

THE CIVIL DEFENCE AND LIVESTOCK RETURNS FOR SUSSEX IN 1801

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE
RETURNS FOR KIRDFORD PARISH IN 1798

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AMONG the Lieutenancy Records in the County Record Office at Lewes there are two volumes dealing with this period.¹ No. 1, 'On Lieutenancy General Defence', deals with the formation and maintenance of the County Yeomanry. The volume opens with an account of the meeting held at Lewes on 1 May 1794 at which it was decided to form the County Yeomanry and to support it by public subscription. The meeting is described as a 'very numerous and respectable meeting of the nobility, gentry, clergy and freeholders &c.' A committee was appointed to maintain the Yeomanry and its minutes make up this volume. The Earl of Egremont subscribed £500. His local troop at Petworth later cost £673, to equip 51 men.²

At a meeting on 6 June 1794 it was decided that the Yeomanry should choose their own uniforms; these were agreed at a meeting a month later. Companies on the coast were to be trained in the use of 'great guns' by the Government, and it was decided to add to the Sussex Militia a Corps of Horse Artillery for two '300 lb. guns' and two 'royal howitzers'. Two Troops of Yeomanry were to be formed in each rape, one in the lower and one in the upper division, each to have a Captain, one or more Subalterns, and 30 Yeomen including N.C.O.s. Thereafter the meetings were largely administrative. The last meeting recorded in this volume was held on 4 August 1797.

Volume No. 2, 'Sussex Proceedings of Meetings of the Deputy Lieutenancy for the Internal Defence of the County 1801'. The main interest of this volume is in the detailed schedules where, under fifty-seven headings, is

¹ I am indebted to the County Archivist for East and West Sussex, Mr. B. Campbell Cooke, for his suggestion to search the Lieutenancy records.

² S.A.S. deeds: the horse appointments account for half the sum.

collected a great deal of information for each parish in the county, with very few exceptions. The details are summarized by rapes.

The headings cover the numbers of all types of livestock, wagons, mills and their capacity, baking ovens and their capacity, bridges, boats and barges, men capable of active service, people unable to move themselves, arms, implements, drivers of teams and stock, aliens, Quakers, boatmen, men serving in the Volunteer Corps, and so on. The statistics are a valuable and apparently untapped source of information for the farm economy of Sussex parishes at this time, and they provide a useful supplement to the reports of contemporary writers such as William Marshall and Arthur Young.

These figures appear to be the first reliable statistics for livestock in the county. The 4th of June returns did not start until 'in 1866 the first annual statistics relating to acreage and numbers of livestock in England and Wales were collected by the Board of Trade'.¹ Later the collection was taken over by the Board of Agriculture.

There are known to have been three such censuses, 1798, 1801, and 1803.

The 1798 census is referred to in this volume, but only the totals of livestock and grain for the county are recorded. A similar and even more detailed census under sixty-five headings was made in 1803, but only the parishes in the rapes of Chichester and Arundel are recorded in this volume.

The county schedules in 1801 are a summary of the returns made by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of each parish, whose returns were submitted by the clerks of the subdivision justices to a meeting held at the White Hart Inn, Lewes, on 8 October 1801, when the D.L.s, J.P.s, and Captains of Yeomanry were present. The parish returns had been collected in the subdivisions a week or so earlier.

In a plan by General Sir Charles Grey in 1798 Sussex was divided into two great divisions, north and south, the north being subdivided into eight parts and con-

¹ *The Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, J. A. Venn (1933), p. 431.

taining one-quarter of the county, the south containing three-quarters and nine subdivisions. In 1801 the seventeen subdivisions were changed to the twelve half-rapes, which were probably the same as the Yeomanry Troop areas. In 1803 the half-rapes were subdivided into areas having inspectors and superintendents, the former being 'Gentlemen of some weight and influence in the neighbourhood'.¹ The minutes state that the county consists of 301 parishes and 78 districts.

The general conditions at this time had more in common with those of earlier centuries than with those of the years to come. The county was almost purely agricultural, villages were largely self-sufficient with mills and other trades not yet swept away by industrial concentration. Authority for 'Internal Defence' was largely in Sussex and not in London. There is a considerable amount of literary and map evidence relating to the farming practice on the varied soils of the county at the end of the eighteenth century. This has been summarized in the report of the Land Utilization Survey on Sussex.²

The background of these returns of stock, transport, and man-power is, very briefly, that since the summer of 1796 the Adjutant-General's office had been drawing up detailed plans for defending the southern counties.³ The first steps to implement these plans appear to have been taken by the Sussex Lieutenancy in 1798.

The clearing of south-eastern England was proposed in a Bill covering the Defence of the Country passed on 28 March 1798, and these returns were no doubt a direct result of this Act. The lieutenancy were well aware of the county's vulnerability, having 'near ninety miles of coast immediately opposite to and within twelve hours sail of the Enemy'. They and the Government had some cause for alarm because 'by the end of March (1798)

¹ The inspector for the Kirdford and Wisborough Green area was Mr. Thomas Seward (of Ifold; d. 1825, aged 70). The superintendents were William Cooper for Kirdford and John Sayers for Wisborough Green.

² Edited by Dr. L. Dudley Stamp and published in 1942; the report is written by Dr. E. W. H. Briault.

³ There does not appear to be any comparable material in Kent or Hampshire. I have to thank Mr. R. Holworthy and Mrs. E. Cottrell, the respective County Archivists, for this information.

tonnage was provided for 70,000 Frenchmen and horses in 1,351 vessels from frigates to fishing boats. But the great plan came to nothing, for various reasons Bonaparte's eyes turned to Egypt.¹ On the other hand, Pitt was sceptical when he wrote to Lord Rosebery on 26 January 1798, 'the scheme seems so romantic (without the prospect of any Naval force to support it) that at any other moment it would not be credible'.² The threat of invasion continued to hang over this country, apart from the eighteen months of uneasy truce (Amiens), during the years 1796 to 1805, reaching its most acute stage in the years following the renewal of the war in 1803. The deciding factor was our command of the sea. It has been suggested that Napoleon certainly intended to invade on two occasions in the autumn of 1803, on one occasion in the summer of 1804, and possibly in the spring as well as the summer of 1805.³

The 1801 returns were possibly called for as a result of the secret circular directed to District Commanders in July 1801 warning them of the imminence of a French descent. Napoleon made a feint invasion at this time to try and get better peace terms.⁴ The 1803 returns were probably due to the renewal of the war on 18 May, and the very real threat of invasion, not dispelled until Trafalgar.⁵ For nearly ten years south-east England had been an armed camp; in 1803, 55,000 men were allotted to Kent and Sussex.⁶ This figure represents about one-third of the total population of Sussex in 1801.

As a result of the 1798 census of stock, grain, and

¹ See *Invasion of Britain*, Admiral Richmond (1941). The battle of the Nile was fought on 1 August 1798.

² ex *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, H. B. F. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley (1907).

³ *Britain against Napoleon*, Carola Oman (1942), on the evidence of French dispatches. Napoleon said afterwards that he intended to attack between Margate and Deal and make for London with 200,000 men.

⁴ See *Years of Endurance*, Arthur Bryant (1942). The Truce of Amiens, 1 October 1801.

⁵ Napoleon abandoned the invasion at the end of August 1805 and the Army marched away across Europe. The battle of Trafalgar two months later made any renewal of the threat impossible.

⁶ See *Dumouriez and the Defence of England against Napoleon*, J. H. Rose and A. M. Broadley (1908). The authors quote the figures disclosed at the 13 August 1801 Lieutenancy meeting without giving their reference.

transport the lieutenancy decided on 13 August 1801 that wholesale clearing of the county was impossible, otherwise there would be no transport for the aged and infirm.

The return made in May 1798 showed 177,000 qrs. of grain in the county. This would fill 17,000 wagons, and another 35,000 would be needed to move the hay. In 1801 there were only 6,787 wagons and 10,066 carts in the county.¹

The May 1798 totals of grain are recorded, and though the meeting realized they might be inaccurate, the proportions are of interest.

	<i>Percentage</i>
Wheat	51
Oats	30
Malt	14
Barley	4
Peas and beans	1

The meeting thought the destruction of the grain unwise but decided that mills must be destroyed and horses and oxen moved if there was danger of an area being overrun. They thought that the Army could deal with the enemy so that wholesale destruction would not be necessary. They suggested that a Corps of Gamekeepers be employed in 'attacking and annoying the enemy'.

Returns of grain and hay were not called for in 1801 or 1803. The livestock figures for Sussex in 1801 and comparative figures for later years have been tabulated:

Sussex Stock and Mill Totals, 1801

<i>Rape</i>	<i>1801. Percentage of County</i>	<i>Oxen</i>		<i>Cows</i>	<i>Young stock and colts</i>	<i>Sheep and lambs</i>	<i>Hogs and pigs</i>	<i>Horses</i>		<i>Mills</i>	
		<i>Draught</i>	<i>Fattings</i>					<i>Draught</i>	<i>Riding</i>	<i>Wind</i>	<i>Water</i>
Chichester	16	165	667	2,984	1,859	56,004	13,830	3,618	839	20	27
Arundel	14.5	697	1,189	2,591	3,625	37,034	12,251	2,988	660	21	30
Bramber	14	768	1,360	2,566	4,211	45,335	9,940	2,910	578	22	19
W. Sussex total	44.5	1,630	3,216	8,141	9,695	138,373	36,021	9,516	2,077	63	76
Lewes	14.5	1,277	773	2,359	3,250	59,646	8,132	2,607	489	33	16
Pevensy	24	3,001	2,093	4,148	6,899	64,209	10,062	3,394	753	44	31
Hastings	17	2,390	1,159	3,716	7,260	79,748	8,261	2,880	629	36	16
E. Sussex total	55.5	6,668	4,025	10,223	17,409	203,603	26,455	8,881	1,871	113	63
Total E. and W. Sussex	..	8,298	7,241	18,364	27,104	341,976	62,476	18,397	3,948	176	139

¹ For eight parishes the 1803 figures are used and for three parishes an estimation made.

In the Rape of Chichester schedule for 1801 nine parishes made no return; eight of these made stock, but no mill, returns in 1803 and these figures have been used. The sheep and pig numbers may have been different, but the other stock was probably much the same. The eight parishes are: New Fishbourne, East Dean, East Marden, Midlavant, Stoughton, West Dean, Linchmere, and Iping. There is no return for West Thorney in 1801 or 1803. In 1834 West Thorney was an island having about four-fifths the 1901 acreage.¹ The suggested figures based on the Chidham stock per acre are: oxen nil, cows 9, young stock 37, sheep 272, pigs 114, horses (d. & r.) 31. The mill total for the rape was no doubt larger by about 9. North and South Ambersham, 2,614 acres, were part of Hampshire until 1844. The remaining rapes are complete except for the parishes of Wadhurst and Friston, in the Rape of Pevensey, which made no returns in 1801. Only the Rapes of Chichester and Arundel have schedules in this volume for 1803. A suggested stock return for Wadhurst based on the mean per acre of two adjoining and similar parishes, and for Friston based on the stock per acre of Jevington parish, is:

	Oxen		Cows	Young stock	Sheep	Pigs	Horses	
Wadhurst	137	55	277	425	2,808	436	187	36
Friston	28	7	17	48	1,533	68	15	6

The mill total for the Rape of Pevensey may have been larger by about 4.

Comparative Sussex Livestock Returns

	A 1798	B 1801	C 1867	C 1905	D 1938	E 1949
Cattle	60,885	62,047	86,705	127,041	137,763	180,401
Sheep	549,991	346,589	557,390	400,715	240,765	90,126
Pigs	..	63,094	54,140	41,102	65,085	46,157
Horses	18,414	22,620	..	..	13,308	7,321

A. Sheep, deer, goats, and pigs are grouped together and only draught horses are noted. The totals are from the minutes of the 13 August 1801 meeting. Deer and goats can probably be ignored, only 400 deer being recorded in 1801 and only 22 goats in the two western rapes in 1803.

B. The 1801 figures include 8 parishes whose returns for 1803 only

¹ 1834 Inclosure map in the West Sussex Record Office. The relative rape sizes have been obtained from the parish acreages in *V.C.H. Sussex*, vol. II, which are described on p. 216 as those for each parish 'as it existed in 1801, as far as possible'. The areas were supplied by the Ordnance Survey, with thirty exceptions, all in West Sussex, which are estimates only. The sum of these parish acreages is 960,646 acres; the total for the county given on p. 217 is 933,269 acres; the Land Utilization Survey, 1942, gives the total as 928,735 acres, East Sussex being then 57 per cent. of the whole.

are available, and 3 parishes missing in both years whose figures have been estimated on the basis of the stock per acre of adjoining and similar parishes. Oxen are included in cattle and the horses include both draught and riding, the latter numbering 3,948 in 1801. If this figure is added to those for 1798 the total is only 252 different from 1801.

C. The figures are from *V.C.H. Sussex*, II, p. 276.

D. From *Report of the Land Utilization Survey of Britain: Sussex, E. and W.*, 1942.

E. These are from the 4 June returns. I have to thank the County Agricultural Officers, Mr. E. A. Bartlett for West Sussex and Mr. H. J. Gill for East Sussex, for these figures.

The division of these figures for East and West Sussex is:

	<i>West Sussex</i>	<i>East Sussex</i>
Cattle	73,739	106,662
Sheep	19,013	71,113
Pigs	18,060	28,097
Horses	2,974	4,347

Assuming that the proportion of farmed land was and is the same in East and West Sussex, that the total of the parish acreages is correct, and using the stock equivalents given on p. 77, East had slightly more stock per acre than West Sussex in 1801. This difference is more pronounced to-day.

There were nearly four times the number of draught oxen in East than in West Sussex. Oxen were fattened off at about 6 years old, so that possibly a more accurate picture would be obtained by combining the draught and fattening oxen. East Sussex had double the combined figure of West Sussex. Only 13 parishes in East Sussex had no oxen, whereas there were 81 in West Sussex having none. The distribution does not appear to have been dictated entirely by topsoil. There were very few oxen on the coastal plain and downland in West Sussex, and some light land north of the Downs had none, but in East Sussex they were more widespread. Of the 697 draught oxen in the Rape of Arundel nearly one-third were in the two parishes of Kirdford and Wisborough Green.

The numbers of sheep naturally vary greatly and East Guldeford had 6,942, thirty times the number per farmed acre and over one hundred times the number per head of population that Kirdford had.

Four hundred deer are recorded under Wiston parish, the only entry. It is probable that other parks held deer but did not show them on the returns. Marshall, writing in 1798, notes that in West Sussex deer were sold in the market like ordinary cattle.

Goats are not recorded in 1801, but in 1803 there were only 22 in the Rapes of Chichester and Arundel, so presumably their numbers were negligible.

The mills average about one to a parish.

There were 90 aliens in the county, 42 of whom were in Brighton, and 218 Quakers, 61 being in Brighton, 48 in Horsham, and 21 in Chichester.

Bridges, boats, and barges are recorded for four rapes only:

	<i>Bridges</i>	<i>Boats</i>	<i>Barges</i>
Chichester . . .	10	112	6
Arundel . . .	39	47	21 (9 being in Wisborough Green)
Bramber . . .	28	62	31
Lewes . . .	42	20	10

The headings for the two rapes in 1803 are similar to those of 1801. An additional heading is for the number of persons who will be provided with arms at the place of assembly. Wagons and carts are divided into covered and uncovered, boats into decked and undecked and their tonnage. Baking ovens are divided into those fired with wood, those with furze, the quantity required for each twenty-four hours, and whether it is plentiful.

There is some evidence that the 1801 stock totals were lower than in 1798 or 1803. Complete schedules for 1803 of the two Rapes of Chichester and Arundel (30.5 per cent. of the county) are recorded in volume No. 2. The total cattle and horses for the two rapes is 2.4 per cent. and the total sheep and pigs 13 per cent. higher than in 1801. In 1798 the total of cattle is 2 per cent. less than in 1801, but the total of sheep and pigs is 25 per cent. greater than in 1801. It would not be surprising if the 1801 figures were influenced by the threat of invasion, which may not have been so great in May 1798 as in the summer of 1801. The 1803 figures were collected at the end of eighteen months of peace.

The returns were made in the summers of 1798, 1801, and 1803, and appear to have been collected and scheduled in August 1798 and 1803 and in October of 1801; they were taken at much the same season as the 4 June returns to the Ministry of Agriculture to-day. Their accuracy was possibly not as high and there may be some errors in transcription, but it should not be forgotten that the parish returns were made by prominent men in the parish who would be well aware of errors and omissions.

There is only one record of difficulty with farmers; at the Lieutenancy meeting on 1 August 1803, when John Fuller of Rosehill was in the chair, it is noted that eight men of Sidlesham refused to make their returns. The manifest need for such returns, unrelated to possible Treasury demands, may well have been apparent to a threatened county.

It is not possible to make any useful comparisons of the stock per hundred acres in various parishes in 1801 without having some detailed information of the acreage actually farmed. In the case of a Weald Clay parish one-third may be woodland and waste, a Lower Greensand parish might have a large park carrying only deer at that time, whereas another parish south of the Downs might be completely farmed.

The only reliable figures in the case of Kirdford are the farm acreages in the Tithe Apportionment schedule, the opening summary being inaccurate in sum and in detail. Dallaway in this case also needs checking, though his figures for the Kirdford arable acreage appear to be correct.

It may be unwise to generalize from figures on any industry so immensely diverse as agriculture. But very broadly, and not unexpectedly, the better the land the higher the stock figure per acre in 1801. In some cases this is due to much larger numbers of sheep, the difference in other stock being less striking. The general tendencies over the last century and a half are apparent. Cattle have risen steadily to about three times the earlier total; sheep have declined to about one-quarter, pigs

show no great change, and horses have declined to about one-third.

The relative stocking of the county in 1801 and 1949 is plainly subject to the unknown improvement in the quality of the stock during the last 150 years. Working only from the totals and from the stock equivalents given on p. 77, the county carries 22 per cent. more livestock to-day than in 1801.

The comparative numbers of livestock in Kirdford for the three censuses are:

	<i>Oxen</i>	<i>Cows</i>	<i>Young stock</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Pigs</i>	<i>Horses</i>		<i>Wagons</i>	<i>Carts</i>
						<i>R.</i>	<i>Dr.</i>		
1798	126	219	516	1,761	543	34	253	93	122
1801	100	189	479	1,036	846	32	254	94	118
1803	104	210	491	1,581	1,010	30	245	92	115

The similarity of the numbers of cattle, horses, wagons, and carts suggests that the figures are not unreliable. The 1801 numbers were probably below the normal, as explained earlier.

In 1801 Kirdford had six men serving in the Volunteer Cavalry. Three prominent farmers belonged to the Sussex Guides; they were Gregory Haines, Sr., aged 49, of Sladeland, Samuel Pledge of Hills Green, Richard Neal of Ifold. Four were in the Yeomanry: Gregory Haines, Jr., aged 25 (later a Commissary-general in Spain), John Haines of Wephurst, aged 29, William Herrington, and John Eldridge of Parsonage. There were others, but only a part of the Kirdford 1801 first-stage reports have survived. The county schedules show 10 men willing to serve on horseback and 16 on foot. They could provide 4 firelocks between them. The 1803 numbers are 10, 37, and 5. In 1801 45 men were willing to act as pioneers, and in 1803 234 men were willing to act as labourers. The number of the various implements they could bring in 1803 is about double the 1801 figures.

There were 704 males in the parish in 1801. In 1803 over 400 men had jobs assigned to them, compared with under 200 in 1801. Four hundred probably represents

the entire able-bodied men between the ages of 15 and 60. These figures seem to show a greater determination to resist invaders than there had been two years earlier, and may be a measure of the increased danger.

In 1801 four bridges and five mills are shown; there may have been more bridges, but five mills are known to have been working in 1818. There were no bakers' ovens, but 202 private ovens. In this scattered parish everyone did their own baking.

Dallaway gives the number of dwellings in 1801 as 193.

The first stage of the county schedules was the returns by individual farmers, which for Kirdford parish in 1798 have survived among the miscellaneous papers in a box in the church tower.¹ The notice of appointments, shown in Fig. 1,² was wrapped round a bundle of eighty-six stock lists,³ one of which is shown in Fig. 2. Some of the returns are on plain slips of paper and some have details other than stock, such as:

- A. The baking capacity of the farm oven in 24 hours. This varies from 2 to 8 bushels of flour.
- B. The number of cripples or infants in the household.
- C. The various duties undertaken by the farmer and his men, such as 'Supplementary Foot soldier'; 'Footsoldier Gun'; 'Rifell man'; 'Guide';⁴ 'Act as Pioneer, Beck axe, saw and spade'.⁵

The lists are all dated within one week, 30 April to 5 May,⁶ and precede the list of appointments by six weeks. Eight of the forty-five farmers made their mark only, and a few lists are unsigned.

The three persons appointed to organize the parish

¹ The Kirdford parish documents, with a few unimportant exceptions, belong to a period 1786 to 1876. A detailed list with some examples is available in the County Record Office at Chichester.

² A similar notice is preserved at Wisborough Green; see Mr. G. D. Johnston's note, *S. N. & Q.* vii. 154.

³ Four of these had no stock.

⁴ Discussing the various Volunteer bodies at this time *V.C.H. Sussex*, vol. 1, says, 'the corps with the greatest local reputation was that of the Sussex Guides'.

⁵ The Pioneers no doubt were to damage and obstruct roads and bridges.

⁶ On the day after Gregory Haines completed his stock list Napoleon left Paris on his way to Toulon and Egypt. The danger to England of invasion receded for some years.

PUSSEX
about Rape.

WE, His Majesty's Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, assembled at a Sub-division Masting holden this day at the Half Moon Inn, in Perworth, in and for the said Rape, do hereby make the following Appointments for the Parish of *Wisp* in the said Rape; the several Persons hereby appointed having been duly recommended to, and approved of by us, for the undermentioned purposes, VIZ.

Fails. We do appoint *John Edie* to take the charge of the Removal of Women and Children, especially of those who from age, infirmity, infirmity, or other cause, may be incapable of removing themselves, and may be to be removed when the Country is to be cleared. The said *Edie* to provide the Carriages, to be appointed for this purpose, and for carrying such Bedding, Provisions and Utensils, as may be necessary, and to name the Quantities of each; Also to have the direction of such persons as may be able to remove themselves, so far, as that they shall not interfere with the General Removal.

sdly. We do appoint *Gregory Haines* to have the inspection, care, and management, of the Live Stock of the said Parish that may be to be removed.

sdly. We do appoint *Henry Ford* to have the like inspection, care, and management, of the Dead Stock of the said Parish that may be to be removed.

Given under our Hands this *twelfth* Day of *June* 1798.

Comd. B. Haines
Egmont

FIG. 1. NOTICE OF APPOINTMENTS

To Mr. *G. Haines*

Fat Oxen	
Working Oxen	10
Cows	4
Young Cattle and Cols	30
Sheep and Goats	
Pigs	21
Riding Horses	3
Draft Horses	5
Waggons	4
Carts	5
Wheat Quarters of	40
Barley ditto	7
Oats ditto	30
Beans and Peas	
Hay Loads of	24
Straw Loads of	10
Potatoes Sacks of	2
Malt Quarters of	
Casters: <i>G. Pottick</i>	
Drivers of Stock: <i>J. Woodall</i> <i>W. Hays</i>	

May 2. 1798
G. Haines

FIG. 2. A STOCK LIST

resources for possible removal were recommended by the Vestry meeting.¹ In our case these were John Eede of Crawfold, Gregory Haines of Sladeland, and Henry Ford of Garlands. The completion of the parish returns was the responsibility of the churchwardens, Henry Ford and George Herrington, and the overseers of the poor, William Cooper and John Eede.

These slips (Fig. 2) have been correlated with the Poor Rating Assessment book, which fortunately survives, and the results tabulated in the accompanying list of stock by farms (pp. 70-1).

Notes on the Farm List

Nos. 1 and 2. Unfortunately Great and Little Allfields are not distinguished in the rate books of this period. The family evidence is conflicting, but the farm grouping can be estimated with some accuracy. Little Allfields and Hilland have been farmed as one farm since at least as early as 1764,² as have Great Allfields (No. 12) and Poundland (Old House). They are so grouped in 1949. Butcherland, Allfields, and Poundland are grouped together in the 1798 assessments. I have therefore taken the other Allfields as Little Allfields and No. 2 as Hilland, though that name is missing in the rate books.

4. Battlehurst probably included the small-holding Redhurst as it still does.

5, 6, 7, and 8. Funtings assessment of £90 is plainly not correct. In 1795 the same assessment includes Funtings and others. By 1810 its assessment had dropped to £30, which is correct for its acreage. Boxalland and Berryland (which adjoins Fountains) are missing from the 1798 assessment list, and they are most probably the 'and others' of 1795. I have taken both farms in with Fountains—No. 7, Boxalland, No. 8, Berryland. In the 1756 Poor Rate list Fountains was assessed at £31, and was farmed with Boxalland, assessed at £46; Berryland is not mentioned. In the 1798 Land Tax list Richard Herrington owned Belchambers and was tenant of Fountains and Boxalland.

10. Blackhouse. The house has been demolished and the holding is now nearly all copse.

11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. For No. 12 Great Allfields see note on Nos. 1 and 2. Poundland is the old name for Old House Farm; the Peachey

¹ At the third general meeting of the Lieutenancy and Magistracy of the County of Sussex, held at Lewes on Saturday, 19 May 1798, it was decided that the Vestry in each parish was to recommend three persons for the appointments shown in the document (Fig. 1): *Sussex Advertiser*, 21 May 1798.

² Peachey Estate Survey, 1764: Petworth House MSS.

KIRDFORD STOCK LISTS, 1798

Farms		1845 Acreage. Tithe apporportionment schedule	Occupiers	Working oxen	Cows	Young cattle and colts	Sheep	Pigs	Riding horses	Draught horses	Wagons	Carts	Wheat (qrs.)	Oats	Hay loads	Straw loads	Carters	Drivers of stock
1, 2.	Allfields	160	Cooper, Wm.	6	6	16	30	7	1	5	2	3	40	15	2	11	1	1
3.	Barkfold	287	Trower, John	10	5	17	72	5	..	6	3	5	15	7	3	5	2	1
4.	Battlehurst	257	Clayton, John	8	7	22	175	43	3	6	3	4	25	50	6	20	2	2
5, 6, 7, 8.	Belchambers, Funtings	403	Herrington, Richard	4	5	23	3	23	1	7	3	4	30	50	12	25	2	3
9.	Bignor	42	Sopp, Edmund	..	2	1	40	4	..	4	2	2	18	2	3	1	1	..
10.	Blackhouse	40	Naldret, John	..	2	6	..	2	..	4	1	2	2	..	1	..	..	..
11, 12, 13, 14, 15.	Butcherland, Allfields, Poundland, and others	470	Herrington, George	10	7	16	101	12	1	6	3	3	21	7	2	7	4	3
16.	Chilsfold	109	Court, Wm.	..	3	3	..	2	..	5	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
17.	Clarks and Croucham	58	Champion, John	..	4	..	..	10	..	4	1	1	..	..	1	2	1	..
18.	Common House and Quennell House	153	Holden, Zaccheus	2	3	3	8	8	..	4	1	2	5	8	1	1	..	..
19.	Costrong	105	Grinfield, widow	..	1	4	..	3	..	4	1	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..	..
20.	Crawfold, pt.	80	Ede, John	12	7	21	86	28	2	6	3	5	45	50	10	28	2	2
21.	Crimbourne and others	72	Knight, Wm.	..	2	8	9	4	..	5	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	..
22, 23.	Crouchland and Barberries	407	Mills, James	6	5	9	30	14	1	6	3	3	25	40	10	4	2	1
24.	East End and Mill Land	229	Roberts, Wm.	..	2	2	30	4	..	5	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
25.	Foxbridge	140	Lunn, John	..	3	7	16	4	..	4	1	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	3	6	..	..
26, 27.	Freehold and Hassletts	133	Grinfield, Francis	..	4	15	24	1	..	4	2	2	6	4	2	2	1	1
28.	Frightfold, Redlands, and Accolds	164	Osbourn, Robt.	4	5	19	20	16	..	8	3	3	15	..	2	1	2	2
29.	Garlands	70	Ford, Henry	..	5	7	77	10	1	3	1	1	7	8	1	3	1	..

30.	Goundfield and The Mill	173	Ford, James	..	5	13	..	24	1	6	2	2	25	..	6	6	2	2
31.	Great House	299	Woodrudge, Thomas	..	4	9	68	7	1	6	3	4	25	40	25	16	1	1
32.	Herrings	74	Napper, Wm.	..	2	4	..	10	..	3	1	2	1½	½	3	3	..	..
33, 34.	Hills Green, Slifehurst,																	
35, 36.	Bealhouse, Gatfordsland	361	Pledge, Samuel	8	7	19	52	14	1	6	3	3	21	15	7	10	1	2
37, 38.	Hynoons, Scratchens, &c.	170	Baker, James	4	5	11	24	5	..	7	2	2	15	2	2	2	1	..
39, 40.	Hoewick, Thorne House,																	
41.	and Sware	279	Mann, Wm.	..	4	13	37	11	1	7	2	3	8½	10	3	3	2	1
42.	Idehurst	115	Edwards, Richard	8	5	13	100	8	1	6	2	4	50	30	2	20	2	2
43.	Ifold	315	Neal, Richard	..	8	10	4	16	1	7	2	3	12½	20	7	3	2	1
44, 45.	Keys and Heymans	364	Dowling, widow	7	5	6	86	20	1	6	2	5	47½	20	8	18	..	..
46.	Laneland and others	175	Foyce, Robert	..	4	14	30	4	..	5	2	2	5	10	2	3	2	..
47.	Langhurst	191	Challen, Rich.	..	6	14	30	6	..	6	2	3	25	20	3	8	2	1
48.	Linfold and Bittles	136	Hunt, Thomas	..	2	8	..	12	..	6	2	3	25	20	3	8	2	1
49.	Lyons, Dungate	47	Main, widow	..	1	..	32	1	1	4	1	2	2	9	1	3	..	..
50, 51,	Marshall and others	535	Downer, Thomas	12	12	42	143	34	1	6	3	3	40	30	9	12	4	2
52.																		
53.	Oakhurst and Ashfold	130	Eames, John	..	2	10	26	5	..	5	2	2	3	5	6	4	..	..
54.	Polphery	113	Cobby, Clement	..	2	7	25	12	..	5	1	2	4	2	6	4	1	1
55.	Rumball	160	Cooper, Wm.	..	2	5	10	4	..	4	1	2	2	..	..	..	1	1
56.	Rundick	78	Cooper, Henry	..	4	10	30	5	1	5	2	2	2½	3½	2	2	2	1
57.	Lord Selsey's land, pt.	40	Coles, James	..	1	5	20	6	..	6	1	2	..	..	..	1	1	1
58, 59,	Shillinglee, Park Mill	456	Winterton, Earl	5	11	10	200	12	7	8	4	5	50	..	25	..	..	..
60.																		
61, 62.	Sladeland, Idolsfold, the																	
	Mill, and Rowlands	412	Haines, Gregory	10	9	30	..	21	3	5	4	5	40	30	24	10	1	2
63.	Sparrow	118	Cooper, Thomas	..	2	3	9	3	..	4	1	2	1	..	1	..	1	..
64.	Streeters	40	Foster, Wm.	..	2	3	..	3	..	4	1	1	3	..	1	1	..	..
65, 66.	Wild Barkfold and Shorts	217	White, Wm.	2	4	11	30	4	..	6	2	2	12½	8	1	2	2	..
67.	Wephurst	159	Eede, Richard	4	7	10	9	8	..	5	2	2	12½	6	6	2	..	..
68.	Whithurst	96	Stovell, Wm.	..	2	7	31	2	1	4	4	2	20	7	3	6	1	1
	10 Small Holdings and 27																	
	Cottages	238		4	23	30	44	86	3	15	2	5	21	7	13	2	1	3
		8,870	(45 farmers)	126	219	516	1,761	543	34	253	93	122	734½	548	229	267	55	40

are said to have lived here until Ebernoe House was built in 1786.¹ The 'and others' may be two small farms which are missing from the assessment list, Highbuildings and Sparkes. They fit well into this farm group and have been taken as Nos. 14 and 15.

17. These two small holdings do not adjoin, but have been counted as one farm because in 1798 John Champion used over 40 acres.

18. Counted as one farm because in 1845 Common House was only 26 acres.

19. Boundies and four fields (now part of Foxbridge) were farmed by John Pullen in 1845. Costrong alone was 77 acres.

20. Crawford Farm is 250 acres, but only 80 are in Kirdford parish, the remainder being in Petworth. Plainly all the stock is shown here because the house and buildings are in Kirdford.

21. Crimbourne and others. Hawkhurst, 31 acres, was farmed with Crimbourne in 1773;² it has been counted as 'and others'.

24. I have taken the acreage of East End Farm only. The Mill land in 1648 was 15 acres and in 1845 was part of Park Mill; see note on Shillinglee, No. 59.

26 and 27. The tithes apportionment acreage which includes Bittleham (56 a) has been taken. In 1798 Bittleham was in Lurgashall parish, being transferred in 1805.

28. Frithfold. Redland is a small holding now farmed with Costrong. There are three Accolds in the lists, all small; two of these are not now known; this one has been ignored as its assessment was only £6, a field or two, and a dwelling.

29. Garlands is at present not identified. Its assessment is small, being only £24, which included Woolvins Croft. It may have been about 40 acres. Garland is a local surname. The name had disappeared before 1810. Part of the Black Bear went with this farm, the whole lot being about 70 acres by their assessment and their stock. Butts and some six or seven fields east and south-east of Butts were probably Henry Ford's holding of Garlands, &c.

30. Gownfold no doubt included Midland at this time as it did in 1668³ and 1845, and its acreage has been included. The reference to the mill is curious; it is assessed at £7, whereas the Sladeland mill is assessed at only £5. 10s. The only clue I have found to the second mill is in 1677 rate list:³ 'Richd Lewry for Kardford mill. 1s. Petowe for a little mill near Kardford mill. 4d.' I think there is no doubt that Kirdford mill, the main one, is Sladeland mill on the river; the sluice remains. There is no reference to a second mill in the 1810 assessments.

31. Great House is Plaistow Place. It is so named in the Land Tax assessment for 1798.

¹ 'William Peachey . . . built a neat country seat at Ebernoe Common, 1786': Burrell MSS.

² Extracts from Court Rolls of Bedham Manor, lent by the late Mr. B. Nicholls, of Kirdford.

³ Rate lists for Kirdford and Ebernoe: Shillinglee MSS., see note 4, p. 73.

32. The name was Herringeslond, *c.* 1300 (Burrell MSS.); the 'lond' was dropped in the sixteenth century and the name remained Herrings up to about 1813 (1st Ord. Survey); 1949, Herons.

36. Gatfordsland is Little Slifehurst.

38. Scratchens, &c. The '&c.' is Bramley fields, now part of Iron Pear Tree Farm.

39. Hoewick is the present Roundwick Farm as distinct from No. 56, now Roundwick House.

42. Idehurst. In 1618 part of the farm was in Wisborough Green.¹ In 1845 there were 85 acres in Wisborough.

44. New House Farm was known as Keys, Kesses up to 1813 (O.S.).

46. Laneland and others. The 'others' are undoubtedly Spitwick and Bedland, which in 1791 were all one property and have remained so. In 1655 Bedland was 'about 30 acres'.² In 1617 Laneland was 98 acres.³

49. Lyons is the principal holding of four small assessments. Dungate Farm is now entirely in Dunsfold parish.

50, 51, and 52. The Downer family were farming Marshalls, Hyffold, and Churchland and two small holdings which have disappeared, 'Knowlers' and 'Wisparr', from 1756, or earlier, until at least 1845.⁴ There is no doubt that the 'others' are Hyffold and Churchland. Knowlers is not known. Wisparr was probably West Sparr, now the southern tip of Marshalls.

53. Now part of Plaistow Place Farm.

55. Rumbold; now includes Todhurst, which was known as Chandlers and appears in the 1798 assessment list as 'Plaistow farm', its tenant being Geo. Chandler.

56. Now Roundwick House.

57. On the evidence of its tenant's name this is probably Willand Farm; the Coles were its tenants earlier and later. Sir James Peachey was created Lord Selsey in 1794.⁵

58, 59, and 60. The acreage 456 is the total Great Park area, 1,699 acres, less the large areas of copse (650 acres) and less the three farms within the Great Park area, viz. Nos. 24, 44, 45 (593 acres). These 456 acres were made up in 1798 of Shillinglee and four small-holdings, Manor Hills, Haphurst and Wattses, Park Mill. All were farmed by Earl Winterton. In 1949 this area is made up of Home, Tower, and Park Mill Farms.

61 and 62. Fordland and Milland were farmed with Sladeland.

¹ *J.P.M.* (Series II), vol. CCCLX, No. 60: from *V.C.H.* refs. kindly supplied by L. F. Salzman.

² Manor of Slindon Court Rolls: C.G.A. These may have been handed over to the National Trust.

³ Manor of Bosham Survey: S.A.S. deeds. Lewes.

⁴ Rate lists and Tithe Apportionment. There are a number of rate lists prior to 1786 in the Shillinglee MSS. now in the County Record Office at Chichester (B. 4, Nos. 6 and 17.) They are: three fairly complete lists for the parish 1668, 1687, and 1756; four less complete for Ebernoe Tything only: 1655, 1677, 1680, and 1704.

⁵ *S. N. & Q.* XII, No. 2.

There is little doubt that Rowlands (13 acres) is now part of Sladland Farm, though its position is not known.

65 and 66. In 1845 Weald Barkfold included Oakhurst (part of No. 52). In 1798 Shorts was only part of the present Shorts Farm; by 1845 it was a separate holding of 71 acres and remains so. Wm. White also had two other small pieces of land in 1798, part of Common House, and part of Dungate (see No. 49).

67. The Wephurst farmed by Richard Eede in 1798 may have been a smaller farm than it was in 1845, because the assessment is low for the acreage given.

The Rating Assessment books appear to be complete and correct. The correlating of the stock lists with the assessments agrees within narrow limits.¹

Three possible stock lists may be missing. Only one farmer of some consequence has no stock list surviving, namely, William Barnes, who is assessed for Hollands Heath, Coates, and part Chandlers. It is possible that Barnes, who ran the Half Moon Inn, may have sublet his holdings, in which case the stock might appear in one of the other lists.

Two small farmers have no lists and may have had no stock; they used Bulchins (40 acres)² and 'Plaistow Farm', which from other evidence was Todhurst, a 50-acre holding, now part of Rumbold.

The combined acreage for which there are no stock lists is about 350, so that any possible error is under 5 per cent.

Kirdford parish is large, some 12,500 acres;³ 50 per cent. of this was arable at this time.⁴ The greater part of the area is heavy Weald clay. It was poor farming country; this is evident from the considerable information available as to the farm tenants over the last 300 years—a story of continual change with every genera-

¹ The October 1798 assessments have been used because the May assessments have one page missing.

² Farm deeds: this includes Maundfields.

³ 12,497 acres, 1914 O.S.

⁴ Young says of the Weald generally that it was $\frac{1}{3}$ rd arable, $\frac{1}{3}$ rd pasture, and $\frac{1}{3}$ rd wood and waste. The amounts in our case were about $\frac{1}{2}$ arable, $\frac{1}{4}$ th pasture, and $\frac{1}{4}$ rd wood and waste. Dallaway gives Kirdford arable acreage in 1801 as 6,100. The farm arable acreage in the Tithe App. 1845 schedule is 6,200 acres, which is 50 per cent. of the whole parish, or over two-thirds of the farmed acreage; meadow and pasture was 15 per cent. of the total acreage, copse and woodland 25 per cent., and there was, and is to-day, over 700 acres of common, waste, &c.

tion, only five families being associated with any farm for more than a century.

The amounts of barley, peas, beans, potatoes, and malt are so small that they are not worth tabulating:

Thus only 5 farmers had any peas and beans, which total 13 qrs.				
,, 3 ,, ,, barley	,, ,,	23 qrs.		
,, 1 farmer ,, malt	,, ,,	3 qrs.		
,, 3 farmers ,, potatoes	,, ,,	5 sacks.		

The census being taken in May would account for these small amounts and also for those of wheat, oats, hay, and straw.

It is impossible to arrive at any production figures.¹ In general it is probable that wheat, oats, and ley grass were the principal crops; arable farming with some sheep folding.

Thirty-eight of the forty-five farmers kept some sheep, but only 5 had over 100; and 21 farmers had 10 sheep or less. Thomas Downer's total includes 54 lambs; he probably had a small breeding flock. The number of sheep is surprisingly large, for this is not a sheep country.² Possibly most of them were agisted.³

Sheep and goats are grouped on the lists. Another less complete stock census made in 1803 for the Kirdford half of the parish has survived; this states that there were no goats. It is unlikely there were any number five years earlier and I have therefore omitted them. In 1803 there were only 11 goats in the Rape of Arundel.

Oxen were confined to 19 of the larger farms,⁴ and only number half the total of draught horses.

¹ Arthur Young, *General View of the Agriculture of . . . Sussex* (1793), gives the Kirdford wheat yield as 2 qrs. per acre (the county average in 1771 was 3 qrs.) and the yield of oats as 3 qrs. per acre. William Marshall describes the local 'succession' as fallow, wheat, oats, now generally succeeded by herbage as long as it will last, then oats, fallow, &c., which he says is probably the oldest and worst course of management in these islands. Of the Western Weald he says 'it is disgusting to ride over and most discouraging to farm in'.

² William Marshall, *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties* (1798), says of the local sheep that they were 'probably aboriginal stock of adjacent hills'.

³ John Payne of Highbuildings in 1829 wintered sheep from Michaelmas to Lady Day at 4s. a head. On another occasion he bought some in November and sold them in May. I am indebted to Mr. and Mrs. R. Thompson for the loan of his diary.

⁴ According to Marshall the oxen were of middle horned class called 'Sussex Breed', and were usually worked in double yokes. Arthur Young records that

All the farmers and about half the small-holders kept a few cows.¹ Three of the larger farmers kept a bull (these are included in the total of 219).

All the farmers and small-holders and 10 cottagers had a pig, i.e. 78 households out of 193.²

Half the farmers had a riding horse.

Marshall's comment on this part of the Weald that very little stock was kept (some young cattle and a few sheep appeared on the commons) is not entirely borne out by these figures. He says that there was very little permanent grass except commons and green lanes in the Weald. This is amply borne out by the detailed survey of the Peachey estate made in 1829.³ It covers 10 of the 68 farms and on these farms only 8 per cent. of the land was permanent grass; perhaps enough for the horses. The extensive commons and temporary leys provided keep for the remaining stock.

In 1798, as in 1949, the large areas of copse were in the northern (Plaistow) part of the parish.

There was a very large variation in the amount of stock kept for each hundred acres farmed. The 1908 averages for the whole country of stock carried by holdings of from 50 to 300 acres provide a basis for comparison.⁴ On this basis and on the stock equivalents suggested, Battlehurst had 99 per cent., Crawfold 80 per cent., and Idehurst 74 per cent. of the 1908 averages. These farms were, by the standards of a century earlier, no doubt, well stocked. They were and are among the best farms in the parish and are three of the very few farms here which were used by one family for long periods. At the other end of the scale were Chilfold 33 per cent., Costrong 30 per cent., and Crouchland 26 per cent., the latter carrying only one-quarter the

on 20 November 1796 Gregory Haines showed at Petworth 'a 3 year old Sussex heifer'.

¹ Marshall says that a full-sized dairy at this time was 6 or 7 cows, and some butter was made, but no cheese.

² Dallaway gives the number of dwellings in 1801 as 193 and the population as 1,340: 138 houses were assessed in 1798.

³ The original is in Haslemere Museum and there is a copy at the County Record Office, Chichester.

⁴ *The Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, J. A. Venn (1933), p. 144,

stock of Battlehurst. Ignoring the improved quality of stock, the average for the whole parish in 1798 was 52 per cent. of the 1908 figures.

It would have been interesting to have had the figures for geese and poultry, because Arthur Young in 1793 says of Kirdford and North Chapel that they were famous for their 7-lb. fattened fowls of the Sussex and Dorking breeds.

Wassell and Shillinglee water-mills are shown on the lists as being able to grind one load and six loads a week respectively. Kirdford mill is included with Sladeland but its capacity is not stated.

The windmill at Shorts (Plaistow) is not in the 1798 assessments. The mill was working in 1818, when Charles Voller paid rates on it. George Coldman worked it in 1845.¹

Sixteen of the carters and drivers of stock were the farmer and/or his son. At least one-third of the farms were therefore probably family holdings, possibly 120 acres or so; the remainder probably employed carters.

gives the figures of stock per hundred acres in 1908 as: horses, 4.2; cattle, 19.1; sheep, 60.9; pigs, 7.2.

I have to thank Mr. E. A. Bartlett, the County Agricultural Officer for West Sussex, for the information that some counties have endeavoured to reduce the stocking of farms to a unit basis, and that the stock equivalents in use in Hampshire are:

One dairy cow, bull, or heavy horse	1	cow equivalent
One beef cow	$\frac{2}{3}$	„
One in-calf heifer	$\frac{4}{5}$	„
Fattening cattle	$\frac{1}{2}$	„
All other cattle over one year	$\frac{2}{3}$	„
Ewes	$\frac{1}{5}$	„
Breeding tegs	$\frac{1}{10}$	„
Fattening tegs	$\frac{1}{12}$	„
One sow	$\frac{1}{3}$	„
All other pigs	$\frac{1}{5}$	„

The stock totals are available whatever stock equivalent is used, and for the purpose of making some comparisons between farms in 1801, between East and West Sussex and between 1801 and 1949, I have used the following values:

Horses, draught and riding	1	unit
Cattle, all ages, and colts	$\frac{3}{4}$	„
Sheep, all ages	$\frac{1}{8}$	„
Pigs, all ages	$\frac{1}{4}$	„

¹ The three long-established water-mills may have been unable to grind sufficient corn, for in 1818, in addition to the windmill at Shorts, a small water-mill was built on Idehurst Farm, 80 yards east of Linfold Bridge. It was worked by Richard Court and had disappeared by 1845.

One of the drovers, Thomas Pennicod, is described in 1799 in a list of beneficiaries under a local charity, the Shudd bequest, as a 'Smuggler'. His activities were acknowledged but appear to have been unprofitable!

The Tithe Apportionment schedule of 1845 provides a guide to the farm acreages and gives scale to the picture. The figures given do not include the larger areas of woodland which remained in the hands of the landlords. The Rate Assessment lists up to 1798 show that the largest areas of copse had been planted by that date.¹ The farm acreages are unlikely to be materially different from those in 1845, though during the period 1798 to 1845, if the assessments may be trusted, the extensive area of copse and woodland was increased by about 500 acres (or 20 per cent.). Holdings therefore may have farmed a few acres more in 1798. No doubt some small-holdings were attached to different farms.

The total farmed area in 1845 was 9,300 acres. The acreage of tabulated farms having stock lists is 8,870, to which must be added the acreage with no stock list, 350 (see p. 74); total 9,220. The difference of 80 acres would be taken up in cottage gardens and a few small holdings having no stock lists.

The principal differences between farm unit sizes in 1798 and 1949 are set out below.

In 1798 the total area of farms was 9,300² acres, thus disposed:

48 farmers	used	73 farms ³	(which included 10 small-holdings)
17 small-holders	used	17 small-holdings	(5 to 40 acres; assessed at
65		90	£6 and over).

¹ The demand for barrel hoops for the West Indian sugar trade casks appears to have been one reason for the vast areas of hazel that were planted. In the Peachey Estate Survey of 1829, which covered 950 acres in the Ebernoe part of the parish, the amount of copse was the same as in 1845. Variations in copse acreage since 1845 are negligible.

² Of which 1,300 acres were small areas of copse, rew, and furze. In 1759 Crouchland Farm of 305 acres had no less than 48 acres of Arthur Young's 'abominable rews'.

³ Tabulated list	45 farmers	68 farms
Add Wm. Barnes	1 farmer	3 .. (see p. 74)
John Evershed	1 ..	1 farm
Geo. Chandler	1 ..	1 ..
	<u>48 farmers</u>	<u>73 farms.</u>

In 1949 62 farmers used 66 farms.

During the 150 years, nine farms¹ have disappeared or been absorbed and one new one formed and one revived. All the small-holdings, as agricultural units, have been combined with farms or grouped to form units of over 40 acres.

In 1798 there was more farm grouping into larger units. Thirteen farmers used 32 farms totalling 4,845 acres, or well over one-half the farmed area of the parish. They averaged 373 acres each. In 1949 only 9 men farmed over 250 acres and they averaged 322 acres each. The 62 averaged 150 acres each.²

In these cases the details have been given because an average of the size of holding, calculated from the number of men using the same amount of land at each date, gives an entirely false picture.

I have attempted to correlate the 1798 list of farms with the present day by means of notes. There are no great changes, but the acreages are subject to some qualification because farms here have not remained static. The regrouping with different holdings and fields, together with some changes of name, render exact identification at a given date difficult and in some cases uncertain. This mostly applies to the smaller and less fertile farms.

Farm grouping to form larger units is no new thing. Farms were grouped here in the seventeenth century

¹ The nine are:

- No. 8, Berryland with Boxalland.
- Plaistow Farm, Todhurst, no list, now part of Rumbold.
- Chandlers, no list, now part of Barkfold.
- No. 10, Blackhouse, now copse.
- No. 17, Clarkes and Croucham, now separate.
- No. 23, Barberry, now with Sidney Farm, Loxwood.
- No. 29, Garlands.
- No. 53, Oakhurst with Ashfold, now with Plaistow Place.
- Coats, no list.

The new farm is Iron Pear Tree of 48 acres, made up of fields from Slifehurst and Scratchings. Midland is now farmed alone.

² An average acreage of 33 farms over 40 acres, and only 1 over 200 acres, whose acreage has been noted prior to 1630, is 108 acres. In 1949, the nine largest farms excluded, the average of the remainder was just under 100 acres. These averages show tendencies only, the real picture is far more variable and subject to many qualifications, e.g. there are only a dozen farms of between 80 and 100 acres.

and in 1687 at least 12 farms were combined, 43 men using the 55 farms named.¹ Comparison is not possible because the combinations vary.

From the surviving Rate Assessment lists it is possible to draw a picture of farming conditions here during the last 300 years. That picture shows continual change of tenant families on all save the lighter land farms, very few remaining for more than a generation on a given holding. There is no doubt that farming here was always a struggle on the heavy land holdings which make up the greater part of the parish. One possible explanation of the regrouping of holdings is that there was an endless experiment to try to find an economic unit for prevailing conditions, but the search was seldom successful.

Some farms have had their names changed, a few missing from the assessment list by name are included as 'and others'. I have listed any farms that are not perfectly clear. Most of the doubtful points can be cleared up by using earlier and later evidence, only two holdings of any size being so far unidentified, namely, Garlands and Coates, which by their assessments were about 30 and upwards of 100 acres respectively.²

There are a number of small-holdings having no stock lists, ten of which were assessed at over £6.³ They are not included because they probably had no stock. To

¹ Rate Assessment lists, Shillinglee MSS. B. 4, No. 6 (see note 4, p. 73). These assessments do not always state the name of the property.

² There are no surviving assessments for 1800 to 1810. During this time some assessments were changed and the names Garlands and Coates disappear. In 1810 Boxalland, Berryland, and Butts are assessed, having been missing from the 1786 to 1799 assessments. It is possible that Butts was another name for Garlands; the other two farms are discussed under Nos. 7 and 8. 'Coates' has baffled me. It might be Berryland, a name missing from the 1798 assessments. In 1687 (Rate List) Berryland was grouped with Hollands Heath. It might be part of Barkfold, whose assessment rises steeply in 1810 with the disappearance of 'Coates' from the assessment list.

³ The ten small-holdings were: (1) Accolds and others; (2) Brownings; (3) Chapmans with Little Sladeland; (4) Collins and pt. Chapmans; (5) Ebernoe House and others; (6) Farthings, pt.; (7) Hoebridge; (8) Levatts; (9) The Mill; (10) Parsonage. There were three Accolds; this is the largest, probably the Steers Common holding (27 acres). Little Sladeland is Lakeland, Collins is Beetlehook, Farthings is now part of Beale House, Hoebridge is now part of Butcherland, The Mill, by its tenant, is Wassell. Parsonage, now part of Sladeland, was 31 acres. Levatts is not known; it was used by the parson of Wisborough Green.

save a mass of trivial detail the small-holdings have been grouped. I have taken a farm here as being a separate holding of 40 acres or more.¹

The 1798 spelling is used in the farm list.

Changes were not confined to tenants, and between 1798 and 1845 nearly half the farms changed hands. This is apparent in comparing the Land Tax assessments for 1798 with the Tithe Apportionment schedule of 1845. The Petworth Estate acquired five farms during this time; otherwise the larger estates remained almost unchanged, but of the 34 owners of one or two farms in 1798 only 4 remained in 1845.

In 1798 Earl Winterton was by far the largest landowner, with 2,600 acres or 20 per cent. of the parish. The Peachey Estate of 990 and that of the Earl of Egremont of 800 acres total another 15 per cent. With the exception of Birchfold, the Earl purchased the remaining farms after 1786. Six other landowners amount to a further 20 per cent., namely, Lee Steer, Earl Newburgh, William Mitford, G. and J. Haines, Miss Seward, and a London merchant of Swiss origin, I. Jalabert. The remaining 30 farms were owned by 30 different persons. Only 6 farms were owner-occupied, but half the small-holdings and more than half the 47 houses and very small properties assessed were owner-occupied.

The 135 assessments in 1798 show 95 different owners, 45 per cent. of the parish being owned by 86 different persons, largely small property owners.

Among the changes here in the last 150 years have been the disappearance of the small and very small property owners (due in part to the eclipse of village trades) and the large increase in the number of tied cottages.

The sole remaining Strudwick property here² was Bealhouse Farm, which in 1824 was sold to the Earl of Egremont.

¹ J. A. Venn, in his *Foundations of Agricultural Economics* (1933), puts a self-supporting family holding at 50 acres. Here it was probably nearer 100 acres. See n. 2, p. 79. In 1933 the average size of English farms was 64 acres.

² See also *S. N. & Q.* VII, p. 171.

The 1798 Land Tax assessments provide a useful comparison with the 1949 position:¹

	<i>1798</i>	<i>1949</i>
Owner-occupied farms	6	20
Owners of 2 or 3 farms	6	Nil.
Owners not in occupation, excluding estates below	24	13
Shillinglee Estate	14 (2,600 acres)	8 (2,000 acres)
Petworth Estate	4 (800 ,,)	25 (3,270 ,,)
Peachey Estate	10 (990 ,,)	Nil.
Total owners of farms	39	35

The six owner-occupied farms in 1798 were Belchambers, Idehurst, Shorts, Sladeland, Thorne House, and Todhurst.

There were 49 '40s. freeholders' having votes in Kirdford in 1798.

The value of land in Kirdford in the latter half of the seventeenth century was about £6 an acre; by the turn of the eighteenth century it was about £21 an acre, five farms totalling nearly 1,000 acres being sold between 1766 and 1824 at an average price of £21 an acre. The rise continued until about 1880, when £30 an acre was a usual price. Thereafter the price fell sharply, owing no doubt to the low price of wheat, and as late as 1925 farms could be bought here for £20 an acre, much the same price as in 1798.

At the end of the seventeenth century rents were about 3s. to 4s. an acre, rising to about 5s. by 1730. They rose to about 8s. or 9s. an acre for the better farms by 1800. Arthur Young gives the local rent about 1793 as 9s.

During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries cottages were built on manor waste here; about 60 survive to-day. These were almost entirely owner-occupied in 1798, and fifty years later there were probably less than a dozen 'tied' cottages. In 1949 there were 64 such cottages, half of them connected with the fruit industry.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the price

¹ I am indebted to Mr. B. Campbell Cooke, the County Archivist, for his suggestion to examine the Land Tax Assessments in the West Sussex County Record Office.

of a farm in this district probably depended on the amount of ripe timber it had on it.

Of the families farming here in 1798 only one is farming to-day, the Holdens. The Downers farmed Marshalls until 1935. The Nappers farmed Ifold until c. 1894. The Herringtons farmed in the district until c. 1900. The Eedes farmed Crawfold until 1900. John Eede kept two pairs of draught oxen until the end of the last century. He also farmed Battlehurst and Medhone. There were Eedes at Crawfold from 1668 until 1900. William Eede had a 20-acre copyhold in Shillinglee Great Park¹ in 1571, and there are continuous records of the family farming in the parish from then until 1900. This is by far the longest unbroken record during the last three centuries. Crawfold and the 346 acres in Shillinglee which they farmed in 1648¹ are better and lighter land than the run of farms here.

There is no indication from the amount of the Poor Rate of any great distress in Kirdford until towards the end of the war. In round figures the amounts are: 1786, £900; 1798, £1,100; 1810, £2,300; 1813, £3,300. They remained high for the next twenty years. By 1830, here, as all over southern England, farm workers were getting desperate and in November of that year 'the labouring people of Kirdford together assembled in a body and went to the Earl of Egremont to get their wages raised'. Four of them were 'put to Bridewell'.²

Sladeland has some interesting connections with the Napoleonic Wars. Gregory Haines, the owner-occupier in 1798, who married Susanah Peachey³ in 1778, had a son Gregory who was one of Wellington's Commissary-generals in the Peninsular War.⁴ Later, in 1816, Sladeland came into the possession of a son of the 3rd Earl of Egremont, Colonel (later General Sir) Henry Wyndham, who as a 25-year-old Captain in the Coldstream Guards played an epic role at Waterloo. A man of great physical

¹ Shillinglee MSS.

² John Payne's diary: see also n. 3, p. 75.

³ The Peachey's held the 'manor' of Ebernoe from 1668 to 1912.

⁴ *A Complete Memoir of Richard Haines: C. R. Haines* (1899). Gregory stayed on in the Army and was made a C.B. in 1826.

strength, he with three other officers and a sergeant closed the gate of Hougemont courtyard against repeated attacks by the French. In 1837 he entertained Marshal Soult¹ at Sladeland during Queen Victoria's Coronation celebrations.²

¹ In 1805, Soult, a 36-year-old Marshal, was a leader of the projected invasion, being in command of the Central Corps of the Army of the Coast with its H.Q. at Boulogne. He played a prominent part in the Peninsular War and was present at Waterloo.

² I am indebted to Miss F. Ford for this information.