

Issue 9 • July 2005

Above – Second World War poster. For agriculture in the Second World War see Chairman's letter

### Letter from the new chairman of The British Agricultural History Society

Dr Paul Brassley School of Geography, University of Plymouth writes:

The Society exists to promote the study of rural history in its widest sense. It holds conferences, publishes the *Agricultural History Review* and other publications, and through these and other means aims to promote a lively and informed debate.

Its many and varied activities suggest that it is in a vigorous and healthy state. The winter and spring conferences attract lively and numerous audiences, and new faces are always welcome. The continued viability of the society is dependent upon a steady stream of new recruits, not only for their subscriptions but also for their contributions to its discussion.

We shall shortly be producing a new publicity leaflet for distribution to museums, record offices etc. Assistance from members in getting them to the places that they might not otherwise reach will be appreciated.

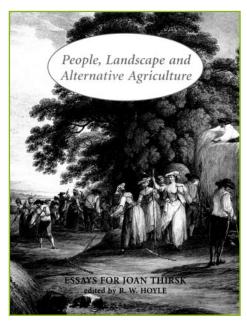
Forthcoming events include an Anglo-French conference in September, the Winter meeting in London, and the next Spring conference in Exeter. (Further details elsewhere in *RHT*).

The usual publication of the *Review* will again be accompanied by a supplement, this time on agriculture in the Second World War. These supplements are received free by members but are on sale to libraries, so please encourage them to order copies.

All this activity cannot happen by itself. It needs the not inconsiderable work of the editors, the secretary and treasurer, and the conference organizers, and an executive committee to support them. It is appropriate here to record our thanks to Dr Phillip Schofield, who has just retired from the committee, and to Professor John Beckett, who has just completed three busy and effective years as its chair. Dr Elizabeth Griffiths now joins the committee, and I have taken over in the chair.

Email: pbrassley@plymouth.ac.uk

#### **NEW PUBLICATION**



## The Society honours one of its most eminent founding members

Last year the BAHS published the third title in its *Supplement Series* in honour of the distinguished agricultural historian, founding member, twice past president of the Society, and editor of the *Review*, Dr Joan Thirsk.

Entitled People, Landscape and Alternative Agriculture it consists of the eight papers given at a conference held in Reading in September, 2002 to celebrate Joan's 80th birthday. The papers cover some of the many subjects dear to her heart such as rural industries, economic policy, peasant economy and alternative agriculture, and almost all the authors were at some time, her students. To quote from J.M.Neeson's review 'These essays are a fitting tribute to an exceptional historian. They are meticulously researched, alert to large questions, and written with both wit and affection. Together, they add to the rich diversity of writing about rural history that Joan Thirsk did so much to encourage.'

Copies, price £17.50 available from: The Treasurer, BAHS, c/o Dept. of History, University of Exeter, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, EX4 4RJ

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# The economic and social history of rural Spain, 1800-2000: a review of recent research

Fernando Collantes (born 1976) studied Economics at the University of Cantabria. He obtained his doctorate in 2003 with a thesis on the economic and demographic decline of mountain districts in Spain during the period 1850-2000. Since 2001, he has taught economic history at the University of Zaragoza. His current research project is a comparative analysis of the evolution of the countryside economy in Europe in the last century and a half. E-mail: collantf@unizar.es

In the second of our series on the state of agricultural studies across Europe, Dr Collantes describes recent research in modern agricultural and social history in Spain.

Sixteen years ago, Joseph Harrison explained to the readers of the *Agricultural History Review* that the agrarian and rural history of Spain had witnessed an extraordinary expansion in the 1980's. The trend goes on – during the 1990's and the first years of the new century major advances have taken place in the traditional debates, while new lines of inquiry have been opened. Because agriculture remained a central sector in Spanish economy and society until well into the twentieth century, it is not surprising to find so many historians turning their attention to it.

Traditionally, the main historiographical debate has been the one on the role of agriculture in Spain's relative backwardness during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This traditional debate goes on. English-speaking audiences know well James Simpson's book on Spanish agriculture from the mideighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Some of his conclusions have been challenged recently by Miguel Ángel Bringas and a team of scholars led by Josep Pujol. The latter has stressed the role of environmental constraints in the poor performance of nineteenth-century

agriculture, but has also been accused of downplaying the role of institutions. However, Simpson's new book, co-authored by Juan Carmona, tends to argue that some institutions were a consequence (rather than a cause) of agricultural backwardness. 5

It is likely that the debate will go on for quite some time, but in the meantime our knowledge about Spanish rural society in the nineteenth century and up to the outbreak of civil war in 1936 has greatly expanded. Geography, social structure, production orientation and demography were diverse and led to different regional types, as has been stressed by Domingo Gallego.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the article by Gallego synthesizes a large amount of valuable local and thematically-specific studies, many of them related to the Sociedad Española de Historia Agraria (formerly Seminario de Historia Agraria, a sister association to BAHS) and published in Historia Agraria. These local studies have been important for the renovation of higher-level debates and they are very likely to remain so in the future. Thematically-specific studies have greatly increased our knowledge about issues such as living standards, social structure, forest and environmental history, agribusiness, family and demography, and more.<sup>7</sup>

In the years to come, the great challenge facing agricultural and rural history in Spain is probably the incorporation of the period from

#### **Footnotes**

- <sup>1</sup> J. Harrison, 'The agrarian history of Spain, 1800–1960', Agricultural History Review 37 (1989), pp. 180–7.
- <sup>2</sup> J. Simpson, Spanish agriculture: the long siesta (1765–1965) (1995).
- <sup>3</sup> M. Á. Bringas, La productividad de los factores en la agricultura española (1752.1935) (2000); J. Pujol, M. González de Molina, L. Fernández, D. Gallego and R. Garrabou, El pozo de todos los males: sobre el atraso en la agricultura española contemporánea (2001).
- <sup>4</sup> See a lively debate about the above cited book in the journal Historia Agraria, 28 (2002).
- <sup>5</sup> J. Carmona and J. Simpson, *El laberinto de la agricultura española: instituciones, contratos y organización entre 1850 y 1936* (2003).
- <sup>6</sup> D. Gallego, 'Sociedad, naturaleza y mercado: un análisis regional de los condicionantes de la producción agraria española (1800–1936)', *Historia Agraria* 24 (2001), pp. 11–57.
- <sup>7</sup> Very detailed states of the art were published in *Historia Agraria* in 2000–2002 (issues number 22 to 26). See also J. M. Martínez Carrión, *El nivel de vida en la España rural, siglos XVIII–XX* (2002); and J. A. Sebastián and R. Uriarte (eds.), *Historia y economía del bosque en la Europa del sur (siglos XVIII–XX)* (2003).

the end of the civil war in 1939 to the present day.<sup>8</sup> Although scholars are increasingly turning their attention to it, the last decade and a half has witnessed a relative stagnation of this area of research (at least, as compared to the lively debate on the prior period). However, this period of extraordinary change in the Spanish economy and society provoked major changes in the countryside, as taught by the early works of José Manuel Naredo and Carlos Barciela.<sup>9</sup> My own book addresses the end of peasant economies in upland Spain and the role played

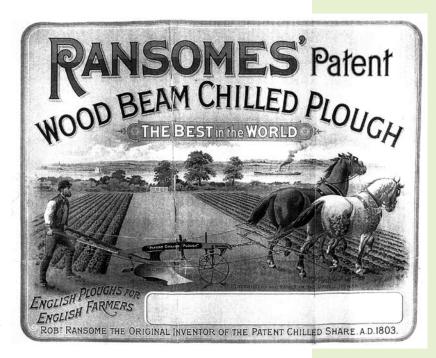
by depopulation in such a process from a long-run perspective. <sup>10</sup> But a lot has yet to be done –we need to know more about non-upland Spain during the second half of the twentieth century, and not only about its economic and demographic trends but also about the social implications of such trends. In this way we may be able to fill the gap between our well-known, pre-1936 rural communities and the type of community depicted by rural sociologists for the late twentieth century.

- <sup>8</sup> The incorporation of previous periods would deserve a review of its own. Enrique Llopis has recently stressed the institutional and productive legacy of pre-industrial agriculture and its consequences for the development of subsequent stages in the evolution of the Spanish economy and the Spanish countryside. See E. Llopis, ed., El legado económico del Antiguo Régimen en España (2004).
- <sup>9</sup> J. M. Naredo, La evolución de la agricultura en España: desarrollo capitalista y crisis de las formas de producción tradicionales (1971; second edition with new material, 1996); C. Barciela, 'Introducción', in R. Garrabou, C. Barciela and J. I. Jiménez Blanco (eds.), Historia agraria de la España contemporánea. 3. El fin de la agricultura tradicional contemporánea (1800–1960) (1986), pp. 383–454.
- <sup>10</sup> F. Collantes, El declive demográfico de la montaña española (1850-2000). ¿Un drama rural? (2004).

#### **NEW LIBRARY FACILITIES AT MERL**

There can be few readers who have not at some time or other benefited from of the library and archives at the Museum of English Rural Life at Reading.

The first part of the multi-million pound MERL development which involves the moving of the museum from the Whiteknights University campus to the former St Andrews Hall of Residence opened on May 3rd when the first readers to the new library and reading room were welcomed with a bottle of champagne. The exhibition galleries will open in July. The museum archives contain business records of companies relating to agriculture including agricultural implement makers, Ransomes, Sims and Jefferies of Ipswich, and seed distributors, Suttons Seeds of Reading, records of agricultural organisations, such as the National Farmers' Union as well as estate and business records of individual farms throughout England. The library covers the whole range of agricultural history and rural life with particular strengths in farming techniques, equipment and dairying. The periodicals include major runs of journals on agricultural history, economics and engineering as well as popular magazines such as Farmers' Weekly and Country Life.



One of the many Ransome's advertisements in the Museum's archives

### CONFERENCE NOTICEBOARD

#### Interwar Rural History Research Group Study Day

#### 17 September 2005

The Interwar Rural History Research Group will hold a Study Day at the Museum of English Rural Life (MERL), Reading, on 17 September 2005.

The theme of the day will be *Education in Rural Areas in the Interwar Period*, and this will be broadly interpreted to include not only school and agricultural education but also adult education, art and drama education, issues of gender, institutions and curriculum development, buildings, books and educational materials, and the experiences of students and teachers.

There will also be an opportunity to tour the MERL's impressive new building and to participate in a presentation on the archives it holds and its facilities for researchers in rural history.

For further information please contact Dr Caitlin Adams, Witan international College, London Road, Reading RG1 5AQ, tel: 0118 931 0152 (switchboard) or 0118 920 9345 (direct line), email: adams@witancollege.org

# The International Commission for Research on European Food History Symposium

#### Berlin, September 2005

The International Commission for Research on European Food History was founded in 1989 and holds a Symposium every two years on a theme that often has relevance for members of the British Agricultural History Society. The next one will be in Berlin in September 2005. For details see http://www.vub.ac.be/SGES/ICREFH.html

Every symposium leads to an edited volume, the most recent one being from the 2003 Prague meeting: Derek J. Oddy and Lydia Petranove (eds) *The Diffusion of Food Culture in Europe since the late Eighteenth Century,* Academia Press, Prague, forthcoming 2005. For further details please contact Peter Atkins, Dept Geography, Durham University, Durham DH1 3LE; p.j.atkins@durham.ac.uk

#### XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, Finland

#### 21 to 25 August 2006

Session 9, Food quality: practices and rules (XIIth–XXth centuries)

The organizer, Dr Peter Atkins, Dept Geography, Durham University would welcome proposals by end August 2005. Edited volume likely. Further information can be found at http://www.helsinki.fi/iehc2006/sessions.html

Although they are frequently in the news at the moment, problems of food safety and food quality are of course of long-standing. Historical and comparative analyses help to put them into an appropriate context and explain their origins and outcomes.

Our starting point is that economic actors – producers, distributors, and consumers – do not necessarily, and in fact rarely, share the same notion of quality. Heterogeneous viewpoints are also characteristic of public institutions. The way in which these agents agree on a given definition of quality and the implications of their possible disagreements require examination.

While the history of food quality is largely that of the forms of institutional regulation, it is necessary to distinguish between professional and administrative institutions, because their aims and rules do not always coincide. Colleagues giving papers will be asked to show how co-operative agreements on food quality have been reached for their particular case study.

More specifically, the pursuit of public health and the goals of business regulation happen at times to be at odds. When cases of incompatibility arise, actors work out hierarchies in economic policies as well as in economic action. Compromises are different at different moments and in different places.

In order to explain these outcomes we suggest a focus on three main issues:

- The role of science (or morality, religion, cosmologies in ancient times) and the construction of rules and quality norms.
- The construction and the enforcement of quality norms (central and local laws, social and professional norms).
- The relationship between health and market rules.

Our scope is from medieval times to the present. We seek to distinguish between quantitative and qualitative notions of food security. Under the Ancien Regime, quantity control was barely different from the quality supervision of foodstuffs, but the industrialization process was usually followed by an increasing distance between the two. However, outcomes are not predictable and historical enquiries help us to specify the determinants that influence solutions to food quality and food safety problems. Variations and differences are due to a mix of various factors: different legacies such as the sets of rules inherited from the past and the ways in which food quality, technical progress in agriculture, and the economic activities of administrative institutions are defined during the industrialisation process.

#### 8th European Urban History Association

#### Stockholm, September 2006,

Session on 'Animals in the city', organizer Peter Atkins, Durham University. Both the topic and the format are flexible, but the plan at the moment is as follows:

- A 3-hour session;
- 6-9 papers, with 1 page abstracts to be submitted by end August 2005;
- Timing will depend on the number of presenters, but the emphasis will be on short presentations and plenty of time for discussion;
- Possibility of a book to follow, with an agreed deadline in 2007 for submission of manuscripts.

#### Scope:

- Working animals, e.g. horses;
- Live animals as part of the food economy: cows, pigs, small livestock;
- Slaughtering and other animal-related industries:
- Live cattle and dead meat markets;
- Animal products;
- Companion animals;
- Zoos;
- 'Wild' animals;
- Vermin:
- Human interest: vets, butchers, stockkeepers, medical/sanitary officers, etc.;
- Theoretical papers, e.g. recent non-human turn;

Comparative papers welcome: through time or across space. See: http://www.historia.su.se/urbanhistory/eauh/invitation.htm

### **British Agricultural History Society Winter Conference**

### 10th December 2005, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London WC1,

The theme of landownership in the 19th and 20th centuries has been chosen to mark Professor F.M.L.Thompson's 80th birthday and speakers will include Professor David Cannadine on the 20th century country house and Professors John Beckett and Michael Turner returning to one of Michael Thompson's research interests, the sale of large numbers of landed estates after the first world war. Two other papers examine different sides of the continuing tensions between the landed aristocracy and the rest of society in the 19th century: Anthony Taylor's discussion of anti-aristocratic sentiment and land utopianism nicely complements Mark Rothery's paper on the financial diversification amongst the landed gentry. Further information about the conference, and a booking form can be obtained from the Society's web site www.bahs.org.uk or from Dr Jane Whittle, the conference organiser at the Department of History, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, University of Exeter, EX4 4RJ.

## 2nd Anglo-French Conference on Rural History,

#### 9-11 September, Darwin College, University of Kent

Following the pattern set at the successful conference held at Le Mans in 2002, the British Agricultural History Society, in collaboration with L'Association d'Histoire et societies rurales are organising a second conference with speakers from both France and Britain discussing three vital themes of interest to rural historians on both sides of the Channel. Sessions will focus on the peasant producer in the 19th and 20th centuries, on agricultural diversification and marketing from the middle ages to the 18th century and the impact of different kinds of technical change on rural society before the 20th century. The conference will begin with papers by Joan Thirsk and Nadine Vivier on the diffusion of agricultural ideas in Europe since 1500. There is a line-up of well-known experts and there will be ample time for lively discussion. Summaries of papers will be available in advance. For further details see www.bahs.org.uk or contact Dr John Broad, Department of Humanities, Arts and Languages, London Metropolitan University, 166-220 Holloway Road, London N7 8DB, Tel. 0207 1332781

You can now read and browse all issues of the Review that are more than five years old on the BAHS website



#### **UNIVERSITY NEWS**

### PLACE - the People, Landscape & Cultural **Environment Education and Research Centre**

PLACE is a unique initiative within Yorkshire, which links the academic world and the general public.

A registered charity, PLACE aims to promote research into the people, environment and to of Yorkshire.

landscape & cultural educate the general public about the natural and cultural heritage



A selection of PLACE publications

Based at York St John College, but with links to the universities of Bradford and York and twenty other partner organisations, PLACE is an independent company managed by a Board of nine Trustees. The Board is supported by a larger Advisory Committee whose members are known as Fellows of PLACE. Many of our Fellows often publish the results of their research through the PLACE Occasional Papers.

#### Research projects

In 1996, PLACE initiated a major research project on environmental change on the North York Moors. This project focused on the past two thousand years and uses a combination of scientific and historical approaches.

In 1998, PLACE coordinated a major project in collaboration with seventeen partner organisations, known as the Vale of Pickering Wetlands Project. The wetland and drainage history of the region was assessed, the remaining wetland wildlife resources evaluated and the potential for restoration of wetland habitats in the Vale considered.

PLACE Fellows have been active since 1999 in archaeological and paleo-environmental research in Upper Wharfedale, where pllen diagrams have been produced from two sites close to areas of prehistoric activity.

#### Conferences and publications

PLACE has held at least one conference every year since 1997. Audiences of up to 200 people have been attracted by leading national speakers, whose brief was to make the results of their research accessible to a non-specialist audience. Themes have included agriculture, old orchards, the rural/urban interface, the Yorkshire landscapes part and future, and sustaining historic urban heritage. The proceedings of most of these conferences have been published. PLACE sponsored production of the 'Historic Atlas of North Yorkshire', edited by Professor Robin Butlin and published by Smith Settle in 2003. It was launched at a special conference in autumn 2003, organised jointly by PLACE, the Yorkshire Philosophical Society and the Royal Geographical Society.

Our next conference will be held in York on 1st October 2005 on the theme of 'Yorkshire Names and Dialects'. A new venture in spring 2006 will be a short course on Yorkshire Monasteries, led by Dr Robert Wright. If this is successful, we hope to mount similar courses on a regular basis.

The PLACE Occasional Papers series is designed as a vehicle for the publication of popular accounts of research on a wide range of topics. They are short, inexpensive publications, written in non-technical language. The range of themes can be seen from the following list:

- Climate Change on the North York Moors (Noël James)
- Threatened Ants, Wasps & Bees in Watsonian Yorkshire (Michael Archer)
- Assault and Battery in North Yorkshire Pews (John Addy)
- 'Heaven consists on Working Men's Clubs' (Glyn Edwards)
- Change in the High Street (Michael Hopkinson)
- 'Thinking Space, Discovering Place' (Michael Hopkinson).

#### Conclusion

The success of PLACE to date has been the result of the interactions between a wide range of people and organisations. Its future success will depend on the continuing input of new ideas and the production of events and publications that engage with the general public. Membership as a Friend of PLACE costs just £5.00 per year and is open to anyone with an interest in the people, landscape & cultural environment of Yorkshire. Friends and partner organisations receive regular newsletters and can take part in a series of special events and field visits. Details of PLACE activities and publications will be found on our website: www.place.uk.com

For further information, please contact the Chief Executive of PLACE, Dr Margaret Atherden, at York St John College, Lord Mayor's Walk, York, YO31 7EX (Tel; 01904 716753. E-mail: place@yorksj.ac.uk

# Farm Developments in Nineteenth Century Suffolk

By Richard Glass

Suffolk can claim many 'firsts' in farming development from Jethro Tull's drills to Charles Poppy's original farmers' club, Arthur Young's statistics, Garrett's engines and Fison's fertilisers. A number of new livestock breeds are also associated with the county including the Black Faced Sheep, the Suffolk Punch horse, Red Poll Cattle and Black Pig. Improved plant types include Chevalier Barley which rapidly became the dominant strain in British cultivation. Interest was also given to fruit growing with the Greengage, Lady Heniker's Pear, and a regional Apple evolving in Suffolk. The region produced secretaries and governors of the leading national and regional agricultural organisations.

The establishment of the extent to which the county was at the forefront of agricultural change and innovation in the mid-nineteenth century is one of the aims of this research. Nationally farming was becoming increasingly commercialised and one indication of this is the adoption of industrial-style premises. Model farms were built, from scratch, to plans drawn up by architects and agriculturalists. They were widely publicised and readers of The Farmers' Magazine and The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England could see plans and engravings of the finished complexes as well as learn about their productivity and effectiveness. New machinery was employed, using new sources of power, New fertilisers were utilised. This whole enterprise was housed in large purpose-built, specialised model farms, or farmeries. They were expensive to create and depended upon highly capitalised landlords, or individual farmers of vision. New buildings included covered stockyards, ventilated dairies, narrow gauge rail systems, underground manure tanks and engine/wheel houses.

Experimental farms were run by some of the larger agricultural associations and tested out some of the new ideas publicised in the name of high farming. They too were expensive, but in the maintenance rather than the founding as they were more likely to be adaptations of existing facilities rather than entirely new constructions. These farms carried

out carefully planned experiments designed to test the effectiveness of high farming's new techniques. Such exercises may have involved the yield of crop and animal varieties, efficiency of new machinery and power sources, fertiliser improvement both natural and man made, soil improvement and drainage. Such experimental farms were run by the national agricultural bodies of England and Scotland and were investigative in nature and reported the results of their trials in widely read periodicals.

Tenant farmers had access to these changes via the professional literature, national and local newspapers, and the network of local farmers' clubs and societies. Such clubs of which there were several in Suffolk, ran libraries, lectures, visits and discussions. This flow of information was lubricated in the mid 1800s by rapid developments in printing technology, progress in image reproduction, rapid expansion of the railway and telegraph networks.

Through these means small farmers were exposed to the new ways in farming and many were inclined to adopt some features of high farming. Not all practitioners were convinced however, and debate between practical and theoretical farmers filled many letters' pages in local and regional newspapers. The bona fide Suffolk farmer found the forces of high farming much easier to resist than the forward looking experimentalist. Those small farmers who did take on the new methods opened up the possibility of radical change in their workplace, surroundings and techniques.

The extent to which farmers invested in new buildings was by no means consistent across the county of Suffolk. The change in farmsteads was piecemeal and incremental rather than radical and wholesale. Examples of model farming were instigated in Suffolk by the aristocracy (Duke of Grafton) large landowners (Chevalier) and entrepreneurs (Webb).

The methods employed to investigate the Victorian farm changes in Suffolk were threefold. Firstly, a sample was drawn up representing the three main soil types found in the county. These samples represented a

Continued overleaf

Richard Glass lectures in geography at West Suffolk College and is a part-time PhD student at Anglia Polytechnic University in Cambridge studying 'High Farming' in Suffolk. He claims that Suffolk agriculture has long been at the centre of innovation and this article emphasises the *importance of changes* in farm buildings and fields to the progress of intensive farming.

### A note from the editor

Rural History Today is published by the British Agricultural History Society. The editor will be pleased to receive short articles, press releases, notes and queries for publication. She would particularly like articles on European projects, kindred societies and news from museums, all of which she hopes will become regular features. Articles for the next issue should be sent by 30 November 2005 to Susanna Wade Martins, The Longhouse, Eastgate Street, North Elmham, Dereham, Norfolk NR205HD or preferably by email scwmartins@hotmail.com

Membership of the BAHS is open to all who support its aim of promoting the study of agricultural history and the history of rural economy and society. Membership enquries should be directed to the Treasurer, BAHS, c/o Dept. of History, University of Exeter, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, Exeter EX4 4RJ. Enquiries about other aspects of the Society's work should be directed to the Secretary, Dr John Broad, Dept. Humanities, Arts and Languages, London Metropolitan University, 166-220 Holloway Road, London, N7 8DB, Tel: 020 7753 5020; Fax: 020 7753 3159, j.broad@londonmet.ac.uk.

Continued from page 7



Wheel houses are rare in Suffolk where a surplus labour force meant there was little incentive to abandon threshing by hand. The plaque on this example at Grange Farm Hengrave states that the building was burnt down (presumably by incendiaries) in 1848, but rebuilt by Sir T.R.Gage in 1849.

range of farm sizes and tenures. The farm buildings were visited, sketched, measured and photographed. The farms were then located on the 1830 Tithe Survey maps as well as the 1840 Ordnance Survey maps. Scale drawings were made of the farms and buildings from these map sources. By this range of methods it was hoped that changing patterns of fields and buildings in the period of so called high farming would be revealed. In particular how far was development and change limited by physical factors. Overall 50 farms were investigated, based upon the three core areas of Bury St Edmunds, Hadleigh, and Wickham Market. Each of these represents a discrete and successful farmers' club catchment area, based respectively upon Sand/Chalk, Alluvium, and Clay/Sand.

The data thus collected was presented as a set of maps, sketches, photographs and graphs. Overall a number of trends were noted with some interesting differences both between and within the three sample areas.

Fields were categorised as having become more or less regular in shape, and smaller or larger. The degree to which buildings become more or less regular was also assessed. The result should be therefore an analysis of the to which Victorian farm buildings and fields became more geometric and spacious during the drive toward greater efficiency and intensity in the nineteenth century.

In all three areas the number of scattered buildings dropped by half and linear farmsteads vanished. All three areas also show a marked move toward geometric arrangements of buildings. This clearly charts the evolution of the courtyard farm.

There were great regional differences. The area of late enclosure around Bury St Edmunds was already dominated by huge planned complexes by 1830. Change in the Hadleigh and Wickham Market area was much more piecemeal with a development toward the geometric symmetrical ideal of modern efficiency.

Field shapes and sizes appear to have remained more stable, with fewer obvious changes than in the buildings. There was a ten to fifteen percent change in the size of fields and their shape. This remodelling was consistently to regularise field shapes and increase their size and was more likely in the areas of small fields and early enclosure in the heavy clays than in the light soils of Breckland and the Sandlings.