

The **AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW**



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*

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A Neglected Factor in English Agrarian History

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DAVID HEY

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Absentee Landownership in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: A Neglected Factor in English Agrarian History¹

By P. ROEBUCK

I

ACCORDING to one authority on the history of European agriculture, "the richness of English archives" has, together with other factors, "advanced agrarian economic history in England distinctly beyond that of its neighbours."² Nowhere is this more true than in regard to the study of landownership. For several decades historians in this country have drawn freely on the large deposits of estate records available in both local and national repositories. As a result our understanding of the relationship between landownership and agriculture, especially in the modern period, is considerable.

In many respects, however, knowledge of this aspect of our history is far from complete. Manuscript material, abundant though it is, deals almost exclusively, and also rather deficiently, with the affairs of the most substantial rentiers and farmers. Deeds, rentals, and accounts survive, whereas less formal records are rarely extant. Consequently, we know a great deal about factors such as rent movement and the changing pattern of ownership; much less about the evolution of the landlord-tenant relationship, to mention but one area of uncertainty. Moreover, this imbalance in the types of record which have survived encourages distortion. Well-documented features tend to be over-emphasized; other factors, though known, tend to be insufficiently appreciated.

This article argues that for this period absentee ownership falls into the latter category. Occasionally, estate records fail to reveal its existence. More frequently the lack of certain types of record, particularly correspondence, and the existence of others, such as rentals and accounts, conceal its nature and effects. Drawing mainly on a very full collection of estate correspondence, this article analyses the lengthy absenteeism of a northern landowner, Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham.³ It goes on to examine absenteeism more generally within the context of contemporary developments in landed economies and society, and concludes that the neglect of this factor, though largely unavoidable, has left a gap in our understanding of this period in English agrarian history.

¹ I am grateful to Dr H. A. Lloyd who supervised much of the research upon which this article is based. I alone am responsible for its failings.

² G. Duby, 'Medieval Agriculture 900-1500', *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, I, 1969, ch. v, p. 8.

³ The Constable of Everingham MSS. are deposited in the East Riding County Record Office, Beverley, under the code DDEV. The Rev. W. V. Smith, All Saints, Lanchester, Co. Durham, has compiled typescript transcripts of many of the letters (DDEV/60) in this collection. I would like to record my gratitude to him for allowing me extensive use of these transcripts, references to which are hereafter cited as S.T.

II

In October 1730, in a letter from Rotterdam to his chief steward at Everingham Hall in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Sir Marmaduke Constable wrote: "The pleasure I have had in my journeys is inexpressible, and [I] repent nothing so much as sitting at home so many years idle."¹ Having left England in the previous May, Sir Marmaduke made up for lost time by travelling widely in succeeding years, remaining on the Continent for all but one of the sixteen years until his death in Paris in June 1746.

His was one of the foremost Catholic landowning families in the north of England.² At his father's death in 1706 Sir Marmaduke had inherited large estates at Everingham, Drax, and Arras in Yorkshire, and at Rasen in Lincolnshire. Because of their Catholicism the family had been forced to endure considerable financial hardship throughout the seventeenth century, and much of Sir Marmaduke's energy prior to 1730 was devoted to restoring the family fortunes. Barred from every type of office, he was forced to stand aside from the contemporary scramble for patronage and place, spending most of his time in Yorkshire where he acquired a considerable reputation as a sportsman.

In 1726 Sir Marmaduke sustained an injury while hunting. He spent several months in Bath in 1726-7 receiving treatment, but his condition did not improve sufficiently to allow him to hunt again. Subsequently, deprived of a favourite pastime and of the bulwark of his reputation as a country gentleman, he spent much longer in London, and was beginning to look further afield for distractions. In November 1728 a correspondent's wish that "you are able to follow the foxhounds" was coupled with the hope "that you have no occasion to seek health in foreign parts."³ Ostensibly, Sir Marmaduke's trip abroad two years later was for a short period of treatment at the health resorts, but there was more to it than this. After the failure of the Jacobite rebellion, with whose leaders he was closely associated, Sir Marmaduke had become increasingly disillusioned with the lot of the English Catholic.⁴ The results of his injury served to sharpen this deeper discontent.

In overall charge of Sir Marmaduke's affairs during his absence was John Bede Potts. A Benedictine priest, he had previously been cellarer at Lambspring Abbey, and had doubled as chaplain and steward at Everingham since 1717.⁵ In 1730 Robert Usher was appointed East Riding deputy to Potts. The Lincolnshire deputy was Thomas Champney, one of the tenants; similar arrangements operated at Drax and Arras. During Sir Marmaduke's absence, £500 was forwarded to him annually

¹ S.T., vi, p. 6.

² For a descriptive analysis of the family's circumstances in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see P. Roebuck, 'Four Yorkshire Landowning Families, 1640-1760. An Economic History', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Hull University, 1970, I, ch. 3 (subsequently referred to as Roebuck thesis).

³ Roebuck thesis, I, p. 312. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-300, 313.

⁵ J. S. Hansom, 'Catholic Registers of St Mary's Domestic Chapel, Everingham Park, Yorkshire', *Catholic Record Society*, vii, 1909, pp. 262-3. Lambspring Abbey was an English Benedictine establishment in Hanover.

from each of the two main estates. The money was sent to Richard Wright, his London banker, who passed credit to various European agents as directed by Sir Marmaduke.¹

At his departure Sir Marmaduke's affairs were in fairly good order. He had recently purchased three small properties to add to his estate in the East Riding, while in 1728 the enclosure of West Rasen had enabled him to increase the rental there by £178 per annum. A £2,000 mortgage remained outstanding but there was no need for early repayment. In 1730 his estate income amounted to £2,040, more than twice the amount which he planned to spend annually abroad. There were problems. In particular many of the houses and cottages on Sir Marmaduke's estates were in a bad state of disrepair. In 1727 the roof of his own bedroom at Everingham had collapsed after a rainstorm.² However, he expressed the hope that all would be put "in good order by degrees" while he was away, and instructed Potts to be "easy and content." "Its impossible for me," he said, "at the distance I shall soon be at to answer or determine every little accident that may occur in my little affairs, so [I] must leave them to your prudence and discretion."³

However, things began to get out of hand soon after Sir Marmaduke's departure, not least because he failed to give any reliable information as to the length of his trip. At no stage did he have definite long-term plans, and his statements in this respect were either confusing or contradicted by his actions. Thus, in December 1730, having ordered the replacement of dead tree shoots, Sir Marmaduke went on to say that nothing was to be "done anew till my arrival." He ended with the statement that a return to England was "far from my thoughts at present." In November 1733 he spoke of "steering my course homewards" after seeing a little more of Italy. In March 1735 he said that he would soon be in London; in the following August: "I now think of my return to my native country." In January 1737 he wrote to say that he was approaching home, and in June 1739 expected to be in London by the following spring. Finally, in March 1742 he planned to travel home in the summer, but not to remain. In fact Sir Marmaduke stayed abroad until 1744, Potts having died in June 1743.⁴ This indecision bred confusion. In his letters Sir Marmaduke either recommended that certain matters be left until his return, or delegated responsibility for all his affairs, large and small, to Potts, asking the latter not to trouble him with queries. He tended to adopt the second course most frequently, though all his letters contained inquiries and opinions. Potts, on the other hand, looked to Sir Marmaduke for decisions and, grasping at any suggestion of his early return,

¹ S.T., VI, pp. 6, 8; DDEV/58/118. As bankers the Wrights were "intimately connected with the Papist gentry": C. Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship 1603-1763*, 1967, p. 330.

² Roebuck thesis, I, pp. 305, 313-5.

³ S.T., III, p. 205; DDEV/56/30b. Just before he left the country Sir Marmaduke sent a list of instructions to Potts. These dealt with improvements to the Hall, new enclosure at Everingham, the planting of fruit trees, horse breeding, the collection of rent arrears, the letting of tithe "to the best advantage," and liaison between Potts and the Lincolnshire steward during Sir Marmaduke's absence; repairs and improvements to houses and cottages on the estates were not mentioned: DDEV/56/30a. Later, writing from abroad, Sir Marmaduke sought to calm Potts by reminding him that "you know full well when I was at home my little domicile was not conducted with the greatest prudence": S.T., VI, p. 31.

⁴ S.T., VI, pp. 2, 8, 45, 51, 60, 67, 78, 124.

frequently failed to act upon them.¹ Eventually even he became distrustful. In 1743: "Sir Marmaduke promised to be home this summer, but having broke so many former promises I dare not engage for the performance of this [one]."²

Moreover, Sir Marmaduke was at times an infrequent correspondent. Although he wrote forty-six letters to Potts between 1730 and 1743, he wrote none between November 1733 and December 1734, nor between August 1735 and December 1736. These long silences encouraged the growth of rumours which made Potts frantic with worry. In February 1735 Potts was "glad to see your hand again, it being reported that you was cast away at sea." In March 1737 the rumour was that "you are either dead or would never return." Rumours often arose in succeeding years and soon there were "many and different opinions."³ Potts himself travelled to Flanders in July 1733 to attend a chapter meeting of his Congregation. He remained there until October but did not meet Sir Marmaduke who was in Italy at the time. In 1736-7 Potts missed three similar meetings on the grounds that his responsibilities as steward did not allow him to leave Everingham.⁴ The death of Usher in 1739 prevented Potts from immediately complying with a request from Sir Marmaduke that he visit him in Cambrai. But two years later, in July 1741, a journey to a general meeting of his Congregation at Cambrai enabled Potts to satisfy both his religious superiors and "my Bart." This was the only occasion on which the two men met between 1730 and Potts's death and, not surprisingly, the latter became "tired of my charge of moneys." "I have seldom a pleasant thought; my brains are busied with the concerns of your world." Finally, Potts became incredulous: "will you never return home;" why do you "prefer foreign company before your own interest?"⁵ Thus Potts had to work in very trying circumstances which were largely due to Sir Marmaduke's casual and carefree behaviour.

However, Potts's temperament greatly exacerbated the difficulties with which he was faced. He felt inadequate—"incapable of undertaking the management of your affairs." His anxiety was permanent and it distorted his judgment: in 1737, writing of a dispute concerning rent arrears, Potts maintained that he would rather pay the sum himself than have "so much concern about it." His spirituality was of questionable help for it was of an almost masochistic type which expected, if it did not welcome, difficulties. "There is no place without them and the very best are not free

¹ The situation was occasionally farcical. In March 1732 Sir Marmaduke wrote to Potts: "I leave to your discretion all my affairs in Yorkshire, as well as in Lincolnshire." In September Potts wrote: "there is a great want of a wagon, it being so old and decayed that we dare not send it a mile from home, and unless you give leave to fell a tree, we must be without one." S.T., v, p. 64; VI, p. 30.

² S.T., iv, p. 131.

³ S.T., iv, p. 73; v, pp. 110, 159, 176, 192. In 1738 Potts wrote to a fellow religious: "Some are of [the] opinion that he will never return, but why I cannot imagine. Others that he is dead, and we keep it private for our own ends, but this is false (for anything I know of his death), nor is it possible that it could be concealed since there are heirs or relations to them both at home and abroad. Others again [say] that he is lifted into the ecclesiastical service, and takes the degree of pr—. Inform the others quite reverse to that, give it out that he is married. But my thoughts are contrary to all these reports, for I hope he is alive and will return or that he is a recluse, or engaged in a conjugal hole; but that be as it will... I am uneasy..."

⁴ S.T., iv, pp. 29, 36, 41-3, 60, 62-4; v, pp. 75, 87, 89, 137, 164; VI, p. 71.

⁵ S.T., iv, pp. 65, 85, 109, 111-12; v, pp. 52, 217, 243, 253, 256; VI, pp. 74, 110.

from them in one respect or another."¹ He was painfully shy. It was not "my custom to go about with how do you and the like." When Sir Marmaduke urged him to get out and about Potts replied: "It leads to many sins which a solitary chair is not subject to." Moreover, in the limited contact with others which he allowed himself Potts was neither personable nor liberal. He reported a servant for being out till one a.m. at Christmas time, and moved the fellow's bedroom from the ground floor so as to be aware of his movements. When Potts suspected that bricklayers were raiding the orchard he deprived them of their accommodation in the Hall garret.² His relationship with both servants and tenants deteriorated to the point where real difficulties arose. One suspects that Potts's manner and attitudes were largely responsible for this.

Furthermore, Potts simply avoided many tasks which he considered beyond him. In 1732-3 Sir Marmaduke twice asked him to "contrive me a farm or two in the remotest parts of the Lordship" of Everingham. Potts said that this was too difficult and later supported this by recalling that Sir Marmaduke had previously attempted it without success. On the other hand, he was extremely scrupulous about insignificant matters. When a fellow religious stayed for a while at Everingham Potts hastened his departure, apologizing to Sir Marmaduke for the expense. On most occasions Sir Marmaduke either ignored Potts or soothed him: "never any more make use of the word *sorrow* . . . it is too expressive for such trifles." However, in 1741 Sir Marmaduke offered an apology: "I am sorry you meet with so much trouble on my account. It was never designed upon when I left home."³ But if Sir Marmaduke at last felt a real concern for the problems posed by his absence, it did not persuade him to return.

Circumstances were made even more difficult by illness and death. Following a bad fall in 1737, Robert Usher was unable to perform his duties satisfactorily, and went to Buxton and Bath for treatment at Sir Marmaduke's expense. Despite this, Usher's condition deteriorated and he died in October 1739. A replacement was appointed in the following January but was dismissed in April because neither Potts nor Sir Marmaduke wished to employ a married man, especially one whose wife was a non-Catholic. A second replacement, James Marrow, also died before Sir Marmaduke's return.⁴ Potts spoke of being ill in January 1739 and he had a bad fall from a coach when returning from Cambrai in the autumn of 1741. He was unable to wear shoes for months afterwards and by July 1742 had ventured only two miles from Everingham since his return. Potts's injuries prevented him from holding ser-

¹ S.T., IV, p. 106; V, pp. 11, 181.

² S.T., IV, p. 60; V, pp. 168, 191, 267; VI, p. 74. Potts had become profoundly depressed by the behaviour of servants even before Sir Marmaduke left England. In 1726 "the boy, Will, was forced to go off all in a sudden, a naughty hussey at Shipton laying the cause of her big belly to his charge. I told Thomas to take his livery and hat from him, which he did to the boy's great discontent." Later he discovered that the housekeeper had drunk almost all the family's stock of beer. When Potts accused her of this she "before a stranger did demand to be dismissed . . . being so very tufty, and has her spark to lie with her in her bed, though there be the two other maids in another bed in the same room. O shameful deed, or rather void of shame." DDEV/60/84g.

³ S.T., V, pp. 42, 71, 80; VI, pp. 36, 42, 74, 110. On two occasions in 1731 Potts threatened to run away. S.T., V, pp. 22, 31.

⁴ S.T., V, pp. 163-4, 168, 171, 201, 206, 212; VI, pp. 71, 91; DDEV/56/157-64; 60/13.

vices from the beginning of 1743; his condition deteriorated in May, and he died in June.¹ Fr Rogers, chaplain to the West Yorkshire Gascoigne family, was present at Potts's death and, after Marrow's death, collaborated with Sir Marmaduke's nephew and his banker in an effort to keep estate affairs in order.² Sir Marmaduke had not been unduly perturbed by the decline in efficiency which had resulted from the accidents, but the third death in 1744 seems to have hastened his return to England.

III

The correspondence between landlord and chaplain-steward provides ample evidence of Sir Marmaduke's policies and of the conditions which prevailed on his estates during his absence. He was certainly a strict landlord. After allowing his tenants to hold half a year's rent in hand he was not prepared to tolerate arrears, considering that "I allow them time sufficient." When Potts reported that widow Anna Bell was having difficulty in paying her rent Sir Marmaduke ordered him to "quit her of her cottage, and all others who do not pay."³ In 1732 he asked Potts to warn the Lincolnshire tenants that ejection would follow interference with his timber. When tenants trespassed and refused to obey the court Sir Marmaduke ordered them to "be punished as far as possible it can be carried;" and when a tenant destroyed a wall in his tenement in order to introduce a second door he was "proceeded against with the utmost severity." After digging turf from demesne land another tenant was not spared "one half inch" but was fined at the rate of 6d. for each square yard of turf dug; "let him burn out of hand the turf he has pared and spread the ashes on the same ground."⁴

The fact that properties were occasionally "called in the markets" indicates Sir Marmaduke's eagerness to avoid having land "in hand," but this did not prevent him from carefully scrutinizing prospective tenants. Thus, a young man "having a very indifferent character, and being of an idle temper was not admitted to be your tenant, most of his neighbours apprehending that he would soon make an end of all, and his wife be thrown upon the town." Ironically Sir Marmaduke forbade Champney to let property to absentee tenants, properties "inhabited by servants" having been ruined "during my father's time." Once admitted the good tenant could expect certain signs of favour; when a property became vacant Potts recognized that it was Sir Marmaduke's "will that your tenants be served first."⁵ However, despite this and the severity outlined above, the behaviour of tenants was a constant source of trouble. They stole, poached, organized hare-coursing on the estate, and one of them "drew the staple out of the park gate to let your bull into his closes to serve his cows." When the penalties for failing to perform drainage duties

¹ S.T., III, pp. 193, 205; IV, pp. 119, 130, 131, 133, 134; V, pp. 187, 356. Sir Marmaduke had lost a "true friend."

² S.T., III, p. 206; DDEV/60/12. In April 1744 Fr Rogers informed Sir Marmaduke that his affairs were "in such confusion" that "everyone is afraid to act without commission. I shall expect to hear from you with the utmost impatience. In the meantime I shall acquaint Sir Carnaby with . . . your affairs at Everingham."

³ S.T., V, p. 69; VI, pp. 8, 40. Anna Bell was "excluded from the charity" which Sir Marmaduke was "pleased to give because no Catholic."

⁴ S.T., V, p. 27; VI, pp. 16, 25, 27, 31, 105. ⁵ S.T., V, pp. 18, 159, 172; VI, p. 74.

were omitted from the court rolls tenants ignored local custom until insertion of the penalties placed them "under a necessity to keep" their ditches "well dressed." Thus, although the tenants rarely went to extremes in their behaviour there was a steady incidence of recalcitrance.¹

This may not have been unusual, but certain events do seem to have been the direct result either of Sir Marmaduke's absence or of other circumstances prevailing during this period. Potts was seemingly reporting something out of the ordinary when he told of a failure to perform customary services. "Your cottagers have been extreme obstinate; none of them would come to your assistance except poor Samuel Cook." Again, "your whelps in Town are very poor; none keeps them well but Thomas Deane."² The distance between Potts and Sir Marmaduke was perhaps exploited when a tenant claimed to have the latter's permission to do something, for example to plough ley, to which the former took exception.³ Moreover, rent arrears grew steadily until Sir Marmaduke maintained that he had never known them so high. Potts pointed to unfavourable harvests and price fluctuations as reasons for this, excusing his own incapacity to enforce payment as much as that of certain tenants to pay. His predicament was that "if we did proceed according to your directions we should be obliged to turn off your chief tenants." Henceforward Potts threatened distraint but merely reported individuals, while Sir Marmaduke recommended "prudential severity." Potts began completely to lose control of the situation after Usher's death. "Neither fair nor foul words can prevail with some" who failed to pay their rents. When a boundary dispute broke out in Everingham in 1741 he maintained that the tenants were "resolved to ruin one another." In his frustration Potts was occasionally savage: "I shall discharge widow Emerson of her cottage the next Ladyday because she is about marrying an old shoemaker from Cranswick, for we do not want old cottagers but such as are able to work whenever called upon." Sir Marmaduke eventually reverted to ordering distraint "without mercy" and immediate eviction but with as little effect as before.⁴ He did not return.

Nowhere are the difficulties which arose during, and because of, Sir Marmaduke's absence more evident than in regard to building and repair work. Examples of the ruinous condition of much of his property abound. In May 1731 a Lincolnshire tenant alleged that his house was unsafe. In November, "Thomas Young will either have his repaired with barn and stall this year, or will go off next year." Two months later there were "sad outcries at Rasen concerning their houses." Three of them

¹ S.T., v, pp. 27, 42, 49, 69, 76b, 100; vi, pp. 27, 39. In May 1741 Potts reported an extreme case. The tenant in question would not "make the part of his fence against Blackburn Garth . . . though you have been at the charges of making a fence against his garths, yet he will not make up that small part, that his goods may have the liberty to trespass in the Intack. He has two swine daily in it, lets all his house go to ruin, little thatch on his barn and the outshot fallen. Neither he nor Robert Deane have paid anything of their Ladyday rents 1740. . . . There can be no prospect of getting clear with him but by distraining of all his goods and crops at Michaelmas next, if he does not in the interim come equal with his fellows. He is a tricky fellow." S.T., v, p. 249.

² S.T., v, pp. 1, 8. ³ S.T., v, p. 31.

⁴ S.T., v, pp. 31, 64, 69, 107, 127, 168, 212, 259; vi, pp. 9, 126, 137. Speaking of arrears in February 1741, Potts told Sir Marmaduke: "If you will not come home nor appoint a steward who can and will hold them to their duty, you are like to come up a great loser." S.T., v, p. 243.

were "very ruinous," Champney's having "two props and must have a third."¹ By November 1732 Daniel Decow's house at Drax had three props "and must yet have another." It fell during the following summer and "nothing but providence preserved the inhabitants' lives." In 1736 a shop in Everingham collapsed, and in 1737 the walls of another house would withstand no more than "the first or second push." In 1739 one tenant's house was so "very ruinous that he is afraid to lie in it."²

In 1730 Sir Marmaduke's "absolute orders" in this respect were "to put all in good order by degrees." Some repairs were carried out and a very few new buildings erected, but no attempt was made to deal with the situation "by degrees." Indeed, Potts acted as if no such order had been given, and often desired, for example, that "you give orders to cast up clay." He repeated such requests despite Sir Marmaduke's frequent delegation of full authority: "Champney has built nothing because no order to make brick, and you yearly expected home." Eventually complaints became so numerous that "no-one can be favoured in this without giving offence to the others, so everyone must rest quiet till your return."³ Sir Marmaduke's grumbles about the size of disbursements encouraged Potts to evade the issue, but the landlord was startled when he discovered the extent to which the steward had neglected matters. In 1736-7 Potts survived queries about the number of "houses you have repaired or built again," but in 1739 Sir Marmaduke was surprised "to hear after so long absence that I have any farmhouses upon my estate in bad repair." He ordered a major effort to be made during the summer but in reply Potts was "of the opinion that the repairing and rebuilding some tenements is an encouragement to others to let their places run to ruin in hopes of a like favour." Thus, Potts painstakingly avoided his responsibilities in this sphere. When Sir Marmaduke realized the extent of his steward's neglect he saw the very real connection between the size of arrears, which previously had puzzled him, and ruinous property. In 1741 tenants were, he ordered, "not to be in arrears more than I allowed; also keep in good repair their houses." When Fr Rogers wrote to Sir Marmaduke after Potts's death some houses were being repaired, but only because previous neglect had left tenants in extreme difficulties.⁴

At his departure in 1730 Sir Marmaduke hoped "to avoid all dispute and law in my absence," but trouble arose both at Drax and West Rasen. The Constables had long exercised a monopoly of the fishing rights in that part of the River Ouse which bordered their property in the West Riding. In 1732 this monopoly was challenged and encroachments made. In Lincolnshire Alexander Knight, who held property adjacent to that owned by the Constables, gave vent to his grievances, the nature of which remains unknown, by cutting the river banks and flooding Sir Marmaduke's land. Once the disputes had arisen Sir Marmaduke was determined to defend his interests "with all the vigour" that could be "set in motion."⁵ Potts adhered to

¹ S.T., v, pp. 18, 46, 49, 60. In 1736 Champney forwarded more than his half yearly quota to Wright because of "the meanness of his house, lest it should be broke into." S.T., v, p. 138.

² S.T., v, pp. 69, 76b, 85, 149, 164, 195. ³ DDEV/56/30b; S.T., v, pp. 31, 35, 46, 64, 89, 97, 118.

⁴ DDEV/56/30b; 60/13; S.T., v, pp. 156, 237; vi, pp. 42, 69, 82, 105.

⁵ S.T., v, pp. 55, 107; vi, pp. 2, 51. Sir Marmaduke thought that "it would be much better to avoid all law

a different interpretation of the word "avoid" and attempted to persuade Sir Marmaduke to return while taking very little positive action himself.¹ The West Rasen dispute was settled by the Commission of Sewers; but that at Drax, after being settled out of court, was reopened as a result, according to Potts, of rumours that Sir Marmaduke was dead. The latter came fully to appreciate Potts's fear of involvement and, after having determined to order a prosecution, decided in 1743 to postpone dealing with the situation until his return to England. In this respect also Potts's lack of fibre and Sir Marmaduke's resolution to remain abroad for as long as possible damaged the position and interests of both family and tenants.²

There is no doubt, therefore, that Sir Marmaduke's absence resulted in a marked deterioration in some aspects of his estate affairs. His employees were almost totally reliant on him, although they largely ignored him when he provided the initiative and imagination which they themselves lacked. Not only were his detailed instructions neglected, but also there was a steady decline in the efficiency with which the routine administration of the estate was conducted. The responsibility for dealing with situations which arose unexpectedly was, if possible, evaded. In particular both the condition of his property and relationships with the tenants greatly worsened. With Potts's death confusion became near chaos.

IV

Yet, although Sir Marmaduke's estate was neglected, his general financial and economic circumstances were not in decline during this period. The income from a tithe sub-lease steadily decreased but this amount was small in relation to his gross annual income.³ Rent arrears grew with his absence but never reached the proportions which they had assumed during his father's lifetime. Before 1725 they had been virtually non-existent and his concern stemmed as much from their appearance as from their size.⁴ Neither of these two factors resulted in significant reductions in the size of his annual income.

At least £1,000 was forwarded annually to Sir Marmaduke. Besides paying for and disputes . . . a suit once commenced nobody can tell when it may end. . . I never had any suit in my whole life, and should be glad not to begin now, but . . . my tenants must be defended in my rights and . . . no part of my estate exposed to waste . . . let your manner of discourse and that of Champney's be all tending to peace and quietness, though at the same time in yourself resolve and pursue any fact that has been or shall be with all the vigour that lawyer Johnson's skill can set in motion. There is an old but true saying: give rogues and villains rope enough and they will hang themselves . . . whatever charge I am at I shall think it well disposed of." However, lawyers "are always for fire and sword and" one has "difficulty to keep within bound all that you can say to them."

¹ In 1732 he was "inclined, because not able to manage so weighty an affair, to let" the Drax dispute "rest to your return." By 1740 his tone had changed: "cannot so many injustices put upon you move you to espouse your right personally, which would strike terror into your now insulting adversary." S.T., v, pp. 62, 217.

² S.T., v, pp. 114, 118, 123, 127, 159; vi, pp. 97, 136.

³ DDEV/56/91-166; S.T., v, pp. 11, 18, 27, 75, 96, 124, 209; vi, pp. 27, 60. They were eventually let "for what you can get . . . do anything rather than keep them in hand."

⁴ Because he allowed tenants to keep one half year's rent in hand and was generous in regard to tax allowances, Sir Marmaduke found it difficult to tolerate their rent arrears. "War for them is a harvest, the landlord paying all taxes; at least I do. Therefore they should be better qualified to pay their rents." DDEV/56/91-106; S.T., vi, p. 91.

his travels, this money was devoted to the purchase of books, paintings, and sculptures. These were sent to England and formed a considerable and valuable part of Sir Marmaduke's personal estate.¹ Despite the half-yearly quotas which they sent to Wright, Potts and Champney were sometimes embarrassed by the size of the sums of money which remained in their hands at a time when estate expenditure, as distinct from the need for it, was at a minimum, and when both their accounts were in surplus. Much of this capital was loaned. By August 1744 Sir Marmaduke had lent £5,000 to his nephew, Sir Carnaby Haggerston. He lent others a further £600 but had difficulty in satisfactorily placing his money in the provinces, and determined to avoid unsecured loans after a Benedictine friend of Potts had been slow to repay a loan of £200.² In 1737 Sir Marmaduke directed Wright to invest "in some of the public funds." No accounts of the resulting transactions have survived but scattered evidence indicates that at least £3,000 was invested in East India bonds, while there is the suggestion that much more was invested in this way.³ Despite these resources, Sir Marmaduke made no attempt, nor was he pressed, to discharge his own mortgage debt of £2,000 after reassigning it in 1732.⁴

Throughout his absence Sir Marmaduke was anxious to continue the policy which he had inaugurated shortly before his departure, namely of expanding his estate by purchasing conveniently situated property whenever possible. He made inquiries concerning the availability of land in Acklam and, on various occasions, discussed with Potts the advisability of buying property in Sancton, Hartswell, Weighton, and Shipton. At one point Sir Marmaduke asked whether Robert Watson could be induced to sell the farm at Whalsey which he had purchased from the former in 1716. But all this was to no avail and no further purchases were made.⁵ However, within a decade of Sir Marmaduke's death his carefully accumulated personal estate was used to purchase an estate at Seaton Ross for £12,000.⁶ This was considerably more valuable than any other single property which the family owned, or had owned, and represented the opportunity for which Sir Marmaduke had looked for so long, as well as the major result of his achievements.

By 1740 Sir Marmaduke was exhibiting an old man's anxiety to bring his affairs into order, but only necessity brought him back to England. As early as February 1741, writing from Cambrai, he complained of "pure idleness . . . not knowing where to go to see what I have not before. Travelling is almost done when we find no variety."⁷ But even when the desire to travel had waned, Sir Marmaduke preferred to live on the Continent. Nor was there a revival of his previous interest in his estate affairs after his return; he did what was necessary and no more. As he had never married, this included settling the whole of his estate after his death on the

¹ Roebuck thesis, II, table 52; S.T., III, pp. 158, 205; V, p. 267; VI, p. 126. In 1741 Sir Marmaduke spoke of fifty-two paintings as not including his "best." He mentioned Italian books and sculptures, and Flemish, Spanish, and Italian paintings.

² DDEV/56/91-166; S.T., III, pp. 167, 200, 212; IV, p. 16; V, pp. 22, 110, 114, 131, 138; VI, pp. 16, 21, 25, 42, 45, 48, 69, 117.

³ DDEV 56/4846; 58/118; S.T., III, pp. 126, 142; VI, p. 69. ⁴ DDEV/31/183-4.

⁵ S.T., V, pp. 141, 151, 219, 233; VI, pp. 39, 48, 78, 97.

⁶ DDEV/21/60, 62, 71, 72; 58/177; 60/16, 18; Roebuck thesis, II, table 43. ⁷ S.T., III, p. 147.

second son of Sir Carnaby Haggerston and his male heirs forever.¹ This he did in 1744. In the following March he asked one of his servants "this summer" to "represent more lively to me the situation of my affairs . . . in Yorkshire," and added: "this will be the last that I shall trouble myself with them." Having no desire to live at Everingham, he probably returned to rooms at Farnham which the Haggerstons had previously reserved for him, where he spoke of passing "the rest of my days quietly."² This was not to be. In that year of the second Jacobite rebellion Sir Marmaduke was a marked man and sometime during the autumn or winter he was imprisoned in York Castle.³ He escaped and fled to the Continent, dying in Paris on 15 June 1746.⁴ It was left to Sir Marmaduke's successors to redeem the situation of his estates.

V

How significant is this episode? How prevalent was absenteeism among the more substantial landowners at this time, and what were its effects? It has to be admitted, firstly, that in totally absenting himself for so long, not only from his estates but also from the country, Sir Marmaduke was quite untypical, though by no means unique. Nevertheless, absentee landlordism was far from uncommon during this period, and had been increasing steadily from the last decade of the seventeenth century.

If the phenomenon is to be seen in its proper perspective, it must be remembered that a degree of absenteeism was inherent in the prevailing system of landownership. Most substantial landowners, not just those who had the largest estates, owned property in more than one place, outlying properties frequently being at some distance from the core of their estates. Many owners, like Sir Marmaduke, held property in more than one county; some in several.⁵ The growth of large estates, a major feature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did involve property consolidation. However, developments were extensive as well as intensive. Therefore, even while resident at home, many owners were necessarily absent from a considerable proportion of their property. Other factors exacerbated this situation. Access to property was occasionally forbidden to owners, for example during legal disputes.⁶ Minorities, which were common at a time of high rates of mortality,

¹ DDEV/31/187-188; 53/37-41; S.T., III, pp. 111, 124, 170, 200, 205. The Constable estates were settled on William Haggerston provided he assumed the name of Constable, which he did. The Haggerston property passed to Sir Carnaby's eldest son, while a third son pursued a commercial career on the Continent. Sir Marmaduke's last will of August 1745 and his "dying request" of April 1746 merely concerned minor bequests, and did not affect the main provisions of the 1744 settlement. DDEV/54/17, 33, 40.

² S.T., III, p. 215.

³ *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1742-45*, pp. 755, 768, 775; *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. H. Foley, 1877-83, I, p. 628. Soldiers were dispatched into Lincolnshire to seize Champney, who hid under some hay and endured a prodding with pitchforks "rather than betray my beloved master." There is no evidence that Sir Marmaduke was in any way involved in the '45.

⁴ DDEV/54/17; 68/43.

⁵ For example, of the three families besides the Constables which I have studied in detail, the Hothams of South Dalton, the Beaumonts of Whitley, and the Brights of Carbrook and Badsworth, all held landed property outside Yorkshire during this period. Roebuck thesis, I, *passim*.

⁶ Thus, although Richard Beaumont of Lascelles Hall, near Huddersfield, inherited the nearby Whitley Hall estate in 1704, he was forbidden access to the latter until 1718 because of a legal dispute concerning the

sometimes left properties under the frequently absentee jurisdiction of a board of trustees.¹ Above all, during this period the marriage market became national rather than local in scope as far as the more substantial landed gentry were concerned. More and more wealthier landowners tended to look beyond their immediate environment when choosing a wife because financial considerations increasingly came to outweigh other factors governing their choice.² Consequently, property inherited by marriage was often at a considerable distance from that which they already possessed. Marriage, therefore, tended to raise the incidence of unavoidable absenteeism.³

Moreover, towards the end of the seventeenth century public service began to make growing demands on the upper reaches of landed society. Between 1689 and 1715 elections to the House of Commons, which was dominated by landowners, were more numerous and hotly contested than ever before or since.⁴ Many landowners acquired town houses in London or provincial boroughs, spending less of each year on their estates. Though political activity grew progressively less fierce after 1715, this pattern of behaviour persisted. Furthermore, the realignment of foreign policy which followed the accession of William III produced a considerable expansion in both the army and the navy.⁵ Younger sons and brothers, many of whom traditionally looked to the armed forces for a career, were more easily placed. If, as often happened, they succeeded to property due to the death of an older relative, their professional duties not infrequently kept them detached from their inheritance. Henceforward, existing owners of estates also took advantage of the increase in the number of available commissions. The disposition of the latter soon became one of the major strands in an extensive and ever-widening network of patronage. Nor did landowners remain uninvolved in the contemporary growth of the civil and diplomatic services. The modern civil service owes its origin not to the nineteenth century but to the erection of the government machinery needed to fight the wars against France after 1688.⁶ Many landowners seized the opportunity which salaries gave them of diversifying their revenues, and the profits of success in the fight for place were undoubtedly a factor in the ever-growing stability of landed incomes, and, to a lesser extent, in the process whereby large estates became

payment of legacies and annuities from it. Beaumont was so impoverished by 1710 that thereafter he tried, hard but unsuccessfully, through his M.P., Sir Arthur Kaye, to obtain a post in the civil service in London. *Ibid.* I, pp. 160–80; G. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 1967, p. 123.

¹ This was the case with the Hotham estates between 1738 and 1755. Of three trustees appointed, one, a widow, lived in London; another was a high-ranking civil servant with the Customs Commission in Edinburgh and London; the third was a friend of the family, who lived in the East Riding, but who died in 1750. Roebuck thesis, I, pp. 89–91.

² Professor Habakkuk has argued that there was “an increasing subordination of marriage to the increase of landed wealth, at the expense of other motives for marriage.” H. J. Habakkuk, ‘Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century’, *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., xxxii, 1950, pp. 24–5.

³ According to Professor Mingay, “if it is possible to generalize from the immense variety of family history, it may be suggested that marriage and inheritance were the most prominent factors in the rise and permanence of the families with the greatest wealth.” G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 1963, p. 78.

⁴ J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675–1725*, 1967, p. xv. ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–19.

⁶ E. Hughes, *Studies in Administration and Finance, 1558–1825*, Manchester, 1934, p. 267. For one facet of this development see R. Davis, ‘The Rise of Protection in England, 1689–1786’, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xix, 1966.

larger. Such success, however, inevitably increased the incidence of absenteeism.

Prior to the Revolution of 1688 only a minority of wealthy landowners were heavily committed in the public service. Local government was, and continued to be, their traditional preserve. But, with the exception of a few of the highest offices, its duties were besides being local neither remunerative nor time-consuming. In Yorkshire, and no doubt in other counties too, participation in national politics was the prerogative of a few long-established and influential families.¹ Neither the armed nor the civil services provided many acceptable job opportunities. However, after 1688, as can be seen from a study of Sir Marmaduke's contemporaries among the Yorkshire baronetage, the situation changed dramatically. Between 1688 and 1750 exactly half of these families had heirs who were involved, often heavily involved, in major public services of one kind or another.² Of the other half many lacked male heirs, were ineligible for office on religious grounds, or were too impoverished even to aspire to positions of responsibility and prestige. In other words those families who, though eligible and otherwise able, provided no public servants during this period were in a small minority.³ Significantly, only one of Sir Marmaduke's Yorkshire contemporaries achieved fame as an agricultural improver.⁴

Some families, for example the Stapyltons of Myton, the Slingsbys, and the Kayes, either continued or acquired a long tradition of service in Parliament.⁵ The public activities of others, like the Franklands, the Stricklands of Boynton, and the Hothams, were extremely diverse.⁶ The last, for instance, had been among the most influential families in the county before 1688, though their duties had been confined to local government and Parliament. However, Sir Charles Hotham, who succeeded in 1691, held at least five army commissions during the next thirty-two years, spending long periods in Scotland, Spain, and Portugal; he also held important local offices and represented Scarborough or Beverley at Westminster from 1695 until his death in 1723. Besides having equally successful military and parliamentary careers (and also a house in Stratton St, Piccadilly), Sir Charles's son was a Groom of the Royal Bedchamber between 1727 and 1738, and George II's Special Plenipotentiary in Berlin in 1730-1.⁷ Thus, public success and, as a direct result, absenteeism frequently escalated from one generation to another. A number of individuals held a host of important positions. Few Yorkshire baronets, however, were quite as extended as Sir Thomas Robinson of Rokeby, who was not only a

¹ R. Carroll, 'Yorkshire Parliamentary Boroughs in the Seventeenth Century', *Northern History*, III, 1968, pp. 103-4.

² *Complete Baronetage 1611-1800*, ed. G. E. C[ockayne], 6 vols. 1900-9, which lists sixty-four families besides the Constables as members of the Yorkshire baronetage between 1688 and 1750. For the purposes of this survey the only county posts included within the description "major public services" are governorships and the shrievalty.

³ Some eight families fall into this category. The history of one of these, the Grahams of Norton Conyers, is peculiarly undramatic, their estate, for example, being about the same size in 1883 as it had been in 1662. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 262-4.

⁴ This was Sir Digby Legard of Ganton. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 147-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 61, 156-8, 430-1; III, pp. 49-50. ⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 183-5; II, pp. 115-16; III, pp. 142-5.

⁷ Roebuck thesis, I, ch. 1, *passim*.

lawyer, army officer, M.P., and a Commissioner of the Excise, but also an amateur architect, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the Governor of Barbados between 1742 and 1747.¹ Some families were involved in local or parliamentary government in counties other than Yorkshire;² a number were employed in various capacities, military and otherwise, abroad.³ The overall impression is of a distinct behavioural change on the part of a significant proportion of this social group. What was true of the baronetage must also have been to a considerable extent true of the upper strata of landed society as a whole.

Developments in the London money market also played a part in the growth of absenteeism. Landowners were heavily engaged in the speculative booms which succeeded one another from the 1690's, and preferred for obvious reasons to direct their activities from bases in the metropolis. Their enterprise is reflected in the size of their investment in the National Debt, and later in the proliferation of private banks in the West End which specifically catered for their needs.⁴ Both interest and involvement were greatly reduced by the "Bubble" affair, by which time, however, the pattern of absenteeism had become firmly established.

Social developments also drew landowners away for longer periods from their estates. Catholics, like Sir Marmaduke, had been educated abroad for generations. But from the end of the seventeenth century "the grand tour which followed university became almost *de rigueur*" for the eldest sons of wealthy landowners.⁵ Thereby they acquired an early taste for travel which they frequently later indulged. This same period saw the rise of the London season as a social phenomenon of substantial proportions, while other centres such as Newmarket and Bath began annually to attract large numbers of the landed *élite*. At the provincial level the theatre, the spa, the ball, and the race meeting joined the varied duties of local government in distracting landowners from estate affairs. There was, in fact, "a transformation of behaviour in polite society" which involved a change in character as well as tone.⁶ Rustic pursuits were neglected in favour of frequent journeys about the country and to the capital. Such behaviour soon became essential to acceptance in high society. Whenever the family was in residence the country house remained at the centre of social life, but for the first time during this period it had to face considerable competition.

¹ C[ockayne], *op. cit.*, v, pp. 68-9; *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² For example, the Savilles of Thornhill and the Smithsons in Nottinghamshire, and the Calverleys in Newcastle on Tyne. C[ockayne], *op. cit.*, i, pp. 49-51; iii, pp. 101-2; v, p. 13.

³ Besides Sir Thomas Robinson in Barbados and the fourth and fifth baronets Hotham on the Continent, Sir Marmaduke Wyvil, sixth baronet, was Postmaster-General of Ireland from 1736 to 1754, and Sir William St Quintin, third baronet, Vice-Treasurer and Receiver-General of Ireland from 1720 to 1723. Sir Thomas Gower, third baronet, died during army service in Ireland while, although he succeeded to his family's estates in 1736, Sir Tancred Robinson of Newby did not resign his commission as a Rear-Admiral until 1741. Sir Marmaduke Beckwith, who was in Virginia when he succeeded his brother in 1743, was still serving as a Clerk of the Peace there some five years later. *Ibid.*, i, pp. 103, 147-8; ii, pp. 161-2; iv, pp. 115, 158-9.

⁴ H. J. Habakkuk, 'English Landownership 1680-1740', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* x, 1939-40; D. M. Joslin, 'London Private Bankers 1720-85', *ibid.*, 2nd ser., vii, 1954-5, pp. 178-9.

⁵ Mingay, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-8. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

VI

The effects, as distinct from the fact, of absenteeism are more difficult to establish. It would appear, firstly, to have been one factor in a progressive decline in the extent of demesne farming on the larger estates. In Yorkshire during the century before 1640 direct farming had provided the "wealthier gentry" with "a valuable weapon in the Price Revolution."¹ Later with the levelling, and occasional lowering, of prices farming became much less profitable. Landowners preferred to lease as much of their property as possible. Increasingly direct farming was practised merely to meet some of the needs of domestic consumption. As these needs declined with the growth of absenteeism the scale of demesne farming was further reduced. On some estates at times only an orchard and kitchen garden remained.²

Secondly, many more owners began to employ full-time salaried stewards or agents to manage estate affairs in their absence. Previously such men were to be found only on the largest estates. Due to the increasing need for their services the post of steward achieved the status of a separate profession during the course of the eighteenth century.³

The growth of absenteeism also affected tenant farmers, though the general situation in this respect remains obscure. Indeed, the episode described above emphasizes the extent to which our view of the situation of tenants is dependent on record survival. If, as is common, estate correspondence had not survived, the nature of the plight of Sir Marmaduke's tenants would never have come to light. The early eighteenth century is recognized as having been a time of considerable difficulty for farmers; this is generally ascribed to poor harvests, price fluctuations, and an "unusual number" of "what might be called acts of God."⁴ However, it is argued that tenant-farmers were on the whole less affected by these developments than owner-occupiers because landlords were both able and willing to help them over their difficulties. That this was true in many cases is beyond doubt.⁵ But if the situation on the Constable estates is in any way indicative of that elsewhere, it would seem that there was another side to the story.

The most striking feature of the circumstances outlined earlier, namely the sharp contrast between the effect of absenteeism on Sir Marmaduke's economy and its effect on his tenants, is fundamental to our understanding of the relationship between landownership and agriculture during this period. On the whole Sir Marmaduke's financial and economic position prospered despite the breakdown in com-

¹ J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry. From the Reformation to the Civil War*, 1969, p. 57.

² Roebuck thesis, I, pp. 475-6. By the eighteenth century the more substantial landowners "were, and had long been rentiers." H. J. Habakkuk, 'England', in *The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. Goodwin, 1953, pp. 4-5.

³ E. Hughes, 'The Eighteenth Century Estate Agent', in *Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd*, ed. H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody and D. B. Quinn, 1949, p. 189; G. E. Mingay, 'The Eighteenth Century Land Steward', in *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution: Essays Presented to J. D. Chambers*, ed. E. L. Jones and G. E. Mingay, 1967, p. 8.

⁴ C. Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship 1603-1763*, 1965, p. 243.

⁵ See G. E. Mingay, 'The Agricultural Depression 1730-50', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., VIII, 1955-6.

munication and the shirking of responsibility during his absence. Nevertheless the tenants were deeply and adversely affected. Thus both socially and economically substantial landownership had come to acquire an almost unshakeable stability and security. On the other hand, the situation of tenant-farmers remained heavily dependent on a variety of factors; not only on the soil, the weather, and the market, but also on the policy and attitudes of the landlord, and the quality of management on his estates. Though guarded by tradition and expediency, security of tenure, particularly for the poorer tenants, was far from absolute. Other aspects of life on the land, in this case the capability of the steward, his and the owner's prejudices, and the continuing quality of living quarters, were distinctly unpredictable.

Eventually, the growth of a body of professional estate stewards did much to reduce the effects of absenteeism, but this was a long-term development. Before the mid-eighteenth century stewards were neither as numerous nor as capable as the situation required. There was no recognized course of training for the post; recruitment was from a very wide field.¹ Consequently, although there are examples of highly competent stewards on other than the very largest estates before 1750, one doubts whether stewards as a body prevented the uncertainty, indecision, and neglect which resulted from absenteeism. Such correspondence as exists tends to bear this out.² Moreover, steward's accounts of this period, though they give an initial impression of careful management, bristle with makeshift devices, such as too neatly summarized totals and large categories of "miscellaneous" expenditure.³ The complaints of owners bear witness to the fact that accounts were frequently completed long after the period to which they relate.⁴ For this and other reasons stewards were almost universally distrusted.⁵ Yet the employment of a scrupulous individual was, as Potts's behaviour amply illustrates, no guarantee of good management. Honest or not, it was usually impossible for a steward to keep an eye on the whole of an estate. Responsibility for outlying properties was inevitably vested in tenants such as Champney. Like minorities and other situations, therefore, absenteeism frequently placed strain on an administrative system which was, in most cases, insufficiently developed or experienced to withstand it.

As the century progressed stewards, though still distrusted, grew both in number and expertise.⁶ Moreover, after 1750 agricultural conditions greatly improved. After a long period of stability the general level of rents rose steadily; tenants were

¹ Mingay, 'The Eighteenth Century Land Steward', *loc. cit.*, p. 7.

² See for example G. E. Mingay, 'Estate Management in Eighteenth Century Kent', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, iv, 1956, pp. 108-9.

³ See for example Roebuck thesis, II, tables 47, 61-5. In this connection see also F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, 1963, pp. 152-3.

⁴ Mingay, 'Estate Management in Eighteenth Century Kent', *loc. cit.*, p. 109.

⁵ According to Professor Thompson, "horror stories about the deceitfulness, rapacity and dishonesty of stewards were one of the staples of gossip in eighteenth-century landed circles." *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁶ For example, Lord William Bentinck, who owned, and greatly improved, land in Norfolk during the early nineteenth century, was absent from his estate for lengthy periods. However, besides retaining a keen interest in his estate affairs, he was on the whole able to employ capable stewards, among whom were a gentleman farmer and a professional Scottish steward. But at least one of Bentinck's employees was "an unfortunate choice" who was responsible for mismanagement. J. Rosselli, 'An Indian Governor in the Norfolk Marshland: Lord William Bentinck as Improver, 1809-27', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, xix, 1971, pp. 52-3.

on the whole well able to pay the latter, which followed rather than led prices. Better prospects, in particular increased profits, heightened landowners' interest in estate affairs. While the incidence of absenteeism decreased, a growing number of landlords became actively engaged in the process of agricultural improvement.¹ Prior to mid-century, however, few of them had taken a personal interest in the farming on their estates. The behaviour of many of them may indeed have led to a deterioration in the situation of their tenants. For the effects of the organizational breakdown which resulted from absenteeism would appear to have been felt first and foremost by tenant farmers.

Given the present inadequate state of our knowledge this remains no more than a reasonable suggestion. The history of many of the larger estates, however well documented, has yet to be traced in detail. The circumstances of tenant farmers are particularly obscure.² None the less, if during this period the pattern of absenteeism was the same nationally as it was in Yorkshire, it must have adversely affected those farming communities who traditionally looked to the local squirearchy for help and guidance, especially at a time of agricultural depression. Moreover, though it may have been unequal, the landlord-tenant relationship was far from purely traditional; both parties had obligations, which for the landlord were more difficult to meet at a distance. Precisely what these obligations were, and whether they changed over the years, we do not know for we lack, among other things, an adequate study of leasing policy on the larger estates. But, for example, they did allocate responsibility for the maintenance of property. Might not the heavy rent arrears of the early eighteenth century have been due partly to the neglect by absentee landlords of their duties in this respect? This was true on the Constable estates, as Sir Marmaduke eventually realized.

How far this and other possible effects of absenteeism influenced the general course of agrarian history remains an open question, but it is nevertheless a question which needs to be both asked and answered. Generalizations suggesting that absenteeism was constant in its incidence or, more crudely, that it was peculiarly an Irish phenomenon cannot be sustained.³

¹ J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880*, 1966, pp. 73-5, 77, 106-12.

² According to Professor Wilson, "the tenant farmer and the rents he paid are two of the central features of English farming and we have no adequate study of either." Moreover, "nor do we know much about a figure of crucial importance: the estate steward." *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

³ Professor Mingay has pointed out that "not all the absentee owners neglected their Irish properties." *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 46.

Changes in Crop Production in East Worcestershire 1540-1867

By J. A. YELLING

IN a recent issue of this REVIEW I discussed the patterns of cropping in East Worcestershire in the periods 1540-99 and 1600-60, using statistics from probate inventories.¹ The present paper includes an analysis of the inventories for two further periods, 1670-99 and 1700-50, together with a comparable treatment of the 1801 and 1867 crop returns. This provides a good record of long-term trends in crop combinations, and enables the main periods of change to be discerned. Some comparison is possible with figures available for other midland counties, but the paper is mainly concerned with internal differences in the character and chronology of crop changes at the regional level. These differences reflected not only varying physical conditions and economic circumstances but also the balance of common field and enclosed land.

The treatment of the inventories is generally similar to that in my previous paper, but some features require additional comment. In each period the study area is divided into seven regions as shown in fig. 1. Three of these cover the champion district in the south whereas the others lie in the north and west, an area affected by piecemeal enclosure to varying degrees. In addition to the crude figures for these two main sub-regions, and for East Worcestershire as a whole, adjusted figures have been obtained by weighting the crop proportions for each basic region according to its crop acreage in 1867. This helps to reduce the effect of regional variations in the availability of inventories. Since no figures can be obtained for region MN between 1660 and 1750, it is assumed that the same trends occurred there as in other parts of the champion district.

The study area is well covered in the 1801 returns, and in only one region (C) is the cropping pattern revealed likely to be at all unrepresentative. Unlike the inventories, the 1801 returns do not mention vetches or clover, and turnips are of course recorded with rape. In using the 1867 returns I have omitted entries for which earlier statistical evidence is not available, notably temporary grass, but figures for crops which were introduced after 1801 have been included.

The resulting statistics are presented in tables I-IV, and in addition a number of diagrams have been prepared (figs. II-VI). These enable a ready appreciation of the sequence of crop combination changes and assist regional comparisons. But for two reasons especially they must be used with care. Obviously, not all the changes which occurred from one inventory period to another were 'real', some result simply from bias in the sample of farms represented in inventories. What represented 'real'

¹ J. A. Yelling, 'The Combination and Rotation of Crops in East Worcestershire, 1540-1660', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 1969, pp. 24-43.

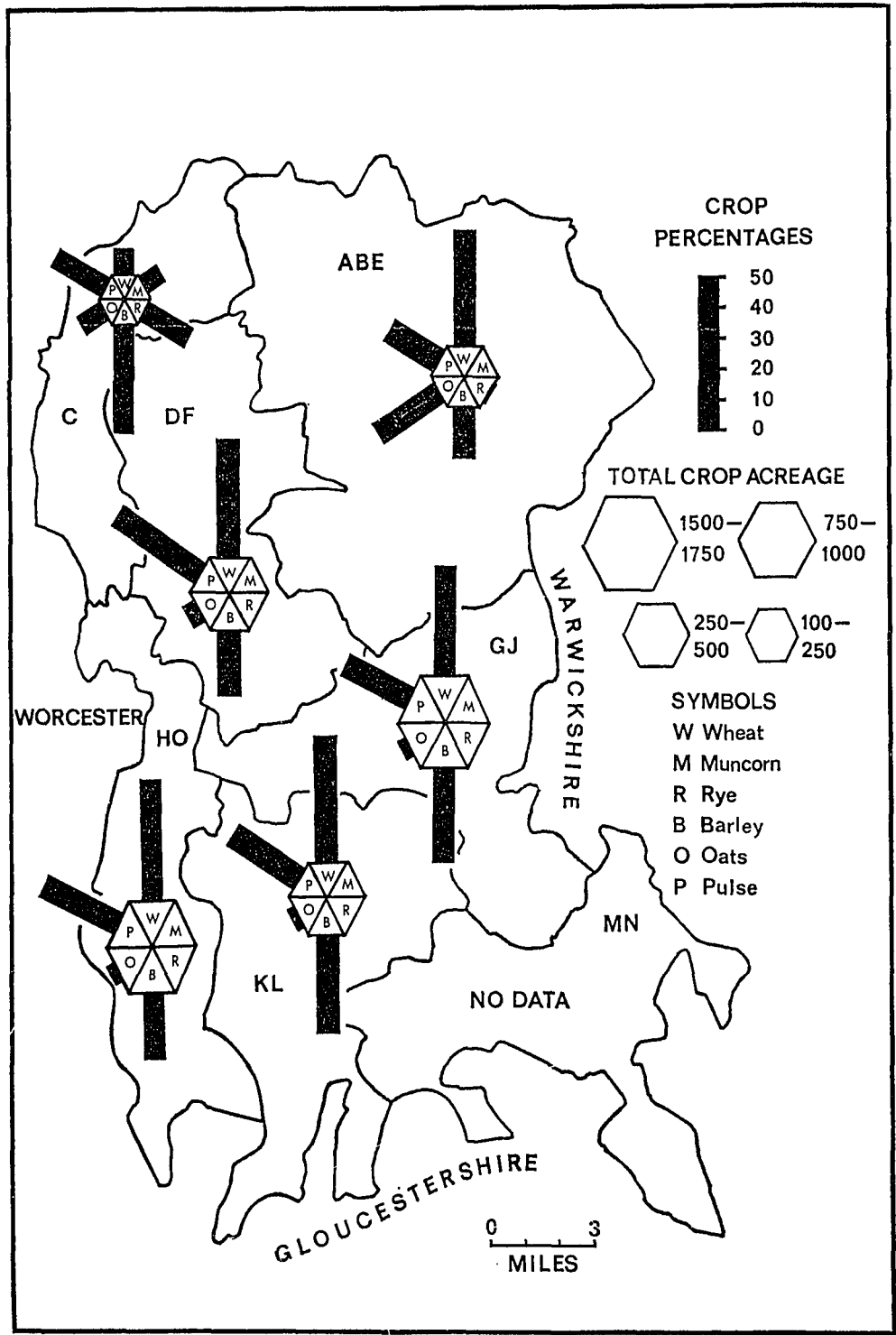


FIG. I
Crop combinations, 1700-50

change is a matter for consideration in the text. Again, as an essential aid to clarity of presentation, the results for the inventory periods are depicted as point statistics plotted for the mid-point of each period. This distorts the real course of agricultural change, so that only general chronological interpretations are valid.

TABLE I
REGIONAL CROP STATISTICS, 1670-99

Wh = wheat, Mu = muncorn, Ba = barley, Pu = pulses, Ve = vetches, Cl = clover

Area	Wh	Mu	Rye	Ba	Oats	Pu	Ve	Cl	Total
ABE acres	58	6½	9	53	53½	62	—	—	242
%	24	3	4	22	22	26	—	—	—
C acres	11	—	84	102	1½	48½	2	—	249
%	4	—	34	41	½	20	1	—	—
DF acres	56	4	—	52½	3	73	2	—	190½
%	29	2	—	27	2	38	1	—	—
HO acres	95	4	12	126	4	80	5½	—	326½
%	29	1	4	39	1	25	2	—	—
Total N & W %*	21	2	9	30	10	27	1	—	—
GJ acres	159	17	—	134½	19½	120	3½	—	453½
%	35	4	—	30	4	26	1	—	—
KL acres	132½	2	—	101	1	106	—	—	342½
%	39	½	—	30	—	31	—	—	—
Total south %*	37	2	—	28	1	30	—	—	—
Total %*	28	2	5	29	6	28	1	—	—

* The totals are adjusted according to the total crop acreage recorded in each area in 1867. The grand total, and that for the south, includes an estimate for Area MN.

I

Taking the figures for East Worcestershire as a whole, it is clear that the most significant long-term development was the emergence of wheat as the dominant crop, occupying 46 per cent of the tillage area in 1867 compared with 22 per cent in 1540-99 (fig. II). This growth came about both from successful competition with other winter grains and from a relative reduction in the use of spring crops. An important feature, however, is that neither of these trends was apparent in the early part of the period. Indeed, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries wheat appears to have undergone a slight fall in popularity. The emphasis at this time was on spring crops and their acreage continued to expand, proportionately,

until towards the end of the seventeenth century. Moreover, there was little change in the balance of wheat and rye before about the middle of the seventeenth century. From then on the acreage of rye and muncorn contracted sharply, with little left by 1700, and there was a corresponding increase in the wheat acreage. By contrast in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the expansion of wheat came mainly from a relative reduction in the growth of spring grains.

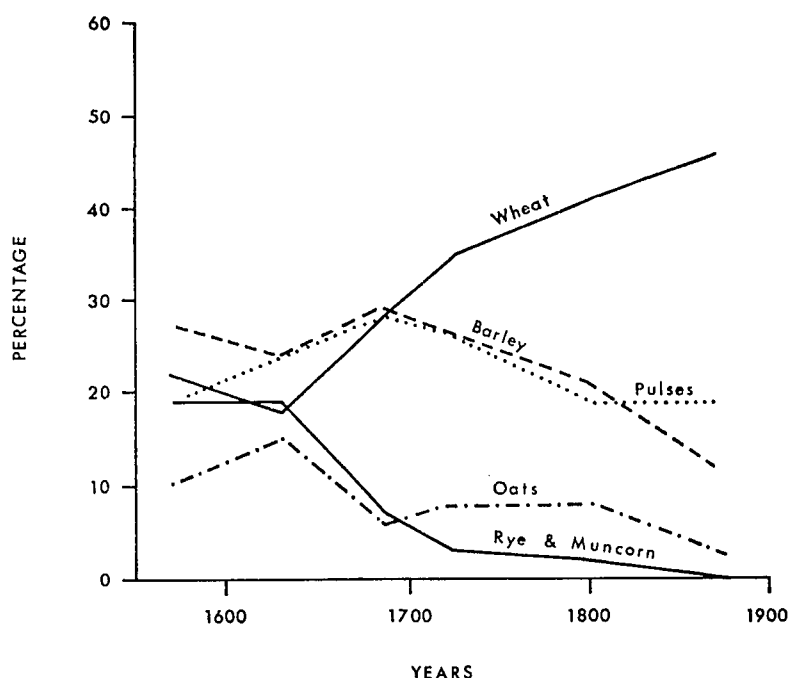


FIG. II

East Worcestershire: changes in crop proportions, 1540-1867 (selected crops only; for sources and methods of plotting see text)

These general trends correspond fairly well with those recorded in the other midland counties of Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, and Lincolnshire. In Leicestershire spring crops dominated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and were of increasing importance.¹ Wheat and rye apparently occupied some 17 per cent of the cropped acreage in 1558, 14 per cent in 1607-8, and for 1669-72 Hoskins noted that "the tendency to reduce the area of winter corn goes on." However, by 1700-3 this trend had been reversed, and by 1801 wheat comprised 28 per cent of the county's cropped area.² In the Oxfordshire uplands the proportion of wheat and rye increased from 14 per cent in 1590-1640 to 27 per cent in 1660-1730, and the decline of rye in the county came mainly after 1630.³ In Lincolnshire there was a

¹ W. G. Hoskins, 'The Leicestershire Farmer in the Seventeenth Century', *Ag. Hist.*, xxv, 1951, pp. 9-20.

² W. G. Hoskins, 'The Leicestershire Crop Returns of 1801', *Studies in Leicestershire Agrarian History*, 1949, pp. 9-20.

³ M. A. Havinden, 'Agricultural Progress in Open Field Oxfordshire', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, ix, 1961, pp. 73-83.

small increase in the combined proportion of wheat and rye in the uplands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it fell in the marshlands and claylands.¹

TABLE II
REGIONAL CROP STATISTICS, 1700-50

Abbreviations as in table I

Area	Wh	Mu	Rye	Bu	Oats	Pu	Ve	Cl	Total
ABE acres	162	4	4	71½	86	84	25	4	440½
%	37	1	1	16	20	19	6	1	—
C acres	20	14	42	81	25	53½	5	—	240½
%	8	6	18	34	10	22	2	—	—
DF acres	301½	—	—	161½	54	276	2	—	795
%	38	—	—	20	7	35	½	—	—
HO acres	606	—	1	413	62	471	12½	3	1,568
%	39	—	—	26	4	30	1	—	—
Total north %*	31	1	5	23	12	25	3	—	—
GJ acres	548	—	—	513	49	385	25	3	1,523
%	36	—	—	34	3	25	2	—	—
KL acres	383	2	3	294	16	253	5	—	956
%	40	—	½	31	2	27	½	—	—
Total south %*	39	—	—	31	2	28	1	—	—
Total %*	35	—	2	26	8	26	2	—	—

* Adjusted totals (see table I).

By contrast, wheat proportions increased generally between 1630-1700 and 1801, and rose further by 1870. The claylands, which bear the greatest physical resemblance to East Worcestershire, had 28 per cent of their cropped area under wheat and rye in 1530-1600, 21 per cent in 1630-1700, 29 per cent in 1801, and 38 per cent in 1870.²

Barley and pulses were the main spring crops throughout the inventory period, with oats some way behind; a pattern which is generally found in the Midlands. More use was made of oats in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries than in the succeeding period, and initially oats and pulses seem to have advanced relative to barley. There are some parallels to this elsewhere, for instance in the Lincolnshire claylands, but no general agreement.³ Then, after a fairly stable period in the late

¹ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, 1957, pp. 157, 173, 188.

² Figures calculated from *ibid.*, table 34, p. 188, and table 47, pp. 302-3.

³ *Ibid.*, table 34, p. 188.

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which appears general, the Worcestershire experience begins to diverge markedly from that of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. In both these counties the old balance of the spring crops had disappeared by 1801. Oats had risen greatly in favour, while pulses and, to a lesser extent, barley

TABLE III
REGIONAL CROP STATISTICS 1801
Percentage of total cropped acreage

<i>Area</i>	<i>Wh</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Ba</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Pu</i>	<i>Po</i>	<i>Tu/Ra</i>
ABE	46	—	13	16	17	3	3
C	31	6	29	3	5	2	24
DF	49	—	14	9	26	—	2
HO	43	1	22	5	22	2	6
Total north*	43	3	18	9	17	2	8
GJ	44	—	24	8	22	—	4
KL	36	—	25	6	23	2	8
MN	39	—	27	7	22	—	4
Total south*	39	—	25	7	22	1	5
Total*	41	2	21	8	19	1	7

TABLE IV
REGIONAL CROP STATISTICS 1867
Percentage of total cropped acreage

<i>Area</i>	<i>Wh</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Ba</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Pu</i>	<i>Po</i>	<i>Tu/Sw</i>	<i>Mon</i>	<i>Ve</i>
ABE	46	—	11	5	20	3	9	2	3
C	35	3	17	1	11	12	16	3	3
DF	50	—	11	2	21	1	7	2	6
HO	44	—	12	3	20	2	10	2	6
Total north*	44	1	13	3	18	4	10	2	4
GJ	51	—	9	2	20	—	7	3	6
KL	45	—	11	3	18	2	10	3	8
MN	46	—	11	2	21	3	6	3	8
Total south*	48	—	11	2	20	2	8	3	7
Total*	46	—	12	3	19	3	9	3	6

* Adjusted totals (see table 1).

had declined. In East Worcestershire, however, the acreage of oats remained at a relatively low level and instead pulses continued to be popular. The main feature was the fall in the barley acreage, particularly in the nineteenth century.

The new crops make very little impact on the inventory statistics, although their importance may be underestimated, particularly in the case of clover. This was first mentioned at Droitwich in 1670¹, and appears to have been subsequently in widespread use, though normally on a limited scale. The turnip was first recorded at Claines in 1701 and occurs occasionally in inventories thereafter, again in small amounts.² By 1801, however, it occupied, with rape, 7 per cent of the cropped acreage, and 9 per cent in 1867. At that date the combined acreage of turnips and mangolds equalled that of barley and far exceeded that of oats. Even so, root crops remained less important than in Leicestershire or Lincolnshire.

II

It is hoped that the parallels between the record of crop changes in East Worcestershire and other Midland counties will provide useful material for the investigation of general trends in production and consumption, but no further discussion of this matter will be attempted. Instead, attention is directed towards the character and chronology of crop changes under more specific farming conditions, both in terms of physical features and agrarian organization. Here the record of cropping in the seven sub-regions of the study area provides a good basis for a comparative study, since these regions lie athwart the division between the champion husbandry of the Midland plain and the 'woodland' farming further north and west.

The champion district in the south is the most easily-recognizable agricultural region in East Worcestershire during the study period, and its pattern of cropping was remarkably uniform both geographically and historically. Despite the fact that physical conditions in the Vale of Evesham are somewhat different from those further north, where raw clay lies closer to the surface, the same four-course system of barley-pulses-wheat-fallow was used throughout the three sub-regions which it contains (tables I-II, fig. 1).³

This system remained the basis of agricultural production in the region throughout the inventory period and, contrary to the norm in East Worcestershire, there were no drastic changes in crop combinations before 1750 (fig. II). By 1801 there are signs of a more radical divergence from the old cropping pattern and by 1867 there had been a considerable increase in the growth of wheat principally at the expense of barley. The main period of change thus broadly conforms with the general dates of the traditional agricultural revolution and, more specifically, there is a relationship with the chronology of enclosure. The number of parishes wholly enclosed before 1750 is unlikely to have been more than some half dozen and the communal system persisted remarkably in this district in the late eighteenth century

¹ Worcestershire County Record Office (W.R.O.), Inventory 1670/265.

² W.R.O., Inventory 1701/Norton.

³ For details of cropping in 1540-1660 see Yelling, *op cit.*, pp. 30-3.

so that some 15,000 acres of open field remained to be enclosed by Act after 1801.¹

It must be stressed that the four-course system was by no means anachronistic during the inventory period. In the late sixteenth century it represented the most intensive use of arable land in East Worcestershire and had a built-in bias towards the spring crops which were then in favour. All this had come about through a revolutionary change from the preceding two-field system at some time prior to 1550. To a large extent, therefore, the south was already equipped to meet the circumstances which elsewhere required considerable change during the seventeenth century. Indeed developments in the other regions, such as an increased use of spring

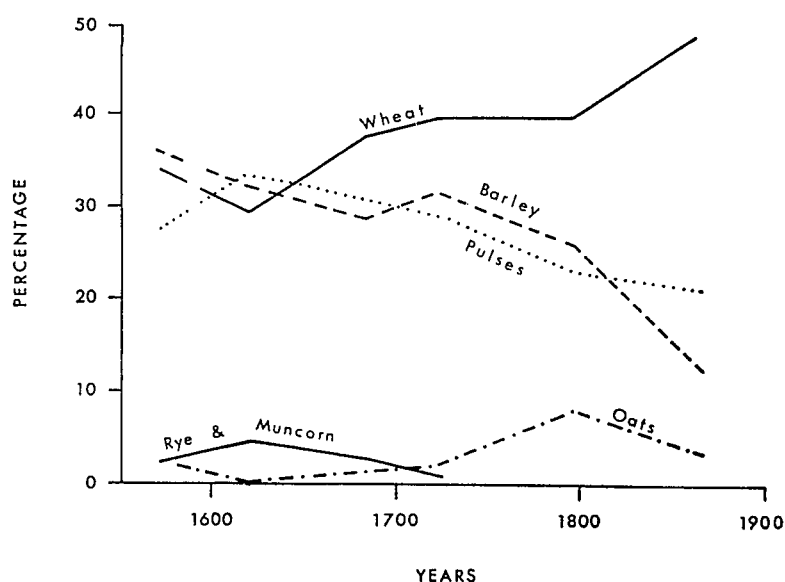


FIG. III

The south: changes in crop proportions, 1540-1867

crops and the replacement of rye by wheat, served mainly to bring their crop combinations more into line with those already found in the champion district.

It is not surprising therefore that an initial slight movement towards spring crops was soon reversed, and by the early eighteenth century wheat was already clearly the dominant crop in the partnership. Even so, there was as yet no serious threat to the basic four-course routine for there were various ways in which relatively minor fluctuations in crop proportions could be accommodated. Every township had a certain acreage of enclosed land which could be cropped although it was mostly kept in pasture. Land could be left uncropped in certain seasons. Moreover, parts of the open fields could be set aside and cropped separately from the main four-course area. In some parishes, for example Harvington and Rous Leach, crop and

¹J. A. Yelling, 'Common Land and Enclosure in East Worcestershire, 1540-1870', *Trans. Inst. Br. Geog.*, 45, 1968, pp. 157-68.

fallow land existed, and every year's land is also mentioned,¹ recalling Davis's comment in Oxfordshire that "in divers unenclosed parishes the same rotation prevails over the whole of the open fields; but in others the homeward or bettermost land is oftener cropped, or sometimes cropped every year."² Land was also set aside for leys, both in scattered strips and compact blocks, but I would agree with Kerridge that their purpose was mainly to provide grass rather than to assist crop production directly.³

By the end of the inventory period, therefore, the champion district remained at the forefront of arable husbandry in East Worcestershire, but it had lost the clear lead which it had once held. After this time, however, the general trends in cropping were much less favourable to the maintenance of the existing system. There was the need to accommodate new crops such as clover and turnips. Above all, the movement in favour of wheat at the expense of the spring crops now called for changes which could not be easily brought about within the framework of the traditional shift systems. It is pertinent to ask, therefore, whether the maintenance of communal husbandry in any way delayed the adoption of new cropping patterns.

Some light can be thrown on this by comparing the production in open-field and enclosed parishes from the 1801 crop returns. Table v shows firstly the mean proportions of the various crops returned in 1801 for fifteen open and twenty-five enclosed parishes, and then for comparative purposes figures for the same parishes and crops in 1867. Clearly, in 1801 the open-field parishes lay closer to the four-course pattern than the enclosed ones; in particular they grew a greater proportion of barley and less wheat, oats, and turnips. By 1867 the differences between the same groups of parishes had much diminished and the old three-crop pattern of production had largely disappeared.

In respect of turnip production the contrast between open and enclosed parishes appears small. The crude difference in the aggregate figures occurs because a greater proportion of the open parishes recorded no turnips at all, and in none of these places was the crop later to become very significant. If one considers only the parishes where some acreage of turnips and rape was recorded in 1801, the open and enclosed groups were very similar, devoting respectively 6.6 per cent and 7.5 per cent of their area to these crops. In 1867 the comparable figures for turnips and swedes were 7.9 per cent and 9.7 per cent (table v).

This evidence from the crop returns conforms with the impression given by contemporary literature. For instance, when Pitt visited Eckington and Bredon in 1807 he noted that "in both these common fields are large breadths of turnips and potatoes."⁴ Moreover, whilst there are no comparable statistics for clover, this crop was definitely grown in the open fields in the eighteenth century, mainly in the pulse quarter. Thus an Abberton inventory of 1740 recorded three acres of clover,

¹ W.R.O., Glebe Terriers, Harvington 1714, Church Lench 1715.

² R. Davis, *A General View of the Agriculture of Oxfordshire*, 1794, p. 11.

³ E. Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution*, 1967, p. 102.

⁴ W. Pitt, *A General View of the Agriculture of Worcestershire*, 1813, p. 316.

TABLE V

CROP PRODUCTION IN OPEN FIELD AND ENCLOSED PARISHES IN THE SOUTH,
1801 AND 1867A *Crop proportions (means)*

	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Pulses</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Turnips*</i>
<i>15 parishes with open field in 1801</i>					
1801	39	29	26	4	3
1867	54	11	25	2	7
<i>25 parishes enclosed in 1801</i>					
1801	42	21	23	8	5
1867	55	12	21	3	9

B *Ranking of parishes according to the number of acres of barley per 100 of wheat*

<i>Ranking</i>	<i>1801</i>		<i>1867</i>	
	<i>Open Field</i>	<i>Non-O.F.</i>	<i>Open Field (1801)</i>	<i>Non-O.F. (1801)</i>
I-10	8	2	3	7
11-20	4	6	4	6
21-30	1	9	4	6
31-40	2	8	4	6
	15	25	15	25

C *Percentage of cropped area under turnips**

<i>Per cent turnips</i>	<i>Number of parishes</i>			
	<i>Open Field 1801</i>		<i>Enclosed 1801</i>	
	<i>1801</i>	<i>1867</i>	<i>1801</i>	<i>1867</i>
Over 15%	1	1	3	3
6-14%	3	8	6	13
Under 6%	3	4	9	8
None	8	2	7	1
	15	15	25	25

* With rape in 1801 and swedes in 1867.

eight acres of vetches and ten acres of pulse "in the Pulse Field."¹ Clearly, where open land was found on light or medium soil suitable for turnip cultivation it was a fairly simple matter to change the old four-course to barley-clover-wheat-turnips,

¹ W.R.O., Inventories, 1740/Woodward.

and it is probable that this was done in parts of the open fields as it was on neighbouring enclosed land.¹

The major difference between production in the common fields and enclosures lay not with the new crops, but with the old, and particularly with the use of barley. The fall in the barley acreage between 1750 and 1867 was quite spectacular, especially on heavy soils such as in region GJ, at the northern end of the lias outcrop. To take an extreme example, the parish of Flyford Flavell devoted 28 per cent of its acreage to the crop in 1801 when it was still in open field but grew none at all in 1867. The neighbouring parish of Dormston, enclosed in 1791, also grew no barley in 1867 but it had already cut back its acreage in 1801 to 14 per cent of the total. Indeed, it appears to have been the general rule that open-field parishes were slower to switch out of barley than enclosed ones. In 1801 the former had a mean of 76 acres of barley per 100 of wheat, compared with 56 for the enclosed parishes. Moreover, ranking the parishes in order of their ratio of barley to wheat, eight of the first ten were open (table v). In 1867 there was little difference in the use of barley in the former open and enclosed parish groups.

III

At the beginning of the study period the north and west included several distinct regional types of cropping system, but there was a basic adherence to a three-course rotation with one year fallow.² The greater part of the area was already enclosed, but initially a large proportion of the arable output still came from the open fields. The enclosed ground lay mainly in grass, and the economy as a whole had a strong pastoral bias at this stage. Subsequently, the output of tillage crops on enclosed ground increased considerably, thus reducing the relative importance of open-field production.³ The amount of open field was also being continually diminished by piecemeal enclosures.

In the mid-sixteenth century the areas peripheral to the south had the more complex rotations, whereas those further removed used simple two-crop combinations. An example of the former is the Droitwich district (DF), in which the normal rotations were wheat and barley-pulses-fallow, and wheat-barley and pulses-fallow, although rye was often substituted for wheat. This area was also a stronghold of open field in the north and west, several parishes remaining open throughout the inventory period and some even after 1801. It is therefore extremely interesting to compare developments there with those in the adjacent champion district.

The record of cropping indicated in fig. IV takes on a somewhat different pattern from that in the south, but there are certain similarities. There is the initial decline in the wheat acreage, mainly in favour of rye, followed by a sharp reversal of that trend during the remainder of the seventeenth century. There is also the early rise in the proportion of spring crops, more marked and longer lasting than in the south.

¹ G. Turner, *A General View of the Agriculture of Gloucestershire*, 1794, p. 43.

² Yelling, 'Combination and Rotation of Crops', *loc. cit.*, pp. 33-41.

³ J. A. Yelling, 'Probate Inventories and the Geography of Livestock Farming: A Study of East Worcestershire 1540-1750', *Trans. Inst. Br. Geog.*, 51, 1970, pp. 111-126.

Again, from about the late seventeenth century the trend is clearly towards an expansion of the wheat acreage and a decline in spring crops, with the exception of oats. The nature of this decline, however, shows some contrast with that in the south; in particular, it is the dominant pulses which suffered the greatest fall in popularity and the reduction of barley was less marked. Above all, the changes in this district occurred at an earlier date and were virtually completed by 1801, the remainder of the period being relatively stable.

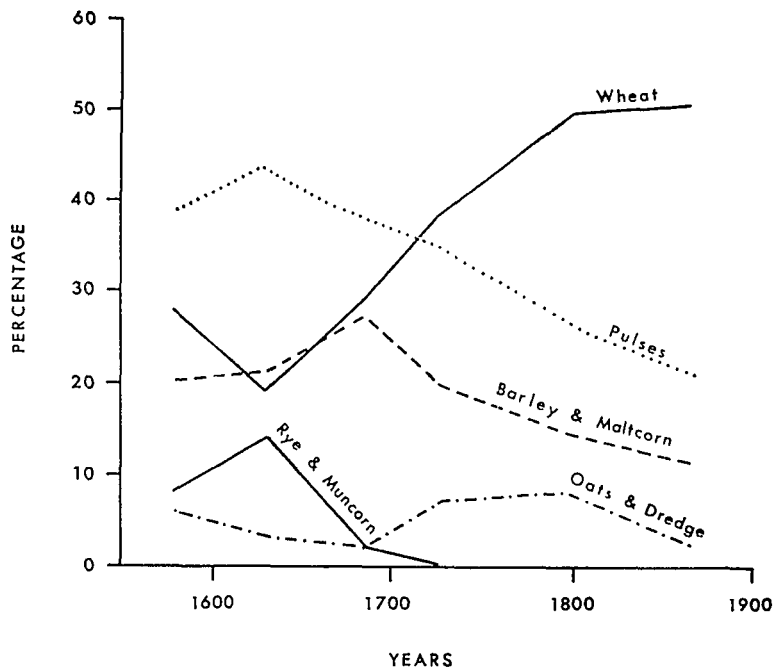


FIG. IV

The Droitwich district: changes in crop proportions, 1540-1867

It is tempting to explain this difference in the chronology of crop changes in terms of the earlier enclosure of the Droitwich district and there is certainly some additional evidence to support this. At the crucial time there are many records of enclosed arable often worked in convertible systems. Several surveys, as at Huddington and Cooksey in 1647, mention enclosed land "at present plowed," and later in a tithe dispute at Dodderhill in 1729, 66 acres of closes were described as "commonly sown with wheat or with peas and beans, and in some years layed down to grass."¹

The evidence from the 1801 returns is less substantial in this district since only three parishes remained predominantly open at that date. These were Bredicot, Crowle, and Tibberton, all lying to the south of Droitwich, in the region which originally grew wheat and barley in one field and pulses in another, with the third

¹ P.R.O., E 317 Worcs. 4 & 6; E 134, 6 Geo. II, Mich. 8.

part fallow. They had all undergone some piecemeal enclosure, for instance 20 per cent of Tibberton's arable was enclosed in 1776 and probably more by 1801.¹ Nevertheless, they do provide some statistics for comparison with five adjacent enclosed parishes (Hadsor, Himbleton, Huddington, Oddingley, and Hindlip); a comparison which lends support to the suggestion that cropping changes were slower to take effect in the open fields.

TABLE VI
CROP PRODUCTION IN OPEN FIELD AND ENCLOSED PARISHES
SOUTH OF DROITWICH, 1801 AND 1867

	<i>Percentage of total cropped acreage</i>				
	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Pulses</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Turnips</i>
<i>3 parishes with open field in 1801</i>					
1801	53	6	35	6	1
1867	52	13	27	2	5
<i>5 parishes enclosed in 1801</i>					
1801	53	10	24	12	1
1867	53	12	23	3	8

The figures given in table VI show that there were differences in the crop proportions used in the two groups of parishes in 1801, and that these had been much reduced by 1867 when all the land was enclosed. However, except in the case of oats, the differences were not the same as those which prevailed in similar circumstances in the south. Instead it was the enclosed parishes which here grew the greater proportion of barley, whilst pulses were the particular speciality of the open fields. Between 1801 and 1867 pulses declined in favour but there was an increase in the use of barley, completely contrary to the trend only a few miles to the south. In both cases the changes were most pronounced in the former open field parishes.

Undoubtedly, these features must be explained in terms of the history of crop combinations and rotations in each district. The boundary between four-course and three-course husbandry, so important in the traditional agricultural geography of East Worcestershire, does not coincide precisely with any physical limit. Yet at the beginning of the study period it was marked by a distinct change in crop combinations (figs. III-IV). The subsequent trends in cropping, or more particularly those since the middle or late seventeenth century, represent a shift from this regional individuality. By 1867 much the same crop combinations were used on either side of the former boundary, and there was also little difference in the proportions of fallow. The similarity is further confirmed in the rotations mentioned in the Tithe Files.² Yet elements of the former arrangements still lingered in 1801,

¹ W.R.O., ref. 1691/32.

² For example, four-course rotations were recorded at Doverdale, Hampton Lovett, and Hindlip, all parishes in the Droitwich district.

particularly in the open fields. In the Droitwich district, the continued emphasis on pulses is an indication of this, whilst the very low proportions of barley probably reflect the fact that this crop was in direct competition with wheat in one shift. Taking into account the conditions in the south, the net result was that in 1801 the old regional boundary was still important as far as open-field husbandry was concerned. On enclosed ground, however, its significance was disappearing fast and it was ignored by contemporary agricultural writers.

IV

In those parts of the north and west which possessed two-crop combinations at the start of the study period the later changes in cropping were more dramatic. This was particularly the case in the north-east (ABE), which originally used mainly rye and oats. By 1867 rye was an insignificant crop and oats of minor importance, although this was still its stronghold in East Worcestershire (fig. v). The north-east was the most enclosed part of the study region, and there can be no suggestion that

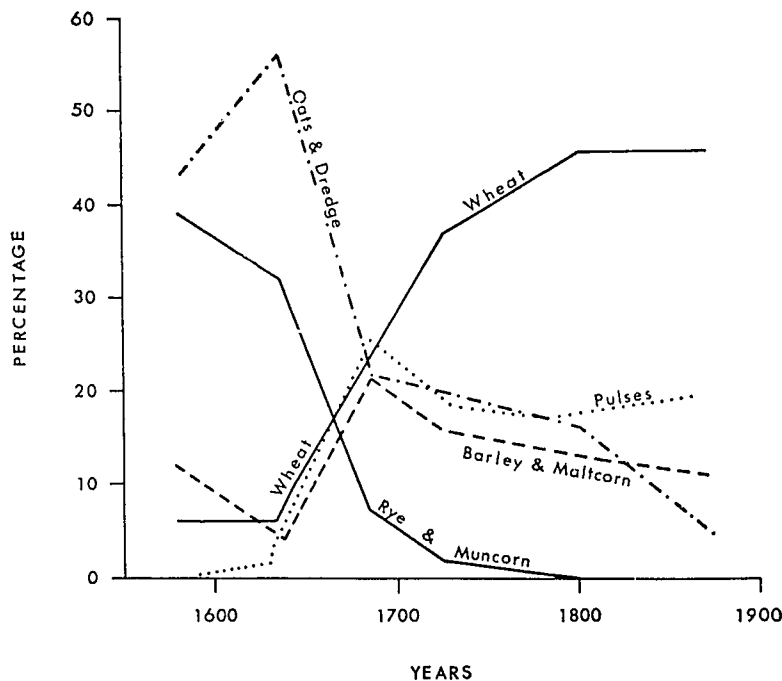


FIG. V

The north-east: changes in crop proportions, 1540-1867

open fields influenced cropping except in the early stages. It is also in this region, above all, that the second half of the seventeenth century appears as the period of revolutionary change. There was a sudden increase in the growth of wheat, barley, and pulses, and a proportionate decrease in rye and oats. Henceforth, crop combinations were more complex, reflecting a more arable economy. After 1700 wheat

became gradually more important at the expense of the other crops, and again the net result in the nineteenth century was a pattern of cropping similar to that in the Droitwich district and the south.

By this time the north-west (C) was really the only region to maintain a marked individuality in its cropping. This was due to its light soils, those in the rest of East Worcestershire being of heavy or medium texture, except on limited patches of superficial deposits. But this region underwent the same substantial alteration in cropping systems as that experienced in other districts and, as in the north-east, the trend was from a simple two-crop combination—in this case rye and barley—towards more complex arrangements (fig. vi).

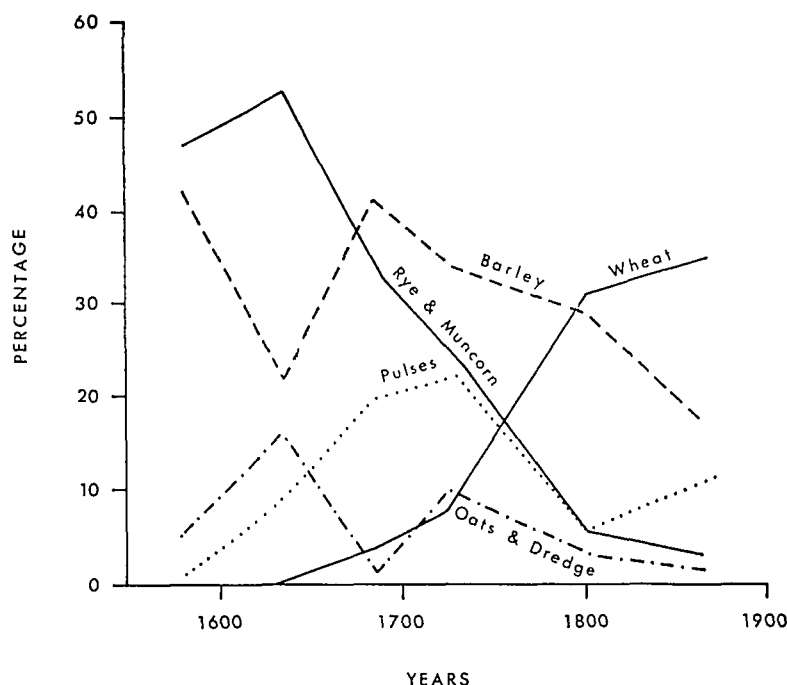


FIG. VI

The north-west: changes in crop proportions, 1540-1867

Unfortunately, the statistical record for region C is not as satisfactory as those for the other regions. Because of its smaller size the acreage of crops recorded in inventories was generally less and only two parishes have surviving 1801 returns. Nevertheless, although the figures may be somewhat erratic, they do show certain fairly reliable features. Because of the light soils the increased use of wheat was here considerably delayed. It only became really significant in the late eighteenth century, and although the most important single crop in 1801, it never achieved the dominance that it possessed in the other regions. Rye remained in use over a correspondingly longer period but was in rapid decline after the early seventeenth

century. Before 1750 the spring crops appear to have played the major role in improvement, and their proportion of the cropped acreage grew to two-thirds by 1700-50, a level higher than in any other region. Barley remained the most important spring crop but pulses in particular became much more widely used. The trend in this direction seems to have been already under way in the early seventeenth century.

In my previous article some arguments were advanced to suggest that open-field arrangements in this district were altered to accommodate the wider variety of spring crops.¹ But such developments could apply only to the early part of the period. Piecemeal enclosure was rife in the area in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and after that only trifling amounts remained to be enclosed by Act. There is in fact some evidence to suggest that enclosure may have been accelerated by changes in cropping. At Ombersley in 1695 it was recorded that the Lord of the Manor had thrown open "an inclosure which was made of a great part of a common field called Awford by several customary tenants of the said manor and sowed with clover," but several other enclosures made for the same purpose remained intact.²

The new crops were of particular importance in this region, although they make little impact on the statistics provided by the inventories. Apart from clover, turnips were a speciality and were recorded sporadically throughout the eighteenth century. By 1801 they occupied 24 per cent of the cropped area compared with 7 per cent in East Worcestershire as a whole, and at this time the Norfolk rotation was in fairly frequent use. By 1867, however, turnips were less popular, being replaced partly by potatoes which found a ready market nearby in Birmingham and the Black Country. The introduction of these new crops therefore produced in this particular district a second phase of crop combination changes to succeed that which brought pulses and then wheat to the fore.

V

In review, crop combinations in East Worcestershire may be said to have undergone a "revolution" between 1540-99 and 1867, but the extent and chronology of change was not the same from one region to another. In most of the enclosed districts the main period of transformation lay roughly between 1650 and 1750, although on the light soils of the extreme north-west further major alterations based on the use of root crops were made in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the champion district the greatest changes took place between 1801 and 1867 following the period of parliamentary enclosure. Comparison of the record of open and enclosed parishes within this area further suggests that during its last stages common-field practice had in some respects become anachronistic.

With regard to the geography of crop combinations there is a marked contrast between the regional diversity of the earlier part of the period and the uniformity

¹ Yelling, 'Combination and Rotation of Crops', *loc. cit.*, pp. 38-9.

² P.R.O., E 134, 5 W. & M., Mich. 54.

which prevailed in 1867, leaving aside the extreme north-west. In part this was a natural response to economic change, since the movement toward a more arable economy would have greatest impact on the poorer soils and in the enclosed districts. But the way in which crops and rotational systems were selected is also important. It is significant that elements of the earlier pattern can still be found in common-field cropping in 1801, *viz* relatively uniform conditions within regions and relatively large changes between regions. Whether these features had always been peculiar to common-field husbandry is not known. But from the mid-seventeenth century, cropping systems on enclosed land were more individualistic, increasing the diversity within the old regions but reducing the significance of the former boundaries. In that this represented a more rational land use in relation to physical conditions it could also have had some impact on crop yields and quality.

Notes and Comments

CLEVELAND & TEESSIDE LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY
Bulletin No. 18 for Autumn 1972 published by the Cleveland & Teesside Local History Society contains articles on the Angles in Northumbria: history and placenames, the population of Stainton in the middle seventeenth century, the Meynell family of Yarm 1770-1813, and mining failure in Cleveland: the Kildale mines. The quarterly Bulletin is issued free to members (annual subscription £1), and the hon. treasurer is Mr D. W. Pattenden, 45 Stanhope Grove, Acklam, Middlesbrough, Teesside, TS5 7SF.

EAST ANGLIAN HISTORY

Readers interested in East Anglian history will be glad to hear that a new handlist of theses completed down to 1971 has now been compiled. Some 200 works are listed, including studies produced for American universities. The handlist is available from Dr A. Hassell Smith, Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich NOR 88C, price 20p.

"PEASANT STUDIES NEWSLETTER"

A new journal, *Peasant Studies Newsletter*, edited by David Sabean, is now being published from the University of Pittsburgh. It includes articles, reviews, notes on meetings, and work in progress relating to peasants in all parts of the world. Subscriptions (\$2 for students, \$3 for individuals, and \$7.50 for

institutions) should be sent to the Department of History, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh Pa. 15213.

"TOOLS AND TILLAGE"

This is the title of an annual journal, now in its fifth year, which is published in English by the National Museum of Denmark. The current issue is edited by Axel Steensberg, Alexander Fenton, and Grith Lerche, and it contains articles by E. J. T. Collins on the diffusion of the threshing machine in Britain, Alexey V. Chernetsov on the origin of the East-European plough and the Russian sokha, and A. T. Lucas on Irish ploughing practices. The journal may be obtained from the agents, Messrs Gyldendal, 3 Klareboderne, DK-1001 Copenhagen K, Denmark, price 4 US dollars. Copies of Volume 1, numbers 1-4, are available at 3 US dollars.

BATH AND WEST ARCHIVES

The first nineteen volumes of the original Minute and Correspondence books of the Bath and West Society, covering the period from 1777 to the mid-nineteenth century, have been microfilmed and sets of the microfilms are available at a cost of £45. A discount of £5.50 will be allowed on all orders received before 31 January 1973. A brief index and contents list may be obtained from The Secretary, Bath and West and Southern

continued on page 46

The Cost of Parliamentary Enclosure in Buckinghamshire¹

By MICHAEL E. TURNER

IN a recent article on 'Sources for the History of Agriculture' W. B. Stephens made very slight reference to the sources for a study of parliamentary enclosure. For extra-award material he was content to say, "If they exist, other enclosure records such as surveys, field books and valuations may give fuller details."² Many years earlier on the other hand, W. E. Tate devoted a whole essay to a discussion of these "unexplored Records."³

The purpose of this paper is to use the information available for Buckinghamshire to demonstrate some of these extra-award sources.⁴ For some enclosures only the commissioners' minute book survives, but in other cases the complete working papers exist incorporating minute book, surveyors' quantity and quality books, accounts, draft copies of bills, Acts, and awards, and full correspondence.⁵

Professor Beresford, producing a table based on fifty-three enclosures, has previously demonstrated that the time between the passing of an Act and the completion of an award was often a lengthy one.⁶ There are two further considerations which must be discussed both of which are revealed in the extra-award materials. First, the time between the passing of an Act and the signing of the award by no means completed the enclosure. There was often a lengthy pre-Act period during which the parliamentary Bill was prepared and opinion in the parish obtained, and also an equally lengthy post-award period during which the commissioners settled any outstanding financial business.⁷ Second, the completion of the award was often postponed either because of absenteeism by the commissioners or failure by the proprietors to meet the enclosure expenses.

The commissioners figure prominently in the stage of soliciting the Bill. They were often approached long before the Act was passed and employed by the leading promoters to sound out opinion in the parish, and as they were frequently land surveyors they might undertake preliminary surveys.⁸ For the Bledlow enclosure

¹ I am obliged to Dr B. A. Holderness of the University of East Anglia for his useful comments.

² W. B. Stephens, 'Sources for the History of Agriculture in the English Village and their Treatment', *Ag. Hist.*, XLIII, 2, 1969, p. 233.

³ W. E. Tate, 'Some Unexplored Records of the Enclosure Movement', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 57, 1942, pp. 250-63.

⁴ The material is catalogued under parishes in the Bucks. Record Office, Aylesbury, hereafter B.R.O.

⁵ I am obliged to Mr E. J. Davis, County Archivist, and his staff for their kind assistance in making the material available to me.

⁶ M. W. Beresford, 'The Commissioners of Enclosure', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, XVI, 1946, p. 137 (reprinted in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *Essays in Agrarian History*, II, 1968, p. 98).

⁷ H. Homer, *Essay . . . upon the inclosure of common fields*, Oxford, 1766, p. 36, says four-fifths of the property was necessary for consent.

⁸ W. E. Tate discusses professions of commissioners in 'Oxfordshire Enclosure Commissioners, 1737-1856', *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XXIII, 2, 1951, pp. 137-45. See also Beresford, *op. cit.*

(1809-12), the commissioners received a total of £444 for attendances prior to the Act.¹ This, plus the solicitors fee and the fee for the Act itself, represented a sizeable proportion of the final cost. For the abortive Quainton Bill of 1801 there must have been much expenditure. John Fellows, many times a commissioner, was employed by the promoters of the Bill between 1799 and 1810 to present frequent reports expressing the advantages of an enclosure.² In a lengthy letter he explained the disadvantages of open-field cultivation and the merits of enclosure. Not only would rents be doubled but much common ground and waste would be brought under cultivation. Besides, "Quainton Field is the only one in that part of the county of Buckingham that remains uninclosed;³ unless a division and inclosure of the open fields of Quainton is carried into execution, that property will ever remain in that unimproved state which it has been in for centuries past, to the disgrace of that part, with so many others of the County of Buckingham, which are so much behind in the improvement of agriculture compared with so many other counties."⁴ However, Quainton was to remain open for a further forty years.

W. E. Tate, after an examination of the House of Commons Journals, held that of the possible modes of protest against enclosure, counter-petitions were not the favourite.⁵ The evidence for Buckinghamshire confirms this view, though in some cases successful appeal to Parliament was made. The prelude to enclosure was a time in which parish opinion was investigated, and, if necessary, dissension was met by the buying of property. The size of solicitors' fees indicate that this pre-Act period of persuasion was often lengthy. A few examples will illustrate the point. Soliciting the Act for the enclosure of Drayton Parslow (1797-8) represented 11 per cent of the total cost,⁶ for Stewkley (1811-17) it was 9 per cent,⁷ and for the enclosure of the waste of Olney (1803) it was 27 per cent.⁸ The results of this pre-Act period might be summarized in a schedule showing consenting and dissenting parties, which could be used as evidence when petitioning Parliament. Table 1 is a representative sample taken from the extra-award material for Buckinghamshire.⁹

Quainton provides an interesting study. Table 1 figures suggest that the promoters of the Bill had secured the necessary four-fifths majority. Mantoux observed that the average size of the consenters was £28 8s. 3d. and that of the opposition

¹ Bledlow Enclosure Account Book: B.R.O., IR/M/2.

² In Buckinghamshire between 1788 and 1821 he served on twenty-nine commissions. In addition he served as surveyor eight times and twice as umpire. In Oxfordshire he was commissioner once and surveyor twice: *A Handlist of Inclosure Acts and Awards relating to the county of Oxfordshire*, Oxford C.C. Record Publication, No. 2, 1963. In Bedfordshire he was commissioner on fifteen occasions and surveyor on four occasions, *ex. inf.* Miss McGregor, Bedford County Record Office.

³ Thirty years before Arthur Young remarked, "From Aylesbury to Buckingham the whole country is open fields." *The Farmer's Tour through the East of England*, London, 1771, I, p. 23.

⁴ Letter of 14 May 1801, Quainton Working Papers, B.R.O., IR/M/9.

⁵ W. E. Tate, 'Parliamentary Counter-Petitions during the Enclosures of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LIX, 1944, pp. 392-403.

⁶ Drayton Parslow Enclosure Commissioners' Minute Book: B.R.O.

⁷ Stewkley Enclosure Account Book: B.R.O., IR/M/10/6.

⁸ Olney Enclosure Working Papers: B.R.O., IR/M/16.

⁹ The method of obtaining parish opinion was related to the Land Tax Assessments. It was therefore the majority in value and not the majority in number.

was £1 16s., "thus the opposition was of small landowners."¹ Unfortunately he was influenced by the transcript in the House of Commons Journal. The issue was clouded because the above figures took into account old enclosures as well as open-field land. The position in the open field was that of a total of 44½ yardlands proposed for enclosure, the consenting parties totalled 23⅞ yardlands, the dissenters 18⅝ yardlands, and the neuters 2 yardlands.

TABLE I

Parish	Act	Consents			Dissents			Neuter			Other		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Stoke Mandeville	1797	83	10	8	10	6	0	78	1	8	18	4	0
Weston Turville	1798	302	2	10	4	18	0	27	3	0½	—		
					(1 owner)								
Iver	1801	838	15	11	167	2	0	112	7	0	10	12	0
Quainton*	1801	203	5	11¾	39	12	6½	6	13	6	—		
		(8 owners)			(22 owners)			(4 owners)					
Olney	1803	(75 Common Rts.			—			5 Common Rts.			—)		
Bledlow	1809	231	1	11¾	40	2	3	76	16	5¾	0	16	8¾
Princes Risborough	1820	242	15	5½	154	2	0	83	9	7	1	4	3
Monks Risborough	1830	301	1	3	7	16	6	17	10	9	—		
		(69 owners)			(6 owners)			(9 owners)					

* Taken from the *Journal of the House of Commons*, LVI, p. 544.

The above results for Monks Risborough came at the end of a very bitter struggle between the leading landowners and the poor of the parish. Our main source of evidence is the correspondence between the Earl of Buckingham and his agent in London.² The outcome of a counter-petition presented on behalf of the poor was that the agent proceeded to, "procure the attendance of certain Lords onto the committee of inquiry."³ The Bill was eventually passed, but not before a unique clause was inserted appointing a special commissioner for the poor. The agent conveys the news to the Earl thus, "Sir John Dashwood King is appointed commissioner for the poor, it is a matter of no consequence he is a blundering blockhead and in fact will not trouble himself about the matter."⁴ In fact this was to be far from the truth: the commissioners' minute book is witness to a struggle between King and the other commissioners before the allotment for the poor was finally settled.⁵

The counter-petition that was presented to Parliament at the Princes Risborough

¹ P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, 12th ed. London, 1955, pp. 170-1.

² Monks Risborough Enclosure Working Papers: B.R.O., IR/M/176/1.

³ Letter 13 April 1830. ⁴ Letter 21 May 1830.

⁵ Monks Risborough Enclosure Minute Book, I: B.R.O., IR/M/8; II: B.R.O. AR/54/65.

enclosure stated that the small estates were already mortgaged to the extent of one-half to two-thirds of their value and therefore it would be difficult to find a person to advance more money to meet the enclosure expenses. The petitioners further stated that if the Bill were passed they would have to sell, become day-labourers, and soon add to the number of paupers, as happened at nearby Bledlow.¹ The Bill was passed when it was proposed to defray the expenses of the enclosure by the sale of land, and besides, "Parliament was now favoured so much towards enclosure that it was difficult to find a member to oppose it."²

The Bill, having become an Act, was followed by the actual allotting of the parish. This was often a very lengthy procedure for which the surviving minute books and miscellaneous papers are irreplaceable sources. When, in 1947, Professor Beresford compiled his lists of commissioners' minute books he detailed eight for the county of Buckinghamshire.³ There are now, at the time of writing, twenty-four minute books in bound volumes and an incomplete set of draft minutes for one other enclosure.

W. E. Tate observed that John Davis of Bloxham "was the Oxfordshire commissioner who sat oftenest of all" (thirty-six commissions between 1793-1819), and that he had "been in many counties and employed on 26 commissions of enclosure at the same time."⁴ In Buckinghamshire he was employed on thirteen commissions between 1796 and 1813. It is hardly surprising that the minute books record that Davis, of all other commissioners, was most frequently absent from meetings. For the Moulsoe enclosure (1802) he attended only half the recorded meetings, whereas for the Stewkley Enclosure (1811) it appears he attended only those meetings which dealt with the draft award.⁵ In other commissions frequent absenteeism is recorded for all commissioners, the resulting adjournments sometimes serving to prolong the enclosure unnecessarily and adding further to the final cost. The commissioners for the Weston Turville enclosure met on only fifty-nine days between June 1798 and July 1800.⁶ The Langley Marish enclosure minute book records seventeen meetings of a total length of only fifty-three days between April 1809 and February 1813. This was an enclosure prolonged by three adjournments of six months each.⁷ The commissioners to the Monks Risborough enclosure (1830-39) failed to meet once between November 1836 and May 1839. On a resumption the first business to be conducted was to record the changes in land-ownership that had occurred since the draft award was constructed.⁸ On other occasions the commissioners blame the proprietors for any unnecessary delays. In the enclosures of Little Woolstone (1791-2), Stoke Mandeville (1797-8), and Bled-

¹ For a discussion of the poor of Bledlow see Pamela L. R. Horn 'Bledlow and the Lancashire Cotton Industry', *Records of Buckinghamshire* xviii, pt iv, 1969, pp. 318-23.

² Contained in Princes Risborough Working Papers: B.R.O., IR/M/1-7.

³ M. W. Beresford, 'Minutes of Enclosure Commissioners', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, xxi, 1947, pp. 59-69.

⁴ Tate, *op. cit.* (1951), pp. 144-5.

⁵ Moulsoe Commissioners' Minute Book: B.R.O.; Carrington MSS., Box 8a, Moulsoe Settled Estates Bundle No. 11; Stewkley Minute Book: B.R.O., IR/M/10/2.

⁶ Weston Turville Enclosure Working Papers: B.R.O., IR/M/3.

⁷ Langley Marish Working Papers: B.R.O., IR/M/55. ⁸ Monks Risborough Enclosure Minute Book.

low (1809–12) several proprietors remained in arrear in paying the commissioners' rate, thus preventing the closing of the accounts. The commissioners to the Stoke Mandeville enclosure circulated a letter stating that "solely on account of some of the proprietors not having paid their proportions of the rates, the commissioners were not able at their last meeting to close their accounts and sign the award, and they lament the necessity of increasing the general expenses by further meetings, and are further determined that unless all the arrears are forthwith paid . . . they will levy the same by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the defaulters or by entering upon their allotments in pursuance and according to the directions of the act."¹

The commissioners' minute books can also be used to plot the movements of the more active commissioners.² It would be possible to reconstruct the day-to-day diary of a commissioner by an inspection of the minute books. For the twenty-nine commissions on which John Fellows served there are seven minute books. During the years 1797–8 he was engaged in at least six enclosures in Buckinghamshire and a further six enclosures in Bedfordshire.

Perhaps the most profitable way we can use extra-award material is in a discussion of the cost of enclosure. Prior to 1774, when a change in the standing orders of the House of Commons made it obligatory for commissioners to keep separate financial schedules,³ we are dependent for our information on the schedules that were usually appended to the awards. This practice continued in Buckinghamshire until the early 1790's but was discontinued and not resumed until after the General Act of 1845, when land was sold to defray costs. Thus, for more than half a century our information on costs as shown in the awards is non-existent. This period includes the decade of the 1790's and early 1800's when enclosure was at its height in the county of Buckingham. In his study of Warwickshire, Dr Martin was fortunate in that most of the parliamentary enclosure for that county occurred during the eighteenth century.⁴ However, the extra-award material is a much richer source for costs than the awards themselves. From a study of this material it would appear that former estimates based on awards alone may well be too low. Certainly the studies of Martin (Warwickshire), Tate (Oxfordshire and Nottinghamshire), and Swales (Lincolnshire) draw very few examples from the nineteenth century.⁵

¹ Stoke Mandeville Enclosure Minute Book: B.R.O., IR/M/II.

² Three Buckinghamshire Minute Books have been edited: G. Eland, 'Enclosure Commissioners' Minutes for Drayton Parslow, Bucks., 1797–1801', *Records of Buckinghamshire* XI, 25, 1923, pp. 256–64; E. J. Davis, 'An Eighteenth-Century Minute Book relating to Meetings held by Enclosure Commissioners for the parishes of Hartwell and Stone, 1776–7', *ibid.*, xv, 2, 1948, pp. 97–106; E. J. Davis, 'An Eighteenth-Century Minute Book: Minutes of the Meetings held by the Commissioners for the Enclosure of the parish of Weston Turville, 1798–1800', *ibid.*, xv, 3, 1949.

³ W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land*, Oxford, 1920, p. 155.

⁴ J. M. Martin, 'The Cost of Parliamentary Enclosure in Warwickshire', *Univ. Birm. Hist. Jour.*, ix, 1964, pp. 144–62 (reprinted in E. L. Jones (ed.), *Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1650–1815*, 1967, pp. 129–51).

⁵ W. E. Tate, 'The Cost of Parliamentary Enclosure in England (with special reference to the county of Oxford)', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., v, 1952, pp. 258–65; T. H. Swales, 'The Parliamentary Enclosures of Lindsey', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of Lincs. & Northants.*, XLII, 1937, pp. 233–74; n.s., II, 1938, pp. 85–120.

An enclosure award cannot specify any expenditure incurred after it was signed, but further expenditure there certainly was. In Buckinghamshire there are eleven minute books that record meetings after the award was signed. There are also account books with entries going well beyond both award and minute books, and there are also miscellaneous papers recording expenditure after the award. The usual reason for holding a post-award meeting was to settle outstanding accounts and, if necessary, to issue warrants of distress upon those proprietors who had not paid their share of the expenses. It was not unusual for more money to be extracted from the proprietors.

The commissioners of the Drayton Parslow enclosure (1797-8) held a meeting a full three years after the award was signed and the accounts were published. It was discovered that the original estimates for the roads were inadequate, making it necessary to levy a further rate of £214 7s. 2d. on the proprietors which increased the cost per acre by 4s. For the enclosure of Iver (1800-4), the minute book ends abruptly in 1802. However, from the miscellaneous bills and accounts we can estimate the cost of enclosure at 94s. per acre, which must be regarded as only the minimum estimate. If the minute book or miscellaneous papers were complete the final cost might well appear as in excess of £5 per acre.¹ The Great Kimble minutes indicate that there were still arrears on the general expenses owed by certain proprietors five years after the award was signed.²

The only surviving extra-award information for the Wing enclosure (1797-8) is the account book.³ In it are recorded the individual cost items, the parliamentary expenses, the commissioners and surveyors fees, and the public expenses. In fact it is little more than the schedule which was formally appended to the awards and is therefore contemporary with the award. For the Langley Marish enclosure (1809-13) the account book and the minute book both survive. However, the last entry in the account book is October 1811, nearly two years before the award was completed and there is record of a further rate of nearly £300 in the post-award period. This leads one to speculate that the schedule contained in the Wing Account Book, detailed above, may well be incomplete.

The Bledlow enclosure provides an interesting case study. The total cost from the minute book differs from the total in the miscellaneous bills and accounts, and both differ from the total in the account book. The award was signed in August 1812 but the last entry in the account book was for April 1812. On completing the award it was found that the road account was in arrears for which a further rate of nearly £600 was ordered, which of course is not entered in the account book. Again, in April 1815, another rate was ordered for the road account. The total recorded in the account book was £10,203, while the total in the miscellaneous papers was £13,104, a difference of 28 per cent. Again we may speculate on the final outcome of the Wing enclosure, and for that matter on all enclosures where cost details do

¹ B.R.O.: Way Papers Bundle 70; Iver Enclosure Working Papers: B.R.O., IR/M/122.

² Great Kimble, Little Kimble and Ellesborough Enclosure Minute Book: B.R.O., AR/54/65.

³ Wing Enclosure Account Book: B.R.O., IR/M/14.

not post-date the awards. For the Stewkley enclosure of 1811-14 also, a post-award rate was ordered, this time for nearly £700. This is recorded in the account books the last audit of which was held in July 1815. However, the commissioners held a further series of meetings between November 1816 and May 1817 when it was found that another rate was necessary. Unfortunately, this last rate is not specified, but from the account book it appears that the total cost was nearly £13,000, an average cost of 96s. per acre. It seems likely that the final cost may have been in excess of £5.

Princes Risborough provides another interesting study.¹ In the pre-act stage of soliciting the Bill, William Collisson, a very experienced commissioner and land surveyor, attempted to estimate the possible expense of the forthcoming enclosure. The following table is the estimate he made compared with the eventual cost.²

TABLE II
ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURE ON THE PRINCES RISBOROUGH ENCLOSURE
(1820-1823)

	<i>Collisson's minimum estimate</i>	<i>Collisson's maximum estimate</i>	<i>Actual cost</i>		
	£	£	£	s.	d.
Soliciting the Act	1,000	1,250	837	0	10
Clerk	1,000	1,250	1,014	12	5
3 commissioners	1,200	1,500	1,400	12	0
Surveyor	1,200	1,400	1,486	8	7
Roads	1,200	1,800	3,930	14	3
Public fences	1,400	1,800	853	9	5
Other	300	500	248	3	0
		Bridges	209	17	1
		Tillage	521	10	5
		Left in surveyor's hands to disburse for fences, bridges, roads and tillage	1,219	15	10
Total	7,300	9,500	11,722	3	10

Even one as experienced as William Collisson could not foresee the enormous scale of the public expenses. The fears expressed by the opposers to this enclosure were well founded. The Bill was originally passed with the intention of defraying the costs by the sale of land. In fact, such sales totalled £10,382, and therefore £1,340 had to be raised by rates on the proprietors including a rate after the award was com-

¹ The materials bearing on this enclosure have been studied at length: T. W. Davis, 'The Inclosure of Princes Risborough 1823', unpub. essay, B.R.O., Miscellaneous Essays.

² William Collisson of Brackley, Northants., served as commissioner on fourteen occasions in Buckinghamshire (1788-1820). He also served outside the county: Tate, *op. cit.* (1951), p. 141.

pleted. As it stands, the last column above must be regarded as incomplete. It was constructed from the account book whereas from an investigation of individual bills it appears that the clerk's fee was at least £1,457 and the cost of soliciting the Act £956. William Collisson made a similar estimate for the Amersham enclosure but in this case he slightly overestimated.¹ The evidence suggests that even where apparently extensive information from commissioners' working papers is available, former estimates of the cost of enclosure may be too low. The incidence of post-award expenditure is too great to be disregarded and indicates that the cost of enclosure in the eighteenth century was greater than past research would have us believe. Compare in table III the nineteenth-century examples given by Dr Martin for Warwickshire and my estimates for Buckinghamshire (which were derived entirely from extra-award material).

TABLE III
COST OF PARLIAMENTARY ENCLOSURE IN WARWICKSHIRE AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

<i>Warwickshire*</i>			<i>Buckinghamshire</i>		
<i>Parish</i>	<i>Cost £</i>	<i>Cost/acre (shillings)</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Cost £</i>	<i>Cost/acre (shillings)</i>
1801 Welford	2,384	73.9	1800 Iver	12,308	93.9
1805 Sutton	2,646	59.1	1803 Olney	334	46.8
1812 Hampton	1,304	43.4	1809 Langley	5,427	89.4
1824 Bickenhill	3,753	45.1	1809 Bledlow	13,104	105.8
1831 Wolverton	3,259	122.7	1811 Stewkley	12,952	95.6
1850 Blackwell	1,420	37.0	1815 Amersham	3,756	77.1
1850 Whitnash	1,090	42.6	1820 Princes Risborough	11,722	81.6
1865 Armscote	3,598	71.7	1830 Monks Risborough	13,337	139.3
			1830 Whaddon	5,162	49.2
			1838 Astwood	1,093	66.5
			1840 Quainton	3,393	45.5
			1841 Great Horwood	4,073	37.6
			1842 Buckland	3,417	86.1
Average of 8 enclosures		61.7	Average of 13 enclosures		78.0

* Martin, *op. cit.* (1967), p. 147.

It is clear that in the nineteenth century the cost of enclosure was higher in Buckinghamshire than in Warwickshire. However, table IV below compares the two counties in the eighteenth century and the results are very similar. This time the figures for Buckinghamshire are taken from the awards.

Owing to dependence on the awards the cost of enclosure in the eighteenth century, evidently, has been underestimated. Unfortunately, there is little contem-

¹ See Amersham Enclosure Commissioners' Minute Book: B.R.O., IR/M/4., for the actual expenditure, and *Memo Book of Business done and Journeys taken in and about the Inclosure of Amersham by William Collisson*, B.R.O., AR/51/70, for details of the estimate.

porary evidence to support this claim. However, we do know that the enclosure of the parish of Twyford (1774-6) was not complete when the award was signed. Why else would two replacement commissioners be appointed a full eleven years after, if not to complete the enclosure?¹ The total cost in the award of 1776 was £1,523, which was 16s. per acre. The final cost up to and perhaps after 1787 may have been much more. The total cost of the enclosure of the parish of Shenley Brook End (1762-3) is given as £612 in the award. The individual cost to the leading landowner is given as £344. However, a unique account book survives of the money expended by this landowner on the enclosure, covering a period nearly two years after the award was signed.² We discover that his final bill from the commissioners was £450, a difference of 30 per cent from the amount stated in the award.

TABLE IV
COST OF PARLIAMENTARY ENCLOSURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN
WARWICKSHIRE AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

	<i>Warwickshire*</i> (Average cost/acre in shillings)		<i>Buckinghamshire</i> (Average cost/acre in shillings)	
Pre 1760	11.0	17 awards	—	
1760-1769	13.7	20 awards	16.8	10 awards
1770-1779	19.6	29 awards	20.6	18 awards
1780-1789	19.7	6 awards	24.1	4 awards
1790-1799	34.08	9 awards	34.3	5 awards†

* *Ibid.*, p. 132.

† It is significant that for four other enclosures in the 1790's for which extra-award information is available the average cost is 42.8s. per acre.

The discussion so far has mentioned costs, but what of the complementary financing of enclosure?³ The evidence in the extra-award material is not very extensive but some general findings are possible. The frequent references made to defaulters in the minute books suggest either difficulty in meeting expenses or refusal to pay. The impression obtained supports the former view, although, the threat of a warrant of distress always prevailed. The completion of an award was often delayed because of the inability to meet the commissioners' rates.

Acts sometimes provided special facility for charity lands and school lands to defray their expenses by land deductions or land sales. In the Bledlow enclosure of 1809-12, the Provost of Eton was allowed to sell about 47 acres for £1,577 in order to defray the general expenses and meet the cost of fencing. This still left Eton with over 500 acres in the award.⁴ In the Whaddon enclosure

¹ Twyford Enclosure Award, B.R.O. Inrolment, vol. 2; appendix made 20 December 1767.

² Knapp MSS. Box 10: *Account of Moneys disbursed by Matthew Knapp on Shenley Brook End Enclosure, 1762-4.*

³ I am obliged to Dr L. S. Pressnell of the City University for some useful suggestions on the financing of enclosure.

⁴ Bledlow Minute Book and award: B.R.O. Inrolment, vol. 7.

of 1830-1, the trustees of certain charity lands had land deducted from their proposed allotments to the value of their proportion of the expenses. In the same enclosure this opportunity was extended to other landowners. A certain Martha Horwood's share of the expenses at Whaddon were £148. The commissioners sold on her behalf 12 acres of land for £225 in order that she might defray her share of the general expenses and also fence her allotment. A fee of £10 was deducted by the commissioners for arranging the sale. Thus £67 was deemed sufficient for fencing her allotment (which was 53 acres in the eventual award).¹ In the Weston Turville enclosure (1798-1800) two of the interested parties requested time in which to pay their respective proportions of the expenses. The Mercers Company wanted three months' grace because "it would be very unpleasant for the company to sell stock at the present time, when in three months they will have effects to pay their proportion." A somewhat smaller proprietor requested time "for the sale of timber on the property at a sum nearly sufficient to pay her share."² At the time of the last entry in the minute book this proprietor was still in arrears and a warrant of distress was ordered.

Provision was nearly always given in the Acts for money to be raised on estates by mortgage. In the enclosure of Shenley Brook End already referred to, the following is an extract from the account book of the leading landowner:

	£	s.	d.
Proportionate share of the General Expenses	449	17	2
Capital Improvement (includes fencing and re-siting of buildings and labour)	1,067	8	6
Whole sum disbursed on the Enclosure	£1,517	5	8
The sum taken upon the estate by Mortgage	£1,300	0	0

This landowner was able to raise sufficient on his estate to defray his share of the commissioners' rates, but the total cost of his land improvement exceeded the income raised on the estate by £217 5s. 8d.³ The amount of borrowing by mortgage varied through time. The Act for Little Woolstone (1791) allowed up to £2 per acre to be raised on property. For Stoke Mandeville (1797) it had risen to £3. The Iver Act (1800) allowed £3 per acre on the newly enclosed land and 10s. per acre on homesteads and old enclosures.⁴ Subsequently it became the general rule to allow up to £5 per acre. In some cases this would be inadequate to defray the general expenses, not to mention the additional expense of fencing. Iver is a typical example. As stated above, up to £3 per acre could be raised whereas the cost of the enclosure was nearly £5 per acre.

One of the objections to the Princes Risborough enclosure was that the final cost

¹ Whaddon Enclosure Minute Book: B.R.O., IR/M/13. Thus at Whaddon the general expense was 49.2s. per acre and the fencing cost 25.3s. per acre.

² Miscellaneous letters of 24 June 1799, 11 February 1800. ³ Knapp MSS., *op. cit.*

⁴ Little Woolstone Act, 31 Geo. III, c. 21, 1791; Stoke Mandeville Act, 37 Geo., c. 114, 1797; Iver Act, 40 Geo. III, c. 55, 1800.

of the neighbouring Bledlow enclosure was £11 per acre. From the working papers of the Bledlow enclosure we know that the general expenses were just over £5 per acre, and therefore the cost of fencing was greater than the general cost. Clearly the physical act of enclosing might be as expensive as the general costs. The ring or outward fencing was an expense which could not be postponed. The commissioners were empowered to order that the fencing be completed within a short time after the signing of the award, usually three months but sometimes up to twelve: "when they had got their land, there was the expense of quicking and inclosing it, for the commissioners would not give a proper title to the inclosure if it was not in order."¹ In his book *Good Neighbours*, Walter Rose describes the enclosure of Haddenham (1830): "they [the villagers] knew that the commissioners' fees, together with the cost of remaking the public roads, the planting of hedges, digging of ditches, and the erection of fences . . . would all be chargeable on the land, not, as it is now, a debt spread over a period for payment, but to be paid forthwith."²

Regardless of the expense to the individual there was the need for the commissioners to obtain finances to administer the day-to-day running of the enclosure proceedings. Until the proprietors were ordered to contribute to a commissioners' rate, other sources of finance had to be found. Dr Pressnell has made generous use of commissioners' minute books to illustrate the appointment of bankers.³ For the soliciting stage, before the Act was passed, it was common for the solicitor to conduct the business with his own resources, for which service he would be granted interest of 5 per cent. When a banker had been appointed credit could be drawn. In the Quanton enclosure (1840-3) the commissioners drew £800 in advance from the bank before any money had been levied on the proprietors. The money was used to pay the parliamentary fees and solicitors' fees and the interest thereon, and was in effect a transfer of debt.⁴ A general rate was not ordered until the following May. At the Bledlow enclosure (1809-12) there was a request for an advance of £500 from the bankers. The following year the enclosure was "found to be much in debt to the bankers," and a rate had to be levied on the proprietors to defray this debt.⁵ At the first meeting of the Monks Risborough enclosure (1830-9) the commissioners appointed William Rickford of Aylesbury as banker and immediately drew £2,000 on credit.⁶

On occasions the proprietors were requested to advance funds. Entries in the Hanslope account book (1778-79) suggest that the Lord of the Manor and the owner of the impropriate tithes both advanced money for the enclosure.⁷ In the Iver enclosure (1800-4), a letter from the clerk requests the advance or loan of money. It was desired to complete the roads as soon as possible but could not be done "unless

¹ H. Harman, *Buckinghamshire Dialect*, London, 1929, p. 96.

² Walter Rose, *Good Neighbours: Some Recollections of an English Village and its People*, 1942, p. 4.

³ L. S. Pressnell, *Country Banking In the Industrial Revolution*, 1956, pp. 276-9, 349-55.

⁴ Quanton Minute Book, entry of 16 December 1840.

⁵ Bledlow Minute Book, entries of 30 March 1810; 4 January 1811.

⁶ Monks Risborough Minute Book, entry of 17 June 1830.

⁷ Hanslope Enclosure Working Papers: B.R.O., AR/36/69(L).

some of the principal proprietors will consent to advance the money the commissioners request."¹ At the Moulsoe enclosure (1802-3), it was the wish of the commissioners that Lord Carrington furnish them with "sufficient money or by other means enable them to discharge the several bills of expenses at their next meeting."² On other occasions the bankers not only advanced loans to the commissioners but were requested to aid certain charity lands. At Quainton, for example, "the Trustees of the School and Bridge Land request a loan to pay expenses, the clerk is directed to write to the Bankers in the hope of inducing them to accommodate the Trustees with the loan to be repaid by instalments."³

In general, however, our knowledge of the financing of enclosure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is still inadequate. To reiterate Dr Pressnell's view, "the finance of this outlay is one of the least explored features of agricultural and financial history."⁴

This essay sprang from the need to edit the extra-award material which is available for a study of Buckinghamshire Parliamentary Enclosures. Some important issues, particularly related to costs and finance have been explored in depth. If one major conclusion be permitted it is that our former attitude to the cost of enclosure needs reconsideration. It seems highly probable that the cost of enclosure was of a far greater dimension than generally believed.

¹ Letter of 7 April 1801 from the clerk of the Iver Commission to Benjamin Way: Way Papers, Bundle 70, Item 23.

² Moulsoe Minute Book, entry of 24 February 1803.

³ Quainton Minute Book, entry of 6 May 1842. ⁴ Pressnell, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

NOTES AND COMMENTS *continued from page 34*

Counties Society, 3 Pierrepont Street, Bath BA1 1LD.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The British Agricultural History Society's twenty-first AGM was convened at University College London on Saturday, 25 November 1972 and unanimously passed the following amendment to section 4 of the Constitution submitted by the Executive Committee: "The annual subscription shall be three pounds 50p., due on 1st February." The remainder of the meeting was adjourned until Tuesday, 10 April 1973, at Matlock College of Education, Derbyshire.

THE WINTER CONFERENCE

The one-day conference of the B.A.H.S. was held at University College, London on Saturday, 25 November 1972. The subject was

"Agriculture and the history of drink." The morning session featured papers on "Port in English history" by Dr H. E. S. Fisher, and "The history of cider since 1870" by Prof. W. E. Minchinton (both of the University of Exeter). A lively discussion ensued. The afternoon session was devoted to stronger liquors with papers on "The distilling industry and Scottish agriculture, 1780-1830" by R. B. Weir (University of York), and "Gin and juniper" by Dr Lena Ward (Monks Wood Experimental Station, The Nature Conservancy). These were followed by an interesting discussion. The conference showed that the demands of the drink industry have had many far-reaching effects on the development of agriculture which have not always been fully realized, and that the subject remains one where further research would be fruitful.

A Relatively Neglected Field Form: the Headland Ridge¹

By ALAN R. H. BAKER

NUMEROUS discussions have appeared in this and other journals on the relationships between the technology of ploughs and the morphology of fields. Indeed, protracted debates have been conducted on the origins, functions, and characteristics of a number of individual field forms—notably “Celtic fields,” strip lynchets, balks, and ridge-and-furrow.² In recent years, the hedgerow seems to have attracted most attention.³ But there exists one feature, now rapidly being destroyed by modern farming methods, which has been relatively neglected: the headland ridge. H. C. Bowen’s admirable survey of vanishing earthworks and landscapes, for example, contained no reference to headland ridges.⁴ The purpose of this note is both to draw attention to this particular field form in a general way and to record some observations made on headland ridges in France.

These low earthen ridges have not gone entirely unnoticed in the English landscape. M. W. Beresford and J. K. St Joseph noted that written estate surveys frequently used the word “balk” to refer not to a grass boundary between strips but to the grass access-way between furlongs. They claimed that many aerial photographs show these access-ways and that centuries of ploughing had sometimes lowered the general level of the surrounding soil, so that they remained as grassy banks above the general level of the fields.⁵ Unfortunately, they did not include a photograph showing clearly these field forms in their aerial survey of medieval England. This particular lack was remedied in the Royal Commission on Historical Monument’s archaeological survey of the river gravels of England, which also noted briefly the existence of these low ridges, notably in the Welland valley of Lincolnshire, and interpreted them intuitively as being boundaries separating furlongs in medieval and later open fields.⁶ More recently, C. C. Taylor has observed that much of the lower slopes of the chalklands of south-east Cambridgeshire are characterized by having low, sinuous, earthen ridges on them. They are usually only 1–2 feet high, up to 30 yards wide, and as much as 700 yards long. He asserted that

¹ I would like to acknowledge helpful discussion of this topic with Professor E. Juillard, of the University of Strasbourg, and Mr C. C. Taylor of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Cambridge. I owe thanks to Mr M. Young, of the Drawing Office, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge, for drawing the diagrams.

² H. C. Bowen, *Ancient Fields. A Tentative Analysis of Vanishing Earthworks and Landscapes*, 1961.

³ E. K. Teather, ‘The hedgerow: an analysis of a changing landscape feature’, *Geography*, 55, 1970, pp. 146–55; M. Hooper, ‘Dating hedges’, *Area*, no. 4, 1970, pp. 63–5.

⁴ Bowen, *op. cit.* ⁵ M. W. Beresford and J. K. St Joseph, *Medieval England. An Aerial Survey*, 1958, p. 24.

⁶ *A Matter of Time. An Archaeological Survey of the River Gravels of England Prepared by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)*, 1960, pp. 32, 37, 40; Pl. 12(a).

field work left no doubt that such ridges are former headlands between furlongs.¹ What is interesting is that E. A. Pocock, a practising farmer, came to the same conclusion after observing these features in his own arable fields: "the rise on a headland occurs simply because of the accumulation over the years of dirt cleaned off the plough."² Pocock mapped the pattern of ridges from aerial photographs as well as from field evidence, and used this pattern of reconstructed furlong boundaries as the basis for an ingenious study of the relative chronology of colonization in the Oxfordshire parish of Clanfield. His study was based on a number of assumptions, including the assumption that the larger the ridges the older they were, and the more sinuous the ridges the older they were. These assumptions are, of course, somewhat questionable and were made, understandably, without knowledge of continental studies of similar features, most notably a study by E. Juillard on *crêtes de labour* in Alsace, published in 1953.³

It is impossible, unfortunately, to date these earthen ridges at all precisely. Their rate of formation depends upon the degree of slope of the initial terrain, on the nature and depth of the soil, on the character of the climate, on whether any action was taken to prevent the formation of ridges, and on the types of plough and method of ploughing employed. As in the case of strip lynchets, the difficulty of allowing for many of these influences makes it correspondingly difficult to assess the final factor which would be of so much interest: the duration of time under the plough.⁴ The assumption that the higher ridges are the older ones thus remains questionable. Juillard, while suggesting that headland ridges might be used to establish a relative chronology of land clearance along the lines adopted by Pocock, went on to suggest the possibility of establishing an absolute chronology by using a railway line, constructed in 1850, as a datum against which to measure the rate of headland ridge formation in the part of Alsace which he investigated. This suggested an increase in height of 10 cm. per century, so that the ridges of 150 cm. in height which he observed suggested to Juillard that they were at least 1,500 years old and, when allowing for soil weathering and settling, undoubtedly nearer to 2,000 years old.⁵ Even if one were to accept this argument in relation to Alsace, it would be impossible to extend it by analogy to other localities because few, if any, of the other variables would remain constant in any two separate areas. In the absence of precise dating techniques both relative and absolute chronologies for headland ridges must be regarded somewhat sceptically.

None the less, it is now clear that these micro-features of the agrarian landscape both were once widespread and are now rapidly disappearing. An urgent need, bearing in mind the rapid and inevitable rate of destruction, should be—as Bowen has argued in relation to vanishing earthworks in general—the production of as

¹ C. C. Taylor, 'Archaeological results from the North Sea gas pipeline in Cambridgeshire 1968', *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, 62, 1969, pp. 29–34.

² E. A. Pocock, 'The first fields in an Oxfordshire parish', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, xvi, 1968, pp. 85–100, quotation on p. 85.

³ E. Juillard, 'Formes de structure parcellaire dans la plaine d'Alsace. Un indice de l'ancienneté des limites agraires: les crêtes de labour', *Bull. de l'Assoc. de Géogr. Français*, nos. 232–3, 1953, pp. 72–7.

⁴ Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 19. ⁵ Juillard, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

many good annotated plans as possible.¹ In view of the assumption made hitherto that these ridges correspond with former headlands of open fields, surveying them would be particularly fruitful in those parishes not possessing maps of the layout of their pre-enclosure field arrangements. A detailed investigation has been carried out by the present writer, ably assisted by a small group of undergraduates reading Historical Geography at Cambridge.² One commune in the south-western Paris Basin was selected for study on the almost level, limon-covered, terrain of the Beauce plateau.³ Field work involved plotting the location of all existing earthen ridges and the construction of surveyed profiles of a number of them and their adjacent fields. These latter showed that the height difference between the crest of the ridge and the lowest part of the adjacent field was generally between 1 and 2 metres (fig. 1), as Juillard had found on somewhat similar soils in Alsace. Work in

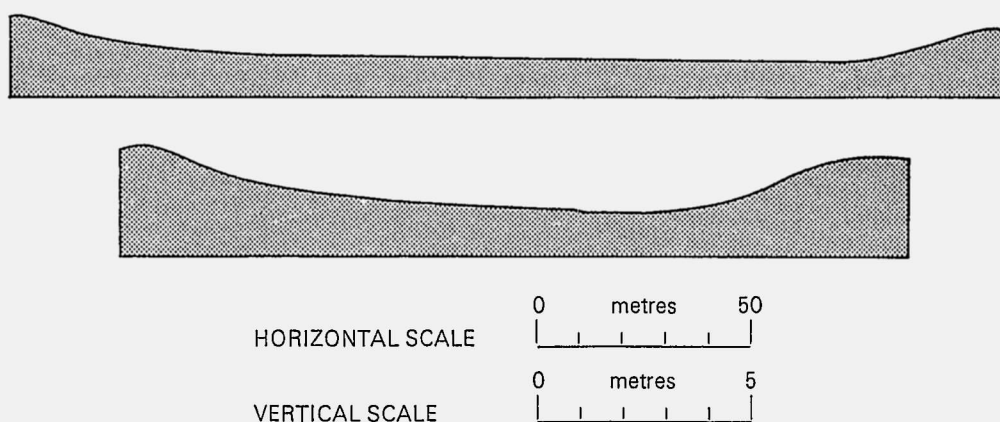


FIG. 1

Two sample profiles of fields and headland ridges in the commune of Josnes (Loir-et-Cher, France).

the archives involved plotting on a modern 1:25,000 map the location of *quartier* or furlong boundaries depicted on the large-scale plans of the *ancien cadastre* of the early nineteenth century.⁴ Comparison of the arrangement of these *quartiers* with that of the existing *crêtes de labour* revealed that 80 per cent of the ridges corresponded exactly with field access-ways of the early nineteenth century (fig. 11). Furthermore, a full 100 per cent of the ridges corresponded with the furlong boundaries, thus demonstrating beyond doubt what has hitherto been only an assumption.

¹ Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

² I am indebted to those students who accompanied me in France and who worked so enthusiastically both in the field and in the archives.

³ The commune of Josnes, Loir-et-Cher, France.

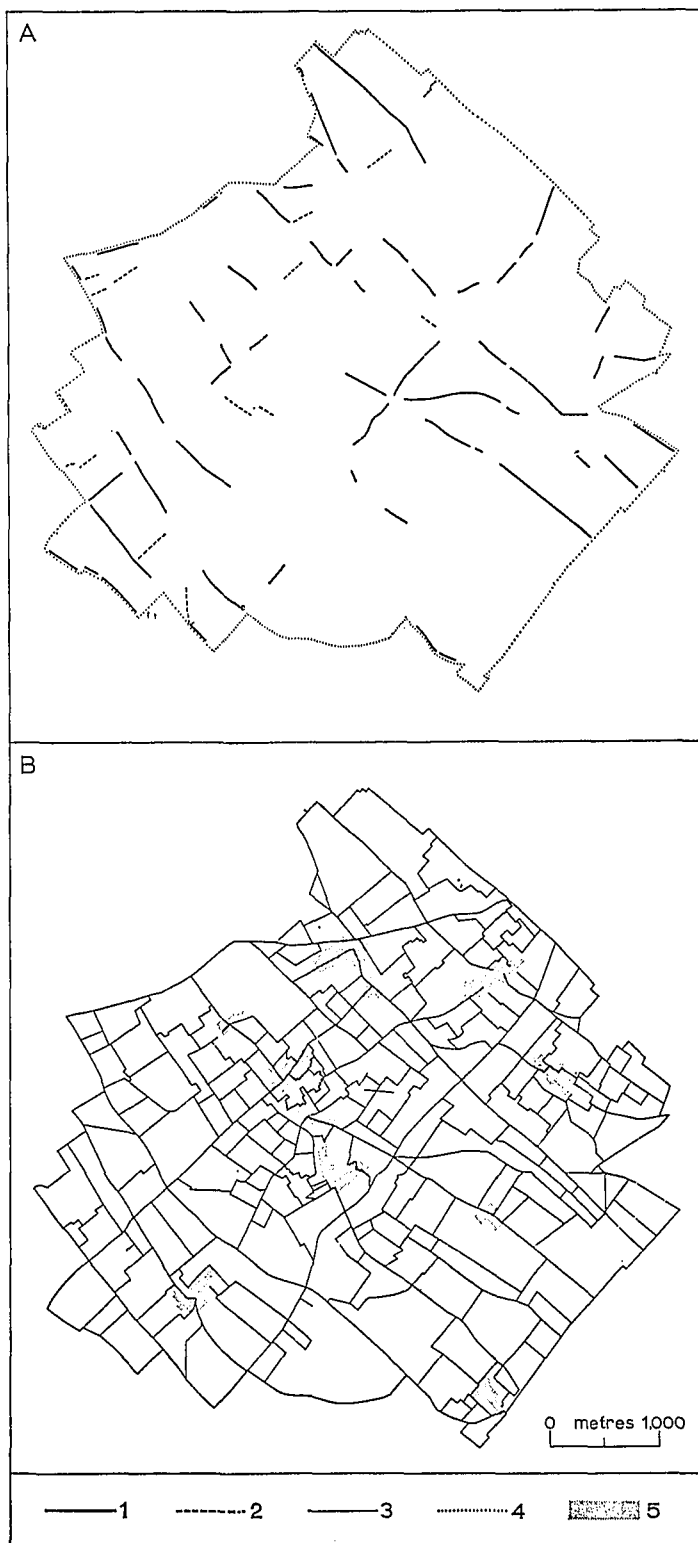
⁴ I am indebted to the staff of the *Archives Départementales* of Loir-et-Cher at Blois, who made available both the necessary documents and helpful comments on them.

FIG. II

A. Present-day earthen
ridges in the commune of
Josnes (Loir-et-Cher,
France).

B. Early nineteenth-century
furlong boundaries in the
same commune.

- Key: 1 Present-day ridges
corresponding with
early nineteenth-
century access-ways.
2 Present-day ridges not
corresponding with
early nineteenth-
century access-ways.
3 Furlong boundaries of
the early nineteenth
century.
4 Commune boundary.
5 Settlements.



A French Agricultural Canal—the Canal de la Sauldre and the Nineteenth-Century Improvement of the Sologne

By KEITH SUTTON

THE role of canals in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution has been frequently documented both for France and for elsewhere.¹ A four-point appraisal of the use of canals by Thomas Telford in the early 1800's emphasized their function as a means of conveying mining produce to the coast, fuel and raw materials to manufacturing centres, and manufactured goods, groceries, and other merchandise to markets. Firstly, Telford itemized their role of "conveying Fuel for Domestic Purposes; Manure for the purposes of Agriculture; transporting the produce of the Districts through which the Canal passes, to the different Markets; and promoting Agricultural Purposes in general."² Despite this early reference, Hadfield considered that "the value of water carriage in enabling manure—to use the old word—to be applied by farmers to their land has hardly been given its right importance in the history of that revolution in agricultural methods that went on in Britain at the same time as the Industrial Revolution."³ The transport of marl—which is synonymous with the term *manure* in both these quotations—suffered from high transport costs as much as other bulky goods in the days of wagons and pack-horses. Early examples of the application of canals to agricultural purposes in England include the Basingstoke Canal which was enacted in 1778 and the Bude Canal which was designed to carry sea-sand as a marl into the interiors of Devon and Cornwall.

Similarly, agricultural considerations played little part in instigating early French canal pro-

jects which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were largely to supplement and especially to link existing natural waterways, and so promote their commerce which in the nineteenth century became increasingly of an industrial nature. Thus the significance of the Canal de la Sauldre, a minor, localized waterway in the Sologne region to the south of Orleans, lies in its function as primarily an agricultural canal for the transport of marl. However, in its origins it approaches the more general, commercial conception of other French waterways.

As a region of low natural fertility worsened by inadequate internal communications,⁴ the Sologne had prompted several schemes for improvement, sometimes involving canals. Although these plans proliferated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the wave of new ideas and techniques of the Agricultural Revolution, a notably early sixteenth-century project, conceived around a central canal, was put forward by the *savant*, Leonardo da Vinci, who passed the last few years of his life as a *protégé* of Francis I at Amboise on the western margins of the Sologne. Da Vinci's proposed canal through the Sologne was part of a larger waterway scheme of his to link the Touraine, his adopted home, with his native Italy. His manuscript notes and sketch-maps are far from clear about the proposed route. Starting from Tours, or perhaps Blois, the canal was to pass through Romorantin and then to take a direct route to the River Allier rather than follow the course of the River Cher. Undoubtedly in part

¹ A. L. Dunham, *The Industrial Revolution in France 1815-48*, 1955, pp. 28-48.

² C. Hadfield, *British Canals—An Illustrated History*, 1966, pp. 33-4, quoting T. Telford, *A Survey and Report of the proposed extension of the Union Canal from Gunley Wharf, in Leicestershire, to the Grand Junction Canal, near Buckby-Wharf, in Northamptonshire*, 1804.

³ Hadfield, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁴ K. Sutton, 'La Triste Sologne. L'utilisation du sol dans une région française à l'abandon au début du XIXe siècle', *Noréis*, 61, 1969, pp. 7-30.

this scheme would have involved the waters of the River Sauldre. Indeed da Vinci considered that by diverting water from the Loire tributary (Allier or Cher) into the Sauldre ("le fleuve de Romorantin") the canal "would enrich the lands which it irrigates, and would fertilize the countryside; it would secure food for the inhabitants and serve also as a navigable canal for commercial traffic." Thus agricultural as well as commercial justifications were invoked.¹ After da Vinci's death his Saône-Loire link-up was proposed by Adam de Crapone and the late eighteenth century saw proposals to the Provincial Assemblies of Berry and Orléanais for a Loire-Cher link-up terminating at Vierzon, analogous to the earlier Canal de Briare connecting the Loire and the Seine.²

Other late eighteenth-century improvement schemes involving canals were more parochially concerned with the economic and particularly agricultural development of the Sologne. Thus d'Autroche's plan, which won the prize offered by the Société Royale d'Agriculture d'Orléans in 1876, included proposals for the state to provide a complete network of roads supplemented by a canal either parallel to the River Beuvron or by rendering the river navigable. "It is only by means of a canal that one can hope to drag the whole central part of the Sologne out of its state of inertia and death-like trance in which it is plunged."³

Some fifty years later in 1836 the same Société Royale again offered a prize for the best *mémoire* on the area's agricultural situation and the means to improve it. The winner, Bourdon, continued to include a canal in his projected scheme of communications, specifying a waterway to transport marl from the Sancerrois, the region to the east.⁴ A more detailed scheme of improvement based on just such a canal from Sancerrois had for long been suggested by Soyer.⁵ As well as irrigating a considerable area it would principally serve

for the transport of marl from around Aubigny and Blancafort. A cubic metre of marl at Aubigny cost 2 francs, while at 8-12 km. distance it had risen to 6-8 francs, so high were transport costs. Furthermore, about 15 cubic metres were required to marl each *arpent* (about 1.25 acres). If such a canal proved to be too expensive, Soyer suggested the canalization of the Grande Sauldre river, either scheme profiting from integration with a network of railways. These two early nineteenth-century projects would appear to have been the direct precursors of the Canal de la Sauldre.

Pleas for a more organized effort at improvement of the whole Sologne were to some extent answered in 1848 when the central government set up the *Service Spécial de la Sologne* as a regional amalgamation of the public works authorities of the three departments of Loiret, Loir-et-Cher, and Cher to cover their *solognot* sections as one administrative unit. In part, the Sologne was benefiting accidentally from a state political move in which the real function of the *Service Spécial* was to look after the *Ateliers Nationaux* in the area in an attempt to direct unemployed and potentially revolutionary workers away from Paris by using them in public works constructions. To this end 4,000 francs were granted in May 1848, to begin studies of a canal project across the Sologne, and some rather haphazard initial excavations were started.⁶ By October 1848 these works had been completely abandoned, but the *Service Spécial* continued and was to make a significant contribution in the area.

Numerous studies were made by these public works authorities for canal schemes, frequently based on a major canal linking the Loire and the Cher through the Sologne. A report in 1852 (table 1) showed the proliferation of these schemes.⁷ To this list one could have added the Canal du Berry which had been opened in 1835 along the Cher Valley,

¹ P. Guillaume, *La Sologne au cours des siècles*, 1954, pp. 48-53, quoting British Museum, Arundel MSS. No. 263, fol. 207v.

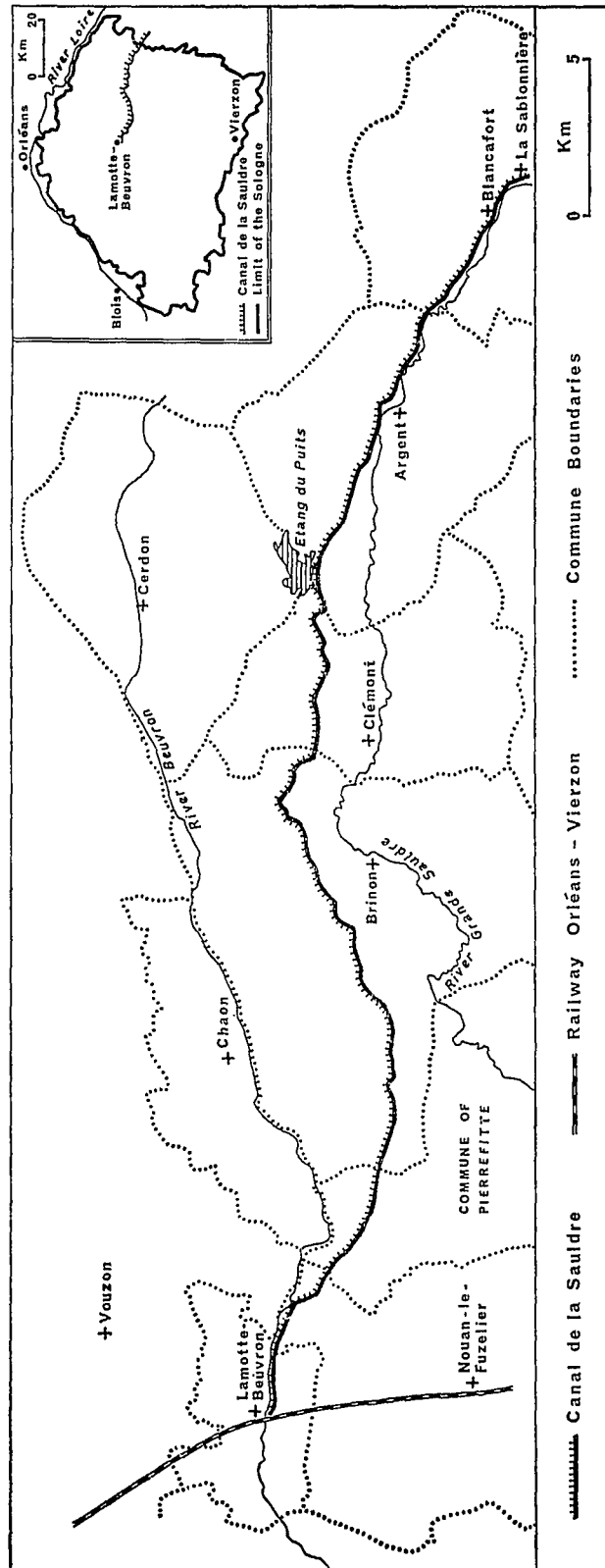
² Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. 53. ³ L. d'Autroche, *Mémoire sur l'amélioration de la Sologne*, 1787, p. 73.

⁴ M. Bourdon, *Mémoire sur la situation agricole de la Sologne*, 1840.

⁵ Capt. Servier, *Mémoire sur la partie est de la feuille de Gien*, 1839. Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, M.R. Reconnaissance 1253.

⁶ Archives Nationales, Paris (hereafter A.N.), F10-2348-1.

⁷ A.N. F10-2346-7 Rapport sur l'amélioration de la Sologne d'une Commission composée de MM. Frissard, Robinon, Avril, Gayan et Darcy, 29-4-1852.



The Canal de la Sauldre.

but this was really only peripheral to the Sologne. Of these schemes the report placed the Canal de la Sauldre first in order of priority.

TABLE I
CANAL PROJECTS IN THE SOLOGNE, 1852

	Length (km)	Estimated cost (thousand francs)
Grande Canal	151	17,500
Rigole du Cosson	56	1,100
Rigole du Beuvron	40	450
Rigole du Néant	35	350
Canal de la Sauldre	36	2,000
Ceinture supérieure	60	900
Ceinture inférieure	50	700
Canal de la Rère	68	2,000
Canal du Barageon	22	
	518	24,900

These canal schemes were not without their contemporary opponents. Gaugiran thought it a retrograde step to develop canals in the Railway Age. By returning to the ideas of Leonardo da Vinci, he forecast that the state would involve itself in large capital outlays which would result in little, if any, financial profit.¹ Quoting the example of the successful improvement of the Dombes region, Gaugiran advocated, instead, the creation of a network of agricultural roads, which he considered as "l'alpha de toute révolution agricole."² In the 1860's this viewpoint was to prevail but not without one attempt to put a canal scheme into practice with the construction of the Canal de la Sauldre.

The abandoned workings of the 1848 *Ateliers Nationaux* were taken up again following the granting by the state of a credit of 300,000 francs.³ Between 1852 and 1859 the first section of the canal was constructed from Launay, 2 km. from the marl deposits near Blancafort, just outside the Sologne, to Coudray in the western part of the commune of Brinon, Initi-

ally it followed the Sauldre as far as Brinon where it crossed over to the Beuvron Valley using the Etang du Puits as a reservoir. Soon after the completion of this section, the grand canalization scheme was abandoned as being too costly, and in 1861 the idea of a network of local roads superseded it. Consequently the extension of the canal westwards to the railway was replanned, taking a more northerly line from the original scheme. It was not until 1869 that the second section of 13 km. was opened extending the canal as far as Lamotte-Beuvron, a total length of 43 km.⁴ A further wait of several years until 1873 was necessary for the construction of a short line from the *quais* of the canal to those of the railway station.⁵ Even so the cost of transshipment was to be so high as effectively to bar the use of canal-borne marls beyond the railway line. At the other extremity the starting point of the canal was extended slightly in 1885, from Launay to the *Hôpital de Blancafort*.⁶

The primary basis of this canal scheme was to transport marls cheaply into the central communes though Machat, the Director of the *Service Spécial de la Sologne*, originally included large-scale irrigation in his general scheme of improvement. For the provision of this marl the state purchased in 1858 an area at Launay and encouraged private and public workings. Prices were fixed along the canal at between 1.85 francs and 2.60 francs per cubic metre, according to distance.⁷ As well as state initiative local efforts were often made to guarantee the unloading of marl at various points along the canal. Thus, in 1859, the inhabitants of the commune of Chaon campaigned for the establishment of a station on the canal near the Vicil-éprouvé lock so as to avoid the poor roads and the longer route to the station at Brinon.⁸

By 1870 there was a fleet of twelve boats operating on the canal, each with a capacity of about 100 cubic metres.⁹ Traffic along the canal gradually increased, especially in the early

¹ E. Gaugiran, *Vues de Sologne, Sa renaissance*, 1857, p. 105. ² Gaugiran, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

³ A.N. F10-2347-8.

⁴ C. Moindrot, *La vallée moyenne de la Sauldre et la Sologne d'Aubigny*, Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures, 1950, p. 72. G. Devailly, *L'œuvre du Second Empire en Sologne*, Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures, 1947, p. 47.

⁵ E. Gaugiran, *Coup d'œil d'un protectionniste sur les travaux publics en Sologne*, 1878, p. 4.

⁶ Moindrot, *op. cit.* ⁷ H. Sainjon, *Résultats dus à l'intervention de l'Etat en faveur de la Sologne*, 1873, p. 18.

⁸ A.N. F10-2356-A1. ⁹ Gaugiran, 1878, *loc. cit.*

1870's after the opening of the second section, as table II shows. The sudden jump in 1874 of more than 12,000 tonnes was largely due

TABLE II
ANNUAL TRAFFIC ON THE CANAL DE LA SAULDRE,
1866-74¹

	tonnes		tonnes
1866	9,678	1871	16,864
1867	10,087	1872	24,720
1868	14,343	1873	21,515
1869	7,813	1874	34,172
1870	11,444		

to the fact that M. Masson who owned the greater part of the marl workings at Launay had finished installing equipment there and could greatly increase production.²

The bulk of the goods carried on the Canal de la Sauldre consisted of marls, and, by way of comparison, table III is of merchandise other than marl entering into the traffic. The canal's

TABLE III
ANNUAL TRAFFIC IN MERCHANDISE OTHER THAN
MARL, 1871-5³

	tonnes		tonnes
1871	1,712	1874	3,002
1872	4,700	1875	1,541
1873	2,515		

contribution to the economy was thus mainly in terms of agricultural improvement. As the details of the merchandise carried in 1874 (table IV) demonstrate only a minute proportion was taken by local products other than

TABLE IV
MERCHANDISE CARRIED ON THE CANAL DE LA
SAULDRE IN 1874⁴

	tonnes	%
Marls	31,170	91.22
Construction materials	1,863	5.45
Timber for fuel	290	0.84
Building timber	33	0.10
Various other goods	816	2.39
	34,172	100.00

marl. In accordance with this breakdown the bulk of the traffic was westwards, into the Sologne, as table V indicates.

Areally the influence of the canal was limited to the zones along its banks within which it was economic to transport the marl in wagons. Although the Lamotte-Beuvron terminal was linked to the railway by *une rampe ferrée* in 1873, this did little or nothing to extend the canal's influence, largely because at the same time the state subsidy on railway-borne marl was removed.⁵ This plus the cost of transhipment at Lamotte-Beuvron meant that the rich Blancafort marls were never able to penetrate the Sologne beyond the railway. Indeed, by 1880 it is doubtful if the marls were much used beyond a band two or three kilometres wide on either side of the canal.⁶

In terms of cost-effectiveness the Canal de la Sauldre was a poor investment for the state. Gaugiran calculated that by 1878 the whole venture had cost the state some 8,500,000 francs for studies, construction, wages, interest on capital, etc., and that, on the figures then

TABLE V
TRAFFIC MOVEMENT IN 1874 ON THE CANAL DE LA SAULDRE⁷

Direction	Absolute tonnage	Number of boats			Average tonnage of loaded boats	% of empty boats in total traffic
		loaded	empty	total		
Westwards	33,508	644	—	644	52.03	0
Eastwards	664	47	597	644	14.13	92.7

¹ Archives Départementales du Cher (hereafter A.D. Cher), S.2009, Situation du service au 15 juin 1875 (Conseil général du Cher), Rapport de l'ingénieur ordinaire.

² A.D. Cher. S.2009. ³ Gaugiran, 1878, *op. cit.*, p. 7; A.D. Cher. S.2009. ⁴ A.D. Cher. S.2009.

⁵ Gaugiran, 1878, *op. cit.*, p. 5. ⁶ Moindrot, *op. cit.*, p. 73. ⁷ A.D. Cher. S.2009.

available, each cubic metre of marl shipped by the canal boats had cost the state about 27 francs.¹ However, the canal was to continue to be an influence in the development of this limited section of the Sologne for some time to come.

The wider theme of the improvement of land use in the Sologne during the period 1850–80, together with the role in it of better communications has been considered elsewhere.² Probably the best indication of this agricultural improvement was the reduction of wasteland, for the increase in arable was, in some communes, nullified by considerable afforestation of formerly ploughed land. Thus wasteland declined from a total of 130,000 hectares (28.3 per cent) in 1850 to 33,644 hectares (7.0 per cent) in 1880 in the Sologne as a whole. Arable land increased correspondingly from 210,000 hectares (45.7 per cent) to 275,000 (54.4 per cent). The Sologne as defined by Agabriel for these figures was slightly increased in size between these two dates. Similar progress was undoubtedly made in those communes crossed by or adjacent to the Canal de la Sauldre, but land-use statistics are incomplete especially within the Department of Cher. From 1850 to 1879 arable land increased from 33 to 47 per cent of the area of the commune of Chaon, from 44 to 59 per cent in Pierrefitte-sur-Sauldre, and from 35 to 38 per cent in Lamotte-Beuvron. Wasteland declined in the same period from 21 to 10 per cent in Chaon, from 30 to 9 per cent in Pierrefitte-sur-Sauldre, and from 11 to 0 per cent in Lamotte-Beuvron.⁴ The latter commune was also

crossed by the Orléans–Vierzon railway which had been established as a route of cheap, subsidized marl into the heart of the Sologne from 1853. Unfortunately similar detailed statistics based on the revised evaluations of the *Cadastre* have been destroyed for the Department of Cher and even the less reliable *Enquêtes agricoles décennales* are incomplete in their survival. Only the commune of Argent, at the extreme eastern end of the Canal de la Sauldre, can be examined in detail (table vi).

TABLE VI

EVOLUTION OF MAJOR LAND USE CATEGORIES IN THE COMMUNE OF ARGENT⁵ (IN HECTARES)

	1848	1862	1892
Arable and artificial pasture	3,351	3,793	5,117
Woodland	429	480	425
Wasteland	1,953	550	170

Obviously the spatial effect of the marl brought along the Canal de la Sauldre was limited even within the communes cited above. Furthermore its effect was limited in time also and during the present century many of the improved fields have lapsed, along with the canal itself, into a state of disuse. However, in modern France the value of areas like the Sologne can probably be better measured in amenity rather than agricultural terms. In this respect a relict agricultural canal without the normal accompaniment of industrial eyesores can still represent a valuable resource for the French countryside.

¹ Gaugiran, 1878, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² K. Sutton, 'The Reduction of Wasteland in the Sologne—Nineteenth Century French Regional Improvement', *Institute of British Geographers Transactions*, 52, 1971, pp. 129–44.

³ F. Agabriel, *Mise en valeur de la Sologne*, 1942, p. 40.

⁴ *Nouvelle évaluation des revenus territoriaux* (loi du 7 août 1850, art. 2).

⁵ *Amélioration de la Sologne. Renseignements statistiques*, 1848–9, A.D. Loir-et-Cher, Series M; A.D. Loiret. 5S12. *Enquête agricole décennale*, 1862; *Enquête agricole décennale*, 1892.—A.D. Cher. Series M.

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Book Reviews

H. JANKUHN. *Deutsche Agrargeschichte: Vor- und Frühgeschichte von Neolithikum bis zur Völkerverswanderungszeit*. With additional essays by Harold Jankuhn, E. May, and U. Willerding. Verlag Eugen Ulmer, Stuttgart, 1969. Pp. 300. DM 46.

This volume, which is one of a comprehensive series published by Messrs Ulmer on German agrarian history, treats of a considerably wider field than its title might suggest; it is, in effect, an economic, and to some extent a social, survey of German prehistory. This is probably necessary, since agrarian history must deal with all factors affecting agriculture as the economic basis of ancient societies; nevertheless sometimes the reader of this book begins to wonder whether a sense of proportion in relation to the central theme has been maintained. For instance, how far, *in pari materia*, is decorative metal work, as opposed to the technique of tools, a subject demanding extensive treatment in relation to "free Germany" in the Roman Iron Age? For the book's purpose, its existence is indicative of a certain standard of living arising out of surplus production and the attainment of a given technical level, and no more. In this matter, and in some others, one occasionally suspects that a fuller economic picture has been used to "pad out" the main subject when actual information is thin. But in a broader sense the method is sound and inevitable: agriculture is part of a wider whole, and must be seen as such.

In writing this account, indeed, Professor Jankuhn will have earned the thanks of many non-German prehistorians who need a compendious and reliable summary of central European prehistoric research in the post-war period. It is notable how high a percentage of the documentation is composed of citations dated in the last thirty years; as a work of summarization this is high scholastic achievement. Nevertheless Jankuhn exhibits an exemplary caution and humility; the entire text is studded with reservations and qualifications such as "it is not yet established," "one cannot yet say with certainty," "the reasons are not known in detail," and so on.

In opening, Jankuhn is careful to emphasize that the field of survey is geographically and historically hard to define; both 'German prehistory' and a 'prehistory of Germany' are, as terms, anachronistic: the linguistic and ethnic boundaries altered frequently, and the areas involved were often not homogeneously German. The author further confesses frankly to a lack of equipment in some of the specialist branches with which prehistory has become increasingly involved. But this has not deterred him in his endeavour: it explains the enlistment of several specialists who round off the survey with excursus on the origin and development of cultivated plants (Willerding), and on the earliest domesticated animals (May), further, on the linguistic evidence bearing on the early history of agriculture (Harald Jankuhn). It is this wide horizon that conditions the breadth of the book, and effectively places German prehistoric agriculture in the stream of human progress flowing (*absit* Adolf) from the East. And in his final observations the author notes with unconcealed wonder the swift spread of plant cultivation and the domestication of stock from the ancient Middle Eastern centres, and, further, the amazingly few agricultural innovations made in the prehistoric north European theatre itself in the prolonged initial stages. How far revised carbon-fourteen datings will alter notions of Middle East diffusion is another matter.

In the account, we behold the initial growth of Neolithic agriculture on the lighter but productive, clearable loess soils, and its extension on to the heavier soils with the introduction of iron tools and the greater humidity of the Hallstatt period. The plough is present from at least 2000 B.C. approximately. Recent palaeobotanical research indicates that the central European Bronze Age climate was not uniformly dry, compared with the subsequent period; the Middle Bronze Age appears as a comparatively moist but climatically fluctuating phase preceding the increased precipitation of the Early Iron Age.

It is the job of agrarian research relating to the prehistoric age to discover the interaction

between climate, soils, and other natural conditions, human movement, technical achievement, production, tenure, and social structure; also to gauge, from archaeological results, and other available sources, man's response to his needs and his conditions. Such enquiry must trace techniques through tools, plant and animal remains, settlements, installations, and fields. Jankuhn details what has been grown from period to period, the settlement form, and what is deducible concerning social organization. The latter investigation involves the tracing of production processes (e.g. mining, specialist craft-branches, and the manufacture of textiles) conducted by distinct social groups maintained by outside agricultural surplus; the development of trade, transport, and communications, the appearance of socially differentiated strata such as chieftains, nobles, and kings, and the evolution of the settlement pattern to a point where producers and traders are sufficiently numerous to create, with the peasants and the monopolizers, urban settlement.

On the whole, the little available evidence does not yet testify to common or pronounced social differentiations or outstanding personalities in Neolithic societies. On the other hand, Bronze Age evidence discloses a rigid social framework, specialized craftsmen, the beginning of winter feeding of cattle in byres in the face of climatic deterioration, the construction of fortified enclosures (such as those of the Lausitz culture), the increased variegation of cereals, and the appearance of legumes; the high representation of cattle and swine reflects a still predominantly forest environment.

In the Early Iron Age field-systems appear, for instance in Jutland, where, as long noted, while long strips are recorded among 'square' fields, the plots are nevertheless separated from one another by fieldways. Yet if we may judge from the account, the remains of prehistoric field-systems in north-central Europe cannot be compared in extent to similar traces in Britain, as they are limited to the north; one wonders how much is still to be found, for example, in France. In general, one would have liked a more exhaustive treatment of this subject in the present book, and its relative brevity is a deficiency. In this period fruit-growing

appears; in North Germany wheat retreats before barley, although oats do not progress (both notable phenomena in a deteriorating climate), and rye cultivation spreads in Central Europe. Manuring is now evidenced, but Jankuhn will not risk an opinion on crop rotations, although he thinks, surprisingly, that the "wilde Feldgraswirtschaft" is appropriate to known field-systems. He further states that the end of the pre-Roman period beheld the emergence of the frameplough with coulter and mouldboard: a slice-turning plough has been demonstrated by Haarnagel in Lower Saxony, but for parallel evidence in Britain, Karslake is cited—whereas subsequent study has shown that the pre-Roman appearance of the iron coulter in the island is unproven, and while the mouldboard plough is probable in the Roman period, its use in that time requires further confirmation.

It is notable that in the Hallstatt period young domestic animals amounted to only 31 per cent of the remains on three, large, analysed sites—a point worthy of attention among British specialists, who have in recent years concluded that "winter killing" was not prevalent in the British Early Iron Age. On the contemporary German sites the Ovicapridae seem to have comprised no more than 23 per cent of the livestock, so that open pasture was still, in probability, restricted.

In the last centuries B.C., in Jutland and southward to Mecklenberg, heavier clay soils were taken into working, as a result of forest-clearance, and this process is accompanied by the emergence of leading social personalities whose presence is indicated by their richer burial furniture. Presumably higher production led to intensified trade in surpluses, to property accumulation and class-differentiation. Of importance in this connection is the evidence at the excavated settlement on the Feddersen Wierde near Bremerhaven, where the existence of a "lordly house," granaries, and craftsmen's workshops, contrasted with the absence of byres, has been interpreted to indicate the supplying of agricultural produce from farms in the vicinity. As to dwellings, British archaeologists interested in the origins of the aisled 'barn' house should note that in the Hallstatt C nucleated settlement on the

Goldberg between Stuttgart and Regensburg, houses with two rows of internal posts appear contemporarily with houses containing one axial row only; the latter type is later to be seen among timber outbuildings accompanying a Roman villa at Garsdorf near Erfurt.

Jankuhn devotes a few pages to agriculture in those areas directly ruled by Rome till the third century A.D., but since Roman agrarian history is not his main theme, we cannot expect an exhaustive study. Nevertheless, Roman agricultural techniques and agrarian patterns differed from province to province, and the archaeological evidence in Roman Germany offers excellent opportunities for research. Moreover, the problems of Roman social and economic influence in free Germany and of the survival of Roman techniques into the Middle Ages in the Rhineland and southern Germany, are of great importance. It is accordingly with regret that we read that "the subject of agricultural techniques is completely unexplored, particularly with regard to Roman tools, which have come down to us in great quantity, and some of which continued in use among the equipment of the early Middle Ages." This is not to say that we do not find here some interesting details on new Roman introductions in the sphere of grains, fruit, nuts, and livestock. It is also interesting to read that the native Germans do not appear to have crossed new Roman varieties of livestock with their own indigenous breeds.

Jankuhn has much to say of the impact of Roman trade on free Germany and something of the emergence of chiefs and kings in the social pattern. He deals at greater length with crafts and commerce in this era than with the agrarian picture, which beheld such late innovations as the two-hand scythe, but few other changes in technique; we may note the introduction of rye and the increase of oats. Attention should be drawn to the occupation of 'Celtic' fields near such north-German sites as Gristede (Kreis Ammerland) well into the fifth century A.D.; nothing is recorded for the late Roman period in this area to suggest that open-field strips were a north-European legacy to Britain, and such strip fields as are at present known are either delimited by fieldways or, in the Trier area, associated with Roman villas.

We miss in this work a discussion of possible summer and winter grains, and we should like to hear more of the relationships between harvesting implements, field management, and livestock on the one hand, and between livestock and arable on the other. And surely Tacitus' famous account of the German agrarian pattern was worth a word: or did Dopsch finish that discussion for good? But none of these criticisms can detract from the work's scholarly caution, its wide horizon, and the variegated fields of research which it reflects.

SHIMON APPLEBAUM

EKKEHARD WIEST, *Die Entwicklung des Nürnberger Gewerbes zwischen 1648 und 1806*.

Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1968. xvi + 212 pp. DM 48.

This book is not principally of agricultural interest as it deals with the industries of Nuremberg, but it is a very revealing illustration of the difficulties of studying towns, at any rate before the nineteenth century, without considering their rural environs as well. The influences exerted by agricultural communities around Nuremberg upon the local market is an underlying theme, but it rarely escapes to the surface. When it does, the reader with an eye for the country rather than the town, catches a glimpse of factors that seem suspiciously important to him in the general explanation of economic development, and yet they are not pursued. The case for studying towns within, and not isolated from, their rural environment seems overwhelming, and it may be useful to elaborate some of the facts of Nuremberg's history to support it.

Dr Wiest traces the industrial economy of Nuremberg in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War and during the eighteenth century. By using official documents like the correspondence and ordinances of the town council and lawsuits, he is able to count the number of firms in existence at different periods, and to measure the changing importance of the different industries. He then weighs the influence of population changes, war, disease, and the commercial policies of European governments upon these changes. Although the percentage of population of Nuremberg engaged in industry re-

mained the same (about 9·5 per cent) between 1621 and 1791, the number of businesses declined. The population also declined from about 40,000 in 1622 to about 25,000 in 1806. In broad outline, then, the history of Nuremberg is the melancholy tale of a progressive and thriving industrial centre in the sixteenth century, hit by the adverse effects of war and trade restrictions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, clutching in vain at yet more gild restrictions to save itself, and becoming in the end an economic backwater. In passing, however, it should be noted that John Ray who visited Nuremberg in 1673 did not see the town in this light. In his *Observations Topographical*, it struck him as "one of the best traded and most potent towns in Germany;" "rich, populous, and for bigness, I think, not inferior to the best in Germany;" and yet again, "the most stately and best built that we have seen in Germany."

The agricultural influences upon this story lurk in the background and only come to the forefront in brief and scattered sentences in the text. The timber industries, in this centre of toy-making, depended on the surrounding forests; they were the only industries (together with paper-making) which showed any consistent expansionist tendencies during the period. Leather working, as one might expect in a pastoral region, was another substantial employer of labour. The industries processing animal products were far more successful than any of the others in withstanding the crisis of the seventeenth century; they held second place behind the non-ferrous metal industries in the economy of the town in the seventeenth century and even overtook the latter, *circa* 1700. The textile industry suffered sharply from the effects of war, and never recovered, but again the responsibility of the country districts looms darkly in the background, for many weavers, we are told, moved out to live in the countryside. Other town merchants also relied on putting out work to country folk—tobacco manufacturers, for example. In all industries there was perpetual rivalry between town and rural workers. The latter was regarded as socially inferior and were handicapped at every turn—most strenuously by the gilds, less strenuously by the town council. What is not clear from all

this, however, is how the final balance sheet stood. Were the industrial workers in the countryside really worse off economically than their counterparts in the town? The answer is not a foregone conclusion. Because urban industries had a great future before them, it does not follow that their workpeople at all times enjoyed a better standard of life than their imitators in the surrounding countryside. There is much in this history of Nuremberg's economy to raise doubts on this score.

JOAN THIRSK

JOYCE GODBER, *History of Bedfordshire, 1066–1888*. Bedfordshire County Council, 1969. xiv + 592 pp. £3.

This is an outstanding book. Combined with L. R. Conisbee's *Bedfordshire Bibliography*, the county is in the *avant-garde* in this respect. Of course, the author, who was seconded for writing the book shortly before her retirement as County Archivist, had a remarkable double corpus of manuscript and printed material to draw upon—the oldest county record office in the country and the *Publications* of the Beds. Historical Record Society, of which the founder, editor, and chief contributor was Dr G. H. Fowler, so ably followed as editor by Miss Godber herself.

The *Victoria History of Bedfordshire* was 'completed' in three volumes as far back as 1912: hence the need for something more up to date, assimilating the massive new evidence. This herculean task Miss Godber has achieved very successfully.

On early strip-cultivation and lot-meadows she gives useful facts, and the evidence of change-over from a two- to a three-course rotation in several parishes is clearly set out. The earliest, scattered references to windmills have been brought together—no less than four in the decade 1220–30. A short section on the Black Death and its aftermath is valuable. On the origin of pseudo-manors Miss Godber gives a good illustration: "The multiplication of manors continued. A fourteenth-century example comes from Wootton. Thomas de Stodley began by marrying an heiress, sometime before 1318. From this time till 1340, by about 30 transactions, he steadily added to his holding anything from a rood to a virgate, and

began to hold a court; hence, Stodleys manor."

Miss Godber is perhaps at her best in the chapter, 'Countryside and Manor, 1200-1400'. On manorial organization she is particularly helpful, while emphasizing the dangers of generalizing from the three well-documented Ramsey Abbey manors. But she holds her scholarship lightly, and her clear and sometimes colloquial style makes easy reading. The hoary problem of the size of the virgate is almost slickly introduced. Thus, quoting from jurors' information at a thirteenth-century inquisition taken by the Ramsey steward: "All agree that there are 4 virgates to a hide, at Barton they say that a virgate is 23-28 a.; at Cranfield they don't know, but they think it is 48 a. . ." Some senior school-pupils (and adults as well) will find medieval history the more lively when they read: "There were occasions for humour in the annual round. One was at Barton when hay was mown. A sheep was let loose 'in the meadow in the midst of them, and if they can take it they have it, and if it escapes they lose it for that year'." And the aside about millers ought to cheer the student (as it did the reviewer, grandson of a miller): "John Wodehyll was the miller, and seems to have been an awkward customer, for he was told to grind the tenants' corn properly or he would be fined 40d. (Millers, perhaps from their solitary occupation, tended to develop idiosyncrasies, like the miller in the song who cared for nobody.)" This chapter is in fact such a lucid account of medieval manors, free from abstract, dogmatic statement, and substituting illuminating detail, that I would like to see it reprinted in its own right, partly as narrative local history and partly as source material, for undergraduates—and indeed the general reader. Modest in most of her own statements, she has the courage to attempt a definition of the medieval manor: "a consolidated estate run at least in part by labour service, and under the jurisdiction of its lord."

Attention is drawn to the relatively early disappearance of copyhold tenure in small manors in Bedfordshire—which does not apply generally. In contrast, there is precisely dated evidence of the late survival of serfdom on monastic manors, of which (and of my early years at Bedford) I am often reminded by

photographs in my study of two Ramsey deeds of manumission dated 1457 and 1464.

There is the inevitable chapter on 'Georgian' enclosure including preliminary exchange, by persuasion, or tacit agreement; but here the otherwise rich sources lack early estate maps. The intermittent cattle plague of 1745-54 and the contribution of the Russells, Whitbreads, and other leading families to agricultural progress are among the many other aspects well dealt with.

My only criticism applies to the poor (almost non-existent) annotation of the magnificent series of photographs of original topographical pictures, mostly 'early nineteenth century'.

F. G. EMMISON

E. L. JONES and S. J. WOOLF (eds), *Agrarian Change and Economic Development*. Methuen, 1969. xi+172 pp. £2.

It would be fair to describe this work as the product of a very mixed 'plough team'. At first glance its eight contributors, ranging in interests from modern Mexico to eighteenth-century England, do not appear compatible. That this volume does not represent a false amalgam under a spurious title is a tribute to the quality of the papers it contains. Professor Jones and Dr Woolf in their thoughtful introduction provide a general discussion of agriculture's contribution to economic growth while considering the central position that must be played by the 'Western Model' of development. Yet the very success of the 'Western Model' may in fact have hampered its future imitation.

The six contributors provide case studies of development. Mr R. Zangheri provides a negative analysis of Italian agriculture. Emphasizing the role of agriculture in releasing labour to industry, he stresses the failure of Italy, particularly of the wealthy Po valley, to do this in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Professor R. P. Dore's reprinted paper examines some of the 'non-economic' restraints on growth in Japan 1870-1900. Two further studies by Mr R. Carr and Dr C. M. Elliott, discuss problems of growth in Mexico 1910-60 and the determinants of cropping changes in Africa, 1880-1914.

The two other essays, by Professor F. M. L. Thompson on land ownership and growth in eighteenth-century England, and Dr E. J. T. Collins on labour supply and demand in European agriculture, 1800–80, both cover central aspects of the 'Western Model'. Both are excellent but in different ways. Dr Collins demonstrates the vital relationship between industry and agriculture, showing the effect of the former in reducing the labour pool available for the harvest. The initial answer was to adopt "cheap, non-mechanical, labour-saving technologies"—before mechanization there came an intermediate stage in which scythe replaced sickle in the corn harvest. Professor Thompson, in contrast, has produced a stimulating survey of the landed system, stressing the evolution of 'middle class spending habits' among tenant farmers as a sumptuary stimulus to industrial growth.

This volume therefore includes some essays of interest to all agrarian historians and, one hopes, to development economists. One major theme stands out in aggregate—simplistic historical analogies cannot provide development models. The peculiarities of institution, structure, and technology provide as many contrasts as similarities in the six case studies. The examples of Mexico and Africa perhaps also suggest that development prospects for two-thirds of the world must be viewed pessimistically in the light of the 'Western Model'. Dr Elliott may be correct in suggesting the possibility that capital imports may have to play a greater role in future economic development than agricultural progress. It is a question that agrarian historians may help to answer.

J. A. CHARTRES

A. F. J. BROWN, *Essex at Work 1700–1815*.

Essex Record Office Publications, 49, 1969.

172 pp. £1.05.

This admirable Essex Record Office publication sets out to give an overall survey of the economic life of the county in the eighteenth century. It covers population, transport, agriculture, cloth, and minor trades, the development of urban centres, markets, shops, inns and their function as social and business centres, the living standards of the poor, schooling, and

medical provision. It is well written and readable, and Mr Brown illustrates his main themes with a wealth of local detail, and with case-studies of towns, family businesses, individuals, and traders, so that the general description never loses sight of the people in favour of the population.

Amongst such a mass of material, a reviewer can only comment on selected themes. Mr Brown sets the Essex cloth trade firmly in its general context. He deals with sources of wool and outlets for cloth, the effects of wars and slumps, and 'industrial' relationships. Within this context, he demonstrates the fluctuations of the trade and its organization in a series of fascinating studies of local families and businesses. He shows that, despite the monopolistic control of the clothiers over the whole process from purchase of wool to cartage of cloth, families like the Savilles of Bocking continued to depend on outworkers for spinning and weaving, and employed hundreds of men and women in cottage industry throughout the eighteenth century. Despite the readiness of such men to accept technical innovations, and even travel north to inspect and purchase new machinery, they were not ready to diversify production and their sole dependence on bay-making seems to have been the main reason why the trade was virtually dead by 1800. The cloth towns, headed by Colchester, declined during the century unless they were able to re-establish themselves as market centres. Mr Brown shows that even men like John Windle of Braintree, whose family had been in the cloth trade since the early seventeenth century, had considerable farming interests as well in 1720, and as farming became more productive, and more respectable after 1700, clothiers tended to move on to the land.

The main concentration, in the chapter on agriculture, is on the activities and influence of the gentry, who were in touch with both the agricultural theorists in London and the innovators of Norfolk. Their achievements in the improvement of stock-breeding, the introduction of new crops, and the four-course rotation, new machinery, hollow draining, and the widespread reclamation of saltings and woodland are all chronicled. So, to some extent, is the way their ideas percolated through to at

least the most substantial farmers, certainly after the formation of the Essex Agricultural Society in 1793. There is, for instance, a nice account of a group of fifty prosperous farmers meeting in 1801, to watch trials and decide on the merits of single and double ploughs. There is also a fascinating account of the way local smiths and craftsmen caught the interest in machinery, and were encouraged to invent new implements themselves. But Mr Brown admits defeat when he considers how far the new attitudes towards crops, stock, and machinery spread down through farming society. It is an important point, for farmers and farm-workers made up nearly half the heads of families in Essex in 1723. Here, inventories could surely have helped him. Mr Brown suspects that Essex farming reached a high peak of improvement and profit between 1770 and 1815, and gives some evidence on eighteenth-century engrossing which may indicate that the smaller farmer was able to afford improvement. The accounts of a farmer of eighty acres at Thorpe in the 1760's give a rare glimpse into the doings of one of these smaller men, and shows that he made most of his money by selling cereals straight to London. The proximity to the London market seems to have been the main incentive to economic progress throughout; hops, market gardening, specialities like caraway, and even onion and carrot seeds were grown by the mid-century, although cereals seem to have been the main exports. Both the milling and malting trades increased in importance because they catered for the London trade, and often had their own wharves for direct shipment. Dairying and fattening were also important, but the exact regional distribution and fluctuating importance of pasture against arable farming is not made entirely clear. The expansion in the tanning industry after 1750 suggests that cattle were increasing in numbers, although, in general, Mr Brown placed more emphasis on cereals.

The increasing volume of trade with London led to road improvements, a massive development of goods carriage and public transport, and, above all, the growth of the sea-carrying trade. Farm produce went out by sea, manure, chalk, coal, and manufactured goods came in. Agricultural expansion meant that Chelms-

ford, which had never been a textile town, profited from and improved its position as a market and social centre, and other market and port towns prospered similarly.

Mr Brown's conclusion that the population of Essex, after a period of stagnation in the first half of the century, rose steeply in the last part of the century, fits nicely with his deduction that agricultural prosperity was at its height from the 1770's onward. The population of agricultural areas rose steadily, as opposed to the old centres of the cloth industry, which shrank. He also makes a rare attempt to tackle a comparison of the rate of immigration into, and emigration out of, Essex by an examination of settlement certificates. This is a tedious and exacting job which will have to be done by other local historians if population movements within this country are to be better understood. He reinforces this by a comparison of surnames at different dates in a selection of villages, and shows a high degree of mobility, which was naturally greatest amongst farm workers. Improvement in agriculture meant full-employment for the latter, but the population rise of the late eighteenth century meant that the purchasing power of wages did not rise. The plight of the agricultural labourer is sympathetically described, together with details of income, outgoings and poor relief, which was often unexpectedly humane, providing for an adequate diet and medical care.

There is one main criticism of this useful and readable book. In such a general survey, it is obviously impossible to give full references, and probably reasons of economy absolutely forbade this. The reader is often very frustrated by this. For instance, the thumb-nail sketches of half a dozen cloth-making towns which appear on pages ten to fourteen are unsupported by a single reference. A pronounced increase in population between 1780 and 1801 is deduced from a comparison of the 1801 census with 'another survey' of 1778, but there is no reference to the provenance of this 1778 survey. Such examples can be multiplied. A good index helps, but it is a pity that an excellent piece of work, for which we must be grateful, should have been marred by a technical deficiency of this kind.

MARGARET SPUFFORD

HARALD WINKEL, *Die Ablösungskapitalien aus der Bauernbefreiung in West- und Süddeutschland. Höhe und Verwendung bei Standes- und Grundherren*. Band XIX, Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte, Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1968. 176 pp. DM 38.

Winkel's *Habilitationsschrift* investigates a possible source of capital for Germany's nascent industry during the period of its accelerated growth between 1820 and 1870. The likely source may have been the many sums flowing towards the princes and nobility during the slow processes by which the countryman purchased his freedom from forms of ancient obligation.

The diversity of bonds between prince and peasant that had to be absolved are well illustrated in this study which is mainly concerned with the noble houses, but excludes the church and charitable organizations, in south-west Germany. In particular it examines Baden and Württemberg and neighbouring areas. Many of these obligations were commuted on a twenty or twenty-five years' purchase. The nobility surviving the Napoleonic period were chronically in debt. Much of these unique gains were used to extinguish debts to a small group of great bankers whose names recur in this treatise. Much had to be invested safely as a security for debts or new purchases of land. Indeed, land purchase, to round off estates, or to add new estates, especially in Austria and Prussia where the ownership of land gave the entrée into a new and wider court society, was a favoured way of employing the money. The purchase of land forced up land prices but gave the landowners greater estates to manage and land management was their profession or hobby.

Rothschild, often their bankers, favoured state loans within Germany, within Europe and, later, all over the world. This again was not greatly profitable in the long run. Railways both locally in Germany and abroad attracted more money and at first often paid between 6 and 20 per cent.

Did none of this money flow to industry? Some will have gone indirectly through state loans. Much went into the small industry in the local territories of the nobles, but this industry

had no future and consisted of small brick-works, mines, and textile factories. Some nobles, however, had land in Silesia (Hohenlohe-Öttingen) devoted to mining, but only the house of Fugger-Glött, with its ancient links with the industries of Augsburg, spent much of its gains upon industry. Even these nobles turned first to extinguishing long-standing debt before they ventured into industry.

This studied policy of the nobility, at least in south-west Germany, was the cause of their impoverishment. The proceeds of liberation of the peasant, as cash in the princes' pockets, did not enable them to pay their share in fostering Germany's industrial ascendancy. This Winkel proves conclusively in his study of the accounts of about twenty noble houses. He shows in detail that their carefully considered policy predisposed them almost absolutely against investment in industry. It is a difficult book to read, though quite straightforward, and serves as a good introduction to much German legal, economic, and agricultural terminology, and it includes an excellent bibliography.

D. J. DAVIS

ELIZABETH CRITTALL (ed.), *The Victoria History of Wiltshire*. Vol. ix, *Kingsbridge Hundred*. Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1970. xx+220 pp. £8.50.

Kingsbridge hundred lies in north Wiltshire and the eleven parishes which comprise it extend over a varied terrain. The northernmost lie on the narrow ridge of corallian limestone which rises out of the clay vale of White Horse and are, from east to west, the borough of Swindon, Lydiard Tregoze, the borough of Wootton Bassett, Tockenham, and Lynham. To the south of them are the remaining parishes, shaped as long narrow strips with part of their lands lying in the clay vale and part extending up the chalk scarp of the Wiltshire downs. From east to west they are Wanborough, Liddington, Chiseldon, Draycot Foliat, Clyffe Pypard, and Hilmarton.

Much of the volume is taken up with the histories of the boroughs of Swindon and Wootton Bassett, but there is also plenty of information of interest to the agricultural his-

torian, albeit scattered about and intermixed between the various sections in the usual *V.C.H.* manner.

Most of the parishes lie on claylands and form part of the traditional 'cheese' region of Wiltshire. It is not easy to work out the agricultural development of the area as a whole from the individual parish histories partly because they are not related to each other, in the editor's general introduction, and partly because the pattern of settlement in this area was unusually complicated. It was a scatter of hamlets and isolated farmsteads and some parishes, such as Clyffe Pypard and Hilmarton, had four or five townships within them. Many of these townships had their own field systems, while confusion was further increased by the prevalence of detached portions of parishes at some distance from their centres. The absence of a good topographical map of the area does not ease the reader's task even though there are a number of good parish maps c. 1773.

Generally, the area was one which specialized in beef and cheese production from an early date and in which commonfield systems for corn production were never well developed or were early enclosed. There are only five parliamentary enclosure awards for four parishes—two relating to Chiseldon. The earliest was Badbury (in Chiseldon) in 1749. Liddington, Wanborough, and Chiseldon, lying contiguously, followed between 1777 and 1780, and the tithings of Thornhill and Broad Town (in Clyffe Pypard) were the last in 1822. In all cases there was much enclosure by private agreement prior to the parliamentary award, and this method seems to have been particularly prevalent in the seventeenth century when at least six townships were enclosed, including Wootton Bassett, parts of Swindon, Lynham, Tockenham, and Draycot Foliat. Clyffe Pypard and Hilmarton followed in the first half of the eighteenth century, while the last township to be enclosed was West Swindon some time before 1842.

Generalization about the course of enclosure is difficult in view of the absence of comprehensive acreage figures, and one hopes that in future *V.C.H.* editors will take to heart the suggestion made by Mr Emery, reviewing *Bloxham Hundred*, Oxfordshire in Volume XIX

of this *Review* about the importance of expressing enclosures as *percentages* of parish areas at different dates and not leaving the burdensome mathematics to the reader. The general picture in Kingsbridge hundred seems to have been that while only one of the eleven parishes was completely enclosed before 1600 (Lydiard Tregoze), by 1700 five parishes were completely enclosed and most of the rest partly so. By 1750 the enclosed total had risen to seven parishes and probably comprised over three-quarters of the land. Thus, by the time that parliamentary enclosure began in earnest in the 1770s only mopping up operations were needed in this area.

On the related issue of farm sizes, of great interest to the agricultural historian, there is again a mass of information but also scattered and difficult to use for comparative purposes. Inevitably, the nature of the sources makes systematic presentation difficult, but a more comprehensive analysis of related sources such as enclosure awards and tithe surveys (nearly always c. 1840) could provide some benchmarks.

As regards agricultural improvements there is again much information of which only a few examples can be given here. At Liddington in 1641 the tenants and freeholders "were allowed to choose 8 men to arrange exchanges of arable and pasture between tenants, so that they might be able to inclose land as they wished" (p. 71). Also at Liddington the common field arable was reorganized to facilitate more complex rotations. By 1776 the four common fields of 1618 had been increased to six by sub-division (p. 70). Another interesting example of the development of diversified rotations on open fields relates to west Swindon, where in 1798 the crop distribution on 19 furlongs was as follows: barley 57 acres; fallow 23 acres, including 7 acres on which sheep were penned; hops and broad clover 19 acres; cinquefoil 18 acres, beans 11 acres, oats 9 acres; vetches and clover grass 8 acres; and peas 5 acres. Wheat was also grown but in a separate enclosure of 25 acres known as the New Inclosure (p. 125). In this distribution fallow had been reduced to 15.3 per cent of the total and the acreage of fodder crops raised almost to equality with that of cereals (61

acres to 66 acres respectively). Finally, there is an example of the spread of mechanization, a subject which is not generally well covered in the volume. In 1825 Thomas Brown, a member of a well-known Wiltshire farming family, was pioneering the use of steam-ploughing on the 770 acre farm which he rented at Chiseldon.

Like all *V.C.H.* volumes, this one is excellently produced and contains a mass of painstaking scholarship. It also has some superb photographs, maps, and plans (especially of Swindon). One only wishes the format allowed a more readable and meaningful picture of the communities under discussion to emerge.

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

B. JENNINGS (ed.), *A History of Harrogate and Knaresborough*. Advertiser Press, Huddersfield, 1970. 492 pp. 49 plates, 16 maps, 2 figs. Foreword by Asa Briggs. £3.

This volume is the result of research conducted between 1961 and 1969 by two university tutorial classes under the direction of its editor. In a very brief foreword, Professor Asa Briggs expressed the hope that the book "will provide a model for other tutorial classes in other parts of the country": this hope has been fulfilled. The result is a local history which is a credit to both Mr Jennings and his students.

It is an unpretentious local history "designed to appeal to the general reader interested in the development of Harrogate and Knaresborough." But it contains much of interest to agrarian historians. Four chapters explicitly concern agriculture and the landscape, and the one on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is based on extensive use of probate inventories. Two others provide a useful account of the Knaresborough linen industry, which was developed in part on locally grown flax. As a whole the book covers the general urban history of two communities which were largely by-passed by the industrial revolution and which developed ultimately as resort towns.

Both were ancient farming communities lying contiguous to an extensive area of forest. The region lay 'waste' at the time of Domesday but later saw an extensive but slow assart-

ing movement. The same heavy clay soils which hampered the extension of tillage probably favoured reversion to grass after the middle of the fourteenth century. In their later history, the two settlements pursued the mixed-farming characteristics of such soils, with craft industries, particularly textiles, playing an increasingly important role. There is also a useful account of enclosures.

This is a competent local history, the result of classes designed to educate through research. It has the admitted weaknesses of a 'federal' book, lacking perhaps the continuity and uniformity that a single author would have given. Sadly, "to avoid distraction" the over-abbreviated footnotes were placed at the back of the book (p. 17). But it is generally well produced for its price and size, although there are rather more printing errors than one would wish. As the history of two towns, the one, Harrogate, rising eventually to eclipse its medieval superior, Knaresborough, it will be of interest both to the denizens of these towns and to historians concerned with the area. Agrarian historians, particularly those interested in the "dual economy" and the linen industry, will find it perhaps of more general utility.

J. A. CHARTRES

G. R. HAWKE, *Railways and Economic Growth in England and Wales, 1840-1870*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970. xiv+421 pp. £6.

Professor Hawke's book is the first in which a problem in British economic history has been given the cliometric treatment worked out by the Fishlow-Fogel ("the new economic history") school. It has generally been assumed, largely on the strength of qualitative evidence, that the coming of the railways brought substantial savings in practically all spheres of economic life. Professor Hawke makes an ambitious attempt to quantify these savings for the middle years of the nineteenth century, and the general result of his statistical inquiries and manipulations is to deflate considerably the claims made for the railways. Of particular interest to agricultural historians are chapters iv and v on (a) inter-county wheat flows and (b) livestock flows and meat supplies. Professor Hawke finds that the social saving on the carriage of wheat, both home-produced and

imported, by rail, as opposed to other forms of transport, was small, i.e. between 0.03 per cent and 0.08 per cent of United Kingdom national income in 1865. With regard to livestock and meat consumption the savings were slightly more substantial, somewhere between 0.05 per cent and 0.31 per cent of the national income. The railways probably halved the real cost of transporting livestock, although in relation to total national income the saving was not very significant. The speed of railway transport, however, made possible the growth of the trade in dead meat, particularly to the London area, although this was only in its early stages by 1865-70. The growth of the dead meat trade eventually meant much greater freedom of choice for the consumer and an improvement in public health as suburban and country abattoirs gradually replaced those deep in the crowded cities. Professor Hawke concludes that the transport savings did little to stimulate home production of wheat and meat, but the handling of imports was certainly facilitated. For the record, there is a substantial error on page 190, where the export price of coal in 1865 is given as £9.4 per ton; 9.4s. would be nearer the mark.

W. H. CHALONER

HOPE L. BOURNE, *A Little History of Exmoor*. Dent, 1969. xi+180 pp. £2; VICTOR BONHAM-CARTER (ed.), *The Exmoor Review*, no. 10, 1969. 108 pp. Maps and plates, 25p., including supplement, *Access on Exmoor*.

Miss Bourne's outline history of Exmoor from the earliest times to the present day has benefited by her long residence as a farmer on the moor. Nine of her charming drawings illustrate the text, but if a second edition is printed a map should be provided since it is essential for a study of this kind. The central event in Exmoor's history was the disafforestation, sale, and enclosure of the moor by the Crown in 1815. Doubtless with the blockade and high corn prices of the war years the reclamation of Exmoor for farming seemed a desirable proposition, but the subsequent struggles of the Knight family—who purchased about 10,000 acres of the heart of the moor—confirmed what the locals had always known about Exmoor's agricultural limitations. Eventually

some worthwhile stock farms were created, but the loss of valuable common grazing rights weakened the position of old-established farms around the moor's edge. In social terms the price seems much higher when Exmoor's limited area of open moorland is compared with that of Dartmoor, where a similar—but little known—scheme was frustrated.

Miss Bourne's touch is light, but she has a deep knowledge of Exmoor, and her history should stimulate further interest in this fascinating area.

The Exmoor Society can be proud of the 1969 edition of their journal the *Exmoor Review*, edited by Victor Bonham-Carter. Including a free supplement, *Access on Exmoor*, the *Review* is divided into nine sections: agriculture and amenity, access, man and the moor, mining, wild life and tame, history, book reviews, and poems. Geoffrey Sinclair's article 'Fair play and fair pay in National Parks' is of special interest since it explores the central problem of the Parks—how to integrate farming with amenity. The maintenance of open moorland depends on traditional hill-farming methods, particularly controlled grazing. Without this the land reverts to woody scrub. The problem is that traditional grazing methods are becoming uneconomic and the Ministry of Agriculture is financing schemes to plough up and enclose moorland; but under the 1968 Countryside Act the Minister of Housing may pay compensation to farmers for not ploughing amenity land. Mr Sinclair suggests that with better cooperation public money might be used to bolster traditional methods with the clear understanding that this was being done for amenity reasons.

The 1969 *Exmoor Review* is an excellent bargain at 25p.

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

J. R. SMITH, *Foulness: A History of an Essex Island Parish*. Essex Record Office Publications, no. 55, Chelmsford, 1970. 61 pp. 42p.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Essex coastal marshlands provided such rich grazing for sheep that islands such as Foulness, Wallasea, and Canvey were divided between mainland manors and parishes. Essex marshland sheep

were prized for their dairy produce, especially cheese, and although the amount of arable land was increased in the seventeenth century it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that sheep farming became of less importance. During the next hundred years, such was the conversion to arable farming that by 1847 there were 4,544 acres of arable to only 738 acres of pasture.

The author relies on manorial and literary evidence and has not examined the probate inventories. The best part of the book is that which identifies and dates all of the thirteen large marshes or wicks which were "inned" from the sea between the early fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. An intricate system of banks and ditches secured and drained 1,632 acres of inned saltings, which eventually became highly fertile arable land. Unfortunately, the topographer who wishes to explore these defences is barred by the even better security now provided by the Army.

The book has eight photographs and four useful maps, with much interesting miscellaneous information such as the fact that the numerous female descendants of the Dutch settlers of the seventeenth century were still wearing Dutch costume as their normal attire until the First World War. As with all the publications of the Essex Record Office, this booklet is good value for its price. The publishers' sense of timing is superb!

DAVID HEY

A. E. BROWN (ed.), *The Growth of Leicester*.

Leicester University Press, 1970. 92 pp. 50p. This is the text of ten talks on the history of Leicester from Roman times to the present day, originally given on BBC Radio Leicester in 1969. Eight authors co-operated to survey the history of the town in a valuable series of public lectures given to a wider audience than conventional means would allow.

Many lectures are necessarily topographical in their approach, covering such topics as the Castle, the New Walk, and the Garden Suburb, and they carefully relate local landmarks to historical development. All but three, in consequence, are illustrated by well-chosen maps. Each is placed in its more general context by Professor Simmons's introduction. Together

they represent a general guide of high standard to the long history of the town.

Intended for the layman, they are not without interest for historians, although none would really command the attention of specialists. One paper, by Professor Everitt, 'Leicester and its markets: the seventeenth century' is of the most direct interest to agricultural historians, and, like most of the others, appends some useful suggestions for further reading. This "brief life" of one of our most important provincial towns sets a high standard for similar ventures in the future. Publication may secure for this series the wider readership it deserves.

J. A. CHARTRES

W. J. HUGHES (ed.), *Fowler Steam Road Vehicles. Catalogues and working instructions*. David & Charles Reprints, Newton Abbot, 1970.

Illus. xvii + 135 pp. £1.75.

This book is a reprint of three catalogues produced in the late 1920's or early '30's by the engineering firm of John Fowler and Co. of Leeds. John Fowler, of course, is best known for his important work in steam ploughing and his invention of the "mole" drainage plough. Also reproduced is a manual of working instructions for Fowler steam vehicles. The book is obviously aimed primarily at the traction-engine enthusiast, although the historian can extract some useful raw material with little difficulty.

It is a pity that, as with so many reprints, the opportunity of including a worthwhile introductory section was not grasped. Mr Hughes's (very) short introduction gives merely the barest facts of the firm's history. The historian, and particularly the agricultural historian, will be disappointed at the absence of any real addition to our knowledge of one of the many important engineering firms which had their origins in the early mechanization phase of British agriculture. The three catalogues, interesting, although not uniquely so, abound in technical tit-bits for the mechanically minded but at many points they overlap and contain much repetitive information. They are a trade literature of the last period of steam traction, as the numerous derogatory references to the internal combustion engine indicate; but to

those whose memories do not stretch that far back, they do reveal the amount and variety of work still being done by steam power in the '20's despite the increasing competition of the petrol engine. There is a section on agricultural engines with a few (some rather small) photographic illustrations but unfortunately little detail is given of the implements used in

conjunction with such engines. For the light that it throws on Fowler and Co.'s importance in agricultural and engineering history the book is a disappointment. But the steam-loving fraternity, within whose field this fits more easily, may welcome it as a useful addition to the source material of their subject.

DAVID GRACE

Shorter Notices

FRANK E. HUGGETT, *A Day in the Life of a Victorian Farm Worker*. Allen and Unwin, 1972. 88 pp. £2.15 hardback; 95p paperback.

This well-illustrated little book is intended primarily for those interested in developing local history, particularly as a study in schools. Its simple fictional reconstruction of a typical day in the life of a farm worker and his family a hundred years ago is based on secondary sources and archives. A final chapter sets the family's life in the more varied national scene.

JOHN FIELD, *English Field Names: a Dictionary*. David & Charles, 1972. xxx+291 pp. £5.75.

English field names exist in great variety, and this useful reference work contains several thousand names arranged in dictionary form with locations, meanings, and derivations. In his introduction the author considers the origins of names and relates their development to agrarian changes over past centuries. Perhaps such choice examples as "Break Back," "Gibbet Copse," "Smoothing Iron Field," and "Woe Furlong" will encourage readers to dip further into this volume and find encouragement there to study the field names of their home districts.

MARGARET GELLING, *The Place Names of Berkshire, Part I*. C.U.P., 1973. xxi+287 pp. £6. This volume appears as the forty-ninth in the series produced by the English Place-Name Society. Its publication aptly celebrates the

Society's fiftieth anniversary and is produced to the very high standards of detailed scholarship associated with its work. When the two further volumes on Berkshire appear, a total of twenty-three counties will have been surveyed. The present book covers county, district, road, dyke and river names, together with the place names and field names of ten hundreds in the south and east of the county.

ROBERT DE ZOUCHE HALL (ed.), *A Bibliography on Vernacular Architecture*. David & Charles, 1972. 191 pp. £3.95.

The publication of this bibliography is the fruit of many years of research and represents the achievement of one of the first objectives of the Vernacular Architecture Group. Their work now makes it possible to study regional building characteristics more fully than ever before. In each section of the book references are listed by regions, and the coverage includes Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. While the book as a whole will form a valuable source of reference for agrarian history, particular interest will be found in the sections dealing with regional and local studies, rural houses, farmsteads, and farm buildings. Also useful is the list of works relating to wills, inventories, building accounts, the hearth and window taxes, and other documentary sources.

GEOFFREY P. WEST, *Rabies in Animals and Man*. David & Charles, 1972. 168 pp. £2.75.

Although primarily concerned with providing a comprehensive introductory survey of the

subject, including present-day control measures and an outline of current treatment and research, this interesting little volume also offers some brief historical background. The discussion extends to rabies in farm livestock and the material is world wide in scope. There is a useful bibliography.

REX C. RUSSELL, *The Enclosures of Holton le Clay 1763-1766, Waltham 1769-1771, and Tetney 1774-1779*. Waltham branch W.E.A., 1972. Available from Rex C. Russell, 11 Priestgate, Barton-on-Humber, Lincs. DN18 5ET. 21 pp. 7 maps.

This pamphlet forms another useful addition to the series on Lincolnshire enclosures which Rex C. Russell has produced over the last ten years or so. The clearly drawn maps and simple tables make it a valuable tool for teaching purposes, and the three enclosures discussed will bring out the varied problems of the subject. It is to be hoped that Mr Russell may be persuaded to follow up one or more of his villages in greater depth, studying estate and parish records where available, and over a longer time period so as to reveal more of the background of the enclosure and its ultimate effects on landownership and occupation, size of farms, local employment, and other matters of interest to the specialist.

DAVID HEY, *The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield Region*. Leicester U.P.: Department of English Local History Occasional Papers, 2nd ser., no. 5, 1972. 60 pp. £1.

In this valuable addition to the Occasional Papers published by the Leicester Department of English Local History, Dr Hey provides a greatly expanded version of his article which appeared in volume xvii of this REVIEW. His concern is a detailed examination of an area of dual occupations, where part-time farmers of the Sheffield region engaged in the growing metalworking trades, especially cutlery, nailing, and the making of agricultural implements. The result is a revealing study of a corner of the industrializing England of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is to be hoped that Dr Hey will go on to tell us more about the process of transition by which the local economy became trans-

formed and part-time farming ceased to be a fundamental part of the way of life.

P. D. KING, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*. C.U.P., 1972. xiv+318 pp. £6.60.

At its fullest extent the kingdom of the Visigoths embraced Portugal and part of southern France as well as Spain. Dr King's study is based on the rich collection of legal records relating to the later seventh century from which he provides a great deal of information about the working of the kingdom and the day-to-day life of the inhabitants. His chapters deal in turn with the monarchy, government, church, social structure, and the family, and his discussion of the economy includes some valuable pages on landholding and the agriculture of the period.

J. L. ALTHOLZ, *Victorian England, 1837-1901*. C.U.P., 1971. xi+100 pp. £1.75.

This book is one of a series of reasonably priced bibliographical handbooks published for the Conference on British Studies, an American-based organization, under the general editorship of Professor J. J. Hecht. It contains exactly 2,500 entries of selected books and articles, most of them published before 1 January 1968. In spite of its title, the handbook contains items on Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; Victorian literature *per se* is omitted; so is imperial history. The fourteen sections into which the volume is divided range from bibliographies and catalogues through institutional history down to religious history, the fine arts, and "intellectual history". Agricultural historians will naturally turn to the section on agricultural history, which is disappointingly brief. It contains 61 items only, as compared with 331 for economic history and 213 for social history. When one considers the importance of agriculture in Victorian England this is somewhat surprising. For example, the only biography listed in the agricultural section is Miss Ashby's *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe* (1961). Joseph Arch's autobiography (1st edition, 1898, latest abridged edition, 1966) does not appear. Omissions from other sections are Jane E. Norton, *Guide to the National and Provincial Directories of*

England and Wales . . . before 1856 (1950) and *Men of the Time*, 1st edition, 1852, which became *Men and Women of the Time* for the 13th edition in 1891, when it contained 2,450 biographical entries, mainly British. Nevertheless, the handbook should prove of great value to all students of the Victorian era.

W. H. CHALONER

C. R. HART, *The Early Charters of Essex*. Occasional Papers in English Local History: First Series, no. 10, revised edition. Leicester University Press, 1971. 55 pp., £1.

Dr Hart has revised his original handlist of Essex charters which appeared in two volumes as nos. 10 and 11 in the Leicester Local History Series. The revisions are mainly on points of detail with more precise dating. The texts printed in the first edition are here inserted as they occur in the catalogue instead of being collected in the appendices. They have been augmented by some Latin abstracts of wills, which are welcome. Three studies, one on the St Paul's estates in Essex which is a substantial essay of value, have been omitted. Dr Hart promises to reprint them in a volume of essays called somewhat unfortunately *Danelaw Studies*, since it has been shown that the localities in which they lay were never part of the Danelaw. Their reappearance will certainly be welcome, however, especially if Dr Hart has second thoughts in one or two places. So far as the authenticity of the charters is concerned Dr Hart has retained his system of stars: it would have been more useful, I suspect, if he had given the numbers assigned to the charters in Professor Sawyer's *Handlist*. The main use of the handlist will lie in its comments on the people involved in the documents and above all in the many topographical references.

ERIC JOHN

STANLEY FREESE, *Windmills and Millwrighting*. David & Charles, 1971. xviii+168 pp. 35 plates. £2.50.

First published in 1957, this reprint of what has been described as "the pre-eminent treatise on technical aspects of windmills and their operation" is very welcome and ought to find its way on to the shelves of many historians

and industrial archaeologists. Although not primarily a work of historical study, this book provides all the necessary technical background to the history of windmilling and at the same time describes in great detail all the processes involved in the running and maintenance of mills. It is a vital work of reference for anyone concerned with the study and, especially, the restoration of these structures, although pleasantly devoid of much confusing technical jargon. A very full glossary of milling terminology is included which makes the text easily understood. There is also an excellent selection of very clear photographic illustrations of windmills, their parts, and their restoration. For this new edition the author has made some revisions in the text but this is basically a straight, well-produced reprint of what is the standard work in its field.

DAVID GRACE

GEORGE EWART EVANS and DAVID THOMSON, *The Leaping Hare*. Faber & Faber, 1972. 262 pp. £3.50.

We know very little about the historical ecology of the hare, or indeed of many other mammals. How abundant and widely distributed were hares in the past, how did changes in land use and management affect them, how did man regard the animals, and why did he seek to preserve or to destroy them? Most of our information will be obtained from documentary sources, but this book usefully emphasizes the value of oral evidence—the recollections of countrymen with an intimate knowledge of local wildlife, land use, and folklore. The authors rightly stress the need to study the behavioural and feeding patterns of the hare in order to assess the impact of man on the habitat. Without this data, the significance of such changes as the clearing of the wood and introduction of clover and turnips cannot be assessed. A large proportion of this volume is devoted to the place of the hare in mythology, as a symbol of fertility, and as a witch and trickster. In order to understand the man-hare relationship, the authors discuss the place and functions of animals in man's outlook on life and his conception of the real and spiritual worlds.

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British Agricultural History Society

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The AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW



VOLUME 21 1973

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The Origins of the English Pillow Lace Industry
G. F. R. SPENCELEY

Reconstructing a Historical Landscape from Field and Documentary
Evidence: Otford in Kent
GEOFFREY HEWLETT

Unciae: Land Measurement in the *Liber Landavensis*
WENDY DAVIES

Peasant Revolt in France and England: a Comparison
C. S. L. DAVIES

The Agrarian History of England and Wales
Volume I
ERIC JOHN

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The Origins of the English Pillow Lace Industry¹

By G. F. R. SPENCELEY

IN her pioneering analysis, 'Industries in the Countryside', Dr Thirsk suggested that the key to the development of the rural industries which existed in England between the opening of the fifteenth and the middle of the seventeenth centuries lay in the socio-agrarian environment which produced the requisite labour supplies.² For no matter how close the prospective entrepreneur found himself to supplies of raw materials and sources of power, or to ports and centres of compelling market demand, he could not establish a rural industry unless he could find a labour force. Indeed, the impetus for the development of rural industry probably came from within rural society itself as local populations searched for additional sources of income to supplement meagre returns from agriculture. Yet this was no haphazard evolution. Rural industries tended to develop in a distinct region of England, in "populous communities of small farmers pursuing a pastoral economy based either upon dairying or breeding,"³ for it was here that the demands on agricultural labour were relatively slight, probably spasmodic, and farm work and excess rural population could easily turn to industrial employment as a result.

There was far less likelihood of rural industries developing in arable areas, for arable agriculture exerted heavy demands on labour supplies. In Hertfordshire, for example, a small outpost of the cloth industry had died in the sixteenth century because of a switch to arable agriculture which, in the words of local magistrates, provided "better means" of employing the poor in "picking wheat a great part of the year and straining before the plough at seedtime and other necessary occasions of husbandry."⁴

Subsequent investigations led Dr Thirsk to suggest that if "an industry was to flourish on a scale sufficiently large to support a specialized market of repute . . . it had to be able to draw on a considerable reserve of labour. This was not so easily found in common field districts where the system of land distribution, and particularly the scattered strips of arable were extravagant in the use of labour and where mixed husbandry made heavy demands on the labour force, requiring attention to the cultivation of the fields virtually throughout the year as well as attention to stock."⁵ And these were not the only obstacles, for lowland common-field districts were highly manorialized and manorial courts had considerable effect in discourag-

¹ I am grateful to Don Woodward of the Department of Economic and Social History, Hull University, for helpful comments on an earlier draft.

² Joan Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside', in F. J. Fisher (ed.), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, Cambridge, 1961, pp. 70-88.

³ Their growth was probably strengthened during the sixteenth century by the pressures of population expansion. The pressures had also been intensified in these areas as a result of systems of partible inheritance. —*Ibid.*, pp. 76-9, 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87. Arable agriculture, in Dr Thirsk's words, gave "full employment to all."

⁵ Joan Thirsk (ed.), *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, IV, 1967, pp. 13-14.

ing the immigration of outsiders and squatters on the waste, and also in the partitioning of land by tenants. Manorial lords were concerned to control the size and growth of population on their estates and these were poor conditions for producing labour supplies for cottage industry.¹

Dr Thirsk was careful to point out that it was not her intention to "propound a theory for the situation of rural handicraft industries which can be applied mechanically to them all," and that any analysis of the growth of a rural industry in one district rather than another must inevitably be "beset with pitfalls."² But further investigation, in Volume IV of *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, has shown that, with a small number of exceptions, the development of rural industry did take place essentially in the kinds of area suggested by Dr Thirsk. "For the most part, country industries were established in areas . . . now largely given over to dairying or pasture farming . . . it was precisely in these districts, with their pastoral economy, that the local demand for agricultural labour was relatively slight, or at best, spasmodic." And this, it is said, "fully bears out" Dr Thirsk's thesis.³ Indeed, she concludes in the same volume that the economic and social environment was so unfavourable to the maintenance of industries in corn growing districts that those that did survive deserve closer examination.⁴

One of the industries which she suggested might be investigated was pillow lacemaking, an industry which, as yet, has received only cursory attention. This article surveys and attempts to explain the early years of this industry's development, and in so doing suggests an important qualification to Dr Thirsk's general thesis on the origin of rural industries.

II

Pillow lace was developed in Italy and Flanders late in the fifteenth century, a product essentially of the Renaissance.⁵ It was a fine and delicate fabric, made by a worker twisting threads, attached to bobbins, around pins which were inserted into a pricked parchment pattern which rested on a pillow. In a fine piece of lace as many as 400 bobbins might be used and the fabric therefore lent itself to great variation in texture and design.⁶ By the early sixteenth century the quality of pillow lace had been improved to such a degree that geometric designs were now added to floral varieties and flax threads had replaced metallic threads of gold and silver. It was a fabric well-suited to the extravagant fashions of the age and by the mid-century had already become an important article of international commerce.⁷

In England, the demand for foreign laces of all kinds increased greatly during the

¹ Thirsk, *Agrarian History* . . . , IV, 1967, p. 14.

² Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside', *loc. cit.*, pp. 71, 86.

³ A. Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', in *Agrarian History* . . . , IV, p. 429. For a similar view of the origins of the leather industry see L. A. Clarkson, 'The Leather Crafts in Tudor and Stuart England', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, pt 1, 1966, pp. 25-40.

⁴ Thirsk, *Agrarian History* . . . , IV, p. 13.

⁵ M. E. Jackson, *A History of Hand-Made Lace*, 1900, p. 14.

⁶ For details of the production of pillow lace see W. Felkin, *A History of Machine-Wrought Lace and Hosiery*, New York, Centenary Edition 1967, pp. 127-9.

⁷ B. Palliser, *A History of Lace*, 1865, revised edn by M. Jourdain and A. Dryden, 1901, p. 295.

reign of Henry VIII.¹ The demand was stimulated by the increasing extravagance in clothing then developing under the influence of Italian fashion. It was a fashion-conscious age, and lacemaking benefited greatly as a result. The second half of the century saw Flanders pillow lace become a popular article with the English upper class.² By 1568 the value of laces of all kinds imported into England is said to have been £10,000 per annum,³ and the level of imports continued to increase thereafter, as lace handkerchiefs, cuffs, collars, christening shirts, aprons, and high starched ruffs came into fashion.⁴

By the end of the century an established market for foreign pillow laces existed among the upper and growing middle-class populations in England, especially in London. Lace was in vogue. "Our English dames," said Sir Francis Bacon in 1590, "are much given to the wearing of costly laces, and if brought from Italy, France or Flanders, they are in much esteem."⁵ But both sexes were then fond of extravagant fashion, and the demand among men was particularly intense in London where the population was inflated regularly by hordes of fashion-conscious country gentlemen settling in the metropolis for the season.⁶

It was against this background of increasing domestic demand that, towards the end of the sixteenth century, pillow lacemaking first appeared in England as both a domestic handicraft and a commercial concern.⁷ At this time pillow lacemaking was spreading among ladies of the English upper class as an alternative pastime to the various aspects of needlework, both in London and the provinces. In 1595, Philip Henslow, a London businessman, apprenticed his niece to John Grygs of London, "to learne all manner of workes, to make bone lace and to knit."⁸ In Bedford the wife of Henry Whittaker, master of the Free School, made pillow lace prior to her death in 1601,⁹ and at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, Ann Smithson provided in her will in 1615 that her six-year-old daughter be brought up in the charge of Francis Cooper, victualler, for three years "at her book and needle, and for three years thereafter to make bone lace and to knytt."¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*

² In 1556 Queen Mary received a "fair smock of white work, Flanders making and when Sir Thomas Wyatt went to his execution in 1554 he perhaps saw his dignity enhanced by the wearing of a 'fine hat of velvet with broad bonework lace about it.'"—*Ibid.*, p. 297.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 309. ⁴ J. Laver, *Costume*, 1963, p. 45. The ruffs were made popular by Philip of Spain.

⁵ As quoted in Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶ In the words of Ben Jonson: "first, to be an accomplished gentleman—that is a gentleman of the time—you must give over housekeeping in the country and live together in the city amongst gallants where at your just appearance twere good you turned four or five acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparell."—F. J. Fisher: 'London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 2nd ser., xxx, 1948, pp. 46–7, quoting C. Knight, *London*, 1841, p. 378.

⁷ The English pillow lace industry always found it difficult to compete abroad with technically superior continental producers, though increasing quantities were sent to the colonies during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.—*Commons Journals*, xiii, 6 March 1699, p. 270. W. Pitt, *General View of the Agriculture of Northamptonshire*, 1809, p. 101.

⁸ *Henslow's Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, I, 1964, p. 192. Shakespeare either had heard of pillow lace or had seen it being made. In *Twelfth Night*, II, iv (pub. 1601), he writes of

"The spinsters and knitters in the sun,
And the free maids that weave
their threads with bone."

⁹ Beds. C.R.O.: ABP/W, 1601–21. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1615/47.

But pillow lacemaking was also being introduced to the poorer children in a number of rural counties at this time. In the East Midland counties of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire the overseers of several parishes were attempting, under Tudor Poor Law Legislation, to make their pauper children self-supporting by providing them with materials for making pillow lace. At Eaton Socon, in the north-eastern corner of Bedfordshire, the local Poor Law authorities agreed, typically, in 1596, "the payment of i j. d the weeke to the woman that teacheth the pore children to worck bone lace. . . And every child thus workinge shall weekly be paid from the gaine of Mr. Beverley his stock so much as they shall earne by their workinge; and such pore as doe not send their children being able to worck shall receive no relief from the collection."¹ In this way rural poverty and the government's desire to maintain order and security by employing the poor² eventually encouraged the parallel evolution of a pillow lace industry. For by the 1630's pillow lacemaking was soundly established on a commercial basis, not only in the villages of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, but also in the villages of neighbouring Northamptonshire, and in the south-eastern corner of Devon. By the end of the century, lace dealers would claim to employ over 100,000 women and children, some of whom, making laces which sold at prices from 5s. to 630s. a yard, were earning over 7s. a week.³ In 1724 Daniel Defoe claimed, if perhaps with customary exaggeration, that next to the woollen cloth industry pillow lacemaking was the largest employer in England.⁴

To what extent does the industry's location fall into Dr Thirsk's pattern? In the *Agrarian History* Dr Thirsk and Professor Everitt have traced the industry's location to the familiar areas of non-arable agriculture. In the Midland region it appeared in the Bernwood and Stowood forests on the borders between Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and in the Salcey and Whittlewood forests in the south-east of Northamptonshire. In the former area "preliminary indications" suggest a population engaged in cattle-rearing, dairying, and pigkeeping, though "a close study of these areas would be necessary to establish the true nature of both farming systems." In Salcey and Whittlewood preliminary evidence again indicates a populous community of small farmers concerned with rearing cattle, sheep and pigs, and breeding horses. In the West Country, despite the common association of the industry with the names of Honiton and Devon, the industry is traced simply to Yeovil in Somerset, "an exceptionally populous county congested with dairy farmers."⁵

All of this points to a confirmation of Dr Thirsk's thesis. But some of the most important areas of the industry's development late in the sixteenth and early in the

¹ Quoted in Joyce Godber, *History of Bedfordshire*, Luton, 1969, p. 222. Materials for pillow lacemaking were also distributed early in the seventeenth century at Kempston, Poddington, Pavenham, and High Wycombe. —Beds. C.R.O.: P60/12; OR 975; P68/14; L.J. Ashford, *The History of the Borough of High Wycombe*, 1960, pp. 150-1.

² D. C. Coleman, 'Labour in the English Economy of the Seventeenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., III, 1955-6, pp. 280-96.

³ *Commons Journals*, loc. cit.

⁴ D. Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 1927 edn, I, p. 217.

⁵ Thirsk, 'The Farming Regions of England', *Agrarian History* . . . , IV, pp. 71, 72, 94.

seventeenth century in fact were not pastoral districts but districts based essentially on arable agriculture. By the middle of the century considerable development had taken place, for example, in northern Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, both of which lay on the edge of the Midlands plain. In 1611, two pillow lace dealers from Newport Pagnell were brought before the Ecclesiastical Court for "continually travelling with consignments of lace to London on the Sabbath day."¹ The industry also appeared in Fenny Stratford, where William Stopp was putting out lacemaking materials to the women and children in surrounding villages in 1638,² and in Buckingham, where Peter Reynolds and John Rennals, two lace dealers, were both issuing trade tokens in the 1600's.³ Similar, if less pronounced, development had also taken place further south. In 1623, a year of general trade depression,⁴ the industry was sufficiently entrenched in High Wycombe for the mayor to complain that: "Wee find that by reason of the trades of clothing and bone lace makeinge are much decayed and do daylie fayle, the poore are greatlie hindered and impoverished and growne into such multitudes that wee knowe not measures to set them on work."⁵ As the century progressed the industry's hold in this county gradually expanded in the villages surrounding Newport Pagnell and Olney, which had emerged as an important centre by the 1660's,⁶ and also in the south-west where, from High Wycombe, and later from Great Marlow, laces were put out to workers in Weston Turville and Holton, villages in the neighbouring Chiltern Hills. By the end of the century there were over 200 lace dealers in Buckinghamshire, of whom over 150 travelled regularly with consignments of lace to London.⁷

In the northern extremities of Bedfordshire the industry appeared first in villages on the banks of the River Ouse where William Rose, a "bone lacemaker," was buried at Bromham, near Bedford, in 1616.⁸ Richard King, of neighbouring Eversholt, was described as a "bone lacemaker" on a deed of conveyance dated 1621,⁹ and at Stevington, another Ouse-side village, John Reid is described similarly in 1688.¹⁰ John Chapman, of Milton Earnest, just north of Bedford, a "lacebuyer," sold over two acres of land in 1641,¹¹ and the industry had also appeared at Elstow, near Bedford, by the 1650's.¹² By the 1680's "lace buyers" had been recorded at Cranfield, Kempston, Harrold, Turvey, Stevington, and Bromham,¹³ while the industry had also developed, if on a smaller scale, further south, around the centre of Marston Mortaine where, in 1642, Richard Newman, a lace dealer, held a stock of lace worth £70.¹⁴ Yet the industry was always absent from the southern extremities of the county and most notably from the villages surrounding the major town-

¹ Bishop's Visitations (1611-12), quoted in C. Freeman, *Pillow Lace in the East Midlands*, Luton, 1964, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*

³ T. O. Manton & E. Hollis, *Buckinghamshire Trade Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century*, 1933, pp. 37-8.

⁴ B. E. Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642*, 1959, p. 55.

⁵ P.R.O.: S.P.D. Jas. I, pp. 142, 144. ⁶ T. Fuller, *Worthies of England*, I, 1662, p. 128.

⁷ *Commons Journals*, loc. cit. ⁸ Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 12. ⁹ Beds. C.R.O.: T42/471.

¹⁰ Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 12. ¹¹ Beds. C.R.O.: CH593/4.

¹² Godber, *op. cit.*, p. 293. The terms lace buyer, lace maker, and laceman seem to have been used interchangeably well into the nineteenth century. A "Lacemaker," Thomas Bull, was dealing in pillow lace at Pavenham, Bedfordshire, in 1821.—Beds. C.R.O.: X23916/1.

¹³ Godber, *op. cit.*, p. 274. ¹⁴ Beds. C.R.O.: ABP/W, 1640/93.

ship of Luton. Here there was no rural industry until straw plaiting developed rapidly early in the eighteenth century.¹

During the course of the seventeenth century the industry had also expanded considerably in Northamptonshire near the borders with Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and particularly in and around the two market towns of Wellingborough and Towcester. By the time a petition was presented by Northamptonshire lace dealers to the House of Commons in 1698 the industry had grown vigorously. Dealers then claimed there were over 3,000 laceworkers in the county, of whom over 1,000 were in Wellingborough alone. The industry had spread widely across Northamptonshire's south-eastern corner reaching over a dozen villages and towns, the most prominent of which, in terms of the numbers the industry employed, were Wellingborough, Towcester, Yardley Hastings, Whittlebury, Centum, and Crendon.²

By the middle of the seventeenth century a new industry had therefore sprung up in a diversity of agricultural districts in the East Midlands including many which fall outside Dr Thirsk's pattern. As she has suggested, the industry's development in Northamptonshire and parts of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire did take place in wooded areas which were probably based on a pastoral economy. Yet in a district in which wheat, rye, and barley were grown, Newport Pagnell and Olney, the industry's famous centres, still had their open fields at the end of the eighteenth century, while Arthur Young found nearly the whole district from Aylesbury to Buckingham to be open field in 1771.³ Eighty years earlier Celia Fiennes had drawn the same conclusion specifically of Fenny Stratford and district,⁴ and at High Wycombe the industry had grown in an area which, early in the seventeenth century, still had its common fields and supplied wheat and barley to London but in which there were no sheep, and "no cheese and butter was made."⁵

In Northamptonshire, the situation is less clear, for the industry's development in non-wooded areas around Wellingborough and Towcester may have taken place in the second half of the century, during which there was a marked swing to pasture farming.⁶ But the arable pattern was repeated in Bedfordshire, a "basically arable" county,⁷ "very completely under the common field system,"⁸ and famous for its

¹ J. G. Dony, *A History of the Straw Hat Industry*, Luton, 1949, ch. II, *passim*.

² *Case of the Lacemakers in relation to the Importation of Foreign Lace*, Victoria & Albert Museum, 43A2H. The petition listed the following "people in a few places which get their living by making of lace": Buckinghamshire: Weston Turville 96, Holton 74, Aylesbury 429, Buckland Beathong 59, Drayton Beauchamp & Aston Abbots 69, Hanslope 830, Morsley 114, Newton Longville 101, Brackley 150, Stoakhamon 78, Blackley 150, Whitchurch 119, North Marston 132, Solbery 155, Oving 66, Swanbourne 129, Quainton 116, Bow Brickhill 140, North Crawley 403, Fenny Stratford 192, Olney 1,302, Newport Pagnell 1,378, Stony Stratford 1,472, Northamptonshire: Centum 257, Little Houghton 60, Wellingborough 1,146, Wilby 69, Earls Barton 127, Ecton 44, Towcester 591, Castle Ashby 64, Braxley 154, Whittlebury 206, Yardley Hastings 442, Ashton 101, Grendon 259; Bedfordshire: Cranfield 652, Molsoe 174.

³ Bucks. C.R.O.: Enclosure Awards, 1794 IR/67(i & ii), 1768 IR/132; IR/96. A. Young, *Eastern Tour*, I, pp. 18-19. See also *Annals of Agriculture*, IV, 1785, pp. 148-50.

⁴ As quoted in G. Slater, *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, New York, 1907, p. 221.

⁵ Ashford, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 39-40.

⁶ E. L. Jones, 'Agricultural Origins of Industry', *Past and Present*, 40, July 1968, pp. 61-3.

⁷ Godber, *op. cit.*, p. 237. At Harrold, a lace village, the basic crop was wheat.—*Ibid.*, p. 363. See also H. A. Carnell, T. Booth & H. G. Tibbutt (eds.), *8,000 Years: A Kempston History*, 1966, pp. 22-7.

⁸ E. C. K. Gonner, *Common Field and Inclosure*, 2nd edn, 1966, pp. 252-4.

wheat and barley which, it was said, was bettered by no county in England.¹ This was a county in which manorial organization was still strong, the manorial courts surviving in Bedfordshire until well into the seventeenth century.² But this did not prevent the development of a rural industry.

It is more difficult to be precise about the agricultural organization of the areas in which the industry developed in the West Country. The industry's development here was not confined to Yeovil, however, for an important centre also appeared in the south-eastern corner of Devon. In the Honiton Parish Register the deaths of Elizabeth Cross, a "lacemaker," and of James Minifie, a "lace seller," were recorded in 1654.³ But non-documentary evidence suggests that the industry was already well established by this time for an inscription on a tombstone which still stands in the Honiton churchyard records the death of James Rodge, a "bone lace seller," in 1617.⁴ The industry certainly was well developed here by 1630, when Thomas Westcote enthused over the "abundance of bone lace, a pretty toy now greatly in request," which was being made at Honiton and at Bradnidge nearby.⁵ Thirty years later the industry had grown sufficiently in Devon for Thomas Fuller to champion its development, on the grounds not only that it kept out imports of foreign lace but also that it provided welcome employment for many women and children who otherwise would have been a burden on the parish. In so doing he pointed to two important factors in the industry's subsequent expansion: the ever-present problem of rural poverty which constantly brought forth labour supplies, and a mercantilist outlook which, throughout the century, produced a certain degree of governmental encouragement and protection.⁶ Fuller also indicated that the Devon industry's major market centre, like that of the East Midland industry, was London. "Much of this is made in and about Honiton and weekly returned to London . . . [and] tho' private persons pay for it, it stands the state in nothing; not expensive of bullion, like other lace, costing nothing save a little thread descanted on by art and industry. Hereby many children who otherwise would be burdensome to the parish, prove beneficial to their parents. Yea, many lame in their limbs, and impotent in their arms, if able in their fingers, gain a livelihood thereby; not to say that it saveth some thousands of pounds yearly, formerly sent overseas to fetch lace from Flanders."⁷

By the time the Devon lace dealers had come to collude with their Midland

¹ R. Blane, *Britannia, or a Geographic Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 1668, pp. 43-4. The barley in Bedfordshire was "plump, white and strong."—H. C. Darby, *An Economic Geography of England before 1800*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 361, quoting Camden's *Britannia*, 1607.

² Godber, *op. cit.*, p. 271. The courts met at Stevington, Cranfield, Kempston, Blunham, and Cardington in the heart of the lace district.

³ Devon C.R.O.: 1654/7/PR5.

⁴ The inscription reads: "Here lyeth ye body of James Rodge of Honiton in ye county of Devonshire (Bone lace seller hath given unto the poore of Honiton parishe the benefytte of £100 for ever) who deceased ye 27th of July 1617. AETATAE SVAE SO. Remember the Poore." I am grateful to the Rev. R. A. Babington, Rector of Honiton Parish Church, for pointing this out to me.

⁵ T. Westcote, *A View of Devonshire in: MCCXXX*, reprinted Exeter, 1845, p. 62.

⁶ The various Acts which limited the importation of foreign lace were: 13 & 14 Charles II, c. 43; 9 & 10 William III, c. 9; 6 Anne, c. 19.

⁷ Fuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-7.

counterparts in petitioning parliament in 1698, the industry in Devon had grown quite substantially. There were then said to be almost 4,000 laceworkers in the district, with well over 1,000 in Honiton itself. There were almost another 1,000 in Ottery St Mary with the rest scattered primarily along the coastal fringe between the rivers Axe and Exe, particularly in the villages of Branscombe, Beer, Seaton, Sidbury, and Sidmouth. More moderate development had also taken place along the course of the River Axe and most notably at Axmouth, Colyton, and Axminster, where altogether another 500 women and children were said to be employed.¹

Though the western sector of the industry was never to be as large as that in the East Midlands, it was to produce some of the finest laces ever turned out in England, and Honiton would always rival Newport Pagnell as the English industry's most famous centre.² And here again, such evidence as is available suggests that the industry's development may well have taken place in areas based on a sheep-corn husbandry. For it was here, in the valleys and along the coast, that the few small pockets of fielden corn-growing country, in what was essentially a pastoral county, were to be found.³

III

The pillow lace industry had thus emerged by the middle of the seventeenth century in a mixture of areas, both pastoral and arable. But its development in areas of open-field arable agriculture clearly falls outside Dr Thirsk's pattern. How is this to be explained and what effects, if any, does this have on her general thesis?

Traditional accounts of the industry's development in these areas have been based on two stories, both of which have a certain romantic appeal and are still popular with antiquarians and lacemakers but neither of which has any empirical foundation. The first fits into the category of individual accident theories of industrial development. A story which was popularized during the nineteenth century but probably owes its origins to a much earlier period portrays Queen Katherine of Aragon as the industry's creator. In the years 1532-3, when sent by Henry VIII to Ampthill castle in Bedfordshire to wait quietly for the annulment of their marriage, Katherine is said to have spent her leisure hours making lace and teaching the local population her skills. The foremost nineteenth-century authority on the history of pillow lace, Mrs Palliser, opted for this explanation, suggesting that "certain traditions handed down in the country villages of a good queen who protected their crafts, lead us to infer that the art of lacemaking, as it then existed, was first imparted to the peasantry of Bedfordshire, as a means of subsistence through the charity of Queen Katherine of Aragon."⁴ To support this notion Mrs Palliser points out that one of the lacemakers' festivals, which lingered well into the nineteenth century, was the celebration of St Katherine's Day (November 25th), a festival which was kept not only in memory of Katherine's role as the industry's

¹ *Case of the Lacemakers*, loc. cit. The total number said to be employed in the county was 3,884. They were located at: Counbraleigh 65, Sidmouth 302, Axmouth 73, Sidbury 321, Buckerall 90, Ottery St Mary 814, Northleigh 32, Southleigh 35, Colliton 353, Fauray 70, Upottery 228, Branscombe, Beer, Seaton, 1,326, Honiton 1,341, Axminster 60, Gittesham 139, Sheat & Musbery 25.

² Palliser, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

³ Thirsk, *Agrarian History* . . . , IV, pp. 71-4.

⁴ Palliser, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

creator, but also to commemorate a "good Queen" who "when the trade was dull, burnt all her lace and ordered new to be made."¹

This story has often been repeated but has no real justification. The celebration of St Katherine's day is not peculiar to lacemaking but derives, rather, from Katherine of Alexandria, the patron saint of spinsters, and though Katherine may well have "delighted in working the needle curiously,"² as another protagonist of this view has suggested, her pursuit was probably embroidery, possibly needle-point lace, but almost certainly was not pillow lacemaking. The story cannot explain how local workers and dealers were encouraged to take up pillow lacemaking and it cannot explain why a similar development was taking place in Devon at more or less the same time, yet this parallel development can scarcely have been coincidental.

The alternative explanation is much more attractive in an analytical sense since it could help explain two key problems: those of the technological basis of the industry's development, and of the industry's development in two distinct regions. The explanation rests on the alleged migration of Flemish workers during the second half of the sixteenth century to what eventually became the lace areas. The story goes that during the Spanish Inquisition the Duke of Alva's plundering army provoked a number of refugees, lacemakers among them, to settle in Kent and Sussex. A number of these, from Mechlin, subsequently moved on to Cranfield in Bedfordshire, where they settled in that part of the village called "Bourne End," and established a pillow lace industry which then spread into the rest of Bedfordshire and neighbouring areas of Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire. The same process also took place, meanwhile, in Devon where immigrant lace workers moved into Honiton, and there established the industry in the West Country.³

Though this theory is more attractive than the first, it too has no documentary support. The *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization of the Huguenot Society* for the period 1509-1700 show no lacemakers in the occupational lists,⁴ and no documentary evidence of Flemish lacemakers in these areas has survived. The theory would offer an ideal solution to the problem of how a difficult technological process was implanted into several parts of rural England, but in the absence of primary evidence it cannot explain how lace dealers derived their labour supplies and has no real substance.

Factors such as the availability of raw materials and sources of power, and proximity to market centres, also seem to be inappropriate in explaining the industry's location. Market proximity clearly was unimportant, for Devonshire dealers apparently found no more difficulty in making weekly journeys to London to sell their products than did their counterparts from the Midlands. The industry's implements, parchments, bobbins, and pillows could all be made almost anywhere, and its basic material, linen thread, was imported through London.⁵ Since motive

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 375-6. ² T. Wright, *The Romance of the Lace Pillow*, Reading, 1919, p. 30. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴ *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England*, VIII, 1509/1602, ed. W. Page, 1893; XVIII, 1603/1700, ed. W. A. Shaw, 1911.

⁵ *Commons Journals*, xxxvii, 2 May 1780, p. 814.

power was also of no consideration one might turn to look for the industry's origins, as Dr Thirsk suggests, in the socio-economic environments which produced the requisite labour supplies.

A complete explanation clearly would require intensive local research into each of the villages in which the industry emerged, for the experience of local economies could be highly varied.¹ The growth of the industry on the coast of Devon may, for example, have been attributable to non-agrarian origins. At least two of these coastal villages, Sidmouth and Seaton, were fishing villages,² which by the late sixteenth century had known better times. Notable in "former times" for their pilchard fishing, both by 1630 were "so choked with sand that they have lost almost all the benefits that havens yield."³ Beer and Branscombe were also fishing villages and remained so until well into the nineteenth century, and since fishing is by nature a seasonal, highly unpredictable occupation, the uncertainty may well have been the basis of the industry's growth in these villages, for pillow lacemaking was a most useful source of supplementary income.⁴

Yet the common feature among all rural industrial workers, no matter what the period of time or region in which they were employed, was poverty. Poverty had always created the necessity to supplement family income, and in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries this situation did not change. Indeed, existing aggregative indices suggest that in agricultural areas prices were everywhere rising faster than wages, and that population was rising faster than employment opportunities.⁵ These movements badly affected the growing class of landless or almost landless agricultural labourers which, in the Tudor and early Stuart periods, probably formed about one-quarter to one-third of the entire population of the countryside and a good deal more in the corn-growing districts.⁶ Indeed, in Bedfordshire the proportion was probably already close to 50 per cent by the 1590's, and the number was increasing.⁷ Here, as elsewhere, as common rights were gradually eroded⁸ the labourer's existence came to depend primarily on the money wages earned by himself and his family.⁹ Yet while prices were rising unemployment was becoming a major problem, and in Bedfordshire early in the seventeenth century, as elsewhere, many labourers were wandering around looking for work.¹⁰

¹ See I. Blanchard, 'Population Change, Enclosure and the Early Tudor Economy', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., XXIII, 1970, pp. 427-40.

² The soil here was of chalk, flint, and sandstone, difficult to cultivate in the days before forage crops and animal manures. See Jones, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

³ Westcote, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁴ R.C. on *Employment of Children in Trades and Manufactures not already regulated by Law*, 1st Report, 1863, XVIII, p. 252.

⁵ Everitt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 397-9; P. Bowden, 'Agricultural Prices from Profits and Rents', in *Agrarian History* . . . , IV, pp. 595-8.

⁶ Everitt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 398-9. The proportion was 35 per cent in Devon in 1524.—W. G. Hoskins, *Devon*, 1966, p. 186.

⁷ This figure was probably true of the Willey Hundred in the north of Bedfordshire by the 1520's.—Godber, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 278-9.

⁹ The labourers' income had of course many possible constituent parts, of which common rights were among the most important. For details see Everitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-425.

¹⁰ Godber, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

The problem of deficiencies in employment opportunity, however, were particularly great in respect of women and children, and especially children, for life was short and children constituted a high proportion of the population.¹ By the end of the sixteenth century the unemployment of women and children was particularly serious, especially in central England "where common field farming was the rule." Here "population expansion unsupported by compensating industrial development was creating an unemployment problem of formidable proportions," and the provision of supplementary sources of family income such as might have come from pillow lacemaking "may well have spelt the difference between existence and starvation."²

It was this expansion of population, and the emergence of a poor class of agricultural labourers and their families in the years from the mid-sixteenth century onwards which created sufficient labour supplies to permit the development of the pillow lace industry in its arable locations. That unemployed women and children were the key sources of its labour supplies was pointed to in the 1660's by Thomas Fuller, who had found many children making lace who "otherwise would be burdensome to the parish."³ His comments were echoed by Daniel Defoe, who spoke of lacemakers emanating "from the most idle, useless and burthensom part of our people, viz. the younger women and female children. These were a real charge upon the diligent laborious poor such as the husbandmen, the farmers and the handicrafts of other trades . . . and were now made able to provide for themselves."⁴

Women and children who could not find farm work seemingly had plenty of time on their hands. The Swede, Kalm, noted later that women who were not employed in rural industry in arable areas often spent their lives engaged entirely in domestic affairs. At Little Gaddesden and the neighbouring district in Hertfordshire, an arable area, he found that "men have here to take thought for the heaviest part of the cares of husbandry. They have to do all the work in the arable fields, meadows, in the wood, the lodge and the lathe. . . In short, all 'outdoor work belongs to the men.'"⁵ Most of the women simply spent all their time "cooking, washing floors, plates and dishes, darning a stocking or sewing a chemise, washing and starching linen clothes." This was "all that they do the whole of God's long days, year out, and year in."⁶

It is by no means clear, however, that these women would always have chosen to engage in agricultural employment even had the opportunity arisen, particularly if there were alternatives. For the pillow lace industry almost certainly did not employ only those women and children who could not find work in the fields. To a degree, employment at the lace pillow was a matter of choice, an element over-

¹ Coleman, *loc. cit.*, pp. 280-2. ² Bowden, *loc. cit.*, pp. 600, 610. ³ Fuller, *op. cit.*

⁴ D. Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce*, 1730, reprinted New York, 1967, pp. 288-9. Thomas Westcote spoke similarly. The expansion of population in Devon had made the county "so populous that notwithstanding all their best endeavors in husbandry, yet yields hardly sufficient of bread . . . to feed itself . . . and therefore makes a multitude of the poorer sort chargeable to their neighbours, who are bound to maintain them."

—Westcote, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵ Kalm's *Account of His Visit to England on His Way to America in 1748*, translated by J. Lucas, 1892, p. 333.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

looked in purely socio-economic analyses of the origins of labour supplies. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contemporaries in the lace districts constantly complained about the inability of local farmers to find women who would work in the fields.¹ Employment at the lace pillow had a certain attraction of its own and did not fall only to those who could not find alternative agricultural occupations. At the end of the seventeenth century the daily wages of pillow lacemakers in Bedfordshire were as high as those of a woman reaper. In 1684 a woman reaper in Bedfordshire was paid 10d a day without food and drink, and a woman haymaker received 6d a day. In 1699, on the other hand, a "good lacemaker" could earn 7s a week, and a child of six could earn 20d.² This was a considerable incentive in itself, but lacemaking was also probably felt to be a more congenial, less exhausting occupation than agriculture, and if the returns were great enough opportunities of employment in the fields could readily be sacrificed as a result. Thomas Westcote may have been thinking of this when in 1630 he spoke of "the meanest sort of people who also will now rather place their children to some of these mechanical trades than to husbandry (esteemed more painful) whereby husbandry labourers are more scarce."³

Lacemaking had the incidental advantages that it could easily be turned to in the evenings. At Little Gaddesden Kalm found the women in the evenings sitting "round the fire without attempting in the very least degree what we called household duties." The men, alternatively, were "killing time" after 6 p.m. at the local inn.⁴ Here again there was time to engage in domestic industrial work if the opportunity had arisen. Lacemaking was undertaken extensively by candlelight in the evening by women and children during the nineteenth century and a number of agricultural labourers are also said to have made lace on returning home from the fields.⁵ Night work probably would not have been sufficient, of itself, to permit the development of a rural industry but clearly it was an additional incentive to the first lacemakers and entrepreneurs.

IV

For all these reasons the pillow lace industry was able to develop in its arable locations. Until the mid-sixteenth century arable agriculture may well have been able to employ most of its population. But the expansion of population during the sixteenth century, and the development of a wage-earning labouring class, eventually produced more mouths than the land alone could feed. Though very few rural industries existed in arable areas in the years between the mid-sixteenth and mid-

¹ See Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, 1968, pp. 78, 235.

² *Trans. Bed. Hist. Rec. Soc.*, xxv, 1957, pp. 136-7. *Commons Journals*, loc. cit.

³ Westcote, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Fuller also spoke of those "lame in their limbs and importance in their arms."—Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

⁴ Kalm, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 333. Rush candles were produced by women in rural England from the thirteenth century onwards.—Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, 6th edn, 1961, p. 30.

⁵ "Many an older worker can tell of how in order to meet the demand the whole family—men included—had to work into the night."—*Madame*, 15 October 1898. "Boys and men used to make lace years ago when it was a more profitable occupation than working on the farm."—*Bedfordshire Times*, 14 May 1912.

seventeenth centuries, it does not necessarily follow that this was because the socio-economic environment was unable to provide sufficient labour supplies. True, it may well have been the case that an industry such as clothmaking, which required family participation, was incompatible with arable agriculture because of its relatively great demands on labour. But in the case of an industry such as pillow lacemaking, based essentially on women and children, it is far less likely that the socio-economic environment was a serious constraint.

As Dr Thirsk has said, there can be no finality in any explanation of the origins of rural industries. But if, as seems likely, detailed local research reveals that from the mid-sixteenth century onwards there was an increasing degree of unemployment, particularly among women and children, in the arable areas which did not have rural industry, then the absence of rural industry may largely be due to the failure of businessmen to introduce suitable industrial employments from outside. It is doubtful, for example, if an industry such as pillow lacemaking could ever have been developed spontaneously by the labouring population in a village for the production of pillow lace is exacting and complex, sometimes involving the manipulation of many hundreds of bobbins at once. Mrs Palliser illustrated the technological role of the entrepreneur in quoting Lord Garden, a Scottish Lord of Session, who in 1787 had thought of establishing pillow lacemaking in his "humble parish in Scotland" but had eventually been dissuaded by the technological problem, for it was "a complicated art which cannot be transplanted without a passion as strong as mine and a purse much bigger."¹ Indeed the impetus for this industry's development may well have come from London, for London was the chief centre of demand, and lace dealers from both areas travelled there from the industry's earliest days and the influence of fashion must have been a strong factor in the timing of the industry's inception. This approach could also explain why the production of a fashionable commodity such as straw plait was not introduced to the villages of south Bedfordshire until late in the seventeenth century, a time when straw hats were becoming increasingly popular in London.² Had the market opportunity arisen earlier straw plaiting could almost certainly have been developed earlier in the century, for there is no evidence that population and an agricultural labouring class were growing more slowly in this area than in the county's northern districts.³

Although the correlation between pastoralism and rural industry has been well-established for the years roughly between the middle of the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the experience of the pillow lace industry at least shows that, where women and children were concerned, the notion of an incompatibility between the socio-economic environment in arable districts and rural industry does not necessarily hold once the agricultural population had begun to grow rapidly during the sixteenth century. Here, at least, was one type of industry which could grow in open-field arable areas, subject to the willingness of entrepreneurs to exploit current trends in demand and introduce an industry to a population which, almost certainly, was anxious to find suitable means of adding to family income.

¹ Palliser, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

² Iris Brooke, *Dress and Undress*, 1958, p. 78.

³ Godber, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-85.

Reconstructing a Historical Landscape from Field and Documentary Evidence: Otford in Kent

By GEOFFREY HEWLETT

INTRODUCTION

WHERE the reconstruction of a past landscape has been attempted, it has hitherto been largely dependent on documentary evidence. The study of ancient maps and surveys allows certain reconstructions to be made but these are limited in time and area. However, fragmentary documentary evidence as to the nature of the past landscape is available for most districts, and it is also possible to observe, in the field, features of varying historical origin. This article is concerned with a method of analysing the present landscape, and the use of this method in conjunction with documents to reconstruct the past appearance of a small area in Kent.¹

Otford is situated at the southern end of the gap where the River Darent passes through the North Downs, and comprises part of the very much larger medieval manor of Otford, which extended into the Weald of Kent. The area contains numerous farms and boundaries of ancient origin, the most obvious being the ruined palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury, from whose muniments, as well as those of private individuals, much information may be obtained as to the past state of the valley. It is, however, the evidence of the countryside itself that has been the most potent factor in determining the age and former extent of the agrarian landscape.

THE NATURE OF THE FIELD EVIDENCE

Any attempt to map an area as it was in the past will be concerned primarily with boundaries and the areas enclosed within them. These areas may comprise such units as a farm, an estate, or a parish, or just an individual field. The boundaries between these units, in Otford as in much of lowland Britain, are hedgerows, banks, and fences.

Unfortunately it has seldom been possible to put a precise date to the creation of any of these features. A date may be known, but the mention of a farm in, say, 1100 does not prove that it was built then. Similarly we may know that a ditch was "old" at the time a Saxon charter was written, but do not thereby know the date of origin. It is at this point that dating by field evidence amplifies the documentary information.

The possibility of dating hedgerows by a study of their constituent shrub species was first suggested by Dr Max Hooper, following his failure to explain fully the

¹ I am grateful to Dr Max Hooper of the Monks Wood Experimental Station for a valuable discussion on the subject of hedgerow dating, and to Professor F. R. H. Du Boulay for much information and help with the documentation regarding the medieval estate of the Archbishops of Canterbury at Otford.

variability of hedges on purely edaphic or climatic grounds.¹ He found that the number of shrub species in a hedge appears in many (though not all) parts of the country to vary with the age of that hedge. The idea is that as the years pass some of the original plants will be replaced by new species, and it may therefore be expected that an old hedge will have a greater number of species than a younger one. Since hedges vary greatly in length, the number of species must be counted only within a standard sample distance. A 30-yard sample is taken and the total number of shrub species occurring on either side of this section is recorded. Having studied hedges that could be dated from documents in Devon, Gloucestershire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire, Hooper found the correlation coefficient between the number of species in a 30-yard sample and the age of the sample to be +0.92, and "the regression equation for predicting the age of a hedge from the number of species in a 30-yard length came to

$$\text{the age in years} = 99 \times \text{the number of species} - 16."$$

Allowing for a 5 per cent margin of error, this puts a ten-species hedge at between 800 and 1,150 years old, and suggests a figure of approximately one species per 100 years as a very general guide to the age of a hedgerow.

The presence of many well-established hedges suggested the possibility of applying Dr Hooper's hypothesis to the study of the Otford area. In all, 250 hedges were examined, and results suggest that Dr Hooper's figures are substantially correct.³ The shrubs counted were woody species of the type that could conceivably form a hedge on their own.⁴

The main areas of study were in the valley on clay and chalk loam soils, and on the thin rendzinas of the Downs. The heavy clay-with-flints areas on top of the hills support hedges which are mostly remnants of the original woodland cover and reflect the nature of this woodland closely. With a variety of soils the possibility arose that, despite the probability of a historical factor, the local differences could still be due primarily to edaphic variation. This seemed unlikely, considering the great differences between hedges on identical soils, and further evidence as to the importance of historical evolution was provided by an analysis of the long hedge which forms the boundary between the parishes of Otford and Shoreham. This hedge (fig. 1) is just under one mile in length and grows on river gravels, chalk loam, and a very calcareous rendzina. In places it is overgrown, in others neatly laid, yet seven out of the nine sections counted have nine, ten, or eleven species, only two coming outside this range, and the average number is exactly ten. The species forming the hedge are shown in table 1. Only two species, elder and bramble, occur in every section, and no two sections have the same species. Thus although con-

¹ For a summary of this work see Max Hooper, 'Dating Hedges', *Area, Inst. of Brit. Geog.*, 4, 1970, pp. 63-5.

² *Ibid.*

³ In some places a 100 yard sample was taken, but all have been converted to 30 yards for standardization, as 100 yards was found to be unnecessarily long.

⁴ It may be objected that two of the species, Old Man's Beard (*Clematis vitalba*) and Bramble (*Rubus fruticosus*) do not come strictly within this classification, but they are a major, and in some cases the only, component of many Otford hedges.

ditions of soil, slope, and drainage differ and types of species change, the total number in the sample remains remarkably constant. In shorter hedges even two-ninths of samples would be unlikely to differ greatly from the average, as a 30-yard section could well be a quarter of the hedge and therefore a much larger sample of the total length.

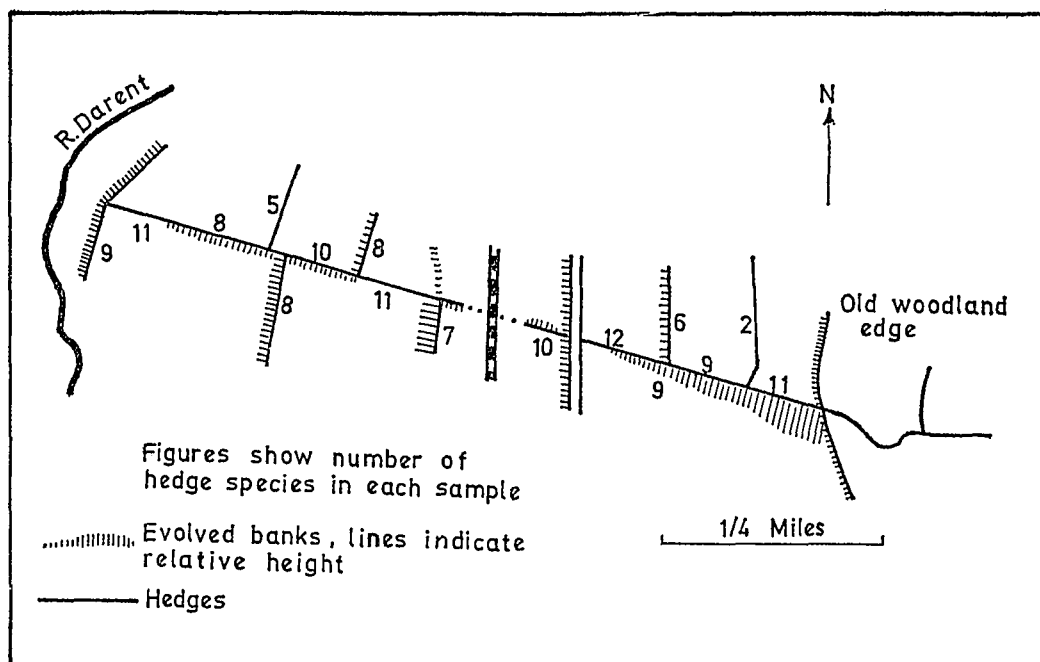


FIG. I

The hedge boundary between Otford and Shoreham parishes.

From this preliminary work it seemed apparent that a hedge could give some indication as to the date of its origin; that edaphic factors did not have an important influence on the number, as opposed to the type, of species; that the margin of error was too great for any date to be allotted more precisely than ± 100 years, but that a major difference between two hedges probably indicated a different date of origin. Many other variables might also need consideration, such as the strong possibility of some boundaries being older than the hedge itself; that some hedges may have been felled and replanted in the past; the difference between hedges that had been planted and those which had developed naturally along a fence line; and the possible planting of mixed hedges.¹ The relative importance of these factors requires clarification but it is clear that counting hedge species is not a simple answer to the local historian's prayer for new information. Nevertheless, the composition of a hedge is a factor in the landscape deserving of careful consideration.

¹ As far as can be ascertained, mixed hedges were not planted in Kent, though they may have been in parts of Essex, and Hooper has noted them in Shropshire.—Hooper, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

TABLE I
HEDGE SPECIES COUNTED IN NINE 30-YARD SECTIONS OF THE
OTFORD/SHOREHAM BOUNDARY HEDGE

	<i>Sample sequence up slope from River Darent</i>								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ash				+	+	+			+
Beech					+				
Blackthorn	+	+	+	+		+	+		+
Bramble	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cherry			+			+	+	+	+
Dog Rose	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
Dogwood	+		+			+			+
Elder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Elm	+	+	+	+					
Hawthorn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
Hazel			+	+	+				
Holly								+	
Horse Chestnut					+				
Maple	+		+	+		+	+	+	+
Old Man's Beard			+	+		+	+		+
Privet	+	+							
Spindle Tree	+						+	+	
Sycamore	+			+	+	+			
Wayfaring Tree									+
Whitebeam						+		+	
Yew					+			+	

Before attempting to interpret the information provided by the Otford hedge-rows, however, a second type of field evidence may be cited: the banks on which many of the hedges grow. These are of two types, constructed and evolved (fig. 11). The large embankments following certain Saxon charter boundaries and those

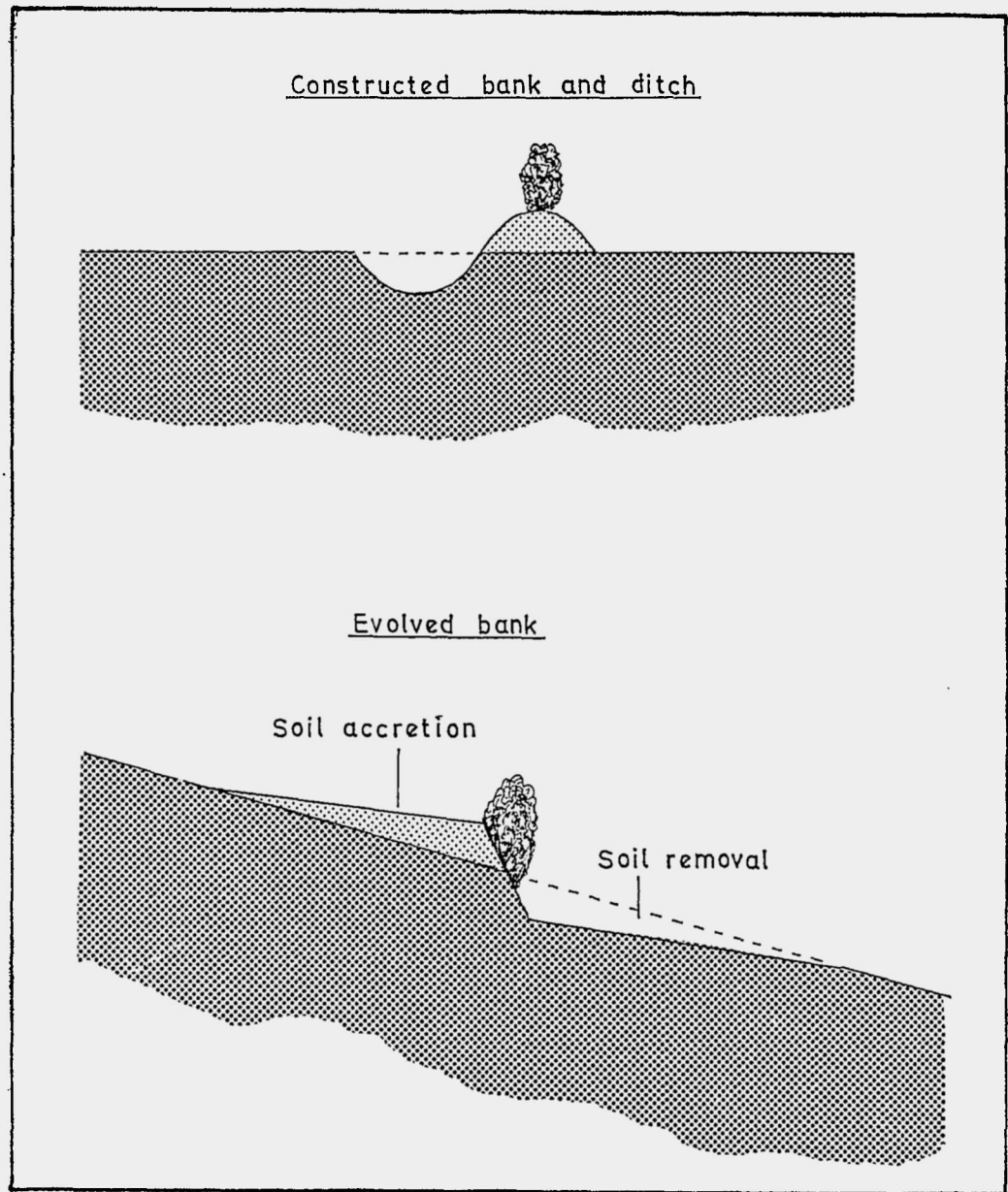


FIG. II.
Types of boundary bank.

around medieval deer-parks are well-known examples of the first category. They are often easily recognizable, and may be dated from documentary evidence. Where they have known dates of origin, the hedges on such boundaries are invaluable as a yardstick against which to compare undated boundaries.

For the second type of bank the general term 'evolved bank' is suggested, rather

than 'lynchet' with which feature it has close affinities. A lynchet is a special type of the evolved bank, which may be seen wherever an ancient hedgerow crosses a sloping field. The evolved bank is significant in two ways: it is very common, and it evolves in time. A hedge having been established across a slope, ploughing on the upslope will cause soil to accumulate against the hedge, while on the downslope side soil will be pulled away. On a grassland slope soil-creep gives the same result, but ploughing greatly accelerates the process, and in Otford banks of over four feet high have developed on slopes of not more than two degrees. Such banks will tend to grow over the years, and will give the boundary on which they occur an added permanence due to the difficulty and expense entailed in their removal.

Evolved banks will vary according to the length of evolution but also because of different initial slope steepness, intensity of agriculture, and the fact that only land on one side of the hedge may have been under cultivation.

The many variable factors make precise dating by the use of such banks impossible, but they remain a very useful factor to put beside others in accumulating evidence. If two hedge banks cross a field of uniform soil and uniform slope, one of these banks being nine feet high (as in the case with one Otford example) and the other only two feet, it is a fair assumption that the high bank is considerably older. Also a high bank on a gently sloping field is likely to be older than a similar bank on a steep slope, owing to the faster movement of material over the latter.

Investigation of over 150 such banks in the Otford and Shoreham area has revealed a number of distinct types (fig. III). Where the ancient downland grazing meets the wooded clay-with-flints capping the Downs a bank has often evolved due to soil creep on the steeper and less protected chalk slope. This highest bank has

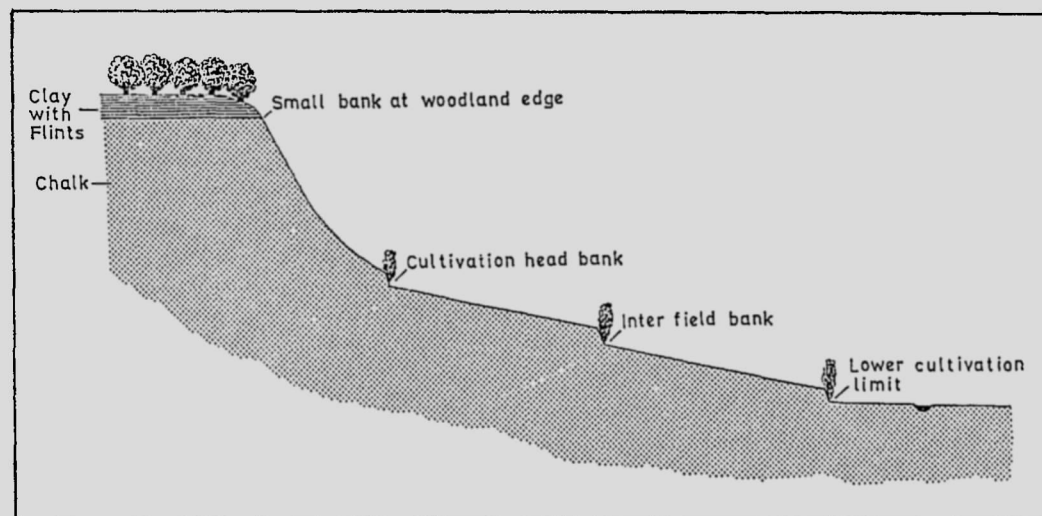


FIG. III

Types of evolved hedge bank in the Otford area.

often been artificially enlarged by the levelling of a path beneath it. This is a very common feature, the path marking the boundary between the originally cleared land and the clay woodlands.

A bank is often developed at the bottom of the old downland pasture, marking the ancient head of cultivation, and other banks are found between fields, with a final accretionary one sometimes on the edge of a gravel terrace, marking the start of alluvial water meadows. These banks may also be useful in tracing an old boundary where the hedgerow has been removed.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FIELD EVIDENCE

As a first step towards classifying the different hedges the histogram, figure IV, was constructed. This is of 139 hedges in the valley area, excluding all samples

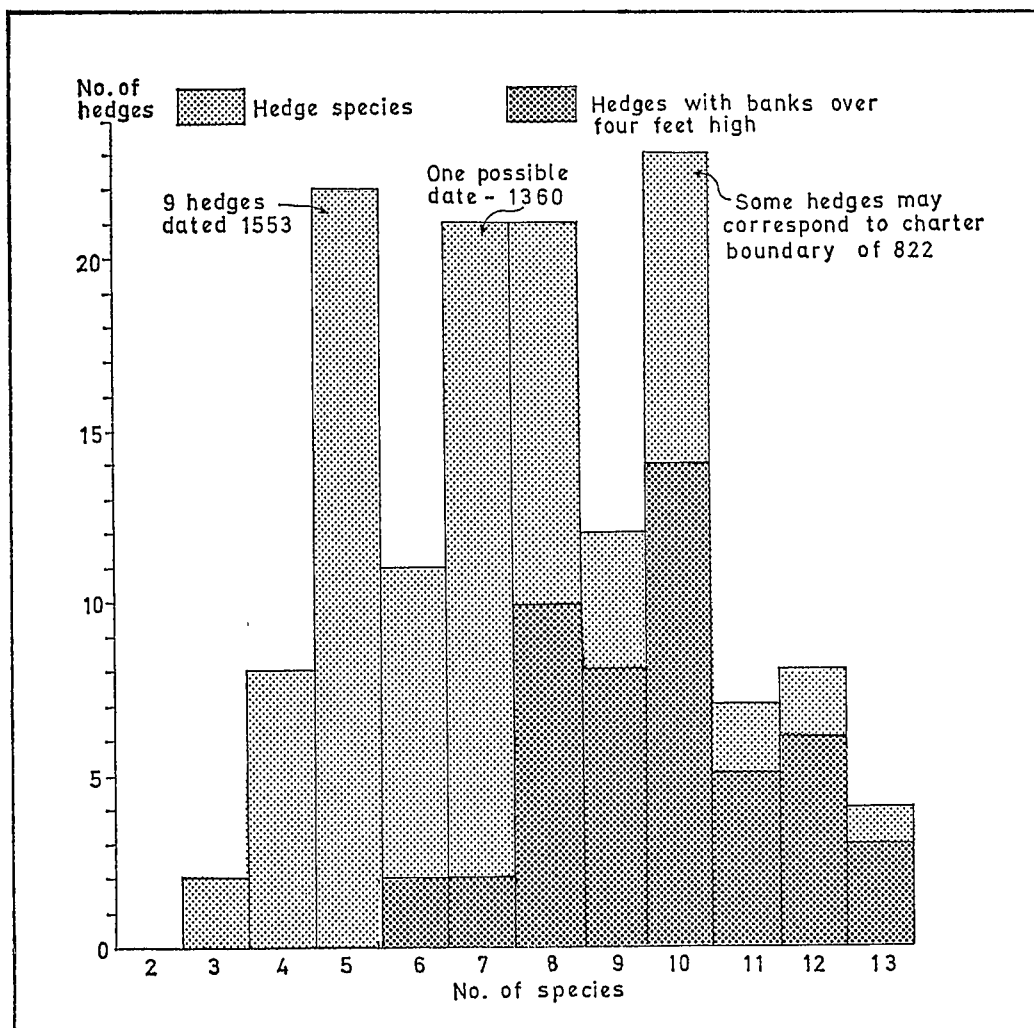


FIG. IV

The number of hedge species and associated high banks found in 139 Otford hedges.

from on top of the Downs and a few obviously recent hedges of less than three species. Many of these hedges grew on high evolved banks, and these banks are also shown on the histogram. The close correlation between hedges with a high species count and the presence of high banks is notable, the more so when it is remembered that the only banks recorded are those over four feet high for part of their length, and also that where a hedge runs directly down a slope, or is on level land, no bank would be expected to evolve. Measurement on the map reveals that approximately 35 per cent of the hedges come into this latter category, and therefore 65 per cent is the maximum proportion of high-species hedges that could be expected to have such a bank development.

The histogram shows three modes, at 5, 7-8, and 10 species. If the one species per hundred years ratio is correct, this would indicate three major periods of hedge planting, the tenth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and sixteenth centuries. There are very few hedges with species indicating a date later than the seventeenth century, but this is not surprising as conventional open fields were never found here; and as A. R. H. Baker has shown, "Kentish settlement and field patterns were firmly established by the end of the 13th century in a form which has remained basically unchanged to the present day."¹

For purposes of mapping, the hedges were divided into three groups based on the modes above. Those which did not clearly fall into one category were allotted to the higher group if they grew on well-developed evolved banks, to the lower if they did not. Such a clear initial grouping may, of course, be fortuitous, but it is extremely probable that hedge planting activity occurs in definite phases through the history of an area. The enclosure of parkland, common, or open fields would give a large block of hedges of similar age. It could also be that the date of such a change would be known.

Positive claims for hedge dates cannot, of course, be made without some supporting documentary evidence. If a few hedges can be dated from documents, however, it is reasonable to suppose that similar hedges in similar areas are of the same date. It is also fair to say that some hedges are clearly younger and some older than the dated ones. Unfortunately the two Saxon charters of Otford lack precision in their boundaries, but the hedge which marks the most probable boundary for the 822 charter, the above-mentioned Otford/Shoreham boundary hedge, has been seen to be a ten-species hedge, which fits in fairly well with the one species per hundred years rule.

A firm date is available for the other side of the histogram. In the Calendar of Patent Rolls it is recorded that in 1553 "le lyttell park" was ordered to be disparked and all the lands therein enclosed.² The area of the Little Park is known approximately from field names such as Park Field and Further Park, and a hedge count in the area gave the striking dissimilarity of species shown in figure v. The hedge groupings indicate pre-existing boundaries with ten or more species, and the in-

¹ A. R. H. Baker, 'Some Fields and Farms in Medieval Kent', *Arch. Cant.*, LXXX, 1965, pp. 155-6.

² Cal. of Pat. Rolls, 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, pt. 2, p. 70, m. 22.

ternal hedges, with five species, were created after the 1553 disparkment order. A hedge of eight species at the southern end is likely to have been planted when the park was created in 1360. Thus not only have we a firm date confirming that one species per hundred years is substantially correct, at least to the sixteenth century, but the counting of species has also made possible a definition of the precise area of that part of "le lyttell park" lying west of the river. The extension of the park east of the river has much evidence removed by building and gravel working.

The hedges and banks of various categories having been put on a map, a few other clues were also taken into account before comparison with documentary evidence. If a hedge follows an established boundary, such as that of a parish or a farm, this is a further, though less precisely datable, indication of antiquity. Both types of boundary should be checked on the earliest available map of the area. Coincidence with a natural obstacle such as the edge of marshland, a stream, or the edge of ancient woodland, also suggests great age, as does a boundary along an old road or track. In Otford many farm boundaries with a high number of hedge species follow the line of the Pilgrims Way. Hoskins points out that a continuous hedge-bank with other hedges terminating against it is of great antiquity, a statement borne out by the hedge in figure 1.¹ The occurrence of any of these features with a hedge of many species and, if appropriate, a high bank strengthens the possibility of accurate reconstruction.

THE OTFORD DEMESNE

The validity and usefulness of this type of field investigation depends on whether it makes sense when presented as a map and when compared with documentary evidence. An attempt was made to reconstruct the medieval and earlier stages of the entire landscape of Otford and the adjoining parish, formerly part of Otford, Dunton Green. This was not entirely practicable, owing to the aforementioned building and gravel working, and also to a lack of documentation for some parts. However, a measure of success was gained, the results of which may be tentatively advanced as an accurate representation of a medieval or even a Saxon landscape.

The Otford demesne had been in the hands of the Archbishops of Canterbury since c. 791.² These lands lay to the east of the River Darent, and a careful examination of this area reveals two important facts. The first is that it is divided into two by the boundary of the chalk outcrop with fertile soils north of this and poor sands and clays to the south. The second is that in the whole area south of the chalk edge, excepting the park boundaries, there are only nine hedges with more than six species, whereas in the much smaller northern part there are seventeen. Also in the southern part such field names as "Great Coney Grounds" and "Deer Lodge Field" testify to its former park-like character.

On the other hand, the high species counts and evolved banks up to nine feet high revealed by hedge analysis suggests cultivation of the demesne north of the Pilgrims Way from an early date. The medieval cultivation of this area has been discussed

¹ W. G. Hoskins, *Field Work in Local History*, 1967, p. 126.

² See E. G. Box, 'Notes on the History of Saxon Otford', *Arch. Cant.*, XLIII, 1931, p. 115.

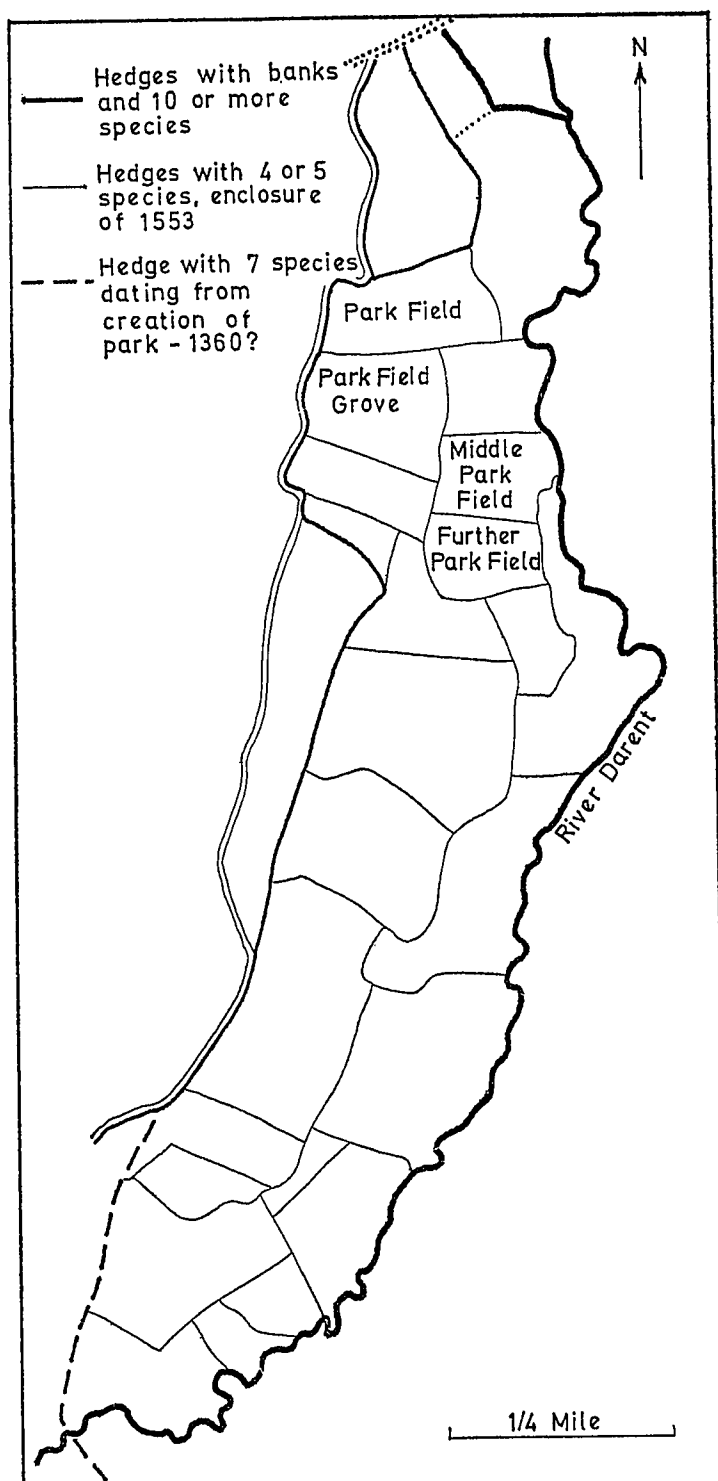


FIG. V

That part of "The Little Park" of Otford which lies west of the River Darent.

by Professor Du Boulay, who bases his work on a custumal of 1285 and a description of the demesne lands written in 1516.¹ Figure VI shows the northern demesne in detail. This map can be compared with the information available from 1285 and 1516, shown in table II. Many field names cannot now be traced on the map, and these unidentified areas are listed in the third column.

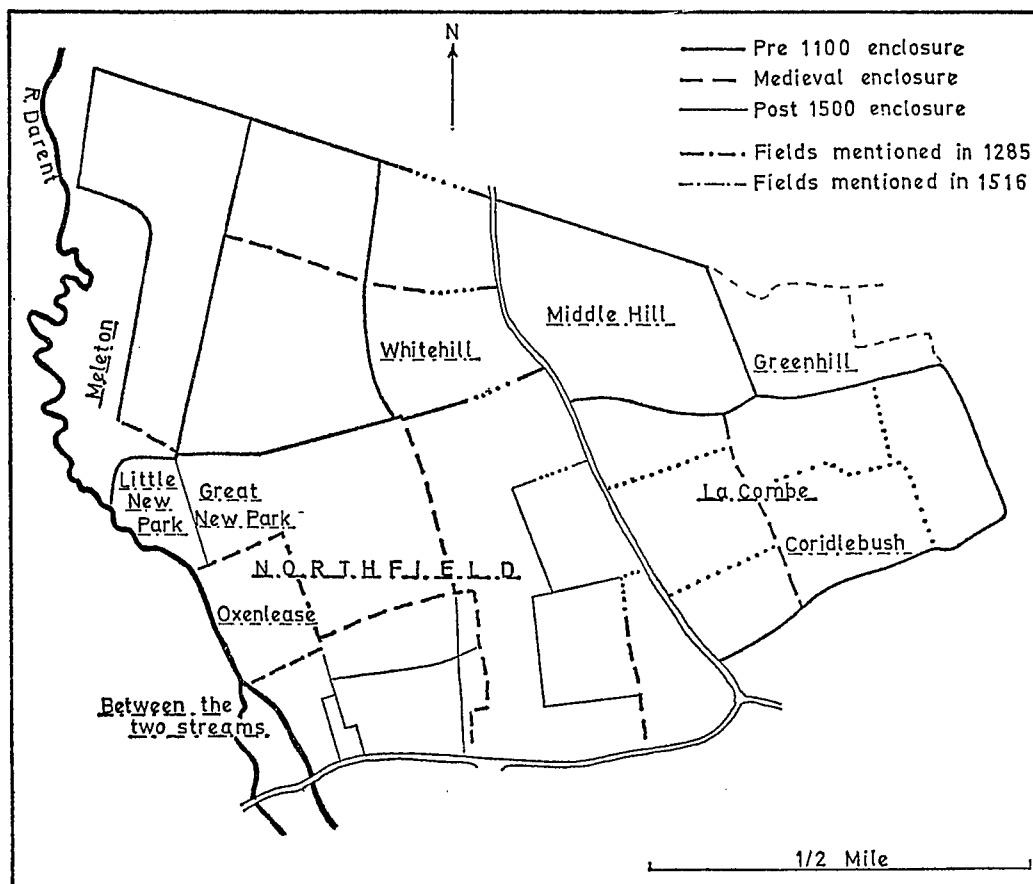


FIG. VI

The Otford demesne north of the Pilgrims Way. Dotted lines show where field evidence has been removed or is doubtful. The boundaries by the roads have been altered too much for an accurate field analysis to be made. In this map and figure VII boundaries are grouped in probable categories according to field and documentary evidence.

In 1516 field names confirm that ten of the demesne fields were in the northern section. In 1285, however, only "Meleton," "La Combe," and the area between the two streams are recognizable. Other land recorded in 1285, of which the position is known, was mostly in the "Borgha" of Shoreham while that of 1516 was all in Otford. The area of uncertain location was mostly in Otford, as seen by field

¹ F. R. H. Du Boulay, 'Late continued demesne farming at Otford', *Arch. Cant.*, LXXIII, 1959, pp. 116-24.

names in the minister's accounts which, however, do not allow precise identification.¹ By 1516 much of this land had been apparently leased out or sold, but the area shown by field names to be certainly in the northern demesne had increased by 199 acres.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF OTFORD DEMESNE LAND 1285 AND 1516

	<i>Land in the north of the demesne</i>		<i>Land of known location outside the north demesne</i>		<i>Land of uncertain location</i>	
	<i>Fields</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Fields</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Fields</i>	<i>Acres</i>
1285	4	86	8	301	16	282
1516	10	285	2	86	5	63

Du Boulay has observed that Northfield, 153 acres in 1285 and 18 acres in 1516, provides evidence of field subdivision in the intervening years.² Much of the land of uncertain location in 1285 is probably accounted for by this field and, while it was greatly reduced in size by 1516, new field names appear. Notable among these are "Great New Park," "Little New Park," and "Oxenlease"; the possibility arises that these are names given to subdivisions of Northfield. These three field names appear on the Tithe Map of 1844 and are marked on the map figure vi.³ "Oxley" ("Oxenlease" 1516) is bounded by hedges of six or seven species which indicate a period of planting in, possibly, the fourteenth century. The two New Park fields were much smaller areas in 1844 than in 1516, but they are separated by only a three-species hedge, with no bank although it is on a slope, so this boundary appears to have been the subject of later alteration. The significant point is that all three fields are contained within an area delimited to the north by a particularly high evolved bank which has ten or eleven species to be counted on it in those parts where a hedge remains. The area so defined is of 159½ acres. It is hard to escape the conclusion that this is Northfield (153½ acres in 1285); that some of the hedges within it, such as those round Oxenlease, represent medieval subdivisions before the 1516 description was written; and that later subdivisions are shown by the other hedges with a lower number of species, none of the fields enclosed by these being mentioned in 1516.

Of the fields outside Northfield, La Combe is notable. Here an ancient hedgerow surrounds an area of 73 acres (La Combe in 1285 was 68 acres). Like Northfield the general location is suggested by field names, but the precise area and position would be unknown except as a result of hedge analysis. Also like Northfield, two stages of subdivision can be defined.

¹ E.g. P.R.O., MS accts. 1129/1; Lambeth Rolls 1240 and 1251. ² Du Boulay, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

³ Kent Archives Office, CTR 279. Some other useful field names were obtained from copies of part of a (now vanished) map in the Polhill-Drabble papers. K.A.O., U1007, Estate Papers 5.

THE TENANTS' LANDS

While the demesne holdings obliterated most traces of earlier agriculture on the east bank, to the west of the Darent the older type of Kentish land holding continued unaltered. The settlement took the form of scattered farms, each in the centre of an area of land anciently known as a yoke. By 1283-5 these yokes had largely ceased to have an integral identity, and their cultivation was divided among a large number of tenants. However, in 1425 tenants' lands were still referred to as in different yokes and, at least for the reckoning of customary services, they seem to have remained clearly defined areas.

Many references to the yoke or jugum occur in Kentish medieval records and in the Domesday survey. Certain records, particularly a detailed rental of Gillingham dated 1477 which has been analysed by A. R. H. Baker, allow an understanding of their significance. The yoke was a fiscal land division for purposes of rents and services, and had its own privileges. Its size was clearly related to its fertility and position.¹ This relationship is illustrated by an Otford rental of c. 1425 which lists a full yoke on the fertile soil of the valley as 120 acres, a figure to which many of these yokes approximate, but on the poor clay soils on the Downs one yoke is 231 acres.²

The fields of yokes have been referred to as common fields, but this is a misnomer as they were large enclosures, not open fields, and the land within them, although possibly cultivated co-operatively by many tenants, was usually held in severalty.³

Baker, referring to two Gillingham documents, has stated, "The stability of the names of yokes and logi [a term not found in Otford] is remarkable: almost all the 1285 names survived to 1447. This also suggests that the 1285 names may have been given to the compact holding at the time of the original fiscal assessment."⁴ It seems certain that originally the yoke must have been a compact holding and this is further suggested by early tenancies. In the 1285 Gillingham custumal, Baker records that 73.6 per cent of the tenants possessed holdings of land confined to a single yoke.⁵ By the fifteenth century gavelkind tenure gave rise to an accentuated dispersal of settlement in Kent and many holdings were split and became uneconomic.

Thus by the fifteenth century, yokes consisted of one or more large fields farmed in many separate parcels. They were fiscal units with certain defined rights and privileges. Most of them still had a central farm, and they had at some time in the past been single land units.

The Gillingham records give the boundaries of yokes in 1447, but Baker finds it impossible to trace them precisely in the present landscape. This is because in-

¹ A. R. H. Baker, 'The Kentish Jugum: its relationship to soils at Gillingham', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 81, 1966, pp. 74-9.

² K.A.O., U55 M373.

³ A. R. H. Baker, 'Some fields and farms in Medieval Kent', *Arch. Cant.*, LXXX, 1965, p. 168.

⁴ A. R. H. Baker, 'Open Fields and Partible Inheritance on a Kent Manor', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xvii, 1964, pp. 21-2.

⁵ A. R. H. Baker & D. Rodden, 'Field Systems of the Chiltern Hills and of parts of Kent from the late Thirteenth century to the early Seventeenth', *Trans. Inst. Brit. Geog.*, xxxviii, 1966, p. 79.

sufficient topographical details are given; the boundaries and the names of fiscal divisions did not always coincide with the boundaries and names of fields; one field might cross the boundary of two adjoining yokes; and hardly any names remained by the time of the 1841 Gillingham tithe survey.¹

For Otford also the surviving rental of c. 1425 lists land holdings in yokes. This allows areas to be fairly accurately assessed and quite a number of field names are recognizable, but unfortunately no information at all is available on boundaries. There would thus seem even less chance of reconstructing these yokes on a map than there was in the case of Gillingham, but if they could be traced the detailed knowledge resulting of such ancient units would be of considerable interest.

There are, however, just two points which make the reconstruction of the Otford yokes a possibility: the central farms of most of the yokes are known (many with unchanged names), and a great many ancient hedge-banks survive. As far as can be seen from the Otford rental there are no fields occurring in more than one yoke, except in the case of Donnington yoke which is known to have taken over some land from the neighbouring yokes. There is therefore at least a possibility that the boundaries of most yokes in 1425 still coincided with field boundaries as they must have done originally.

The yoke boundaries of the Darent Gap were worked out using the following criteria:

(1) a yoke boundary will probably follow a hedge of many species and high evolved banks. This may also follow a road or farm boundary.

(2) It should enclose an area corresponding to that stated in historical documents, and be the same approximate area as similar yokes on similar soils.

(3) It should enclose the central yoke farm.

(4) A group of fields with similar names are likely to be in the same yoke. For example, Little Dunton, Little Dunton Hill, Dunton Hill, Great Dunton, Great Dunton Hill, Dunton Garden, and Dunstons are all in the reconstructed area of Donnington Yoke.

Not all the criteria can be applied to all the yokes, and a full reconstruction of the 1425 landscape is impossible due to loss of field names and of hedges under housing estates, but many boundaries can be traced. Figure VII shows an attempted reconstruction of two yokes, Twitton and Hale.

Twitton yoke is stated to have been one and a half yokes and half a yoke in 1285.² In 1425 it was one yoke and half a yoke, but an area of 80 acres "apud le Corye" was included. This was probably in the region of the present Curry Farm on top of the Downs and is likely to have been the area counted as an extra half yoke in 1285.

In 1425 the half yoke had an area of 73 acres.³ It included a field called "The Plegstow" and half of it was held by Reginald Peckham. This field is still a unit today, surrounded by a ten-species hedge on a high bank, and bounded on one side

¹ Baker, 'Kentish Jugum. . .', *loc. cit.* ² Dean and Chapter of Canterbury MS. E. 24, f. 71v.

³ Referred to in another part of the document as 70 acres.

by marsh land, on another by an ancient road to the Downs ridgeway. It includes fields named "The Plegstow" and "Peckham Land," and is of 66½ acres.¹

On the other side of the road two other large fields contain the field names "Stockham Field" and "Twetton Field," which check with the 1425 rental. They are farmed from Twitton Farm and their area is 113 acres. In the rental Twitton Yoke is given as 129½ acres (excluding the 80 acres on the Downs), but of this 9½ acres is "super Stockham de Bosco" leaving 120 acres as an example of a typical yoke. Here again the ten-species hedges and high banks are exactly similar to other postulated yoke boundaries. The boundaries thus described do not constitute a reconstruction of the 1425 landscape. At that date the large fields were subdivided into a number of smaller, though possibly unenclosed, fields; but the area occupied by the yoke as a whole is made clear, an area which existed as a cultivated unit long before the fifteenth century.

Some other yokes are just as well defined as this. Rye Yoke, one single field with a road running near one side of it, remains almost unaltered today. Almost all the boundaries of Rye Yoke can be drawn with precision; they match with hedges and banks, farm boundaries, and old park boundaries; and fields outside the yoke limits demonstrably belong to other yokes. Other reconstructions are more difficult. The half yoke of Hale, also shown in figure VII, is now partly covered by modern housing which has obliterated boundaries, but limited reconstruction is possible by use of hedge analysis.

Like many yokes, the centre of Hale is on a gravel terrace giving good soils. The reconstruction covers a greater area than the 65 acres held by the tenants according to the rental. In this yoke the original unit was much modified by 1425. Demesne land in "Wickham" and in "Tylfield" occupied part of the area and it is known that the neighbouring yoke of Donnington had been expanded considerably.² Most of the land still known as Hale Yoke was north of the Pilgrims Way, but some was still held south of the road. In all, five field names mentioned in the rental are still identifiable.

Hedge analysis in these circumstances of insufficient early documentation and hedge destruction is accompanied by too many uncertainties to make any sure reconstruction possible. However, in the north-west and the north-east, banks of up to four feet high mark the old limits of the yoke before marshy land is reached. On the north-west bank a ten-species hedge marks the old yoke limit, but to the north-east is a seven-species hedge. In this part, however, fields were also farmed on the alluvial land beyond, and this hedge may have originated when some of the yokeland was incorporated in the demesne—it certainly separated the two types of land in 1425. If this is so, a thirteenth-century date is suggested for the first acquisition of demesne in this area. It may be mentioned that another hedge of seven species is found in the alluvial area. Could it be that cultivation of this poorer land by the tenants commenced at the same time as the taking over of the better

¹ Vide Dr Gordon Ward, Annotated 6 in. maps in Kent Archives Office.

² Gordon Ward, 'A Note on the Yokes of Otford', *Arch. Cant.*, XLII, 1930, p. 148.

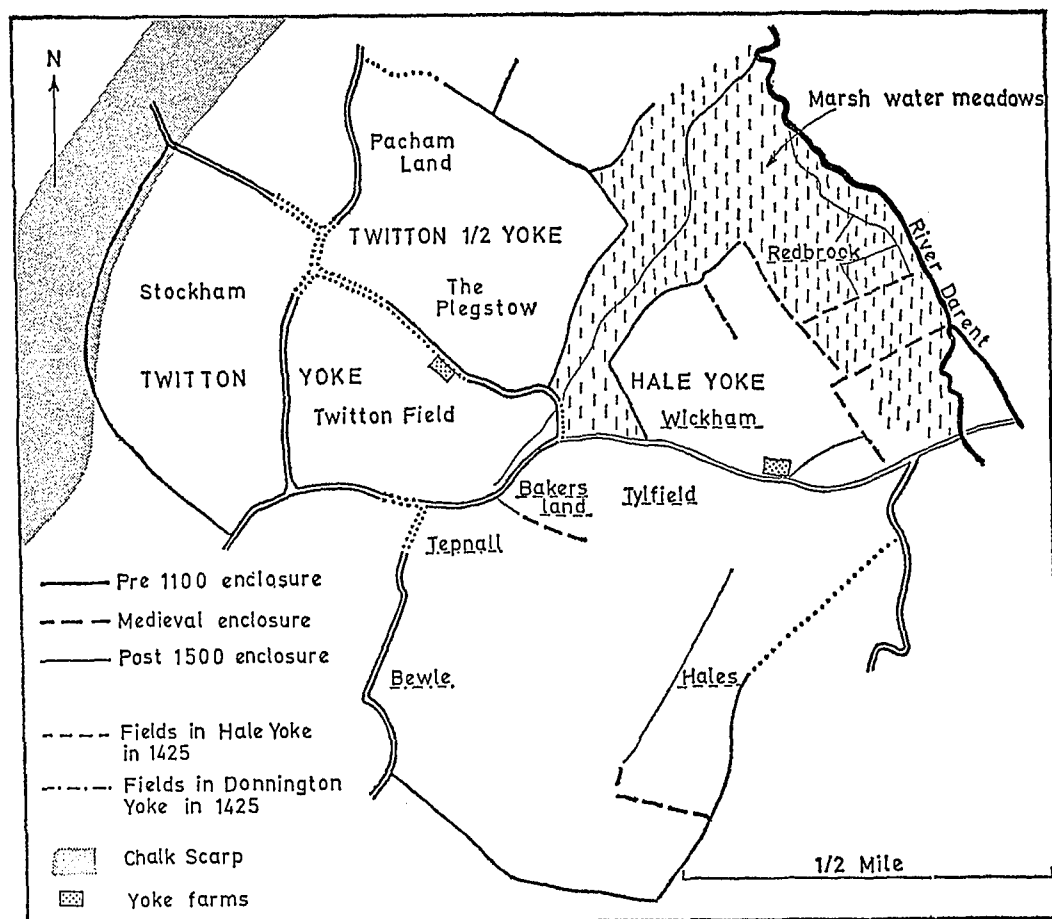


FIG. VII

The yokes of Twitton and Hale.

Dotted lines indicate areas where banks or hedges have been destroyed.

land for demesne cultivation? This is pure speculation, but unsubstantiated hedge analysis suggests it was so.

Apart from three field names the extent of the yoke cannot be traced south of the road. An ancient boundary does exist, and includes land of Donnington Yoke in 1425 though it is doubtful whether it was originally in Donnington. If all this area was once Hale Yoke it was much larger than other yokes in the valley. Probably it was subdivided—lines on old maps show possible divisions but the hedgerow evidence has vanished under a housing estate.

CONCLUSION

Although Dr Hooper's work has been taken as the basis for this study, and one species per hundred years been used as a rough guide, dating has primarily depended on a local assessment of the rate of hedge change, based on the few local datable

hedges. Such dating must take soil variation into account and the fact that the number of shrub species locally available for colonization may be limited. In any such work the establishment of a local chronology is of prime importance, and it is suggested that the recording of evolved banks may assist in this as well as in defining boundaries. Documents remain essential evidence, but in this instance the same degree of accurate reconstruction would have been impossible with documents alone. It seems that looking at hedgerows may be a very worthwhile task for the rural historian, and is an urgent one in those parts of the country where these historic features are being rapidly removed from the landscape.

Notes and Comments

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The British Agricultural History Society's adjourned twenty-first AGM was re-convened at Matlock College of Education, Matlock, Derbyshire, on 10 April 1973, with Mr George Ordish in the Chair. Professor W. G. Hoskins, Mr C. A. Jewell, and Mr M. A. Havinden were re-elected President, Treasurer, and Secretary respectively. The three vacancies on the Executive Committee were filled by the re-election of Professor H. P. R. Finberg and the election of Mr Dennis Baker and Mr A. D. M. Phillips.

In his report Mr Ordish noted that membership had risen to 776, a net increase of twelve since last year, which was gratifying in view of the fact that it had been necessary to raise the annual subscription from £2.10 to £3.50. A one-day conference on the changing pattern of diet would be held in London in November 1973, and the 1974 annual conference would be held in Somerset or Dorset (subsequently arranged at Weymouth College of Education). He said there had been some discussion on the EC as to whether the annual conference should be held in September and asked the meeting's views. After discussion and a vote it was decided to continue as before and the date of the 1974 conference was fixed for Monday 8 April to Wednesday 10 April 1974.

The Treasurer presented the accounts and reported that as a result of the successful response of the membership to the new subscrip-

tion, the Society's finances had been restored. Expenditure had exceeded income by £71.93 in the financial year 1972-3, but there was now £2,593.67 in the current account and £670 in the deposit account. The report was adopted.

The Editor reported that there was a large number of articles being submitted to the REVIEW but that many were too long. He would welcome more articles on the medieval and early modern periods.

THE 1973 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The conference was held from 9 to 11 April 1973 at the Matlock College of Education, Derbyshire. The opening paper on 'Agricultural structure and tenurial relationships in Roman Britain' by Professor Shimon Applebaum of the University of Tel Aviv was lively and controversial. His estimates of the yield of corn crops from measurements of the capacity of granaries stimulated critical discussion and much interest was also shown in his demonstrations of the continuity between Roman and Saxon agriculture by means of the study of Roman field systems which continued in use. Mr Paul Brassley of Oxford University followed with an assessment of 'Agricultural development in northern England, 1640-1750' based on the counties of Durham and Northumberland. He showed that the agricultural slump which afflicted much of midland Eng-

(continued on page 139)

Unciae: Land Measurement in the *Liber Landavensis*

By WENDY DAVIES

THE *Liber Landavensis*¹ is a work compiled in the early twelfth century in the new diocese of Llandaff in south-east Wales. Most of the contents pertain more or less directly to that diocese, and they include the *Vitae* of associated saints, land documents, papal bulls, and letters to and from the bishop. By far the greater part of it consists of a collection of charters which purport to record grants of land made to the church of Llandaff between the sixth and eleventh centuries; these lands fall mostly within the present counties of Herefordshire, Monmouth, and Glamorgan.² Their supposed chronological sequence is spurious and the charters cannot be taken at face value since the whole corpus has been amended and arranged in the interest of the diocesan claims of twelfth-century Llandaff; but it is demonstrable that the charters derive from pre-twelfth-century sources, have been through several processes of editing, and have taken interpolations in the period c. 1120–40.³ Since the interpolations are identifiable, earlier elements can be distinguished from the later; hence, although apparently corrupt, the corpus includes a quantity of pre-conquest material and supplies some usable evidence for the economic history of early medieval Wales.

In the charters, interpolations omitted, the practice in describing the object of the grant varies: it may occur as an unnamed area of land, or as a place-name, church, or estate, with or without some mention of appurtenant land, and with or without some indication of extent. Invariably its agricultural use is unstated. In 93 cases, approximately two-thirds, some indication of extent is given, and the units of measurement are a problematic *uncia* and *modius*, as in the following: “. . . Guruodius rex Ercycg . . . dedit . . . agrum nomine Bolgros super ripam Guy eminus Mochros id est mensuram trium unciarum” (Bellymoor, Her., LL 161). On the surface *uncia* and *modius* appear to be related units in a coherent system, for their precise relationship is twice defined within the text: “Catuuth filius Coffro agrum trium modiorum, id est quartam partem uncie agri immolauit deo, id est ecclesiam Hennlennic super ripam Amyr” (LL 200); “Cinvin filius Gurcant immolauit deo

¹ National Library of Wales MS., NLW 1711OE. The standard edition is *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. J. G. Evans with J. Rhys, Oxford, 1893, hereafter cited as LL. All quotations in this paper are referred to the pages of the edition, and I conform to Mr Bartrum's practice of citing the charters by the numbers of the page on which they begin, distinguishing those that begin on the same page by a, b, c, etc. When quoting I have modernized the punctuation.

² LL, pp. 72–8, 121–9, 140–275.

³ For a full examination of the validity of the charter material as pre-conquest evidence, see my University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1970, ‘The Early Charter Memoranda of the *Book of Llandaff*’, pp. 32–213, and Appendix 1; for a brief summary of the argument, ‘*Liber Landavensis*: construction and credibility’, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXXXVIII, 1973; for the late interpolations, ‘St. Mary's Worcester and the *Liber Landavensis*’, *Journ. Soc. Archivists*, IV, no. 6, 1972.

... Lannculan cum omni agro suo & cum tribus modiis terre id est dimidium semiunciae agri" (LL 216a). Hence there would be 12 *modii* per *uncia*.

Now although the same terms do occur as units of land measurement in other European contexts, the relationship between them is quite dramatically different. *Modius* is common enough in early medieval Europe: in origin a measure of grain, it comes to signify the area that can be sown with a *modius*. Hence, comments like "petiam unam terrae in Corsano capacem sementis modiorum sex"¹ are more usually rendered in the form (dedit) "alias res ibidem, et terram modiorum xxx."² Naturally the area of the *modius* will vary in accordance with the productive capacity of the land, but Roman surveyors were in the habit of calculating 3 *modii* to the *iugerum* (the Roman acre) and late Roman practice was to sow between 3 and 6 *modii* to the *iugerum*.³

The root meaning of *uncia* is "the smallest fraction of a unit of account" and hence in Latin usage "a twelfth"⁴; its applications are various: frequent in appearance as a unit of weight, the ounce (a twelfth of a pound),⁵ it also occurs though much less commonly as a unit of area. In this usage, it certainly begins with the precise Roman connotation of a twelfth of a *iugerum*.⁶

If there are 12 *unciae* and 3–6 *modii* to the *iugerum* on the continent, then *modius* is up to four times as big as *uncia* there, while the Llandaff *uncia* is twelve times the size of the Llandaff *modius*. We are therefore confronted with the consistent use in *Liber Landavensis* of two units whose relationship is independent of any other European usage and which apparently relate to no known system of measurement. The essential problem is therefore one of meaning: what is the precise connotation of the terms, and inseparable from this, how do they come to be used in this way?

Despite the precise statement of their relationship and the corresponding implication that the two terms are part of the same scheme of account, there is both a geographical and chronological distinction in the use of the terms in *Liber Landavensis*.⁷ *Uncia* occurs more frequently in early grants: the latest is a tenth-century occurrence although there is no other post-eighth-century usage. *Modius* occurs throughout the chronological range of grants, from those of the early seventh century (LL 140) to the eleventh century (LL 263), though there are no certain sixth-century usages.⁸ Although not every place-name can be located now, where

¹ Bernard of Mirabello to the bishop of Penna, Italy, 1195, in F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 2nd edn, Venice, 1717, I, col. 1126.

² *Il Chronicon Farfense di Gregorio di Catino*, ed. U. Balzani, Rome, 1903, II, p. 50.

³ A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: a social economic and administrative survey*, Oxford, 1964, II, pp. 767f.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, sub *uncia*: col. 604–65.

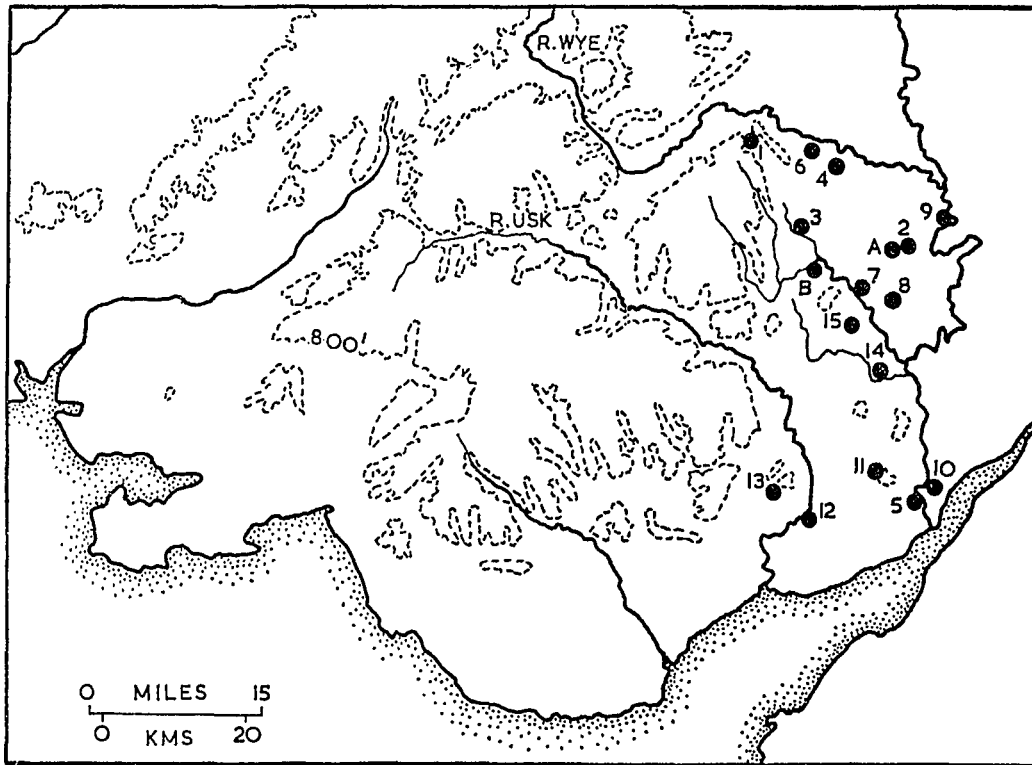
⁵ It occurs in this sense in LL very occasionally, as in 203b: "... emit unciam agri que uocatur Turion ... pro ... cornu in pretio vi unciarum argenti".

⁶ Columella, *Res Rustica*, V, I, 10.

⁷ See Appendix for full statement of occurrences of *unciae*, and distribution map for location of identifiable estates.

⁸ The charters are not dated; it is possible to arrange them in a coherent chronological sequence by co-ordinating the witness lists, and thence to assign them approximate dates; see my thesis (cited above, n.3), pp. 158–242. Numbers 76b and 123 contain estimates in *modii* and appear to be assignable to the sixth century, but there is very little that is credible in either charter.

identification is possible *uncia* is only used in the east of the total area covered, especially in south-west Hereford and in Monmouthshire, in the area between the rivers Usk and Wye; even where the precise location is unknown the context of the charters often makes it clear that this area (Erging and Gwent) is intended. *Modius*, on the other hand, is used through the whole of south-east Wales. The usage of *modius*, therefore, is common but that of *uncia* is restricted. Since the material pertaining to the latter—both in *Liber Landavensis* and in other contexts—is more specific and indicates a narrower range of meaning, examination will be restricted to the use of *uncia*.



MAP I
Estates measured in *unciae* in S.E. Wales

There are three obvious approaches towards the resolution of the problem: investigation of the subsequent history of the estates in case of continuity between pre- and post-Norman units; location of the boundaries and hence of the precise area of each unit with specified measurement; and investigation of the nature and circumstances of continental usage, in case of comparable conditions. In this paper the suggestions furnished by each approach will be discussed in turn.

Those *uncia* estates which can be approximately located are as follows (numbers refer to the distribution map): *Bolgros* (6, at Bellymoor), *Cariou* (15, Llanfaenor), *Cemeis* (12, Kemeys), *Conloc* (4, Madley), *Cum Barruc* (3, Valley Dore), *Enricorua*

(5, Chepstow), *Gurthebiriuc* (14, Wonastow), *Istrat Hafren* (10, Tidenham), *Lann Budgualan* (9, Ballingham), *Lann Cerniu* (1, Dorstone), *Lann Guorboe* (7, Garway), *Lann Iunabui* (2, Llandinabo), *Lann Loudeu* (8, Llanloundy), *Merthir Tecmed* (13, Llandegfedd), and possibly *Cumcerruc* (11, ?Cilgwrrwg).¹ Except that they are nearly all below the 300-foot contour, the group has no apparent common characteristics, either as regards geographical position or subsequent history. Most of the places are post-conquest parishes, some are Domesday vills or manors, some are fourteenth-century fiefs, but in many cases the Llandaff names do not continue in use after the Conquest. Hence, without boundaries for the post-conquest estates it is impossible to determine comparative extents. Such indications of size or value as are available suggest no correlation between pre- and post-conquest units. Thus Domesday Dorstone has 7 hides, where *Lann Cerniu* was 1 *uncia*, but Domesday Madley has 3 hides where *Conloc* was 4 *unciae* and Domesday Garway has 4 carucates where *Lann Guorboe* was 1 *uncia*.² Similarly, the Valor estimates 8/5½ for the church at Llandegfedd and 9/6½ for that at Wonastow, where *Liber Landavensis* has ½ *uncia* for *Merthir Tecmed* and 1½ for *Gurthebiriuc*.³ The clear implication is that these figures refer to different units; in no case is there any evidence to suggest correlation between the pre- and post-conquest estates. Everything points to a substantial change in the land-holding pattern in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is hardly surprising in view of the changes in the names of economic units and the many historical indications that this was so. Llandaff, after all, did not hold all of the estates for which there are charters in *Liber Landavensis*, and it is perfectly clear from both papal letters and letters written from the diocese that lands claimed by Llandaff had been appropriated by lay Norman lords for their own use as also in order to make gifts to English and foreign ecclesiastical houses. In fact, only one of the *uncia* estates (*Lanncoit*) is confirmed as Llandaff's property in the 1129 bull.⁴ The wars between Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (1039–63) and the border aristocracies, and the subsequent Norman Conquest of the borders, are sufficient to account for such drastic changes, and this is reflected in the explicit statements of Hereford and Gloucester Domesday: references to devastation are numerous, while the carucation of the Usk–Wye area reflects the creation of new economic units and new methods of assessment.⁵

The effect of all this is to demonstrate that post-conquest economic history does not throw any useful light on the area's previous history. There is a real hiatus. The later estates do not and cannot determine the size or significance of *uncia*.

The second line of approach is more fruitful: many Llandaff charters include a detailed perambulation of boundaries, and these are obviously intended to describe the extent of the land specified. But in this lies a problem, for most of these perambulations are additions to the original records; since it is to be expected that the

¹ See Appendix and map.

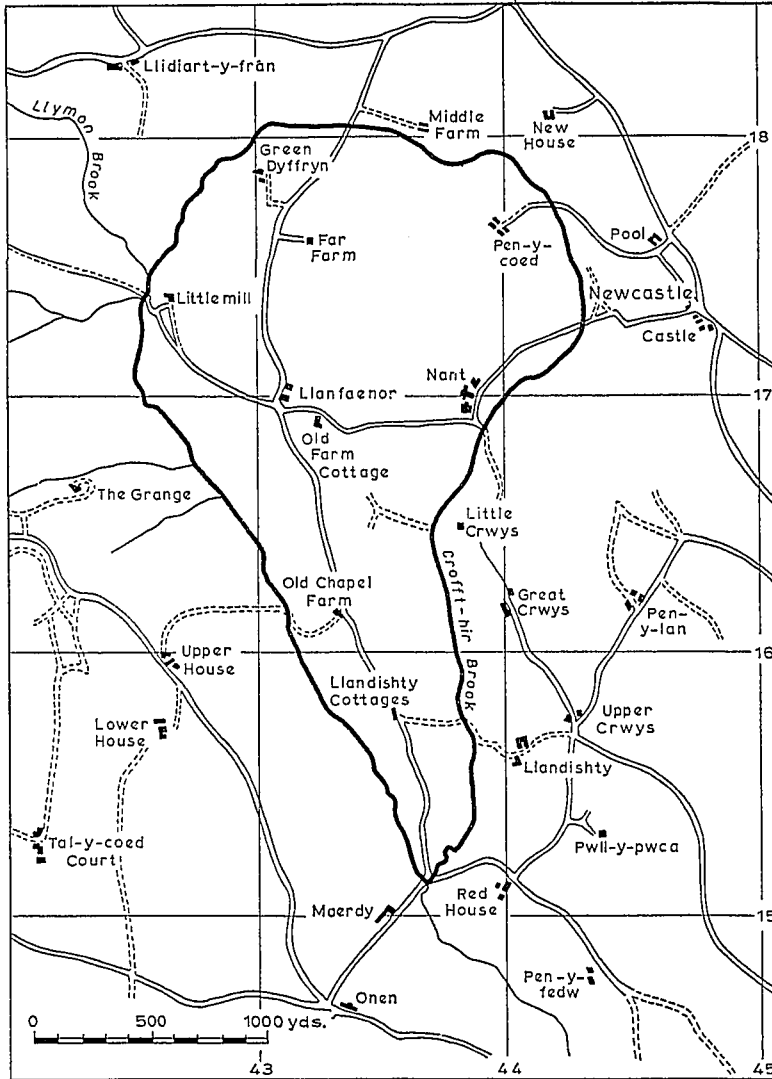
² *Herefordshire Domesday*, c. 1160–1170, ed. V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait, Pipe Roll Soc., n.s. xxv, for 1947–8, 1950, pp. 64, 25, 19.

³ *Valor ecclesiasticus*, ed. J. Caley, 1821, iv, pp. 367, 356.

⁴ *LL*, p. 43.

⁵ *Domesday Book*, ed. A. Farley, 1783, I, pp. 162ff, 181ff.

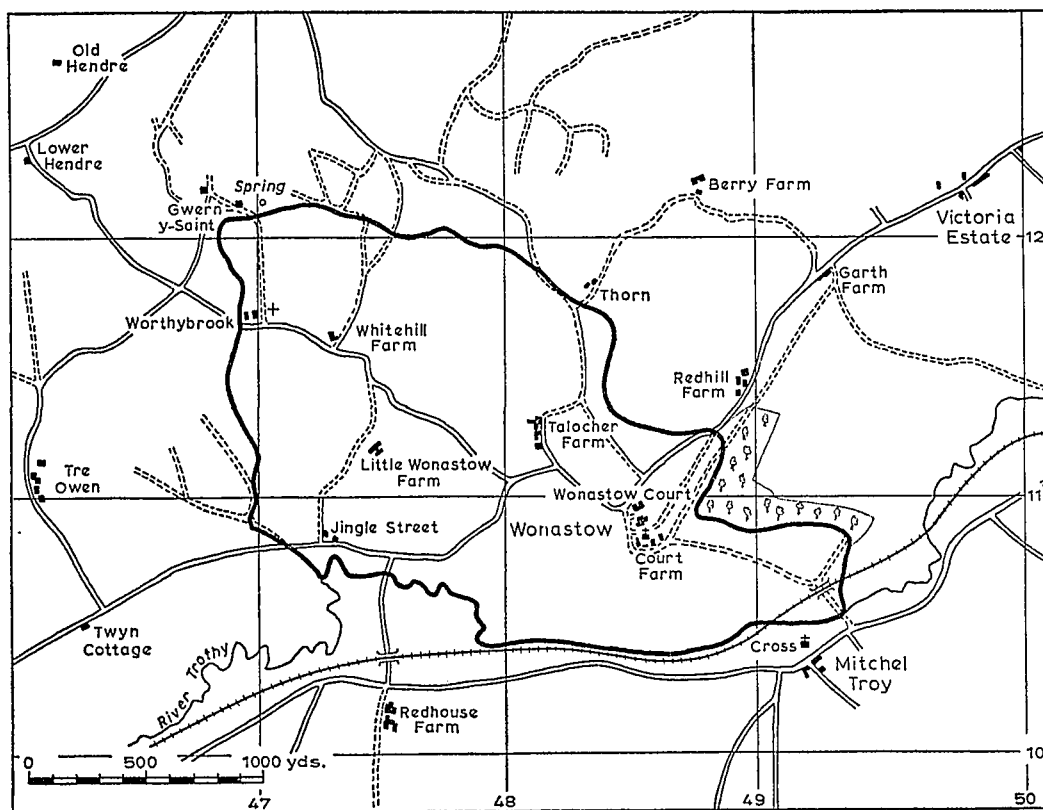
area of at least some estates had altered since the original grant it need not follow that the area described by the perambulations corresponds exactly with the original specification.¹ Despite this problem, it is worth investigating the areas enclosed by



MAP 2
Cariou: Llanfaenor

the perambulations, for the *modius* unit is used throughout the range of memoranda and must have been in use at the time when the perambulations were added; hence one might expect some correlation in that case. Moreover there are a few boun-

¹ The Welsh of the long perambulations cannot be earlier than the tenth or eleventh century: see K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, Edinburgh, 1953, p. 58. The addition of perambulations is a phenomenon familiar in Anglo-Saxon charter studies; cf. the well-known example of the Hallow-Hawling boundaries.—H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, Leicester, 1961, pp. 184–96.



MAP 3

Gurthebiriuc: Wonastow

daries which are integral to the text, not later additions; indications of size from these are consistent with the indications of interpolated boundaries.

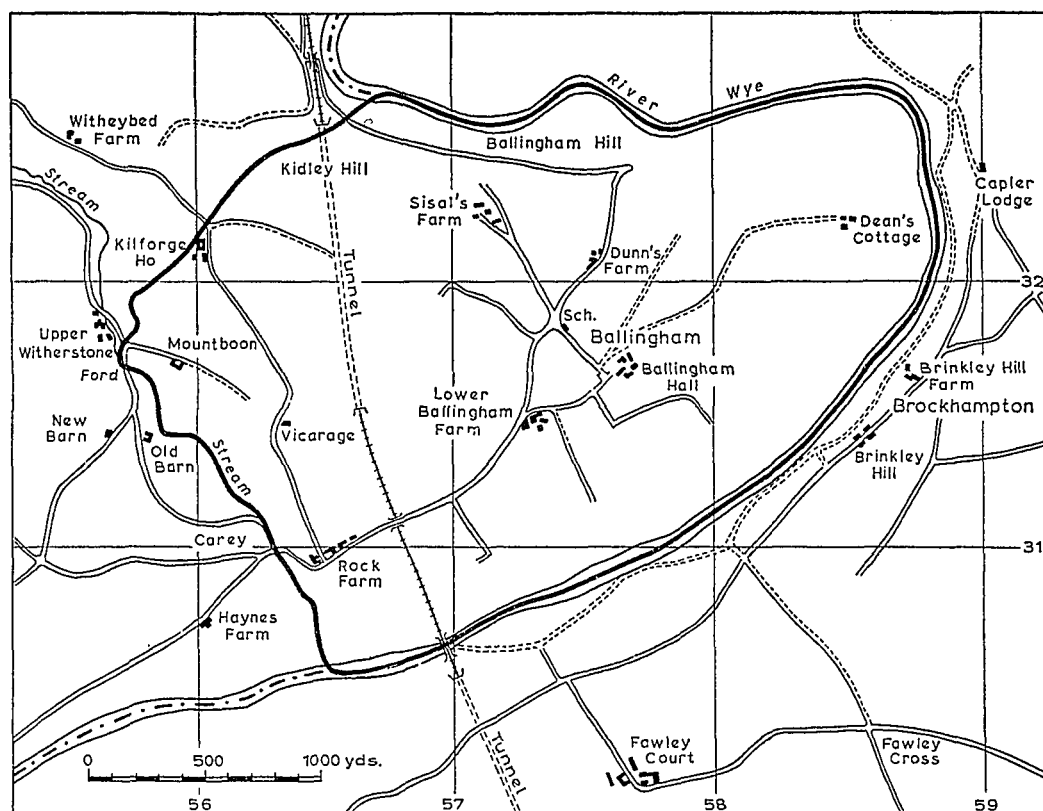
There are three perambulations whose entire course can be plotted with a reasonable hope of certainty. These are *Cariou cum uncia agri* (LL 210a, map no. 15); *ecclesiam Gurthebiriuc cum uncia agri et semiuncia circa se* (LL 201, map no. 14); *podum sancti Budgualan cum duabus unciis et media uncia in circuitu podi* (LL 164, map no. 9).

The boundary at *Cariou* (Llanfaenor, Mon.)¹ is as follows:

inter Distin et Liminan, usque Uallem Manochi, de Ualle Morcant usque ad Fontem Baraliuen, cliuo ducente ad Riuulum Penlucan dir Pull Rud Dulin ducente usque Distin.

Liminan is the present brook "Llymon," and *Distin* would appear to be the present brook "Crofft hir"; compare Llandishty nearby at SO 441157. Starting at the confluence of the two (437152) and moving north along the Llymon, the first depression that could possibly be termed *uallis* is that beyond Little Mill Farm (425175). This must therefore represent the most southern limit of the northern boundary of the property. Other features are not certainly identifiable but there is a spring just

¹ Evans's identification; he suggests that it might properly be applied to Chapel Farm, Llanfaenor.



MAP 4

Lann Budgualan: Ballingham

above Middle Farm at 435180 (? *Fons Baraliuen*) which follows a gentle incline (? *cliuus*) down to a small confluence, 440179 (? *Riuulum Penlucan*), passing through marshy ground at 442178 (? the *Pull*), and joining the Crofft hir. This boundary encloses an area of 702 acres.

The boundary at *ecclesia Gurthebiriuc* (Wonastow, Mon.) is as follows: *ir ford ar Trodi* (R. Trothy, possibly the ford at SO 494105¹) *ar hit ir ford maur di uinid bet ir onnenn*, or *onnenn* (woods at 494109) *trus ir ford* (? 489113) *iniaun dir ispidatenn* (cf. "Thorn," 484117; note the present parish boundary here) *ir uch ir dou tir di licat Cum Cetguinn* (? the spring at 470121) *ar i hit bet i ford, trus i ford* (? 469116) *bet i Nant i Meneich* (cf. "Gwern y Saint") *ar i hit bet Trodi* (? 473107), *mal i duc Trodi di uinid bet ir rit ar Trodi ubi incepit*. This encloses an area of 653 acres.

The boundary at *podum sancti Budgualan* (Ballingham, Her.) is as follows: *A Uado Selinam* (? the ford at SO 558317) *super* (blank) *transuersum usque in flumine magno* (? at 567326—note the present parish boundary here) *iuxta Riuulum Circhan* (? 565306) *in circuitu fluminis Guy* (R. Wye); *totus angulus datus est*. Since there are no tributaries or streams within this area this is the minimum possible extent; the ford is apparently the only one in the vicinity of this angle of the Wye. Given these

¹ See Evans, LL, p. 375, for discussion of the use of the Welsh *ffordd* in the sense of English *ford*.

limitations no alternative circuit is really possible. It encloses an area of 1,132 acres.

These suggested boundaries produce the following relationships between *uncia* and acreage: 1 *uncia* at Llanfaenor = 702 acres; 1½ *uncia* at Wonastow = 653 acres; 2½ *uncia* at Ballingham = 1,132 acres. This gives no precisely consistent relationship, but consistency is hardly to be expected: the varying size of hide and acre in England is familiar enough, and a standard *uncia* in terms of square feet and inches would be scarcely credible. Here we have suggestions of 702, 435, and 453 acres per *uncia*, i.e. a figure of the order of 500 acres. Such a size is supported by brief indications in two other charters. The limits of 4 *uncia* of Conloc's land (LL 76a, at Madley, Her.) include both the rivers Wye and Dore: "quattuor uncias agri Conloc super ripam Gui infra insulam Ebrdil usque Cumbarruc ynys strat Dour."¹ The distance between these rivers via Madley is over five miles. The boundary of 1 *uncia* of land at Lann Iunabui (LL 73a, at Llandinabo, Her.) mentions the river Wye, which is a mile and three quarters from Llandinabo: "podum Junabui cum uncia agri . . . Or Campull recte usque Guy." It therefore seems likely that *uncia* signifies a unit of measurement of the order of 500 acres.

To take, thirdly, the incidence of continental usage of *uncia* is to encounter a new set of problems, some aspects of which are suggestive. In Irminon's *Polyptyque*—from northern France in the early ninth century, it is perfectly clear that *uncia* represents units of different size: no. 101 in *breve* xxiv, where 1 *uncia* contains 2 *bunuarii* and ½ *aripennus*; no. 102, where 1 *uncia* contains 2½ *bunuarii*; no. 103, where 1 *uncia* contains 4 *bunuarii*;² no. 8 in *breve* xxv, where 1 *uncia* contains 3 *bunuarii* and 1 *aripennus*.³ Here the discrepancy is such as to suggest that in its contemporary context the import of the term *uncia* is a unit of economic organization, like "hide" or *mansus*, rather than a strict term of measurement. Comparison with other entries confirms this: the four occurrences of *uncia* appear as a variant from the normal pattern, which is commonly "tenet mansum ingenuilem," less frequently "tenet hospicium," and occasionally "tenet mansum." Thus, "Ratboldus colonus et uxor colona, nomine Leutsinda . . . Et Grimharius colonus et soror ejus Ercantrudis . . . Isti duo manent in Tontoni Curte. Tenent unciam I, habentem de terra arabili bunuarios II, de vinea dimidium aripennum. Solvunt pullos et ova; arant duas perticas ad hibernaticum et unam ad tramisum."⁴ The context clearly implies that *uncia* is a type of holding in this survey.

There is, moreover, some slight indication of the origin of the term. Once in the Irminon *Polyptyque* the *uncia* occurs as family inheritance: "Erlenteus colonus et uxor colona . . . Et habet unciam I de terra arabili, habentem bunuaria tria, et de prato aripennum I, quae de hereditate proximorum suorum ei in hereditate successit."⁵ Grimharius and his sister in the example quoted above may represent a similar family arrangement. An apparently comparable instance occurs in the abbot of Farfa's exposition of the Farfa case in his dispute with Odo, Count of Sabine,

¹ *ynys strat Dour*: i.e. *yn istrat Dour*.

² *Polyptyque de l'Abbé Irminon*, ed. B. Guérard, Paris, 1844, II, pp. 258 f.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 272.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 258 f. ⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 272.

c. 1103: "Leoninus . . . monachus factus, tres uncias massae Aretinae, quibus parentum fruebatur haereditate . . . beato Petro Apostolo perenniter concessit permanendas."¹ Both instances of the use of *uncia* in association with the idea of inheritance are particularly interesting in view of its little-mentioned technical meaning in Roman law. The parts of an inheritance were calculated in *unciae*, which were thus fractions of heritable property; thus, "Matre vel legitimis filiis vel nepotibus aut pronepotibus cuiuscumque sexus, uno pluribusve, existentibus bonorum suorum unam tantum unciam pater naturalibus filiis seu filiabus eorumque genetrici vel, si sola sit concubina, semunciam largiendi vel relinquendi habeat potestatem,"² and "Ex uncia heres erat patris sui Galla . . ."³ In the light of this it seems highly probable that the use of the term *uncia* on some estates reflects a changing terminology whereby an original hereditary portion retained the designation "hereditary portion" (*uncia*), while its practical significance was lost; hence the development of a more general secondary meaning of "holding." There are therefore two quite distinct continental usages of the term as applied to land units: a twelfth (of an *iugerum*) and an (heir's) portion.

In the case of the Llandaff usage, it has been demonstrated by following the boundaries and by the relationship with *modius* that *uncia* cannot conceivably denote the former. But it is by no means inconceivable that its usage in some restricted Monmouth–Herefordshire contexts derives from the latter. In *Liber Landavensis* there are three passages which suggest that *uncia* may once have been used as a term for a basic economic unit. These read as follows: in 173 (Llangwm, Mon.), "Cinueilin resoluit immolauitque Lann Cum cum suo agro, id est tribus modis terre . . .," but *agro* is glossed *uncia*; in 169a, "Bonus dedit alium agrum de sua uncia sicut dedit Gurcant"—Gurcant had given "partem agri trans uiam"; and in 203a, "Bricon filius Guincon emit agrum trium unciarum, id est Uillam uidelicet Tancuor filij Condu, & Uillam Deui filii Iust, & Uillam Iliman filij Samson." The implication in each case is that *uncia* denotes property belonging to one individual.

If this suggestion is valid then the most attractive explanation of the use of *uncia* to signify "holding" on the Welsh borders is by analogy with the comparable continental usage, i.e. as a secondary meaning developed from *uncia* "hereditary portion." In such a case its use would represent some direct survival of terminology from the late Roman period—and possibly also of actual estates. This is not as inherently unlikely as might at first appear: both French and Italian examples occur in areas where continuity of usage from late Roman estates is likely, and the term does not occur in England, where the land-holding pattern is comparatively much more disturbed.⁴ In Wales its usage is restricted not only to the earlier period of the

¹ F. Le Blanc, *Dissertation Historique sur quelques Monnoyes de Charlemagne . . . Frapées dans Rome*, Paris, 1689 p. 106.

² Cod. Iust. v, 27; see W. W. Buckland, *A Textbook of Roman Law*, 3rd edn, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 299 f.

³ M. A. Seneca, *Controversiae*, viii, 5.

⁴ Although the evidence of origin is very late and very unsatisfactory, it would appear that the *unciatae terrae* of Scotland and the Isles are unrelated to the *unciae* under discussion here. Thus the *urislands* of Orkney and Shetland, *tirunga* of the Hebrides and Argyll, *treens* of the Isle of Man would seem to represent 'ouncelands', i.e. areas under Norse domination from which a tax of one ounce of silver was exacted. I am very grateful to

charters but to easterly locations, i.e. just those parts with a developed Roman economy which do not come within the range of initial Saxon conquest. We know, for example, that Bishop Dubricius was active in the early sixth century in what appears to be a wholly late-Roman context. More than half the identifiable *uncia* estates are on or very near Roman roads. It is an area where one might expect some element of continuity in both land usage and population.

Whether or not this is an adequate explanation of the *origin* of its usage, it is perfectly clear that in the bulk of the Llandaff examples it occurs as a unit denoting size, and that there are indications that that size is of the order of 500 acres. Hence, in the last resort and at the point at which *uncia* was related to *modius* (? eighth–ninth century), it was seen as a unit of measurement. The two usages are not necessarily exclusive: it is, after all, a common enough development in the terminology of early medieval land units.

In sum, therefore, one may postulate the following pattern of development. The use of the term *uncia* in Latin documents from south-east Wales may well derive from use in that area of the Roman technical term signifying an heir's portion (*uncia*); some properties, therefore, may have had some such late Roman designation. It appears to develop a secondary, less precise, meaning of a "holding," "property"—paralleled by continental usage in Italy and northern France—of which there are a few isolated examples in *Liber Landavensis*. It develops a tertiary meaning of a unit of measurement, of the order of 500 acres, and this appears to be its commonest application in *Liber Landavensis*. This has no continental parallel, is much bigger than comparable units elsewhere, and is hence quite unrelated to the continental unit of similar name. The usage appears to be peculiar to areas of Monmouth and Hereford in the sixth–ninth centuries. In the later pre-Conquest period it was replaced by *modius* as a unit of measurement; although there are two statements of relationship between the two, their independent pattern of usage would suggest that this apparently consistent scheme of account is the misleading result of some later rationalizing process.¹

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¹ I should like to record my thanks to my colleagues Christopher Dyer and Professor R. H. C. Davis for their helpful comments upon this paper; to Sooh Hirst for drawing map 1, and to the technical staff of the Department of Geography, University of Birmingham, for maps 2, 3 and 4.

APPENDIX

ESTATES MEASURED IN *UNCIAE*

(N.B. In this list estates are quoted as they appear in the text of the charters; where their titles supply variant name-forms these are added in brackets.)

Key	No.	Description in LL	Modern Name	Date
1	72b	Lann Cerniu cum uncia agri	Dorstone, Her.	mid vi
2	73a	podum Junabiu cum uncia agri (Lann Iunabui)	Llandinabo, Her.	mid vi

Key	No.	Description in LL	Modern Name	Date
3	73b 163a	3 uncias agri Cum Barruc	Valley Dore, Her.	mid VI
	192	3 uncias agri Cum Barruc	Valley Dore, Her.	mid VIII
4	76a	4 uncias agri Conloc	Madley, Her.	mid VI
5	158	3 uncias agri pleni nauigationis Guy fluminis id est Emricorua	Chepstow, Mon.	early VIII
6	161	agrum nomine Bolgros . . . id est mensuram 3 unciarum	Bellymoor, Her.	late VI
7	162a	alterum agrum, id est unciam agri (Lann Guorboe)	Garway, Her.	late VI
8	163b	podum Loudeu cum 3 unciis agri (Lann Loudeu)	Llanloundy, Her.	* early VII
9	164	podum sancti Budgualan, cum 2 unciis, & media uncia in circuitu podi (Lann Budgualan)	Ballingham, Her.	early VII
	166	Lanncoit cum 3 unciis agri	? (Mon.)	late VI
10	174b	ecclesiam istrat hafren cum uncia agri	Tidenham, Glos.	early VIII
	176b	agrum Helic cum 3 unciis agri	?	early VIII
		agrum Tencu cum 2 unciis agri	?	early VIII
11	179c	3 uncias agri pleni in medio Cumcerruc id est uillam que fuit Guroc	? Cilgwrrwg, Mon.	early VIII
12	183b	agrum Cemcis . . . cum 2 unciis agri	Kemeys, Mon.	early VIII
	185	unciam agri Guruarch	? (SW Her.)	mid VIII
	186a	unciam agri plenam uillam Nis	?	mid VIII
	192	Colcuch cum 3 unciis agri ¹	?	mid VIII
	198b	terram uncie agri que uocatur Tir Dimuner	? (SW Her., Mon.)	mid VIII
13	199a	podum merthir tecmed cum dimidia uncia agri circa se	Llandegfedd, Mon.	mid VIII
A	(200	agrum 3 modiorum, id est quartam partem uncie agri . . . id est ecclesiam Hennlennic . . . id est Lannguern	Llanwarn, Her.	mid VIII)
14	201	ecclesiam Gurthebiriuc cum uncia agri et semiuncia circa se	Wonastow, Mon.	mid VIII
	203a	agrum 3 unciarum, id est uillam uidelicet Tancuor filij Condu, & uillam Deui, filii Iust, & uillam Iliman filij Samson	?	mid VIII
	203b	unciam agri que uocatur Turion	?	mid VIII
15	210a	Cariou cum uncia agri	Llanfaenor, Mon.	late VIII
B	(216a	Lannculan cum omni agro suo & cum 3 modiis terre id est dimidium semiuncie agri	? Llangiwa, Mon.	late IX)
	221	Cairnonui cum uncia agri & dimidia uncie, id est dimidiam partem totius agri Cairnonui	?	mid X

¹ The text reads "... reddidit . . . Cumbarruc cum tribus unciis. id est Cenubia. Colcuch cum tribus unciis agri. Cenubia cornubium id est Lann Cerniu . . ." The title reads "Cvm Barruc. Cenubia colcuch. Lann Cerniv." It would appear that the title misinterprets the text, which could justifiably be read either as "Cumbarruc i.e. Cenubia Colcuch" (with an unnecessary stop) or "Cumbarruc i.e. Cenubia; Colcuch." But it cannot be made to produce the reading of the title: Cum Barruc and Cenubia Colcuch. The second possible interpretation, with the two as distinct places, seems preferable since both Lann Calcuch (165) and Cum Barruc (73b, 163a) are mentioned in other contexts, and since the stop is presumably intended to signify something.

Peasant Revolt in France and England: a Comparison

By C. S. L. DAVIES

PROFESSOR Mousnier's *Fureurs Paysannes*, published in 1967, is now available in English with a rather less lively title.¹ It is an attempt to broaden the controversy on the nature of French peasant revolts that has raged since the publication of Boris Porchnev's book in 1948, by comparing revolts in seventeenth-century France, Russia, and China.² For France, these consist of the *Croquants* of Saintonge, Augoumois, and Poitou in 1636 and of Périgord in 1637, the *Nu-Pieds* of Normandy in 1639, and the *Torrébens* of Brittany in 1675. For Russia, he examines peasant involvement in the dynastic struggles known as the "Time of Troubles" at the beginning of the seventeenth century, most notably that led by the ex-slave Bolotnikov; and the revolt of Stenka Razin, a Cossack who won considerable support from the peasantry of the Russian interior during the years 1667-71. The Chinese example is provided by the revolts led by Li Tzu-cheng and Chang Hsien-chung which in the 1640's paralysed the Ming régime and opened the way for the Manchu conquest.

Professor Mousnier is eager to stress that his own expertise is confined to France. Comparisons on this inter-continental scale are useful in suggesting questions to be asked. One wonders, though, whether they are meaningful comparisons, since the circumstances of the three societies were so very different. They

had, after all, little contact with each other, so that merely chronological coincidence is not in itself significant. Fortunately an excellent review from the standpoint of the three countries concerned is available by a *troika* of American historians.³ My purpose is rather to attempt to see how far Professor Mousnier's typology of peasant revolt is applicable to England. He has specifically refrained from making this particular comparison because another book of the same series is to deal with England. But since that work is concerned with the Puritan Revolution which, considered as a "peasant revolt" was in a sense the revolt that never was, I feel justified in attempting the comparison although inevitably it is not possible to do more than treat a few general themes.⁴

Fundamental to Professor Mousnier's views on French society is his concept of a "society of orders" as against a "class society." Professor Porchnev held that France was "fundamentally feudal," that whatever the apparent conflicts between the military nobility and the royal officials the state was in essentials an instrument of the landowning class, and that peasant revolts, therefore, even when they began as protests against royal taxation, quickly developed into a generalized attack on property, leading to a rally by the propertied classes to the forces of repression. Mousnier, on the other hand, stresses far more the divi-

¹ Roland Mousnier, *Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth Century France, Russia and China*, transl. Brian Pearce, as no. 1 in 'The Great Revolutions Series', Allen & Unwin, 1971. £4.50 cloth, £2.75 paperback.

² Boris Porchnev [Porshnev], *Les Soulèvements Populaires en France de 1623 à 1648*, Paris 1963. The Russian edition was published in 1948 and a German translation in 1954. For reviews of the controversy see Menna Prestwich in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 565-72; J. H. M. Salmon, 'Venal Office and Popular Sedition in France', *Past and Present*, no. 37, 1967, pp. 21-43; and R. Mandrou in *Revue Historique*, vol. 242, 1969, pp. 29-40. For a useful survey of peasant revolts in Europe generally in the period 1550-1660, see Henry Kamen, *The Iron Century*, 1971, ch. 10.

³ M. O. Gately, A. Lloyd Moote, and J. E. Wills, Jr, 'Seventeenth Century Peasant "Furies": some Problems of Comparative History', *Past and Present*, no. 51, 1971, pp. 63-80.

⁴ I have used some of the material I presented in an attempt to analyse English peasant revolts for French historians published in *Annales E.S.C.*, vol. 24, 1969, pp. 24-60.

sions among the privileged group.¹ Fortunately we need not now consider how far these two concepts are in fact opposed or how far they merely complement each other, as far as the general structure of society is concerned. The practical result, from the point of view of peasant movements, is that Mousnier stresses far more than Porchnev the importance of "vertical" as opposed to "horizontal" loyalties. On the one hand, the lord felt obligations to his peasants. On the other, peasants were inclined to trust and follow their lords. Local feeling was strong, outsiders distrusted. The privileges of a particular town, of a historic province, could be asserted against the centralizing tendencies of the monarchy, embodied in the tax collector. "Peasant revolt" in a class sense was rare; so-called peasant revolts were caused by noble incitement, or at least connivance, and were often in fact led by nobles; the peasants demanded no fundamental change in the social structure but merely the return of the good old customs; and these customs were so localized, so particular, that a combination of the peasants of different provinces into a national revolt was unlikely, even unthinkable.

Any general exposition of Professor Mousnier's views is bound to over-simplify them. He is not denying the existence of peasant revolts; he sees a radical difference between, say, the Norman *Nu-pieds* of 1639 and the initiatives of *Parlements* and of nobles during the Frondes. Connivance, rather than corporate leadership, is what he stresses as the contribution of the upper orders. Nobles did lead peasant revolts, but they tended to be exceptional individuals, such as La Mothe la Forest, leader of the Périgord revolt of 1637, rather than the nobility of the province as a whole.² Nevertheless, noble influence and the peasant's respect for the social order are shown in the programmes of rebels and in their objectives;

their hostility was directed primarily against tax-collectors.³ Mousnier concedes that revolts could sometimes escalate into more general attacks on the social order; for instance in Brittany in 1675. But where Porchnev sees such escalation as natural, the surfacing of normally repressed class antagonisms, Mousnier looks to exceptional conditions; in this case, a nobility unusually poor who, because of their exceptional judicial privileges, united the rôles of lord and of government agent in the eyes of the peasantry.

When they actually describe what happened, there is far less difference between the accounts of Porchnev and of Mousnier than their theoretical constructs might lead us to expect. By comparison, their analyses seem somewhat mechanistic attempts to force complex social realities into predetermined theoretical moulds. Several criticisms, however, can be made of Mousnier's approach in this book. Although he is the author of a comprehensive *questionnaire* for the use of students of revolts, his analysis of causes is surprisingly unsystematic; it is not always possible to discover, for instance, the fiscal situation in a given year, the state of the harvest, the geographical and social structure of the affected area, essential biographical information about leaders (even La Mothe la Forest), and so on.⁴ The evidence for involvement by individual nobles as leaders stems (inevitably) from reports of government agents, who were possibly inclined to underestimate the possibility of popular initiative and to look for a scapegoat among the respectable classes. Moreover, in picking on the seventeenth century Mousnier has, possibly, selected a period peculiarly favourable to his interpretation. By contrast the social disturbances which accompanied the Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century (a period curiously neglected by French social historians) reveal an acutely class-conscious

¹ *Peasant Uprisings*, pp. 1-31; for a general discussion of the applicability of Professor Mousnier's classification see R. Mousnier (ed.), *Problèmes de Stratification Sociale* (Actes du Colloque International, 1966), Paris, 1968.

² *Peasant Uprisings*, ch. 4; cf. Porchnev, pp. 76-80.

³ Cf. the similarity of aim between the peasants of Angoumois, who revolted in 1636, and the nobility of the same region, as shown in their *cahier* for the projected Estates-General of 1649.—R. Mousnier, J.-P. Labatut, J. Durand (eds.), *Problèmes de Stratification Sociale, Deux Cahiers de la Noblesse . . . 1649-51*, Paris, 1965.

⁴ For the questionnaire see P. Deyon, 'Recherches sur les Soulèvements Populaires en France de 1483 à 1787', *Revue du Nord*, xliv, 1962, pp. 281-90. Although designed for French revolts it is a valuable aide-mémoire for analysis of peasant movements elsewhere.

peasantry prepared to deny landlords their dues and clergy their tithes.¹

Nevertheless, Professor Mousnier's stress on vertical solidarities is surely right and provides a useful working hypothesis for the student of popular revolt; revolts may not always have been instigated by the upper-classes, or even by maverick individual noblemen, but where they were not there were special circumstances which need explanation. To approach the problem from the other angle, of a class-conscious but repressed peasantry taking every opportunity to manifest their grievances, is very much less fruitful.

What, then, can be learnt from a comparison of French and English revolts? Any comparison of the number of revolts raises awkward questions of definition but it is clear that peasant revolts were far commoner in France. Of the English revolts that in Norfolk in 1549 was clearly a peasant revolt. The northern rebellion of 1569 almost as clearly was not, in that it was directly and openly instigated by the normal leaders of northern society, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. More tricky, however, are events like the Pilgrimage of Grace, in which ostensible peasant initiative was surreptitiously encouraged by noblemen and gentlemen, or the western revolts of 1497 and 1549 in which a number of lesser gentry (and in the former case, a peer, Lord Audley) were involved in the leadership. But even extending the definition of peasant revolts to include major risings which were independent of the normal leaders of local society, the tally in England for the Tudor and Stuart periods is hardly more than eight or nine.² Of course, there were a huge number of riots of various sorts, some of which were on quite a considerable scale. But the relative

immunity of England was strikingly shown by the events of the 1640's. The English Civil War though accompanied by innumerable riots and demolitions of fences, saw no fully fledged peasant rebellions, unless the activities of the Clubmen qualify; indeed, one of the most remarkable features of the Puritan Revolution was the failure of the English countryman to achieve, or even by and large to demand an improvement in his tenurial status, in sharp contrasts to the French peasant of 1789. Even allowing for the difference in size of the two countries (the population of France in the seventeenth century was about four times that of England), the differing incidence of revolt is remarkable.

There is a temptation to explain this difference in terms of a generally higher standard of living in England, and to quote in support of this a long line of English commentators from the fifteenth-century Chief Justice Fortescue onwards. This argument could take either of two interconnected forms: it could be held that a generally higher standard of living reduced the propensity to revolt or, more specifically, that subsistence crises due to bad harvests were less frequent in England and so the chance of a revolt of sheer desperation was reduced.

This latter theory was tentatively advanced by Lawrence Stone in the context of an argument about the supposed greater rate of agricultural change in England.³ The impression derived from the parish registers so far examined by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure would seem to support this argument; bad harvests filled the graveyards less dramatically in England than in the classic case of Pierre Goubert's Beauvaisis.⁴ Whether or not this result was

¹ E. le Roy Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc*, Paris, 1966, pp. 393-414; Salmon *loc. cit.*; Porchnev, pp. 47-8.

² These include the revolt of 1497; the troubles in 1525 in Kent and East Anglia; the complex of revolts known as the Pilgrimage of Grace; the two revolts in 1549; the Midland revolt of 1607; and the troubles which afflicted Wiltshire, Dorset, and Gloucestershire in 1628-31 and the Fenland in the 1630's, and the 'Clubmen' riots in the English Civil War. Conceivably Monmouth's rebellion has some claim to be considered a peasant revolt, and there were plainly other marginal cases, such as the opposition to the draining of the Fens or to the abolition of border-tenure. The 1525 troubles were largely the work of the rural clothworkers rather than of peasants as such.

³ Lawrence Stone, introduction to R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, new edn., New York, 1967, p. xiv.

⁴ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost*, 2nd edn, 1971, ch. 5; E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History*, 1969, ch. 3; cf. Pierre Goubert, *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730*, Paris, 1960.

due to greater English agricultural productivity or to other factors, such as better transport facilities or methods of poor relief, is not clear. Certainly fluctuations in grain prices seem to have been as acute in the London region as in the Paris area until about 1660, though after that date the Londoner was less severely affected by a bad harvest than the Parisian.¹ Moreover, the relationship between peasant revolt and harvest failure is more complicated than might be thought. The Beauvaisis, in spite of the subsistence crises which Professor Goubert describes so vividly, saw no revolts. Indeed, as we shall see, the great arable plains of Northern and Eastern France were distinctly less disturbed than the Western *bocage*, even though in the *bocage* there was less reliance on a single crop. In England the tally of revolts does not coincide very well with years of bad harvest: such notorious years as 1555-7 or 1594-8, for instance, did not see peasant revolts as such, though they may have seen an increase in rioting.² Nor can the revolts of 1549 and 1607, though they broke out in years of rising grain prices, be ascribed to desperation *tout court*. To quote Professor Hobsbawm, "When people are really hungry they are too busy seeking food to do much else; or else they die."³

It seems, then, unlikely that less murderous famines were a prime reason for England's relative immunity from revolt. But the wider possibility remains that a generally richer peasantry was less inclined to revolt than a poorer one. Given, however, the phenomenon of the "revolt of rising expectations" (finding its classic exposition in De Tocqueville's study of the causes of the French Revolution), such an explanation would hardly command respect *a priori*; while to

prove it empirically would be almost impossible, at least in the present state of knowledge, because of the wide regional variation in both countries, because of the difficulty of calculating the profits of agriculture, the respective level of dues, rents, tithes, the effect of different inheritance systems, and so on. About one point, however, English commentators were generally agreed: their belief that the prime reason for the poverty of the French peasant was the burden of royal taxation.⁴

Taxation was the most important single cause of peasant revolt in seventeenth-century France. It was a crushing, and during the worst period of revolts a rapidly increasing, burden. By 1648 the *taille* was four times what it had been in 1632; and a host of other taxes had been introduced or extended as well.⁵ The missionary Jean Eudes complained in 1648 "the inhabitants do not dare come [to church] for fear of falling into the hands of . . . the collectors of the *taille*, who arrest them even at the altars to take them off to prison."⁶ Even more important, taxation was an issue which could unite, temporarily at least, the opposition of a whole province against the remote authority of Paris. Nobles, although exempt taxation themselves, might resent the interference of government agents or find themselves unable to collect dues from an over-burdened peasantry. Taxation, moreover, could unite the peasantry and the urban classes. By contrast, protest about increased seigneurial dues and so on would tend to be diffuse, fragmentary, concerned with particulars. The relative immunity of the English lower classes from taxation was, then, a major reason for their quiescence.

Of course, there were major revolts about taxation in England. The Cornish revolt of 1497 was one such. The combination of the

¹ J. Meuvret, 'Les Oscillations des Prix des Céréales au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles en Angleterre et dans les Pays du Bassin Parisien', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, xvi, 1969, pp. 540-54.

² The attempt by Bartholomew Steere to raise a revolt among Oxfordshire peasants in 1597 was an abject failure. (See E. F. Gay, 'The Midland Revolt and the Inquisitions of Depopulation of 1607', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, n.s. xviii, 1904, Appendix I; also *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1595-7, pp. 342-5.)

³ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, Manchester 1959, p. 79. For a tentative suggestion on the economic background of 1549 and 1607 see my article in *Annales E.S.C.*, *supra*.

⁴ E.g. Sir George Carew, *Relation of the State of France, 1609*, ed. T. Birch, in *An Historical View*, 1592-1617, 1749, pp. 461-8.

⁵ *Peasant Uprisings*, p. 307.

⁶ Quoted by D. Julia in *Revue Historique*, 241, 1969, p. 464, from C. B. du Chesnay, *Les Missions de St. Jean Eudes*, Paris, 1967.

parliamentary taxation of 1523 and the subsequent "Amicable Grant" of 1525 produced considerable resistance, notably in Suffolk.¹ Taxation, though this time it affected only a small proportion of the population, played its part in that generalized distrust of the central government, the belief that Henry VIII intended to despoil the whole fabric of northern society, which brought about the Pilgrimage of Grace.² The Duke of Somerset's sheep-tax, ironically designed to defend the arable peasant against enclosing landlords, was a contributory factor in the revolt in the pastoral West Country in 1549.³ Otherwise, however, taxation afflicted only a small minority. Professor Hoskins has calculated that in Elizabeth's reign "only about one household in every eleven or twelve at Wigston paid any direct taxation."⁴ Not until the introduction of excise duty during the Civil War were the lower classes afflicted again by taxation (though in practice, of course, the monopolies system amounted to the same thing); and while excise caused a good deal of rioting, especially in 1646-7, its incidence was presumably less burdensome on the rural population with whom we are at the moment concerned. (The depredations of soldiers, whether legal or illegal, was a variant on taxation and provoked the Clubman riots.) Even a tax on salt in 1694 failed to produce any equivalent to the ferocious opposition to extensions of the *gabelle* in France.⁵ The fiscal difference is, indeed, one of the major factors in the differing social evolution of England and most European countries, one to which English historians have paid relatively little attention.

A second cause for the greater frequency of French revolts was the greater strength of regional autonomy. Most of them took place

in areas such as Normandy, Brittany, or Languedoc, which conserved a good deal of the apparatus of provincial autonomy: their own assembly, their own judicial system dependent on a provincial *Parlement*, and so on.⁶ Again the contrast with England is by no means absolute. Obviously local feeling, the distrust of outsiders, and especially of the metropolis, was intense. The degree of regionalism of local self-sufficiency is shown by the behaviour of the East Anglian rebels in 1549 in pitching their camp on Mousehold Heath, near Norwich, improvising their own system of government for Norfolk and part of Suffolk, and petitioning Protector Somerset rather than marching on London; possibly in conscious imitation of their predecessors of 1381. And, of course, distrust of outsiders was not a purely peasant characteristic but a significant prejudice on the part of county establishments, revealed in the resentment impartially shown towards Charles I's Privy Council and Cromwell's Major-Generals. Regional feeling was, clearly, strong in the north and the revolts of 1536 and 1569 are a reflection of this.

Nevertheless, we are concerned with relatives, not absolutes. The English regions did not have their own legal system or the vestiges of representative assemblies, as the French *pays d'état* had. The councils of Wales and the North were instruments of central control rather than of local autonomy. While the provincial French *parlements* had been founded for much the same reasons, they tended to become, through the need to protect the vested interests of their officials against later waves of centralization, symbols of local autonomy; this happened only to a limited extent in England.⁷ The English Parliament was obviously a much

¹ See Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 1968, pp. 17-20.

² C. S. L. Davies, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', *Past and Present*, 41, 1968, p. 60.

³ M. W. Beresford, 'The Poll Tax and Census of Sheep, 1549', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, 1, 1953, pp. 9-18, II, 1954, pp. 15-29.

⁴ W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant*, 1957, p. 177.

⁵ Edward Hughes, *Studies in Administration and Finance, 1558-1825*, Manchester, 1934, ch. 4-5, esp. pp. 177-8.

⁶ Though certainly not all: particularly disturbed areas were Poitou and Saintonge and Angoumois which retained few vestiges of autonomy.

⁷ Cf. the petition of the York authorities in 1641 to retain the Council of the North (R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, 1921, p. 448). Of course the situation is different if one looks at the British Isles instead of England. But the political and social institutions of Ireland and Scotland were so different that revolts like those of 1638 and 1641 are more comparable to the Catalan and Portuguese revolts than to noble-tolerated peasant revolts in France. The Scottish Covenanters in the reign of Charles II may be worth considering from the

stronger institution than the French Estates-General. This produced the paradox that opposition to the crown, even when based on dislike of centralization, could take a concerted national form in England which was impossible in France. All this seems a long way from the question of peasant revolts. It is, however, relevant. In England the gentry could organize its opposition nationally; no other group could. (Laslett is able to call England a "one-class society" by adopting ability to organize on a national level as one of his criteria for a class.)¹ The gentry, therefore, would be less inclined to encourage or connive at local peasant rebellion. An additional consideration here would be the greater social mobility among the upper group of English society and a corresponding lessening of these disputes between different groups of the privileged which were so powerful a feature of French politics up to and including the Frondes. By French standards the occasional support given by English gentlemen against excisemen or the rivalries of the landed and moneyed interests was relatively small beer.

Although peasant revolts were less frequent in England, when they did occur they correspond for the most part to the 'Mousnier pattern', in involving a fair degree of gentry or noble inspiration or at least active connivance. One of the most perceptive of English political writers held that "common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves."² The 1497 Cornish revolt was principally concerned with taxation, and a number of lesser gentry and those on the fringe of gentility, as well as Lord

Audley, were among the leaders. The Cornish rebels in 1549 were led by two gentlemen of property, Humphry Arundell of Helland and John Winslade, in a revolt to prevent the introduction of a Protestant liturgy.³ The Pilgrimage of Grace clearly owed a good deal to encouragement and connivance by the nobility and gentry, and was concerned less with specifically peasant grievances than with resistance to what was felt to be an attack on the whole way of life of a society; the peasant bands insisted that gentlemen should be their captains and even (at least the gentry subsequently said) forced them to be so.⁴ The troubles in the West Country of 1628-31 and the Fenland riots were clearly concerned with immediate peasant grievances. In both cases, however, gentlemen were involved: Sir Baynham Throckmorton, for instance, encouraged the rioters in the Forest of Dean, while "Mr. Castle of Glatton," a J.P., took part in the Fenland riots (as did a certain Oliver Cromwell, then a poor gentleman).⁵

An occasional variant on this pattern was the revolt by peasants, with little or no gentry participation, on behalf of some claimant to the throne: the willingness of a large number of Cornish peasants, after their defeat in 1497, to fight for Perkin Warbeck, or the rallying of Somerset men to Monmouth in 1685, are of this pattern. France seems to provide no analogy to this, but Russian peasants, in the exceptionally hard conditions of the early seventeenth century, were prepared to take as their leaders a series of impostors claiming to be the rightful Tsar.⁶ In these very exceptional cases the glamour of an exalted leader compensated, at least in part, for lack of more solid support from the leaders of local society.⁷

peasant-revolt angle; but what is apparent from works like that of Mousnier is that peasant-revolt is no *sui generis*, easily distinguishable from "upper-class" or "national" revolts, but that there is a continuous spectrum ranging from peasant revolt to aristocratic *coup d'état* in which any dividing line is drawn arbitrarily.

¹ *The World We Have Lost*, ch. 2.

² Francis Bacon, essay 'Of Seditions and Troubles'.

³ A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*, 1941, ch. vi, xi.

⁴ See Davies, *loc. cit.*; M. E. James, 'Obedience and Dissent in Henrician England: the Lincolnshire Rebellion, 1536', *Past and Present*, 48, 1970, pp. 1-78.

⁵ Kerridge, *loc. cit.*; D. G. C. Allan, 'The Rising in the West, 1628-31', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser., v, 1952-3, pp. 76-85; H. C. Darby, *The Draining of the Fens* 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1956, esp. pp. 55-6; Joan Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, 1957, ch. 5.

⁶ *Peasant Uprisings*, ch. viii.

⁷ A curious variation of the same phenomenon was the ability of a fake Earl of Devon to gain support in Kent in the 1830's on an anti-aristocratic platform. See P. G. Rogers, *Battle in Bossenden Wood*, Oxford, 1961.

All these examples, except possibly the Pilgrimage of Grace, are of leadership by individual gentlemen rather than by the upper reaches of local society as a whole. Such leadership did not prevent, for instance, the western rebels in 1549 demanding a restriction on the number of servants gentlemen could employ.¹ It does, however, suggest the general conformity of English experience to Professor Mousnier's vision of society.

Against this, however, there seem to be two stubborn exceptions: the revolts in Norfolk in 1549 and in the East Midlands in 1607. Even here, the issue is not absolutely clear-cut. The 1607 revolt has not been investigated in depth, except for the single Leicestershire village involved.² In so far as gentry can be blamed it seems to be for their tardiness in putting down the revolts. (James I, like French politicians of the period, assumed that the county authorities had the prime responsibility for the breakdown of order.)³ It may be that investigation would show that the forces of order were paralysed by particular inter-gentry feuds. As for Ket, many of the leaders were on the verge of gentility. Robert Ket himself was a tanner, a substantial businessman who had built up a considerable landed estate; his first involvement with the rebels was when they attacked his enclosure fences; like many gentlemen he managed to divert this into an attack on the fences of an enemy, John Flowerdew.⁴ That "peasant leaders" were not always what they seem is shown by the case of John Wynter, accused of leading a band of rebels to imprison Francis Bedingfield and extort £12 from him; Wynter, as it subsequently appeared, had a wife with a claim against Bedingfield to the manor of Hesteley in Suffolk as the heir of her

father William Bishop.⁵ In two respects, too, the rebellion was influenced by the political situation in the upper-ranks of society: by the belief that the Duke of Somerset was on the side of the rebels, as exemplified by his sending out commissioners to enquire into illegal enclosures; and by the fact that the greatest magnate in the county, the Duke of Norfolk (who had played a key role in quietening taxation riots in Essex and Suffolk in 1525) was in prison, the Bishop of Norwich was peculiarly ineffective and, apparently, the county gentry left inert by lack of leadership.⁶

Even so, this hardly adds up to positive incitement or even connivance by the gentry; and these two revolts constitute rather large exceptions to the general picture.

Interestingly enough, they are also rather exceptional when considered geographically. For seventeenth-century France, Professor Mousnier stresses that revolts "occurred with few exceptions to the west and south-west of a line through Normandy, Anjou, Touraine and the Bourbonnais, as far as the Dauphiné." The geography of social disturbance during the Wars of Religion had been similar. Broadly speaking the line corresponded to the division between "the region of open, oblong fields" (in the North and East) and that of "enclosed and irregularly shaped ones." The "rebellious" areas were those of smaller holdings (up to a maximum of 30 hectares or 75 acres), often held on a share-cropping basis, poor soil, and two-field rotations. Mousnier seems to equate here two very different geographical areas, the *bocage* of the west and the hill areas of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence and, to a certain extent, Limousin. By contrast the "obedient" areas comprised the great rolling

¹ F. Rose-Troup, *The Western Rebellion of 1549*, 1913, pp. 220-2.

² L. A. Parker, 'The Agricultural Revolution at Cotesbach', *Trans. of the Leics. Arch. Soc.*, xxiv, 1948, pp. 41-76.

³ "Withstande ther begynnings, or else yt will be your faultes," James admonished the J.P.s in 1608, with an ominous reference to the troubles of 1607.—W. P. Baildon (ed.), *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, 1593 to 1609*, 1894, pp. 368-9.

⁴ F. W. Russell, *Ket's Rebellion in Norfolk*, 1859, pp. 27-30; L. M. Kett, *The Ketts of Norfolk*, 1921, pp. 53-7.

⁵ P.R.O., C1/1200/13-14; W. A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk*, 7 vols, 1905-11, pp. 309-10. If William Bishop is the same man as was listed as worth £6 in goods in 1524 at Thornton, he must have been self-made.—S. H. A. Hervey (ed.), *The Subsidy Return for 1524*, Suffolk Green Books, x, 1910, p. 176.

⁶ S. T. Bindoff, *Ket's Rebellion* Historical Association, 1949, pp. 14-15. The very term "revolt", though inescapable, is in a sense misleading in that the prime purpose of dissident peasants was to appeal for justice to the king (cf. M. E. James, *loc. cit.*; *Peasant Uprisings*, p. 59). Only support of a rival claimant to the throne or, occasionally, an appeal from the authority of the king to God could legitimize resistance.

plains of the north and east; holdings were larger (up to 60–70 hectares, or 150–175 acres), held on a cash basis, with better soil and three-field rotations.¹ In the “disobedient” area cultivation was largely on an individual basis and settlement dispersed: in the north and east, on the other hand, more cohesive village communities cultivated common-fields and were largely under the influence of large peasants, *coqs de village*, who often farmed the seigneurial dues. These structural differences were not the only ones. Proximity to Paris, the presence on the northern and eastern frontiers of royal armies, the greater ease of guerilla warfare in *bocage* or mountain country than in open plains, were all important. But the contrast in social structure would seem the most significant difference.²

To some extent the same is true of England. The inclination of pastoral regions to independence, their greater liability to riot, has become firmly established among historians in recent years; manorialization was weaker, village communities were less hierarchical, and in that sense, less “organic,” and were further weakened by the scattered nature of a good deal of the settlement.³ On the other hand, some of the more striking and important of the English peasant revolts happened in mixed farming areas rather than pastoral ones. The Pilgrimage of Grace involved the East Riding and the Lincolnshire wold sheep-corn areas as much as it did the wild regions of the Lake District, of Richmond and Craven. Ket’s Rebellion, though it began in wood-pasture area at Wymondham, rapidly spread to the rest of Norfolk except the Breckland; its pro-

gramme was very much concerned with the threat by lords of the manor to the traditional economy of the sheep-corn areas. The Midland revolt showed a similar reaction by the clay-vale peasantry of Leicester, Warwick, and Northampton to a similar threat.

There is an apparent paradox here: sheep-corn areas with a relatively high degree of manorialization generated a reasonably “class-conscious” peasant revolt, whereas in both England and France in pastoral regions revolts tended to conform more to the classic pattern of gentry inspiration, in spite of weaker manorial structure. It may be that a society dominated by large peasants, by *coqs de village*, was better able to generate a cohesive movement than the freer, but more scattered, more socially equal inhabitants of pastoral regions. After all, even in France, peasant revolt was not always confined to Mousnier’s “disobedient region.” To take two widely differing examples, the Jacquerie of 1356 centered on the area north of Paris (including the, in seventeenth-century terms, extremely “obedient” Beauvaisis), while the peasant movement of 1789 was as fierce in the plains of the north and east as in the rest of France. (Indeed, much of Mousnier’s “disobedient” area was to be the centre of royalist resistance to the Revolution.) Revolts in open-field, nucleated village areas may have been much less frequent; equally they seem to have been correspondingly more dangerous when they did occur.⁴

Leaving aside these speculations about France, however, can we conclude that Professor Mousnier’s society of orders is totally inapplicable to English mixed farming regions?

¹ *Peasant Uprisings*, pp. 332–4. For the suggestion about the Wars of Religion (though with a warning of the inadequate state of research on the subject) see J. M. H. Salmon, *loc. cit.* For a description of French farming regions see Pierre Goubert in *Histoire Economique et Sociale de la France* (eds., F. Braudel and E. Labrousse), II, Paris, 1970, pp. 104–18.

² Goubert raises the point that the inhabitants of the *bocage*, at least, may have been better off than those of the north-eastern plains due to less pressure of population, more intensive grazing, availability of timber, and so on. The point, however, would seem to be the familiar one of greater social and economic equality in wood-pasture areas and a more hierarchical peasant society in mixed-farming ones.

³ Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1500–1640*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 109–12; see also Thirsk, ‘Seventeenth-Century Agriculture and Social Change’, *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, xviii, 1970, Supplement, pp. 148–77; E. Kerridge, ‘The Revolts against Charles I in Wiltshire’, *Wilts. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.*, LVII, 1958–60, pp. 64–75; P. A. J. Pettit, *The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire*, Northants Record Soc, xxiii, 1968.

⁴ It may be worth pointing out that Marx’s dismissal of the possibility of collective action by the peasant class (“formed by the simple addition of homologous magnitudes, much as potatoes in a sack form a sack of potatoes”) applies to the individualist peasant of the post-1789 period and is specifically contrasted with the possibility of collective action in *ancien régime* conditions.—*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

This would be a mistake. Ket's revolt certainly shows that rebellion could take place without gentry leadership. But it also demonstrates, very vividly, the degree to which rebellious peasants remained orderly and eschewed revolutionary ideas. And this was probably because of the continued dominance within the revolt of the yeomen or richer husbandmen who were the natural leaders of parochial life, both because of their economic position, and because of their occupancy of such offices as constable, churchwarden, and so on.

Sir John Cheke, instructing the rebels on the "Hurt of Sedition" directed his argument at substantial men: "if ye will in other things breake all order, by what reason would ye be obeyed of yours as servantes."¹ So too, a year before, Sir Thomas Seymour had advised that a would-be conspirator should "trust not too much to the gentlemen for they have somewhat to lose: but . . . make much of the head yeomen and franklins of the country, specially those that be ringleaders, for they be men that be best able to persuade the multitudes, and may best bring the number."² Richard Carew believed that in Cornwall in 1549 "the constables' command and example drew many . . . into that extremest breach of duty."³ As long as such men kept control the revolutionary tendency of popular revolt would be kept in check.

This dominance is apparent from the programme of the Norfolk rebels.⁴ Along with a mass of demands which would benefit the peasantry in general (the level of rents and dues, the rights of lords on commons, the restriction of rabbits and doves, free fishing, and so on), are two which particularly concerned the rich peasant. One clause demanded that

lords of the manor should not sell the wardship of their tenants; presumably there was only temptation to do so if the child was reasonably wealthy. Another demanded that men with less than £40 a year should not be eligible for the office of King's escheator. Since £40 a year is elsewhere taken as the dividing line between gentry and others, presumably the purpose of this clause was to protect substantial men, on the verge of gentility, from a burdensome office which gentlemen might normally expect to shoulder. What is a more striking tribute, however, to the dominance of "respectable" elements is the fact that the proletariat of Norwich, the second largest town in the country, afflicted with a considerable problem of poverty due to the decline of the urban cloth industry, apparently exerted no influence on the programme; nor would one have any inkling from the programme that Norfolk was one of the main centres of rural cloth-making.⁵

Also remarkable was the ability of these natural leaders of rural society, along with the city authorities, to keep order. While captured gentlemen were tried at the rebel camp at Mousehold Heath, none were killed or even tortured by the rebels. Matthew Parker, then Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was able to escape from the rebels with a bad fright but nothing worse after preaching to them a sermon on disobedience. Even when co-operation between the rebel leaders and the civic authorities broke down when the latter were discovered plotting with the government, Augustine Stiward, an ex-mayor, because "hee had allways ben a good and modest man . . . beloved of poore and rich" kept effective order in the city except among "the most

¹ *The Hurt of Sedition*, 1549, repr. 1569, sig. I. ² Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³ *Survey of Cornwall*, quoted Rowse, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁴ Printed in Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-56; reprinted in A. E. Bland, P. A. Brown, and R. H. Tawney (eds.), *English Economic History: Select Documents*, 1914, pp. 247-50, and in Anthony Fletcher *op. cit.*, pp. 142-4. The programme itself presents several puzzles. It is known from one copy only (Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 304 fols. 75-7); the clauses are haphazardly arranged and incorporate drafting changes. Nevertheless the document is drawn up in a good hand, probably by Thomas Godsalue, a captured gentleman, and signed by Ket, Thomas Cod, Mayor of Norwich, and Thomas Aldrich, ex-Mayor (cf. Bindoff, *op. cit.*). Presumably the document is the one presented to Somerset shortly before 27 July (N. Pocock, *Troubles connected with the Prayer Book of 1549*, Camden Soc. n.s., vol. 37, 1884, p. 28) but it seems probable that it was produced by a somewhat disorderly committee. To assume, as Fletcher does (p. 73), that it was a thought-out programme on the part of Ket himself is misleading.

⁵ The programme was drawn up in the early stages of the revolt when the city authorities were co-operating with the rebels in order to damp things down; but that they succeeded in doing so is surely remarkable.

vagrant and vagabond persons." Later still the rebels entered the city in triumph after defeating a royal army. Stiward was accused of treachery and his shop was looted. But when "a servant of Master Smith of Huntingfields had sharply told them that for robbing and spoiling, they should all be hanged" many of Stiward's goods were returned by contrite rioters and Stiward continued to keep order in the city. The testimony here comes from Nicholas Sotherton, himself a member of the Norwich oligarchy whose account aims to magnify rebel disorder.¹ All this is in sharp contrast with, for instance, events at Agen in Languedoc in 1635, when an anti-gabelle riot involved the decapitation of the archer Tichanne and the dragging of his body through the town; the cudgelling to death of the 'sieur d'Espales', the exhibition of the hands and feet of the canon Guillaume du Périer while his body was eaten by dogs; the tearing out of the eyes of the son of Guillaume de Maures by a woman; and other horrors.² Such excesses were practised in England only by the forces of order, not by the rebels. One of the few exceptions was the lynching of the Bishop of Lincoln's chancellor, John Raynes, by the Lincolnshire rebels in 1536.³

The priest as well as the wealthy peasant was a figure of authority in the village; and he too, by and large, retained his authority in times of rebellion. Movements inspired by conservative religious sentiment, like the Pilgrimage of Grace or the Western Rebellion of 1549, show this in obvious form. But so, too, does the part played by the clergy in other more "secular" protests. A "Puritan minister," for instance, was probably behind the manifesto of the Warwickshire "diggers" in 1607, with its

erudite reference to the possibility of a "fearful dearth" like that of "King Edward the seconds tyme, when people were forced to eat Catts and Doggs flesh, & women to eate theyr owne children."⁴

The Norfolk rebels seem once again to constitute an exception here with their demands that priests were not to purchase lands, that non-preaching clergy were to be deprived of their benefices, and that tithes were to be reduced to a tenth of their present level. Doubtless these demands are the articulation of age-old resentments about the performance of their duty by the clergy. That they should have been expressed, however, seems probably due to the influence on the rebels, through channels not yet traced, of the twelve articles of the German peasants in 1525. Articles I and II of these demanded an elected pastor to teach the Gospels; he has to be supported from the tithe, which was also, however, to be used for poor-relief and to pay the peasant's land tax.⁵

The Ket programme was, moreover, wholly exceptional in this. One very striking feature of English peasant movements is, indeed, the general absence of protests about the principle of tithe (as against resentment at the way it was sometimes levied, especially by laymen farming ecclesiastical revenues); the major exception was in the heady days of Civil War and Interregnum when resentment about tithes could be supported by respectable theological opinion. This passivity *viz-à-viz* the authority of the church parallels the French experience: there too peasants rarely questioned the principle of tithe except during the Wars of Religion.⁶

So far, then, we have seen that English peasants were prepared on occasion to be

¹ Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 1576, fols. 251-9. ² Le Roy Ladurie, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-4.

³ M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, Cambridge, 1915, I, pp. 101-2.

⁴ For the manifesto see F. J. Furnivall (ed.), *Ballads from MSS* (Ballad Soc. 1868-72), I, p. 37; see also *H.M.C. Cecil* XIX, p. 150 (Dorset-Salisbury, 6 June 1607). The historical reference seems to be from Stow (*Annales*, 1600 edn, pp. 335-6).

⁵ See Friedrich Engels, *The Peasants War in Germany*, English edn, 1927, pp. 157-63. The one appeal to general principles in the Norfolk programme, "that all bondmen may be made free for God made all free with his precious blood-letting," is clearly derived from the third of the German articles.

⁶ R. Mandrou, *Classes et Luittes de Classe en France au Début du XVII^e Siècle*, Florence, 1965, p. 75; Le Roy Ladurie, *op. cit.*, pp. 393, 495; however, the peasants in Poitou in 1636 came near to the Norfolk rebels in 1549 and the Swabian ones of 1525 in demanding that tithe be entrusted to elected officials and used to pay a resident priest, for the upkeep of the church and for poor-relief, rather than lining the pocket of non-resident clergy.—Mousnier (ed.), *Lettres et Mémoires adressées au Chancelier Séguier, 1633-49*, Paris, 1964, II, pp. 1105-7; *Peasant Uprisings*, pp. 63-4.

somewhat more independent of the gentry than the "Mousnier model" might suggest; but that, even when the upper levels of society were removed, an essentially hierarchic organization continued. The dominance of the yeomanry could, for a while at least, continue even in the absence of the gentry and this resulted in programmes which were essentially reformist, demanding the restoration of vanished peasant rights rather than a fundamental reorganization of society.

Of course, as Professor Mousnier's American critics point out, the fact that peasant programmes were reformist does not mean that their adoption would have made little difference: "conservative" resistance might have "revolutionary" implications.¹ Fulfilment of the programme of the Norfolk rebels would in Professor Bindoff's words "have clipped the wings of rural capitalism;"² by stabilizing rents and dues in an inflationary age it would have brought about the decline of aristocracy and gentry with a vengeance. Nor should we assume, as Mousnier tends to, that the political results of peasant violence were minimal. It seems reasonable to assume that violence and threat of violence had its effect on the policies of government and of landowners. The disturbances of Wolsey's time may well have been responsible (in conjunction, of course, with the less pressing military needs of England compared to France) for the ending of the attempt to impose the subsidy on a large proportion of the population. Fear of riot was probably important in restricting the scope of the excise in 1647, while in 1733 popular pressure allied with Parliamentary opposition to prevent Walpole's intended extension of the excise.³ Obviously, fear of disturbance was

one motive, at least, for a good deal of the government's social policy, from the discouragement of pasture to the attempt to moderate food prices in years of dearth. So, too, it may be that the pace of enclosure and rack-renting was slowed down by popular resistance. Francis Tresham abandoned a scheme to improve the value of his father's property at Great Houghton in 1604 because "you could not remove all the tennantes without much clamor."⁴ It may be, as Professor Mousnier believes, that peasant revolt as such accomplished little; but the resort to violence in defence of existing rights, of which revolt was a development, could not be ignored.

Basically, then, English peasant violence was a fierce and, arguably, effective method of protecting ancient rights rather than an expression of class hatred. Yet this contrasts with the impression of peasant revolt which was widespread at the time. As Christopher Hill points out, the prevailing literary convention was to depict peasant protest in terms of destruction of the existing social order: to take one example only, Shakespeare makes Jack Cade propose the burning of all legal records "and henceforward all things shall be in common."⁵ It seems a reasonable assumption that such conventions reflected a real class bitterness. To take a single example, John Walker was accused of saying in Norwich in 1540 "... as many as wyll not tirm to us, let us kylle them, ye evyn ther chyldern in the cradelles; for yt were a good thinge yf ther were so many jentylmen in Norffolk as ther be whyt bulles."⁶ A clear tradition of class hostility may be traced in popular songs and in prophecies as well as in threats made from time to time by "Jake of the North" or "Jack of the Style."⁷

¹ Gately, Moote and Wills, *loc. cit.*, p. 72.

² *Ket's Rebellion*, p. 9.

³ J. H. Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole*, II, 1960, ch. 7.

⁴ M. E. Finch, *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540-1640*, Northants. Record Soc., XIX, 1956, p. 89.

⁵ Christopher Hill, 'The Many-Headed Monster in Late Tudor and Early Stuart Political Thinking' *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: Essays in honour of Garrett Mattingly*, ed. C. H. Carter, 1966, pp. 296-324. Presumably deliberately, Shakespeare imported scenes from the 1381 revolt into his picture of Cade, who is depicted by Holinshed in an essentially "reformist" light. Cf. Brents Stirling, *The Populace in Shakespeare*, New York, 1949, pp. 22-5.

⁶ Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁷ Eg. C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, 5 vols., Cambridge, 1842-1908, II, pp. 40-2; V, pp. 286-7. The use of such names should not, however, be taken as an apparent reminiscence of 1381, since they were commonly used for "persons unknown" in courts of law.—F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life; Disorder*, Chelmsford, 1970, pp. 155-6.

Rebellion provided an opportunity of asserting self-respect and working off the hostility and frustration of men whose humility was too often taken for granted:¹ as, for instance, when the commons of Horncastle, Lincolnshire, struck at the horse of Sir William Sandon "and said he could go a-foot as they did."²

Class hatred, however, must be distinguished from class war. The most characteristic accent in these expressions of resentment is one of bitter, hopeless acceptance of the status quo. Even John Walker's blood-curdling threats were couched in terms of "... as many as wyll not tirm to us . . ."; only after refusal of the gentry to help the peasants to attain their just rights could one contemplate violence against them. In normal conditions equality was not something to be actively hoped for or worked towards, but only a remote possibility, if and when society could be fashioned anew in a totally different world. If, on the other hand, a totally different world was within range, was not as distant a proposition as might normally be imagined, class hatred might become politically significant. Hence, of course, the importance of what seem to us irrational elements, such as prophecy, in suggesting that radical change might not be so far distant after all; and, perhaps, that the change was not in fact that radical, but respectably rooted in the distant past or legitimated by the "real" king, such as the supposedly surviving Edward VI who haunted Elizabeth's reign.³ Hence, too, the importance of millenarianism, of the belief that the end of the world was at hand.⁴ Neither prophecy nor the millennium necessarily implied a social revolution; but, merely because they implied that present society was not immutable, they

made it possible for men to imagine an alternative; and one in which, in very different ways, either all men would be free and equal, or at least, that the present unfair ordering of society would be changed so that the last would be first and the first last.⁵ Not surprisingly, governments were anxious to prevent the spread of subversive prophecy and, naturally, were sensitive to the dangers of radical religion.⁶

In more mundane conditions, however, it seems as if the yeomanry could keep radical demands in check and, though prepared to assert the rights of the peasantry against innovation, to contain any fundamental challenge to the concept of hierarchical society. Such challenges tended, indeed, to occur in the later stages of revolt when disintegration was setting in as men began to believe that their fellows were preparing to sell them out. The difficulty of keeping peasant revolts in being was frequently mentioned by contemporary commentators.⁷ Perhaps this accounts for the degree of complacency, of willingness to make use of popular dissatisfaction displayed by many of the upper classes. Indeed, the extent of near panic, of fear of the lower orders, may have been exaggerated by some recent historians.⁸ Allegations that the social order was in danger may often have represented not the genuine fears of government but a useful means of propaganda, designed to drive a wedge between the "respectable" elements in rebellion and their fellows. Sir John Cheke's allegation, for instance, that the Norfolk rebellion was stirring up "uprores of people, hurly burlies of vagabonds, routes of robbers" was plainly of this type.⁹ Robert Crowley, discussing the Norfolk rebellion, charged the

¹ A point well made by Robert Mandrou in 'Vingt ans après', a review article on the Porchnev-Mousnier controversy, *Revue Historique*, 242, 1969, pp. 29-40.

² Davies, *loc. cit.*, pp. 58-9.

³ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 1971, ch. XIII.

⁴ W. M. Lamont, *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion 1603-60*, 1969; and see Bernard Capp, 'Godly Rule and English Millenarianism', *Past and Present*, 52, 1971, pp. 106-7.

⁵ For the possibility of religion producing a fiercely anti-aristocratic revolt, even in the French context, see the millenarian revolt of the "Camisards" in Languedoc from 1702 to 1705 (Le Roy Ladurie, *op. cit.*, pp. 605-29).

⁶ Acts against prophecy: 33 Hen. VIII, c. 14; 3 & 4 Edw. VI, c. 15; 5 Eliz. I, c. 15.

⁷ E.g. the "second" stage of the Yorkshire Pilgrimage of Grace, when the commons thought they had been betrayed by the gentry (though still led by a "maverick" gentleman, Sir Francis Bigod: see A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-1558*, 1959, ch. iii).

⁸ E.g. Hill, *loc. cit.*; M. Walzer, *Revolution of the Saints*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

⁹ *Hurt of Sedition*, sigs. Dii, Hii.

possessing classes with introducing a false note of communism to evade the real issue.¹ It may be that Shakespeare himself was making the same point when, in *Coriolanus*, a reasonable, non-revolutionary plebian demand for a more just distribution of grain during the dearth was answered by the patrician Menenius with an irrelevant exposition of the organic theory of society.² "Take but degree away, untune that string And hark what discord follows" was, after all, not so much what Elizabethans believed but what the authorities would have liked them to believe.

That the Elizabethan gentry were less panic-stricken than is often supposed is shown by the reply to a questionnaire sent out by the Privy Council in, significantly, 1569, about the creation of a cadre of hand-gunners to supplement the militia and the security problems which this might lead to. Eight counties took the point about the dangers of arming the lower-orders and made constructive suggestions. However, eleven counties including, oddly, Norfolk, thought that no problem would arise on this score. The commissioners of musters in Kent thought that all men should have the right to shoot, and that arquebuses could be kept in private houses. The commissioners in Warwickshire, indeed, missed the point completely, thinking that the Council's anxieties were on the score of poaching and hastened to reassure it. In the event the scheme fell through but because it would have cost too much not because it was a danger to the social system.³

All in all, then, the Mousnier thesis is a useful working hypothesis as far as English peasant society is concerned. Applied unimaginatively

or rigidly it can mislead. Because the upper ranks of society are better documented than the lower it is much easier to discover possible motives from their activities, to suggest that their grievances were the "real" causes of revolts, and to consider the latter largely in terms of prompting from above.⁴ There could be peasant revolt, apparently, without direct gentry incitement. But even so what is remarkable is the extent to which the normal assumptions of society were carried forward into the rebellion itself and manifested in its leadership and in its programmes. Of course, it would be foolish to maintain that the gentry had nothing to fear; those who responded so complacently in 1569 may have been mistakenly short-sighted. Revolts tended to become more radical as they progressed (and in doing so, to lose their original cohesion and become less effective). Exceptional circumstances could also bring about more radical demands, most notably during the Puritan Revolution. Even here, however, what is remarkable is how little response revolutionary movements, whether political or religious, evoked in the countryside; and how little support there seems to have been even for moderate practical reforms such as a change in the tenurial system.⁵ It may be that the habit of deference, not merely to the gentry, but to the leading figures in village society, was too deeply entrenched to be shaken even in the wholly exceptional circumstances of the years 1647-9; and that those latter were already too enmeshed in the tenant-farmer system, too intent possibly on taking their profits in these years of bad harvest, to grasp the opportunity to re-establish a true peasant economy in England.

¹ R. H. Tawney and E. Power (eds.), *Tudor Economic Documents*, 1924, III, pp. 57-60.

² Act I, sc. i.

³ For the scheme see L. Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia*, 1967, pp. 60-2. The replies are to be found scattered through P.R.O. S.P. 12/54 and 12/58; also in Brit. Mus. Harl. MS., vols. 286 and 309. The questionnaire is in Harl. MS., vol. 309, fols. 101-4, 109-110. The reply from Warwick is S.P. 12/54, fols. 96-7; from Kent S.P. 12/59, fols. 1-4. Thomas Wyatt had thought it necessary to counter similar objections to a militia scheme in 1549: "Without ordre they rise without ordre they are quieted and all there blase ys soone up soone downe . . . like disordered sheepe they com to the feelde and like Calves are they knocked downe."—D. M. Loades (ed.), *Papers of George Wyatt* (Camden 4th ser., v, 1968).

⁴ I consider that M. E. James's admirably learned and perceptive article on the Lincolnshire revolt of 1536, cited above, can be criticized in these terms.

⁵ Rural radicalism may have been traditionally underestimated; see Keith Thomas, 'Another Digger Broadside', *Past and Present*, 42, 1969, pp. 57-68; and Christopher Hill's review of a Russian work by M. A. Barg, *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, xvi, pt. 2, 1968, pp. 75-6. But the point remains that there was nothing in England to compare with the effect of 1789 on the French peasantry.

The Agrarian History of England and Wales

Volume I

By ERIC JOHN

THE appearance of a second volume of the *Agrarian History of England and Wales*¹ confirms what the first suggested: this is one of the most exciting general works of our generation. In the chronological sense, somewhat after the fashion of Lavissee, this is the second part of volume I. The pre-Roman Age together with a history of livestock up to 1042—did feudalism strike the cattle too?—is reserved for another volume. In the part before us there are three substantial essays: the first, comprising approximately half the whole volume, is a study of Roman-Britain by Professor S. Applebaum; this is followed by a study of Post-Roman Wales by Dr Glanville Jones; and finally Professor H. P. R. Finberg himself, now contributor as well as general editor, gives us a third study on Anglo-Saxon England from the invasions to 1042. No one of these essays marks a radical break with traditional approaches but it is undeniable that all three, in their different ways, greatly extend tradition. None of these authors mistakes their masters' footsteps for their destination. Perhaps the point is made most clearly by Dr Applebaum's essay. The literature on Roman-Britain is immense and Dr Applebaum's does not have the pioneering task his colleagues are presented with. Yet there is a different flavour, a bracing sense absent from much recent writing on the subject.

In a sense Dr Applebaum gives a summary account of a meticulous kind of the current state of play in Romano-British studies. So far as I can tell little of significance is left out, not even "the single dubious turnip seed" found at Silchester, but the difference is illustrated by a quotation and a comment. Dr Applebaum quotes Rivet to the effect that "You can dig up a villa, but you cannot dig up

its land-tenure," and then proceeds to show that you can do just that. His essay is informed by a sense of the importance of social structure, by a feeling for the power of social classification to illumine the patchy evidence that is all one ever gets when one moves away from the corridors of power. This is bound up with a feeling for the importance of the neighbourhood, the locality, of the sort we now associate with Dr Hoskins and Dr Finberg. In a more general way something of the remarkable studies of existing primitive societies made in the last thirty years by social anthropologists is beginning to engage the attention of historians.

For instance, ten years ago I do not think Dr Applebaum would have noted that "cults are required to impose authority, not upon slaves and helots, but upon potential equals," and this observation makes a difference to the interpretation of the evidence. He is able to give a sense of real life to what he has to say about *romanitas*, even though in many ways he has the usual things to say. He argues, to my mind convincingly, that we should not look to this or that technical innovation for the consequences of romanization. It is massive, centrally-directed, social and economic pressure that made the difference. His own summary deserves extensive quotation. "The factors making for the adoption of larger fields, nevertheless, extended beyond the operation of a larger deep-cutting plough. They arose with the multiplication of man-power not restricted to the family plot (slaves, wage-labourers, and tenants), with the availability of markets which led to the development of commercial farming; and in response to the demands of the armed forces and of taxation. From these factors were born the capitalist

¹ H. P. R. Finberg (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. I, pt ii, C.U.P., 1972. xviii + 566 pp. £12.

estate, with its exploitation of new imported techniques . . . all these methods demanded controllable enclosed fields which needed to be larger in order to be profitable." We have all heard of the intolerable fiscal pressures of the late Empire: Dr Applebaum can illustrate the grim realities of this pressure, especially in 'marginal' areas, just as he can also show how the economic collapse of the Roman capitalist agricultural system could wreak similar kinds of havoc to the industrial depressions of the modern world. In his chapter on agrarian change he illustrates convincingly, the more so for his restraint, the way archaeological evidence can be made to reveal a phase of bloody and violent social discontent which the sources only hint at in general and formal terms. In my opinion this essay will prove, for non-archaeologists, the best thing done on Roman Britain since Collingwood's famous book. Dr Applebaum has many disagreements with Collingwood—after all a very great volume of work has been done on this subject since Collingwood was active in the field—but it seems to me that what marks out his essay is that, more than any of Collingwood's other successors, he has grasped what the master meant about asking the right questions.

Dr Glanville Jones has a different task, but discharges it no less well. He has, of course, some distinguished predecessors in the field of early Welsh history and he makes good use of their work, but the list is exiguous compared with the *corpus* of work on Roman Britain. That work is also more beset by presuppositions about what the primitive Welsh must have been like, some of which Dr Jones has no difficulty in demolishing. It is evident that the Welsh of the period had a much more variegated agricultural economy and a more differentiated society than has been commonly supposed. His comments on the *maenor* are an excellent sample of the nature of his contribution. It seems to me that his comments on *tir gwelyog* (hereditary land), with its collocation of kindred, land tenure, and the feud are of quite fundamental importance. He has also interesting things to say on the dichotomy of Roman-Celtic, and he makes interesting comparisons between Wales and Northumbria in the twelfth century. Dr Jones calls Northum-

bria Durham, but there is a point I think in maintaining the old name in this connection. He makes some pertinent comments on the role of mercenaries, and he has an interesting discussion of *ager* which confirms the obvious but disputed translation as 'domain' rather than 'field'. It must be left to those with some knowledge of Celtic languages to make a fundamental evaluation of his chapters but it is obvious no student of the primitive English can afford to neglect them.

Earlier in this review I referred to the third essay, that of Dr Finberg, as pioneering. This may seem perverse—to those at least for whom the second volume of the *Oxford History of England* is a second Koran. Professor Stenton's book has dominated Anglo-Saxon studies as no other book ever has, save for the *Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede*. In both cases some parts are better than others and in both cases their authors' other works have suffered neglect as a result. *Anglo-Saxon England* is a very soberly written book; it reads like the most sober-sided history book ever but it is, in fact, nothing of the kind. It is the low church, low key, version of Stubbs's primitive Germanic polity. In the centre is the rugged yeoman farmer, the famous *ceorl*, who collectively makes up the folk, supporting 'its' king with its purse and its body, sensitive "like their descendants in every age" to social pretension and the claims of rank—though they were rather more successful than their successors in any age in making their feelings respected. This was because the yeoman farmers arose from the mass-migration of free peasants, familiar with life in communities (has there ever been a people who were not?) and accustomed to discussion in popular assemblies. They were deferential to kingship but not to hereditary rank or aristocratic pretensions, so much so that Sir Frank feels he can say dogmatically it is not the manor "but the community of free peasants, which forms the starting-point of English social history." But these simple peasants who start off English social history were usually slave owners. On any view of demography, but especially the crude one that observes that the lower the social class the more numerous its members, this must mean that a substantial section, prob-

ably a majority, of the population of Anglo-Saxon England were slaves. In the *Oxford History* they get one sentence. But there is more to the book than this. Almost every one of these propositions can be destroyed from other pages of the same book, and when Stenton moved from the general to the particular he was a very formidable man indeed. In addition he gave very great thought to the problem of the fundamental source, the charters, throughout his life, and at the end of it wrote what in my opinion is a definitive essay on the study of the Latin Charters. At last, however, a new edition or set of editions is in progress, but one that on all the evidence available will be edited on very different principles. It seems to me that if the criticism of charters is to be more than a sophisticated kind of crossword puzzle it needs to be married to an attempt to solve the general historical problems for which they are the evidence. Nothing is less suited as a task for aspiring research students: charters are not Pipe Rolls. That is my opinion; but what is not mere opinion is that the whole subject has broken wide open at every level from the study of the basic documents to the high level generalities the general reader demands. This is why it is pioneering to write an essay on Anglo-Saxon social history at the moment—and why it is a task of peculiar difficulty.

Dr Finberg has therefore chosen to write an impressionistic study of the problems with the solutions he favours in a shortish essay, only marginally longer than that of Dr Jones on post-Roman Wales. He writes plainly and to the point. No one will agree with all his solutions, but none of them die the death of a thousand qualifications, a disease which Professor Stenton's works frequently exhibit. In many ways the essay is more conservative than one might expect. On the Vikings and their effects he is very close to Stenton. He is certainly right to reject the modern diagnosis of the Viking troubles in the English body politic: where the Germanists diagnosed cancer some would now diagnose boils. In a country which enjoyed little more than one generation's respite from greater, or more rarely, lesser, Viking wars in a period of more than two centuries; in a country bled white for at least one generation as the vast quantity of silver

pennies in Scandinavian museums suggests, there must have been consequences. The nature of the evidence suggests that the lower end of society must have been affected as well as the upper. Dr Finberg has an important suggestion here. He argues ingeniously, though not conclusively, that the hide changed its connotation due to the wars. He thinks it changed from being a unit of arbitrary assessment imposed from above to a measured acreage of arable land. If he is right it follows that the duties and the limitations of those duties, imposed on men of lower status by men of higher, were defined and stabilized. An important limitation on the arbitrary character of lordship was thus imposed, and if Dr Finberg's thesis stands, then in some ways the lowest classes could have benefited from the wars. I suspect he has started quite an argument here. He still maintains that the Viking invasions were mass migrations and that the sokemen were descended from the rank and file of the Danish armies. He may be right but I do not think he can yet convince many of the critics of these views. There are a number of other important points made in the later part of the essay but it is to the earlier period and the problems of continuity that his readers will turn with especial attention.

He begins to the point: "Revolutions in rural economy are not always consistent with political revolution." He does not see any mass migration, and his picture of the earliest Anglo-Saxon polity is one in which Germanic warriors sought freedom to subjugate others and live off the proceeds. The unfree element in early English society and the various degrees of unfreedom get full weight in his discussion. He takes up a point of Professor Applebaum on the Kentish *læt*. It has been usually supposed, since the days of Vinogradoff, that he was a descendant of the aboriginal population sunk in status. But it is clear that the *læt* had a relatively privileged position, and it is here argued he was rather a descendant of a class of German captives settled in Kent in late Roman times. I should myself have stressed the military aspects of early English social structure more than Dr Finberg does. It seems to me that folkland is the land of the *folc*, the warriors, the men of arms, and I should also suppose the

original meaning of soke and sokeman derived from the Icelandic word for a warrior. The author of the Oswaldslow charter seems to have thought so. It is easy to understand how the meaning might be broadened into a judicial sense when liberties—such as Oswaldslow (though such liberties can be traced far earlier than this)—gave the holder of the privileges the duty to lead the fynd, enforce military service, and punish those guilty of evasion. But these are differences of emphasis. It is simply my feeling that violence, force, fighting on some scale, were never very far from the early English countryside. If Dr Finberg might have stressed the military dimension to early English rural life more, he cannot be faulted for ignoring the unfree. He gives us a most perceptive account of the lower ranks of society, with a valuable discussion of the various stages of unfreedom and their significance in terms of life-style. There is one particular text on which Dr Finberg, like every other author writing on this topic, has to comment: chapter 63 of Ine's law-code which still, it seems to me, presents problems.

Dr Finberg follows Mr Aston's interpretation of the passage in his well-known article on the origins of the manor: I should guess he would carry most scholars with him on this point, nor would I wish to dissent very far. It is simply that something more remains to be said. The text speaks of a *gesithcundman* who leaves twenty hides of land; it is prescribed that he must leave twelve hides of *gesettland* behind him. Dr Finberg believes that the *gesith* departs voluntarily attracted by vacant or forfeited land in the newly conquered south-west. The *gesettland* left, he thinks, is not, as used to be argued, simply sown land but land occupied by husbandmen, i.e. something very like a manor as a going concern. Recently Professor McGovern argued on linguistic grounds a case for rendering *gesettland* as land held by written charter, i.e. bookland. Dr Finberg refers to the article but is not convinced. In a sense the disagreement is far from vital. In both renderings it is implied that the twenty hides are arranged into some kind of manorial form. But the difficulty seems to me to be the alleged motives for the *gesith*'s departure. I cannot see that the departure can

possibly be voluntary. Given the size of Wessex, the new estate could be little more than a shire away; why should such a man give up what everything we know about the hidage of estates tells us is a very comfortable holding, indeed—about ten times the size of the average Anglo-Norman knight's fee, if Miss Harvey's calculations are correct? If the man were the proprietor of the land, surely if he felt he must leave it he would hand it over to a relative? (The text implies he is a family man.) It seems to me it must follow that he is not the proprietor of the land, and that his departure is not altogether voluntary. If he went carpet-bagging in the south-west it is because he could hope for land on less onerous terms, or else because he was expelled. If this law were about estates booked to the Church, and the twenty hides had just become bookland, the *gesith*'s departure could be explained, as could the law's concern that the Church's estates should be in reasonable order. I feel that Dr McGovern is on to something here, though it is difficult to follow him all the way simply because it is not easy to make sense of the passage as it stands on his translation. Granted that this is a text of basic importance to the study of manorialism, it needs still more probing.

The general burthen of the early part of Dr Finberg's essay is naturally the case for continuity. He restates his arguments, familiar from some famous papers, but with a greater roundness. Since he wrote, Mr Charles-Edwards' important paper on the hide has added weight to this approach, and both Dr Applebaum's and Dr Jones's papers, in different ways, suggest the plausibility of a much greater degree of continuity at the grass roots level than even Dr Finberg supposed when he wrote the first edition of his paper on Withington.

All three parts of the book are good but the book is more than the mere sum of its parts. It sets the agrarian history of the primitive British in a new context. It is still a traditional context but one in which tradition has been subtly revalued. Vinogradoff is still there, but much more in the margin. Seeborn and Haverfield are still criticized but seem somehow more in the centre. It is a pity incidentally that none of the contributors know C. M. Andrews's book

on the manor. It came out almost simultaneously with Vinogradoff's more famous book and sank without trace in its wake—its author changed fields to become a well-

known authority on imperial America. Professor Andrews anticipated many of the views to be found in the book under review and deserves a tardy amends.

NOTES AND COMMENTS *continued from page 110*

land between about 1730 and 1750, was avoided in the northeast where the development of coal mining and its associated industries increased the demand for food and enabled farmers to increase production and landlords to raise rents quite substantially. Dr Vanessa Doe of Sheffield University followed with an illustrated talk on the excursion which she later led in the vicinity. This included a visit to the Duke of Devonshire's estate at Chatsworth and to some interesting seventeenth-century farmhouses and farmsteads in nearby villages.

Miss Janet Blackman of Hull University discussed the growth of the 'Sheffield food market and agricultural change in Yorkshire and Derbyshire' and her paper linked up well with Mr Brassley's, showing how the increased demand for food caused farmers to specialize (especially in milk and vegetables) and to intensify production. On the final day Professor Robert Gallman of the University of North Carolina spoke on 'Slavery and Southern plantation agriculture before the Civil War' and stimulated a lively discussion on the extent to which southern plantations grew their own food, as opposed to the earlier

view that they specialized almost entirely on commercial crops. Finally, Dr B. A. Holderness from the University of East Anglia discussed the problem of 'credit in English rural society before 1800'. His preliminary study of a sample of probate inventories suggested that credit was much more widespread than had previously been thought. The subsequent discussion of this interesting and neglected topic underlined the statistical problems involved in using inventories, but much interest was shown in the further research which Dr Holderness proposes to undertake on the subject.

The Editor has received a news release from the firm of K. K. Roy (Private) Ltd of Calcutta, India, of a new commercial venture of possible interest to members of the Society. It is proposed in the near future to publish a quarterly journal entitled *History of Agriculture*. Original contributions are invited from serious scholars. The subscription rate is U.S.\$25.00 in the U.S.A. and Canada, and £10 in Europe and elsewhere. Further information may be obtained from the firm at 55 Gariahat Road, P.O. Box 10210, Calcutta 19, India.

Book Reviews

RALPH B. PUGH (ed.), *Court Rolls of the Wiltshire Manors of Adam de Stratton*. Wiltshire Record Society, vol. XXIV, 1968, 224 pp. Copies available from M. J. Lansdown, 37 Hilperton Road, Trowbridge, Wilts. £2.50 to non-members.

The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Records Branch (as it then was) undertook publication of the muniments arising out of Adam de Stratton's tenure of the wealthy manor of Sevenhampton and its members in north-east Wiltshire, with the printing of the *Stratton Accounts and Surveys* in 1959 followed by the *Highwood Hundred Rolls* in 1965-6. The present volume completes the series with an edition of the manorial court rolls of Sevenhampton and Stratton St Margaret and the portmoot rolls of the borough of Highworth. The Sevenhampton and Highworth rolls run consecutively (except for a gap in 1285-6) from 1275-6, the year in which they came to Adam, until 1287-8, the last full year of its tenure. The Stratton rolls are less complete, with gaps in 1279-81 and 1285-7. As court rolls go, they are not particularly exciting examples and the narrow chronological limits detract from their value. But their importance lies in the fact that they provide, in conjunction with the accounts, surveys, and Hundred Court rolls, a body of material which would repay close analysis by revealing much about the nature of society and its economy in this locality in the late thirteenth century. Even a cursory glance produces some significant pointers.

There are a few indications, for example, of friction within the society or overt opposition to the lord. On a number of occasions tenants refused to perform labour services, absented themselves, or worked badly (for which the *messor* was usually blamed). But all these are individual cases and there are no examples of the organized refusals which one encounters, for instance, in the court records of St Albans or Ramsey Abbey. These apart, we find only the inevitable grumbling and complaints about manorial officials. Perhaps another sign of lack of friction is the infrequency with which the

custom of the manor was invoked. Only two enquiries about custom are recorded: one about the right of pasturing livestock after the hay had been lifted (p. 166), the other a solitary guide to inheritance custom—protection for the rights of the "child of the hearth," left in the hands of its stepfather after its mother's death (p. 168).

However hard he pressed his monastic debtors, Adam de Stratton's hand seems to have lain fairly lightly on his tenants. After 1275-6, for example, the customary "aid" was condoned every year. (The *Accounts* (p. 91) show that it was actually condoned in 1277-8 when the court rolls (p. 46) refer to 53s. 4d. coming from aid.) Merchet, too, was usually a nominal payment of 2s. and the few references to heriots paid in cash show them commuted at a standardized rate of 15d. The 2s. 6d. entered at the foot of the 1278-9 roll *de relevis pro heriet* (p. 54) seems to have puzzled Mr Pugh but the *Accounts* (p. 100) reveal that the two payments of 15d. each coming from John Laweman and William le Wyte and entered in the court rolls (p. 51) as *pro relevis* were in fact heriots.

Though these customary payments were light, the level of entry fines was fairly high. The average figures calculated by Mr Pugh (p. 11) have little meaning because they do not take into account the varying quantities of land involved; the entry fines to smallholdings, for example, might well be high with regard to the quantity of land transmitted, but when included in an unadjusted average will only suffice to make that average figure misleadingly low. High entry fines are particularly noticeable at Stratton, where as much as 22 marks could be paid for a virgate and £4 6s. 8d. for only ten acres (pp. 167, 169). The fines varied greatly for similar quantities of land but generally the level was quite high. The Sevenhampton fines were lower, though even here some seem exorbitant. Nicholas de Vaus, for instance, gave 6s. in 1282 for entry to a cottage belonging to Nicholas Wolfrych, whose holding in 1275 had been only a croft of one acre (*Accounts*, p. 6). (The figure of 6d. on p. 70 of the court rolls is clearly an error; 6s. is the sum

needed to complete the total given and the *Accounts*, p. 71, confirm that this was the sum paid.) There are several other instances of between 5s. and 10s. being paid for entry to cottage smallholdings.

The high fines presumably indicate pressure on land. The court rolls record no payments for assarting, though a number of peculiar entries specify payments (e.g., p. 53) "*pro licencia arrandi et seminandi pratum*"—"inhoking," one imagines, rather than ploughing up the meadow, which seems most unlikely. It is also worth noting that the most common offences in these rolls, recorded with great frequency, were trespasses of livestock in the corn or meadow, again perhaps suggesting that arable expansion had left a shortage of pasture.

Mr Pugh's introduction is especially useful from the legal angle for its analysis of procedures in manorial courts. It is relevant and important for anyone working on manorial court records. His editing of the rolls is most competent and the indexes are thorough and helpful. The production and printing of the volume live up to the high standard which the Wiltshire Record Society sets itself, and students of medieval rural society will be grateful for the Society's initiative in making available the complete muniments (apart from deeds) of Adam de Stratton's time as lord of these Wiltshire estates.

IAN KERSHAW

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, *The Draining of the Somerset Levels*. Cambridge U.P., 1970. xvi + 288 pp. £6.

Regional studies of the British Isles tend, says Dr Williams, to regard the Somerset Levels as a convenient vacuum in which to end the "Bristol area" and begin the "West Country," so that the Levels get treated in neither. His own study should help to remedy this, for he makes it clear that the Levels constitute a distinctive area with features of interest for both geographers and historians, something of whose flavour he conveys in a series of excellent photographs. The author, himself a geographer, calls his work "a geographical investigation into matters of historical interest" and declares it is not "a history in the

ordinary sense of the word." But there are many kinds of history; and this is of the same kind as those classic works on the Fenland by H. C. Darby (under whom the author has studied), wherein history, geography, agriculture, economics, and engineering all have a place, and which, if not history, are at least a very acceptable substitute.

The author tells the story of drainage and reclamation in the Levels from the twelfth century to the present day. In the medieval period the story is not dissimilar to that of the Fenland, and the early seventeenth century likewise saw a lively interest in reclamation in Somerset. But after 1640 came a long period of "near stagnation" in attempts at improvement, lasting until 1770, which the author attributes to "the removal of Crown sponsorship of draining, due to the opposition of the commoners and ultimately to the disturbances of the Civil War." In 1770 favourable economic conditions helped to produce a burst of draining activity in the Levels, but by about 1830 the impetus was exhausted and there followed a century of slow deterioration due to inadequate maintenance. Only since 1939 have improved techniques, better administration, and above all more money, made efficient drainage at last possible.

Monastic cartularies and the like provide a good deal of evidence of medieval activity in drainage and reclamation, but the evidence is often capable of more than one interpretation and its territorial spread tends to be uneven. The author is aware, but not sufficiently aware, of the limitations of this evidence, and some of his maps and statistics need to be used with caution. Thus the unwary might assume that fig. 4, a map of the "possible extent of ecclesiastical estates in the medieval Levels," indicates their *maximum* extent. In fact, a footnote shows it to be based principally on a map published in 1889 of "inferred Domesday estates"; but how far is this a valid representation for later centuries? Incidentally, the "great see of Bath and Wells" is an anachronism in the eighth and ninth centuries (p. 19): there was no bishop of Wells till 909, nor of Bath till 1088.

Fig. 12, a map to show reclamation from c. 1400 to 1770, embodies some highly dubious reasoning on the "probable extent of reclama-

tion c. 1400-1600." This last is calculated by assuming what remains after the deduction of "probable medieval" (i.e. pre-1400) and known post-1600 reclamation can be attributed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, despite the fact that the author has documentary evidence of only one such reclamation during that period. Is there any good reason why the areas in question should not have been reclaimed before 1400? Again, he assumes (p. 92) that reclamations of coastal warths (tidal mud flats) beyond the old sea-walls—whatever is implied by "old"—must be seventeenth-century in the absence of contrary evidence; but since such reclamations were technically simple, may not some have been earlier?

Late medieval land subsidence is twice mentioned by Dr Williams as a possible contributory cause of silting and flooding in the Somerset Levels. So far as the reviewer can discover, such subsidence was confined to eastern England. J. A. Steers' *Coastline of England and Wales* (a work not mentioned in Dr Williams' bibliography) in a full account of the Somerset coast makes no mention of any such possibility.

Almost no records of the Commissioners of Sewers survive in Somerset before 1770. This is unfortunate as what little is known suggests that in the preceding 250 years the Commissioners were by no means so ineffective in maintaining existing works of drainage (they were held to have no legal power to construct new ones) as they later became. Consequently, though the author devotes three maps and several pages to the complexities of drainage administration after 1770, the reader unfamiliar with Courts of Sewers may be left with a rather confused idea of their role in Somerset. It is not made sufficiently clear that many features of this administration, notably the multiplicity of local juries, were peculiar to Somerset and not characteristic of Courts of Sewers everywhere.

There is much of interest in this book for readers both in and outside Somerset, and it seems a pity the publishers have set a price which may deter many from buying it.

A. E. B. OWEN

NIGEL HARVEY, *A History of Farm Buildings in England and Wales*. David & Charles, 1970. 278 pp. £3.

J. E. C. PETERS, *The Development of Farm Buildings in Western Lowland Staffordshire up to 1880*. Manchester U.P., 1970. xx + 284 pp. £3.60.

In the last thirty years the history of the countryside has been greatly enlarged by the scientific study of its ancient buildings. Until recently attention has been mainly concentrated on the farmhouse itself. But as historical documents the farm buildings are no less important. They are, moreover, in far more urgent need of study, for while the old house can be adapted to modern needs the old farm buildings have little relevance to highly specialized and highly mechanized farming of today. Little or nothing is spent on their maintenance and they are replaced as soon as practicable by modern structures which, unlike their predecessors, add little to the beauty of the rural scene.

It is therefore a pleasure to welcome two works devoted to the architecture of the farmyard. Nigel Harvey's *History of Farm Buildings* is a general survey. The author, a chartered surveyor and land agent, is able to draw on a fund of practical experience which more academic students of the subject might envy. He is particularly good on the period from the agricultural revolution to today, a period well documented by writers on agricultural theory in whose works Mr Harvey has delved deeply, as his impressive critical apparatus shows. He deals with earlier and later phases of the agricultural revolution, the late Victorian depression, and with modern times, where his familiarity with current farming practice is evident.

The great depression was of course a disaster for the industry but for the archaeologist it was a blessing. The impoverished landlord and farmer had to patch buildings they could no longer afford to replace and, as a result, we still have barns and beast-houses surviving, though by now only just surviving, from the age before the great improvements. This earlier period, however, receives a more cursory treatment which only summarizes received opinion. Although Mr Harvey makes the important point that in the earlier phases

of the agricultural revolution agricultural writers gave no detailed structural advice on how to realize their general ideas because it was assumed each region would use the traditional methods of building locally established, he does not treat local schools in any great detail. Most of the preliminary work necessary for such a locally oriented study has yet to be done, but at least Dr J. E. C. Peters' *Development of Farm Buildings in Western Lowland Staffordshire up to 1880* points the way ahead.

This very detailed inquiry covers every aspect of farm building of the chosen locality in a most methodical manner, covering siting, layout, and the evolution of individual building types. Much of the information is set out in tabular form, showing at which period particular arrangements were preferred. This method puts the study on an objective basis, though this somewhat anumerate reviewer thinks Dr Peters would have made some of his diagrams, e.g. the second part of table 10, easier to understand if he had not tried to cram so much into them.

Like so much of England and Wales, western Staffordshire's earliest phase of building was in timber. But by the beginning of the eighteenth century half-timbered building had practically ceased, and had been replaced by brickwork. It is these brick buildings that are chiefly illustrated. One could have wished that in addition to the great wealth of plans and sections Dr Peters had included one or two perspective or reconstruction drawings to give a general impression. The photographic cover is generous, but the quality of the blocks is not as high as in Mr Harvey's book, though one knows the difficulties of getting a photograph, both informative and attractive, of a farm building with the amount of later patching and historically irrelevant accretions with which most are now encumbered. Perhaps also the red Staffordshire bricks are not particularly photogenic.

The historical narrative makes a number of important points. In Staffordshire the development away from the village settlement to the isolated farm appears to have begun earlier and developed further than in some other parts of the midland plain. Dr Peters' observations on the relationship of house to the farm build-

ings on p. 61 are pertinent. They show the house combined with its buildings in a single block is not necessarily early, or even early in conception, and was sometimes so built merely to achieve a massive architectural effect.

The role of the landlord in providing farm buildings is also examined. This is clearly an important factor in the decay of a regional style, although of course it sometimes tended to a regionalism of another sort, when it is possible to tell on which estate a farm once stood from the detailing of the late buildings. Dr Peters believes that it was in the eighteenth century that the landlord gradually assumed responsibility first for providing the buildings and later for maintaining them.

Other chapters deal with different types of farm building in the most painstaking detail, the evolution of barns, stables, granaries, cartsheds, as well as lesser buildings such as pigsties and poultry houses, each being carefully considered and tabulated.

Dr Peters is an *alumnus* of Manchester University where the late Professor Cordingley pioneered the study of regional architecture at a time when historical studies tended to be neglected by building students. It is to be hoped that this encyclopaedic work will be followed by others from the same source. It is certain that the material tabulated by Dr Peters will be a mine of comparative information for workers in other districts, and also a guide to significant variations elsewhere.

P. SMITH

M. A. HAVINDEN and CELIA M. KING (eds.), *The South West and the Land*. Exeter Papers in Economic History No. 2, Exeter Univ., 1969. 5 maps, 65 pp. 50p.

This "large pamphlet," as the publishers describe it, consists of four papers read at the second Dartington research seminar on the economic and social history of the South-West. Three of the papers deal almost exclusively with Devon, while the fourth, H. C. Bowen's 'Experiment in Ancient Agriculture', is concerned with work in Wiltshire and Denmark which is of interest mainly to students of prehistory. The value of all the papers, and especially of M. A. Havinden's general introduction, 'Agricultural History in

the South-West', lies not so much in statements as in queries and suggestions which will certainly lead to local research. This, presumably, was Professor Minchinton's intention in holding the seminar and subsequently publishing the paper under review.

Although Mr Havinden's introductory paper is concerned mainly with the history in Devon of the past 200 years and the reasons for change or lack of change, it directs thought to earlier centuries, and especially to the incidence of common-field agriculture and the timing of and reasons for its disappearance. Many small settlements were in positions so isolated by geographical circumstances that they could never expand and so had no reason for common fields. Yet in hamlets which now consist of only one or two farms we often find signs of common-field cultivations which the five or six farmers of earlier days found necessary. There is even occasional verbal tradition of cultivation in common with four or five other farmers as, for instance, in Challacombe on the edge of Exmoor. Elsewhere the shapes or names of fields give indications.

There are many other problems which Mr Havinden does not mention. For instance, what were the reasons for the population explosion during the first half of the nineteenth century, followed by just as rapid a fall (for more evident reasons) during the second half? Again, what have been the effects during the present century of the dispersal of the great landed estates resulting from death duties in the main? Most of the farm sales were to sitting tenants who can now be thankful that they were not forced to buy at today's impossible prices; indeed, by selling today a farm which he bought twenty years ago a farmer and his wife at the age of sixty-five can live on investments and the retirement pension in greater comfort than during their working life.

No study of rural economy in Devon and Cornwall is complete without mention of the Devon breed of cattle, the Red Rubies which are still such a feature of the Highland Zone in the south-west, and of the Quartly family of Molland who brought them to something like their modern perfection during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mr Havinden writes of them at some length, but it

is in Robin Stanes's paper that we read with surprise that in the mid-eighteenth century the predominant Devon breed was not red but black, presumably akin to the Welsh cattle of today. Evidently the Quartlys had even more influence on cattle-breeding in the south-west than is generally attributed to them.

To the general reader, Robin Stanes's paper on 'Devon Agriculture in the mid-eighteenth century', based on the evidence of the Milles enquiries, is the most informative and evocative, directing attention incidentally to many lines of enquiry which might profitably be followed by the amateur local historian. John Kew's paper on 'Regional Variations in the Devon Land Market in the mid-16th century' is thorough but of limited interest.

The most noticeable omission from this publication is any but the briefest mention of communications. It is reliably said that there was no wheeled traffic in north Devon until about 1820 except on the very few turnpiked main roads. The years between 1820 and 1850 were the peak period of turnpike construction, to be followed very soon by the railways. Road improvements and the railways were the most important factors in Devon agriculture before the advent of the modern tractor. Railways had been fully treated by several writers, but no authoritative work has yet been published on road communications except for Sheldon's *From Trackway to Turnpike* in 1928.

CHARLES WHYBROW

ERNST SCHMIDT-KRAEPELIN and SIGFRID SCHNEIDER, *Luftbildinterpretation in der Agrarlandschaft und Beispiele ihrer Anwendung aus dem Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen*. Landeskundliche Luftbilddauswertung im mitteleuropäischen Raum, Heft 7, Selbstverlag der Bundesanstalt für Landeskunde und Raumforschung, Bad Godesberg, 1966. Illus. 156 pp.

Most readers of this journal know that many agricultural features not readily observable from an inspection on the ground and not registered even on the large-scale map may be adumbrated or even clearly seen on an aerial photograph. This publication, dating back to 1966, is the seventh of an official and still continuing series on aerial photography, the first

however to be exclusively devoted to the agricultural landscape. It provides a very interesting introduction to the various techniques of making and examining aerial photographs. The illustrations, seventy-one photographs (five of them stereograms), and twenty-five, mainly interpretive figures, are very useful examples of agricultural photography from the air and concentrate upon the area of Nordrhein-Westfalen though drawing also from many other countries.

The introduction examines the value of aerial photography in a variety of subjects. The following topics discussed will interest the agricultural historian: field patterns, including centuriation and former field systems, roads and paths, hedges, the village and dwelling patterns, the encroachment of the city on agricultural land, the estimation of harvests, the study of soils and of predators, soil erosion, reclamation, amelioration, and recultivation. The problems of scale, quality of printing, texture, the season, and the use of infra-red, colour and false-colour films are evaluated. In this section the pictures come from varied sources and are grouped to illustrate such features as very geometrical field systems in a number of countries.

The third chapter which concentrates on Nordrhein-Westfalen provides many examples where the time scale is of interest. Thus there are sections on change in agricultural use in the Cologne embayment, on the extension of grassland following Flurbereinigung in the west Eifel, on land use on large estates (Eifel-Cologne), on the teaching and research estate of Eltzhof near Wahn, while colour pictures are compared with black-and-white ones of the lower Rhine plain near Rheinberg. Other sections deal with special crops at Straelen on the German-Dutch frontier and the recovery of agricultural land after open-cast mining of brown coal (Neurath). Not only are these examples of great interest to the historian but the technical limits and potentialities of the methods employed are given. A concluding chapter reminds us of the need for rapid and cheap surveys of backward countries and the economic role of air survey in this.

The photographs are excellently printed upon good paper and the bibliography gives a

conspectus of the systematic books on the subject, while the footnotes refer to a wide range of most helpful references.

Upon some of these photographs prehistoric features can faintly be seen. On others there are many traces of the past surviving here more explicitly than in Great Britain. They excellently portray a host of curious and revealing features. There is nothing formidable in the style of the book and it should be quite accessible to all readers of simple German knowing something of the vocabulary of cartography and photography.

D. J. DAVIS

A. H. BUNTING (ed.), *Change in Agriculture: Lectures and summaries of case studies presented to the International Seminar on Change in Agriculture, University of Reading, Berkshire, England, together with a general review and conclusions*. Duckworth, 1970, xiv + 813 pp. £7.50.

The volume contains the seven plenary lectures and sixty-seven studies delivered to the International Seminar on Change in Agriculture with a general review and concluding summary of proceedings by Professor A. H. Bunting. The whole comprises a wealth of detailed information and analysis on different aspects of agricultural development in over thirty countries, mostly in Africa and South America. Predictably, the historical content is disappointing, and apart from Clark, who uses long-run population data to support his now-familiar anti-Malthusian thesis ("we on earth have really quite a lot of agricultural capacity to spare"), the Seminar was dedicated more or less exclusively to present-day efforts to expand world food production. It assumes throughout that agriculture is the spring-board of economic growth, but without, alas, identifying the mechanisms whereby increased productivity in agriculture can stimulate other areas of the economy. Yet it can be argued from historical experience that agricultural development *per se* is not a sufficient condition for economic growth. Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provides the classic example of the failure of an expanding agriculture to finance industrialization and stimulate home

demand for non-farm goods through the export of agricultural products. Indeed, there is the risk that in the not-too-distant future there may develop world surpluses of food-stuffs and raw materials such as afflicted primary producers in the period 1880-1940, and which could seriously retard development in the agrarian-based exporting nations.

An interesting feature of this compendium is its overwhelming concern with what may be termed the "institutional" aspects of agricultural change. No less than thirty-five papers relate to development projects sponsored by governments, international agencies, or business corporations, and supervised by Western experts. Conversely, only a handful deal with the "organic" elements, in particular the role of technological and biological innovation. Historians will point out that agricultural change in the advanced countries was a long-drawn-out, spontaneous, and self-regulating process secured without government intervention or massive transfers of capital and other inputs from outside agriculture. There is, of course, no *a priori* reason why the future of the poor nations should be modelled on the history of the rich. As Gerschenkron once remarked, the development of a backward country may, by the very nature of its backwardness, tend to differ from that of an advanced country. It can also be argued that historical experience is now irrelevant, in the sense that world population is growing too fast and material aspirations are now too high for underdeveloped countries to contemplate the same slow cycle of evolution as occurred in Western Europe.

But if it is wrong (and I am not altogether convinced that it is) to apply historical solutions to contemporary problems, so also is it poor strategy, and equally unhistorical, to attempt to impose upon one half of the world the value systems of the other. One or two contributors, notably Hunter ('Agriculture and social development') and Klatt ('Agricultural infrastructure') warn against this tendency, stressing the 'totality' of development and the dangers of the too purely *homo oeconomicus* approach. Case studies by Mettrick ('Mechanization of peasant agricultures in East Africa'), Gordon ('State farms in Ghana'), and Agabawi

('Theraingrownsorghum development, Sudan Republic') demonstrate only too clearly how transplants of Western technology and organization have failed to trigger off instant agricultural revolution. Gordon, for example, notes "the enormous scale on which 'crash' programmes of mechanization can waste human and financial resources," and Mettrick, how in Tanzania, at least, the tractor has increased neither yield nor area under cultivation.

By themselves the case studies do not expose the true complexity of agricultural development. This task is left to Professor Bunting who, in a thoughtful 12,000-word conclusion, and without offering any universal panacea for underdevelopment, spells out the full range of awesome concerns which bar the road to Goschen.

Can the historian help here? If Professor Bunting seeks a touchstone the answer is probably No. Yet history is much better at duplicating processes than events so perhaps the future will show the long-time seekers to have made the best guides.

E. J. T. COLLINS

WARD, J. T. and WILSON, R. G. (eds.), *Land and Industry: the Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution*. David & Charles, 1971. 280 pp. £3.75.

In this volume Drs Ward and Wilson have combined forces with four other scholars to provide an interesting collection of studies on the general theme of the reactions of landowners "to the opportunities and challenges presented by the Industrial Revolution." David Spring gets the book off to a good start with the most general of the papers, covering in turn railways, docks, mines, and towns, although his material is concerned mainly with the first sixty years of the nineteenth century and the detailed discussion is confined largely to enterprise among the nobility. After the impressive achievements of such blue-blooded tycoons as the seventh Duke of Devonshire and the third Marquess of Londonderry it comes as something of a damper that no more than "a handful of estates in the first half of the nineteenth century derived a half or more of their gross income" from non-agricultural

sources. In the years 1815-46 "when the Corn Laws were being debated, the economic interest of English landowners was very largely rooted in agriculture."

Dr Ward goes back to the eighteenth century to begin his long list of landowners connected with mining enterprise. He emphasizes the advantage of permanence that agricultural rents had over the more uncertain returns from minerals, and he concludes that the risks and complexities of mining, as well as the large capital often required, deterred many landowners from directly involving themselves in mining operations. It is interesting that as lessors landowners might treat their coal tenants in much the same way as they did their farmers, remitting rents and providing loans when times were bad. There prevailed too a distinctly patriarchal relationship between landlord and miners, exemplified by occasional "treats," free coal, Christmas gifts, benefit societies, schools, and savings banks.

Mr Crawford's too brief discussion of the landowners' part in the rise of the Ulster linen industry ranges over the whole of the eighteenth century. Irish gentlemen imported looms from France and Holland and experimented with large manufactories. They also built turnpikes and canals—the coal canal from Lough Neagh to Newry was functioning as early as 1742—and they developed towns and erected linen halls. In the linen industry the most successful line of advance proved to be in domestic production with skilled weavers from England, Scotland, and France bringing new wealth to the "linen triangle" between Belfast, Armagh, and Dungannon. These craftsmen-smallholders grew their own flax and kept a cow or two to supplement their incomes from linen. Their demand for small parcels of land drove up rents and forced out the full-time farmers, while in surrounding areas the pressure of numbers forced the less skilled weavers and cottiers down to subsistence levels and depressed the standards of cultivation. By the middle of the nineteenth century, when domestic linen production had collapsed before the competition of the factories, the landlords' interest in the industry had also faded away.

Dr Sturges's paper is also a regional one,

concerned in this case with mining and urban development in nineteenth-century Staffordshire. The Staffordshire owners' mineral revenues were most buoyant in the middle fifty years of the century; and when a combination of population growth and a desire to reduce indebtedness encouraged the development of urban properties in the Potteries, Walsall, and West Bromwich the resulting ground rents, added to the coal revenues, enabled landowners to maintain higher levels of personal spending and make heavier investment in their farms. From the 1870's, however, changed conditions created new strains on owners' finances as debt repayment and farm investment pressed on diminishing incomes from coal and agriculture.

In the remaining two papers Dr Wilson and Mr Devine give somewhat contrasting accounts of eighteenth-century merchants as landed proprietors. Dr Wilson provides only a miniscule sample, just two families of wealthy Leeds cloth merchants who invested in landed property. One of these, the Denisons, seem to bear out Adam Smith's view that merchants made the best of improvers. William Denison purchased scattered properties for investment rather than a compact estate for social prestige. He exhibited a highly commercial attitude to estate management and carried out improvements with an eye to profitable resale of the land. The other Leeds example discussed by Dr Wilson, the Milneses, falls into the more customary pattern of parvenus taking the traditional steps for establishing themselves in county society. They were of a piece with Mr Devine's Glasgow merchants who quickly set about displaying newly acquired coats of arms, rode to hounds, and joined associations for the preservation of game. Mr Devine does not say whether his much larger sample of merchant-landowners displayed an interest in agricultural improvements, but it is clear that enjoyment of the bucolic life did not diminish their commercial acumen. They saw land as a good investment in its own right and as a security for raising loans and for providing for their families, and a number of them had a keen eye for minerals and for land conveniently situated for building purposes.

While we must be grateful for the many insights offered by these wide-ranging studies, it must be said that they do not amount to a comprehensive or systematic treatment of the subject. Nothing is said, for example, about institutional landowners, and there is very little on the role of enclosure in the securing of land for minerals or other industrial purposes. No doubt there is, too, a fuller story of estate policy, and in particular in subsidizing or detracting from agricultural investment. Further, there remains the more general question of how far the broadening of the landowners' economic role affected the nature and duration of their political influence.

One feels that the scale of the treatment adopted in this volume is inadequate for the potential importance of the subjects. The most valuable essays, in fact, are those which go some way towards treating a limited area in detail, such as the Ulster linen industry or the Glasgow merchants. It seems, too, that the contributors have not always addressed themselves to the more vital questions: an assessment of the landowners' role in economic development seems of more general significance than their personal motives for undertaking industrial investment or the results on their finances. Such an assessment is probably best conducted by comparison of detailed studies of the influence of estates in particular areas. Here the publication of Dr Davies's work on the Bute estates in Glamorgan and Dr Raybould's on the Dudley estates in the Black Country will break important new ground and take us nearer to this goal.

G. E. MINGAY

H. J. HABAKKUK, *Population growth and economic development since 1850*. Leicester U.P., 1971. 110 pp. 90p.

This book is based upon the Arthur Pool Memorial Lectures delivered at Leicester University in 1968. Mr Habakkuk draws together many of the leading ideas in his own previous publications as well as the findings of a wide range of recent studies. The framework of the book is the familiar "theory" of demographic transition. Three chapters cover the characteristics of pre-industrial society (a state rather than a stage?), the "demographic revolution"

of the eighteenth century, and the subsequent fall in fertility; whilst a fourth ruminates on the relevance of this historical experience for the developing countries at the present time.

Whilst denying the existence of any single pattern of population change in pre-industrial Europe, the author presents a schematic analysis based on broadly Malthusian principles. Assuming the supply of resources to be determined independently, population adjusted itself through migration and by the regulation of marriage, as well as, spasmodically, fertility within marriage. To the extent that these mechanisms failed to operate, positive checks would come into play to regain equilibrium. All the necessary qualifications are made, notably that much mortality was random and economically fortuitous in origin; and Mr Habakkuk concedes that demographic divergences from what was warranted by the resource position could exist for lengthy periods, facilitating changes in conventional living standards and agrarian structure. Thus the argument allows for the establishment of a *new* rather than merely *restored* equilibrium from time to time, so meeting Nassau Senior's classic objection to the Malthusian theory that for civilization to have emerged from barbaric savagery some long-run increase in the ratio of subsistence to population must have occurred. This flexible and sinewy model will accommodate a great deal although the detailed evidence is not discussed here: there is a good deal more in Professor Chambers's *Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England* (1972) which it is appropriate to mention here since the two volumes are obviously complementary. The chief difference is that Chambers attaches more significance to the random behaviour of the agents of mortality, and presents these as the principal determinants of population change rather than as external shocks periodically affecting the equilibrating mechanism.

The second chapter is in the main a recapitulation of views the author has previously expressed elsewhere, with certain shifts of emphasis. Some decline in eighteenth-century mortality is conceded, and Habakkuk accepts Razzell's recent advocacy of inoculation as an important factor in smallpox reduction.

However, much weight is placed on trends in marriage and fertility. Structural shifts in the composition of the occupied population as they might have affected age at marriage are discussed, but without much in the way of new evidence. On the basis of Scottish data collected in 1911 it is suggested that if the age of marriage of women fell by one year it could be expected to add one-third of a child to the families: but this appears to overlook their strong counter-argument, advanced by McKeown and Brown, that to add one birth to families already large by modern standards could not be counted on to raise effective family sizes *pro rata* on account of the extra risks of infant mortality. The chapter concludes with a résumé of the various ways in which population growth might have stimulated economic development. One wonders whether it will ever be possible to say more than that there was continuous interaction, and that the population growth rates actually attained cannot have been far from optimal.

The third chapter deals with fertility decline exceptionally well, and in a somewhat novel way. There are astute criticisms of the failure of existing explanations ("which amount to saying that the whole social history of the period was responsible") to identify the critical factors, and a careful assessment of the problem of measuring the periodicity of the decline. The author's own explanation, which dovetails with the equilibrating model of chapter I, is that in the nineteenth century population pressure was making itself felt, if unevenly. Severe cyclical depressions in the late 1870's caused the postponement of births which could not altogether be recovered subsequently; and above all, falling infant mortality, especially after 1900, produced a new assumption for parents to reckon with and adjust to—that the size of the surviving family would approximate fairly closely to the number of children born. This explanation, it is suggested, will also cope with the earlier fertility decline among the professional classes since they were the first to experience infant mortality decline.

Lastly, Mr Habakkuk briefly considers the relevance of western population developments for the developing countries, since it is

generally hoped that they will follow through the stages of the demographic transition theory. Our historical experience, he concludes, is not a secure guide: outside Europe and North America the fall in mortality has been more abrupt and less obviously linked with thorough-going economic development. It has occurred in quite a different institutional context (the extended family, habitual early marriage), which has tended to maintain high fertility rates, and the consequential rapid rates of natural increase afflict the poorer nations more severely than was usually the case in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.

Inevitably, to span so much in this limited compass lays the author vulnerable to specialist criticism in places, and there are understandable difficulties in maintaining a complete consistency of approach over the period. The mechanisms described in chapter I purport to apply to Europe, whilst chapter II concentrates on England and it is perhaps fair to say that the implications of concurrent population growth elsewhere, though touched upon, are not followed through very satisfactorily. By contrast, in chapter III we are very properly warned against existing explanations rooted in purely English experience, since the decline in fertility "occurred more or less at the same time in countries as diverse in character as England and Hungary." And the juxtaposition of Malthusian and demographic transition theory means that population tends to be treated primarily as a dependent variable in chapters I and III, but as an independent variable in II and IV. All the same, even so distinguished a scholar as Mr Habakkuk has good reason to feel satisfied with his achievement, given that so many avenues of research remain as yet unexplored. Most thoughtful students are avid for synoptic works of historical scholarship which also throw light on current issues, as this one decidedly does. One is left in no doubt that the lessons of history, for what they are worth, are best drawn by historians. Bristling with ideas, and written with the author's usual polish and elegance of expression, this inexpensive volume deserves to command a wide sale to specialists and to the wider reading public.

W. A. ARMSTRONG

BERNADINO FAROLFI, *Strumenti e pratiche agrarie in Toscana dall'età Napoleonica all'Unità*. Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale dell'Università di Bologna. Series directed by Luigi dal Pane, no. 8, Milan, 1969. iv + 144 pp. 17 plates. Lire 1800.

This writer sticks closely to his last. The title and the subject are one, an example that might well be followed by other scholars. The book describes the tools and techniques of farming used and pursued by the peasantry and landowners of Tuscany at the time of Napoleon and the changes made or attempted to be made during the first half of the nineteenth century. Of course, Farolfi had the advantage of a firm foundation for his work in the "inquest" made by the French at the time of occupation, but this "inquest" of itself would only describe how things were done at that time.

It is not always wise to judge the range of a scholar's reading by the number and variety of his footnotes; but it is clear that Farolfi not only has exhausted the possibilities of contemporary documents and books, and that he has also consulted the recent literature in English and French as well as his own language, plus the briefer studies printed in reviews.

Though there were some slight variations in the practice of farming in different areas, such as the number of ploughings given in preparing the seedbed or the stubborn reliance on spade culture, the overall impression is that the ordinary peasant was farming in pretty much the same way as his remote ancestors of the classical era had done. The spade and the mattock were largely relied upon in the preparation of the seedbed though a symmetrical plough, the ard, araire, aratum, was also used. The peasants who used these things had some good arguments in favour of their prejudices. By spade or mattock the soil was broken up to a greater depth than the plough could reach. A symmetrical plough could work closer to the edges of irrigation ditches or to the lines of trees which were customarily planted across the fields: vines, elms, and others. There was obviously a measure of truth here, but it does not seem that there was so much to be said in favour of the rotations. These were much the same as those promul-

gated by the *Scriptores rei rusticae* some two thousand years before, except that the Romans knew nothing of maize and some other introductions. A fallow was usual. It might follow two years cropping or there might be some attempt to grow a catch crop, possibly lupins or trefoil to be ploughed in as green manure. The cereals and the legumes were all cultivated, wheat and barley, maize, beans, peas, vetches and the vine, the olive and the fig. Some hemp and flax found a place in the fields as did a trifle of tobacco.

It was not so much the introduction of new crops that the agricultural societies and the enthusiastic Italian "improving" landlords were concerned about, though the grasses, clover, and other innovations were thought well of: it was in the use of improved implements and machinery that they placed their hopes of a more productive system from which a larger net product might be harvested. This was natural enough. The early nineteenth century was a time when machines were looked to for almost all purposes and when the foundations of modern technical processes were laid.

Ploughs were obtained from Hohenheim, from Pictet in Geneva, from Dombasle at Roville, even from England, though the "Rame" plough cannot immediately be identified. The English iron plough had however been designed for horse traction, not for oxen, and was heavy and costly. The peasants did not use harrows. The two-wheeled plough was difficult to use on a hillside and the wheels would not allow it to work closely to trees and ditches. Some of the landowners were interested in the seed drill. Threshing machines were imported, one from a man named Baker in London, and a Mickle which proved the better of the two. A portable Garrett was looked upon favourably, and another machine made by a Swiss named Holleger was obtained, but such things were far beyond the financial capacity, perhaps even the desire, of the peasantry. The steam thresher from Regnaud Lodi of Nantes must have been even more costly.

Factories for the manufacture of implements were set up, one by the improving landlord Ridolfi, another by the Istituto Agrario

Pisano. By 1856 there were five principal factories making agricultural implements.

All over Europe the eighteenth century had heard the gospel of the Norfolk four-course rotation or, if not quite that, the gospel of the abolition of the fallow year. In Italy it had been preached by Campini in 1774. This procedure, in a pure or modified form, was widely adopted and the cropping of the fallow was the nexus of the so-called agricultural revolution. Ridolfi emphasized the necessity for doing this. He proposed a four-course rotation in place of the traditional three-course, although the latter was not the invariable practice. Ridolfi suggested (i) roots with weeding, (ii) maize or other cereal, (iii) trefoil, and (iv) maize or other cereal.

This goes to show that ideas for the improvement of farming had become nearly standardized all over western Europe. This is not to say that these ideas had been put into practice everywhere, and possibly landowners in Tuscany found a more embattled opposition than most others—not without some specious show of sweet reason on the part of the peasants. For all that, Farolfi has described the efforts made to make changes in the first half of the century and the considerable achievement that resulted. The plates depict the implements in use very clearly. The pious hope that Farolfi will undertake a similar study of the following hundred years, 1850–1950, may be voiced. This would be of the greatest value in view of the modern development of the province.

G. E. FUSSELL

J. H. NORRIS, *The Water-Powered Corn Mills of Cheshire*. Reprinted from the Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vols 75 and 76, 1955–6, Manchester, 1969. Illus. 37 pp. 75p;

K. J. ALLISON, *West Riding Water Mills*. East Yorkshire Local History Society Publication no. 26, 1970. Illus. 52 pp. 50p.

It is an odd fact bearing in mind its importance to basic food production, and no less significant its value as a school for many early engineers, that the corn-milling industry has received scant regard from economic historians. The only full-scale history of corn-milling relating

to Britain was published as long ago as 1899, and since then work on the subject from a purely historical standpoint has been sparse. It is, therefore, pleasing to note the appearance of two studies, one specifically on water corn-milling and the other on water-milling in general. Although both are essentially local studies, from the standpoint of the industrial archaeologist they are useful additions to the patchwork of milling history. Both quite naturally concentrate on technological aspects but at the same time throw some light on the general development of the milling industry.

The study by Mr Norris is clearly set out in traditional gazeteer form, listing nearly two hundred sites with varying amounts of information on each. Probably the most interesting feature to the general reader is the useful introductory section which explains the form and function of the various parts of water-mill construction and which helps give perspective to the gazeteer information. The inclusion of a number of particularly clear photographic illustrations is a further positive recommendation. A close analysis of the technical detail given bears out one point—that technological improvement in the industry was irregularly adopted and old methods persisted, often alongside new ones. Even the comparatively simple change to iron working-parts was delayed while existing methods continued the function.

Dr Allison's work on the East Riding follows a roughly similar format with historical introduction and gazeteer. As a piece of local history it has the edge on the previous work. A historical survey traces the development of water mills from the Middle Ages to the present day, while general conclusions of the survey precede the actual gazeteer. Here we are given more than merely technical information as Dr Allison follows milling history from the manorial soke mill, through the period of unbridled individual enterprise, to the decline of the local mill in the face of large-scale competition. An important point which emerges from this work is the adaptability of the water mill as a production unit when economic conditions changed. Mills could be switched out of corn-grinding into a vast number of alternative uses and vice versa.

It is unfortunate that little precise dating of changes in usage or rebuilding could be included in either work, although again Dr Allison's pamphlet scores better in this respect. Given the problems of structural and documentary survival, however, this omission is understandable. The value of the industrial archaeologist to the historian is in his assiduous collection of detail which provides the groundwork for assimilation and interpretation. Dr Allison has combined both disciplines to some extent and he and Mr Norris have certainly done their initial part of the job well. It is to be hoped that similar surveys of other areas will appear and that some historian will attempt to do justice to the general history of corn milling.

DAVID GRACE

GEORGE ORDISH, *The Great Wine Blight*. Dent, 1972. 237 pp. £2.75.

Mr Ordish, the bookjacket tells us, first became interested in the great wine blight when as a young man he worked on pest control in French vineyards. Now in this fascinating volume he has given us a full-length, illustrated study of the phylloxera aphid and its devastating effects on the French vine industry in the last third of the nineteenth century.

Along the way he digresses entertainingly and instructively on the botany of grapevines, the earlier problem posed by powdery mildew—a cause of the decline of wine production in Britain—and the vicissitudes of American grape culture. It was from America that the phylloxera came to Europe; but it was not until the 1860's, when the journey was shortened by railways and steamships, that infected cuttings could survive and spread destruction in Europe. By 1880, however, the pest had affected most of France's major wine-producing areas, and by 1890 it reached Champagne. Forty per cent of France's vines were destroyed, and some of the vineyards never recovered.

The author has the gift of making the technical aspects of his subject clear and interesting, and he is also at home in discussing the social and economic effects of the phylloxera. The chemical, land-flooding, and other methods of treatment that were tried could not succeed

economically, even when technically efficient, since foreign competition in the wine market made it impossible to pass the increased costs of cultivation on to consumers. Conservatism among French growers helped to delay the eventual solution, the introduction of resistant American vines on to which European stock could be grafted, and the area so planted grew rapidly only after 1883. Production of wine in France fell to low levels in the late eighties, when wine-growers' incomes were almost halved, and recovered only in the early 1900's. Vineyard values fell to a quarter in some areas but had returned to their former values by 1896. In 1890 only 60 per cent of the wine consumed in France and exported from the country was home-produced, the remainder being accounted for by imports and production of sugar and raisin wines. There was a considerable outflow of stricken *vignerons* from the affected provinces, and numbers emigrated to Algeria. Those who remained turned to other kinds of work, though some eventually went back to their vineyards if they could find the money for replanting.

Whether the new viticulture based on vines imported from the new world has affected the taste of French wine is an open and probably insoluble question. What is certain is that the eradication of the phylloxera resulted in much higher yields due to planting in richer land and to more scientific management, pruning, cultivation, and spraying. Mr Ordish concludes on the cheerful note that the new wines tend to be superior because production is now much more carefully carried out and controlled than in pre-phylloxera times. As we drink our wine, so he aptly suggests, we should pay tribute to the varied international group of intelligent men whose conquest of the wine blight was a triumph of patience, empiricism, and genius.

G. E. MINGAY

W. L. SACHSE, *Restoration of England 1660–1689*. C.U.P., 1971. 114 pp. £2.40.

This latest addition to the bibliographical handbooks associated with the Conference on British Studies has definite value for professional historians, though the time-scale is too short for economic history. Despite the occa-

sional slip (Miss Dunlop is twice described as Dunlap) the entries are sufficiently accurate to be used for reference and the selection is comprehensive and up to date.

Nevertheless, the spasmodic efforts by the compiler to describe the contents and grade the quality of entries are often unfortunate and the absence of comment on some important works suggest unfamiliarity with their contents. Thus Cullen's weighty study of Anglo-Irish trade evokes no comment, whereas Plum's *Restoration Puritanism* is modestly described as "somewhat inaccurate." Miss Priestley's article on the balance of trade with France is described as "concerned primarily with the cloth trade" and K. G. Davies' study of the Africa Company is listed as "important for African history." Miss Sutherland's article on the Law Merchant, we are told, has "not much on the period but useful in a general way." It is no surprise to be told that the *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* is "highly important for English concerns," but it is surprising to learn that Speck's brief polemic (1099) in *Past & Present* is an answer to Lawrence Stone, that Heckscher on Mercantilism and Herbert on the Livery Companies are standard authorities, and that the D.N.B. (listed under Stephen, Leslie) is obsolescent. Nor is it clear what significance or opprobrium is attached to the phrase "doctoral dissertation" as a description of Mason's *Gentlefolk in the Making*.

The criteria for inclusion and exclusion are sometimes uncertain. It is unlikely that historians will ever rush to read Lingard or Carritt or the strange assortment of titles on Monmouth's rebellion. An article of Sir George Clark in 1937 is listed, although it was completely absorbed into his *Science and Social Welfare* which is listed separately. A. E. Smith's article on transportation is included but not his full-length book on the subject. Letwin's study of Josiah Child is listed as a biography but its bibliographical warnings are ignored in another entry which lists one of Child's tracts. It is, moreover, difficult to believe that so many awkward ambiguities and abuses of the English language could be crammed into two pages of Preface. "Categorical arrangements" presumably refers to a system of classification and it is possible to reconstrue the meaning of

"in a bibliography such as this, the problem of selection is, of course, the thorniest one." But the statement that "in a sense no historical work is ever obsolete" is baffling.

RICHARD GRASSBY

PAMELA L. R. HORN, *Joseph Arch (1826-1919), the Farm Workers' Leader*. The Roundwood Press, Kington, 1971. x+262 pp. £3.75.

Historians of agricultural trade unionism have been forced to rely in the past on Joseph Arch's somewhat unreliable autobiography (1898), as edited by the egregious Countess of Warwick. Now we have a definitive life based securely on the surviving documentary evidence, newspaper reports, and parliamentary papers and free from the folksy hagiographical tone which increasingly afflicts even academic labour historians. It is true that even in his lifetime Arch's National Agricultural Labourers' Union withered away and appears in the later stages of its history to have existed almost entirely for the purpose of maintaining him in Parliament. Nevertheless, Arch's achievement was remarkable. He organized with great initial success a workforce scattered in ones and twos throughout the countryside and not massed in factories. British arable agriculture was in decline throughout his period of success and indeed as a result of Arch's overseas emigration policy his union deliberately thinned out the ranks of its supporters. It is a pity that Dr Horn does not link Arch's story more firmly to the background of the economic history of the time. For example, she does not point out that the union got off to a flying start during the boom of 1871-3, when for a short period full employment was attained and other trade unionists, such as the engineers, achieved notable successes. In view of the frequent mention of clerical opposition to the labourers' movement it is also sad that the Rev. Dr J. C. Cox, J.P., the Anglican champion of trade unionism among farmworkers and miners, is not given his clerical title. These are not serious defects, however, and Dr Horn is to be congratulated on a thorough and workmanlike biography of the Primitive Methodist hedger, ditcher, and temperance lecturer, who not only became the first farm worker to enter Parliament but also achieved a peculiarly

English apotheosis by having a public house named after him.

W. H. CHALONER

FRANK E. HUGGETT, *A Short History of Farming*. Macmillan, 1970, 63 pp. 50p; K. J. ALLISON, *Deserted Villages*. Macmillan, 1970, 64 pp. 50p.

Both these books are from the publisher's "Sources of History" series, pleasantly produced and illustrated with good, up-to-date references to further reading for each chapter.

One must be thankful that the results of modern research begin to percolate into such books as Mr Huggett's, designed presumably for the general reader and senior forms in schools. One is at least presented with a sensible time-scale of agricultural development and given some indication of the when and how of technological innovation. Nevertheless, it is not entirely possible to agree with the publisher that this is a "balanced history of farming from the earliest times." It begins with the manorial system and, though this is a sensible enough thing to do in a brief history, the eleventh century is scarcely the "earliest time" in this context (and were peripatetic landlords endlessly munching their way round their manors a characteristic of even the eleventh century?). Further, the book is not noticeably "balanced" chronologically or in subject matter. Very little is said about farming after 1870—from then till now is dismissed in two short pages. Mr Huggett, in fact, is less interested in farming than in agrarian social change and it is not easy to write about this in a balanced way without an exploration of the economic matrix in which change was formed fuller than that which Mr Huggett supplies.

K. J. Allison's introduction to *Deserted Villages* is wholly successful and quite admirable for its purpose. The documentary sources for detecting abandoned villages are carefully explained and clear examples provided. The various circumstances of depopulation are methodically traced. We would have been grateful for a fuller discussion of the distribution of such sites and the geographical factors involved, but there is an excellent chapter on excavating the sites which illustrates the opportunity provided by the deserted village for

studying the character of the medieval village in this country. Indeed, it throws some rather uncertain light also on the broad movements of economic change. Thus at the famous Wharram Percy site the "line of peasant houses" was extended in the thirteenth century, reflecting, however, not necessarily that "prosperity" which enabled the manor house to be moved at that time but a population growth which certainly did not bring universal prosperity to the peasant population. The thirteenth-century houses, however, were stone built, replacing earlier timber-built dwellings, while the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a reversion to building in wood. Does this represent a flow and ebb of prosperity or does it simply reflect the availability of timber as pressure on the land eased? This is a book by an enthusiast. There can be no doubt that some of the enthusiasm will rub off on the readers.

DAVID PECK

JACQUELINE MURRAY, *The First European Agriculture—a study of the osteological and botanical evidence until two thousand B.C.* Edinburgh U.P., 1970. 380 pp. £3.

This is an unusual book: it represents a Ph.D. thesis which is published with little alteration. I know this because I had occasion to refer to the thesis before the book came out. Such publication is useful in making the findings available in a wider sphere, but it has the disadvantage of being little more than a catalogue of evidence with minimum comment.

It therefore provides an excellent compilation and introduction for those about to specialize in this field, but is likely to be too detailed for the undergraduate or general reader. Literally all the evidence is presented from 1,000 excavations in 160 pages of tables listing bone and plant remains, seventy pages of frequency diagrams of bones from the main species at different sites, and five pages of maps, so that with a bibliography thirty pages long there are only 110 pages of text.

The author is not a biologist and so has not attempted to reassess what in many cases are old findings in the light of more recent knowledge. Although the bone frequency is expressed both as numbers and as the number of

individuals, the histogram scale is such that without tedious measurement with a ruler it is difficult to say whether or not sites differ in the proportions of the animals found and there appears to have been no analysis for statistical significance. Since the aim was a reference work, the diagrams have been separated from the text, and rightly no selection has been made, but it would have been easier for the reader if figures had been added to the diagrams.

Despite criticisms that can be levelled at the presentation, it can be fairly stated that the author has achieved her aim of presenting a digest of information available as a basis for new and more detailed studies. As such the book forms a unique work of reference. It is a pity that more detailed books of this nature are not published.

M. L. RYDER

RONALD WEBBER, *The Village Blacksmith*.

David & Charles, 1971. Illus. 160 pp. £2. The problem with this book is that it has nothing to recommend it, least of all the price. Despite the author's family connection with blacksmithing and his obvious first-hand knowledge of the trade, he has been content merely to relate "stories of the famous and infamous blacksmiths . . . with details of the legends, myths and spells and the intriguing mystique which surrounds the craft." This is a pity because the trade has had no proper treatment as yet, although even a very vague knowledge of history is likely to admit its importance. Mr Webber disposes of the complete history of the blacksmith in thirty-four pages, and after a description of the tools of the trade launches the reader into accounts of: 'Strange and Strong Smiths', 'Horseshoes as Charms', and 'Tales from the Smithy'—all written in a style which defies the reader to find any two consecutive paragraphs which even vaguely relate to one another. To confess that the academic peak is probably reached in the chapter on the blacksmiths of Gretna Green is to indicate the general level of this section of the book. The reader is left half-delighted with the prospect, indicated in the last chapter, that blacksmithing is a dying trade, if only for the reason that soon there will

be no subject to give rise to works like Mr Webber's. This book, in short, does a positive disservice to those agricultural historians who have striven to remove the folksy veneer which endangers the respectability of their subject. Even at a purely superficial level it is unsatisfactory for it adds little to that stock of semi-educative tales which seem to be necessary background knowledge for the weekend country-cottage dweller. As a general account of what was for centuries possibly the most important rural trade, it puts the clock back by twenty years or so on agricultural historical study.

DAVID GRACE

ENG. EUGEN MEWES (ed.), *TERRANOSTRA: culegere de materiale privind istoria agriculturii in romania*, vol. II, 1971. Illus. 436 pp. Ministry of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture & Water Management, Bucharest. (no price stated).

This is the second volume of an annual publication devoted to the history of agriculture in Romania, and allied subjects. There are no less than thirty odd essays ranging widely over the subject. Titles of these essays are given in Romanian and English, and English summaries are provided. Since it is obviously impossible to supply details or criticisms of all these, which the reviewer is not qualified to do, it will only be possible here to give some idea of the subjects discussed and thus indicate the great value of this collection, not only for itself, but because it reveals how much and how widespread are the interests in agricultural history in Romania as well as in other countries of eastern Europe. The point is emphasized by the introductory essay discussing the first national symposium on the history of agriculture in Romania held at Cluj in October 1969 when no less than eighty papers were presented.

In this volume of *Terra Nostra* the contributors have covered such widely varying ground as the development of Romanian agriculture in general at different times, agricultural tools depicted in Roman art and found in a deposit, types used in the feudal epoch, and the relation of technique and production in the nineteenth century. Also included the history of plant

husbandry, viticulture, and fruit growing as well as the biography of a celebrated fruit breeder.

Livestock, communal pasture, artificial insemination, and the centenary of veterinary science are connected subjects. Bee-keeping and sericulture are treated. Land improvement, produce processing, land transfer, science, statistics, co-operation, agrarian relations and economy, agrarian sociology and education as well as the problems confronting the research workers are other subjects discussed by the various authors. It is unfortunate that I can offer no critical judgements upon these papers because I have neither the linguistic nor historical knowledge required, so all I can do is to bring the publication to the notice of readers of the REVIEW in the hope that it may be serviceable as it certainly deserves to be.

G. E. FUSSELL

A. H. DODD, *Life in Wales*. Batsford, 1972. 166 pp., 107 illus. £1.80.

This book surveys Welsh social life from the time of the earliest Palaeolithic inhabitants down to the present day. All branches of human activity—economic, political, cultural, and religious—are touched upon. Professor Dodd succeeds admirably in this difficult undertaking and presents us with a lively, sensitive history of the Welsh past. The book is a model of balanced judgement and compression. Only in the epilogue 'Wales since 1914' do we meet with inadequacy, the story being told in a mere six pages.

The sections on economic development provide a useful synthesis. The discussion of early nineteenth-century labour problems in the emerging industries of the south-east, however, is hardly satisfactory without reference to the recent researches of Gwyn A. Williams and D. J. V. Jones into the Merthyr Riots of 1831. (Similarly in his survey of nineteenth-century politics Professor Dodd falls short in failing to incorporate the new research findings of Ieuan Gwynedd Jones with its promising sociological enquiries into the rise of Welsh democracy.) The rural scene is excellently surveyed and certain passages carry valuable insights. Thus in mentioning

the influence of the Irish example on Welsh tenurial relations Professor Dodd observes: "But the Welsh landlord, if anglicised, was neither absentee nor alien, nor was the Welsh peasant as downtrodden as the Irish." Again, his conclusion that the general absence of disturbances in Wales in 1830 was "partly because the farmer was in little better plight than the labourer, partly because of Methodist exhortations to patience in adversity and obedience to authority" is exactly right, although he might have mentioned the lack of corn production in most of the Principality which meant that the grievance felt in the south of England against the threshing-machine was largely absent. Two points are open to doubt: the agricultural societies founded at the close of the eighteenth century probably had less influence than the author claims; and it is doubtful whether the Welsh smallholder suffered more severely after 1814 than the larger English corn farmer, given the cheaper feed inputs for cattle and the large element of family labour assisting the smallholder in riding out the run of low prices.

This book, if sometimes old-fashioned in its treatment of the nineteenth century, is admirably comprehensive and provides us with the best overall introduction to the history of Wales. The many illustrations add to its value.

DAVID W. HOWELL

W. J. HUGHES, *A Century of Traction Engines*. David & Charles, 3rd edn, 1970. ix + 262 pp. 181 illus. £1.50.

This is a book to gladden the hearts of all lovers of "steam," and is probably already in the hands of a great many of them since it was first published in 1959. The rather numerous traction engine clubs scattered about the country are however continuing to expand, and there should consequently be an increasing public for it. But it is not only this rather esoteric group to which it should make an appeal. It cannot fail to be appreciated by the agricultural and economic historian whose interest is in the technical revolution (if such an over-worked term may be used) of the past century and a half.

A practical steam carriage was designed by

Trevithick in 1801 and was used on the road. The bodywork owed some debt to the horse-drawn vehicle of the time, but though it was a forerunner it was never extensively used. It was not until the 1840's that a machine was produced, not for carrying passengers, but for haulage work. It was first constructed as a portable engine, that is a steam engine on wheels, and was soon made into a self-propelled vehicle. This was the genesis of an engine that was to pass through many vagaries of design and was to play a great part in farm work, ploughing, threshing, and so on, as well as in road haulage. The latter was the first to be done, agricultural use only becoming possible with the designs of the 1850's.

The Boydell Endless Railway was in some sort similar to or possibly the progenitor of the track-laying tractor and the tank as was the much later Pedrail, which so much engaged the imagination of H. G. Wells. For ploughing etc. the best remembered designs are those which used cable haulage, but there was a great many of not very successful, though much discussed, attempts at rotary cultivation in the second half of the nineteenth century, which enabled Wren Hoskyns to indulge in a deal of cutting satire.

Most of the book naturally deals with road haulage. Some quite remarkable achievements were accomplished in this task, quite impossible loads being successfully carried, or perhaps it would be better to say transported, not only in this country, but in such places as India and Turkey.

For the engineer, Mr Hughes has supplied a notable amount of details of the construction of the machines made by the various manufacturers. This is a book which should have a large audience composed of a number of classes of readers with widely differing interests.

G. E. FUSSELL

J. BAILEY and G. CULLEY, *General View of the Agriculture of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland*. With introduction by D. J. Rowe. Frank Graham, 6 Queen's Terrace, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE2 2PL, 1972. xxiv + 361 pp. £3.50.

This volume is a reprint of the third (1805) edition of the old Board of Agriculture's

report on the three most northerly English counties. Competently produced with the original illustrations and a new introduction, it is agreeable to note that the book is much more reasonably priced than other similar volumes which have appeared in recent years.

As Dr Rowe points out in his introduction, a number of the Board's reports were compiled by authors of doubtful proficiency, whose acquaintance with the county concerned was very limited. This was true, for instance, of the reporter on Westmorland, A. Pringle, of whose qualifications Marshall wrote "I am not so fortunate as to possess the smallest knowledge." Pringle's report is included in this volume, together with that by Bailey and Culley on Cumberland: a production almost equally brief and largely based on the author's recollections and a short refresher visit to the county. Their report on Northumberland, however, was much fuller and even received a rare encomium from Marshall, who grimly warned that "in going the round of the Board's Reports, we shall not see its like again."

In addition to commenting on the Board's ill-considered procedures for the reports, and the validity of Marshall's strictures, Dr Rowe has some interesting material on the career of the Culley brothers and on that of George Culley's less well-known collaborator, John Bailey. (Bailey's own report on Durham appeared in 1810.) Bailey and Culley were exceptionally well fitted to report on Northumberland, or at least on the northern part of the county which they knew well, Bailey more on the estate management and technical side, and Culley as a successful general farmer who had made a special study of livestock. Highly competent in land surveying and mathematics, Bailey became estate steward for the Earl of Tankerville who owned extensive properties in the county; he was also important for his work on the plough design and advances in agricultural machinery. George Culley, along with his brother Matthew, was an early pupil of Robert Bakewell. In 1767 the brothers moved to northern Northumberland and there established farms which became centres of advanced practices, especially in sheep breeding. They attracted visitors and

pupils, and spent much time on tours to collect information on new farming methods. George Culley's book on livestock became a standard work, and both brothers prospered so well as to become considerable purchasers of land, concluding with the acquisition of Fowberry Tower, purchased in 1807 from Sir Francis Blake for £45,000.

Despite the encouragement which in their various ways Bailey and the two Culleys gave to Northumberland farming, there was nevertheless a marked technological gap between the advanced practices of the northern districts, where they were influential, and the conditions elsewhere in the county. As late as 1851 it was remarked that "a great part of the county . . . is as little drained and as badly farmed as any district . . . in England." Evidently this county report, like many others, had done little to advance the cause of improvement despite the competence of its authors. As Dr Rowe concludes, they "were preaching to the converted."

G. E. MINGAY

W. A. MAGUIRE, *The Downshire Estates in Ireland 1801-1845*. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1972. ix+284 pp. £6.

Detailed examinations of individual estates are not plentiful, even for England, where the mine of estate archives has now been worked for a good many years; they are even scarcer for Ireland—the more reason to welcome Dr Maguire's thorough and scholarly study of the Downshire estates.

These particular estates make an excellent subject, not only because of their vast size, but also because they extended into southern Ireland as well as in the north, so allowing comparisons and contrasts to be drawn. The Downshire properties stretched in fact to over 120,000 acres, producing a gross income of £30,000 in 1801, and £70,000 in the 1840's. The rapid growth of the rental owed something to extensions of the acreage, but more to the falling in of long leases. Net income was proportionately higher than in comparable estates in England because, although a conscientious landlord, Lord Downshire (like other Irish landlords) spent relatively smaller amounts on repairs and improvements.

The change in estate policy away from long leases and towards tenancies at will was a feature of the Downshire estates in this period. The change resulted partly from a disinclination to grant leases merely for political reasons, but partly from more pertinent economic and agricultural factors. As in England, the post-war depression and the subsequent fluctuations in prices made for a greater wariness of leases, and it was also relevant that the tenantry had confidence in their landlord, and felt that the value of their tenant right was secure. Lord Downshire himself remarked that the high price of the tenant right on his property—up to £40 per acre—showed that tenants did not really need leases. Among other considerations was the difficulty of ascertaining the date of the last death in a lease held for lives. This was particularly serious when leases changed hands and numerous people were emigrating, though a number of the lives were "persons of some rank": George III, for instance, was a life in many leases, and a very good one from the tenant's point of view.

Dr Maguire remarks that the lease did not cease to be an instrument of improvement but tended to become more a reward for improvement done, and an encouragement to continue it. Unfortunately, the long lease often had the effect of encouraging excessive subdivision of holdings, with deplorable effects on the farming. But contrary to the view of some demographers, there is no evidence that landlords encouraged subdivision in order to increase their rents; rather, the evidence of the estate records suggests that it was the pressure of population which led to subdivision carried out without the landlord's knowledge or consent.

Indeed, this important study indicates the need for a re-assessment of the much-maligned Irish landlord. Certainly Lord Downshire spent little on improvements, but then his tenants were widely ignorant of better husbandry, and were even hostile to such changes. The pressure of population was the major force in the rise of rents, while long leases were treated as a licence to subdivide rather than an encouragement to improve. As the author argues, the study of estate records may provide a new perspective of the Irish

problem, and may well reinforce the doubts that modern authorities now feel about the sinister role traditionally assigned to the Irish landlord before the Famine. What finally emerges is this: "serious economic and social

problems existed, of a sort that landowners were not primarily responsible for creating, and with which even the most sympathetic of them could not adequately deal."

G. E. MINGAY

Shorter Notices

C. C. WRIGLEY, *Crops and Wealth in Uganda*. O.U.P., 1970. xi + 84 pp. Map. £1.80

The development of commercial agriculture in Uganda is a very recent process, and this study is concerned with tracing the growth of its export-crop economy since its beginnings in the early years of this century. The effects on the country's people of the cultivation of cotton and coffee are considered for the period up to the 1950's, and the gains and losses in material and social terms are briefly discussed in a well-balanced treatment.

ALAN MAYHEW, *Rural Settlement and Farming in Germany*. Batsford, 1973. 224 pp. 8 plates, 26 figures. £4.

This first volume in the Batsford Historical Geography series deals concisely with the geography of German settlement and gives a systematic account of the forms of settlement and farming. The major controversies over these matters are briefly analysed, and the discussion is clearly illustrated by maps, diagrams, and photographs. The book concentrates on the Middle Ages, particularly between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the treatment of later periods is more limited and selective. Nevertheless, the book provides a useful survey of German agricultural developments down to the nineteenth century, and there is an extensive bibliography.

THOMAS T. POLEMAN, *Employment, Population, and Food: the new hierarchy of development problems*. Stanford, California: Stanford University, 1972. 26 pp. 3 diagrams. \$1.

A wide-ranging Malthusian discussion of world food supplies and food demands, as

illuminated by the FAO's *World Food Surveys* and other material, forms the basis of this brief reprint from volume XI of *Food Research Institute Studies in Agricultural Economics, Trade, and Development*. Professor Poleman uses figures from Ceylon to bring out the nature of the crisis that is occurring in the developing countries as population growth and movement of peasants from the land to the cities create high levels of unemployment. The "green revolution," he argues, should not be seen as a panacea, while the successful introduction of family planning depends on achievement of improved living levels, and so does not reach the rural poor and urban unemployed who tend to multiply at former levels. His conclusion is not, therefore, an optimistic one, and he suggests as a solution a massive effort to stimulate demand in order to create employment and better standards of living.

DAVID C. SMITH, *A history of Lumbering in Maine 1861-1960*. Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1972. Illus. xvi + 469 pp. \$9.

Timber and timber products are central factors in Maine history, and Professor Smith provides a detailed account of logging in the state during the hundred years after 1860. Among the topics discussed are the logger's life and work in the forests, the growth of the paper-mills with the consequent struggle for control of the rivers, and the fight for establishing a state forestry and conservation policy. Attention is also paid to Maine's broader economy and social structure, and the impact of the depression of the 1930's and the Second World War.

ROY PALMER (ed.), *The Painful Plough: a portrait of the agricultural labourer in the nineteenth century from folk songs and ballads and contemporary accounts*. C.U.P., 1973. Illus. 64 pp. 80p.

The life of the agricultural labourer in the nineteenth century was not so grim that he dare not give voice to his feelings, as this collection of folk-songs and ballads is witness. The commentary and illustrations set off the songs nicely, and teachers may find the book useful as a source of material for reading, singing, discussion, and study. The sources of the songs are given, together with a list of recordings, and a brief foreword is contributed by Mr E. P. Thompson. Some of the songs have been handed down through the generations while others were specially composed to mark current events, even down to the 1880's. Yet other songs were written for labourers to sing to well-known tunes at their meetings in the 1870's. Such a one began with the following verse:

"Come all you bold fellows that follow
the plough,
Either hedging or ditching or milking
the cow;
The time has arrived and the Union flag
waves:
We won't be kept down like a lot of white
slaves."

ROBERT W. CROWN and EARL O. HEADY, *Policy Integration in Canadian Agriculture*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State U.P., 1972. x+238 pp. \$8.50.

The second half of the book deals in rather technical economic language with the future of Canadian farm policy, and outlines a new approach to the problems of supporting and stabilizing farm incomes. The first half provides a brief survey of the development of farm policies from the First World War, with chapters on the economic and political weaknesses of the various measures that have been introduced since that time.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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University of Reading

Institute of Agricultural History and Museum of English Rural Life

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Accessions of historical farm records.

This list gives brief details of historical farm records and other records of agricultural interest collected by the Museum of English Rural Life up to the end of March 1970. 20pp.

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15p

Museum Procedure: Conservation, materials and methods as used in the Museum of English Rural Life. 17 pp.

35p

CRICHTON, Ruth. *Commuters Village.*

David & Charles, 1964. 109 pp. £1.05

Fussell, G. E.: *a bibliography of his writings on agricultural history.* vii + 34 pp. Over 500 entries.

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WHETHAM, E. H. *The London milk trade, 1900-1930.* (Research paper no. 3) 16 pp.

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WHITE, K. D. *A bibliography of Roman agriculture.* xxviii + 63 pp. An annotated 918-reference bibliography on Roman agriculture; together with a 10,000 word introduction.

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Prices do not include postage. Obtainable from the Museum of English Rural Life, The University, Whiteknights, Reading RG6 2AG

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By J. G. Brewer

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