

LAND

How the Hunger for Ownership
Shaped the Modern World

**SIMON
WINCHESTER**

LAND. Copyright © 2021 by Simon Winchester. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information, address HarperCollins Publishers, 195 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.

HarperCollins books may be purchased for educational, business, or sales promotional use. For information, please email the Special Markets Department at SPsales@harpercollins.com.

FIRST EDITION

Designed by Leah Carlson-Stanisic

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

ISBN 978-0-06-293833-6

21 22 23 24 25 LSC 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS

*Some Possibly Unfamiliar,
Associated with Land and Its Ownership*

ACRE. This ninth-century Germanic borrowing, which first signified the amount of land that could be ploughed by a team of oxen in a day, was by the thirteenth century legally defined as an area measuring 220 by 22 yards—4,840 square yards—and to be configured in any shape.

APPANAGE. A piece of territory—sometimes quite a large piece, as in all of Wales or Cornwall or Cumberland—set aside for the security for the younger children of a monarch or a prince.

BUNDLE OF RIGHTS. Central to the concept of ownership, at least in western society, are the five fundamental rights that are implicitly bundled with the title: the owner is free to possess the land; to control it; to exclude others from it; to enjoy it; and to dispose of it as is deemed fit.

CADASTRE. A public register of real property assembled for the purpose of determining its value and so how much tax should be levied.

CHENGBAO SYSTEM. An ancient Chinese arrangement of tenancy—now much revived and corrupted—whereby a farmer may have a thirty-year lease on a tract of land and after supplying the state with an agreed amount of foodstuffs may retain any surplus for himself. The rules, laid down by the vaguely formed local party collective, allowed for all manner of venality, and have enriched many officials and aided in the creation of vast cities clawed from the Chinese countryside.

CIFTLIK. A system of land tenure in later Ottoman times, by which Turkish military commanders seized territory and ruled the local peasantry as serfs. It replaced the ancient and rather more liberal Timar system (qv).

CLEARANCE. Applied most commonly to Scottish moorland, this often cruelly imposed Victorian-era policy was designed to clear the countryside of unprofitable crofters and replace them with sheep, from which the landlords could expect a more considerable and reliable income. Victims of clearances often immigrated to North America.

CORNAGE. A form of rent determined by the number of horned cattle—*cornu* meaning horn in Latin—owned by the tenant.

- COUVERTURE.** A now technically obsolete U.S. legal doctrine that prevented women from owning real property. Prejudice against female landownership persists in some few states, with banks still reluctant to permit women to take out mortgages without a man as a cosigner.
- CROFTING.** The practice, peculiar in name to Scotland, of the peasantry having the right to farm some small portion of arable land, as tenancies. But in the nineteenth century the price of wool rose so steeply that major landowners reckoned it more profitable to raise sheep rather than rely on crofting for income, and so cleared the land of the resident crofters, with predictably melancholy consequences.
- CUBIT.** From the Latin for “elbow” this Roman and Egyptian unit of length measured from elbow to index fingertip—seventeen inches for the average citizen of Rome, up to four inches longer for the evidently sturdier residents of Cairo.
- DAIMYO.** A senior member of the Japanese nobility, answerable to the shogun, and the employer of a number of samurai as guardians of the lands and protectors of his family and his family’s honor.
- DEED.** The formal written evidence, invariably a handsomely inscribed document of paper, parchment, or vellum, attesting to the ownership of the title to a piece of real estate, signed and sealed by an earlier owner.
- DIGGERS.** In 1649 the agrarian reformer Gerrard Winstanley led a group of radicals to dig up recently privatized land on St. George’s Hill south of London. They also filled in ditches and tore down hedges with a view to giving the fields back to the common people. They called themselves True Levellers, but the press of the day called them The Diggers. Their movement failed.
- DUNUM.** An area of land, roughly equivalent to an English acre, used by the Ottoman administrators of their various conquered territories. The unit varied wildly: in Ottoman Iraq one dunum was equivalent to 2,500 square meters; in Palestine, little more than 900.
- EMINENT DOMAIN.** An ever-present reminder that the ultimate owner of land in many countries is a monarch. In Britain, where the reigning sovereign in theory has supervising authority over ownership of every acre in the country, there are occasions when a supposed owner is compelled to relinquish title to his lands, and for the supposed good of all. The British call the practice compulsory purchase, which is what it is. The American phrase, unnecessarily baroque, means essentially the same thing.
- ENCLOSURE.** The practice, which by the eighteenth century was generally backed by law, of fencing off areas of commonly used and hitherto unowned land and declaring it henceforward to be private property. The effects of enclosure on the development of society were profound, driving many dispossessed country dwellers to the cities, or else persuading them to emigrate.
- ENCOMENDADO SYSTEM.** Land seized by Imperial Spain belonged, ipso facto, to the monarch. But the conquistadores who performed the seizing were allowed—*encomendado*—to use the local native people to farm and extract minerals from this land, and, as noble *hidalgos*, lived there and prospered, though without ownership.
- ENFEOFF.** To give a fief, or land that is offered in exchange for military service.
- ESCHEAT.** Land seized by the state for nonpayment of taxes—a reminder that ownership is invariably less than absolute, and can be forfeit, and that the state is almost everywhere the ultimate true owner of all.

- ESTATE.** The interest one has in land, which may vary from a tenancy to various forms of ownership. Real property refers to land and any immovable structures on it; personal property is the term used in law for the estate one has—usually ownership—in movable objects, from handbags to books to motor cars.
- FALL.** A seldom-used and somewhat elastic Scottish and northern English length measurement, equivalent to such older units as the rod, pole, and perch, and about one fortieth of a furlong, itself a measure that varies by region. Also, a measurement of volume in the marl-digging business.
- FEDDAN.** An areal unit of land measurement in some Arab countries and roughly equivalent to an English acre.
- FEE SIMPLE.** The term, derived from the French, denoting the absolute ownership of a piece of property, and its heritability to heirs and successors who then enjoy similar absolute ownership.
- FEUDAL TENURE.** Where one may, as a vassal, enjoy use of land in exchange for some obligation, usually military service, on behalf of the ultimate owner.
- FOOT.** A unit of linear measure, originally and roughly based on the length of an adult foot, but latterly codified against the standard yard measurement, of which one foot is precisely one third.
- GEORGISM.** Followers of the once wildly popular Victorian-era journalist and polemicist Henry George, who argued forcefully for the abolition of all taxes except one Land Value Tax, which would be assessed on the rental value of land.
- GUNTER'S CHAIN.** Invented by the English mathematician Edmund Gunter in 1623, this iron chain, consisting of one hundred links, and which at a specific temperature measures a length of exactly sixty-six feet, is used as the basis for much surveying, worldwide. Ten square chains is equivalent to one acre.
- JAMES HARRINGTON.** A seventeenth-century political theorist whose seminal book *Oceana* (1656) suggested limits on private landownership, since in his view those who owned too much land accreted to themselves an unhealthy amount of political power that would, ultimately, destroy them. His ideas were debated in the Rota Club, which he founded.
- HEADRIGHT.** A term of colonial settlement indicating the grant of landownership made in exchange for, say, the cost of transportation to a tract of unsettled territory—much of rural Virginia was given a fifty-acre headright exchange for the payment of passage fees.
- HECTARE.** An increasingly common metric measurement based on a square of one hundred meters. It is equivalent to 2.47 acres.
- HOLODOMOR.** The Ukrainian word meaning “to kill by starvation” and applied to the great famine of 1932 that resulted in between 3 million and 12 million deaths, and which many regard as a genocide perpetrated by the then-Soviet leader, Josef Stalin.
- KIBBUTZ.** A cooperative settlement, usually based on agriculture, deriving from an idea originating in the Jordan valley of Palestine in 1910, by Jewish settlers from Europe.
- KULAK.** A class of landholding peasantry of very moderate means, regarded with contempt by Stalin and subject to the most savage treatment during the Holodomor of the early 1930s.
- LANDSCHAFT.** The German classification of landscape is meticulous and detailed, and became bound up in the Nazi era with the so-called blood and soil movement with its

racial and nationalist overtones. The word literally translates to *landscape*, but in this sense now extends well beyond into more sinister territory.

LEVITTOWN. William Levitt of New York built seven massive suburban housing developments—all houses factory-made on production lines, one every eleven minutes—for soldiers returning from the Second World War. Eminently affordable, and with lawns and white picket fences, they seemed to represent an ideal—but Levitt's company was criticized for refusing to sell to Black people, and the word Levittown soon became a byword for racial prejudice and discrimination.

LI. A unit of measurement in China, originally considered the length of extent of an average village, or about one third of a western mile.

LIEN. The right—if documented as part of a contract or agreement—to retain possession of another's property, including land, for the failure to repay a debt.

LYNCHET. An earth terrace, built up over the years at the end of the lower slope of a ploughed field in early southern England. If aligned in parallel these banks of earth are known as strip lynchets and can form early field boundaries between neighboring farms.

KEN. A unit of measurement in Japan, standardized today as the equivalent of $1\frac{1}{11}$ meter. Half a square ken is the size of a tatami mat, another unit still employed in the measurement of floor space.

EDDIE MABO. An indigenous Australian from the Torres Strait Islands who fought for aboriginal land rights, and won. The ruling in the case, *Mabo vs Queensland No. 2*, overturned the British notion of *terra nullius* and recognized aboriginal land rights for the first time. The ruling was handed down in June 1992, five months after Mabo died; he was much honored, but posthumously.

METES AND BOUNDS. The boundaries and limits of extent of some human-made settlement—a village or a town or a county.

METER (METRE). This unit of length was created in 1793, defined initially as one ten-millionth of the length of a quadrant of the earth measured from the North Pole to the Equator along the meridian that passes through Paris. Like all metric measurements it has been much refined, and is now the length of the path of light passing through a vacuum during a time interval of $1/299,792,458$ of a second.

MILE. Originally a Roman unit of length, derived from the Latin *mille passus*, a thousand double-paces of a marching centurion, and about 1611 England yards. It has been codified in law since 1592 when Parliament in London declared a mile to be eight furlongs, or 5,280 feet, 1,760 yards.

MOU. A Chinese measurement of land area, defined today by customs agreements as 920.417 square yards. In the Tang dynasty, from the seventh to tenth centuries, every Chinese man was entitled to a loan of eighty mou of land, to be returned to the state on his death, and twenty mou that could be kept and inherited by his descendants.

PARASANG. An old Persian unit of length, some three or four miles. It was divided into thirty stadia.

PATENT. The ultimate document offering evidence of the ownership of land—an official government writ, signed and sealed by sovereign authority, showing to whom the land was first granted. All deeds and titles of today's ownership can in theory be traced back to the "letters patent" guaranteeing the rights of heritable possession to all in the subsequent chain of ownership.

- PERCH.** An old English measure of length, equal to 5.5 yards. Also a rod, pole, or lug. First employed in the fourteenth century.
- PHYSIOCRACY.** A form of natural-order government based on the understanding that since land is the only and ultimate true source of wealth, so the direct taxation of land should be the only true source of revenue. The idea first advanced by the French economist Francois Quesnay was later popularized by Henry George.
- PICKSHAFT.** The handle of a pick was briefly used as a length measure in fourteenth-century England.
- PING.** A traditional Chinese areal measurement unit, equal to some 3.3 square meters.
- PLAT.** A map, usually large-scale, of a building or an area of land on which buildings are, or are about to be, built.
- PLETHRON.** A unit of length in ancient Greece, or a square with one side measuring one plethron. There are one hundred Greek feet in a plethron, surprisingly almost exactly one hundred standard Imperial feet.
- POLDER SYSTEM.** Though this Dutch word strictly signifies the low-lying land reclaimed from the sea and kept dry by the use of dykes, its modern use now extends to mean the cooperative work needed to maintain the habitable nature of the land and of the country itself: the polder system suggests a national need to set politics aside and pull as one to offset harm.
- PRIMOGENITURE.** The custom and right by which the firstborn child—in most early instances the firstborn male child—inherits property or title to real estate.
- PUBLIC LAND STATES.** In those American states that originated after the original colonial holdings, all land belonged to the national government (though Native Americans naturally disagreed). Land patents were thus issued by the U.S. government's Public Land Office and not, as in the earlier settlements, by the individual state governments.
- PYONG.** A Korean unit of areal measurement, a square kan, some 36 square Korean feet. Like the Chinese ping (qv), it is equal to some 3.33 square meters, or almost 4 square yards.
- REDLINING.** The practice—employed by government bodies, banks, insurance companies, and the like—of designating certain areas of a community as being of greater commercial risk, and so less eligible for loans or other services. Critics rightly regard redlining as racist and discriminatory.
- ROOD.** Confusingly, a rood was a historic English measure both of length (between eighteen and twenty-four feet) and area (a quarter of an acre). The word and area measurement are originally Dutch.
- ROTA CLUB.** Established by James Harrington (qv) during the political interregnum that followed the execution of King Charles I. The club, whose members included Christopher Wren and Samuel Pepys, debated utopian ideas, including radical approaches to land reform.
- SACHEM.** A term, most commonly used in the American northeast, for a Native American chief. A sachem of the Wampanoag in eastern Massachusetts is often credited for having saved the Pilgrim settlers from starvation.
- SAMURAI.** A soldier-retainer in service to a daimyo, a nobleman and landowner. Samurai, belonging to a revered military caste, usually carried two swords, and were ferociously skilled in using them.

- SERF.** Down at the very bottom of the feudal system, a serf worked as a laborer, essentially in no more than a modified form of slavery.
- SHAKU.** A traditional Japanese measure of length, the Japanese foot, allowed officially until 1966, still used for some cloth measurement today. One variety, the whale shaku, used baleen whiskers as ruler.
- SHARECROPPER.** A tenant farmer who works the land for its owner and receives a portion of the crop as compensation for doing so.
- TERRA NULLIUS.** The classically Imperial legal fiction claiming that sparsely populated lands unoccupied by (generally British) settlers belonged in law to nobody, and were thus susceptible to ownership by their European discoverers. Australia and much of interior North America were once regarded in this manner.
- THEODOLITE.** A barely portable instrument of lenses, compasses, and brass vernier scales and mounted usually on a tripod, combining great precision with cumbersome weight and size, used in surveying tracts of land, meridians, or entire countries.
- TIMAR.** An early form of land distribution during the Ottoman empire in which temporary and nonheritable grants of conquered territory were made to those cavalrymen, Janissaries, and even slaves who had taken part in the conquest.
- TITLE.** A legal right to the ownership of land or of other property, usually based on an aggregation of facts or evidence from the land's recorded history.
- TORRENS TITLE.** While serving as registrar general of South Australia in 1858, the Irish lawyer Sir Robert Torrens introduced a system of land registration that allowed the government to create certificates of ownership—Torrens titles—that decisively proved possession. The system has since been adopted near universally in Western nations.
- TRESPASS.** Defined in law as the wrongful and uninvited entry onto lands owned by another person, and the perpetration of damage, however trivial, to the owner's real property.
- TSUBO.** A Japanese unit of a measurement equivalent to two tatami mats.
- USUFRUCT.** The right to enjoy—but not to destroy, sell, or otherwise profoundly alter—land that belongs to someone else. Thomas Jefferson famously remarked that “the earth belongs—in usufruct—to the living.”
- VARA.** The Spanish yard, generally equivalent to some thirty-three inches, and which is still occasionally found used as a measurement standard in Texas
- YOJANA.** A varying unit of distance employed in early fifth-century India and equating to between eight and nine miles.
- YOKELET.** In Kent, in southern England, a yokelet once signified a small arable farm that could be worked by one yoke of oxen. It became briefly used as a measure of land—somewhat larger than an acre, which originated in the size of a field that could be worked by just a single animal.
- YOKING.** A strip of ploughed land, usually no more than ten yards wide, fashioned by farmers in Scotland and far northern England.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Sam. *Boom Town: The Fantastical Saga of Oklahoma City*. New York. Crown. 2018.
- Applebaum, Anne. *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine*. London. Allen Lane. 2017.
- Archives New Zealand. *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington. Bridget Williams Books. 2017.
- Baker, Alan R. and Gideon Biger (eds.). *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1992.
- Berkman, Richard L. and W. Kip Viscusi. *Damming the West: Ralph Nader's Study Group Report on the Bureau of Reclamation*. New York. Grossman. 1973.
- Berry, Wendell. *The Gift of Good Land: Further Essays Cultural and Agricultural*. Berkeley, CA. Counterpoint. 1981.
- Bowes, John P. *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal*. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press. 2016.
- Brasher, Rex. *Secrets of the Friendly Woods*. New York. The Century Co. 1926.
- Brewer, Richard. *Conservancy: The Land Trust Movement in America*. Hanover, NH. University Press of New England. 2003.
- Brooke-Hitching, Edward. *The Phantom Atlas: The Greatest Myths, Lies and Blunders on Maps*. London. Simon & Schuster. 2016.
- Butler, Jenna. *A Profession of Hope: Farming on the Edge of the Grizzly Trail*. Hamilton, ON. Wolsak and Wynn. 2015.
- Butler, Samuel. *Erewhon, or Over the Range*. London. Trübner. 1872.
- Byrnes, Giselle. *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*. Wellington. Bridget Williams Books. 2001.
- Cahill, Kevin. *Who Owns the World: The Surprising Truth About Every Piece of Land on the Planet*. New York. Grand Central. 2010.
- Calloway, Colin G. *The Indian World of George Washington: The First President, the First Americans, and the Birth of the Nation*. New York. Oxford University Press. 2018.
- Christophers, Brett. *The New Enclosure: The Appropriation of Public Land in Neoliberal Britain*. London. Verso. 2018.
- Conquest, Robert. *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*. New York. Oxford University Press. 1986.
- Crane, Nicholas. *The Making of the British Landscape: From the Ice Age to the Present*. London. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 2016.
- Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York. Hill & Wang. 1983.

- Dartnell, Lewis. *Origins: How Earth's History Shaped Human History*. New York. Basic Books. 2019.
- Dary, David. *Entrepreneurs of the Old West*. Lincoln. University of Nebraska Press. 1986.
- Debo, Angie. *A History of the Indians of the United States*. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press. 1970.
- Debo, Angie. *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes*. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 1940.
- Denman, D. R. *Origins of Ownership: A Brief History of Land Ownership and Tenure in England from Earliest Times to the Modern Era*. London. Allen & Unwin. 1958.
- Devine, T. M. *The Scottish Clearances: A History of the Dispossessed*. London. Allen Lane. 2018.
- Douglas, Roy. *Land, People and Politics: A History of the Land Question in the United Kingdom 1878–1952*. London. Allison & Busby. 1976.
- Dressler, Camille. *Eigg: The Story of an Island*. Edinburgh. Polygon. 1998.
- Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. Boston. Beacon Press. 2014.
- Dunn, Shirley W. *The River Indians: Mohicans Making History*. Fleischmanns, NY. Purple Mountain Press. 2009.
- Easdale, Nola. *Kairuri: The Measurer of Land*. Petone, New Zealand. Highgate. 1988.
- Egan, Timothy. *The Worst Hard Time: The Untold Story of Those Who Survived the Great American Dust Bowl*. Boston. Houghton Mifflin. 2006.
- Fairlie, Simon et al. (eds.). *The Land*. Bridport, Dorset. March 2006–present.
- Fellmeth, Robert C. *Politics of Land: Ralph Nader's Study Group Report on Land Use in California*. New York. Grossman. 1973.
- Ferguson, Niall. *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*. London. Allen Lane. 2013.
- Ferrari, Marco, et al. *A Moving Border: Alpine Cartographies of Climate Change*. New York. Columbia Books on Architecture. 2018.
- Foreman, Grant. *Indian Removal: The Emigration of Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press. 1932.
- Forster, E. M. *Abinger Harvest*. New York. Harcourt, Brace. 1936.
- Gammage, Bill. *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*. Crows Nest, NSW. Allen & Unwin. 2011.
- Geisler, Charles C. (ed.). *Who Owns Appalachia?: Land Ownership and Its Impact*. Lexington, KY. University Press of Kentucky. 1981.
- George, Henry. *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increased Want with Increase of Wealth; the Remedy*. New York. Appleton & Co. 1879.
- Godwin, Peter. *When a Crocodile Eats the Sun*. New York. Little, Brown. 2008.
- Grandin, Greg. *The End of the Myth: From the Frontier to the Border Wall in the Mind of America*. New York. Henry Holt. 2019.
- Greer, Allan. *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empire and Land in Early Modern America*. Cambridge, UK. Cambridge University Press. 2018.
- Griffiths, Billy. *Deep Time Dreaming: Uncovering Ancient Australia*. Carlton, VIC. Black Inc. 2018.
- Hamsun, Knut. *Growth of the Soil*. (Orig: Markens Grode). New York. Knopf. 1921.
- Hardy, Roger. *The Poisoned Well: Empire and Its Legacy in the Middle East*. New York. Oxford University Press. 2017.

- Hewitt, Rachel. *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*. London. Granta. 2010.
- Heyman, Stephen. *The Planter of Modern Life: Louis Bromfield and the Seeds of a Food Revolution*. New York. Norton. 2020.
- Hightower, Michael J. *1889: The Boomer Movement, the Land Run, and Early Oklahoma City*. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press. 2018.
- Hinks, Arthur R. *Maps and Survey*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1913.
- Hogue, Michel. *Metis and the Medicine Line: Crossing a Border and Dividing a People*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 2015.
- Hoig, Stan. *The Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889*. Oklahoma City. Oklahoma Historical Society. 1989.
- Hunter, James. *The Claim of Crofting: The Scottish Highlands and Islands, 1930–1990*. Edinburgh. Mainstream Publishing. 1991.
- Hunter, James. *From the Low Tide of the Sea to the Highest Mountain Tops: Community Ownership of Land in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. Isle of Lewis. The Islands Book Trust. 2012.
- Hutchinson, Bruce. *The Struggle for the Border*. Don Mills, ONT. Oxford University Press. 1955.
- Johnson, Miranda. *The Land Is Our History: Indigeneity, Law, and the Settler State*. New York. Oxford University Press. 2016.
- Johnson, Richard B. (ed.). *History of Us: Nisenan Tribe of the Nevada City Rancheria*. Santa Rosa, CA. Comstock Bonanza Press. 2018.
- Jorgensen, Neil. *A Guide to New England's Landscape*. Chester, CT. The Globe Pequot Press. 1977.
- Kaplan, Robert D. *Earning the Rockies: How Geography Shapes America's Role in the World*. New York. Random House. 2017.
- Keay, John. *The Great Arc: The Dramatic Tale of How India Was Mapped and Everest Was Named*. New York. HarperCollins. 2000.
- King, Michael. *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland. Penguin. 2003.
- King, Michael. *Whina: A Biography of Whina Cooper*. London. Hodder & Stoughton. 1983.
- Kunstler, James Howard. *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape*. New York. Touchstone. 1993.
- Leopold, Aldo. *A Sand County Almanac: And Sketches Here and There*. New York. Oxford University Press. 1949.
- Linklater, Andro. *Measuring America: How the United States Was Shaped by the Greatest Land Sale in History*. New York. Penguin. 2003.
- Linklater, Andro. *Owning the Earth: The Transforming History of Land Ownership*. London. Bloomsbury. 2013.
- Lopez, Barry (ed.). *Home Ground: Language for an American Landscape*. San Antonio, TX. Trinity University Press. 2006.
- Lynam, Edward (ed.). *The Mapmaker's Art: Essays on the History of Maps*. London. The Batchworth Press. 1953.
- Mabey, Richard. *The Common Ground: a Place for Nature in Britain's Future?* London. Hutchinson. 1980.
- Maier, Charles S. *Once Within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth and Belonging since 1500*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. 2016.
- Marsden, Philip. *Rising Ground: A Search for the Spirit of Place*. London. Granta. 2014.

- Marsden, Philip. *The Summer Isles: A Voyage of the Imagination*. London. Granta. 2019.
- Marshall, James M. *Land Fever: Dispossession and the Frontier Myth*. Lexington, KY. University Press of Kentucky. 1986.
- McGuire, Lloyd H., Jr. *Birth of Guthrie: Oklahoma's Run of 1889 and Life in Guthrie in 1889 and the 1890s*. San Diego. Privately Published. 1998.
- Mingay, G. E. *Parliamentary Enclosure in England: An Introduction to Its Causes, Incidence and Impact 1750–1850*. Harlow, Essex. Longman. 1997.
- Ministry of Justice, New Zealand. *150 Years of the Maori Land Court*. Wellington. New Zealand Government. 2015.
- Mitchell, John Hanson. *Ceremonial Time: Fifteen Thousand Years on One Square Mile*. Cambridge, MA. Perseus Books. 1984.
- Mitchell, John Hanson. *Trespassing: An Inquiry into the Private Ownership of Land*. Reading, MA. Perseus Books. 1998.
- Monbiot, George. *Feral: Rewilding the Land, the Sea, and Human Life*. London. University of Chicago Press. 2014.
- Moss, Graham. *Britain's Wasting Acres: Land Use in a Changing Society*. London. The Architectural Press. 1981.
- Neiwert, David A. *Strawberry Days: How Internment Destroyed a Japanese American Community*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan. 2005.
- Nicolson, I. F. *The Mystery of Criche Down*. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1986.
- Nikolić, Zoran. *The Atlas of Unusual Borders*. Glasgow. HarperCollins. 2019.
- O'Donnell, Edward T. *Henry George and the Crisis of Inequality: Progress and Poverty in the Gilded Age*. New York. Columbia University Press. 2015.
- O'Malley, Vincent. *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800–2000*. Wellington. Bridget Williams Books. 2019.
- O'Malley, Vincent. *The New Zealand Wars*. Wellington. Bridget Williams Books. 2019.
- O'Malley, Vincent et al. *The Treaty of Waitangi Companion: Maori and Pakeha from Tasman to Today*. Auckland. Auckland University Press. 2010.
- Osborn, William C. *The Paper Plantation: Ralph Nader's Study Group on the Pulp and Paper Industry in Maine*. New York. Grossman. 1974.
- Polhemus, John and Richard Polhemus. *Up on Preston Mountain: The Story of an American Ghost Town*. Fleischmanns, New York. Purple Mountain Press. 2005.
- Prebble, John. *The Highland Clearances*. London. Secker & Warburg. 1963.
- Purdy, Jediah. *This Land Is Our Land: The Struggle for a New Commonwealth*. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 2019.
- Quinn, Tom. *The Reluctant Billionaire: The Tragic Life of Gerald Grosvenor, 6th Duke of Westminster*. London. Biteback Publishing. 2018.
- Rackham, Oliver. *The History of the Countryside*. London. Dent. 1986.
- Rader, Andrew. *Beyond the Known: How Exploration Created the Modern World and Will Take Us to the Stars*. New York. Scribner. 2019.
- Rees, Tony. *Arc of the Medicine Line: Mapping the World's Longest Undefended Border Across the Western Plains*. Lincoln. University of Nebraska Press. 2007.
- Reeves, Richard. *Infamy: The Shocking Story of the Japanese American Internment in World War Two*. New York. Henry Holt. 2015.
- Robillard, Walter G. and Donald A. Wilson. *Brown's Boundary Control and Legal Principles*. Hoboken. Wiley. 2003.

- Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York. Liveright. 2017.
- Rowse, Tim. *Indigenous and Other Australians Since 1901*. Sydney. University of New South Wales Press. 2017.
- Sapp, Rick. *Native Americans State by State*. New York. Quarto. 2018.
- Schama, Simon. *The Story of the Jews*. London. HarperCollins. 2013.
- Schulten, Susan. *A History of America in 100 Maps*. London. The British Library. 2018.
- Segeren, W. G. (ed.). *Polders of the World*. Arnhem. Published Proceedings of Symposium, Lelystad. 1982.
- Shorto, Russell. *Amsterdam: A History of the World's Most Liberal City*. New York. Random House. 2013.
- Shrubsole, Guy. *Who Owns England? How We Lost Our Green and Pleasant Land and How to Take It Back*. London. William Collins. 2019.
- Stamp, L. Dudley and W. G. Hoskins. *The Common Land of England and Wales*. London. Collins. 1963.
- Stannard, David E. *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World*. New York. Oxford University Press. 1992.
- Stein, Mark. *How the States Got Their Shapes*. New York. HarperCollins. 2008.
- Tolstoy, Leo. *How Much Land Does a Man Need? And Other Stories*. London. Penguin. 1994.
- Toynbee, Arnold J. *A Study of History*. London. Oxford University Press. 1946.
- Tree, Isabella. *Wilding: Returning Nature to Our Farm*. London. Picador. 2018.
- Treuer, Anton. *Atlas of Indian Nations*. Washington, D.C. National Geographic. 2013.
- Treuer, David. *The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee: Native America from 1890 to the Present*. New York. Riverhead Books. 2019.
- Trudolyubov, Maxim. *The Tragedy of Property: Private Life, Ownership and the Russian State*. Cambridge. Polity Press. 2018.
- Vitek, William and Wes Jackson (eds.). *Rooted in the Land: Essays on Community and Place*. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1996.
- Watson, Peter. *Ideas: A History of Thought and Invention, from Fire to Freud*. New York. HarperCollins. 2005.
- Weaver, John C. *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900*. Montreal. McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003.
- Weisman, Alan. *The World Without Us*. New York. St. Martin's Press. 2007.
- Wigan, Michael. *The Salmon: The Extraordinary Story of the King of Fish*. London. William Collins. 2013.
- Wightman, Andy. *The Poor Had No Lawyers: Who Owns Scotland (and How They Got It)*. Edinburgh. Birlinn. 2015.