in it are never that neat. Studied within a productive framework,

the wealth of material and detail produced by archaeologists can allow discussions to move away from generalisations and oppositions of capitalist and non-capitalist societies in order to create a more nuanced picture of how people lived through and played an active role in a constantly changing world.

Landscape features, architecture, and other forms of material culture such as pipes, plates, gravestones and documents, can all tell us of the day to day practices and decisions taken by people in the past. Instead of framing people's lives in the post-medieval period as being part of a march towards capitalism, we can instead ask: how did people live at a specific point in time; how did they embrace or resist new forms of technology and material culture; did they maintain regional traditions and identities through their production and use of material culture?

Regional studies of landscapes and material culture can help to problematise any generalised chronologies of change. Williamson, for example has challenged traditional typologies of the development of garden design in England (1998, 1). Meanwhile Tarlow's study of gravestones and death and the individual in the post-medieval period in Orkney (1999a) pays attention to local specificity of material culture, beliefs and practices, thus avoiding generalisations about beliefs in the post-medieval period.

Archaeological studies can be used to demonstrate that societies do not move as a whole with one aim and in one direction. Just as historians E.P. Thompson (1991a) and Eric Hobsbawm (1998) have emphasised the side roads of history, so archaeologists can demonstrate that there were different practices across a country or region and different routes that history might have followed. Similarly they can show that capitalism did not become "refined" over time, rather that it changed.

One significant difference between archaeology and history is that archaeologists can look at documentation and other forms of visual representation as specialised forms of material culture as well as a source of information (Johnson 1996, 118; see further discussion in Chapter Three). The material form and context of production and use of documents, books, maps, plans and paintings should not be overlooked. This is especially interesting in relation to the study of capitalism, since the growing importance of maps and the increased authority of paper documentation is a notable feature of the growth of the modern world view.

Another important role of archaeology is in examining the role of material culture, architecture and landscape in the process of social change. Bruno Latour has described society as being made up of people and things. Latour's position suggests that is not desirable to write a history or narrative of enclosure through documentary sources alone. Once manipulated, the material world can act back on people, can shape their experience and their understanding of the world (Pfaffenberger 1988, Latour 1993). This ability of the material world to shape thoughts and actions was an idea that had currency in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and was bound up with the idea of Improvement.

In terms of archaeological study it is possible to explore new forms of architecture, landscape organisation or production and use of material culture. For example archaeologists can explore the use of space in factories and workhouses (e.g Lucas 1999), the ways in which enclosure changed the way in which people moved around the landscape, as well as the way they related to the land and to one another

(see Chapters Six and Seven) or how the creation and adoption of new tablewares and styles of food preparation altered social relations in the house and at the table (eg Yentsch 1991). Such changes were the result of changes in belief and practice and, in turn, created further changes in social practice. Seen from this perspective, the study of archaeology is an essential part of any attempts to understand social change and social practices in any society - historic or prehistoric.

An Archaeology of Enclosure

The emergence of capitalist beliefs and practices is a vast and complex area of discussion. It needs to be acknowledged that any one piece of archaeological research cannot realistically expect to tackle and answer all the issues involved in the shift from feudal to capitalist society. Moreover, by focusing specifically on the emergence of capitalism there is a danger of writing a narrow and linear account of change, and of limiting discussion and interpretation to the topics of capitalism and modernity.

A different way forward might be for archaeologists interested in studying this period of transition to select specific topics or issues which have been identified as significant in the development of capitalist ideas and practices and to follow them over a long period of time, ignoring the artificial boundaries of medieval, post-medieval and later historical or industrial archaeology (see Tarlow 1999b, 269-70). In doing so, they should seek to avoid producing a linear narrative and presenting the changes (eg the rise of individualism, mass production and consumption, enclosure) as an inevitability. The distinctive attitudes and practices of each period should be highlighted, as should evidence of resistance or tensions in the past. Alternatively, archaeologists may choose to focus on a shorter timespan and to explore the diversity of material forms and social practices present across different regions.

In light of this, the aim of this thesis is to pursue the theme of enclosure, as well as related topics, including the commoditisation of land and the role of documentation and bureaucracy in the use and management of land. Enclosure has been chosen as a topic for study since it has been discussed in relation to the shift from feudalism to capitalism (see Aston and Philpin 1985.). For example, enclosure has been studied in terms of the move away from feudal ties and communal land management towards a capitalist view of the land in which the individual and the land they own or work are brought into a direct relationship, just as the individual and God were brought into a direct relationship by Protestantism (Johnson 1996, 75-6; Weber 1958).

Enclosure is also connected to the creation of an abstract notion of space and a linking of land, space and value, of land as an alienable commodity. The maps and plans which played an important role in eighteenth and nineteenth century enclosure, allowed straight lines to be ruled across the paper and then created on the ground in the form of straight hedges and roads that sometimes took very little account of the existing topography of previous layout of fields and routeways. Related to this is the idea that enclosure played a part in a new, capitalist way of viewing the world, in which sight is prioritised and bodily practice become less important (Gregory 1994; Johnson 1996, 90; see Ingold 2000, 243-87; Lefebvre 1991; Mitchell 1988, 1-33). Such planned landscapes have also been discussed in relation to 'authentic' landscapes, which have developed over time; Relph's work describes the increasing homogeneity of capitalist landscapes and the feeling of placelessness in the modern world (1976).



Lucinda Naylor, 2003

Figure 1.1 Beating the Bounds by Lucinda Naylor.

It is easy to draw enclosure into an over-generalised discussion of the feudalism-capitalism transition, in which open fields and communal landownership are medieval, while enclosed, privately owned fields are capitalist. Oppositions between pre-capitalist and capitalist landscapes can also be created, with the medieval population engaging with the landscape through all their senses and experiencing a dense sense of place and rootedness, while individuals in a modern society are detached and alienated from the land. Johnson, for example, characterises medieval communities' engagement with the landscape through his description of the beating of the parish bounds (1996, 74) (Figure 1.1). Johnson emphasises the physical experience of moving through space and the very physical way in which the memory of specific landscape is impressed on some of the younger members of the party by ducking them in ditches or giving them a clout (Thompson 1991b, 98). In contrast, Johnson describes how enclosures place "the eye rather than the body at the centre of space, and thus makes the gaze central to the experience of enclosed space" (Johnson 1996, 74). The juxtaposition of these descriptions of medieval and capitalist experiences of landscape places them in opposition to one another.

However, as further discussion in Chapter Two will demonstrate in detail, the picture is nowhere near as simple. Even the characterisation of enclosure as capitalist is highly problematic. Enclosure as a process can be traced back to the thirteenth century, while land division can, if desired, be traced back to the Neolithic period. At the other

end of the scale, communal land management in the form of open fields and common land persisted in some parts of England right until the end of the nineteenth century, making it hard to characterise it as a feature solely related to feudal society. Meanwhile, the tendency to oppose non-capitalist and capitalist attitudes towards and experience of landscape has been brought into question by numerous works (e.g. Carrier 1995; Casey 1987; Glassie 1982)

The enclosure of the English landscape was certainly influenced by, and contributed to, changing attitudes in the post-medieval period. Nonetheless, the history of enclosure stretches back before this time, while the diversity of enclosure challenges a neat evolutionary approach to its role in the development of a capitalist world view. Enclosure, therefore, provides a suitable case study through which to explore the complexity of the emergence of capitalism in England. It also defies attempts to box the study in a neat time frame.

The study in this thesis emphasises the importance of changing beliefs and practices over time, as well as drawing attention to regional variation and diversity. Issues of agency and resistance are also addressed. Another aim of this study is to interrogate some of the generalisations that have been made about the nature of capitalist landscapes (see Chapter Three for further discussion). The study area of the Chiltern and vale parishes of Buckinghamshire has been chosen since a wide range of enclosure practices, including early piecemeal enclosure (in the Chilterns) and parliamentary enclosure of entire parishes (mostly in the vale). The aim is to explore the complexity and diversity of enclosure in the study area rather than making generalisations about the process of enclosure.

The case study section of the thesis contextualises the study of enclosure by looking at the development of boundaries and field systems in the medieval period. It then examines early enclosure across the study area, before going on to explore the era of parliamentary enclosure (c.1750-c.1850) in greater depth.

The aim of this thesis is to write a history of enclosure without falling back on the discourse of opposition, and to produce an account in which long-term trends and the specificity and complexity of society at any given time is acknowledged. Through a detailed regional study - the Chilterns and clay vales of Buckinghamshire - this thesis examines the changing forms and practices and beliefs associated with enclosure, and in doing so confronts some of the generalisations that are often made about pre-capitalist and capitalist landscapes and societies and to attempt to write a richer, more rounded account of enclosure, in which society and ideas are seen to change, rather than evolve, and in which debate, resistance, human and material agency are all present.

Conclusion

Studies of capitalist societies have often had the tendency to create oppositions between pre- or non-capitalist societies and capitalist societies. As a result of creating this opposition, characterisations of these societies can be over-generalised and lacking in subtlety. In recent years, academics from many different disciplines have worked to break down the idea that capitalist, modern society is clearly distinct from other forms of society. These studies allow academics to make connections, as well as pointing out differences between capitalist and non-capitalist societies. With regard to the emergence of capitalism, academics have been able to study the development of

some of the ideas and practices that later played a major role in the creation of a modern world view. By moving away from an approach which opposes and clearly divides off medieval and post-medieval society, historical archaeologists can start to write more subtle and complex accounts of the emergent capitalist and capitalist societies. In doing so, they should turn away from trying to place artificial labels on their studies, and should instead choose their timescale on the basis of the material or topic they are studying, rather than worrying about crossing arbitrary disciplinary boundaries or treading on the toes of medievalists or industrial archaeologists at either end of the scale.

In writing about capitalist or modern societies, it is important to note that capitalist beliefs and practices are neither uniform nor fixed. Capitalist societies are diverse and are open to regional and local variations, as well as change over time. Anthropological and historical studies have shown that even the circulation of mass produced goods cannot create uniformity, since identical pieces of material culture can be appropriated differently in different contexts. Historical archaeologists working on detailed, contextual studies of material culture can contribute to this understanding of how people living in increasingly centralised and industrialised societies continue to express regional, and individual, identities and difference through their engagement with material culture. By studying landscapes, buildings and artefacts (including documents) archaeologists can explore the role of the material world in the shaping and remaking of society. The detailed nature of the archaeological record means that archaeologists can use their material to talk about the richness and diversity of practice in capitalist societies, as well as drawing out more generalised patterns. Archaeologists can combine the study of long-term change with an understanding of the every day actions that contribute to stability and change within a society. In writing an account of emergent capitalist and capitalist societies it is important to move away from the discussion of historical change in the abstract and to remember that it is the actions and choices of groups and individuals, of real people, that shape society and history.

The aim of this thesis is to put these ideas into practice through the examination of enclosure in Buckinghamshire, focusing on the Chilterns and the adjacent vale. Before going on to consider the study area it is first necessary to gain an understanding of the history of the study of enclosure and to outline the ideas and methods necessary to undertake an archaeology of enclosure.

Chapter Two: Enclosure, Change and Resistance

Introduction

The enclosure of the open fields and common wastes in England has long been a major topic of study. It has been linked to the discussion of the early modern transition from feudalism to capitalism, and to the agricultural and industrial revolutions of the eighteenth century. Academics, including economic historians and historical geographers have debated in great depth both the origins and the impact of this process, and have elaborated on different types and phases of enclosure. Meanwhile, landscape historians have done much to trace the chronology and the physical impact of enclosure on the English landscape. It is only in recent years that archaeologists have started to contribute to this debate (Johnson, 1996; Frazer, 1999b; Williamson, 2003).

The aim of this chapter is to review past explanations and discussions of enclosure and to outline the benefits of approaching this topic from an archaeological perspective.

Defining Enclosure

This process has been described in many different ways, and from many different perspectives. At a very general level enclosure could be described as the process by which the open fields and commons, which characterised the English landscape during the Medieval period, were replaced in the post-medieval period by small, privately-owned fields, delineated by ditches, banks, hedges or walls. This description can, in turn, be linked to a general shift from a feudal to a capitalist economy.

But enclosure is not that simple. Johnson (1996) has criticised the tendency of authors to homogenise the concept of enclosure. The process, which started as early as the thirteenth century and continued until the 1800s, took many different forms and was achieved in many different ways. Drawing on Adams (1976) Butlin gives a working definition of enclosure as “the process by which land had been bounded by fences, ditches, walls and hedgerows” (1979, 65). However, early examples of enclosure often involved the creation of large, open sheep pastures. While this land became privately managed, it was not necessarily enclosed by a physical boundary. From the 1600s onwards land was more likely to be divided up into bounded fields, which were used variously as pasture for sheep or cattle or for agricultural purposes.

Moreover, physical enclosure did not always lead to the land being held in severalty (under private ownership), while common rights could be abolished over land which remained open and intermixed (Yelling 1977, 5), meaning that distinctions can be made between the enclosure of land and the removal of rights over common land (Butlin 1979; Kerridge 1967). Raymond Williams (1975, 127) also distinguishes different kinds of enclosure by noting how the enclosure of the open fields would have had a different social impact to the enclosure of common grazing land, or waste. The loss of rights to graze animals and collect wood from common pastures would have impacted most heavily on those with very little, or no, rented land.

The physical diversity of enclosure is also worth attention. As already noted, enclosures could be formed by digging ditches, planting hedges or building walls. Fences were also used, as were combinations of ditches and hedges. The planting of

hedgerows, as well as trees at certain intervals along these boundaries, could create a useful resource for local people. The form taken by the new fields also created an impact on the landscape, both visually and in terms of closing off old routeways and rights of access. The shape of the enclosures also altered. Sometimes the hedges and walls would follow the line of the strips which had once formed the open fields. With the introduction of parliamentary enclosure (see below) in the eighteenth century, fields tended to ignore earlier landmarks, and take on a more regular, straight edged form. The benefits of understanding the many manifestations of field boundaries and methods of enclosing land are discussed below.

Enclosure was not always achieved by the same ends. The methods of enclosing land included approvement, unity of possession, piecemeal enclosure, enclosure by general agreement and enclosure by private acts. Approvement allowed landowners to enclose and improve common wastes "provided his action did not interfere with the legitimate claims of others to share in any part of its profits" (Butlin 1979, 67). Unity of possession made enclosure possible, since an individual who owned an area of land and all the rights that went with it could manage that land as they saw fit (see Chapman and Seeliger 2001, 11). Enclosure could be achieved piecemeal - by agreements between individual or small groups of landowners over time, or via general agreement by all the landowners in a township (Yelling 1977, 6). Frazer suggests that enclosure by "agreement" was not as innocuous as it sounds, as it could marginalise people who already had very little (1999b). Similarly, Butlin has noted that enclosure by agreement could range from "coerced agreements at one extreme to amicable arrangements at the other" (1979, 67). Parliamentary Acts of enclosure became the most common way of removing common rights from the mid 1700s to the mid-1800s. Appointed commissioners and surveyors drew up Parliamentary Awards and maps, reallocating land and fixing new boundaries. Many examples of enclosure by agreement from this period follow the format and procedure of the Parliamentary Acts (Chapman and Seeliger 2001, 41). The social relations and degrees of formality involved in these methods varied, from arbitrary enclosure, an informal version of approvement which by-passed the legal system, to the standardised parliamentary Acts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These different means of enclosing land were favoured at different periods and in different parts of the country.

Indeed, regional variation is an important factor. Some parts of England were enclosed early on, while others retained their open fields up until the parliamentary enclosures of the 1700s and 1800s. Some variation is due to the nature of the landscape, with wooded regions more likely to have been enclosed through piecemeal enclosure (a form of enclosure by agreement in which land is gradually enclosed, piece by piece, through agreements and exchanges of land between individual or small groups of landowners), while champion regions with their open fields were often left unenclosed until the period of the Parliamentary Acts. There are, however, many local and historical reasons why the removal of common rights and open fields occurred at varying times in different parts of the country. Williamson, for example, has suggested that the distinction between the enclosure of wooded or "ancient countryside" and champion regions has been overplayed. He argues that a more important factor was the difference between regular and irregular open field systems (Williamson 2000, 61).

In order to clarify the discussion of enclosure this thesis focuses on the form taken by enclosure, rather than the legal methods used to achieve enclosure. The main types of enclosure discussed in the thesis are large scale enclosure for the creation of pastures, piecemeal enclosure and enclosure by general agreement or Act of Parliament of a large part or whole of a parish or manor. A distinction is also made between the enclosure of the open fields and the enclosure of common lands, woodlands and wastes.

As this discussion has shown, enclosure is not a process that can be easily defined. This is, in part, because it is really a whole series of different processes which have come to be grouped under a single term. The diversity of the means and forms of enclosure should not be overlooked. Nonetheless, there is a reason why these various processes have been discussed as though they were a single phenomena; this is because the many forms of enclosure have been seen as forming one of the crucial steps in the move from a feudal to a capitalist society. Set within this wider context, the general shift from common and communal rights to private ownership is hard to ignore. Many historians have accepted the importance of enclosure in the rise of agrarian capitalism. However, they have not agreed on the causes of enclosure, or its role in shaping new conceptions of society and economy.

Explaining Enclosure

The reasons for enclosure and the related shift away from feudalism towards capitalism, and industrialisation, have been hotly debated by academics over the years. Changes in the environment, the population, in economics, in science and technology, in class relations, in religious and cultural beliefs have all been discussed in relation to the topic. Several historians have been keen to identify a single, dominant factor which led to the advent of a new form of social and economic organisation.

Matthew Johnson has traced an emphasis on economic factors as an explanation of enclosure and agrarian capitalism back to the work of writers such as Gray (1915) and Gonner (1912), while the topic has been addressed in the 1960s and 1970s by historians including Kerridge (1967) and McCloskey (1979). Johnson finds an implicit assumption in their works that enclosure was the result of a "drive towards increasing economic efficiency", with enclosure and other agricultural improvements replacing the 'inefficient' open field system (1996, 61-2). This approach sees enclosure as almost self-explanatory, as a necessary step towards our present society. It makes little attempt to question the inevitability of capitalism, or the benefits of agricultural improvement. Agricultural productivity may have doubled between 1500 and 1750 (Kussmaul 1990; Wrigley 1989; Johnson 1996, 61), but as Williams (1975) and those involved in the study of society and technology (eg Pfaffenberger 1988) have shown, increased production and profit are not necessarily of benefit to people at all levels of society.

Another long-running discussion on this subject is the "Brenner debate" (Aston and Philpin 1985). This arose after historian Robert Brenner published an article in which he highlighted the tendency of certain historians to explain the development of early modern agrarian economies in Europe in terms of demographic change. He challenged this approach, viewing it as a mode of demographic determinism, and pointing out that

similar population and economic pressures occurring across Europe in the late sixteenth century had different results in different regions (Hilton 1985, 1; Brenner 1985, 21). Johnson launches a similar criticism of environmentally determinist explanations of change in this period (e.g. Beresford 1975), asking why "cyclical change in environmental background should lead to one of a range of possible specific cultural responses" (1996, 61).

Brenner also criticised historians such as Postan (1973) and Le Roy Ladurie (1966) for not placing class relations and class struggle at the centre of the debate. While some Marxist historians have focused on the forces of production, Brenner's emphasis is on the relations of production (Hilton 1985, 8). He believed that the failure of rural uprisings in sixteenth century England to secure land rights for peasants and prevent the rise of the landlords, was crucial to the development of agrarian capitalism (Brenner 1985, 46).

In arguing this, Brenner highlights a major issue: to what extent are individuals at the mercy of the forces of history, of politics and economics; to what extent do people shape their own lives and their own histories? This topic has been taken up, often by academics using Marxist theory, in order to discuss the role of resistance in society. The notion of agency has also received great attention, following the work of Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984). It is important to ask what role individuals and communities played in creating and resisting enclosure (see further discussion below).

As Hilton has noted, many of the arguments over the issue of enclosure, improvement and the transition to capitalism, are also debates about the historical process of change (1985, 7). What is interesting, is the way in which the historians involved in these debates are often juggling with the same factors, such as economy, technology, politics, social structure, environment and population. Their main argument is over which of these factors was dominant in creating change. These discussions reflect the works of major theorists like Marx and Weber which have wrestled with the issues of whether it is economics and the forces of production, or cultural and religious beliefs which are central to social change and the creation of capitalism (Marx 1976; Weber 1958).

This type of discussion is only made possible by the view that topics such as politics and economics are bounded and can be viewed as systems or subsystems in their own right. This division of society into various spheres which can be discussed in isolation arises from capitalist modes of ordering and dividing up the world (Macfarlane 1987, 225). It is not, then, the best way of trying to understand pre-capitalist and early modern societies, which were made up of people who did not view the world through the same rigid or bounded categories. Indeed, Bruno Latour has argued that these categories should not even be used in the study of 'modern' capitalist societies (Latour 1993).

In choosing to centre on the interrelatedness of different spheres of society, the pursuit of a single, dominant factor leading to social and historical change becomes problematic. Moreover, an acknowledgement of the complexity of change makes it difficult to view enclosure in terms of simple cause and effect, or as an inevitability. It is necessary, then to explore ideas of how change occurs, and to examine the relationship between the actions of groups, individuals and the more long-term processes of social change.

Enclosure as a Process

The approach taken in this thesis is to draw on the ideas of practice theory (Bourdieu, 1977; Connerton, 1989; Giddens, 1984; Schatzki et al 2001) in order to explore the idea of enclosure as a process. The main point drawn from this school of theory is the idea that society is continually remade, recreated and renegotiated by the actions and choices of individuals and communities on a daily basis. In practice theory these actions are seen to be structured by a series of beliefs, structures or organising principles. The significance placed on the agency of individuals makes a connection between the lives of individuals and the broader structures of society and history.

This connection has also been made in the work of Gosden (1994). Giving his alternative to Braudel's scheme of the short, the medium and the *longue durée*, Chris Gosden has identified three levels of time: personal existence - the life of an individual, public time and long-term spans of time, or recursiveness, which are made possible via the enduring qualities of material culture (1994: 137). Gosden stresses the interrelationship between these different scales of time, and notes the importance of recursiveness, of the use of the past to formulate present and future actions, and its role in bringing about change (1994, 192).

These ideas are important for the study of archaeology, since they mean that even small actions - the making of a pot, the building of a house, the digging of a ditch - contributed to the maintenance or the alteration of society and, in the long term, to the course of history. In terms of enclosure it means that each small act of piecemeal enclosure, each enclosure of common land successfully achieved or resisted, each Enclosure Act passed contributed not only to the shape of the English landscape, but to the beliefs and attitudes of contemporary society. The various forms taken by enclosure in different parts of the country are due to more than the nature of the local geology and the topography, and were not created by the forces of history; they were created by people who accepted, rejected, resisted and negotiated enclosure in response to a variety of social, historical and personal factors. By viewing enclosure as a process it is possible to look at the changes brought about by an individual or a community within one generation and relate them to much longer term shifts in the use and perception of landscape.

That enclosure was taken up gradually and was remade through its use, can be seen through the changing attitudes towards enclosure over time. As the enclosure of land became more commonplace in England during the 1500s, the government set up anti-enclosure legislation to curtail this trend (Chapman and Seeliger 2001, 11). However, during the 1600s, these laws were repealed, allowing the enclosure of a large proportion of the English landscape during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. From the mid-1700s onwards it became more common for groups or individuals to make use of a Private Act of Parliament (followed by General Acts introduced by the government), which allowed land to be enclosed methodically and officially, by appointed commissioners (Hollowell 2000). Referring to the change in landlord's attitudes towards enclosure, Frazer notes that "not until the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in accordance with legislation like the sundry Enclosure Acts of Parliament, did most landlords feel enough symbolic power was invested in... documentation to disregard customs of common land rights completely" (1999b, 93).

Academics have debated which of the types and periods of enclosure had the

most impact on English society and landscape. Some have argued that the phase of enclosure during the 1500s was of crucial importance to the demise of feudalism and the growth of a modern, industrialised state. Marx, for example, believed that the enclosures of the early modern period created the first landless proletariat, and argued that this was one of the preconditions for the rise of capitalism (Giddens 1971, 19). Others have focused on the period of parliamentary enclosure, linking it to the growing desire for improvement of the land and the 'agricultural revolution' of the eighteenth century (see Rackham 1997, xiii; 26; Williams 1975, 121). Meanwhile, historians such as Kerridge (1967) and Butlin (1979) and landscape historians, in particular Hoskins (1985), have emphasised the importance of seventeenth and early eighteenth century enclosures, suggesting that the later parliamentary acts were really finishing off a job that had been substantially achieved by earlier generations. Williams has seen the final, parliamentary phase of enclosure as the "consolidation" of the new social order (1975, 144).

Good arguments are made for seeing each of these periods as important, but this is because they are all important. If we view enclosure as a process, we do not need to find a defining period or era or event. It is more enlightening to find out what made each period, as well as each region of England, different. For example, how was each type of enclosure different in nature and in impact on the communities of England. Detailed, regional studies, set against a wider understanding of enclosure and related processes, can help to highlight the complexities of change through the post-medieval period in England (for example, see Chapman and Seeliger 2001). Williamson has stated that there is an especially "pressing need" for studies which move away from administrative units such as parish, hundred and county, and look instead at regions with "broadly homogeneous range of soil types, topography, and drainage regimes" (2000, 76).

One of the major aims of this thesis is to use a detailed, regional study to move away from a generalised discussion of enclosure. The case study chapters (Chapters Four to Six) focus in on the process of enclosure in two adjacent and interrelated regions - the Chilterns and the clay vales of Buckinghamshire. These regions are studied from the medieval period until the late nineteenth century in order to chart the changing nature of enclosure and land use over a long timescale.

In viewing history and social change as a process, it is important to note that discovering the long-term roots of beliefs and social practices does not indicate that history was compelling itself towards a certain outcome. Although Johnson has argued in support of the acknowledgement of human agency in the study of archaeology (1999), his treatment of the topic of enclosure sometimes presents the process as an inevitability or as though it was following a predetermined course. For example, Johnson states: "closure was an emergent process: that is, it must be seen as a long-term unfolding of certain ideas" (Johnson 1996, 77); "the long-term process of enclosure was a unifying, centralising one in several senses..." (Johnson 1996, 77); "enclosure and commodification are emergent structures. That is, they unfold in a period usually seen as pre-capitalist or late-medieval, and end in the final culmination of industrial capitalism" (Johnson 1996, 3). It is problematic to present enclosure in this fashion; the introduction of parliamentary enclosure in the eighteenth century was by no

means certain when enclosures for sheep pastures were first created in the medieval period. In the discussion of process it is also necessary to recognise the contingency of history.

Related to this is Thompson's argument that it is as important to pay attention to those elements of history which fall outside the major course of events and action, to chart the "the blind alleys", the "losers" and the "lost causes", as well as the success stories. He reminds us that, since "we are not at the end of social evolution ourselves" our sole concern "should not be whether or not a man's actions are justified in the light of subsequent evolution" (1991a, 12). One way of avoiding this is to acknowledge the themes of resistance and contestation which run through history, and to write accounts of the past which take into consideration the multiple voices and experiences to be found within any society. In doing so, we can also address the question of how much power groups and individuals have in shaping their own lives and histories, and to what extent they are constrained.

Change and Contestation

As already noted, Brenner's emphasis on the importance of class relations and class consciousness to the process of social change, highlights the role of groups and individuals in the creation of history. Some of the historians criticised by Brenner portray demography as one of the most powerful forces in human history (eg Le Roy Ladurie 1966). Other historians have seen economics, and progress, as independent forces, sweeping individuals and societies in their wake. Kerridge, for example, has suggested that the contagious nature of agricultural improvements was, in itself, enough to spread their influence across the country (1967), although, as MacDonald has commented, this implies that "the efforts of a great many eighteenth-century improvers were unnecessary" (1979, 7).

The early work of the Annales school, while acknowledging the relevance of individual and group timescales to the study of history, placed a far greater emphasis on the forces of the *longue durée*. Once again the grand themes of population, environment and economics come to the fore. Braudel (1985), in particular, argued that the timescale of an individual had no relation to the *longue durée* of history. This approach has been questioned by historians, including members of the Annales school who have since written histories which emphasise the role of individuals in the creation of history (Gosden 1994, 137).

But not all individuals and communities have the same choices and same powers to shape their lives and futures. Many studies of power relations, in particular those on resistance, have wrestled with the issue of power and the extent to which individuals and social groups that have been deprived of authority and power can be effective in bringing about change, or gaining some control over their lives.

These studies, many of them influenced by Marxist theory, have drawn attention to the danger of viewing the lower classes of society as the passive recipients of change. Detailed studies of resistance in peasant societies have show that this is not the case and have suggested that there is a constant processes of small scale resistance to the conditions imposed on agricultural labourers and other workers. Academics such as Scott (1985) and Stern (1987) have shown that uprising and violent protest, the form of resistance traditionally studied by historians, only occur under extreme conditions, and

that in fact the tactics of resistance are often embedded in the everyday routines of life (Frazer 1999a, 7). This type of resistance does have its limits, but many studies have demonstrated that people with little power and authority can have an impact on their society. Scott has urged us to respect this form of everyday resistance "that prevents the worst and promises something better" (1985, 350).

Another pitfall that arises in the study of resistance is the temptation to characterise the oppressors and the oppressed as two opposing groups. In reality, the situation is always more complex. Reducing the rural society of post-medieval England to opposing groups of landlords and tenants is highly problematic. Williamson has drawn our attention to the complexity of English society in the eighteenth century, listing the great landowners, the local gentry, the small freeholders, tenant farmers and labouring poor, as well as increasing numbers of "merchants, financiers, industrialists, professionals and shopkeepers" (1999, 39). Differences of opinion based on numerous factors, such as age and gender, as well as class and occupation, are all worthy of consideration.

It is also important to acknowledge that groups which come together to contest certain issues, may have their own, internal conflicts and tensions. Williamson has shown how 'polite society' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had its own internal conflicts. There was, for example, resistance to London and the south-east from gentry in other parts of England who were keen not to be smothered by a homogenising national identity (1999, 46). Perhaps then, one answer is to shift the focus of study from resistance, which tends to set up an opposition between those with and without power, and to look as well at how people at all levels of society both institute and deal with change.

In doing so we need to take into account Frazer's acknowledgement of certain limits to individualism in post-medieval society, due to the importance of social roles during this period (1999b, 83). Johnson also warns us of the need to balance the desire to believe in the active individual making his or her own history with a recognition of the strength of the forces being resisted (1999, 126).

The interest in change and process that has so far been advocated in this chapter has concerned many sociologists, anthropologists and archaeologists in recent years. However, the issues of change, and more specifically, progress and improvement, were also of great concern to the people who lived through the periods under discussion.

The *desire* for change and improvement can therefore be seen as a cultural phenomenon, and of crucial importance to the study of enclosure and the growth of capitalism in post-medieval England. While some societies stress continuity and tradition, certain elements of society in post-medieval England increasingly felt the moral need for improvement and progress. People, then, needed to learn to cope with new ideas, new technologies, new social formations in order to survive. Those like the poet John Clare who could not or did not want to change could be crushed by the unfolding of events pushed on by the desire for improvement (Lucas 1988). Deliberate, and in some cases radical, change, seems to have been inevitable in a society which had made (and still makes) progress and improvement central to its ideology.

An increasing number of landowners from the thirteenth until the nineteenth century actively sought out the legal rights to enclose the open fields and common

pastures. Largely unrecorded, except for their moments of open revolt and uprising, were the far greater numbers of people who opposed enclosure, and were forced into giving up their traditional rights, their old ways of farming, or to exchange their tenancies for waged labour. Academics such as the Hammonds (1911), Hobsbawm and Rudé (2001), Thompson (1991a) and Williams (1975) have done much to search out the actions and the lives of these people from the texts and documents which remain to us from history.

Archaeologists have debated the role they can take in adding to an understanding of resistance and contestation in the past. Williamson feels that finding evidence of resistance, in particular everyday forms of resistance, through the study of archaeology is problematic since they leave little trace (1999). Johnson, however, has argued that we do not necessarily need explicit evidence, as “artefacts will not just tell us about the individual or the class that produced them but will reflect society as a whole - a society within which domination and resistance are embedded in a dialectical relationship” (1999, 128).

One way in which change and resistance may be evident in the archaeological record is not as specific events or objects, but in terms of changing practices. For example, the lack of large-scale enclosure for sheep pastures in the Chilterns and the more widespread adoption of small-scale enclosure in the sixteenth century suggests that different forms of enclosure were resisted, tolerated or accepted by the local population. Archaeologists can also identify small-scale acts of resisting and creating change in society, such as the introduction or creation of new forms of material culture. The daily acts of maintaining and changing society, of changes in practice are visible to archaeologists studying the changing nature of artefacts, architecture and landscape over time and space.

Meanwhile, Austin and Thomas (1990) and Bender (1998), have shown how detailed studies of landscape, taking into account theories of time and place, as well as the material remains available, can yield evidence of contested landscapes. The same space does not have the same significance to people at all levels of society. The use of that landscape also shifts throughout the day and throughout the year, while specific loci or places will have different significance to the various groups and individuals who inhabit the region. Archaeologists can therefore explore how the same physical piece of land can be used and experienced by different people, at different times, in different ways.

Such studies show that archaeology, including landscape studies, does have the potential to contribute to discussions of change and contestation in the enclosure of the English landscape.

Enclosure and Archaeology

Many of the ideas and arguments discussed in this chapter have been put forward by historians, working primarily with documentary evidence. Documents give us a very specialised view of the past. They can encourage academics to focus on ideas and social structures over material culture. Williams, for example, suggests that it is not the enclosed fields that should be our main concern, but the system of capitalism which they represented (1975, 134). Understanding the ideas and beliefs which motivate social action is crucial to any social study; however, it is just as important to examine how

these ideas are actually put into practice. By looking at the fields, hedges, ditches and banks created by past societies it is possible to start to understand the ways in which enclosure impacted on the physical appearance of the landscape and on the people that lived in it - how it shaped their movements, activities and livelihoods.

The main work done so far on the physical nature of enclosure has been undertaken by landscape historians (eg Hoskins 1985, Reed 1979, Taylor 2000) and those interested in the environmental history of the landscape (eg Rackham 1997). Other work has been carried out by archaeologists such as Frazer (1999b) and Williamson (2002). Landscape historians have done much invaluable work, combining studies of historical documents with detailed examinations of landscape features. There is, however, within the study of landscape history a tendency to view the landscape as a series of layers, superimposed upon one another (Bender 1998) or as a puzzle that needs unpicking. This approach can be problematic if we are trying to look at enclosure as a process and at the ways in which the landscape is constantly being remade and reinterpreted.

It is essential to see material culture and material changes to the landscape as active, rather than passive. People shape the world and in turn are shaped by it. This process is on-going. Studies examining the relationship between society and technology (eg Pfaffenburger 1988) have demonstrated that the technologies developed by human societies can take on meanings and roles that were not intended or foreseen by their creators. Archaeology can play an important role in examining how new forms of fields and field boundaries were created in the landscape and how they would have channelled people's views and experience of the landscape. In addition to looking at the landscape itself, archaeologists can also throw a new perspective on the sources more commonly used by historians. By viewing documents as a form of material culture it is possible for archaeologists to examine the interrelationship between representations of landscape and the landscape itself.

The potential of archaeology in this field of study will be more fully examined in the following chapter which explores how it is possible to write an archaeology of enclosure.

Conclusion

To conclude, the enclosure of the open fields and common wastes of England cannot be viewed as a single, unified process. There are many forms of enclosure, and many phases of enclosure, each with their own characteristics and impact on society and the landscape. There is, however, some validity to discussing these forms of enclosure together, since they are related through various themes and changing attitudes, including new notions of ownership, of space and landscape, of work relations and shifting power relations. They can, therefore, be viewed as part of the move from a feudal to a capitalist society - although this transition was not a simple or a certain one. As discussed in the opening chapter, the origins of enclosure and capitalist attitudes towards land and labour did not appear unprecedented in the 16th century. If social and historical change are explained in terms of process, we can then look for and acknowledge the complex and multiple factors which combine to produce new forms of society, material culture and social practices.

Historians have in some cases become consumed with the task of searching for

the origins of enclosure and capitalism. But how useful is this approach if, in doing so, academics lose track of the societies and individuals who created and lived through these changes? Instead, it is possible to think about the choices people and societies made and how they wanted to shape their lives and their society, and to what extent they were successful. Who wanted enclosure, who backed it, who instituted it, who objected to it, how did it affect people?

This is not to argue that all individuals were making highly politicised decisions in order to shape their society, but to acknowledge that people in the past were not the passive recipients of culture or change. As the discussion on the literature of resistance has shown, even people who are limited in their actions can do much to resist and protest against the conditions under which they live.

In a society increasingly concerned with ideas of progress and improvement there may have been a prevailing mood among some social groups that change was both necessary and desirable, or at least inevitable. Resistance may have been a way of dealing with change and of trying to channel change in certain directions. Meanwhile, everyday forms of resistance can be viewed as one of the many ways in which societies are being constantly remade and meanings renegotiated.

Archaeology, which often takes a more long-term approach than history, can do much to help trace the threads of change through post-medieval and later historical England. It can also tell a richer story from that told from documents alone, by using artefacts, buildings and landscapes to explore the world that people inhabited. Archaeology can look at not only the ideas that shaped society, but also the actions that put those ideas into practice. Materially, enclosure made a huge impact on England. The pattern of fields, roads, walls and hedgerows that were created during different phases of enclosure are still a major feature of the English landscape. They shape our movements around and use of the present day countryside.

The study of archaeology can help us to take into account the importance of the material world, not subordinate it to the study of beliefs and systems. Gosden has noted the crucial role that material culture plays in linking the long and the medium and short time spans of history together (1994). It is objects, buildings and landscape that allow us to relate to the past, that help us maintain our memory of past deeds, that make the actions of people in the past still have relevance for us today. By exploring the material ways in which people in medieval, post-medieval and late historical England shaped the rural landscape, as well as understanding the beliefs which motivated their actions, it is possible to gain a detailed understanding of how different forms of enclosure were created, accepted and resisted. It is also possible to look at how enclosure in its different forms shaped people's experience of the landscape and fostered new ideas about the nature of land, space and ownership over time.

The following chapter explores the approaches and methodologies utilised in this thesis to write an archaeology of enclosure.

Chapter Three: An Archaeology of Enclosure

Introduction

This chapter sets out the ideas and approaches that will enable the writing of an archaeology of enclosure. Before exploring the archaeological techniques and perspectives that will allow the examination of the material evidence of enclosure, it is important to establish which particular aspects of enclosure this study is seeking to examine. As discussed in Chapters One and Two, the enclosure of the English landscape has been chosen since it is a topic which has often been discussed in relation to the development of capitalism and the modern world view. The case study seeks not only to identify elements of landscape change that relate to changing attitudes towards concepts such as ownership, space and place, but also seeks to question some of the assumptions that are made about capitalist and modern landscapes.

In order both to identify and question the nature of capitalist and modern landscapes in the study area, it is first necessary to identify the attributes of these landscapes that have been recognised and discussed in other academic works.

Capitalist and modern landscapes have been much discussed by academics from many different backgrounds, including geography, history, philosophy and anthropology. A large number of studies have examined the imposition of Western, capitalist architecture and landscapes in a colonial context (eg Kealhofer 1999; Mitchell 1988; Morphy 1993), while others have discussed the development of capitalist attitudes towards space and landscape within the West (e.g Barrell 1990; Cosgrove 1984; Foucault 1977; Harley 1988, 282-3; Lefebvre 1991; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977).

There is a great complexity and diversity to this literature; however, it is possible to identify certain key features of capitalist and modern landscape that reoccur in discussion of this topic.

As noted in Chapter One, the shift from a medieval to a modern world view is often discussed in terms of oppositions. The change in attitudes towards landscape and land use over time are no exception. Capitalist or modern attitudes to land are often contrasted with medieval or non-capitalist understandings of the world. For example, pre- or non-capitalists are often portrayed as inhabiting a more physical, more sensual world; experiencing the landscape in all its richness. The importance of place, rather than space has been much explored in relation to non-capitalist landscapes (Maschio 1994; Tsing 1993; Weiner 1991); pre- and non-capitalist landscapes are "authentic" (Relph 1976); they are intimately connected with the identity and history of the local people (Gow 1995); rights over these landscapes are maintained through practice and oral tradition as opposed to documentation (Basso 1990; Gow 1995, 51; Maschio 1994, 156; Morphy 1995, 203;), and the conceptualisation of these rights may not include the concept of outright ownership of land (for example rights over land under odal tenure in Orkney implied the right to share in a township, rather than the right to possess a bounded area of land (Thomson 1987, 193).

Capitalist and modern landscapes, in contrast, prioritise space over place (Thomas 1993, 22-3); there is a close connection between land area and value, leading

to the idea of land as a commodity, which can be divided up, bought and sold, and owned directly by an individual (Delano-Smith and Kain 1999, 116; Johnson 1996, 76). The increased desire to make profit and acquire goods in capitalist societies have been linked to increased social inequality, and a far greater gap between rich and poor which is related to landownership and the creation of parklands and the building of stately homes (Williams 1975, 106).

The development of the idea of land as space in the modern world is seen to be linked to the increased use of mapping, and to the growing significance of the 'gaze' in Western societies (Alpers 1983; Delano-Smith and Kain 1999, 116- 27; Johnson 1996, 74; Mitchell 1988, 44). Modern landscapes are often planned on paper, and have been described as leading to 'inauthentic' and homogeneous or 'placeless' environments (Relph 1976, 117-18). Capitalist and modern landscapes have also been linked to the rise of bureaucracy and documentary proof of ownership (Frazer 1999b, 77). In a colonial context the importance of documentary evidence of ownership and the use of maps and plans to reshape the landscape often resulted in a disregard of the rights, histories and identities of the indigenous populations (Harley 1988, 282-3; Morphy 1993).

As with all polarised arguments, there are problems with these characterisations of non-capitalist and capitalist attitudes to landscape. While there certainly is a shift in attitudes from the medieval to the post-medieval period there are blurred boundaries between the two periods. For example, the value and productivity of land was important during the medieval period (Rackham 1997, 18; Williamson 1997, 93-100), while an engagement with place and the entanglement of landscape, history and identity continues to be of importance in the modern world (e.g Glassie 1982; Casey 1987). Moreover, there are complex attitudes towards landscape within society at any given point in time; for example the ability to be able to view and appreciate the landscape from a distance was seen as a high status attribute, while the lower classes in the countryside were often depicted as inhabiting closely bounded, world where their senses rather than the intellect were dominant (Barrell 1992, 41-61).

Many of the characteristics used to identify capitalist and modern landscapes have been identified as features of the process and impact of the enclosure of the open fields in England. As already noted in Chapter One, Johnson has contrasted the medieval, embodied engagement with the landscape, as represented by the beating of the parish bounds, with the distanced gaze with which people viewed the enclosed landscape (1996, 74). Johnson is concerned with the imposition of abstract ideas of space onto the landscapes. He has also discussed the increased role of maps, bureaucracy and documentation in the management of the landscape (1996, 90-3).

The loss of significant places is also an aspect of enclosure. The loss of the commons and wastes has been especially commented on (eg Hammonds 1947, 75-90; Thompson 1991b; Williams 1975, 127). Hoskins is especially melancholy in his discussion of the transformation of the landscape through the means of parliamentary enclosure; he writes:

the transformation of the landscape was...remarkably swift. A villager who had played in the open fields as a boy, or watched the sheep in the common pastures, would have lived to see the modern landscape of his parish completed

and matured, the roads all made, the hedgerow trees full grown, and new farmhouses built out in the fields where none had ever been before. Everything was different: hardly a landmark of the old parish would have remained. Perhaps here and there the old man would have found some evidences of the former world: the windmill of his younger days still standing in the corner of a new field, though now derelict and forlorn, or the traces of the former strips in the ridge-and-furrow of the new pastures, but not much else (1985, 179).

Enclosure has also been linked with depopulation and resettlement (Beresford 1983) and an increased inequality in the countryside, with the shift of the ownership of land into the hands of fewer, larger landowners and a shift at the lower end of the social scale from landownership to wage labour (eg Hammonds 1911; Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001; Turner 1973).

One of the aims of the case study is to examine to what extent enclosure conforms to and diverges from the characterisation of capitalist and modern landscapes set out above. It is also hoped that through this examination it will be possible to gain an understanding of the complexity and diversity of capitalist/ modern landscapes, and to see connections as well as differences between medieval and post-medieval, non-capitalist and capitalist landscapes. As enclosure begins during the medieval period and continues until the late nineteenth century, it should not be expected that it will fit too neatly into any one set of characteristics.

In order to provide a more detailed analysis of one period, Chapters Five and Six are taken up with a discussion of the era of parliamentary enclosure in the study area (c.1750-c.1880). However, in order to explore the connections between medieval and post-medieval attitudes to landscape, and in order to understand the long term process and historical background to the changes brought about during the 1700s and 1800s, this part of the case study is contextualised by an overview and discussion of the process of enclosure in the study area from the medieval period up until the mid-eighteenth century.

The case study will critically address the following key issues:

- the role of enclosure in the shift from a medieval system of land rights and communal farming to a capitalist landscape of privately owned land
- the connection between enclosure and the commodification of land
- the impact of enclosure on the status of landowners and the gap between rich and poor
- the relationship between documentation and enclosure, specifically
 - the changing nature, use and volume of documentation over time
 - the role of bureaucracy in the enclosure process
 - the relationship between custom and written law
 - the use of maps in planning changes to the landscape
- the role of enclosure in changing people's experience and perception of the rural landscape, in particular:
 - the shift from the open field system to a landscape of hedged or walled fields
 - the loss of access to certain parts of the landscape
 - the creation of planned landscapes
 - the acknowledgement or disregard for place and history

- the distinctive nature and impact of different forms of enclosure over time
- the existence of different regional forms, attitudes and responses to enclosure
- the extent to which people supported or opposed different forms of enclosure
- the complexity and contested nature of rural landscapes

In order to approach these issues it is necessary to outline the techniques and approaches that will allow the examination of enclosure from an archaeological perspective. The case study will focus on the two main bodies of available evidence: landscape and documentation.

Landscape

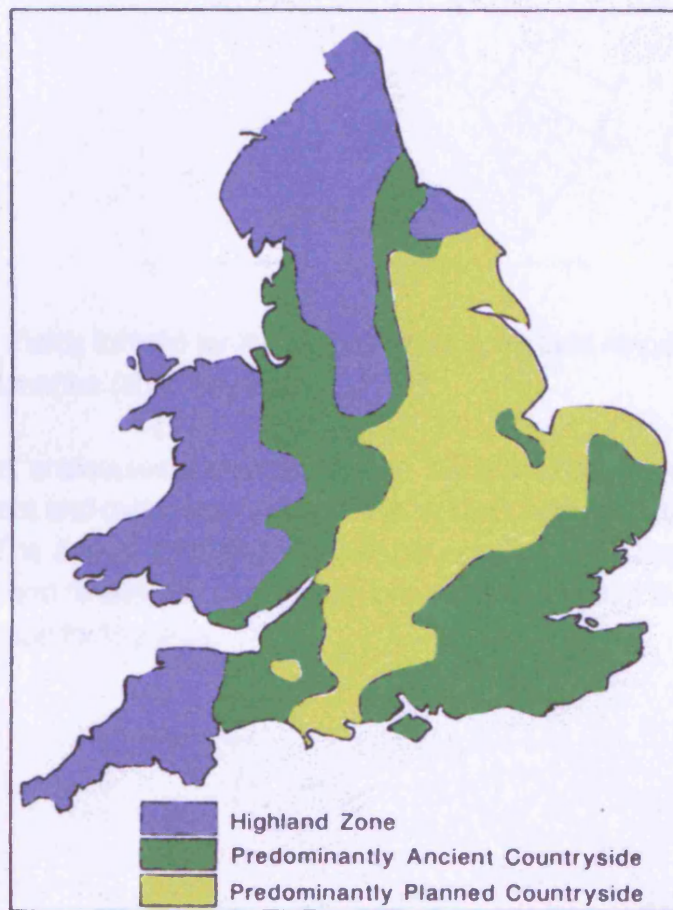
The first and most direct way to examine enclosure from an archaeological perspective is to look at the landscape itself. The tools and methods necessary for approaching the study of landscape history, including the development of field systems and land divisions, has been developed over the past fifty years by a range of academics including landscape and local historians, archaeologists and ecologists (for example see Aston 1985; Beresford 1983; Hoskins 1985; 1969; Pollard et al 1974; Rackham 1997; Taylor 2000; Williamson 2002b).

Enclosure plays an important role in landscape studies since, along with the major geological zones that reach across the country, lowland England is often subdivided according to areas of 'ancient' woodland pastures and open, champion landscape, which roughly correlate with areas of early and late enclosure (Figure 3.1).

A great deal of the archaeological studies relating to enclosure have concentrated on the remnants of the old, open field systems preserved by the conversion of open fields to pastures, rather than on the nature of the enclosures themselves. Indeed, in the case of medieval and early post-medieval enclosure, the concern of the landowners was primarily to open the land up for sheep pasture, rather than with creating hedged or walled fields. Many studies of areas subject to early enclosure have therefore concentrated on the remains of the depopulated and deserted villages and the ridge and furrows marking the lines of the old open field system (Aston 1985, 53-70; Beresford 1983; Hoskins 1967, 55-9; 1985, 117- 122).

The physical evidence for early enclosure is easier to study in areas where piecemeal enclosure took place, or where small, assarted fields were being created from former woodland. Such areas include the Chilterns, Devon and the Weald (Rackham 1997, 3; 11). Documentary evidence, where available, is helpful in gaining an understanding of the chronology of enclosure in these areas. However, there are other methods available for estimating the probable date of enclosures.

One feature of a field which gives a good clue to its date is the shape of the field boundaries. Early piecemeal enclosure from the open fields, for example, involved boundaries being created around the edge of the individual strips that made up the open fields (Rackham 1997, 179) (Figure 3.2). Early enclosures in general tend to have irregular boundaries, as opposed to enclosures from the 1600s onwards which tend to have more regular, often rectangular outlines (Rackham 1997, 161; Reed 1979, 202; Taylor 2000, 140). During the period of parliamentary enclosure the forms taken by enclosures may be highly regularised, due to the common practice of planning enclosure on paper and from creating the lines of the new walls or hedgerows by



3.1 Zones of the English landscape (after Rackham 1997, 3; Williamson 2003, 4).

drawing lines with a ruler (Figure 3.3) (Rackham 1997, 179). This method on its own cannot be relied upon as giving a hard and fast dates or chronologies for enclosure in any given area. However, if combined with documentary evidence from the region under study it should be possible to build up an impression at the kind of enclosures that were being created at different points in time.



Figure 3.2 Fields formed by the enclosure of open field strips at Raunds, Northamptonshire (after Taylor 2000, 121).

Later enclosures are easier to date, since the documentation relating to land management and ownership increases in volume from the late sixteenth century onwards. The date of straight-lined field boundaries which appear to date to the eighteenth and nineteenth century can often be confirmed if there is a surviving enclosure map for the area.

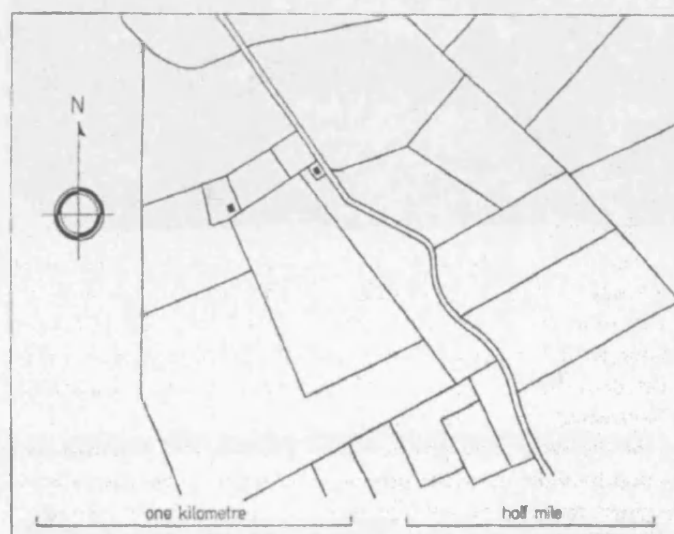


Figure 3.3 The straight lines of parliamentary enclosures at Wychwood, Oxfordshire (after Taylor 2000, 145).

Another method that has been used to date fields which are bounded by hedgerows is to survey the tree and shrub species in the hedges (Figure 3.4), in order to estimate the average number of species in a 30 yard length of hedge. The resulting average is multiplied by 100, and this number is thought to roughly correlate with the age of the hedgerow, giving a date for the enclosure. This method of dating was developed by Hooper and Pollard (see Pollard, Hooper and Moore 1974), and is sometimes referred to as "Hooper's Hypothesis" or, as Rackham has renamed it "Hooper's Rule" (Rackham 1997, 194).



Figure 3.4 Hedgerow shrubs by Clare Leighton (1935,101).

In general, older hedges tend to contain more species partly because new species have established themselves along the hedgerow over time, but also because early hedges were often created using locally available shrubs, meaning that they incorporated numerous different species along their lengths. They were often deliberately planted with useful or productive shrubs and trees which would produce

fuel or fruit that would be valued by the local population. Such plants include hazel (nuts), blackthorn (sloes) and crab apples. This is in contrast to hedges dating from the era of parliamentary enclosure, when the field boundaries were planted with a single species, usually hawthorn or blackthorn, which had generally been raised at nurseries.

There has been much debate and questioning of this method of dating, and some variations on Hooper's original approach have been developed (Rackham 1997, 191-204; Williamson 2002b, 77-89). Rackham's analysis of the method claims that there is some validity to dating hedges in this way, as long as local and historical considerations - such as proximity to woodland, local soils, the existence of pollards or coppicing, and the layout and associated features (eg banks and ditches) - are taken into account. Rackham also suggests that the "exceptions to Hooper's Rule often tell us more about the history of a set of hedges than we should learn were the rule to be fulfilled" (1997, 202).

Williamson is more critical than Rackham on the usefulness of hedge dating. Drawing on the work of C.W. Johnson (1978), he notes that the margin of error in dating hedges using Hooper's Hypothesis may be up to 200 years either way. If this is the case, then the counting of species is a very unreliable guide to the date at which it was planted. In addition to this, Williamson has noted a wide range of reasons, other than age, for the number of species in a hedge. For example, in some part of England local farmers were planting local shrubs in with their hawthorn and blackthorn hedges in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This means that some six or seven-species hedges may only date back to the period of parliamentary enclosure (Williamson 2002b, 79-80).

Other problems in dating hedges using Hooper's method include the availability of local seed types, the loss as well as accumulation of species from a hedge over time, variations in soil and climate, the history of the management of the hedgerow and local preferences in the choice of hedgerow shrubs (Williamson 2002b, 80-82; 85-9). Hedge surveys undertaken for this thesis discovered similar problems. Some hedges and fields had been through many changes, some natural some man-made. Entrances and exits to a field had been moved over time, meaning that an early enclosure could have sections of relatively recent hedgerow filling in a space which was once filled by a gate. Meanwhile, dry summers (such as the summer of 2003), hard winters and the poor maintenance of hedgerows meant that some of the older or less hardy species in an old hedge had died out. Also, some apparently continuous hedgerows were actually made up of sections of hedge with highly distinctive characters, some of which correlated with the limits of old field boundaries recorded on early estate maps (see Chapter Four).

Leaflets and booklets produced by conservation organisations and books on landscape history and local history often advocate hedge surveys as a useful activity for amateur archaeologists, local historians and people with an interest in conservation. However, many of the forms reproduced in such publications generally advocate the survey of a block of four 30yd (or in some cases 30m) lengths, starting at a random place in the hedge (eg Wildlife Trust 1993; Belsey 1998). Given some the problems outlined above (eg damage to hedgerows, multiple phases of hedgerows) four lengths is not sufficient to estimate the average number of species, even if Hooper's method was reliable.

While Williamson is critical of dating hedgerows, he acknowledges that there is much to be learnt from the examination of the hedgerow. By linking study of the hedgerows, and related features, with documentary evidence it may be possible to identify different categories of hedgerow in an area (Williamson 2002b, 181-2). Careful survey of a field and hedgerows may also reveal other clues as to the history of the landscape - for example whether the field has been used to contain cattle or whether the hedgerows have been well maintained through their lifetime (see below for further details). Even later hedgerows, from the era of parliamentary enclosure may be able to reveal something about the local landowners, or about changing attitudes towards enclosure, since Rackham has suggested that eighteenth century enclosers were more likely to punctuate their new hedges with trees than their successors in the nineteenth century (1997, 190).

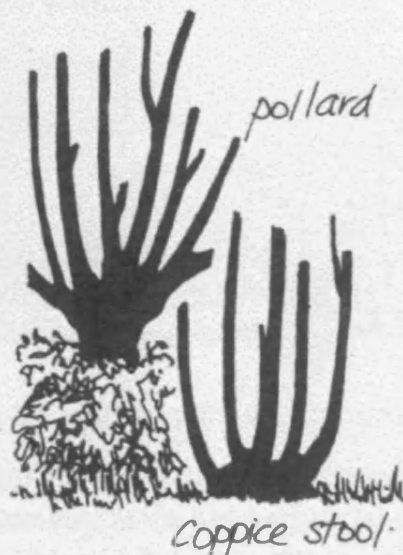


Figure 3.5 Pollards and coppices found in hedgerows (after Wildlife Trust 1993, 10).

As part of the examination of enclosure in Buckinghamshire a number of hedgerow and field surveys were carried out in the parish of Wendover. The main reason for carrying out this survey was to assess the usefulness of hedgerow surveys in the understanding of the sequence and changing nature of enclosure over time. While species counts of the hedgerow were made, emphasis was also placed on recording evidence of management of the hedgerows, any evidence for sequence or change over time, as well as noticing the different nature of hedgerows in different parts of the landscape. Archaeological features, such as ditches, banks and lynchets were also recorded. In several cases, more than one side of a field was surveyed in order to see if it was possible to establish whether the boundaries of a field were created at one point in time, or whether the existing field was the result of the subdivision of a larger enclosure. The general uniformity of species in the hedgerows around a single field may

indicate that the hedge was planted at a single point in history, while a different mix of species in one of more of the hedgerows may suggest a more complex chronology.

Evidence of coppicing, laying and pollarding are helpful in assessing the possible antiquity and history of a hedge. Coppicing (see Figure 3.5) shows that the hedge has been carefully managed in order to create a thick and substantial boundary. Since coppicing of a hedge involves cutting the shrubs down to near ground level (in order to encourage the growth of multiple stems), this method would create problems for the containment of stock in the field. Evidence of coppicing would therefore suggest that the field had been used as arable land for part of its life, or perhaps that fences or dead hedges had been used in order to contain the stock while the shrubs grew back.

The laying, or plashing, of hedges, on the other hand, is the practice of weaving the trimmed branches of the hedgerow shrubs together in a way that creates a firm, fence-like barrier, suitable for containing animals, including cattle (see Figure 3.6). Evidence of laid hedges therefore suggests that the field has been used at some point for keeping cattle or other livestock.

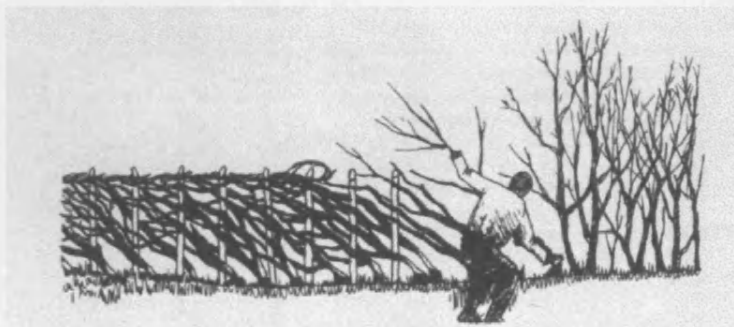


Figure 3.6 Hedge laying (after Wildlife Trust 1993, 28).

In some places in the study area there was evidence that arable fields had been converted to cattle enclosures, since the original, multi-species hedge had been strengthened by the addition of a line of hawthorn, in some cases laid, in order to prevent the cattle from escaping (Figure 3.7).

Pollarded trees, cut for fuel and to prevent cattle from nibbling at their branches, can live to be very old, so the existence of a tree that has been pollarded many times may be evidence of the antiquity of the hedgerow (Figure 3.5). The size and age of trees in general may be a clue to the date of enclosure, while a line of trees cutting across a large field is a good indicator of an old field boundary from which the hedge has been grubbed up.

The study of the earthworks related to the boundary and form of the land within the field under study may also be of use (see Rackham 1997, 202-4). In some parts of the country, banks and ditches as well as hedges were used to create boundaries. In north Devon and the Chilterns, for example, the erosion and maintenance of these banks has led in places to deep ditches, holloways and sunken lanes lying between fields. The creation of banks, ditches, pathways and hedgerows on the parish boundaries is also a common occurrence in the study area. Sunken lanes and holloways associated with field boundaries would again point to a relatively early date for

enclosure. Very straight ditches, on the other hand might be an indication that the field was enclosed and drained sometime in the 1700s or 1800s. Banks and ditches are also common features of wood boundaries.

Other features which might indicate an early date for enclosure are lynchets. In places where field boundaries have existed for a long time on sloping land the repeated ploughing of the land for arable use will cause the earth to accumulate on the higher side of any boundary lying horizontal to the hill, while the earth on the other side will fall away, creating a stepped profile. Lynchets are especially noticeable in places where an old hedgeline has subsequently been removed, leaving a stepped earthwork on the hillside. Other important earthworks within a field include the remains of open field strips and settlement evidence, which show that the field has remained in pasture since the time of enclosure.

The examination of the fields, boundaries and documentary evidence in the study area, using the methods outlined above, should allow the creation of an outline of the chronology and changing nature of enclosure.



3.7 Multi-species hedge around old enclosure reinforced by addition of a line of hawthorn, Wellwick Farm, Wendover.

In examining hedgerows and field boundaries it is important to remember that some were created long before the open fields started to give way to enclosures. In some parts of the country open fields and routeways were bounded by banks, walls or hedgerows (Rackham 1997, 188). Other forms of boundaries, such as parish boundaries were also marked by physical barriers; some of which date back to the early medieval period (see Chapter Four). Meanwhile, in certain areas the layout of the rural landscape is based on the fields and land divisions laid down in the Roman period or possibly the Iron or Bronze Age (Rackham 1997, 155-161, 176). In order to understand the landscape at a given point in time, it is also important to have an understanding of what went before.

Enclosure in context

In order to contextualise and understand the work and some of the choices made by the enclosers, the case study will include an overview of the study area in the period preceding the first phases of enclosure. Most importantly, it is necessary to establish the nature of the agricultural landscape prior to creation of enclosures in the late medieval period.

The generalised description of enclosure is of a process that converted the open, communally farmed strips and furlongs and common wastes, pastures and meadows into small, enclosed fields. However, the make-up of the open fields and common lands varied from place to place. In the Midlands, parishes often (though not always, see Williamson 2003, 72-4) conformed to the pattern of a two or three field system, with a central, nucleated village, and common pasture or meadows at the edges (Aston 1985, 120) (Figure 3.8).

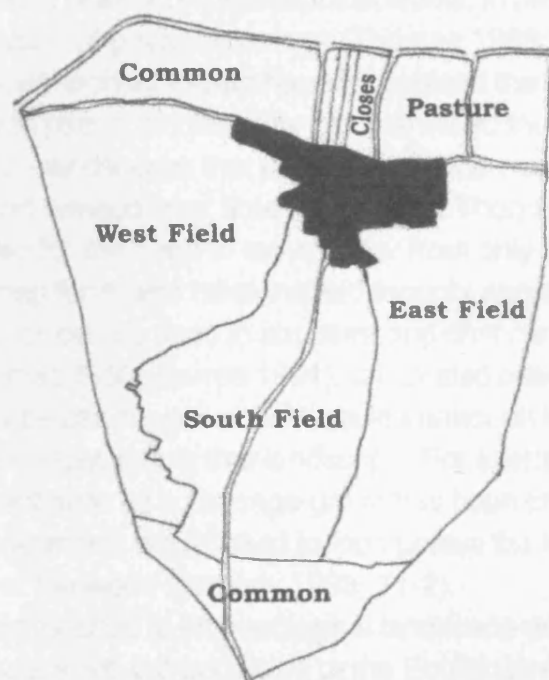


Figure 3.8 Layout of a three-field Midlands parish.

However, this was not the norm across the whole country. In some areas the farmlands of a parish might be bounded by heath or moors or mountains or woodland, for example the heaths around Poole Harbour and the area of Cranbourne Chase in north-west Dorset (Chapman and Seeliger 2001, 49) and in the north of England (Hey 2000, 196). The open fields and the settlement might be scattered across the parish, rather than arranged around a central village. The "open" landscape may show evidence of elements of enclosure, such as walls or hedges bounding the edges of the open fields, bordering the lanes or defining the home closes (Baines 1981b; Rackham 1997, 185-88). In some places enclosed fields might be created directly from newly assarted woodland or from waste land, rather than being created from the existing open fields (Hoskins 1985, 86-92).

An understanding of the history of the landscape in the study area, along with a knowledge of local topography is helpful in understanding the conditions encountered by the enclosers, as well as some of the constraints placed upon them. The nature of the topography and the history of settlement and farming in the Buckinghamshire Chilterns and vale are considered in the following chapter.

Landscape and Experience

In recent years, some archaeologists have sought to move away from an approach to landscape that is based primarily on survey, recording and the production of maps and data. Instead they have stressed the importance of movement through the landscape; of experience and engagement with the landscape (eg Carman 1999, 242; Tilley 1994; Watson 2001). This approach has been developed from the writings of academics such as human geographers (eg Relph 1976; Smith 1992) and anthropologists (eg Feld and Basso 1996; Hirsh and O'Hanlon 1995; Weiner 1991) and has also drawn heavily on philosophical works, in particular Heidegger and Merleau Ponty's discussions of phenomenology (Thomas 1996; Heidegger 1967; Merleau Ponty 1964). While archaeologists have recognised the limitations of this approach when dealing with past societies, they have stressed the importance of thinking about lived landscapes - landscapes that changed with the seasons, and that were constantly being altered and remade over time (Austin and Thomas 1990; Ingold 1993). They have also argued for the need to move away from only representing monuments and landscapes in map form, and have instead thought about the way that buildings and landscape features can be used to structure and channel human experience of the landscape (Thomas 1993; Barrett 1991). It has also been noted that changes to the physical landscape can have a considerable impact on how people engage with, experience and conceptualise that landscape. For example, Bradley notes that once a sizable monument such as a passage grave has been created it was difficult to ignore. Subsequent generations would need to incorporate the monument into their understanding of the world (Bradley 1998, 71-2).

These approaches to archaeological landscape are important in relation to the study of enclosure, since the enclosure of the English landscape often had a dramatic impact on people's experience of and movement around the landscape. In the case of large scale enclosure for sheep pastures people could lose access to large areas of the landscape. Other forms of enclosure saw an increased number of physical boundaries established in the landscape. In some places these introduced hedgerows in areas that had been entirely dominated by open fields and commons. Enclosure created both visual and physical interruptions in the landscape. In many parishes subject to parliamentary enclosure rights of way through the landscape were reduced; the common lands, wastes and woodlands were taken into private hands; in some parts of the country areas of heath and moorland were also subject to improvement and enclosure (Mingay 1997).

In a study of shifting land use in southern Sweden, Pred has examined the changing patterns of movement and engagement with the landscape over time and space following the enclosure of the landscape (1985) (Figure 3.9). His work suggests one way of representing change in the use of landscape over time. A similar approach could work well in relation to the changes brought about by parliamentary enclosure in

the Midlands, where in many parishes the pattern of scattered fields strips and nucleated villages shifted to one of scattered settlement, with new farmhouses situated in reallocated blocks of land. However, such an approach would be more difficult to follow in the study of the Chilterns, in particular the strip parishes, where the settlement and landholding practices were more complex. Pred's methods are not followed in this thesis, but maps presented in Chapter Six draw attention to the shifting nature of the rights and access to land in a parish before and after parliamentary enclosure.

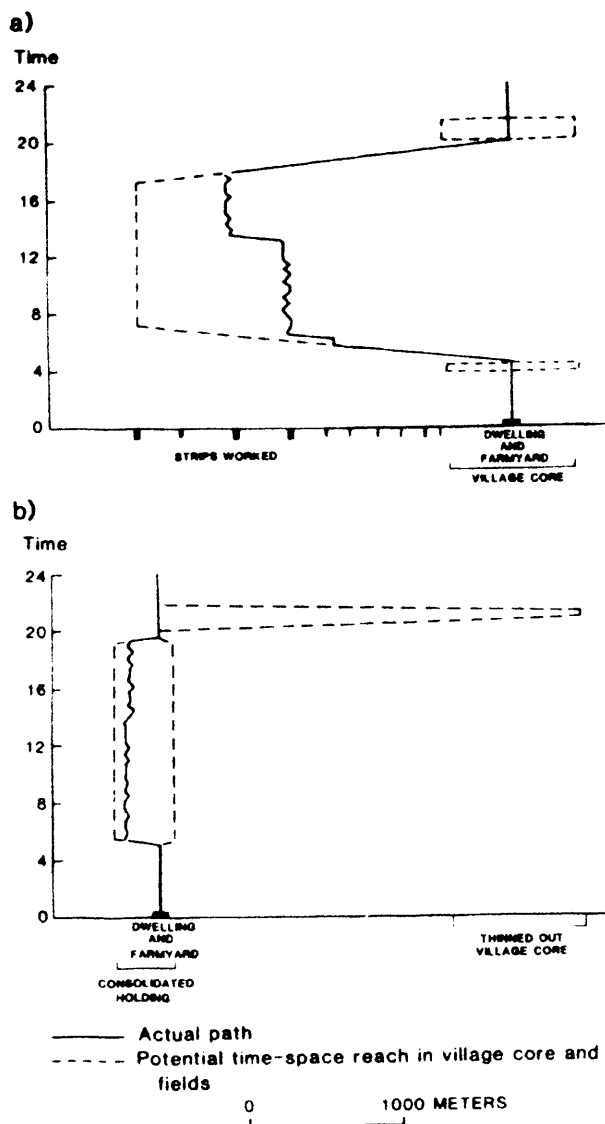


Figure 3.9 Daily accessibility of a landed peasant to field and village core (a) before and (b) after enclosure (after Pred 1985, 357).

Another related area of discussion within landscape archaeology has been centred around peoples' engagement with place, of memory and landscape and a sense of belonging. Places have been described as points in the landscape that concentrate memory (Ingold 1993, 155). Through their experience and engagement with the landscape people build up a relationship with the world around them. Places are points of significance in the landscape which may help to give people a sense of belonging (Lovell 1998). They may be linked to individual memories, but they may also be places of significance for the wider community, relating to the history of people in the area, or perhaps the origins of settlement. They may also be places which are disputed, around which conflicts are played out. An engagement with place is often significant in relation to people's sense of identity (Ibid.). When people lose access to places which are of great significance to them they often experience a sense of loss - this sense of loss is eloquently conveyed through the poetry of John Clare (Barrell 1972; Bate 2003; Lucas 1998, 91-6), who experienced the enclosure of his home parish of Helpston (Northamptonshire). In a colonial context many people were dislocated from their traditional homelands. In recent years movements by communities of American Indians, Australian Aborigines, Inuits and other groups of indigenous peoples have sought to reclaim their traditional rights to land, and along with aspects of their cultures and identities which are entangled with the places in that landscape (eg Morphy 1993).

An understanding of place is important to the study of enclosure, since enclosure sometimes involved depopulation of settlements and landscapes and sometimes saw people denied access to many parts of their parish. Old landmarks, such as large trees, were sometimes cut down during enclosure. Even in the case of gradual, piecemeal enclosure the local community would have been aware of the gradual loss of the open fields and an overall change in the character of the landscape. In considering the change and the loss of significant places in the landscape it is also important to acknowledge that people can remake their relationships with place and landscape.

Since enclosure occurred during a historical period, contemporary writings may be helpful in assessing the reactions people had to the creation of enclosed fields, and the extent to which large scale enclosure led to a sense of dislocation or disorientation in the local population. It is impossible to quantify the impact enclosure had on the experience of individuals and communities in the past, but it is important to think about the impact that the new divisions in the landscape, along with associated road closures and diversions and loss of access to large areas of the parish would have had on the movements of locals, and on their visual impressions and experience of walking through a parish that had undergone large scale enclosure. The impact of parliamentary enclosure on the experience and movements of the local population are considered in Chapters Six and Seven.

Documents

So far this chapter has looked at the boundaries in the landscape, and has acknowledged the usefulness of documents as evidence for the shape of the landscape and as a dating tool. They can also provide useful information about changing attitudes towards landscape and enclosure, as well as more general information about society in England over time (eg Williams 1975). Since both the timespan and the

literature relating to English society and attitudes towards landscape are extensive, this study gratefully makes use of the work of historians, economic historians, landscape historians, historical geographers, cartographers, art historians and many other academics who have studied the periods covered in this thesis.

Documents as Artefacts

While documents provide large amounts of data, from which it is possible to produce detailed studies of enclosure (eg Turner 1973; Chapman and Seeliger 1991), it is important not to take their existence for granted or to view them simply as a source of information. The very creation of written documents, maps and plans relating to the management and division of land is an indicator of the relationship between people and the landscape. As archaeologists we need to be aware that documents are more than the information they contain; they are also pieces of material culture. Viewed as such from an archaeological perspective documents can add a great deal to our understanding of enclosure. Matthew Johnson has championed the view of "document-as-artefact", urging historical archaeologists to look at the structure of documents, rather than viewing them simply as sources of information about past events (1996, 118).

It does, however, need to be acknowledged that documents are a highly specialised form of material culture. It has been argued (Goody 1986) that the adoption of writing and record keeping has important implications for the social organisation of a society, while Latour (1990) has suggested that it is the increasing use of 'inscription', along with the invention of the printing press, that has been central to the development of a 'scientific' and 'modern' world view from the sixteenth century onwards.

One of the crucial features of the written word is its fixed nature, its perceived *permanence*. This is what distinguishes literate societies from those without literacy. It is the ability to write down and record, in the attempt to fix ideas of belief, of administration, of law that has a lasting, and cumulative, effect on a society (Goody 1986, 124-5). Latour, meanwhile, has emphasised the *mobility* of documentation (1990, 26), the importance of being able to compare information about places distant in time and space through the medium of paper records. In relation to the study of landscape the mobility of documents is highly significant, since documents relating to the form, use, management and ownership of land can be created and then held at some distance to the land itself (Gow 1995). This means that knowledge about the landscape is not only held by the local population. People from outside the area, or perhaps a division of the centralised, governing authority can make or authorise decisions about that land without having to visit it. Related to this is the authority of documentation - necessary if it is to have any validity away from the context of its creation (Mitchell 1988, 154). Belief in the authority of a lease or an enclosure agreement or Award is necessary if people are to abide by the contents of that document. Both the fixed content and mobile nature of documentation are grounded in materiality, while the authority of the document is often asserted or emphasised through material means such as stamps, seals, ornate writing or decoration.

It should be noted in the following discussion that the terms "documents" and "documentary evidence" are used as a very general term in order to describe a wide range of forms of representation, including legal documents, official documentation, maps, plans, prospect views and works of art, books, pamphlets, working papers and

surveys.

Representing Landscapes

It is important for archaeologists to explore the way in which documents play an active role in the creation and perception of material culture and the world around us. Throughout the post-medieval period in England maps and written documents played an increasing role in people's dealings with land and landscape. The process of enclosure, which had begun back in the thirteenth century, became increasingly formalised. There was a gradual shift away from forms of enclosure such as approval or enclosure by agreement (see Butlin 1979) which could consist simply of verbal, unformalised agreements between individuals, towards the eventual necessity of gaining a private or parliamentary act to enclose land. By the mid-eighteenth century the parliamentary process of enclosure was highly bureaucratised, involving the appointment of commissioners and surveyors, who reapportioned the land and drew up maps and detailed documents detailing the arrangement and ownership of the new fields (Hollowell 2000). By the same period surveyors were also busy planning the courses of new roads, canals and railways.

The written word also played a part in the management of these newly enclosed fields, since the new farming methods that were introduced alongside enclosure were expounded and illustrated in a great outpouring of agricultural treatises (eg Ellis 1733; Young 1804).

Very different forms of written word also had an influence on the shaping of the landscape. These were literary and academic works - such as the Greek classics that influenced the writing, and the art, of the Renaissance period. The model presented by Renaissance artists of incorporating foreground, middle ground and distant views (Cosgrove 1988) was utilised by the English to create landscapes which made use of paths and drives giving carefully orchestrated views both from and of the house. There were the poets and novelists who laid down guidelines for taste and style in the eighteenth century, and Romanticism in the nineteenth, and there were the travel writers, who brought back accounts of landscapes and gardens, of Greek and Roman temples, viewed and visited on the continent. They brought back sketches too, while the paintings of artists such as Claude Lorrain and Poussin provided inspiration for many landscape architects (Williamson 1995, 63).

Architects, too, learned from pictorial evidence and written accounts of new styles of building. As published pattern books became popular, builders could choose from many styles of windows, facades and interior plans. Houses, both in the countryside and the growing towns and cities, began to lose some of their regional and local distinctiveness, since the same or similar houses could be built again and again, in different parts of the country (Johnson 1996, 208).

Such examples show that books, documents and works of art are in no way self-contained objects that can be studied without relation to the world around them. The ideas, images and rulings contained within these artefacts played an important role in forming people's views on the world and thereby, directly or indirectly, influencing the ways in which groups and individuals shaped the world around them. In turn, those acts of remaking and reshaping the landscape influence future writers, artists and administrators in representing the world on paper or canvas.

McGreevy's study of the complex relationship between the written word and action in the conceptualisation and experience of the Niagara Falls landscape shows the way in which representation and experience can work upon each other. McGreevy's study focuses on the association of Niagara Falls, both literally and symbolically, with death. His discussion shows how the associations between the written word and action shifted, as well as strengthened over time, with the falls playing an important part in people's attempts during the nineteenth century to reconceptualise death and the afterlife in the face of changing religious and scientific beliefs (1992, 71-2).

The nuanced and complex approach brought to the study of Niagara Falls landscape can profitably be applied to the study of post-medieval landscapes. However, in contrast to McGreevy I believe that we should not, as he does, view the landscape as well as the written word as a kind of text. It is important to make a distinction between the two. While the textual analogy has been used to good effect by the social sciences and archaeology in recent years, objections to this approach have now been raised by some archaeologists and anthropologists (eg Ingold 1993) as to the suitability of using textual metaphors when describing material culture and landscape.

Nor should we be tempted to take the connection between images and landscape too far. While certain views across carefully contrived landscapes were design to put the viewer in mind of a work of art, there is an important difference between the painting, which is static and two dimensional, and the landscape itself - which is experienced via all the senses, and through which the individual can move, changing their perspective as they do so. The landscape references the painting, the poem, the novel, the guidebook, the carefully drawn plan of the architect, but it is much more than a text or a painting itself.

Much work has been done to demonstrate how the introduction of certain ideas and techniques, such as perspective in art and 'accurate' surveying techniques in map-making, had a profound effect on European perception and conceptualisation of land and landscape in the post-medieval period (Latour 1990, 27-31). Johnson has argued that maps, in particular, play a important role in the reworking of the landscape and people's perceptions of landscape in England during the 1600 and 1700s (1996, 115). The mathematical methods used in surveying arose from and helped to reinforce a notion of abstract space, that went hand in hand with commodification, the direct linking of land and value - a concept central to the growth of capitalism.

Johnson, along with many others (eg Mitchell 1988) has also suggested that new concepts of space and landscape played a role in the increased importance of sight, over and above the other senses. Similarly, Barrell has demonstrated how the landowner's 'privileged' view over the landscape, as expressed in many works of art, was utilised by the upper classes as a legitimisation of their power and authority (Barrell 1990).

In some cases documents and other forms of representation can be deliberately used to shape perspectives on the landscape and can also be used to express ideas about power, authority and social relations. Much important work, exploring power relations and the role of documentation has been published by geographer and historian J.B. Harley. Harley (1988; 1992) has focused his studies on maps as representations of knowledge and power, and in doing so has drawn on the work of

Foucault (1972). Treating the subject from a historical perspective, Harley explores the role of maps in the creation of European colonies, in the conduct of warfare, in the changing perception of land and ownership in post-medieval England (1988, 280-6). He shows how, at their most extreme, maps can be used as propaganda, for example to legitimate land claims. However, he acknowledges that in most cases maps are not used in such a blatant fashion. They are produced knowledgeably, for certain ends, but their means of asserting power, authority or a particular world view are more often implicit than explicit. Harley examines the different ways in which the discourse of maps can be used to present a particular and persuasive version of the world.

The case study (see Chapter Five) explores the ways in which certain documents - in particular enclosure maps and Awards - depict the landscape in a specific way, excluding certain individuals and ways of seeing the landscape and implicitly expressing new ideas about space, value and ownership.

Documents as Artefacts

Once it has been accepted that documents are a form of material culture it is necessary to find ways of addressing and analysing their material form. A study of the physical form of a document can be very revealing. For example, an analysis of a document's material components, as well as its adornment, decoration and elaboration can help to give an understanding of what messages the artefact was designed to convey, beyond the information contained within its pages. The outline of an archaeological approach to documentation will be divided into three parts: material form and style, content and structure and the social context of production and circulation.

Material form and style

An analysis of material form and style is the most straightforward way of approaching documents from an archaeological perspective. Physical attributes of the document, such as its form, the materials from which it is made, elements of decoration, adornment or endorsement can be recorded and analysed.

The form taken by the documentary evidence is significant, since the choice of creating a large book or rolled document, of creating a document from scratch or filling in a pre-printed form can provide information about the nature and use of the document. The decision of whether to provide information from a landscape survey in written form or map form could have a substantial effect on the way that landscape was represented and perceived by those using the document.

While the printed word is seen as more professional and presentable in the modern world, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries legal documents and documents of great importance were still handwritten, since this was a signal of their authenticity. The degree of care that has gone into the production of a document may be an indicator of the importance of a document.

Care over the binding and presentation of a volume could be used to convey a sense of the importance and authority of its contents. Expensive materials, such as gilt lettering, and skilful binding can help make a volume look more imposing. Many private libraries contained book and collections of estate maps specially bound in "fine bindings", as much for display as education (Bendall 1992, 180).

An elaborate variation on this practice is found in the 'grangerisation' of books,

Content and structure

Once the physical appearance has been addressed, it is necessary to look at the content and structure of the document. The examination of content and structure does not refer to the specific information recorded in the document, but to the nature of information recorded in the document and how it has been organised. This way of studying documents is similar to the approach taken by Johnson (1996, 97), who has argued that there is much to be gained from analysing the discourse of medieval and post-medieval documents. He suggests that by taking this approach it is possible to gain an understanding of changing beliefs and attitudes towards a wide range of issues, including “the changing nature of space, the emergence of new forms of landscape” and “the emergence of processes of commodification of the land and objects” (1996, 113-4).

Johnson chooses maps as one example of how the structure of a document can reveal contemporary attitudes towards space and landscape. The role of maps and documents in the shaping of attitudes towards space, landscape and ownership, for expressing political and ideological viewpoints and in expressing power relations and ideas of social order has been discussed by a large number of cartographers and geographers (eg Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Gregory 1994; Harley 1988, 1992; Wood 1993).

In terms of the study of enclosure the shift from written surveys of land to pictorial, mapped representations is notable in England over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Early maps tend to emphasise the accuracy, and by implication the validity and authority of the map. The volume of maps increases over time until, by the late eighteenth century, it was usual for a map to be included with the Enclosure Award in the case of parliamentary enclosure. Also significant is the shift from maps as a medium to record features in the landscape, to the use of maps in planning changes to the landscape. Generally speaking, written surveys concentrate on the productivity of a piece of land, while maps tend to draw attention to the size, value and ownership of a field or estate (Figure 3.11). It could therefore be argued that the introduction and increased production of maps from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century played a major role in the commodification of land (Johnson 1996, 90-2).

As well as examining the information that is represented in a document, it is just as important to consider what is omitted, since documents are able to influence our view of the world in through their silences. On estate maps, for example, the dwelling places of the poor or the undesirable may be omitted from the picture. Harley notes how highly abstracted maps can help to foster the notion of socially empty space, which in turn can help to “lessen the burden of conscience about people in the landscape” (1988, 303). Estate maps, enclosure maps and tithe maps, for example, generally record information about the ownership of land, rather than indicating the level of population in the area. Therefore, a great number of short lease tenants, labourers and their families are excluded from the record and, as a result, were given little or no consideration in the choices made about changes to the landscape and may also be excluded from the historical narratives that draw on these documents.

This approach to the analysis of documents is not restricted to maps and can be used to study a wide range of documentation. It is useful to look at documentation relating to land use and management over time, in order to draw out the changing

relationship between documents and the way in which they represented the landscape. In terms of parliamentary enclosure, the main focus of the case study, it will be informative to examine whether or not the content and structure (and form) of the information in the Award and enclosure map changes over time.

Social context of production and circulation

It is important when studying historical landscapes to remember that documents relating to the management and use of land need not exist at all. Many societies past and present have developed ways of establishing their rights over land and organising their methods of food production without recourse to documentation. The decision to produce such documents needs to be commented on, and may be informative about the contemporary relationship between people and the landscape.

For example, the increase of documentation relating to rights and ownership of land in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is suggestive of a growing importance of proof of ownership. This is linked to the increase of bureaucracy and an increased acceptance of the authority of documentation. The proliferation of ornate maps and prospect views commissioned by wealthy landowners speaks of a desire to assert and display the status, wealth and authority that went hand in hand with the possession of a large estate (Daniels 1990; Harvey 1996).

In studying documents it is therefore important to ask questions such as who were they commissioned by, who produced them, where were the finished artefacts stored or displayed, was the information they contain widely circulated, or was it kept as privileged knowledge? Such questions remind us that we should not become too absorbed in the documents themselves; rather we need to contextualise them, and understand how they played a part in maintaining, remaking or creating certain perceptions of the world.

In the case of documents relating to enclosure it is important to note whether the documents were created at the request of the landowner, whether they had control over the process of production of the documents and where the final versions of the documents were held. It is also vital to examine the power of these documents to legitimate and to instigate changes in the landscape. This aspect of documentation is discussed in the case study chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Paper, Power and Practice

The above discussion has suggested that various forms of documentation had a great impact on the beliefs and practices of those people who were involved in the creation and use of those documents. But how did the existence of these artefacts affect people who were not literate, or who were not in the position of creating or commissioning documents themselves?

Harley has noted that "maps are preeminently a language of power, not of protest" (1988, 301). This is also the case for other forms of documentation. It was the upper classes, landed elite, educated professionals and the people in positions of official authority who commanded the skills and knowledge to make and utilise maps, plans, leases and other legal documentation. The farmers, tenants and labourers who worked on the land were subject to the laws, contracts and information held within these pieces of paper. Whether or not they were literate, these people were dependent on

certain documents - to prove they had rights of ownership or tenancy over a piece of land, for example. This is one reason why knowledge of reading, writing and producing documentation constituted a form of power over those without that knowledge.

There are, however, limits to the power of documentation on its own. For what is written does not necessarily correlate with what is done in practice. The information contained within the documents needs to be acted on if it is to be effective. Mitchell has suggested that it is the authority represented by written documents that makes them so powerful (1988, 154). In post-medieval England it was the people who commissioned and created most forms of documentation who also had the power to enforce the authority of those documents. Hoppit has noted the increased use and authority of Acts of Parliament from the late seventeenth century onward (1996, 125-6).

But authority can also be contested and resisted. Formalising something in writing means that it is open to detailed and prolonged criticism, since the reader can return to the text time and time again, in a way that is impossible with the spoken word. The written word itself is a powerful tool of criticism (Goody 1986, 119). So on one level, debate and resistance can be carried out within the discourse of the written word and through official channels. An example of this can be seen in the process of enclosure (see Chapter Five), whereby notices of a proposed act of enclosure were posted in the local newspaper, with an invitation for those affected by the act to attend meetings in which they could raise objections to the planned alterations (eg public notices of meetings, roads, etc draft and original MSS newspaper adverts and printed bills for enclosure of Princes Risborough - CBS: IR/M/1/1). Maps and documents laying out the proposed changes were presented at such meetings, and would be modified and redrawn if the commissioners felt their objections were justified. Parish residents could further pursue their objections via a solicitor - if they had the time, knowledge and necessary funds to do so (eg legal papers re John Grubb, chief objector to enclosure, Princes Risborough - CBS: IR/M 1/9/1-42).

The recording of traditions and cultural practices is another way in which writing can be used as a form of resistance (Goody 1986, 126). Through the increasing literacy of the lower classes, especially in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was a growth in the range of written works relating to the countryside, which included the perspectives of labourers, tenants and farmers, as well as those of the clergy and the landed gentry (see Williams 1975). But what about the cases where the written word was not sufficient as a form of clarification or resistance, and what of those people who did not have the means, ability or inclination to contest documents on their terms?

The growing centralisation of government in England from the 1500s onwards brought with it a need for unified conventions and laws, and the writing down, formalisation and questioning of practices that had formerly needed no written proof of their legitimacy. A conflict between custom/ practice, which is fluid and changing, and law, which is written and fixed, was inevitable - especially when these laws were to be applied across the nation, making few allowances for local variations and traditions (Goody 1986, 130).

Goody makes the point that when traditions and customs are turned into written rules and laws they are transformed - through the conventions of language and through the difficulties of translating action into text. In his own words: "when it comes to the summary of complex situations in administrative lists... writing strips the social

relationships of its complicating context and 'murders to dissect' "(1986, 155). In a colonial context, the administrators' attempts to write down the land rights of the indigenous people would often simplify the situation by assigning 'ownership' of a piece of land to a single individual, rather than acknowledging the complex series of rights owed to kin members over the same area (Ibid.).

A similar example can be seen in the process of enclosure, which saw a complex series of rights to access and resources in a parish reduced, in many places, to the direct ownership of each parcel of land by an individual. Another example of complex rights being reduced and transformed through their translation from practice to written text can be found in the work of E.P. Thompson (1975). Thompson has shown how the "clarification" of property rights in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to some of the rights formerly held by the rural population being redefined in terms of criminal activity, such as theft and poaching.

The denial of customary rights is especially clear in cases where former common land is turned over to private ownership. Examples of the varying forms of resistance to the enclosure of common land are discussed in Chapters Four and Six. One of the aims of this discussion is to explore whether or not the increased importance of proof of ownership in England in the period under study is linked with a unwillingness to accept oral testimony of land rights (see Chapters Six and Seven).

In cases where the written word and official channels could not satisfactorily deal with peoples' complaints or sense of injustice, the only means of resistance left to them was through action. This action could be as dramatic as a mass uprising, or could take the form of pulling down hedges or fences enclosing areas of former common land. In the Chilterns an example of this occurred after an area of Tring Common Wood was enclosed during the 1600s (Rodén 1969, 121). Other forms of resistance could take a more subtle and everyday form - such as the persistent use of footpaths or roadways officially closed by an act of enclosure, or the continued use of common land that had been reallocated as private property. Such actions, along with evidence that people persisted in demanding that customary rights should be maintained, reminds us that there is a danger of over emphasising the role of literacy in society. While written records and documentation do have a major impact on the ways in which a society recalls its past, records its laws and religion, shapes the world around it, and so on, literate societies have much in common with oral cultures. People in literate societies still pass on knowledge through practice and storytelling as well as the written word; their histories and memories are still connected to place, as well as recorded in books and documents (Glassie 1982); they still experience the world through all their senses, in spite of the primacy accorded to the visual in capitalist societies. An awareness of this complexity is especially important when studying societies where only certain sections of the population are literate or using the written word on a daily basis. With this in mind, we can balance the importance of understanding the document-as-artefact with an understanding of the extent and limitations of its role in the wider material and social world.

Conclusion

Using the approaches and different form of evidence outlined in this chapter, the aim of the case study is to examine in detail the ways in which enclosures were created,

accepted and resisted by people in different parts of the study area.

Although the study has been undertaken from an archaeological perspective it has also made use of studies and insights from a great many other disciplines. As stated in Chapter One, it is desirable for archaeologists working on historical material to address and make use of the debates and approaches set out by other academics working in that period. Hanging onto disciplinary boundaries in the study of historical periods creates false limits to the study. For this reason the archaeological material is not presented in isolation from the wider discussion of enclosure in the study area. Instead, the discussion moves backwards and forwards between the evidence generated by archaeological fieldwork and study in the archives and the information and ideas expressed in the academic literature on the study area and period.

It is hoped that by taking this approach it will be possible to gain a detailed understanding of enclosure across the study area and over time, in order to challenge or affirm some of the ideas about the nature of enclosure and its role in the creation of capitalist and modern world views.

Chapter Four:

Early Enclosure in Buckinghamshire - Hill and Vale

Introduction

In order to explore the ideas already outlined in the first three chapters, the main part of this thesis is centred on a detailed case study. The area chosen for this case study is the county of Buckinghamshire (Figure 4.1). Buckinghamshire has been chosen as a case study for exploring enclosure in England for several reasons. Most important is the varied topography and complex traditions of land use in the county which act as a check on portraying enclosure as a simple or unitary process. The many different forms and methods of enclosing land through time and in different parts of the region means that any account of enclosure in the county must pay attention to the individual and communal acts that transformed the landscape over the centuries.

From an archaeological perspective Buckinghamshire, in particular the south of the county, provides ample material for study. It is possible to identify medieval and post-medieval field boundaries and hedgerows, to find areas of common and woodland, as well as many other landscape features that can be used to piece together an understanding of how the region looked and may have been experienced at different points through history. In addition, there is good range of documentation available for the area, including numerous estate and enclosure maps.

The thesis also seeks to build on, and to contextualise, the numerous studies that have been made of enclosure and landscape change in Buckinghamshire and neighbouring counties.

Regions

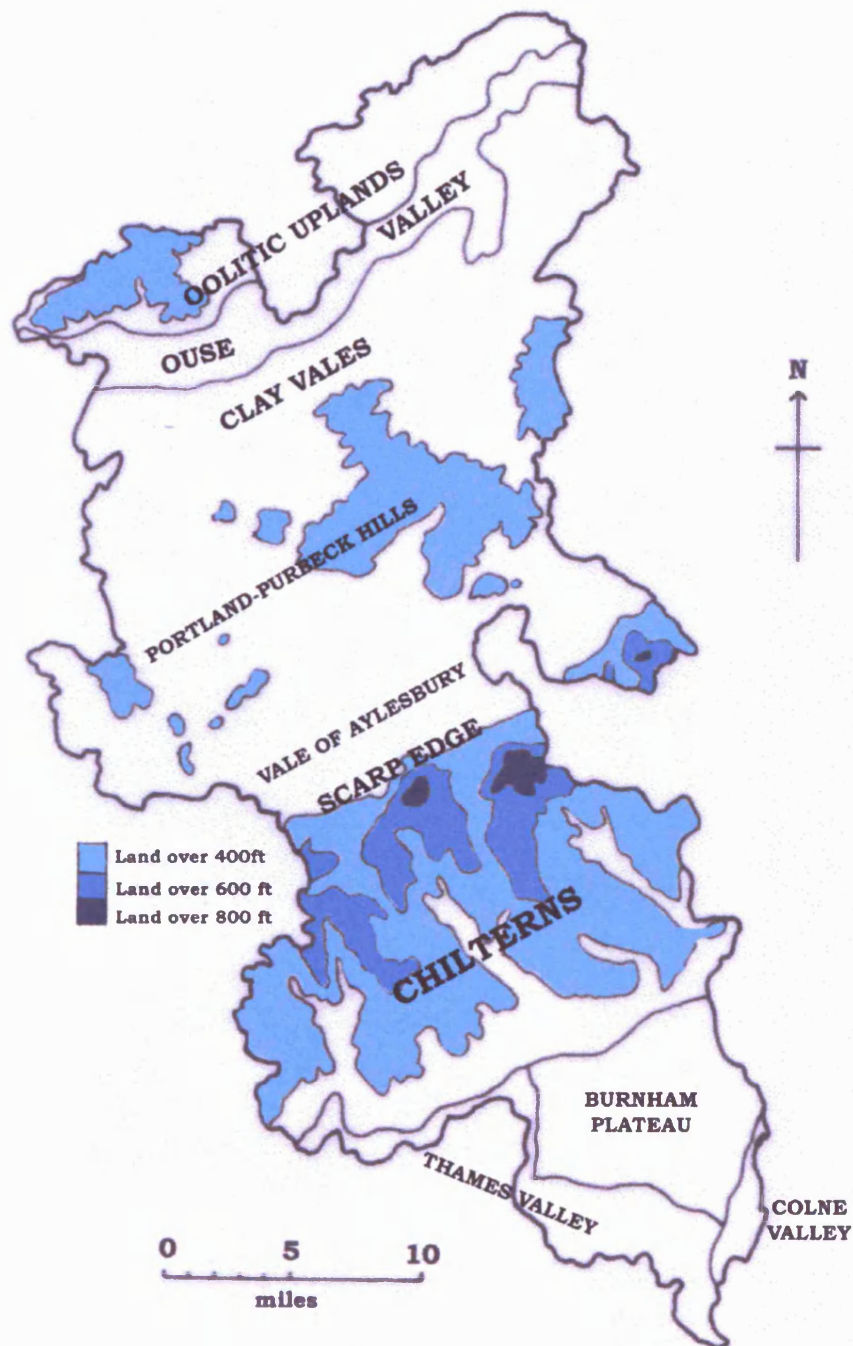
The northern-most part of the county is characterised by exposed oolite and cornbrash, and by the line of the Ouse Valley. South of this lie the clay vales which are made up of Oxford and Kimmeridge Clays. Between the northern area of clay vales identified by Reed (see Figure 4.2 for map of geology) and the southern region, generally referred to as the Vale of Aylesbury, lies an area where hills are formed from Portland Beds - for example at Long Crendon, Brill, Ashendon and the Winchendons (Reed 1979, 28). Some of the Portland Beds are overlain by Purbeck Beds (for example at Oving and Whitchurch) or by Lower Greensands (as at Berton, Bishopstone, Hartwell, Stone, Bill and the Brickhills). At the southern-most area of the Vale of Aylesbury lies the Gault, a zone of stiff, calcareous clay.

Rising from the flat, low-lying region of the Vale of Aylesbury are the chalk hills of the Chilterns. The chalk of the hills is capped with clay-with-flints. The steep, scarp edge of the hills faces north-west, while the dip slope falls away gently to the south-east. The dip slope is pierced by several steep-sided river valleys. Some of the largest Chiltern towns, including High Wycombe (Buckinghamshire) and Berkhamsted (in Hertfordshire) are located in these valleys.

In the far south of the county the chalk gives way to Reading Beds and London Clays. These are mixed with glacial and river gravels, leading to a mixture of soils in the south of the county (Reed 1979, 29). The Burnham Plateau is a low plateau with



4.1 Richard Blome's map of Buckinghamshire, 1672 (from Wyatt 1978, 31).



4.2 Geology of Buckinghamshire (after Reed 1979, 30).

numerous streams running through it. Flood plain gravels can also be found in the far south of the county, which is cut through by the River Thames to one side and the edge of the Colne Valley on the other.

The focus of the case study is on the regions of Buckinghamshire that make up the bulk of the county - the Chilterns and the clay vales to the north of the hills (incorporating the band of Portland-Purbeck Hills). These regions have been chosen since they represent the two main lowland landscape types identified by landscape historians and archaeologists - champion or planned landscape (the clay vales) and ancient landscape (the Chilterns).

The area north of the Chilterns displays many of the features used to identify champion landscapes (Rackham 1997, 4-5; Tables 4.1 and 4.2). A great many of the parishes are focused around nucleated villages. A large number of these villages sat in the middle of two or three-field open field systems until the period of parliamentary enclosure. This means that a large part of the the farmland is now characterised by straight hawthorn hedges planted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Figure 4.3). There are only small areas of woodland in the clay vales.



Figure 4.3 Straight hedges in the vale, viewed from the scarp edge (at Stokenchurch).

This is in contrast to the Chilterns, which are home to extensive woodlands - some of them ancient, some of them relatively recent (Morris 1999, 13). In addition to areas of woodland, large numbers of trees are also found in the hedgerows of this area (Figure 4.4). The Chilterns were largely enclosed via clearance from woodland and piecemeal enclosure and the majority of parishes in this area were enclosed prior to the introduction of parliamentary enclosure. Roden notes the importance of piecemeal enclosure from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, with the common fields reduced by "individual strip amalgamations and by private arrangements between a few men" (1973, 366). This means that the hedge lines are mostly winding, and are made up of numerous different species. A large number of sunken lanes wind between these hedgerows. The settlement pattern is scattered, with isolated farms and hamlets in the hills and small towns and villages often located in the valleys (Roden 1970). Visual and written accounts of the nature of Chilterns and vale to help show different perspectives

Table 4.1: Modern differences between Ancient Countryside and Planned Countryside (After Rackham 1997, 4)

Ancient Countryside	Planned Countryside
Hamlets and small towns Ancient isolated farms Hedges mainly mixed, not straight	Villages Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century isolated farms Hedges mainly hawthorn, straight
Roads many, not straight, often sunken Many public footpaths	Roads few, straight, on the surface Few footpaths
Woods many, often small Pollard trees, if present, away from Habitations Many antiquities of all periods	Woods absent or few and large Pollard trees (except riverside willows) absent or only in villages Antiquities few, usually prehistoric

Table 4.2: Historic differences between Ancient Countryside and Planned Countryside (After Rackham 1997, 5)

Ancient Countryside	Planned Countryside
Open field either absent or of modest extent and abolished before c.1700 Most hedges ancient	Strong tradition of open-field beginning early and lasting into Enclosure Act period Most hedges modern
Many, though often small, woods Much heathland	Woods absent or few and large Heaths rare; little bracken or broom
Non-woodland trees oak, ash, alder, birch Many ponds	Non-woodland thorns and elders Few ponds

on the landscape.

Different forms of settlement and land management in the Chiltern Hills and the lower-lying areas to the north of the county have been long recognised. John Leyland writing in the mid-sixteenth century recorded his observations of one journey from the town of Aylesbury in to the Chilterns. His comments about Wendover highlight the contrast between the two areas at this point in time:

The tounelet selfe of Wyndover stondythe partely apon one of the north-est cliffs of Chilterne Hills. The residew and north-est parte of the towne stanythe in the rootes of the hills. Looke as the conterye of the vale of Aillesbyre for the most part in clene baren of woodde, and is champaine; so is all the Chilterne well woodyd, and full of enclosures (cit. Read and Empringham 1992, 22).

This contrast between hill and vale was still being noted in the eighteenth century by agricultural writer William Ellis (1733), and visiting scientist Pehr Kalm (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 143-4).



Figure 4.4 Woodland and tree-rich hedgerows in the Chilterns
(Photo: Peter Sackett).

In defining the Vale of Aylesbury, Leyland uses the term to cover both areas of clay vale identified by Reed (see Figure 4.2), extending its boundaries to Thame in the west, Buckingham and Stony Stratford in the north and along the Chiltern scarp across the Hertfordshire border towards Dunstable (cit. Read and Empringham 1992, 18). The term 'vale' is used in this thesis to describe the area encompassing both the Vale of Aylesbury and the clay vales to its north.

While it is easy to contrast the Chilterns and the clay vales, it is important to recognise that they do not exist in isolation from one another (see below). This is especially clear in the area of the Chiltern escarpment, where the hills meet the Vale of Aylesbury. In Buckinghamshire, and along the Chiltern escarpment into Oxfordshire and

Hertfordshire, this area of the landscape has been notable for a long line of 'strip' parishes that took advantage of both the hills and the lower lying area of the clay vale. Such parishes incorporated woodlands, wastes, commons and early enclosures. However, many of the parishes on the edge of the Chilterns also maintained areas of open fields into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 193-5). For this reason many of the scarp edge parishes were subject to parliamentary enclosure, which was used to enclose remaining areas of open field and common land and waste (see Chapters Six and Seven for further discussion).

The main study area is, therefore, divided up into three zones: the Chilterns (including the valleys of the dip slope) in the south, the clay vales (incorporating the band of Portland- Purbeck hills) in the north and the scarp edge parishes which straddle the hills and the vale in between these two areas (see Figure 4.5 for details of these zones). Discussion of enclosure within these three zones will be contextualised by evidence of enclosure from other parts of the county, as well as relevant areas of neighbouring counties - in particular from other parts of the Chilterns (see Figure 4.6 for a map showing Chiltern parishes).

Hill and Vale

Some writers, for example (Chenevix-Trench 1973), have chosen to dwell on the differences between the Chiltern's woodland landscape and the vale's champion landscape. Indeed, the origins of the Chiltern's distinctive settlement patterns have long been debated by economic historians (for example Gray 1915), as well as landscape historians interested in the wider issue of woodland and champion landscapes (Williamson 1988).

The topography of the region certainly plays a part in the distinction between hill and vale. The low-lying claylands to the north of the Chilterns provide a blanker canvas to work on, while the undulating landscape of the Chilterns made the creation of neat two or three field parishes problematic. The Chilterns could provide other resources not found in the vale, such as ample areas of waste, wood for fuel and woodland grazing. However, in contrary to Gray (1915), environmental factors alone are not sufficient to explain the development of the Chilterns landscape, since there are many ways in which hilltop and woodland environments can be used. For example other woodland areas, such as the Weald or the Forest of Dean, harbour a woodland pasture economy, while the Chilterns' inhabitants focused on arable farming (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 76) and long maintained patches of open field and common alongside smaller, hedged fields which were held in severalty. It is historically and culturally specific responses to the topography of the hills and clay vales that have shaped the landscape of this region over time.

While this thesis is concerned with later developments in the Chilterns, it is worth noting that many authors have traced the origins of the differences between hill and vale in medieval and post-medieval time back to the post-Roman and early-medieval period. One popular explanation is that Romano-British groups continued to live independently in the hills, while Anglo-Saxon settlement skirted the edge of the Chilterns, thus leading to the suggestion that it was the greater continuity with earlier traditions that determined the distinctive nature of the Chilterns landscape (Chenevix-Trench 1973, Hepple and Doggett 1994, 75). Such an approach is highly problematic,

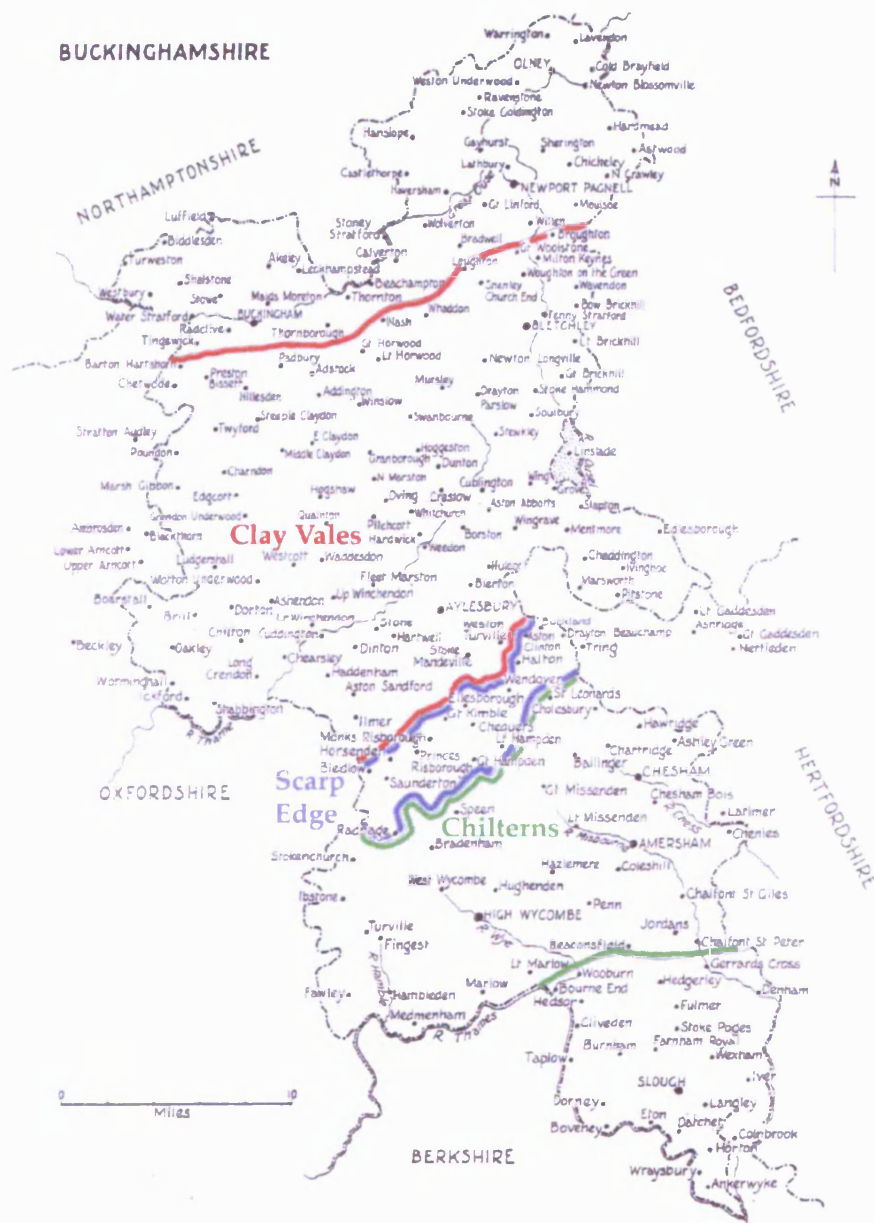
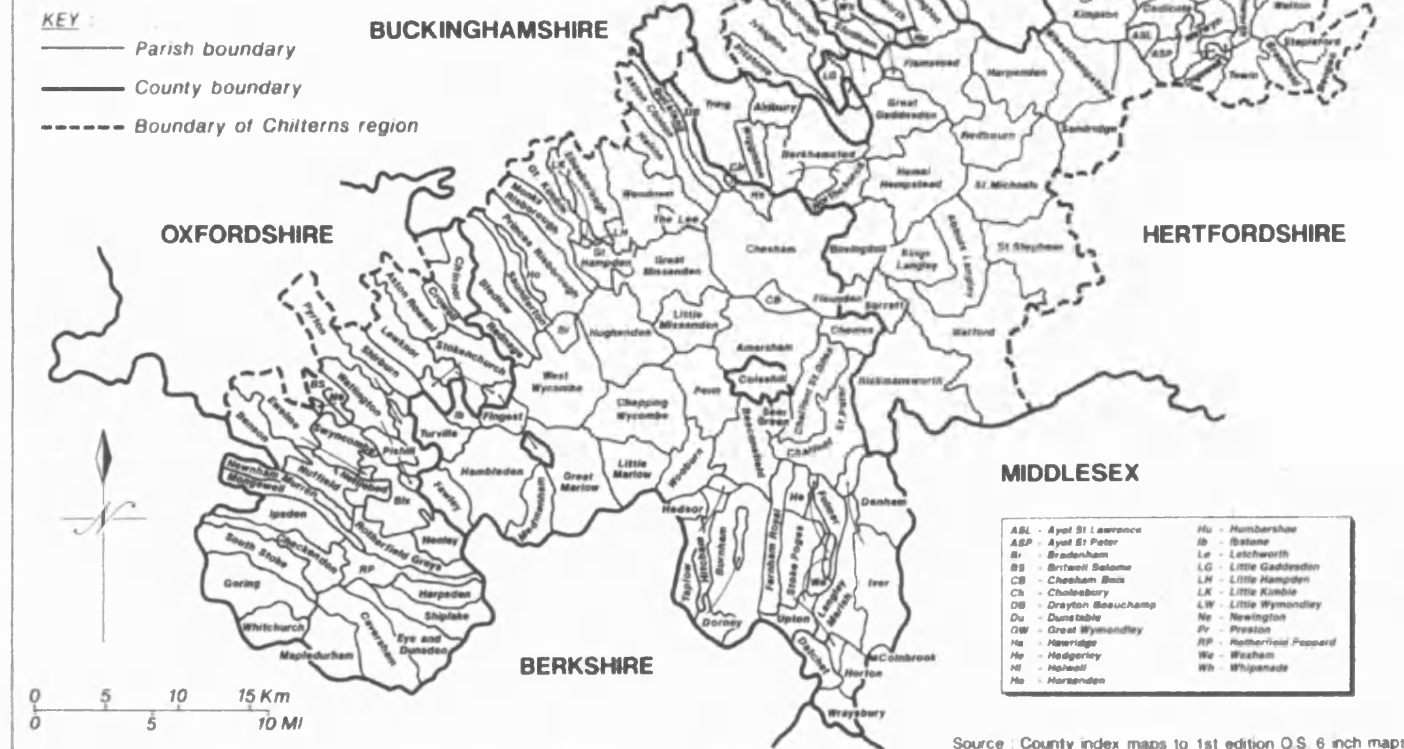


Figure 4.5 Map showing core study areas.

THE CHILTERNS

Historical Parish Boundaries



4.6 Map of Chiltern parishes (after Hepple and Doggett 1994, 6).

both in terms of evidence, for as Farley (1994, 119) has noted there is no archaeological evidence to substantiate this claim, and from a theoretical perspective, since it falls into the trap of explaining difference in terms of activity by two culturally, distinct groups. It is more likely that what we are seeing is the growth of different traditions, responses and attitudes towards two very different topographical regions.

Certainly, the suggestion that the people living in and using the hills' resources were different to those living in the vale cannot easily be maintained, especially as some parishes that certainly have their origins in the early medieval period are strip parishes that run from the vale, right up to the top of the escarpment. These strip parishes include Monks Risborough, Pitstone and Drayton Beauchamp (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 61). Other vale parishes held detached parcels of land in the hills. For example, Weston Turville had the Lee, while Marsworth had Hawridge (Chenevix-Trench 1973, 243). Also significant is the situation of the market town of Aylesbury, which lies in the vale but which also acted as a meeting point for those living in the hills.

It is important, therefore, not to overplay the distinction between the Chilterns and the clay vales to the north of the escarpment. In some cases the people who lived in the Vale of Aylesbury in ordered, open field villages, were the same people that created hamlets and made use of the woodland resources in the hills. Moreover, not all of the parishes in the north of the county were free from enclosure until the eighteenth century (see below). By exploring the details of enclosure across space and time, one of the aims of the case study is to move away from generalisations about champion and ancient landscapes and to explore the complexity of enclosure and landscape change across the study area.

Sources for the Case Study

Numerous important studies have been made of landscape history and enclosure in Buckinghamshire. Some of these studies have focused on the period of parliamentary enclosure. These include Michael Turner's thesis (1973) and the articles generated from his study of enclosure in the county from 1738-1865 (1975; 1981). Turner's work builds on and develops the information and arguments put forward by earlier studies of enclosure, including the important work done by Tate (1946) in compiling a list of parliamentary enclosure carried out in the county.

Parliamentary enclosure in the county has also been discussed in more general works, such as Reed's *The Buckinghamshire Landscape* (1979) and Hepple and Doggett's *The Chilterns* (1994). Numerous other authors have published works on parliamentary and earlier enclosure in Buckinghamshire and the Chilterns in a range of periodicals, including *Records of Buckinghamshire*. Significant authors who have written on this topic include Baines (1981), Beresford (1953), Chenevix-Trench (1966; 1973; 1975), Coppock (1960), Prince (1959) and Roden (1969; 1970; 1973). The publications drawn on in the case study cover a wide range of specialisms, including archaeology, landscape history, economic history and local history.

The case study also makes use of original documents held in the archives of the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS) in Aylesbury and the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS) in Hertford. These documents have been studied not only for their content but also, following the approach put forward in Chapter Three, as forms of material culture which have much to tell us about the attitudes and intentions

of the people who made, authorised and preserved these artefacts. A full list of maps and documents consulted for this thesis can be found in Appendix II.

A notable feature of the discussion of enclosure in Buckinghamshire is that studies of parliamentary enclosure tend to focus on the north of the county, where the bulk of the Enclosure Acts were passed. The discussion of the earlier and more gradual enclosure of land, on the other hand, focuses on the south of the county where this form of enclosure was commonplace. Studies of the southern part of Buckinghamshire are generally presented in discussions of enclosure in the wider Chiltern region, as in the work of Hepple and Doggett (1994) and Roden (1969; 1973). In providing an overview of enclosure in the county from the medieval period until the nineteenth century, one of the aims of this thesis is to redress this balance and to consider the evidence for early enclosure in the clay vales to the north of the Chilterns, as well as looking at the cases of parliamentary enclosure in the Buckinghamshire Chilterns and highlighting the late, and often problematic, enclosure of the parishes on the Chiltern escarpment.

The Case Studies

The case study is broken up into three sections. The remainder of this chapter is given over to a discussion of the nature of field systems and enclosure in the study area from the medieval period up until the introduction of parliamentary enclosure in the mid eighteenth century. This discussion forms a background for the more detailed study of parliamentary enclosure presented in Chapters Five and Six. While the study of early enclosure acknowledges the broad differences between enclosure in the Chilterns and the vale, attention is drawn to examples of early piecemeal enclosure and enclosure by agreement in the north of the study area. Particular emphasis is also placed on the creation and representation of boundaries in the landscape in order to move away from generalisations about the “open” medieval landscape and the “enclosed” post-medieval landscape. Documentary records relating to land use and management from this period are also examined, as are local responses and resistance to different forms of enclosure.

Chapter Five turns to the topic of parliamentary enclosure. After presenting an overview of the chronology and nature of parliamentary enclosure in the study area, discussion turns to a detailed analysis of the process of parliamentary enclosure. This includes an analysis of the working papers, maps and official Acts and Awards employed by the enclosure commissioners and surveyors in the reallocation of land in a parish. Of particular interest is the way in which the enclosure maps were used to reshape the landscape, and in turn, to shape people’s movements and rights of access across the landscape as well as their ideas about land and ownership.

Chapter Six explores the impact of parliamentary enclosure on the local population, and explores the means, legal and otherwise, by which the parliamentary procedure could be contested. A further analysis and conclusions from the evidence presented in the case studies are presented in Chapter Seven.

Early Enclosure

The early medieval period has been chosen as the start point for this review partly because important landscape features such as parish boundaries and the open

field system were created during the medieval period, and partly due to limitations of space. Ideally, any landscape history should look at evidence from prehistory as well as from historical periods; the clearance of the woodlands in the study area began in the neolithic period, while traces of field systems and substantial land boundaries, such as Grim's Ditch, date back to the bronze and iron age. While there is not space in this thesis to present a study of such landscape features, it is important to acknowledge that people lived in and shaped the landscape prior to the early medieval period and that all subsequent changes to the landscape were created in relation to the results of past actions. People in the early medieval period were certainly aware of the activities of earlier generations, and many boundaries from this period run up to or along the existing landscape features, such as earlier burial sites or old routeways.

In the following section I will look at the nature of early medieval boundaries and discuss what they tell us about people's willingness to delineate rights over landscape over time. The discussion of early enclosure makes particular reference to fieldwork and archive studies of the parish of Wendover, as well as drawing on a wealth of information and academic studies relating to parishes across the study area as a whole.

Early Boundaries

Many present day parish boundaries are formed in part by features such as rivers, woods, hedgerows and old routeways. They display a sensitivity to topography, natural and man-made features that is not always evident in the roads and field boundaries within the parish. In some cases the selection of features that help to form the boundaries of a parish dates back to the early medieval period. The survival of some Anglo-Saxon boundary charters from the study area means it is possible to trace these early parish boundaries in the present day landscape, and to characterise the nature of boundaries at this point in time. Surviving charters from the region include those for Newnham Murren, Pyrton and Stonor and Monks Risborough.

The Anglo-Saxon boundary charter for Monks Risborough is a 10th century copy of an early charter, the original of which had been destroyed by fire c.903. The charter relates the boundaries in the form of a narrative, describing the main features which would guide those involved in a perambulation of the boundary. Arnold Baines (1981, 79) has translated the charter as follows:

These are the land boundaries. First from the gore into (*or* along in) the black hedge. From that hedge downwards into (*or* along in) the foul brook. From the foul brook to the west of the ash-tree on the bank, thence into (*or* in) the old ditch to the west of the herdman's buildings (*or* dwelling). From that ditch so as to come on to the ridge of (*or* in) the wood on Eadric's boundary. Along Eadric's boundary so as to come on to the boundary of the Kimble-folk. Along (that) boundary so as to come on to Icknield. Along Icknield as far as the heathen burial-place. Thence on the king's street. Up along (that) street to Weland's stock (tree-stump). From that stock downwards beside the roe-deer fence. Then to the hay glade. From that glade downwards so as to come back to the gore.

This boundary takes in natural features of the landscape (Figure 4.7), such as the gore or spear of land which forms the starting point for the tour, the "foul brook" and the ash tree;

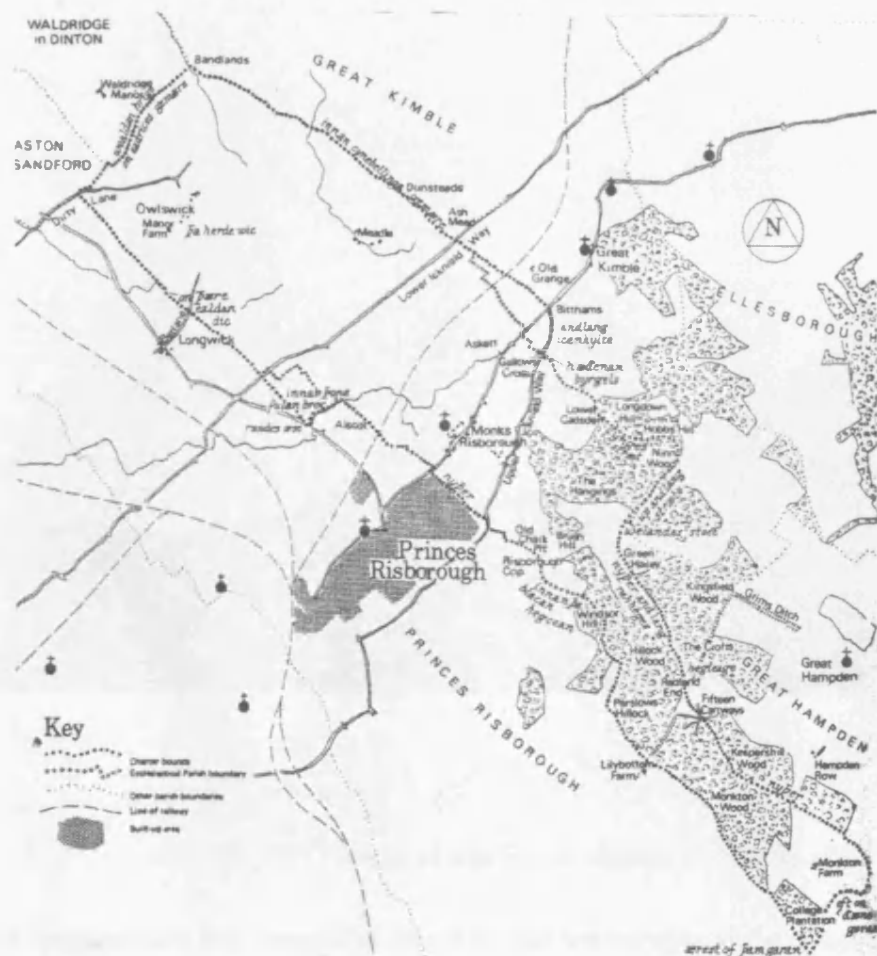


Figure 4.7 The early medieval boundary of Monks Risborough (after Baines 1981, 84).

it winds alongside managed features of the farming landscape such as the black hedge - still visible today (Figure 4.8) - the ridge of wood that is Eadric's boundary, the roe-deer fence and the hay glade; it makes use of built structures - the herdmen's buildings - and two routeways - the king's street (now the Cadsden Road) and the Icknield Way. An acknowledgement of the activities of people in the past are also suggested by the references to the old ditch and the heathen burial place, while the Icknield Way is also thought to be a very early, possibly prehistoric, routeway which was also used for part of its course by the Romans (Hindle 2001, 7-9).

The nature of this boundary suggests an intimate, on the ground, knowledge of the landscape and the local community. The names and activities of people living in the estate are known, as are the users of the specific fields.



Figure 4.8 The line of the Black Hedge near Kop Hill.

While it is significant that people at this date felt the need to write down the limits of the estate boundary (in the case of Monks Risborough the charter emphasises the enduring nature of the written document), it is apparent that the document on its own was not sufficient to maintain the boundary. Estate and parish boundaries had to be periodically walked, or beaten, in order to maintain their integrity through an ongoing knowledge of and relationship to the specific places mentioned in the charter.

The Monks Risborough charter demonstrates that tracts of land were being deliberately enclosed or delineated from a very early date. The clearest example of this is the Black Hedge, which runs along a section of the western boundary of the parish. A survey of this hedge has suggested that one section of it dates back to the 8th, or possibly even the 7th century, with counts of up to 13 species in some 30 yard stretches of hedge (Baines 1981, 97). The more recent sections have been dated to the 10th and 11th centuries (Baines 1981, 96; 98). Whether or not these dates for the

creation of the hedge are accepted, the antiquity of this hedge is supported by the high number of species and its size; it is almost 30 feet wide in places and is made up of large shrubs and full grown trees which have been planted on either side of a central ditch (Ibid. 85). Baines suggests that the lords of East and West Risborough may have joined forces to build this double bank and ditch which marked part of their mutual boundary (1981, 85; see also Hoskins 1985, 31-32).



Figure 4.9 Wendover - Ellesborough boundary in woodland at High Scrubs.

Similar ditches with double banks are to be found along other parish boundaries in the study area. These include a section of the boundary between Wendover and Great Missenden, as well as part of the Wendover - Ellesborough boundary (Figure 4.9). Some of these "ditches" have served as trackways or pathways in the past, and are still on the line of present day footpaths. Hedge surveys of one of these trackways (see Table I in Appendix I) shows evidence of multi-species hedges, including fruit-bearing trees and shrubs such as crab apple, blackthorn and hazel. However, the

hedges in this case are in no way as species rich or substantial as the Black Hedge, and were probably planted at the time when the neighbouring fields were enclosed in the late-medieval or post-medieval period (c.1400-c.1600). This suggests that the bank and ditch were the original features and were later planted with hedges.

The main point of looking at evidence of parish boundaries is to demonstrate that visible, and sometimes substantial, land boundaries - such as hedges, banks and ditches - were in existence from a very early date. This means that the medieval landscape was not an uninterrupted vista of open fields and common land. It was interrupted and bounded in places by features which marked the limit of areas such as an estate or a deer forest. Land may not have been viewed as a commodity as it was by the mid-eighteenth century, but by creating boundaries in the landscape people were claiming rights of use and access to specific parcels of land. This observation will be born in mind in the following section, which outlines the changing nature of the landscape in the Chilterns and vale through the medieval period.

Medieval Field Systems

The creation of medieval fields, and in particular the development of the open field system, is an important and much discussed element of the history of the English landscape (Williamson 2003, 1-27). It is, however, a highly complex issue and is not the focus of this thesis. For the purposes of this chapter I want to look at the main characteristics of the medieval field systems in the study area, in order to understand the character of the fields in the different landscape zones and to contextualise the changes brought about by enclosure in the post-medieval period.

Reed (1979) has suggested for Buckinghamshire that open fields were still in creation at time of Domesday book. By the tenth century he finds some documentary evidence of common grazing on waste (1979, 84) and suggests that a coherent system of strips and furlongs was probably established by the end of the 12th century (1979, 84; 89). Evidence from mid-12th century tithe deeds shows that two-field systems were already in existence in the northern areas of the vale (Reed 1979, 89). Over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was a general shift in the vale region from a two-field to a three-field system. For example, in 1345 the lords of the manors of Dunton and Mursley moved to a three field system, after having agreed that the old two-field system was unprofitable. By the time of parliamentary enclosure in the mid-seventeenth century only a handful of parishes in the vale still retained a two-fields system (Reed 1979, 90).

There were notable differences in the nature of the open fields created in the Chilterns and the lower-lying vales. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, parishes in the vale tended to fall in with the general Midlands pattern, having two or three open fields. Such parishes were generally focused on a nucleated village settlement, and were often subject to strong manorial control. An example of such a parish is Padbury in north Buckinghamshire (see Figure 4.10), where the village sat at the centre of the parish and was bounded by three open fields: Hedges Field, East Field and West Field. The meadows were small strips of land, mostly situated on the outskirts of the parish, while a larger area of common pasture lay in the north of the parish. A network of roads and routeways radiated out from the village into the open fields and into neighbouring parishes.

The open fields in the Chilterns and on the scarp edge were far less ordered. The plots turned over to open fields were far smaller, meaning that many parishes had more than just two or three open fields. The Lee, for example, had seven open fields, while Little Hampden had nine (Reed 1979, 97). In the Hertfordshire Chilterns, the parish of Great Gaddesdon had the grand total of twenty open fields (Williamson 2003, 5). In parishes where there were numerous areas of open field, landholdings were not evenly scattered amongst the fields. Instead, landowners strips were placed in clusters, often in one part of the parish. This clustering of land-holding facilitated piecemeal enclosure in the region. The Chiltern parishes were also distinguished by numerous small plots of common waste, in addition to a far greater area of woodland than that found in the vale parishes.

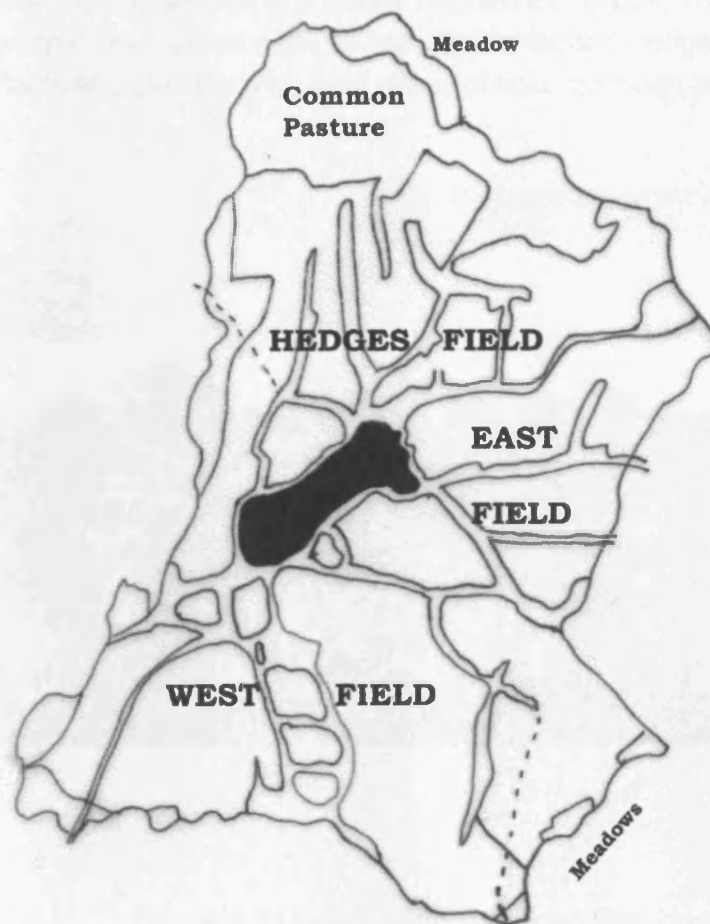


Figure 4.10 Padbury open fields (after Reed 1979, 176).

It has been suggested by H. L. Gray (1915, 384; 401, 417) and Beresford (1953, 6) that there were no open fields at all in the dip-slope region of the south-west Chilterns, and that fields in this area had been directly enclosed from woodland. This has been questioned by subsequent studies, including Chenevix-Trench (1975), Roden (1966) and Vollans (1959), who all provide evidence of open fields in this region. Nonetheless, Roden's study of the parish of Ibstone suggests that there was only one common field in the parish, and that this had been enclosed at some point during the thirteenth century (1966, 53). The remainder of the arable land had, as suggested by

Gray, been enclosed into severalty from the waste and woodland. The nature of land-holding in this part of the Chilterns demonstrates that there is not clear-cut sequence to the formation of field systems in England, and that private fields were not necessarily proceeded by or formed from communal open fields.

In creating a more subtle picture of the history of enclosure in the study area, it is important to explore the difference between open and the enclosed landscapes. How open were the open fields? Did the enclosure of open field parishes involve a dramatic shift from "hedgeless prairies" to "hedged fields" as Gulland has suggested (2003, 140), or were the open fields of the study area sometimes defined by boundary features, such as banks, ditches, fences and hedges.

Reed has stated that "boundaries between arable, meadow, waste and woodland were often ill-defined and poorly maintained" (1979, 104); but he also acknowledges that boundaries such as banks, ditches and hedges did exist between many open fields and their neighbouring areas of field, common or waste.



Figure 4.11 Home closes at Long Crendon.

The hedging of the limits of the open fields was more prevalent in the Chilterns than in the north of the county (Reed 1979, 100). However, the vale parishes were not entirely without boundaries, since substantial, hedged home closes surrounded many of the villages (Figure 4.11), while lines of pollarded trees are a common sight along stream edges in this part of the landscape.

If people were happy to maintain and even elaborate existing land boundaries such as the Black Hedge this suggests that there was not a complete antipathy to land division in the medieval period. Rackham and Taylor have noted that that even the open fields themselves were subject to temporary enclosure through the use of fences known as dead hedges (Rackham 1997, 187-8; Taylor 2000, 77). Roden has argued that such subdivision and fencing of the open fields took place in the Chilterns in order to



Figure 4.12 Old boundary between Temple Wood and Warren pasture, Wendover parish.

provide greater flexibility in cropping and grazing (1969, 120).

It was also common for areas of woodland to have been delineated by a boundaries known as a wood banks (Rackham 1997, 98-100). Such boundaries were partly functional, as they prevented unwanted animals from entering the wood and causing problems through over-grazing. However, boundaries were also important in clearly marking the point at which the different rights associated with common waste, woodland and forest began and ended. Although it has now been absorbed into woodland, one such boundary is still visible at Low Scrubs in the parish of Wendover. This double bank and ditch, surmounted by a line of trees, once marked a boundary between Temple Wood and Warren pasture (Figure 4.12).



Figure 4.13 Grown out beech hedges showing evidence of laying, Kings Ash, Wendover parish.

The higher of the two banks lies on the old wood side of the ditch, suggesting that this wood bank was once sufficiently high to deter unwanted animals from entering the wood. Evidence from the Ellesborough/Wendover boundary and from Kings Ash suggests that fields and woods on the hilltops were often enclosed with beech hedges, which show evidence of laying (Figures 4.13).

Demonstrating the coexistence of land boundaries and open fields is not to dismiss the importance of the concept of the fields, wastes and commons as a communal resource. In some places the desire to keep the landscape open and free from enclosure appears to have overridden practical considerations. For example, the

farmers of Great Linford agreed to enclosure in 1658 because their cattle had been escaping from the common land into their crops. The creation and maintenance of substantial boundaries at the limits of the open fields would have prevented this problem, but it seems that the parishioners had long felt that this was not an appropriate solution to the problem.

It is important to give a balanced view of the distinction between open and enclosed landscapes. Open landscapes were visually more open and fluid in appearance and in practice than many post-medieval landscapes and there were more rights of access over the landscape than could be found in many post-enclosure landscapes; but open fields, woods, waste and common were often bounded by banks, hedges and ditches, and the rights of use and access were not shared equally among the members of the community. Moreover, as the following section shows, the medieval landscape was not made up purely of open fields and commons since the process of enclosure began in the medieval period.

Enclosure and Clearance

The most commonly discussed form of medieval and early post-medieval enclosure is the clearance of large areas of land in order to create sheep pastures. The north of Buckinghamshire, and to some degree the Chilterns, were affected by the clearance and enclosure of villages and open fields to this end. Most activity of this kind took place from the mid-fifteenth century into the early sixteenth (Reed 1979, 151; Beresford 1953, 6). Desertions were most common at the edges of the hills and in the clay vales (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 103), for example at Quarrendon and Fleet Marston in Bucks (Beresford 1953, 6). Other vale villages were also depopulated in order to create parkland. One example of this was Pendley, near Tring in Hertfordshire, where eighty acres of land and a settlement were cleared by Sir Robert Whittingham in 1448 (Munby 1977, 131). A few hamlets in the Chilterns, such as Flexmore and Oxwik, were deserted at this time, while the estate of the Brudenell family in Chalfont St Peter was turned over to pasture between 1488-1515, and the tenants gradually displaced (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 104). Also in the hills, land at Great Hampden and King's Walden was depopulated in order to create parklands (*Ibid.*).

The areas cleared and turned over to sheep pasture were often sizable. At Doddeshall 960 acres were enclosed for pasture in 1495. In the process twenty-four houses were destroyed and one hundred and twenty people were evicted (Reed 1979, 152). Sometimes entire villages were depopulated; examples of this include Littlecote and Lillington Dayrell. Another large-scale conversion of land to pasture took place in the mid seventeenth century, when the parishes of Middle Claydon and East Claydon were turned over to grass (Williamson 2002, 35). Some evidence, however, suggests that depopulation was not always total, and that the land was not always taken over by pasture. For example, maps show that although Fleet Marsden was depopulated between 1510 and 1551, the open fields associated with the village were still in use as late as 1694 (Turner 1973, 30).

Much of the effort of the landscape historian in studying this form of enclosure has, understandably, gone into discovering and recording what was destroyed rather than what was created by the process, since the remains of whole villages still remain visible in places where the enclosed land has been maintained as pasture.

This form of enclosure created massive disruption to people's relationship with the landscape. Houses, farms and villages, fields and common land could all be lost when a large pasture was created. This massive wielding of power by the larger landowners was very unpopular, both here and in other parts of the country. The 1500s were marked by a local pamphlet war debating and protesting against this form of enclosure (Reed 1979, 151). The government also took action during this period, undertaking a series of inquiries and issuing a number of acts of parliament which attempted to bring an end to the activities of the enclosing landlords.

As Beresford (1953, 6-8) and Reed (1979, 157-8) have noted, the Commission on Enclosures and Acts of Parliament brought in during the sixteenth century to prevent the enclosure of land were not successful in putting an end to the process of enclosure. In the area under study, however, there was a shift in the form of enclosure. Large scale clearance of land dwindled and the attention of the landowners turned towards the division and enclosure of agricultural land.

Johnson claims that enclosure was a "ratchet-like mechanism" and wonders at the "apparently complete failure of resistance to a process of enclosure that was at the time hotly opposed by many contemporaries" (1996, 56). However, in the study area it seems that large-scale enclosure was successfully opposed or found to be impractical, so - although enclosure in a very general sense continued - specific forms of enclosure were resisted. Creating large sheep pastures that depopulate entire parishes and the piecemeal or organised enclosure of the open fields and their distribution among the landowners and tenants of the parish are very different things. Indeed, the Wolsey Commission made this very distinction, stating:

But first, to declare to you what is meant by the word 'inclosures'. It is not taken where a man doth enclose and take in his proper ground where no man hath commons. For such enclosure is very beneficial to the commonwealth...but it is meant thereby, where any man has taken away and enclosed any other mens commons, or hath pulled down houses of husbandry..., and converted the land from tillage to pasture. This is the meaning of the word, and so we pray you to remember it (cited in Tawney and Power 1924, 41).

Johnson implies that resistance and objection to enclosure were unsuccessful because the English landscape had been enclosed by the end of the nineteenth century. However, this argument can only be maintained if enclosure is viewed as a unitary phenomena. As the Wolsey Commission's statement and the reaction of local communities across the study area, and across the country demonstrate, the differences between the enclosure of land for sheep pasture, the piecemeal enclosure of land, small scale encroachments or the large scale enclosure of a common or a parish were very keenly felt. Many cases of enclosure were successfully fought by local people (see below for examples), and each small failure or victory helped to shape the future forms taken by enclosure.

Assarts

Much discussion of enclosure and the creation of private land centres on the enclosure of land that was previously open fields or commons. However, this was not

the only way in which enclosures could be created. In the Chilterns enclosures also came into being through the process of assarting (the clearance of woodland to create farmland), as some of the cleared areas were turned directly into fenced or hedged fields to be held in severalty, rather than being added to the existing pattern of open fields (Roden 1969, 116). The hedges bounding these newly cleared enclosures are likely to have made use of the existing woodland trees and shrubs, possibly resulting in a larger range of species than would be found in a planted hedge. The thick bands of trees and shrubs which are shown to enclose fields in early maps (for example 1586 map of Harpsden, Figure 4.14) from the Chilterns may also be remnants of old woodland.



Figure 4.14 Area of hedged enclosures from 1586 map of Harpsden, in the Oxfordshire Chilterns (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 152-3).

By the fifteenth century the process of clearance had removed much of the woodland from the northern Chilterns, in contrast the hills in the south-west remained wooded. Some parts of the woodland here were turned into private enclosures, where the trees were managed and sold for fuel and timber. Small-scale encroachment into woodland for the purpose of building houses and gardens, was also common in this area (Roden 1969, 117).

There is also evidence of people in the north of the study area clearing and enclosing previous areas of woodland. Some of this enclosure took place in and around the royal Forests on the western edge of the vale. One example of this form of

enclosure was carried out in 1305, when John de Haudlo was granted permission to enclose six plots of land, amounting to 101 acres, in the Forest of Bernwood. The landowner was allowed to bound these plots using low hedges and ditches and could bring them into cultivation. Some of the land enclosed by de Haudlo in the 1300s is in the parish of Brill. The name of Clearfields Farm may date back to this episode of enclosure (Reed 1979, 96).

This early creation of closes, and land held in severalty demonstrates that there is not a neat chronology to the creation of open fields and enclosed fields in the study area, as they are being created alongside one another. It should also be noted that, during the medieval period, enclosed land was not always private land. For example, an account dating from 1330 shows that 7 acres of meadow land in Chesham were only held in severalty between Lady Day and Midsummer when the pasture was at its best. During the rest of the year the land was open to common grazing (Reed 1979, 101). In the neighbouring county of Bedfordshire such enclosures were sometimes referred to as 'half lands', as they were half open (Mingay 1997, 39). All this suggests that there was not a clear cut distinction or opposition between communal and private, open and enclosed land during this period. The creation of enclosed and private closes at this time did not, therefore, immediately question the logic of the open field system and of communally used land as Johnson has suggested (1996, 75) .

Post-Medieval Enclosure

The Inclosure Inquisitions of the sixteenth and seventeenth century showed that a growing percentage of the study area was taken up by enclosed fields. The 1517-1519 Inquisition found that around 10,000 acres of land had been enclosed in Buckinghamshire since 1485, while the 1555-1566 Inquisition found that a further 4,065.5 acres had been enclosed in the county (Turner 1973, 18). Between 1578 and 1607 another 7,000 acres had been enclosed (Ibid.). This enclosed land was not spread evenly across the county.

By the 1500s a complex pattern of fields and commons, waste and woodland was visible across the study area. Few areas of woodland survived in the clay vales (Reed 1979, 96-7). Many of the villages in this area were nestled between two or three open fields, although private enclosures and large areas of sheep pasture and parkland were to be found in this region. Conversion to sheep pasture was especially common in the far north of Buckinghamshire (Roden 1973, 369). In the hills and in the strip parishes of the Chilterns smaller and more numerous areas of open fields and furlongs were mingled with common land, waste, woodland and small, enclosed plots, many of which were held in severalty. Roden has argued that this pattern of land-holding had stabilised during the thirteenth century, and remained more or less stable until a renewed period of enclosure in the sixteenth century (1969, 117). Large areas of woodland had been maintained in the south-west Chilterns and field and parish boundaries across the Chilterns were likely to be bounded by shrubs and trees. While woodland was an important resource in the south-west Chilterns, the main income for the area came from sales of grain (Roden 1966, 45).

Although a broad difference between the appearance of the Chilterns and vale would have been visible at by the 1500s, over the next two centuries the landscape of the Chilterns became more clearly distinguished from that of the north of the county. The

shift from large scale enclosure for sheep pasture to smaller scale enclosure for stock and agricultural land became visible in the later part of the sixteenth century. Most of this kind of enclosure took place in the Chilterns and on the scarp edge. In general, enclosure in the Chilterns was achieved in a piecemeal fashion, with the larger landholders gradually consolidating their holdings, and by making private agreements to enclose with other farmers (Roden 1969, 119). This consolidation had been ongoing throughout the medieval period, but it was not until the sixteenth century that many farmers attempted to enclose these strips and take them into severalty (Roden 1969, 118-19). The first and most substantial areas of a parish or manor to be enclosed in this way were often demesne land (Chenevix-Trench 1975, 410; Roden 1969, 117). However, in many cases single strips or blocks of strips would be hedged in.

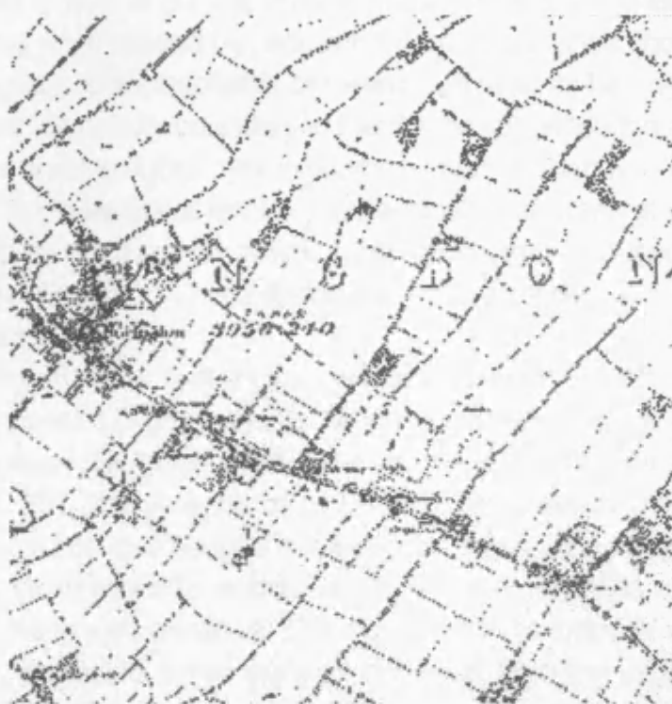


Figure 4.15 Possible enclosed open field strips at Bovington.

This practice is evident in places such as Bovington in the Hertfordshire Chilterns, where the 'reversed S-shape', thought to be indicative of the open field furlong, can be seen in the field boundaries (Munby 1977, 164; Figure 4.15). Enclosure of the open fields in the Chilterns was especially active during the seventeenth century, meaning that a large number of Chiltern parishes were fully enclosed prior to the introduction of parliamentary enclosure in the eighteenth century.

However, from the seventeenth century onwards enclosure of larger areas of land by agreement did become more common in the study area. In some cases the agreement to enclose land was enrolled at the Courts of Chancery or Exchequer in order to give validity to the new arrangement (Turner 1973, 21). In 1669, for example,

the enclosure of 300 acres of open fields in the parishes of Great and Little Kimble, East and West Marsh and Bishopstone was agreed to by a group of seven individuals, while at Pitstone 162 acres of land which had already been enclosed were formally acknowledged by Chancery decree in 1672 (Turner 1973, 23).

It is important to note that, as in the medieval period, not all of the fields enclosed in the 1500s and 1600s were taken directly into severalty. Some were still divided into strips that were farmed by two or more farmers, although such enclosures were often subdivided or further consolidated at a later date, in order to make them into privately held closes. In some parishes where there was resistance to the removal of land from the common fields, rights of common pasturing might still be enforced over a new enclosure (Roden 1969, 119-20).

While much of the land enclosed over this period involved plots of arable which were enclosed by agreement, some areas of common, waste and woodland were also enclosed. The historical records show that this form of enclosure was highly contentious and could lead to acts of protest and resistance. Some of the larger woods and wastes in the Chilterns were utilised by people from many parishes, including parishes in the vale. For example, the inhabitants of eleven settlements had rights over Berkhamsted Frith (just over the county boundary in Hertfordshire), while the residents of seven parishes held grazing rights over Wycombe Heath (Chenevix-Trench and Green 1996, 144). The resentment felt after the enclosure of areas of woodland is demonstrated by the throwing down of the fences that enclosed parts of Berkhamsted Frith and Tring Common Wood during the 1600s (Roden 1969, 121; see below for further discussion).

One important form of enclosure which took place north of the Chilterns was the piecemeal enclosure of land around the village and around the edges of the open field. This practice was legally endorsed in the course of an enclosure agreement at Loughton (Turner 1973, 23). The acceptance of this form of enclosure may explain why there are such substantial and well hedged home closes around the villages of the vale. It also explains why there was little woodland and many small strips of common meadow at the edges of many vale parishes. The indication from maps of vale parishes prior to parliamentary enclosure is that the land 'enclosed' from the edges of the parish were often converted into open field strips, rather than being turned into small, enclosed fields. Turner has suggested that the lack of pasture in the vale parishes was a serious incentive for the acceptance of parliamentary enclosure in the area (Turner 1973, 2). The diminishing area of pasture at the edges of the parish, combined with the growth of the population over time will have made the availability of pasture during the summer months a major concern for parishioners. In the open field parishes in the north of Buckinghamshire pasture was very scarce. In Sherington there was so little pasture that even the roadside verges were prized (Roden 1973, 347). Ironically, the expansion of the open fields into the common land at the edges of the parish may have helped to bring about the end of the open field system in the vale.

The active consolidation and enclosure of the open fields in the Chilterns meant that although there were some open fields remaining in the region by the time Parliamentary Acts of Enclosure were introduced in the early eighteenth century, they covered only a small proportion of a parish and sat along side numerous small, hedged and mostly privately owned fields. In comparison, many of the parishes in the vale

remained unenclosed into the late 1700s and early 1800s.

Not all land in the vale was open field until the 1700s. Areas of numerous parishes had been enclosed prior to this date (see Table 4.3). In some cases specific areas of the parish, such as glebe land had been enclosed; this was the case in parishes such as Ilmer and Walton. Other cases include the enclosure of 140 acres of waste by agreement in Chilton in 1544 and the enclosure of the common at Oving Hill, Waddesdon in 1669. At Hartwell in 1551 one landowner was allowed to enclose land in return for giving up his rabbit warren (Reed 1979, 177). In some parishes large areas of land were enclosed by agreement. Great Linford, in the north of the county, was enclosed in 1658 after freeholders and leaseholders agreed to enclose lands, as cattle were escaping from common land into crops (Reed 1979, 177). Other examples of this include Cuddington and Upper Winchendon, which were both enclosed by agreement in the eighteenth century, just prior to the introduction of parliamentary enclosure (Beresford 1953, 8-9; Turner 1973, 46).

Long Crendon is one of the vale parishes which saw enclosure long before the introduction of parliamentary enclosure. A set of four estate maps, dating to 1593, details the land in Long Crendon belonging to All Souls College, Oxford (Figures 4.16 -4.19). While some of the land shown on the map lies in strips in the open fields, other small fields and meadows have been enclosed and are owned in their entirety by the college, suggesting that the college had managed to consolidate and enclose small pieces of land over time. These parcels of land are shown to be surrounded by hedges, rather than having open borders with the neighbouring fields.

Another area of enclosure, at the western edge of the study area, was in the Forest of Bernwood which saw enclosure activity during the 1500s and 1600s. A survey dating to 1586 showed that much of the Forest had already been enclosed by this date, and in 1624 an Exchequer Commission was formed in order to carry out the formal disafforestation of Bernwood. After some protest (including the pulling down of the new enclosures in 1630) and debate between the local people and the commissioners, the distribution of the forest lands was finally settled in 1633 (Reed 1979, 196).

One of the effects of the enclosure of the forest within the parish of Boarstall was the dispersal of settlement from a centralised village out into the newly enclosed fields. Farmhouses dating from the period of enclosure include Old Arngrove Farm, Pasture Farm and Upper Panshell Farm. Other examples of farms being built away from the villages in order to be closer to newly enclosed land can also be found at Middle Claydon (Muxwell Farm and Knowlhill Farm) and Lower Winchendon (Muskhill Farm, Marsh Farm and Winchendon Hill Farm). Indeed, the building of dwelling houses on the new enclosures at Middle Claydon was stipulated in the leases of these plots of land (Reed 1979, 180). Such dispersal of settlement following enclosure was more common in the vale than in the Chilterns, where hamlets and isolated farmsteads were already common.

Continuing piecemeal enclosure into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries left a lasting impression on the face of the Chilterns. This area was now notable for its numerous small fields, most of which were bounded by combinations of banks, ditches and hedges. Numerous roads and routeways ran between the fields, bounded by a bank on either side and frequently topped by a hedgerow. Today the lanes through the

Table 4.3 Pre-parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire
(excluding areas of Chilterns enclosed by informal enclosure; based on evidence from Beresford 1953, Tate 1946 and Turner 1973).

Parish Name Red=vale blue=scarp edge green=Chilterns black=outside main study area	Date	Estimated Size of Enclosure	Notes	Source
Addington	1707 1726	-	Addington was enclosed under estate act 13 Geo I c. 17 in 1726, confirming enclosure of glebe and demesne made in 1707	Tate Turner
Ashendon	-	-	Old and new enclosures in a terrier of 1620	Turner
	pre 1503	60 acres	Enclosure caused depopulation	Turner
Aston Abbots			Partially depopulated	Beresford
Aston Sandford	by 1620	-	From a terrier of 1741, but open fields remained until at least 1797, possibly until 1813	Turner
Astwood	1585	340 acres		Turner
Aylesbury	reign of James I	160 acres		Turner
Barton Hartshorn	mid-16th century	30 acres		Turner
	1624	-	Remainder of parish enclosed	Turner
Beauchampton	1578-90	-		Turner
Biddlesden	by 1590	-	Depopulation	Turner Beresford
Bletchley	1517 1563	-	Disparked by 1735	Turner
Boarstall	1437	-	For pasture	Turner
	pre-1577	100 acres and common		Turner
	1623-32	-	Disafforestation of Bernwood Forest	Turner
Bradwell	1501 1506-7	854 acres		Turner
Brill	1575	100 acres	Woodland	Turner
	1610	-	Petition against enclosure	Turner
	by 1738		Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Broughton	after 1605	-	Terrier of 1605 shows open fields	Turner
	1720	-	Tithe Act of 1748 mentions enclosure	Turner
Broughton (in Mentmore)	1511	-	Depopulated	Turner
Burcott (in Wing)	1512	-		Turner
Chicheley	pre- 1620		By Anthony Chester	Turner
	1635-93	-	Enclosure of the glebe, but open fields still existed in parish in 1772	Turner

Table 4.3 Pre-parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire
(excluding areas of Chilterns enclosed by informal enclosure; based on evidence from Beresford 1953, Tate 1946 and Turner 1973).

Parish Name	Date	Est Size of Enclosure	Notes	Source
Chilton	1544	140 acres	Area of waste enclosed by agreement	Turner
	1600-1738	Parish	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Clifton Reynes	1560	12 score acres		Turner
	1565	-	Forcible depopulation	Turner
	pre- 1673	-	Indenture selling the manor	Turner
Creslow	1486-1554	-		Turner
Cuddington	post- 1707	entire parish	By agreement	Beresford Turner
Denham	c.1514	-		
Dinton	-	-	Partially depopulated	Beresford
Doddershall	1494	-	See also Boarstall for dissafforestation of Bernwood	Turner
Dorney	1600-1738	-	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Dorton	pre-1530	-	Dorton Park enclosure for deer	Turner
	1687	3 acres	By agreement	Turner
	by 1738		Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Dreayton Beauchamp	1658	-	Terrier of 1639 and map of 1736 suggest some open fields surviving	Turner
East Claydon	post-1639	-		Turner
Edgecott	1800-01	Entire parish	By private agreement and privately appointed commissioners	Turner
Ekeney	1641	-	Small depopulated village	Turner
Fawley	1600-1738	-	Partially enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Filgrave	1607	-	Partially enclosed	Turner
	1707	-	Fully enclosed by agreement	Turner
Finmere Warren and Northend	1760-73 + 1771-84	-	Enclosed by agreement	Turner
Fleet Marsden	1510-51	-	Depopulating enclosure, but open fields survive as late as 1694	Turner
Foscott	1624-30	-	By agreement	Turner
Gayhurst	1710	-	Enclosed by agreement	Turner
Gerrards Cross	1600-1738	-	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Great Brickhill		-	part of parish enclosed via depopulation	Beresford

Table 4.3 Pre-parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire
(excluding areas of Chilterns enclosed by informal enclosure; based on evidence from Beresford 1953, Tate 1946 and Turner 1973).

Parish Name	Date	Est Size of Enclosure	Notes	Source
Great Horwood	by 1503	-	reference to fences in east part of parish	
	by 1583	-	Lanes bordering enclosed fields ordered to be stopped up	
Great Kimble	1669	300 acres	By agreement	Turner
Great Linford	1658-62	-	By agreement	Turner
Great Woolstone	1674	-	Enclosure by private agreement	Turner
	1675	-	Confirms enclosure of 1674	Turner
Grove	1600-1738	-	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Halton	pre-1808	At least 95 acres		Turner
Hambleden	pre-1680			Turner
Hanslope	early 16th century	-		Turner
Hardmead	1638	-	Terrier of 1639 suggests not all parish enclosed at this time	Turner
Hawridge		-	Partition of parish started by 1550, some open fields surviving in 1639, 30 acres still in common by 1801	Turner
Hedsor	1600-1738	-	Enclosure by agreement	Beresford
Hoggeston	pre-1601	-	large area of parish enclosed	Beresford
	1765	-	By agreement - Earl of Chesterfield	Turner
	1766	-	Noted in 1801 Crop Returns	Turner
Hogshaw	1487	-	Depopulated, mainly before 1600	Beresford
Hughenden	1752	-	Wrongful enclosure of waste	Turner
Ickford	1634-94	-	By agreement	Beresford
Ilmer	1625-1706	-	Enclosure of glebe, open fields survived until 1745	Turner
Kingsey	1662	-	By agreement	Turner Beresford
Kingswood	-	-	Depopulation	Beresford
Lathbury	1555	-	One field of three field village enclosed	Turner
	1652-6	-	Enclosure resulted in litigation	Turner
	pre-1674	-	Terrier mentions recent enclosure	Turner
Leckhampstead	1624-30	-	By Chancery Decree at same time as Foscott	Turner
Lillingstone Dayrell	1445-90	-	By Richard Ingoldby for a park	Turner
Lillingstone Lovell	mid-17th century	-	For a park	Turner
Linslade	1600-1738	-	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford

Table 4.3 Pre-parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire
(excluding areas of Chilterns enclosed by informal enclosure; based on evidence from Beresford 1953, Tate 1946 and Turner 1973).

Parish Name	Date	Est Size of Enclosure	Notes	Source
Loughton	1619	-	Piecemeal by agreement	Turner
Marsh Gibbon	-	-	Terrier of 1607 mentions only two fields	Turner
Medmenham	1600-1738	-	Partially enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Mentmore	-	-	Depopulation	Beresford
Middle Claydon	1654	-	Terrier of 1675	Turner
Newport Pagnell	-	-	Disparked before 1757	Turner
Newton Longville	-	-	93 acres of old enclosure from early date	Turner
North Crawley	1290-91	80 acres	Used for a park	Turner
Oakley	1622	-		Turner
	1634	-	By Sir Timothy Tyrrell	Turner
	1577	-	Unauthorised enclosure	Turner
Olney			For Olney Park	
	1374	-		Turner
Pitchcott	1674-80	-	Inferred from glebe	Turner
Pitstone (Pightlesthorne)	pre-1672	160 acres	By Chancery Decree	Turner
	1795		Unspecified area of common	Turner
Quarrendon	pre-1630	-		Turner
Radclive	Charles II		For a park	Turner
	post-1709	-	Disparked	Turner
Shabbington	1600-1738		Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Shalstone	1571	c.450		Turner
	1707	c.120		Turner
Shenley Church End	-	-	Ancient enclosure	Turner
Stewkley	1494	201 acres	Littlecote Manor	Turner
Stoke Hammond	-	-	enclosed via depopulation in 15th century	Turner Beresford
Stowe	1651	-	Enclosure for park resulted in resiting of village	Turner
	1660-1738	-	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Tattenhoe	1584	-	Dispute over ownership resulted in enclosure agreement	Turner
Thornton	1558	-	By George Tyrill	Turner
	1600-1738	-	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Tyringham	1509	-	But was open again in 1520	Turner
	1562	-	480 acres by Thomas Tyringham, terrier of 1700 shows three open fields	Turner
	pre 1738	-	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Upper Winchendon	1654 1673	-	Evidence of enclosure from an Indenture	Turner
	-	-	Encl'd by agreement pre 1738	Beresford

Table 4.3 Pre-parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire
(excluding areas of Chilterns enclosed by informal enclosure; based on evidence from Beresford 1953, Tate 1946 and Turner 1973).

Parish Name	Date	Est Size of Enclosure	Notes	Source
Waddesdon	c.1595	-	Wrongful enclosure mentioned in court rolls	Turner
	pre-1645	-	Indenture cites enclosed ground	Turner
	1669	-	Common at Oving Hill	Turner
Walton	by 1720	-	Glebe enclosed by 1720	Turner
	1600-1738	-	enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Water Stratford	1615-59		Manorial estate enclosed, terrier of 1639 mentions East and Middle Field only, 1720 still some common land	Turner
Weston Underwood	-	75 acres	For a park	Turner
	1617	-	Enclosed by agreement	Turner
Whaddon	by 1607	-	Terrier mentions closes	Turner
Willen	early 16th century	80 acres	Terrier of 1650 mentions extensive enclosure	Turner
Wing	early 16th century	-	For a park	Turner
Winslow	1614-20	-	Wrongful enclosure of Shipton Lee	Turner
Wolverton	from 1501	-	For a park	Turner
	1517	40 acres		Turner
	pre-1639	-	Evidence of enclosure from a terrier	Turner
Woodham	-	-	Depoulation	Beresford
Worminghall	1600-1738	Parish	Enclosed by agreement	Beresford
Wotton Underwood	16th Century	-	Enclosed by Edward Grenville, though in 1742 there were 5 common fields	Turner

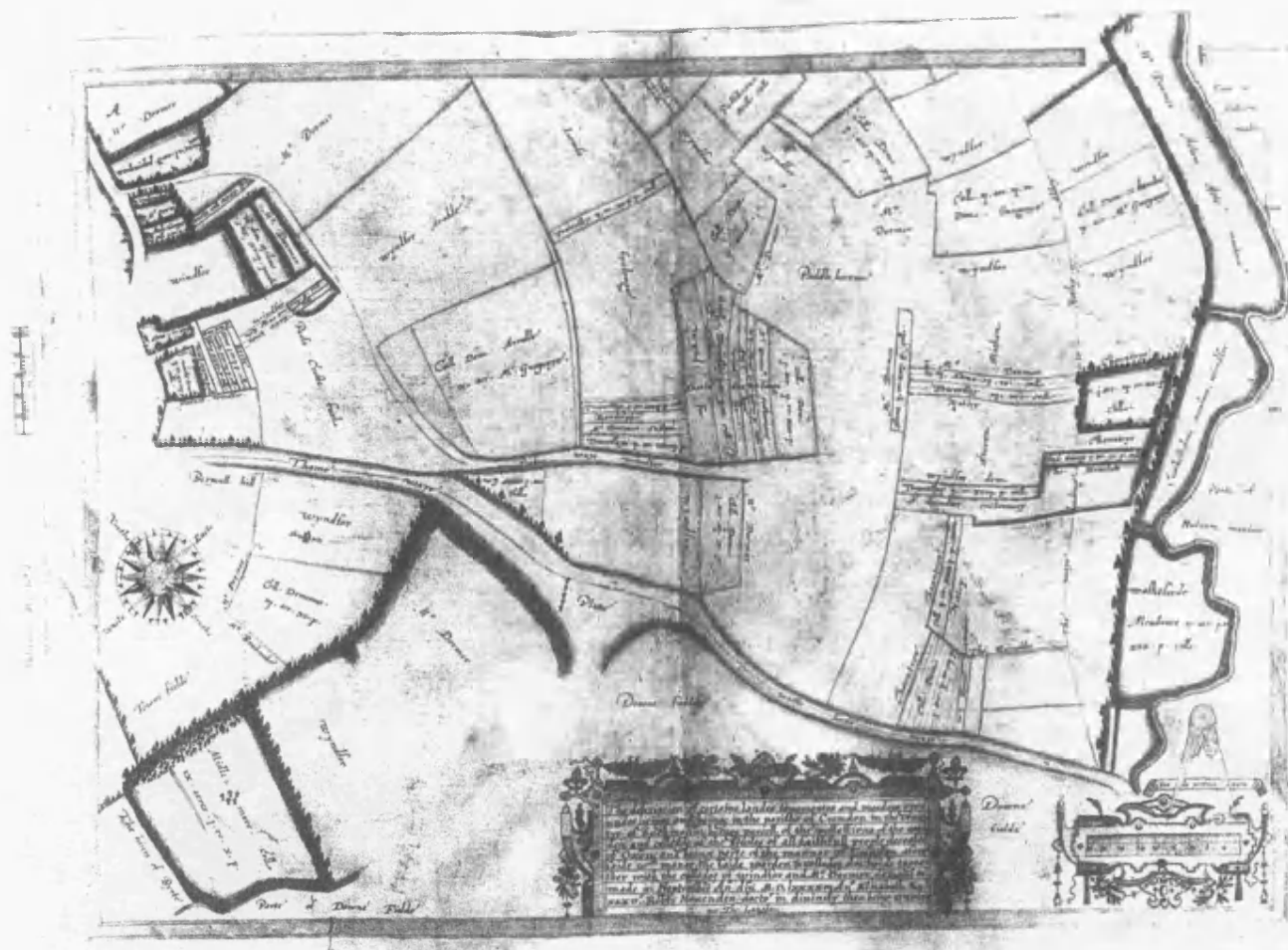


Figure 4.16 Map of Long Crendon , produced by All Souls College, Oxford, 1593 (CBS:MaR/1/8.T)

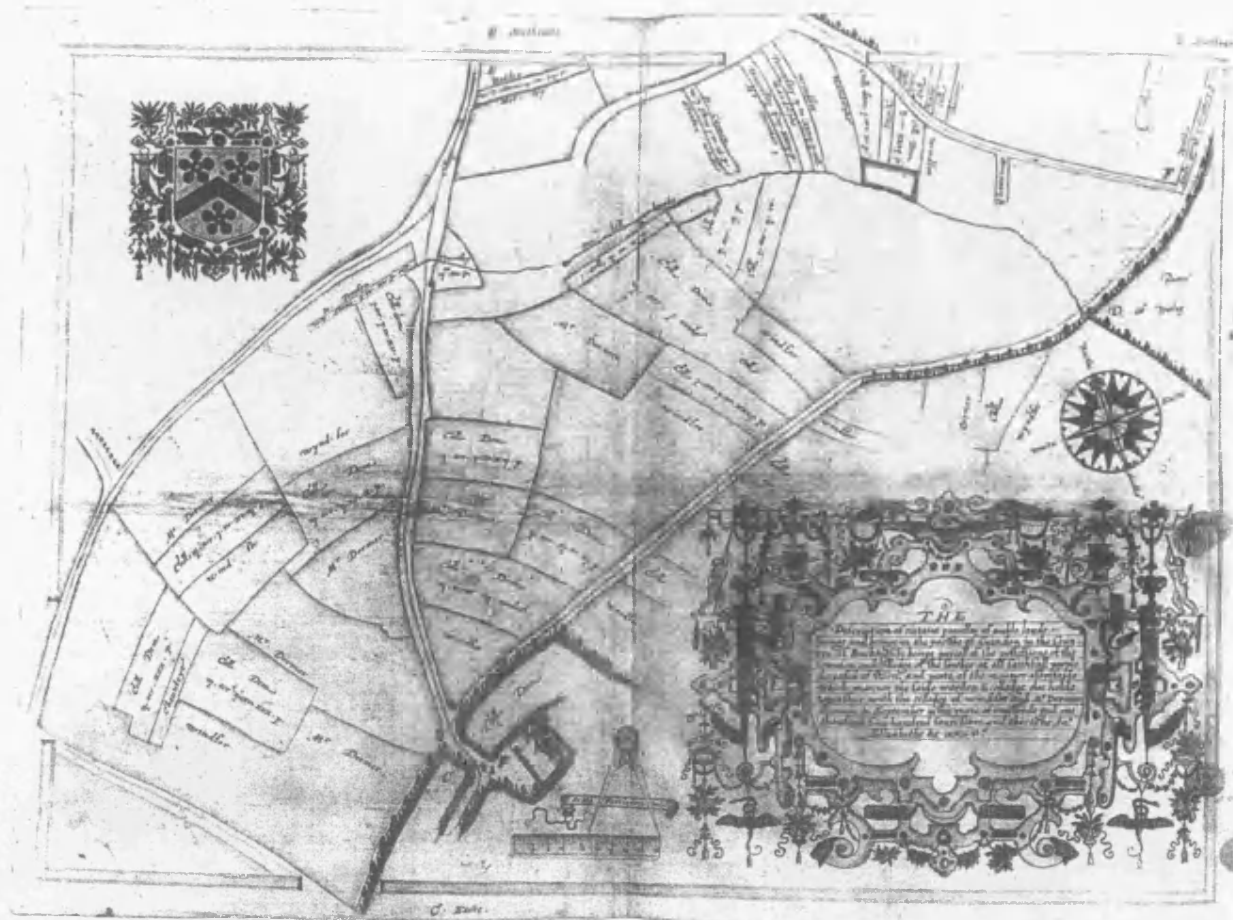


Figure 4.18 Map of Long Crendon , produced by All Souls College, Oxford, 1593 (CBS:MaR/1/10.T)

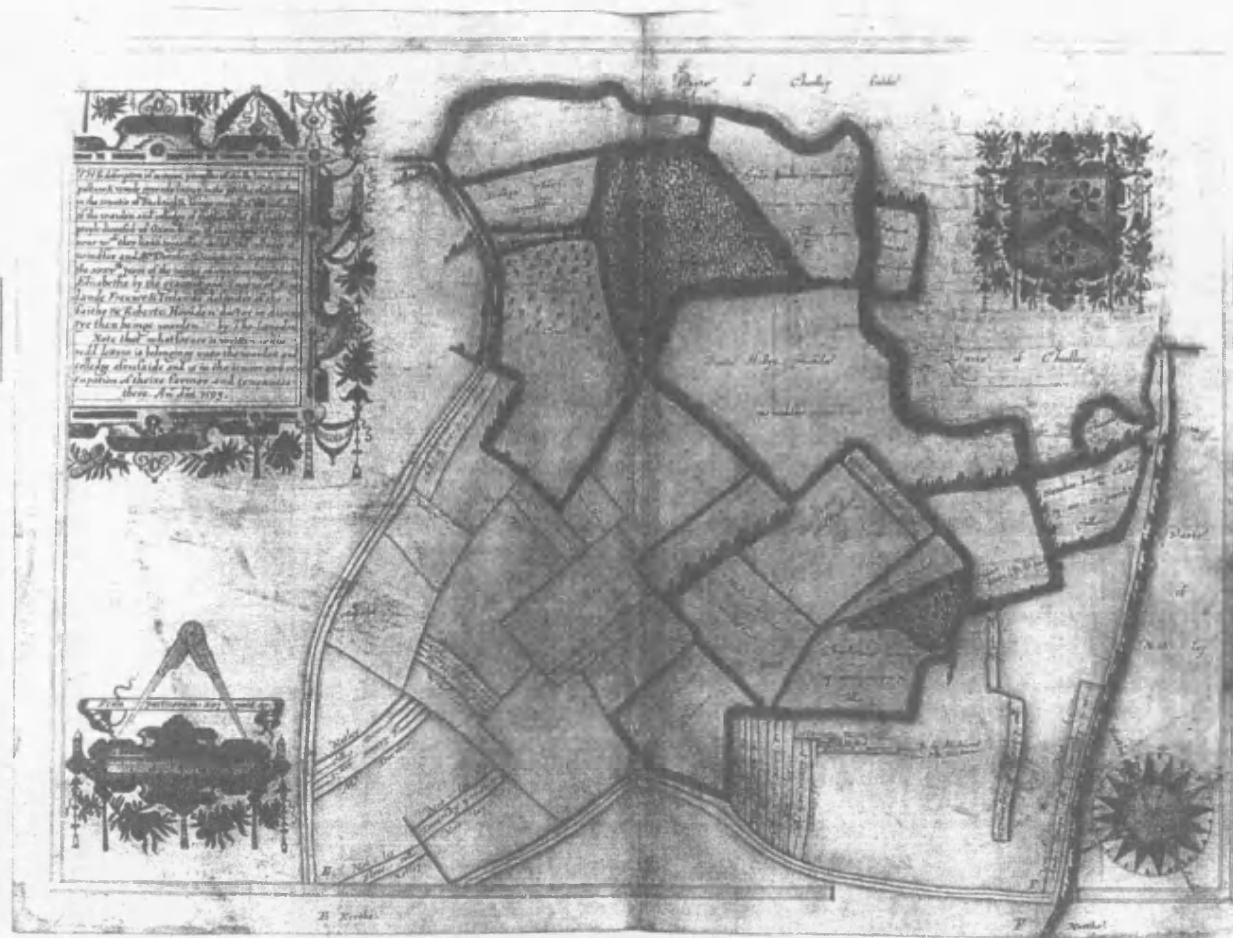


Figure 4.19 Map of Long Crendon , produced by All Souls College, Oxford, 1593 (CBS:MaR/1/11.T)

Chilterns sit beneath the level of the adjacent fields and many have the appearance of green tunnels as the trees and shrubs of untrimmed hedgerows lean together to form an archway (Figure 4.20).

The lines of the banks and hedges along the fields and trackways tended to be sinuous; following the line of a small valley, the contours of a hillside or the old lines of an open fields strip or furlong. Even those early enclosures that divide areas of the landscape into rough squares and rectangles were not made up of straight lines; each field boundary contains its own kink or curve. The nature of these boundaries means that the early phases of enclosure in the Chilterns must have taken place on the ground, working with the local topography, prominent landscape features and preexisting open fields, commons and routeways.



Figure 4.20 Sunken lane at Pednor in the Buckinghamshire Chilterns.

Examination of the landscape to the west and north-west of Chesham, for example, reveals a pattern of routeways running along the valley bottoms and ridge tops, with the field boundaries similarly working with the contours of the steep-sided, narrow ridges. In most cases the upper and lower boundaries of the fields run parallel to the ridge and valley (Figure 4.21). Substantial banks, pollarded trees and thick, multi-species hedgerows as found at Pednor (Figure 4.22) and Ashridge (Figure 4.23) also suggest a early date for enclosure. This is backed up by the findings of Wolsey's 1517 commission, which found that a large area of Chesham parish had already been enclosed by this date.

At the level of individual fields and hedges, it is possible to see that pre-parliamentary boundaries took into account detailed local knowledge. Tony Harman has noticed a hedge just north of Grove Farm in Chesham that veers from its course in order to take in a Bullace, or wild plum, tree (1997, 3). It is possible that this field was cleared directly from wood or scrub into severalty and that as the hedge was laid it briefly changed course in order to accommodate and preserve a valued tree. Parliamentary commissioners and surveyors, with no or little intimate knowledge of the landscape and using maps to plan changes to the landscape, would not think of accommodating small resources or landscape features such as this into their plans. Nor would the straight-line aesthetics of parliamentary enclosure sit well with such ad-hoc diversion of field boundaries.



Figure 4.21 Field boundaries working with the contours of the hillside, above Chesham.

By the end of the seventeenth century there was a visible distinction between Chilterns and vale. Generally speaking, the vale was visually open and unenclosed, with few hedges, little woodland, two or three large open fields and communal farming practices still on-going. The Chilterns in contrast were parcelled up, with a few fragments of open field and large areas of scrub and woodland. Parishes on the scarp edge often retained areas of open field and common land alongside small, privately owned plots of land. The history of enclosure and land use in these zones of the study area had an effect on the activities of enclosers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is important, however, not to overplay the distinction between the hills and scarp edge and the vale, since as Table 4.3 demonstrates, there was a good deal of enclosure activity in the vale parishes.



Figure 4.22 Bank and hedge with evidence of coppicing at Pednor.

In order to looking more detail at the character of piecemeal enclosure in the study area, the following section draws on fieldwork and documentary evidence to examine the chronology and nature of field boundaries and hedgerows in the parish of Wendover.

Wendover - the Shape of Enclosure

The parish of Wendover sits at the edge of the Chilterns. Parts of the parish climb the steep-sided hills of Wendover Woods. on one side, and Bacombe Hill on the other. Some of the farmlands in the parish reach down into the Vale of Aylesbury. The parish sits in a gap in the Chiltern escarpment, which leads into a valley and routeway which allows passage through the Chilterns, via Great Missenden and Amersham.



Figure 4.23 Multi-species hedge at Ashridge.

Wendover has been chosen for detailed study due to the survival of detailed maps recording the pattern of fields in the parish in 1620 and in 1794 (Figures 4.24 and 4.25). A map relating to the Parliamentary Enclosure of the parish in 1795 is discussed in the following chapter. The existence of these maps makes it possible to trace the changing face of the parish over time and allows rough dates to be given to the hedgerows and fields examined as part of this case study.



Figure 4.24 Map of Wendover 1620 (After Summerell et al 1989, 26-7)



Figure 4.25 Map of Wendover 1794 (After Summerell et al 1989, 28-9)

The map dating to 1620 shows a mixture of open fields, commons and enclosed fields. The main area of common land, waste and pasture is located in the west of the parish, in the area of Bacombe Hill. The bulk of the open field strips are found in the east of the parish, with one long section running along the valley and the routeway leading towards Great Missenden. Another area of field strips are located to the north-west of the village centre. As was common in the Chiltern and scarp edge parishes, the open fields are broken down into numerous small blocks, rather than being organised into two or three large fields. The large number of open field plots in the parish suggests, following Roden's argument (1969, 120), that the piecemeal process of enclosure and consolidation of land meant that the original open fields had been broken up over time into smaller fields and furlongs. A similar process had taken place in the neighbouring parish of Great Missenden where Heaven Field had been divided into Great, Middle and Little Heaven Fields by 1600 (*Ibid.*).

It seems likely that some of the smaller blocks of open fields in Wendover were enclosed by hedges, or were cut through by lanes which were bounded by hedgerows. However, a survey of a section of the hedge running along the main road from Great Missenden parish towards Wendover suggested distinct phases of planting, including some relatively recent sections of hawthorn hedge and sections of hedge planted with beech and hawthorn running along the edge of the former open fields (see Table II in Appendix I). The relatively low species count for the hedgerows lying along the edge of the old open fields (on average around 3 species in a 30 yard stretch) suggests that this section of open fields running along the main road lay unenclosed for much of their lifetime, possibly being hedged following parliamentary enclosure in 1795.

The main areas of enclosed land are found in the south of the parish. These fields are irregular in shape and size. Many of them have curved boundaries created by the numerous lanes and trackways running up the valley sides. Others have a rough-rectangular outline while others have a stepped field-edge. Both these things suggest that many of the enclosures were once blocks of open field strips, similar to the blocks of strips in evidence in the east of the parish. However, some of the larger enclosures are given the name of woods, for example Node Wood and Durims Wood, suggesting that some enclosures were taken directly from woodland or waste. In the far south-west corner of the parish is an area identified on the map as Hawtrees Farm. No field boundaries are recorded for this area, but since it is recorded as a farm and not as common land this suggests that this section of the parish has been consolidated and is held by a single landowner.

This observation is confirmed by hedgerow surveys of a block of fields contained within this area of the parish (Table III in Appendix II). These fields are recorded on the 1794 map as Grove Field, Walnut Tree Close, Crouch Hill and Upper Ditchlands (see Figure II in Appendix I). The average number of species in these hedges varies from 4.5 (Hedge G) to 6.6 (Hedge A). While this species count alone is not sufficient to date the fields, the variety of species in the hedgerows suggest that these enclosures were made a long time before they were recorded in 1794. While the most common species found in the hedgerows is blackthorn, the hedges vary in composition along their lengths and were certainly planted with more than one species of shrub. Several species commonly associated with early enclosure were identified in

the survey. These included dogwood, buckthorn, Midland hawthorn, spindle and wild privet. Further evidence for the early enclosure of this area are the lynchets running along the hillside, along the line of hedges D and E. The lynchets suggest that these fields have been under cultivation for a substantial period of time, during which time the ploughing of the fields gradually eroded the soil from the top edge of the lower fields, leaving a stepped profile. This evidence suggests that these enclosures may well have been in existence at the time when the 1620 map was made. This is reinforced by the apparent private ownership of this area of the parish, which would indicate that the land there had already been enclosed.



Figure 4.26 Line of trees by Wellwick farm showing former hedge-line.

Other hedges surveyed in Wendover included those around the enclosure named as Little Barcroft on both the 1620 and 1794 map. The intact hedgerows on the southern and eastern boundaries of this field had average species count of 5.3 and 6. The predominant species in these hedges was hazel, while blackthorn, wild rose and field maple were also significant components. Another hedgerow on the edge of an enclosure named Cherry Tree Bit Common on the 1794 map had an average of 6.3 species (see Table IV in Appendix I).

Hedges running along the line of early enclosures in the vale area of the parish were made up of fewer and more uniform species - notably hawthorn, blackthorn and



Figure 4.27 Node Wood on 1620 map changes to Noade Fields on 1794 map, Wendover.



Figure 4.28 Durims Wood on 1620 map, cleared and subdivided into fields on 1794 map, Wendover.

hazel. This suggests that these species were deliberately selected, and possibly grown, for the purpose of planting the hedgerows in the vale, while the more variable nature of the hedgerows in the hills suggests that it was more common to use whichever species came readily to hand. Hedgerows in the hills would also acquire new species more easily due to their proximity to woodland. It is notable that the early enclosures near Wellwick Farm in the vale section of the parish had been deliberately planted with trees (in some cases the trees are all that remains of the boundary - see Figure 4.26).

The findings of these hedge surveys in Wendover parish are similar to those carried out in the Chiltern parishes of Chartridge and Pednor (Casselden 1986; 1987). Analysing the results of these surveys, Casselden found that the average number of species in a hedge ranged from 4 to 8 in Chartridge and between 3 to 7 species in Pednor (with a concentration of hedges with an average of 5 species every 30 yards).

On the basis of both documentary evidence and field survey, Casselden estimates that the majority of the hedges surveyed came into existence between the late fifteenth and early seventeenth century (1986, 156). In the case of Wendover parish it seems likely that many of the enclosures depicted on the 1620 map were established sometime before the creation of the map, making it likely that they date to the late fifteenth or sixteenth century, when much enclosure was taking part across the Chilterns.

Casselden also notes that some later subdivision of enclosures took place in Pednor in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (1986, 156). The subdivision of large, early enclosures was commonplace across the region (Roden 1973, 365). It certainly appears to have occurred in Wendover. The map dating to 1794 shows an increased number of enclosed fields, as well as a large number of smaller fields created by the sub-division of earlier enclosures. While small sections of the open field appear to have been closed or consolidated into earlier enclosures, the majority of the open fields depicted on the earlier map were maintained up until the eve of parliamentary enclosure. The main difference between the two maps is the enclosure and subdivision of the areas of Bacombe Common, Bacombe Hill and Warren Pasture (on the 1620 map). These large, formerly open areas have been replaced with numerous small, irregular shaped fields. Other, smaller areas of woodland recoded on the 1620 map have also been replaced by fields. These include Node Wood, which by 1794 has been cleared and enclosed to form Noade Fields (Figure 4.27), and the area recorded on the earlier map as Durims Wood, which by 1794 has been divided into numerous very small enclosures (Figure 4.28). The transformation of small, private woods and sections of larger woods into arable land was a common practice in the Chilterns during this period (Roden 1969, 120). Another difference between the earlier and later map is the loss of some former routeways through the landscape, including the track that once ran between Bacombe and Warren Pasture, and the track which once formed the boundary to Hawtrees Farm.

While there are many fields which are roughly square or rectangular in shape, their boundaries are far from being the ruler-straight lines which are characteristic of parliamentary enclosure. The impression is that, while surveyors were active in the area and are making maps to record the shape and ownership of the fields in the parish, such maps and plans were not yet being employed in the reshaping of the landscape. The lines of the enclosures on both the 1620 and the 1794 map suggest that these new boundaries were being worked out and created on the ground rather than being planned on paper.

In light of this observation, it is worth reviewing the changing nature of documentation in relation to landownership and management in the study area from the medieval period up until the era of parliamentary enclosure.

Documenting the Land

All the earliest documents relating to the nature and management of the landscape in the study area are textual. As already noted, some of the first references to boundaries and rights over land are to be found in Anglo-Saxon boundary charters. The earlier examples of these documents are very brief. For example the 792 description of the boundaries of Granborough in the liberty of St Albans (Hertfordshire) refers to only four landmarks - two watercourses, a deer-fence and a Roman road, while

the 845 charter describing the limits of Wootton Underwood pinpoints only the corners of the estate (Baines 1981, 77). Such documents, therefore, are not intended as a full record of an estate's boundary. They are an aide memoire, intended to supplement the local, on the ground knowledge of the exact course of the boundaries. Later charters, such as the one for Monks Risborough, are more extensive, containing a long list of landmarks. Even so, anyone wanting to following the exact line of the boundaries would still require local guidance.

Textual records relating to the limits, management and rights over land can include very detailed information. The accuracy of many medieval documents shows that surveyors were active during this period (Harvey 1996, 30-1; Rackham 1997, 18), but they represented their findings in terms of numbers and text, rather than maps.

	Demesne	Sp. Acres		Demesne	Sp. Acres
	<u>Arable & Pasture</u>			<u>Wood & Coppice</u>	
S. 2	Wheat & Oats together with small strawed tharun	109 2 14	L. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	109 2 14
D. 2	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	L. 2	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
S. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	M. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
R. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	P. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
S. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	S. 2	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
W. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	V. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
R. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	H. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
S. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	S. 2	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
W. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	A. 2	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
R. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	T. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
	<u>Sum total of Arable & Pasture</u>	440 2 07			
	<u>Meadow</u>				
H. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	V. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
M. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	S. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
R. 1	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	R. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
	<u>Sum total of Meadow</u>	41 2 39			
	<u>Wood & Coppice</u>				
F. 2	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	H. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30
F. 2	Wheat & Oats 2 1/2 acres	25 3 30	R. 1	Next to the hill 6 1 10	25 3 30

Figure 4.29 Extract from written survey of Great Hampden estate, 1653 (CBS: D/MH/28/2).

Indeed, written accounts can contain more details that can fit on a map, and so retained their importance after the advent of mapping. One such document is the 1653 written survey of Great Hampden estate (Figure 4.29).

The existence of detailed surveys means that land was already being thought of spatially and in terms of productivity long before mapping was commonplace. Therefore the shift towards thinking of land in terms of space began before land had been represented in map form.

The earliest estate map from the study area, and possibly the earliest representation of an English village (Raison 1997, 21) dates back to 1444. The map shows the village of Boarstall sitting amid its open fields which edge onto the Forest of Bernwood. At the bottom of the map is a scene relating the legend of the Boarstall Horn, in which a forester is rewarded by the king after slaying a fierce boar in the Forest. The map is from the Boarstall Cartulary. Cartularies were books created by medieval landowners which gathered together various documents, such as title deeds, relating to their ownership and rights over land (Raison 1997, 21). The map of Boarstall shows numerous details, such as the alignment of strips in the open fields and the hedges which separated the village from the fields and the fields from the woodland. However, no attempt is made to draw the map or the features within it to scale.

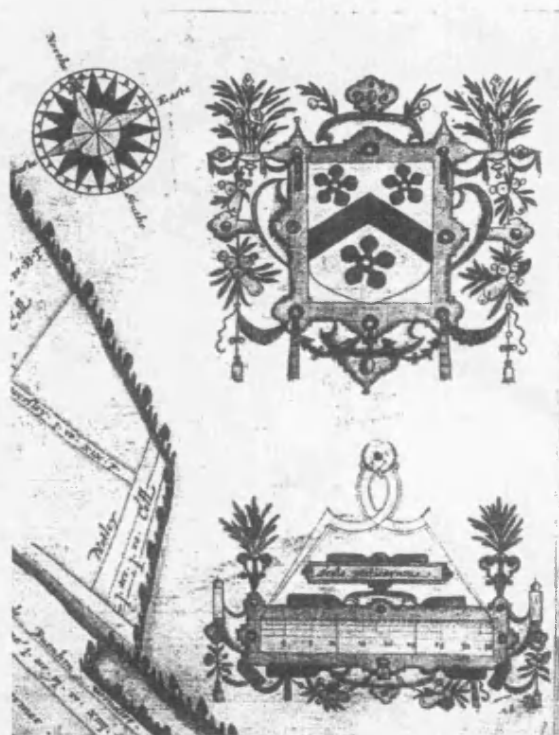


Figure 4.30 Decorative element on a 1593 map of Long Crendon (CBS: Ma R/1/9).

This is in contrast to later estate maps which, from the 1570s onwards, often stress the role of the surveyor and the accuracy of the mapping (Harvey 1996, 31-2). The 1593 maps of Long Crendon, for example, all include a decorative elements including coats of arms, a compass and a ruled scale surmounted by dividers (Figure 4.30). The detail on these maps is considerable. All the fields (with their names) and the strips in the open fields belonging to All Souls College, Oxford are shown. Hedges, roads, fields, streams and rivers are also depicted. Another map from the 1590s was drawn up by a Fellow of New College, Oxford in order to claim the rights over tithes from the parish of Brill.

These early maps speak of landowners' concerns to assert and maintain their rights of access and ownership over certain parts of the landscape and show that the map was now viewed as a desirable way of asserting their rights. By creating maps the landowners were attempting to fix the boundaries of their lands in a way that had been difficult to achieve through the old combination of textual accounts and local knowledge. The proliferation of such maps in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries speaks of the growing authority of these documents and their recognition by an increasingly centralised government. Such maps were also objects of display, being used to assert the status of the landowners who would pay for maps which were both accurately surveyed and elegantly presented (Harvey 1996, 28). It is also worth noting that several of the earlier estate maps were created by individuals or institutions, such as Oxford colleges, who were not resident in the area and/or who owned land in more than one parish.



Figure 4.31 Field boundary running along edge of Grim's Ditch, Great Hampden parish.

This demonstrates the importance of the mobility as well as the authority of documentation. Oxford colleges could hold documentary evidence of their landholdings within their college walls as evidence of their legal rights and ownership of the land. This helped them to maintain and manage their landholdings without a continual need for their presence in the area.

One of the important features of sixteenth and seventeenth century estate maps is that, while they are recording the layout of fields, common land and so on, they are not generally being used to plan changes to the landscape. The boundaries of early post-medieval enclosures, as in Wendover and Great Missenden, show such sensitivity to local topography and existing landmarks (for example, the field boundary in Great Hampden parish that runs along the line of Grim's Ditch - Figure 4.31) they could only

have been created on the ground. The creation of maps as plans, as representations of how the landscape could or should be changed, is generally, though not exclusively, a feature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some cases of enclosure by agreement at the end of the period covered by this chapter may have been planned on paper, since the outlines of the fields at Cuddington (enclosed sometime between 1707 and 1738) bear a great similarity to the fields created by parliamentary enclosure (Figure 4.32). Early estate maps which happen to record enclosed landscapes are translating features from the ground onto paper; later maps relating to enclosure, in particular those created by the commissioners, are creating an image that is to be translated, often to the letter, from paper onto the ground. This shift in the use of pictorial representations and the effect it had on landscapes and local populations will be examined in detail in the following chapters.

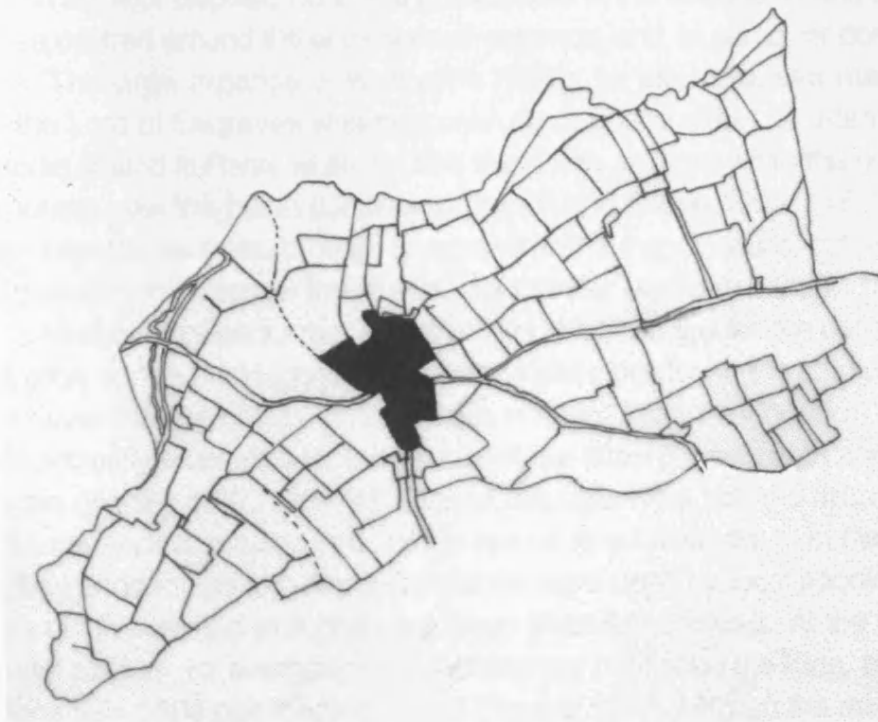


Figure 4.32 Field boundaries in Cuddington parish.

Change and Contestation c.1450 to c.1750

Before moving on to look at the era of parliamentary enclosure in the study area, it is important to explore evidence for the local population's attitudes towards the various forms of enclosure carried out from the late medieval period until the mid-eighteenth century.

Some of the most active opposition to enclosure appears to have occurred in the mid-sixteenth century, when Buckinghamshire was listed as one of the counties in which rioting and levelling of enclosures broke out in 1548 and 1549 - although these riots may have also included an element of religious protest against Protestantism (Tate 1946, 19-20).

Enclosure in the study area was also dealt with in a more measured manner. In cases where enclosure was objected to in the local courts, and the objection was upheld, the encloser was sometimes ordered to remove the fences or hedges and refill the ditches and return the land to its original status (Turner 1973, 45-51, 25). Examples from the study area include a wrongful enclosure in the parish of Waddesdon c.1595, mentioned in the court rolls and the wrongful enclosure of Shipton Lee in Winslow some time between 1614 and 1620. Rulings about such cases showed that objections to enclosure were recognised in the local law courts and that certain forms of enclosure could be successfully resisted. When, for example, Francis Dashwood attempted to enclose 40 acres of common land in Wendover in the 1600s he was met with strong resistance and did not succeed in carrying out his plans. Many other cases of enclosure and encroachment were, however, accepted after a fine had been paid - as in the case of an encroachment into Spital Field in Aylesbury c.1600. Other acts of small scale enclosure went unchallenged (Turner 1973, 28).

The major disputes concerning enclosure in the study area and in neighbouring counties centred around the enclosure of common land, in particular common woods and heaths. The large expanse of Wycombe Heath, for example, saw many disputes. In 1555 the Lord of Segraves was successfully opposed when he attempted to enclose 200 acres of land in Penn, while in 1666 there was an inquiry into the rights of the commoners over the heath (Chenevix-Trench and Green 1996, 146, 148). Small-scale encroachments were also brought to account in the manor courts, but such enclosures were generally tolerated as long as the encroacher paid a fine (*Ibid.*, 156).

Another significant area of conflict was clustered around the parishes near the scarp edge on the Buckinghamshire/Hertfordshire border. In the strip parish of Pitstone, conflict over the use of the Pitstone Common and Pitstone Common Wood simmered, and periodically erupted, over the course of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Hanley 1987, 179-193). These disputes were centred around the rights of the various landowners and lords of the manor to cut down trees in the common woods. Both legal procedures and direct resistance were used by local people when they felt a group or individual had wrongfully cut down trees in the woods. At the turn of the sixteenth century, for example, local landowners petitioned the King, after the monks of Ashridge felled 500 cart loads of wood (Hanley 1987, 180). In the mid-sixteenth century, the lord of one of the four manors in Pitstone attempted to gain control of the Common Wood. In order to prevent him from selling or removing the wood he had felled, his tenants (both men and women) occupied the woods and eventually removed the timber for their own uses (Hanley 1987, 180-1).

When the four manors were brought into single ownership in the seventeenth century the new lord again questioned the rights of his tenants over the woods. Although Lord Ellesmere agreed to the limited felling of timber, under the supervision of his bailiff, there was conflict over the manner of allocating and sharing out the timber. The tenants continued cutting down and allocating timber according to custom, and against the wishes of the Lord and his bailiff. In order to settle the dispute it was agreed to enclose the Common Wood. The tenants were granted fifty acres of woodland and rights of pasture over the adjacent Pitstone Heath.

While the tenants were appeased, no thought was given to the poor of the parish who had also made use of the woods over the years. A number of them sent a

petition to Lord Ellesmere asking to be taken into consideration during the enclosure process. They appear to have met with little sympathy, since in a second petition they are forced to "acknowledge and confess, that neither we nor in our memory, any of our case and condition had any manner of right to take wood there, nor ever had any in fact, but what was either given us, or what we did steal" (BRO Ashridge MSS E7/8/37; cit. Hanley 1987, 192). This is a reoccurring problem for the poor across the country. While the poor of a parish had access to common land in practice prior to enclosure, they had no legal rights to gather wood or graze animals on this land. As a result, when the process of enclosure sought to pin down the rights of ownership and access over an area of land, the poor and landless members of the community were entirely at the mercy of the local landowners. Hindle has noted that poor cottagers were characteristically excluded from the negotiations in the case of enclosure by agreement (1998, 66). Even in the case of parliamentary enclosure the responses to the problems and needs of the poor varied greatly (see Chapter Five and Six for further discussion).

Other examples of conflict over common land can be found in the neighbouring county of Hertfordshire. Two areas of conflict included Tring and Berkhamsted, both of which bordered the parish of Pitstone. Fences around a section of Tring Common Wood were pulled down during the civil war (Roden 1969, 120). A later attempt to enclose part of Wiggington Common (in Tring parish) in order to create parkland was also actively resisted (recorded by Defoe 1753; cit. Read and Empringham 1992, 85).

Meanwhile, local tensions in the manor of Berkhamsted were centred around rights over an area of wooded common known as Berkhamsted Frith. In the seventeenth century the manor of Berkhamsted was part of the Duchy of Cornwall. A decision to enclose part of the Frith was made by the Duchy Council in 1618. The remainder of the Frith was to be divided between the two parishes of Berkhamsted St Peter and Northchurch which made up the manor. Although largely supported by the representatives from Berkhamsted St Peter, this move was especially unpopular with the inhabitants of Northchurch, as well as with people from neighbouring parishes who also claimed rights over the Frith (Falvey 2001, 134). Following the enclosure of 300 acres of common land in 1620 a large section of the local population entered the royal park and pulled down the new fences (Falvey 2001, 123). It is notable that the protesters included landowners and churchwardens, as well as poorer members of the community and tradesmen and craftsmen from the urban centre of Berkhamsted St Peter. One of the men who protested against the enclosure was Thomas Gosbell of Little Gaddesden, who was also involved in the dispute with Lord Ellesmere in Pitstone (Falvey 2001, 134-5). In spite of local opposition, a map dating to c.1638 suggests that the Duchy had been successful in extending the royal park.

An attempt at extending the enclosure of the Frith took place in 1638. After opposition from the representatives of Northchurch parish a commission was appointed and drew up an agreement in 1639. The new enclosure divided the common into two. William Edlyn of Northchurch, leader of the 1620 riot, again led the local people to pull down and burn the new enclosure fences in 1640. They were reerected and then pulled down again in 1642. Conflict over this enclosure continued for several years. In 1654 commissioners brought in to examine rights over the common found in favour of the local inhabitants and ruled against the validity of the 1639 enclosure. This was not to be the end of disputes concerning Berkhamsted Frith, although the next episode of conflict

took place in the nineteenth century, and is discussed in Chapter Six.

Falvey has noted that the protest against the enclosure at Berkhamsted Frith may have been provoked in part by the involvement of the Crown in the enclosure (2001, 145), with the act of enclosure giving people a chance to air their grievances against the Crown. However, she also draws attention to the many local concerns felt by the inhabitants of the manor and neighbouring parishes. One issue seems likely to have been provision for the poor. In the case of Northchurch the enclosure of large areas of the common would have reduced the ability of the poor to survive in hard years, thus increasing the burden of poor relief on the parishioners (Falvey 2001, 146-7). A similar motive appears to have applied in the case of the riots surrounded the attempted enclosure of Caddington Common (on the Hertfordshire/Bedfordshire border) in the 1630s (Hindle 1998), and is likely to have been a concern in cases of enclosure of common land across the country (Neeson 1993, 270).

The enclosure of common waste focused protest largely because it involved a large number of interested parties (Hindle 1998, 44) and therefore likely to be problematic. The issue was made more complex in cases such as Berkhamsted Frith where the population of numerous parishes claimed rights over the common, or in the case of Pitstone where there were numerous manors involved. The involvement of important landowners and tenant farmers, as well as cottagers and labourers in active resistance shows that the enclosure of common land was a concern for the whole of the local population. However, the evidence from Berkhamsted and Caddington concerning the involvement of prominent local figures, such as William Edlyn, reaffirms the crucial importance of the common land for the poor of the parish, since the better off members of the community were keen to maintain the commons in order to avoid paying increased amounts in poor relief. The actions of the enclosure commissioners and the responses of the local population to the enclosure of areas of common land under parliamentary enclosure are discussed in the following chapters.

While the enclosure of common land provoked the most active, and sometimes aggressive, response from the local population, piecemeal enclosure and enclosure by agreement were not without their drawbacks. The piecemeal enclosure of the field strips resulted in a reduced area of grazing, which would affect the smaller tenants and owner-occupiers (Roden 1969, 118). Similarly, the removal of a large section of the open field from communal management following enclosure by agreement could have a serious impact on the local population. The enclosure of almost a third of the open fields of Aston Sandford (in the vale) in 1621 led to dramatic fall in the number of animals that could be grazed on the fallow lands (Gulland 2003, 138). Gulland has argued that it was this factor that led to the substantial decline in population in the parish during the seventeenth century. His assertion that the enclosure had the greatest impact on the poorest members of community is backed up by documentary evidence which shows that the numerous small encroachments (for cottages) made on the village green in the medieval period and still in existence at the time of enclosure in 1621, had largely disappeared by the 1730s (Gulland 2003, 138).

This example demonstrates that, while piecemeal enclosure and enclosure by general agreement may not have been actively or successfully resisted by local people, this does not mean that they were universally accepted or embraced in the study area. It also points to the lack of power and confidence of the cottagers and

smaller tenants to voice their opposition to enclosure. The more active objections to the enclosure of common land were supported by the poorer members of the community, but they also involved richer and more powerful individuals, such as landowners and larger tenant farmers. Examples of resistance to parliamentary enclosure in the study area are also notable for the range of social standing of individuals involved in resistance (see Chapter Six).

Even without documentary evidence of resistance, the landscape itself can tell us a great deal about what were acceptable (at least to those in power) forms of enclosure prior to the mid-eighteenth century. The continued practice of piecemeal enclosure in the hills and scarp edge show that this form of enclosure was generally accepted by the local landowners and tenants. Meanwhile, the continuation of large areas of common land, waste and woodland in these zones into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries demonstrates that anything other than small scale encroachment or assarting of these resources was not acceptable. Meanwhile, in the vale the relatively low number of deserted medieval villages (when compared with other parts of the Midlands) and the pamphlet war dating to the 1500s suggests that this form of large scale enclosure was not only deeply unpopular among the local population, but that social and legal pressure were used to prevent this form of enclosure gaining strength in the area. The high number of owner occupiers in some parishes, especially those near the foot of the Chilterns, may also have prevented local, powerful landowners from gaining unity of possession of the lands in a single parish.

The very scattered occurrence of piecemeal enclosure in the vale suggests that, in contrast to the hills, this form of enclosure was not favoured in this landscape zone. Turner has noted that attempted enclosures in the middle of the open fields could be challenged by law (1973, 25). Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the vale allowed a large part of their woodlands, and an increasing portion of the common pasture to be absorbed into the open fields. The very existence of different forms of enclosure in distinct zones of the study area indicates that localised social structures, power relations, settlement patterns and traditions had a substantial impact on the forms of enclosure which were adopted and resisted across the study area.

Conclusion

An examination of the development and subsequent enclosure and change in the field systems across the study area demonstrates a clear difference between the landscapes of the Buckinghamshire Chilterns, the parishes on the Chiltern escarpment and the vale parishes to the north. By the mid-eighteenth century a large number of the Chiltern parishes were already enclosed, although a number maintained areas of common land, woodland and waste (for example Penn), while others had areas of common field still in operation (for example, Amersham). In a great many of the Chiltern parishes areas of common arable were small and scattered through the parish, while a great many of small, privately owned closes had been enclosed directly from woodland during the early medieval period or during the 1500s and 1600s.

The majority of the scarp edge parishes maintained a mixture of open fields, common land, woodland and waste and small enclosed fields until the period of parliamentary enclosure. The large numbers of small-scale owner-occupiers in this part of the landscape made enclosure by agreement hard to achieve. The landscape

location of these parishes also means that the parishioners were able to combine the benefits of the vale open fields system with the upland resources and acceptance of piecemeal enclosure found in the Chilterns.

In the vale region of the study area, a great many villages had survived the large-scale conversion to pasture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and had maintained their nucleated villages and two- or three-field systems up to the eve of parliamentary enclosure. It is, however, important not to overstate the conformity of the vale parishes. The parishes in the area of the former Forest of Bernwood had been enclosed by the mid-seventeenth century, while a number of other vale parishes, such as Long Crendon, had been subject to piecemeal enclosure over time. Other parishes, such as Cuddington and Middle and East Claydon were enclosed by agreement prior to the widespread adoption of parliamentary enclosure c.1750.

Differences in the forms taken by enclosure, as well as the success of enclosure appear to be linked to the topography and the different settlement history and power relations in the different zones of the landscape. These differences, for example the general acceptance of piecemeal enclosure of land into severalty in the Chilterns, as opposed to the vale practice of using encroachments to add to the size of the open fields, demonstrates the variety of enclosure practices and argues against the view of enclosure as a unitary phenomena.

Evidence relating to resistance to enclosure in the study area also demonstrates that active objection to enclosure practices were far from futile. While many cases of small-scale enclosure were generally accepted (after payment of a fine), some enclosers were ordered to return the enclosed land back to its original status. Moreover, opposition to the attempted enclosure or limitations of rights over large areas of common woodland or waste often succeeded in maintaining access or rights for the local tenants and smaller landowners (if not the poorer members of the community).

Documentary evidence relating to land ownership and enclosure during the medieval and post-medieval period demonstrate a shift from textual accounts of land rights, ownership and the productivity of land, to a greater preference for maps from the sixteenth century onwards. However, in terms of creating enclosures in the landscape, it is important to note that decisions about the shape and line of hedges, banks, ditches and fences appear to have been made in the field, rather than on paper. It is not until the start of the eighteenth century, with the more organised, large-scale enclosure by agreement of parishes such as Cuddington and Upper Winchenden that there is any indication that maps were being used to plan rather than to record the enclosure process. The shift to planning the form of enclosures, as well as documenting and validating, each stage of the enclosure process on paper is one of the major concerns of the following chapter, which focuses attention on the era of parliamentary enclosure.

Chapter Five: Parliamentary Enclosure

The aim of this chapter is to examine parliamentary enclosure in the study area. Once an overview of the chronology and general nature of parliamentary enclosure in the study area has been established, the chapter goes on to look at the process in more detail. The analysis is focused in on the differences in enclosure between the three zones of the study area: the Chilterns, the scarp edge and the vale.

This in depth study will begin by looking at the bureaucratic side of parliamentary enclosure, including the meetings, the paperwork and the production of an award and enclosure map. It will then go on to look at how these documents, in particular the maps, were employed to shape the landscape in each zone of the study area. This chapter explores the question of whether Midlands style enclosure, which is often portrayed as the norm (Chapman and Seeliger 2001, 12), provides the model for enclosure across the study area.

Chronology and Nature of Parliamentary Enclosure

Chapman and Seeliger's work (2001) has drawn attention to the large number of enclosures dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which were carried out through formal agreements, rather than by using an Act of Parliament. In some cases these enclosures used the format and procedure of parliamentary enclosure (Hollowell 2000, 7). There are cases of eighteenth and nineteenth century enclosure by agreement in Buckinghamshire. They include Cuddington and Upper Winchendon (already discussed in the previous chapter) and Aston Sandford, in the vale. Aston Sandford was enclosed in various phases through the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the final phases of enclosure taking place in the late nineteenth century (Gulland 2003, 140). Enclosure by agreement was also taking place in the Chilterns during this period, with remaining areas of open field and common land being enclosed by formal and informal agreements.

However, enclosure by Act of Parliament was the norm in Buckinghamshire during the 1700s and 1800s, especially in the vale parishes (see Tables 5.1-5.4). A large proportion of these parishes had maintained their open fields and common land until the mid-eighteenth century and as a result the Enclosure Acts involved the replanning and redistribution of land across the entire parish. The earliest parliamentary acts included Ashendon in 1738 (awarded 1739), its neighbouring parish Wooton Underwood in 1742 (awarded 1743) and the hamlet of Shipton in Winslow cum Shipton in 1774 (awarded 1775). A large part of the newly enclosed land was turned over to pasture.

The earliest of the private acts, almost all those put through parliament in the eighteenth century, relate to the enclosure of parishes to the north of the Chilterns. The enclosure of a sizable number of parishes in the vale looks, on paper, to have been a relatively straightforward procedure. Most early Acts of Enclosure for the vale were followed by an award the following year, suggesting that there was no lengthy objections to the act or protracted disputes over rights over land. Turner's work suggests that these easily enclosed parishes were those where one of a small number of wealthy landowners held sway (1973, 87). However, in those vale parishes where

5.1 Parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire (based on Tate 1973 and Turner 1973).

CBS= Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; PRO= Public Record Office
PA=Private Act; GA=General Act; OF=Open Field only; C=Common Fields only

Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Addington	1726	-	Copy of act in Bodleian	-	PA	-	-	Addington was enclosed under estate act 13 Geo I c. 17, confirming encl. of glebe and demesne made in 1707
Ashendon	1738	1739	CBS	900+ (c.1300)	PA	-	No	
Wotton Underwood	1742	1743	CBS	1668 + c.500	PA	-	No	
Shipton in Winslow cum Shipton	1744	1745	CBS	640	PA	-	No	Enclosure of Shipton in Winslow cum Shipton
Chesham - Hyde Heath	(1755-6) timber act	1807	CBS	?	PA	-	No	Hyde Heath enclosed under Timber Act 1755-6, 29 Geo.II.c.36
Swanbourne	1761	1763	CBS	2695	PA	-	No	CR hold pre-enclosure survey + copy of act + 2
Shenley Brook End in	1762	1763	CBS		PA	-		pre-enclosure survey survives
Haversham	1764	none	-	854	PA	-	No	
Westbury	1764	1765	CBS	1450	PA	-	No	
Westcott	1765	?	CR (Oxon)	1300	PA	-	No	Enrolled in 1766
Winslow in Winslow cum Shipton	1766	1767	CBS	1400	PA	-	No	
Little Horwood	1766	1767	CR (Oxon)	960	PA	-	No	
Olney	1767	1768	PRO	1600	PA	-	No	
Shalstone	1767	1768	CBS	530	PA	-	No	

5.1 Parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire (based on Tate 1973 and Turner 1973).

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Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Loughton	1768	1769	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Woughton on the Green	1768	1769	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Grendon Underwood	1769	?	?	1295	PA	-	No	
Cublington	1769	1770	CBS	875 est.	PA	-	No	25 yardlands in act
Simpson	1770	1771	CBS	?	PA	-	No	Abortive Bill from 1763 in Bodleian Library
Stoke Goldington	1770	1770	CBS	1000	PA	-	No	
Aylesbury	1771	1772	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	See also Walton
Whitchurch	1771	1772	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Great Brickhill	1771	1772	CBS	1260	PA	-	Yes	
North Crawley	1772	1773	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Soulbury with Hollingdon	1772	1773	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Tingewick and Radclive cum Chackmore	1773	1775	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Dunton	1774	?	?	629	PA	-	No	Act authorises Earl Spencer to enclose Dunton Common
Waddesdon	1774	1775	CBS	1715	PA	-	No	49 yardlands in act, parish also affected by depopulation pre-1600

5.1 Parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire (based on Tate 1973 and Turner 1973).

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Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Twyford and Chardon in Twyford	1774	1787	CBS	1900	PA	-	No	
Stoke Hammond	1774	1775	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Hartwell and Stone	1776	1740	CBS	1740	PA	-	Yes	
Ludgershall	1777	1777	CBS	1800	PA	-	Yes	
Wendover	1777	?	?	?	PA	-	No	Confirmed exchange of lands in open fields
Hardwick	1778	1779	CBS	1200	PA	-	No	
North Marsden	1778	1780	PRO	2000	PA	-	No	
Hitcham	1778	1779	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Hanslope	1778	1779	CBS	1900	PA	-	No	
Bierton and Hulcott	1779	1780	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	Plan held by parish council
Taplow	1779	1787	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Preston Bisset	1781	1782	CBS	940	PA	-	No	
Calverton and W. Stony Stratford	1782	1787	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Bradwell	1788	1789	CBS	1000	PA	-	No	
Wavendon	1788	1791	CBS	2000	PA	-	No	
Bow Brickhill and Fenny Stratford	1790	1794	PRO	2000	PA	-	No	
Little Woolstone	1791	1795	CBS	?	PA	-	No	

5.1 Parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire (based on Tate 1973 and Turner 1973).

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Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Castlethorpe	1793	1795	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Wendover	1794	1795	CBS	2000	PA	-	Yes	
Akeley cum Stockholt	1794	1796	CBS	455	PA	-	Yes	
Port Field in Newport Pagnell	1794	1795	CBS	900	PA	-	No	
Steeple Claydon	1795	1796	CBS	2415-2817	PA	-	Yes	
Aston Abbots	1795	?	PRO 1797	650	PA	-	No	Part of parish enclosed via depopulation pre-1600
Padbury	1795	1796	CBS	2415 est.	PA	-	Yes	69 yardlands in act
Great Woolstone	1796	1797	CBS	300	PA	-	No	
Granborough	1796	1797	CBS	1100	PA		Yes	
Little Brickhill	1796	1798	CBS	600	PA	-	Yes	
Sherington	1796	1798	PRO	1700	PA	-	Yes	
Wing	1797	1798	CBS	3402	PA	-	Yes	Part of parish enclosed via depopulation
Thornborough	1797	1800	CBS	2170	PA	-	Yes	
Wingrave with Rowsham	1797	1798	CBS	2400	PA	-	No	
Adstock	1797	1798	CBS	1645	PA	-	Yes	47 yardlands in act
Drayton Parslow	1797	1798	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Stoke Mandeville	1797	1798	CBS	1000 arable +	PA	-	Yes	
Emberton	1798	1799	CBS	1300	PA	-	Yes	

5.1 Parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire (based on Tate 1973 and Turner 1973).

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Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Weston Turvill	1798	1800	CBS	1000 arable +	PA	-	Yes	
Horton	1799	1800	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Singleborough in Great Horwood	1799	?	PRO 1801	?	PA	-	Yes	
Walton in Aylesbury	1799	1800	CBS	1200	PA	-	Yes	
Wraysbury	1799	1803	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Iver	1800	1804	CBS	2462	X	-	Yes	
Maids' Moreton, Gawcott and Prebend-end	1801	1804	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Weedon (Hamlet) in Hardwick	1801	1802	CBS	1700	PA	-	Yes	
Lavendon and Brayfield	1801	1802	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Wooburn	1802	1806	PRO	800	PA	-	Yes	
Moulsoe	1802	1802	?	1600	PA	-	Yes	
Dinton	1802	1804	CBS	900	PA	-	Yes	Partially enclosed before 1600
Olney - pasture and Doggetts Furze	1803	1803	CBS	166/143	PA	C		
Hanslope	1803	?	1804 PRO	260/?	PA	C		

5.1 Parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire (based on Tate 1973 and Turner 1973).

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Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Great Kimble, Little Kimble and Ellesborough	1803	1805	CBS	2500	PA	-	Yes	
Chearsley	1805	1806	CBS	917	PA	-	No	
Upton cum Chalvey	1808	1819	PRO 1820	752	PA	-	Yes	
Bledlow	1809	1812	CBS	4000	PA	-	Yes	
Marsworth	1809	1811	CBS	1200	PA	-	Yes	
Bletchley	1810	1813	CBS	2200	PA	-	Yes	
Newton Blossomville	1810	1813	PRO	?	PA	-	Yes	
Slapton and Horton in Slapton; Edlesborough, Ivinghoe and Pitstone	1810	1812	CBS	1700	PA	-	Yes	
Datchet	1810	1833	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Stoke Poges amd Wexham	1810	1822	PRO	?	PA	-	Yes	
Stewkley	1811	1814	CBS	3000	PA	-	Yes	
Barton Hartshorn and Chetwode	1812	1813	CBS	216	PA	C	Yes	
Turweston	1813	1814	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Mursely	1814	1819	CR (Oxon)	?	PA	-	Yes	
Aston Clinton	1814	1816	CR	2000	PA	-	Yes	

5.1 Parliamentary enclosure in Buckinghamshire (based on Tate 1973 and Turner 1973).

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Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Amersham	1815	1816	CBS	890	PA	-	Yes	
Oakley	1819	1821	CBS	232	PA	C		
Little Marlow	1820	1822	CR	450	PA	-	Yes	
Princes Risborough	1820	1823	CR	2900	PA	-	Yes	4,400 a inc old enclosures (Blue Book 1914
Ivinghoe and Cheddington	1821	1825	CR	2810	PA	-	Yes	200 a of enclosed land belonging to Ivinghoe
Farnham Royal	1821	1821	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Clifton Reynes	1822	?	1826 PRO	450	PA	-	No	
Long Crendon	1824	1827	CBS	2500	PA	-	Yes	
Salcey Forest Northants and Hartwell	1825	1828	CBS	941	PA	C	Yes	Mostly in Northants. Additional act in 1826 allowed further subdivision of 1825 allotments.
Whaddon and Nash	1830	1831	CBS	2665	PA	C		
Haddenham	1830	1834	CBS	2945	PA	-	Yes	
Monks Risborough	1830	1839	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Mentmore and Ledburn	1836	1839	CBS	98	GA	-	Yes	Open fields enclosed under 6 and 7 WM IV c.115
Astwood	1836	1840	CBS	329	GA	-		
Newton Longville	1836	1841	CBS	1541	GA	-	Yes	

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Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Chalfont St Peter	1836	1847	CBS	61	GA	-	Yes	Enclosure of open fields under 6 and 7 WM IV (1836)
Quainton	1840	1843	CR (Bucks)	1673	PA	C	Yes	Partly enclosed pre-1600
Great Horwood	1841	1842	CR (Bucks)	2394	PA	C	Yes	
Marsh Gibbon	1841	1852	CR (Bucks)	2573	PA	C	Yes	
Buckland	1842	1844	CBS	1544	PA	C	Yes	
Penn	1845	1855	CBS	1078	GA	-	Yes	
Shenley Brook End	1845	1852	CBS	?	GA	-	Yes	
Great Missenden	1848	1855	CBS	830	GA	-	Yes	
Hughenden	1850	1855	CBS	488	GA	-	Yes	
Little Missenden	1850	1854	CBS	430	GA	-	Yes	
Great Marlow	1852	1855	CBS	608	GA	-	Yes	Great Marlow Fields in Great Marlow
Pitstone (Pightlesthorne)	1853	1856	CBS	1140	GA	-	Yes	
Cheddington Fields in Cheddington and Ivinghoe	1853	1857	CBS	1350	GA	OF	Yes	

5.2 Parliamentary enclosure in the vale.

CBS= Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; PRO= Public Record Office
PA=Private Act; GA=General Act; OF=Open Field only; C=Common Fields only

Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Addington	1726	-	Copy of act in Bodleian	-	PA	-	-	Addington was enclosed under estate act 13 Geo I c. 17, confirming encl. of glebe and demesne made in 1707
Ashendon	1738	1739	CBS	900+ (c.1300)	PA	-	No	
Wotton Underwood	1742	1743	CBS	1668 + c.500	PA	-	No	
Shipton in Winslow cum Shipton	1744	1745	CBS	640	PA	-	No	Enclosure of Shipton in Winslow cum Shipton
Swanbourne	1761	1763	CBS	2695	PA	-	No	CR hold pre-enclosure survey + copy of act + 2
Shenley Brook End in	1762	1763	CBS		PA	-		pre-enclosure survey survives
Westcott	1765	?	CR (Oxon)	1300	PA	-	No	Enrolled in 1766
Winslow in Winslow cum Shipton	1766	1767	CBS	1400	PA	-	No	
Little Horwood	1766	1767	CR (Oxon)	960	PA	-	No	
Loughton	1768	1769	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Woughton on the Green	1768	1769	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Grendon Underwood	1769	?	?	1295	PA	-	No	
Cublington	1769	1770	CBS	875 est.	PA	-	No	25 yardlands in act

5.2 Parliamentary enclosure in the vale.

CBS= Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; PRO= Public Record Office
PA=Private Act; GA=General Act; OF=Open Field only; C=Common Fields only

Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF /C	Map	Notes
Simpson	1770	1771	CBS	?	PA	-	No	Abortive Bill from 1763 in Bodleian Library
Aylesbury	1771	1772	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	See also Walton
Whitchurch	1771	1772	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Great Brickhill	1771	1772	CBS	1260	PA	-	Yes	
Soulbury with Hollingdon	1772	1773	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Dunton	1774	?	?	629	PA	-	No	Act authorises Earl Spencer to enclose Dunton Common
Waddesdon	1774	1775	CBS	1715	PA	-	No	49 yardlands in act, parish also affected by depopulation pre 1600
Twyford and Chardon in Twyford	1774	1787	CBS	1900	PA	-	No	
Stoke Hammond	1774	1775	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Hartwell and Stone	1776	1740	CBS	1740	PA	-	Yes	
Ludgershall	1777	1777	CBS	1800	PA	-	Yes	
Hardwick	1778	1779	CBS	1200	PA	-	No	
North Marsden	1778	1780	PRO	2000	PA	-	No	
Bierton and Hulcott	1779	1780	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	Plan held by parish council
Preston Bisset	1781	1782	CBS	940	PA	-	No	
Wavendon	1788	1791	CBS	2000	PA	-	No	

5.2 Parliamentary enclosure in the vale.

CBS= Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; PRO= Public Record Office
PA=Private Act; GA=General Act; OF=Open Field only; C=Common Fields only

Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Little Woolstone	1791	1795	CBS	?	PA	-	No	
Steeple Claydon	1795	1796	CBS	2415-2817	PA	-	Yes	
Aston Abbots	1795	?	PRO 1797	650	PA	-	No	Partially enclosed pre- 1600
Padbury	1795	1796	CBS	2415 est.	PA	-	Yes	69 yardlands in act
Great Woolstone	1796	1797	CBS	300	PA	-	No	
Granborough	1796	1797	CBS	1100	PA		Yes	
Little Brickhill	1796	1798	CBS	600	PA	-	Yes	
Wing	1797	1798	CBS	3402	PA	-	Yes	Part of parish enclosed via depopulation
Wingrave with Rowsham	1797	1798	CBS	2400	PA	-	No	
Adstock	1797	1798	CBS	1645	PA	-	Yes	47 yardlands in act
Drayton Parslow	1797	1798	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Stoke Mandeville	1797	1798	CBS	1000 arable +	PA	-	Yes	
Weston Turvill	1798	1800	CBS	1000 arable +	PA	-	Yes	
Horton	1799	1800	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Singleborough in Great Horwood	1799	?	PRO 1801	?	PA	-	Yes	
Walton in Aylesbury	1799	1800	CBS	1200	PA	-	Yes	

5.2 Parliamentary enclosure in the vale.

CBS= Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; PRO= Public Record Office
PA=Private Act; GA=General Act; OF=Open Field only; C=Common Fields only

Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Weedon (Hamlet) in Hardwick	1801	1802	CBS	1700	PA	-	Yes	
Moulsoe	1802	1802	?	1600	PA	-	Yes	
Dinton	1802	1804	CBS	900	PA	-	Yes	Partially enclosed pre- 1600
Chearsley	1805	1806	CBS	917	PA	-	No	
Upton cum Chalvey	1808	1819	PRO 1820	752	PA	-	Yes	
Marsworth	1809	1811	CBS	1200	PA	-	Yes	
Bletchley	1810	1813	CBS	2200	PA	-	Yes	
Stewkley	1811	1814	CBS	3000	PA	-	Yes	
Mursely	1814	1819	CR (Oxon)	?	PA	-	Yes	
Oakley	1819	1821	CBS	232	PA	C		
Long Crendon	1824	1827	CBS	2500	PA	-	Yes	
Whaddon and Nash	1830	1831	CBS	2665	PA	C		
Haddenham	1830	1834	CBS	2945	PA	-	Yes	
Mentmore and Ledburn	1836	1839	CBS	98	GA	-	Yes	Open fields enclosed under 6 and 7 WM IV c.115
Newton Longville	1836	1841	CBS	1541	GA	-	Yes	
Quainton	1840	1843	CR (Bucks)	1673	PA	C	Yes	Partially enclosed pre- 1600
Great Horwood	1841	1842	CR (Bucks)	2394	PA	C	Yes	
Marsh Gibbon	1841	1852	CR (Bucks)	2573	PA	C	Yes	
Shenley Brook End	1845	1852	CBS	?	GA	-	Yes	

5.3 Parliamentary enclosure on the scarp edge.

CBS= Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; PRO= Public Record Office
PA=Private Act; GA=General Act; OF=Open Field only; C=Common Fields only

Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Wendover	1777	?	?	?	PA	-	No	Confirmed exchange of lands in open fields
Wendover	1794	1795	CBS	2000	PA	-	Yes	
Great Kimble, Little Kimble and Ellesborough	1803	1805	CBS	2500	PA	-	Yes	
Bledlow	1809	1812	CBS	4000	PA	-	Yes	
Slapton and Horton in Slapton; Edlesborough, Ivinghoe and Pitstone	1810	1812	CBS	1700	PA	-	Yes	
Barton Hartshorn and Chetwode	1812	1813	CBS	216	PA	C	Yes	
Aston Clinton	1814	1816	CR	2000	PA	-	Yes	
Princes Risborough	1820	1823	CR	2900	PA	-	Yes	4,400 a inc old enclosures
Ivinghoe and Cheddington	1821	1825	CR	2810	PA	-	Yes	200 a of enclosed land belonging to Ivinghoe
Monks Risborough	1830	1839	CBS	?	PA	-	Yes	
Buckland	1842	1844	CBS	1544	PA	C	Yes	
Pitstone	1853	1856	CBS	1140	GA	-	Yes	
Cheddington Fields in Cheddington and Ivinghoe	1853	1857	CBS	1350	GA	OF	Yes	
Wendover and Halton - Boddington Hill	1855	1857	CBS	45	GA	C	Yes	Bottenden (Boddington) Hill in Wendover and Halton
Edlesborough	1856	1857	CBS	2350	GA	OF	Yes	<i>Tate says: Dagnall, Ellesborough and Northall Fields in Ellesborough (recte Edlesborough)</i>

5.4 Parliamentary enclosure in the Chilterns.

CBS= Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies; PRO= Public Record Office
PA=Private Act; GA=General Act; OF=Open Field only; C=Common Fields only

Parish Name	Date of Act	Date of award	Enrolled	Est. Size of Enclosure in Acres	Act	OF / C	Map	Notes
Chesham - Hyde Heath	(1755-6) timber	1807	CBS	?	PA	-	No	Hyde Heath enclosed under Timber Act 1755-6, 29 Geo.II.c.36
Amersham	1815	1816	CBS	890	PA	-	Yes	
Little Marlow	1820	1822	CR	450	PA	-	Yes	
Chalfont St Peter	1836	1847	CBS	61	GA	-	Yes	Enclosure of open fields under 6 and 7 WM IV (1836)
Great Missenden	1848	1855	CBS	830	GA	-	Yes	
Hughenden	1850	1855	CBS	488	GA	-	Yes	
Little Missenden	1850	1854	CBS	430	GA	-	Yes	
Great Marlow	1852	1855	CBS	608	GA	-	Yes	Great Marlow Fields in Great Marlow
Lee Common in the Lee	1855	1856	CBS	66	GA	C		
Hughenden	1856	1862	CBS	384	GA	-	Yes	
Stokenchurch - Bigmore and Pound Commons	1857	1859	Parish Council	22	GA	C	Yes	Bigmore and Pounds Common now in Stokenchurch
Stokenchurch	1857	1861	CBS	620	GA	-		
Radnage	1858	1862	CBS	210	GA	C	Yes	Radnage and Aubridge Commons
Chepping Wycombe	1865	1869	CBS	338	GA	-	Yes	

there were a large number of medium and small landowners, enclosure was more of a battle. From around 1800 onwards enclosure in the vale and on the scarp edge became a more protracted and more bitterly fought affair. Small landowners in the parish of Quainton, for example, successfully opposed an Enclosure Bill in 1801 (see Chapter Six for more details).

The earliest of the scarp edge parishes subject to a Parliamentary Act was Wendover in 1777 (see Table 5.3). This Act was passed in order to confirm an exchange of lands in the open fields which had already taken place. Subsequent Acts for Wendover date to 1794 (awarded 1795) and 1855 (awarded 1857). Other Acts relating to scarp edge parishes include Great Kimble, Little Kimble and Ellesborough in 1803 (awarded 1805), Bledlow 1809 (awarded 1812) and Aston Clinton in 1814 (awarded 1816). A late group of scarp edge parishes to have their open fields enclosed were Pitstone, Cheddington and Ivinghoe, and Edlesborough (all awarded in 1857). This late enclosure has been attributed to the ownership of almost all the open fields in these parishes by the Ashridge Estate (Turner 1973, 60) creating the unusual situation of the open fields being more or less privately owned.

The strip parishes generally posed a greater challenge to surveyor and commissioners. They had to deal with a large number of landowners, with areas of enclosed fields as well as open fields and with common lands, woods and wastes over which people had a variety of rights. Most of the scarp edge parishes had a gap of at least two years between act and award, reflecting the increased complexity of the commissioners' work. Substantial objections and resistance surrounded the enclosure of some of these parishes, notably Princes Risborough (Act 1820; Award 1823) and Monks Risborough (Act 1830, not Awarded until 1839). The circumstances surrounding the enclosure of these parishes are discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

The scarp edge parishes make up a clear group in the list of parishes enclosed by parliamentary enclosure and, unlike their neighbours in the hills, they maintained significant areas of open fields and common wastes well into the eighteenth and even nineteenth century. The strip parishes were often home to large numbers of landowners and smallholders and Hepple and Doggett have suggested (1994, 193) that the claims of such large numbers of landowners over the common fields made sufficient support for an Act of Parliament difficult to secure, explaining the late enclosure of some of these parishes. Several scarp edge parishes were not enclosed until the 1850s, while the parish of Crowell in the Oxfordshire Chilterns, was not enclosed until 1882. At the far end of the Chiltern escarpment, the strip parish of Totternhoe (Bedfordshire) held onto its open fields until 1891 (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 194).

While the large numbers of landowners and smallholders may have slowed down the process of passing an Act for Enclosure, this does not fully explain why these parishes which lay partly in the hills, and had already enclosed sizable areas of arable land, had not completed the process. It seems that the scarp edge parishes, as well as reaching physically into the hills and the vale, also sought to hold on to the farming traditions of both areas; undergoing piecemeal enclosure, while simultaneously holding onto common lands and hilltop woods and wastes as well as substantial areas of open fields in their flatter, lower-lying regions in the vale and valley bottoms.

Since many parishes in the hills had been fully enclosed long before the mid-eighteenth century, enclosure acts in this region are far less numerous and also less

extensive (see Table 5.4). A few of these acts were concerned with the enclosure of the areas of open field which had survived in the hills. In 1816 an award was granted for the enclosure of 900 acres of open fields in Amersham. Much smaller areas of open fields were enclosed in Chalfont St Peter (61 acres) in 1847 and Little Gaddesden (52 acres) in 1836. The main type of enclosure carried out in the hills was the enclosure of common land. These commons had survived earlier periods of enclosure since they were used by many people in the parish, who had various rights such as grazing and turbage over the common land. Common wastes were also utilised by brickmakers, tile-makers and potters, as well as providing grazing and the possibility for encroachment for those with little or no land (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 195-6). These numerous claims on the common wastes, and the fact that the inhabitants of more than one parish sometimes held rights over a common (as in the case of Wycombe Heath and Berkhamsted Frith) meant that many of them had not been enclosed by the period of parliamentary enclosure.



Figure 5.1 Bottendon Hill, Wendover: trees growing on enclosures created from common land in 1855.

However, numerous areas of common land were enclosed in the hills in the second half of the nineteenth century. Enclosures were awarded for Penn, Wycombe and Holmer Heath in 1855; Denner Hill in 1855; Wigginton in 1854; Stokenchurch Common in 1861 and Radnage and Andridge in 1862 (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 197). Hepple and Doggett (*Ibid.*) have suggested that the reason for such enclosures lay in the abuse of common rights by local people and by business men from further afield, including London, cutting down trees and taking stone and other resources to which they were not entitled. It is interesting to note that the common land subject to such enclosure awards was often of poor quality, and as a result only the edges of the common were actually fenced off. On the scarp edge, an area of Bottendon Hill, on the edge of Wendover parish was enclosed at a later date to the rest of the parish by its

own act in 1855; however, this land must have proved unsuitable for farming or grazing as it has subsequently been absorbed into the woodland that clothe the upper slopes of the hill (Figure 5.1).

The small number of Acts for the Chiltern Hills shows that not all common land was enclosed by parliamentary Act, or at all. The Commons Returns for 1874 shows substantial areas of common land and open field still surviving in Buckinghamshire at this date. While Tate has argued that this source of information is unreliable and often over exaggerated (1946, 27), it does demonstrate that common land in many parishes survived the main period of parliamentary enclosure. One large area of common at Burnham Beeches (in the south of the county) demonstrates a changing attitude towards common land in the late nineteenth century. This common was purchased by the Corporation of the City of London in 1880 in order to preserve open spaces on the outskirts of the city and to provide day trippers with a refuge from the grime and bustle of the metropolis. Rather than providing local people with vital resources, this area of common has become a site for recreation.

The survival of areas of common land demonstrates the difficulties of enclosing land over which people had many and varied rights and claims. In some cases attempts to enclose common land and waste were strongly contested. The enclosure of the waste, known as the Hillock, was fought over in the parliamentary process of enclosing Monks Risborough on the scarp edge. Meanwhile a new episode of enclosure on Berkhamsted Frith (Hertfordshire) provoked active protest from local inhabitants. These, and other examples of protest against enclosure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

The Bureaucratic Process

The nature of some of the earliest Enclosure Acts passed in the eighteenth century speaks of the increasing importance of documentation in the management of the English landscape (see Hoppit 1996). Many of these acts were not passed in order to set in motion the process to enclose open fields or common lands; instead they were passed in order to sanction enclosures which had already been carried out by less formal means. Private Acts of Parliament were seen as a good means of strengthening a title to land (Hollowell 2000, 7). This desire for official recognition of enclosure suggests that legality and officially recognised documentation was a real concern for landowners in the eighteenth century. It also speaks of the increasing authority of centralised government and of Acts of Parliament. Where, in previous centuries, many landowners had been content to agree changes to landholdings in a local context, by the eighteenth century there was a greater need to have their rights over land recognised in Whitehall (Hoppit 1996).

In Chapter Three it was argued that documents should be treated as pieces of material culture. Instead of looking simply at the information they contain it is important to look at how and why the documents were created and how they were circulated. It is possible to look at the physical nature of the documents and the messages that are conveyed by their presentation and decoration, as well as analysing the structure of the documents in order to determine whether the very way in which the information is ordered can be revealing about the aims and the attitudes of the people who created and used them. Finally, it is important to see documents as active pieces of material

culture, as objects which can be used by people to validate their actions. Enclosure maps were tools used by the enclosure commissioners to lay out changes to land rights as well as changes to the physical nature of the landscape. The passing of an Enclosure Act could create considerable upheaval in a community. The authority and legality of the enclosure award and maps had to be beyond question.

The aim of the following section is to look at the central role of documentation in the process of parliamentary enclosure in the study area. In many cases it is only the Enclosure Awards, hopefully with any related maps intact, which have been lodged in the County Record Offices. For this reason my survey of the documents has centred on the Awards and maps produced in Buckinghamshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the Award is the final document produced by parliamentary enclosure. Before it could be created a great number of meetings had to be held, a great number of procedures had to be followed and a great quantity of documentation was churned out by the enclosure panel.

While the survival of such documents is not the norm, where the working papers of enclosure commissioners have survived they demonstrate the detailed and painstaking nature of the process of enclosure (see Shigetomi, 1999, 142-3). A very substantial collection of working papers have survived from the enclosure of the parish of Princes Risborough (Act 1820, Award 1823). A similar level of documentation has survived for the enclosure of the adjacent parish of Monks Risborough and for the parish of Weston Turville in the vale (see Shigetomi 1999). The working papers for Princes Risborough form the case study for the first part of this chapter, which explores the nature of the documentation produced during the process of parliamentary enclosure.

The surviving working papers relating to the enclosure of Princes Risborough are considerable (CBS: IR/M/1/1-10). The records include the Award, incorporating an enclosure map showing the newly allocated lands. In addition to this, over a thousand documents and pieces of paper were generated during the enclosure of the parish.

The careful collection of these documents shows that the commissioners working on the enclosure of Princes Risborough were concerned with providing a full record of their actions and of the information that led them to the final division and redistribution of land in the parish. It may be that these particular records were preserved in order to show that due process had been followed, since there was a major objection to the Enclosure Act made by one of the parishes larger landowners, John Grubb. Grubb was concerned that his rights as 'Lord of the Manor' would be affected by the enclosure (IR/M 1/9/18/2), a complaint in many cases of parliamentary enclosure across the country (Hollowell (2000, 36). There was also a serious dispute over the parliamentary enclosure of Monks Risborough (IR/M.8/1-10), which may explain why the working papers for this parish have also been preserved.

The formal process to enclose the parish of Princes Risborough, which ran down the scarp edge of the Chiltern Hills in Buckinghamshire, was initiated in 1820. The commissioners appointed by the local landowners to carry out the enclosure of the parish were William Collisson (who served as a commissioner and as a surveyor on many enclosure panels in this region), Edward Horwood and Charles Smith. The clerk was John Newman and the surveyor was Richard Collisson (the son of commissioner William Collisson).



Figure 5.2 An enclosure commission meeting by C.J. Fiddes (from Hollowell 2000, frontispiece).

Volume and Subject

The Princes Risborough working papers tell a story of the complex and painstaking process of parliamentary enclosure. Much of the work done by the enclosure commissioners and their clerk was carried out in local inns (Figure 5.2). Meetings would be called for each stage of the enclosure process - for people to put in claims to land, object to claims and so on. Each meeting was announced in the local papers, while notices were also posted in prominent locations, such as on the church door. This process of advertising the enclosure meetings had been made mandatory by Parliament in 1774 (Hollowell 2000, 33).



Figure 5.3 Newspaper notice relating to the enclosure of Princes Risborough (CBS: IR/M/1/1/62).

Copies of the newspaper notices have been preserved in the Princes Risborough records (eg CBS IR/M/1/1/48, IR/M/1/1/51, IR/M/1/1/61, IR/M/1/1/62), as have copies of printed notices (eg CBS IR/M/1/1/57) (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4). In addition to these documents, the clerk's handwritten drafts of these notices and copies of letter sent to claimants (Figure 5.5) have also been filed (eg CBS IR/M/1/1/52; CBS IR/M/1/7/239/2). These notices refer to meetings at several inns in the locality. They include the *Cross Keys* in Princes Risborough, the *Red Lion* in Wendover and the *George Inn* in Aylesbury (see Figure 5.6).

IR/M/1/1/57

PRINCES ***Risborough*** **Inclosure.**

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, That all Persons entitled to Cottage Commons, (having no Lands in the Common Fields,) who are desirous to have and take separate Allotments in lieu of their respective Cottage Commons, instead of an Allotment in Common with others, must signify the same in writing to the Commissioners of the said Inclosure, at their adjourned Meeting, which is appointed to be holden at the *Cross Keys Inn*, in *Princes Risborough*, on *Thursday* the 28th day of *September*, at *Ten o'Clock* in the Forenoon precisely, otherwise they will lose the benefit of such option.

By Order of the Commissioners,

JOHN NEWMAN, *Clerk.*

AYLESBURY, 16th SEPT. 1820.

Figure 5.4 Printed notice relating to the enclosure of Princes Risborough (CBS: IR/M/1/1/57).

Aylesbury 21st Sept^r 1820.

Sir,

I am directed by the Commis^{rs} for
inclosing Lands in the Parish of Princes Risborough
to inform you that John Grubb has made an
objection to your Claim because the property therein
mentioned is Copyhold & not Freehold.

And I beg to add that they have appointed a
Meeting to be held at the Crofs Keys Inn at
Princes Risborough on Thursday the 2^d day of November
next at 11 o'clock in the forenoon for the purpose
of hearing evidence in support of Claims.

I am

Yours obt^l Serv^t

J. N.

Figure 5.5 Copy of letter to claimant (regarding objection by John Grubb) filed during the process of the enclosure of Princes Risborough (CBS IR/M/1/7/239/2).



Figure 5.6 The *Cross Keys*, Princes Risborough (now a doctor's surgery), and the *Red Lion*, Wendover.

In order to proceed with the enclosure of the parish the commissioners needed to produce a list of all the local landowners and people claiming rights over the commons and wastes in the parish. At one of their meetings the commissioners asked for anyone with any land or rights in the parish to put down their claim in writing. These claims form part of the collection of working papers. They range from claims for a single house and garden (for example, the claim for William Jacob: Figure 5.7) written on a small piece of paper, to long lists of properties drawn up on large sheets of ruled paper (Figure 5.8). Many of the smaller claims appear to have been recorded in the clerk's handwriting and simply signed by the claimant - a possible indication that such landowners were not fully literate. Some of the more elaborate documents were drawn up by the various landowners' agents and were also signed by the agent on their employer's behalf (Figure 5.9). The great differences in wealth and social class in the parish are clearly evident in the disparity between the claims of William Jacobs and John Grubb. These differences are also notable in Grubb's ability to pay for and send an agent to represent him, as well as to produce a detailed, formal account of Grubb's properties (Figure 5.8) that contrasts very clearly with the small slip of paper laying claim to Jacob's "House and Garden being his own property".

Once the claims to land had been made the commissioners then had to deal with counter claims and objections. Sometimes more than one person would lay claim to a plot of land, or there might be debate over whether certain individuals held their land copyhold or freehold. A substantial collection of paperwork relating to objections to claims can be found in the Princes Risborough working papers (eg CBS: IR/M1/7/243/1). Further discussion of these papers can be found in Chapter Six.

Other documents among the working papers include the commissioners' notebooks containing their valuation of the parish (CBS IR/M/1/6), minutes of meetings (CBS IR/M/1/5), records of accounts and the costs and expenses involved in the process of enclosure (CBS IR/M/1/7/ 531-738). There are also details of the agreed route of the parish boundary, in the form of a description of a perambulation of the boundary undertaken by the commissioners (e.g. CBS IR/M/1/7/747). Further documents relate to the alterations to Risborough Turnpike Road, as well as details of tenders for the construction of new roads and land boundaries (IR/M/1/7/ 739-958). There is a map setting out proposed changes to the roads and other routeways in the parish (CBS IR22/2.R) and another map, which may be the surveyor's working map showing old enclosures and field names (CBS D42/G2.T). Another substantial document is a draft version of the final award, written out by hand on large sheets of paper (IR/M/1/8).

This great weight of documentation speaks of bureaucracy and the increasing importance of centralised governmental control. Each step of the enclosure process has been minutely recorded. This collection of working papers, along with the final map and award, demonstrate that through the parliamentary process of enclosure the reorganisation of landscape has become tightly bound up with the creation of maps and documents. In the past the redistribution of open field strips and the creation of small enclosed fields was often settled locally. The early enclosure of many parishes in the Chilterns appears to have been undertaken over time without any legal documentation. Such piecemeal enclosure and enclosure by informal agreement differs greatly from parliamentary enclosure's flood of paperwork.

William Jacob — House & Garden being his own property

IR/M/17/73

To the Commissioners of the Princes Risborough Enclosure.

The undersigned John Grubb of Herenden House in the County of Bucks Esq
 claims the several Rights and Interests hereinafter specified (that is to say,

Description of the Property Rights and Interests claimed	Tenure of House in the several Villages	Woodlands not commonable			Woodlands commonable		
		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
The Manor of Princes Risborough and The Manor of Allington Church extending over the whole Parish of Princes Risborough and as Lord of the said Manors I claim to be entitled to all Common and Waste Lands within the said several Manors and also to a Rent upon the Lands of every Copyhold Tenant of the said several Manors in respect of each Copyhold Tenement	Myself						
Various Woodlands called Canfield Wood	Myself	15					
White Wood							
Small's or otherwise Smallbridge Wood	Myself				4.08		
Large Wood, otherwise called Bushfield Wood							
Coppy Green, Bottom Wood, Blind Bottom Wood, Jewell Wood, Highgate Wood, and Davells Hill Wood							
I claim the Right to keep enclosed and that part of all the enclosed Woodlands the other two third parts thereof being open for Common							
And all manner of Tithes and Tenths whatsoever being and being remaining or continuing out of or in respect of the said several Common or Waste Lands and Wood and Woodlands	Myself						

Figure 5.7 (above) Claim for land by William Jacob, Princes Risborough enclosure.

Figure 5.8 (below) Extract from claim for land by John Grubb, Princes Risborough enclosure (IR/M/17/73).

To the Commissioners for Inclosing Lands
in the Parish of Princes Risborough in the County
of Buckingham

As Agent for the Master and Fellows of Balliol
College in the University of Oxford I hereby claim
all that Freehold Estate situate at Looseley Rode in
the said Parish of Princes Risborough in the occupation
of Mr Thomas Easton - or his Undertenants -
comprising a Cottage Garden and Premises by
admeasurement Thirty Poles. a Rightle adjoining
Thirty nine Poles and five several old inclosed
grounds containing by admeasurement the following
Quantities (viz.) Long Close Seven Acres two Roods
and nine Perches. Great Close Seven Acres three
Roods and twenty seven Perches. Lower Close -
five Acres three Roods and thirty Perches. Little
Close Two Acres one Rood and nine Perches
and Upper Close Four Acres one Rood and
twenty seven Perches. Also six Pieces of Arable

Figure 5.9 Extract from claim for land by Balliol College, Oxford - Princes Risborough enclosure (CBS: IR M/17/5).

Physical Nature of Documentation

The volume of paper generated by parliamentary enclosure was considerable, but what physical form did that documentation take? It has already been seen that the formality of the documents contained in the commissioner's working papers varies greatly. They include handwritten notes or drafts of notices, as well as those notice in printed form. They include claims to land on small scraps of paper, and elaborate claims and objections written on ruled pages by a legal representative. They include documents upon which notes have been scribbled in pencil, as well as small exercise books and notebooks containing the commissioners calculations and expenses. They include large maps drawn up to aid the surveyor and commissioners in their division of the parish. However, of all the documents that survive from the process of parliamentary enclosure it is the Enclosure Award and any related maps which are the most impressive artefacts. And it is these documents which were meant to survive. These were the official documents which laid out the final decisions of the enclosure commissioners and would determine the future shape and management of the land within the parish in question.

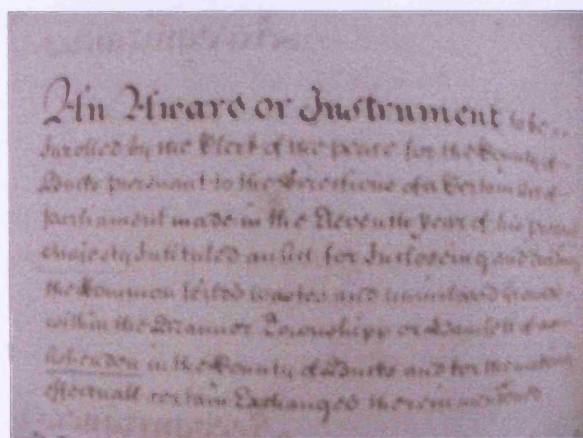


Figure 5.10 Extract from enrolled award for Ashendon.

This section of the chapter will examine the range of forms taken by the enclosure awards and maps over time, and explore how the material nature of those awards was used to reinforce the rulings contained within their pages.

Awards

At least two copies of the enclosure Award were generally made. One of these was held by the parish and the other was enrolled in the Quarter Sessions Records, which were held by clerk of the Peace for the County of Buckinghamshire. Other copies may have been made for the major landowners of the parish (Hollowell 2000, 107). In the Buckinghamshire section of the study area, only the enrolled award has survived for many of the parishes to be enclosed by Parliamentary Act in the 1700s (Figure 5.10). These enrolled copies have been bound into leather volumes along with other records for the Quarter Sessions for the county.

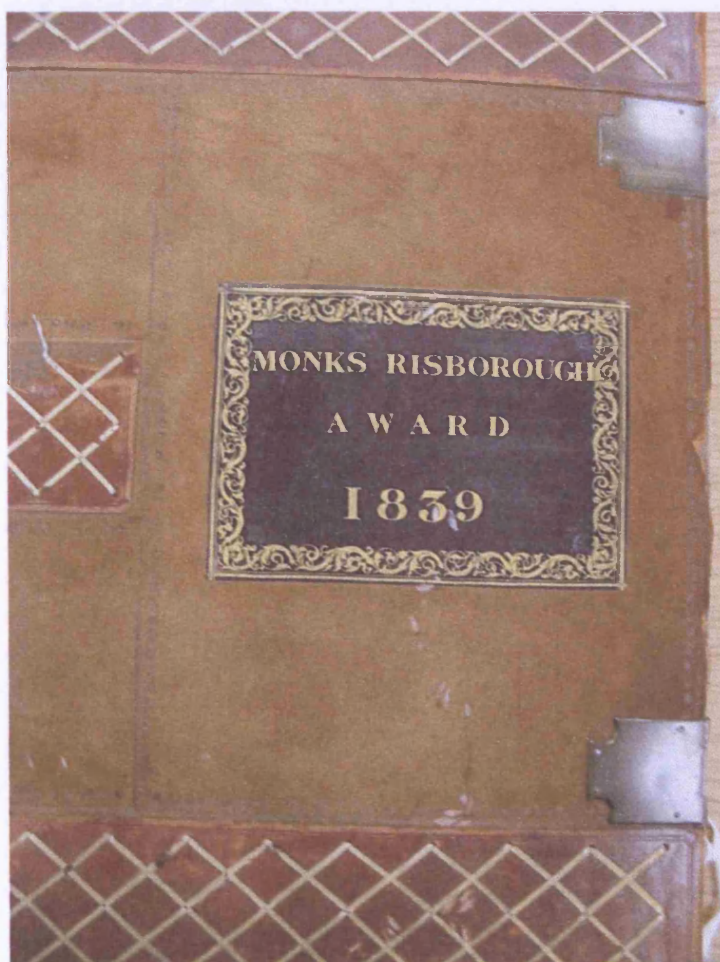


Figure 5.11 Book-bound Enclosure Award (Monks Risborough, CBS: IR/94Q).

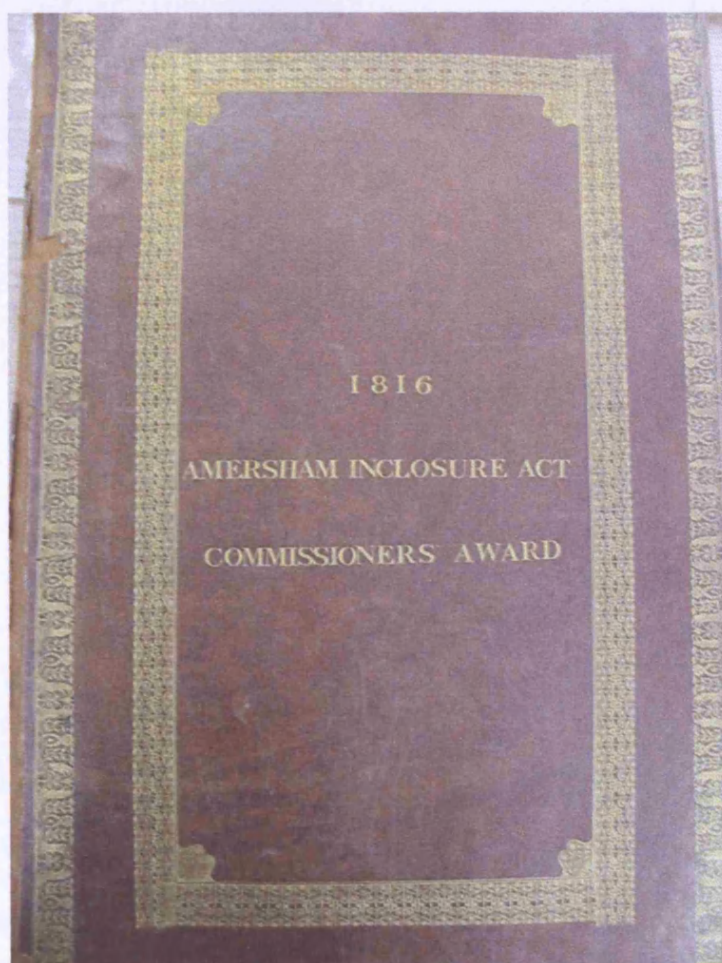


Figure 5.12 Lettering and decoration on Enclosure Award (Amersham, CBS: IR/12a).

Of more interest are the parish copies of the Awards which have been preserved as individual documents. Hollowell has noted (2000, 107) that there is a shift from long, wordy Awards written before the inclusion of enclosure maps, to shorter Awards once the maps were included. These later awards are often bound in book form.

The Awards relating to the study come in two main forms. First of these are large rolls of parchment, usually joined at the bottom. Some of these large documents have maps attached to the front of the handwritten details of the enclosure award. The second type of Award is more imposing. The handwritten Award and enclosure maps are bound into book form. While the contents of these Awards are similar to the contents of the rolled Awards some of them appear to be presented with great care (eg the award for Monks Risborough 1839, CBS IR/94/Q: Figure 5.11).



Figure 5.13 Marbled endpapers from Enclosure Award.

While the book bound versions of the Award tend to date from the 1800s, large, rolled Awards continue to be created throughout the period of parliamentary enclosure. The Award for the enclosure of St Johns Wood in Chepping Wycombe, for example, took the form of a large rolled map and document. It was drawn up in 1868.

One Award takes a form combining the two other formats. This is the Award for Weedon (1802, CBS IR/99/Q). The Award has been written out in landscape format on large pages of parchment, of the type which are usually stored in rolls. However, these pages have been bound into a three-leaved leather folder, which closes around the Award to give the appearance of a large book. The enclosure maps are bound into the back of the volume. After this date book-bound volumes take a more conventional form with two covers and the pages bound into a central spine. The maps are sometimes bound into the volume, or tucked into the front or the back of the book.

The more elaborate book-bound awards are concentrated in the period from around 1800 into the 1830s. Examples of such awards include Great Kimble, Little Kimble and Ellesborough (1805), Slapton and Horton (1812), Amersham (1816), Princes Risborough (1822), Long Crendon (1827) and Monks Risborough (1839). The handwritten details and enclosure maps of these awards are bound into handsome leather volumes (Figure 5.11) with marbled endpapers (Figure 5.13). The leather bindings are embossed with gold letters and decoration (Figure 5.12) and generally fastened by metal clasps. The bulk of these more elaborate awards mostly date from around 1800 into the 1830s. These large, heavy volumes help to communicate the fact that the act has been passed and finalised. The quality of the binding materials speak of durability - of the permanence of the award and the importance of the durability of the written word as a record of law.

One notable physical feature of the awards from the study area, whatever their format, is that they are always hand-written. This is in spite of the fact that print was readily available. Indeed, the bill and act for the enclosure of Monks Risborough were printed documents (IR/M/8/9), but the final award was hand-written, with the painstaking writing-up of these Awards signalling the authenticity of the Act of Parliament.

The careful presentation of the Awards helps to assert the authority and legality of these documents. In addition to the features already outlined, the Awards and Award maps (as well as many of the documents that make up the commissioner's working papers) are rich with signatures. Within these working papers, signatures can be found on a great many of the claims to land which were handed in to the commissioners at one of the many enclosure meetings. Most important of all are the signatures of the commissioners. In some awards their oversize, signatures are further ornamented by large red wax seals (Figure 5.14). In some cases all the landowners involved in the reallocation of lands are also expected to sign the award (Figure 5.15). Again, these may be validated by the application of a wax seal, or a paper version of the royal stamp. The commissioners' signatures also adorn the maps which accompany the enclosure awards.

Maps

The bulk of documentation connected to the enclosure of a parish suggests an overwhelmingly bureaucratic exercise, with the people concerned spending all of their time holding meetings in fire lit inns, filling in and filing endless pieces of information. For the enclosure clerk this was probably the case. However, for the enclosure maps to be created the surveyor or surveyors, at the very least, had to go out and get their feet muddy.

The surveyor's job was to make an accurate map of the lands to be enclosed. In some cases of enclosure, especially late ones which concerned small pieces of waste or patches of open field, existing maps may have been used as a template. However, in most cases a new survey of the parish was undertaken. In some cases draft maps survive in the records, with the surveyor's mathematical calculations still pencilled upon them. In other cases, especially in parishes which had already undergone considerable enclosure in previous centuries or were especially complex, detailed maps showing the existing layout of enclosed fields, open field strips, common lands and wastes were produced by the surveyor. Such maps exist for several parishes, including Princes

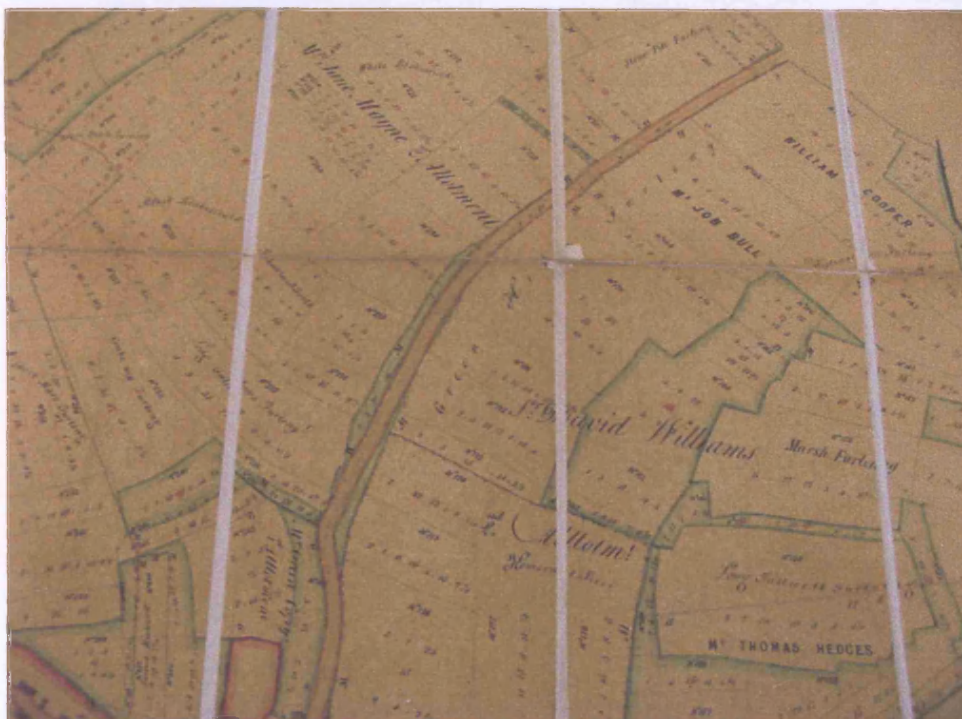


Figure 5.16 Working map for Whitchurch enclosure (CBS: IR/144/b).

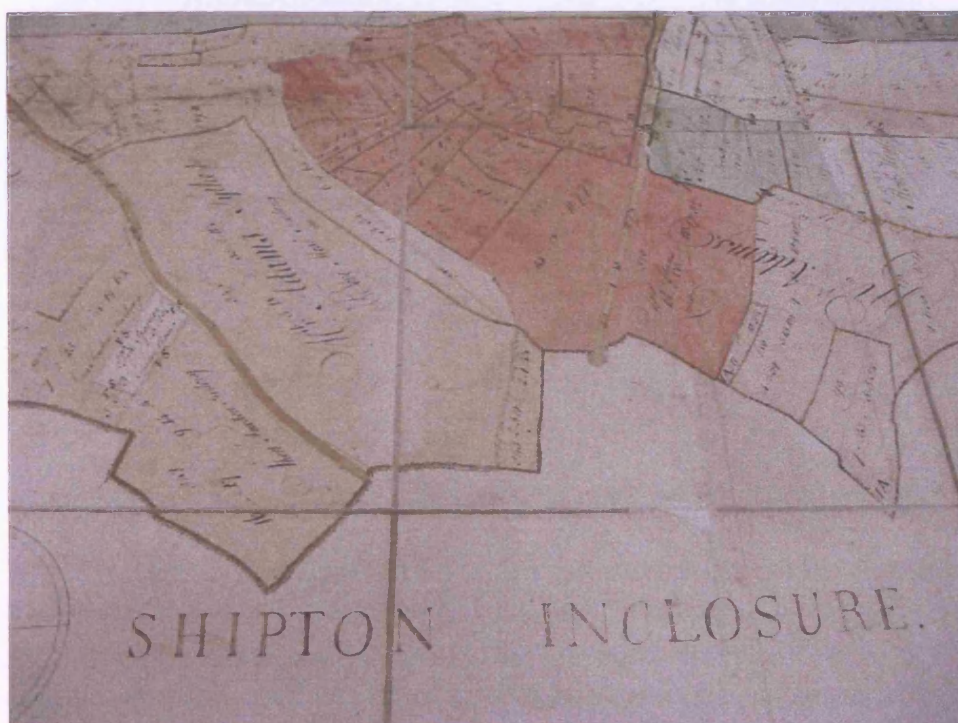


Figure 5.17 Working map for Swanbourne enclosure (CBS: IR/119 /R).

Risborough (CBS:D42/G2.T), Whitchurch (CBS: IR/144/b) and Swanbourne (CBS: IR/119/R) (Figures 5.16 and 5.17). Such maps could then be used by the surveyor in identifying the plots of land claimed by the occupants of the parish and to accurately calculate their size before reallocating the proprietors with land in the new fields. The survey of the parish was necessary, as landowners would sometimes exaggerate the size of their landholdings making the land claimed on paper add up to an area larger than the parish itself (Hollowell 2000, 84).

Surveyors also had to assess the quality of land in different parts of the parish, in order to make sure that landowners holding productive arable land were not reallocated fields in areas more suited to grazing or with poor soil. So called "Quality Books" often form part of a collection of enclosure working papers.

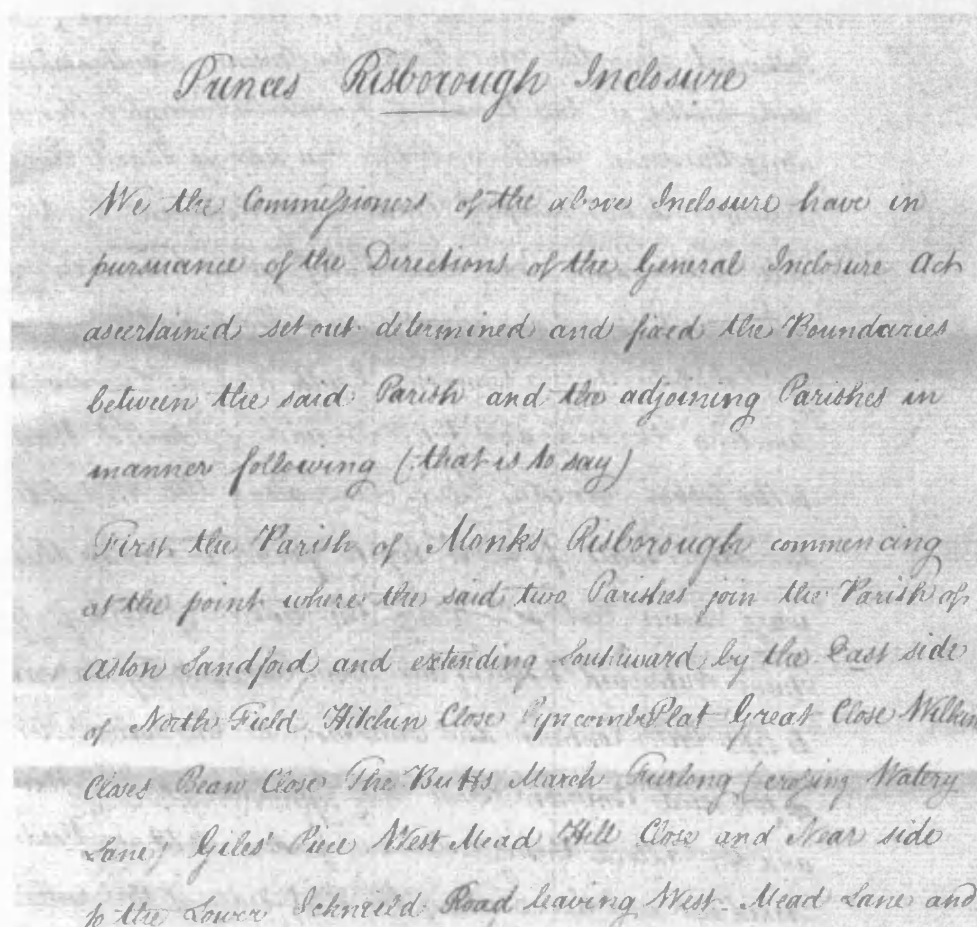


Figure 5.18 Extract from perambulation of Princes Risborough (CBS: IR/ M/17743).

Another reason that surveyors and the commissioners might have to go out into the fields was if there was a boundary dispute with another parish. In this case the enclosure committee, joined by interested local parties, would set out to perambulate the boundary in order to settle the dispute. Such perambulations were carried out in the study area, for example in the parishes of Princes Risborough and Amersham. Detailed records of the exact, agreed route of the parish boundary were noted down (Figure 5.18).

Once all the relevant information about the parish had been collated, the surveyor and the commissioners then faced the crucial question of how to reallocate the land holdings. It is at this point that the authority and the power of the enclosure award and map came into focus. These pieces of paper were being invested with the power to change the shape of the landscape. They would force the local inhabitants - not all of whom stood to gain by the process of enclosure - to give up their open fields, and possibly their common land as well. The parishioners were being asked to change their whole system of farming, which would affect their social relations with one another. If the commons were to be enclosed some people would lose access to large supplies of vital resources, such as wood for fuel. Other people whose dwellings encroached onto common land may have faced losing their houses or their rights to graze their animals on the land.

Parcel Number	Landowner Name	Parcel Number	Landowner Name
1	Richard Jones	11	Richard Jones
2	Richard Jones	12	Richard Jones
3	Richard Jones	13	Richard Jones
4	Richard Jones	14	Richard Jones
5	Richard Jones	15	Richard Jones
6	Richard Jones	16	Richard Jones
7	Richard Jones	17	Richard Jones
8	Richard Jones	18	Richard Jones
9	Richard Jones	19	Richard Jones
10	Richard Jones	20	Richard Jones

Figure 5.19 Table listing allotments and landowners on map for Bledlow enclosure (CBS: IR/IR/46R).

The format of the maps accompanying the Awards covers a greater range. Many maps share the format of the Awards and are fixed to the rolled Awards or bound into the binding of the awards taking a book form. In some cases a folder on the inside of the back or front page of the enclosure award holds the maps in place. Some enclosure maps are too large to be bound in with the Award.

The presentation of the maps varies, but almost all of the maps have been drawn with great care in a neat hand and without obvious mistakes. The most common format for a map is for it to be drawn in portrait format, with a title at the top and often a table listing the names and holdings of the landowners. The allotments are numbered, referencing that table and the allotments as they are described within the award (Figure 5.19). In some cases the names of the landowners are also written on the map (Figure 5.20).



Figure 5.20 Names of landowners on enclosure map for Monks Risborough (CBS: IR/94Q).

Some maps have been produced with a surprising level of care and attention. The most carefully drawn up maps are for the enclosure of Long Crendon (1827, CBS. IR/ 95/ Q). A total of seven maps are presented along with the book-bound enclosure award. They are beautifully drawn and coloured and adorned with elaborate writing . One map shows an overview of the parish, which is divided up into five different sections (Figure 5.21). Each of the five sections is then presented in detail on its own map. The final map is of the village and the related home closes.

While few other maps have been produced with such excessive care, many other maps bear decorative flourishes and evidence that great care has been taken in their production. The wooded, upland areas, for example, are often decorative, being marked out by hundreds of tiny trees. Examples of such trees can be found on maps generated for the enclosure for Monks Risborough, Princes Risborough and Stoke Mandeville (see Figure 5.35). Stoke Mandeville map also has a very elaborate title, surrounded by a grand, ruined gateway, covered in creepers (Figure 5.22). The Wing map (1798), the map for Adstock (see Figure 5.26) and the map for Aylesbury (1778) also have decorative cartouches.

A few maps do bear pencilled notes and calculations, although this is uncommon. One example of this is the map for Amersham (Figure 5.23), on which pencilled notes are visible on an otherwise carefully drawn and presented map. A more extreme exception to the general rule of neat presentation are the maps relating to the enclosure of Hughenden (1853 CBS: IR/ 80). These two large maps still show the surveyor's workings, including their mathematical calculations, scribbled on the page. There has been no attempt to make the map attractive. It has the appearance of a working map which has not been redrawn for inclusion with final award. This is a late enclosure map, and it may be that by the 1850s the case for parliamentary enclosure

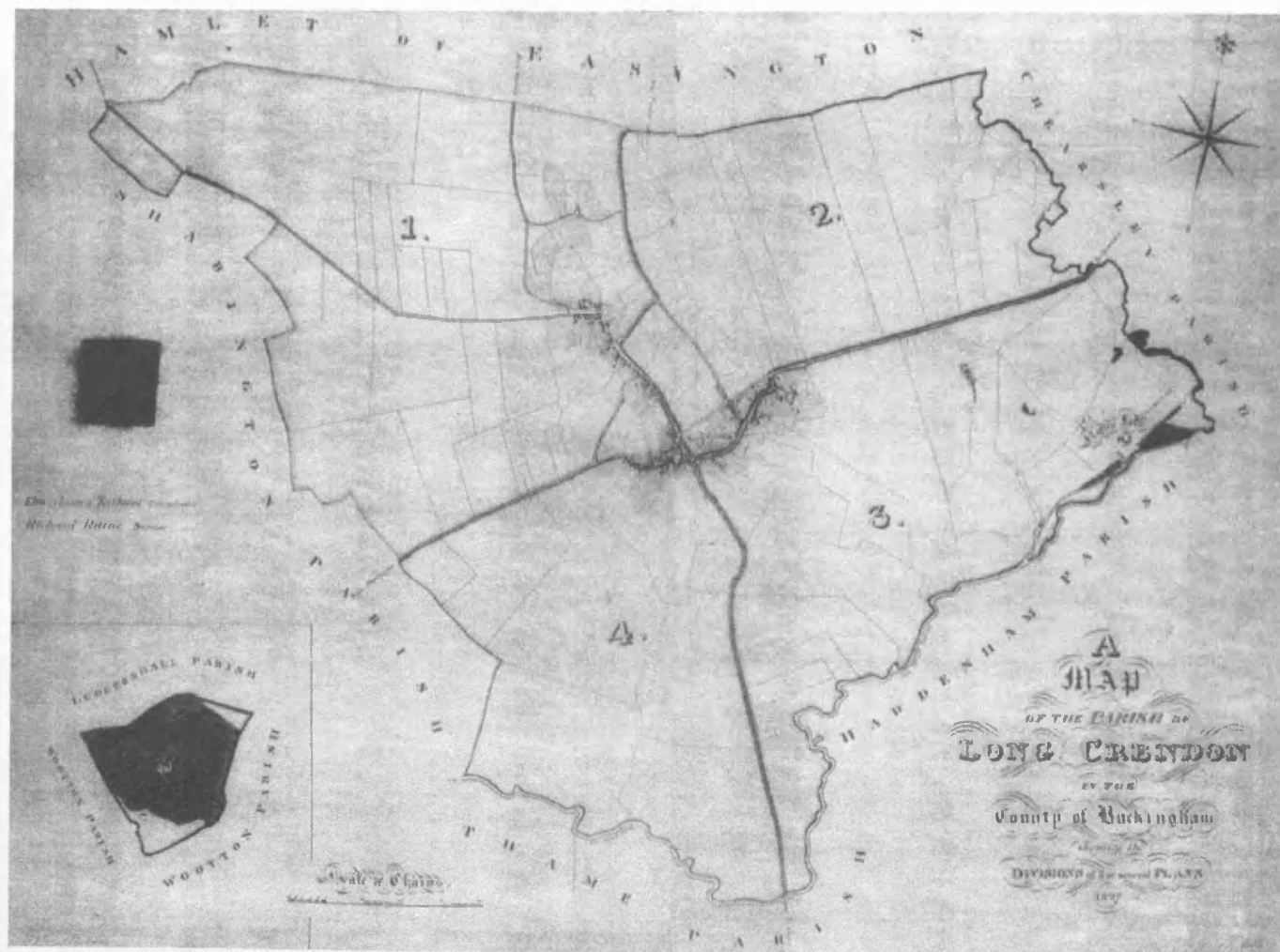


Figure 5.21 Enclosure map of Long Crendon providing an overview of the parish (CBS: IR/ 95/ Q).



Figure 5.22 Title of enclosure map for Stoke Mandeville (CBS: IR/9).

was so well established the surveyor felt no need to add to the legitimacy of the procedure through the production of a pristine map. Another late map, for Great Missenden (1845), also suggests that the need to adorn and elaborate enclosure maps had faded by this point in time. The Great Missenden map, while very professional, is minimal and has no flourishes or decorative features (Figure 5.24). This change over time agrees with Hollowell's observation that the "aesthetic qualities of the early maps" gives way to "precision, accuracy and detail" in the nineteenth century (2000, 101).

The more routine nature of later maps and awards suggests a shifting attitude towards enclosure. The process had become simpler and more streamlined over time and, while individual cases of enclosure could arouse opposition and hostility, the overall concept of parliamentary procedure was now well established and confident in its legitimacy.

Shaping the landscape

The physical nature and presentation of the enclosure maps can tell us a great deal about changing attitudes to the process of enclosure, but of far greater importance to the residents and landowners of a parish was the content of the maps. These sheets of parchment laid out the future shape of their local environment. The surveyors' choice of how to allocate the new allotments could mean a landowner keeping the fields he or she had and acquiring a few new plots which had been carved out of the open fields and commons, or they could see a wholesale reorganisation of the parish, with farmers being allocated a group of fields away from the village centre, prompting the building of new farms and a dispersal of settlement across the parish.

Crucial to the role of these maps in shaping the landscape is that they are two dimensional. As discussed in Chapter Three, maps allow a very particular way of

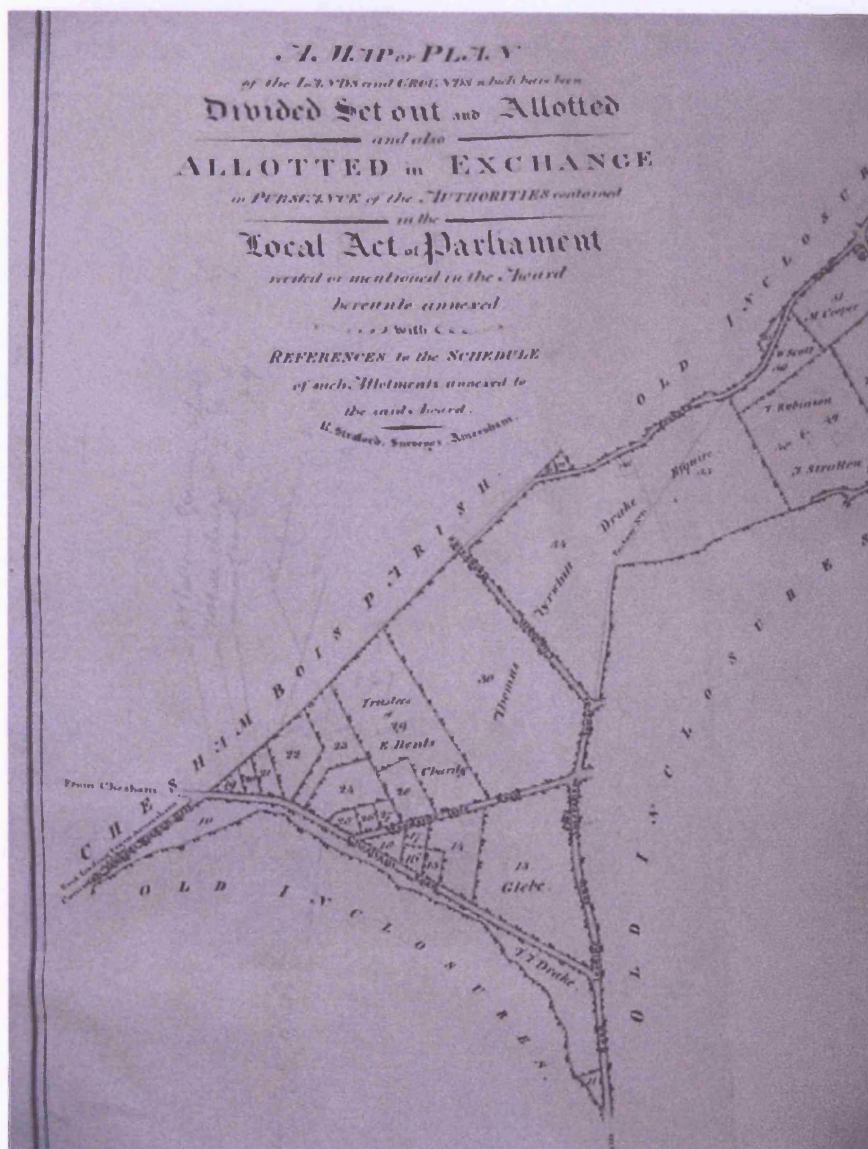


Figure 5.23 Scribbled notes on Amersham enclosure map (CBS: IR/12a).

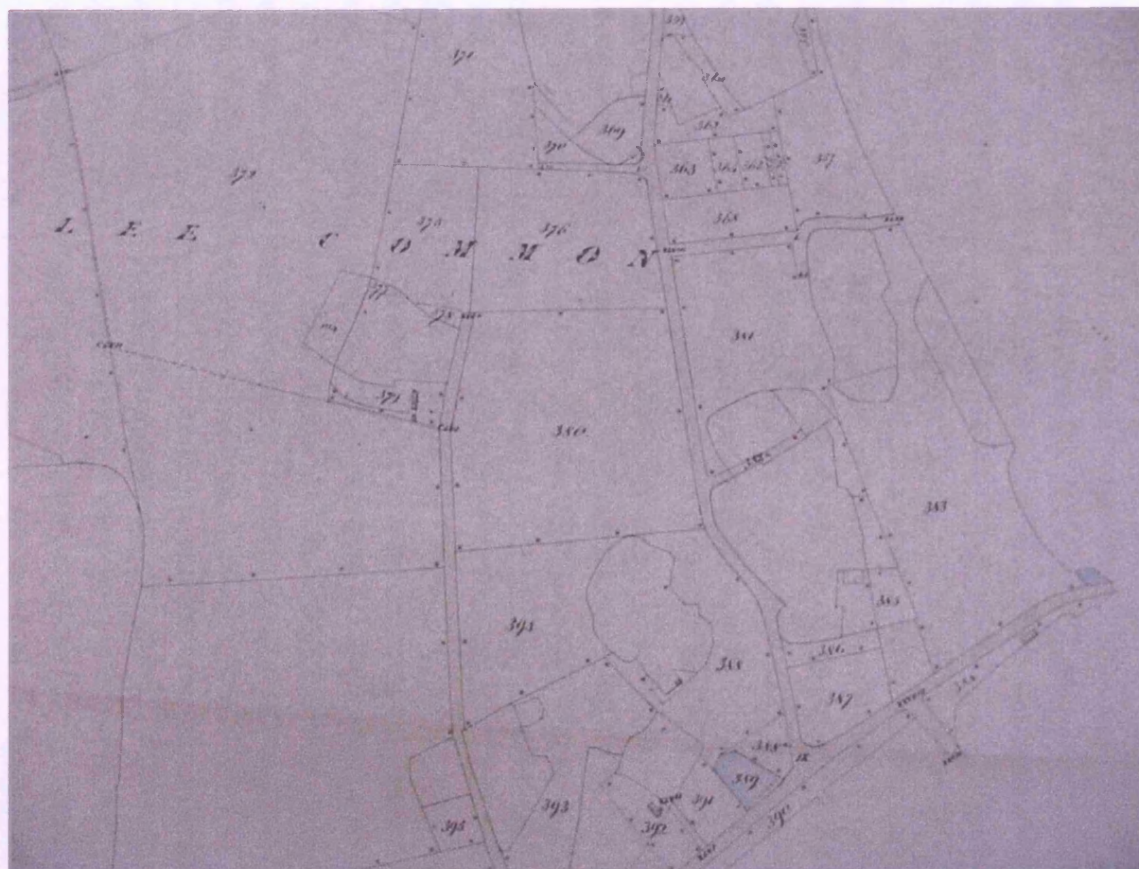


Figure 5.24 Extract from enclosure map for Great Missenden (CBS: IR/12a).

viewing the landscape. They facilitate the view of land as space and commodity, rather than viewing it as a lived landscape. Enclosure maps do not emphasise topographic variation, so the land becomes featureless and open to being rewritten. Enclosure commissioners often used rulers to draw out the lines of new roads and field boundaries. In some cases these could create hedge lines which cut across slopes and dips at odd angles, in contrast to earlier roads and field boundaries which tend to work with the local topography.

A commissioner or surveyor drawing up the new allotments on paper also had a choice of how much information they transferred from their field notes and sketches onto the map which would reshape the parish. They had the choice of using the old roads and existing enclosures as a framework for the new appearance of the parish, or they could transfer the minimal information from the existing landscape - such as the area covered by the settlement and the parish boundary. In the latter case the parish becomes a blank space to be rewritten anyway the commissioners see fit. They are distanced from the landscape itself and cannot see the existing open field strips or the topographical features that cause the roads or field edges to bend this way or that.

Parliamentary enclosure in the Midlands is often characterised in terms of large, rectangular fields and straight lines of hawthorn hedges and roads ways cutting insensitively over the ridge and furrows of the open fields (Hoskins 1985, 188-90, 204-7; Taylor 2000, 140-1). Hand in hand with this is the dispersal of farms into the landscape and the gradual abandonment of the central village. By closing down numerous pathways and roadways, parliamentary enclosure has been seen as limiting movement around the landscape and making views of the landscape less open and more ordered (Johnson 1996, 74). According to this characterisation, a newly enclosed parish can be held up as a clear example of a capitalist landscape; one ordered from a rational perspective; a blank space on a piece of paper carved up to maximise production and allow new, improved methods of farming to be employed; a landscape in which sight is prioritised; a landscape stripped of history and familiarity.

Buckinghamshire parishes north of the Chilterns escarpment are generally grouped alongside other Midland areas, including Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. How does a detailed examination of the enclosure of the parishes within the vale section of the study area uphold or challenge this Midlands-based characterisation of the enclosure process? And how does this contrast to the parliamentary enclosure of the strip parishes and the more limited enclosure in the Chilterns?

Beginning with the parishes in the vale, and then moving on to the scarp edge parishes and the parishes in the Buckinghamshire Chilterns it will be possible to examine the range of approaches taken by surveyors and commissioners and to discover whether parliamentary enclosure always resulted in the creation of a more ordered and more restricted landscape. The sources and reference numbers for the maps discussed in the following section are listed in Appendix II.

Parliamentary Enclosure in the Vale

The enclosure of the parish of Padbury (Awarded 1796), lying in the far north of the study area, is an extreme example of what the commissioners could achieve if they were so minded. It is a clear case of the redistribution of land being worked out on an almost blank sheet of paper. The commissioners and surveyors appear to have been

more concerned with the mathematics of enclosure than they were with the practicalities of realising their plans. Moreover, they evidently had little consideration for the people of Padbury whose familiar landscape was destined to be changed in a dramatic and unsettling fashion. As landscape historian Michael Reed has described, the surveyors "Davis and Russell laid their rulers straight across the map of Padbury producing a landscape of long, unbending hedgerows and rectangular fields" (Reed 1979, 202). Straight lines radiate from the village centre to give a new structure to the landscape (Figure 5.25). The new, angular fields make very little use of previous boundaries, routeways or landscape features. The only irregular features on the map are the boundaries of the old home closes which were retained by the surveyors. Several of the main roads out of the village were straightened; the Whaddon Way which had run between East Field and Hedges Field was demoted to the status of a footpath, while other roads were completely closed down. One consequence of the enclosure of Padbury was that several new farms were built away from the village in order to be near their lands in the newly enclosed fields.

The adjacent parish of Adstock was treated in a very similar fashion (Figure 5.26). Apart from the home closes which have been retained, the new fields are very regular and highly ordered. They have ruler-straight edges and, if possible, are rectangular in shape. The roads have been straightened and given the simplicity of the road network the number of roads and route was around the parish are likely to have been substantially reduced.

The enclosure of Padbury and Adstock conforms in a great many ways to the generalised pattern of parliamentary enclosure which has already been described. This is no surprise, since the parishes north of the Chilterns form part of the Midlands area used to generate this model for enclosure. Various factors facilitated the wholesale reordering of many Midlands parishes in this way. The flat or gently rolling nature of the countryside meant that the straight lines drawn on the page could be transferred without great difficulty onto the land itself. Early piecemeal enclosure was not the norm in the Midlands. This means that there were few existing hedges and only small areas of woodland. The consequence of this was few major obstacles that needed to be negotiated by the enclosure surveyors and commissioners.

Padbury and Adstock do differ in one respect to the general Midland pattern in that, while some farms were built out in the newly enclosed fields, the nucleated villages at the heart of these parishes were not dispersed. The maintenance of a central village and the old home closes may have done something to temper the sense of disruption and disorientation which the local people must have felt when the planned changes were made real on the ground.

The home closes were also maintained on the enclosure map for Weedon (1802, Figure 5.27). One of the surveyors involved in the enclosure of Weedon was Michael Russell, who was also involved in the enclosure of Padbury. The other surveyor at Weedon was William Collisson, who produced maps for other Buckinghamshire Enclosure Awards as well as serving as an enclosure commissioner in the county. At Weedon the small fields are clustered around the village, while the surrounding fields are much larger. The new enclosures have been drawn with straight lines, but they do not always take a regular, rectangular form. The reworking of Weedon is nowhere near as extreme as the reshaping of Padbury.



Figure 5.25 Section of Padbury enclosure map (CBS: IR/41).

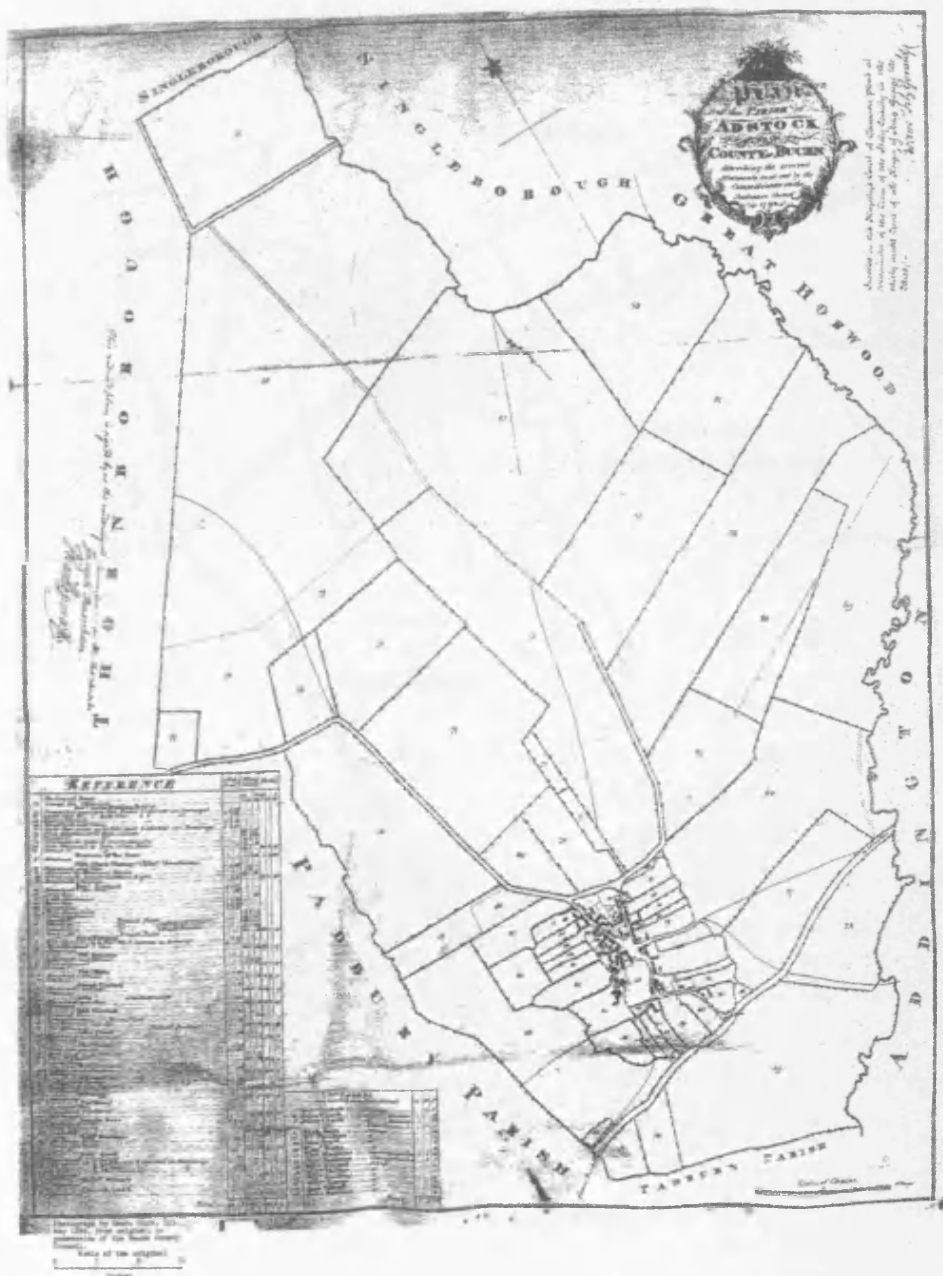


Figure 5.26 Adstock enclosure map (CBS: IR/11).

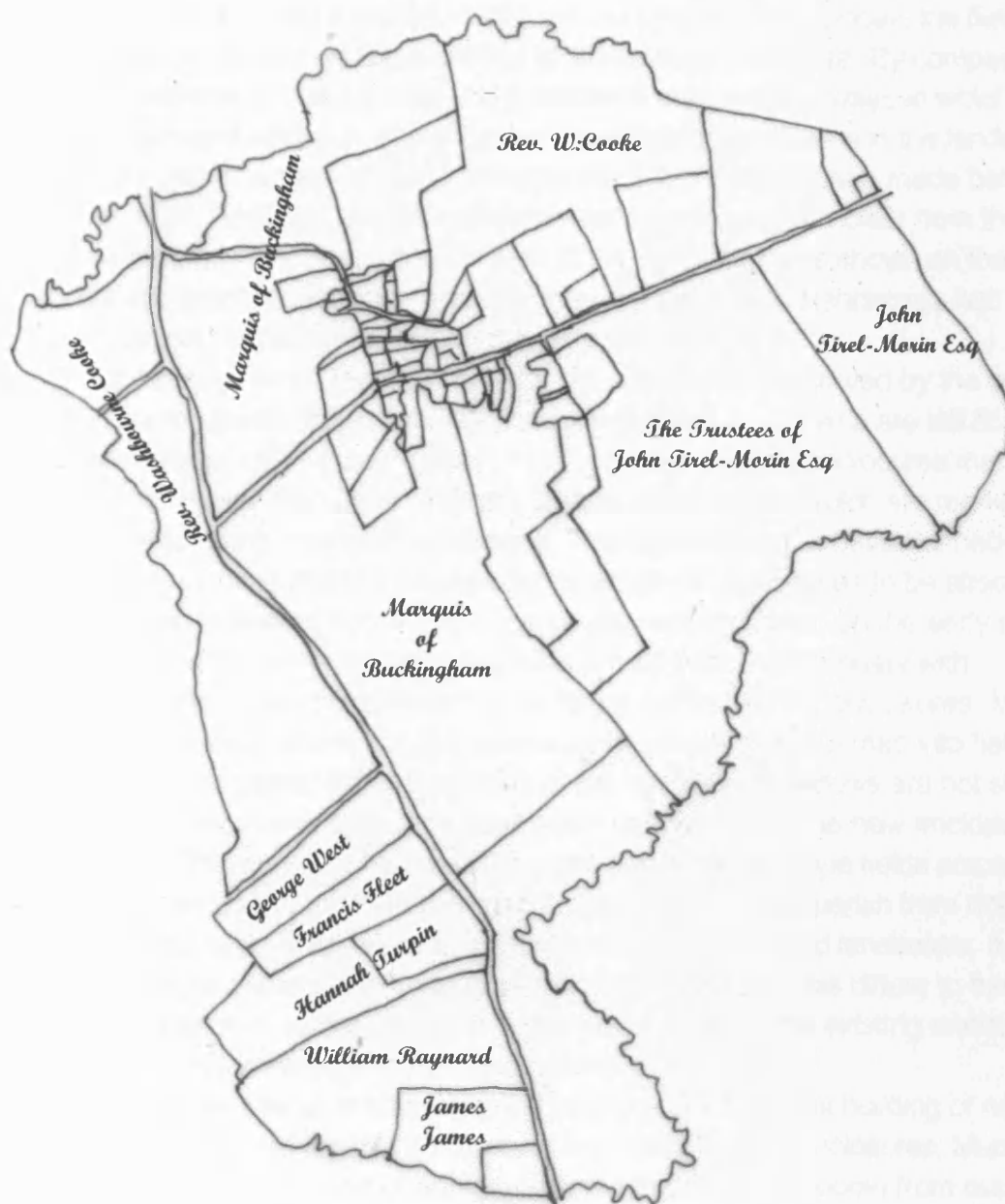


Figure 5.27 Weedon Enclosure map (CBS: IR/99).

On the map for Slapton and Horton large, fairly regular fields have been fitted in around the home closes and existing winding roads of the parish. The maintenance of these old features means that the landscape is not given an overly ordered appearance.

One of the more unusual cases of enclosure in the vale is that of the parish of Long Crendon (Figure 5.21). As already noted in the previous chapter, Long Crendon was one of the parishes which did not conform to the generalised description of vale parishes. Although it had a central village surrounded by home closes, the fields surrounding the village had been subject to some early enclosure. By comparing the 1593 map with the enclosure map it is possible to examine the ways in which the enclosure surveyor chose to use or ignore the existing boundaries in the landscape. Obviously some changes to the landscape are likely to have been made between 1593 and 1827. However, the new parliamentary enclosures are clear from the straight lines drawn across the map, while enough of the old enclosures shown on the 1593 maps survive onto the enclosure map to demonstrate that the landscape had not changed beyond all recognition since the sixteenth century.

As already noted, the main area of old enclosures preserved by the surveyor were the home closes. The substantial hedges of these small fields are still flourishing around the village today (see Figure 4.11). A number of early enclosures marked on the 1593 maps have also been retained. These include fields which are marked on the 1593 maps as being bounded by hedges. The existence of substantial hedge boundaries may have made it impractical for these old enclosures to be absorbed into the new fields. However, some of the the private closes shown on the early map, including several of the small, squarish fields shown near the boundary with Haddenham, have been swallowed up by larger parliamentary enclosures. Many stretches of trackway shown on the early map have been transformed into field boundaries or footpaths. The boundaries of the old water meadows are not shown on the enclosure maps and appear to have been absorbed into the new enclosures (Figure 5.28). The surveyor has created large, parliamentary style fields across the parish and has done much to transform the appearance of the parish from one of mixed open fields and small enclosures to a more ordered, regularised landscape. It is notable that the surveyor chose not to keep all of the old enclosures. This differs to the treatment of some the parishes on the Chilterns scarp edge, where most existing enclosures are preserved on the enclosure maps (see below).

One of the effects of enclosure in Long Crendon was the building of new farmhouses away from the village centre in the newly formed enclosures. Much of the land sold during the process of enclosure was bought up by people from outside the community who raised rents and were a source of some resentment in the community (Donald 1979).

On the enclosure map for Aylesbury the landscape is divided up into a series of large long fields and smaller, sub-rectangular and square fields. Such a division shows the existence of numerous landowners with average sized landholdings in the parish as well as a large number of local people holding one or two small allotments. Although the new layout of the parish would have been a clear departure from the landscape of open fields and meadows that once existed in the parish, the new fields are not of a uniform shape and size, while several of the small fields seem likely to be based on the

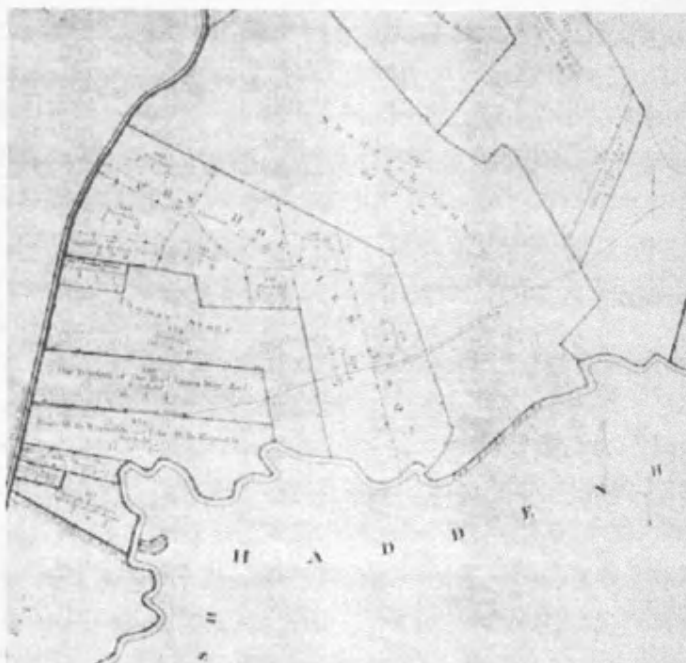
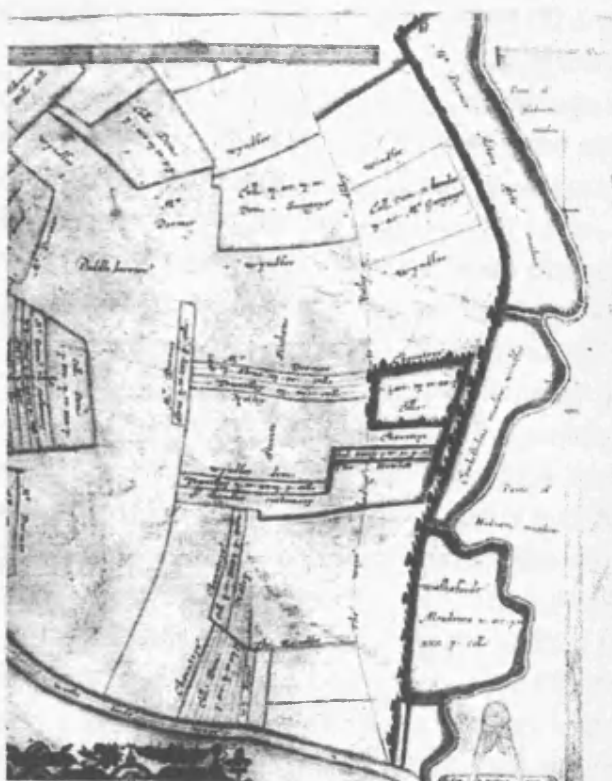


Figure 5.28 Changing field boundaries in Long Crendon: water meadows shown on map from 1593 (CBS:MaR/1/8), new fields on parliamentary enclosure map (CBS:IR95/3).

outline of single strips or groups of strips in the old open fields.

A similar pattern of large parliamentary fields and numerous small enclosures can be found on the map for Great Horwood (1842, Figure 5.29). The enclosure map shows a few very large and medium sized enclosures mixed in with a very high number of small fields which are mostly clustered around the village and the main roads. Although the new enclosures have been drawn with straight lines and take, where possible, the forms of squares and rectangles, the overall appearance of the landscape is uneven, due to the difference between the large and small fields.

The layout of Aylesbury and Great Horwood parishes draws attention to the way that the size of the population and their nature of landholdings in a parish could have a direct impact on the shaping of the landscape at enclosure. Surveyors striving for a landscape of neat, regular- sized fields could not achieve their goal if there was a great disparity between the large and small landowners in the parish. A particular thorn in the side of any neat-minded surveyor must have been parishes such as these which were home to large numbers of individuals who owned just one or two strips in the open fields. In such a case clusters or blocks of very small fields were an inevitability, unless these smallholders decided to sell up instead of undergoing the cost of enclosure. This problem may explain why the old, irregular lines of the home closes have been retained in parishes, such as Padbury, which were otherwise transformed into a landscape of straight lines and regular shaped and sized fields. The surveyor may have preferred to keep the old, small home closes, rather than creating new, small enclosures, albeit of a more regular appearance.

Another consequence of enclosure was that the divisions between rich, middling and poor, which had once been masked by the scattering of strips among the open fields, all become clear on an enclosure map.

Such a distinction is very clear on the map for Wing (1798, Figure 5.30), where a vast area of the parish is shown to be the property of "The Right Honourable Earl of Chesterfield". Indeed this map even goes so far as to not include the whole of the parish, since the entire part of the south-west corner of the parish is taken up by the "Earl of Chesterfield's Old - Inclosures", which the surveyor and commissioners saw no need to represent or reallocate. Eight medium-sized landowners have been allocated chunks of land in the parish and are named on the map itself. Around 70 other landholders in the parish each have freehold or copyhold over a few small plots of land. In a great many cases the entry on the table on the right of the enclosure map reads only "Cottage & Garden" or "Cottage & Close".

Some of the parishes situated in the vale at the foot of the Chilterns have more in common with the scarp edge parishes than with the vale parishes further to the north. One example is the parish of Stoke Mandeville. Old enclosures can be seen on the enclosure map (1798, Figure 5.31) and are especially abundant in the area around the village and the southern corner of the parish. They can also be seen in the separate woodland section of the parish where the small, assarted fields are likely to date back to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Where the surveyor for this parish has divided up the open fields and wastes there are few ruler-straight lines and they have the appearance of having used the old open field divisions as a guideline for the new allotments. Some of the larger, more regular fields may actually have been formed in the late-seventeenth or eighteenth century rather than at the point of parliamentary



Figure 5.29 Enclosure map of Great Horwood 1842 (CBS: IR 39).

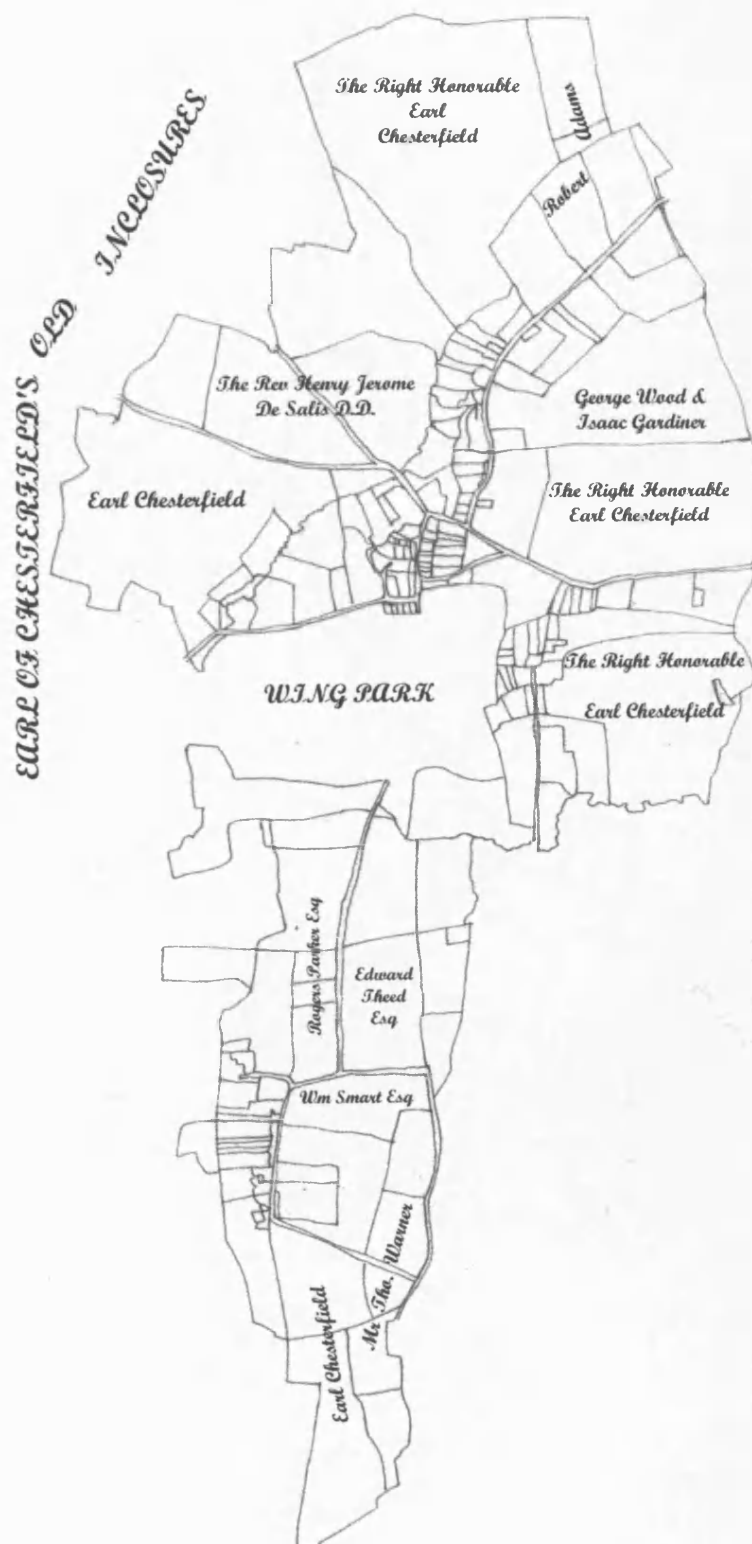


Figure 5.30 Enclosure map of Wing 1798 (after CBS: IR 30/1).

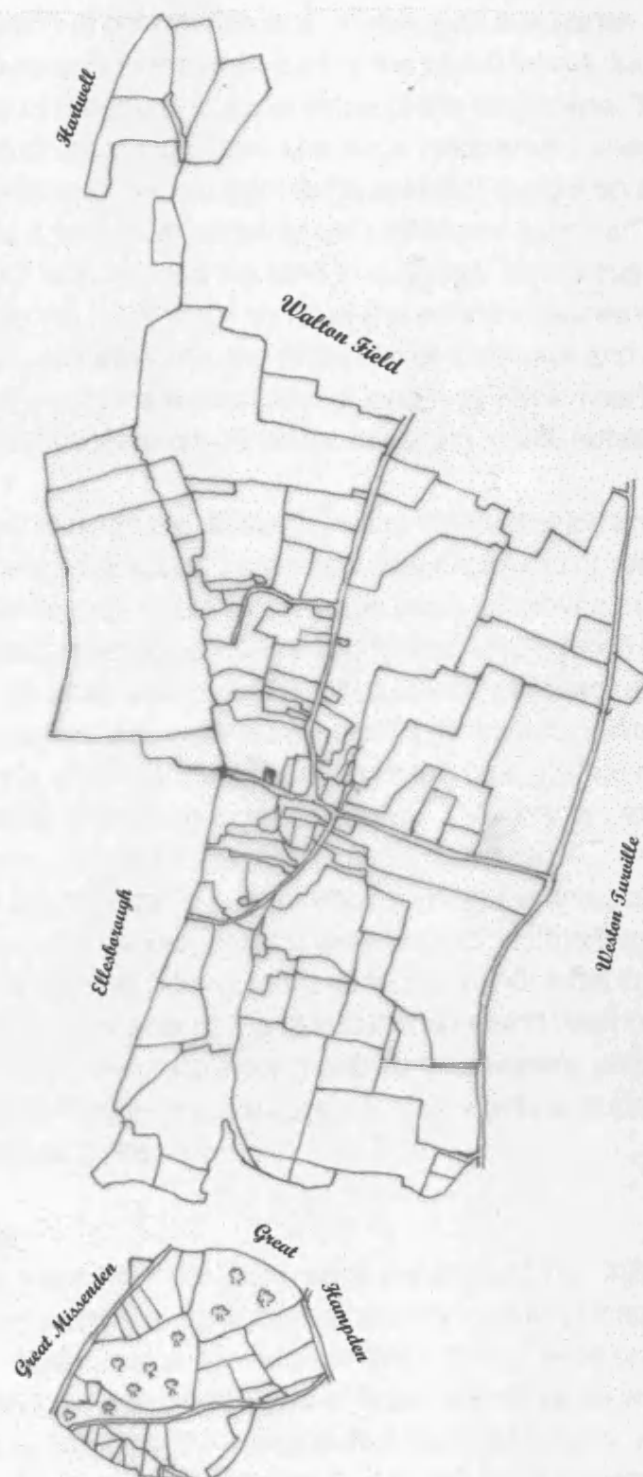


Figure 5.31 Stoke Mandeville enclosure map (CBS: IR 9/2).

enclosure.

Of the three landscape zones in this study the impact of parliamentary enclosure was greatest in the vale. Enclosure of landscape in parishes where there were no early enclosures and old hedges, save the ones around the home closes, always had the potential to make dramatic changes to both the landscape and the social dynamics of a parish. The imposition of boundaries and private land in a parish where previously everyone had had access to the main part of the parish would dramatically change people's movements around and experience of the landscape. This was especially the case in parishes such as Wing where one large landowner owned a vast proportion of the land. The exclusion of people from large areas of the parish should not be over exaggerated, since it was most certainly not individuals such as "The Right Honourable Earl of Chesterfield" who worked the land in question. Numerous paid workers would have had access to the land, while some of the new enclosures may have been rented out to local farmers. Nonetheless, the reduction of roadways and footpaths through many parishes along with the reallocation of land may have meant that the parishioners found that their activities were concentrated in certain areas, rather than being spread out across the parish.

The method of using the existing lines of the field strips and furlongs as a template for the new enclosures, as noted in the enclosure of Wendover and Ellesborough (see below), could easily have been employed in the parishes of Padbury and Adstock and could have been further employed in the enclosure of Long Crendon, as well as other vale parishes. That it was not shows a deliberate choice on the part of the surveyors and commissioners. They wanted to create a more regularised landscape, and one which removed itself from the past system of open fields, of strips and furlongs abutting one another at odd angles. They wanted to do away with curving field edges and bring straight, clean lines into the landscape.

Whatever the physical impact of enclosure on the landscape and the movements of the local people, of far greater concern to the residents would have been the impact of the shift from communal farming and, most importantly, the loss of the commons. The inhabitants of the vale parishes which had not experienced any early enclosure had to make the great adjustments to their working practices, their relationships with their fellow parishioners and their ability to subsist or survive financially in the newly enclosed landscape.

The Scarp Edge

Enclosure maps from the scarp edge parishes of the Chilterns show that a great deal of information was sometimes transferred from working maps onto the final enclosure maps. These parishes were complex, being made up of a mixture of small, enclosed fields and several small areas of open field strips as well as plots of waste, woodland and common land. To some extent the existence of old enclosures and the highly fragmented nature of the landscape and the more extreme topography made the job of creating a neat and highly ordered landscape an impossibility. The history and topography of this area forced the surveyors into compromise.

Some maps do give a promise of an ordered landscape which is not always fulfilled on the ground. Michael Russell and William Collisson's map of Wendover (1795, Figure 5.32), for example, presents a landscape where the old open fields

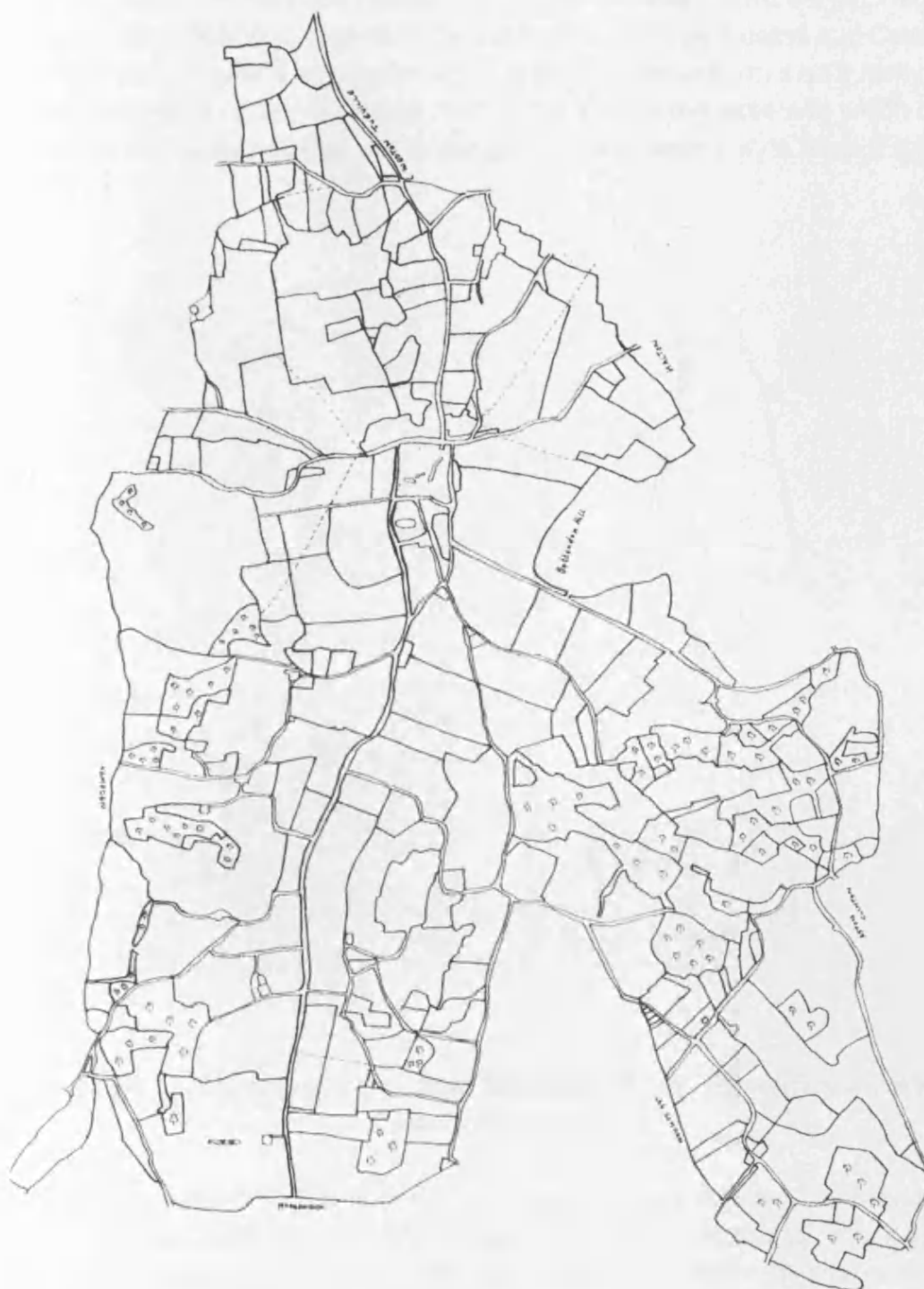


Figure 5.32 Wendover enclosure map 1795 (CBS: IR/26).

have been divided into rectangular enclosures and some of the old areas of enclosure appear to have been opened up to create large fields. However, what Russell and Collisson have chosen to do is to ignore the subdivisions within a single landowner's holdings. If all the old enclosures had been transferred onto this map the overall appearance of the landscape would become much busier and more cluttered, with the lines of the newly enclosed open fields emerging more clearly amid the old irregular enclosures. By choosing to omit all of the old field boundaries Russell and Collisson have produced a map of a landscape which appears more uniform than it really was. One notable feature of the Wendover map is that it shows the ease with which old open field strips could be sub-divided into rectangular, parliamentary style fields (Figure 5.33).



Figure 5.33 Transformation of open field strips (1794), into enclosed fields in Wendover, (1795).

Ellesborough (1805) was one of the other parishes surveyed by Michael Russell. The map's title refers to "Old Inclosures and New Allotments", and it does appear that a large quantity of old enclosures have been preserved in the creation of the enclosure map. The field and wood boundaries in the area of the parish climbing up the Chiltern scarp are large but have irregular boundaries, suggesting that they predate parliamentary enclosure. Some of the fields in this part of the landscape are edged by wide strips of trees or hedgerows indicating that they have mostly likely been cleared from woodland in previous centuries. In the low-lying area of the parish there are a large number of small fields with irregular boundaries, suggesting that the parish has

experienced a process of piecemeal enclosure over a long period of time. A few plots have been subdivided with straight lines by the surveyor, while some allotments look as though the surveyor has used old divisions in the open field to create new boundaries. In general, the enclosure map gives the impression of a parish which was substantially enclosed prior to the parliamentary process. An Act of Parliament was a convenient way for the landowners of this parish to tidy up the remaining areas of open field and waste and to formally recognise the enclosures laid out in previous centuries.

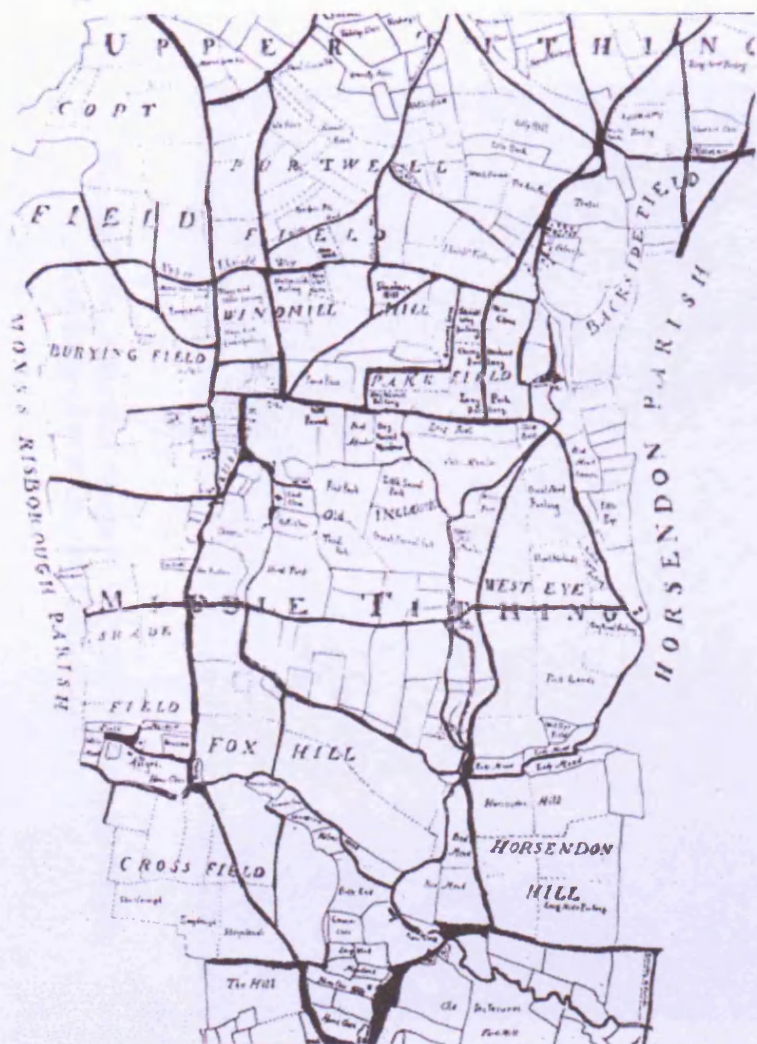
The enclosure maps for numerous other scarp edge parishes show evidence of early enclosures surviving into the new landscape layout. These include the map for Bledlow (1812), which shows a large quantity of old enclosures. They are mostly small and roughly rectangular in shape (without ruler-straight edges) and most probably date to the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The new fields laid out on this map are much larger than the old fields, but are not overly regular.

For the parish of Princes Risborough it is possible to compare the detailed working maps created by the surveyors at the time of parliamentary enclosure with the enclosure maps themselves. The working maps show a mixed landscape with old enclosures, several plots of open fields and upland woods and wastes. A substantial area of this parish had already been enclosed via piecemeal enclosure over the centuries. The remaining areas of open field are small. The old enclosures in Princes Risborough, many of which are bounded by substantial hedgerows, would have been difficult to remove. As a result the surveyor has transferred the existing enclosed fields onto the enclosure map (Figure 5.34). Unlike the enclosure map for Wendover, the surveyor Richard Collisson has included all of the existing field boundaries on the new map.

There has been a general tidying of the landscape, with some of the trackways which once laced the parishes disappearing and some of the old roads being closed down or reallocated (Figure 5.35). On the areas of old open fields the division of land into new fields does not jar too much with the surrounding landscape. Some of the old furlong divisions have sometimes been used as a guideline for the new enclosures and although he has used straight lines to form the boundaries of the new fields, the surveyor has not been overly concerned to create rectangular or regularised enclosures.

The greatest change to the landscape is in the upper section of the parish, where the old waste land at the Hillock has been divided into a series of large enclosures, while Abbots Wood and High Wood appear to have been amalgamated. The old area of open field known as "Middle Field" has been divided into two large enclosures.

One interesting feature of the Princes Risborough working map is that it shows three small fields close to the Hillock which are labelled "Monks Risborough Poor" (Figure 5.36). These allotments are also shown on the enclosure map and are described in the award itself. The description in the award notes that this land is given into the hands of the Trustees for the Poor of Monks Risborough "in lieu of freehold lands and common rights". Rights over access to the Hillock, which spreads into Monks Risborough parish, caused a prolonged dispute during the enclosure of Monks Risborough parish, so it is notable that the enclosers at Princes Risborough had already established the rights of the poor of the parish to compensation at the enclosure of the Hillock. This plot of land also highlights the complexity of enclosing common land, since rights over wastes and commons could be held by people from more than one parish.



5.34 Old enclosures on working map and enclosure map for Princes Risborough (CBS:D42/G2.T; CBS: IR/87Q)

The enclosure of Monks Risborough was finally awarded in 1839, the Act for enclosure having been passed in 1830. There are severable notable features on this enclosure map. As with Princes Risborough, this long strip parish was divided into upper and lower sections. In the lower part of the parish most of the old enclosures appear to have been transferred onto the enclosure map (Figure 5.37). The old road system of curved roads also provides a framework for the landscape. Among these old irregular fields and curving lanes, the open fields and common land have been divided up into neat, largely rectangular fields. On the ground these fields are distinguished by the straight lines of their hawthorn hedges, which often abut the older and multi-species hedges of the old enclosures. The changes to the upper part of the parish are more dramatic. A large part of this area, including the Hillock and the adjacent woods, have been allocated to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, while an area of woodland at the very top of the parish is to be owned by the Earl of Burlington. A few small farmsteads have survived in the woods and on the edges of the Hillock, but the general impression is that this upper area of the parish has become an elite landscape and is now off bounds to the majority of the parishioners.

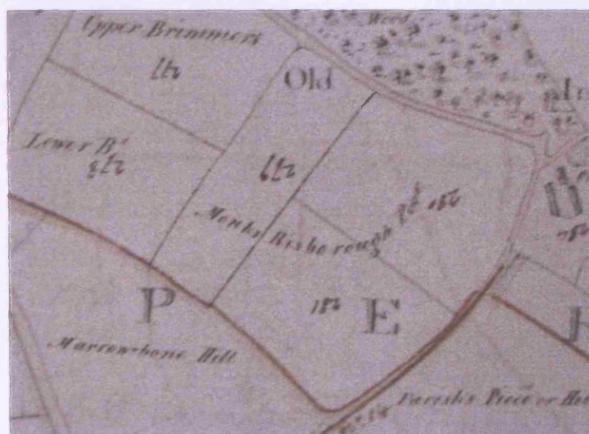


Figure 5.36 Fields allocated to "Monks Risborough Poor" in Princes Risborough parish (CBS: IR/94Q).

It was this allocation of the former woods and wastes to the Earl of Buckinghamshire which caused the dispute in the parish. This case will be further discussed in the following chapter. However, the enclosure map bears the eventual outcome of the dispute - a series of eight small allotments in the lower section of the parish (Figures 6.6 - 6.8) allotted to the poor of the parish in compensation for their loss of access to the resources, such as grazing and firewood, in the upper part of the parish.

The other interesting features of the Monks Risborough map include a small plot labelled "Churchwarden - for Recreation" (Figure 5.38). The problems in terms of exercise and recreation created by the loss of common land following enclosure were much debated at this point in time. In 1840, the year after the Monks Risborough Award was granted, parliament ruled that provision should be made for open space for exercise and recreation for local people when parliamentary enclosure was undertaken,

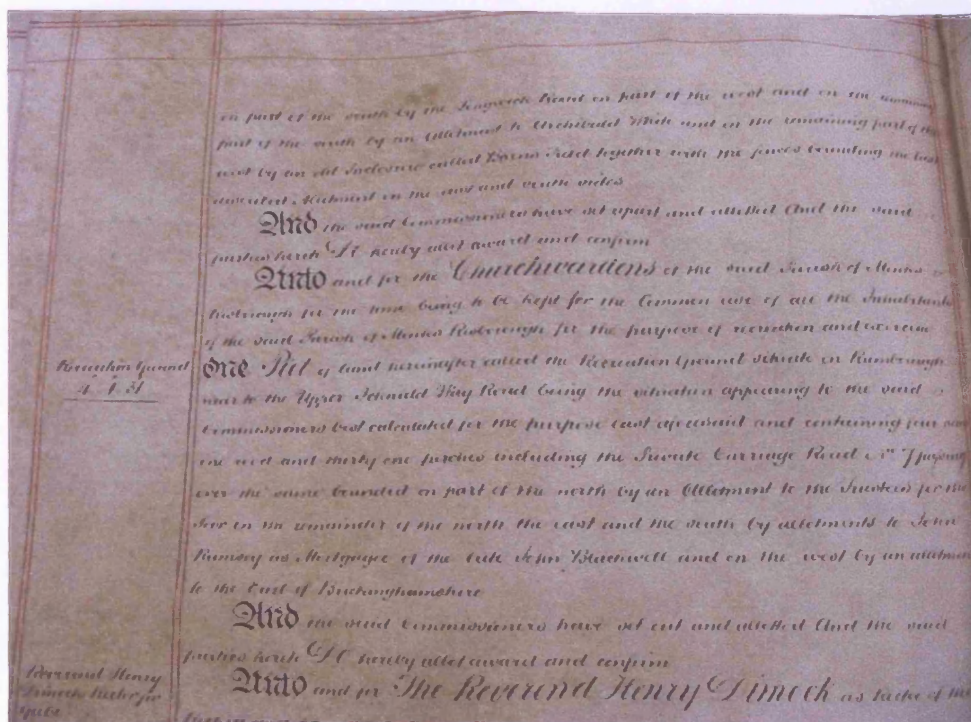


Figure 5.38 Small plot allocated to "Churchwarden - for Recreation", Monks Risborough Enclosure Award.

although in many cases the space granted was very small (Hammond and Hammond 1947, 77-8, 84-5). This was certainly the case at Monks Risborough, where the small and sloping area of land today provides an unusual and challenging location for the local cricket ground.

The other plot singled out for special treatment at Monks Risborough was an enclosure surrounding a prominent local landmark “White Cliff Cross”, now known as Whiteleaf Cross (Figure 5.39). This large chalk cross cut into the hillside is visible from a long distance away, and formed a noted landmark for travellers approaching the hills from the Vale of Aylesbury. The entry within the award describes how the Cross has been allotted seven acres of land in order to keep it “conspicuous” in the landscape. The commissioners have ruled that the land around the cross must not be enclosed for farming or planted with trees. The Earl of Buckinghamshire is placed under an obligation to renew and repair the cross.

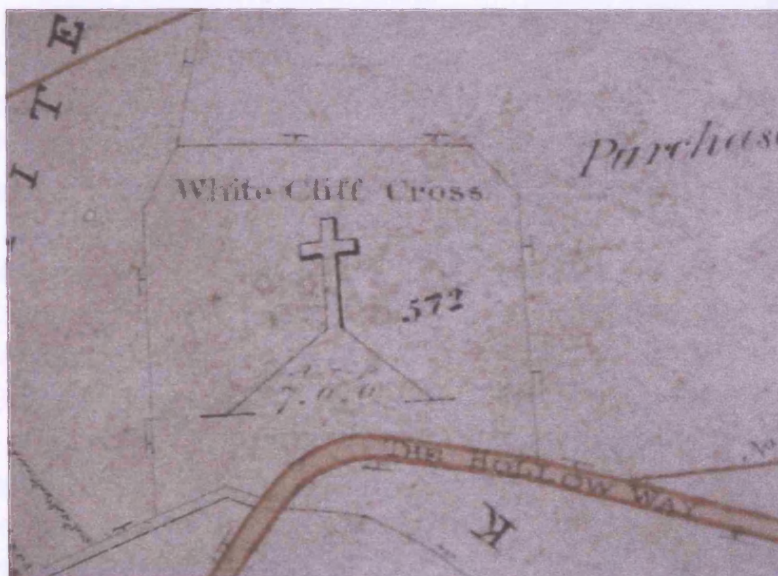


Figure 5.39 “White Cliff Cross” on Monks Risborough enclosure map.

This clause to renew and repair the cross is significant, since it shows that the process of parliamentary enclosure is not a straightforward rewriting of the landscape. While commissioners and surveyors were keen to see the end of the old open field system they were not all happy to wipe out all traces of the history and distinctive features of the landscape.

In general, the scarp edge parishes fared less brutal treatment than the parishes in the vale. This was principally because they had already undergone substantial enclosure and the hedges and banks surrounding the existing enclosures would have been expensive and troublesome to remove. Added to this is the efficiency of leaving land which is already privately owned by an individual in the hands of that same individual. In general, the existing layout of the landscape seems to have guided the surveyors' hands, and the new enclosures which sit amongst the old ones simply add

to the general pattern of small and middle sized fields. Some of the surveyors and commissioners working in this region showed considerable sensitivity to the landscape. They used their detailed maps of the parish to maintain features of the landscape.

The enclosure of the scarp edge parishes had, therefore, far less impact on the appearance of and access through the landscape than the enclosure of parishes such as Padbury and Adstock. However, the removal of the open fields and, in particular, the enclosure of the woodlands, wastes and commons would have had substantial social consequences for the poorer members of society. For those people no amount of sensitivity to landscape would make up for the loss of grazing or access to vital resources such as firewood.

The Chilterns

Enclosure Acts and Awards for parishes in the Buckinghamshire Chilterns themselves are far less common. This is because most of the open fields had already been enclosed prior to the introduction of parliamentary enclosure. The few exceptions include Amersham, Chalfont St Peter and Hughenden. In general, where parliamentary enclosure was employed in the hills it was to enclose remaining areas of common land. The enclosure of common lands in the Chilterns takes place towards the end of the period of parliamentary enclosure, with many parishes employing the Annual General Acts which were introduced in the 1836, 1840 and 1845. Examples of such enclosure include Penn (Award 1855), Great Missenden (Award 1855) and Chepping Wycombe (Award 1869).

Apart from a small area of Hyde Heath, in Chesham parish, which was enclosed using a Timber Act in 1807, the first parish in the Buckinghamshire Chilterns to be affected by parliamentary enclosure was Amersham in 1815. This was followed by Chalfont St Peter (Award 1847). The other Chiltern parishes within the study area to make use of an Act of Parliament were all given their Awards in the 1850s and 1860s.

Hepple and Doggett have noted that tiny fragments of open fields did survive in other parishes - they are noted on tithe maps - and were extinguished by private agreement during the nineteenth century (1999, 195).

The maps created for the enclosure of the Chiltern parishes often have a fragmented appearance as they deal with strips and bundles of land which tend to be at the edges of the parish. In most cases the maps show only the areas affected by enclosure, not the whole parish. A common element of these enclosure maps is the depiction of numerous small fragments of waste land. Many of these small pieces of land run alongside roads or at road junctions (Figure 5.40). The inclusion of even the tiniest fragments of waste show the thoroughness with which the surveyors and commissioners undertook their task. Cobbett noted that squatters and the poorer members of the parish sometimes took refuge on the wide road verges following the enclosure of the parish commons:

It seems as if they had been swept off the fields by a hurricane, and had dropped and found shelter under the banks on the roadside (Cobbett 1830, cit Munby 1977, 183).

In a parish where even the small refuge provided by the roadside was denied to them, the poor may have had little choice but to leave the parish altogether.

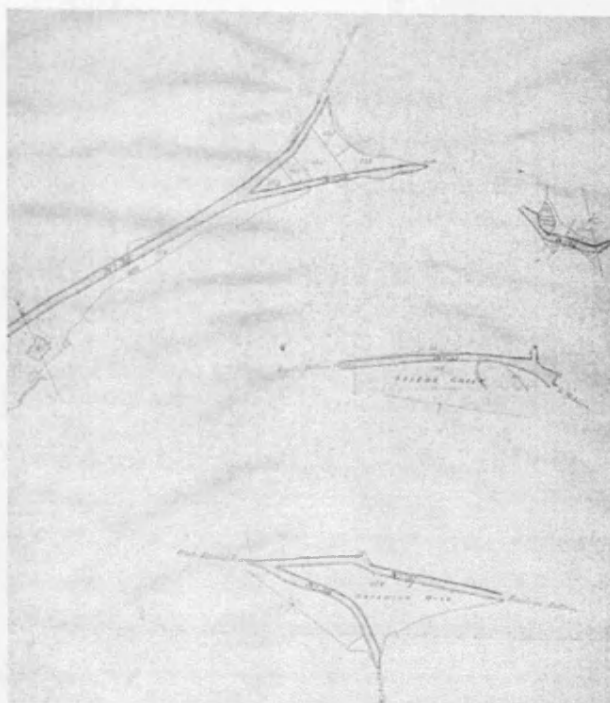


Figure 5.40 Extract from Penn enclosure map, showing fragments of enclosed wasteland and new enclosures along roadsides (CBS: PR 163/21/1).

One of the notable features of these maps is that the former areas of common land are divided up using very neat and straight lines. The open nature of the common land may have facilitated the surveyors' decisions to divide the land in this way. Such neat, ruler-straight enclosures can be seen on the map for Amersham, drawn up in 1815 (Figure 5.23), as well as the later maps for parishes such as Great Missenden (Figure 5.24), Penn (Figure 5.40) and Hughenden, all of which were Awarded in 1855. Few allowances for the character of the local landscape seem to have been made by the surveyors dividing up the common land.

As already noted, the decision to enclose the common land of a parish may have been due to dispute growing up over the appropriate use of this land or because people from outside the parish were exploiting the common's resources (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 197). This may explain why parishes such as Wendover (1857) and Hughendon (1862) sought a further Act of Parliament to enclose remaining patches of common land which had not been enclosed under an earlier Act. For those parishes in the Chilterns wishing to enclose their common land the process of parliamentary enclosure must have been a welcome tool. Everyone in the parish would have had an interest in the common lands, waste and woodland and may have disputed the manner of division of these lands. In such a case the official sanctioning and unquestioned legality of the Enclosure Acts would have helped to reinforce the status of the new enclosures.

While the focus of this chapter is to look at parliamentary enclosure in the study area, it is very important to note that the vast majority of parishes in the Chilterns, away from the scarp edge, did not undergo parliamentary enclosure (see Table 5.4).



Figure 5.41 Post-enclosure field boundary near Wellhead Farm, Wendover parish.

Moreover, many of these parishes have retained areas of common land up until the present day.

Enclosure on the Ground

Across much of the study area, in particular the vale, enclosure boundaries take the usual form of straight, single species hawthorn hedges. Parliamentary divisions are clearly visible in the scarp edge parishes, such as Monks Risborough, where they run up to the lines of earlier hedgerows. Meanwhile, views from high points along the Chiltern escarpment, such as Coombe Hill, show the straight lines, angles and rectangles of the parliamentary fields and roads cutting through the landscape. In some of these parishes, for example Cuddington and Long Crendon, late eighteenth and nineteenth century farmhouses have been built amongst the fields on the outskirts of the parish.

Evidence from Wendover parish, however, shows that parliamentary and post-parliamentary field divisions were not always uniform. The last section of hedge surveyed on London Road is predominantly beech, while the stretch of hedge running from this up to the bottom of Little Barcroft Field is predominantly beech and hawthorn, and has been planted with regularly spaced beech trees (see Tables 11A and 11B in Appendix I). Both these sections of hedge are likely to have been planted following the Enclosure Award of 1795. Other tree-punctuated hedgelines likely to date from, or shortly after, the time of enclosure, include the boundary near Wellhead Farm and another hedgeline between Boddington Hill and the Hale (Figures 5.41 and 5.42). The hedge near Wellhead Farm has been grubbed out, but the evenly spaced ash and oak trees remain. Meanwhile, other parliamentary enclosures running off the Hale Lane have been planted simply with hawthorn.



Figure 5.42 Post-enclosure field boundary near the Hale, Wendover parish.

This evidence suggests that individual landowners were actively making choices about how to enclose their new fields. The ability to plant trees along the line of a new boundary may be indicative of the wealth of the landowner, and it may also have signalled their support for the enclosure process and the idea of improvement (as well as having practical and economic benefits). The variable nature of enclosure hedges in this one parish suggests that Rackham may be overstating the distinction between hedgelines from early parliamentary enclosure, which he suggests are likely to be more elaborately fenced, hedged and planted with trees, and later, nineteenth century examples of parliamentary enclosure which he suggests are more likely to be planted with simple hawthorn hedges (1997, 190). While they may be some general shift over time, the example of Wendover demonstrates the importance of individual landowners in determining the nature of the new enclosures.

Conclusion

The analysis of enclosure across the three landscape zones of the study area does show that there are differences in the way that enclosure was handled in the vale, on the scarp edge and in the Chilterns. These differences highlight the importance of the history of an area and the topography of the landscape. The vale parishes which had not been subject to early enclosure and which lay on gently undulating ground were much easier to divide into regular blocks and new formations than the complex, hilly, hedge, bank and tree laden parishes of the scarp edge and the hills.

The study also shows that the treatment of a parish by the parliamentary commissioners and surveyors could be influenced by the nature of enclosure in neighbouring parishes. The parish of Long Crendon, for example, had substantial areas

of early enclosure, and yet the surveyors chose to absorb some of the early fields into the new, more ordered landscape. Had Long Crendon lain alongside the scarp edge it may have been treated differently. This is demonstrated by the case of Stoke Mandeville, situated at the foot of the scarp edge, which was treated in a manner more akin to the neighbouring strip parishes.

While there are recognisable differences between the enclosure of parishes in the three landscape zones, there are also differences within the zones. For example, the Award map for Wendover (1795) seeks to bring a greater order to the scarp edge landscape, while the Princes Risborough map (1823) presents the full complexity and history of enclosure in the parish. Meanwhile, in the vale surveyors could choose to maintain characteristic features of the local landscape, such as the winding roads (as in the map for Slapton and Horton, 1812) or they could rewrite the shape of the landscape in a more dramatic way as the surveyors chose to do in the parish of Padbury (1796). Such differences highlight the power of the surveyor and the commissioners, and shows that while there was a highly organised method of carrying out enclosure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the exact nature and eventual appearance of that enclosure was not tightly controlled.

It is clear to see that the generalised, Midlands style of parliamentary enclosure that is often forwarded in landscape history books cannot be used to describe parliamentary enclosure as it was carried out in the Chilterns, scarp edge and even in the vale. Even in parishes such as Padbury and Adstock which were subject to extreme changes there are variations on the 'normal' Midlands enclosure, since the surveyors chose to retain the nucleated villages and home closes which formed the hearts of these parishes, meaning that enclosure did not result in the dispersal of settlement and the decline of the village. It also meant that some familiar landmarks were retained in the landscape. Although Buckinghamshire north of the Chilterns is generally included in discussions of Midlands enclosure, the findings of this study (supported by Turner 1973, 3) is that enclosure in this region does not fit neatly into the pattern of Midlands parliamentary enclosure.

The parishes on the scarp edge are very far from looking like the planned Midlands landscape. Surveyors and commissioners working in these parishes were forced to compromise by the local topography and by the substantial banks and hedges created around many of the early enclosures. The very high numbers of small resident landowners in the scarp edge parishes may also have acted as a restraining hand on the surveyors' desire to tidy up the landscape. In the Chilterns there was so little unenclosed land and such an abundance of woodland and substantial hedgerows the surveyors and commissioners would have found it impossible to impose order across a whole parish. They had to content themselves with the orderly division of small scraps and patches of open field, common and waste.

The existence of substantial early enclosure in the study area meant that highly ordered, 'capitalist' landscapes were hard to establish. In numerous cases the surveyors have displayed some sensitivity to the landscape by allowing old routeways, enclosures and the old lines of the furlongs and strips in the open fields to give a framework for the new allotments. The special case made for the chalk cross in Monks Risborough also shows that the surveyors could be sensitive to the history and character of the landscape. Parliamentary enclosure did not succeed in imposing

uniformity across the study area.

But, no matter how sensitively the surveyor handled the landscape, any case of large scale parliamentary enclosure meant upheaval and expense. Some people would gain a great deal, others might decide the expense was too great and sell up or have to shift from subsisting as a small landholder to working as a wage labourer. In any parish in which the commons and waste were enclosed the poorer members of the community would certainly suffer from a loss of valuable resources.

For all these reasons the enclosure documents had to be respected, had to hold the weight of government behind them; they had to encourage people to feel that even if they were to dispute its rulings they should at least engage with the commissioners on their own terms, through legal channels, through official channels and documented debate rather than on the ground action and resistance.

The following chapter examines the extent to which these documents and the official process of parliamentary enclosure successfully achieved their aims. It has already been noted, in the cases of Monks Risborough and Princes Risborough, that enclosure could generate disputes and challenges. The extent of disputes and resistance in the study area needs further examination. Of central interest in this discussion is the interaction between customary rights and legal, documented rights over landscape.

Chapter Six: Change and Contestation in the Era of Parliamentary Enclosure (c.1750- c.1880)

Introduction

The previous chapter examined the different ways in which parliamentary enclosure was employed and implemented across the study area. So far the discussion has focused largely on the process of parliamentary enclosure and the shift in the use and appearance of the landscape. In order to write an account of landscape change in which the people who created and lived with those changes are foregrounded, it is necessary to explore in more detail the impact that the new divisions and forms of ownership made on the people living in the study area.

In order to continue the discussion of enclosure's role in the creation of capitalist or modern landscapes, the first section of this chapter will address the extent to which the reshaping of the landscape at the time of parliamentary enclosure caused disruption and disorientation to the local people, robbing them of their connection with the history and familiar places of their parish (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of capitalist landscapes and placelessness). This will be followed by an examination of the economic and social impact on the people of the Chilterns, scarp and vale. The work of academics such as the Hammonds (1911) and Hobsbawm and Rudé (2001) has highlighted the damaging effect parliamentary enclosure could have on small owner-occupiers and labourers, while others (eg Chambers and Mingay 1966; Birtles 1999) have suggested that these claims are overstated. What was the impact of parliamentary enclosure on the smaller landowners in the study area? How did the patterns of landowning shift during the period of parliamentary enclosure? How damaging was the enclosure of waste and common land?

Once the impact of parliamentary enclosure on people across the study area has been assessed, this chapter will go on to examine the extent to which people were able to contest or resist the changes brought about by enclosure. It will also explore the nature of that opposition or resistance. First to be examined is opposition which worked through the official channels, such as forms of objection sanctioned by the parliamentary enclosure process or through the courts with the involvement of the legal profession. The following section will explore more direct forms of resistance.

To conclude this chapter there will be a discussion of the extent to which people at different levels had the power to support or resist enclosure, and analyse the extent to which they were successful. It will also explore the necessity and practicalities, in a society increasingly convinced of the desirability of improvement and progress, of dealing with change.

Place and Placelessness

In a colonial context, the creation of Westernised, capitalist landscapes, planned on paper and imposed uncompromisingly onto the ground often had the effect of rewriting the landscape (eg Mitchell 1988). Places of significance to the indigenous population were sometimes destroyed, sometimes appropriated by the settlers.

Resources and land were denied to the local people who had no written documentation to prove their rights to the land. Since history and identity are intimately related to place and landscape, these actions could have a dramatic effect on the indigenous population (eg Morphy 1993).

The creation of capitalist landscapes in a colonial context was based on attitudes and ideas about space and landscape developed in Europe. In the colonies the imposition of capitalist ideas of space and ownership on the local populations was sometimes a dramatic, and often a brutal and bloody affair. However, there are connections with the enclosure of land in England. The medieval and early post-medieval creation of large sheep pastures in England often led to the depopulation of villages, while some villages were forcibly depopulated by landowners wishing to extend or landscape their parkland (Beresford 1983). Such actions had the effect of removing people from places and landscapes which were entangled with their personal and family histories, and may have denied them any future contact with those places. In addition to the early examples of large-scale enclosure in the study area (see Chapter Four), the parliamentary enclosure of certain parishes such as Padbury and Adstock meant a dramatic rewriting of the landscape which could exclude people from certain areas of the landscape and provoke feelings of disorientation and dislocation.

Loss and Continuity

The sun een seems to lose its way
Nor knows the quarter it is in
(from *The Flitting* by John Clare).

As noted in the previous chapter, the visual impact of parliamentary enclosure would have been greatest in the vale parishes which had maintained their open fields into the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The rapid change from open to enclosed fields, the imposition of straight lines on the landscape and the new alignment of the roads would have meant that many people saw the removal of, or loss of access to, many locations that had been significant places in their lives or in the history of their community. Enclosure could mean the removal of landmarks such as trees, as well as a loss of access to places associated with local customs or gatherings (Bate 2003, 48-50). The enclosure of the common land and waste often brought to an end annual celebrations or fairs, as was the case following the enclosure of Berkhamsted Frith in the mid-nineteenth century (Cowell 2002, 154).

In these the vale parishes, the landscape had also lost its dynamism. Under the open field system the major turning points in the year were marked by the movement of the livestock onto the meadows and commons in the spring, and their return into the open fields after the harvest in the autumn. Once the whole of a parish had been enclosed the landscape became more static. In many parishes there was no more common land. Livestock may have been moved from field to field over the course of the year, but the great seasonal transformation of the parish from crop to pasture had come to an end. The lines of the fields were now fixed and bounded, pinned down by ditches, banks and hedgerows.

Local inhabitants would have been acutely aware of the speed with which the

landscape was changing. As the new roads and the new allotments were staked out, and the fences were put up, ditches dug and hedgerows planted, the landscape must have had a raw appearance. For those who had lived in the parish for many years any changes in the orientation of the main roads would have given them a subtly different view of the landscape as they entered or left the village, giving them a sense of things being slightly out of kilter which would have been disorientating. Meanwhile, other views, footpaths and areas of the landscape may have been denied to them completely. As the hedgerows grew in size, year by year, the views along the road and the general appearance of the parish would have a very different feel to the old open field layout - more prescriptive (in the way you could move through it) and more restrictive (in a visual as well as a physical sense). Barrell has described the open field landscape as a circular one, focused on the village, while enclosed landscapes tended to be more linear, with regular enclosures and straightened roads connecting the parish to other places (1972, 103).

Contrary to Johnson's argument that the straight lines of enclosure had an impact on the eye rather than on the body, the enclosure of the open fields will have had a powerful physical impact on local people. While some writers have drawn attention to the importance of the visual in capitalist societies (eg Gregory 1994), others (such as Foucault 1977) have drawn attention to the ways in which the manipulation of space in capitalist societies can be used to control and manipulate the physical experience and behaviour of individuals. This is not to say that the parliamentary enclosure was designed with the aim of controlling the movements of the rural population of England, but to argue that the creation of the new enclosures had an impact on the physical and well as the visual experience of the people who lived and worked in those landscapes.

Knowledge and habits of moving through the landscape are not just stored in the brain, they are embodied memories (Casey 1987). Individuals used to taking a particular route home or to approaching the village from a particular direction will have felt the change in the routes they had to walk partly as a physical sensation. Similarly, as the hedgerows grew thicker and higher in the vale parishes, people walking along the roads and working in the fields may have felt a physical sense of constriction, even mild claustrophobia as the once open landscape was broken down into small, bounded enclosures.

It is important to note that such sensations would have been most keenly felt by people of the lower classes, who walked or rode on horseback through the landscape. It would also have had a greater impact on those people for whom the parish was the principle arena of their lives (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 56; Barrell 1972, 95-6). Barrell has argued that the open field system was an expression of this perspective in which the parish was the centre of the world and the roads were "primarily an internal network, to connect different places within the parish" (1972, 95). This is contrasted with the enclosed landscape where the roads "lead emphatically *out* of the parish" and in which the individuality of the parish might be diminished and drawn into a wider geographical area (1972, 96).

Barrell slightly overplays the distinction between open field and enclosed landscapes, since for many individuals the parish would continue to be the centre of their world after enclosure, even if the landscape was no longer expressive of that fact, while (as the examination of enclosure in the study area has demonstrated) an Act of

Parliament did not necessarily strip all landmarks and local character from the landscape, nor did it produce uniform landscapes across the country. Nonetheless, Barrell's point is important in highlighting the dramatic change that could be brought about in the landscape following enclosure.

The members of the landed gentry would of course have been aware of enclosure, since it was generally the wealthier landowners who petitioned for an Act of Parliament. However, they moved through the landscape in carriages, which may have been covered. Their world spread far beyond the boundaries of a single parish, and was constituted of a network of stately homes, as well as the provincial towns and major centres such as London. The wealthy classes could retreat behind the walls of their landscaped parks and gardens, wrapped around by their own vision of the natural world and forget about the dramatic changes that were going on in the surrounding, working landscape (Williamson 1995, 102-3).

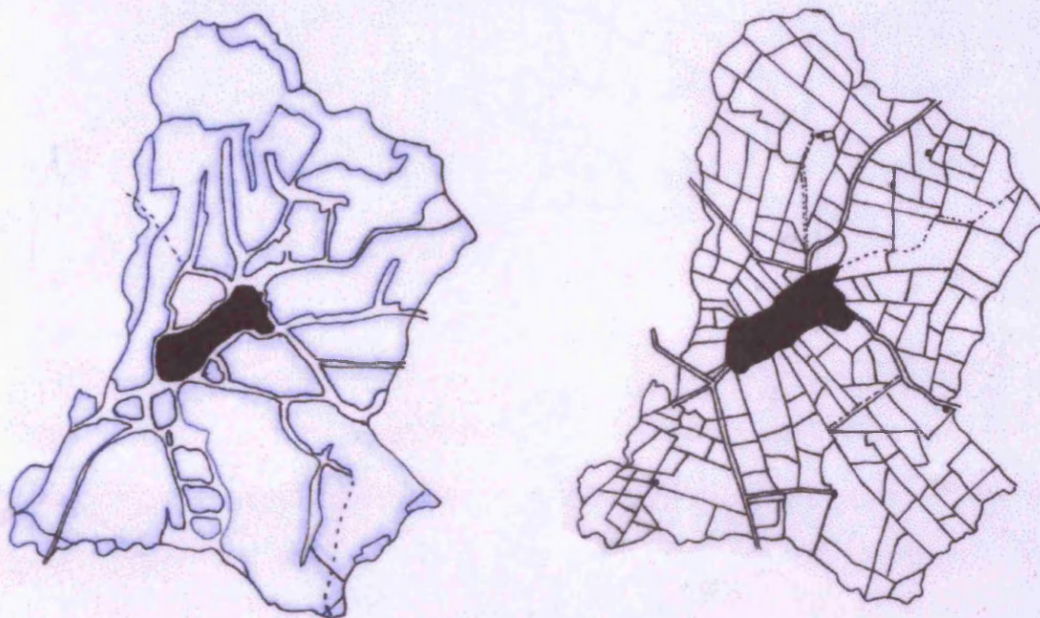


Figure 6.1 Padbury before and after parliamentary enclosure (based on Reed 1979, 176, 203).

It is, of course, difficult to pin down the impact of parliamentary enclosure on the freedom of movement, the everyday experience and emotional well-being of people living in parishes subject to an Act of Parliament. However, looking at the parishes for which evidence of the pre- and post-enclosure landscape has survived, it is at least possible to gain an understanding of the extent to which access to certain parts of the landscape were closed down, as well as looking at whether change extended across the whole or only part of the parish landscape.

At the most extreme the transformation from communally managed fields and common lands was absolute. This can be seen in the example of Padbury (Figure 6.1). In the case of the scarp edge parishes the shift of ownership was more subtle, with

SPECIAL NOTE

**THIS ITEM IS BOUND IN SUCH A
MANNER AND WHILE EVERY
EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO
REPRODUCE THE CENTRES, FORCE
WOULD RESULT IN DAMAGE**



Figure 6.2 Wendover: map of 1794 and enclosure map from 1795.



Figure 6.3 Line of pollarded willows along river bank in Dinton parish.

large areas of old enclosures remaining unchanged, and only small sections of surviving open field shifting from communally managed to privately owned land (Figure 6.2). The major difference in the scarp edge parishes was the loss of access to common land.

As noted in Chapter Five, it is possible to overstate the closing down of the landscape, since, if the land was to be worked people needed access to it. However, in parishes where large areas of common land and wastes had been enclosed, or where the number of routeways had been significantly been reduced, the loss of freedom in moving around the landscape would have been keenly felt by the parishioners (Williamson 2002, 47). Thompson observes that “within the space of a year or two the labourers’ world shrank suddenly, from ‘our’ parish to a cottage which might not be their own (1991b, 179).

The changes parliamentary enclosure brought to the landscape and to people’s lives in the study area were not absolute. As already discussed in Chapter Five, the changes made in the study area, even in parishes such as Padbury were not as extreme as the changes made in some of the Midland counties further north. Most vale parishes maintained their central villages, with perhaps two or three new farms being built in the new enclosures close to the village boundaries. Even in parishes subject to considerable upheaval, such as Long Crendon and Dinton, the thick hedges of the home closes (see Figure 4.11), old farmhouses, and lines of pollarded willows along the river bank (Figure 6.3) would have helped the local people to maintain their connection with place.

On the scarp edge and in the Chilterns the general appearance of the landscape went through much less change. Thick hedgerows, lines of trees and areas of woodland could not easily be removed by the enclosure commissioners. The already scattered settlement pattern meant that no fundamental changes to the positioning of farms was necessary. Meanwhile, as already discussed, some Enclosure Awards made a special effort to ensure that certain historical features in the landscape were protected and

preserved.

There were changes, though, especially in the lower-lying regions of the scarp edge parishes, where the surviving sections of open fields had been divided into new enclosures. Another change in these parishes would have been the reduction in the number of small or minor roads and trackways leading through the old enclosures.

The relatively gentle handling of the landscape in the Chilterns and scarp edge parishes did not necessarily go hand in hand with a low impact on the local population. The greatest change to the landscape in this part of the study area was the enclosure of the wastes, woodland and common land. It was this aspect of enclosure that made the most dramatic changes to people's lives across the study area. The enclosure of common land meant the creation of physical boundaries across areas of land which had previously been open to all. Now access was restricted to these areas. In some cases, such as Monks Risborough, large areas of waste or common were allocated to a single landowner and had become part of an elite landscape. While labourers and tenants may have had access to these newly enclosed areas of common land, the community at large no longer had any rights over them. Some people were forced to move house, or lose their houses when the commons were enclosed. Most importantly, people lost access to resources, such as wood for fuel and land for grazing, which could help to sustain their families during a harsh year.

The people worst affected by the enclosure of the wastes and commons were those members of society who were already most vulnerable, the small owner-occupiers, the cottagers, the labourers and the poor of the parish. The following section will consider the impact of enclosure on these groups of people, as well as looking at the more general shift in social relations that occurred following parliamentary enclosure in the study area.

A Changing Society

Contemporary writers and recent academic work have shown that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a time of great change for people living in the agricultural counties of England. Some of the main changes which affected the poorer members of the rural community were the changing rules of employment for farm labourers and servants and the changes in the payment of wages and the poor laws (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 38-53). Johnson has noted a shift from the medieval period where farmers and their servants ate at the same table to the post-medieval period where the house owners sat in their parlour and the servants sat in their kitchen (1996, 166-70). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the relationship between farmers and servant, once described in terms of 'family', became further dislocated. One source, dating from 1830 describes how:

"When I was a boy I used to visit a large Farmhouse, where the Farmer sat in the room with a Door opening onto the Servants' Hall, and everything was carried from one Table to the other. Now they will rarely permit a Man to live in their Houses; and it is consequence a total Bargain and sale for Money, and all Idea of Affection is destroyed." (Cit. Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 43-4).

Labourers were now increasingly hired for a month, or a week, or a day, or in some parts of the country only an hour (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 44). The security

of the annual contract was becoming a thing of the past. Added to this was a change in wages, in which the farmers ceased to link their pay to the price of food, and asked the rates payers to cover the difference between the wages and the cost of living. This meant that in some cases labourers would take on work only to be paid the same money as was being paid to the poor and unemployed of the parish. This so-called 'Speenhamland system' was introduced in the 1790s. Hobsbawm and Rudé have argued that one of the most damaging aspects of this change in the calculation and payment of wages was that it removed the distinction between labourers and paupers (2001, 47).

These changes to the situation of the farmworkers were compounded by the increased rate of enclosure from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. With the enclosure of the commons the labourers and the poor became even more vulnerable. Since they had no strips in the open fields, most commissioners ruled that these people were not eligible for compensation for the loss of access to the commons (but see discussion of Monks Risborough below). They therefore lost access to fuel and to areas to graze a few animals, and even to a place to live. In parishes such as Amersham where even the strips of land along the roadside were enclosed, these people were left with no safety net to fall back on when the meagre financial support provided by the parish failed them. Another effect of parliamentary enclosure was to push many owners of small properties off the list of landowners altogether (see below for further discussion). If the cost of enclosure was too great they could be forced into selling their land. They were now moving from the position of landowners to the position of labourers who could not even be sure they would be paid a living wage.

At the other end of the spectrum, farmers were attempting to move up the scale and become more like the gentry. Some landowners acquired more land at the time of enclosure, while large tenant farmers generated increased income from the newly enclosed fields. In many parts of the country the distance between those with little or no land, and those with large areas of land was increasing.

These are, of course, generalisations about the changes created or affected to by parliamentary enclosure. How did enclosure impact on the livelihoods and social status of people in the study area?

Impact of Enclosure

One of the major arguments made by the Hammonds (1911) and tackled by other academics concerned with the impact of enclosure (eg Birtles 1999; Chambers and Mingay 1966; Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 35; Shaw Taylor 2000; Turner 1973), is the damaging effect of enclosure on the small landowner and the cottagers. The Hammonds put forward the idea that enclosure often forced small landowners to sell their land, since in many cases they could not afford the cost of enclosure. In such cases, it has been suggested, these members of the community were forced into becoming landless labourers, or may have had to leave the area to work in the city or perhaps take the option of emigration. This point has been disputed by Chambers and Mingay (1966) who suggest that at the peak of parliamentary enclosure small owner-occupiers actually increased. Shaw Taylor, meanwhile, notes that at the time of parliamentary enclosure only a minority of labourers still lived in cottages with legal access to common land (2000, 509). To what extent are the arguments put forward by the Hammonds

and their critics supported in the study area?

Turner's analysis of the impact of enclosure in Buckinghamshire suggests that the numbers of landowners in most parishes only declined slightly after enclosure (1973, 145). However, Turner's research revealed that what was happening was that the smaller holdings of land were exchanging hands (*Ibid.* 146). At Weston Turville (Award 1798), for example, landowners owning less than 1 acre and those owning between 25 and 100 acres of land appear to have been forced into selling their land by the cost of enclosure (Turner 1973, 147). Meanwhile in Stoke Mandeville (Award 1797), all of the 12 cottage common rights awarded at the time of enclosure had disappeared from the records by 1799, while at Adstock the 14 cottagers recorded at the time of enclosure in 1797 had been reduced to just one by 1802 (Turner 1973, 148).

Turner's parish by parish approach does not indicate whether or not the parties purchasing small plots of land in each parish were small landowners themselves, or whether they held small, possibly tenanted, properties scattered across a large number of parishes. In the case of Long Crendon, the individuals who took advantage of the market in land surrounding the period of enclosure came from outside the parish. These individuals were characterised as "rack renters" (increasing the rents as the tenants improved the productivity of the land), and were therefore highly unpopular (Donald 1979). In some cases the land was bought up and then rented out to the former owner (Turner 1973, 150), and in other cases the owner at the time of enclosure may have been forced to leave their land altogether.

One parish in which the poorer members of the community suffered following enclosure was the strip parish of Bledlow. Awareness of the problems in Bledlow led to considerable opposition to enclosure in the neighbouring parish of Princes Risborough (see below for further discussion of the disputes over the enclosure of this parish). The worries over the impact of enclosure were well founded; some of the residents were allocated less land in the Award than they had held previous to enclosure, while others were forced into poverty and reliance on the parish. In spite of attempts to provide labour and to limit the rising level of the poor rate, 140 men and their families were registered as paupers in 1835. Some families followed the example of their neighbours from Bledlow, leaving to work in the cotton mills of Lancashire (Macfarlane and Kingham 1997, 19-21). The fear that a similar fate awaited the inhabitants of Monks Risborough contributed to the dispute over the enclosure of the parish.

The available information suggests that parliamentary enclosure, in particular the cost, did cause major difficulties for smaller landowners and cottagers in the study area, causing many of them to sell up. Families who had owned land in a single parish for many generations might be forced into renting their own land or might be reduced to the level of labourers. Others may have decided to leave the parish altogether. Once a family had lost their land, or had been reduced to owning just a house and garden it was very difficult for them to escape their situation (Turner 1973, 148). The enclosure of the commons and wastes, meanwhile, had a major impact on labourers and the poor, who had to turn increasingly to the parish for support.

In his discussion of the impact of enclosure on the poet John Clare, Jonathon Bate makes the point that "what matters to individual lives is personal experience, not economic statistics" (2003, 49). Whatever the opinion of academics in the present day,

evidence such as the letter written by Rev. John Shepherd expressing the concerns of the people of Princes Risborough in relation to the impact of enclosure (see below), shows that the poorer members of the rural community often had very real fears about their ability to maintain their land or their livestock following enclosure.

It is important, however, not to view the small landowners, cottagers and labourers as helpless victims of enclosure, or to suggest that they were the only ones to oppose parliamentary enclosure. The following section explores the different ways of resisting and disputing enclosure in Buckinghamshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Resistance

It is apparent that enclosure did not favour everyone in the parish. How did those groups and individuals who objected to the principle of enclosure, or to specific clauses or effects of enclosure raise their objections and have their voices heard? The following sections examine resistance to enclosure that was carried out in the study area through the legal system and the mechanisms set out in the parliamentary procedure, as well as by more active means.

In a legal framework

There were many ways in which objections to parliamentary enclosure could be carried out within a legal framework. There was substantial provision within the enclosure process itself to object to certain elements of enclosure, or on a larger scale, to the move to enclose the parish.

Petitions and Counter-petitions

Owners of at least seventy-five percent of the land in the parish (initially in terms of value, subsequently changed to take into account both value of land and the number of proprietors (Hollowell 2000, 41) had to support the Enclosure Bill. The Bill itself had to be accompanied by a list of landowners, stating their agreement or opposition to the proposed enclosure. After 1774 the intent to seek a Bill to enclose a parish had to be advertised. This was generally achieved by fixing a notice to the church door, while additional notices might be published in the regional newspaper. One newspaper notice relating to the enclosure of Princes Risborough announces a meeting to which “all persons (if any) who feel themselves injured or aggrieved by such division are requested to attend, and state their objections in writing” (CBS IR/M/1/1 “The County Herald and Weekly Advertiser”, Saturday, October 12th, 1822).

As Hollowell has noted (2000, 28-39), considerable behind the scenes discussion often went on among the major landowners prior to the Bill being proposed. If a majority backing for the enclosure had already been established then the Bill could pass happily through parliament. The refusal of any of the landowners to sign the petition had no impact on the passing of the Bill, so long as the owners of a sufficient percentage of the parish were in favour. However, if sufficient landowners objected to the idea of enclosure they could prevent the Bill from being passed. This was achieved by presenting a counter-petition to parliament, listing the names of all the landowners who objected to the Bill being passed. While this was a relatively straightforward



Figure 6.4 Iver Heath by John Nash.

procedure, it was also a very expensive one. The legal fee needed to present a counter petition to parliament could run to as much as 15% of the total cost of enclosure (Turner 1973, 77). Obviously this high cost made it difficult for the smaller landowners to mount a successful opposition to a Bill. In addition to this, the counter-petition was being placed before a parliament of men in favour of enclosure, who often waived its own rules in order to pass an Enclosure Bill (Neeson 1993, 272-3). One example of this occurred in the parish of Simpson in 1770-1, where the Bill to enclose was passed in spite of the support of an insufficient number of landowners (Tate 1944, 396).

There are, however, some cases in which the Enclosure Bill was successfully opposed. In 1746 the attempt to enclose a large section of common land waste land at Iver (Figure 6.4) was successfully opposed by counter-petition. The enclosure of the parish was delayed until 1800 (Ibid. 182). The Bill to enclose Stewkley was successfully opposed by a counter-petition at its third reading in parliament in 1803. Local opposition to enclosure in Stewkley was strong, and was accompanied by local disturbances (see below for more details). However, the petition to enclose Stewkley was accepted by parliament in 1811, in spite of continued opposition in the parish (Ibid. 182-3).

A counter-petition against the Bill to enclose Iver was successful at the first attempt to enclose the parish in 1746. A later petition of 1800 was also opposed. In an attempt to slow down, or possibly prevent to process from continuing the objectors refused to return the draft Bill, and a new one had to be created (Turner 1973, 190). On the second occasion the opponents of the Bill were concerned about specific clauses

relating to the lord of the manor's soil rights, the commutation of tithes and the compensation for the poor, all relating to the enclosure of a large area of common land (Ibid.). The Act to enclose the parish was passed in 1800, and the Award was made in 1804. However, opposition to the enclosure did not end there, since the poorer members of the community objected greatly to the enclosure of the common (see below).

Another case occurred in Quainton in 1801, when a sufficient number of landowners signed their opposition to the proposed Bill. The parish was home to a high number of small landowners who would not benefit from the proposed enclosure (Turner 1973, 184). Eight wealthy landowners had signed the petition to enclose, while twenty-two landowners signed the counter petition, and four were neutral. The landowners who wanted enclosure owned a large proportion of the parish, but the twenty-two small-holders owned a large part of the open fields - the section of the parish which was still to be enclosed. As a result the counter-petition was successful. A second petition in 1814 failed before its first reading. An Act of Enclosure was finally passed twenty-six years later in 1840 and awarded in 1842 (Turner 1973, 184-5).

The counter-petitions already mentioned were successful in delaying enclosure, if not ultimately preventing it. In some parishes opponents of enclosure went to the trouble and expense of presenting a counter-petition to parliament without any success.

In some cases counter-petitions were used not to oppose enclosure, but to oppose specific elements of the Enclosure Bill. One example of this comes from Stoke Poges (Act 1810, Award 1822) where there was an objection to the lord of the manor's meagerly compensation to the poor of the parish for the enclosure of common land. As result a large area of common land was set aside, and reserved as a place where the poor of the parish could gather fuel (Turner 1973, 191).

Objections and Alterations

Generally speaking, the small landowners who were opposed to enclosure were powerless to prevent the Bill from being passed unless there was a very high number of small landholdings in the parish.

Such landowners might, however, have more success in opposing individual elements of the enclosure - such as rulings concerning their rights to common land, debate over the status of their landholding (freehold or copyhold), or more general changes to the landscape such as the closure or diversion of roads and pathways.

If an objection was made over someone's claim to land, then that person would have the chance to attend a meeting and provide evidence to back up their claims. One such meeting held by the commissioners for the enclosure of Princes Risborough examined evidence for local man Daniel Ginger (CBS: IR/M/7). Ginger had claimed a garden as his own land. This had been objected to by landowner John Grubb, since he claimed that this garden was in fact an encroachment. At the meeting one man gave evidence supporting Ginger's claim, stating that the encroachment had been made over 20 years ago, and therefore could be claimed as his land. Other witnesses claimed that the encroachment was more recent.

Such hearings demonstrate that people were given the chance to object to and validate their claims for land. How fair these hearings were, though, is uncertain. John Grubb was one of the parishes biggest landowners and Lord of the Manor. It would

probably not have been difficult for him to rustle up support from his tenants or labourers to support his claims at the hearings.

Legal Papers re. John Grubb

The records of John Grubb's dealings with the enclosure commissioners for Princes Risborough shows another way that individuals could object to elements of the enclosure process within an legal framework, and that was to employ the services of a solicitor (see "Legal papers re. John Grubb, chief objector to enclosure, Princes Risborough," CBS: IR/M 1/9/1-42). As a major landowner Grubb had a great many objections to claims made by other, smaller landholders. A document drawn up by his solicitor (CBS: IR/M1/7/243/1) lists a total of fifty objections to claims made by local landowners. Twenty-five of these relate to encroachments he claims have been made on his land in the last twenty years. Many of the remaining objections dealt with claims which did not qualify the status of the landholding (freehold, copyhold or leasehold), as well as cases in which Grubb disputed the status of landholding on the claim. Finally there were some cases where people had claimed land which Grubb believed was part of his own property. Pencilled notes made by the commissioners show that in spite of Grubb's objections, at least 5 of the disputed claims relating to encroachments were admitted, 2 were part admitted, 2 were given up and one was dismissed.

Such disputes could have been made by Grubb without the aid of a solicitor. However, the landowner had another issue to take up with the commissioners which required legal assistance. As lord of the manor Grubb had claimed rights of all the commons and waste lands within the Parish, and to a heriot on the death of every copyhold tenant in his manors. The lord of the manor had rights over the soil and minerals of the wastes and commons and needed to be compensated for this when the parish was enclosed (Hollowell 2000, 64; 67-8). This compensation was usually in the form of a small allotment of land. On some occasions the lord of the manor also claimed the trees and scrub on the waste. If there was suspicion of coal or any other valuable resource beneath the ground the lord of the manor might ask to retain his mineral rights over the land. As well as the heriot on the death of a copyholder, mentioned in Grubb's claim to land, the lord of the manor might also claim land in place of Quit Rents. These were small annual payments made by copyholders which allowed them to retain the title to their land. The granting of land to the lord of the manor during enclosure often made way for landowners to convert their type of landholding from copyhold to the far more desirable status of freehold.

A dispute over the boundary between Princes Risborough and Monks Risborough had threatened Grubb's rights as lord of the manor. He was determined that the enclosure process would not rob him of his dues, and so employed his solicitor to put forward his case (CBS: IR/M 1/9/1-42, in particular CBS: IR/M 1/9/18/2). The substantial collection of legal papers also show Grubb seeking to establish, and possibly even extend his rights over his land - for example he debates the right of people to have access to a footpath leading through his woods. It is ironic that John Grubb was the "chief objector" to enclosure (CBS: IR/M 1/9/1-42), since he was also the main promoter of the Bill (Turner 1973, 202). Grubb's objections were not based on any opposition to the principle to enclosure; rather they arose from his desire that the Award made by the commissioners should be entirely in his favour.

It is tempting for those studying parliamentary enclosure to conclude that the process was on the side of the rich landowner and against the small owner occupiers. In practice this was often the case. However, parliamentary enclosure was not controlled entirely by the large landowners. The parliamentary procedure, as opposed to the locally agreed, private act or spoken agreement, takes enclosure out of the local sphere. The process was overseen by parliament and involved a centralised bureaucracy. This centralised power increased over the period of parliamentary enclosure. In the eighteenth century parliamentary enclosure was carried out by a large number of local dignitaries, with as many as six, or more, commissioners. By the mid-nineteenth century the two nationally appointed commissioners sat in London, with one or maybe two local people planning the changes on the ground. The mobility of documentation is significant here, as it allowed the head commissioners to sanction these changes without ever leaving London.

What this meant for individuals such as John Grubb was that they had to abide by a large number of rules established by parliament, some of which could not be bent or side-stepped. Parliamentary enclosure often worked in favour of the large landowner, but it was not fully within their control. There were times when the power of parliament was apparent; on occasions the local gentry had to bow to the weight of centralised authority. Conflict between rich landowners and the government was highlighted in the era of railway building, when many members of the upper classes struggled to prevent the railways from cutting through their parks and gardens (Reed 1979, 230).

While parliamentary enclosure allowed landowners to escape the ties of complex claims over land, such as common rights and payment of tithes, and to claim direct ownership of their land, they still did not have absolute control over that land. Through the parliamentary process the state had an increasingly powerful hand in how the landscape was planned. Acts relating to enclosure, the creation of turnpike roads and the building of canals and railways were all having a dramatic effect on the shape of the English landscape. Increasingly, bureaucracy and centralised authority was allowing the countryside to be shaped at a national as well as a local level.

One significant point to draw from this is that it is not possible to reduce the process of parliamentary enclosure down to an assertion of power by rich landowners over poor landowners (Barrell 1972, 65). Quite apart from the social complexity of many of the parishes in the study area, the involvement of the government means that rules have been created to fit a national criteria, rather than a local one. These rules could sometimes be distasteful to rich landowners, labourers and everyone in between. It is, however, true that only rich landowners such as John Grubb had the money and confidence to employ a solicitor to argue on their behalf. Poorer and less privileged members of the community had to find other ways to force their grievances into the consciousness of the commissioners.

One unusual case from within the study area, in which the grievances of the poorer members of the community were officially recognised and investigated, involves the enclosure of Monks Risborough.

Monks Risborough

The dispute which prolonged the enclosure process (Act 1830, Award 1839) in

the parish of Monks Risborough centred on the proposed sale of an area of woodland waste known as the Scrubs or the Hillock (Figure 6.5) to the largest landowner in the parish - the Earl of Buckinghamshire. Two counter-petitions against the proposed enclosure were sent to parliament, one on behalf of four small landowners, and the other on behalf of the poor of the parish (CBS: IR/M/8/9). They argued that the enclosure of the commons and waste would benefit a very small number of landowners and would be damaging to a large number of local inhabitants. In order to have the Bill passed various clauses were inserted, including the compulsory purchase of the waste by the Earl of Buckinghamshire in order to cover the cost of enclosure. Another clause, presenting the counter-petitioners for the poor with £150 in expenses, was dropped as it was feared that this would set a precedent, and encourage lawyers across the



Figure 6.5 View across to woods on the Hillock (now in Princes Risborough parish).

country to represent poor clients, whether or not they had a case, in the expectation that parliament would cover their expenses (Turner 1973, 205). Had this ruling gone another way the incidences of counter-petitions and objections to the enclosure of common land may have increased dramatically.

The two-counter petitions were not sufficient to prevent enclosure from taking place, but they did result in the appointment of a special commissioner, Sir John Dashwood King Baronet, was brought in to represent the interests of the poor of the parish. The Act was passed, but creation of the Award was a stormy event, which lasted nine years, and saw the resignation of two of the commissioners (see Turner 1973, 207-9).

Given the tensions across the country at the time it is perhaps not surprising that the enclosure of Monks Risborough (Act 1830), was attended by difficulties. The incidences of machine-breaking affecting the region and the riots over the enclosure of Otmoor in Oxfordshire towards the end of 1830 (see below) show that relations between the labourers and local farmers and landowners were not at their best. The general background of low wages and the threat of rioting may help to explain why the special appointment of Sir John Dashwood King as commissioner for the poor was deemed necessary. There may have been some concern locally that if the concerns of the poor regarding the enclosure of the Hillock were not addressed the subsequent enclosure of the area might result in rioting.

Local people claimed customary rights over the area of waste known of the Hillock. These included the right to cut and gather wood. Such rights would be denied if the Earl of Buckinghamshire gained outright ownership of the woodland. The very name Hillock seems to support the parishioner's claim, since Reed (1979, 102) has argued that this name derives from the term "hillwork" which was used in the Chilterns to refer to local people's rights to take wood for fires, fencing and repair work from the common woodlands. However, the rights of the poorer members of the community were based on tradition and practice rather than any legal basis. Moreover, the Earl of Buckinghamshire's agent, James Grace, claimed that many local people were abusing their common rights, as individual's living in the hills had been gathering fuel and selling it to people living in the vale section of the parish (Turner 1973, 206; Hepple and Doggett 1994, 195).

The rulings of the special commissioner were recorded in the enclosure Award as follows (see also Figure 6.6):

And the said Commissioners together with Sir John Dashwood King Baronet the special commissioner appointed in and by the said local Act for this sole purpose as is testified by his signature in the margin of these presents have assigned set out and allotted and the said Sir John Dashwood King Baronet testified as aforesaid together with the said parties hereto do hereby assign and allot award and confirm

And to the Rector of the said said Rectory and the Church-wardens and Constables of the Parish of Monks Risborough aforesaid as Trustees for the Poor the eight several plots of land next hereinafter described being such part of the lands of the Local Act directed to be divided and enclosed as in the Judgment of the said Commissioners is equivalent to and a full compensation and satisfaction for the right or liberty in the Poor Inhabitants of the said Parish of Monks Risborough not being proprietors of Lands or tenements within the same Parish to cut and take Beech or other Beechwood or fuel from the said wastegrounds called the Scrubs or the Hillock .

Access to the woodland waste was not to continue. However, the poor of the parish, those people without any land or strips in the open fields, were to be compensated for the enclosure of the Hillock. A precedent for this compromise seems to have been established by the commissioners involved in the enclosure of Princes Risborough, who allocated the poor of Monks Risborough a small allotment in

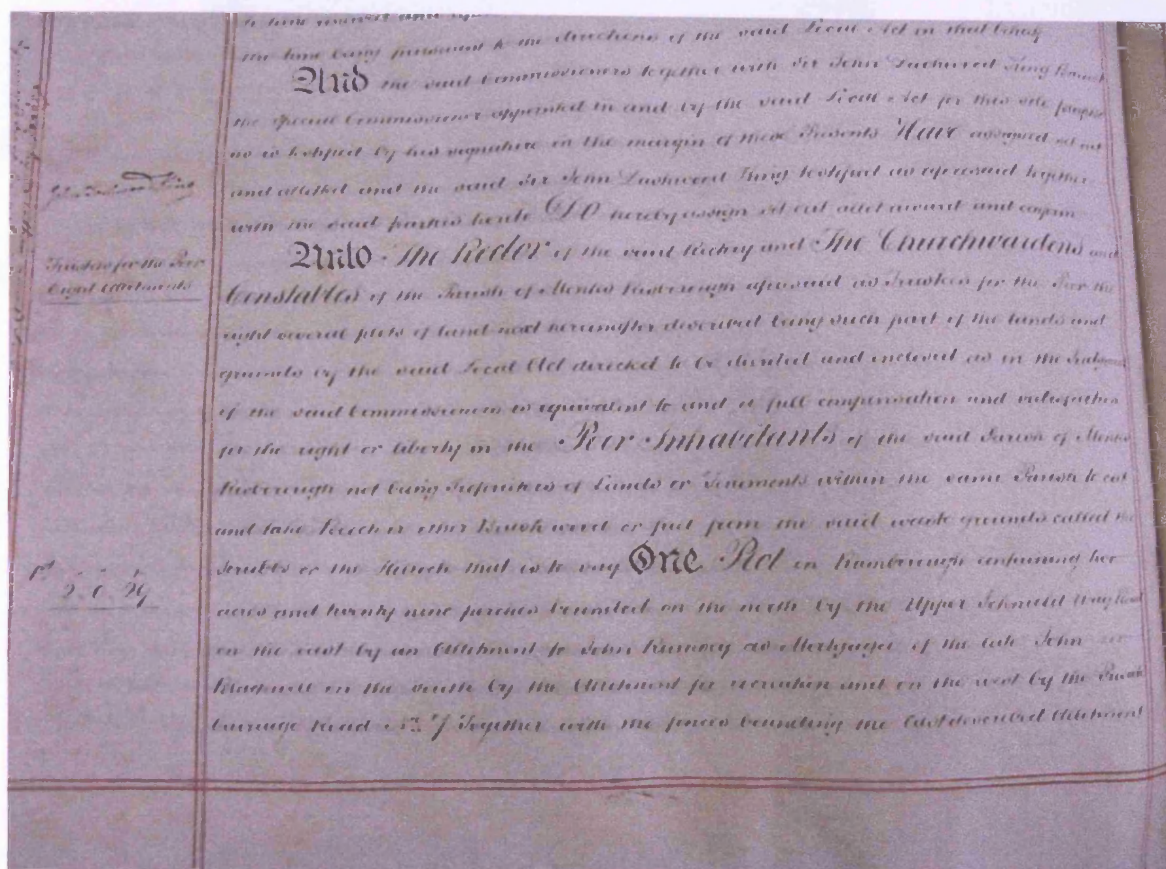
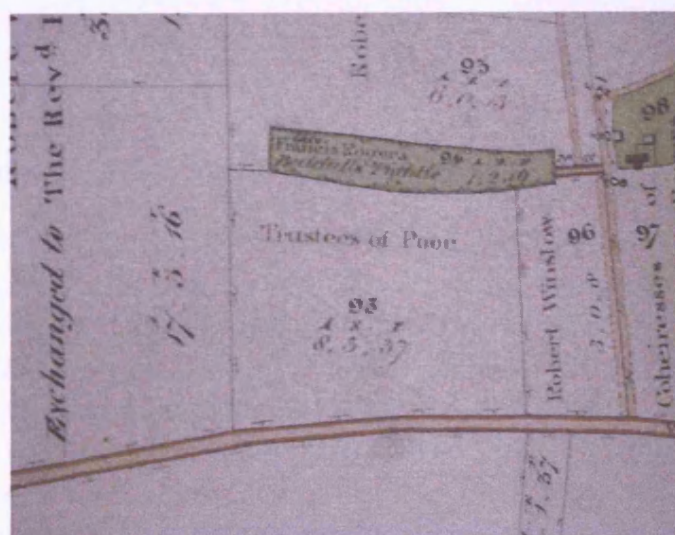
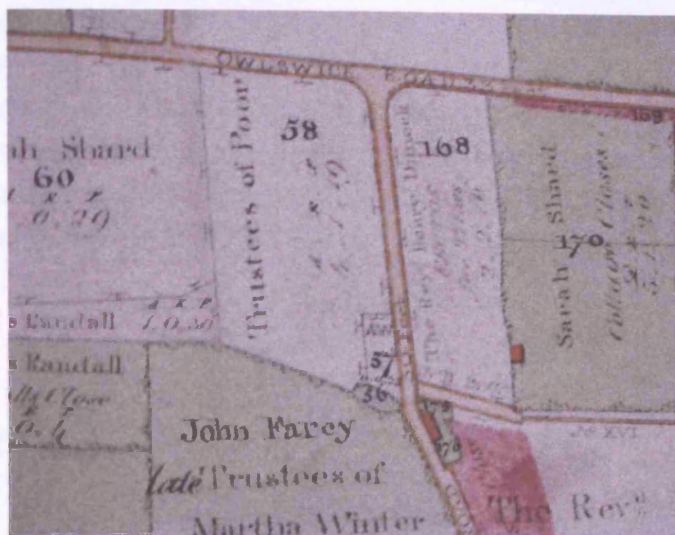


Figure 6.6 Extract from Monks Risborough Enclosure Award regarding compensation for the poor of the parish for the loss of access to the Hillock.

Figure 6.7 Allotments for Trustees of the Poor In Monks Risborough
from enclosure map (CBS: IR/94Q).



compensation for their loss of access to the part of the Hillock which reached into Princes Risborough parish (see Chapter Five).

The eight allotments given in compensation are labelled "Trustees of the Poor" on the enclosure map. They are small fields, situated at the bottom of the scarp and in the low-lying area of the parish which reaches into the vale (Figure 6.7). While some of these allotments are edged on some sides by old hedge lines (Fig 6.8), which may have contained fruit-bearing shrubs and would have been vigorous enough to bear some cutting to provide fuel, these eight plots could never realistically compensate the poor of the parish for the loss of access to the Hillock.



Figure 6.8 Allotment for the poor incorporating sections of old hedge lines.

The hawthorn hedges which bound these parliamentary enclosures were usually protected for seven years, in order to allow them to become established, and as young hedges would not have provided much fuel. Allotments such as this were generally intended as a source of wood or were rented out in order to provide income to aid the poor of the parish (Birtles 1999, 90-7). Although allotments such as this were common in other parts of the country (eg Birtles 1998, 88), they were not commonplace in the study area. As in the case of Monks Risborough, such plots were not always large enough to provide the necessary resources (Mingay 1997, 156).

On one hand the handling of Monks Risborough enclosure was remarkable in a local context for the way that the common rights of parishioners without any land in the open fields was recognised. Compensation of this kind was highly unusual in the study area (Hepple and Doggett 1994, 195), as was the appointment of a special commissioner to look into the dispute. On the other hand the commissioners' final decision did not go far enough for the people of Monks Risborough. The poor of the parish were denied the resources from the woodland and compensated with small plots of land which did not replace these resources. Meanwhile, the other occupants of the parish, had also lost access to a valuable resource.

In addition to this, when the Hillock was sold by the Commissioners to the Earl of Buckinghamshire it included encroachments made by 16 men on the land. The exact nature of these encroachments is not made clear in the Enclosure Award, nor are the clearings represented on the enclosure map. However, it is likely that some of these encroachments were sites for houses as well as farmland. The men and their families forced to give up their land were some of the many people forced into the position of wage labour by the process of parliamentary enclosure. Other parishioners with small landholdings would have suffered from the prolonged, nine year delay between Act and Award.

The exclusion of the details of these encroachments from the enclosure map demonstrates the power of these documents to shape a particular view of a landscape. As Harley has noted, omissions and abstractions on maps can help to "lessen the burden of conscience about people in the landscape" (1988, 303). The absence of the encroached dwellings or fields on the enclosure map adds strength to the commissioner's ruling that these parcels of land were illegal encroachments, and as such were made over to the new owner of the Hillock - the Earl of Buckinghamshire (whose name is emblazoned across his new lands). Only 'legitimate' claims to ownership are represented on this document.

The example of Monks Risborough demonstrates that even where special efforts were made to be seen to represent the rights of the poorer members of the community through the official parliamentary process, those people had to be content with rulings which from their perspective were far from satisfactory.

One concession gained by Sir John Dashwood King which would have made a substantial difference to the local people was the agreement to sell areas of land in the parish in order to cover the expense of enclosure. This meant that some of the smaller landowners did not have to sell their own land, and saved them from the fate of some of their less fortunate neighbours in Princes Risborough and Bledlow.

Berkhamsted Frith

The fault is great in man or woman
Who steals a goose from off a common;
But what can plead that man's excuse
Who steals a common from a goose?
(Trad., cit in Neeson 1993, 292)

The complexity of rights over land and of forms of resistance are illustrated by the events surrounding the enclosure of Berkhamsted Frith or Common (Figure 6.9) in

1866 - an area of common land already discussed in Chapter Four in relation to enclosure and subsequent local resistance in the seventeenth century.

When Earl Brownlow enclosed a large strip of common land in 1866 the issue of rights over the common land was raised once again. The strip of land cut through a major routeway across the common. Brownlow felt he had the right to enclose this land, since he had purchased the common rights from a large number of the local landowners. This enclosure was undertaken without any formal or parliamentary procedure, and for this reason provoked a strong reaction from another wealthy landlord, Augustus Smith - who still held common rights over the land.



Figure 6.9 Berkhamsted Common.

In order to force the issue into the hands of the legal profession, Smith took the unusual and dramatic step of hiring a large number of men (railway workers employed in the construction of the Thames Embankment (HALS: AH2797)) to pull down the fences which Brownlow had erected on the common. The outcome of these actions were two court cases between Smith and the trustees of the Ashridge estate - Lord Brownlow himself died in 1867 (Cowell 2002, 154). The proceedings centred around the rights of the estate and the rights of the local population over the common land. The documents provided as evidence by the trustees in the court case (HRO: AH 2775-2815) date back to the 13th century, and include documents relating to the rights of commoners over the land. Also presented is evidence relating to the seventeenth century enclosures on the common and the subsequent resistance to these enclosures.

Smith and the trustees read very different interpretations into these documents. The trustees saw the earlier cases of enclosure, or 'improvement', by the former owners of the estate as backing up their right to enclose land. Smith, meanwhile, believed that the past estate owners were in the wrong and went beyond their legal rights in enclosing part of the common. There is a complex use of customary and legal rights in the arguments in the law case. For example, the trustees found witnesses to give evidence that Smith and his tenants had not actively maintained their common rights in order to deny Smith's rights over the land. This stands against the fact that Smith's common rights are clearly stated in documents going back many centuries.

The courts ruled in Smith's favour in 1870. In 1878 Earl Brownlow's mother printed a public apology for her son's actions, and for the subsequent lengthy and expensive court case.

The case of Berkhamsted Frith demonstrates the complex ways in which customary rights, documents, legal procedure and direct action could be used to both support and resist enclosure. In many ways the behaviour of Smith and Brownlow is unexpected. Brownlow decides to sidestep the law and parliamentary procedure in enclosing the strip of common land. This was unusual behaviour by the 1860s, when General Acts for the enclosure of common land had been passed and private acts achieving the same ends had been used by many landowners in the Chilterns. Then Smith's act of employing men to pull down the fences on the common is a strange twist, as these are tactics more generally associated with the poorer members of society who have little or no access to the legal process. Here Smith is employing an aggressive act in order to bring the case to court. In the court case itself it is Brownlow who uses oral testimony in order to try to establish that Smith and his tenants had not maintained their rights on the common land, while Smith refers to historical documents in order to prove their customary rights.

The complexities of this case, and the anger provoked by Brownlow's enclosure of the common demonstrate that even after centuries of enclosure, and over a hundred years of officially sanctioned parliamentary enclosure, the enclosure of land - in particular of common land - was still a contentious issue. Moreover, *Smith v. Brownlow*, shows that by the 1860s questions of customary and legal rights and local and centralised power were still open to debate.

Objection to enclosure was possible, and was provided for in the structure of the parliamentary enclosure process. However, the story told by the enclosure working papers of feelings towards enclosure in the parish are incomplete, since the only people invited to take part in and, if they so desired, to object to enclosure were those who already owned or had rights over land. The rights of the other members of the community - the labourers and the poor were barely represented, and their voices were silent.

Active Resistance

The examples of resistance examined so far have all been related to parliamentary enclosure or the legal process. They have all involved people of power, position and wealth. But how did people resist if they had no access to the legal profession, if they had failed to have their rights recognised by the commissioners over the course of parliamentary enclosure, or if they were labourers or people with no

standing in the eyes of the parliamentary procedure?

Prior to Enclosure

An important element of Neeson's work (1993) has been to highlight the importance of resistance to enclosure prior to the passing of a Bill to enclose. Opposition at this point could take the form of grumbling, gossip, petitions and letters to major landowners, threatening notes, non-compliance and foot-dragging (Neeson 1993, 263-93). Evidence of such resistance to enclosure is rare, especially in cases where local opposition successfully prevented the passing of an Enclosure Bill (Neeson 1993, 263). However, it is likely that such resistance occurred in parishes such as Quainton, which subsequently resorted to submitting a counter-petition to parliament.

One parish from which evidence has survived is Princes Risborough. While the major landowners were discussing the move to enclosure they were contacted by the local clergyman, arguing the case for a large number of the parishioners who were against enclosure:

12th Oct

1819

I received yr letter yesterday and confess myself rather surpriz'd at its contents supposing it was well understood that most of the inhabitants of Princes Risborough were against the propos'd Inclosure as utterly subversive of their privileges. I beg leave to inform you, Sir, whatever may be the opinion or conduct of others that I think Inclosures truly oppressive, that they have in various parts of the Kingdom (not forgetting Bledlow) cramped the hand of the industrious cottagers and brought many on the Parish. I remember hat is written Proverbs 14: 31¹⁷⁴ and 22:2.3¹⁷⁵ and therefore (for my own part, as I am forbidden to break the 8th Commandment¹⁷⁶) I will draw on my head the curse of the Poor, by setting my hand to a measure so oppressive for the purpose of enriching a few Individuals

I am, Sir, Yr. most hbe Servt. Jn Shepherd

(Cit Macfarlane and Kingham 1997, 118)

This letter from Rev. John Shepherd to the solicitor of John Grubb, Lord George Cavendish and Richard Holloway, who were leading the movement for enclosure, clearly states the beliefs and concerns of the local population regarding enclosure. It demonstrates the fears, tension and the mistrust that could arise in a community once enclosure became an issue.

¹⁷⁴ He who oppresses the poor insults his Maker; he who is generous to the needy honours Him.

¹⁷⁵ Never rob a helpless man because he is helpless, nor ill treat a poor wretch in court; for the Lord will take up their cause and rob him who robs them of their livelihood.

¹⁷⁶ Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

At the Church Door

One of the forms of resistance that occurs in several parishes in the study area was the attempt by a crowd of parishioners to prevent the local solicitor or clerk from fixing the notice of intent to enclose on the parish church door. Such attempts occurred at Stewkley in 1803, Oakley (Act 1819) and Princes Risborough (Act 1820) (Turner 1973, 182-3). At Stewkley a group of around 50 or 60 people gathered in the churchyard and attempted to take the notice from the clerk before he could reach the door. The clerk, John Roberts, left the churchyard, returning with a constable. Undeterred, some members of the crowd attacked Roberts and showered him with stones. Four of the men present were sentenced to three months in prison for their part in the event. The crowd at Stewkley were led by local owners of small plots of land, while at Oakley and Princes Risborough the ringleaders were labourers (*Ibid.*, 183), although at Princes Risborough landowners were amongst the 'Tulmultous mob' (*Ibid.*, 199).

Another case where the notice to enclose was removed from the church door has been preserved in local memory. Regarding the enclosure of Haddenham (Act 1830, Award 1834), it was said that when the notices were put up on the church door "the people went and toour [em] down. They were put up agen, but they toour em down" (Harman 1926, 95). Further evidence of the repeated use of this tactic in the study area comes from the parish of Benson, in the Oxfordshire Chilterns (see below).

The occurrence of this practice of taking down the notices on the church door may explain why the notice of intention to enclose also came to be printed in the regional newspaper (see Figure 5.3).

Fence-breaking

One form of resistance commonly associated with resistance to enclosure is the breaking of fences, the levelling of ditches and the destruction of the newly planted hedgerows. Documentary evidence of such activity in the area suggests that it was not widespread in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in spite of the considerable opposition to the idea of enclosure in many parishes. One of the episodes of fence breaking has already been mentioned in the discussion of the Smith versus Brownlow case regarding Berkhamsted Frith. However, this example is not at all typical, since the men who pulled down the fences on the common were railway workers paid by Smith for their efforts, rather than local people. Moreover, Smith took this action in order to bring the issue of enclosure into the legal realm. Elsewhere labourers and local farmers resorted to direct action because they could not afford or rely upon legal assistance.

The main episodes of large scale, local resistance to enclosure occurred in the parish of Iver, in the south of Buckinghamshire. As already noted, the plans to enclose Iver had already been legally opposed by a counter-petition in 1746, and again in 1800. However, the landowners of the parish finally accepted enclosure, leaving the poorer members of the community to suffer the consequences of losing access to a large area of common land. In 1802 three men were each given a six pence fine for breaking new enclosures fences. The following year four labourers from Iver were sentenced for the same offence, although this time two of the men were given four months hard labour, and the other two were sentenced to two months hard labour; presumably reflecting the more serious nature of this second attack (Turner 1973, 189).

It is notable that the enclosures which provoked active and sometimes violent protest from local people involved areas of common or waste land, since it was the removal of these areas of land which had the most impact on the labourers and the poor of the parish. This group of people were often heavily reliant on the resources and access to common and waste land, and were also the main group of people who could not afford and had no access to legal representation. This reaction to the enclosure of common land was not particular to the case study; some of the most drawn out and violent opposition to enclosure occurred in parts of the country where large areas of common land or waste were enclosed. One such area was Otmoor, a large expanse of fenland in the west of Oxfordshire where protests occurred in the 1770s and then resurfaced from 1801 until 1830 (Eastwood 1996; Mingay 1997, 51; Tate 1944, 393). In 1830 a large number of protesters, in disguise, had pulled down fences, hedges and buildings which had been put up by local landlords, including Lord Abingdon (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 141).

Enclosure and Swing Riots

Hobsbawm and Rudé have suggested that the impact of enclosure on the poorer members of society - the small landowners, the cottagers and the labourers - contributed to the hardships and ill feeling that gave rise to the Swing Riots of the 1830s (1991, 35-6; 141-2)). Some Swing disturbances did occur within and at the edges of the study area. In November 1830 "Swing" letters were sent to farmers in the Henley-on-Thames area complaining of low wages. These letters were followed by rioting in Crowmarsh and Benson (Oxfordshire), and a number of neighbouring parishes (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 141). It is notable that these riots in Oxfordshire follow close on the heels of the enclosure riots at Otmoor, which took place in August and September of the same year (Ibid.). Hobsbawm and Rudé note that

The connection between enclosure and machine-breaking in the Oxford riots is not particularly clear, but that some such link existed is suggested by the fact that the first of the rioters' victims, Thomas Newton, a large farmer of Crowmarsh, was known to be about to make a further attempt - the last of many - to obtain an Enclosure Act for the neighbouring parish of Benson; and it was argued by the defence council when the matter came to court that the large crowd assembled in the churchyard that morning...had gathered "not with the premeditated purpose of machine-breaking, but on account of Mr Newton being about to give notice of applying to Parliament for an Act to enclose the parish of Benson" (2001, 141-2).

The evidence from parishes in Buckinghamshire suggests that this was, indeed, a likely explanation for the gathering in the churchyard (see above). However, that day was marked by the destruction of Thomas Newton's threshing machine, as well as machines in nearby parishes including Benson and Ewelme (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 142).

Riots in Buckinghamshire started in the south of the county, in the area around Windsor, to the south of the Chilterns, and spreading to neighbouring areas and then on to Marlow and High Wycombe (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 143). Farmers and paper-makers were sent threatening letters, telling them to remove their machines or risk the destruction of their crops and buildings (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 144). However, in the Wycombe area the main target was the new machinery being installed

in the paper mills.

Disturbances relating to rural, rather than industrial machinery, did however take place in the vale in the area of Waddesdon and Upper Winchenden (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 145-6). The riots in these parishes took the form of burnings of farm machinery, including threshing and drilling machines and drainage ploughs. Attacks also took place at Stone and Long Crendon. In the area around Little Brickhill, Fenny Stratford and Stony Stratford threshing machines were burned and there were riots over wages. To the south of the Chilterns, labourers at Iver went from house to house demanding food and money (Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 146).

Academics including Turner (1973, 176) and Mingay (1997, 146-7) have disputed the connection between enclosure and the Swing Riots in Buckinghamshire. Indeed, Stone, Upper Winchenden and Waddesdon had all been long enclosed by the time of the Swing Riots. The only parish which had been recently enclosed was Long Crendon (Award 1827). Iver had been enclosed twenty-six years before; however the disturbances surrounding this enclosure and the concerns of the local labourers concerning their welfare following the enclosure of the common land may suggest that those men who went house to house demanding food and drink in December 1830 were still feeling the loss of the commons, as well as the impact of low wages and the unfavourable conditions of the Poor Law at the time. It does, however, seem likely that the proposed enclosure at Benson did serve to inflame matters in the Oxfordshire Chilterns. It is more likely that it was a combination of hardship and grievances, one of which may have been the issue or the impact of enclosure, that led to the riots in and around the study area in the 1830s.

Everyday Resistance

In a great many parishes local people chose or felt obliged to comply with the decision of the local landowners to enclose, as well as accepting the rulings of the commissioners regarding the division of the parish. Nonetheless, small scale, local resistance is likely to have occurred in many parishes following parliamentary enclosure. All such small scale acts of resistance are hard to detect, both archaeologically and historically.

One minor form of resistance would have been for landowners and tenants to make their own decisions about the lines of the new enclosures, rather than following the surveyor's plans to the letter. Other small-scale acts of resistance would have been less visible in the landscape. Local people may have continued to use footpaths and other rights of way officially closed by the commissioners. Areas of common land which had been newly enclosed may have still been used by people in need of firewood and other resources. Wood theft was a common crime in eighteenth and nineteenth century England. It has been suggested that many people saw the collection of wood as a customary right (Shakespeare 2002, 14). In areas where common land, waste or woodland had been enclosed, local people (in particular the poor) are likely to have continued the practice of gathering wood - both out of necessity and out of protest against the removal of land from common access (Neeson 1993, 279). Meanwhile, while people who had once had access to the wildlife on the commons and wastes were now perceived as poachers if they continued to hunt or trap (Thompson 1991b).

People denied access to the commons and who had been allocated no land by

the enclosure commissioners may have been forced to camp or build dwellings on the roadside, or other scraps of wasteland overlooked by the enclosure process. The enclosure of the thin strips of roadside waste, shown on the Amersham and Penn enclosure maps, suggests that such a use of these plots of land was anticipated by the surveyor (see Figure 5.23 and 5.40).

One act of small-scale resistance, preserved through family stories, tells of how one man living on the edge of Wycombe Heath was involved in the after-dark activity of sowing thistles and docks in the newly enclosed fields as a protest against the enclosure of Holmer Green in 1854 (Chenevix-Trench and Green 1996, 158).

Such small acts of resistance may seem insignificant in the face of the dramatic changes that were sometime wrought upon a parish by parliamentary enclosure. However, the act of walking an old footpath may have helped individuals to maintain a sense of place and belonging in a changing landscape; while the appropriation of even the smallest scrap of remaining waste land by those who had lost their homes following the enclosure of the commons might provide a means of survival or temporary respite for the poorest members of the community. As Neeson concludes, "if landlords and farmers eventually won the battle for enclosure, rural artisans and agricultural labourers may have had some say in the terms of surrender" (1993, 280).

Conclusion

Resistance in the study area was sometimes successful in softening the blow of enclosure, or in upholding the rights of the landowning classes. However, on a general level, what resistance did not achieve was the prevention of the enclosure of the open fields and common lands and waste. Even in a parish such as Quainton where the Bill to Enclosure was successfully overturned, an Enclosure Act was passed by a later generation in 1840. With very few exceptions (e.g. Laxton (Nottinghamshire), Branton (Devon), Haxey (Lincolnshire) see Rackham 1997, 164) the open fields and strips of England were swept away, and with them a vast area of woodland, waste and common land over which people once had rights of access.

Desiring Change

In spite of the difficulties, cost and upheaval caused by the wholesale enclosure of a parish, the countrywide use of Acts of Parliament to enclose the remaining open fields and common lands shows that a majority of the larger landowners in the country felt enclosure to be desirable.

Economic concerns obviously played a part, with the numbers of Enclosure Acts peaking in many parts of England during periods when grain prices were high. Where landowners saw that a profit could be made from enclosing, draining and improving the soil they were keen to make use of the parliamentary procedure.

However, the use of parliamentary enclosure would not have been so great if certain beliefs and attitudes had not been current among the landed classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These individuals needed to believe that outright ownership of land and the maximising of profit from that land for their own use was socially acceptable. Johnson's discussion regarding changes in attitudes towards landownership and wealth in the sixteenth century (1996, 166-70) demonstrates that such attitudes are historically specific and are bound in with the development of the

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The force and moral tone of Fellows' argument shows the very great pressure to enclose which must have been felt by any major landowners in England still holding land in a parish with open fields and commons by the turn of the nineteenth century. No gentlemen or member of the aristocracy would wish to be accused of contributing to the "disgrace" of their county by failing to enclose and improve the land under their ownership.

Parliamentary enclosure had been introduced as a result of the increase in large scale enclosure and the increased use of the law courts in securing the validity of the newly enclosed fields. Once the Parliamentary Acts had been introduced the process of enclosure was regularised, organised and given official recognition. The rate of enclosure increased, so that it has been estimated that around twenty-five percent of England was enclosed during the era of parliamentary enclosure (though not all by Act of Parliament) after 1750 (Williamson 2002a, 13). The more parishes were enclosed, the more the pressure grew on those parishes which resisted enclosure.

Had the English government attempted to impose parliamentary enclosure on a society which was content with its existing system of agriculture, resistance to enclosure acts would have been more widespread, may have been endorsed by the upper classes and may well have succeeded in preventing the widespread enclosure of the open fields and commons of England. However, parliamentary enclosure was introduced in response to a continued practice of enclosure by landowners in England, irrespective of whether it was condemned or endorsed by parliament (see Chapter Two).

By the mid-eighteenth century the chances of the smaller landowners or the growing numbers of rural labourers to successfully oppose the principal of enclosure were negligible. The small landowners had the chance to argue for their ownership and rights over specific pieces of land through the official enclosure process, while the labourers and parish poor had only the threat and use of direct action at their disposal. The best outcome of resistance to Parliamentary Acts would have been the continuation of common lands and common rights across the country. Sadly, these lands and rights were lost in the majority of cases, meaning that parliamentary enclosure resulted in an increased reliance on wage labour and, as a result the threat of poverty for the lower classes across much of rural England.

Dealing with Change

Here and there old trees had been felled the autumn before; or a squatter's roughly built and decaying cottage had disappeared. Margaret missed them each and all, and grieved over them like old friends. They came past the spot where she and Mr Lennox had sketched. The white, lightening scarred trunk of the venerable beech, among whose roots they had sat down, was there no more; the old man, the inhabitant of the ruinous cottage, was dead; the cottage had been pulled down, and a new one, tidy and respectable, had been built in its stead. There was a small garden on the place where the beech-tree had been.

"I did not think I had been so old," said Margaret after a pause of silence; and she turned away sighing.

"Yes!" said Mr Bell. "It is the first changes among the familiar things that make such a mystery of time to the young, afterwards we lose the sense of the mysterious. I take changes in all I see as a matter of course. The instability of all human things is familiar to me, to you it is new and oppressive." (Elizabeth Gaskell *North and South* 1854-5 (1970, 475)).

On a general level, parliamentary enclosure was successful. The plans laid down by the enclosure commissioners and surveyors were, in most cases, realised on the ground. The appearance of the landscape changed, the management of the land changed and many rights over land were lost. Access and movement around the landscape changed. As the old, communal forms of farming and landownership were wiped away, the relationships and social standing of people within the farming community had to be remade and renegotiated.

These changes would have been sudden and sometimes difficult to negotiate. Nonetheless, the vast majority of individuals who were affected by parliamentary enclosure and may have experienced a sense of dislocation and a sense of loss, continued to farm and work the land. They learnt to deal with the changes to their local environment and their working relationships. Labourers and landowners across the country worked the new fields, built new houses in the new enclosures, and started to



Figure 6.10 A View of the Vale of Aylesbury (Photo: Peter Sackett).

gain a familiarity with the new, straight roads, and the thickening lines of hawthorn hedges and the loss of the open fields.

Today the straight lines and hawthorn hedges of the vale contributes to a sense of place for the people of the Vale of Aylesbury (Figure 6.10).

A great many people learnt how to survive without access to the commons, woods and wastes. They renegotiated their relationships with their fellow parishioners once the open fields had gone. And for many people enclosure meant more than a changing landscape. It could mean a shift from small landowner to labourer, while labourers and squatters denied access to the commons may have slipped down the ladder to the level of pauper. Some of these people left for work in the towns and cities, while others took the route of emigration (see Hobsbawm and Rudé 2001, 43).

The great changes that occurred both in industry and agriculture in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries meant that survival in this period was linked to adaptability. Individuals who could not deal with rapid change, and the poorer members of society who had few rights or means to resist change, were bound to suffer during this period. As long as ideas of improvement and progress held sway as a desirable goal for society, change was inevitable.

However, it is important to note that the course of that change was not inevitable. The enclosure of the open fields and commons across England occurred because the people who owned the majority of the land in the country wanted, or felt duty bound, to enclose their lands. It did not happen on its own, and it did not occur because it was the best or the only way of successfully farming the land. As the case study has demonstrated, different regions accepted and resisted different forms of enclosure, resulting in the varied impact of parliamentary enclosure on parishes in the hills, scarp and vale.

Objections and resistance to enclosure in the study area did not prevent the enclosure of the open fields and commons. However, some of the worst extremes of enclosure were avoided in the study area and in a few parishes compensation was provided for the poor of the parish. Any victories, however small they may seem to those studying enclosure from a distance, were significant since they made real differences to the lives and well-being of those people who experienced enclosure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These victories still make a difference today; each decision, such as the measures taken to preserve Whiteleaf Cross; each battle won, such as the removal of Brownlow's enclosure on Berkhamsted Frith or the decision to admit the contested claims to land made by several small landowners during the enclosure of Princes Risborough, helped to shape the present day landscape in which the people of Buckinghamshire live and work.

Chapter Seven: Modern Landscapes?

Introduction

One of the principle aims of this thesis has been to explore the relationship between the enclosure of the English landscape and the development of capitalism and a modern world view, as well as to present a detailed study of a single issue over a long timespan. This chapter will draw on the evidence and arguments presented in chapters Four, Five and Six in order to readdress several key topics (outlined in Chapter Three) including the shift from feudalism to capitalism, the commoditisation of land, the increase in bureaucracy and centralised authority, and alienation from place and landscape. This chapter also explores the assertion made in Chapter Two that the differences between the various forms of enclosure are significant and should not be smoothed over. In doing so it also examines issues of resistance and change and interrogates the idea of the inevitability of enclosure. The arguments in this chapter will be centred around material from the case studies, but will also contextualise this material by drawing in comparisons from further afield.

Rights, Ownership and a Changing Society

One of the assertions made by many discussions of enclosure is that it played an important role in the shift from a medieval system of land rights and communal farming to a capitalist landscape of privately owned land, where traditional rights over land had been removed or reduced (Johnson 1996, 47). At a very broad level this seems to be a valid claim. The English landscape was transformed through enclosure from a complex combination of open field strips and common lands and wastes with various associated rights, to an enclosed landscape with hedged, fenced or walled enclosures which had been taken into direct ownership.

However, this shift can be overstated. To begin with the process takes place over a very long time, beginning in the thirteenth century, or earlier, and not ending in a few parts of the country until the early 1900s. Many areas of the Chilterns had been enclosed directly from woodland by the end of the thirteenth century, while Enclosure Acts in Buckinghamshire continued to be passed into the 1850s and 1860s. This shows that the shift was not straightforward or uncomplicated. As noted in Chapter Four the connection between enclosed land and private ownership was not always clear cut. Enclosed land was sometimes held in severalty over the summer months and then returned to communal management during the winter months when the land was required for the pasturing livestock.

A one to one, all year round relationship between land and owner was not fully realised until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the lingering and complex customary rights and communal farming methods of the open field system were systematically chased down by the Enclosure Acts. The Enclosure Acts helped to make the idea of ownership, and legal ownership, more concrete. Rights over land and dues such as tithes were seen to be undesirable. The rise of the idea of the importance of ownership over the traditional system of land management is shown by the shift in 1773 from the administration of (surviving) open fields by the manor court to their

management by the majority of the freeholders (Turner 1973, 35). There was also increased legislation from the late eighteenth century onwards to define and protect the rights of landowners (Hoppit 1996).

But even in the era of parliamentary enclosure some traces of the medieval farming landscape remained. In the Chilterns many areas of common land were maintained in the midst of a sea of enclosed, privately owned fields. The farms, home closes and old enclosures that were created during the medieval period were maintained across a large part of the study area.

Moreover, even the new form of private ownership was not without its limits. With the increased use of centralised power by the government landowners could sometimes be forced into accepting decisions made by other people about their land if they were backed up by an Act of Parliament. Enclosure Acts could not always please all the landowners in a parish; some of them might be forced to sell areas of land to the commissioners or to allow rights of way to cross their land. This is illustrated by the case of John Grubb from Princes Risborough, who employed a solicitor to voice his numerous complaints about the rulings of the enclosure commissioners (see Chapter Six). Many landowners were also affected by decisions made about the routeways of the new canals and railways that were being created across the country (Reed 1979, 230). By the end of the nineteenth century most landowners had freed themselves from the bulk of the rights and obligations bound up with the communal, open field system, but they had lost some of their ability to govern their affairs locally. Their rights over the land were not absolute.

It is also possible to overlay the distinction between medieval and post-medieval attitudes towards land, since ideas of private ownership and of value of land were already emerging in the medieval period. Detailed records of land holdings from the medieval period demonstrate that surveys of land were carried out prior to the widespread adoption of mapping (Harvey 1996, 30-1; Rackham 1997, 18).

A further counter to the description of enclosure as a shift from communal, medieval farming to enclosed, capitalist landscapes is that in some cases the sequence of open field to enclosed land does not always hold true. In areas such as the Chilterns where there were substantial wooded areas, land which had been newly cleared or assarted might be taken directly into private ownership. Also, open field landscapes were more diverse, and often less open, than general discussions often suggest (see below for more detailed discussion).

Another important issue to be addressed in the relationship between enclosure and the commodification of land. The documentary evidence from the study area clearly shows that a concern with surveying, quantifying and mapping land grows in importance over time. The increased use of estate maps rather than written surveys from the sixteenth century onwards, in particular, shows an growing interest in the physical area covered by land as well as the productivity of that land, which was more commonly recorded in medieval documents. The planning of parliamentary enclosure on paper rather than on the ground shows that by the eighteenth century land had become something which could be valued, divided up and directly owned, rather than a communal resource over which different members of the parish had complex and varied rights.

Studies of capitalist landscapes often show that the value of land comes to be

linked specifically to area or the quantity of land, rather than the productivity of land. This has caused great problems in some parts of the world where the modernisation of traditional farming patterns has led to people being allocated land which is equal in quantity, but vastly different in terms of productivity (Pfaffenberger 1988).

However, in terms of parliamentary enclosure this does not seem to be the case. Quality books were produced by the surveyor in order to ensure that landowners were allotted land which had an equal capacity for production as the land which they held in the open fields. In the era of piecemeal enclosure and enclosure by agreement the lines of the new fields were generally agreed on the ground by the landowners. This meant that they could negotiate and agree on the fairest or most acceptable way of reallocating land. The landowners were controlling the process themselves and need not agree to any plan which would allocate them any unproductive areas of land.

With the growth of privately owned land and the lessening of rights over different parts of the landscape (such as the commons) as well as the increased use of mapping, land became increasingly viewed in terms of area, quantity and value. However, in contrast to cases of the mapping and division of land in many colonial contexts, the quality and productivity of the land was maintained as a significant factor in the calculation and reallocation of land through the process of enclosure up until the nineteenth century.

The Impact of Enclosure

The impact of parliamentary enclosure on the poorer members of the community has been an important area of study. Much debate has centred on the fate of the small owner-occupiers and the poor of the parish (eg Birtles 1999; Chambers and Mingay 1966; Hammonds 1911; Neeson 1993; Shaw Taylor 2000; Turner 1973), while some studies have explored the impact of enclosure on the status and economic activity of women and children (Humphries 1990). Turner's examination of landownership patterns pre- and post-enclosure in Buckinghamshire support Chambers and Mingay (1966) to some extent, by demonstrating that small landowners continued to exist as a class following parliamentary enclosure. However, Turner's work also supports the Hammonds' more pessimistic perspective, since he demonstrates that the individuals holding small plots of land prior to enclosure gave them up at the time of, or shortly following, enclosure (1973, 145). Shigetomi's study of the impact of enclosure in Weston Turville similarly shows a relatively high rate of turnover of original landowners following enclosure (1999, 360-1). The resident landowners, in particular, appear to have been affected by the enclosure, with the sixteen landowners falling into this category just prior to enclosure in 1800, falling to just eight by 1832 (1999, 361).

The historical evidence (much of which comes from the study of land tax returns) demonstrates that enclosure, in particular parliamentary enclosure, had a substantial impact on the smaller landowners, in particular those making a living from their own land. While the pattern of landownership may not have changed dramatically, enclosure would have had a major impact on the local community. Some local landowners were reduced to the status of tenants or labourers, while other long-standing residents of a parish may have been forced to sell up and move (Shigetomi 1999, 360). For the people involved in enclosure it was the impact on individual families, rather than the shifting numbers or categories of landownership, that were of immediate concern.

It is important that the impact of enclosure in Buckinghamshire should not be

taken as a template for the rest of the country. Detailed regional studies from other parts of England demonstrate varied effects of parliamentary enclosure. The enclosure and subsequent conversion to pasture of land in Warwickshire led to unemployment and emigration (Martin 1979), while Barrell's examination of the fate of labourers following the enclosure of the poet John Clare's parish of Helpston found that there was an increased level of work following enclosure (1972, 208-15).

Neeson has noted that another result of enclosure was the bitterness often felt by the labourers and poor of the parish against the farmers and landowners who supported the process (1993, 281). The impact of enclosures on movement and access in the newly enclosed parish are discussed below.

Documents, Plans and Bureaucracy

One of the questions posed in Chapter Three was to determine the relationship between documentation and enclosure. There has been much discussion by historians of the importance of documents and bureaucracy in the development of a modern or capitalist world view. How is the increased use of many documents and forms of representation, such as maps and plans, related to the process of enclosure over time?

Early Enclosure

The evidence from the study area shows a clear increase over time in the use and importance of documentation in the enclosure of the landscape. For large areas of the Chilterns, which were enclosed piecemeal over a long period of time, there is little documentary evidence for enclosure until the sixteenth or seventeenth century. When this evidence does arise it is often in the form of written or planned surveys depicting areas of the landscape which have already been exchanged and enclosed. Estate maps from the sixteenth and seventeenth century also exist for parts of the scarp edge and the vale. Examples of such documents include the estate survey for Great Hampden (see Figure 4.29), the map of Margaret Bird's land in Monks Risborough and Princes Risborough (see Figure 3.11) and the map showing the land belonging to All Soul's College Oxford (Figures 4.16 - 4.19). Such estate documents help to date enclosures, and demonstrate a shifting idea of ownership, with the increased need to record and demonstrate ownership on paper. However, these documents were not created for the purpose of enclosing, often being related to the sale of land.

Early legal documents specifically related to enclosure include those produced for enclosure by agreement, as well as the records of any legal proceedings which followed protests over disputed cases of enclosure.

Parliamentary Enclosure

The use of documentation in the process of enclosure sees a massive increase with the introduction of parliamentary enclosure in the eighteenth century. The growing pressure on landowners to establish their rights over newly enclosed lands in the eyes of the law is demonstrated by the fact that some of the earliest Parliamentary Enclosure Acts in the study area were requested by landowners who had already enclosed their lands. With the government's decision to openly endorse the enclosure process, landowners could now ensure that their rights over the new enclosures would not be in any doubt.

As demonstrated in Chapter Five, the volumes of paperwork involved in the enclosure of a parish were considerable, with the number of working documents being produced prior to the completion of each Award running into many hundreds. The total archive holdings for the papers relating to the enclosure of Princes Risborough run to over a thousand documents (IR/M/1/1-10). The bulk of paperwork related to parliamentary enclosure shows the importance, by the mid-eighteenth century, of the bureaucratic process and established parliamentary procedure in the running of the country. The form taken by the final Award is also significant, since many of the Awards from the study area are produced with great care, and speak of the authority and legality of the Parliamentary Award. All of the Awards are handwritten and liberally covered with official stamps and seals, speaking of the authenticity and legality of the documents.

Such was the importance of due procedure and legal ownership by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that any private agreements to enclose a parish carried out during this period often followed the same set of stages used by the commissioners working towards a parliamentary awards. The dispute over Berkhamsted Frith in the nineteenth century also highlights a concern for due procedure, since Smith's principal objection to Brownlow's enclosure of the common was not that he was attempting to take common land into private ownership, but that he had done it without using an Act of Parliament. Smith's subsequent payment of men to pull down Brownlow's fences was carried out in order to bring the matter into the legal arena.

One of the results of the increased bureaucracy and centralised management of enclosure was a lessening of power in a local context. Landowners such as Brownlow and Grubb who felt that they should be able to manage their matters on a local level, had to face up to the changed role of the government. Although there was still great scope for local negotiation and preferences within the process of parliamentary enclosure the guidelines set down by parliament meant there were limits to the power that local landowners had over the proceedings, just as bureaucracy and increased centralisation in general meant that parliament could limit the powers of local people to manage their affairs in more general terms.

Custom and Law

The increased weight placed on documentary proof of ownership by the eighteenth century might suggest that custom and practice were on the decline as proof of rights of access and ownership over land. This is true in part since, in the study area, compensation was rarely handed out to the poor of the parish in the case of the enclosure of common or waste land. Some academics have claimed that cottagers and landless members of the community has no legal rights to common land (eg Birtles 1999; Chambers and Mingay 1966, 97; Hoskins 1963, 4; Kerridge 1967, 80). However, Thompson has argued that the use of the commons by the poorer parishioners was a widely accepted custom, and that their lack of legal right to the commons was not rooted in the medieval period, but was established from the late seventeenth century onwards, as the courts and then many Enclosure Acts, sought to narrow and define rights of access and custom over land (1991b, 129-43). Birtles (1999) in turn has challenged Thompson's interpretation of custom, and has argued that the use of common land by the poor increased in the sixteenth century as proprietors sought to limit their payment of poor rates. While this may have been the case, the

longterm access to common land permitted to poor in many parts of the country would seem to justify their claims to customary rights over land, whatever the official, legal argument might be; in *practice* the poor of the parish had access to the resources of common land for several centuries. It is unlikely that it was a concern for legal procedure which prevented these people from being adequately compensated at enclosure, but rather the desire of the landowning classes to lose as little land as possible through the enclosure process.

Customary rights, or use-rights (Birtles 1999, 84) were not always ignored. In the example of the enclosure of Monks Risborough, the commissioners accepted that some compensation was due to the poor of the parish. The drawn out process and unusual nature of the enclosure of Monks Risborough marks it out as the exception in the study area, rather than the rule.

Other evidence that custom and practice had not been completely dismissed by the era of parliamentary enclosure is found in practice of calling witnesses in order to establish whether various rights had been maintained in recent years, or perhaps to ascertain whether encroachments onto common land had been carried out more than thirty years ago. Examples of such witnesses being called can be found in the legal papers regarding Brownlow's defence of his enclosure of Berkhamsted common (HALS: AH 2795) and in response to John Grubb's objection to various claims made during the enclosure of Princes Risborough (CBS: IR/M/1/9/1-42).

This acceptance of some customary rights and oral testimony contrasts with the attitude of Europeans in a colonial context, where the customs, rights and practices of the indigenous population were often ignored because they had no documentary evidence to back up their rights over land. However, it is not surprising that the commissioners carrying out parliamentary enclosure in England acknowledged many customary rights and practices, since they were carrying out enclosure on behalf of local landowners who were keen to maintain certain customary rights. While parliamentary enclosure did much to lessen the complexity of rights of access and rights to resources - by enclosing large areas of common land and waste, as well as lessening the burden and complexity of the tithe system - landholders could cling onto those traditional rights which were in their interest - such of the rights of the lord of the manor over minerals beneath the ground of former common land (Hollowell 2000, 64, 67-8).

Plans and Paper

Another crucial element of many Enclosure Awards were the maps produced by the surveyor and commissioners. The routine use of documents in the process of parliamentary enclosure marks an important change in the management and shaping of the landscape and had a major impact on the appearance of large areas of the English countryside. In earlier centuries enclosures were worked through on the ground. This meant that the boundaries and divisions laid out in the landscape worked, in most cases, with the local topography, and respected existing landscape features. One example of this is the way that sections of the Iron Age feature known as Grim's Ditch was incorporated into the boundaries of early enclosures in the Chilterns (see Figure 4.31).

Maps, plans and surveys dating to previous centuries were generally plans of what already exists, rather than plans of how to shape the landscape in the future. But by the eighteenth century planning on paper was becoming more widespread, for

example in the designs for stately homes and parklands, pattern books for houses, model farms and model villages. Parliamentary enclosure allowed changes to large chunks of the landscape to be planned on paper. Parish by parish, parliamentary commissioners were involved in the planning of changes to around twenty-one percent of the country (Williamson 2002a, 13). This was a massive achievement, made possible by the bureaucracy and standardised procedure introduced by parliament.

The planning of the new enclosures on paper, rather than on the ground created a new element in the landscape. The ruler-straight lines on the surveyors' maps were transferred onto the ground. These straight lines are one of the major features of the Padbury enclosure (see Figure 5.25). They are also highly visible in the enclosure of scarp edge parishes, where the straight-edged fields of the newly enclosed open fields sit amidst the wavy lines and more irregular outlines of the old enclosures (eg Wendover and Princes Risborough, see Figures 5.32 and 5.34). In the hills, straight lines can be found on areas of former common land, for example in Amersham (see Figure 5.23). In many parts of the country it is these straight lines, and their relative indifference to the local topography, that allows fields created by parliamentary enclosure to be identified. As opposed to early enclosure, which tended to work with the lines and units of the open field system, the surveyors involved in parliamentary enclosure could choose to turn their backs on the existing layout of fields, and write a new system of enclosures on top of the old strips and furlongs. As the case study has shown, some surveyors were sensitive to the existing form of the parish, but the new, regular fields they introduced as well as the loss of the open fields and the common land and waste brought a new appearance and feel to the rural landscape.

The enclosure of such a vast area of landscape within a relatively short timespan could have had an even more dramatic impact on the English landscape. If the integrity of the parish boundaries had been broken down in the study area surveyors could have made even more sweeping changes to the existing landscape. More roads could have been straightened, settlement may have become more scattered, the scraps of meadow, common and waste which straddled parish boundaries could have been enclosed as single units.

The grouping of parishes at enclosure did occur in some parts of the country, including in the region around John Clare's parish of Helpston. Helpston was enclosed alongside its neighbouring parishes Maxey, Etton, Glinton, Northborough and Peakirk, bringing a great degree of organisation and order to a large area of countryside. The road network, in particular, was reworked in order to improve connections between the villages and local towns (Barrell 1972, 106-8). These parishes appear to have been enclosed under a single Act in order to aid the rationalisation of the Fitzwilliam estate, which was spread across the six parishes (*Ibid.*).

In Buckinghamshire, the use of the parish as the unit for enclosure certainly helped to maintain something of the character of the local landscape, even in areas such as the north of the vale where the new enclosures were designed with little regard for the old lines of the open fields and routeways. At least, in parishes such as Padbury and Adstock, the irregular line of the parish boundary was maintained, as was the central focus of the village. The roads, although reduced in number and straightened, radiated into the centre of the village rather than cutting, grid-like through the parish, as was the case in the enclosed parish of Helpston.

Changing Perceptions

The step of using paper in planning and setting down the new enclosures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a significant step. It allowed land to be viewed objectively, from a distance, as an abstract space to be manipulated by the surveyor. The finished enclosure maps also brought home a major change to people's relationship with the landscape. The whole landscape has been broken up into bounded units, which are often labelled with the name of an individual (Figure 5.20). In place of a complex landscape, with complex land rights over open field strips and access to meadows, commons and wastes, the landscape has been brought into direct ownership. The creation of enclosure and tithe maps helped to create and legitimate this new form of ownership. The creation of these maps and the Enclosure Awards also helped to reinforce the relationship between landownership and documentation, making documentary proof of ownership more and more necessary and diminishing the power of custom and practice as a claim of rights over parts of the landscape.

The surveys, legal documents, maps and documents involved in the enclosure of the English landscape over the centuries were more than tools. They were bound up with important changes to the way in which people managed and perceived the landscape. If surveyors had continued to use written, rather than pictorial, representations of the landscape, then the productivity, rather than the surface area of the land might have continued to be the dominant factor in the division and valuation of farmland. Moreover, without the use of maps and plans, the ruler-straight lines seen in the north of the study area and across much of the Midlands, would not have been created. The increased role of documentation in the management of the landscape from the late medieval period until the nineteenth century played a crucial role in the shaping of the English landscape.

Space, Place and Landscape

The role of enclosure in changing people's experience and perception of the rural landscape has been discussed by Johnson (1996, 74), who suggests that enclosure brings about a shift from the physical experience of walking through the open landscape, to an emphasis on the visual, where the eye, or gaze, is drawn by the lines of the new enclosures - which simultaneously exclude people from large areas of the landscape. Johnson's assertions are linked to more general discussions of capitalist attitudes to landscape (discussed in Chapter Three), which claim that capitalist societies prioritise vision over the other senses (eg Mitchell 1988) and view land as an abstract space and commodity, rather than emphasising the importance of place and history (Thomas 1993, 22-3). The use of documentation and the centralisation of government and the widespread communication of knowledge also means that capitalist societies can produce more regularised, homogeneous landscapes, which in turn can generate a sense of placelessness (Relph 1976).

From a very general perspective, it has already been established that the use of documentation, in particular maps, became increasingly important over time in the implementation of enclosure. This had the result of creating, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, enclosed landscapes of straight lines and regular sized fields. Parliamentary enclosure allowed ideas of space, value and ownership to be mapped directly onto the landscape. Numerous elements of the existing landscape were swept

away by parliamentary enclosure, while large areas of the landscape were turned from communally managed, to privately owned land. In some parts of the country, the wide vistas of the old open field system were replaced by the regimented lines of hawthorn hedges. It cannot be denied that enclosure plays an important part in the shift from medieval to modern views of landscape. However, evidence from the case study shows that it is easy to overplay the shift from the open field, communally farmed, richly experienced medieval landscape to a landscape of straight lines, private ownership and alienated labourers of the nineteenth century.

Open to Closed

Enclosure is generally described in terms of the shift from the open field system to a landscape of hedged or walled fields. However, as the case studies presented in this thesis have shown the process of enclosure was long and complex and varied from region to region. The form taken by enclosures was in no way uniform and this chronology of 'open' to 'closed' is not as neat as has sometimes been suggested (see above).

Each form of enclosure had a different impact on the visual appearance of the landscape and on the experience of those moving through the landscape. Moreover, the way in which enclosure was implemented and the layout of the landscape prior to enclosure affected the degree to which enclosure changed people's experience and perceptions of their surroundings.

In Buckinghamshire, most early, large scale enclosure for sheep pastures took place in the north of the county. Visually, this form of enclosure had the effect of changing already open areas of landscape into an even more open areas, with the loss of the changing patterns of crops in the summer months. However, such areas of pasture also shut down access and often led to depopulation, creating chunks of the landscape from which the majority of the local population were excluded.

The other form of early enclosure in the study area was piecemeal enclosure. This was carried out in some areas of the vale, in parishes such as Long Crendon, and across large areas of the scarp edge and the Chilterns. In the vale these small enclosures brought the lines of hedgerows into parts of the landscape away from the village centre and the home closes. They also created small patches of land which were privately owned rather than communally managed. However, piecemeal enclosure was created on the ground, within the framework of the existing open field system and did not obscure rights of way or dramatically alter the overall appearance of the landscape.

In the hills and scarp edge piecemeal enclosure made even less impact on the landscape. The creation of the Black Hedge in Monks Risborough in the early medieval period shows that substantial hedge boundaries were in existence in this part of the study area from an early date. Substantial areas of the Chilterns were also covered in woods and scrub. The introduction of small, enclosed fields into the landscape would not, therefore have made a dramatic difference to the appearance of the landscape. It is also likely that many of the small enclosures which abut areas of woodland on the hilltops are assarts and would have been cleared directly from woodland. Such enclosures would have had the effect of *visually* opening out areas of the landscape (although if taken into private ownership they would have closed down access to these areas).



Figure 7.1 Long thin field at Stokenchurch.

It is important to note that early enclosure was by no means homogeneous. Some early enclosures take the form laid down by the strips and furlongs of the open fields. Long, thin fields, created by the hedging in of sections of the open field can be found at Stokenchurch (Figure 7.1) and at Bovington in Hertfordshire (see Figure 4.15). This practice was common in many areas of ancient countryside, for example in North Devon (Figure 7.2). Early maps for the parish of Wendover, however, show a different style of enclosure, where enclosures made perhaps in the 1500s and 1600s, were later subdivided to create smaller fields (see Figures 4.24 and 4.25).

It is notable that, apart from small scale encroachment at the edges, the common land in the Chilterns and on the scarp edge was viewed as a valuable resource by the local people. Any attempts to enclose large areas of common or waste prior to the era of parliamentary enclosure were initiated by large, powerful landowners and were met with substantial resistance. Therefore, areas of completely open common land survived in these zones of the study area, amid a growing sea of small, enclosed fields. Many of these patches of common land have survived until the common day, demonstrating that the shift from an open to a closed landscape was not at all straightforward or certain.

One common feature of early enclosure is that it has the appearance of having been worked out on the ground rather than being planned on paper. The hedge lines respect the local topography and the existing features in the landscape, such as the open field strips. They also make use of the local, varied and productive shrub varieties, rather than using specially grown hawthorn, as was the case in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These enclosures were negotiated and created on a local level.

Early enclosure in the Chilterns and on the scarp edge do not sit too comfortably with Johnson's suggestion (1996, 74) that enclosure helped to prioritise sight over the other senses, and that the eye was drawn by the lines of the newly enclosed fields. For those moving through the Chilterns the hedgerows of the enclosure would have had the effect of obscuring vision, rather than drawing the eye. The small fields, linked with the nature of the Chilterns topography, would have meant those working and travelling through the landscape would have been aware of their local environment, of the high banks and thick hedgerows edging the fields rather than any distant view (Figure 7.3). On the other hand, these small enclosures which cut off access would have had the effect of emphasising the private nature of the fields and forming a physical barrier which forcibly excluded people from the land. This observation should be balanced by a recognition that not all early enclosures were privately owned (see Chapter Four), and that the hedges were also designed to keep stock in as well as people out.



Figure 7.2 Enclosed field strips near Baggy Point, Croyde, North Devon.

Johnson's idea of straight-lined enclosures closing down access to the open fields and forming regularised patterns across the landscape becomes more visible towards the end of the seventeenth century. Examples of enclosure by agreement, for example at Cuddington, show a landscape of fairly regular enclosures, with many rectangular fields (see Figure 4.32). While the field edges at Cuddington are not ruler-straight they do impose order and regularity onto the landscape. The visual impact of this enclosure would have been exaggerated by the continuation of the open field system in neighbouring parishes.

Parliamentary enclosure, especially in the vale, also had the effect of imposing a greater order and regularity on the landscape. In places such as Padbury it cut harshly across the topography and the old curves and lines open fields. It closed down access to some old routeways and to areas of the parish which had once been communally

farmed or part of the common land or wastes. The evidence from the study area suggests that highly ordered forms of enclosure are not common until the eighteenth century and that it is at this point that the idea of land as space and commodity is more firmly mapped onto the ground. As already noted, this is linked to the shift from working out enclosure on the ground to planning enclosure on paper. The widespread adoption of quick-growing hawthorn for the hedges of the new enclosures also adds to the uniformity of the vale parishes enclosed by Act of Parliament.

However, it should be noted that the local topography, the date of enclosure and the preferences of the surveyor involved in the enclosure process affected the extent of change to the landscape. The massive visual impact of enclosure in Padbury and Adstock contrasted with the minor changes brought about on some of the scarp edge and Chiltern parishes where only scraps of open fields were enclosed.



Figure 7.3 Chiltern hedgerow.

The enclosure map for Wendover (Figure 5.32) shows that surveyors involved in parliamentary enclosure may have felt frustrated by the small and irregular fields created by piecemeal enclosure. The surveyors Russell and Collisson set out a vision for a more open and regularised landscape which has never been realised.

The evidence from the case study demonstrates that there is not a simple shift from one kind of open landscape to one form of enclosed landscapes, and that enclosers at different times and places had different ideas about how enclosure should look and how it should be created. The case study has thrown up a substantial range of forms for enclosure across a relatively small part of the country. If the view is broadened to look at the range of forms taken by enclosure across the country the nature and visual impact of enclosure seems less and less uniform (eg Figure 7.4).

Loss of Access

Related to the issue of moving from an open to an enclosed landscape in visual terms is the gradual loss of access to land created by the rise in private ownership over time. Once again this has no neat chronology and it is important to make a clear distinction between a visually open landscape and a landscape with open access. The open fields were only 'open' to those who owned or rented strips of agricultural land, while in many parishes access to common land was supposedly limited to those who worked or held land in the parish - although this was often overlooked. The medieval system of land management may have looked open, and it may have required cooperation by members of the community, but it was by no means egalitarian.

The creation of large sheep pastures in the late medieval and early modern period was perhaps the most extreme form of enclosure carried out in England. It often led to depopulation and denied local people access to large areas of the landscape.



Figure 7.4 An alternative to hedged enclosures - field wall at Baggy Point, Croyde, North Devon.

Small scale, piecemeal enclosure would have had a more gradual impact on the local people, as the open fields were gradually turned over to privately owned plots and common grazing was gradually diminished. Prior to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many parishes, such as Wendover and Princes Risborough, maintained small stretches of open field, alongside areas of common land and waste and a substantial network of routeways.

Loss of access to land became a major issue again with the use of enclosure by agreement and parliamentary enclosure to divide up whole parishes. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, the enclosure of the open fields and the common land as well as numerous routeways at one fell swoop dramatically cut down the area of the parish open to general access. Enclosure maps sometimes show the huge inequality of land

ownership in a parish, with one or a few landowners holding vast areas of the parish, while other individuals held only a house and garden or perhaps a couple of strips in the open fields (see Figure 5.29).

It is, of course, important to make the distinction between ownership on paper and who would have had access to the land in practice. The Earls of Buckinghamshire and Bridgewater, for example, did not farm their land in person, and would have leased out land and employed people to manage and work their land. Thus, the newly enclosed fields were still peopled. As noted in Chapters Five and Six, the biggest blow to the local population following enclosure would have been the loss of access to common and waste land as a source of fuel and a place to graze their animals. The exclusion of poorer members of society from these parts of the landscape would have been felt very keenly.

Medieval and Modern

Looking at the study area it would be possible to create a form of categorisation for the different forms of field systems and enclosures used and created at different points in time. The open field system would be categorised as medieval, while enclosed fields strips and small enclosed fields with mixed-species hedges which are sensitive to the local topography could be labelled as early enclosures c.1400s-1600s. More regular forms of enclosure, with predominately large rectangular, straight-edged fields, planted with hawthorn and running alongside straightened roads could be categorised as eighteenth or nineteenth century. While these features certainly act as good indicators of when the fields were created, it is problematic to label them in this way. The technique of breaking landscapes down into layers ignores the complexity of landscape, and sidesteps the complex interrelationship between existing and new features in the landscape (Bender 1998; Bradley 1998). Just as prehistoric landscape features are reused and reinterpreted by subsequent generations, so are medieval and post-medieval field boundaries.

The use of Acts of Parliament to enclose large areas of the vale as well as the parishes on the scarp edge show that 'medieval' open fields existed in many areas of the study area well into the nineteenth century. The small enclosures created over the medieval period, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sat alongside those created in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These fields from different phases of enclosure are still in use in the landscape today. So although we can say that the fields in Padbury and Adstock were created by eighteenth century attitudes to land and space, this was not the only form of field system in existence at that point in time.

One of the aims of this thesis has been to examine the notion of capitalist landscape. It is important to remember that while a great many of the features of the landscapes inhabited by people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not created by a modern or capitalist society they were inhabited by members of a capitalist society. It is not reasonable to continue to describe open fields as purely medieval when a number of open field systems were not enclosed until late nineteenth century or even the early twentieth century. They may have been medieval in origin, but they did not fossilise medieval attitudes or a medieval way of life. Improvers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may have looked down on the open field system as backward looking and as a hindrance to modern methods of farming (see discussion

in Chapter Six), but academics working today do not have to accept their characterisation of the open fields as medieval or backward. Havinden (1961) for example has demonstrated that the enclosure of the fields was not necessary to the implementation of new farming techniques and crops and that innovations, such as the planting of clover rather than leaving fields to lie fallow, could be achieved just as well in an open field system as in an enclosed landscape.

The patterns of land use left by the enclosure and conversion of open fields to pasture across large areas of the Midlands do not show us precisely how the open fields were designed to be used at the time of their creation, they show us how they were being used at the point of enclosure. Open field systems in the Chilterns were already thought of as land which could be exchanged, enclosed, bought and sold by the 1500s. By the time of parliamentary enclosure the inhabitants of parishes with open fields were experimenting with new methods of agriculture, and may have been using dead hedges to divide off parts of the open fields for use as pasture for cattle (Havinden 1961). Moreover, the roles of the people working the land had changed dramatically over time, with a shift away from subsistence farming and a greater need to sell crops and animals to raise cash to buy goods and pay labourers. Farmers began to live more like gentry, while more and more people at the lower end of the social scale had no land of their own and were forced to work as labourers. By the eighteenth century the people of rural England were working within a capitalist economy, irrespective of whether their parish was made up of open fields and commons, enclosed fields or a combination.

Uniform Landscapes

Chapters One and Three raised the question of whether enclosure created uniform landscapes, or whether it varied locally and on a regional level? As already discussed in this chapter, the evidence from the case studies clearly demonstrates that enclosure varied greatly in form over time. It also varied across the three zones of the landscape. This is most clearly seen in the era of parliamentary enclosure, since all three zones of the landscape experience some enclosure during this period.

In Chapter Six it was demonstrated that the most thorough reorganisation of the landscape occurred in the vale parishes. On the scarp edge and in the Chilterns enclosure commissioners and surveyors had to deal with a more varied topography as well as earlier phases of enclosure. In many cases this meant that the changes to the landscape were less dramatic than those in the vale. Small landowners, labourers and the poor were better off in the Chilterns which had been enclosed in earlier centuries. In these regions the small landowners had a better chance of holding onto their properties, since they would not be affected by the cost of parliamentary enclosure. Also some parishes in the Chilterns held onto areas of common land which provided something of a safety net for the poorer members of society.

The study of enclosure Awards and maps presented in Chapter Five also shows the importance of the choice of surveyor in the eventual shape of the enclosed landscape. Some surveyors liked to see straight lines in the landscape, as well as a less complex network of roads and routeways, while others were happy to keep a large proportion of the existing fields, roads, carriageways and footpaths in the landscape.

Studies looking at other parts of the country reinforce the findings of the case study, and show that the landscape created at the time of parliamentary enclosure were by no means uniform (eg Whyte 2003; Williamson 2002a). Local topography and geology, historical patterns of land use and local settlement patterns combine to produce regional and local responses to the task of enclosing. Parliamentary Acts may have provided a framework for enclosure, but they were not prescriptive about the exact form that enclosure should take.

As more and more regional studies of enclosure are produced academics are moving away from using the Midlands parishes as the dominant model or area for the discussion of parliamentary enclosure (eg Chapman and Seeliger 1991; Frazer 1999b; Williamson 2002a; Whyte 2003). While there are general patterns to be observed about the nature of parliamentary enclosure - for example the use of maps, planning on paper, a general inclination towards straight lines and larger, more regularised fields - it is not helpful to hold up one area of the country as a prototype or model form of enclosure. Commissioners and surveyors around the country had to deal with different landscapes and the needs, desires and even the opposition of the local population. Centralised and bureaucratic government allowed vast areas of England to be enclosed between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century, but this did not succeed, or seek to, wipe out all local character or history from the landscape. Regional studies of enclosure demonstrate that difference within a capitalist society is both visible and significant.

A Sense of History, A Sense of Place

In a colonial context Western, capitalist land divisions were often created with little or no regard for existing landscape features. The new settlers appropriated areas, buildings and monuments of great historical and spiritual significance to the indigenous population. The use of maps in planning changes to the landscape facilitates this attitude towards the history and significance of features in the landscape, since the map-maker can work from a blank page (Harley 1988, 303). The local names and meanings of the rivers, mountains, monuments, settlements and so on need not appear on the colonisers' maps. They can write their own vision of the landscape onto the empty page. To what extent was this lack of concern for the history and significant places in the landscape demonstrated in the enclosure of the English countryside?

Of all the different forms of enclosure, piecemeal enclosure had the least impact on the shape of the landscape and would therefore have had relatively little impact on local people's relationship with place and history. The use of maps in the planning of enclosure by Act of Parliament, however, had the potential to overlook or deny access to significant parts of the landscape.

Evidence from the study area does, however, show that enclosure commissioners did show concern for certain historical elements of the landscape. The clearest evidence of this is the clause in the Enclosure Award for Monks Risborough which demands the protection of Whiteleaf (or White Cliff) Cross. Surveyors working in the Chilterns and on the scarp edge respected the existing lines of the old enclosures, while those working in the vale chose not to break apart the clusters of home closes which wrapped around the nucleated villages (see Chapter Five). The main elements of the landscape which were deliberately written out or written over by enclosure by

agreement and parliamentary enclosure were the open fields and the common lands. These were deemed to be the aspects of the rural landscape and local history which certain members of the community wanted to 'improve'.

Local landowners were closely involved in the process of parliamentary enclosure. They were reworking and rewriting their own landscape, so they were not seeking to discard all connections with the past. However, the landowners who did have a say in the shape of the landscape after enclosure did not necessarily speak for all the members of the community. They may have agreed to the selling off or destruction of places or landscape features which had great significance to local people. For example the enclosure of the common land and waste often brought to an end annual celebrations or fairs, as in the case of Berkhamsted Frith (Cowell 2002, 154). The enclosure of these spaces also denied some people of the most significant place of all - any homes which had been built on recent encroachments on the common land.

On an individual level, the large scale enclosure of a parish would result in almost all the local inhabitants suffering some loss of access to places which had been significant in their lives. These places may have been the old open fields strips they used to farm, or the hillsides where they used to pasture their sheep; they may have been old routeways which had been closed by the commissioners or even the houses in which they were born and raised. In the Chilterns and on the scarp edge the main impact on the local people would have been any loss of access to the common land. Apart from this the form of the fields, roads and hedgerows changed very little, and the enclosure of the small plots of open fields simply added to the general pattern of hedged enclosures. However, in the vale the impact would have been considerable. In some cases the old lines of the open fields were completely rewritten. New hedge lines carved up the landscape and prevented people from walking across areas which they had farmed or used all their lives. The realignment of the roads in some parishes would have greatly added to a sense of confusion, since people may have initially found it hard to orientate themselves in the landscape.

In other parts of the country the change to the landscape was even more extreme. Whole villages were dispersed across the parish as new farmhouses sprung up in the enclosures; in the fens the straight lines of the dikes and the drainage canals cut across large areas of countryside; in upland areas the straight lines of stone walls cut through the landscape.

The sense of dislocation, and the loss of individual and communal sense of history that could be experienced by the changes brought about by enclosure were explored in Chapter Six. This topic has often been discussed in relation to the work of the poet John Clare. Clare grew up in the parish of Helpston in Northamptonshire and was witness to its enclosure in 1820. The transformation of the landscape that formed the basis of Clare's engagement with the world had a profound impact on the poet.

Enclosure changed the face of the landscape in Helpston. Many trees were cut down following enclosure, while streams were diverted in order to follow the linear boundaries of the fields. Significant local places, such as the spring which acted as the focus of a local custom and holiday on Whit Sunday, were suddenly on private property. The loss of common land meant that movement around the parish was severely restricted (Bate 2003, 48-50). Clare's sense of loss was expressed in numerous poems, including *Remembrances*. Clare was an especially sensitive, and

volatile, character who is likely to have felt the impact of enclosure more keenly than some of his neighbours. He spent the final years of his life suffering from mental illness in an asylum (Bate 2003, 409-18).

In spite of the significant changes and hardships brought upon large numbers of people by parliamentary enclosure, most of these people were not blessed or cursed with Clare's particular temperament. They found ways of dealing with the changes brought about by enclosure, and those who were not forced into moving to the cities or industrial centres or into emigration were able to remake their relationship with the landscape, and to feel a familiarity with the hedgerows and new roads and buildings in their parish.

Change and Agency

Through the case study it has been possible to examine the distinctive nature and impact of different forms of enclosure in Buckinghamshire. While all forms of enclosure may be seen to be part of a very general shift from medieval to modern ideas about and attitudes towards land, the differences between them are real and would have been of great significance to the people involved in enclosure. Another question which the case study was used to address was the role of individuals and communities in the creation of and resistance to different forms of enclosure. One of the aims of the thesis has been to move away from the idea that enclosure was a historical force or movement that swept people along in its wake. The extent to which the case study helped to reinforce this aim is examined below.

Changing Attitudes

Throughout this thesis the term 'enclosure' has been used as a general term covering a range of different practices. Chapter Two established that these different practices have commonly been grouped together since they are all part of a general shift away from medieval methods and attitudes towards landholding. However, at a more detailed level there are significant differences between the various forms of enclosure. They were created over time for a variety of reasons, and each form of enclosure had its own impact on people's lives and attitudes. Is it reasonable to group the different forms of enclosure together as part of a single process, or is the story of enclosure and the shift to private ownership more complicated?

The main forms of enclosure discussed in the thesis have been large scale enclosure for the creation of sheep pastures, piecemeal enclosure, enclosure by agreement, parliamentary enclosure and enclosure of common land. The first form of enclosure was generally enacted by large, powerful landowners. It often involved depopulation. This form of enclosure was singled out by Wolsey's commission as being distinct from piecemeal enclosure (see Chapter Four), and was the form of enclosure most often condemned by the ruling powers.

In one sense this form of enclosure could be represented as an extension of the medieval powers of the lord of the manor, rather than evidence of new, modern attitudes towards land and ownership. This form of enclosure is also distinct in the way that it actually opens out the landscape, rather than creating divisions and formal enclosures. It can result in old land divisions, such as the home closes and open field strips, falling into neglect. It is also very different to the much later practice of

parliamentary enclosure, since it is an assertion of the local authority and power of the landowner. Parliamentary enclosure, on the other hand, firmly asserts the authority of the government to oversee the enclosure process and to provide some (albeit limited) checks on the power of the local landlords. Ironically, it was in part the overreaching of the landlords' powers in the creation of large sheep pastures in the 1500s and 1600s that provoked a greater input from the government in the matters of enclosure.

Piecemeal enclosure was also enacted at a local level, between individuals or groups of landholders. While it may have concerned those who wished to hold onto the form and traditions of the open fields, it did not have the social implications of enclosure for sheep pastures. As already noted, the enclosure of areas of the open fields, or the creation of assarted fields from former areas of woodland, did not always mean that the enclosed land was privately owned. In spite of official opposition to the idea of enclosure, piecemeal enclosure was so successful that a large part of the Chilterns, as well as areas across the south-east and the west country were already enclosed by the end of the sixteenth century.

The more frequent use of enclosure by agreement, followed by parliamentary enclosure, from the late seventeenth century onwards shows a growing acceptance of the practice of enclosure, as well as a desire in those areas which had maintained all or most of their open fields systems to negotiate the enclosure of large areas of land or indeed the entire parish, rather than negotiating the enclosure of the land one plot at a time. The enclosures created under these methods are more regular and ordered, they also made use of the law and parliamentary procedure to validate the changes made to the pattern of landholdings. By the time of parliamentary enclosure the connection between enclosed land and private ownership had been established, and one of the aims of an Enclosure Act was often to reduce the complexity of rights of access, ownership and dues (such as tithes) over the land.

Parliamentary enclosure stands out from other forms of enclosure because of the close involvement of government and the imposition of a standardised and detailed bureaucracy on the process of enclosure. This is clearly demonstrated by the documents held in the archives, since records of enclosure prior to the mid-eighteenth century are hard to track down, while the records relating to a single Enclosure Act can run to over 1000 individual items (see Chapter Six). In previous centuries the government and legal system had often turned a blind eye to enclosure or had validated it by a roundabout means. However, once parliament decided to give its full backing to the idea of enclosure it soon became heavily involved in the process. Ironically, just as local landowners took of full, private ownership of their own land the government became more closely involved in the planning and management of land use across the country as a whole.

Parliamentary enclosure also brought about the widespread adoption of surveyors and maps in the enclosure process, an introduction which, as already discussed in this chapter, had a massive impact on the physical appearance of newly enclosed parts of the country, as well as an enduring impact on people's conceptualisation of land and space.

The final form of enclosure discussed in the thesis is the enclosure of common land. This form of enclosure cuts through several of the kinds of enclosure already discussed; it could be achieved during the creation of large pastures, or through

enclosure by agreement or parliamentary enclosure. It was less commonly achieved by gradual enclosure, except in the cases of small plots of land being assarted from woodland, or small encroachments or squatter settlements being created by the poorer members of society on common or waste land. The enclosure of large areas of common land has been singled out for discussion, because again and again it was the enclosure of this form of communal land which provoked the largest reaction from the local population. This demonstrates the crucial role of the commons, wastes and woodlands as a fall-back for the poorer members of a community. Common and waste land meant flexibility; it gave fuel, which could be sold to bring in a small income, it gave land for grazing and it was also a place where people with nowhere to live could make a home for themselves.

The difficulties of enclosing common land is demonstrated by the maintenance of substantial areas of common land in the Chilterns until the nineteenth century, while areas of common still survive there today. The complex rights held by local people, sometimes by members of more than one parish, over an area of common land meant that the gradual enclosure of such land, other than in the form of small encroachments, was almost impossible.

Where common pasture or waste was enclosed on a large scale the local reaction could be considerable. The different attempts to enclose areas of Berkhamsted Frith show the level of energy and hostility that could be generated by the threatened loss of such land (see Chapters Four and Six). Meanwhile, the enclosure of Monks Risborough was held up for nine years while the issue of the enclosure of the Hillock was debated (see Chapters Five and Six). The enclosure of common land by powerful landowners and by Act of Parliament had a great economic and social impact on the more vulnerable members of society.

However, as well as having many opponents the enclosure of common land also had many active supporters. Many people in power and authority were suspicious of the independence the commons gave to the poorer members of the community. The practice of grazing animals on common land as opposed to engaging in paid labour was also depicted as being morally problematic (Neeson 1993, 284; Tate 1967, 163-5; Thompson 1991b, 165).

The different forms of enclosure outlined here all represent changing attitudes towards the management and ownership of land. However, they also represent changing attitudes towards enclosure. Ideas of what is an acceptable form for enclosure to take changed over time, as did the means of creating the enclosure. While early examples of piecemeal enclosure took place in a landscape still making use of open fields, commons and complex rights developed in relation to medieval ideas of land use, parliamentary enclosure made a far more direct connection between enclosure and private ownership. In terms of impact the large scale enclosure of land to create sheep pastures and the enclosure of common land had the greatest negative effect on the local population.

The different forms of enclosure have strong connections, but it is problematic to view them as part of a single, linear process. The changing attitudes of landowners, tenants, labourers and the governing powers had a very real impact on people's lives and on the shape of the English landscape. The differences between different phases and forms of enclosure are real and important, and should not be glossed over. To

condense the different types of enclosure into one historical process is to suggest the inevitability of the final acceptance and form taken by enclosure and to deny the other potential routes which could have been followed if the chances and choices of history had been different.

History and Agency

The different regional attitudes and responses to enclosure show that there were many directions taken by enclosure. The shapes and boundary markers of enclosed field vary from region to region and according to the date at which they were created. In a few places the landscape is still shaped by the form of the old open fields, while areas of common land have survived, even in the heavily populated south of England. The variety of enclosures as well as the survival of certain aspects of the medieval field system demonstrate that enclosure could have taken many different forms.

For example, if piecemeal enclosure had been taken up as the model of enclosure a large part of the country might be covered with small, thin fields that trace around the lines of the old open field strips. The more flexible combination of enclosures, open fields and commons found in the Chilterns and scarp edge parishes in the eighteenth and nineteenth century might have endured much longer if enclosure had not been backed by government and if parliamentary procedure had not been introduced. Even with parliamentary enclosure the shape of the pre-enclosure landscape may have been more visible in the new enclosures if the practice of planning enclosure on paper had not been introduced.

Meanwhile, in relation to the common lands, there are a few examples in the study area where compensation was made for the loss of common land, or where an area of common was left unenclosed for the benefit of the poor of the parish (for example Monks Risborough and Stoke Poges). Such allowances were occasionally made in other parts of the country, for example in Cobham, Surrey, where 300 acres of common land were preserved in the parish in order to provide fuel and pasture for the cottagers (Mingay 1997, 136). Had such rulings been seized upon and successfully used by other opponents to the enclosure of common land around the country they may have established the automatic right for the preservation of an area of common land for the aid of the poor of the parish, just as a provision for space for recreation was required after 1840 (Hammond and Hammond 1947, 77-8, 84-5). The maintenance of more areas of common land might have prevented a great deal of suffering. Similarly, if the ruling in the case of Quainton had gone differently the rights of the poorer members of the parish to object to enclosure without having to find the large sum of money necessary to present a counter-petition to parliament might have been established, resulting in far more obstacles to the passing of an Enclosure Bill. Such a ruling might have helped to shift the power relations of parliamentary enclosure, which were greatly in favour of the wealthy landowners.

These examples demonstrate just a few of the directions which enclosure in England could have taken. A few different decisions over the years, and the fields, farms and routeways of rural England might have taken a very different form.

This evidence shows that the implementation or the form taken by parliamentary enclosure in England was not at all inevitable. Instead, it was the result of very specific choices and events. Enclosure was not a force of nature or of history, beyond the control

of ordinary people; the different forms of enclosure were created, resisted and shaped by people over a long period of time.

By focusing in on specific study area it has been possible to demonstrate the impact that individuals and individual actions could have on the course of enclosure. For example, the many small transactions which took place between individuals in the Chilterns involving the exchange of strips of land which were then enclosed, led to the eventual enclosure of some parishes without any need for the involvement of parliamentary procedure. Elsewhere, the actions of a single powerful landowner, such as the Crown or Lord Brownlow in the various attempts to enclose Berkhamsted Frith, or the Earl of Buckingham in the enclosure of Monks Risborough could provoke powerful reactions. The individual personalities and allegiances of the individuals involved in parliamentary enclosure could also have a great impact on the outcome.

By acknowledging the importance of agency and individual actions in the shaping of the landscape it is possible to move away from generalisations about the enclosure of the English landscape. Each small decision, each small difference in the form and implementation of enclosure may have had a major impact on numerous individuals and families in a parish and will have helped to shape the future success and opportunity for people of different social backgrounds in the region.

Change and Resistance

One of the questions set out at the start of this thesis was to examine the extent to which people did and could oppose different forms of enclosure. Substantial evidence has been found for the resistance to enclosure in the study area. Some of the evidence comes from documentary sources. Neeson's study of protest in Northamptonshire suggests that enclosure was unpopular and was resisted with a far greater frequency than the documentary evidence would suggest (1984, 136). As noted in Chapter Five, some evidence for resistance in Buckinghamshire can be found in the evidence from the landscape itself. The maintenance of a great many of the open field systems in the vale until the eighteenth century, for example, shows that piecemeal enclosure so commonplace on the scarp edge and in the hills, was not as acceptable or easily applicable in the vale. Similarly, survival of these open field villages suggests that protest and opposition by the local people limited the damage done by the large scale enclosure of land for the creation of sheep pastures.

Clear evidence for opposition and resistance comes from the era of parliamentary enclosure, where there is documentary evidence in the form of counter-petitions to parliament, as well as the numerous objections made to specific claims or planned changes within the process itself. This evidence shows the smaller landowners and even the poor of the parish having their cases presented to parliament. In several cases some of the less powerful members of the community were actually successful in delaying the process for enclosure or changing important clauses within the Enclosure Act.

Correspondence, working papers and oral history also provide evidence of less formal opposition, for example the mobs which prevented the solicitors from affixing the notice of intention to enclose to the church door in the parishes of Princes Risborough, Stewkley, Oakley and Haddenham.

The most active resistance to enclosure surrounds the enclosure of common land. This is a picture common across the country, one major revolt surrounding the drainage and enclosure of the nearby area of Otmoor in Oxfordshire. The enclosure of Berkhamsted Frith was actively opposed both in the seventeenth century and in the nineteenth century, while the nine year delay in the passing of the Monks Risborough Enclosure Act surrounded the sale of the waste known as the Hillock.

There has been some debate over the opposition to enclosure, and some suggestion that the lower classes were essentially conservative and suspicious of any change (Mingay 1997, 10). However, this accusation is clearly unfair, since what people were objecting to were changes (in particular the loss of the commons) that would, and did, affect their ability to support their families in times of hardship. Others feared, with good reason, that the cost of enclosure would force them to sell their land. Other, landless, members of the community stood to lose access to common land and waste that provided them with fuel, possibly as a source of income, and may even have been their site of habitation. Had enclosure been offering changes that were less biased towards the interests of the already wealthy landowners then it may have found more supporters from the lower classes.

It is important to note that support and resistance for enclosure did not run in clear lines of rich versus poor. Although the larger landowners stood to benefit from enclosure, in some cases (such as Princes Risborough) they opposed various clauses of the Bill as well as opposing claims made by other landowners. In some cases the richer landowners, used to managing their affairs locally, may have resented the powers of parliament to interfere in the management of their land. Meanwhile, at Berkhamsted in the nineteenth century, the actions of one wealthy landowner were opposed by another wealthy landowner. Mingay has also noted that in some parts of the country it was the smaller landowners who actively petitioned for enclosure (1997, 29).

In terms of direct action, it is often expected that mobs will be led by labourers or those without employment, who have no other way of expressing their opposition. However, in the cases of direct action taken by local people in opposition to enclosure the ringleaders and the participants often included landowners as well as those without land. One reason for their support may have been a desire to prevent enclosure of common land which was likely to lead to an increase in the poor rate (Falvey 2001, 146-7, Hindle 1998, Neeson 1993, 270).

On the other hand, supporters of change were not only the landed gentry. Smaller landowners supported enclosure in times of high grain prices during the Napoleonic Wars, while many supporters of improved agricultural practices were not aristocracy, but members of the steadily increasing rural professional class, such as agricultural writers and surveyors (Barrell 1972, 64-72).

In the long run those in favour of enclosure were successful. The power of the large landowners, with the eventual backing of parliament, brought about an efficient method of carrying out the enclosure of an entire parish, and had the added bonus of legally affirming rights of ownership over the new and old enclosures. However, the small and large battles fought, and sometimes won, by groups and individuals throughout the history of enclosure made very real differences for the people involved.

Conclusion

The overall aim of this thesis has been to explore ways of studying capitalist/modern landscapes from an archaeological perspective. An important element of this study was the need to avoid characterising capitalist landscapes by opposing them to medieval or pre-capitalist landscapes. Instead, it was hoped that the complexities and subtleties of capitalist landscapes could be explored, and that the similarities and connections, as well as the differences, between capitalist and pre-capitalist landscapes could be explored. These questions and themes have been examined through the study of a chosen topic, the enclosure of the English landscape, and the detailed examination of a study area - the Chilterns, scarp edge and clay vales in the county of Buckinghamshire.

This chapter has reviewed the case study and drawn conclusions about the nature and impact of enclosure in the study area and further afield. How do the findings of the case study help, at a broader level, to add to an understanding of the complexity of capitalist/modern landscapes and to suggest ways in which capitalist landscapes can be productively studied by archaeologists in the future?

Complexity

The choice of enclosure as the topic for study in this thesis immediately draws attention to the problems of pushing pre-capitalist and capitalist landscapes into opposition; enclosure began in the medieval period, continued through the post-medieval period and was not completed in a few areas until the start of the twentieth century. There is no easy or sensible way of dividing off medieval forms of enclosure from later forms, since they are overlapping. For example, the exchange of land for the creation of small enclosures, used for the cultivation of crops or the pasturing of livestock, was being carried out at the same time as some landowners were forming large sheep pastures by means of large scale enclosure and depopulation of settlements. Meanwhile, at a much later date, powerful landowners such as Lord Brownlow still felt confident enough to attempt to enclose substantial areas of land via private negotiations at a time when parliamentary enclosure held sway. This is not to say that there were not changes in people's attitudes towards enclosure or to the acceptable form of enclosure overtime, but to make the point that these attitudes cannot be neatly defined as 'medieval' and 'modern.'

While it is often possible to identify the period in which a group or area of field boundaries was created it is problematic to then label those fields as though they were fixed in time. The so-called medieval open field system may have been created in the medieval period, but it continued in use in many parts of the country well into the nineteenth century. By this point in time the social organisation, beliefs and practices of the people working the open fields were very far from being medieval. It is important to acknowledge that while certain features of the landscape may endure for long periods of time, the attitudes towards these features may be constantly changing, and that many capitalist landscapes incorporate and need to account for features which were created at other points in history.

The case study has helped to highlight the variability of enclosure. Enclosure was carried out in a number of ways, for a variety of reasons; it took many physical forms and had very different effects on the local population. For example, while some areas

were enclosed by large landowners seeking to maximise their profit, others were exchanged between individuals of more or less equal rank as a way of gaining more control over the management of their crops and stock, or perhaps as a way of bringing to an end disputes over the management of the open fields. Some enclosures were planned on the ground, some were planned on paper. Some were laid out in relation to earlier forms of land division, others showed little regard for the local topography or history. Some forms of enclosure brought about swift change and made conditions worse for the poorer members of society, while others, such as assarting and piecemeal enclosure, made only gradual changes to the landscape and to local people's relations with one another.

The complexity hidden beneath the term 'enclosure' demonstrates that there was no one form and no common aim among the enclosers over time. Attitudes and ideas about enclosure changed over time, and they did not develop in a clear or linear fashion. Parliamentary enclosure may never have been introduced, while examples in this chapter have shown, there are many ways of ordering and constructing a modern landscape.

Meanwhile, the case study has helped to question the extent to which capitalism has the ability to form homogeneous or placeless landscapes. In the study area the broad distinctions between the Chilterns and scarp edge, and the vale have been maintained into the present day. The scattered settlement (Figure 7.5), winding lanes, woodlands, old hedgerows and areas of common land still survive in the hills and on the scarp edge. In the vale, even the more extreme cases of enclosure saw the maintenance of the nucleated villages and their old home closes. Further afield, each different region of the country has its own characteristics of enclosure, related to various factors such as the pattern of landownership, settlement history, topography and geology of the area. Even in areas enclosed by Act of Parliament the landscapes are far from uniform. The local factors already mentioned play a role, while at a more detailed level, the appointment of specific commissioners and surveyors could have a major impact on the eventual form of enclosure. The introduction of a standardised procedure did not produce standardised landscapes.

The exploration of resistance and change in the study area also draws attention to the complexity of the landscape at any one point in time. Capitalist landscapes are often studied from the perspective of the upper classes. Discussions of parks and gardens are common in the literature, while many studies of enclosure focus on the landowning classes most visible from the documentary evidence. It is important to remember that the parishes of England were inhabited by people at different social levels, with varied views and outlooks on enclosure and the management of the landscape. The view of land use and ownership laid out in large numbers of enclosure maps created in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was a view backed up by power and authority, but it was not the *only* view.

All this is not to deny that modern ideas of land use were not developed over the course of time. Ideas, attitudes, economic and social practices did change in real and sometime dramatic ways in the post-medieval period. Bureaucracy increased, there was growing centralisation of government, ideas and practices were shared across greater areas of the country, private ownership and the cash economy grew in significance. The argument of this thesis is not to deny the existence of the ideas and



Figure 7.5 A Farmyard near Princes Risborough by Samuel Palmer.

practices generally grouped under the name of capitalism or modernism, but to argue that those ideas and practices have a history and a complexity, that they at no point became fixed and that they do not preclude local, significant variability.

Archaeology and the Study of Capitalist Landscapes

This thesis has highlighted certain contributions that archaeologists can make to the study of capitalist landscapes, and the study of historical landscapes in general.

One of these contributions is to take an archaeological perspective to the study of documents, and any other form of representation relating to the management, ownership and conceptualisation of the land. Over the course of the period chosen for the case study documentation relating to land ownership and management increased greatly in volume and in importance. By the time of parliamentary enclosure the need to legally prove rights of ownership over land, in the form of a written document, were keenly felt, while maps had taken over from written surveys and were now being used on a daily basis to plan changes to the landscape, rather than to record what was already there. Meanwhile, the circulation of documents and the centralisation of bureaucracy allowed information and procedures to be shared over a far wider area.

These various forms of documentation used in relation to rights and management of the English landscape are not mere records or storehouses of useful information. For the people who created and used them they were bound up with the land itself, and were important in reinforcing the status and stability of the landowning classes.

When viewed from an archaeological perspective, as pieces of material culture, the various forms of documentation used in enclosure can tell us much about changing attitudes towards land and ownership. The physical form, the method of production, the circulation and the structure of the document can all reveal important information. This approach has great potential for anyone studying any aspect of historical archaeology for which relevant documents survive.

The detailed insight given to us by archaeology demonstrates that too much generalisation, too much simplification is a bad thing and can only impair our understanding of the world. For example, John Carman's work shows that the intimate understanding of the choice and use of a battlefield can explain some of the reasons why a particular battle was won or lost (1999). Archaeologists studying all manner of material are in the position to readdress the linear narrative of history and remind us that the everyday choices and actions of people in the past, not just acts of resistance, shaped the world we live in today.

Appendix I

Hedge surveys in Wendover Parish.

Figure li: Map showing locations of hedgerow surveys.

Table I: Survey along Wendover - Great Missenden boundary.

A: Hedge on Wendover side of boundary

B: Hedge on Great Missendenside of boundary.

Table II A: Survey along London Road.

IIB: Survey from London Road to Bottom of Little Barcroft

Table III A-G: Dutchlands Farm hedge surveys.

A: Walnut Tree Close, far hedge.

B: Grove Field, far hedge.

C: Hedge Dividing Crouch Hill from Grove Field.

D: Top hedge Upper Dutchlands.

E: Hedge between Walnut Tree Close and Grove Field.

F: Crouch Hill - parallel to trackway.

G: Upper Dutchlands - along line of trackway.

Table IV: Little Barcroft Field hedge surveys.

A: Lower hedge, parallel to road.

B: Right hand hedge, bordering Great Barcroft.

C: Upper hedge, bordering Bowood Lane.

Table V: Cherry Tree Bit Common hedge survey.

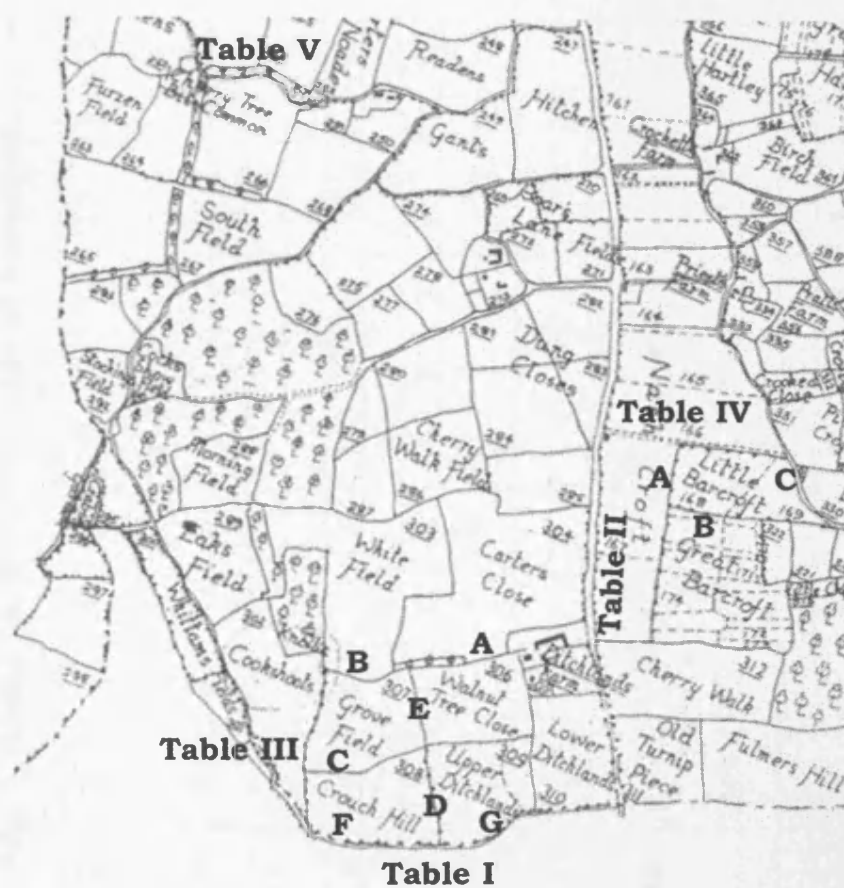


Figure 1i: Map showing locations of hedgerow surveys.

**Table I A: Survey along Wendover - Great Missenden boundary.
Hedge on Wendover side of boundary.**

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Ash	X	X								X					X			
Beech		X	X	X	X	X	X								X	X	X	
Blackthorn			X					X	X		X	X	X					X
Elder	X	X	X		X											X		
Guelder-rose				X										X	X	X		X
Hawthorn (common)			X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hawthorn (Midland)		X						X										
Hazel				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Holly					X		X	X	X	X	X					X	X	
Field Maple		X	X		X					X								X
Oak	X	X														X	X	X
Rowan						X												
Evidence of laying				haw	haw	haw					haw							
Evidence of coppicing				haw		haw	beech hazel	holly	haw									
old tree																oak	oak	oak
Species in 30 yards	3	6	5	4	6	4	4	4	4	5	4	3	3	3	5	6	5	6
Total																		80
Average species																		4.44

**Table I: Survey along Wendover - Great Missenden boundary.
B: Hedge on Great Missenden side of boundary.**

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Apple		X														
Ash		X						X			X	X	X			
Beech				X	X	X	X	X	X							
Blackthorn										X				X		
Elder	X	X	X						X		X					
Guelder-rose									X			X	X	X		
Hawthorn (common)	X	X	X					X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Hawthorn (Midland)																X
Hazel					X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
Holly				X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Field Maple	X	X	X					X								
Oak				X						X	X	X	X	X		X
Rowan			X	X												
Evidence of laying					beech	beech										
Evidence of coppicing	haw		haw	holly			hazel	ash								
old trees					beech		pollard									
Species in 30 yards	3	5	4	4	3	3	3	5	6	4	6	5	5	4	3	5
Total																68
Average species																4.25

Table II A: Survey along London Road.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
														n/a																
														footpath																
Beech															X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Blackthorn										X	X													X	X		X	X		X
Cherry												X																		
Chestnut				X							X	X																		
Elder				X				X		X		X	X						X				X		X		X			
Guelder-rose							X	X	X	X		X							X				X							
Hawthorn (common)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hazel							X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X							X	X		X		
Holly							X	X	X			X	X																	
Field Maple							X	X	X	X	X				X	X							X		X	X				
Sycamore			X	X		X					X	X	X		X	X	X	X							X					X
Evidence of laying																				Beech		Haw								
Evidence of coppicing																														
Old trees																				Beech										
Species in 30 yards	1	1	2	4	1	2	5	6	5	6	6	8	4		4	3	3	4	4	1	1	1	4	2	7	4	4	4	2	4
Total per section						11							40						18			3								31
Average species per section						2							6						4			1								4

Table IIB: Survey from London Road to Bottom of Little Barcroft

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Beech	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Blackthorn	X							
Elder					X	X		
Guelder-rose				X				
Hawthorn (common)		X	X	X	X			
Field Maple			X					
Sycamore	X							
Evidence of laying								
Evidence of coppicing								
Regular trees in hedge		Beech	Beech	Beech				
Species in 30 yards	3	2	3	3	3	2		
Total						16		
Average species						2.66		
	Beech hedge probably planted at enclosure							

Table IIIA: Walnut Tree Close, far hedge.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
					10 m		
Apple					grubbed out		
Ash					X		
Blackthorn	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Buckthorn			X				
Dogwood	X	X		X			X
Elder		X	X	X	X	X	X
Guelder-rose		X	X	X		X	X
Hawthorn (common)					X	X	X
Hawthorn (Midland)	X	X		X		X	
Hazel	X	X	X			X	X
Holly		X					
Field Maple	X	X	X	X			
Oak	X						
Spindle				X			
Sycamore					X	X	
Evidence of laying							
Evidence of coppicing	oak						
Old trees	oak				ash syc		
Species in 30 yards	6	8	6	7	na	7	6
Total							40
Average species							6.66

Table IIIB: Grove Field, far hedge.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ash			X					
Blackthorn	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dogwood	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Elder			X			X		
Guelder-rose	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Hawthorn (common)	X	X						
Hawthorn (Midland)						X		X
Hazel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Field Maple	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Whitebeam	X	X						
Evidence of laying								
Evidence of coppicing				hazel				
				blackthorn				
Old trees			ash					
Species in 30 yards	7	7	7	5	4	6	5	5
Total								46
Average species								5.75

Table IIIC: Hedge Dividing Crouch Hill from Grove Field.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ash		X		X			
Beech		X	X	X			X
Blackthorn	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Elder	X	X	X			X	
Gelder-rose	X	X	X			X	
Hawthorn (common)	X			X		X	
Hawthorn (Midland)				X	X	X	X
Hazel	X	X	X	X	X		
Holly				X	X	X	
Field Maple					X		
Oak	X	X	X	X			
Sycamore			X				X
Evidence of laying							Yes
Evidence of coppicing							
Species in 30 yards	6	7	7	8	5	5	4
Total							42
Average species							6

Table IIID: Top hedge Upper Dutchlands.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Apple		X								1
Blackthorn	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	8
Buckthorn		X						X		2
Elder	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
Guelder-rose	X	X	X	X		X	X			6
Hawthorn (common)	X									
Hawthorn (Midland)	X	X	X	X			X	X		6
Hazel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	8
Field Maple	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			7
Privet (wild)						X				1
Evidence of laying										
Evidence of coppicing										
Species in 30 yards	7	8	6	6	4	6	6	3	3	
Total									49	
Average species									5.44	

Table IIIE: Hedge between Walnut Tree Close and Grove Field.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ash			X	X	X		
Beech					X		
Blackthorn	X	X	X			X	X
Elder	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Guelder-rose	X	X			X	X	
Hawthorn (common)					X	X	
Hawthorn (Midland)	X			X			X
Hazel	X	X	X			X	X
Holly	X						
Field Maple			X	X		X	X
Evidence of laying							
Evidence of coppicing		Yes					
Species in 30 yards	6	4	5	4	5	6	5
Total							35
Average species							5

Table IIIF: Crouch Hill - parallel to trackway.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Ash				X									
Beech					X								
Blackthorn	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Elder	X			X									
Guelder-rose	X	X	X	X	X		X						X
Hawthorn (common)	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hawthorn (Midland)				X	X	X				X			
Hazel	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Holly				X				X	X	X	X	X	
Field Maple	X		X										
Whitebeam				X									
Evidence of laying	hazel		haw			haw		haw					
Evidence of coppicing													
Old tree				Ash									
Species in 30 yards	6	4	5	6	4	na	4	4	4	5	4	4	5
Total													55
Average species													4.6

Table IIIG: Upper Dutchlands - along line of trackway

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4
Blackthorn	X	X	X	
Elder	X	X	X	X
Guelder-rose		X	X	X
Hawthorn (common)	X		X	X
Hawthorn (Midland)			X	
Hazel		X		
Holly	X			
Field Maple		X		
Oak			X	
Evidence of laying				
Evidence of coppicing				
Species in 30 yards	4	5	6	3
Total				18
Average species				4.5

Table IV: Little Barcroft Field hedge surveys.

Table IVA: Lower hedge, parallel to road.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4
		hedge		
		grubbed		
		out		
Blackthorn	X		X	X
Hazel	X		X	X
Field Maple		tree		
Oak			X	
Evidence of laying				
Evidence of coppicing				
Species in 30 yards	2	1	3	2
Total				8
Average species				2

Table IV: Little Barcroft Field hedge surveys.
Table IVB: Right hand hedge, bordering Great Barcroft.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Ash													X	
Beech										X				
Blackthorn		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X
Dogwood					X									
Elder	X						X	X						X
Guelder-rose	X	X		X	X			X			X	X	X	
Hawthorn (common)			X	X	X	X	X						X	
Hazel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Holly	X		X	X	X					X	X	X	X	
Field Maple		X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X
Oak		X			X									
Rowan	X												X	
Sycamore										X	X	X	X	
Wayfaring-tree						X		X	X					
Willow (Goat)							X			X				
Evidence of laying														
Evidence of coppicing														
Old tree										Beech				
Species in 30 yards	5	5	3	5	8	5	6	6	4	6	5	5	7	4
Total														74
Average species														5.3

Table IV: Little Barcroft Field hedge surveys.
Table IVC: Upper hedge, bordering Bowood Lane.

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ash			X	X	X	
Beech	X			X		
Blackthorn		X	X		X	
Cherry	X					
Dogwood			X	X	X	
Elder		X				
Gelder-rose	X	X	X		X	
Hawthorn (common)	X					
Hazel	X	X	X	X	X	
Field Maple	X			X	X	
Oak		X				
Sycamore	X	X				
Wayfaring-tree				X		
Evidence of laying						
Evidence of coppicing						
Species in 30 yards	7	6	5	6	6	
Total						30
Average species						6

Table V: Cherry Tree Bit Common hedge survey

30-yard survey	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Apple	X			X			
Ash	X		X		X		
Beech	X					X	
Blackthorn	X	X	X				
Cherry					X		
Dogwood							
Elder		X				X	X
Guelder-rose		X					
Hawthorn (common)	X	X	X	X	X		X
Hazel						X	
Holly	X			X			
Field Maple			X				
Oak		X		X		X	X
Sycamore					X		
Wayfaring-tree				X			
Whitebeam						X	X
Wych elm	X		X		X	X	X
Evidence of laying							
Evidence of pollarding						WB	
Old trees	Ash					WB	
Species in 30 yards	7	5	5	5	5	6	5
Total							38
Average species							6.3

Appendix II

This appendix lists the maps and documents consulted during the course of research for this thesis and referenced in the text.

Abbreviations

CBS = Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies

HALS=Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies

Documents (excluding Parliamentary Enclosure documents)

CBS: D/MH/28/2 "A book of the survey of the manor of **Great Hampden** in the County of Buckingham".

HALS: AH 2775-2815 Papers of Lord Brownlow re **Berkhampsted Common** case

HALS: AH 2816 "**Berkhampsted Frith** or Common and Ashridge in the Nineteenth Century" by M. Alford (Marianne, mother and trustee of Earl Brownlow). Privately printed, being her apologia for the Berkhampsted Common case, said to have cost £60,000. 1878

Maps (excluding Parliamentary Enclosure Maps)

CBS: D99/67/1 Estate of Margaret Bird 1728 **Monks Risborough**. Surveyor John Farley.

CBS: Ma R/1/8-11.T All Souls College Estate in **Long Crendon**. 4 maps 1593.

CBS: Ma R 36/2 West Wycombe park and gardens 1752 Surveyor: Morise Lewes Jolivet

CBS: Ma R 36/3/R West Wycombe Manor, 1767 Surveyor John Richardson of Burnham

Enclosure Documents and Maps

CBS: IR/11 Enclosure Award and map for **Adstock**

CBS: IR/12a Enclosure Award and maps for **Amersham** (1816)

CBS: IR/19A Enclosure map for **Aylesbury** (1778)

CBS: Q/RX/7 Enrolled Enclosure Award for **Bledlow** (1812)

CBS: IR/46R Enclosure map for **Bledlow** (1812)

CBS: IR/42a Chepping Wycombe Enclosure map (1869)

CBS: IR/39 Enclosure Award and map for **Great Horwood** (1842)

CBS: IR/91Q Enclosure Award and map for **Great Kimble, Little Kimble and Ellesborough** (1805)

CBS: IR/83Q+A Enclosure Award and map for **Great Missenden** (1845)

CBS: IR/ 80 Hughenden Enclosure Award and maps (1853)

CBS: IR/95Q Enclosure Award and map for **Long Crendon** Seven parts NW, NE, SE, SW, Tittershall wood, village, 1827.

CBS: IR/94Q: Monks Risborough Enclosure Award. Original plan in book, 1839 Inrolment vol.10; Act II Geo IV c.17 183

CBS: IR/M.8/1-10 Minute Book of the Enclosure Commissioners for **Monks Risborough** covering meetings from 17 V 1830 > 14 III 1834(incomplete) Bound together with the printed act.

CBS: IR/M/8/9 Inclosure Bill and Act for **Monks Risborough**, petition against inclosure, claims and objections

CBS:IR/M/8/7 Draft award for **Monks Risborough**

CBS:IR/M-8/8 Plan of **Monks Risborough** parish 1831 showing public and private roads and ways set out under the inclosure act, including memoranda of objections and amendments.

CBS: Q/H/83 Stopping up of footpaths and Highways related to enclosure of **Monks Riborough** parish 1833

CBS: IR/94Q; IR/21A; IR/21 Enclosure Maps of **Monks Risborough** parish, partially coloured; A -Lower B - Upper; Award 23rd September 1839 Surveyors: Edward Rasleigh and R. Collisson

CBS: IR/4i Padbury Enclosure Award and map (1796)

CBS:PR/163/26/1 Enclosure map for **Penn** (1855)

CBS: D42/G2.T Map of old enclosures and field names for **Princes Risborough**
c.1821

CBS: IR/22.2.R Enclosure map of **Princes Risborough** showing roads, 1821
Surveyor William Rutt, surveyed 1810. Shows open fields and furlongs

CBS: IR/87Q Princes Risborough Enclosure Award and Upper and Lower inclosure
maps 1823 Surveyor: R Collisson of Brackley

CBS: IR/M/I/1-10 Complete working papers of Inclosure Commissioners for
Princes Risborough

1 - Public notices of meetings, roads, etc draft and original MSS newspaper adverts
and printed bills

2 - Bounded indexed copy of Enclosure Act 1820

3 + 3a - Copies of claims of proprietors

4 - Copies of objections to claims

5 - Commissioners' minute book

6 - Commissioners' valuation of parish

7 - Four boxes of working papers including claims and objections, boundaries and
perambulation

8 - Final draft of award

9 - Legal papers re John Grubb, chief objector to inclosure

10 - Memorandum book of W. Collisson's expenses 1820-22

CBS: IR/48a+b Enclosure map and Award for **Slapton and Horton** (1812)

CBS: IR/9 Award and map for **Stoke Mandeville** (1798)

CBS: IR/119 /R Swanbourne working map.

CBS:IR/119Q Swanbourne Enclosure Award

CBS: IR/119/B Swanbourne enclosure map

CBS: IR/99/Q Enclosure Award and map for **Weedon** (1802)

CBS: IR/26 Enclosure Award and map for **Wendover** (1795)

CBS: IR/144/b Whitchurch working map.

CBS: IR/144a + b Enclosure Award and map for **Whitchurch**.

CBS: IR/30/1+ 2Q Enclosure map and Award for **Wing** (1798)

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