KIRDFORD INVENTORIES, 1611 TO 1776

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE WEALD CLAY FARMING

By G. H. Kenyon, F.S.A.

Introduction

The material for this paper is largely drawn from the Kirdford Testamentary Inventories in the Diocesan Record Office at Chichester[1] and some miscellaneous material, contemporary and earlier. Farming in Kirdford at the end of the eighteenth century was part of the subject of a paper in *S.A.C.* LXXXIX. This paper attempts to take the farming record back another two hundred years.

The technique adopted has been to examine all the inventories for a large parish which, apart from some lighter land on its fringes, is entirely on heavy Weald Clay. 'The Weald' has so many meanings that it is necessary to emphasize the limits of this paper. The Weald Clay is an easily defined area comprising about one-third of West Sussex and about one-tenth of East Sussex, or about 18 per cent. of the whole county. Kirdford parish is large and its 12,500 acres constitute about 10 per cent. of the Weald Clay area of West Sussex; it may therefore be considered as a fair sample, characteristic of this soil type.

[1] Inventories. 'Their original purpose was to safeguard the executors against excessive claims upon the estate, and equally to protect the next of kin from fraud. The Court required the production of a true and perfect inventory of all the goods and chattels of the deceased before any distribution of his property among his relations was made. The manner in which this condition was fulfilled varied considerably, but when the valuers were conscientious enough, they would set down the contents of each room of the dwelling house, the quantity of corn and hay stored in the garners and barns, the crops growing in the ground, the number of cattle, swine and poultry, and the stock in trade remaining in the shop and warehouse.' (Ex 1951 report of the Lancs. R.O.) The earlier Kirdford inventories were probably completed by two or three friends or neighbours on the day of the funeral; some of the later ones may be the work of professional valuers; the uniformity of the layout, and general quality shows great improvement.

Judging by the remarkable stability and uniformity of the seventeenth-century Kirdford farms, of normal size, a balance of crops and livestock and a routine of husbandry had become fixed. There is no reason to suppose that either farming practice or living conditions had changed much since the first settlers worked up enough livestock to make this system possible.

There are no contemporary farm accounts; the manorial material is scanty and by the seventeenth century had declined into little more than a register of conveyances of customary land.

It is unlikely that there are any more surviving Kirdford inventories than the 210 inventories which I have examined; but these are representative of the whole parish for this period. The families and farms are known and the few missing families are the 'gentry', whose inventories may some day be available at Somerset House. They are the Haines of Sladeland, the Turnours of Shillinglee, and the Peacheys of Ebernoe in the eighteenth century. It is unlikely that their inventories will alter the picture, though they may increase its interest.

The principal yeoman families such as the Strudwicks of Crouchland and Hills Green, the Eedes of Crawfold, the Penycods of Palfrey, the farmers, and smallholders are all well represented, with some tradesmen and an occasional farm worker, servant, &c.

Occupations are mentioned in 136 inventories and of these 60 per cent. were yeomen or husbandmen (44 yeomen, 42 husbandmen). There are 17 widows; 3 each of blacksmiths, labourers (earliest in 1685), farmers, spinsters, tailors; 2 each of cordwainers, bricklayers, millers, weavers, and gentlemen; 1 carpenter, brickmaker, wheeler (wheelwright), glasscarrier, cleaver, batchelor, butcher, vicar, and mercer. In addition to these trades a number of others have been noted in the Kirdford marriage licences; e.g. in 1637, a hammerman, no doubt in one of the local iron-forges. The remainder all belong to the latter half of the eighteenth century. Labourer or coachman, mason or bricklayer, coalburner,

i.e. charcoal-burner, razor grinder, gardener, steward, gamekeeper (1776), hoopshaver, grocer, linen-draper, clothier.

The status of yeomen and husbandmen has often been discussed and from the evidence here no precise definition can be given. Neither bears any relation to the size of their holding or their possessions. In the 59 farm inventories there are 24 yeomen, 18 husbandmen. In the 44 smallholding inventories there are 8 yeomen, 8 husbandmen.

There were very broadly four sorts and conditions of men here in the seventeenth century. At one end such families as the Strudwicks, yeomen often owning their own farms, employing labour to run them and their houses, and having some outside sources of revenue. Then come the working farmers, tenants, and sometimes employing labour on the farm, but dependent on it for a living. These two sorts tend to merge outside their houses and the division of yeoman and husbandman does not fit them neatly. A third sort were the part-time tradesman and smallholder. The remainder, nearly half the parish, were the wage-earners; of them we know very little.

By the eighteenth century another class appears, the resident larger landowner, sometimes farming parts of his own property; they were yeomen and gentlemen and to some extent fit the description of squires. They replaced the Strudwicks as a power in the land here.

The earliest use of the term 'farmer' in the inventories is in 1711; in the wills the earliest so far found is in 1669. It may be significant that in all three of the late inventories after 1744 the term 'farmer' is used.

One can get a good idea of what proportion of the parishioners are covered by these inventories. In 1724 there were 160 families in the parish,[1] or 12·8 families per 1,000 acres of farm, woodland, and waste. There is no reason to suppose that this was materially different in the seventeenth century when, from the Protestation returns of 1641[2] the population would seem to have

[1] Report on Churches: Add. MS. 39470 (Dunkin). [2] *S.R.S.* v. 108.

been about 950, allowing 6 per family. Assuming there were about 160 families here until the steep rise in population at the end of the eighteenth century we can say they were probably apportioned as follows:

60 farmers using the 70 farms,
20 smallholders,
18 other tradesmen with allotments only,
62 farmworkers, servants, &c. (about 1 per farm),

160 families.

Few of the last 62 families, or about 40 per cent. of the parishioners, had sufficient property to be worth assessing.

There is a tendency for the surviving inventories to increase in value, an increase only to a very small degree due to any rise in prices.

Thus in 1612–59 there are 8 per cent. over £200 in farm value.
1660–99 ,, 13 ,, ,, ,,
1700–44 ,, 46 ,, ,, ,,

Half the inventories fall between the years 1630 and 1690 and two-thirds between 1620 and 1700. The burials between 1600 and 1700 average 23 a year. There is no consistent proportion, because there was some local pestilence in Kirdford during the three years 1638–40 resulting in 230 burials; but only 9 inventories have survived for those years.

There were at this time about 70 farms used by about 60 separate farmers, and about 20 smallholdings of less than 30 or 40 acres. There are 69 inventories applying to farms, and 44 to smallholdings, the proportion of smallholders' inventories that have survived is therefore about twice that of farmers. Rather more than half the 210 for the parish have some farm details. Most are interesting but only ten provide the vital evidence for the crop sequence and a suggested capital sum per acre, so it is evident that to get useful information on a given district considerable numbers must be examined.

Only a dozen inventories are for less than £10 and only two are over £1,000, viz. John Tanner, probably of Battlehurst and other farms, who in 1663 had goods

valued at £1,123, and William Boxall, mercer, in 1754, who appears to have had the village shop and had goods valued at £1,824.

In the 210 inventories there are only 5 showing debts of any consequence, only 1 greater than the assets, and only 3 showing rent owing. But 68, or one-third, had money owing to the deceased. Eighteen were over £100; 9 of these belonged to farmers or retired farmers with little stock, 2 to widows, 2 to cordwainers, 1 to a tailor, and 4 are unknown. Four mortgages are included in these. Of the smaller amounts 8 were from £50 to £100, 23 from £10 to £50, and 19 under £10, one of whom, T. Overington in 1643, had 61*s.* owed to him by 8 persons. Two farmers had large sums on hand, J. Batchelor £180, and T. Eede £48, and the mercer Wm. Boxall £72. Only two farmers had any debts, and only one, William Coates of Langhurst in 1666, had debts, £192, greater than the value of his goods and chattels, £159. Half the farmers had varying sums owing to them and in general they do not appear to have been without resources, 12 per cent. of them being owed sums of over £100, on bond, at use, &c.

The debts to J. Barnes, cordwainer, in 1791 are divided up into sperate debts, £839. 12*s.* 2½*d.* and desperate debts £81. 2*s.* 2*d.* J. Nitingale, a small farmer, in 1680 had £128 out in eleven bonds or mortgages. Henry Strudwick of Hills Green and his relative Henry Strudwick of Idehurst appear in the inventory of Alice Penycod in 1643 as owing her £44 and £65 respectively.

Twelve of the 44 smallholders had money owing to them; 2 had sums of over £100 owing and 10 others had smaller sums averaging about £10 on inventories whose gross values average £52. Excluding rent, only 3 smallholders are shown as having debts, but these were more than covered by assets. If the surviving inventories are a fair sample of the state of the wealthier two-thirds of the parish, there was some small substance among them during the whole of our period. There is no evidence that bankruptcy played any part in the frequent change of families on the holdings here, nor is there any evi-

dence that occupiers racked the land out and then moved on. It is possible that rents here were relatively low and that when a farmer or his sons had saved a little capital they moved away to easier working or more productive land.

By the end of the seventeenth century there was some grace and comfort in their household goods. This Weald Clay district may have been poor but it was not destitute, because there was always ample timber for building and repairs, and fuel for their hearth-cooking and warmth, and until the great eighteenth-century improvements in farming light hungry land it was more productive than sandy soils.

Before any interpretation can be made freaks and extremes among the inventories must be recognized and dealt with separately; these can easily be recognized when a hundred or so inventories are tabulated. Only about one-fifth of ours are unreliable, owing to obvious omissions or careless appraisers.

Two examples will serve. Thomas Herrington, yeoman, in 1723, plainly by his livestock and draught beasts, farmed a large farm here, but no crops or stored corn are included in his inventory. William Penycod of Palfrey in 1725 had 70 qrs. of malt valued at £80. Malt was a rare commodity to be mentioned in our inventories and seldom more than £1 in value, so that to include his malt in any average or to assume this freak was usual would be wholly misleading. These show the danger of using an isolated inventory as evidence.

Tabulating our inventories brings out the remarkable uniformity of the bulk of our farmers. The smallholders are naturally far from uniform; their variety is wide, their economy completely different, and no useful interpretation can be made unless they are dealt with separately. The division, based on crop and stock values, undoubtedly means that some decaying farmers are included as smallholders owing to the smallness of their possessions. The tabulation of the 69 farms and 44 smallholding inventories saves a large amount of repetition; these tables have been placed in the W.S.R.O. and only

summaries of them are printed here, with a few selected and characteristic inventories printed in full.

The most attractive possibility was the chance of a nice tight farm-and-family sequence over the period. Such may be found on more fertile soils, but here neither crops nor men took root easily. On all but a few of the easier-working farms families rarely stayed more than a generation; and the greatest single difficulty in the accurate interpretation of the available details is the ever-changing farm grouping. Contemporary records such as Rate Lists make it quite clear that farm grouping is no new thing in this district; e.g. the 1687 Rate Lists show that 43 men used 55 named farms;[1] in 1798 45 men used the 68 farms.[2] This emphasizes the impossibility of accurate comparisons of a given farm at varying dates, because the acreage involved is unlikely to have remained constant here. Only one-quarter of the farm inventories can be traced to a named holding and very few to the same holding. Throughout this paper the emphasis is on interpretation from the mass and not from isolated units.

The few farm sequences attempted confirm the remarkable stability of farming practice here during the period; and when compared with the same farms in 1798 they all show a very considerable increase in the amount of stored corn at that date, due to the known increase in arable and corn production.

The evidence of the farm inventories from 1612 to 1744 shows clearly that farming practice and the balance of crops and livestock remained unchanged. There is little evidence here of the improvements in husbandry initiated in the eighteenth century. New farming practice probably came late and slowly to the Weald Clay and apart from some evidence of ley farming in 1688 the

[1] Shillinglee MSS. B. 4, No. 6. I am much indebted to Earl Winterton for allowing me to examine his MSS. at leisure. They are now on deposit in W.S.R.O.

[2] *S.A.C.* LXXXIX. In 1950 62 men used 66 farms. Another difficulty in checking a farm's acreage at a given date here is the complex of manors; e.g. Crouchland Farm at this time was made up of bits of three manors. Any house named in the inventory is probably where the farmer happened to live and is no evidence that he was using no other land.

only hint of change of husbandry occurs in the latest inventory (No. 69) of Robert Shotter in 1776, who had 2 bushels of turnip seed and two turnip becks.[1] There are only three inventories after 1744, so that any closer dating of the introduction of root crops is not possible. Turnips continued to be grown and in 'The 1801 Crop Returns for Sussex' Dr. H. C. K. Henderson (*S.A.C.* xc. 56) notes that 'only Kirdford in West Sussex has any appreciable acreage'.

At first sight it may seem unfortunate that all farmers did not die on 1 June so that their inventories might tie up with our 4th of June returns and all be strictly comparable. In fact our farmers died all round the twelve months, 35 from April to September and 34 from October to March. This makes it possible by appropriate selection to interpret the cropping sequence, and also to expose once more the fallacy of the Martinmas slaughter.

Subsidiary Industries

There is a disappointing absence of more than trifling references to our small subsidiary industries of iron, glass, and Sussex marble. The timber and copse industry will be dealt with later on p. 140. At the time of our earliest inventory, that of Elizabeth Yalden in 1581, all the four iron furnaces and the two iron forges in the parish were probably working.[2] The industry continued here for two or three generations but there are only two references to it in the inventories, viz. John Rapley in 1632 had 'miner's tools' worth 23*s.* and in 1666 George Tanner of Battlehurst, yeoman, had '13 ton of Iron £130', 12 tons of which was at 'Burton Hamer' (Burton Park forge).

The very much smaller glass industry continued here until about 1620 but it also has only a single small men-

[1] A two-pronged hoe used by shepherds for pulling turnips out of the ground.

[2] Both Wassell and Idehurst forges and Shillinglee furnace were working then; Barkfold furnace was working in 1602. The other two small furnaces of Roundwick and Ebernoe have no known records. The two forges had fairly long lives, Wassell from 1579 to 1640 at least, and Idehurst from 1584 to 1662 at least. They are unlikely to have operated without furnaces to feed them, so the industry in the parish may be approximately dated at *c.* 1580 to *c.* 1660; intermittently for eighty years.

tion in the inventories when Henry Strudwick, *alias* Deane, 'Glass carrier' in 1614 had six small nags with a cart and harness.

The single reference to what is probably Sussex marble is in the inventory of Richard Edwards, yeoman, in 1661, a 'parcel of paving stone' £5. The church and many houses were paved with this stone.[1]

The late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century here was no doubt a time of some modest prosperity for this relatively poor district. A large area of disparked land was taken up quickly[2] and the rude dwellings made more habitable; many, as they remained thirty years ago, were probably entirely rebuilt during this time.

Printed Sources

The earliest writers to provide more than some general comments about farming in this part of the county were William Marshall and Arthur Young in 1798 and 1808.[3]

Marshall plainly disliked the Weald and he has no good word to say for its travelling conditions on the day or two when he happened to pass this way, its farmers or their practice: 'An ill managed district.' Two at least of his comments find no confirmation here, viz. that an inconsiderable number of cattle were kept and that the mystery of cheese-making was unknown.

Young comments that 'wheat was a losing crop on Weald Clay' and that the 'wet and tenacious clays seldom pay to cultivate'; and yet a system of mixed farming with wheat as its main crop, with about 40 per cent. of the farm land arable had been practised here for at least two hundred years and probably for much longer. According to his costs in 1808 this system may have been folly, but it worked and had provided a modest living.

It is not difficult to criticize some of the findings of both Marshall and Young and they should be treated, like some old social history, with caution and their generalizations tested. But when all this has

[1] Rd. Edwards held Blackmell Wood, now part of Crouchland, of the manor of Pallingham (Petworth House MSS.). His son John surrendered the copyhold to H. Jewkes of Petworth, who in 1683 was licensed to pull the house down. This house was undoubtedly at what is known as Edwards barn, part of Blackmell Wood, adjoining which is the largest 'winkle stone' quarry in the parish, now a small pond. Marble was dug all along this ridge which runs from Staples Hill to Plaistow; the small pits can still be seen. The church font of Sussex marble is dated 1620.

[2] Shillinglee MSS.

[3] Wm. Marshall, *The Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, vol. II, 1798; Arthur Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex*, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture, 1808.

been said they both contain a great deal of interest and value. They both played some part in raising the standard of husbandry at a time when new practices were available and when the country stood in great need of increased food production. They come at the end of our period but much of the farming and forestry practice had changed little.

Cobbett's picture of this district (1823) that the general air of well-being was due to the woodland was no doubt true; but his comment that nothing grows well in the Weald but the oaks is a somewhat doubtful echo of earlier writers.

There is a great deal of printed information available about farming in Sussex during the last hundred and fifty years[1] from which an adequate picture for the principal farming regions may be drawn, provided always that the sources are reliable and the background is familiar. But with one exception very little original work by regions has been done on the available material prior to *c.* 1800 so that we know little about the husbandry of Sussex in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The exception is a valuable thesis by Mr. J. C. K. Cornwall on 'The Agrarian History of Sussex, 1560–1640', of which he has given a copy to the Society's library at Barbican House.[2] He has kindly advised on this paper and provided some invaluable suggestions.

Dr. W. G. Hoskins's paper on 'The Leicestershire Farmer in the Sixteenth Century' (vol. XXII of the *Leics. Arch. Trans.*) is most interesting and valuable. The main source of the material for his paper were inventories. He was among the pioneers in the study of farming history by soil regions. Dr. Joan Thirsk, another pioneer of regional farm history, has kindly commented on this paper.

I am much indebted to Mr. L. F. Salzman for help in many directions; and to Mr. F. W. Steer, the County Archivist for E. and W. Sussex, for his generous help and advice, not least for his help in interpreting obscure words. His book *Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex 1635 to 1749* (1950) is a standard work on inventories and covers much the same period as this paper. This book should be consulted for details of household furnishings and goods which are not closely examined in this paper. Where this book has been used for reference it is noted as (S.). To Miss A. Reeve, lately assistant archivist, I am much indebted for her unfailing interest, for completing the search for all the Kirdford inventories, and for copying some of the ones that could not be photographed.

I wish to record my thanks to: the late Mr. B. Campbell Cooke for his unfailing interest and advice, Mr. C. E. Welch of the Diocesan R.O. for deciphering obscurities, Miss M. G. Ludlow for her kindly

[1] See Mr. G. E. Fussell's paper in *S.A.C.* XC, 'Four Centuries of Farming Systems in Sussex, 1500–1900', for a useful summary of these and the few earlier writers.

[2] His paper in *S.A.C.* XCII, 'Farming in Sussex, 1560–1640', is an excerpt from the thesis.

interest and help, Dr. E. Jaffé who started the card index of inventories in the Diocesan R.O. for the Archdeaconry of Chichester, and to Miss E. M. Gardner who carried it on.

In addition to Mr. F. W. Steer's book other authorities used are: *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, J. C. Halliwell, 1889, referred to as (H.); *A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect*, W. D. Parish, 1875, referred to as (P.); *A Dictionary of the Kentish Dialect*, W. D. Parish and W. F. Shaw, 1887, referred to as (P. and S.).

The Setting

The Weald Clay region is a district of scattered farmsteads, and in this parish there was no central village, the four hamlets of Kirdford, Plaistow, Ball's Cross (or Ebernoe), and Strood Green each having its own inn and smithy, &c.[1] The church is in Kirdford, Plaistow having a chapel of ease from at least the early sixteenth century, and Ebernoe more recently in the nineteenth century.

The parish, the largest in West Sussex, measures six miles from the north slope of Bedham greensand ridge northwards to the Surrey border, with a breadth of four miles. It is not mentioned in the Domesday survey, being probably at that time a forest outlier of distant manors, giving pasturage for swine. In medieval times the parish was made up of portions of nine manors all outside its boundaries.[2] These portions no doubt developed from swine grazings and at some unknown date, probably before the Conquest, the plough followed the pig and men from the south started to clear their holdings, field by tiny field, each surrounded by 'rews', broad belts of woodland, many of which survive to this day.

[1] The inns were the Half Moon at Kirdford (the Crescent Badge of the Percy family of Petworth), the Royal Oak at Strood Green, now defunct, the Sun at Plaistow, the Stag at Ball's Cross, a reminder that, near by, until the late sixteenth century, there were two large hunting parks, Shillinglee and the Great Park of Petworth.

[2] The manors were: Pallingham, by far the most important and comprising roughly the western third of the parish; it was later, in 1541, split into three by the formation of Ebernoe and Shillinglee 'manors'. Its manor house (see *S.N.Q.* XIII, No. 6) lies 3 miles south-east from Kirdford church. The others in order of importance were Slindon, 12 miles south-south-west; Bedham, 3 miles south; Bassett's Fee, 4½ miles east; Byworth and Warningcamp, 4 and 12 miles south. Four other manors had a holding or two each: Bosham, 19 miles south-south-west; Petworth, 4 miles south-west; Bignor, 8 miles south-south-west; Lyminster, 13½ miles south.

This part of the Weald is as unattractive, as far north, and as difficult to handle, as any in the county, and yet it was settled early. The old myths of late settlement and sparse population have no supporting evidence here. The poverty and impassability have been much exaggerated as anyone farming this difficult but not unproductive land knows well. By the early part of the twelfth century sufficient settlement had taken place to warrant a stone church capable of holding well over a hundred parishioners. In the thirteenth century the population must have grown considerably, for the church was almost doubled in size by the addition of a wide north aisle. More than one-third of the names of existing holdings can be recognized in references, mainly Subsidy Rolls before 1335; and at least three-quarters of the Kirdford farms have records, already traced, before 1600, by which time the parish was completely settled and, Shillinglee park being cleared, it had more land available for farming than in 1954, there being upwards of 2,000 acres less copse and woodland.

Inclosure

The general picture here is simply the development by the first settlers of 'assarts' in the forest, tiny holdings tied and paying rent in kind or cash to some manor outside the parish. Such inclosures, gradually enlarged by inclosing more of the waste, became the named holdings of the thirteenth century. There was no 'Open Field' farming here.

The most dramatic inclosure here occurred about 1600 when the 1,700 acres of Shillinglee Great Park were inclosed and leased to seven leaseholders who by 1648 were in three cases farming less than 100 acres and in four cases averaged 339 acres each. Before this the only inclosure had been on the west side of the Park where six small copyholders of about 25 acres each were grouped. They had grazing rights in the east side of the Park. One of these families, the Eedes, copyholders in 1571 then leaseholders, prospered and survived in the parish until *c.* 1900.

The inclosing of part of the common of Bedham Manor about 1769 to protect planted timber may have caused some shortage of common grazing in the south of the parish. Common grazing in this parish must have played a vital part in the economy of the smallholdings, which tend to be thickest around the large areas of common at Strood Green and Ebernoe. It may well account for the apparent heavier stocking per acre of smallholdings when compared to farms. But exactly what common rights meant in terms of extra beasts is unknown. There is a little evidence in the 'Customary of the Manors of Shillinglee, Hibernowe, Pallingham', which shows that in 1571 six small copyholders in Shillinglee Great Park had common grazing rights of roughly 20 cattle and 20 hogs for each 20 acres of copyhold. This would plainly greatly increase their stock-carrying capacity. (See my notes on the Shillinglee MSS. W.S.R.O.)

In 1766 a small farm of 60 acres, High Noons, had the right of common on several hundred acres of land.

The Type of Farming

Three pieces of evidence point to mixed farming, with few outside requirements and probably growing enough wheat and a few beasts to pay the rent.

They are: (1) The average crop value for the seventeenth century was 43 per cent. of the total value of crops and stock, &c. (2) The value of the complete harvests recorded in four inventories between 1632 and 1700 is 48 per cent. of the crop-and-stock values. (3) It is shown elsewhere (p. 101) that the arable and grass proportions at this time were approximately half and half.[1] The suggested rotation (see later) further confirms this mixed farming. Here again the smallholders must be separated to make any useful interpretation; their part-time farming lent itself more to keeping a few beasts than to arable farming. They vary greatly; but on the whole they undoubtedly kept more stock per

[1] By 1798 this proportion had changed with the persistent demand for wheat to 75 per cent. arable; in 1829 it had risen to 90 per cent.

acre than the typical whole-time farmer here.[1] Some grew a little corn but they probably obtained their cash requirements from their part-time occupation of blacksmith, weaver, &c.

The importance of wheat here is clear enough in most inventories and three eighteenth-century leases. It appears to have been the crop around which the crop cycle, and in turn the amount of stock kept, revolved. Properly handled this is fairly good wheat land. A writer in 1858 says that: 'Wheat is at all times the main object of the Wealden farmer' and 'The Weald Clay is essentially a wheat soil and produces handsome crops of it . . .'.[2] Comments which fit the evidence of the two preceding centuries here. William Marshall's general comment on the Weald farmers in 1798 was that they grew corn and reared cattle with some portion of dairy produce.

A Typical Weald Clay Farm in the Seventeenth Century

Apart from the iron industry[3] with its ancillary trades of copse cutting, charcoaling, and ore digging, farming was the basis of the local economy. Some attempt therefore must be made to decide on the structure of a typical seventeenth-century farm.[4] In Kirdford there was a

[1] Any exact comparison of smallholdings with farms is not possible; because of the variety of the former they have no pattern. Less than two-thirds of the smallholders grew any crops and the proportion of their holdings being cropped was often small. But even allowing for the surmised £1 per acre being inapplicable and for the probability that their inventory values per acre were higher, the smallholdings do appear to have been considerably more heavily stocked for their size than the farms. Some were just small graziers.

[2] S. Hawes, 'Note on the Wealden Clay of Sussex', *J.R. Agric. Soc.* XIX (1858), pp. 182, 186 (taken from the excellent *Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain: Sussex*, 1942).

[3] The iron industry in Kirdford was at its peak about 1600, thereafter declining until most of the works had shut down by 1650. By about 1620 the tiny glass industry had moved elsewhere. The copse and timber industries had not yet achieved the importance they had in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

[4] A typical or average farm is plainly somewhat theoretical; but if the crops and stock vary in a direct relation to the size of the farm, as they appear to do here, the selection of 120–30 acres probably provides a sound working basis. In 1798 the average size of individual farms between 40 and 300 acres was 113 acres (see also p. 101). The farm stock values of half the 52 inventories surviving for the 68 Kirdford farms fall between £80 and £180, the remaining half being equally divided above and below those limits; so that if the relation between farm stock value and acreage is accepted the inventories are probably a fair sample. Of the 110 inventories from 1600 to 1750 which have been

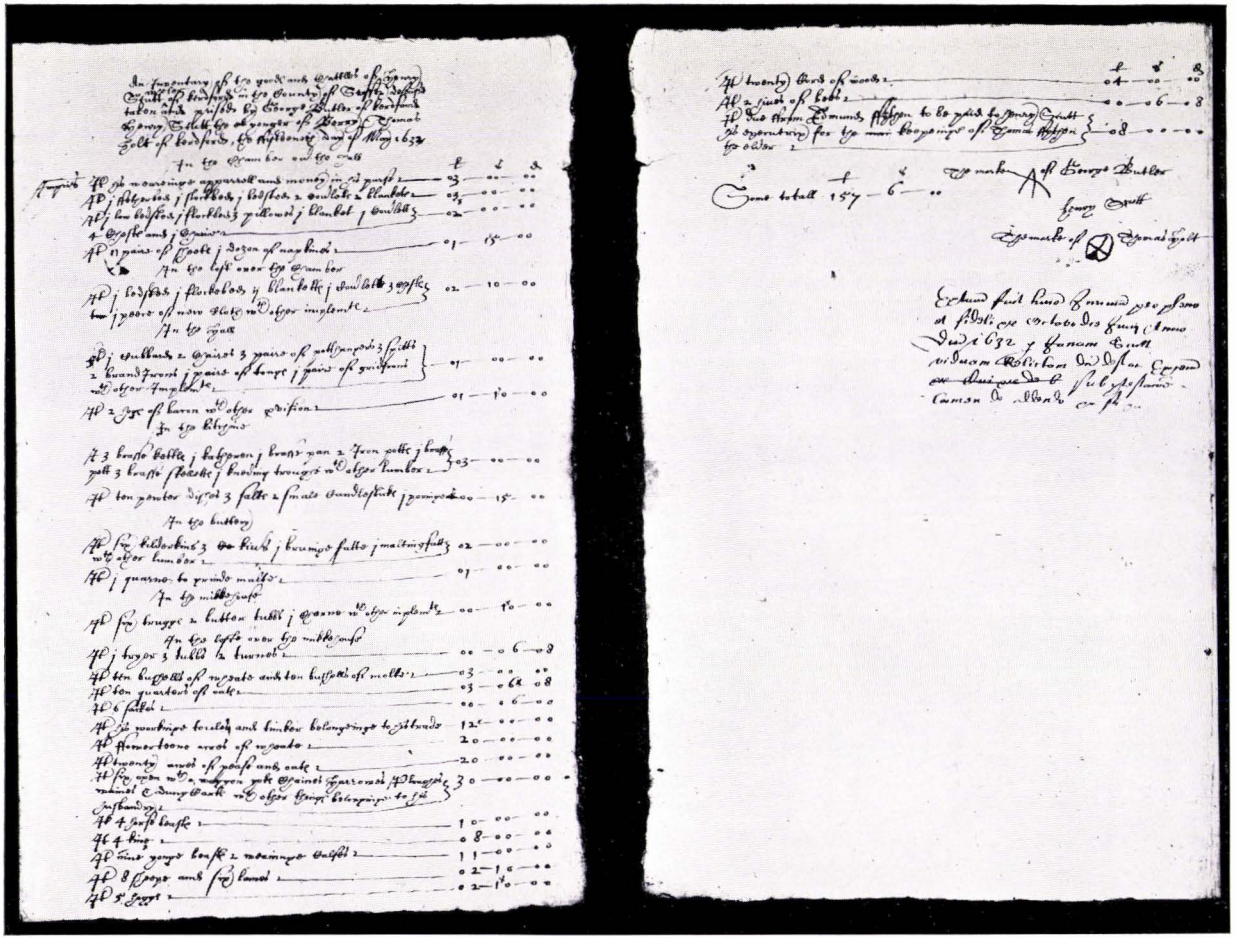

PLATE I. INVENTORY OF HENRY SCUTT, 1632 (photo. by courtesy of the West Sussex Record Office)

remarkably stable uniformity during the seventeenth century and any variations from the pattern are easily decided once the inventories have been fully tabulated and the extremes dealt with separately. There are few inventories available for the eighteenth century, but with one important exception there is no evidence of any great change; and this probably also applies to the first half of that century. The exception is the gradual introduction of some ley farming towards the end of the seventeenth century. There was a considerable increase in corn growing and some turnips were introduced during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

After examining all the available inventory evidence the simplest plan seemed to be to decide on a farm which varied very little from the uniform balance or pattern, whose stock value agreed the average value for the forty-seven farms in the seventeenth century, and to print it in full early in this paper to give some scale and coherence to the whole.

No. 8. Henry Scutt. 15 May 1632.

In the Chamber over the Hall.

his wearinge apparell and money in his purse, £3, 1 fetherbed, 1 flockbed, 1 bedsted, 2 coverlets, 2 blankets, £3, 1 low bedsted, 1 flockbed, 3 pillowes, 1 blanket, 1 coverlett, 4 chests and 1 chaire, £2, 11 pairs of sheets, 1 dozen of napkins, £1. 15*s*.

In the loft over the chamber.

1 bedsted, 1 flockbed, 2 blanketts, 1 coverlet, 3 chests, 1 peece of new cloth with other implemts., £2. 10*s*.

In the Hall.

1 cubbard, 2 chaires, 3 pairs of potthangers, 3 spitts, 2 brand irons, 1 paire of tongs, 1 pair of gridirons with other implemts., £1, 2 hogs of bacon with other provisions, £1. 10*s*.

In the Kitchine.

3 brass kettle, 1 katheren,[1] 1 brass pan, 2 iron potts, 1 brass pott, 3 brass skelletts, 1 kneding troughe, with other lumber, £3, ten pewter dishes, 3 salts, 2 small candelsticks, 1 porringer, 15*s*.

tabulated 40 per cent. (44 in all) are under £30 in stock value and 5 per cent. are over £300. These 44 small inventories include a number of failing or retired farmers, but the mass of them were part-time tradesmen and their crops and stock show a great variety. There is no pattern in a tabulation of their inventories, and to prepare any useful interpretations or averages they must be treated separately.

[1] Katheren: in his widow Jane's inventory of the following year many items are identical; this is spelt caldron, i.e. a large boiling-vessel.

In the Buttery.

six kilderkins, 3 kivers,[1] 1 brewing fatte, 1 malting fatt with other lumber, £2, 1 quarne to grinde malte, £1.

In the Milkhouse.

six truggs, 2 butter tubbs, 1 cherne with other implemts., 10*s*.

In the lofte over the Milkhouse.

1 tryer,[2] 3 tubbs, 2 turnes,[3] 6*s*. 8*d*., ten bushels of wheate and ten bushels of malte, £3, ten quarters of oats, £3. 6*s*. 8*d*., 6 sacks, 6*s*., his working tooles and timber belonging to his trade, £12, fourteene acres of wheate, £20, twenty acres of pease and oats, £20, six oxen with a waggon yoke chaines harrows ploughes waines & dung carts with other things belonging to his husbandry, £30, 4 horse beasts, £10, 4 kine, £8, nine younge beasts, 2 weaning calves £11, 8 sheep and six lames, £2. 10*s*., 5 hoggs, £2. 10*s*., twenty cord of wood, £4, 2 hives of bees, 6*s*. 8*d*., due from Edmund Fythen to be paid to Henry Scutt his executrix for the keepinge of Thomas Fythen the elder, £8.

some totall. £157. 6*s*. 0*d*.

(appraisors. George Butler, Henry Scutt, Thomas Holt.)

The farm selected, used by Henry Scutt in May 1632,[4] was about 120 or 130 acres made up of about 50 acres of arable, 45 acres of meadow or pasture, and the remainder woodland and furze.[5] I see no reason to suppose that this farm was not typical of the whole Weald Clay area at this time. A small mixed, family farm,[6] independent of outside hired labour if there was a son or two to help.

In 1632 Henry Scutt had 14 acres of wheat, 13 acres of fallow,[7] and 20 acres of oats and peas—47 acres in all. These crops and proportions are typical of all the seventeenth-century farms, except that the spring corn is

[1] Kiver: a large shallow tub. (P.)

[2] Tryer: Try: to screen corn. (H. per L. F. S.)

[3] Turnes: Mr. F. W. Steer suggests these may be spinning-wheels.

[4] The average value of farm stock for the 47 Kirdford farms between about 30 and 300 acres in the seventeenth century was £125. Henry Scutt's farm stock value was £127, less his wheelwright's tools, &c., £12, or £115 net. His widow Jane, who died in July the following year, had for the same farm a stock value of £124.

[5] These proportions are based on the Battlehurst farm records of 1627 (Petworth MSS.). The meadow or pasture was probably permanent grass at this date. See also note 2, p. 101.

[6] Low crop yields and poor quality beasts would require a much larger acreage to maintain a family than is the case today.

[7] Wheat here was traditionally preceded by summer fallow, and Jane Scutt his widow had 13 acres of wheat in July 1633.

usually double the acreage of the wheat. He had 10 bushels of wheat, 10 bushels of malt, and 10 qrs. of oats remaining in the loft over the milkhouse.

The farm kept 6 draught oxen and 4 horses, including no doubt a riding-horse, 4 cows and 11 young beasts, 8 sheep and 6 lambs, 5 hogs, and 2 hives of bees.[1] A by no means negligible amount of stock, and a truly mixed farm. To work this farm he had 1 wagon, 1 dung cart, a wain, and a plough. His smaller tools are not specified. The only detail not typical is that Henry was also a wheelwright; his wheelwright's tools and timber were valued at £12. He was the only farmer in the early inventories to have another trade.[2]

The prices of all his stock appear to be typical of the time, as was his humble house of three bedrooms, a hall or general living-room, a kitchen with a buttery and milkhouse.[3] His household belongings were the bare necessities, and no more; in all valued at £22. 6*s*. 8*d*., less than one-fifth of his farm stock.

Henry Scutt's rent would be about 4*s*. per acre or £25 p.a.,[4] which would take about 15 qrs. of wheat and a few young stock to cover it. The rent was about 20 per cent. of the total value of the crops and stock and judging by the known values of contemporary harvests about 40 per cent. of crop harvest.

The following year, in July 1633, Henry's widow Jane died and her inventory has fortunately survived, drawn up by different appraisers but with the same layout as

[1] A shift of balance in the cattle from 6 to 4 oxen and from 4 to 6 cows might be more usual for this size of farm. Six or 7 cows was the standard sized dairy for at least two hundred years. The number of sheep and pigs is slightly lower than usual. The stocking based on the stock equivalents given later is about equal to the stocking for the parish for the whole period and is about 60 per cent. of 1908 figures for the whole country and slightly greater than the average for Kirdford in 1798.

[2] Only one other farmer, J. Hurst in 1688, had a trade. He was a blacksmith. The contents of his shop were valued at 48*s*. only. On 13 farms of about 120 acres the implements average in value about 6 per cent. of the total value of crops and stock. It probably was minimum and allowed for some sharing of the costly wagons.

[3] See later paragraph on houses; it probably differed little from the barn housing his crops, with a chimney, some plaster, a few small windows, and a brick floor added.

[4] In 1622 Langhurst Farm, of 157 acres, had a rent of £32. 10*s*. or 4*s*. 2*d*. per acre. (Shillinglee MSS. W.S.R.O.)

Henry's. Her total farm value was £131.[1] She had 13 acres of wheat, approximately the same amount of fallow, 25 acres of oats, peas, French (or buck-) wheat, and flax.[2]

Jane had slightly less livestock (under 10 per cent. less), viz. 7 oxen, 4 cows and a bull, 6 young beasts, 3 horses, 8 ewes, 5 hogs, and 8 pigs. She also had ducks, poultry, and fish in the pond, all valued at 13*s.* 4*d.* Her implements were 1 wagon, yokes, chains, harrows, ploughs, wains, and dung carts.

Henry Scutt was no doubt keeping the maximum amount of stock which this type of mixed farm could support, with no leys or roots. If he grew more corn he would need more stock to maintain his precarious fertility and vice versa, so that it is not surprising that for this type of farming a rough pattern can be seen in the inventories.

One cannot say with certainty which farm the Scutts used, but Henry Scutt would easily have recognized the parish of fifty years ago. A few roads had been metalled, a few more poor cottages built; otherwise there was little change in the farmhouse or buildings, the tempo was still that of the horse, but with farming at a lower ebb and probably more real poverty than in his day.

Cropping Sequence on the Weald Clay in the Seventeenth Century

A crop rotation can be found in the Kirdford inventories. The procedure is simple, if laborious; and first of all the extremes and freak holdings must be excluded as they will give an incorrect picture; e.g. less than two-thirds of the smallholders appear to have grown any corn, they were primarily small graziers, their economy was quite different from the whole-time farmer.

[1] The timber belonging to her trade, presumably wheelwright, was valued at £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*, so that her total farm value was £124. Her household goods and values differ very little from Henry's.

[2] A suggested table gives her 20 acres of oats, 4 acres of peas, and some trifling amounts of buckwheat and flax, in one of the oat fields. It will be shown that the customary rotation at this time was a simple four course; how this probably worked out on the Scutts' farm is indicated in the 'Rotation' paragraph.

The approximate limits, decided on after examining all the inventories, was from 30 or 40 acres to about 300; this includes all the characteristic farms of the district,[1] and can be deduced from the farm crop and stock values.

Of the inventories relating to this size of farm only 10, whose crops are printed later, out of the 39 available up to 1688 show the complete cropping acreage; they were drawn up in the months of May, June, July, and August. Their evidence is confirmed by 5 farms of this size in October and November which show the complete harvests.

These inventories give the picture clearly until towards the end of the seventeenth century. After 1688 the introduction of leys[2] complicated the cropping sequence and the classification of arable and grass, and only inventories prior to this date have therefore been used.

It is quite clear that the winter corn was wheat; the inventories of October to February show this in all cases, except a few unimportant references to rye prior to 1666 only. The ten inventories show that the wheat acreage was one-half that of the spring corn. From the evidence over the whole period 1612 to 1744, the spring corn was very largely oats, with 19 per cent. of peas,[3] with a rare field of barley and tiny patches of tares, buckwheat, and flax even more rarely.

Though the fact is not mentioned in our inventories, wheat was here until recently normally preceded by a summer fallow. Such a fallow, twice ploughed, is referred to in a lease of Hayman's Farm in 1734.[4] Thus if the fallow

[1] The evidence is that there were about 20 smallholders of under 30 or 40 acres using less than 500 acres out of a total of close on 9,000 farmed acres at this time. There were probably 2 or 3 large farmers using 500 acres and more, but the great majority, probably over 50 farmers, used three-quarters of the farmed acreage of the parish, and come within the limits suggested.

[2] For ley farming in Sussex see Mr. J. Cornwall's paper, *S.A.C.* XCII. 81. See also *Petworth Manor in the Seventeenth Century*, Lord Leconfield (1954), p. 46. In 1557 part of the demesne of Petworth Manor, 252 acres, were convertible—'sometimes sown and sometimes pasture'.

[3] There are 17 inventories drawn up in May, June, July, and August, but only 7 divide up the spring corn; if the 4 for the seventeenth century only are used the peas average 22 per cent., slightly less than the suggested sequence for the Scutts' farm of 1 field in 4.

[4] See page 147. In 1798 William Marshall says the whole dependence of the

is accepted and if, for example, the arable was 40 acres, we have in a single year: 10 acres of fallow, 10 acres of wheat, 20 acres of spring corn, four-fifths of which was oats and one-fifth peas, varied occasionally with barley, tares, &c. A simple four-course rotation of fallow, wheat, oats, &c.; oats, &c. It is clear that it was not the old three course; presumably the farmers here kept just enough livestock to maintain the fertility and grow two successive corn crops. They also must have had the means in any but the most unfavourable seasons of keeping the land clear of weeds. That an orderly sequence was practised is shown by the remarkable uniformity of crops and their proportions.

Two of the ten inventories, Henry and Jane Scutt 1632 and 1633, apply to the same farm in successive years, a rare and fortunate survival which confirms the four-course rotation.

It is likely that the sequence and the system of farming related to it which suited this heavy clay district in the seventeenth century was practised from the earliest times over the whole Weald Clay region.

The evidence from appropriate inventories after the introduction of leys, mainly but not entirely clover, *c.* 1680, shows no rise in the value of hay crops, but it does show an appreciable (15 per cent.) drop in the spring crop acreage. This may very well be due to one field in six or seven, if a one-year ley, being down to a ley. With the introduction of leys the four-course rotation developed naturally into the longer sequence described by Marshall and Young in 1798 and 1808.[1]

The suggested rotation on the Scutts' farm, on the assumption of eleven fields of varying size[2] totalling 47 acres, is shown in the following Table.

Weald farmers rests on the summer fallow for wheat. The inventories show that wheat was always sown in the autumn. With vastly better resources today, in a difficult season this is not always possible without a fallow.

[1] See also three eighteenth-century leases, p. 146.

[2] Since the Weald Clay was first developed, about five hundred years earlier, this badly-drained land could be handled only in small fields, which probably remained unchanged until the advent of pipe draining in the mid-nineteenth century. They survived, as many still do, and preserved Arthur Young's 'abominable rews'. The Weald Clay carried long- and short-term crops; the

Field	*Acres*	*Henry 1632*	*Jane 1633*		
A	6	W	O	O	F
B	4	F	W	O	O
C	3	O	F	W	O
D	4½	P	O	F	W
E	4	W	P	O	F
F	5	F	W	P	O
G	3	O	F	W	P
H	6½	O	O	F	W
I	4	W	O	O	F
J	4	F	W	O	O
K	3	O	F	W	O

W: wheat; O: oats; F: fallow; P: peas.

In 1632 Henry Scutt's inventory shows he had 14 acres of wheat and 20 acres of oats and peas. In 1633 Jane Scutt had 13 acres of wheat and 25 acres of oats, peas, &c.

This table shows how the total arable can remain unchanged in the same fields whereas the cropped acreage can vary from year to year with the different field sizes, so that exact data from averages in this connection are not possible.

When discussing crop sequences it must be emphasized that such rotations were, and are, not rigidly followed. They would vary with the seasons, but they formed the general orderly background to maintain fertility, to distribute labour throughout the year, and to control or check weeds and diseases. With no tractors to make the most of a difficult season tillage was far more precarious and rotation therefore had greater seasonal variations than today, on this stubborn but productive land. There is, however, a simple uniformity of crops and a pattern in the seventeenth-century inventories. The variations from the normal are not great and are easily accounted for by seasonal conditions. In any district having fairly uniform farming practice and

former, the rews, provided the landlord with timber and the tenant with fuel. The tiny fields provided food for man and beast. In 1829 the fields of the 900-acre Peachey estate averaged only 4·4 acres. (Peachey Estate Survey 1829 in the Haslemere Museum.) On this impervious subsoil small fields are less subject to erosion, a serious problem on Weald Clay.

with enough inventories to make the necessary selection some rotation should be traceable.

The inventories on which this crop sequence is based are numbered in the tabulated analysis in the W.S.R.O.:

Inv. No.	*Date*	*Name*	*Wheat acreage*	*Spring corn acreage made up of*
8	1632 May	H. Scutt	14	20 O, P
9	1633 July	J. Scutt	13	25 O, P, Fw, F
19	1642 Aug.	W. Illinge	6	16 O, ½ P
20	1643 July	H. Overington	4½	14 P, O
27	1660 June	R. Launder	8	4½ P, 4½ O
33	1667 June	W. Alderton	10	31 O
34	1669 May	T. Scutt	10	20 'Summer Grain'
35	1669 July	L. Woodgyer	11	23 O, P, T, B
40	1678 Aug.	H. Gittens	20	35 O, 11 P, 2 T, Fw
42	1681 May	H. Younge	11	20 O, B
		Total	107½	226½

O: oats; P: peas; T: tares; B: barley; F: flax; Fw: French or buckwheat.

The same ten inventories are used to show a suggested relation between farm value and acreage.

There are four inventories having complete harvest details which show the relative amounts, by value only, of the various crops. All are large and two are very large farmers for this district. All but one are after 1688.

Inv. No.	*Date*	*Name*	*Farm value*	*Harvest*	*Made up of*
10	Nov. 1632	H. Ludgater	£198	£112	W, O, £86; B, P, T, £26
48	Oct. 1691	T. Clemence (Crouchland)	£298	£145	W, £84; O, £40; P, 38*s.*; H and G, £18. 18*s.*
53	Sept. 1700	W. Penycod (Palfrey)	£183	£91	W, £47. 12*s.*; P, O, B, T, £31. 5*s.*
56	Oct. 1711	E. Stanley	£366	£135	W, £36. 10*s.*; O, £48; P, £21; B, £17. 10*s.*; Fw, £4; H, £8

H and G: hay and grass.

In the three in which the wheat can be separated it represents 44 per cent. by value of the harvest. In T. Clemence's case his wheat would probably more than pay his rent, which would be about 4*s.* an acre for his 300 acres, or £60 p.a.

A Suggested Relation between the Inventory Value of a Farm's Crops and Stock and its Acreage

There are only ten farm inventories compiled during May, June, July, and August which show the complete cropping acreage for farms between about 30 and 300 acres for the period 1612 to 1681.[1] All are shown below, whether or not they happen to fit this hypothesis.

The average cropping acreage of these ten farms was 33 acres. The crop rotation at this time has been shown to have probably been a simple four course, having one-quarter fallow; one-third must therefore be added to this figure to arrive at the average total arable acreage, making this 44 acres. One farm only, Battlehurst, has reliable details available during the seventeenth century of its cropping acreage. In 1627 Battlehurst had 38 per cent. arable, 36 per cent. pasture, and 26 per cent. woodland, furze, &c.[2] If this farm was typical, and it most probably was, we get an approximate total acreage for the average seventeenth-century farm in Kirdford:

$$33 \text{ plus } 11 \text{ (fallow)} \times \tfrac{100}{38} : 117 \text{ acres.}^{3}$$

This figure is close to the average farm stock value of the 10 farms, which was £123 (see Table on p. 102); and these 10 farms are a fair sample of the 47 available inventories in the seventeenth century, because the average of the 47 was £125 (see Table on p. 109).

For this period, 1612 to 1681, and for the size of farm detailed, the farm stock value approximates to £1 per acre.[4] In the first half of the eighteenth century it may

[1] 1681 is the latest date of an inventory showing no evidence of ley farming; see section on Rotations. Any rise in livestock prices towards the end of the seventeenth century is also avoided; see section on Prices.

[2] Farm deeds, Petworth House MSS. Battlehurst is one of the few Kirdford farms whose total acreage has remained unchanged for over three hundred years at about 260 acres. J. C. K. Cornwall suggests that the arable and pasture on the Weald Clay farms (1560–1640) was about half and half (*S.A.C.* XCII. 69). In his thesis he tabulates his data for the regions of Sussex; his arable proportion for the Weald Clay was 38 per cent.

[3] There is some confirmation for this acreage of 117 in a number of references prior to 1700 which show that 21 Kirdford farms averaged 102 acres. As these, or one-third of the Kirdford farms, happen to be the smaller ones, only 4 being over 130 acres, the real average was probably somewhat larger. See also Henry Scutt's farm, p. 91.

[4] The complete tabulation of the inventories indicates a remarkable uniformity in the farming practice in this district in the seventeenth century. This

have risen two or three shillings. Up to 1744 this hypothesis provides some guide; after this date the three latest inventories have values so high, upwards of three times anything earlier, as to be completely different from those discussed in this paper.

The ten farms described are:

Inventory no.	*Date*	*Cropping acres*	*Total acres on formula*[1]	*Farm stock value*
8	1632	34	118	£127 } same
9	1633	38	134	£131 } farm
19	1642	22	79	£90
20	1643	18	63	£55
27	1660	17	60	£60
33	1667	41	145	£172 farms= 158 a.
34	1669	30	105	£102
35	1669	34	118	£130
40	1678	68	240	£275
42	1681	31	108	£88
	Average	33	117	£123

Nos. 8 and 9 apply to the same farm and show how the variation in arable due to the variation in the amount of summer fallow can vary the suggested total acreage. This is also discussed in the section on Crop Sequences. The figures also illustrate that this hypothesis can only provide an approximate relation between the farm stock value and the acreage.

No. 11. Rd. Kinge confirms this hypothesis but is not included because his inventory was made in March.

No. 20. The stock value is low, there being no young stock or sheep.

No. 33. The two farms covered by this inventory, Laneland and Fordland, are discussed on page 104. The value is not typical; the stock is higher than usual for the acreage.

No. 40 does not fit closely, for no apparent reason; the stock and crops appear to be typical in amount and value.

No. 42 is a freak; all the values are low and it includes no cows, which is very unusual.

The typical farm, the type of farming, and cropping sequence are fairly straightforward interpretations of the evidence, but this suggested relation is only a useful approximation. With the whims of appraisers and the seasonal variation of cropped acreages it can be no more; but for upwards of 80 per cent. of the farms it is probably accurate within limits of 20 per cent. at the widest. It does not apply to the smallholdings. I suggest that it

suggested relation between farm value and acreage is the only scale we have, because even if the inventory can be tied to a farm its acreage is unknown, very few farms here having remained unchanged and contemporary records of acreages being scanty.

[1] The formula is cropping acreage plus fallow $(\frac{1}{3}) \times \frac{100}{38}$, on the basis that 38 per cent. of a farm was arable.

provides a rough scale here and that by appropriate selection of inventories of the four summer months some relation might be established for other groups of inventories, on reasonably uniform soil where farming tended to conform to some pattern.

This relation or scale, if accepted, adds greatly to the value of the inventories because if we have a fair idea of the size of farm and the capital per acre required in the seventeenth century, we can separate the extremes, small or large. Further, it provides the means for comparing the stocking of farms on the only useful basis, viz. by reducing such stock to the amount carried per 100 acres. But comparisons at widely separated dates can give only a very rough idea, because of the unknown increase in quality of beasts.

The following table has the stock numbers reduced to the amount per 100 acres.[1]

	Horses	*Cattle*	*Sheep*	*Pigs*	*Stock equivalent*[2]
H. Scutt, 1632 .	3	16	10	4	17·25
All seventeenth-century farms	3·3	14·6	15	7·8	18
In 1798 . .	3·1	9·3	20	5·3	13·9
1908[3] . .	4·2	19·1	60·9	7·2	28

H. Scutt therefore had 62 per cent., the seventeenth-century farms had 64 per cent., Kirdford farms in 1798 had 50 per cent. of the 1908 figures. The first two show how far from negligible were the amounts of livestock, and the 1798 figures reflect the swing from mixed to largely arable farming.

[1] H. Scutt's and the seventeenth-century farm figures are based on the hypothesis outlined. The seventeenth-century and the 1798 figures are the result of dividing the total stock figures by:

$\frac{5,857}{100}$ being the sum total of the farm stock values of the 47 farm inventories used and therefore their total acreage, on my hypothesis.

$\frac{8,870}{100}$ being the acreage farmed in the parish in the early nineteenth century: *S.A.C.* LXXXIX. 71.

[2] The stock equivalents that I have used are: any kind of horse, 1 unit; cattle, $\frac{3}{4}$ unit; sheep, $\frac{1}{8}$ unit; pig, $\frac{1}{4}$ unit. This is simply an attempt to give relative values of the various types of livestock to the productivity of the farmland.

[3] The 1908 figures are for the whole country for farms between 50 and 300 acres. Recent figures in farm size groups are not available. (Min. of Agr., Statistics branch.)

It is possible that the sheep numbers in 1798 are not comparable, as some of them may have been agisted, whereas the seventeenth-century sheep were the farmer's own property. But the sheep numbers are largely confined to a few of the larger farms; e.g. 56 per cent. of the sheep in the seventeenth century are to be found in 10 of the 49 farm inventories; the remaining 39 average only 10 sheep of all ages. The same applies in 1798, when 9 of the larger farmers, usually on the lighter land, average 113 sheep each, the remaining 27 farmers averaging only 26.

Some farms no doubt occur at least twice in the surviving inventories, but the acreage concerned (5,857) in the seventeenth century is only two-thirds of the 1798 farmed acreage, so that it is unlikely that more than half the Kirdford farms are covered by inventories.

A final confirmation of this hypothesis is forthcoming only in one reasonably accurate inventory, which has a complete cropping acreage and whose acreage is known. The inventory (No. 33) was made in June 1667 for William Alderton of Fordland and Laneland farms, which totalled 158 acres.[1] In this inventory one freak entry slightly upsets its total stock value. Only 2 inventories out of 59 show more than 12 cows, and as cow numbers are notably uniform for farms of this size it is clear that Alderton with 18 had about three times the usual number. His stock value may therefore be about £10 too high at £172.

It is on the remarkable relative uniformity of the seventeenth-century farms here that this relation between the farm values and acreage is based. It will be seen from the table of the 10 farms on p. 102 that this inventory (No. 33) had a cropping acreage of 41 and that the suggested total acreage was 145; its actual acreage was 158, a difference of only 8 per cent., although the inventory value of £172 was unusually high.[2]

[1] In 1608 Fordland was 60 acres: I.P.M. (ex V.C.H. refs.; I have to thank Mr. L. F. Salzman for this). In 1617 Laneland was 98 acres: Bosham Manor MSS. S.A.S. Deeds.

[2] The Scutts—Henry was cited as the typical Kirdford farmer—in suc-

Inventory Prices 1612 to 1744

A study of the prices in the Kirdford inventories shows, within fairly regular fluctuations, no rise in crop values throughout the period.[1] The same applies to livestock and implements until towards the end of the seventeenth century, but thereafter there was some rise in values which will be discussed later. The prices were plainly estimates only and for a single item, corn or beast, undefined and alone they have little meaning. But collectively, when a farm's crops or livestock, good and bad, are grouped they can be fairly reliable evidence. Such groups can be compared and a relative balance of the farm can be assessed. The relative totals of prices of household goods, crops, livestock, timber, implements, and credit yield much of interest. The averages of numbers of such normal groups at various periods are probably even more reliable.

The wide range of quality in corn or stock, hardly possible of definition in an inventory, where even the simplest of qualifications are rare, makes the price for a single item meaningless. A horse may be priced at 5*s*. or it may be £5; a quarter of wheat may be good-quality seed or a worthless sample; without any precise definition such isolated entries tell us nothing.

Inventory prices may have limited significance, but collectively and relatively they are of value, and I have used their groupings and relations as a basis for tying a farm's stock value to its acreage, and, excluding small-

cessive years show a variation of 12 per cent. due to the varying acreage of fallow on the same farm owing to differing field sizes.

[1] This stability was not purely local, it is reflected in the prices of wheat in Windsor market. I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Steer for a most valuable list of prices covering the years 1595 to 1765 and extracted from the Eton College audit books. A ten-year average from 1612 to 1621 gives a price of 40*s*. 2*d*. a quarter, and from 1735 to 1744 a price of 37*s*. 8*d*. a quarter. As regards fluctuations, our farmers had few cash requirements other than their rent, and the price of wheat in some distant market made little difference to them. If there had been a local crop failure they suffered and the shortage is reflected in the local price. In this connection J. A. Venn in *The Foundations of Agricultural Economics* (1933), p. 360, notes that wheat prices are very susceptible to adverse influences, and when alternative sources of supply were almost non-existent a shortage of 10 per cent. might result in a 30 to 50 per cent. price rise.

holdings, for deciding the type of farming practised on a typical farm.

The amount of household goods, implements, crop acreages, numbers of livestock, and to lesser extent the amount of corn in store, being easily ascertainable by the appraisers, are probably accurate and provide the evidence for the type of farming and perhaps the size of the farm.

With no farm accounts available it is not possible to check the inventory values, but among the Frithfold farm deeds in Petworth House there is a small sheet of paper headed '1696. Bill of sale J. Barnes to J. Machell', which from other evidence is probably for the live- and dead stock of Frithfold. The values in general appear to be higher than the current inventory values, though the two grey mares, called Diamond and Gally, are priced at £9, which agrees with the current cart-horse values; and the best wagon and wheels, priced at £6, can be matched at or soon after this date.

Crops. The prices of crops are usually grouped both for quantity and acreage and nothing useful can be found except for wheat, the spring crops being rarely separated. A maximum price of 30*s.* a quarter is maintained throughout the period. The minimum price varies, but seldom falls below 20*s.* For oats the maximum is 13*s.* and minimum 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter. The price per acre of wheat sown varies considerably but the maximum very rarely exceeds 50*s.* per acre and seldom falls below 20*s.*, the usual being around 30*s.* Hay was usually about £1 per load.

Livestock. As with crops, the livestock prices, and no doubt the quality of the beasts also, show considerable variation within stable limits. There does seem to have been a slight tendency for the price of oxen to rise towards the end of the seventeenth century, but the great majority were valued at about £4 for the whole period. Cows show a rise from about 45*s.* during the seventeenth century to about 60*s.* at the end of the period.

Sheep of all sorts, pigs of all sorts, and young stock of

all ages are almost invariably grouped for valuation. There may have been a slight tendency for the price to rise over the period, particularly for the young stock; but the eighteenth-century inventories are too few and are not altogether typical.

Horses, after averaging about 45*s.* to 50*s.* for most of the seventeenth century, show a marked rise in price from 1678 onwards. There is no doubt that about this time a more valuable stamp of horses was being bred and gradually supplanting the traditional oxen. By 1693 H. Penfold had 5 horses worth £20 and by 1700 William Penycod of Palfrey had 5 CART-horses worth £20, the earliest reference in the inventories to this type. Thereafter the rise continues, and in 1726 T. Sturt had 3 colts and harness valued at £30. 10*s.*; in 1727 Wm. Stent of Butcherland had 4 CART-horses worth £26.

Oxen were declining; in the earliest period, 1612 to 1659, 21 out of 25 farms kept them, in 1700 to 1744 only 4 out of 10 farms, and they were the larger farms, kept any. Here the heavy horse had come to stay.

Implements. These are usually grouped. There is a steady rise in the proportion of the value of implements in the total farm stock value:

1612–59	4·2 per cent.	for 25	farms
1660–99	7·2 ,,	24	,,
1700–44	9·0 ,,	10	,,

This appears to be partly due to some increase in quantity and partly to some rise in price. Possibly the wagons going off to the Downs for chalk all needed iron-shod wheels, possibly there was some increase in arable farming necessitating more tackle. Wagons usually were valued at about £3. In 1633 Rd. Kinge, who farmed a typical farm of about 120 acres, had 1 wagon and wheels, 1 pair of wooden wheels, 1 dung pot, 2 ox harrows, 1 horse harrow, 1 plough with yokes, chains, and other implements, all valued at £4. 10*s.* In 1700 Wm. Penycod of Palfrey farmed 113 acres with 1 wagon, 1 dung pot, 3 pairs of wheels, 3 harrows, 1 plough, all valued at £9. 17*s.*—a similar amount of tackle but about double the price.

The tackle appears to be a barest minimum even allowing for some sharing. The usual farm tackle is shown in the inventories here printed in full; and to complete the picture a few less usual references may be mentioned, thus: a water-cart (1773), van (1693, 1723), a drey (1667), 2 cole waynes (1642), roll or roller (1666, 1701), wattles (1773, 1776), sheep gates (1742), a strike plough (1773), a tar cloth (1776).

In 1669 Larance Woodgyer had two pairs of iron-bound wheels with a frame thereto; as he was owed £24. 16*s.* for timber carting, this may have been a timber tug. There are five references to cider presses; the earliest one occurs in the printed inventory of William Strudwick in 1678; there is a single reference to a cider mill (17*s.* 6*d.*). There are eight references to winnowing fans from 1617 to 1773; one is described as a 'turning fan to winnow corn' (20*s.*), another as a 'winnowing fan, sailes with a wheel'. All farms had prongs or forks, and many had sacks, which are very highly priced; in 1776 Robert Shotter had 120 coal sacks. Seedlips are common; less common are axes, bills, hatchets, spiters,[1] ringers,[2] shovels, cross-cut saws, sickles, hooks, rakes, augers, scythes, sneads,[3] ladders, butter churns, and iron wedges (for timber throwing).

There are single references to: a barley noller,[4] 5*s.* (1667), grass mat hook[5] (1736), stone punch (1691), hen coops, and rat trap (1701), dung spuds (1773).

Notes on the Comparative Summaries

The detailed analysis sheets for the farm and smallholding inventories are too bulky and specialized in their interest to print; they have been put in the W.S.R.O. These summaries are the final filtering of 210 inventories and the 1798 farm statistics.

It must be emphasized that the value of averages depends on the number of inventory entries (printed in italics) from which they were taken. These entries are valuable for showing such trends as the

[1] Spiter: possibly one of the many types of spade.
[2] Ringer: possibly a crowbar.
[3] Snead: the long handle of a scythe.
[4] Noller: a strange grid-like tool for chopping the whiskers off barley.
[5] Mat hook: probably mattock: a tool of pick shape with an adze and a chisel edge as ends of the head, locally known as a grub axe.

decline in oxen from the first part of the seventeenth century, when 84 per cent. of the farms kept them, to 1798, when only 40 per cent. of the farms show any.

Comparative Summary of Farm Crop and Stock Figures (£30–£300)

	1612–59	*1660–99*	*1700–44*	*1798*
Number of farms dealt with	25	24	10	45
Average per farm:				
Value	£121 (*24*)	£128 (*23*)	£140 (*10*)	—
Crop percentage	42 (*20*)	44 (*23*)	44 (*9*)	—
Wheat acreage	12½ (*17*)	16½ (*19*)	12 (*5*)	—
Spring corn acreage	19½ (*12*)	23½ (*11*)	21 (*2*)	—
Oxen	5 (*21*)	4 (*17*)	4½ (*4*)	6½ (*18*)
Horses and colts	3¼ (*24*)	5 (*23*)	5¾ (*10*)	6 (*45*)
Cows and bulls	6 (*23*)	6 (*22*)	5 (*10*)	4½ (*45*)
Young stock, stores	9 (*22*)	10½ (*21*)	10 (*10*)	11 (*43*)
Sheep, all ages	24 (*18*)	31 (*15*)	27 (*6*)	43 (*35*)
Pigs, all ages	10 (*23*)	10½ (*22*)	6 (*9*)	10 (*45*)
Implements	£5. 6*s.* (*21*)	£9. 6*s.* 6*d.* (*22*)	£13. 9*s.* (*8*)	
References to:				
Wheat	24	24	10	42 (*45*)
Oats	24	23	9	33 (*45*)
Peas	14	8	8	5 (*45*)
Barley	5	2	5	3 (*45*)
Tares	6	5	2	—
Malt	5	2	1	1 (*45*)
Flax	3	—	1	—
French wheat	4	1	1	—
Rye	7	—	—	—
Beans	2	1	—	5 (*45*)
Dredge	—	3	—	—
Clover and seed	—	1	4	
Hops	1	1	—	—
Hay	9	14	8	41 (*45*)
Lime	4	9	8	
Dung	3	1	—	
Timber	5	4	3	
Faggots	3	5	3	
Copse	—	—	3	
Poultry, &c.	18	4	—	—
Bees	8	8	—	—
Fish	1	1	1	
Yeomen	6	12	6	
Husbandmen	10	4	4	
Others	1	3	—	
Leases	8	—	—	

The division by date into forty- or fifty-year groups has no particular significance except to show changes or, in the case of the farms, absence of change in the type or balance of farming practice.

The number of farm and smallholding inventories examined is 112.

1611–59	25 farmers	24 smallholders.
1660–99	24 ,,	11 ,,
1700–44	10 ,,	9 ,,

Plus 2 farms 1660–99 of over £300 in farm value.
,, 7 ,, 1700–76 ,, ,, ,,

These 9 were separated as being extremes; but in general the large farmers run true to the uniform pattern, with perhaps a slight tendency to a larger proportion of crops and less livestock.

Not all the inventories are in perfect condition or complete; this accounts for the differences in some cases in the total number for the group and the number from which the averages are taken. Plainly in the case of spring corn only the inventories between April and August will always show it. Survivals are far from regular; e.g. there are only two farm inventories between 1649 and 1660, during the Commonwealth period, when here as elsewhere the probate machinery collapsed. The three inventories after 1744 provide a slender link with the 1798 statistics.[1] The eighteenth-century inventories are fewer and tend to be for the larger farmers, so that their evidence is not as convincing as the earlier ones.

There were fashions in inventories; e.g. leases are not mentioned after 1645 and no poultry or bees are included after 1689.

The inventories used are limited to the values shown in order to avoid the extremes which upset any averaging. The value of a farm includes crops, livestock, implements, timber, lime, dung, but not leases, debts, household goods, and provisions.

The average farm value remains very stable, the £140 in the eighteenth century being largely due to a higher proportion of large farmers' inventories which have survived. When dealing with such small numbers as ten inventories, if a single large farmer, Edward Stanley, 1725 (£282), is omitted the average drops to £133.

The crop percentage includes all corn and hay, growing or stored; it remained remarkably stable throughout the period. The winter and spring corn acreages plainly must be separated. My division of these into wheat for winter and oats with some peas for spring follows the inventory evidence. From appropriate examples one can measure the relative importance of the spring crops and thereby interpret the cropping sequence practised.

When dealing with inventory crops here it must be remembered that wheat was in the ground about 10 months, oats 5, peas 6, and barley 4, so that the number of references must be qualified accordingly.

The average wheat acreage for the eighteenth century is not reliable as the number of inventories is too few, and in the case of spring corn an average of two is useless. By 1798 the arable acreage had greatly increased and the real averages probably would show a

[1] In 1798 45 farmers and 10 smallholders completed stock returns: *S.A.C.* LXXXIX. 71.

steady rise throughout the period. Any yield estimations from our inventories would be pure surmise.

The oxen shown are draught beasts and are only rarely grouped with steers. The divisions I have used simply follow the inventory practice. Their total numbers show little decline, but the number of farmers using them drops sharply; by 1798 the twelve large farmers (averaging 370 acres) had 94 of the 126 draught oxen here. Horses are grouped and include the occasional 'little nag', 'old blind mare', &c. There is a rise in numbers at the end of the seventeenth century, but the rise in quality is the significant fact.

Cows and bulls are grouped, the few bulls making no difference. Over the period there is a small decline in numbers. The young stock and stores, &c., are grouped, as they usually are in the inventories; their numbers remain remarkably stable.

Sheep were widely kept here but, except in 10 of the 49 farm inventories, their numbers were trifling. Any increase in numbers up to 1744 is small and thereafter was again confined to the largest farms.

The numbers of pigs vary little, the apparent decline in the eighteenth century being possibly due only to the fewness of the inventories. Considering the vital role they played as the staple meat for the bulk of the people their numbers are not large, and in spite of the widespread idea of hordes of swine roaming in the Clay woodlands there is no evidence here of more than a bare minimum of perhaps two or three sows per farm. The evidence points unmistakably to cattle being very much the most important livestock here.

The references to various crops, subject to the qualifications mentioned, give some idea of their frequency. The spring crops are usually grouped, not because they were sown together but for ease of valuing. If all the inventories had been made in July they would probably all show some hay; the fact that only about half the farmers show it and other spring crops is largely due to the month they happened to die in.

The clover seed is interesting as evidence of the introduction of leys about 1680. This coincides with some increase in the number of references to hay.

Lime and dung seem to have been included when the appraiser thought of them; there is no reference to dung after 1667. Poultry and bees belong to the earlier years only and are surprisingly few in numbers. One or two hives of bees, five or six hens, and a few references to geese, one to turkeys (1680), and an occasional duck. There are a few references to fish: in 1618 at Crawfold, in 1689 to 'fish in both ponds', in 1742 to 'fish £3'. Right through our period fish played a useful part when fresh food was scarce.

The farmer's status is given in 46 out of 59 cases; half of these were yeomen and 18 were husbandmen, 2 were farmers, 1 a 'Gentleman', 1 a wheelwright, and 1 a blacksmith.

Seven farm inventories, including Henry Scutt's, are printed in full, namely:

		Gross value	*Farm value*
		£	£
1	1616 Robert Strudwick of Crouchland	357	217
2	1632 Henry Scutt	157	127
3	1652 Richard Mose	177	150
4	1678 William Strudwick of Hills Green	180	101
5	1689 John Eede of Crawfold	411	273
6	1725 William Penycod of Palfrey	403[1]	217
7	1744 Thomas Cooper	149	93

Nos. 1, 5, and 6 were large yeoman farmers with resident servants. Nos. 2, 3, and 7 were working farmers, and No. 4 was a yeoman family in decline but still keeping up some state in the house. These were selected partly to cover the period and partly to show how three of the leading yeoman families lived—the Strudwicks, Eedes, and Penycods. They are not printed as evidence but purely for their interest, to show their household goods and as examples of the type of material on which this paper is based. No summaries of farms are included because the whole paper is a summary, and any dodging about apart from the complete tabulations would only confuse the issue.

When inventories are examined individually they present a picture of seemingly endless variety, and it is only when they are tabulated in bulk that a pattern may emerge and some conclusions be drawn.[2] Living conditions varied greatly; the working farmer and the small landowning yeoman may have used the same sized farm but their standards of comfort were completely different. Robert and William Strudwick had about three times the value in household goods of Henry Scutt and about four times that of Richard Mose. With William the family was declining and he had household goods valued at 60 per cent. of his farm crops and stock, whereas John Eede of Crawfold, another yeoman of

[1] This is exclusive of his exceptional store of malt.

[2] I suggest that the quicker and more dangerous technique of 'sampling' needs much experience and knowledge of local conditions in recognizing and discounting variations from the normal; even then some upper and lower limits are probably advisable if more than a general picture is to be achieved.

substance whose family survived there for another 200 years, had household goods only to the value of 18 per cent. of farm crops and stock. The wide range of our farmers' household goods is illustrated by two of these inventories: at the lower end Richard Mose with £15 worth, and at the top William Penycod with £100 worth. Henry Scutt at £22 represents the majority, only a few approach William Penycod's standard.

No. 2. Robert Strudwick. Yeoman of Crouchland. 13 Feb. 1616.
In the chamber wheare he laye.

his apparrell & money in his purse, £5, one ioyned[1] bedstedle, one fetherbed, one fether bolster, 2 pillowes & 2 coveringes, 2 blankettes with curtains & vallens, £5. 2*s*. 6*d*., 2 lytle coffers, one wickar chaire, 5*s*. 6*d*.

In the maydes chamber.

2 oulde bedstedles, 2 flockbeds canves, 3 flockbolsteres, 2 coverlets, 2 blanketts, with one tester of stayneclothe, 37*s*., one ould cheste, 3*s*. 4*d*.

In the menservants chamber.

3 bedstedles, 2 flockbeds, 2 flockbolsters, 2 ould coverletts, 2 blanketts, & one staineclothe. 38*s*.

In the hall.

one table with a frame, one forme, 10*s*., one small byble & two psalters, 11*s*.

In the bakehouse.

one powderinge troughe, one bunting hutch,[2] one cheese presse, 2 bolles, one kyver with 3 sackes with cheesehoopes,[3] basketts & other lumber & thinges of small value, 12*s*. 6*d*.

In the parlor.

one drawinge table with a frame & a carpet, 6 ioyned stooles, lyverie cupboarde with a carpet, one ioyned chaire 2 wrought loomework cushions, 46*s*. 3*d*., one oulde cradle, 12*d*.

In the chamber over the parlor.

one bedstedle ioyned. 30*s*., one fetherbed, one fetherbolster, 2 fether pillowes, 1 covelet & one blanket with curtaines & vallens, £5. 6*s*. 8*d*., one table with a frame & a carpet, 5 ioyned stooles, one ioyned chaire, 1 chest & a pare of wrought andyrons, 27*s*., one sylver salte & 2 sillver spoones, £3. 10*s*., 2 womens gownes of clothe, £3. 6*s*. 8*d*., 2 gownes of stuffe beinge oulde, 40*s*., 2 clothe peticoates & an oulde peticoate of stuffe & a wastcoate, 53*s*. 4*d*., 3 silke kirtles with 2 stomachers of silke, £3, 2 hattes of felte, 12*s*.

[1] Ioyned: Joined, i.e. made by a joiner rather than the local carpenter.

[2] Bunting hutch: a trough on three legs for sifting flour. (P. & S., p. 22, per F. W. S.)

[3] Cheesehoopes: Mr. F. W. Steer suggests that these are bands used to give rigidity to cheese-moulds. The reference in Wm. Penycod's inventory of 1725 supports this suggestion.

In the chamber over the kitchin.

one ioyned bedstedle, one fetherbed, one fetherbolster, one coverlet, one blanket, £4. 5*s*.

In the butterie.

one planke table, 7 barrells, a pare of slinges, one shelfe, 15*s*.

Linnen in the house.

11 pare of sheetes, £3. 13*s*. 4*d*., 7 table cloathes, 33*s*. 4*d*., 21 dyaper napkins, 6*s*., 12 flaxen napkins, 6*s*., 2 dyaper towells & 2 flaxen towells, 6*s*. 8*d*., 8 pillow coates, 8*s*., one long towell Hollen, 3*s*. 4*d*.

In the garret loftes.

oates in the floore & in the vates—8 quarters, £3. 4*s*., hopps in the house in 2 tubbes, 6*s*., beanes in the house, 6*s*., hastie peason, 4*s*., fethers in a tubbe, 3*s*., oaten malte, 12*s*., 8 hoggs of bacon & 3 flitches of beefe, £8.

In the milkhouse.

a buttercharne, a table upon tressles, 4 trugges with crockes & smalle implementes, larde in vessells, 18*s*.

In the brewhouse.

a yauteing fate,[1] 4 tubbes, 6 kyvers, a fanne, 2 barrells & other wooden vessells, 26*s*. 8*d*.

In the kytchin.

an yron tresle & a ringeryron,[2] 7*s*., a table with a frame, a dresser boarde & a forme, 5*s*., 2 brasse pottes, 2 yron pottes, 4 brasse kettles, 2 brasse skellets, 15*s*., one bedpanne 2*s*., a small yron plate, a cleever, a fleshhooke, a melting ladle, 2*s*., 2 potthangers, a pare of potthookes, 4 croaches, 2 fyrepans, a pare of tonges, a fyrepronge, a pare of grydyrons, one yron dripping panne, a pare of wrought andyrons, 12*s*., 4 pewter candlesticks, 2 brasse candlestickes 5*s*., 2 doble saltes, 2 singel saltes 2*s*. 6*d*., 11 pewter platters, 19 smalle pewter dishes, 6 fruit dishes, 7 sawcers, one ewer potte, one pewter bason, 2 pottingers & pewter spoones 48*s*., one brasse morter, a stone morter, pestell with wodden dishes & spoones & trenchers, 13*s*. 4*d*. Butter & cheese in the house, 15*s*., onnyons in the kytchin 2*s*., 2 stalls of bees, 6*s*. 8*d*., poulterie aboute the house, 3*s*., a sow and 7 hogstooles,[3] 45*s*., two mares, £5., wheate in the barne, £24., oates in the barn, £7., haye in the barne & reekes, £16, two waynes & one pare of shod wheeles, & a pare of wheeles unshod, £3, 2 ox harrows & 2 horse harrows, 18*s*., 2 ploughes with yrons & yokes & 4 chaines, 2 pare of thilles[4] & 2 dungpottes with ropes & all other implements of husbandry & working tooles in and about the house, 46*s*. 8*d*.

4 oxen & one steere, £18. Cattell. 4 twoyearlinge beastes, £7, 3 twelvemonthinges, £3, 8 kyne & a bull, £20, 20 ewes & 15 suckinge lambes, £9, soyle in the gates & in Blackmanwood, £4, Boardd ready

[1] Yauteing fate: probably a worting vat. Wort: an infusion of malt before it is fermented into beer.

[2] Ringeryron: possibly connected with ringer, a crowbar, per F. W. S.

[3] Hogstooles: possibly small pigs.

[4] Thilles: shafts.

cutt by estimation 50 cord. £8. 6*s*., boarde being cutt for Collwoodd, £6, about two thousand of boardes cleft, £4, 4000 of sawed boarde, £6. 13*s*. 4*d*., — of 3 inch planke, £5, 200 of 2 inch planke, 13*s*. 4*d*., 200 of 1 inch planke, 10*s*., 2000 & 700 of sawed boarde, £4. 10*s*.

Wheate upon the grounde by estimacion 17 acres, £30, for a lease of certaine land att Staples hill, £10, wood & timber bought of Garret Kempe knight, standing upon Bidland, £33. 13*s*. 4*d*., stone bought in Rumball of Robert Penfold, 50*s*.

debts owing unto the estate by John Mose, gent, £40, another debt owing unto him by Christopher Napper for half a years rent due at Michaelmas last past, £10. 10*s*.

sum total. £356. 15*s*. 8*d*.

The Strudwick family at this time were at the height of their influence and were farming well over a thousand acres in this parish, in addition to their glass, iron, timber, and land-owning interests. Robert's brother William had Hills Green. Robert's eldest son Henry was only 13 when his father died. The timber on Bidland mentioned in the inventory was to be sold if necessary to pay Robert's debts. In his will he directed that his servant 'Wm. Jackman shall dwell in my house where he now dwelleth for his lifetime and so as he do well looke unto the fruyt which shall grow in the orchard belonging to the said house. . . .'

The reference to sucking lambs looks as if he had lambed by mid-February. Robert Strudwick's timber interests were large; no other inventory shows the same proportion of the whole.

No. 25. Richard Mose. Yeoman. 3 June 1652.

his wareinge apparell & money in his purse, £2.

In his bedchamber.

1 featherbedd, 2 flockbedds, 5 sheets, 3 covletts, 3 blanketts, 1 steddle, & 1 trundle stedle at the price of £4, 4 chests, 1 box and 1 chare, £1, 2 payre of tyre[1] sheets and a payre of other sheets, £1.

In the chamber over the butterie.

1 flockebedd & bolster, 1 covelet, 1 blankett and 1 payre of sheets, 15*s*., 2 old bedsteddles & 2 old chests, 5*s*.

In the kitchin.

1 table, 1 cubbard, 4 joyned stooles, 1 forme and 1 cradell, £1,

[1] Tyre: possibly connected with tire: flax for spinning. (P.)

2 yron potts, 2 potthangers, an yron marmant,[1] an yron skillett, 2 brasse kittles and 2 brasse posnetts,[2] £1. 10*s*., 1 dozen of pewter, 12*s*., a brasse furnace, 10*s*., 4 fletches of bacon, £2. 10*s*., tubbs, kivers, barrells and other wooden vessells at the price of £1. 10*s*.
Without dores.

8 working cattell, £28, 7 kine and 1 bull, £18, 6 horse beasts, £12, 20 teggs & 10 lambes, £6, 2 twelvemonthings, 1 twoyearlinge and 3 weaning calves, £5, 7 hoggs & piggs at £5. 5*s*., wheat on the ground, £30, oates on the ground, £20, peas and tares, £5, waggons, waynes, dungpotts, ploughes, harrows chaynes & all other husbandrie & tooles, £10, 2 kills of lyme, £9, 1 quarter of wheat & 1 quarter of oats, £2. 4*s*., Ten pound owinge, £10.

sum. £177. 1*s*.

(appraisors: Henry Streater, John Constable.)

Like Henry Scutt, Mose was another typical working farmer, possibly farming about 150 acres. His household goods are a bare, very bare, minimum, less than 10 per cent. of his total possessions. The Mose family in 1547 were glassmakers at Plaistow.

No. 39. William Strudwick of Hills Green. Yeoman. 12 Feb. 1678.
forr his apparill & money in his purse, £10.
In the kicthen.

— pond of pewter, £4. 14*s*. 8*d*., thre brass fore iron potts 3 iron kittels three brass pootts 4 brass kitteles to brass panes 3 brass skillets three iron driping panes 8 spitts one pare of andirons firepan and tongs three pare of pootthangers and jacks one tapele dreser & form and other things, £3. 17*s*.
In the hall.

a table and to ioned forms and a ston taple one copord & a still, £2.
In the parlor.

one long table one rond table and a sid cubord and thre carpets six stulls and a form 3 chares a pare of andirons and a backe, £2. 10*s*.
In the butterey.

4 brass vesels & a ston, 8*s*.
In the seller.

8 vesells and to stans 3 doz of bottels, £1. 10*s*.
In the milke house.

one table thirty tree latine[3] panes crooks & poots a butter basscet friingpan blade & waites, £2.[4]

[1] Marmant: possibly a cooking pot, compare marm, a verb, to jelly; or marmit, a pot with hooks at the side. (H. per F. W. S.)
[2] Skilletts and posnetts: forerunners of saucepans, with three legs. (S.)
[3] Latine: probably laten: a mixed metal resembling brass. (H. per F. W. S.)
[4] Blade & waites. Mr. L. F. Salzman suggests that a blade is the pan of a

In the closet.

bottels & books, £1.

In the beakehouse.

2 cheesprees a beaking trow a sillting trow a kneall tub & flouer tub & kiver hopes & valles 3 sershes to spining whilles & other lumber, £2. 10*s*.

In the bruwhouse.

one furnus one vatte five tubs six kivers, £3. 10*s*.

In the chamber over the parlor.

one bed & bedstedel curtains & wallins one coverlett to blancets one table to chears & a stoll 2 boolsters & one under beed to pellows, £6.

In the hall chamber.

one bed & bedstedell to boolsters to blanckets & a coverlet one to chest one bascit chare, £4.

In the bucking chamber.

3 chist on flacscit[1] a trundel stedel & a pare of stockcards,[2] 10*s*.

In the gusen chamber.

3 beds to stedels 4 boolesters 3 pellows 3 coverlets 5 blancets cuertains vaillains one sidcubord & one preese one table sex chares 2 chamberpots, £10.

In the chamber over the chukien.

4 beds & to stedels 3 coverlets 4 blancets 5 boolsters 2 peelows 1 table 2 cheast 1 preese curtains 1 seeing glas 2 chamber pots, £5.

In the brewhouse chamber.

one bedstedell 2 chest 2 andirons half a hundred of hoops, £1. 5*s*., 14 pare of sheets 9 table cloths 5 doz of napkins 6 pare of peelowcoats 6 touells, £6.

In the chamber over the milkehouse.

one bedstedell flacks and 8 sakes & other lumber, £11. 10*s*.

In the porch hall.

6 hogds of bakeon with lumber, £6.

three and twenty bushells of oats 12 bushels of french wheat, £2. 8*s*.

In the Ranghous.[3] one sider press with a ston and cuper stuf with

pair of scales. See also No. 47. John Eede's inventory, 1689: 'in the kitchen, 1 iron beam and blades'.

[1] Flacscit: Flasket: a clothes basket or a shallow washing tub. (P.)

[2] Stock-card: a large wooden instrument with iron teeth, for carding wool. (H. per F. W. S.)

[3] Ranghouse. In *V.C.H.* II. 363, and in *English Industries in the Middle Ages* (1923), Mr. L. F. Salzman describes the cider industry and refers to a 'Wringehowse' in Wisborough Green in 1385 which he says was presumably the building containing the cider press. He records that in the Nonae Rolls of 1341 for Sussex mention of cider occurs in no fewer than eighty parishes, only six of which were in E. Sussex. In Kirdford the cider was assessed at three-quarters the value of the sheaves (corn). It was relatively very important; more than this cannot be suggested because the local price and the yield per acre is unknown—only a ten-year average would give figures of any value.

other lumber, £2, oats & heay in the barn at the farm, £3, a score of youes, £7. 10*s*., fore ackeres of wheat, £3, fore oxen fore cows three young beasts, £43, to horses & to colts, £12, six pigs & a sow, £2, wheat in the barn & heay, £8, malt in the hous, £1. 10*s*., a nue wagon and a dungpott & whels, £6, eight akers of wheat upon the ground, £8, a hors three pond, £3, for plowes harowes yocks chains harness and all other husbandry tackilling, £2.

summan totalis. £179. 12*s*. 8*d*.

(appraisers: Edward Wackford, Henry Penfold, Richard Penfold.)

There are only five references to cider presses and one to a cider mill among our 210 inventories, but if we may assume that only the farmers had them it is possible that 10 per cent. of the farms were so equipped; they were no doubt shared and would be adequate for the parish and for the production of considerable quantities. There is no evidence of anything approaching the relative importance of cider to corn found in the fourteenth century. There is only a single reference to the finished product, in Richard Main's inventory (p. 139) and there are very few references to apples or orchards. If there had been any commercial enterprise it is unlikely that the inventories would be entirely silent.

In the Tithe Apportionment schedule of 1845 there are 46 references to orchards, totalling 50 acres. Not all survived as orchards at that date but we may assume that during the eighteenth century and probably for much longer 50 acres could supply the parish with eating, cooking, and cider apples. Of this 50 acres 18½ acres, in 6 inclosures, were at Wephurst, none of which survived as orchards in 1845. Excluding Wephurst there were 40 small orchards averaging about ¾-acre each. Thus less than half the holdings, large or small, had any apples. Today there are over 400 acres of apples, largely dessert, in the parish.

The Strudwicks had been at Hills Green for at least a hundred years, but their day was declining and the last of the family of whom I have a record at Hills Green was Henry in 1689. From their inventories the family lived in comparative comfort, and for much of the seventeenth century were the most influential people in the parish. William Strudwick of Hills Green in 1614

had eight resident servants. This is evident from the will of John Strudwick the elder, husbandman, who makes a bequest to his seven 'fellow servants in the house of Mr. Wm. Strudwick of Hills Green' of 2*s*. each. Four of these were men, probably farm workers, one being a Strudwick, and three were women, two being Strudwicks. A sum of £41 was divided between three of his relatives and his widow, the remainder of his goods, &c. he left to 'my Mr. William Strudwick aforesaid'. The household had a decidedly patriarchal air.

William in 1678 owned Hills Green and left it to his wife Elizabeth. In addition to the 78 acres of Hills Green he appears to have had about 40 acres of Farthings; his stock suggests he had more than this and his labour force considerably more.

The writing of this inventory is firm and good and appears to be that of his neighbour Henry Penfold of Thornhouse Farm. The spelling is unusually wayward.

No. 47. John Eede. Yeoman of Crawfold. 29 April 1689.
His wearing apparrell & money in his purse, £3.
In the kitchen chamber.
two feather bedes foure bolsters two bedsteds curtains & vallence & all things belonging to them, £5, 3 chests 1 chaire two truckle bedsteds, 10*s*.
In the middle chamber.
one feather bed 2 bolsters 1 bedsted & curtains & vallences & all things belonging to him, £5, six chaires 1 small table 1 chest 1 presse 1 paire of andirons fire pan tongues & bellowes, £2.
In the farther chamber.
one feather bed two bollsters & bedsteds cord & matt 3 blancketts 3 chests 4 chaires, £3. 4*s*.
In the servants chamber.
a flockebed 2 bolsters a cradle & steddle, £1.
In the next room belowe.
1 bedstedle & three blancketts, £1.
In the Hall.
a table a cubboard 2 chayres a clocke 5 joynt stooles a forme & andirons, £2.
In the kitchen.
one table a dresser 4 chayres & a small forme, 10*s*., 3 iron potts 3 potthangers a kettle a pr of andirons fire pan tongs 1 iron backe 4 spitts 2 pr of gridirons a plate 1 jacke 2 smoothing irons 6 skivells[1]

[1] Skivells: skewers. (P.)

a pr of bellowes 3 clevers & a dripping pan, £2. 10*s*., 3 brasse kettles 2 skilletts a chaffering dish one warming pan & 1 scimmer, £1, 47 pewter dishes 10 porringers 3 candlesticks 3 saucers 1 flaggon 1 salt seller, £3. 18*s*., 3 gunns 2 pistolls 1 iron beame & blades, £2.

In the buttery.

7 barrells 4 kilderkins 5 kivers 1 tunn 1 fatt 2 other tubbs a rening tubb[1] & bucking tubb[2] 2 milke churnes 1 furnace, £4. 10*s*.

In the milke house.

2 dressers 3 dozen of trugs 2 powdering tubbs 1 frying pan 1 dozen of bottles 3 crocks & other earthenware, £2. 15*s*., 23 pr of sheets 7 doz of napkine 8 table cloathes 4 pr of pillow coates 8 towells & other small lynnen, £13.

Corne thrashed & in the barne pease & tares & clover seed, £4. 12*s*., wheat 5 load, £25, growing on the ground 30 acres of wheat, £30, oates 37 acres, £21. 17*s*. 6*d*., 4 three yearling beast, £11, 5 beast 2 years old 7 beast 1 year old & 2 small two yearlings, £13. 19*s*., six working oxen, £30, 7 cowes & calves, £20, 8 horse & mares, £40, 11 hogs, £8. 10*s*., old hay & clover, £5, 3 kilns of chalke, £10, husbandry tackle 2 waggons, 3 dung potts 8 harrows 2 pr of old wheeles 2 pr of cart ropes 3 ploughs 8 yoakes 5 chaines 8 pr of horseharness, £21, debts owing to the decd good & bad debts, £101. 10*s*., thirty couple of ewes & lambs, £15, geese & poultry, 10*s*., 1 hog tub 2 hog troughs & some husbandry tooles & other lumber, £1.

summa tot. £411. 15*s*. 6*d*.

(appraizors: William Fielder. Jeffery Dawtrey. 30 May 1689.)

The parish registers show that John Eede farmed Crawfold; the family used this farm from 1668 until *c*. 1900. The house and 80 acres is in Kirdford but a large part of the farm is in the neighbouring parish of Petworth. The Eedes have the longest unbroken record of farming in Kirdford of over three hundred years, and this inventory gives a fair picture of the scale of their farming and of their living standards. The land is somewhat lighter and better than most of the parish. John's will refers to his Malthouse in the Pallant at Chichester which he left to his eldest son John. His will also refers to his brother-in-law Henry Strudwick of Hills Green.

The acreage of Crawfold in 1689 is not known so that any comparison with the John Eede of 1798 is not reliable, but if it was the same the stocking was about 30 per cent. below the 1798 figures.

[1] Rening tub: possibly a tub used for turning milk sour by means of rennet. (H. per F. W. S.)

[2] Bucking tub: washing tub. (P.)

No. 59. William Penycod. Yeoman. 3 June 1725.

In his lodging chamber—wearing apparrell & money in purse, £6. 18*s*., one feather bed bedsted curtains one bolster two pillows three blanketts one pair of sheets, £3., three holland sheets four holland pillow coats, £2. 18*s*., thirteen diaper napkins 11 fine napkins 6 striped napkins, £1. 4*s*., three table cloths 5 towells three other cloaths, £1. 5*s*., two pair of sheets, 14*s*. 6*d*., two pair of sheets one table cloath seven hand towells, £2. 0*s*. 6*d*., two iron doggs fire pan & tongs, 5*s*., two joint stools 2 boxes five chests two armed chairs, 8*s*.

In the servants chamber.

six pair of coarse sheets, £1. 10*s*., two feather bedds 2 bedstedles four bolsters 4 blanketts one coverlet, £4., tow old chests one joint stool, 3*s*.

In the best chamber.

one feather bed 2 bolsters one bedsted curtains two pillows and pillowcoats one pair of sheets three blanketts one coverlet one camblett healing, £6. 10*s*., one bed quilt, £1. 1*s*., one diaper table cloath one diaper napkin nine other napkins, 11*s*. 6*d*., eight window curtains & sideboard cloaths, 9*s*., seven silver spoons one pair of silver basketts, £2. 19*s*., one silver tankard, 12*s*. 6*d*., one silver plate one silver salt one silver porringer, £5. 2*s*. 6*d*., one chest of draws one large glass, £1. 1*s*., one ovell table 2 joint stools & all the chairs, 8*s*., one large clear press & one sideboard, 12*s*., one drum and sticks, 2*s*. 6*d*., two brass andirons firepan and tongs & three sconces, 7*s*. 6*d*., two new hatts & 15 yards of coarse cloth, £2. 2*s*. 6*d*.

In the Closet. one old chest, one decanting bottle, some gunpowder, 6*s*. 6*d*.

In the Garrett. three parcells of hopps, £3. 10*s*., three parcells of feathers & all other lumber, £3. 15*s*. 6*d*.

In the Hall. one long table & forms, one small table, 9*s*. 6*d*., four joint stools, 2 armed chaires 5*s*., nine bullrush chaires, one sideboard, 10*s*. 6*d*., two andirons, 2 iron doggs, fire pan and tongs, 6*s*. 6*d*., one clock, one mapp, 7 beer glasses, 12*s*. 6*d*., one distiller & frame, 7*s*. 6*d*.

In the Parlour. one feather bed, bedsted & curtain, one pillow two bolsters 2 sheets, one blankett, one green rug, £3, six gold rings, two small pieces of gold in a box, £4. 14*s*. 6*d*., one silver watch, and 18 silver buttons, £4, one old joynd chest, 9 chairs, one chest with draws, one desk box, one leather trunk, one looking glass, one window curtain, 10*s*. 6*d*.

In the Bakehouse. 4 bushells of peass, 14*s*., seven tubbs one leather bagg & other lumber, 12*s*.

In the Buttery. four pewter dishes, 4 pewter plaits, one saucepan, one skillett, 19*s*., one iron spitt, 2 iron potts, one frying pan & other things, 11*s*. 6*d*.

In the Kitchen. twelve pewter dishes, 13 pewter plaites, 2 pewter candelsticks, pewter salt, £1. 15*s*., one brass warming-pan, one brass kittle, one brass skillett, one tinning strainer, one puding pan, 6

pastry pans one tosting iron, 12*s*. 10*d*., two lanthorns, one tinning kiver, one pair of candle snuffers, 3*s*. 6*d*., three cleavers, one stool, one fleshfork, one brass spoon, one pepper box, 3*s*., three large spitts, 2 small spitts, two potplaits,[1] one slice, one pair of pothooks, 3 smothing irons, 18*s*. 6*d*., one jack & line & weights, & three iron driping potts, £1. 10*s*., four andirons, friepan & tongs, two pothangers, one iron ring, 14*s*. 6*d*., one pair of gridirons, one morter & pistle, one iron pott, one iron kettle, 9*s*., seven fowling pieces, one powder horn, one shot pouch, £3. 5*s*., one pair of stillards[2] & weights & 36 wooden plaits, 6*s*. 6*d*., one counter, one little table, one long table & form, four rush chaires, two candlesticks, 8*s*. 6*d*., one looking glass, one pair of garden sheers, 1*s*. 2*d*., one little table & draw, 3 wooden bottles, 3*s*. 6*d*.

In the Milkhouse. two powdering tubbs, and some pork & one salting iron, £3. 7*s*. 6*d*., one brass kettle, 14 milk trays, one churn & stick, £1. 10*s*., six old earthen crocks, 2*s*.

In the Seller. twenty beer vessells, & seven stands, £3. 13*s*., two tun tubbs & two kivers, 15*s*., twelve dozen of glass bottles, £1. 4*s*.

In the Brewhouse. two brass furnaces, £2. 2*s*. 6*d*., one vate, three kivers, two tubbs, £1. 5*s*., one chese press hoops & vallers,[3] one rening tub & one three legge, £1. 5*s*., two milking pailes & three other pailes, 6*s*. 6*d*.

In the Malthouse. about seventy quarters of malt, £80, four oxen, three calves, £21. 10*s*., three, three yearling steers, two, two yearling steers, £11, two, two yearling heifers, three, twelve monthings, £10. 10*s*., five milch cows, £16, six horses with harness & two colts, £28. 10*s*., six hoggs, two sows, nine piggs, £9. 19*s*., ten quarters of oats, £6. 10*s*., twenty load of chaulk, £7. 10*s*., two dung carts & wheels & one roller, £2. 14*s*., one waggon & four wheels & four old waggon wheels, £8, three plows, two ox harrows, six small harrows, £3. 11*s*., five yokes & five chaines, £1. 2*s*. 6*d*., four flitches of bacon, £5., twenty five acres of oats, £37. 10*s*., six acres of peas, £8. 8*s*., fourteen acres of wheat, £40., old lumber, £1. 1*s*.

total. £403. 3*s*.

(Appraisors: William Holland, Peter Woods.)

The Penycods had owned and farmed Palfrey since 1564. William, possibly the last of them, in 1725 seems to have lived in considerable comfort, which Palfrey, not a large farm, is unlikely to have provided. One source of revenue plainly came from his malthouse; the

[1] Potplaits: possibly pottery plates.

[2] Stillards: possibly steelyards, per F. W. S.

[3] Vallers: J. Worlidge, *Dictionarium Rusticum* (1681) reprinted by the English Dialect Society (1880) gives vallor, or vallow or vate, a concave mould wherein a cheese is pressed: per F. W. S.

large quantity of malt shows it was a commercial venture (see also p. 83). His father William's inventory of 1700 has survived; his net farm value was £183 whereas the son's in 1725 was £217, the difference being in additional crops and stock—4 oxen, 1 horse, and 12 pigs more. The father had a smaller total value less stock by £34, no malt, and about £40 less in the house.

William in 1725 may have had more land than Palfrey, by his crop acreage.

Firearms, &c. About a quarter of the 69 farm inventories include either a fowling- or birding-piece or a gun; the earliest is in 1631, and they no doubt provided some valuable fresh meat for the pot. William Penycod of Palfrey in 1725 had 7 birding-pieces, so there may have been some pleasant parties in the woods around. In 1700 his father had 3 guns and a musket. John Eede of Crawfold in 1689, another substantial yeoman farmer, had 3 guns. The sport was not confined to owner-occupiers, for the Eedes were always tenant farmers here.

There are 6 references to muskets, one in 1639 having a stand, 4 to pistols, and 5 to swords, all spread over the period. The vicar, Thomas Holland, in 1647 had a birding-piece, a musket with bandaleeres, a pistol, and a sword. In 1586 Thomas Hurst, whose total possessions amounted to only 43*s.* 2*d.*, had a dagger valued at 1*s.*

No. 66. Thomas Cooper the elder. Husbandman. 6 April 1744.
Out Door Stock.

Five cows and two calves valued at £20, two heifers and two twelvemonthlings, £8. 10*s.*, three horses and two colts, £20, a sow and 2 piggs, £2. 2*s.*, seven couple and three sheep, £6, two load and half of wheat, £11, thirteen quarters of oats, £6, two loads of sacks, £1. 10*s.*, one bagg, bushel and half bushel, 12*s.*, one waggon, one dung cart, two pair of harrows, one plough, four pair of harness and four bridles valued at £12. 10*s.*, half a dozen of prongs and two shovels, 6*s.*, wheat upon the ground, £9, peas upon the ground, 12*s.* 6*d.*

Indoor Goods.

goods in the kitchen valued at £9, goods in the hall, £2, goods in the brewhouse, £1. 10*s.*, goods in the cellar, £1, goods in the cheeseroom and milkhouse, £3.

Above stairs.

goods in the parlour chamber valued at £10, goods in the hall

chamber, £9, goods in the servants chamber, £2, wearing apparel and money in pocket, £13. 12*s*. 6*d*.

total: £149. 5*s*.

(Richard Boxall, William Lucass: appraisors.)

Thomas Cooper was a small working farmer possibly farming, by the amount of his stock, a maximum of about 70 or 80 acres. The standard of comfort had risen considerably, as is evident from this and other inventories; he had £36 worth of household goods, more than one-third of his farm crop and stock value. A century earlier Henry Scutt, farming about 125 acres, had only one-sixth of farm crop and stock value in household goods. Thomas Cooper's inventory is the latest one to be used as evidence in this paper.

Household Provisions

All the farmers and most of the smallholders were self-sufficient in occasional fresh meat, bacon, corn, cheese, milk, and butter. A few, probably less than a quarter, of the remaining 40 per cent. of the parish had a pig, the others were entirely dependent on their larger neighbours for victuals.

The amount of provisions varies with the month and from the large farmer George Tanner of Battlehurst, &c., who in February 1666 had £20 worth, to our typical farmer Henry Scutt who in May 1632 had 30*s*. worth. Apart from wheat, oats, and rarely barley, the most usual references are to flitches of bacon; there are four to flitches of beef. I noted only two references to pickled pork, in 1749 and 1776; this is curious, because the pickling equipment appears to be universal. The more perishable butter and lard are seldom mentioned and cheese is also unusual, but cheese presses are much too frequent in the inventories for cheesemaking not to have been universal among cow-keepers, which all the farmers were.

There are only three references to apples, all for small amounts. Direct references to beer and hops are rare, though as many of the houses had 'brewhouses' the majority of farmers probably brewed their own.

There are two references to vinegar; 4 firkins in 1683, and a hogshead (20*s.*) in 1691.

Household Goods

There is an immense amount of repetition, and the inventories printed here in full give an adequate picture of living conditions in this region for farmers and smallholders. The remaining 40 per cent. of the families probably lived with the barest necessities, too humble to be worth valuing.

The majority of beds had 2 sheets, 2 blankets, and pillows. The chairs were of ash, leather, bulrush, or flagge bottom, and, rarely, of walnut and basket. Joined, or joiner-made, stools are very common; less frequent but not unusual are firebacks, lanthorns, candlesticks, spinning and linen wheels, wooden and glass bottles, and cradles. I have noted 9 references to clocks after 1647, 7 to warming-pans after 1667, 5 to seeing glasses after 1671, 9 to querns and mills, 4 at least being for grinding malt. Throughout the period household utensils were of brass, iron, pewter, glass, wood, and earthenware; tin appears in 1688, and after 1750 some china.

Proportions of Livestock from the totals in the Inventories 1611–1744

Total nos.	*All inv.*	*S.E.*	*59 farm inv.*	*S.E.*	*44 small-holding inv.*	*S.E.*
	%		%		%	
1,724 cattle	40	30·0	46	34·5	23	17·25
289 horses	7	7·0	6	6·0	7	7·0
1,682 sheep	38	4·8	34	4·25	52	6·5
676 pigs	15	3·7	14	3·5	18	4·5
Total S.E.		45·5		48·25		39·75

To get these figures into focus some stock equivalents (S.E.) must be applied.[1]

The cattle, in terms of value to the farm, amount to 66 per cent. of all the livestock in the case of the whole group of inventories, and 72 per cent. in the case of the separated farm inventories—clear evidence of their great

[1] For the stock equivalents see above, p. 103, n. 2

importance here. The sheep and pig numbers and relative values are small, surprisingly so in the case of pigs. These figures emphasize once more the importance of separating farms from smallholdings. The balance is very different, the cattle of the latter being only half that of the farms.

The proportions of livestock in the figures from forty-eight Weald Clay holdings of all sizes given by Mr. J. Cornwall in *S.A.C.* XCII. 91 are: cattle 34 per cent., horses 5 per cent., sheep 42 per cent., and pigs 19 per cent. The balance is different from the Kirdford grouped figures, probably because in sampling over a number of parishes a larger proportion of smallholders was selected.

Sheep

Most farmers and smallholders had a few sheep, but the number of farms keeping enough to play a part in the farm rather than the domestic economy[1] (meat, wool, and tallow) was small, being only about one in five over the whole two hundred years. On these farms, the larger and probably the lighter land, they may have been folded, as there is an occasional reference to wattles. It is not good sheep country. On the evidence here, sheep on all the farms are, relative to cattle, unimportant; it was dung from the cattle-yard and the fallow which made the staple crop of wheat possible year after year.

In the seventeenth century two-thirds of the farmers had none or less than twenty sheep of all ages, a negligible amount on 40 or 50 acres of arable. Sheep show little increase here up to the middle of the eighteenth century, and the big increase by 1798 is largely confined to the 20 per cent. of larger farms; 56 per cent. of the sheep were confined to ten farm inventories out of forty-nine. This increase was no doubt bound up with the introduction of root crops *c.* 1776 and the need to relate the stock level to the big increase in corn-growing at this time.

As with other stock all ages, sizes, and gradings are frequently bulked, so that no reliable sorting out of the

[1] A somewhat arbitrary division in subsistence farming.

breeding-stock can be made. Lambs appear in March, with a few in February.

Draught Beasts

No accurate figures can be found for the number of draught beasts kept per 100 acres of arable but the typical farm probably gives a fair picture. Until towards the end of the seventeenth century, when the heavy cart-horse appears here, oxen probably did all the heavy work, ploughing and timber hauling and some of the rougher harrowing, though this was evidently shared with horses, as the harrows are often specified as either ox or horse. The horses probably did much of the lighter carting, including dung.

Riding-horses as such are not mentioned in the inventories, but in 1798 half the farmers had one, and it is probable that the farmers at least had had dual-purpose horses for centuries past; the evidence of saddles, pillions, &c., is clear enough in the inventories, and in two of these cases a horse is valued with the saddle and bridle. In 1726 Tobias Sturt, yeoman, left to his daughter Elizabeth 'the little bay horse she generally rides on to market'. In 1618 Gregory Hurst, yeoman of Crawfold, left to his wife 1 qr. of wheat, $1\frac{1}{2}$ qr. of oats, 1 horse, gelding, or mare, and her own saddle.

Martinmas Slaughter

Until the latter part of our period winter keep was a grave problem, but it was solved—it had to be if the farm economy was not to be destroyed. There is not the slightest evidence in over 100 inventories drawn up in every month of the year of this traditional wholesale and unlikely slaughter. The drop in stock for the four winter months is evident, but it is entirely reasonable. In any case, without refrigeration except in the mansion 'ice-house', and, as Mr. F. W. Steer suggests, with limited pickling facilities, what could be done with the carcasses?

Here the evidence for the four winter months compared with the four summer months is:

Draught beasts	No change
Cows	Down 6·6 per cent. in winter
Young stock	Down 12 per cent. in winter
Sheep and lambs	Down 25·5 per cent. in winter
Pigs	Down 4·2 per cent. in winter

Mr. J. Cornwall makes the same comment in his paper on 'Farming in Sussex, 1560–1640' (*S.A.C.* XCII. 82) when he says: 'Oxen had to be kept for the plough teams, cows for breeding, young beasts to grow to maturity, sheep for their dung and their wool. There remain only the fat stock and old beasts which had outlived their usefulness. The majority of the stock had to be kept alive at all costs if the work of the farm was to go on.'

The typical farm selected here farmed by Henry and then Jane Scutt, his widow, whose inventories survive for successive years in May and July, make it clear that no such slaughter occurred in the early seventeenth century.

Clover leys were still fifty years and roots over a hundred years away, and as far as is known nothing else had occurred since farming was first practised here to help in solving the problem of winter keep. They could not and never did feed on their tail.

The legend of wholesale slaughter may have arisen from the little man who had two pigs and killed one of them off for his winter meat, thereby slaughtering half his stock. The seasonal round of seed time and harvest of crops and beasts naturally included the killing of surplus stock in the autumn. The word 'slaughter' is misleading.

The method used for getting the figures suggested for the four winter and four summer months was to select all the normal seventeenth-century inventories with complete livestock figures and divide them up into winter-month groups, November to February inclusive, and summer groups of May to August inclusive. Even if my suggested relation of £1 stock value equalling 1 acre of farm is not accepted it may be assumed that those farm-stock values mean something; the average of the

eight winter farm inventories was £143 in value and the average for the ten summer farm inventories was £139, so that we are plainly dealing with comparable material and probably farms of the same average size.[1]

The average stock is:

	Oxen	*Cows*	*Young stock*	*Horses*	*Sheep*	*Pigs*
8 winter invs. .	3·5	5·6	7·2	4·75	14·75	9·0
10 summer invs. .	3·5	6·0	8·2	4·8	19·8	9·4

If my suggested relation is accepted and using our 'stock equivalents', we get the winter stocking at 21·1 and the summer at 22·9, or a drop of 8 per cent.

Smallholders Summary

In the Table on p. 130 the figures in italics make it clear that these averages are of much less value than those of the farms because, e.g., the number of smallholders showing any cropping acreage is only about one in five, and in the second period only one out of eleven showed any sheep.

The average value was stable, but the suggested relation of crop and stock value to acreage does not apply to smallholdings; this rules out any detailed comparison with the farms.

The crop percentage should be fairly accurate, because three-quarters of the smallholders had some crop, even if it was only hay. On these figures it was 60 per cent. of the farm average. The wheat and spring corn acreage has little value, the numbers available being too small.

With two small exceptions they kept no oxen. The remaining livestock figures have some value, except for sheep in the second period and in 1798.

The livestock numbers as a whole, however much they are qualified, appear to have been considerably greater per acre than the farmers' amounts.

The small numbers of poultry again is strange; there are only nine references in all.

Twenty-five of the 44 have some trade or status named; of these 8 were yeomen, possibly retired or on the way out, 8 were husbandmen, and 12 had other trades. These trades were: glass carrier (H. Strudwick), 2 tailors, 3 blacksmiths, a miller (T. Venice), a cleaver,

[1] As this is a controversial subject the figures may be checked from the analysed inventory sheets placed in the W.S.R.O. All the November to February inventories were used except No. 1, as its values are highly suspect. All the May to August inventories were used except Nos. 15, 19, 20, 34, 42, and 44, because of gaps in two sorts of stock, No. 15 because it has no farm value; No. 33 because its eighteen cows, probably kept on the two separate farms, is a freak number.

a butcher (T. Street), a bricklayer, a carpenter, and a labourer; this last had no corn, a little hay, 2 cows, 2 colts, and 1 pig. No goats appear in the inventories, nor were there any in the parish in 1803.

There are references to wheat on about half the smallholdings, to oats on about three-quarters in the first period and about half thereafter, to peas on less than one-quarter, to hay on about half.

The implement figures in the first period are unreliable as they apply to only a quarter of the holdings.

Comparative Summary of Smallholdings' Crop and Stock Figures (under £30)

	1611–59	*1660–99*	*1700–37*	*1798*
No. of inventories	24	11	9	10
Average per holding:				
Value	£17. 7*s.* (*20*)	£16. 4*s.* (*11*)	£16. 6*s.* (*9*)	—
Crop percentage	25 (*18*)	28 (*11*)	27 (*6*)	
Wheat acreage	2½ (*5*)	2 (*1*)	1¼ (*2*)	
Spring corn acreage	2 (*4*)	5½ (*4*)	1 (*1*)	
Oxen	1 had 3	—	—	1 had 4
Horses and colts	2 (*17*)	2 (*9*)	1⅔ (*6*)	2½ (*6*)
Cows and bulls	2½ (*17*)	2 (*7*)	2 (*5*)	3 (*9*)
Young stock and stores	3 (*18*)	2½ (*5*)	2 (*7*)	3 (*9*)
Sheep, all ages	11 (*10*)	12 (*1*)	13 (*8*)	15 (*2*)
Pigs, all ages	4½ (*17*)	2½ (*8*)	3½ (*7*)	4¾ (*9*)
Implements	9*s.* 9*d.* (*6*)	£2. 5*s.* (*5*)	£2. 6*s.* (*3*)	—
References to:				
Wheat	11	5	6	4
Oats	17	7	4	3
Peas	5	4	1	—
Barley	1	2	1	—
Hay	10	7	6	5
Grouped as corn	3	1	2	
Poultry	7	2	—	—
Bees	3	4	1	
Timber, &c.	3	2	2	
Yeomen	5	2	1	
Husbandmen	5	—	3	
Others	4	5	3	

Other references: tares (2), grass (1), beans (2), rye (4, all before 1635), lime (1), dung (4).

There are no references to: malt, flax, hops, French wheat; only 3 references to leases, all prior to 1632.

The italic figures in brackets show the number of inventories which include these items.

The Smallholdings

There may have been about twenty independent smallholdings during this period; by 1798 they had de-

clined to seventeen of less than about 30 or 40 acres.[1] There was no 'typical' smallholding here; for this the reasons have been given elsewhere. I have made the division at £30 stock value and, judging by the remarkable uniformity of the farms above this value and the equally remarkable variety of the holdings below it, the division should be about right. There are 44 inventories showing some farm details, more than just one horse or one pig, below the £30 limit. Only 18 out of the 69 farm inventories lie between £30 and £100 stock value.

The layout of one of the larger smallholdings of 32 acres (Bulchins) is known in 1793. It had nine small arable fields of about 3 acres apiece, one meadow of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of copse. During our period some of the smallholdings had little or no arable, and only five show any dung-carts.

Probably most smallholders had another trade or were part-time farm or copse workers. Most of them had a horse and a cow or two, two or three young beasts, and three or four pigs;[2] less than half had any sheep.

The few named holdings are possibly of farmers who were failing, e.g. Henry Penfold of Thornhouse in 1624, Robert Jackman of Quennill House in 1635, William Seagrove of Little Farthings in 1639. Two others may only have slipped into the smallholding range because their appraisers valued their property too low, e.g. Thomas Balchin of part of Shillinglee in 1623 and Thomas Mose of Strudwick Wood in 1624. Thomas Overington of Clarkes in 1671 was a tailor and a man of some substance though his farm stock was small. Three of the more interesting and complete smallholders' and one cottager, Henry Westbrook's, inventories are printed in full, a tailor in 1614, a blacksmith in 1670, and a labourer in 1685.

[1] Judging by the stock figures for ten smallholdings of known acreage in 1798, few of the smallholdings in this earlier period exceeded 20 acres.

[2] Pigs were not universal. Three-quarters of the smallholders had three or four, but only one-quarter of the humbler inventories include a pig; some had a horse but no pig. In 1798 all the farmers and smallholders and ten cottagers, or less than half the households, kept a pig (*S.A.C.* LXXXIX. 76). The cottager and his pig finds little confirmation here.

No. 3. Thomas Waddington. Taylor. 21 October 1614.

His aparell & money in his purse, 40*s*., one fetherbed one bollster one pillowe one coverlet one blanket & one bedstedle, 30*s*., one other bedstedle one flockbed one bollster one covlet one blanket, 20*s*., one other flockbed one flocke bollster one covlet one blanket & one bedstedle, 10*s*., one other olde bedstedle one oulde flockbed & an oulde coverlet, 5*s*., one smalle table with a frame & a forme, 3*s*. 4*d*., 4 smalle coopers & one lytle ould cupboarde, 5*s*., one longe table with a frame & a beme, 13*s*. 4*d*., all the lynnen in the house, 40*s*., brasse & pewter in the house 30*s*., a furnace 10*s*., a morter & a pestle of iron with one yrondripping panne, 4*s*., 3 potthangers 2 andyrons one pare of tonges & one fyer panne & one yron barre, 6*s*., 3 smalle broaches, 3*s*., one table & a forme one cupboarde & 2 chaires, 10*s*., one planke & a forme, 3*s*., wooden vessell & all other lumberment & thinges of smalle value in the house, 20*s*., 2 smalle heifers £3, one mare 30*s*., 2 hoggs 30*s*., wheat oates and peason in the barne £7, haye in reeke aboute a loade, 10*s*.,

sume ys £26. 2*s*. 8*d*.

debtes owing by testator to sevrall persons

To John Osburne by obligation, £11, to the Brewer for beere £4. 10*s*., for rent £4. 13*s*. 4*d*.

suma debit £20. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Thomas was unusual in showing any debts. His crop and stock value is below the average smallholder of the time. His household goods are typical of his sort.

No. 28. Richard and Jane Hoade. (Blacksmith.) 6 July 1670.

both theire wearing apparell and monie in their purses, £19. 18*s*. 2*d*.

In the hall.

two tables, two formes and five chaires, one cobord, foure buckets, one bottle, one tankard, £1. 14*s*. 6*d*., foure irn potts, one brase skillet, one brase ladle, one morter and pestle, one frying pann, one warming pann, 19*s*., one smothing iron, two spitts, one claver, one pare of brandirons, two pare of potthangers, one pare of tongs, one fire pann, one pare of yeandirons, one pare of tosting irons and one old fouling peice, 10*s*., four puter dishes, one dozen of spoones one puter candelsticke, one salt celer, one puter poringer, one latten dripping pann, 10*s*., three flitches of bacon with some emplements, £1. 16*s*.

In the brewhouse.

one fournes, 13*s*. 6*d*., five firkines, two tubs, three kivers, with other lumber, 16*s*.

In the bake house.

two troas,[1] three sackes, one table, two searches,[2] 7*s*. 6*d*.

[1] 'Troe' is still the Sussex pronunciation of 'trough'.

[2] Searches: probably 'searcer': a fine sieve. (H. per L. F. S.)

In the chamber over the hall.

two beds, two feather boulster, two other bolsters, two coverlets, seven blanketts, two bedstedels with all things thereunto belonging, £3, eight pare of sheets, one table cloath, two pare of pellowcoats, eight napkins, £2. 5*s*., two joyned chests, three other chests, one boxe, one truncke, one joyned stoole, with other implements, £1. 3*s*.

In the chamber over the brewhouse.

two bibles, thirteen other small books, 10*s*., one beed, one boolster, one pillow, one blanket, one truckle bedsted, 12*s*., three old chests, one old stoole, one pare of stockecards, one woollen wheele, two linen wheeles, 8*s*., wool linantire and linan yarne, £2. 10*s*., one hitchell,[1] one poke with other lumber, 12*s*., wood and faggotts in the backe side, £1. 10*s*., for sawed bords, 10*s*., hay in the barne, 5*s*., two hoogtroes, two laders, one littell hoogghutch, 3*s*. 4*d*., two hoogges, £1. 15*s*., three hives of beese, 15*s*., two keene and calves and one horse, £7, poltery about the house, 6*s*. 8*d*., one panell[2] and one saddell and bridle, 7*s*. 6*d*., one iron rake, one spitter,[3] one bill, one pronge with sum other lumber, 3*s*. 6*d*., two acres of wheat, £3., more hay, £1. 10*s*.

In the shoape.

New irn forwer hundred by estimination, £3. 14*s*., for old irn, £1. 10*s*., for five spittertrees, three shovell trees, 3*s*. 6*d*., for the billowes and anwill, £1. 10*s*., for seacole and charcoale, £2, for steell, 3*s*., for severall sorts of nailes and for same, £1, for all his shoppe tooles and other lumber, £4, for five grin stones and winches, 10*s*., 23 loakes,[4] 7 spittes and shovelltrees, 3 axis & 6 bills, 19*s*., 2 shaves, 5 chisells, 5 playne irns, 14 oagers, one pr of gridyions, 10*s*., 15000 of 2-penny (*d*) nailes & 5000 of 3-penny nailes by estemation, £1. 3*s*., 400 of 4-penny nailes and 700 of 5-penny nailes by estemation, 3*s*., one thousand of 6-penny nailes and 300 of 8-penny nailes by estemation, 6*s*., old iron packing cloths, one old tub, one baskete, a chest, 12*s*., 2 tresells and standing bords with other lumber, 3*s*.

Debts owing to the deceased as folloeth.

Mr. Lee, 3*s*. 6*d*., William Winson the elder, 13*s*. 1*d*., William Putticke butcher, £1. 17*s*. 6*d*., John Rapley of Ifold, £2. 1*s*. 9*d*., John Lewers for work, 16*s*. 5*d*., Nicholas West, 16*s*. 1*d*., Robert Heather, £1. 11*s*. 6*d*., John Landards bill, £1. 11*s*. 6*d*., Henry Penfold of Fountaynes, £1. 19*s*. 8*d*., John Overington 6*s*., Henry Strudwick of Hedfoles wood, 6*s*., John Coale, 14*s*. 3*d*., William Jackman, 14*s*. 3*d*., Mr. John Gratwick, 1*s*. 9*d*.

total. £85. 18*s*. 2*d*.

(Approvisors: William Winson, William Putticke.)

[1] Hitchell: an obsolete form of hatchel, an instrument for combing flax or hemp. (*O.E.D.* per F. W. S.)

[2] Panell: a pad used as a rough saddle. (S.)

[3] Spitter: probably one of the many types of spade.

[4] Loakes: possibly door or window locks or latches: per F. W. S.

The value of his crops and livestock was £16 only, farming being very much a sideline. Judging by his clients his smithy was at Plaistow. There was a Richard Hoad, blacksmith, probably a son, of Plastow who died in 1694 whose goods were valued at £80. 14*s*. 6*d*. He had in his shop iron ready wrought, 23*s*. 3*d*., the bellows and anvil, three sledges, two hammers, wire and beckhorne, £7;[1] his farm crops and livestock total £20. Roughly half his total possessions were in household goods; he lived in some modest comfort, at least equal to that of the typical farmer here, Henry Scutt. Both Richard Hoad and John Hunt, the labourer, had saddles and therefore presumably riding-horses.

No. 32. John Hunt. Labourer. 20 April 1685.

Wearing apparell and reddy money in his purse, £1. 10*s*.

In the milke house chamber.

one bedstedle cord and matt, 6*s*., two joyne stooles, 1*s*.

In the Kitchine chamber.

one sacke and foure baggs, 2*s*. 6*d*., three basketts, 6*d*., a scythe and what belongs to her, 1*s*. 6*d*., a sadle, a bridle, a halter, a wantey,[2] a horse locke & a chest, 4*s*., a ferkine, 1*s*.

In the kitchine.

two flitches of bacon, £1. 10*s*., one brass kittell, £1, a warming pann and a brass skillett, 2*s*., a little iron kittell, 1*s*., a paire of potthangers, a paire of tostinge irons, three iron candlesticks, a box iron, a shridinge knife, a paire of brand irons, a boate, a fryinge pann, a (pr) of bellows, 9*s*. 9*d*., a table and formes, 5*s*. 6*d*., a little table & a buckett, three chaires, 1*s*. 8*d*., one joyne cubbard, 4*s*. 6*d*., one pewter dish two porringers, a looking glass, dishes & spoones and other lumber, 3*s*. 6*d*.

In the drinkhouse.

a buckinge tubb a chaine, a tinne dish, two bottles, two chiese hoopes, a firkine, 4*s*. 6*d*.

In the milke house.

two searches, a gallon & a bakeinge kiver, skailes and a pound waite, some earth wares and other lumber, 2*s*., husbandry tooles, 4*s*. 6*d*., two cows, £5, two colts £3. 3*s*., one pigge, 7*s*., parte of a reicke of hay, £1. 15*s*., two hogge troughs, 6*d*.

Totall sum. £17. 1*s*. 7*d*.

[1] Beckhorne: Mr. L. F. Salzman suggests that this is Bicorne: 'an anvil with two horns or cones at its ends for shaping iron to a curve: later the term was corrupted to "beak-iron" and applied to the cone.' *Building in England*, L. F. Salzman (1952), p. 347.

[2] wanty: a horse's belly-band. (S.)

a schedule of the debts owinge by the said John Hunt decd & payable out of this inventorye as followeth.

To Abraham Hunt his brother upon obligation.	£8. 0*s*. 0*d*.
to Sarah Willard upon obligation.	£5. 0*s*. 0*d*.
funerall expenses.	£1. 1*s*. 7*d*.
	£14. 1*s*. 7*d*.

item drawinge and ingrosseinge the inventory, 2*s*.

the valuers are John Luxford, Thomas Hurst.
William Strudwicke scripsit.

Another 'labourer', Thomas Studman, in 1709 had goods, &c., valued at £23. 4*s*. 2*d*., including £12 of debts owing to him. His livestock was only a mare and a colt and a hog, too small to be included in the smallholding list. He had pewter, tin, brass, and iron valued at £3. 8*s*. 8*d*., and 30 ells of new linen valued at 30*s*. One of the smallest inventories is that of Henry Westbrook in 1684; it is for £4. 12*s*. 6*d*.

His wearing apparell & money in his purse, 3*s*., 2 flitches of bacon, £1. 9*s*., 2 pr. coarse sheets, one small table cloth with a little other small linen, 15*s*., one old chest & a box with some other small things, 6*s*., one old table & frame & forme, one old bedsted, 9*s*., one old scythe & other small implements, 2*s*., one old pr. of shoes, & two hats, one pr. of pattens, 2*s*., a couple of dressings & other small things with two coats, 15*s*., three firkins & one old pot, 4*s*., one iron pot & a small spit, 4*s*. 6*d*., a couple of tubbs, one old cover with other lumber, 3*s*.

The pattens would be useful on this muddy clay before the days of gumboots. Apart from his two flitches of bacon, Henry Westbrook's household goods total only about £3. They appear to be a bare minimum, but probably at least one-third of the parish had no more and some certainly had less, too little to be worth valuing.

Eleven others are summarized and some notes are made on the remainder.

Henry Strudwick als. Deane. Glasscarryer. April 1614. Gross value £33.

He had some small comfort—sheets, tablecloths, pewter, &c. Six small nags or mares with cart and harness—

£13. 8*s*. 4*d*., or more than a third of his total possessions —one short sword, 5*s*. His net debts amounted to £22 of which £6. 10*s*. was due to 'William Strudwick his master'. In 1575 there was another 'glasscarrier', George Strudwick. In all there are records of eight members of the family either making or carrying glass between 1557 and 1614.

Adam Hayne. May 1621. £31.

He had one old gun, &c., 7*s*. 4*d*. He appears to have been a grazier, having 41 sheep and 35 lambs valued with their wool at £16. The only other livestock he had was one colt. He grew a few oats. He is excluded from the averages as being a freak; only one large farmer had as many sheep in the seventeenth century here.

Richard Seagre. Yeoman. November 1624. £54.

There is a reference to the Millhouse in his inventory and also various items in it which suggest he was a tanner, thus: 4 vats 30*s*., 9 cisterns 30*s*., anvil 6*s*. 8*d*., tann 30*s*., leather £3., 2 shaves, a worker, a flesher, 2 hewers 4*s*., 100 laths 1*s*., wheelbarrow 6*d*.

His small tools are given in more detail than is usual. Seed-lips, silting trough, butter churn, cheese press (these were universal), shovel, axe, dungprong (or fork), hatchet, 2 beakes, 2 wedges, a pair of pincers, chisel, 4 sickell, a rypitt,[1] a hammer, a spitter. A cart and dung-pot 5*s*. These low valuations of implements are a feature of the early inventories; by the end of the century they had risen considerably.

Lime 1*s*. 3*d*. Broom faggotts £3 (used possibly for starting iron-furnace and lime-kiln fires). In the house he had 12 lb. of wool, which though no doubt universal is not always mentioned, a warming-pan, 6 pewter spoons, 2 'canstickes', again probably universal. Apples 3*s*.

The balance of his holding followed the usual farm practice of half stock and half crops. Thus he had 1

[1] Rypitt: possibly a form of rip- or reap-hook.

mare and colt, 1 cow and calf, 7 swine, and poultry, valued at £10. 10*s*., against crops valued at £11.

Thomas Penfold. July 1630. Gross value £63.

He was plainly a retiring farmer. He had 2 acres of wheat and 4 acres of oats and a small amount of livestock. But he was a man of property well above the value of his inventory. By his will he left to: 'Anthony his first borne, lands in E. Thursley, Surrey; Henry his second son, lands at Coolham; Thomas his third son, £60.'

Thomas Venice. Miller. October 1632. £34.

The house, if fully described, was small, just one bedroom, a hall, and the Millhouse. He had corn in the barn, wheat and oats, £10; 1 cock of hay 10*s*.; livestock £16. He had 1 old cart and 1 old dungcart with some harness 5*s*., 7 trugs and a fowling-piece.

Robert Bennett. Cleaver. May 1652. £14.

He had 2 kine, and 1 hog £4. 7*s*., $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres oats, $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres wheat, $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres barley, £3. 5*s*.

Thomas Overington. Tailor. November 1671. £292.

He had 'monies upon bonds' £252. From his will he appears to have owned and lived at Clarkes. In his house he had 1 Bible and other books 4*s*. 6*d*., a hand quern, 2 candlesticks, 12 pewter dishes, 10 pewter porringers, 1 flagon, 2 salts and 6 spoons—some small comfort and grace. By his will he left his daughter Elizabeth £120 and 'all her mother's apparel both linning and wooling and the christening lenning with 2 pairs of the best flaxen sheets, a piece of gold 20*s*., her mother's chest'.

He had 12 sheep, 4 sows, 1 heifer, mare, and colt, 2 hogs: £14. 13*s*. Wheat, oats, peas, hay, and barley: £8. 10*s*. His implements were valued at 13*s*. 4*d*.

Thomas Street. Butcher. December 1692. Gross value £92.

He had 3 old horses, 3 hogs and 3 pigs, 46 ewes and lambs: £14. 10*s*.; the only crop reference is a parcel of

hay 10*s*., ditto old wheat 10*s*. He was plainly a small grazier.

In the shop: 1 iron beam, 1 pair of blades, ½ cwt. and other small weights; 2 cleavers, 2 ropes with other lumber: 17*s*. In the Millhouse, one hand quern. In the cellar, 11 kilderkins and 3 barrels £2. 8*s*. Beer in them £6; 2 dozen bottles 4*s*. 6*d*. Money due on the books: £20. He left to his wife Mary his house and garden called Reddhouse in the street of Kirdford.

John Duke. Bricklayer. September 1728. £30.

He had 4 beasts, 1 mare and colt, 24 sheep and lambs, 1 sow and 4 pigs. Total: £16. 10*s*. His corn and hay in the barn: £5.

Nicolas Luff. Blacksmith. July 1731. £42.

In the shop: 1 pair bellows, anvil, coals, working tools, grindstone, iron new and old, nails, &c.: £10. 1 cow and calf, 10 sheep, 2 hogs: £7. 10*s*. 1½ acres wheat £2. Oats 10*s*.; hay 15*s*.; wood and faggots 10*s*.

The last smallholder's inventory is a border-line case, as his farm-stock value was £29. John Glaisher, husbandman, September 1737, had a gross value of £64.

His crops and stock balance is similar to the usual farmer. He had wheat, oats, and hay in the 'mow' (stack), £12. 10*s*. His 2 cows, 1 horse, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 2 hogs, and 7 pigs: £14. His 3 harrows, 1 plough, and 1 cart, &c.: £2. 10*s*.

Smallholders' Crops and Livestock, &c.

The examples give some idea of the variety; the few larger holdings probably differed little from the current farming practice, but the majority had no pattern. In some cases the areas of crops were tiny; thus in 1611 'a few beans set in the ground', in 1631 3 roods of rye 15*s*.; in 1634 rye growing in the orchard 6*s*. 8*d*.; in 1639 3 roods of wheat 30*s*.

Richard Ayling in 1624 had 1 acre of wheat, 40*s*., 1 acre oats, 1 acre peas, 31*s*. 8*d*., out of a total farm stock value of £10. 10*s*.

William Nunam in 1707 had 1 acre wheat, 1 acre oats, 50*s*., out of a stock value £10.

Their livestock varies from holding to holding; they do not seem to have kept any more poultry or geese than the farmers; the largest amounts were a very small man in 1639 who had 8 hens and 6 geese valued at 11*s*., and a larger holder in 1669 who had 13 geese, 2 hives of bees, and poultry, 22*s*.

A number of them had fowling-pieces, spinning-wheels, some wool, cheese presses, household provisions such as in 1611 two flitches of beef, cheese, bacon, and butter. All are occasionally mentioned, perhaps more seldom than with the farmers.

There is an interesting inventory of Richard Main, butcher, in 1752. The only evidence of butchering is a beam and scale, hooks, cleaver, and weights &c., 18*s*. 10*d*., but he seems to have brewed and sold beer, cider, and elder wine.

He had pewter measures, 1 quart, 1 pint, ½ pint, two quarters, two half-quarters, eight stone quarts, eleven pints, two half-pints, valued in all at 4*s*. 9*d*. He also had 2 punch bowls. In the great cellar there were: 24 drink vessels, 68*s*., 48 feet of drink stands, 8*s*., 2 earthenware bottles, 1 stone ditto, 33 glass bottles, 2 earthen potts, 5 earthen pans, 1 wooden bottle, 11 glass bottles and wooden bottles, 9*s*. 7*d*.

In the back cellar there were: 1 malt mill, 1 ½-bushel, 3 wooden bottles, 23*s*.[1] Also liquor:

90 gallons of beer at 1*s*. a gallon		£4. 10*s*.
44	,, ale at 8*d*. a gallon	£1. 16*s*.
36	,, cider at 10*d*. a gallon	£1. 10*s*.
10	,, elder wine at 1*s*. a gallon	10*s*.
10 quarts of grape wine at 6*d*. a quart		5*s*.

His only livestock was 1 hog, 1 horse with a bridle, pad, riding pannel and a packing pannel, amounting to £3. 10*s*. He had 23 cheeses, 69*s*.

He was a man of substance and his possessions totalled £160, including £49 of debts owing to him.

Among his small possessions are 2 pepper boxes and 1 egg spoon.

He probably combined butchering with innkeeping—the measures, the twenty-one 'stone' quarts, pints, and half-pints are evidence of this. His stock of 190 gallons of varied liquor would be at its lowest as his inventory

[1] Wooden bottles: the small harvest barrels: per F. W. S. Such little barrels were in use until recently; they held about half a gallon.

was made on 6 September. If his stock may be taken as typical his patrons drank largely beer with some ale and cider and a little of the more exciting brews.

Some Curiosities among the Inventories

Trumpery in the Buttery (6*s.* 8*d.*), 1612; thynges unpraysed (1*s.*), 1 ox gide (10*s.*), 1 ox yoke (1*s.*), 1629; a bow and 4 arrows, 1631; an apple loft, 1689; a mustard bowl, 1693; a well bucket, rope and chain (6*s.*), 1694, universal but seldom mentioned; a leather mole sack, 1700; a weaver's loom (30*s.*), 1710; 3 sheep bells, 1723; fish nets, a pepper box, a pair of tobacco tongs,[1] 2 hanging candlesticks, 1734; hempen harness, 1736.

In 1647 Thomas Holland, vicar, had a pair of virginals (30*s.*), £30 worth of books, unnamed, and an inventory total of £215.[2] In 1675 Edward Wood, a smallholder, had 1 old mare and 3 'Hondys' valued at £2. 5*s.* —this is the only reference to hounds; he also had one 'coberd' and a 'glascadge' (7*s.* 2*d.*), possibly a reference to the glass-fronted part of the cupboard. In 1693 a small tradesman, John Kellin, had one sheep on the common valued at 3*s.* In 1754 a prosperous mercer, William Boxall, had a coffee mill, a tea kettle, and a chocolate pot; so evidently the three commodities were available here two hundred years ago.[3]

Timber and Copse

Though evidence here is scanty until 1766 there is no doubt that timber and underwood played an important part in the general economy of the Weald Clay region, giving permanent employment to a number of men and seasonal work to others. Oak was a valuable source of revenue to the landowner, with beech and more rarely elm and ash. Timber is mentioned in three Kirdford wills, a useful form of life policy. In 1613 John Smythe

[1] Tobacco tongs: long-handled tongs for picking out an ember to light a pipe: per F. W. S.

[2] There are three detailed and interesting inventories, unrelated to farming, which it is hoped to print in full in *S.N. & Q.* later, viz. Thomas Holland, vicar, 1647; William Boxall, mercer, 1754; and William Barnes, cordwainer, 1791.

[3] Mr. F. W. Steer found that tea and coffee made their appearance in his mid-Essex inventories in 1725.

of Wassells directed that all his timber trees be employed over the space of ten years to pay his debts and legacies. In 1656 William Boxall of Boxalland desired that his woods of oak and beech be sold to raise a portion for his three daughters. In 1719 Thomas Stent of Lyons, and Nellballs, directed that the timber on his property be cut to maintain his three sons until they were 21.

The great blocks of woodland and copse in the parish today belong to the end of our period, and in 1600 there were about 2,000 acres less woodland than at present.[1]

Throughout our period and before it there were complaints about the rapid and systematic consumption of woodlands in Sussex. All ignore the natural regeneration of woodland and copse and the fact that they are simply long-term crops. Two disinterested observers give no support to these complaints: Norden in 1618 denies serious wastage in Sussex, and Defoe in 1724 says the complaints were groundless. The late E. Straker, author of *Wealden Iron*, further corrected the much-copied legends.[2]

There is some information in the manorial material; in general the tenant was allowed timber for repairs, but otherwise the timber was usually the lord's.

On Pallingham Manor, and later its two smaller portions of Ebernoe and Shillinglee, the tenants had all the windfalls and 'Syar' (probably stam) trees in the various common woods if they were not over a load. If the tenants did any clearing they had the wood for the grubbing. If the lord took any timber away from a holding or the common the top and lop, i.e. the cordwood, was the tenants'.[3] On Petworth Manor the tenants were allowed to cut the underwood for their own use but not for sale.[4]

[1] The principal evidence for this is Wm. Foster's detailed survey of Shillinglee Great Park in 1648 which shows about 650 acres less woodland than in 1845 or 1954 for that area. W.S.R.O.

[2] Sussex is today the most heavily wooded county in England, 14 per cent. of its land area being woodland, more than half of which is coppice with standards.

[3] Shillinglee MSS. To a survey of Shillinglee Manor of 1581 is attached a copy of the Custumary of the three manors, which, from the tenants named, dated from 1542.

[4] *Petworth Manor in the Seventeenth Century*, Lord Leconfield (1954), p. 30.

The importance of timber is clear in the sale catalogue of High Noons Farm in 1766. The oaks in each field are counted[1] and they probably account for the high price which the farm made. Ripe timber could amount to at least half the farm value. The substantial rews were usually cut by the tenant and provided fuel and fencing. Until pipe draining came in *c.* 1850 farms with about 10 per cent. of rews were probably characteristic of the Weald Clay region.[2] After that date some tiny fields were enlarged and the hedgerows grubbed.

An interesting reference to timber occurs in Robert Strudwick's inventory of 1616 which is printed in full (p. 113). Other substantial amounts occur in 1594 in the will of Samson Coulstock of Ifold, who directs that Mr. T. Cooper of Godalming is to have £100 worth of 'woodes at the staule' (i.e. underwood), at 1*s.* 4*d.* the cord. In 1661 Richard Edwards's inventory included '3 cord of wood, 14*s.*, 30 loads of corse timber £21'. In 1666 George Tanner of Battlehurst, &c., had 400 post and rails (still an excellent type of fencing), 1,400 faggots, 16 cords of wood, and some stone, £33. 4*s.*; he also had 440 spokes. In 1776 Robert Shotter had stackwood, lime kiln fuel, and coppice ground to be cut worth £80.

Smaller amounts occur: in 1632 Henry Scutt had 20 acres of woods, £4; in 1645 Gregory Haines had 700 brome faggots, £1; in 1648 Henry March had 4 trees of oke, £7. 6*s.*; they must have been very large trees. In 1730 William Holland had 500 loads of standing wood and faggots, £12. 15*s.* There are two references to hop poles in 1689, when 400 were worth £1, and in 1752.

There are fifteen other references to timber or faggots of under £5; some of these are included in the lime values, being fuel at the kiln. One farmer in three had part of his possessions in timber or copse, but the great bulk of woodland was in the hands of the landowners, and as

[1] See also p. 149.

[2] In 1759 the rews on Crouchland Farm amounted to 16 per cent. of the acreage; and in 1766 those on High Noons Farm amounted to 13 per cent. There is no reason to suppose the proportions had changed since the land was first cleared. In 1829 on the Peachey estate of over 900 acres the rews averaged 10 per cent. of the farms.

only three or four of the examples quoted were landowners, the picture is very incomplete.

Among the rambling household accounts of the Leggatt family[1] there are some details of sales of timber from their properties in Kirdford, Wisborough Green, and Billingshurst. They are not uniformly grouped but there is little doubt that over the fifty-five years from 1779 to 1834 the sales of oak and beech, with smaller amounts of elm and ash, and willows for gunpowder, represent at least as much per acre as the current rent for such properties. It was a time of very high prices for oak. The local price in 1771 was 2*s.* a cubic foot (Shillinglee MSS.), in 1794 it was 1*s.* 9½*d.* (Nicholls deeds), and in 1806 it was 4*s.* (Leggatt accounts).[2]

The accounts after 1787 show that the bulk of this timber went by canal from the wharf at Pulborough and from Pallingham. The amounts are considerable; thus in 1799 the Leggatts sold to Mr. E. Evershed of Pallingham £1,370 of timber; in 1817 £1,730 worth of timber was sold to Mr. W. Stoveld. It was carefully harvested when ripe and the timber on Crimbourne was cut and sold in *c.* 1779, 1785, 1799, 1818, and 1834. When the trees were sold in 1799 the 443 trees sold averaged 3¼ trees to a load—only 15 cubic feet each, or small trees.

There was a large trade in bark for tanning. There is a note of alder being sold to a pattern (? patten) maker, and 37 ft. of 'Holley' at 3*s.* 6*d.* per ft.

Farm Rents and Prices

Rents vary with the farm and its size, but in general they show little change until after about 1750.

In 1618 the disparked 1,700 acres of Shillinglee Great Park was rented at 3*s.* per acre, by 1645 this had risen to 3*s.* 5*d.* In 1622 Langhurst was rented at 4*s.* 2*d.* per acre. Hollands Heath was rented at 6*s.* 3*d.* per acre in

[1] Dennett collection in the W.S.R.O. The Kirdford properties are Crimbourne, Hawkhurst, Hyffold, and Chickens. A. Young, in 1808, gives a price of 2*s.* 5*d.* a cubic foot. In 1928 the price of good trees was only 1*s.* 3*d.* a cube. In 1954 good trees make about 5*s.* a cubic foot, but 2*s.* 6*d.* for small trees. The prices are often given in loads of 50 cubic feet.

[2] With no definition of tree size these prices afford only a very general idea; this is evident from the 1954 prices.

1674 and at 5*s.* per acre in 1687. In 1728 East End was rented at 3*s.* 2*d.* per acre; and in 1734 Haymans at 5*s.* These two farms were part of Shillinglee Great Park.

During the next thirty years demand plainly increased; in 1766 High Noons, a small 60-acre farm, was rented at 9*s.* per acre, and in 1778 Quennells, of similar size, at 11*s.* Arthur Young gives the local rents as 9*s.* per acre.

Purchase Prices

These varied, but in general no large rise occurs until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when the steep rise in timber prices occurred. Without knowing the amount of ripe timber on a farm in the Weald Clay region, the price means very little at this time, but the following prices per acre may be noted:

In 1641 Langhurst, then 157 acres, was sold at £4. 2*s.* 6*d.*;[1] in 1675 Scratchings, &c., then 72 acres, at £9. 6*s.*; in 1767 High Noons, then 60 acres, at £15; and in 1787 Frithfold, then 113 acres, was sold for £27 per acre.

Between the years 1766 and 1824 five farms totalling nearly 1,000 acres were sold and averaged £21 per acre.[2]

Houses

The typical farmhouse was, and in most cases remains, a humble timber-framed structure, brick-filled, tile-hung, and roofed with tiles;[3] cold, damp, and inconvenient by our standards. The majority appear to have been virtually rebuilt in the first half of the seventeenth century. Henry Scutt's house was typical:[4] a living-room, kitchen, buttery, and milkhouse with one chamber, and two lofts above, one of which was a bedroom and the other a corn store.

The number of rooms in the inventories of named farms bears little relation to those existing today, be-

[1] This price was probably abnormally low because Langhurst was part of a 2,000 acre sale which included the Shillinglee estate.

[2] With the exception of Frithfold (Petworth House MSS.) all these references are taken from the Shillinglee MSS.

[3] A few have Horsham slab roofs.

[4] Three farms of comparable size had the same number of rooms, one had more, and one had less.

PLATE II. TWO KIRDFORD FARMHOUSES
(1) Hoewick (now Roundwick). A typical working farmer's house. (2) Hills Green. A Strudwick house

cause the lean-to attachments such as the bakehouse, milkhouse, brewhouse, cheesehouse, and buttery have often disappeared, and sometimes the house has been made more habitable. Some of this type of house were larger, such as the Strudwick homes of Crouchland and Hills Green, Fountains of the Penfolds, Belchambers of the Boxalls, and Battlehurst of the Westdens. The Strudwicks, from their inventories, lived in some comfort, quite different from the Scutts. The homes of prosperous yeoman families such as Idehurst and Langhurst are not typical; they have more grace and are built of Bedham stone from the neighbouring Greensand ridge. Apart from these two houses and the church there is no building of distinction in the parish earlier than the eighteenth century, when the Haines family turned Wephurst and Sladeland into more gracious homes. At the end of that century, in 1786, the Peacheys built Ebernoe House, and Parsonage was rebuilt, probably by the Eldridges, between 1776 and 1791.

Three farmhouses, all of large farms, named in the inventories can be compared at different dates.

In 1616 Crouchland had 7 rooms, &c., downstairs and 6 up. In 1691 Crouchland had 6 rooms, &c., downstairs and 5 up. One of the upstairs rooms in 1691 is described as being the 'counting house chamber'. In 1618 and in 1689 Crawfold had 6 rooms, &c., downstairs and 3 up. In these cases the rebuilding probably took place before 1618. In 1666 Battlehurst had 7 downstairs rooms, &c., and 6 up, and in 1773 the house had one less room upstairs.

Some Clauses in Three Eighteenth-century Leases[1]

East End Farm. 10 February 1728. 299 acres at £48 per annum for 21 years.

Edward Turnour to Robert Elliott of North Chapel.

The tenant to lime 47 acres on the west side of farmhouse at 3 loads (of 40 bushels to the load) and/or with dung at 20 loads per acre, as often as he shall plough up any of this 47 acres and sow it to wheat.

[1] Ex Shillinglee MSS. W.S.R.O.

The tenant shall not take but three crops of corn or grain off such land, but shall lay it down for grass feeding (the first direct reference to a ley).

The tenant may summer fallow and make ready 'a season for wheat' before Michaelmas (the only direct reference to a fallow). From other evidence discussed under 'Crop sequence' the rotation, depending on the duration of the ley, might have been fallow, wheat, oats, ley, ley, oats, with peas replacing 1 unit in 4 of oats, and back again. The emphasis is on wheat as the main crop.

Restrictive covenants were necessary to protect the land from bad farming, particularly so here, with continual change of tenants.

Haymans Farm (then called Woodhatches and Lodge Croft Farm). 2 October 1734. 230 acres at £57 per annum for 21 years.

Edward Turnour to William Champion of Kirdford.

The tenant to leave 25 acres in a 'wheat lain' (plainly a fallow) to whit having been twice ploughed before the end of the tenancy (Michaelmas) fit to be sown to wheat.

This figure of 25 acres is interesting, because it fits a five-course rotation with a one-year ley, i.e. F.W.O.L.O. if half the farm was ploughed; or if the ley was, as is more probable, a two-year ley, a six-course rotation, F.W.O.L.L.O.,[1] was practised and the proportion of land under the plough was 65 per cent.; by this time the arable acreage was probably increasing. I suggest this six-course sequence, from this date until at least *c.* 1800, as typical of the Weald Clay.

Other Clauses. The lime kiln belonged to the landlord; 60 kilns of well-burnt lime to be laid on the ground during the 21-year tenancy, or about 3 per annum, presumably on the arable.

There was a 3-acre meadow which was not to be broken up. The tenant was allowed to dig stone in King's Park.

In both leases there are the usual clauses relating to

[1] The rotation given by Wm. Marshall in 1798. See also p. 98.

the maintenance of buildings, ditches, fences, &c. Both farms had different acreages from those above in 1845.

High Noons Farm. 2 January 1765. 60 acres at £27 per annum for 14 years. (B. 9, No. 10.)

Ann Blundell to James Baker of Kirdford.

The tenant shall:

1. Keep the house and buildings, hedges and ditches in good repair, the landlord allowing rough timber for the same.
2. Shall not sub-let the whole or part.
3. Shall not encroach upon hedgerows.
4. Shall not sow one sort of grain 2 years running on the same ground. (The 6-course rotation avoids this.)
5. Shall lay down once in 5 years 8 acres of wheat.
6. Shall not plough up the 2 acres in Mead field.
7. Shall at his own expense lay one kiln of lime on the said land (presumably the arable) in every year of the tenancy.
8. Shall not carry anything off the premises at the end of the tenancy, he being allowed for the seed that shall be sowed on the land and for the underwood and hedge rows. The same to be valued by two indifferent persons.
9. The landlord agrees to put the barn floor and lime kiln in repair at her expense when needed.
10. Tenant to have the use of the barn to thresh out his corn and grain from the last year of his tenancy 'for the spending of the straw and storer arising therefrom'.
11. Tenant to have the use of the stable and one of the three fields adjoining the yard for his cattle and a convenient room in the farm house to lodge until May 1st after the end of the lease.

In 1767 Edward, Earl Winterton, purchased High Noons for £900 from Ann Blundell of East Bergholt, Suffolk.

High Noons Farm Sale Catalogue 1766[1]

The farm was advertised for sale by auction on 6 September 1766, at the Half Moon, Petworth, by Mr. R. Phipps & Son of Leadenhall Street.

The house and buildings were all in substantial repair, and the 60 acres of fine arable and pasture land together with Right of Common on several hundred acres of land

[1] Shillinglee MSS. B. 9, No. 11.

were subject to a quit rent of 1*s.* 10*d.* per annum (it was part of Pallingham Manor).

The nine fields which are named averaged, exclusive of hedge and ditch, just under 6 acres each. The description is interesting in the detailing of the number of oak trees and of pollard trees[1] per field. There were 223 oaks and 16 pollards in all, largely no doubt in the rews. Timber at this time played a large part in the price of a farm; the meticulous detailing in this catalogue is evidence of this. The rent of £27 for its 60 acres represents only 3 per cent. return on the apparently high purchase price; but the timber could easily amount to half the purchase price. The rent of 9*s.* per acre is high for this time, but rents in the parish had reached that figure by the end of the century.

There is a curious part of the clause reserving the timber to the landlord, 'but fruit trees for fruit only', possibly to ensure that a small home orchard was not chopped up for firewood or other uses.

Some Comments on the Leases

East End. 1728. It is not clear why the lime and dung were limited to only a part of the farm, or why only three crops of corn were to be taken off it. The amounts of lime and dung are interesting; by no means negligible, they appear to be a minimum dressing. The amount of dung required to manure the wheat land (probably 10 per cent.) of this 300-acre farm would be about 600 loads per year, which compares favourably with recent amounts, being about half to two-thirds of what would be used on a well-stocked farm of this size. The stockyard was plainly the basis of sustained fertility here, the numbers of sheep kept on any but the large farms being far too small to play any part except to provide some meat, wool, and tallow. Every farm had at least one dung-cart or pot, a few of the larger farms of about 300 acres had three. The reference to lime and dung recalls the old saying in these parts that you give a

[1] Pollarded oaks were possibly regularly topped for fencing material.

fallow 'a white coat and a black coat and then it can go to church'.

High Noons. 1765. CLAUSE NO. 3. This accounts for the survival of what Arthur Young rightly called those 'abominable rews', which provided the landlord with his long-term crop of timber.

CLAUSE NO. 5. If, as is very probable, the rotation at this time was a six-course of F.W.O.L.L.O., the acreage under the plough would involve the whole farm except the 2 acres mentioned in clause 6 and the rews. It looks as if the plough 'was taken round the farm', a natural and wise sequel to the introduction of ley farming, the only permanent pasture reserved in two of these leases being very small. By ley farming or 'alternate husbandry' it was possible to maintain the fertility of an increased corn acreage without increasing the number of livestock, closely limited at this time by the difficulty of winter keep.

CLAUSE NO. 7. Even a small farm had its lime kiln. The importance of lime is evident in all three leases.

Liming

This was probably practised long before our period; it is referred to in Thomas Penfold's inventory of 1617. He had '7 loads of lime on the ground £3. 0*s.* 9*d.*' As he had 12 acres of wheat, possibly he had given his fallow about half a load per acre, a suggestion which is borne out by a rate of 40 bushels of quicklime to the acre which is mentioned in 1651.[1] Arthur Young in 1808 says that about one load, of 80 to 100 bushels, per acre was used.[2] From the increasing frequency of references to lime in the inventories the practice had probably become universal by the eighteenth century, when it is mentioned in three-quarters of the inventories, whereas it appears in only one-third between 1660 and 1699, and only one-sixth between 1612 and 1659.[3]

[1] See *S.A.C.* xc. 69, G. E. Fussell's paper on 'Four Centuries of Farming Systems in Sussex'.

[2] There is plainly a wide variation in exactly what a load was; the East End farm lease says 40 bushels, and Young says 80 to 100. The bushel remained fixed whereas the cart-size probably got larger.

[3] Too much emphasis should not be placed on these proportions: see p. 111.

A frequent entry is: 'stone (i.e. chalk) and faggots to burn lime'. In 1639 Thomas Eede's inventory includes: 'for gooding the land with lime, £30'. In 1711 Edward Stanley had two kilns of lime on the ground, valued at £13.

Chalk was carted from the downs about ten miles away. Most farms had their own lime kilns in some convenient bank where the two carting levels could be provided. The remains of these kilns are still fairly common round here. Liming was costly but vital; it played a large part in the productivity of heavy clay land.

Leys

The earliest reference is in July 1688 in the inventory of James and Rebecca Hurst, who had 'clover and crop grass, 3 acres and other grass 1 acre £3'.[1] Crop grass and clover, being separated from the 'other' grass, is very probably a ley; the clover confirms it. The Hursts had a small farm of about 80 acres.

In April 1689 John Eede, yeoman of Crawfold Farm, a large farmer using about 275 acres, had some clover seed, some old hay, and clover, £5. In October 1691 Thomas Clemence, husbandman of Crouchland, a large farmer using about 300 acres, had an unusual number of references to hay:

In the inner barn a load of Crop grass .	£4. 10*s.*
A load of cleaner hay and other hay in the barns and stables	£8. 0*s.*
Grass in the mow	£6. 8*s.*

There is a gap of thirty-six years during which the thirteen farm inventories make no reference to clover or crop grass, then in 1727 W. Stent had 1 qr. of clover seed. In 1734 J. Osborn had clover £7; in 1742 T. Strudwick had ½ qr. of clover; and in the last surviving inventory, in 1776, R. Shotter had 2½ bushels of clover seed.

[1] Richard Haines, an ancestor of the Haines of Sladeland, &c., writing about this time said: 'Clover and trefoil prepare the ground for wheat as much as a good crop of Tares or French wheat otherwise called Buckwheat, can do.' See *Memoir of Richard Haines 1633–1685*, by C. R. Haines (1899).

Farms and Families

The Eedes farmed in the parish from 1571 to 1900, by far the longest unbroken record; 230 of these years at Crawfold. Next come the Downers of Marshalls who farmed there from at least 1756 for over 170 years, and the Penycods who owned and farmed Palfrey from 1541 to *c.* 1725. These three farms remain among the best in the parish.

The Strudwicks owned and farmed Idehurst and Hills Green for over a hundred years; two other families used two small farms for over a century, the Penfolds of Thorn House and the Smiths of Wassell.

The Boxalls farmed Belchambers for nearly a century, and the Bakers, Coopers, and Herringtons farmed here for two or three generations, at Scratchings, Roundwick, and Belchambers respectively. Three farms, Foxbridge, Herons, and Rumbold, were used by the Strudwick family for three generations. Four other farms were used by the same families for over fifty years, Chilsfold by the Courts, Crouchland by the Mills, Hyffold and Churchland by the Downers.

With these few exceptions the evidence for the seventy Kirdford farms over the period 1645 to 1845 shows continual change, few farms being used by the same family for more than a generation. Very few farmers changed to other farms within the parish.[1] How this continual change compares with other regions in Sussex is not known.

Strudwicks have owned land here from at least as early as 1557; they were largely yeomen with some husbandmen and an occasional 'gentleman'. Idehurst happens to have so far the earliest recorded connection with the family and the only record of a family glass-

[1] There is a useful amount of information available relating to the change in occupation of farms in the parish during the period 1645 to 1845. 1645; a Commonwealth Tax Assessment for Ebernoe Tything, see *S.N. & Q.* II. 19. Ebernoe Tything covers roughly half the parish on the south-west side. There are Rate Lists for Ebernoe tything in 1655, 1677, and 1704 (Bridges), and for Kirdford parish in 1756 (Poor). There are three fairly complete Tax lists for the parish in 1668, *c.* 1680, and 1687: see W.S.R.O. Shillinglee MSS. B. 4, Nos. 6 and 17. The Kirdford Rate Books are complete for 1786, 1798, and 1815, and the Tithe Apportionment schedule completes the list for 1845.

furnace. By about 1600, possibly with the help of their glass and iron production, there were three main branches of the family established at Idehurst, Crouchland, and Hills Green. Of the 21 farms owned or used by the family in Kirdford at various times during the seventeenth century these 3 branches owned 10; 3 others were also owned by Strudwicks.[1] Some idea of the scale of their property can be seen from the following examples: in 1622 Henry son of William of Hills Green was married to Mary Yalden of Sheet, and his father settled Frithfold, Marshalls, Hilland, Three Farthings, and Caplin's Croft on him.[2] These totalled at least 500 acres. In 1657 Henry Strudwick of Crouchland left his son William, Crouchland, various smallholdings adjoining, Foxbridge and Strudwick Wood Farms, totalling 580 acres.[3] At this time the Idehurst branch owned about 350 acres.

Compared with the mass of ever-changing farmers here these three branches of the Strudwicks had some anchorage in owning the land they farmed, but apart from this or their glass (1557–1614), iron (1584–1662), and timber interests or from any judicious marriages, the family must have been skilled above the average in handling this difficult but not unproductive land. Owning at least 1,750 acres here during the first half of the seventeenth century and having small industrial interests, no other Kirdford family during the last four hundred years has approached the position they held at this time.

[1] These dates are the limits of the 21 farms so far traced: Idehurst 1557–1707, Hills Green 1578–1689, Crouchland 1616–52, Herons 1617–1700, Rumbold 1561–1633, Foxbridge 1584–1666; other farms which they used or owned for varying periods during the seventeenth century were Barkfold, Beal House, Berryland, Bittlesham, Birchfold, Churchland, Costrong, Farthings, Frithfold, Gownfold, Hilland, Langhurst, Linfold, Marshalls, and Strudwick Wood. A very fair sample of Kirdford farms, good and less good.

[2] Frithfold deeds, Petworth House MSS. I am indebted to the late Lord Leconfield for kindly allowing me to examine his collection. William Yalden of Blackdown was a party to the settlement. In Mary Strudwick's will of 1667 she refers to her cousin Wm. Yalden of Blackdown. He was a considerable ironmaster.

[3] P.C.C. Laud, fo. 81. I am indebted to Mr. L. F. Salzman for this reference. The will is dated 6 Sept. 1657 and was proved 4 June 1662. There is a reference in the will to 'my Iron works' (unspecified).

In the Kirdford Protestation returns of 1641[1] there are twelve Strudwicks of eighteen years and over, eight of whom were named Henry.

The family record of farming here in the eighteenth century is limited to Thomas of Barkfold in the middle of the century and another Thomas, a husbandman, possibly his father, whose inventory has survived, in 1742. The last male Strudwick of the Crouchland branch died in Bombay before 1751. The last member of the family known to have been farming here was Thomas of Beal House in 1824.[2]

The Strudwick family decline is evident from the parish registers:

From 1558 to 1608 out of 300 marriages 31 are Strudwicks (10 per cent.)
,, 1608 to 1658 the percentage is 5½.
,, 1658 to 1708 ,, ,, 2.
,, 1708 to 1745 ,, ,, 1.

Eight Strudwicks, 7 Penfolds, and 4 Penycods appear as churchwardens between1 565 and 1700. Four Haineses and 4 Eedes were churchwardens during the eighteenth century.[3]

There was continual influx of fresh blood which is apparent from an examination of 250 marriage licences issued to residents of Kirdford between 1575 and 1800.[4]

40 per cent. married within this large parish.
40 ,, ,, ,, ten miles.
20 ,, ,, outside ,, .

The average is constant throughout.

This gives no support to the old legend of impassable remoteness; they were not strangers cut off by mire and forest. They had horses to get around and the woodland was a great deal less than it is today. Their living conditions were, by our standards, rough, their life pre-

[1] *S.R.S.* v.

[2] Petworth House MSS. Beal House was purchased by the Petworth estate in 1824. It had been used by Strudwicks from 1596 to 1638 and owned by them from 1735 to 1824. I suspect it may have been owned by the Hills Green branch from about 1596, but this has yet to be proved. It adjoins Hills Green.

[3] Add. MS. 39361 (Dunkin).

[4] *S.R.S.* IX, XII, XXXII, XXXV.

carious, with famine and disease never far away; but, and this is important, were these conditions so different from those of other farming regions in the county? I see no reason to suppose they were.

The problem of how much of the old stock survives is not easy to solve because the names are common to much of the county. But it can be said that twenty family names in the 1641 Protestation Return, and more than double that number in the parish registers of 1558–1690, appear in the 1951 electoral roll. Possibly upwards of one-fifth of the present population are of old stock.

Landowners

The small landowners are not easy to check before the days of Land Tax returns, and to deal thoroughly with land ownership here is beyond the scope of this paper. During our period the larger landowners remain stable, and very briefly the story is this.

The manors have been noted on p. 88. Their lords were:

Pallingham, Earls of Arundel –1591. Onslows –1790, from then the Petworth estate.
Shillinglee, Earls of Arundel –1641, then Gores and Turnours, who still own the estate.
Ebernoe, Earls of Arundel –1570. Smyths –1646. Paynes –1668. Peacheys –1911, then the Petworth estate.
Slindon, Kempes 1597, and their heirs until handed over to the National Trust.
Bedham Stanleys of Fittleworth 1657–1745, then Mitfords.

This probably accounts for more than two-thirds of the parish, the other manors, apart possibly from Bassett's Fee, controlling only a farm or two.

The last parts here of the huge estate of the Earls of Arundel were sold off when in 1641 Jerard Gore, a City Alderman, purchased the Great Park of Shillinglee, Chilsfold and Langhurst Farms, 2,000 acres in all. This estate descended through Gore's daughter to the Turnour family who at various times added to and sold from it, but the original core of about 2,000 acres remains in the family today. The Turnours, later the Earls Winter-

ton, lived and at times farmed on a considerable scale here from about 1734.

The Peacheys bought Ebernoe Manor in 1668 and between then and 1764 built up an estate of 990 acres which remained in their hands until 1912, when it was sold to the Petworth estate.[1] They do not appear to have done much farming but, at least latterly, were content to be 'squires'.

The Newburghs, heirs of the Kempes, and lords of Slindon Manor, owned about 600 acres until it was sold by their heirs in 1877.

The Strudwicks at one time or another owned at least 1,750 acres, mainly in the seventeenth century. Their farming activities have been noted.

The Haineses owned Sladeland from 1619 to 1806, farming it at times but not living here until early in the eighteenth century, when they built up a small collection of farms totalling about 600 acres. They, the Turnours, and the Peacheys in the eighteenth century played the part of leaders and squires which the Strudwicks had played in the preceding century. A grandson of the union between a Haines and a Peachey became a Victorian Field-Marshal.

Other families owning some land come and go, but the Strudwicks, Turnours, Peacheys, and Haineses are the people whose ideas and policies played a large part in the farming practised here from 1600 to 1800.

[1] The Petworth estate owned no land in the parish until 1786, with the small exception of Birchfold, now all copse and recently exchanged to Earl Winterton.