

Annual List and Brief Review of Articles on Agrarian History, 1987¹

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THE use of highly sophisticated analytical techniques has again permitted fresh insights into the relationship between prehistoric man and the landscape. Scaife and Burrin (199) for example use palynological analysis of floodplain and valley fill deposits from the High Weald to demonstrate the environmental impact of woodland clearance. Results show that the effects were not site-specific but caused widespread soil degradation, and that these areas were not avoided but exploited to a degree previously unrecognised. The results of palaeoecological investigations in northern England are discussed by Simmons and Innes (208). They link demographic pressure to evidence of an intensified use of game and vegetable resources during the later mesolithic, and stress the gradual, adaptive nature of change from foraging to food production. More studies are challenging an anthropogenic interpretation of the elm decline. Hulme and Shirriffs (126) employ pollen and microfossil analysis and radiocarbon dating of cores from Perthshire to show that here it preceded cereal cultivation. And although similar investigations in western Ireland by Molloy and O'Connell (163) indicate that cereals and climatic change came first, they are persuaded that disease rather than man was the major factor responsible for the subsequent vegetation change. Also on forests Goranson (87) argues that nemoral broad-leaved trees were a pre-requisite for cultivation that were exploited by man rather than

destroyed, while on Ireland Woodman (244) considers the distinctiveness of the environment there and the implications for early colonisation and the spread of farming. The correlation between cairn distribution and arable land during the Scottish Neolithic is confirmed by Perry and Davidson (176), using simulation analysis. Results also show that crop husbandry was negligible at first but became increasingly significant thereafter. The possible functions of the remarkably large field systems laid out on coaxial principles are examined by Fleming (76), in an update of research, and Williamson (239) reconstructs a spectacular example of this type of large-scale landscape planning on the East Anglian boulder clays. Dating from as early as 2000 BC Williamson suggests that co-axial fields may represent a recurrent method of allotting open space at times of pressure on the resource base. The dichotomy between such organized communal agriculture and the piecemeal farming pattern identified on the East Moors of the Peak District is considered by Barnatt (12) in his study of Bronze Age land division. He argues that regional siting and topography are the important explanatory factors. Halliday (96) reports on a distinctive type of ridged field system in the borders dating from c.500 BC and Jobey and Jobey (136) discuss early plant remains including cereals. These suggest that although spelt had been introduced into the area by the later Iron Age it had not yet become the principle wheat species. The discovery in Dorset of the earliest known, Neolithic, grape pip (*Vitis vinifera* L), subsequently destroyed by the dating process, is described by Jones and Legge (138), while Needham and Evans (166)

¹ Publications are dated 1987 unless otherwise noted. References to articles or off-prints should be sent to the Bibliographical Unit, Institute of Agricultural History, University of Reading. The Master Index containing over 30,000 classified references on British agrarian history and rural society can be consulted by appointment.

report how developments in the techniques of chromatography and spectroscopy are providing a greater understanding of prehistoric diet. Beeswax has been identified on sherds for example and it is inferred that forest beekeeping may have been widespread during the Neolithic. Sophisticated measuring techniques have been applied by Ryder and Gabra-Sanders (197) to plant fibres from early textiles in an attempt to detect evolutionary trends similar to wool. But the most remarkable feature of flax samples was their similarity regardless of age or source.

The significance of hillforts in later prehistoric Britain is widely discussed. Stopford (219) challenges Cunliffe's view that there was a change of function during the Iron Age and argues from evidence at Danebury that they were communal food storage centres within a system of seasonal exploitation of different environments, and occupied for only short periods. Bowden and McOrnish (25) believe there were underlying military needs but that they served mainly as a base for a 'detached' military élite who saw in the hillfort rampart a symbol of security, status and power. The formation in the eighth century of a system of public fortifications in England is considered by Haslam (107) who links it to a new system of 'urban' markets and Hogg (116) provides an extensive list, index and abstract of articles on hillforts in Wales. The degree of continuity in land use by prehistoric and later cultures is a recurring theme. Bradley (30) offers a new explanation of the striking juxtaposition of prehistoric and early medieval monuments which he maintains were re-used by a social élite seeking to legitimize their position. Using evidence from the boundary clauses of late ninth- and tenth-century charters Hooke (120) reconstructs estates in the Vale of White Horse. Here she detects a continuity in farming patterns and estate demarcation up to modern times but few links with the Celtic or Roman

past. The study also highlights the importance of the source material for gaining an understanding of contemporary regional economies and land use. On the evolution of Welsh administrative units Gresham (92) puts forward the theory that parish boundaries were laid out in the twelfth century in close relation to township boundaries and that the latter were firmly based on landownership. A number of individual charters are brought to our attention. Hart and Syme (103) describes the earliest known Suffolk example, relating to the grant of Chelsworth, and considers some of the interesting questions it raises about land tenure before the Norman Conquest. There is a separate report (102) on a rare tenth-century royal diploma for a Northamptonshire estate, while a unique charter by which Llwelyn ap Gruffud granted an estate to his tenant is noted by Smith (210). Also on Welsh source material Pryce (187) offers a critical assessment of Gerald of Wales's *Descriptio Cambriae*. Although the single most important work on medieval life and economy, the picture it provides is incomplete without evidence from complementary sources including the Welsh law books. The usefulness of the codes of the Welsh laws is attested by Butler (36) who had incorporated information with archaeological evidence to provide a detailed picture of domestic buildings at all levels of agrarian society. The huge potential of wetland archaeology for increasing our knowledge of the past is stressed by Coles (47), a potential amply demonstrated by Allen and Fulford's study (3,4) of the Severn estuary margins. Their geological and geomorphological surveys together with artefacts and field evidence reveal much of the local Roman economy including iron making, glassworking and trade, as well as settlement and reclamation. In a disturbing article Moffatt (161) compares evidence of land use in the pollen, sedimentary and documentary records of the Battle Abbey estates.

Neither the Black Death nor many minor events had an unambiguous impact upon the pollen profile, while a major event shown by sedimentological analysis apparently went unrecorded by contemporaries. The value of art works as historical documents is rarely exploited and Camille's (39) study of the Luttrell Psalter's ploughman demonstrates how images must not always be taken at face value. Created at a time of crisis the ploughman represents a nostalgic vision of an earlier 'golden age' of feudal order. The problem of deserted sites continues to attract scholarly attention. Dyer (67) focuses upon the medieval Cotswold village of Aston Blank and links its decline to isolation and small size which made it vulnerable to periodic farming difficulties and increased taxation preceding the Black Death. A disastrous medieval sandstorm is identified by Pollock (181) as the likely cause of the abandonment of a Scottish upland site while Smith (211) cites sheep and deer as the effective depopulators of farms and shealings in the Braemar area. The danger of relying on documentary material alone is stressed by Davison (59) who found that his field survey of a Norfolk site told a different story. On the English economy Mayhew (157) examines the movement of prices after the Black Death using a technique which neutralizes the impact of variable harvest yields, and Ormrod's study (171) of the reform of the customs in the mid-fourteenth century illustrates the crucial role of the wool trade in restoring financial security to the Crown. The sensitivity of pastoral farmers to trends in the market economy and their response to the problems of recurrent livestock disease are documented by Mate (155) in a detailed regional account, but otherwise farm practices have been largely ignored. More attention has been paid to the peasant economy. Dewindt (62) rejects the village-based approach which has relied on court rolls and calls for a wider field of vision: since individuals were highly

mobile the regional community study is more appropriate. The value of the broader perspective is illustrated by Biddick's investigation (20) of the links between marketing strategies and different peasant wealth groups. Using thirteenth-century tax rolls for Bedfordshire her analysis suggests that the wealthiest peasants dealt in malting grains and wool within a regional marketing system while the poor produced a different mix of commodities for sale locally. An accepted view is that the demesne mill held a monopoly position in processing corn. However, Holt (119) traces changes in tenure of mills on the Glastonbury estates and demonstrates that by the twelfth century most were effectively under the control of a wealthy peasantry. Only during the thirteenth century, as conditions came to favour the lords were legal proceedings and financial incentives used to regain seigneurial control and a stake in the profits. Dyer (68) assesses the roles of manorial courts and points out that although they dealt with disputes between peasants and defined customary law, their main function was to defend lordly interests. The influence of lords usually gave them victory according to Hilton (112). Yet the peasantry was not totally powerless since the wealthy and middling sort were relied upon for the smooth running of courts. The combined effect of population increase, assarting and seigneurial pressures at this time also led to bitter conflict over woodland common rights according to Birrell (21) who also shows (22) that peasant hostility to forest laws was well-grounded. They impeded access to resources that were vital for subsistence and imposed a significant burden on forest dwellers in fines, litigation and harassment. The contribution of women to the rural economy, unlike their urban counterparts, has been largely overlooked. But in his analysis of indictments brought under the Statute of Labourers Penn (175) remedies this neglect and maintains that peasant

women were not only highly mobile and independent workers but participated in field and harvest tasks normally reserved for men, and even received comparable rates of pay. The discovery by Crook (58) of legal records relating to Derbyshire shows that the rising of 1381 was not confined to the south and east of England as is often assumed, while the fact that the rebellion was both inspired and led by the gentry confirms that the title 'peasants revolt' is an inadequate one. On the Black Death Benedictow (17) offers a detailed analysis of plague morbidity at home and abroad in order to re-affirm that rat-fleas were the chief vector and that the late medieval population decline was indeed due to the disease.

There is a dearth of significant articles on the agrarian history of the modern period. Husbands (130) challenges the ecological and market-based explanations of regional development in England and offers a different approach which focuses on movements of population and aggregate wealth. He concludes that there were important relocations of both during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, linked to urban growth and proto-industrialization. On productivity growth in agriculture Clark (45) maintains that historians have tended to overplay the role of technical change. It is his view that few gains were derived from this source and that the major increases flowed from the greater labours of individual farm workers who could vary the time taken to perform tasks by 3 to 1 or more. Kjaergaard (144) proposes that the key prime mover underlying progress in agriculture was the printing press and the stimulus it gave to the diffusion of knowledge. On the post-dissolution land market Gray (91) uses the Close Rolls for Monmouth supplemented with local material to trace the part played by Crown property in the development of estates. Judged against other areas studied, there was a more gradual pattern of pur-

chase by locals of comparatively low social class who showed little inclination to re-sell. Hoyle (125) offers a new definition of the customary form of land tenure known in the north west as 'tenant right' and argues that it was not a static entity but a flexible device which was adjusted during the sixteenth century to meet the demands of lords. The inheritance strategies of two Midland gentry families during the seventeenth century are detailed by Larminie (146). Despite the increased use of family settlement at this time there was considerable adjustment both in response to particular circumstances and the personalities of individuals. The damaging effect of the Civil War and sequestration on estate finances is described by Broad (32) in a further account of the Verneys. On farming Bowie (27) assesses current ideas on the role of watermeadows in the light of documentary evidence. Yields, he finds, have been exaggerated: their main value lay in the reliable fodder they provided at seasons of scarcity before roots and artificial grasses rendered them obsolete. Duthie's account (66) of the role of immigrant communities concludes that although the French Huguenots may have had some influence on English horticulture their main achievement was to promote flax growing in Ireland, while in England the Flemings and Walloons were responsible for the notable improvement in market gardening after 1650. On social issues Arkell (8) attempts to measure poverty in the later seventeenth century by focusing upon contemporary perceptions of hardship, while on the language of social structure Wrightson (246) links change between the medieval period and 1700 to shifts in contemporary perceptions of society. The static, harmonious view of the English class system is rejected by Corfield (53, 54) who points to a new sense of innovation and challenge in the social terminology of eighteenth-century England. The antics of the London 'mob' at this time are

discussed by Shoemaker (205). He detects similarities with rural disorder which he argues have implications for understanding the differences between urban and rural society generally.

There are a considerable number of important articles on documentary sources of the modern period. Income tax records have been increasingly used lately in wealth-structure studies and Jubb (140) shows why it is important to understand how taxes were administered before embarking on their analysis. The strengths and drawbacks of the death duty registers for assessing the value of personal estates are described by Collinge and English (49, 70) while Brooks and Short et al (33, 206) highlight the research potential of the massive documentation arising out of the Finance (1909-10) Act. Although variable in reliability and coverage there is no other comparable national survey of land-ownership and occupation. Higgs (111) assesses the reliability of occupational breakdowns in the census report and warns that they should be treated with extreme caution, especially in relation to women's work. The process of accumulation and organization of data was undertaken by male enumerators with their own distinct view of female roles in society. Consequently statistics should be approached with a knowledge of local conditions as well as a grasp of shifting administrative conventions. Phillips (179) compares data on land use and cropping in the tithe files with evidence from the cropping books of Cheshire estates and finds serious weaknesses. Not only were rotations more involved in reality than the tithe files described them, but the crop acreages were suspect and the static view of land use belied the essential flexibility of farm practices at this time. The 1854 statistics of agriculture are considered by Dodd (64). He concludes that they are a valuable source for reconstructing contemporary land use, with a higher degree of accuracy

than some later returns.

On the economy, the dynamics of Britain's performance between 1700 and 1850 and the role of agriculture are debated by leading econometricians. Crafts (55) stresses the position of agriculture as the engine of growth which achieved impressive advances in labour productivity, released manpower for industry and permitted vital structural change, while Williamson's interpretation (237) disputes the argument that farming was the leading technological sector. A lack of reliable output data for agriculture is the central problem and Mokyr (162) uses his own revised estimates of productivity (using factor prices as a surrogate) to illustrate the extremely fragile nature of existing calculations. The effect upon the Irish economy of the loss to England of half a million of its people in the immediate pre-Famine period is researched by Shergold and Nicholas (204). Contrary to the usual assumptions that the Irish had little to offer but muscle power, emigrants were typically the young, skilled, literate males whose departure seriously constrained Ireland's growth. Nor did England benefit since systematic discrimination ensured that skills were not utilized, reducing the output and raising the price of skill-intensive products, and through lower wages, reducing aggregate demand. A new agricultural prices index for Ireland is presented by Turner (227). Based upon variable weights which reflect the changing product mix it supersedes the quasi-official construction of 1915. The role of labour is the focus of considerable scholarly interest. Collins (50) returns to the subject of mechanization and argues that until the last quarter of the nineteenth century farmers were loath to substitute capital for labour because it was neither economic nor politic for them to do so. Using new evidence on wages Hunt and Botham (129) support the traditional view of a general advance in real incomes after 1750 in occupations linked to indus-

try, resulting in a growing disparity between the developing north and Midlands and the rural south. The failure of unskilled labourers to participate in a marked upturn in living standards after 1820 is also stressed by Williamson (237). On the related issue of population movements Nicholas and Shergold (167) have amassed data from the indents of convicts transported abroad to construct an internal gravity-flow migration model. Results suggest that while there were regional biases, labour market signals were not only heeded by migrants but were effective in correcting the rural-urban supply-demand imbalances. Finch's investigation (74) of farm labour in Devon, however, reveals that despite considerable out-migration wages fluctuated around subsistence level until the 1860s, when they rose steeply. Seasonal labourers were a vital component of certain regional economies and Withers (242) demonstrates how the annual flows to Scottish lowland farms helped small crofting communities to survive. Also on Scotland, Jones (138) provides a theoretical Marxian framework to allow different forms of migration over long periods to be integrated and assessed, and Caird (38) uses documentary material to illustrate how crofting townships in the Highlands and Islands were created from small tenant farms to accommodate population, increase rents and maintain labour supplies. In a reinterpretation of the sexual division of labour in English agriculture and mining Humphries (127) argues that it was fears about the moral consequences of unsegregated employment that caused families to withdraw females from the labour market, leading to declining participation rates in the nineteenth century. To provide a more accurate estimate of the amount and type of land subject to Parliamentary enclosure Chapman (42) presents the results of his important national survey based upon a 10 per cent sample of English and Welsh awards. Figures for the acreage affected

far exceed previous estimates while the 'typical' arable enclosure is shown to be heavily overshadowed by enclosure of waste for reclamation. In his detailed local account Coney (52) explores the circumstances surrounding the legal battle to enclose a Lancashire common. An unusual socio-economic structure with a strong freeholder class meant that the bitter dispute continued for almost a century. The changes in farm size since early Victorian times are traced by Grigg (93) in an article which underscores the importance of methodology and the nature of statistical sources. Findings show that although the large farm now accounts for more of the agricultural area, the structure of farm size has changed little. Livestock production has received more than usual attention. Bowie (26) describes from contemporary accounts how Hampshire flockmasters responded to the rising demand for mutton from the late eighteenth century by fashioning new breeds and adopting more intensive feeding regimes. On structural changes in dairying Taylor (221) charts development in the English liquid milk trade after 1860 as imports hit traditional butter and cheese making, while on Irish poultry production Bourke (24) shows how the various reforming schemes of the 1890-1914 period either transferred management away from women or proved unworkable. Using the Breton breed of cattle as a case history Baker and Manwell (10) explain how factors other than biological or economic fitness led to decline and extinction. Mismanagement, quarantine regulations and the availability of similiar breeds sealed its fate. On crop production Harris (101) examines the history of chicory and the circumstances surrounding its introduction in the nineteenth century and subsequent decline.

As usual there are a considerable number of articles on conditions of the labouring poor and unemployed. The issue of unrest has commonly been treated as a national

problem but Afton (1) takes a different approach and exploits a wealth of local documentary material to expose the economic and political forces that culminated in the Hampshire riots of 1830. Howkins and Dyck (124) try to make sense of the songs of rural protest in the nineteenth century and conclude that they mainly reflect a popular dislike of socio-economic change and a nostalgia for an idealized ordered past. The religious dimensions of land agitation in the Highlands are explained by Meek (159) who shows how crofters used biblical parallels to encourage support for reform in the 1880s. It is commonplace that the Webbs' classic account of the Victorian poor-laws is coloured by their political views. Yet even their academic work is condemned by Kidd (143) who maintains that they relied little on their own immediate research efforts and instead used the findings of assistants, recycled much old material and generally produced a 'scissors and paste' concoction lacking in true scholarship. The ideology which underpinned the New Poor Law is considered by Mandler (154) who argues that reform was essentially the result and embodiment of property-based gentry values. Social historians have often emphasized the humanitarian side of welfare provision in the later nineteenth century. In an econometric analysis of rateable values and different levels of indoor and outdoor relief, however, Mackinnon (153) offers a different interpretation: the shifting of the rate burden in the 1860s increased the incentive for Guardians to economize and they restricted spending on out-relief even to the deserving poor. MacCuish (150) summarizes legislation of the past century which has improved the status of crofters and Savage (198) analyses the influence of officials on the development of social policy at the Ministry of Agriculture between the Wars. Despite pressures to cut expenditure Ministry officials worked more vigorously than did civil servants in other

departments, partly because of their expert knowledge of farming, but also because agricultural labourers were so vulnerable. On property Lindert (147) has re-worked the original detailed returns of owners of land (1873) to shed new light on wealth distribution. The data show that although real estate was peculiarly concentrated at this period, it was little different from the best estimates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Church Commissioners' land and property holdings in more recent times are examined by Hamnett (97): in a radical break with tradition the Commissioners have sold assets and adopted the keen commercial attitudes shown by the insurance companies and pension funds of the present day.

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By RAINE MORGAN

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