

Village and Town: an Occupational Study

By JOHN PATTEN

IN pre-industrial England the relations of rural and urban settlements to one another and their individual characteristics are often far from clear. An examination of the structure of occupation in village¹ and town,² where this is possible, may be very revealing and permit differentiation between them.³ In one Suffolk hundred in the early sixteenth century a quite complex pattern of settlements was found to be present. This was made up of villages that were composed entirely of farmers; those having not only farmers but a substantial proportion of 'industrial' workers; some which offered facilities as service centres and markets; as well as towns themselves that were far more significant service centres and sometimes official markets.⁴ The study of *occupational* structure also sheds much light on the relationships between the agricultural countryside and the settlements of various sizes in which a majority of the rural population lived, and to which rural society looked for basic needs and services as well as for outlets for different sorts of farm produce. This approach is particularly revealing, for it opens up a new dimension in the study of the relations of rural society to the local village or town. It is often the case that the attributes of a settlement, especially the possession of a market,⁵ together with others such as the presence of an assize court, have been taken to indicate the urban status of a particular settlement.⁶ The marketing function of such

¹ See A. J. and R. H. Tawney's pioneering study of a quite 'industrialized' part of Gloucestershire in the early seventeenth century, 'An Occupational Census of the 17th Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 1934, v, pp. 25-59.

² For a study of an individual town, see e.g. J. F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', *Past and Present*, no. 34, July 1966, pp. 49-64, and for a comparative study, W. G. Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the 16th Century', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., 6, 1956, pp. 1-19.

³ As well as being useful indicators of the economic and social structure of particular regions; see e.g. J. Cornwall, 'The People of Rutland in 1522', *Trans. Leicestershire Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, 37, 1961-2, pp. 7-28; also his 'English County Towns in the 1520s', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xv, 1962-3, pp. 54-9, and B. McClenaghan, 'The Springs of Lavenham and the Suffolk Cloth Trade in the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', Ipswich, 1924.

⁴ See C. W. Chalkin, *Seventeenth Century Kent: A Social and Economic History*, London, 1965, esp. pages 245, 258; and H. K. Roessingh, 'Village and Hamlet in a Sandy Region of the Netherlands in the middle of the 18th century', *Acta Historiae Neerlandica*, iv, 1970, pp. 105-29.

⁵ E.g. A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, ed. J. Thirsk, Cambridge, 1967, esp. pp. 466, 488-9.

⁶ E.g. H. Carter, 'The Urban Hierarchy and Historical Geography: A consideration with reference to North East Wales', *Geogr. Studies*, III, no. 2, 1956, pp. 85-101. Professor Carter has

places is, of course, vital in a rural society, and has received the greatest attention in recent work on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But undoubtedly commercial transactions of an individual sort took place directly between consumer and supplier in other places. Business between a husbandman and a tailor in the particular settlement to which he looked for this service may have taken place outside the market place if it were a market town, even though market day would have been the busiest for a tailor without a market stall or frontage when most potential customers were present for a few hours. If the husbandman went to a village for this service, his own or a neighbouring one, the transaction would have been completely outside any formal market structure. The spread of some basic services into quite small villages is here evident by the 1520's (see below) and probably much earlier. This represents a small but important component in the economic structure of rural areas, illustrating their growing independence, for some settlements were more than just the normal place of residence and worship for the yeomen, husbandmen, and agricultural labourers of the parish.

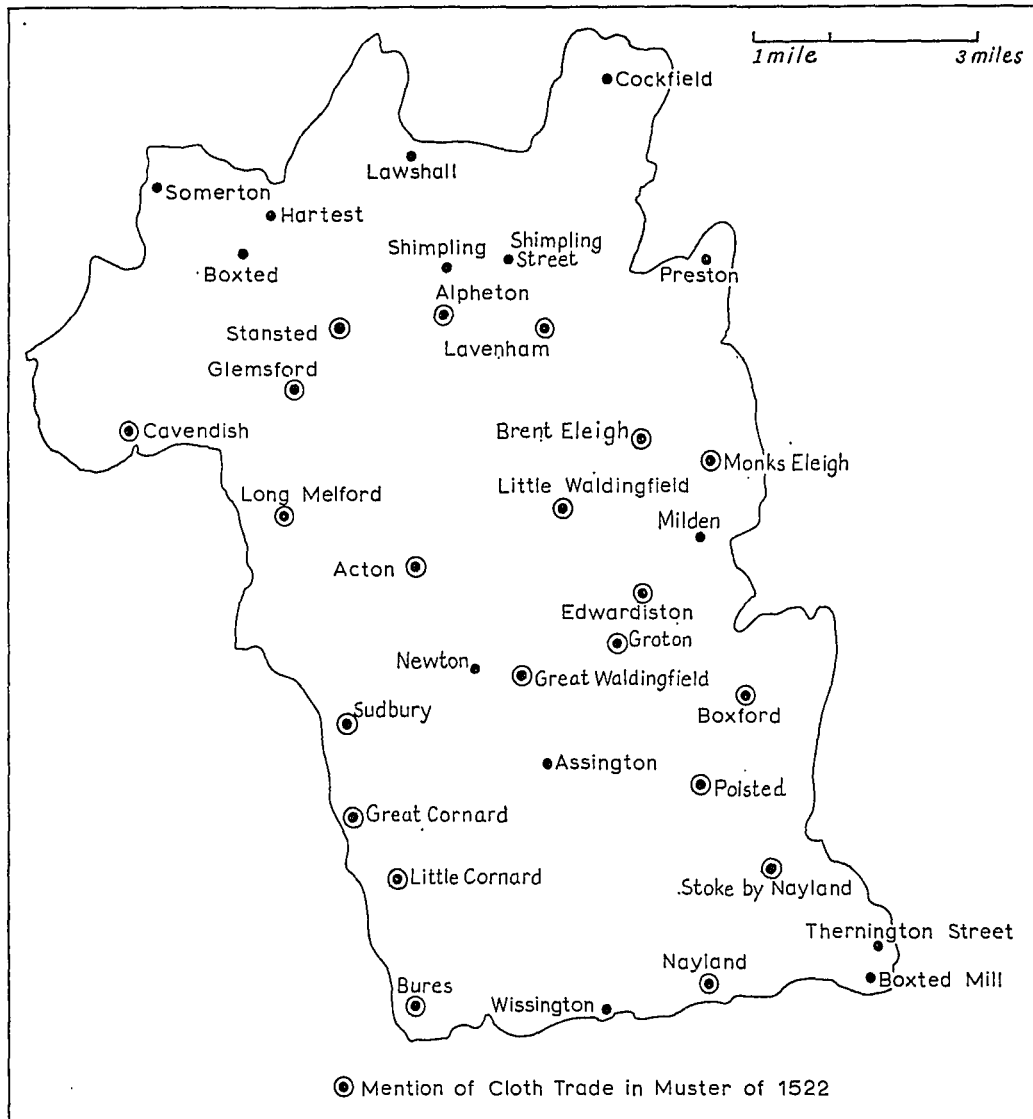
An extant Muster of Harness of 1522 for Babergh Hundred in Suffolk¹ afforded a rare opportunity for the period to examine the occupational structure of thirty-two settlements ranging in size from an important town to tiny villages. The Musters of that year which survive have been described elsewhere,² and in this case give occupational or social designations for 82 per cent of the total recorded names in the hundred, about 1,950 in all. Babergh lies in the south-west of Suffolk, on the border with Essex across the valley of the Stour (see MAP I). It would be hazardous to draw wider conclusions from such a small area, containing probably about 10,500 people. Such difficulties are increased by the fact that it lay in one of the wealthiest and most densely populated counties in England at the time of the lay subsidies taken in 1524 and 1525,³ and may be unrepresentative of conditions in other parts of the country, or even the rest of Suffolk. It was by far the most wealthy hundred in that county in 1524-5, producing over £600 in each of the tax years. Neither Ipswich nor the next most wealthy whole hundred, Thingoe, yielded even £300 in any one

recently reviewed his study in a supplementary note to this paper, reprinted in A. R. H. Baker, J. D. Hamshire, and J. Langton (eds.), *Geographical Interpretations of Historical Sources*, 1970, esp. pp. 285-7.

¹ Babergh Hundred Muster Roll and Valuation, 1522 (transcribed by J. Glyde), Ipswich Public Library, Suffolk Collection, 942.64(3). I am grateful to the Archivist of the Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office for permission to microfilm this document. The original is in Lincolnshire Record Office, coll. papers of the Earl of Ancaster. 1. Anc 16/2.

² J. Cornwall, 'A Tudor Domesday. The Musters of 1522', *Jnl of the Soc. of Archivists*, III, no. 1, 1965, pp. 19-24.

³ J. Sheail, 'The Regional Distribution of Wealth in England as indicated in the 1524-5 Lay Subsidy Returns', 1968, unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of London. I am grateful to Dr Sheail for permission to consult his thesis, and for helpful advice on the lay subsidies.



MAP I

BABERGH HUNDRED

year, and most of the rest considerably less.¹ This prosperity was undoubtedly based on the production of coloured cloths that was concentrated in and around Sudbury in this wood pasture region of Suffolk.² The clothing industry had penetrated deeply into the countryside; twenty-one of the thirty-two settlements, including such important centres as Lavenham and Long Melford, had

¹ P.R.O., E359/41.

² J. Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640*, pp. 46-9.

people recorded as actively engaged in cloth manufacturing or finishing trades in 1522. The evidence on occupations afforded by the Muster is probably atypical on at least two counts. Firstly the preponderance of specialized woollen textile trades gave the hundred an unusually 'industrial' character and secondly the prosperity induced by such employment and by agricultural activity may have led to a relatively advanced occupational structure. The penetration of some non-agricultural forms of activity into otherwise rural settlements may have occurred earlier here than in economically less developed and less populated regions.

None the less, an opportunity is provided for an examination of the actual relations between occupation and settlement, the principles of which at least may have wider application. Something may be learnt of these relationships in two ways, by comparing the numbers of different types of occupations present in settlements of different population size, and by the ordering of these settlements according to their degree of functional complexity. This complexity is measured by the presence or absence in each place of the array of trades found in the hundred. The functional relations between the thirty-two settlements so analysed are expressions of the supply and demand for goods and services provided in each. It is impossible to get a true picture of relative numbers engaged in an activity in any particular place as the Muster is not a complete occupational census. What may be stated with some confidence is that an 80 per cent sample of occupations is most unlikely to have missed any activity essential to an overall picture, particularly as omissions are randomly distributed both across the hundred and within particular places. The presence or absence of recorded occupations seems the most objective way of ordering and relating the settlements to one another, and the possession of an official market is for these purposes regarded as simply another function, albeit a most important one.

Parish population size may be estimated from the 1522 Muster, when this is used in conjunction with the subsidy returns of 1524 and 1525.¹ An examination has been made of the names in 1522 compared with those in the subsidy, as experience has shown that no list gives complete cover,² in order to get approximate totals of names of adult males. The total in 1522 was 1,950 and in 1524 about 2,000, some 1,250 being common to both. A fairly high turnover seems apparent at first sight, but this probably reflects as much the different purposes and methods of assessment in the Muster and the Subsidy as any extraordinary demographic events. The Muster was essentially a survey of military ability and of self-assessed wealth, whereas the Subsidy was an actual

¹ See R. S. Schofield, 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation, 1485-1547', unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1963, and Sheail, *op. cit.*

² Sheail, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Cornwall, 'The People of Rutland in 1522', *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

tax, assessed and collected by the local representatives of the government. The two lists of 1524 and 1525 are much more directly comparable. A better estimate of settlement size for the early 1520's may be obtained by using all three lists, for while the Subsidies may have 'caught' most of those who could pay the tax in one year or the other, they did not include the 'able-bodied poor' of the Muster. Of the overall total of recorded names the 1522 list contained 72 per cent, including the poor, the 1524 list 74 per cent, excluding the poor. Some 17 per cent of the 1522 total are listed as poor, 335 in all, 12 per cent of the total names (see TABLE I). A random examination of the 1524 and 1525 lists for the whole of Suffolk, no other hundred Muster surviving in the county, reveals that on the scale of a hundred about 75 per cent of total names appear in 1524, and 70 per cent in 1525, allowing compensating factors for omissions of 25 per cent and 30 per cent respectively to be applied to the surviving totals of each year. This agrees broadly with conclusions for the whole country,¹ and for other individual southern counties, like Buckinghamshire and Rutland.² From these figures an approximate total of adult tax-paying males may be estimated.

The greatest problem remains the omission from the subsidy lists of the poor, namely, those assessed at less than £1. Of the 334 described as poor in 1522, 195 are not recorded in 1524, about 10 per cent of the total in the latter year, a figure agreeing with that found by Dr Cornwall in Rutland. The remaining 139 were incorporated into the subsidy lists, almost all into the £1 wage-earning class. For example, Polstead returned 13 people as poor in 1522, while in 1524 30 were assessed in the £1 class, two of whom, a weaver and a carpenter, had previously been numbered amongst the poor. This approximate 10 per cent figure agrees with that for three Norfolk hundreds in 1522.³ The proportion of poor varied between settlements; Sudbury had little over the average of 10 per cent (see TABLE I), while as might be expected some of the other larger places such as Nayland and Long Melford had higher proportions, 23 per cent. No generalization can be made about any relationship between assessed poverty and settlement size, as for example in Lavenham the proportion was considerably less, 13 per cent. Similarly, there does not appear any positive correlation between poverty and the presence or absence of the cloth trades that were per-

¹ Sheail, *op. cit.*, p. 48, "... about three-quarters appear in both lists."

² J. Cornwall, 'An Elizabethan Census', Records of Buckinghamshire, 16, no. 4, 1959, pp. 258-73, and on Rutland, 'The People of Rutland in 1522', *loc. cit.* Dr Cornwall estimates about 70 per cent cover for 1524 and 65 per cent the following year. See also his 'English Population in the early Sixteenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xxiii, no. 1, 1970, pp. 32-44, in which he suggests a single compromise factor of $\frac{2}{3}$ for both 1524 and 1525 when using a large sample for the whole country.

³ P.R.O., E36.25, which gives figures for the poor class for Yarmouth, West Flegg, Happling, and Tunsted (a hundred additional to Dr Cornwall's list, 'A Tudor Domesday ...', *loc. cit.*). East Flegg is also recorded, but the poor classes are omitted. Occupations are not systematically recorded. P.R.O., E36.22, gives Musters and assessments for two further Norfolk hundreds, but they do not include the poor class.

TABLE I

<i>Settlements (in order as recorded in 1522 Muster)</i>	<i>Total recorded Names, 1522*</i>	<i>Number described as Poor, 1522</i>	<i>Percentage of Poor to recorded Names, 1522</i>	<i>Total recorded Names, 1524</i>
Sudbury	214	42	19	218
Nayland	126	29	23	102
Stoke by Nayland	124	20	23	117
Polstead	54	13	24	56
Boxford	105	24	22	112
Edwardeston	48	8	16	53
Groton	42	6	14	40
Great Waldingfield with Chilton	50	4	8	41
Little Waldingfield	43	6	13	58
Milden	7	1	14	10
Bures	81	6	7	73
Wissington	12	—	—	12
Assington	38	4	10	38
Newton	26	2	7	28
Great Cornard	33	4	12	35
Little Cornard	30	7	27	23
Lavenham	159	22	13	199
Long Melford	125	29	23	154
Glemsford	109	10	9	122
Cavendish	60	6	10	70
Stansted	42	4	4	36
Acton	43	7	16	45
Monks Eleigh	57	13	22	53
Brent Eleigh	25	9	36	28
Preston	25	9	36	25
Boxted	17	6	35	100
Somerton	14	—	—	18
Hartest	56	10	17	39
Alpheton	23	5	21	16
Shimpling	36	3	8	34
Lawshall	53	7	13	51
Cockfield	74	18	24	83

* 705 of the total names in 1522, of whom 195 were described as poor, were not identified in the 1524 list.

haps more prosperous. Brent Eleigh with clothing occupations, and Preston, which was purely agricultural, both had a high proportion of poor people. Weavers were assessed poor in large settlements like Sudbury and Stoke by Nayland and in smaller places like Edwardeston with a population of about 270 and five occupations. The 10 per cent figure may not necessarily include all poor males, for besides the possibilities of deficient recording or deliberate avoid-

ance it must be recognized that the Muster was only concerned with the able-bodied poor. In Sudbury, for example, this class is described as "Artificers and Laborers . . . being able in person to do the king's service and of no substance in goods and not retained." The aged and infirm, too poor to contribute, and not fit to stand muster seem to be omitted, although the Muster was very careful to record those able to pay or serve who were away. At Hartest two labourers are described as away at the wars (in France), at Monks Eleigh six labourers and one butcher, while Isabell Clerk of Edwardeston, 'widow' and 'householder', is recorded as "being in France," and her lands and moveables were assessed by her neighbours. It is difficult to make any allowance for the aged and infirm poor, who would probably not have had large households, and also for other events which could affect turnover such as death, migration, or temporary absence away from home, maturation, differing levels of assessment, etc., some of which may have been self-cancelling in effect.

An estimate of the order of total population for each of the thirty-two settlements has been obtained by taking the figures for 1524 (see TABLE I), adding 25 per cent compared with the 1525 list to compensate for omissions, with a further figure for poor omissions based on the 1522 Muster, an average of 10 per cent. Female numbers are taken to be equal to the final total of males.¹ An arbitrary figure of 40 per cent is added for children under sixteen, the usual tax-paying age.² This figure is based on information taken from life tables of both model and actual contemporary sorts, these last derived from developing countries.³

The estimate of population totals for each settlement is of prime concern and it must be noted that the figures are for each parish as a whole, and not just for its central settlement.⁴ Only rarely in the muster or subsidy lists is any detail of the actual distribution of population within parish boundaries given. It is unlikely that anyone would live more than a couple of miles from the chief settlement of the parish in which undoubtedly most of the population resided, moving out daily to work their own or another's land. People living away from the centre in a hamlet or isolated holding would, with the exception of those

¹ In only 39 cases are women mentioned in the 1522 Muster, usually described as widows. These were presumably often those carrying on the business of deceased husbands as household heads. In the whole country in 1524 some 17,000 taxpayers were enumerated, of whom 650 were women, some 3 per cent.—P.R.O., E179.180.134.

² A figure suggested by D. C. Coleman for the seventeenth century in 'Labour in the English Economy', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., VIII, no. 3, and used by J. Cornwall for the early sixteenth century in articles cited on p. 5, footnote 2.

³ E.g. U.N.O. Population Division, Dept of Social Affairs, *Age and Sex Patterns of Mortality*, New York, 1955; A. J. Coale and P. Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, Princeton, 1966.

⁴ A. Everitt discusses this point with regard to urban parishes in a review of C. W. Chalkin, *Seventeenth-Century Kent*, in *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, 1966, pp. 65-9.

on boundaries near a neighbouring large centre, have regarded it as their immediate economic, social, and religious focus. They may therefore be thought of as being functionally part of the principal settlement.

An examination of the whole array of settlements, ranked by population and numbers of different types of functions performed (FIGURE I), reveals a distribution of settlements whose functions generally increased in number as their

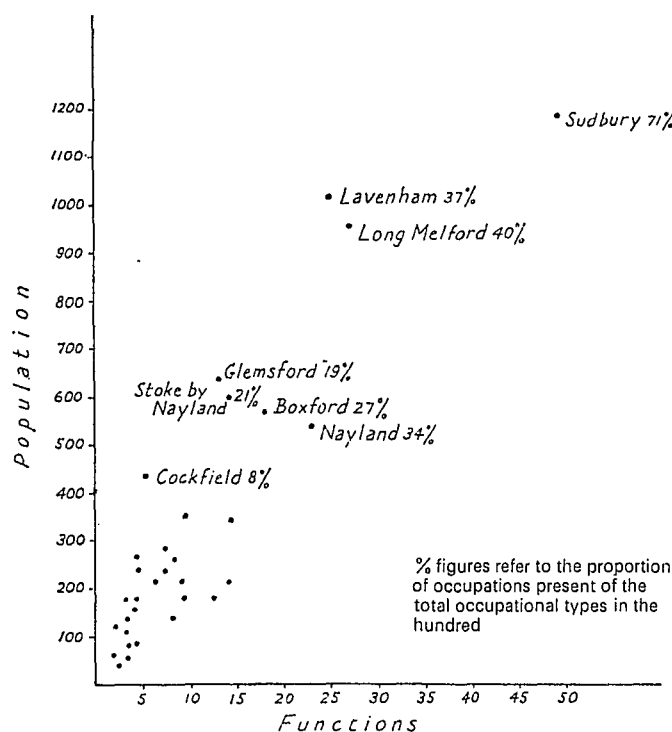


FIG. I

ARITHMETIC SCALE

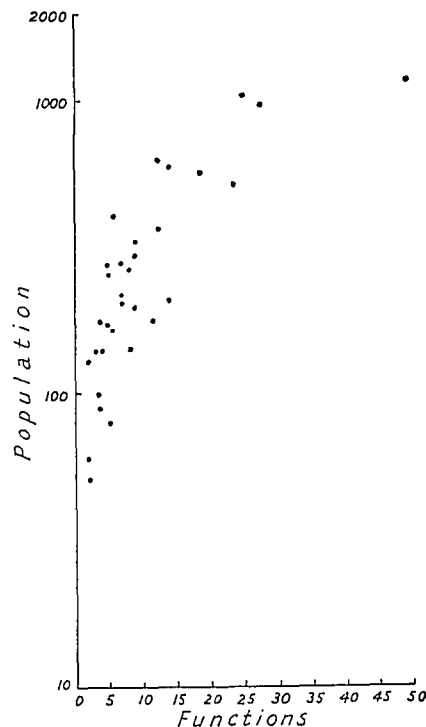


FIG. II

LOG-ARITHMETIC SCALE

size increased. Such settlements as Glemsford or Cockfield seem perhaps a little larger than the number of functions might otherwise suggest, and Nayland seems a little smaller (see TABLE II). Population numbers were not simply a function of occupational specialization, or vice versa, for they may have been affected by parish size, and therefore figures for population per thousand acres illustrating density differences within the hundred are plotted on MAP II. Generally, however, increasing settlement size tended to be accompanied by increasing numbers and increasing specialization of function. Purely agricultural and agricultural service trades were joined by personal services like tailoring or shoemaking (see pp. 12-13), as well as woollen manufacturing, until Sudbury was reached with its goldsmiths and armourers. It is functions and

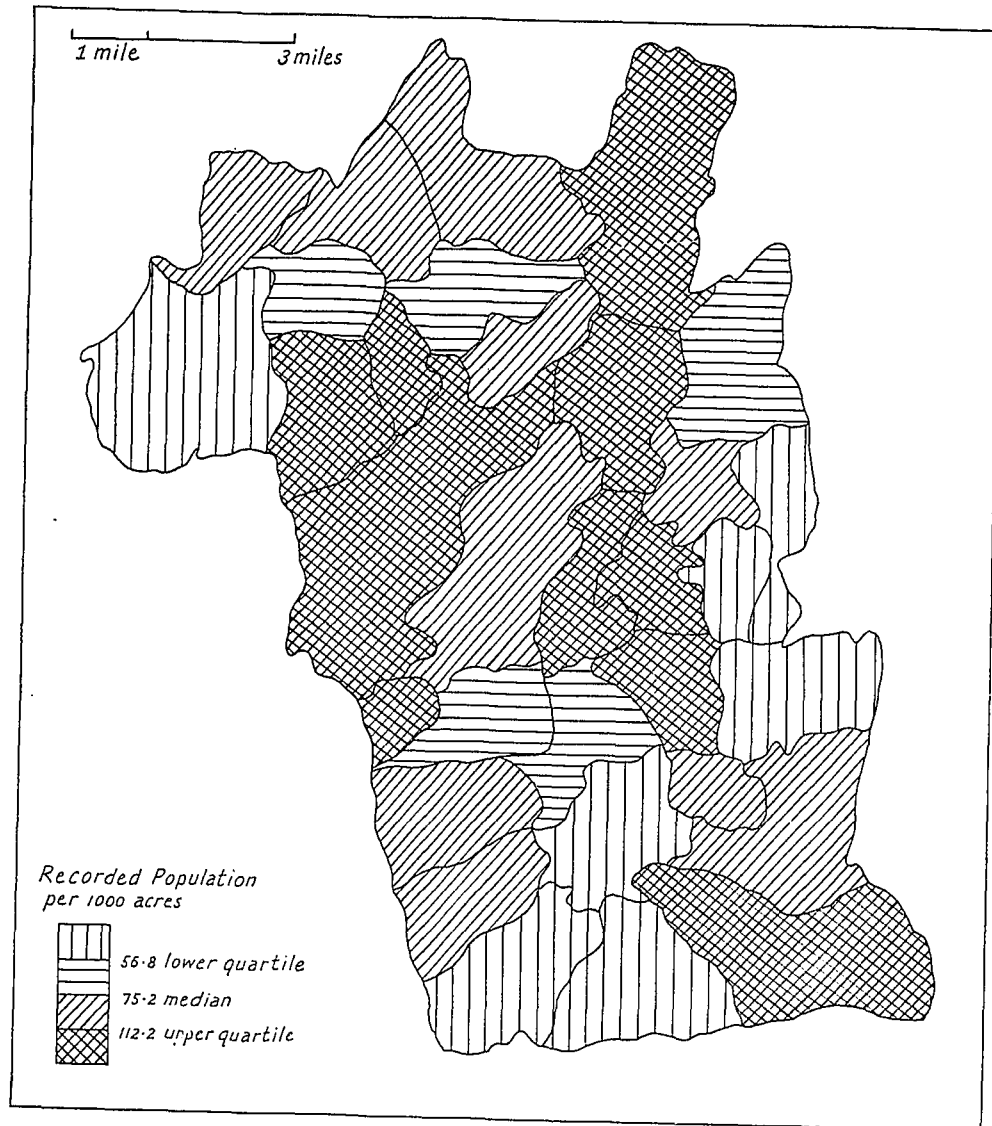
not population size which must be taken as the most important criteria by which groups of settlements may be tentatively classified. Sudbury stands by itself on the graph. Below this major local service centre and market town is a second group: Lavenham, Long Melford, Boxford, and Nayland, which offered far fewer services and had fewer occupations than Sudbury (between 18 and 27 apiece), but none the less they all performed a significant number of non-rural services and functions such as hairdressing, as well as offering facili-

TABLE II

<i>Settlement</i>	<i>Nos. of Trade Types</i>	<i>Estimated Approx. Parish Population (Rounded figures)</i>
Sudbury (m)	49 (c)	1,200
Long Melford	27 (c)	1 000
Lavenham (m)	25 (c)	1,050
Nayland (m)	23 (c)	520
Boxford	18 (c)	570
Stoke by Nayland	14 (c)	600
Groton	14 (c)	210
Glemsford	13 (c)	620
Bures	13 (c)	370
Stansted	12 (c)	180
Cavendish	9 (c)	350
Little Waldingfield	9 (c)	300
Hartest	9	200
Monks Eleigh	8 (c)	270
Brent Eleigh	8 (c)	140
Polstead	7 (c)	290
Acton	7 (c)	230
Great Waldingfield with Chilton	7 (c)	210
Cockfield	6	420
Lawshall	5	260
Shimpling	5	170
Alpheton	5 (c)	80
Edwardeston	5 (c)	270
Great Cornard	5 (c)	170
Assington	4	190
Newton	4	140
Little Cornard	4 (c)	140
Boxted	4	100
Somerton	4	90
Preston	2	130
Wissington	2	60
Milden	2	50

(m) = Market function in 1522

(c) = Cloth trade mentioned in 1522



MAP II

BABERGH HUNDRED, POPULATION DENSITY

ties for marketing. They can be isolated from the remaining 27 settlements of a less complex nature, with fewer than 14 occupations even though some of these, swollen by the cloth industry, were almost as large. Examples are Lavenham and Long Melford which ranked above Boxford and Nayland in size, though all belonged in the same broadly defined group comprising four minor local service centres. The 27 settlements, probably conforming to the conception of a 'village', can in no way be grouped in FIGURE I. Any division between different settlements is perhaps better brought out by examining the same distribution

plotted in a different way (FIGURE II), for there seems to be only one real 'step' in their upward progression when classified by functions. The critical dividing line appears at about the level of 18 to 27 occupations (if those settlements swollen in population size by the clothing industry are grouped with those below). This 'step' may well represent a break between the predominantly rural and urban settlements in Babergh Hundred, those with more than 18 to 23 functions having some urban role as either a major or minor local service centre.

The conclusions drawn from this generalized approach may be reinforced in a more detailed examination of the actual occupational structure of the settlements, both in terms of numbers of types and, when broken down, by the ordering of the quite differentiated and locally specialized occupational pattern that was present in Babergh in 1522. This approach is also likely to yield more information on inter-village differences. The ordering of occupations and settlements, size not being considered, is illustrated in FIGURES III and IV. These graphs or 'scalograms' measure a single variable, the level of occupational complexity of each settlement, the presence or absence of an occupation being taken as an indication of the functional level which each individual settlement had reached.¹ They meet the requirement of a 'Coefficient of Reproducibility' of more than 0.90, in fact 0.94 in this case. Some of the more rigorous demands of the scaling technique, particularly with respect to 'errors' which would, for example, have meant excluding the occupation of tilers from the scale, have not been met, in order to preserve as much information as possible. Indeed, the number of 'errors' in the tiler category may have been caused by the grouping of tiler, tileman, tileburner, and tilemaker under one heading. (An error is defined as a positive or negative entry below or above the heavy line, or 'cutting point' on the graphs.) In order to preserve as much information as possible some occupations, especially the first three, all agricultural trades which might otherwise be taken as ubiquitous, are included. So also are the clothing trades in FIGURE III, which similarly might have been omitted as atypical. The really critical occupations in the classification of centres of agrarian life are the supply and service occupations. Not all occupations found are of equal importance; a scale of necessity or desirability seems to exist to serve the needs of the different settlements. Occupations are, however, arranged on an ordinal scale according to their 'importance' (see FIGURES III and IV).

¹ This method is based on a simplified adaptation of a technique developed by and named after Louis Guttman, who in his 'A basis for scaling qualitative data', *Amer. Sociological Rev.*, 9, no. 2, 1944, pp. 139-50, dealt with the problems of scaling information arranged on a presence/absence, yes/no basis. See also E. A. Stoufer, L. Guttman, and E. A. Sudman, *Measurement and Prediction*, New Jersey, 1950, reprinted New York, 1966, esp. pp. 3-121. Important applications of this are L. Caroe, 'Urban change in East Anglia in the nineteenth century', unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1965, and Roessingh, *op. cit.*, whose study is subtitled 'An application of the Guttman scalogram technique to socio-historical research'.

All possible occupations have not been brought into the scalogram. This is partly because of exigencies of space, and also because, as can be readily seen in the case of Sudbury, the addition of the remainder of its occupations (see TABLE III) would make no difference to the settlement order. Similarly, others

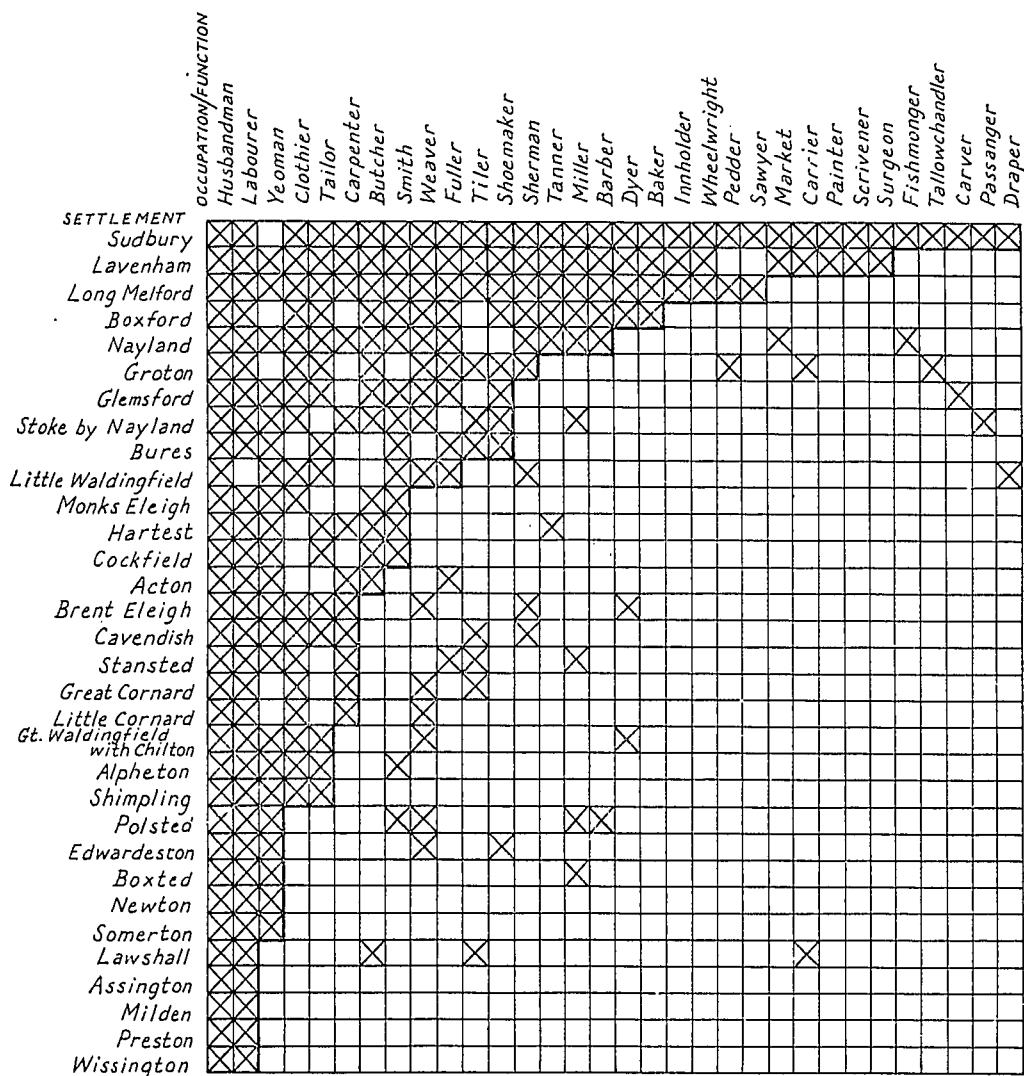


FIG. III

occurring only once or twice have been omitted, since they would be distributed in a random manner across the bottom of the scalograms.¹

¹ These are said 'not to scale'. An important property of scalogram analysis is that the ordering of the 32 settlements based on a large and randomly gathered sample of occupations and functions, 66 different types of which 33 are effective in the scalograms, will essentially be that based on the complete universe of functions. The addition of further functions is not likely to change the order of settlements provided by the sample.

It is important in considering Babergh as a particular case to examine the differences that might result from the withdrawal of the clothing trades (see the 'collapsed' FIGURE IV). Ubiquitous agricultural occupations are retained for they were, of course, undoubtedly basic to the economic functioning of the

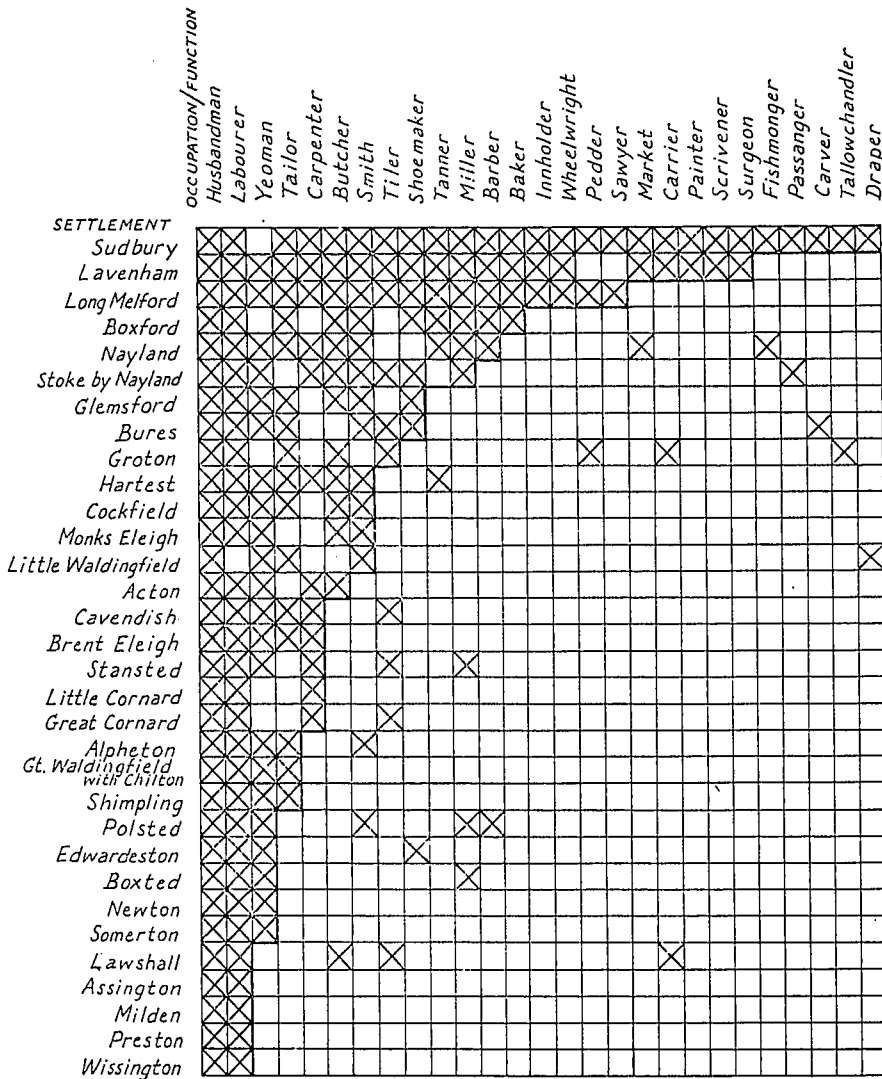


FIG. IV

hundred and their presence was the *raison d'être* of servicing and supply occupations. Since population size is no longer considered, both scalograms give immediate and independent support to the tentative classification suggested above, based on numbers of functions and people; it must be emphasized, however, that the presence of an occupation does not necessarily indicate that it

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONS OMITTED FROM SCALOGRAM

- 5 other occupations occurred twice: Cardmaker, Cook, Cowper, Ploughwright, Thatcher.
- 14 other occupations occurred once in Sudbury: Armourer, Capper, Corser, Fletcher, Gardener, Glover, Goldsmith, Grocer, Horseleech, Pardoner, Pewterer, Plumber, Turner, Wiredrawer.
- 16 other occupations occurred once in other settlements: Brewer, Carver, Cartwright, Chandler, Farrier, Freemason, 'Gaylor', Haberdasher, Harper, Journeyman, Millwright, Skinner, Tawyer, Trumpeter, Vendor, Wineseller.

In all 66 occupations are mentioned in the Muster, as are other designations such as "Meyre," Parish Clerk, Servant, etc., and forms indicating social status such as gent., widow, etc.

served people from outside a particular place, or even within it. It could, of course, simply be the place of residence of someone with that particular occupation. Sudbury dominated the hundred (and probably other hundreds around it) as the centre to which people from lesser settlements went for special needs, and from which grocers and tallow chandlers sent out their specialized goods in small parcels. Most needs were catered for here, though perhaps occasion sometimes demanded an even longer journey to Bury St Edmunds, the 'capital' of west Suffolk, or to London for specialized legal services. Even the services of a pardoner were available at this major local service centre for south-west Suffolk, which was, moreover, an important centre for cloth manufacture, as well as a clearing house for the production of surrounding towns and villages. In every sense it was the 'capital' of a wealthy hundred into which industry had deeply penetrated. Lavenham, Long Melford, Boxford, and Nayland stand fairly clearly defined (see FIGURE III) with far fewer functions than Sudbury, but still offering a wider range of occupational skills than those 27 settlements below. The presence in them of barbers, or bakers, for example, is a good indicator of a near-urban society.

The scalograms reveal some differentiation within the 27 village settlements, though all are in fact grouped together as offering characteristically only a small range of occupations, between 2 and 14 in number. These met simple needs for the services of tailor and shoemaker, for help with building offered by carpenters and tilers, and for a butcher, since in a pastoral farming economy cattle were undoubtedly most important. A number of tanners, mostly in the larger settlements, bear witness to the importance of trade in cured hides, a by-product of the dairying and fattening carried on in the hundred. The villages are graded upwards from the 4 settlements at the bottom which only returned husbandmen and labourers. This can be seen in FIGURE IV, in which the 5 clothing occupations of clothier, weaver, fuller, shearman, and dyer are removed. These were concentrated in the 5 largest settlements, and otherwise scattered throughout the cloth producing area (MAP I). A further

6 had only a few random non-agricultural occupations, together with 'yeomen'. Lawshall for example had a butcher, usually only found in functionally more complex villages, while Polstead had the services of a barber, otherwise associated only with the 5 highest order centres. These 10 seem to represent a lower stratum of villages whose activity was essentially agricultural, but which possessed an occasional exceptional skill of a higher order. Sometimes, perhaps, the village was merely the place of residence of someone whose occupation took him elsewhere, such as the carrier at Lawshall. Most basic needs in these settlements were satisfied in the home. It is noticeable that 8 out of these 10 villages in the lower stratum had no one engaged in the cloth trades (cf. MAP I with FIGURE III), whereas the higher stratum containing the remaining 17 villages mostly had cloth trades as well as some more specialized occupations. The people engaged directly in cloth manufacture, even those engaged only part-time, could not be completely self-sufficient. They created the need for a tailor, a shoemaker, a butcher, or at a higher level a baker, who were only found in Sudbury, Lavenham, Long Melford, and Boxford. But the gradual accretion of functions throughout the 27 villages prevents anything more than a tentative grouping into upper and lower strata. Based on the presence (or absence) of certain occupational skills it indicates the emergence of certain settlements capable of supplying some of their own non-agricultural needs, and perhaps those of nearby purely agricultural parishes. Other trades that might be associated with agricultural activity are lacking: only 2 wheelwrights and 2 ploughwrights are recorded, 1 millwright, and 1 brewer (at Nayland). But then Babergh was not in a great arable area. Ale may have been brewed locally, and there were a number of millers. But only 2 thatchers are recorded in the whole hundred, whereas there were 11 tilers, perhaps indicating the early predominance of this material in roof construction.

Important though the presence of the cloth trade may have been in giving rise to service-type occupations of a basic sort in quite small settlements, its removal from or addition to the occupations in the scalograms makes little difference to the ordering of the settlements. The relations of Sudbury and the four below it grouped together are unaffected, but a number of small movements take place down the scale, which cannot be given great significance. The two most noticeable changes that occur when cloth trades are inserted are the rise of Little Waldingfield from thirteenth to tenth place, and Groton from ninth to sixth place, suggesting that clothing occupations were important in affecting the relations of otherwise similar settlements to one another. Stoke by Nayland on the other hand falls from sixth to eighth place, illustrating that it perhaps had a better array of basic service functions to offer.

The example of Babergh Hundred in the early sixteenth century is revealing as it provides an opportunity for relating even very small places to one another

and to nearby towns. Besides illustrating the penetration of non-agricultural activity into villages, probably influenced by pressure of population on the land, the examination of occupation and settlement shows that places of different sizes and complexity were arranged in a fairly clearly defined system serving their own needs and those of other places at different levels; the groups suggested will not, of course, necessarily have any definitive significance outside the area of study, for their relations would undoubtedly be changed if the sample were extended to take in more places at the higher and lower levels, or ventured into different regions. It also permits a re-statement of the necessity of an integrated view of the relations of settlements of all sizes, town or village, to the countryside which they served and for which they were a focus in England before the industrial revolution.¹

¹ Scaling techniques have been used to great effect in other historical contexts, see e.g. W. O. Aydelotte, 'Voting Patterns in the British House of Commons in the 1840s', *Comp. Stud. in Soc. and Hist.*, v, 1962-3, pp. 134-63. The author is indebted to Mr F. V. Emery, Professor C. T. Smith, and Dr E. A. Wrigley for reading and commenting on this paper; any deficiencies remain the author's own responsibility. The figures were drawn by Miss Mary Potter of the School of Geography, Oxford.

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