

GLEBE TERRIERS AND OPEN-FIELD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

M. W. BERESFORD, M.A.,
Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Leeds.

PART I

I

BEFORE the skills and profession of land surveyor became widespread in the later sixteenth century all descriptions of landed property had had to take verbal form.¹ In such category fall the terriers, descriptions of territory. Property owners, large and small, were familiar with such documents long before the Canon of 1571 which enjoined the making of such terriers for all glebe land. We have no terriers for that year, but there are some for 1577 and a number for 1601. In 1604, the canonical instruction was repeated, and the diocese of Lincoln (in which the county of Buckingham lay) employed a professional surveyor to assist the incumbents and villagers to draw up an accurate survey. A number of the Buckinghamshire terriers for 1607 are the result of²

the View perambulacon and estimate of the minister churchwardens sidesmen and other inhabitants there whose names are subscribed, being thereunto nominated and appointed by William Folkingham gentleman, generall surveyor of Church glebes and possessions within the diocesse of Lincoln by vertue of a Commission decreed by the Reverend father in God William Lord Bishop of Lincoln in execution of the Canon in that behalfe established.

He also worked on Leicestershire terriers, and Mr. M. W. Barley tells me that his name appears at the head of Lincolnshire terriers. No surveyor seems to have been appointed for later surveys, which are the unaided work of the incumbent and parishioners.

These terriers survive for practically every village in the county, as the list in Part II of this paper will show. Not every village has a terrier as early as 1577 or 1601, but nearly every village does have a terrier going back to the 1660s. It is the county-wide coverage of these documents which makes them useful for an examination of the early-seventeenth-century landscape and agricultural organization. It is the detail of the individual terrier which enables some precision in this examination.

Since the object of the terrier was to record the lands belonging to the parish church as an insurance against loss, the survey was minute. Not only is the total area of glebe land given, but each piece of that land is located and described. In the conditions of the unenclosed open-field village, most of the glebe would lie scat-

tered and intermingled with the strips of lay owners. The glebe had its origin in the original endowment of the church or in later gifts, and both endowment and gifts would be land involved in a communal farming routine like other land in the parish.

As soon as we pick up a terrier of an open-field village we may recognize it as such. The detailed description of many small strips of land occupied no small fragment of parchment. But where the glebe consists of enclosed land, the terrier is small, since few words are needed for the hedged acres. For the majority of villages we have a series of terriers running through from the seventeenth (sometimes from the sixteenth) century to the nineteenth. If we take such a series, we shall at once notice when the glebe land passes from open field to enclosed field, and part of this paper will use the evidence of the glebe terriers to trace and date those enclosures which took place before the well-recorded enclosures by Act of Parliament which Mr. Tate has listed for this county.³

As well as this dynamic interest, we shall find the terriers useful as a pointer to the nature of open-field cultivation in seventeenth-century Buckinghamshire; we shall be able to make some assessment of the geographical distribution of enclosed and open land at that date; and we shall have collected (in the list at the end of this paper) a complete list of the names and numbers of the Fields within which the villages' open lands lay.

II

The terriers will be found in the archives of the Archdeacon and of the Bishop. The Archdeacons' records are at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and those of the Bishops at the office of the Lincolnshire Archives Committee, Lincoln. These documents rarely duplicate each other and both files must be studied.

The Bodleian collection is shelved at *MS Oxford Archdeaconry Papers Bucks.*, c. 237 to 246 inclusive, to which an index has been made, now numbered c. 248. The terriers are tied in bundles by parishes, and the series is broken alphabetically as follows:

- c. 237 Addington to Brayfield (inclusive)
 - c. 238 Brickhill to Chalfont
 - c. 239 Chearsley to Dunton
 - c. 240 Edgcott to Grove
 - c. 241 Haddenham to Ivinghoe
 - c. 242 Kimble to Marsworth
 - c. 243 Medmenham to Puttenham
 - c. 244 Quainton to Simpson
 - c. 245 Taplow to Weston Underwood
 - c. 246 Wexham to end. Illegible fragments.
- There are no glebe terriers in c. 247.

At Exchequer Gate Office, Lincoln, the terriers appear in three forms. There are terriers in bound volumes which have earlier been loose sheets of paper or parchment. These are principally dated 1625, and the Buckinghamshire terriers are in vols. 7 and 8. A second source is to be found in boxes, formerly bundles, 12, 13, 15, and 19. Others are in boxes to which there is an index bound in red. There is a master-index by parishes in the Office.

In the list given here, and in incidental references to terriers, the parish name and date will be the only identification beyond the letter *B* for the Bodleian terriers and *L* for the Lincoln documents. The information from them concerning the names and numbers of the open fields has been delegated to the main list with very little comment. Changes from open to enclosed fields are noted there, but will be described more fully in Part II, and in the accompanying map. But before we look at the open fields in the process of dissolution we must use the surveys to describe the open-field village in which the glebe lands lay, using as far as possible the words of the terriers. We shall try to place ourselves in the position of Mr. Folkingham (or of Mr. Folkingham's clerk) as he accompanied the villagers and the parson around the fields, noticing old boundaries that were well agreed, listening to disputes over debatable lands, taking the opinion of the oldest inhabitants and casting it all down in writing to be signed, countersigned, and dispatched to the Archdeacon or to the Bishop's Registry.

In a number of parishes a copy of the terrier was retained for reference. It was sometimes copied into the parish register or placed in the parish chest.⁴ Such terriers would be used as the basis for a new terrier when the next demand came. Names of tenants and owners would have to be altered, but the base of the survey would be the same as long as the village had not changed its fundamental farming technique by enclosure. In this way we have a terrier of Addington (1639 (B)) for 1577, since it was religiously copied by those who drew up the terrier of 1639. The terriers of previous years sent into the Registry seem to have been available for inspection, for in an undated terrier for Chicheley (now at Lincoln), the vicar says he took over only nine acres from his predecessor, but he knows that there is an eighty-year-old terrier at Buckden which will prove his rights to more. In 1625 (L) we have the villagers using a fifteenth-century terrier to make⁵

a true terrier of ye glebe and tithes of ye parsonage of Drayton Beauchamp and more perfect than any yt habe beene given In since ye beginning of ye raign of King Jame through helpe of ye terrer of Burhill and Whittle meades made in king Henry ye 7th his raigne but coming lately to our handes and viewe.

In 1694, Ellesborough (B) is based on the terrier of 1625

by a copy taken out of ye Bishops Registry att Lincoln by a publick notary.

Even where the position had changed fundamentally, we find the old order being first described and then an addendum describing the new. 1625 (L) for Milton Keynes begins by copying the Folkingham survey of 1607, but then adds a dated statement by Radolphus Smith that he had found most of his glebe enclosed when he came to the living.

The terrier is signed by the incumbent and churchwardens: this holds even when the surveyor, Folkingham, has drawn up the document. There is one pathetic subscript:

So witness wee Edward Feild parson of Drayton now almost fourty yeares of continuance but of age 65 and full of bodily infirmitys hastening my death
and Thomas Kilpin churchwarden
Thomas Mallard
James Morton sidesman.

Some terriers take the form of a *nil* return. This absence of glebe is due to a number of causes. The simplest explanation will be that the church has been appropriated and its property transferred to lay hands. In such cases the vicarage-house, gardens, and orchards may appear in the terrier, but no more. Where the church is served by a perpetual curacy with a cash income, there will again be no glebe to record.

At Boarstall the compilers of the terrier report

we know noe glibe land nor any other land belonging to our Church in our Towne neither cann we heare of any that ever was. We have enquired of our antient inhabitants and they cannot informe us of any that ever they knew or hard of.

This in November 1639 (B): and the 1703 (B) terrier puts it more explicitly and curtly:

there is no glebe for the Minister is paid by Mr John Auberry Esqe.

In other cases, the absent glebe will be mourned as lost through negligence or fraud at some point in the past. The 1601 (L) terrier for East Claydon reports that a yardland has been lost

iii score or iiiii score yeares since

and the terrier for 1700 (L) was still recording the loss.

It would have been possible for glebe land to pass into lay hands by a mixture of carelessness, indifference, and forgetfulness, particularly if there had been a long incumbency during which glebe had been leased. But most losses arose during the re-allocation of land which went with enclosure of open fields. When this allocation took place in the full light of legal process in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the incumbent would receive a compact block of land to compensate him for the strips of open-field land which he had given up; he might indeed augment the glebe, if landowners preferred to make over a fraction of their land in order to wipe out their tithe obligations for ever.

But where the enclosure took place against the hostility of statute law or during the troubled times of the fifteenth century, it was far easier for the glebe to shrink. One of the most extreme cases, and one unusually well documented, is that of Lillingstone Dayrell glebe, about which the 1601 (L) terrier records:

yt is the comon opinion that there hath bene a gleabe but what shoulde be the quantity and where yt shouldel ye noe man can tell bie reason of the pullinge downe of the towne and inclosure of the whole Lordeship about som hundred yeres bigon.

The 1625 terrier finds the incumbent more indignant as well as more informative:

bie the reporte of men of fower score yeres olde ther have bene twelve ploughs goinge and some six score inhabityngs untill afterward, and that aboute som ix score yeres since as it hath bene comonly reported, Thomas Darrell Esquier the first of five generacons bought out the freeholders, inclosed the Lordship, pulled

downe the towne, turninge the same into fish pondes and also pulled downe the parsonage howse as it doth credentlie appeare bie divers foundations of walles. The incumbent had a stipend and his little howse became a dairy howse. It was an easie matter for a gredie Lordship to swallow up a little glebe.

He adds that Darrell, 'in a blind zeale for his soules healthe', gave the pastures later to Luffield Abbey.

There, at Lillingstone, the memory of the lost glebe had persisted, and no doubt the Canons which ordered the making of terriers had other such losses in mind. At Mursley the incumbent reported in 1601 (L):

vii smale lands and a yearde . . . unless your honors could fynde outt more by your anncient records.

The incumbent at Pitstone (1625 (L)) does not echo that faith in archives, but his village has the same memory of lost glebe.

there is nowe noe gleabe . . . but about 40 or 50 yere past their was belonging unto the parsonage three parcells of earable land lying severly in the comen felde.

III

We must now turn to those terriers (the majority in number) which have glebe to record. The Canon did not lay down any definite order in which the glebe should be recorded, but only that it should include

all fields, meadows gardens orchards belonging to any Rectory or Vicarage.

These are the words of 1571, and the 1604 Canon added buildings, goods, rents, and tithes to the property which should be surveyed. Most incumbents began their terrier with a survey of the parsonage house, the outbuildings, the gardens or orchards, and the churchyard. These early descriptions of parsonage houses will be useful to the student of domestic architecture. A survey of the open-field land (if any) usually follows.

The surveys made by Folkingham produce the most neat and methodical terriers. There the marginal headings are bold: *Homestall; Edifices; Meadow; Arable*; with a final '*Summa pratore*', '*Summa arabil*', and '*summa [sic] totalis*'.

Even where the glebe includes strips scattered among the open fields, there may be closes held in individual ownership (or 'severalty'). These will represent earlier enclosure; or land taken straight from the wood or heath to cultivation within hedges; or the crofts and enclosed gardens which lay near the houses of the village. There will be meadow, and there may be woods. We will examine these before turning to our major concern, the open fields of the terriers.

As we might expect, woodland features most in the Chiltern parishes—there were nine acres at Beaconsfield in the 1680 terrier which appear to have been enclosed, but seven acres at Bradenham in that year are still described as 'common'. At Penn (1634 (B)) the land in the West common Field was described as 'half arable and half woodground', while Cholesbury (1639 (B)) possessed a wood in Drayton Beauchamp.

There are many more references to meadow, occurring in Vale, in Thames Valley,

and in Chiltern terriers. Meadowland which lay in common was often distributed by a system of rota, controlled by the drawing of lots. A man's holding of meadow would thus be different in different years, and since the glebe was (as agricultural land) no different from any other land, it too was subject to the drawing of lots. It is this annual interchange of meadow strips which may have given rise to the curious myth which still finds its way to some books that the arable strips of the open fields changed owners each year. For that there is no evidence and every evidence to the contrary.

Meadow which was subject to allocation by lot was often called 'lott meadow'. At Beachampton the 1707 (L) terrier describes

two roods in South Meadow as they arise by lott,

and at Broughton (1707 (L)) is

meadow being in two and unequal doles, there being two ancient parchment deeds describing allotments Quando anni domini sunt equales et Quando anni domini sunt inequales.

This would appear to mean that in odd-numbered years the glebe was entitled to one quantity of meadow strips, and in even-numbered years to another quantity. The annual exchange of meadow doles is also reflected in the 1639 (B) Foscott terrier, which includes meadow

... exchanged each year.

At Maids Moreton (1607 (B)) the meadow is

as it is allotted by the Meadow book.

Such books are not uncommon; they would survey the strips of meadow and define the rota (or the lottery) by which allocation would take place.*

The survival of allocation of lot meadow at Haddenham was described by Gomme[†] in 1890:

this was done by cutting up a common dock-weed into the required number of pieces to represent the lots, a well-understood sign being carved on each piece, representing crows'-feet, hog-troughs, and so on.

There is not much reference to grass closes for pasture as such. Contemporaneous terriers for Leicestershire often divided their open-field land in strips of arable and strips of grass-ground, but only at Edgott (1674 (B)) is this division made. At Ilmer in 1625 (L) there is a terrier which describes meadow, tillage, and then

two yeards of grass ground.

and the use of the 'yards' (= yardlands) measurement suggests that this grassland was intermingled with arable land in the open fields, although probably furlong by furlong and not strip by strip.

After the closes, the woodland, and the meadow comes the land-use, to which we must devote our next section: the open-field arable.

IV

The "Fields" of the open fields immediately strike the eye as a terrier is unfolded or opened. For these divisions are not only fundamental in the year-by-year rural economy, they are the divisions under which the glebe is listed. The Fields were divisions both of husbandry and of territory. A Field was compact. It covered a solid block of land which might comprise as much as quarter of the entire parish area, sometimes even more. The Fields of Padbury, in the fine All Souls map,⁸ cover all but about 2 per cent. of the parish. To name the Field in which the strip of arable lay was the first step in its identification, and that is how the surveyor began his terrier.

To mark the division, he sometimes drew parallel lines down the parchment or paper, dividing it into columns, and boldly wrote the Field name at the head of each column in large lettering. In other cases the division is by horizontal lines, but the Field name is usually as boldly lettered. (See plate I.)

The name of the Field was usually distinctive and meaningful. A glance at the Field names (all of which are given in the List, in Pt. II) will show that two schools of christening seem to have held sway. In some villages the folk tradition had given directional names to the two, three, or four Fields. There were two Fields at Aston Clinton in 1250, and there are two in the terrier of 1607, where they appear as North Field and West Field. At Dunton, where there were three Fields in 1601, the terrier names them East Field, West Field, and South Field.

Of the directional school, although not of the compass-minded, were the villagers of Drayton Parslow. There, one Field was called 'the Field next Stewkley,' another 'the Field next Saldon,' and the third, 'the Field next Stoke Hammond.' In these cases it is not difficult to assign the Fields to the proper quarter in the parish. The boundary between Fields was a boundary of some permanence once the village had ceased to take in fresh lands. It was often a stream or a road or a brookside meadow, as surviving open-field maps show us. Where it ran across country, it sometimes remains with us as a hedge of unusual thickness or a narrow belt of scrubby woodland.

Where an important stream or an old lane divides the parish into two or three more or less equal segments, we may sketch in the position of the two or three Fields with some chance of accuracy, where we have no open-field map to guide us.⁹ It is common for a village to form a hub to the parish wheel, and the radiating spokes of lanes would run between the Fields.

The other school of thought about naming Fields gave rise to more varied names. It was the descriptive school. A glance down the list will show what a variety of natural features and man-made features were distinctive enough to name the Field which lay by them. There were the marshbushes (Addington), the hill by the church (Akeley), the red land (Aston Sandford), the pasture which lay over the hedge (Bradwell), the fen (Broughton), the road (Street Field at Calverton), a stony Field (at Emberton), a windmill (at Steeple Claydon), a wood (at East Claydon), the London highway (at Hitcham), the hollow way (at Maids Moreton), the young wood (at Moulsoe), the fox (at Stewkley), and the causeway (at Weston Turville). There are also the comments on size (Great Field, Little Field) and on distance (Far Field, Farmost Field), the latter factor one of which the peasant in a nucleated village

would be all too conscious, when it came to taking the animals and tools to the perimeter of the parish.

The number of Fields (as far as the terrier evidence goes) was usually two or three.

TABLE 1

Villages with 1 Field in the terrier number 1	(being — per cent. of total)
2 Fields	20 c. 19 "
3 Fields	60 59 "
4 Fields	19 18 "
5 Fields	4 3 "
6 and more Fields	1 — "

It will be seen that the three-field village was the most common, with a substantial number having two or four Fields. The two- and four-field villages are linked, since it was not a difficult task to divide a two-field village into four Fields if a more intricate fallow rotation was desired, and there are cases where a village has two Fields in one terrier, and four Fields in another year's terrier. Transitions from two to three would be more difficult, although H. L. Grey showed that it was a common feature in Buckinghamshire villages between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁰ Middle Claydon, which had three Fields in its earliest terrier of 1607, had two Fields in 1430; and Bradwell similarly changed its number of Fields between the fourteenth century and 1577. These changes were not the immediate result of bringing a new area of land under cultivation—such land went into all Fields equally—but of desire to lessen the proportion of land under fallow in any given year from its 50 per cent. (in the two-field rota) to 33 per cent. (in the three-field rota).

The next table compares the predominance of the two and three Fields in three areas where I have worked through the glebe terriers, Buckinghamshire, Leicestershire, and the three Ridings of Yorkshire.

TABLE 2

Percentage of open-field villages having

	<i>Two Fields</i>	<i>Three Fields</i>
BUCKS. . .	19 per cent.	59 per cent.
LEICS. . .	9 "	79 "
YORKS. . .	29 "	42 "

There are a few terriers where the surveyor does not concern himself with Field names, contenting the Bishop with describing the strips in their furlongs. This may indicate laziness or illiteracy, and we can confirm that judgement when later terriers or earlier terriers do take pains to make the full definition. Such was the case at Adstock, where the 1607 terrier lists the three Fields (two of them with their alternative folk-names) but the 1693 terrier is content with

lower yardlands lying dispersedly in the Fields and precincts of Adstock.

In other cases, another interpretation is possible, although the suggestion would have to be confirmed by more detailed work on other documents from the same

village. A holding which is described in furlong terms throughout, and not by Field divisions, may indicate the type of out-field system which has been found elsewhere in England. It was common in East Anglia, and it shows itself in the pastoral and forest fringes of open-field England. The unit in such a system is not the Field, but the furlong, the bundle of adjacent strips which we shall be examining further in the next section. Rotations of fallow would thus go by the furlong, which would permit considerable flexibility. In a three-field village the normal scheme would enforce a third of the area fallow annually. Where the unit was the furlong, a smaller unit, the fallow could appear at rarer intervals, every seven or every ten years, or at less regular intervals as the furlong area was judged to be becoming exhausted and needing rest. Such flexibility in fallow-rotation would ally itself with less traditional cropping patterns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and there are many signs that the unenclosed eighteenth-century fields gave greater scope for individualism than the text-books presuppose, at least in those villages which had made the communal decision to soft-pedal the full medieval communalism. This furlong-by-furlong rota may also be relevant to the question of holdings unequally scattered among the Fields.

For if we examine the terriers to see what area of glebe lay in each Field, we shall soon find that only few terriers show it equally scattered. In cases of unequal scattering there would be obvious practical difficulties as the fallow rotated through the Fields. Take a holding made up of 27 acres, scattered as follows:

9 acres in the East Field
11 acres in the West Field
7 acres in the North Field.

In any one year 9, 11, or 7 acres would be being rested, and the cultivated area would thus be 18, 16, and 20 acres in the three successive years. Small as the variation may seem, it must have made for diversity in husbandry from year to year. There are more extreme cases with all but a fraction of the estate in one Field.

If the glebe was rented, and merely a source of income to the incumbent, such inequalities would not matter. The income would fluctuate slightly. But most glebes had been at one time farmed by the incumbent, and many were still being so managed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nor are such unequally divided holdings confined to church terriers, for lay estates show the same phenomenon.

The glebe estate, being the result of piecemeal gift and endowment, might be expected to show some irregularity, although any gift of land must have come from a working estate, big or small, and might therefore be expected to have the neat division into equal segments in each Field. In certain cases, the size of the area in each Field may give a clue to an amalgamation of Fields at some point in the past, or a breaking-up of three into four. Where the areas are such that (say)

East Field: 7 acres
North Field: 8 acres
West Field: 3 acres
South Field: 12 acres,

it does seem likely that East and North (15 acres) were once holdings in a former single Field, and that West and South (also 15 acres) were holdings in a former

single Field also, making two original Fields. Where, in a three-field village, area in East Field equals area in West plus area in South, another deduction can be made, that there were originally only two Fields.

V

The final subdivision of the terrier is into *furlongs*. These divisions must have been outstandingly clear in the medieval landscape, and they show on a pre-enclosure strip-map probably more immediately to the eye than the Field division, unless the cartographer has emphasized Field divisions by varying the colour of his inks, as often happens.

The furlongs were the bundles into which the strips will be found to be gathered. Like the Fields, the village community will have named each of them. Since each might contain as few as twelve or twenty strips (4 or 7 acres), there were many more furlongs to be named than Fields. For that reason furlong names have not been included in the list here. But every terrier gives furlong names, and students of place-name forms, and those who are interested in antiquity of minor field-names in their parish, will find the terriers very useful. A surprising number of furlong-names have survived through enclosure to give their names to modern hedged fields which lie across their path. The *Place-Name Society* refers briefly to these names, and analyses some of the components. In some counties the help of school-children was enlisted and all existing field-names were recorded on 6-inch maps. It does not appear from the *Preface* that this was done for Buckinghamshire,¹¹ but the county volume was the first in the series and published in 1925.

The furlong names are often of greater antiquity than the Field names and can be traced back in fortunate cases as far as the earliest written documents. The elements they embody are therefore descriptive or personal: the Society record *thertheoxlaydede* in Northall in the thirteenth century. Because of their age, they have been subject to corruption, and the pen striving to record the syllables which have been handed down from generation to generation may have further distorted as it attempted to rationalize and 'correct' the traditional form to make it make sense.

The size of a furlong cannot be deduced from a terrier, since not all its component strips were in one man's hands, and the terrier is a record solely of one man's estate. From the strip-maps we can see both how the average length approximates to the furlong-long furrow of 220 yards; and also how often furlongs can be shorter or longer. Maitland reminded us that we think it no paradox to say that we have feet which are less than a foot long inside our shoes, and the same thing is true of the furlong which is not a furlong.

Within the furlong, the strips ran all in the same direction. Adjacent furlongs, on the other hand, might have contrary directions for their strips. Some glebe terriers (although none, I think, in this county) were precise enough to state the direction of the strips at the beginning of the furlongs.

What determined the direction in which the strips ran was in all probability practical convenience. It was once thought that drainage was the major determinant, but a comparison of a strip-map with the lie of the land will soon show that other factors must have operated and in some cases overridden the advantage of the furrow as a ready-made channel to carry off surplus water.

We shall be in a better position to deduce the origin of the furlong bundle if we pass first to its components, the single strip, the *land*, the *selion*, the *ridge*, the *acre*: these are the contemporary words which we shall find in the terriers themselves, for *strip*, although convenient, seems to be a word created (for this purpose) by nineteenth-century historians.

VI

Having named the Field in which the strip lay, and the furlong within which it was to be found, the surveyor had all but completed his task. But since each strip was one of a bundle in the furlong, it was necessary to mark it out from its neighbours. To do this, the surveyor sometimes described it in terms of its position: it is the fifth from the north end of the furlong. In other cases it is described from its neighbours: it lies between the strip of John Smith and that of William Miller within such-and-such a furlong. If he added its area, then his survey is as full as reason might require.

It is useful to gather together the information from Buckinghamshire terriers which describes areas of strips, because the myth of the *acre strip* still haunts textbooks and has been responsible for sending people to hunt for the non-existent and for their surprise at not finding it. We can begin by recalling that the *acre*, like the foot and the furlong, has had two meanings: a concrete thing, and a length or an area. It was between the acres of the rye that the pretty country folk did lie, and whereas one can lie with difficulty between one 4,840 square yards of cereal crop and the next, it is not too difficult (as the open fields of Shottery proved to Will and Ann) between one strip of arable and the next. For the *acre* was the word often used for the strip, without any implication of area. We shall see examples in terriers of such apparent paradoxes as

an acre of land being one rood (i.e. one quarter of an acre in area)

or, again,

two acres being three roods (i.e. three-quarters of an acre in area).

The terrier for Drayton Parslow is one which gives acreages for the strips. In the Field next Stewkley

17 strips are of half an acre area,

4 strips are of a quarter-acre area.

In the second Field, next Stoke,

21 strips are of half an acre area,

2 strips are of one-eighth of an acre area, but are specifically described as 'butts'.

In the third Field, next Saldon,

43 strips are of one-half acre,

8 strips are of three-eighths of an acre area,

6 strips are of one-third of an acre area.

(It will be noted that here again there is not an equal area in each Field:

next Stewkley totals 9·5 acres,
next Stoke totals 10·75 acres,
next Saldon totals 26·5 acres.)

At Maids Moreton the average area was about one-third of an acre per strip. At Newport Pagnell the area approximates to a half-acre. At Oving the areas work out at half- or quarter-acres. In two of Turweston's three Fields in 1639 the strip was a half-acre in area, but in the third Field it was only a third of an acre. Nowhere, I repeat, is there any indication of the strip which is an acre in area. The *acre* was a descriptive name for the single strip.

We may now make another point about the physical appearance of the single strip. Indeed, some of the terriers are explicit on this point by the word they choose to describe the strip. While the majority of terriers call the strip a 'land' or an 'acre,' others use the word 'ridge,' and in doing so they reflect the characteristic appearance of the open fields in Buckinghamshire. Their single strips were cast up in the form of a ridge.

I have elsewhere shown that this physical characteristic is still visible on the landscape of the county in the form of ridge-and-furrow. This regular undulation in the surface shows best in grassland, but it can also appear in arable fields, especially after ploughing (as regular soil discolouration) or from the air at harvest-time (in crop colouring). How the single strip achieved the ridged form was demonstrated by the Orwins as being the natural result of ploughing within the same boundaries year after year. Initially it is doubtful whether the resultant advantage of drainage down the furrow was taken into consideration, although the advantage probably had weight in the perpetuation of heaped-up ridges in the later years of the unenclosed village.

The single strip of the unenclosed Field ran from furrow, over the ridge and down to furrow. The truth of this equation of strip with ridge-and-furrow has met with more scepticism than (I think) the argument deserves. In Buckinghamshire the easiest way to convince a sceptic would be to take such an open-field map as that of Wootton Underwood or Soulbury.¹² Streams, parish boundaries, and roads have moved their position little, so that the areas concerned can be easily identified on a 6-inch Ordnance Survey map and squared up with the boundaries of the modern post-enclosure, hedged fields. A visit will then show that the ridge-and-furrow fits in with the pattern of the open-field map. It will show that the ridge-and-furrow is quite irrelevant to the lay-out of modern hedged fields, running as it does through hedges and through walls. The hedge and wall were planted over the strips at enclosure to make the new boundaries of property. At Soulbury the wood south-east of Winscott Farm had been planted after enclosure, and the trees had acted as excellent preservative of ridge-and-furrow. Visited in 1949 when trees were being felled, the ridge-and-furrow was as plain as in grassland in Liscombe Park.

The equation of ridge-and-furrow with open-field strips has utility in the study of open-field Buckinghamshire, especially in villages where the open-field maps have not survived, and the majority of villages fall into that class. The reconstruction of the area touched at one time or another by the plough is an essential part of the settlement history of the county, and points such obvious differences as those

between the Chiltern villages and the villages of the clay vales. But such questions lie beyond the scope of this essay, and we must return to the terrier to examine its references to ridges.

At Turweston, for example, we have in 1634:

North Field	62 ridges (= 20 acres)
Middle Field	54 ridges (= 28 acres)
Far Field	32 ridges (= 16 acres)

and the terriers for this village use no other word but 'ridge' for other villages' 'lands'. At Aston Sandford in 1707, we have:

Turnlow Field	23 ridges
Redland Field	32 ridges
Middle Field	28 ridges

and these 83 ridges totalled 44·5 acres in area. At North Crawley in 1693 some of the 'lands' (although not all) in Mill and Park Fields are called 'ridges'. At Drayton Parslow the terrier of 1756 was ruled in columns and the left-hand column was headed 'ridges' and the right-hand column 'acres and roods'. Thus we have in the first Field:

Ridges	Acres	Roods
2	1	0
4	2	
2	1	
2	1	0
5	2	2
4	1	
1	0	2
1	0	2
2	1	0

All the entries in the 1601 terrier of Grendon Underwood are for 'ridges'. At Newport Pagnell in 1634 the strip was identified as being 'the eleventh ridge' in its furlong. At Oving both *yard* and *ridge* are used—

four yeardes or ridges conteyning one acre of ground.

At Shalstone in 1625 the scribe called two strips 'ridges' and then deleted the word for 'lands'. In another part of the same terrier, he describes a block of strips as being sixteen ridgges tenne northward and six southward.

There are ridges in the 1674 Thornborough terrier, but it is at Drayton Beauchamp that we obtain the clearest contemporary commentary on the ridge-and-furrow problem.

In the 1607 terrier the strips are *ridges* plain and simple. But by 1707 there had been an exchange of strips, and the glebe had been consolidated in one block of fifty acres. This produces a problem for the churchwardens, who would like to conform to the ridge-notation, and their explanation confirms the Orwins' view that the ridge-

and-furrow came from the inability to cross-plough, where lands lay sternly delimited in the old narrow 'lands'. The terrier runs:

Note agin that we cannot say how many ridges there are in the other arable glebe Because it lies so convenient for the Best way of tillage yt is often cross-plowd yt is sometimes east & west, sometimes north and south.

In my experience this statement is unique, and it deserves to become a *locus classicus* in discussion of the open-field problems.

It would be pleasant to record that Buckinghamshire also contributed to the balk controversy. Did the strips have unploughed grass between them? It is not difficult to prove that the *balk*, like the *acre*, has been misconstrued in hurried reading of documents, and that *balks* were often the access-ways which gave on to the furlong. Some of the earliest open-field maps attest this. It is also true that ridge-and-furrow (and air photographs) show no such divisions between strips, but it might have been possible, of course, for a grass balk to have been absorbed or to have been ploughed up in cross-ploughing since enclosure. The Buckinghamshire open-field maps which I have seen show no balks between strips.

On the other hand, Colonel Drew has shown balks in the Isle of Portland, Mr. Liddell has produced some in Bedfordshire documents, and I have found inter-strip balks actually etched in one Yorkshire open-field map,¹³ and measured to their tiny fractions of a rood in an accompanying terrier! The only two Buckinghamshire terrier references seem to be at Drayton Beauchamp and at Sympson. At Drayton the 1625 (L) terrier speaks of

sixteen lands and butts all marked with two balks apiece

and this might seem to be playing into the hands of the pro-balk school of thought. But when we turn to Sympson (again 1625) doubts arise, and the Drayton terrier is seen to be capable of two constructions. At Sympson

Memorandum: that every arable lande of the gleabe hath a baulke left unplowed time out of minde *at one ende of the land on the ridge thereof* [my italics].

Here, clearly, the balk does not lie between the strips but across the end of the strips, at right angles to their long side. Added together, these balks would form the access way to the strips. After seeing this statement, it would be possible to see that the Drayton terrier might mean a balk at each end of the strip to give the 'two apiece' described. But in this state of ambiguity we may leave the controversy.¹⁴

VII

We have now analysed the glebe holding into its constituents of arable (enclosed and unenclosed), meadow, pasture, and woodland. In some parishes, the glebe estate, being made up of small gifts in the past, was small and perhaps not an economic unit for farming, but a useful source of income if rented out. In other parishes the rector was a farming parson, and we should expect the estate to resemble the holding of a lay farmer. It would include a quota of open-field strips, of enclosed land, of pasture, of lot-meadow, of common-rights and common-obligations. The unit holding of this type is of considerable antiquity, and it may be plausibly argued

that it represents the unit share of one family who shared the initial clearing of the forest which created the fields. That share would be augmented by later clearing (assarting), but (if Mr. Bishop's Yorkshire evidence can be paralleled in Buckinghamshire) the augmentations would preserve a rough equality.

Such units were the Buckinghamshire *yardland*, which does in fact appear in glebe terriers by name. The Adstock glebe in 1693 was considered to be four yardlands, made up of 83 acres of arable and 15 of meadow: that is, each yardland of about 21 acres arable and 4 meadow. The glebe at Adstock had acquired four unit holdings, and in doing so was in no different position from many prosperous yardland-holders of the day. At Akeley in 1625 the glebe was made up of 'v yeardes'. At Steeple Claydon in 1707 the glebe was two yardlands, and the tithes were due from another seventy yardlands in lay occupation. At Cuddington in 1601 the glebe was surveyed at

a yardland contayning xxijj acres

which is then described in all its half-acre and rood detail. At Fenny Stratford in 1740 the yardland was 30 acres in measurement, and at Foscott in 1625 we have commons for a yard lande

to go with the arable and pasture surveyed. At Ilmer the bundle of lands and rights which made up a half-yardland in 1625

hath comon for five beasts or keind and a Bullock, 2 horse one coalt and xx sheepe.

And we may take our final example from Loughton, where the surveyor brings out the interconnexion of the yardlands in the parish, both glebe and lay.

The 1601 terrier says:

There is in ye parish 22 plough lands of which one belongeth to ye parsonage. Everie ploughland hath .lx acres in all ye fieldes. There are iii feildes that is ye morefield from ye towne southwest, south, southeast and east . . . Seckloe field . . . and Priors Marsh feilde.

There is also some evidence that the original dispersion of strips throughout the furlongs conformed to a regular pattern, so that a strip of yardland-holder A was always next to one of yardland-holder B. Time, inheritance, subdivision, and consolidation of estates have blurred this clear and logical arrangement, but occasionally it peeps through, and we find that the glebe strips are always neigoured in their many furlongs by strips of the same owner on one side, and by a second owner on the other side. Indeed, the connexion of the yardland and the strip may be brought a little closer when we find 'yard' being used for *strip*, as we do in the Akeley and Grendon Underwood terriers. May not a *yardland* have been a unit holding, with one *yard* in each furlong, particularly if each furlong represents one block of land taken from the wild state at the same time and divided among those who cleared, strip by strip, man by man, yardland-holder by yardland-holder, yard by yard? Confirmation of this conception may be found in the other common term for the unit holding, the virgate, where the *vir* element is the *rod* of standard measurement, the five and a half yards of our arithmetic books. The strip, which was a rod

wide and a furlong long, was 220 yards by 5½ and was in fact a rood (quarter-acre in area). So that the virgate-holder had his rood in every furlong in this distant (but existent) point in the past when Buckinghamshire fields were first islands in a sea of uncleared woodland, marshland, and heath, and every rood of land maintained its man.¹⁵

(To be concluded)

¹ The Boarstall map reproduced in *V.C.H. Bucks.*, IV, 11, is almost unique. It shows three Fields: Frith, Arngrave, and Cowhouse with furlongs conventionally drawn with strips.

² This rubric is the same in all the 1607 terriers surveyed by Folkingham. The Canon of 1571 appears in *Liber Quorundam Canonum Disciplinae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* sub. art. 'patroni et proprietarii'. The 1604 Canon is to be found in *Canones sive Canones Ecclesiastici*, printed by Robert Cutter and Joseph Clark, London, 1604. The modern Canon is CX (*The Canon Law of the Church of England*, London, 1947).

³ W. E. Tate, *A Handlist of Buckinghamshire Enclosure Acts and Awards* (Aylesbury, 1946). I have accepted the information about Parliamentary enclosure in pp. 33–9, but chapters 2 and 3, based on printed sources, are less satisfactory as an account of earlier enclosure.

⁴ Many parish chests and registers must contain terriers which would supplement my list, based entirely on Lincoln and Oxford sources.

⁵ All quotations not otherwise assigned are from glebe terriers, and the date and source appears in the text without further footnotes, e.g. 1601 (B) for Bodleian terriers, or 1625 (L) for terriers at Lincoln.

⁶ The Birthplace Library, Stratford-upon-Avon, has such a book for Shottery, Warws.

⁷ Quoted W. E. Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁸ Hevenden maps, All Souls College, Oxford. Some of these were reproduced in part in R. H. Tawney, *Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*.

⁹ The Loughton terrier assigns More Field to the SW., S., and SE. of the town; Seckloe to the SE., E., and NE.; and Priors Marsh to N., NW., and W. 'from ye towne'. Here it would seem that the streams rather than the roads achieved the trisection. It is interesting to note that Seckloe Field identified the hitherto unknown Hundred meeting-place (*Place Names of Bucks.*, p. 17), and that this extract confirms the Editors' suggestion that Seckloe lay on the Bradwell side of the parish.

¹⁰ H. L. Grey, *English Field Systems* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915).

¹¹ *Place Names of Bucks.*, pp. 257–9.

¹² These two maps are in the Museum, Aylesbury. The Wootton map may be compared with the air photograph, ref. 541/340/3015 of July 1949. Dr. W. Mead and I compared the Soulbury map with the ground at Easter 1949.

¹³ Pre-enclosure maps and surveys of Notton and Woolley (Wentworth Woolley MSS., Univ. Lib., Leeds).

¹⁴ Since this article was written in 1950, Dr. W. R. Mead has carried out a survey of ridge-and-furrow as it appears in Buckinghamshire fields. It is to be hoped that this study will be published. Dr. Mead has allowed me to add that the feature shows in almost every parish north of the Chiltern scarp, and in some parishes in almost every field. Once south of the scarp, it is exceptional. Since 1950 a point of view more sceptical of the identification of ridge-and-furrow has been argued by Dr. E. Kerridge (*Economic History Review*, 2nd series, vol. IV, pp. 14–36). In his *England of Elizabeth*, p. 86, A. L. Rowse revealed that he had traced 'the very furrows that marked the strips' of Padbury in the 1591 map.

¹⁵ In the second part of this paper I shall show how the terriers help in identifying those villages whose open fields were enclosed by agreement or by force before the age of Parliamentary enclosure. A list of glebe terriers, parish by parish, with their essential information extracted and tabulated, then follows. Two other lists cover the 'lost' villages of the county and the pre-Parliamentary enclosures, and thus supplement Mr. Tate's list of Parliamentary enclosure for the county. A map shows the distribution of these various types and periods of enclosure.

H Schedule

of the Glebe land of
the Rectory of Maids Moreton in the County of Bucks now in the possession
of Matthew Bate Rector there as follows etc.

Imprimis in Holloway feild Eight acres. and a rood by estimation (vizt.) best measured.

- Two lands lying together in short furlongs furlong. One land of fifteen
acres on the South and the land of George Griffell on the North.
One land lying together in the said furlong the land of the said George
Griffell on the South and William Barret on the North.
One land lying in long furlongs furlong the land of the said William Barret
on the South and George Griffell on the North.
One land throughout two furlongs and a half and lying in three parts
namely the land of the said George Griffell on the North side thereof.
One shooting southward into Holloway and northward to (un)measured.
One land lying upon Holloway. And the land of the said Thomas Newell
on the North side thereof and George Griffell on the North.
One land shooting into Weston (un)measured the land of the said George
Griffell lying on both sides thereof.
One land lying all Ligne the land of the said George Griffell on the
South and John Willcott on the North.
One land lying on (un)measured the land of the said George Griffell a
the South and Edward Byng on the North.
Two yards lying together all furlong with the land of the said George
Griffell on the East and Edward Byng on the West.
One land and two yards lying together in Causway furlong the land
of John Willcott on the East and William Barret on the West.
One land lying at Causway (un)measured against Burrows his place
One rood shooting on both sides of (un)measured way.
Two roods of ground wood lying between and (un)measured land the
land of George Griffell on the East and Robert Willcott on the West.

PLATE I. PART OF THE GLEBE TERRIER OF MAIDS MORETON. (Bodleian MS. Oxf. Arch. Pap. Bucks. c.248, reproduced by permission.) It details the holdings in one of the four open Fields, Holloway Field. In this Field the glebe strips totalled 8 acres and 1 rood.

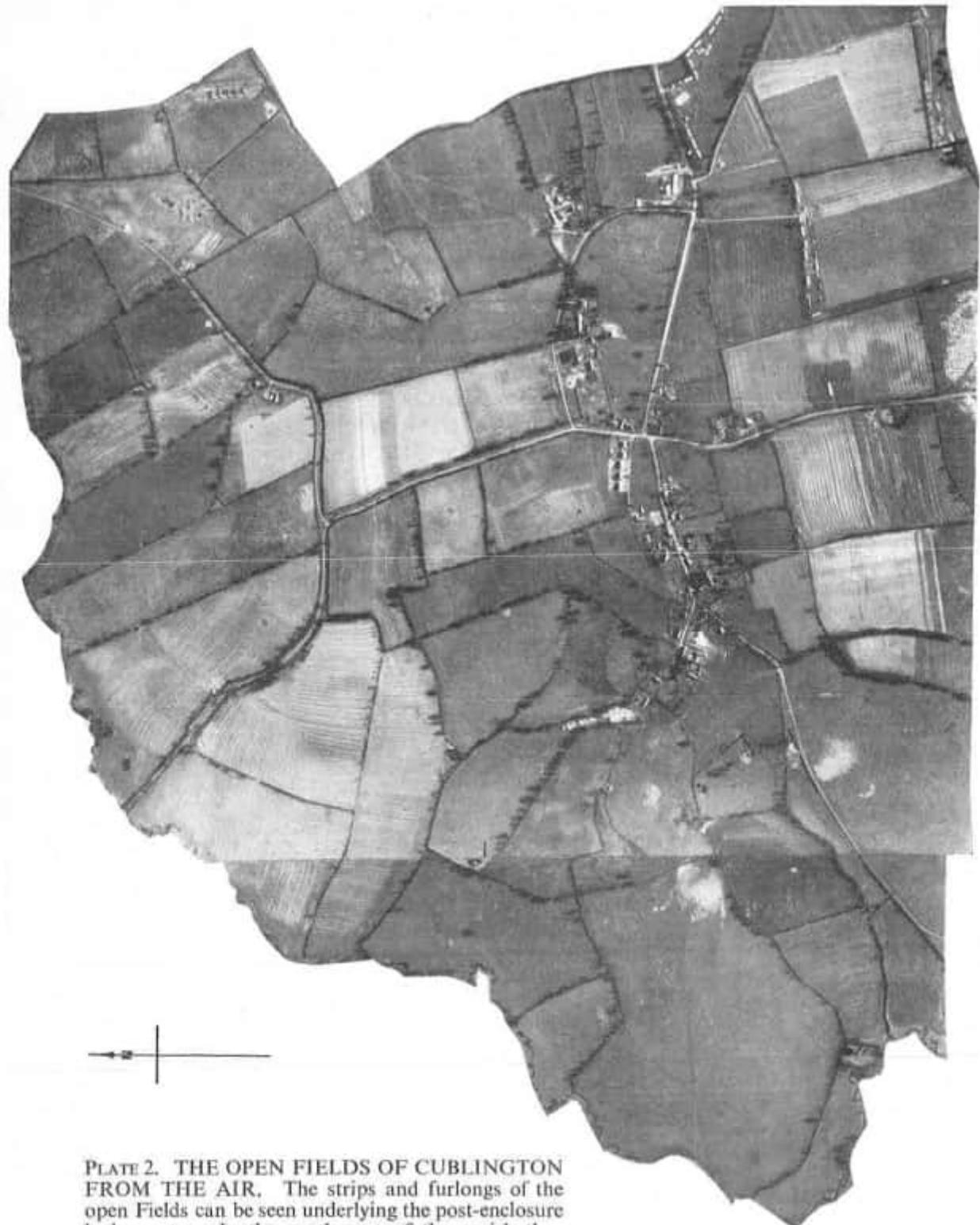


PLATE 2. THE OPEN FIELDS OF CUBLINGTON FROM THE AIR. The strips and furlongs of the open Fields can be seen underlying the post-enclosure hedge-system. In the north-west of the parish they show as crop-marks in fields now arable; in the north-east the fields are under grass. This village was abandoned by 1340, but was re-settled on a site a little to the east in the early 15th century. The former site can be seen at the end of the village. (Photo, CPE UK 2483/3216 and 3219. Crown copyright.) Approximate scale 1:15,700.