THE

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW



a journal of agricultural and rural history

Volume 67, Part I
2019

Agricultural History Review
Volume 67 Part I 2019

CONTENTS

Notes on contributors		iii
Forthcoming conferences		iv
Outgrowing the Dark Ages: agrarian productivity in Carolingian Europe re-evaluated	JONATHAN JARRETT	1
The housing of peasant livestock in England, 1200–1520	CHRISTOPHER DYER	29
Peasants' labour obligations for the lords' forests: another form of corvée in the *Gutsherrschaft* of Prussian monarchs, 1763–1850	TAKASHI IIDA	51
Shifts in agrarian entrepreneurship in mid-Victorian England and Wales	PIERO MONTEBRUNO, ROBERT J. BENNETT, CARRY VAN LIESHOUT, HARRY SMITH AND MAX SATCHELL	71
'Sweet Public Lands': The open-range sheep industry of Nevada and its legal dimension in the late nineteenth century	IKER SAITUA	105
Annual list of publications on Agrarian History, 2017	PETER MCSHANE	124

Book Reviews

Mark McKerracher, *Farming transformed in Anglo-Saxon England. Agriculture in the long eighth century*	PAUL STAMPER	137
Moira Coleman (ed.), *Household Inventories of Helmingham Hall, 1597–1741*	ELIZABETH GRIFFITHS	138

Jennifer S. Holt (ed.), *The Hornby Castle Estates: Agrarian change from the 1582 Survey to the 1751 Sederunt*	ALAN WADSWORTH	139
Malcolm Dick and Elaine Mitchell (eds), *Gardens and green spaces in the West Midlands since 1700*	LIZZIE ROGERS	140
James Hunter, *Set adrift upon the world: The Sutherland Clearances*	ANDREW G. NEWBY	141
Edward Bujak, *English landed society in the Great War: defending the realm*	GARY WILLIS	142
Michael Tichelar, *The failure of land reform in twentieth-century England. The triumph of private property*	KATRINA NAVICKAS	144
David Johnson, *Lime kilns: history and heritage*	ANGUS J. L. WINCHESTER	145
Jan Klápště (ed.), *Ruralia X. Agrarian technology in the medieval landscape*	R. W. HOYLE	146
Diane Chamboduc de Saint Pulgent and Marie Dejoux (eds), *La fabrique des sociétés médiévales méditerranéennes. Les Moyen Age de François Menant*	CHRISTOPHER DYER	148
Kym Anderson and Vicente Pinilla (eds), *Wine globalization: a new comparative history*	ANDREW W. M. SMITH	149
Nancy K. Berlage, *Farmers helping farmers. The rise of the Farm and Home Bureaus, 1914–1935*	ANNE EFFLAND	150
David Soto Fernández and José Miguel Lana Berasáin (eds), *Del pasado al futuro como problema: la historia agraria contemporánea española en el siglo xxi*	CARLOS SANTIAGO-CABALLERO	151
Paul Warde, Libby Robin and Sverker Sörlin, *The environment: a history of the idea*	JAMES P. BOWEN	152
Carole L. Crumley, Tommy Lennartson and Anna Westin (eds), *Issues and concepts in historical ecology: the past and future of landscapes and regions*	TOM WILLIAMSON	154

Notes on Contributors

ROBERT BENNETT is Professor Emeritus and Research Director in Geography at the University of Cambridge, UK. His research covers SME policy, economic development, the history of entrepreneurship, chambers of commerce, and business associations. His recent books include *The History of Chambers of Commerce* 1760–2011 (OUP, 2011), *Documents of the First Chambers of Commerce in Britain And Ireland, 1767–1839* (British Academy, Documents in Economic and Social History, 2018), *Entrepreneurship, small business and public policy* (Routledge, 2014), and journal papers, including *Economic History Review*, *Business History*, and *Imperial and Commonwealth History*.

CHRISTOPHER DYER is Emeritus Professor of History in the University of Leicester, having previously occupied chairs in medieval social history at Birmingham and local and regional history at Leicester. He was author of *A Country Merchant* (2012) and co-editor of *Peasants and their fields* (2018). He publishes articles and essays on economic and social history, landscape history and archaeology, often combining these disciplines. Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester, 5 Salisbury Rd, Leicester, LE1 7QR. Email: cd50@leicester.ac.uk.

TAKASHI IIDA is Professor of Economic History at Keio University, Tokyo. He has worked on demesne lordship (*Gutsherrschaft*) in Brandenburg-Prussia and published *Ruppiner Bauernleben 1648–1806* (Berlin: Lukas, 2010) and 'The practice of timber granting from lords to peasants', *Agricultural History* 87 (2013). He is conducting joint research comparing Prussian/European and Japanese/East Asian historical paths (*c*.1500–1900) and recently contributed to M. Tanimoto and R. Bin Wong (eds.), *Public goods provision in the early modern economy: comparative perspectives from Japan, China, and Europe* (California: UC Press, 2019). Email: tiida@econ.keio.ac.jp

JONATHAN JARRETT is Lecturer in Early Medieval History at the University of Leeds. A varied career has left him with several research interests, with one strand in charters and diplomatic, particularly of the Iberian Peninsula and most of all the area of modern-day Catalonia, and another in the numismatics and monetary history of the late Roman and Byzantine Empire and the post-Roman West. He has publications across these areas, including the monograph *Rulers and Ruled in Frontier Catalonia, 880–1010* and the edited volume (with Allan Scott McKinley), *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*. His interests coincide in themes of power, authority and consensus and he is currently pursuing these themes through a wide-ranging collaborative and comparative project entitled 'Rethinking the Medieval Frontier'. Address: School of History, University of Leeds, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds LS2 9JT. Email: j.jarrett@leeds.ac.uk

PIERO MONTEBRUNO is a Research Associate at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, UK. He holds a PhD in economic geography, with research interests in entrepreneurship, surrogacy, and slums, and heavy-tailed distributions. He has published articles in journals, including *Physica A*, and *Business History*.

IKER SAITUA is a Basque Government Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of History at the University of California, Riverside. He holds a PhD from the University of Nevada, Reno. His work focuses largely on the intersections between agricultural labor, natural resources, and livestock raising in the American West. Saitua's first book, *Basque Immigrants and Nevada's Sheep Industry: Geopolitics and the Making of an Agricultural Workforce, 1880–1954* (University of Nevada Press, 2019), offers a critical examination of the history of Basque sheepherders in the West. Address: Department of History, 1212 HMNSS Building, University of California, Riverside, 900 University Avenue, Riverside, CA 92521 (United States). Email: isaitua@ucr.edu

MAX SATCHELL is a Research Associate at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, UK and Ph.D. in medieval history from Oxford. He is an expert in historical geo-mapping and GIS, who has provided technical inputs into a wide range of historical projects, most recently on British parish, administrative and other boundaries, transport infrastructure, occupational structure, land classification, and disease in the past including leprosy in Britain (*c*.1000–1700). He has published in various journals including *Explorations in Economic History* and *Social Science and Medicine*.

HARRY SMITH is a Research Associate at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, UK. He is a historian with interests in 18th and 19th century social and economic history, entrepreneurship, and the history of class and towns (especially Birmingham). He has published articles in *Business History*, *Midland History* and other journals

CARRY VAN LIESHOUT is a Research Associate at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, UK. She is a historical geographer with interests in gender, entrepreneurship, and natural resources. She has published in various journals, including *The London Journal* and *Geopolitics*.

Forthcoming conferences

Rural History 2019

This conference, following on from the successful conferences held in Brighton (2010), Bern (2013), Girona (2015), and Leuven (2017), will take place in Paris, from Tuesday 10 to Friday 13 September 2019.

Registration is now open.
The deadline for early bird registration is 7 June.
Details are available on the conference web site at ruralhistory2019.ehess.fr.

British Agricultural History Society Winter Conference 2019

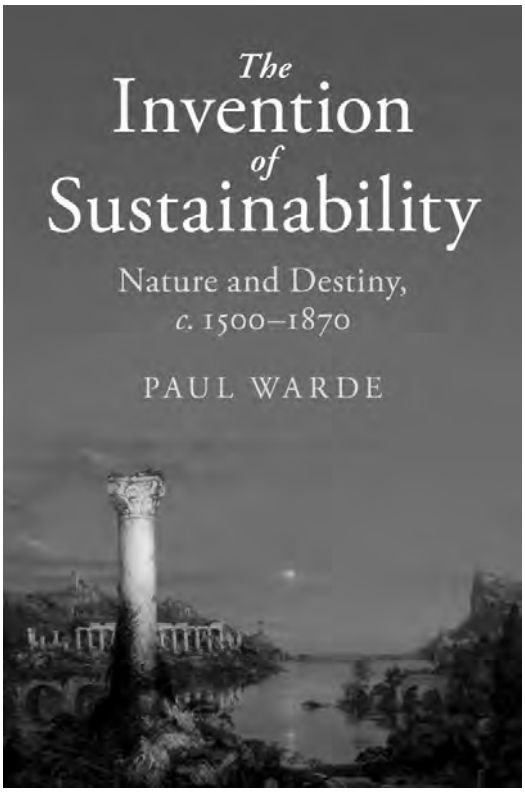
In Memory of the Life and Work of Professor Alun Howkins (1947–2018)

This conference will be held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, on Saturday 7 December.

Details of the conference will be circulated to members and made available on the Society's web site at www.bahs.org.uk.

Joan Thirsk Memorial Prize

The Joan Thirsk Memorial Prize was awarded at this year's Spring Conference to Paul Warde for his book, *The Invention of Sustainability,* published by Cambridge University Press.



Presenting the prize, the President of the Society, Dr John Broad said, 'There were more entries for this year's Joan Thirsk prize than ever before, the standard was high, and the judges found a great deal of interest in them all. Nevertheless, they were unanimous in awarding the prize to Paul Warde for his lively and well-written book, *The Invention of Sustainability: Nature and Destiny, c.1500–1870*, which uses the printed literature of Britain and many other European countries to show how ideas of a sustainable rural economy – forestry as well as agriculture – developed from the early modern period through to the mid-nineteenth century. Its concern is with agricultural writers and with European-wide linkages, and its success is both relevant to contemporary concerns and apt: these are themes that Joan Thirsk discussed and wrote about throughout her life.'

Outgrowing the Dark Ages: agrarian productivity in Carolingian Europe re-evaluated*

by Jonathan Jarrett

Abstract

Despite numerous studies that stand against it, there remains a textbook consensus that agriculture in the early Middle Ages was unusually low in productive capacity compared to the Roman and high medieval periods. The persistence of this view of early medieval agriculture can in part be explained by the requirement of a progress narrative in medieval economic history but is also attributable to the continuing influence of the work of Georges Duby. Duby's view rested on repeated incorrect or inadequate readings of his source materials, which this article deconstructs. Better figures for early medieval crop yields are available which remove any evidential basis for a belief that early medieval agriculture was poorer in yield than that of later eras. The cliché of low early medieval yields must therefore be abandoned and a different basis for economic development be sought.

A relatively recent textbook of medieval history includes the following two sentences: 'By modern standards, Carolingian crop yields were abysmally low. Today a farmer can expect to reap between twenty-five to thirty berries of grain for every seed planted; a Carolingian farmer could expect from about two to four.'[1] Of course, there is a long historical tradition of viewing the Middle Ages as benighted, primitive and superstitious, so as to show better our modern escape from these conditions. Popular clichés about medieval standards of bathing, childcare, life expectancy, justice and hostility to enquiry abound, circulating on the Internet and in

* This article has been in development for a long time, during which time I have been employed by the Universities of Oxford, Birmingham and Leeds, from all of whose resources I have profited. An early version was presented as a paper at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University in 2011. I was able to attend this thanks to a Foreign Travel Award from the British Academy, which I obtained with the ready support of Professor Dame Janet Nelson, for which I was and remain very grateful. Many of the comments I received there, especially from Mr Curt Emanuel, were useful in prompting the further development of the paper; I owe thanks for them all. In the subsequent work on the paper, comments from Professor Chris Wickham were invaluable in showing me the direction it needed to take and indeed some of the crucial evidence, and those of Dr Rebecca Darley have also been important in helping me think and in saving the reader from the worst of my academic excesses. Lastly, Professor Richard Hoyle and the anonymous reviewers of the article provided many useful references and thoughts, for which I owe them thanks. None of these people can bear any blame for the faults that remain, which are entirely my own.

[1] Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz and Richard Gerberding, *Medieval worlds: an introduction to European history, 300–1492* (2004), p. 162.

works of popular history like Manchester's *A world lit only by fire*. The quote just singled out is not such an instance, however; not only was it written by established medievalists, but also, in this textbook, it is specifically the early Middle Ages that are singled out for opprobrium. A few pages later we are told that in the high Middle Ages, 'the yield from fields increased – from a very feeble grain to seed ratio of 1.5 to 2:1 in Carolingian times to 6:1 by the thirteenth century'. Neither is this the only textbook (nor indeed work of academic history) in which this supposed fact can be found.[2]

As an investigation of this instance, but also others, quickly makes clear, the common ancestor of almost all such statements is the work of Georges Duby.[3] While he did not originate the figures quoted, he is the most cited source of them. Moreover, not only was his particular use of them accompanied with supporting evidence from a wider area of Europe than previous usages (i.e. from Italy and England as well as from northern France and the Low Countries); it was also built into a convincing edifice of economic history with considerable explanatory power. His work was quickly and widely translated, in editions that are still in print today. Yet almost as soon as Duby's work had been generally received, rebuttals of it began to emerge, and the consensus among agricultural historians of the areas from which Duby drew his evidence is now very largely that he was wrong.[4] Why then do we still find this cliché repeated for each new generation of students to absorb, and for each new general history of the period written by anyone from outside the field of north-western European agricultural history to accept and incorporate?

This article sets out to address these questions and attempts to deliver a more lethal blow to the Duby case than has hitherto been inflicted. It will be shown in what follows not only why such pessimistic readings of the early medieval evidence have been mistaken, but that better figures either do exist or can be derived from that evidence – not the figures we might wish to have, but figures more accurate than those in circulation, and which allow us to mount a more sensible comparison of early medieval and high medieval agricultural productivity – and

[2] William Manchester, *A world lit only by fire. The medieval mind and the Renaissance: portrait of an age* (1992); cf. Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and sovereignty: how ideas of feudalism and secularization govern the politics of time* (2008), for a suggestion of why such narratives have been so seductive. Other instances of our non-fact: Robert Fossier, *L'enfance de l'Europe: X–XIIe siècles* (1982), p. 615; Norman Pounds, *An economic history of medieval Europe* (sec. edn, 1994), p. 198; Kathy Lynne Roper Pearson, *Conflicting loyalties in early medieval Bavaria: a view of socio-political interaction, 680–900* (1999), pp. 76–7; Marcel Mazoyer and Laurence Roudart, *A history of world agriculture: from the neolithic age to the current crisis* (2006), p. 281 and n. 10. The second quote: Moran and Gerberding, *Medieval worlds*, p. 223.

[3] The only relevant work in the bibliography of Moran and Gerberding, *Medieval worlds*, is Georges Duby, *The early growth of the European economy: warriors and peasants from the seventh to the twelfth century*, trans. Howard B. Clarke (1974); see n. 7 below.

[4] Perhaps the most recent round-up of the literature in this area is Jean-Pierre Devroey and Anne Nissen, 'Early Middle Ages, 500–1000', in Erik Thoen *et al.* (eds), *Struggling with the environment: Land use and productivity* (Rural Economy and Society in North-Western Europe, 500–2000, 4, 2015), pp. 11–68 at pp. 51–5), but for older consensus to the same effect see Yoshiki Morimoto, 'Autour du grand domaine carolingien: aperçu critique de recherches récentes sur l'histoire rurale du haut Moyen Âge (1987–1992)', in Adriaan Verhulst and Y. Morimoto (eds), *Économie rurale et économie urbaine au Moyen Âge. Landwirtschaft und Stadtswirtschaft im Mittelalter* (Publications du Centre belge d'histoire rurale 108, 1994), pp. 25–79, repr. in Morimoto, *Études sur l'économie rurale du haut Moyen Âge: historiographie, régime domanial, polyptyques carolingiens* (Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 25, 2008), pp. 81–132 (82–6 of the reprint). Further references are given below.

that this requires historians in general to rethink the overall narrative of Duby's work. It is argued here that not only is there is no adequate basis on which to claim that Carolingian-era agriculture, or early medieval agriculture more generally, was less effective or productive than the agriculture of the periods before or after it, there is an argument to be made that it was as productive or even more so, and thus, to question any narrative of progress based on the transition from low to high yields in the medieval period.

All of this, however, necessarily entails some kind of answer to the question posed above, why the idea of Carolingian agricultural productivity persists, and indeed, given that persistence, why this attempt to undermine it should be any more successful than those hitherto, and it is with these issues that I shall begin.[5]

I

It is worth beginning with Duby's own words (or at least those into which Howard B. Clarke rendered them), so that the object and its basis are clear in the discussion. In the book known to the English-reading world as *The early growth of the European economy*, we find the following:

> One solitary document provides numerical data on this score: one, moreover, whose interpretation is an extremely delicate matter. This is the survey of the royal manor of Annapes [*sic*]. It contains estimates on the one hand of the amounts of grain still held in store at the time of the inquiry, that is during the winter between the autumn and the spring sowings; and on the other hand of those that had just been sown. A comparison of the two sets of figures shows that, on the main farm, it had been necessary to set aside for the new sowings 54 per cent of the previous spelt harvest, 60 per cent of the wheat, 62 per cent of the barley and the whole of the rye harvest. This is another way of saying that the yields of these four cereal crops for that year had respectively been 1.8, 1.7, 1.6 and lastly 1.0 to 1 – in other words, nil. These ratios are so low that many historians have refused to accept that they could ever have corresponded to reality. But it should be remembered that the year to which these estimates apply had produced a poor harvest, worse at any rate than the preceding year's, for substantial quantities of barley and spelt remained in reserve from that particular harvest. Further, production was slightly higher on the subsidiary farms of the central manor, where the barley yield succeeded in reaching 2.2 to 1. But it is clear from other sources that yields of this order, between 1.6 to 1 and 2.2 to 1, were far from being exceptional in early agriculture … The Lombard monastery of St Giulia of Bréscia [*sic*], which consumed some 6,600 measures of grain annually, would have 9,000 sown to cover its needs, which means that the return normally available to the lord was being estimated at 1.7 to 1. On one manor of the Parisian abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés, where 650 measures of corn had been sown on the lord's fields, threshing services imposed on dependent peasants were fixed in anticipation of a surplus of 400 measures. Here again the expected yield was approximately 1.6 to 1.[6]

[5] This question was posed by an anonymous reviewer of this article; I hope that the following answers it.

[6] Duby, *Early growth*, p. 28.

Slightly more detail is given in Duby's earlier and larger *Rural economy and country life in the medieval West*, which is quoted below, but the essential sources of his data are clear here (if unreferenced): the manor of Annappes, in modern-day France, whose stocks of produce were recorded in a text underlying the Carolingian estate survey models known as the *Brevium exempla* at around AD 800; the Italian monastery of Santa Giulia di Brescia, or San Salvatore as it was called when the inventory or polyptych that provided Duby's figures was compiled around 900; and the large monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in modern-day France, whose polyptych was compiled around 820. All of these Duby first deployed together at a conference in Spoleto in 1966 before incorporating them into the two books whence they are cited here.[7]

Of these different sources, Saint-Germain-des-Prés was perhaps the only one which had not previously been used to generate a picture of early medieval agriculture. The Italian source material had been explored by Gino Luzzato, upon whose arithmetic Duby relied in *Rural Economy*, and the Annappes survey had already been exploited, and much disputed, not least by B. H. Slicher van Bath; the latter was also present at the Spoleto conference, and his debate with Duby is published in the conference proceedings.[8] Duby's particular contribution, therefore, was to bring all these together and to make from them a synthesis.

In doing this, he relied not just on this material, but comparative material from the High Middle Ages which he knew better, perhaps better than anyone: yield figures from the commanderies of the Hospitaller Grand Priory of Saint-Gilles, in Provence, from 1338.[9] By the time he wrote his books these could also be supported by figures from English estates, especially those of the bishopric of Winchester, which would emerge in full a few years later.[10] However, whereas these figures were directly recorded medieval data on crop yields, the early figures were not; they were only data from which such yields might be inferred. It is in that process that Duby's own assumptions about the dynamic of medieval history seem to have interfered.

[7] Georges Duby, 'Le problème des techniques agricoles', in *Agricoltura e mondo rurale in Occidente nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 13, 1966), pp. 267–84; Duby, *L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'occident médiéval (France, Angleterre, Empire, IX–XV siècles)* (1964), trans. Cynthia Postan as *Rural economy and country life in the medieval West* (1968), pp. 25–7 of the translation; Duby, *Guerriers et paysans, VII–XIIe siècle: premier essor de l'économie européenne* (1973), trans. Clarke as Duby, *Early growth*, pp. 25–9 of the translation.

[8] Gino Luzzatto, 'Mutamenti nell'economia agraria italiana dalla caduta dei Carolingi al principio del sec. XI', in Giuseppe Ermini (ed.), *I problemi comuni dell'Europa post-carolingia* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 2, 1955), pp. 601–22; B. H. Slicher van Bath, 'Le climat et les récoltes en haut moyen âge' in *Agricoltura*, pp. 399–428. Another important contribution to Duby's use of the Annappes figures was Philip Grierson, 'The identity of the unnamed fiscs in the «Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales»', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 18 (1939), pp. 437–61, although Duby would arrive at quite different conclusions with respect to cereal yields.

[9] Georges Duby, 'La seigneurie et l'économie paysanne. Alpes du Sud, 1338', *Études rurales*, 2 (1961), pp. 5–36, repr. in Duby, *Hommes et structures du moyen âge* (Le savoir historique, 1, 1973), pp. 167–201; used without reference in Duby, *Rural economy*, pp. 99–101; see now Benoît Beaucage, 'Les Alpes du Sud en 1338. Sur les traces de Georges Duby', in Phillippe Braunstein (ed.), *Georges Duby* (Études rurales, 145–6, 1997), pp. 113–32. Beaucage has edited the documents in question, as Benoît Beaucage (ed.), *Visites générales des commanderies de l'ordre des Hospitaliers dépendantes du grand-prieuré de Saint-Gilles, 1338 (Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 123)* (1982).

[10] See J. Z. Titow, *Winchester yields: a study in medieval agricultural productivity* (1972; sec. edn, 2002).

For those outside the field of agricultural history, Duby is perhaps more famous for work in one or both of two fields, the one being medieval women, marriage and gender, and the other, more relevant here, being the so-called 'feudal transformation', a term and a concept very substantially of his invention.[11] Based on the 1951 publication of his *thèse d'état*, a micro-historical study of the Mâconnais in Burgundy that has provoked a hundred imitators, he had developed the idea that between approximately 980 and 1030, in the wake of the collapse of Carolingian rule in their old territories, public order and the social structure underwent violent and rapid convulsions in which old, 'public' structures of governance and justice collapsed to be replaced for a while by arbitrary rule by violence that was eventually restructured around the personal ties between man and man which Marc Bloch had already delineated as the fundamental features of what he had called 'feudal society' in the 1930s.[12] Duby's 1951 study exposed, as it seemed, the processes by which society passed from Bloch's first to his second 'feudal' age, but he saw much less of the 'feudal' in the former than in the latter.

Few suggestions in medieval history can have provoked a larger agglomeration of argument and dispute than the 'feudal transformation', but what is not always appreciated is how it and Duby's subsequent work on agriculture are tied together.[13] Increasingly convinced that governmental collapse alone could not explain so large a phenomenon, or at least, not explain its delayed but apparently rapid outburst nearly a century after the first substantial breakdown of the Carolingian order, he searched for a greater cause, and in the tradition of the Annales school in which he worked, sought it logically enough in the system that affected most people at once, to wit, the rural economy.[14] (This distinguishes him from Pirenne who had seen the primary driver of early medieval social and economic change as trade and exchange; for Duby, as for some historians before and since, this was simply not a large enough phenomenon to

[11] For assessments of Duby's importance in these fields, see respectively Amy Livingstone, 'Pour une révision du « mâle » Moyen Âge de Georges Duby', *Clio*, 8 (1998) (journals.openedition.org/clio/318), and F. L. Cheyette, 'Georges Duby's Mâconnais after fifty years: reading it then and now', *J. Medieval Hist.*, 28 (2002), pp. 291–317. Further references in the latter field are given in n. 13 below.

[12] Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans le région mâconnais* (1971); on its imitators see Thomas N. Bisson, 'La terre et les hommes: A programme fulfilled?', *French Hist.*, 14 (2000), pp. 322–45. The work of Marc Bloch referenced is of course Bloch, *Feudal society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (2 vols, 1961).

[13] The historiography on this theme is too vast to be referenced here, but attempts to review it can be found in Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, 'En France: le débat sur la "mutation féodale". État de la question', *Scienza & Politica*, 26 (2002), pp. 3–24, and François Bougard, 'Genèse et réception du Mâconnais de Georges Duby', in *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, Hors-série no. 1 (2008) (journals.openedition.org/cem/4183). Three other noteworthy points in discussion, the latter two with extensive reference to older historiography, are Guy Bois, *The transformation of the year one thousand: the village of Lournand from Antiquity to feudalism*, trans. Jean Birrell (1992); Thomas N. Bisson, 'Lordship and tenurial dependence in Flanders, Provence and Occitania (1050–1200)', in *Il feaudalisimo nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 47, 2 vols, 2000), I, pp. 389–439; Stephen D. White, 'Tenth-century courts at Mâcon and the perils of structuralist history: re-reading Burgundian judicial institutions', in Warren C. Brown and Piotr Górecki (eds), *Conflict in medieval Europe: Changing perspectives on society and culture* (2003), pp. 37–68, repr. in White, *Feuding and peace-making in eleventh-century France* (2005), ch. IX.

[14] As had Marc Bloch, whose *Les caractères originaux de l'histore rurale française* (2 vols, Paris, 1931–56), trans. as Bloch, *French Rural History: an essay on its basic characteristics*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley, CA, 1966), thus underpins his *Feudal society*.

explain so big a set of changes.[15]) By an expansion of the economy, and increased availability of wealth for both peasants, and therefore also their lords who extracted it from them by increasingly violent means, a privatization or welling-up of localized, territorialized, power could perhaps be explained. This, however, necessarily entailed the acceptance of a progress narrative when it came to agriculture: if the social phenomena that Duby observed were to be explained as consequences of economic growth, it was necessary for the economy to have increased in power and productivity in the period immediately before and during these changes, compared to its state beforehand; an 'agricultural revolution' must have preceded the 'feudal revolution'. The early medieval rural economy was thus necessarily required to have been weaker than the high medieval one for Duby's theories to work.[16]

II

None of this is to go so far as to say that Duby falsified or deliberately misread his early medieval source materials. As said, especially with Annappes, he trod in the footsteps of 50 years' work if not more in making such deductions about their import.[17] He did, however, choose readings of those materials that fitted his overall conception of the Middle Ages, which should not surprise us. Neither, however, should it surprise us that alternative views could also be sustained from those figures, as Duby was well aware (though he rarely said as much). As early as 1977, an article by Raymond Delatouche mounted an excoriating attack on Duby's choice of and use of early medieval evidence, some of whose conclusions I will reiterate below.[18] Since Delatouche wrote, it has become almost orthodoxy in French-language agricultural history that Duby's figures were serious underestimates, albeit for a variety of reasons and to varying degrees. These interpretations will be investigated below, but as will be clear from above, they have apparently not succeeded in displacing Duby's overall view from the less specialized literature on medieval economy and society. A sharp illustration of this situation can be found in the second and third volumes of the *New Cambridge Medieval History*. In the second, covering the centuries of the Carolingian Empire and edited by a specialist in that polity and its works, the contribution on agriculture was provided by the late Adriaan Verhulst, who had also argued with Duby at the 1966 Spoleto conference and whose view was very much that the Carolingian organization of agriculture could produce results that equaled anything from the following period.[19] As he would write in a larger synthetic work in 2002, therefore:

[15] With reference to Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, trans. Bernard Miall (1939), on which see now Bonnie Effros, 'The enduring attraction of the Pirenne Thesis', *Speculum*, 92 (2017), pp. 184–208. The most obvious proponent of the dominance of the agricultural sector of the economy prior to Duby is probably again Bloch, *Feudal society*; his modern-day counterpart would certainly be Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages; Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (2005).

[16] Noted also by Raymond Delatouche, 'Regards sur l'agriculture aux temps carolingiens', *Journal des savants* (1977), pp. 73–100 at p. 84.

[17] For references see Grierson, 'Unnamed Fiscs', and Jean-Pierre Devroey, *Économie rurale et société dans l'Europe franque: VIe–IXe siècles* (2 vols, 2003–), I, pp. 115–17.

[18] Delatouche, 'Regards'.

[19] Adriaan Verhulst, 'Economic organisation', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* [hereafter *NCMH*], II, *c.700–c.900* (1995), pp. 481–509; Verhulst, 'La genèse du régime domanial classique en France du haut moyen âge' in *Agricoltura*, pp. 135–60, repr. in Verhulst, *Rural and urban aspects of early medieval northwest Europe* (1992), ch. I.

> It is now accepted that the very low yield ratios that were calculated by Duby and Slicher van Bath on the basis of the inventory of grain stocks at the royal estates near Lille around 800 (mainly at Annappes), 1:3, 1:1.6, 1:1.3, 1:1.8, 1:2.15 for spelt, wheat, rye, barley and oats respectively, should be increased slightly in order to express real physical gross yields.[20]

The following *NCMH* volume, however, committed to the period in which Duby had located his supposed transformation, has nothing of this, because its contribution on agriculture was instead provided by Robert Fossier, who in 1990 had to admit that he stood alone in his field for his pessimistic view of the early medieval economy compared to the later period.[21] His picture of an underpopulated, underexploited and substantially wild countryside sits very oddly in the volume next to Janet Nelson's lively picture of the inventive power of royal governments of the era; on what, one is left wondering, did such ambitious governments run if the economies off which they drew their operating capital were so close to subsistence?[22] Moreover, for those of us who have read both volumes and the kinds of books with which I began, why has the 'accepted' alternative laid out by Verhulst not been more widely accepted?

Naturally, this question cannot be definitively answered, but four suggestions seem likely enough to be worth making. The first of these is simply the linguistic and national divisions of the scholarship. Almost all the work dismissing Duby's calculations has been in French; even those parts appearing in English have been from French-speaking scholars.[23] This should not, of course, exclude it from worthy consideration, but it is certainly possible to imagine that the voluminous French-language bibliography on such matters is not fully consulted by those writing English-language textbooks, especially if agriculture or the early Middle Ages are not their core interest. Certainly, French-language material is rare in the bibliographies of such works. It is also likely that the minimal translation of work by scholars opposing Duby's interpretation has led to a false appearance of equality in the debate: as said, Fossier acknowledgedly stands alone among his peers in the field with his negative views, even Duby having relented somewhat towards the end of his life, but with only Verhulst in English to oppose Fossier, and Duby's older works continuing to be reprinted, it is perhaps understandable that the true state of the discussion is not apparent outside the specialist, French-language, field.[24]

A second likelihood is that an attack on Duby's reading of Annappes is not by itself sufficient to convince new readers that he was wrong, because as noted he also provided supporting figures from elsewhere. In fact, Delatouche performed a complete and convincing demonstration of the inadequacy of the materials from Saint-Germain-des-Prés to support such deductions, but precisely because of the definitive nature of that critique, it is not usually repeated by more

[20] Adriaan Verhulst, *The Carolingian economy* (2002), p. 64.

[21] Robert Fossier, 'Rural economy and country life', in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *NCMH,* III, *c.900–c.1024* (1999), pp. 27–63; Georges Duby *et al.*, 'Table ronde', in *La croissance agricole du haut moyen âge: Chronologie, modalités, géographie* (Flaran 10, 1988), pp. 181–203, at pp. 182–4.

[22] Janet L. Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', in Reuter (ed.), *NCMH,* III, pp. 95–129.

[23] See nn. 4, 19 & 20 for references to such work, including Devroey and Nissen, 'Early Middle Ages', which collects most recent references in other languages.

[24] For Fossier's acknowledgement see Duby *et al.*, 'Table ronde', pp. 182–4. Duby's partial retraction came in Georges Duby, *L'histoire continue* (1991), p. 97.

modern work, which engages instead primarily with Annappes.[25] Meanwhile, on the Italian side, as will be shown below, work by Vito Fumagalli quickly rendered obsolete Luzzatto's and Duby's deductions from the Brescia polyptych, which were in any case questionable.[26] But no work that I have found from the French school uses the Italian work, and neither does the Italian work reference the French debate, perhaps not least because in Italy the debate was so quickly closed. So for the reader of either one of these literatures but not the other, Duby's work appears still to have some foundation.

Thirdly, and perhaps most perniciously, Duby's work provided numbers, whereas almost all critique of him has been understandably reluctant to do so.[27] The methodological reasons for this are sound: as will be shown below, Duby's numbers are hopelessly lacking in foundation, and should form the basis of no calculations whatever. Nevertheless, since voluminous quantities of usable numbers do exist from the high medieval period, to provide no numbers at all for the earlier period gives those who would use quantitative data to compare the two eras no basis on which to do so, except by reverting to Duby's.[28] One may note that even Verhulst, as quoted above, while arguing that they should not be accepted, still reproduced Duby's numbers deduced from Annappes, saying only that they should be 'increased slightly'. No cliometrician can follow this instruction: how much is 'slightly'?[29] And this refusal to attempt figures can be found throughout the French scholarship, while the two exceptions, Delatouche and Derville, never made the basis of their alternative calculations clear.[30] Whatever was wrong with Duby's figures, they are observable in his texts and his arithmetic with them was correct. Culpably, perhaps, but inevitably, comparisons therefore continue to be mounted on the basis of them, the only numbers available.

[25] Delatouche, 'Regards', p. 76. Likewise, Werner Rösener, *Agrarwirtschaft, Agrarverfassung und ländliche Gesellschaft im Mittelalter* (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, 13, 1992), pp. 56–7, Alain Derville, *L'agriculture du nord au Moyen Age: Artois, Cambresis, Flandre Wallonne* (1999), pp. 26–33, Verhulst, *Economy*, p. 64, Devroey, *Économie*, I, pp. 115–17, and Devroey and Nissen, 'Early Middle Ages', p. 51, all say that the debate over cereal yields can only be settled by the Annappes material, before concluding that in fact it cannot.

[26] Vito Fumagalli, 'Rapporto fra grano seminato e grano raccolto nel politico del monastero di S. Tommaso di Reggio' [Report on grain sown and grain harvested in the polyptych of the monastery of Saint Thomas of Reggio], *Rivista di storia dell'agricoltura* 6 (1966), pp. 360–2.

[27] As Morimoto, 'Grand domaine', p. 84 of the reprint, put it, 'L'attitude actuelle commune est de ne plus essayer, à partir des mentions peu nombreuses et délicate d'interprétation, de conjecturer numériquement ce taux, tout en admettant que l'agriculture carolingienne était beaucoup plus productive que certains médiévistes ne l'avaient pensé'; cf. Derville, *L'agriculture*, p. 33: 'Alors, que faire ? Avouer que les chiffres fameux sont inutilisables'; Verhulst, *Economy*, p. 64, quoted above; and Devroey and Nissen, 'Early Middle Ages', pp. 51–3, which also refuses to attempt figures from the Annappes data but considers no other figures to exist.

[28] For a guide to the survival of high medieval evidence see Bruce M. S. Campbell and David Hardy, 'The Data', in *Three Centuries of English Crop Yields, 1211–1491* (www.cropyields.ac.uk/project.php, accessed 20 Mar. 2019)

[29] Verhulst's only reference here was to Pierre Toubert, 'La part du grand domaine dans le décollage économique de l'Occident (VIIIe – Xe siècles)', in *La croissance agricole*, pp. 53–87, where only p. 67 addresses yields and offers no more than a similar feeling that things must have been better than the figures suggest. The same problem applies with Morimoto's, 'beaucoup plus productive' (see n. 27 above); is 'beaucoup plus' more than 'slightly'? Was this disagreement with Verhulst, or just unquantifiable assumption on both parts?

[30] Delatouche, 'Regards', pp. 76–80, with comparanda gathered from Tsarist Russia as readily as elsewhere in Francia, but also from other places not specified; Derville, *L'agriculture*, pp. 34–6, 'correcting' the figures with data from 1800, thus ineluctably creating a false impression of continuity throughout the period (pp. 36–8).

Lastly and perhaps most powerfully, Duby's overall argument still appeals to those trying to give a picture of the whole of medieval society's development over time. To demean the early Middle Ages in favour of the high and later Middle Ages and later periods is not by any means novel: one does not have to go far back in scholarly time to find the early Middle Ages being described in terms that, whether the exact words are used or not, clearly recall the term 'Dark Ages', with other words like 'barbarian', 'rude', 'primitive' or even 'savage' floating nearby.[31] The political and cultural formations that succeeded Rome were always likely to struggle in the analysis of scholars raised in a culture in which the Classics were the mark of a cultured and educated man and whose artistic, built and even monetary visual cultures were saturated with Roman imagery.[32] In the last 40 or 50 years great strides have been made in combating such prejudices and allowing the early Middle Ages to stand on their own terms. If at times the recognition of the achievement of early medieval figures such as Charlemagne, King Alfred of the West Saxons or Emperor Otto I, to name but a few, or Emperors Justinian I or Basil II in the still-Roman world, has tended simply to replace one set of heroes with another, at least from such a tipping of the balance, equilibrium may yet be hoped for.[33]

If it has not yet arrived, however, this is not least because medieval history does, in most of the terms about which Western modernity cares, present a progress narrative. After the collapse of Roman government in Western Europe and the Mediterranean, cities either disappeared or struggled to maintain their existence; the state-run systems of extraction and the activities that they funded largely ceased or else shrank considerably; the economic basis of almost all polities shifted, and population seems really to have contracted considerably. Then, in the centuries after the year 1000 (if not before), cities, commerce and collective representation before government all became considerably more common, and population apparently grew hand over fist at least until the early fourteenth century.[34] Duby's thesis appears to cohere with the overall dynamic of medieval history and even to offer an explanation for it, and those who undermine his work have so far been unable to replace it. As long as there is an overall sense that the centuries around 1200 were wealthier, more culturally developed and populous than those around 700, an explanatory gap is likely to exist that Duby's picture of agricultural development can fill, and for those tasked with the delineation of the whole of medieval history it will be difficult to manage without it.

It is probably impossible for this last factor to be overcome by a single article. Nonetheless, on all the other counts it appears that there is a need for a study that is able to draw both on French

[31] See now Janet L. Nelson, 'The Dark Ages', *Hist. Workshop J.*, 63 (2007), pp. 191–201; more widely, Stephen J. Harris and Bryon L. Grigsby (eds), *Misconceptions about the Middle Ages* (2008).

[32] See Peter Bondanella, *The eternal city: Roman images in the modern world* (1987) and Jonathan Jarrett, *Inheriting Rome* (2015), esp. p. 4; also Richard Hingley, *Roman officers and English gentlemen: the imperial origins of Roman archaeology* (2000), esp. pp. 1–37.

[33] Works on Charlemagne are prolific but Alessandro Barbero, *Charlemagne: father of a continent* (2004) exemplifies the laudatory trend; for similar work on the others named see David Pratt, *The political thought of Alfred the Great* (2006), David S. Bachrach, 'Exercise of royal power in early medieval Europe: the case of Otto the Great, 936–73', *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), pp. 389–419; John Moorhead, *Justinian* (1994); and Catherine Holmes, *Basil II and the governance of empire (976–1025)* (2005). Many important women could also be listed: see as just one example Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: queenship and women's power in eleventh-century England* (1997).

[34] For economic versions of this narrative see Pounds, *Economic history*, or Rösener, *Agrarwirtschaft*, pp. 3–31.

and Italian literature, that is able and willing to demonstrate the mathematical and historical inadequacy of Duby's figures by more than just assertion, and that is willing to put forward alternative, better-founded figures as at least a better basis for comparative calculation. It is probably also helpful that such an article should appear in English, and indeed in a publication which is willing to make it openly available online. This is what this article aims to be. If by indicating why Duby's figures cannot be used and by offering better ones which contradict the expectation that early medieval crop yields were poorer than high medieval ones, it then follows that the progress narrative of medieval history must seek an alternative basis, then perhaps even the fourth obstacle to such an understanding will at least be challenged.

III

In what follows, I proceed in the following manner. Firstly, Duby's use of each of his key sources is analysed and discussed, with a view in each case either to correcting or salvaging his calculations or showing why this cannot be done. Secondly, a rapid survey of the basis for the figures for yields from before and after the early Middle Ages is offered, as a means of understanding what the requirements of any comparison must be. Thirdly, the few possibilities for deriving usefully comparable figures from the early Middle Ages, not all of which were known to Duby, are set out. Finally, I draw the already-promised conclusions. To begin with, therefore, we must look at Duby's key source, the figures from the royal manor of Annappes.

(a) The Annappes survey in the Brevium exempla

As Delatouche observed, while Duby had other figures too, it was Annappes which provided the key to his argument.[35] These figures are contained within a piece of Carolingian administrative literature whose full title is the *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales*, 'Exemplars of summaries for describing ecclesiastical and fiscal properties'. It is preserved in a single manuscript along with the better-known text we call the *Capitulare de villis*, 'Capitulary on Estates', and the two have reasonably been taken to constitute part of the same project of royal estate management, even though neither survive in any context which might be called official.[36] The actual *Exempla* are four in number, the first three being, respectively, part of a survey of the estates of the monastery of Staffelsee, a fragment of an unidentified text, a list of donors and dependents of the abbey of Wissembourg, and then

[35] Delatouche, 'Regards', pp. 75–6: 'Annapes figure en bonne place dans toutes les histoires économiques, tous les recueils de documents, tous les livres de vulgarisation', with citations in support. Duby was neither the first, nor claimed to be the first, to use these figures. Grierson, 'Unnamed fiscs', pp. 452–61, gives references to older studies.

[36] The edition of reference is now Carl-Richard Bruhl (ed.), *Capitulare de villis: cod. guelf. 254 Helmst. der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Dokumente zur deutschen Geschichte in Faksimiles. Reihe 1: Mittelalter, 1 Stuttgart 1971). The *Capitulare* is translated in H. R. Loyn and John Percival (eds), *The reign of Charlemagne: documents on Carolingian government and administration* (1975), pp. 64–73, and the *Exempla* ibid., pp. 98–105. On the context and purpose of these texts see now Darryl Campbell, 'The *Capitulare de villis*, the *Brevium exempla*, and the Carolingian court at Aachen', *Early medieval Europe*, 18 (2010), pp. 243–64, and references there but especially Wolfgang Metz, *Das karolingische Reichsgut: eine verfassungs- und verwaltungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (1960), pp. 11–90, which fits the texts into a much wider context of Carolingian surveying and administration.

the returns from estate surveys of five fiscal estates, in one of which Annappes was identified in 1895.[37] These texts have all been abbreviated and turned into templates, including phrases such as, 'This is how you should record the rest'.[38] We are lucky, therefore, that any real detail remains in the text, but the details that do include the figures for grain found at Annappes, including that which was already set aside for sowing. The Latin original follows Table 1; the text in translation reads as follows:

> Of farm produce: old spelt from last year, 90 *corbes* which can be made into 450 weights of flour; and 100 *modii* of barley. From the present year, 110 *corbes* of spelt, of which 60 *corbes* had been planted, but the rest we found; 100 *modii* of wheat, 60 sown, the rest we found; 98 *modii* of rye all sown; 1,800 *modii* of barley, 1,100 sown, the rest we found; 430 *modii* of oats; one *modius* of beans; 12 *modius* of peas. At five mills were found 800 *modii* of the lesser measure. At four breweries, 650 *modii* of the lesser measure, 240 given to the prebendaries, the rest we found.
>
> At two bridges, 60 *modii* of salt and 2 *denarii*. At four gardens, 11 *denarii*. Also honey, 3 *modii*; about 1 *modius* of butter; bacon, from last year 10 flitches; new flitches, 200, with cuttings and fats; cheese from the present year, 43 weights.
>
> Of livestock: 51 head of larger cattle; five three-year olds; seven two-year olds; seven yearlings; ten two-year old colts; eight yearlings; three stallions; 16 cows; two asses; 50 cows with calves; 20 young bulls; 38 yearling calves; three bulls; 260 hogs; 100 pigs; five boars; 150 sheep with lambs; 200 yearling lambs; 120 rams; 30 goats with kids; 30 yearling kids; three male goats; 30 geese; 80 chickens; 22 peacocks.[39]

The cereal figures can be tabulated as in Table 1.

The reader will note that the idea that certain amounts of the crops in the barns had already been sown rests on the expansion of an abbreviation, *per* Bruhl '*semin*avit', but the facsimile provided in Bruhl's edition (where see fos 10v–11r) makes it clear that the scribe used only a horizontal line to indicate all his or her abbreviations, so that expansion is a matter of guesswork. A perfect tense seems unlikely, however; how could seed already in the ground have been counted? This must instead have been grain stored for seed, which would need to be kept separately anyway.[40] This all therefore seems, superficially, to justify Duby's arithmetic.

[37] Théodore Leuridan, 'Une revendication: Annappes et Gruson sous Charlemagne', *Memoires de la Société des sciences, de l'agriculture et des arts de Lille*, 4[e] sèrie, 21 (1895), pp. 133–50, cit. by Grierson, 'Unnamed fiscs' p. 439 n. 2). Duby knew Grierson's article and gave the credit for the identification to him, but did not follow his conclusions (or his spelling).

[38] *Brevium exempla*, c. 23: *'sic cetera breviare debes'*.

[39] For the Latin, from Bruhl as per n. 36 above, see the note to Table 1. This translation is the author's modification of that in Fredric Austin Ogg (ed.), *A source book of mediaeval history: Documents illustrative of European life and institutions from the German invasions to the Renaissance* (1972; first edn. 1907), pp. 127–9, revised by Jerome S. Arkenberg as 'Medieval Sourcebook: Asnapium: An inventory of one of Charlemagne's estates, *c.*800', in Paul Halsall (ed.), *Internet Medieval Sourcebook* (sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/source/800Asnapium.asp).

[40] I owe this last point to Allan Scott McKinley, but see also Peter Reynolds, 'Mediaeval cereal yields in Catalonia and England: an empirical challenge', *Acta Historica et archaeological mediaevalia* 18 (1997), pp. 495–507, repr. as 'Comparative cereal yields from Catalonia and Britain: the result of experimental probability trials', in Immaculada Ollich, Montserrat Rocafiguera and Maria

TABLE 1. Grain and legumes in store at Annappes in the *Brevium exempla*

	Old crop remaining	*New crop remaining*	*Of which seed*
Barley	100 modii	1800 modii	1100 modii
Spelt	90 corbes	110 corbes	60 corbes
Corn	–	100 modii	60 modii
Rye	–	98 modii	'totidem'
Oats	–	430 modii	–
Fava beans	–	1 modius	–
Peas	–	12 modii	–

Note 1.
The text of the section concerned here, as given by Bruhl pp. 52–3, is as follows (with expanded abbreviations in Roman): *Invenimus in Asnapio fisco dominico salam regalem ex lapide facta*m *optime, cameras III, solariis totam casam circu*m*data*m*, cu*m *pisilib*us *XI, infra cellarium I, porticus II, alias casas infra curte*m *ex ligno factas XVII, cu*m *totidem cameris et ceteris appendiciis bene conpositis; stabolum I, coquina*m *I, pistrinum I, spicaria II, scuras III. Curtem tunimo strenue munitam cum porta lapidea et desuper solarium ad dispensandum. Curticulum simili*ter *tunimo interclausam ordinabiliter dispositam diversi*que *gener*is *plantata*m *arborum. Vestimenta: lectum parandum I, drappos ad discum I parandum; toaclam I. Utensilia: concas æreas II, poculares II, calderas æreas II, ferrea I, sartaginem I, gramalium I, andeda*m *I, far*um *I, secures II, dolatoriam I, terebros II, asciam I, scalpru*m *I, runcina*m *I, plana*m *I, falces II, falciculas II, palas ferro paratas II. Utensilia lignea ad ministrandum sufficien*ter*. De conlaboratu: spelta vetus de anno præterito corb*es *XC, quae possunt fieri de farina pensas CCCCL. Ordeum mod*ios *C. Presenti anno fuer*unt *spelt*ae *corb*es *CX: semin*avit *ex ipsis corb*es *LX, reliq*ua *rep*perimus *frume*nti *mod*ii *C: semin*avit *LX, reliq*ua *rep*perimus*; sigil*is *mod*ios *XCVIII semin*avit *totide*m*; ordeo mod*ios *mil*le *DCCC: semin*avit *Ī C; reliq*ua *rep*perimus. *Avena mod*ios *CCCCXXX, faba mod*ium *I, pisos mod*ios *XII. De mol*inis *V: mod*ios *DCCC ad minorem mensuram; ded*it *prebendar*iis *mod*ios *CCXL; reliq*ua *rep*perimus. *De camb*is *IIII: mod*ios *DCL ad minorem mensura*m. *De pont*ibus *II: sale mod*ios *LX et sol*idos *II. De ortis IIII: sol*idos *XI; mel mod*ios *III. De censu: butyrum mod*ium *I; lartum de præterito ann*o *bacco*nes *X, novis bacco*nes *CC cu*m *minucia et unct*is*; format*icos *de anno pres*enti *pensas XLIII. De peculio: iumen*t*a maio*r*a capi*t*a LI, de ann*o *tertio V, de pret*erito *VII, de pres*enti *VII; poledros bimos X, annotin*os *VIII, emissarios III, bov*es *XVI, asin*os *II, vaccas cum vitulis L, iuvencos XX, vitul*os *annotin*os *XXXVIII, tauro*s *III, porc*os *maio*res *CCLX, porcel*los *CC, arietes CXX, capras cum* [h]*ed*is *XXX, hed*os *annotin*os *XXX, hirc*os *III, auc*as *XXX, pull*os *LXXX, pavon*es *XXII.*

Note 2.
A *corbis* seems to have been a eighth of a *modius*: see Jean-Pierre Devroey, 'Units of measurement in the early medieval economy: the example of Carolingian food rations', *French Hist.* 1 (1987), pp. 68–92.

Many authors have found the results too low to be feasible: Jean-Pierre Devroey, in summarizing scholarly responses, returns to Delatouche's words: 'an agriculture where the normal yields were 1.6 for 1 is physically impossible: it would not produce the energy necessary for its practice'.[41] That is not inherently true, but certainly if these figures were what Duby

Note 40 *continued*
Ocaña (eds), *Experimentació arqueològica sobre conreus medievals a l'Esquerda, 1991–1994* [Archaeological experimentation on medieval crop-growing at l'Esquerda, 1991–94] (Monografies d'arqueològia medieval i postmedieval, 3, Barcelona 1998), pp. 121–8 (p. 497 of the original).

[41] Devroey, *Économie rurale*, p. 116 and n. 97. Delatouche, 'Regards', p. 77: 'Une agriculture dont le rendement normal serait de 1,6/1 est physiquement impossible: elle ne produirait pas l'énergie nécessaire à sa poursuite'.

represented them to be, then less than two-fifths of any given harvest would have been available as food, the rest needing to be resown to ensure such a return next year, and this amply justifies Duby's rhetorical question, 'Could output really have been at so derisory a level?' although of course he concluded that it could.[42]

Various attempts have been made to make the Annappes figures more acceptable. The most obvious disclaimer, because as Duby said it is clear from the figures, is that Annappes had had a bad year compared to the one before. Campbell's recent analysis of the *Brevium exempla* in conjunction with the *Capitulare de villis* suggests that the most plausible context for the two texts is in the settling of Charlemagne's government at Aachen, with the consequent need to rearrange the fiscal supply system.[43] Of course, the *Exempla* may not have been modified from immediately current texts. If they were, however, and if Campbell is right and the pairing of the two texts then dates from 794, the immediately preceding years had indeed both been years of famine. This is not a small modification, as it implies that even in one such year things could be markedly better than the other for which we have detailed figures; but there is no way to be sure that the *Exempla*'s sources did in fact come from so close to the compilation date, if Campbell has that right (of which we cannot be certain).

Devroey has collated other attempts to make sense of the Annappes figures.[44] Sigaut suggested that the labourers' pay had already been taken out of this harvest before it was stored, estimating that the figures should therefore be raised by 8–15 per cent; Comet argues that the tithe would already have been taken out, meaning that yields should be increased by nearly 10 per cent; and Slicher van Bath thought that the sowing figures should be counted as additional to the harvest, of which Duby observed, not unreasonably, 'Slicher van Bath does not seem to correctly interpret the figures in the text'.[45] As Verhulst had previously noted, with a similar tabulation of different opinions, the resultant possible error margin is a full 100 per cent of the original figures.[46] Rösener has subsequently defended Slicher van Bath's argument, but without actually addressing the fact that, as the reader can see, the text does not mean what he thought.[47]

Rösener has, indeed, gone on to propose revised crop yields figures typical for the early and high middle ages, of 3:1 and 5:1–7:1 respectively, thus leaving the progress narrative intact, but he does not make the basis for these new figures clear.[48] On investigation, they transpire to be

[42] Duby, *Rural economy*, p. 26.

[43] Campbell, *'Capitulare'*, anticipated by Delatouche, 'Regards', p. 77.

[44] Devroey, *Économie*, pp. 115–17; see also Delatouche, 'Regards', to which could be added non-French work such as Grierson, 'Unnamed fiscs', pp. 453–7, esp. 453 nn. 2–4 for references to previous work by Dopsch, Baist, Halphen and Lot, and Janet Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (1992), p. 27, where in fact I found the suggestion that inspired this article.

[45] Devroey cites François Sigaut, 'L'évolution technique des agricultures européennes avant l'époque industrielle', *Revue archéologique du Centre de la France*, 27 (1988), pp. 7–41; Georges Comet, *Le paysan et son outil : Essai d'histoire technique des céréales (France, VIIIe–XVe siècle)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 165, 1992), pp. 302–3; and Slicher van Bath, 'Le climat', to which last cf. Duby, *Rural economy*, p. 26 n. 42, whence the quote.

[46] Verhulst, *Economy*, p. 64.

[47] Rösener, *Agrarwirtschaft*, pp. 56–7.

[48] Werner Rösener, 'L'histoire rurale de l'Europe médiévale et l'apport de Georges Duby', trans. Philippe Braunstein, in Braunstein, *Duby*, pp. 91–102, citing only Rösener, *Agrarwirtschaft*, p. 75, where the early medieval figures are not discussed. Rösener's argument is not made clearer by the fact that *Agrarwirtschaft* has a bibliography but no notes, so that one must often deduce his source.

no more than Slicher van Bath's figures for the early period, repeated and contrasted to what seems to be a mean calculated from, on the one hand, Jan Titow's averages of thousands of high medieval yield figures from the estates of Winchester bishopric, and on the other hand two unusually high yields reported by none other than Duby, even though Rösener claims to be revising Duby's work and even though Duby himself made it clear that the figures were double or treble the usual value recorded in the age.[49] Clearly, as Duby himself knew, two single outlier figures should not be allowed to modify an average whose basis is thousands of data larger, and none of Rösener's figures should be used.[50]

Duby later admitted that criticism of his understanding of yields was fair, but stopped short of saying how it should be revised.[51] Devroey instead argues that the yield figures may be taken as accurate, but related only to the demesne part of the estate, which could have provided the required crops despite such low productivity simply by being large, while the peasant tenants whose labour farmed it would have got better results from their own land, partly out of the dedication born of dire need, but also because of better access to manure from the animals which they probably owned.[52] He also emphasizes that such crops as the fisc was interested in, and were therefore recorded in the *Exempla*, were only part of a much larger complex of available foodstuffs.[53] Certainly, there were far more elements to Carolingian agriculture than grand demesne grain yields, but while this is obviously true and if these other arguments were true too, the situation might look quite different, the figures presented by Duby, and others before and since, do not even need this cushioning; they are inaccurate in their own terms.

Duby wrote, when rhetorically questioning these data:

> The text, however, is categorical. It prevents us from assuming that, apart from seed corn, grain had already been taken away between harvest time and the visit of the compilers of the inventory for domestic consumption or for despatch outside the estate.[54]

But the text makes no such assertion, and indeed if one reads further into it, it is evident that that was exactly what had happened: the very next sentence tells us that there was also a substantial amount of grain at the five mills on the estate, waiting to be ground. It says: 'from the five mills: 80 *modios* of the lesser measure; there had been 240 *modios* given to the *prebendarii*, the rest we found.'[55] The "lesser measure" employed here was probably three

[49] Ibid., pp. 55–6 and 75, with reference to what must be Titow, *Winchester yields* and to Duby, *Rural economy*, p. 100, albeit in its German translation.

[50] Ibid., pp. 99–103, sees Duby arguing that these figures were unrepresentative, and ending with a suggested typical high medieval figure of 4:1. Note that by p. 103 his suggested figure for normal early medieval crop yields had also somehow become 2.5:1, rather than the lower figure he had deduced from Annappes.

[51] Duby, *L'histoire continue*, p. 97.

[52] Devroey, *Économie*, pp. 115–24, following Delatouche, 'Regards', pp. 91–4. Note, though, that manuring some soils annually can actually decrease yield: see Reynolds, 'Yields', p. 499.

[53] Devroey, *Économie*, pp. 102–8, repeated in Devroey and Nissen, 'Early Middle Ages', pp. 54–5; cf. Peter J. Reynolds and Christine E. Shaw, 'The third harvest of the first millennium A.D. in the Plana de Vic', in Immaculada Ollich i Castanyer (ed.), *Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac i el seu temps: Catalunya i Europa a la fi del 1r mil·lenni, Vic-Ripoll, 10–13 de Novembre de 1999* [Acts of the International Congress 'Gerbert of Aurillac and his times: Catalonia and Europe at the end of the first millennium'] (Vic, 1999), pp. 339–51.

[54] Duby, *Rural economy*, p. 26.

[55] *Brevium exempla*, p. 53; for the Latin the note to Table 1 above.

quarters the size of the full Carolingian modius, which means, at its most basic, that as well as what was in the barns, 300 *modii* overall, of we know not what crop, had already been extracted from the estate total to be ground, and some of it already distributed to those who were supported by the estate. This latter is worth the emphasis of repetition: the source tells us that the crop had already been partly distributed before the surveyors got there. Additionally, there were another '650 *modii* of the lesser measure' counted at the four malting-kilns, which would be equivalent to 488 full *modii* by our current understanding.[56] Again, we cannot know how much more there had been before this distribution had been made, but even this increases the total seed recorded by a third, doubles the amount still available as food and raises the overall yield figure from Annappes, as Duby could have calculated it, to 2.02:1 or thereabouts.[57]

In fact, Duby should have made no such calculation, because of the nature of the Annappes estate, which is to say, it was a fiscal complex. Its purpose was, therefore, as Campbell has recently usefully reminded us, to generate produce for the court, either for its direct sustenance or, in the case of produce which could not be easily transported over whatever the relevant distance was that year, to be sold to the court's profit. The official whom the *Capitulare* envisages in charge of each such estate was supposed, as Campbell puts it, 'to ensure the timely transportation and accurate inventorying of estates' revenues – food, money and craft goods – to the Carolingian court', and then 'to store any leftover goods pending further royal instructions'.[58] There is little sign that the court ever visited Annappes, and the nearest known *palatium*, Samoussy near Laon, was also a rare stopping-place.[59] Some of this produce may have been transported the 250 km or so to the relatively new court centre at Aachen, but we might imagine the primary consumers of the royal renders here as royal officials, messengers and so on, rather than the court fully assembled. Annappes's stores may also have served to supply the local army when raised or, especially at this time, alleviate famine.[60] This all relies on information outwith the actual text, but that an inventory was indeed taken implies some such thinking at the court.

It is therefore only the 'leftover goods' that would have been on site to be counted by the surveyors. In other words, Duby's figures are not for the crop as it came off the field, but for the reserve, the surplus available after the owners' share of the proceeds, and everything that might have been spared for the estate's tenants and labourers had been removed. This was what was left in case, as the *Capitulare* seems to envisage, the court should briefly turn up to its estate here and need to be fed, or in case famine relief needed to be organized using fiscal resources.[61] For

[56] Ibid.; for the metrology, see Jean-Pierre Devroey, 'Units of measurement in the early medieval economy: the example of Carolingian food rations', *French Hist.* 1 (1987), pp. 68–92.

[57] Counting all grains together but not the legumes, reckoning *corbes* as an eighth of a *modius*, and the lesser *modius* as three-quarters of the full one, as per Devroey, 'Units', p. 71, and rounding the results to two decimal places, so:

((100 + (90/8) + 1800 + (110/8) + 100 + 98 + 430) /
(1100 + 60 + 60 + 98) =
2553.00 / 1265.50 = 2.02.

[58] Campbell, '*Capitulare*', pp. 244–8, with citations of the text; quotes here from pp. 245 and 246. This perceptive reading of the text does not, however, prevent him quoting its figures as 'grain yields' in his Table 1 (p. 253).

[59] On Samoussy see Ross Samson, 'The residences of Potentiores in Gaul and Germania in the fifth to mid-ninth centuries' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1991), pp. 299–301.

[60] On famine relief see n. 61 below.

[61] Cf. Delatouche, 'Regards', p. 76. See Campbell, '*Capitulare*', p. 246, for the needs of the court; on

this reason, no doubt, there were also 210 flitches of bacon and 43 *pensas* of cheese in store at Annappes, as well as a considerable number of live beasts still on the estate. But these, like the grain, were leftovers. There would, after all, be no point in inventorying for a court report goods that were due to be consumed locally; by the time the court might need them they could all have been gone. What was recorded for the court would have been surplus in the purest sense, and thus cannot provide a foundation for the actual subsistence levels of the estate to which that surplus was by definition additional. We cannot therefore know what the crop yields at Annappes had been in whatever year the survey was conducted; all we can say, *pace* Duby and his predecessors, is that they had been at least 2.0:1 and presumably rather more.

(b) Yields at Santa Giulia di Brescia

Duby's second example, the Italian monastery of Santa Giulia di Brescia, was not recording a reserve in this fashion. An inventory of the monastery's lands survives as 12 sheets of parchment stitched together in a roll in the Archivio di Stato di Milano.[62] The roll appears to be deficient at both ends: in particular, although the text opens with lands around Brescia, the monastery itself is not covered, meaning that what is now the first parchment was probably not so originally. We do not know how much has been lost. The date comes from a dorsal note that may have been based on the now-lost head of the document, but it has struck most commentators as a reasonable fit to the three scripts involved in writing the document, at least two of whose writers shared responsibility for copying within entries and so were clearly working together from written data which they had before them. The format in which they recorded this information included running totals that make it possible to do checksums on their addition, and these usually work out correctly. While there is much that could be said about the implications of these facts for the operations of an early tenth-century administration, here we must confine ourselves to the belief that its information is likely to be contemporary and more or less consistent.

Now, in *The growth of the European economy*, as we have said above, Duby wrote of this document's information: 'The Lombard monastery of St Giulia of Bréscia [*sic*], which consumed some 6,600 measures of grain annually, would have 9,000 sown to cover its needs, which means that the return normally available to the lord was being estimated at 1.7 to 1'.[63] He gave no more detail here, but in the earlier *Rural economy* he had supplied more and different figures:

> We must not, of course, generalize from one set of figures obtained from a single source. But it is possible to find elsewhere some other traces of output, somewhat higher than that which can be derived from the Annapes [*sic*] inventory, but even so representing a low yield

Note 61 *continued*
stockpiling for famine see Jean-Pierre Devroey, 'La céréaliculture dans le monde franc', in *L'ambiente vegetale nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 37, 1990), pp. 221–56 (at pp. 247–8).

[62] Gianfranco Pasquali (ed.), 'S. Giulia di Brescia' [St Julia of Brescia], in Andrea Castagnetti *et al.* (eds), *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi* [Early medieval inventories of lands, serfs and renders] (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 104, 1979), pp. 41–94, also printed in Ezio Barbieri *et al.* (eds), *Le carte del monastero di S. Giulia di Brescia* [The charters of the monastery of St Julia of Brescia] (2008), I, no. 46. The details that follow are from Pasquali's introduction, pp. 43–52.

[63] Duby, *Early growth*, p. 28.

> and a derisory rate of profit when compared with the value of the capital in land and seed corn. One significant fact is that compilers who visited the farms of the abbey of St Giulia of Brescia [*sic*] in 905–906 to compile a polyptych found there reserves of grain in the barns which were barely higher and sometimes lower than the quantity needed for sowing. Thus at Prozano [*sic* for Porzano] where the fields could take 300 *muids* of seed corn, the stocks in the estate barn amounted to only 360 *muids* of which 140 were of millet. At Canella 90 *muids* were needed for sowing and 51 were in the barns; at Temulina 32 and 37.[64]

Again, the mathematics seems superficially justifiable, but only if all the input figures are indeed what is here represented. To check this, it is easiest to take an exemplary estate from the polyptych and work its figures through as Duby would have had to read them:

> In the *curtis* of Mairano, 2 houses, 3 hearths, arable land for the sowing of 150 *modia*, vine for 35 *amphorae*, meadows for 20 cartloads, wood for fattening 100 pigs; 1 mill, whence 12 *modia* of grain come per year; 9 *prebendarii* within the *curtis*, male and female together; 5 *modia* of corn, 52 *modia* of rye, 6 *modia* of oats, 1 *modium* of legumes, 70 *modia* of millet; that is, 133 *modia*; 24 *amphorae* of wine, 3 oxen, 35 pigs, 12 sheep, 4 goats, 7 geese, 20 chickens; cheese, 12 pounds of wool; and there are 7 lots, on which reside 11 slaves; each one of them does 4 days work in the week; and there are 11 other lots, on which reside 11 free men; 8 of them do 3 days work in the week, and 3 of them do 2 days work in the week and render 15 *denarii* in silver; and there are 3 lots, on which reside 3 tenants, who render the third *modium* of grain, half the wine and 5 ploughshares; 1 vacant lot, whence come 6 *modia* of grain and 2 *amphorae* of wine a year.[65]

Here again the basis for calculations like Duby's is perfectly clear. The estate had a capacity for 150 *modia* to be sown; they had in store only 133, giving a disastrous ratio of 0.9:1 if the next year's crop had not yet been sown, and only 1.22:1 even if it had. Applying these assumptions across the polyptych gave Duby the global figures for Santa Giulia's sowing and harvest that he used in 1964. Nonetheless, those calculations rested on a number of silent assumptions, whose exposure dangerously weakens their validity.

The first of these assumptions is the most sustainable, which is that the 22 devolved allotments (the seven held by slaves, the 11 freemen's and the four others) were not themselves included in the estate's count of available arable. Since the occupants of these lots were keeping between two-thirds and, apparently, all of what they grew, and the size of their respective portions is unguessable, including their lands in the estate's size would make it impossible to know on how much of the estate the stored crop would have been sown. There are several cases elsewhere in the polyptych, however, where the tenants rendered more wine than the estate could reportedly have delivered, and so on, so it seems likely that the allotments were indeed excluded from the basic measurement of the estate.[66] Unfortunately this is only the first assumption.

[64] Duby, *Rural economy*, p. 26.

[65] Pasquali, 'S. Giulia', p. 69, my translation. I follow the usage of the source in considering *modium* a neuter noun for its purposes.

[66] For example, a *curtis* probably outside the city of Brescia had vine good for five *amphorae* but its tenants rendered nine (ibid., pp. 58–9).

The second assumption behind the arithmetic of low yields here is that the grain found needs to have been the whole harvest, perhaps less the crop sown for next year. We do not, however, know how close to the harvest these figures were collected. Consequently, we cannot discount the possibility observed at Annappes, that a portion of the harvest had already been consumed when the surveyors took their count. If not, indeed, what had anyone on the estate had been eating since the harvest? This is all the more serious a concern because there were two obvious drains on the crop here, the first being the paid workers, the *prebendarii*, whom this crop had to feed, and the second being the monastery to whose ultimate benefit this estate was being managed. Since presumably neither the workers nor the monks were allowed to starve, without knowing how much was allotted for their consumption or how long after harvest this enumeration was made we cannot possibly guess the amount that had actually come from the fields.

Duby's arithmetic also required that the size of the arable accounted to the estate was all in use for growing at once.[67] If, for some reason, the estate was not running at full capacity and its farmers were sowing only 100 *modia*, then Duby's results would have to be improved by a third. The estate's count of wine shows, however, that this must be considered, because the same logic can be applied to it: the vines could produce 33 *amphorae* but there were only 24 in store. The first figure here is not planting seed, however, as with the grain: grapes do not need to be put back in the ground to ensure next year's vintage. If these vineyards were inventoried that year as being able to produce 33 *amphorae* despite there being only 24 *amphorae* to show this, either the estate was not in fact growing everything it could produce, or else some of what it did had already been shipped out or consumed. The counts in the polyptych do not, therefore, tell us how much of each estate's possible crop was actually being cultivated.

In any case, if the estates were to remain productive, it would of course have been necessary to leave some of the arable of any estate fallow each year. Its full capacity would therefore never have been in use.[68] Although we do not know what system of rotation was in use on Santa Giulia's estates, or even that it was the same throughout, some of each estate's land must have been left unsown each year to ensure continuing fertility. This might be as much as a half, effectively doubling the yield figures by halving the amount of grain sown, but was probably at least a third, which still makes a considerable difference.[69] By this point, one can see that

[67] Also noted by Delatouche, 'Regards', p. 78, although I cannot explain his substitute figures.

[68] Grierson, 'Unnamed fiscs', pp. 452–4, criticized others for omitting this factor from their calculations; Duby knew this article, and indeed wrote about fallowing immediately before his discussion of crop yields in *Rural economy* (pp. 22–5), but nevertheless committed exactly the same mistake.

[69] There is an extensive literature on systems of field rotation in the early Middle Ages, as the spread of triennial rotation was (and is) one of the technical improvements that Duby and others saw behind the increase in cereal yields they placed in the High Middle Ages: see Duby, *Rural economy*, pp. 90–9 and Duby, 'La révolution agricole médiévale', *Revue de géographie de Lyon*, 29 (1954), pp. 361–6, reprinted as 'Discussion: La révolution agricole médiévale', ed. Philippe Braunstein, in Braunstein, *Duby*, pp. 51–7. In fact, it has become clear (and already was to Duby: see *Rural economy*, pp. 96–9) that practice was extremely varied and that the transition was by no means necessarily from biennial to triennial rotation even if these were common choices. See, of many possible citations, Benoît Beaucage, 'Les Alpes du sud en 1338 : sur les traces de Georges Duby', in Braunstein, *Duby*, pp. 113–32 (pp. 127–31 with refs); Matthieu Arnoux, 'Paysage avec culture et animaux: variations autour du thème des pratiques agraires', ibid. pp. 133–44 (esp. 134–41);

no sensible scholar should accord this arithmetic any basis at all. Duby's figures represent not even a minimum, but a compounded set of errors that the actual crop yields here must have exceeded by an unknowably large margin.

(c) The Figures from Saint-Germain-des-Prés

For the sake of completeness, one should also address the figures that Duby provided from the inventory compiled for Abbot Irminon of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the early ninth century, quoted above. There, an estate at Maisons-sur-Seine good for 650 *modii* demanded the threshing of only 408 *modii* from its tenants, having therefore, Duby presumed, produced no more than that and the seed-corn for next year.[70] Some of what has been said above can immediately be repeated in this case too: the farmers at Maisons would never have sown a full 650 *modii* due to the need for fallow, there is no allowance here for any deductions, and so on. It is also clear that there could be other means of threshing grain above this limit which are not recorded here. In fact, Maisons is the only estate in the entire polypytch of Irminon where threshing is even mentioned, so unless every other estate went hungry other means must have been found, such as doing this task as part of the day-work that most of the abbey's tenants are recorded as owing, including at Maisons.[71]

In any case, on closer inspection the text signally fails to support Duby's arithmetic. It does indeed say that the estate was good for 650 *modii* of grain to be sown, and it does indeed say that the first tenants listed, Cristingaudus and his wife Amaltrudis, held a free manse and as part of the dues they owed from it threshed 12 *modii* of corn in the demesne granary every year.[72] But there were not 34 manses doing such service, as Duby claimed; there are manses equivalent to a number of 24½. Furthermore, in the text only Cristingaudus

Note 69 *continued*
Yoshiki Morimoto, 'L'assolement triennial au haut Moyen Âge: une analyse des données des polyptyques carolingiennes', in Verhulst and Morimoto, *Économie rurale*, pp. 91–125, repr. in Morimoto, *Études*, pp. 347–79; Maria Ocaña i Subirana, *El món agrari i els cicles agrícoles a la Catalunya vella (s. IX–XIII)* [The agrarian world and agricultural cycles in Old Catalonia (ninth to thirteenth centuries)] (Documenta, 1, Barcelona, 1998), pp. 67–9; Verhulst, *Economy*, pp. 61–4; Devroey, *Économie*, pp. 108–11; and Devroey and Nissen, 'Early Middle Ages', pp. 41–4, of which the essential common ground is that practice was varied, and had been for a long time. Cf. for more dogmatic views, Helmut Hildebrandt, 'Systems of agriculture in Central Europe up to the tenth and eleventh centuries', in Della Hooke (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon settlements* (1988), pp. 275–90; Rösener, *Agrarwirtschaft*, pp. 19–20; Joachim Henning, 'Did the "Agricultural Revolution" go east with Carolingian conquest? Some reflections on early medieval rural economics of the Baiuvarii and Thuringi', in Janine Fries-Knoblach and Heiko Steuer (eds), *The Baiuvarii and Thuringi: an ethnographic perspective* (Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology, 9, 2014), pp. 331–59; and indeed Grierson, 'Unnamed fiscs', p. 456.

[70] Duby, *Rural economy*, p. 27, citing (n. 44) Benjamin Guérard (ed.), *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon, ou Dénombrement des manses, des serfs et des revenus de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés sous le règne de Charlemagne* (2 vols in 3, 1844), II, pp. 271–2 (*recte* II, pp. 271–7, no. XXV). In the more careful edition of Auguste Longnon (ed.), *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés rédigé au temps de l'Abbé Irminon* (2 vols in 3, Paris, 1886–95), this is II, pp. 353–5.

[71] Longnon, *Polyptyque*, XXV.19 or XXV.24, for tenants doing *anecinga* or week-work; cf. Yoshiki Morimoto, 'In ebdomada operatur, quicquit precipitur ei (Le polyptyque de Prüm, X): service arbitraire ou service hebdomadaire? Une contribution à l'étude de la corvée au haut Moyen Âge', in Jean-Marie Duvosquel and Erik Thoen (eds), *Peasants and townsmen in the Middle Ages:* studia in honorem *Adriaan Verhulst* (Gand, 1995), pp. 347–72, repr. in Morimoto, *Études*, pp. 380–98, for what might be included in week-work.

[72] Longnon, *Polyptyque*, XXV.1 and XXV.3 respectively.

and Amaltrudis are explicitly tasked with threshing; the next tenant, Airoardus, admittedly 'pays similarly' (from a rather smaller holding), but the one after that, Gautsarius, with a wife Godaltrudis, and children who like all those in the text had space left for their names that was never filled in, answered for half a manse only, and the next tenants, Sichelm and Landa, 'pay similarly' even though they held a full manse.[73] Never again in the text, in fact, is it explicitly said that a manse in Maisons answered at the full rate rather than the half, and in some cases it is not actually said that they paid anything.[74] Duby's assumption that all manses had threshing to do at the lord's granary seems dangerously unfounded; only an aggregate equivalent to nine manses in fact manifestly did so. There were probably other sources of labour for threshing that would have accounted for more grain but on the other hand hardly any of the people whom Duby thought threshed seem actually to have been required to do so. It is equally likely, of course, that the scribe was simply very careless with such details, as he certainly was with others, but this also does nothing for the accuracy of Duby's deduction.

All of this, however, becomes irrelevant, in the face of Delatouche's trenchant observation that Maisons is the very last estate enumerated in a polyptych that is incomplete: the count of the tenants breaks off in the course of listing the area's forty-second household.[75] We do not know how many more there were, but the previous area surveyed had contained 178, so it could have been many.[76] This, of course, makes it impossible to guess what kind of labour supply the demesne managers at Maisons really had at their disposal or how much grain it would have been wrought upon, and deductions based upon it cannot be considered evidential. Duby should not have tried to produce them.

Although Duby by no means held the monopoly on bad deductions from early medieval agricultural data, the widespread publication of his figures and the extent to which they have been reproduced justify this extended demonstration of their frailty.[77] This helps explain the widespread consensus in French scholarship that no useful figures can be given for early medieval agricultural productivity, and that we must be content with the assumption that it

[73] Ibid., XXV.4–6.

[74] Ibid., XXV.14, XXV.38, XXV.39, XXV.41 and XXV.42 record no renders from the tenants concerned; XXV.23 expressly states that no more is done than specified, which does not include threshing.

[75] Delatouche, 'Regards', p. 76.

[76] Longnon, *Polyptyque*, II, pp. 317–52 (no. XXIV).

[77] Worse horrors may be observed in Manuel Riu i Riu, 'Pesos, mides i mesures a la Catalunya del segle XIII: aportació al seu estudi' [Weights and measures in thirteenth-century Catalonia: a step towards their study], *Anuario de estudios medievales* [Annual of medieval studies], 26 (1996), pp. 825–36, repr. without bibliography as 'Pesos, mides i mesures a la Catalunya medieval: aportació al seu estudi' [Weights and measures in medieval Catalonia: a step towards their study] in Ollich *et al.*, *Experimentació*, pp. 77–82, which says at p. 831 of the original:

> Pensem que Ramon d'Abadal, en examinar la documentació del monestir de Cuixà pertanyent al segle IX, establí que el modi era la una mesura de volum del gra necessari per a sembrar la mujada (*modiata*) de terra o sigui, aproximadament, mitja hectàrea (un xic menys) i que s'aproximaria a un pes de 80 kgs., amb un rendiment aproximat de 500 kgs. per mujada (uns 1.050 kgs. per hectàrea).

500 ÷ 80 = 6.25, but the analysis in question, Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, 'Com neix i creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l'any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà' [How a great Pyrenean monastery was born and grew before the year 1000: Eixalada-Cuxa], *Analecta montserratensia* [Montserrat analects], 8 (1954), pp. 125–337, repr. *separatim* (Montserrat, 1954) doc. no. 54 with the relevant section of analysis pp. 160–61 and n. 99 of the original and p. 42 and n. 99 of the monographic reprint, offers no such foundation. Among many figures

was sufficient for the activities of the age.[78] Yet our sources contain the possibility of better figures, though these also require caution lest they in turn assume a vigour they cannot sustain. From here, therefore, I briefly survey comparative figures for crop yields from before and after the early Middle Ages and consider the implications of modern archaeological experimentation in this arena, before returning to the polyptych of Santa Giulia di Brescia and another Italian source of similar date that Duby did not use and demonstrating that we do, in fact, have usable figures for early medieval crop yields which exceed Duby's pessimistic levels by a small but significant margin.

IV

Little space can be given here to the figures of other periods, not least as these have conventionally been employed as a contrast to the purported figures for early medieval production that we have now demolished. It is, however, worth giving at least an idea of what they are. For the Roman period we have no direct administrative records and have to rely on the personal writings of landowners as to what return they expected on crops sown on their estates: Cicero expected eight- to ten-fold yields from his lands in Sicily, whereas a century later the would-be agronomist Columella forecast yields of only 4:1 from cornfields in central Italy.[79] This has been read as evidence for the decline of productivity in Roman agriculture in the period and linked to changes in labour structures but it is very evident that like is not necessarily here being compared with like and that, in any case, the real substance of the Empire's agriculture lay by the time of Columella in Africa and Egypt, and anyone farming cereals in Italy was unlikely to be doing so as a cash crop.[80] There is little more information than this with which to compare, but it is worth noting that while these figures are clearly in excess of Duby's early medieval ones, they do not necessarily represent any great increase or decrease compared to the more accurate yields that can be deduced even from the evidence that Duby used, as shown above; their minima fall only slightly below Columella's figures.

Note 77 *continued*
that Abadal imported from unspecified modern ethnological observation were in fact the yields he assumed the estate in question should have had, making Riu's use of them as if they were medieval data especially perverse. As Abadal himself noted, p. 161, n. 99, 'Cap d'aquestes bases no pot ésser refermada en dades concretes documentals de l'època ….', although this did not prevent him trying to supply them.

[78] See n. 27 above, to which one can add Devroey, 'Céréaliculture', p. 244, with reference to other equally sceptical work, not least Delatouche, 'Regards', who of course tried anyway.

[79] Kenneth D. White, 'The efficiency of Roman farming under the Empire', *Ag. Hist.*, 30 (1956), pp. 85–9 at p. 88. It should be noted that Roman agricultural history has also lately become somewhat more agnostic about the realism of such figures: see Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson, 'Introduction: quantifying Roman agriculture' in Bowman and Wilson (eds), *The Roman agricultural economy: organization, investment, and production* (2013), pp 1–32.

[80] White, 'Efficiency', p. 88; cf. Paul Erdkamp, *The grain market in the Roman Empire: a social, political and economic study* (2005), pp. 35–54, which posits yields of 8:1 in Sicily and even higher in Egypt. By the sixth century Palestine was thought to be good for yields of between 5:1 and 7:1, and Egypt rather more; see Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Pierre Sodini, 'The sixth-century economy', trans. by Charles Dibble, in Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.), *The economic history of Byzantium from the seventh through the fifteenth Century* (3 vols, 2002), I, pp. 171–220 at p. 196.

Much better information exists from the high medieval period. Duby's use of a highly informative survey from the Provençal Hospitaller priory at Saint-Gilles, which includes contemporary yield figures from many of its estates, has already been mentioned. This document was a goldmine for Duby's earliest work, but even the most fertile estates in it did not render more than 6:1, and 4:1 was much more usual; some especially unprofitable lands only managed 2:1.[81] But comparison with other information makes clear the plausibility of these figures, this being especially possible now due to the recent collection and publication online of perhaps 75 per cent of all available crop yield information from high medieval Britain by Bruce M. S. Campbell, amounting to an incredible 30,000 records from 1211 to 1491, with a principal concentration between 1272 to 1431. Half of the information comes from the widespread lands of the Bishop of Winchester.[82] To summarize this mass of data in a few sentences is both mean and difficult, not least since the open publication of it does not use absolute numbers but a graph calculated from a statistical baseline, but within these terms it seems fair to say that the yields observed in their documentation fall on average between 2.7:1 and 3.9:1, even if occasional figures as high as 10:1 are recorded in an English context and even higher elsewhere.[83] At this rate, neither ancient nor high medieval cereal production seems so very different to the early medieval situation as Duby could have recorded it.

V

A very different picture however comes from the world of experimental archaeology. Since the 1970s, following the initial success of work done at the Butser Iron Age Farm by Peter Reynolds, there have been attempts to recreate Iron Age and medieval agricultural practice using tools and techniques for which there is archaeological or ethnographic evidence and, where possible, crops grown from the seed of wild descendants that have not been put through the centuries of selective breeding that now underpin modern cereal agriculture.[84] Again, to summarize this difficult and painstaking work seems cruel but it is necessary to do so. Reynolds's own experiments at Butser, using Iron Age techniques and selected crop varieties, achieved yields of between 22:1 and 27:1.[85] Critics have argued that their care for the crop, levels of manuring

[81] See n. 9 above.

[82] Bruce M. S. Campbell and David Hardy (eds), *Three Centuries of English Crop Yields, 1211–1491* (www.cropyields.ac.uk/, accessed 20 Mar. 2019); the Winchester data there was derived from Titow, *Yields*. The guess at 75 per cent coverage can be found in Campbell and Hardy, 'Data'.

[83] This summary is based on the information derivable from Bruce M. S. Campbell and David Hardy, 'Chronologies', in Campbell and Hardy, *Three centuries*. To access the raw data registration is required. Their database incorporates data from almost all previously published English medieval crop yields, including Titow, *Yields*, and P. F. Brandon, 'Cereal yields on the Sussex estates of Battle Abbey during the later Middle Ages', *EcHR* 25 (1972), pp. 403–20. For occasional higher figures from England and elsewhere, see n. 50 above. The few Byzantine figures available for this period fall mostly between 3:1 and 5:1: see Jacques Lefort, 'The rural economy, seventh–twelfth centuries', trans. Sarah Hanbury Tenison, in Laiou, *Economic history*, I, pp. 231–310, at pp. 259–61.

[84] See e.g. Peter J. Reynolds, 'Cereal research', in Ollich *et al.*, *Experimentació*, pp. 113–21: 'The important aspect is that all these cereal types used in these trials are, in fact, unimproved stable plants as opposed to the genetically engineered plants common in the agricultural landscape today' (p. 120).

[85] Peter J. Reynolds, 'Crop yields of the prehistoric cereal types emmer and spelt: the worst option', in Patricia

and availability of manpower in relation to cultivated area must all have greatly exceeded those available in their target period, and that field rotations and the use of fallow may not have been the same either, all of which may be true.[86] Nonetheless, a French team led by Gérard Firmin working in the Val d'Aisne with prehistoric techniques also achieved yields between 5:1 and 20:1, while Reynolds himself attempted to meet these criticisms working in collaboration with a Catalan team at l'Esquerda, an archaeological site in Roda de Ter in the modern county of Girona.[87] There, despite no manuring, no hoeing or care for the crop between sowing and harvest, and despite one rainless spring that eliminated an entire spring harvest and greatly diminished the autumn one, the team's yields from high medieval crop types and techniques fell between averages per crop of 15:1 and 19:1 in a biennial rotation and 25:1 to 31:1 in a triennial rotation with legumes rather than fallow.[88]

All of this exceeds the results that would be expected from the written sources by a clear order of magnitude, and one has to ask why. One obvious answer is loss to birds: the crops at l'Esquerda were sown by an anachronistic seed drill so that known quantities of seed sown could be related to the harvest, whereas no such technology was available for the period of any of the figures so far given.[89] As Reynolds himself recorded, medieval English doggerel, Biblical parallels and his own experiments with broadcast sowing at Butser suggested that loss to birds would otherwise have been around 50 per cent of seed sown, even with children and fowlers active in bird deterrence.[90] In all of these cases, also, the growing land used had been fallow for years before the experiments and will have given of its best.[91] Another imponderable is

Note 85 *continued*
C. Anderson (ed.), *Préhistoire de l'agriculture: nouvelles approches expérimentales et ethnographiques* (CRA Monographie, 6, 1992), pp. 383–93, repr. in Anderson (ed.), *Prehistory of agriculture: new experimental and ethnographic approaches* (Institute of Archaeology Monographs, 40, 1999), pp. 267–75.

[86] See Devroey, 'Céréaliculture', p. 245, referring to Peter J. Reynolds, 'A study of the crop yield potential of the prehistoric cereals emmer and spelt wheats', in Devroey and J.-J. Van Mol (eds), *L'épeautre (Triticum spelta): Histoire et ethnologie* (1989), pp. 77–88. It should be noted that experiments at Butser without manuring still produced ratios of around 27:1 or more: see Reynolds, 'Cereal research', pp. 116–17. Devroey's survey ('Céréaliculture', pp. 229–41) makes out that spelt was an unrepresentative crop for the early Middle Ages, but as can be seen above, it was in the barns at Annappes; cf. Verhulst, *Economy*, pp. 61–3 and 68–9.

[87] Gérard Firmin, 'Archéologie agraire et expérimentation', in Laurent Feller *et al.* (eds), *Le village médiévale et son environnement: Études offertes à J.-M. Pesez* (2000), pp. 279–300 (*non vidi*), cit. by Devroey, *Économie*, I, p. 117 and n. 104.

[88] The experiments are described in Reynolds, 'Cereal yields', *id.*, 'Cereal research' and Immaculada Ollich, Peter J. Reynolds and Montserrat de Rocafiguera, 'Agricultura medieval i arqueològia experimental: el projecte de l'Esquerda' [Medieval agriculture and experimental archaeology: the l'Esquerda project] in *IV Congrés d'Arqueològia Espanyola* [Fourth Congress of Spanish Archaeology] (3 vols, 1993), III, pp. 701–9, repr. in Ollich *et al.*, *Experimentació*, pp. 51–6 (pp. 53–5 of the reprint). The most complete figures available can be found in Carmen Cubero i Corpas *et al.*, 'From the granary to the field: archaeobotany and experimental archaeology at l'Esquerda (Catalonia, Spain)', *Vegetation Hist. and Archaeobotany*, 17 (2008), pp. 85–92.

[89] Reynolds, 'Cereal yields', p. 501, and *idem*, 'Cereal research', p. 114. Note that Ollich *et al.*, 'Agricultura', p. 55, say instead that sowing had been by hand into dug trenches, in which case this mitigation of the results may be excessive.

[90] Reynolds, 'Cereal yields', pp. 497–8 of the original. Ocaña, *Món agrari*, pp. 77–8 and 120, figs 13, 89 and 90 show medieval depictions of peasants driving birds from the field, from both Catalonia and England.

[91] Indeed, Ollich *et al.*, *Experimentació*, p. 185, record a steady decline in productivity of the fields over the course of their experiment despite their rotation programmes.

how far the genome of the modern crops, wild or not, matched that of the ones grown in the early Middle Ages after centuries.[92] A further unknown is the question of climate difference, one that simply cannot be entered into here, and another, specifically affecting the experiments at l'Esquerda, the choice of legumes instead of fallow may be anachronistic for our period; scholarly consensus seems to be that Carolingian practice would probably have been to leave the field fallow, which over time would have reduced its comparative fertility, although the evidence from Santa Giulia di Brescia does not necessarily conform with this.[93]

All of these modifications might bring the archaeological figures down towards the range of those from the high medieval written sources, but it is also wise to observe the sheer number of unknowns involved in the calculation even of those figures. Jan Titow, in publishing much of the data from Winchester now used in Campbell's project, had three full pages of variables to consider, which Campbell reproduces: they cannot all be repeated here but include such unknowable factors as whether grain was left over from a previous year or might have been bought in from elsewhere, whether manorial servants had been paid and if so how much, what grain might not yet have been threshed when the audit was made or even sold prior to threshing, whether poor-quality grain for brewing might have been separated already (which had been done at Annappes, as mentioned above), whether tithe had been taken (which on the Winchester estates was usually done in the field but might not have been elsewhere), and whether the same measures were used at all stages of the process. All of these decrease the apparent precision of these data considerably, but tend overall to represent them lower than the actual yield from the field. Titow's methodology for addressing this question may well have been reasonable for Winchester's records, frequently vocal about accounting practice, but this is less certain elsewhere.[94] As for the archaeological returns, Reynolds was understandably less ready to impugn his own techniques than to question the written evidence but he wrote with reason: 'There is, of course, no value in decrying these references but there is real point in questioning their exact meaning and where the calculation of yield might be in the post-harvest cycle of grain disbursement', which seems all the more relevant in the light of Titow's similar cautions.[95] What seems safest to say from all this, therefore, is that the figures

[92] See n. 84 above. Reynolds, 'Cereal yields', p. 497, uses uncited pictorial evidence to argue for basic continuity of the plants from the ancient to modern eras.

[93] A summary of climate data resting on a reassuringly large body of evidence is Michael E. Mann *et al.*, 'Proxy-based reconstructions of hemispheric and global surface temperature variations over the past two millennia', *Proc. of the National Academy of Sciences*, 105 (2008), pp. 13, 252–7. On crop rotation, see n. 69 above: the data for variability in Arnoux, 'Paysage avec culture', including four- and five-field systems, extends into the area where Santa Giulia's property was held, so although the rendering of legumes on many of Santa Giulia's estates (Pasquali, 'S. Giulia', *passim*) could suggest that rotation with a vegetable crop may have been common there, we cannot say more.

[94] Titow, *Yields*, pp. 7–9, reproduced in Campbell and Hardy, 'Data'. Some of this complexity can be seen in early medieval records from Verona, whose bishop's administrators fairly clearly took renders both from the field and subsequently, presumably after threshing: see Andrea Castagnetti (ed.), 'Vescovato di Verona' [Bishopric of Verona] in Castagnetti *et al.*, *Inventari*, pp. 95–111, e. g. 101:

> … *et* sun*t tres sortes in ipso vico, quas* per*tin*et *de curte Leonago: est una, quæ dat vinu*m t*erciu*m, *maiorimmo q*uarto *in ca*mpo, *minudo mod*io q*uart*o, *den*arios *XL, pullos II, ovas X, in pascha den*arios *III, lino mardas III, faba mod*io *I, opera in prada IIII et duas carras de domnico feno trahere ad ipsa*m *curte*m.

[95] Reynolds, 'Cereal yields', p. 498.

we have for high medieval agriculture, and the extremely limited Roman figures, represent not so much the productivity of the crops and the farming techniques used to raise them, but more the productivity of the régime operated by the landlord whose records we have. This should make us chary of attempting comparison between them and either the archaeological figures, which may have their own difficulties, or early medieval figures which we have derived in a different fashion.

VI

What we need most are early medieval figures of the same sort as the high medieval ones, and these do in fact exist.[96] The very short polyptych of San Tommaso di Reggio, dating from an unknown point in the tenth century, gives unambiguous figures for grain sown and for the *exitus*, the yield from the field, at five estates, although we do not know whether tithe or any workers' wages had been taken from these renders before counting. The scribes' arithmetic was also extremely shaky. Nonetheless, this gives these figures only the same difficulties as the later English ones, and therefore it is worth recording that their average is 2.64:1, with high and low figures of 1.75:1 and 3.30:1, which is to place them somewhat below the high medieval yields but above Duby's abysmal ones for the Carolingian period and above those he recorded more contemporaneously, but erroneously, from Santa Giulia di Brescia.[97]

To the San Tommaso figures and the new minimum that can be set from our recalculations of the Annappes figures, however, can also be added a different sort of deduction from the polyptych of Santa Giulia di Brescia, which, while not direct testimony to crop yields, nevertheless gives us something like minimum operating levels for two of Santa Giulia's estates. These two estates were at Borgonato and Canelle Secco, and the latter is the more informative. There one could put 90 *modia* in the ground and the surveyors found only 51, but they also found 16 *prebendarii* and 39 tenants of various classes, and here, unusually, the compilers tell us: 'and the above-named *prebendarii* and tenants take (*tollent*) 195 *modia* of grain a year'.[98] I assume that the tenants were given grain by way of food when they were labouring on the monastery's own land, as most of them were obliged to do. This actually therefore gives us something like the operating figures which we do not have elsewhere for what was actually consumed of the harvest, and thus makes possible a hypothetical arithmetic of what should have been left. Even this involves an assumption about crop rotation, but if we thus assume that this estate ran on a three-field system, and that it therefore sowed at most 60 *modia* a year, we see that to keep the system running at full power a normal year would need to grow at the very least that 60 *modia*, for next year's crop, plus the 195 that would be given to the tenants. If it ran on a biennial rotation, they would have needed that 195 plus 45 *modia* seed. This, of course, completely omits the share of the monastery for whose benefit this estate was operating, but that cannot be reconstructed. Nonetheless, if the monastery had taken nothing,

[96] I was informed of these data by Professor Chris Wickham, to whom I owe considerable thanks.

[97] Andrea Castagnetti (ed.), 'S. Tommaso di Reggio' [Saint Thomas of Reggio], in *idem et al.*, *Inventari*, pp. 193–8; see also Fumagalli, 'Rapporto', for which reference I am also grateful to Chris Wickham.

[98] Pasquali, 'S. Giulia', pp. 55–6, my translations.

however unlikely that may be, in order to repeat its performance the next year this estate had to produce at least 240 *modia* from 45 sown, 5.33:1, or 255 from 60, 4.25:1.

On top of this, of the monastery's render, however much it was, and of anything else that had been subtracted such as tithe or officials' renders, there apparently also remained 51 *modia*, which if they were surplus would raise the harvest figure still further, but it is not clear whether this was to provide the seed-corn, so it is best not to calculate with it. There was no such remainder at Borgonato, but perhaps there it had already been sown. Likewise incalculable, on other monasteries' estates and on some of Santa Giulia's, the monastery's own take was frequently a quarter of the crop, but since that cannot be guessed here and spurious figures are notorious for taking on a life of their own in scholarly literature – as indeed this article has demonstrated – the necessary arithmetic of hypothesis is left to the reader.[99]

The situation at Borgonato is less striking: here there was also land to sow 90 *modia*, but no remainder, and the prebendaries received only 65 *modia* annually.[100] Presumably other labour was available, which complicates our picture but does not preclude our use of these figures. To keep this estate running therefore required at least 100 *modia* from 50 on biennial rotation or 125 from 60 on triennial, respectively 2.00:1 or 2.37:1, although again the monastery's take and whatever other dues might be taken from it would not be included in this arithmetic.

These three Italian sources plus a recalculated Annappes thus give us eight early medieval crop yields figures all told, ranging from 1.75:1 to 5.10:1, in all cases minima which alterations of variables like crop rotation scheme at Santa Giulia, tithe and workers' wages at San Tommaso and the extent of the landlord's take at Annappes and Santa Giulia both, would raise upwards if we could only know their amount. Nonetheless, this means that our mean crop yield figure for the ninth and tenth centuries is actually 2.76:1, not Duby's gloomy minimum, and the actual yields in these places were necessarily higher than the figures we can give, by a varying margin that we cannot calculate.[101]

VII

These are the totality of the early medieval crop yields that I have located which can actually be demonstrated, and they bring us to some important conclusions. Firstly, the evidence for early medieval crop yields that has been employed in most of the literature hitherto has been inadequate and badly interpreted. In the case of the *Brevium exempla*, the information in the surveys cannot ever have been intended to record the estate's actual harvest. The text makes clear that the crop had already been at least partly distributed, and current understanding of

[99] Theodore V. Buttrey, 'Calculating ancient coin production: facts and fantasies', The President's Address, *Numismatic Chronicle* 153 (1993), pp. 335–51 at pp. 349–51; the influence of this article on my thinking is much larger than this citation can indicate. Professor Buttrey sadly died during the drafting of this article and I cannot now thank him in the way I would wish.

[100] Pasquali, 'S. Giulia', pp. 56–7.

[101] Averaging the figures for biennial and triennial rotation for each Brescia estate and rounding all to two decimal places, so:

(2.02 [Annappes] + ((5.33 + 4.59) / 2) [Canelle Secco] + ((2.00 + 2.37) / 2) [Borgonato] + 2.80 + 3.33 + 1.75 + 2.00 + 2.33 [all San Tommaso]) / 8.00 =
(2.02 + 4.96 + 2.19 + 2.80 + 3.33 + 1.75 + 2.00 + 2.33) / 8.00 =
22.08 / 8.00 = 2.76.

the Carolingian design for fiscal distribution of produce suggests that almost all of it might have been. What we see there is therefore the surplus that Carolingian agriculture was capable of generating above and beyond its needs, and our recalculated yield figure of 2.02:1 there is an absolute minimum for an estate that presumably ran at a considerably higher margin, the intended result of the intensified management laid down in the *Capitulare de villis*. Saint-Germain-des-Prés might have shown us something similar if its figures were usable for this purpose, but they are not.

Meanwhile, at Santa Giulia di Brescia, while the arithmetic used to obtain Duby's 1.70:1 and similar figures is unsustainable and unsalvageable, elsewhere in the text information exists from which yields, again minima that must in practice have been exceeded, of 2.00:1 or 5.10:1 can realistically be derived, while San Tommaso di Reggio contributes five more figures which mostly fall within the same range. While they hang some way below the maxima that archaeological experiment has suggested could be obtained from the luckiest of estates, presumably partly because of subtractions of the numerous kinds required to operate such an agriculture in early medieval society, these figures do thus fall within the ranges recorded, somewhat shakily, from the Roman and, more securely, from the high medieval period. It is still impossible to reason from texts such as these to definite yields, because we cannot know what part of the harvest was destined for consumption or sale elsewhere before the storage of the amount for which we have figures. Furthermore, it is important again to emphasize that a picture of the Carolingian economy based entirely on cereal yield figures would be substantially incomplete.[102] We do, however, have and have always had good reason to be sure that yield must normally have been considerably in excess of Duby's gloomy figures, which can be retained, if at all, as a minimum.

There is no reason, then, to believe that Carolingian agriculture was noticeably worse than that of the Romans or of the high Middle Ages. We can also see from the *Brevium exempla* that a developed estate structure might amass sufficient surplus to keep things going even in bad times. With that and the information on resource management from the other Italian polyptychs we can thus more solidly understand how polities of this era could continue, year on year, good or bad, to put large armies into the field, to feed and maybe even pay workmen for substantial building projects, and generally divert surplus sufficient to fuel the Carolingian Empire, the Carolingian Renaissance and their non-Frankish partners elsewhere.[103]

[102] See n. 53 above, to which references can be added Devroey, 'Céréaliculture', pp. 243–46.

[103] Hereby, of course, hangs another large question, about the possible origins of the 'agricultural take-off' of the High Middle Ages in the Carolingian era and its causes, on which debate see most obviously *Croissance agricole*, but also now Helena Hamerow, *Early medieval settlements: the archaeology of rural communities in North-West Europe, 400–900* (2002), pp. 143–4; François Sigaut, 'L'évolution des techniques' in Miquel Barceló and Sigaut (eds), *The making of feudal agricultures?* (The Transformation of the Roman World, 14, Leiden, 2004), pp. 1–31; Joachim Henning, 'Revolution or relapse? Technology, agriculture and early medieval archaeology in Germanic central Europe', in Giorgio Ausenda, Paolo Delogu and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Langobards before the Frankish conquest: an ethnographic perspective* (Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology, 8, 2009), pp. 149–73, to any of which cf. Matthew Innes, 'Framing the Carolingian Economy', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 9 (2009), pp. 42–58. The findings here would tend to support those who have seen that expansion as founded in land clearance, e.g. Derville, *L'agriculture*, pp. 36–8, as opposed to technical change,

Questions may now have to be asked about where this leaves the supposed 'agricultural revolution' of the central Middle Ages and how the medieval progress narrative is in fact to be explained, but at least we must admit that presumed agricultural inadequacy in the early Middle Ages by contrast to later periods is not that explanation, that indeed there is evidence that they were not inadequate, and that we must find better ways to express and explain the differences between them and what came before and after.

Note 103 *continued*
e.g. Duby, or changing mentalities, e.g. Vito Fumagalli, 'Conquiste di nuovi spazi agricole', in *Il secolo di ferro: mito realtà del secolo X* (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 38, 2 vols, Spoleto, 1990), II, pp. 615–35, but to go further would be a different article.

The housing of peasant livestock in England, 1200–1520*

by Christopher Dyer

Abstract

The pastoral dimension of peasant farming needs more investigation. The main focus of recent research has been on the number of peasant animals and the application of their manure in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This enquiry extends the discussion to include husbandry and management, concentrating on the housing of animals, before and after 1350. A combination of archaeological and documentary evidence is used to assess demesne buildings (as a standard for comparison) and accommodation for peasant livestock. The evidence comes from documents relating to the maintenance of buildings, archaeological excavation and survey, and architectural history. Byres, stables, sheepcotes, and other buildings are identified, some built to a high standard. Their numbers seem limited, though there may be some under-recording. Peasant animals were kept in yards, pens, and shelters, and in severe weather are likely to have been placed in barns, which were multi-functional buildings. Peasants could not afford as many specialist buildings as the demesne, but adapted to their circumstances, and followed their own methods for managing the livestock and their manure.

Pastoral farming made a vital contribution to rural production in the middle ages, but we do not know a great deal about its scale and techniques. Peasant animal husbandry is especially obscure, yet taken together peasants kept more animals and created a larger output of wool, meat, and dairy products than came from the lords' demesnes.

An influential thesis about peasant livestock in the thirteenth century was set out in 1962 by Postan.[1] He used the lay subsidy assessments on moveable goods, mainly animals. He found, in the tax lists for south Wiltshire in 1225 for example, that the average payer was assessed on 1.8 horses and oxen, 2.8 cows and calves, 15.6 sheep, and 0.3 pigs. He argued that these figures were too low to provide adequate amounts of manure to maintain the fertility of the arable fields. The livestock were very unequally distributed among the taxpayers, leaving many

* After initial forays into the subject of peasant farm buildings in papers to the Vernacular Architecture Group and the Winterbourne Medieval Barn Trust, an earlier version of this paper was given to the winter seminar of the Medieval Settlement Research Group in December 2017. It has benefited from comments and information from Mark Gardiner, Erik Thoen, Stuart Wrathmell, and Sheila Sweetinburgh. I am grateful for having access to unpublished typescripts by Chris Gerrard and Nick Palmer. Andy Isham prepared the Figures. I have benefited from conversations with farmers, most recently Stephen Asquith and Michael Hogan. Two referees and the editor made valuable comments which enabled me to make improvements.

[1] M. Postan, 'Village livestock in the thirteenth century', *EcHR* 15 (1962), pp. 219–49.

households with few animals, and the numbers tended to decline around 1300. The problems of low and falling agricultural productivity contributed to the crisis of subsistence and the onset of a falling population in the fourteenth century. This view received support from a number of scholars. Hilton pointed to the relatively small herds of cattle and flocks of sheep belonging to tenants that were reported trespassing on lords' land, and the limited numbers of livestock which were recorded as being pastured by peasants in the king's forest of Feckenham (Worcestershire).[2]

A revisionist view has been put forward by Stone, who examined a number of individual holdings for which animals were listed.[3] The numbers in themselves do not seem very impressive, such as the Hertfordshire smallholder in 1337 who owned a horse, a cow, a bullock, and 12 sheep, but if the stocking rates (animals per acre) are calculated, such peasant holdings were better supplied with manure than many demesnes. The same conclusion was reached by Slavin using a large body of taxpayers in Blackbourne Hundred in Suffolk in 1283, where stocking rates were again impressively high.[4] La Poutré has taken up this line of argument, concentrating on the manure, which he quantified in terms of its weight and chemical composition. He imagined a half-yardland holding (15 acres or 6 ha) receiving the dung from cattle stalled over winter, and from a small flock of sheep kept on the fallow and stubble throughout the year, and judged that the peasant land was not under-manured.[5]

Research into the number of animals and the quantity of their manure has been concerned with the period 1200–1350 because of its relevance to such issues as peasant welfare and the contribution of agricultural productivity to the fourteenth-century crisis. After the drop in human population which is often linked with the Black Death of 1348–49, pressure on resources was reduced, demand for animals and their products changed, labour costs rose, and the use of land shifted from arable to grazing. Animal numbers increased in some places and at certain times, but the scale and chronology of these changes varied. In the period 1350–1520 historians' attention has been concerned less with problems of subsistence and more with the rebalancing of the rural economy and shifts in the distribution of wealth. Knowledge of the quantity of peasant livestock needs to be extended to include their feeding and management.[6]

In the whole period between 1200 and 1520 peasants did not keep animals mainly for the sake of their manure but because of the variety of contributions that they made to the economy of the holding. They pulled ploughs, harrows, carts, and wains, and sometimes powered mills. Riding horses improved access to markets and employment. Dairy produce, meat, wool, hides, and horn were consumed by the household, or were sold. Peasants bred cattle and horses, and made money from the sale of some of the young animals.[7] Broadberry

[2] R. H. Hilton, *A medieval society. The West Midlands at the end of the thirteenth century* (sec. edn, 1983), pp. 109–10.

[3] D. Stone, *Decision-making in medieval agriculture* (2005), pp. 262–72.

[4] P. Slavin, 'Peasant livestock husbandry in late thirteenth-century Suffolk: economy, environment, and society', in M. Kowaleski, J. Langdon, and P. Schofield (eds), *Peasants and lords in the medieval English economy. Essays in honour of Bruce M. S. Campbell* (2015), pp. 3–26.

[5] H. La Poutré, 'Fertilization by manure: a manor model comparing English demesne and peasant land, *c.*1300', *AgHR* 65 (2017), pp. 20–48.

[6] R. Britnell, *Britain and Ireland 1050–1530. Economy and society* (2004), pp. 413–23.

[7] J. Claridge, 'The role of demesnes in the trade of agricultural horses in late medieval England', *AgHR* 65 (2017), pp. 1–19, esp. p. 19.

and his colleagues have sought to calculate the contribution that pastoral farming made to the national income. They suggest that in the 1270s livestock production, measured in constant prices, amounted to 30.8 per cent of the agricultural output; this rose to about a third in the 1300s, came nearer to a half after 1350 and reached 46.9 per cent in the 1450s.[8] In other words, the output of pastoral agriculture had attained near parity with that of arable towards the end of the middle ages. Furthermore, as agriculture represented more than 40 per cent of the total output of the whole national economy, the pastoral sector represented near to a fifth of the national GDP in the fifteenth century. Although the defining characteristic of peasants was the relatively small scale of their agricultural production, their large numbers enabled them collectively to make a major contribution to the rural economy and therefore to national income. Arable and pasture of course complemented one another, and while a high proportion of the grain harvested was used to feed the peasant households, much of the pastoral production supplied the market.

Pastoral farming clearly deserves investigation. In order to understand its importance the quantity of animals needs to be assessed, but also the quality of livestock husbandry. This article explores one dimension of this, the housing of animals by peasants, which touched most aspects of the pastoral economy. Those writing about agriculture from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century believed that housing contributed to productivity, for instance enabling better wool to be obtained from sheep if they were kept in sheepcotes. Housing for all animals allowed efficient feeding, with mangers and racks fitted in the buildings, while fodder might be stored under the same roof. Housing aided the convenient collection of dung, which was concentrated and mingled with the straw litter on which the animals stood. To what extent were animals kept in buildings, and what influence did this have on the efficiency of livestock management?

I

Buildings on manorial demesnes are well documented, and a brief foray into the abundant evidence will provide a standard for comparison. On the 57 manors of the bishopric of Winchester's estates between 1282 and 1304 the famous annual accounts, the pipe rolls, make reference to 90 barns, either said to be for grain, or just called 'barns', and 43 described as barns for hay and/or straw.[9] There were various specialist buildings for carts, wains, and dairying. Animals were provided with 80 byres or cattle houses, 25 stables, 61 sheepcotes, 16 pigsties, 14 poultry houses, and 12 dovecots. Some of these large and well-funded manors were equipped with more than one barn and byre, and they were usually able to put a good number of cattle and sheep under cover. Horses were apparently not so often housed in specialist buildings, and one suspects that pigs and poultry were commonly kept in structures that did not require much expenditure and so escaped mention in the accounts.

[8] S. Broadberry, B. Campbell, A. Klein, M. Overton and B. van Leeuwen, *British economic growth, 1270–1870* (2015), pp. 110–20, 194.

[9] I am grateful for this information from C. Thornton, from an unpublished typescript, which was part of his presentation to the Winter Conference of the British Agricultural History Society in 1995.

Animal housing is found on all types of manor, such as two well-documented examples provided by the large main manor and the small rectory manor at Bourton-on-the-Hill in Gloucestershire. The main manor, belonging to Westminster Abbey, resembled in size and levels of investment those of the Winchester estate. Between 1279 and 1399 the accounts give details of expenditure of money and labour on a barn, granary, hay house, cart house, wool house, stable, two byres at one point, a cow house, two sheepcotes (and a third for a time), two pigsties, a fowl house, and a dovecot.[10] Smaller structures were provided, in one case for storing the barrels of tar used to combat disease among the sheep. In the course of repair and rebuilding in the fourteenth century, both the barn and a sheepcote were roofed with stone slates, replacing the more normal straw thatch. Nearby lay the manor of Bourton rectory, with buildings serving a much smaller area of agricultural land, yet in the period 1296–1304 a barn, byre, stable, sheepcote, pigsty, and dovecot were being maintained.[11]

Many of our documents come from church manors, so it is worth mentioning a 1374 description of the estate of a knight, Thomas de Bradeston, whose manor of Stinchcombe in Gloucestershire was equipped with two barns, an ox house, a sheepcote, a pigsty, two dovecots and a hen house. His sheepcote, as at Bourton, was roofed with stone slates.[12] At a knightly manor house in Oxfordshire, Barentins at Chalgrove, an extensive range of buildings has been excavated, including in the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century phase an outer courtyard with at least four agricultural buildings: a large barn, a byre, and a cart house, and on the edge of the moated enclosure a narrow building about 42 m long which is likely to have been a sheepcote.[13] A number of other unidentified buildings probably included a stable.

Evidently lords of all kinds in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were accustomed to store crops and keep a variety of animals and birds in specialized buildings. Barns had space for much of the corn, though thatched stacks were also built in the yard. A good proportion of the lords' cattle and sheep could have been accommodated in the byres or sheepcotes, but not all. Some of the livestock were evidently kept in yards or closes. Pigs and poultry appear often to have been housed in less substantial structures.

II

How did peasant buildings, and in particular their livestock housing, compare with those of the demesnes? The best documentary evidence comes from the records of dilapidation found in manor court rolls. Lords regarded the buildings on customary holdings as estate assets, and sought to enforce the tenants' obligation to carry out repairs. Taking the West Midland region as a much studied example, orders in manor courts to make repairs were unusual before 1320, grew in numbers in the decades before the Black Death, and then multiplied and reached a peak during the fifteenth century. Lords were alarmed by the neglect of tenant buildings,

[10] Westminster Abbey Muniments (hereafter WAM), 8232–8318.

[11] WAM, 8247–8254.

[12] E. Stokes (ed.), *Abstract of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for Gloucestershire, part 6, 1359–1413* (British Record Soc., 47, 1914), pp. 82–5.

[13] P. Page, K. Atherton and A. Hardy, *Barentin's manor. Excavations of the moated manor at Harding's Field, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 1976–9* (Oxford Archaeology, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph, 24, 2005), pp. 24–5, 49–56, 163–9.

which they feared might lead to complete ruin. The decays had many causes: holdings were being abandoned, or tenants were acquiring more than one holding, or they were changing the management of their assets, or simply could not afford the costs of labour and materials. The orders to tenants to make repairs sometimes identified the building that needed attention. At Upper Swell, Gloucestershire, in 1498, Thomas Boveton was presented in the manor court for not repairing defects in the timbers and roofing of his byre, and he faced a penalty of 6*s*. 8*d*. if he did not comply.[14] Specific parts of a building could be selected for repair: at Stoke Giffard in Gloucestershire in 1454 John Oseward was told 'to hang the door of his barn on the north side of the same barn'.[15] The tenants were sometimes given incentives, in the form of gifts of timber, or release from rent, or reduction of arrears. Attempts might be made to coerce them, with requirements to pay to pay 3*d*. or 4*d*. when the neglect was reported, and then they were threatened with more severe financial penalties such as 6*s*. 8*d*., or even eviction. They might be required to put up a new building of specified size and quality, by a set date, again under threat of penalties.[16] In extreme circumstances, lords would take over the repairs or replacement by organizing the work themselves. The clerks who wrote the court rolls tended to be brief and uninformative about the various types of building, often using the Latin word *domus*, which is commonly translated as 'house'. This often meant a human dwelling, but could refer to a cart house, ox house, or sheep house, as the word was a generic term for a building. On rare occasions a complete set of buildings is described, as in the case of William Porter's holding at Weston Subedge, Gloucestershire, in 1447.[17] He was failing to keep in good repair a hall, two chambers, a kitchen, byre, sheepcote, barn, and dovecot 'and other buildings'. This cannot be regarded as a typical farm complex, as Porter held an exceptional five yardlands (150 acres), in a period when the wealthier tenants in nearby villages were farming between 30 and 90 acres.

The types of buildings mentioned in series of court rolls are analysed in Table 1. These five examples have been chosen because the lords of these manors (or their officials) were particularly exercised by the problem of dilapidation, and the clerks recorded more details than usual. The choice of words varied, and one notes that at Kingscote and on the Archbishop of York's estate, the main building for food preparation was called a bakehouse (*pistrinum*), but at Kingham there were kitchens and no bakehouses. Similar inconsistencies probably influenced the references to buildings for animals, with the result that sheepcotes were recorded in significant numbers at Kingscote and Broadway, and on the Evesham manors, but on a much smaller scale at Kingham and on the archepiscopal estate. Modest numbers of byres and stables were reported to be in need of repair at Kingham and on the Evesham manors, and very few or none on the others. In all about 25 per cent of the tenant buildings with their functions identified were intended for animals, which was less than the 36 per cent of buildings described as barns or granaries, but under-recording may account for some of that discrepancy.

Leaving aside the estates and manors which were assiduous in identifying the function of many buildings in need of repair, the routine entries in court rolls indicate that animal

[14] TNA, SC2/175/77 (court rolls of Evesham Abbey manors in Gloucestershire).

[15] Gloucestershire Archives (hereafter GA), D2700 MJ 11/1/2 (court roll from the Badminton archive).

[16] P. Hargreaves, 'Seignorial reaction and peasant responses: Worcester Priory and its peasants after the Black Death', *Midland Hist*. 24 (1999), pp. 53–78, esp. pp. 62–71.

[17] Dorset RO, D10/M230 (court roll of Giffard manors).

TABLE 1. Buildings reported to be in need of repair.

		Hall	Chamber	Kitchen	Bakehouse	Barn/granary	Carthouse	Hayhouse	Byre	Stable	Sheepcote	Pigsty	Dovecote	Total
Archbishop of York's estates in Gloucester-shire, 1439–97[a]	n	18	3	1	10	42	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	80
	%	23	4	1	13	53	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	100
Evesham Abbey's manors in Gloucester-shire, 1497–1513[b]	n	25	10	4	0	31	1	0	7	8	19	3	1	109
	%	23	9	4	0	28	1	0	7	7	17	3	1	100
Kingham, Oxfordshire, 1516–25[c]	n	15	4	9	0	19	0	1	6	6	3	1	0	64
	%	23	6	14	0	30	0	2	9	9	5	2	0	100
Kingscote, Gloucestershire, 1430–56[d]	n	9	0	0	8	24	5	0	2	1	10	1	0	60
	%	15	0	0	13	40	8	0	3	2	17	2	0	100
Broadway, Worcestershire, 1503–18[e]	n	2	4	2	2	15	1	0	1	1	18	1	0	47
	%	4	9	4	4	32	2	0	2	2	38	2	0	100
Total	n	69	21	16	20	131	7	1	16	16	55	6	2	360
	%	19	6	3	6	36	2	0	4	3	15	2	1	100

Sources:
[a] Gloucestershire Archives, D621/M1, M2.
[b] TNA, SC2/175/77, 78.
[c] New College Oxford, 3797.
[d] Gloucestershire Archives D471/M2.
[e] TNA, SC2/210/32, 33.

housing was in widespread use. The great majority of references to buildings in need of repair simply employ the unspecific term *domus,* or refer to defects in the messuage or tenement. In 1,257 presentments referring to decayed buildings or repairs, gathered from the records of more than 50 manors spread over the whole of the West Midlands, mostly between 1350 and 1520, about 70 per cent refer to unspecified buildings, but a number are given more precise descriptions, including 150 barns, 24 sheepcotes, 11 byres, six pigsties (called a swinecote in one case), five stables, and seven dovecots. The frequency of different types of animal housing resembles that found in the more detailed records in Table 1, with sheepcotes the most often mentioned, followed by byres. Most of the manors included in Table 1 were located in or near to the Cotswolds, which might be thought to explain the high proportion of sheepcotes, except that accommodation for sheep is prominent in the larger sample which extends over the whole region. A similarly small number of references to animal housing is found in other regions, such as the eight buildings for livestock listed among the 200 tenant buildings on the Ramsey Abbey estate (mainly in Huntingdonshire) documented between 1399 and 1458.[18]

[18] E. Dewindt, *The Liber Gersumarum of Ramsey Abbey* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Subsidia Mediaevalia, 7, 1976).

The overall conclusion from records of tenant buildings requiring repair in the period 1350–1520 is that housing for animals was in widespread use but thinly distributed, with only one or two specialized livestock buildings on some holdings, and often none at all. This may mean that animal accommodation was not fully reported, but could also reflect its scarcity in the real world.

The bulk of the detailed documentary evidence examined so far comes from the period after 1350 because – with a few exceptions – dilapidation presentments appear only after the first plague epidemic. There are occasional references to peasant buildings between 1200 and 1350, but we lack the detailed testimony or large sample available for the later period. The records of the royal forests include an inquisition into offences against forest law in Feckenham Forest (Worcestershire) in the 1240s. This reported that 224 buildings had been put up in the forest, many of them on assarts (clearings of trees and vegetation).[19] A few are identified as specialized animal housing, such as a piggery (*porcheria*), but a typical entry says, after describing the erection of the building, 'from which go six oxen and four pigs'. The number and species vary, from such large groups as 'six oxen, one horse, and twelve sheep' to 'a cow'. The association between buildings and animals is implied, and to reinforce this impression, when a barn was erected, animals 'do not go'. The wording is enigmatic, but it can be read to mean that a clerk expected that woodland peasants in the early thirteenth century would keep livestock in their buildings. Another explanation would be that the animals were accommodated near the buildings, in yards or pens from which they were taken to pasture.

Anecdotal references to peasants' agricultural buildings, admittedly mentioning barns more often than byres or stables, can be found in early manorial court rolls, and records of the coroners and the royal courts.[20] An unusual entry in the King's Bench records for Staffordshire in 1363 concerns Christine Curson of Fauld who was accused of digging and quarrying (for alabaster) and causing the destruction of 20 dwelling houses ('insethouses'), 10 barns, 3 bakehouses and 5 byres.[21] The byres were valued at 5 marks (£3 6*s*. 8*d*.) each, and their timbers were sold, suggesting structures of some quality. As in the samples cited already, barns were more numerous than byres. The offence was probably committed before 1363, and the damaged buildings are likely to have been built in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Returning to the whole chronological range of sources for the later middle ages, are there other explanations for the limited evidence for buildings for animals on peasant holdings? Once it would have been said that there were plenty of longhouses, that is buildings with dwellings and byres under the same roof. Perhaps the *domus* so often figuring in the sources was a dual purpose structure, and therefore byres were more plentiful than first appears? Our documents would not necessarily conceal the existence of longhouses and one was described at Northfield (Worcestershire) in 1440, as 'a hall … and a chamber at the front end of the said

[19] J. Birrell (ed.), *Records of Feckenham Forest, Worcestershire, c.1236–1377* (Worcestershire Hist. Soc., new ser., 21, 2006), pp. 21–6.

[20] E.g. Worcester Cathedral Library, E15 (court roll of 1347 mentioning decayed houses); B. Hanawalt, *The ties that bound. Peasant families in medieval England* (1986), p. 42; A. R. Dewindt and E. B. Dewindt (eds), *Royal justice in the medieval countryside* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 57, 1981), pp. 305, 371.

[21] G. Wrottesley (ed.), *Extracts from the plea rolls of Edward III and Richard II, AD 1360 to AD 1387* (Collections for a History of Staffordshire, 13, 1892), p. 31.

hall with a byre at the rear end of the aforesaid hall'.[22] Such descriptions are so rare in most of Midland, southern, and eastern England that that there is no reason to suppose that people and animals commonly shared the same building.

The written sources were influenced by the attitudes of the officials who dealt with problems of dilapidation. In ordering repairs, and offering help, they selected the buildings that they regarded as having the greater importance. Their concern was to keep in good repair the necessary dwellings and barns, and they must have regarded stables and sheepcotes as desirable but not essential. They had a sufficiently difficult struggle to persuade tenants to carry out any repairs on the basic house and barn, and they perhaps avoided adding to the tenants' burdens with extra demands. One sees the same priorities at work when lords took on the building work themselves, and in a number of projects to repair or build new buildings for tenants, such as those at Thorner in Yorkshire in 1423–27, Fulstow in Lincolnshire in 1429–30, Tillington in Staffordshire in 1437–38, and Whatcote in Warwickshire in 1443–50, houses and barns were selected for expenditure.[23]

It might be argued that the shortage of references to animal houses resulted from the poor quality of their construction, and this is likely in the case of pigs, which were kept at least in ones and twos by many peasants, yet pigsties are only sporadically said to be in need of repair. At Barcheston (Warwickshire) in 1451 a by-law ordered the tenants to keep pigs in 'les styes' (and not roaming the streets and fields causing nuisance).[24] Every pig owner was evidently assumed to have, or acquire easily, a suitable home for their animals. Perhaps a sty with mud walls or hurdles could be cheaply constructed. An extra consideration in the case of poultry was to keep them safe from predators especially at night, and a solution to that problem, according to Chaucer's 'Nun's Priest's Tale' was to allow a (fictional) cock and hens to roost in the rafters of their owner's cottage.[25]

However, the suggestion that animal housing was insubstantial cannot be applied to every part of the peasant building stock; like the byres at Fauld, some of the animal accommodation could have been as well constructed and expensive to build as the peasants' dwelling houses. At Southrop in Gloucestershire in 1472 when William Lyfoly surrendered his holding, his successor agreed to provide either a barn or a sheepcote in which the retired couple could live, presumably after modification.[26] Barns (and most sheepcotes in that region) would have had stone foundations and a timber frame based on crucks, so they were well enough constructed to be converted into a dwelling. In the fifteenth century a surge of house construction (based on tree-ring dating of surviving timbers) was accompanied by an improved quality of housing.[27] This probably influenced the standard of animal houses, some of which were built by the same craftsmen. For example orders for repairs to byres, stables, and sheepcotes can

[22] Birmingham Archives and Heritage, no. 51080 (Northfield court roll).

[23] C. Dyer, 'Medieval peasant buildings (1250–1550): documents and historical significance', in N. Alcock and D. Miles (eds), *The medieval peasant house in Midland England* (2013), pp. 105–18, esp. p. 107; id., 'Living in peasant houses in late medieval England', *Vernacular Architecture* 44 (2013), pp. 19–27, esp. pp. 19–20.

[24] Warwickshire RO, CR580/4 (Barcheston court roll).

[25] L. D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer* (1987), p. 254 (l. 2884), p. 257 (l. 3172).

[26] GA, D11718/61/B1 (Southrop court roll).

[27] R. Suggett, 'Peasant houses', in C. Gerrard and A. Guttiérrez (eds), *The Oxford handbook of later medieval archaeology in Britain* (2018), pp. 226–41.

refer to substantial timbers, such as the *cowehouse* at Kingham in Oxfordshire which had a defective 'first piece' in 1521.[28] High quality buildings, however, were not sufficient in number or size to house all peasant livestock.

To sum up the lessons derived from the documents, many peasants had the facilities to keep some of their animals in a well-constructed building designed for that purpose, but although they commonly owned a horse, some cattle and sheep, a pig or two, and some poultry, they were not recorded as building and maintaining simultaneously a stable, byre, sheepcote, pigsty, and hen house. Peasant livestock were apparently not as comprehensively sheltered as those on the demesne, though even the lords' privileged animals and birds were not all kept in roofed accommodation.

III

The remains of peasant buildings provide vital information about their construction, modification, use, and abandonment. The evidence comes from the archaeological excavation of houses and farm buildings in deserted settlements of which the final phase was often in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. Occupation sometimes ended around 1300, and many of the structures on sites occupied after 1400 go back to the period 1200–1350 or before, so the archaeological evidence is not confined to the 1350–1520 period. In the 1960s dwellings were selected for excavation, but eventually associated buildings and structures were investigated as standard practice. These groups of buildings were often contained within plots defined by ditches or walls, and the excavators called the enclosed areas tofts or crofts. Identifying the function of buildings can pose problems, as the excavations often reveal a floor area edged by traces of walls, either stone foundations or post holes and beam slots, but with few hints of the way that the building was used. A hearth suggests a dwelling, and a byre or stable would be indicated ideally by internal drains, a wide door, internal partitions for stalls, and a manger, but partitions or mangers are scarce. Drains seem to appear in many buildings, not just in those intended for animals, and hearths were apparently not confined to dwellings. To make matters more difficult, functions might change: for example, a dwelling could become a byre. Precise dating is elusive, and buildings in apparent association cannot always be shown to have been in use at the same time. A further difficulty arises in distinguishing between a roofed building and an enclosed yard or pen.

Our starting point in reviewing this evidence are sites in the Cotswolds, where building remains are well preserved thanks to their substantial stone foundation walls. In the village of Upton (in Blockley, Gloucestershire) a single line of buildings running from south to north, went through a number of changes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Figure 1a).[29] In the earliest phases the excavators interpreted the most prominent building (AE) as a longhouse, with a hall (with a hearth and oven) to the north, and an apparent byre in its lower end to

[28] New College, Oxford, 3797 (Kingham court roll).

[29] R. Hilton and P. Rahtz, 'Upton, Gloucestershire, 1959–1964', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.* 85 (1966), pp. 70–146, esp. 100–7; P. Rahtz, 'Upton, Gloucestershire, 1964–1968. Second report', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.* 88 (1969), pp. 74–126, esp. pp. 86–98.

FIGURE 1. *opposite* Plans of peasant houses and farm buildings with accommodation for livestock.
a) Upton, Gloucestershire (Cotswold village). Buildings of varied functions built in line, with a byre at the extreme north (AA), and an enclosed yard at the southern end (AF).
b) Okehampton Park, Devon (Dartmoor hamlet). Two clusters of buildings, consisting of three longhouses (A1, A3, B2), three barns (A2, B1, B3), house for livestock (A4) and three sheep pens (CDE).
c) Great Linford, Buckinghamshire (Midland champion village). Croft F. A dwelling (A), barn (B) and two buildings for (?) animals (C, D).
d) Cedars Park, Stowmarket, Suffolk (Dispersed settlement). Enclosure with compartments). Dwelling (A), Yard (B), Sheepcote (C), shed (D), garden (E). A pond lies north of A. (buildings of timber).
Note: unless otherwise stated the building plans in Figure 1 and 2 show foundation walls of stone or chalk.
Sources: Rahtz, 'Upton, Gloucestershire, 1964–1968', pp. 94–6; Henderson and Weddell, 'Medieval Settlements on Dartmoor', pp. 129–30; Mynard and Zeepvat, *Great Linford*, pp. 67–73; Woolhouse, *Medieval dispersed settlement … at Cedars Park, Stowmarket*, pp. 30–41, 106.

the south. The 'byre' with its prominent stone-built drain is now thought to have had an industrial purpose. An enclosed area (AF) at the end of the house, about 8 m by 7 m, was presumably a yard for animals, as its width exceeds that of most roofed buildings. In a later phase of occupation a dwelling house (AC) was built to the north, higher up the slope, and to its north, a succession of two separate buildings may have served as byres. The later byre (AA) measured 9 m by 5 m with a wide doorway, but subsequently the door was narrowed and the floor heightened, perhaps for the storage of crops. So in this complex of buildings, the parts occupied by animals may have been the yard to the south and successive byres to the north.

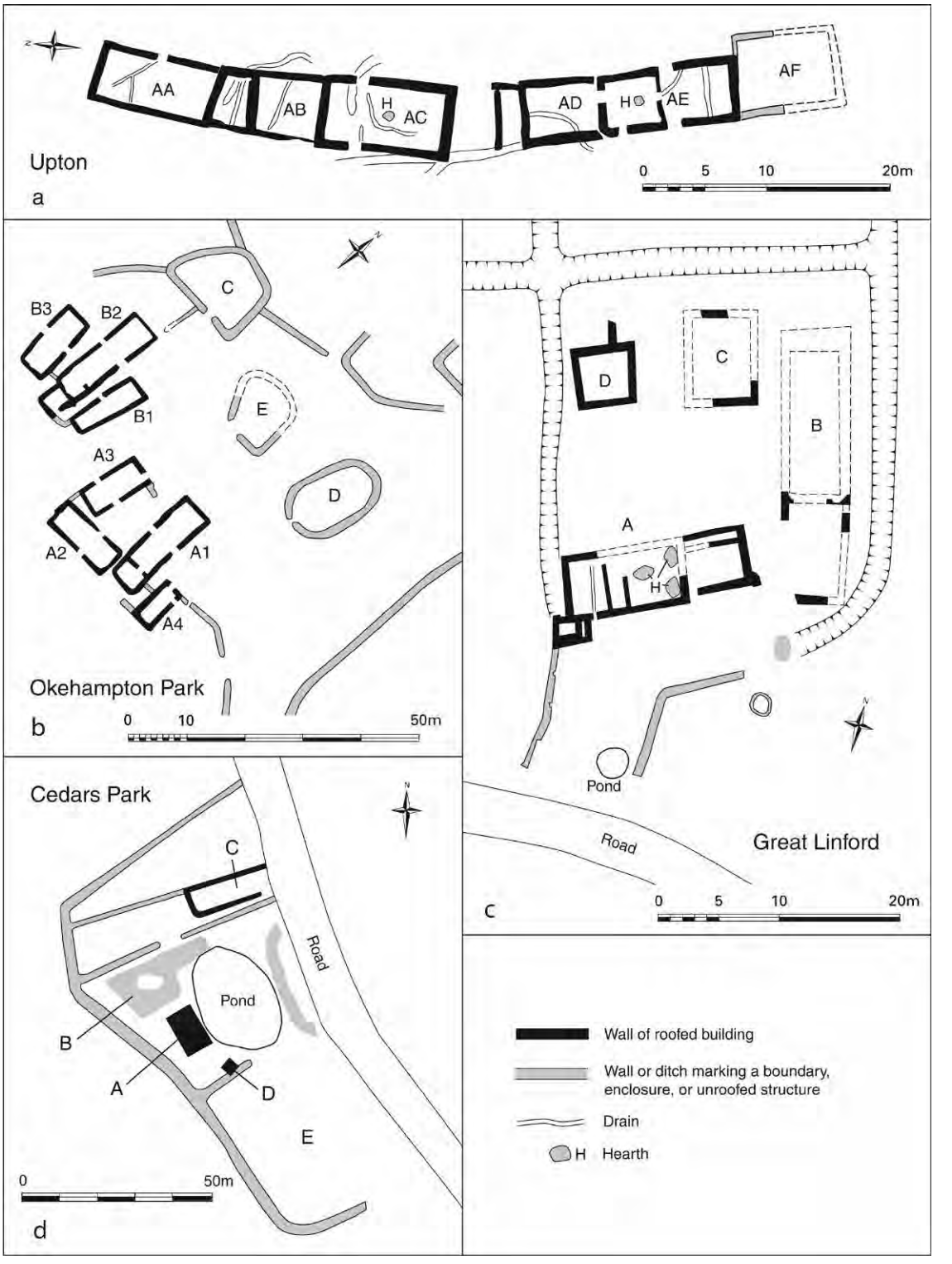
In the Gloucestershire Cotswolds some evidence comes from plans of building foundations visible as earthworks in pastures or woodland. At a number of sites such as Roel (in Hawling), Thorndale (in Withington) and Hullasey (in Coates) a recurring pattern was a group of three or four buildings, each of two or three bays (10 m to 15 m in length) arranged around a yard.[30] It seems likely that animals were kept in at least one of these structures, but this must remain a speculation. A sheepcote, identifiable because of its dimensions, survives as an earthwork among the remains of the deserted village of Lower Harford (in Naunton).[31]

Upland sites elsewhere in the country also offer the advantages of well-preserved remains of houses, with substantial stone foundations. The best known settlement site on Dartmoor, Hound Tor, occupied in the thirteenth and part of the fourteenth century, has buildings of distinct types: longhouses, smaller dwellings, and buildings described as barns with corn-driers when first excavated, but their ovens and kilns may also have enabled them to serve as bakehouses or brewhouses.[32] The cattle occupied the byre end of the longhouses, and these well-defined spaces were the main provision for animals on Dartmoor, and on high ground elsewhere

[30] J. Bond and C. Lewis, 'The earthworks of Hawling', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.* 109 (1991), pp. 169–70; C. Dyer, 'Villages and non-villages in the medieval Cotswolds', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.* 120 (2002), pp. 11–35, esp. pp. 17–19; P. Ellis, 'The medieval settlement at Hullasey, Coates', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.*, 102 (1984), pp. 210–12.

[31] C. Dyer, 'Sheepcotes: evidence for medieval sheep-farming', *Medieval Arch.* 39 (1995), pp. 136–64, esp. pp. 140–1.

[32] G. Beresford, 'Three deserted settlements on Dartmoor: a report on the late E. Marie Minter's excavations', *Medieval Arch.* 23 (1979), pp. 98–158.


AA
AB
H
AC
AD
H
AE
AF
Upton
a
0 5 10 20m
C
B3
B2
B1
E
A3
D
A2
A1
A4
Okehampton Park
b
0 10 50m
D
C
B
A
H
Pond
Road
Great Linford
c
0 5 10 20m
Cedars Park
C
Road
Pond
B
A
D
E
0 50m
d
Wall of roofed building
Wall or ditch marking a boundary, enclosure, or unroofed structure
Drain
H Hearth

in Devon.[33] Clusters of buildings in Okehampton Park (Devon) occupied in the thirteenth century included three longhouses (A1, A3 and B2) of varied size; the excavator estimated that the byre ends of these longhouses each had the capacity to house six or eight beasts (Figure 1b). The byre end of a longhouse at St Neot in Cornwall could have accommodated ten.[34] A site at Ottery St Mary shows that longhouses could also appear in lowland Devon.[35]

The byre end of a longhouse need not have been the only means of accommodating animals in peasant farms on the uplands. At Brassington in Derbyshire the complex of buildings associated with a dwelling belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries included a possible barn, but the excavators considered that it might have housed sheep.[36] A smaller building of unknown function might also have been intended for livestock. On the Okehampton Park site (Figure 1b), as well as the byre ends of three longhouses, at least one of the outbuildings (A4) may have housed cattle, and three unroofed walled pens were likely to have sheltered flocks of sheep. At the Northumberland village of Alnhamsheles, where the main accommodation for animals was in the lower ends of longhouses, a number of associated smaller buildings visible as earthworks may have included space for animals.[37]

On lowland sites where byres and living space for people were separate, animal houses can be found among the buildings clustered around dwellings. One of the most complete village excavations in England, at Great Linford in Buckinghamshire, included a complex in Croft F of the period *c*.1250–*c*.1425 (Figure 1c). A house (once regarded as a longhouse, but now interpreted as a dwelling) was accompanied by a probable barn and two small buildings of unknown function, which might have included animal housing.[38] Indentations in a wall were thought to be shelters for bee-hives, a rare find though bees were kept in most villages. Croft L at Great Linford included among its seven buildings, as well as a barn, a probable stable and two other buildings of unknown function. Other buildings of similar date contained in the crofts at Great Linford were identified as dwellings, bakehouses/kitchens, or barns. The Great Linford buildings were based on stone foundations, but at nearby Westbury timber buildings were occupied between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. In nineteen crofts at least 44 buildings were arranged round yards, with a number of groups consisting of between three and five buildings. Only one building (in Croft 10) was positively identified as having housed livestock, though it is likely that among so many structures a few more

[33] C. G. Henderson and P. J. Weddell, 'Medieval settlements on Dartmoor and in West Devon: the evidence from excavations', *Proc. of the Devon Archaeological Soc.* 52 (1994), pp. 119–40; H. Fox, *Dartmoor's alluring uplands. Transhumance and pastoral management in the Middle Ages* (2012), pp. 17–18.

[34] D. Austin, 'Excavations in Okehampton Deer Park, Devon, 1976–1978', *Proc. of the Devon Archaeological Soc.* 30 (1978), pp. 191–239, esp. p. 222; D. Austin, G. Gerrard and T. Greeves, 'Tin and agriculture in the Middle Ages and beyond: landscape archaeology in St Neot parish, Cornwall', *Cornish Arch.* 28 (1989), pp. 5–251, esp. p. 60.

[35] A. Mudd and others, 'A medieval building and its contents at Island Farm, Ottery St Mary, East Devon: excavations in 2014', *Internet Arch.* 47 (2018), https://doi.org/10/11141/ia.47.4.

[36] G. Makepeace, 'Report on the excavations of a medieval farm at Hill Top Farm, Aldwark, near Brassington, Derbyshire, 1992–95', *Derbyshire Archaeological J.* 121 (2001), pp. 162–89.

[37] P. Dixon, 'Survey and excavations at Alnhamsheles deserted medieval village, on the Rowhope Burn, Alnham Moor, Northumberland', *Arch. Aeliana*, fifth ser., 43 (2014), pp. 169–220.

[38] D. Mynard and R. Zeepvat, *Excavations at Great Linford 1974–80* (Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, monograph 3, 1992), pp. 67–73.

were put to a similar use.[39] The hamlet of West Cotton in Northamptonshire was formed of about 20 buildings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which included dwellings, barns, cart houses, malt kilns, but only one byre/stable.[40] In East Anglia, accommodation for animals has been found at Grenstein (Norfolk) where a 'cattle shed' stood among the five to seven buildings in a single toft occupied in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century at Cedars Park near Stowmarket in Suffolk in an area of dispersed settlement, a house was associated with a sheepcote and a shed (Figure 1d).[41] At Gomeldon in Wiltshire, as well as longhouses of the thirteenth century, at least one barn was identified (Figure 2e), and a dwelling seems to have been converted *c.*1300 to a byre or stable.[42] A byre, together with two barns and a dwelling, formed a group of buildings on a tenement dated after *c.*1350 at Faxton in Northamptonshire.[43]

Having glimpsed a sample of sites across a wide spectrum of dates, and having appreciated the problems of interpretation, the evidence can be aggregated from 44 sites, on which more than 400 buildings have been excavated. Eight buildings have been identified as stables, seven as separate byres (though sometimes the reports say cautiously 'a stable or byre') and three as sheepcotes, with two pigsties, two henhouses, and two dovecotes. Dozens of buildings could not be assigned a precise function, but as many of these were probably barns, stores, or cart sheds, only a proportion were likely to have been used primarily for livestock. Putting together the buildings described by the excavators as animal houses, with those which could possibly be included in that category, the total would amount to about 10 per cent of the sample of 400. Including the excavated longhouses with their designated byres would take the total to around 20 per cent.

Some excavated tofts or crofts contained only a house and a barn. An example comes from the most thoroughly investigated part of the Wharram Percy village, Site 12, on which an unusually large longhouse occupied until *c.*1500 was matched by a long barn to the north (Figure 2f).[44] Here livestock were housed in the byre end of the longhouse, but in the Midlands there is clear evidence from sites such as Barton Blount (Derbyshire) and Goltho (Lincolnshire) for peasant holdings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries consisting of a dwelling and a barn, where each pair of buildings was often associated with a well-defined yard.[45] The

[39] R. Ivens, P. Busby and N. Shepherd, *Tattenhoe and Westbury. Two deserted medieval settlements in Milton Keynes* (Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, monograph 8, 1995), pp. 89–198. Phosphate analysis (pp. 456–7) confirmed that animals had been kept in a few locations.

[40] A. Chapman, *West Cotton, Raunds. A study of medieval settlement dynamics, AD 450–1450* (2010), pp. 184–239.

[41] P. Wade-Martins, *Village sites in Launditch Hundred* (East Anglian Archaeology, 10, 1980), pp. 112–21; T. Woolhouse, *Medieval dispersed settlement on the mid Suffolk clay at Cedars Park, Stowmarket* (East Anglian Archaeology, 161, 2016), pp. 29–61, 118–20.

[42] J. Musty and D. Algar, 'Excavations at the deserted village of Gomeldon, near Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 80 (1986), pp. 127–69, esp. pp. 133–48.

[43] D. Wilson and G. Hurst, 'Medieval Britain in 1966', *Medieval Arch.* 11 (1967), pp. 307–9. C. Gerrard has also shown me a full-length typescript report of this site, mostly written by the excavator, L. Butler, which he is editing for publication.

[44] S. Wrathmell, *Domestic settlement 2: medieval peasant farmsteads* (Wharram. A study of settlement on the Yorkshire wolds, 6, 1989), pp. 22–33.

[45] G. Beresford, *The medieval clay-land village: excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount* (Society for Medieval Archaeology monograph 6, 1975), pp. 12–18, 30.

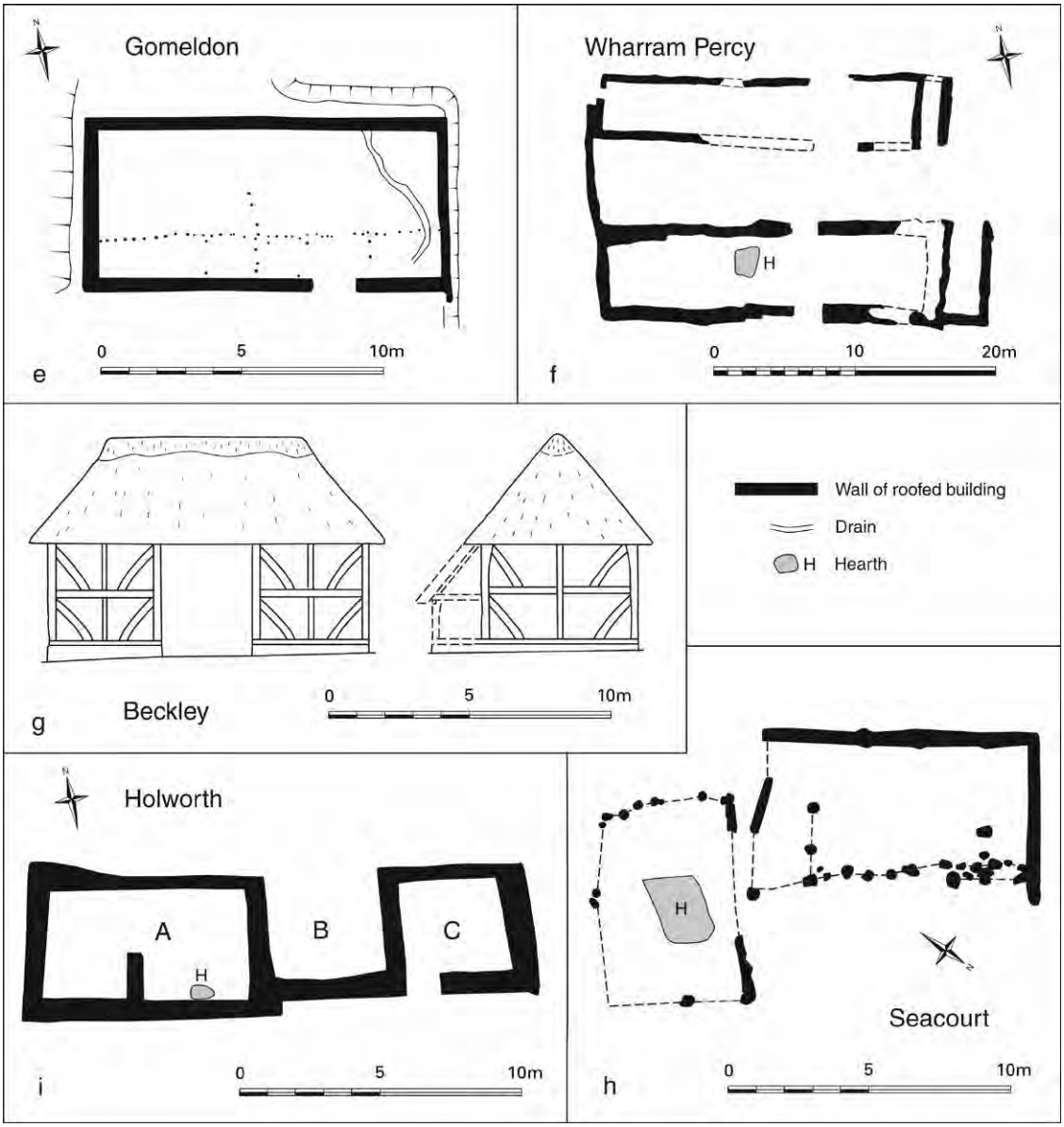


FIGURE 2. Plans and an elevation of barns and spaces for livestock

e) Gomeldon, Wiltshire (Village on chalk downs). Barn with internal compartment for livestock.

f) Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire (formerly East Riding) (Wolds village). House (to south) and barn.

g) Kingsbank, Beckley, Sussex (Wealden farm). Elevations of side and end walls of barn, with an aisle on the north side. In the post-medieval period aisles or lean-to structures on barns were used for livestock (timber-framed standing building).

h) Seacourt, Oxfordshire (formerly Berkshire) (Champion village). House and barn. The barn has internal subdivisions (buildings of timber).

i) Holworth, Dorset (Village on chalk downs). Dwelling (A), Store/Granary (C), sheltered space for livestock (B).

Sources: Musty and Algar, 'Deserted medieval village of Gomeldon', pp. 138–9; Wrathmell, *Domestic settlement*, pp. 30–3; D. and B. Martin, *Farm buildings of the Weald,* pp. 99–101; M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst (eds), *Deserted medieval villages: studies* (1971), p. 110.

best preserved buildings at Caldecote (Hertfordshire) belong to a phase after the 1360s.[46] A well-built house at the latter village was associated with a large barn, another building called a barn by the excavator but which was at least partly used as a bakehouse and brewhouse, and a dovecot. The doves were the only livestock with a building dedicated for their use. A house, kitchen, and barn were identified at Boreham in Essex. Extensive excavations at Hangleton in Sussex found at least 17 buildings, which were mostly dwellings and kitchens or bakehouses.[47]

The general conclusion that emerges from this survey of archaeological research is not dissimilar from that arising from the documents. The evidence is imperfect, incomplete, and difficult to interpret. In some circumstances peasant animals were sheltered in buildings designed for that purpose, and byres, stables, sheepcotes, pigsties, fowl houses, and dovecots have been identified. In their size and fabric the buildings intended for cattle, horses, and sheep resembled dwellings and barns. Very rarely did peasants provide housing for all of the varieties of livestock, as could many demesnes. Sometimes the only buildings on a holding were a dwelling and barn, or a dwelling, barn, and bakehouse, with no specialized provision for animals at all. Towards the end of the period a dwelling could be converted to house animals, as happened in a late phase at Hangleton, and some longhouses, like that at Wharram Percy, had a large byre, but there is no clear indication from archaeological evidence that the trend to pastoral farming after 1350 was accompanied by a major increase in peasant animal housing.

IV

These provisional conclusions might be modified by considering more carefully the role of longhouses and barns. Long before the age of scientific excavations, longhouses attracted interest among archaeologists and folklorists as standing buildings in the uplands. The layout of the houses which brought man and beast into close proximity seemed to epitomize the 'otherness' of the peasant way of life. The excavators of the 1960s believed that longhouses were not confined to the 'Highland zone', but had once been commonplace features of the Midlands and south. They were too ready to recognize longhouses from uncertain evidence. Subsequent sceptical reappraisal (for example at Upton and Great Linford) has discounted the animal presence at one end of a number of lowland houses previously interpreted as longhouses. Longhouses were a feature mainly of the north and west according to a new consensus, and in the sample of 44 sites used here, twelve of those with longhouses were located in either Devon and Cornwall or the North. Longhouses were once thought to have diminished in number after 1400, when they were replaced by specialist dwellings and farm buildings. However they are found in all periods, into modern times, in the west and north. The large excavated example at Wharram Percy continued in use after 1500. Evidently the longhouse in the Middle Ages had

[46] G. Beresford, *Caldecote. The development and desertion of a Hertfordshire village* (Society for Medieval Archaeology monograph 28, 2009), pp. 102–9.

[47] N. Lavender, 'Bronze age and medieval sites at Springfield, Chelmsford: excavations near the A12 Boreham interchange, 1993', *Essex Archaeology and Hist.* 30 (1999), pp. 1–43, esp. p. 39; E. W. Holden, 'Excavations at the deserted medieval village of Hangleton, part 1', *Sussex Archaeological Coll.* 101 (1963), pp. 54–181; J. and G. Hurst, 'Excavations at the deserted medieval village of Hangleton, part 2', *Sussex Archaeological Coll.* 102 (1964), pp. 94–142 (the excavators at Hangleton called the bakehouses/kitchens outshuts or 'oven sheds').

a significant role in accommodating cattle in the pastoral uplands, but in the Midlands, south, and east, when cattle were housed they were kept in separate byres.[48]

Barns were mentioned frequently in documents (especially when repairs were ordered by manor courts). They have been excavated on settlement sites, and some peasant barns have survived. Barns were regarded as necessary parts of the infrastructure of peasant production, on smallholdings and cottage tenements as well as on larger holdings. They were often equal in size to the house near which they were sited. Characteristic buildings were the barn of Croft F at Great Linford which measured 13 m by 6 m; and at Croft E at Barton Blount the barn was 13.3 m long and 4.9 m wide. The barn which still stands at Pendock in Worcestershire consists of 4 bays, or *c.* 20 m by 5 m, and a surviving medieval peasant barn at Chittinghurst in Sussex measures 12.5 m by 6.5 m; another Sussex barn at Beckley has an aisle and so is 7 m wide and 11.5 m long (Figure 2g).[49] Larger barns served the expanding land holdings at the end of the Middle Ages, with a 25 m by 5 m example on Site 12 at Wharram Percy (Figure 2f), and 16.5 m by 5.5 m at Caldecote's Croft B.[50] The documents confirm that the most barns in 1350–1520 were of three bays (*c.*15 m by 5 m) though two-bay and four-bay examples are known. They cost £2–£4 to build, and the quality of a peasant barn at Blickling in Norfolk enabled it to be converted in 1434 into a dwelling for a retired couple.[51] The still-standing barns mentioned above were soundly constructed, Pendock using crucks and Chittinghurst and Beckley in the box-framed tradition of the south-east (Figure 2g).

The main purpose of barns was to store crops in sheaf before they were threshed. The sheaves would be carried by cart from the harvest field and piled inside the barn. Threshing on the floor of the barn or nearby, would begin in September and continue for months afterwards. Alongside the expectation that barns were primarily corn stores, we have hints that they were used flexibly. The east end of the Wharram Percy barn had at one stage of its life contained mineral coal, brought to the village on the wolds of the East Riding from mines in West Yorkshire. Specialist cart houses and wain houses are recorded sporadically in the documents. Eighteen appear in the large sample of tenant buildings (p. 34 above), and they figure in Table 1. Those tenants without a cart house or wain house might have pushed these valuable vehicles into the barn, like William Haley of Lowdham in Nottinghamshire who in 1479 kept a cart and wain in his 'granary and barn' alongside 11 quarters and 4 bushels of grain and malt.[52] Did this flexibility extend to putting animals in the barn? Court roll references include a four-bay building at Wichenford in Worcestershire being described as 'a barn with a sheepcote' in 1473, and in 1498 at Adlestrop in Gloucestershire a building was called a 'barn and stable under one

[48] M. Gardiner, 'The distribution and adoption of the byre-house (longhouse) in late medieval Britain', in I. Bohacova and P. Sonnemer (eds), *Medieval Europe in motion* (2014), pp. 145–62.

[49] Mynard and Zeepvat, *Great Linford*, p. 72 (in a second phase it had an extension added which measured 8 m by 4 m); Beresford, *Clay-land village*, p. 45; Pendock's barn was observed by the author before it was incorporated into a modern dwelling; E. Miller (ed.), *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, III, *1348–1500* (1991), p. 170; D. and B. Martin, *Farm buildings of the Weald, 1450–1750* (2006), pp. 99–101.

[50] Wrathmell, *Domestic settlement*, pp. 30–2; Beresford, *Caldecote*, pp. 104–5.

[51] Norfolk RO, 11262 26 A 4. This maintenance agreement assigned to the retired couple a chamber in a cottage previously built as a barn, and access to the bakehouse.

[52] Borthwick Institute York, Archiepiscopal Registers, 22, Booth. 22, fo. 321r (probate inventory).

roof'.[53] As well as these long-term formal divisions of barns, there might have been occasions or seasons when space for animals could have been found in the barn.

The size of peasant barns suggests that they were intended for more than one purpose. Estimates of the amount of grain contained in a stack of demesne or tithe corn, made as an aid to auditing, allow us to assess the capacity of a barn.[54] According to a thirteenth-century treatise on accounting, a stack of unthreshed wheat measuring 30 feet in length, 15 feet wide and 10 feet high (to use the measurements employed in the treatise) would contain 40 quarters of grain, which would mean that a peasant barn 45 feet by 15 feet with a stack about 8–10 feet high would have ample room for 25 quarters of grain from 15 acres of land harvested each year from a yardland of 30 acres.[55] At Wharram Percy the three-bay (15 m by 5 m) barns visible as earthworks are thought to have been able to store the 32 quarters likely to have been harvested from a two-oxgang holding (equivalent to one yardland), and still have space to spare.[56] A barn would only have accommodated all of the crops from the holding's arable for a short time, as threshing would have started soon after the harvest, and the heap of sheaves would have diminished through the following months as the grain was consumed by people and livestock, sold, or exchanged. The barn could also have contained hay, but again the size of that stack shrank from November onwards. As the crops were processed and removed, the section of the barn's floor area that could have been used to store agricultural implements and animals expanded. By mid-winter there would have been room in a three-bay barn with a floor area of 63 square metres for a flock of 30 sheep which needed 25 square metres, securely penned with hurdles so as to avoid damage to the remaining sheaves. Alternatively a few larger animals could have been tethered in the space available.

Indirect evidence for the use of barns for general purposes comes from a maintenance agreement of 1483 from Shirehampton near Bristol. William Rous had surrendered his messuage and half-yardland to John Tyllyn, with the concession that William and his wife Margery could continue to live in two chambers in the house, retain some plots of land and meadow, and keep 30 sheep.[57] The agreement allowed the retired couple to use half of the barn, and as they had limited capacity to produce corn and hay, their main concern would have been to shelter their sheep. The flexible use of the barn and indeed other peasant buildings finds support in the archaeological evidence for alterations and modifications. The barn at site 12 at Wharram Percy (already mentioned because of its considerable size) had been shortened at one stage of its history by 2.3 m. and a large shallow depression at its western end suggested a separate use of this part of the building, next to an opening in the end wall, perhaps an entrance for cattle (Figure 2f). The timber barn of the early thirteenth century at Seacourt (Berkshire) had

[53] R. K. Field, 'Worcestershire peasant buildings, household goods and farming equipment in the later middle ages', *Medieval Arch.* 9 (1965), pp. 105–45, esp. p. 136; TNA, SC2/175/77 (court rolls of manors of Evesham Abbey).

[54] D. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and other treatises on estate management and accounting* (1971), p. 475.

[55] This presumes that the fields in which the holding lay were managed on a two-course rotation, with a yield of 13 bushels per acre.

[56] C. Dyer *et al.*, 'The late medieval village of Wharram Percy: farming the land', in S. Wrathmell (ed.), *A history of Wharram Percy and its neighbours* (Wharram. A study of settlement on the Yorkshire wolds, 13, 2012), p. 321.

[57] Worcestershire Archives, ref 009: 1, BA 2636 165/92225 4/8 (Henbury court roll).

two internal compartments defined by rows of post holes apparently supporting partitions (Figure 2h). These may have served as cattle stalls. In the thirteenth-century barn at Gomeldon a line of post holes ran along the interior of one of the long walls defining a space 12 m long and 1.6 m wide, with indications of subdivisions as if a line of sheep pens had been constructed with posts and hurdles (Figure 2e).[58]

V

Having reviewed the information that can be gleaned from documents and archaeology, what are the implications for the housing of peasant animals? In parts of the country with a strong pastoral element in their economies, mostly in the North and west, animals were kept for part of the year, or at night, in the lower end of a longhouse. The longhouses had room for perhaps six to ten animals, so some beasts may have been housed in small specialist buildings for which there is some archaeological evidence, or kept outdoors. Estimates have been made that more substantial Devon farmers at the end of the Middle Ages were keeping 20 or 30 cattle, far beyond the capacity of a longhouse byre.[59]

In the Midlands, south, and east, where most people and agricultural production were located, buildings had limited space for animals. Byres were not usually embedded in dwellings, and often the subsidiary buildings associated with a house were barns, or kitchens or bakehouses. If a large holding provided itself with housing for animals, these might include a byre, stable, or sheepcote, but very rarely all three. In other words, peasant holdings would not normally have the full repertoire of specialist animal housing which was often available among the buildings at the centre of a large manorial demesne. Pigsties and poultry houses are rather scarce in the records of manorial buildings, and are even more rarely reported on peasant holdings. This may have been the result of the cheapness of their construction. In considering the care accorded to horses, cattle, and sheep, peasants may have been flexible in the use of space, so that the byre or stable housed both cattle and horses. They also would have taken makeshift and temporary measures, such as finding space in barns as the weather worsened. As in other aspects of daily life, members of the village community may have co-operated, so that an elderly peasant or a widow who had sublet land could allow a part-empty barn or sheepcote to be used to house a neighbour's animals, doubtless receiving reciprocal favours, including rent.

In a practical solution to the problem of sheltering livestock, peasants arranged spaces in which animals could be kept out of doors. A custom which was applied generally, and is sometimes mentioned in by-laws, stated that no more animals could be pastured on the common pasture in the summer than might be accommodated in the closes and buildings of the tenant's holding in the winter. This *levant et couchant* rule was spelled out in a by-law at Roel (Gloucestershire) in 1452, that tenants should not keep in the winter sheep outside their 'close, fold or house'. This choice of words showed that if a tenant had no sheepcote, or if his

[58] Wrathmell, *Domestic settlement*, p. 31; M. Biddle, 'The deserted medieval village of Seacourt, Berkshire', *Oxoniensia* 26–7 (1961–2), pp. 70–201, esp. pp. 96–103; Musty and Algar, 'Deserted medieval village of Gomeldon', pp. 138–9.

[59] Fox, *Dartmoor's alluring uplands*, pp. 210–22.

or her sheepcote did not have room for the whole flock, the animals would be kept in a close. By good chance a plan of the surviving traces of the twin villages of Roel and Hawling shows the remains of walled closes at the rear of the Roel houses, which were well suited to sheltering sheep.[60] Smaller walled yards have been noticed on a number of excavated settlement sites, such as three oval enclosures at the Okehampton Park hamlet, and the rectangular enclosure at the end of the line of buildings at Upton (Figures 1a and 1b). Such yards were sometimes paved at least roughly with stone or cobbles, and sometimes sunken as the result of trampling and the periodic removal of the dung and earth. At Barton Blount and Goltho the excavator called them 'crew yards' and argued that they contributed to an integrated system of farm management.[61] Typical dimensions were 15 m by 13 m and 20 m by 18 m, and they could have contained as many as 20 cattle, which the excavator presumed would have been made necessary by the expansion of pastoral farming after *c.*1350, when yards appear on these east Midland sites. However yards are found on sites dated before 1350, so they were not always a late innovation (Figure 1d). The beasts would have been provided with plentiful straw, and a temporary and roughly built cover could have been erected over part of the yard to give the animals some shelter.

A roof of some kind may have been provided on the space with a cobbled surface lying between two buildings, with a common south wall, at Holworth in Chaldon Herring (Dorset) (Figure 2i).[62] A building at Stansted in Essex apparently of the twelfth or thirteenth century was open-sided, which suggested to the excavator that it served as a store, but it could have accommodated livestock. Remains of stretches of mud walling of the thirteenth century at Faxton in Northamptonshire may have been the remains of open-sided animal sheds, and at West Cotton 'shelter sheds' could have been used for carts or animals, or both.[63] Outshuts and lean-to structures, for example attached to the walls of barns, are known from surviving buildings of the post-medieval period, and clues for such structures in the Middle Ages include mortices for fitting mangers and racks on the exterior timbers of barns in Sussex. Timber buildings probably of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries excavated at Tatton in Cheshire included a rectangular dwelling or granary, attached to which was an irregular lean-to structure 5 m by 4.5 m with a drain suggesting that it had contained animals.[64] All of these structures belong to the complex of buildings, sheds, and yards that clustered around peasant dwellings. In Yorkshire, especially in the Dales, some farm buildings were located outside the settlements, in fields, meadows, and wastes. These were not just the outlying barns and lathes still visible in that landscape, but also less substantial helms and hovels, or structures called booths and wormstalls in the documents. They are known to have been used in recent times to store carts and fodder, and although there is no clear evidence that livestock were kept in

[60] GA, D678/62 (Winchcombe Abbey court roll); Bond and Lewis, 'Earthworks of Hawling'.

[61] Beresford, *Medieval clay-land villages*, pp. 17–18.

[62] P. Rahtz, 'Holworth medieval village excavations, 1958', *Proc. of the Dorset Natural Hist. and Archaeological Soc.* 81 (1959), pp. 127–47, esp. p. 135.

[63] R. Havis and H. Brooks, *Excavations at Stansted Airport, 1986–91,* II, (East Anglian Archaeology, 107, 2004), pp. 388, 542; for Faxton see the forthcoming report mentioned at n. 43 above; Chapman, *West Cotton*, pp. 181, 209, 225.

[64] Martin, *Farm buildings*, pp. 52–8; N. Higham, 'The Tatton Park project, part 2. The medieval estates, settlements and halls', *J. Chester Archaeological Soc.*, 75 (1998–9), pp. 88–90.

them, some of these undated and undateable structures may have served in the middle ages as temporary animal shelters.[65]

VI

The finding that there was limited provision of animal housing by peasant cultivators lends some support for the views of Postan, in the sense that giving buildings low priority seems to be in accord with his finding that animals were few in number. Meanwhile demesne managers were keeping many of their cattle, sheep, and horses indoors. Presumably those who organized and funded demesne agriculture believed that housing contributed to the health and productivity of the livestock, which suggests that peasants were not following prevailing wisdom. For example, wool was a vital source of cash for peasants, especially those who were better off and could keep flocks of 20 or 30, but it has been argued that fleece weights were reduced in adverse weather conditions in the fifteenth century.[66] We know that demesne managers arranged for the systematic collection of dung from byres and sheepcotes, concentrated in a confined space, and mingled with the straw litter on which the animals stood, but those peasants who lacked such buildings would not have been able to collect and spread manure with the same beneficial effect. The whole story accords with the belief that peasant farming was under-funded and in particular was starved of capital. Peasants could not afford to buy sufficient numbers of animals, and could not invest in the buildings that would have sheltered the animals and increased the profits of their owners. The argument can be made that peasant pastoralism was deficient in both quantity and quality.

The case put forward by those revising Postan's ideas also receives some support from the findings presented here. Peasants may have lacked capital, but they compensated by their adaptability, ingenuity, and opportunism, which has often been noted in analysis of their approach to farming in general, such as their selection of crops.[67] They were helped in their pastoral activities by the mildness of the lowland climate, which allowed the livestock to stay out in the fields longer than their upland or continental counterparts. As bad weather set in, and less grazing was available on the commons or fallows, the animals could be put in yards, closes or crofts, with some protection from the surrounding hedges or walls, and temporary roofing or 'shelter sheds' could keep off the worst of the heavy rain or snow. In extreme conditions room could be found in barns which had by December and January more space thanks to the threshing of corn since the harvest. In addition, co-operation between households could have supplied accommodation in under-used buildings.

Modern farming practice would lend some support to the revisionists. Keeping cattle in yards would not necessarily be harmful. Paved or cobbled surfaces in the yards would help to prevent 'poaching' caused by concentrating many hoofs in a limited space. Modern farmers doubt the

[65] S. Moorhouse, 'Features within medieval township farming landscapes in Yorkshire and their functions', J. Klápště (ed.), *Ruralia 10, Agrarian technology in the medieval landscape* (2016), pp. 49–88.

[66] M. Stephenson, 'Wool yields in the medieval economy', *EcHR* 41 (1988), pp. 368–91, esp. pp. 382–5.

[67] B. Dodds, *Peasants and production in the medieval north-east. The evidence from tithes, 1270–1536* (2007), pp. 134–47.

benefits of housing animals, especially in the closed buildings favoured in the Middle Ages, as diseases would spread in confined spaces. Sheep, for example are vulnerable to pulmonary infections.[68] Confinement in a closed sheepcote might have led to the shedding of fleeces, and the wool might not have been improved in quality in the way that eighteenth-century agricultural writers believed. Reservations about housing livestock continuously can be seen in the advice given by 'Walter of Henley', writing in the thirteenth century. He seemed to assume that cattle would spend much time indoors, but advised that in rainy weather they should be moved outside for the sake of their health, and in the case of sheep, which he expected would spend the period between 11 November and Easter in their sheepcote, he urged that they should be kept in the fold or in the field in spells of dry weather. Though Walter suggested that pigs would benefit from lying in their sties in the morning, he implies that they should later in the day go outside.[69] Medieval breeds, if exposed over many generations to an open-air existence, would have developed appropriate characteristics, like the long coats now seen on Exmoor ponies, or the tough constitution capable of surviving hardships that we associate with the Herdwick sheep of the Lakeland fells. Whether kept indoors or out, the animals needed to be fed in winter with hay, straw, and limited quantities of field crops, especially oats and legumes such as vetch and peas. The yards and closes would have to be scraped and manure gathered to add to the dung hill.

One of the advocates of the revisionist position conjures up a picture of cattle in England being kept in stalls through the winter, and producing quantities of dung, which in addition to the sheep droppings scattered over the stubbles and fallows, ensured that peasant land was well manured.[70] The practice of keeping cattle in 'winter stables' was a feature of agriculture in inland Flanders, where peasants with smallholdings profited from urban demand for dairy produce. They had little access to common pastures, but instead fed the animals from their own holdings. Stable manure, mixed with the deep straw litter of the stalls, enabled peasants to cultivate cereals intensively with high yields and without fallows.[71] This part of the revisionist argument is taking optimism about English peasant animal husbandry too far. The Flemish style of intensive manuring and cropping is a long way from the circumstances of English low-intensity farming, for example in the Midlands and south, where fields were subject to fallowing, often on a two-course rotation. Urban demand was not as strong as in Flanders, and common pastures survived in England throughout the period. Although livestock do not seem to have been fed in stalls in the Flemish style, demesnes kept cattle indoors for at least part of the winter, and we have accounting records of daily allowances of fodder to horses and oxen. English demesnes also built large byres capable of holding dozens of beasts, and not just at the specialist vaccaries of the northern uplands.[72] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

[68] J. Webster (ed.), *Management and welfare of farm animals* (2011), p. 215.

[69] Oschinsky (ed.), *Walter of Henley*, pp. 330–1, 336–9.

[70] La Poutré, 'Fertilization by manure', p. 39.

[71] A. Verhulst, *Précis d'histoire rurale de la Belgique* (1990), pp. 120–2; E. Thoen and T. Soens, 'Élevage, prés et pâturage dans le comté de Flandre au moyen âge et au début des temps modernes. Les liens avec l'économie rurale régionale', in F. Brumont (ed.), *Prés et pâtures en Europe occidentale* (Actes des Journées Internationales d'Histoire de l'Abbaye de Flaran, 2008), pp. 79–99, esp. pp. 89–90. I am grateful to Erik Thoen for his advice on this point.

[72] J. Langdon, 'The economics of horses and oxen in medieval England', *AgHR* 30 (1982), pp. 31–40; Miller (ed.), *Agrarian History*, III, pp. 875–7.

in some regions specialized types of barn were designed to enable tenants to maintain cattle in stalls fitted inside the barn through the winter, and to store their hay in the same building, not just in Lancashire and north Yorkshire, but also in Sussex.[73] No evidence is known for such purpose-built barns on medieval peasant holdings.

If peasants in the Middle Ages did not collect quantities of manure deposited in large byres, that does not mean that they had no manuring strategies. Revisionists should see in the peasants' dung hill an asset that was not available to the demesne. Here the animal manure collected from the yard, sty, and any animal housing would be supplemented by household waste, ashes, and human ordure to make a rich mixture to be spread on the fields. The family, who would benefit directly from the crops, had the incentive to spread the muck efficiently, and to show that it was distributed, fragments of medieval pottery that had been thrown on to the manure heap as part of the domestic rubbish can still be recovered from the surface of the fields.[74]

To sum up, the survey of documentary and archaeological evidence has found peasants with a good range of byres, sheepcotes, stables, and pigsties, but not in the numbers that might match the demesnes. This is partly because of deficiencies in the evidence, as animal housing was not regarded by those compiling documents as being of such great importance as human habitation. Archaeologists have not been able to identify the function of all buildings, not through lack of interest, but because the methods available cannot provide certainty. Those who wish to revise the Postan thesis should not visualize the farm as a smaller version of the manorial demesne. Rather they should see peasants finding ways of managing animals at low cost, and using their limited resources in intelligent ways, to achieve their twin goals of self-sufficiency and a saleable surplus.

[73] J. Grundy, 'Dairy cattle housing in Lancashire, seventeenth to twenty-first centuries', *Vernacular Architecture* 46 (2015), pp. 26–39; Martin, *Farm buildings*, pp. 51–8.

[74] R. Jones, 'Signatures in the soil: the use of pottery in manure scatters in the identification of medieval arable farming regimes', *Archaeological J.* 161 (2004), pp. 159–88; id., 'Understanding medieval manure', in R. Jones (ed.), *Manure matters. Historical, archaeological and ethnographic perspectives* (2012), pp. 145–58, esp. pp. 151–2.

Peasants' labour obligations for the lords' forests: another form of corvée in the *Gutsherrschaft* of Prussian monarchs, 1763–1850

by Takashi Iida

Abstract

Demesne lords (*Gutsherren*) in early modern Brandenburg-Prussia often owned and managed sizable forests besides their demesne farms. In royal domain lordship, while peasants' corvée for demesne farms prevailed from the sixteenth century to 1799, corvée for royal forests only began in the late eighteenth century, when the authorities began to reform the management of the forests, switching from natural to artificial regeneration. Peasants gave their forest labour in return for their long-established entitlements to receive building timber from royal forests and, to retain these rights, often continued to undertake it until the mid-nineteenth century. Some peasants became independent of the royal forests by creating their own woodlands and readily ended their obligation to do forestry service. Thus, the peasants' accommodation to the new corvée did not arise from their subordination to lords' oppression, as assumed in traditional research, but their calculation of self-advantage in a reciprocal relationship with their lords.

In the long historiography of demesne lordship (*Gutsherrschaft*), which prevailed in East-Elbian Germany during the early modern period, peasants' labour obligations for their lords' demesne farms (*Hofdienst*) have been the central issue. They certainly made up a substantial element of demesne lordship, even if they were not the only form of labour employed in the demesne farm economy.[1] However, peasants' labour obligations for the lords' forests (*Forstdienst*) have received much less attention, even though many demesne lords (*Gutsherren*) owned and managed sizable forests besides demesne farms.[2] To widen the scope of research on demesne lordship, this paper focuses on forest labour obligations in the case of Prussian royal lordship in Brandenburg.

In Brandenburg, the demesne farm economy using peasants' compulsory labour had developed in the sixteenth century. In 1799, upon the request of peasants in the Gramzow domain to

[1] Werner Rösener, *The peasantry of Europe* (1994), p. 104. For various forms of demesne economy, Markus Cerman, 'Demesne lordship and rural society in early modern East Central and Eastern Europe: comparative perspectives', *AgHR* 59 (2011), pp. 246–7; id., *Villagers and lords in Eastern Europe, 1300–1800* (2012), pp. 70–86.

[2] Karl Hasel and Ekkehard Schwartz, *Forstgeschichte: Ein Grundriss für Studium und Praxis* (third edn, 2006), pp. 100–2.

redeem their labour services, King Friedrich Wilhelm III not only granted them their wish but ordered the general abolition of his subjects' labour services for the royal demesne farms.[3] This decisively accelerated the replacement of compulsory labour with free labour, and the partitioning and hereditary leasing of demesne farms, which had in part already been realized during the eighteenth century.[4] As Lieselott Enders showed, the peasants' initiatives figured significantly in the early emancipation of domain peasants from corvée for the demesne farms from 1799.[5] This understanding is embedded in the research on demesne lordships undertaken since the mid-1980s, which has found that it was peasant protests against labour services in late eighteenth-century Brandenburg that prompted the subsequent liberal reform, challenging the century-old view of East-Elbian peasants as being totally oppressed by the lords' exploitation.[6] Indeed, the latest scholarship has pursued a synthesis of old and new views, arguing that the peasants, despite their hostility to labour services, were still often willing to accommodate the increased demands their lords' placed on them.[7] In any case, peasants' compulsory labour on their lords' demesne farms (including buildings) was a major source of conflict because it was entirely to the lord's advantage and brought no benefit to the tenants.

In contrast, however, the labour obligations for the lords' forests were more reciprocal, because, in general, demesne lords had an obligation to grant the timber necessary for construction free of charge to subject peasants who held farmsteads by leasehold tenure. This obligation was owed because the lords owned the farmsteads and, thus, were solely responsible for the construction and maintenance of the farm's buildings.[8] In the royal domains, the principle of reciprocity was well established. Based on the wood ordinances of 1590, 1593, and 1622, the peasants of the electoral domains were entitled to any timber necessary for constructing and maintaining farm buildings by paying half the cost at most.[9] The patent King Friedrich Wilhelm I issued on 25 April 1729 entitled all peasants in the royal domains who did not own farms to receive timber

[3] Georg Friedrich Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preußens* (sec. edn, 2 vols, 1927), I, p. 96; Hartmut Harnisch, 'Der preußische Absolutismus und die Bauern. Sozialkonservative Gesellschaftspolitik und Vorleistung zur Modernisierung', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1994), pt 2, p. 18.

[4] Hans-Heinrich Müller, 'Domänenpächter im 19. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1989), pt 1, p. 126.

[5] Lieselott Enders, 'Emanzipation der Agrargesellschaft im 18. Jahrhundert: Trends und Gegentrends in der Mark Brandenburg', in J. Peters (ed.), *Konflikt und Kontrolle in Gutsherrschaftsgesellschaften: Über Resistenz- und Herrschaftsverhalten in ländlichen Sozialgebilden der frühen Neuzeit* (1995), pp. 427–9.

[6] William W. Hagen, 'The Junkers' faithless servants: peasant insubordination and the breakdown of serfdom in Brandenburg-Prussia, 1763–1811', in R. J. Evans and W. R. Lee (eds), *The German peasantry: conflict and community in rural society from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries* (1986), pp. 71–101. See also Mark Finlay, 'New sources, new theses, and new organizations in the new Germany: recent research on the history of German agriculture', *Agricultural Hist.* 75 (2001), p. 284.

[7] Heinrich Kaak, *Eigenwillige Bauern, ehrgeizige Amtmänner, distanzierte fürstliche Dorfherren: Vermittelte Herrschaft im brandenburgischen Alt-Quilitz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (2010), pp. 296, 325, 334–5, 342–7, 365.

[8] F. P. Eisenberg and C. L. Stengel, *Beiträge zur Kenntniß der Justizverfassung und juristischen Literatur in den Preußischen Staaten* (15 vols, Berlin, 1796), II, pp. 10–11; Günther Franz (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes in der Neuzeit* (1963), p. 362; Sean A. Eddie, *Freedom's price. Serfdom, subjection, and reform in Prussia, 1648–1848* (2013), pp. 108–10.

[9] Christian Otto Mylius (ed.), *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum oder Königlich Preußische und Churfürstlich Brandenburgische in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen publicirte und ergangene Ordnungen, Edicta, Mandata, Rescripta etc.* (6 vols, 1737–51), IV, I, II, cols 501, 515, 537; Wilhelm Pfeil, *Die Forstgeschichte Preußens bis zum Jahre 1806* (1839, repr. Remagen, 2009), p. 54.

from royal forests for new constructions or the maintenance of buildings. This was free of charge except for *Stammgeld*, an assignment charge of three *Groschen* (gr) for every *Reichsthaler* (rt) of timber bought or received (1 rt = 24 gr). Additionally, all peasants in the royal domains who owned farms were entitled to have timber at one-third of the cost, plus *Stammgeld*.[10] Building on this, an order of 17 January 1785 stipulated that each subject who was entitled to receive timber for building from the royal forests should render gratuitous labour for improving the forests.[11] Thus, domain subjects came to give their labour in their lords' forests only in the late eighteenth century and in return for their long-established entitlements to timber.

This late introduction of forest labour obligations is, as will be shown later, to be explained by the switch from natural regeneration to artificial regeneration (by the planting of tree seeds) as a result of Friedrich II's forestry reform, which took place after the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763.[12] After 1785, corvée for royal forests continued for several decades because domain peasants wished to keep their entitlements to timber.[13]

This paper examines the development of the labour obligations for the royal forests from 1763 to 1850, focusing on the mutual and conflicting interests of the domain peasants and royal authorities. While presenting the general developments in royal domains and forests in the Kurmark, this paper specifically focuses on the royal domain of Alt-Ruppin (*das königliche Domänenamt Alt-Ruppin*) and the royal forest district of Alt-Ruppin (*das königliche Forstrevier Alt-Ruppin*). A detailed investigation of this area serves to clarify the demands for labour services in the royal forests, and the different responses of villages and peasants to labour obligations, according to their socioeconomic conditions.

I

The royal domain and royal forest district of Alt-Ruppin traditionally belonged to the district of Ruppin (*Kreis Ruppin*), and thus to the *Kurmark Brandenburg* (Figure 1), the greater part of Brandenburg west of the Oder River. In 1815, after ceding the Altmark in 1807, the *Kurmark* area roughly became the governorate district of Potsdam (*Regierungsbezirk Potsdam*), the western part of the Prussian province of Brandenburg.

[10] Takashi Iida, 'The practice of timber granting from lords to peasants: a forest-historical perspective of the *Gutsherrschaft* in Brandenburg-Prussia from 1650 to 1850', *Agricultural Hist.* 87 (2013), pp. 506–7.

[11] *Novum corpus constitutionum Prussico-Brandenburgensium Praecipue Marchicarum, Oder Neue Sammlung Königl. Preuß. und Churfürstl. Brandenburgischer, sonderlich in der Chur- und Marck-Brandenburg, Wie auch anderen Provintzien, publicirten und ergangenen Ordnungen, Edicta, Mandaten, Rescripten etc.* (10 vols, 1751–1803) [hereafter *NCC*], VII, col. 3009–14.

[12] Hasel and Schwartz, *Forstgeschichte*, pp. 279, 284–5; Pfeil, *Die Forstgeschichte Preußens*, p. 136; Rudolph Stadelmann, *Preußens Könige in ihrer Thätigkeit für die Landescultur. Zweiter Theil, Friedrich der Große* (1882), pp. 139–45; Heinrich Rubner, *Forstgeschichte im Zeitalter der industriellen Revolution* (1967), pp. 68–70; Matthias Asche, 'Von waldglashütten, Teeröfen und anderen Formen traditioneller Holznutzung: Brandenburg-preußische Staatswirtschaft im Spannungsfeld von Nachhaltigkeitsdenken und Ressourcenbegrenzung, Landesausbau und Peuplierungspolitik vom 17. bis zum frühen 19. Jahrhundert', in G. Schulz and R. Reith (eds), *Wirtschaft und Umwelt vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart: Auf dem Weg zu Nachhaltigkeit?* (2015), pp. 71–2.

[13] Pfeil, *Die Forstgeschichte Preußens*, pp. 54–5; Iida, 'Timber granting', pp. 517–20; id., 'Bäuerliches Beharren auf der "Holzberechtigung": Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Gutsherrn und Bauern im brandenburgischen Amt Alt-Ruppin während der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 55 (2009), pp. 129–58.

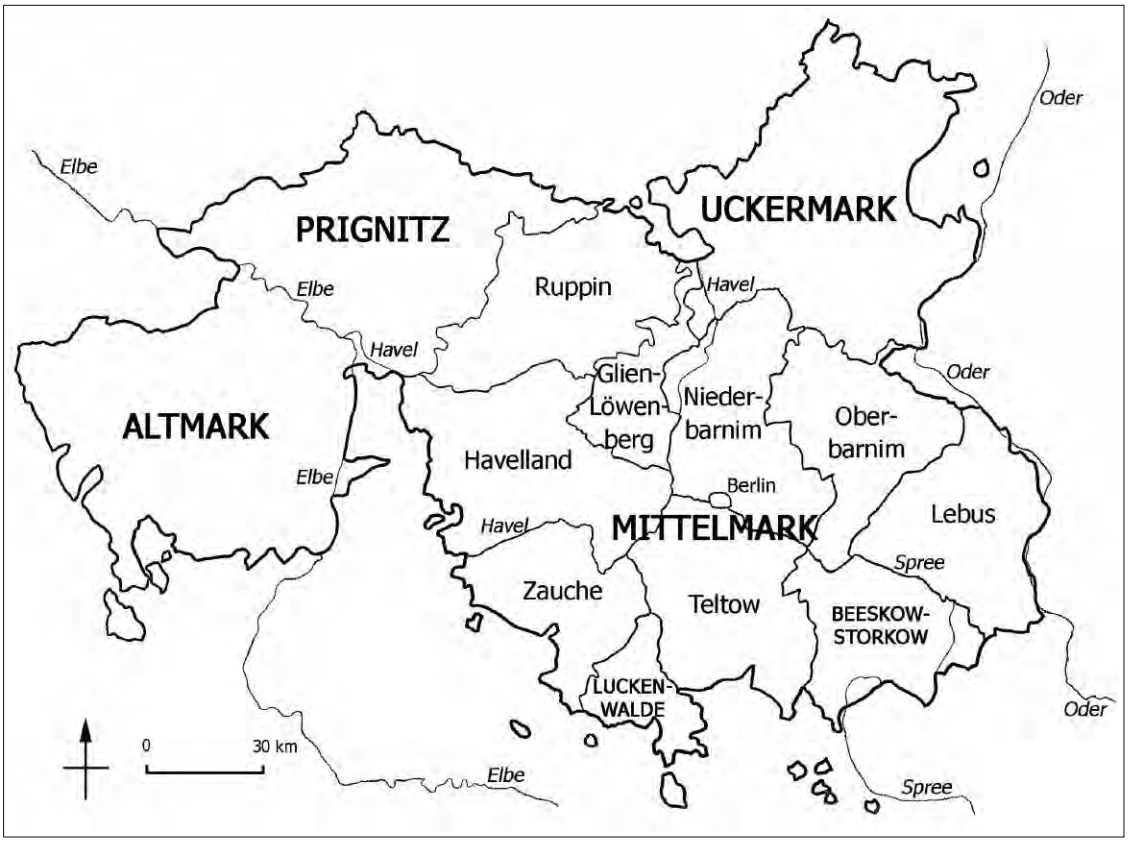


FIGURE 1. Map of the Kurmark Brandenburg, *c.*1800

Source: Friedrich Wilhelm August Bratring, *Statistisch-Topographische Beschreibung der gesamten Mark Brandenburg* (3 vols, 1804-09; repr. 1968), pp. x–xi, appended map drawn by Gerd Heinrich.

The Kurmark had a higher density of royal lordship than most Prussian territories. At the end of the eighteenth century, it included 54 royal domains, and in its East Elbian area, 40 per cent of all peasants belonged to the royal domains.[14] Furthermore, it included 72 royal forest districts, amounting to 58 per cent of the woodland in the Kurmark, which covered roughly a third of its total area. Of the rest of the woodland, the nobility and peasants owned 28 per cent, and the cities and towns 14 per cent. For this calculation however, at least 134 noble and peasant forests were omitted because no records were available for their areas.[15] Data regarding the share of peasant ownership are available in the district of Ruppin, which shows that peasants owned only four per cent of the forests, while 75 per cent belonged to royal families, and 13 per cent to noble lords and private owners. Peasants or peasant

[14] Hans-Heinrich Müller, 'Domänen und Domänenpächter in Brandenburg-Preußen im 18. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1965), pt 4, p. 152.

[15] Rosemarie Baudisch, 'Geographische Grundlagen und historisch-politische Gliederung Brandenburgs', in I. Materna and W. Ribbe (eds), *Brandenburgische Geschichte* (1995), p. 21; Bratring, *Statistisch-Topographische Beschreibung*, I, pp. 101–5.

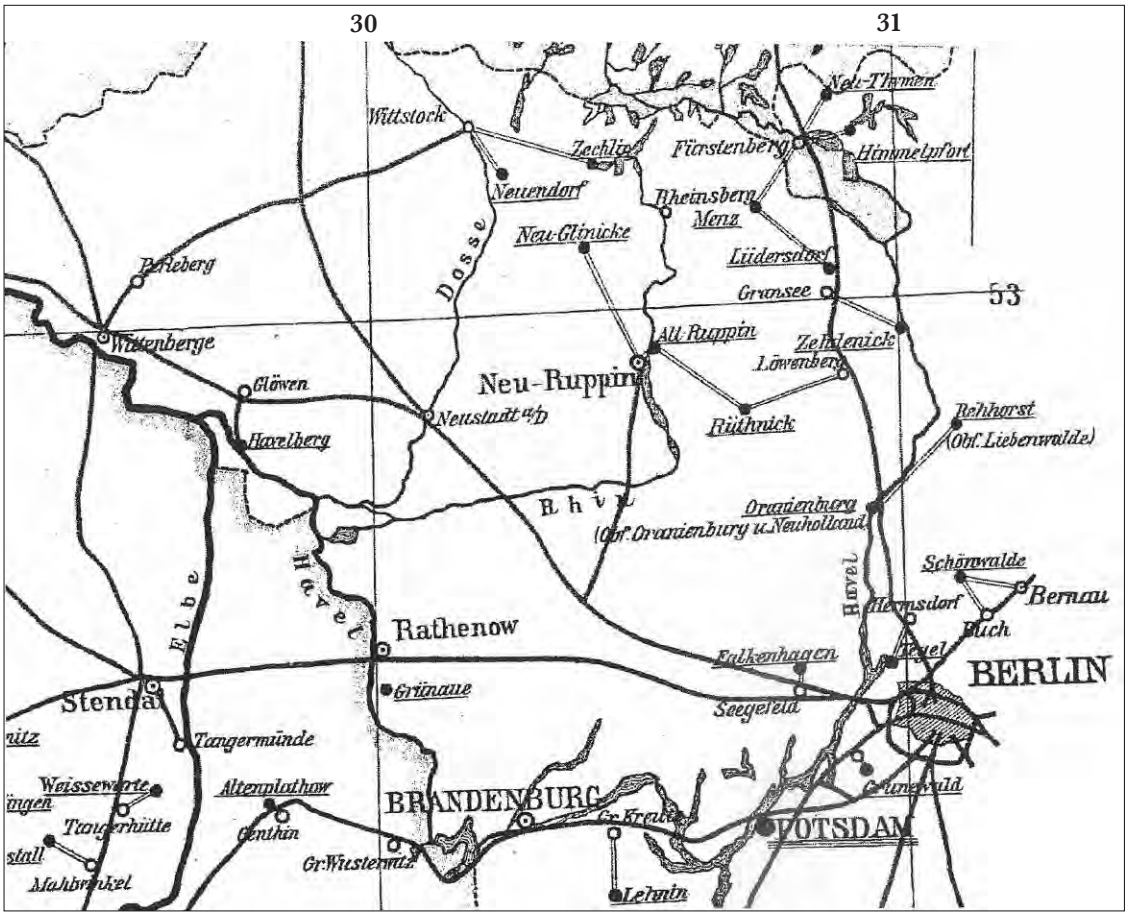


FIGURE 2. Map of royal forest districts (underlined) in north-western Brandenburg, 1885

Note: Ferro meridians are shown.
Source: Albrecht Milnik, *Im Dienst am Wald. Lebenswege und Leistungen brandenburgischer Forstleute* (2006), p. ii.

communities often had little or no woodland, making their entitlement to the lords' forests indispensable.[16]

The headquarters of the royal domain and royal forest district of Alt-Ruppin were in or around the town of Alt-Ruppin, which lay about 60 km northwest of Berlin (Figure 2). Thus, the domain and forest officials cooperated in exercising royal lordship over the agricultural lands in the domain and the woodlands in the forest district.[17]

The royal domain of Alt-Ruppin was enlarged in 1764 by incorporating into it a part of the royal domain of Lindow on its dissolution. The extended domain included the two towns of

[16] Friedrich Wilhelm August Bratring, *Die Grafschaft Ruppin in historischer, statistischer und geographischer Hinsicht: ein Beitrag zur Kunde der Mark Brandenburg* (1799), pp. 40–8.
[17] Ibid., pp. 390–5.

Alt-Ruppin and Lindow, two royal demesne farms, and 27 villages, including the settler village of Pfalzheim.[18] The number of peasant farmers with large and small holdings (*Bauern* and *Kossäten*) in each village was largely constant due to the undivided inheritance of their farms while the number of cottage residents (*Büdner* and *Einlieger*) drastically increased from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century.[19]

The peasant farmers of four villages (Dabergotz, Molchow, Nietwerder, and Wuthenow) were obliged to render labour for the two royal demesne farms, one in the town of Alt-Ruppin and the other in the village of Dabergotz. According to the 1734 regulation, each *Bauer* had to render labour with draught animals (two horses) three days a week, i.e., 156 days a year (in case of smaller holdings, only 104 or 78 days a year), and each *Kossäte* should render labour without draught animals three days a week. These regulations were amended over time. After the 1782 modification, the peasants of Nietwerder were exempted from the overnight journeys that burdened their farm economy and, in particular, their draught animals. From around 1800, the *Bauern* in Wuthenow and Nietwerder had to render labour only two days a week with four draught animals, being permitted to pay money in lieu of a third day of service.[20]

The royal forest district of Alt-Ruppin belonged to the chain of royal forest districts that densely covered the northern border area of Brandenburg (Figure 2). In 1798, it included a total area of 35,186 *Morgen* (8983 ha).[21] In 1820, it incorporated a part of the neighbouring forest district of Zühlen and became a sizable district of more than 40,000 *Morgen* (10,212 ha), which consisted of the seven sub-districts of Klausheide, Lietze, Krangenbrück, Hohenheide, Pfefferteich, Glienicke, and Rägelin. In 1843, as the new forest district of Neu-Glienicke was founded, the two sub-districts of Glienicke and Rägelin were transferred to it. Consequently, the Alt-Ruppin forest district was reduced to about 26,500 *Morgen* (6765 ha).[22]

Data on the composition of tree species are only available from 1825 when the forest district official drew up a Description and Management Plan, an exercise which was then repeated at least once every 20 years. Pure pine-stand coverage amounted to approximately 76 per cent of the total forested area in 1825 but had decreased to 64 per cent in 1845 (Table 1). This data seems to reflect general trends in Brandenburg. Brandenburg was notable for the dominance of coniferous stands even during the German settlement of the region in the high Middle Ages. On the predominantly sandy soil of Brandenburg, clearing and reclamation occurred only in fertile areas where broadleaved trees could grow, while the sandy areas that could only grow conifers were maintained as woodlands. In Brandenburg, therefore, coniferous tree areas were already so dominant by 1300 that areas of solely broadleaf woodland were restricted to the

[18] Berthold Schulze, *Besitz- und siedlungsgeschichtliche Statistik der brandenburgischen Ämter und Städte 1540–1800* (1935), pp. 52–7.

[19] Takashi Iida, 'Lords' forestry for people's basic needs: evidence from Prussia's royal domains and forests during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in M. Tanimoto and R. B. Wong (eds), *Public goods provision in the early modern economy: Comparative perspectives from Japan, China, and Europe* (2019), p. 241.

[20] Takashi Iida, *Ruppiner Bauernleben 1648–1806: Sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen einer ländlichen Gegend Ostelbiens* (2010), pp. 90–3.

[21] Bratring, *Statistisch-Topographische Beschreibung*, I, p. 104.

[22] Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Potsdam, Germany [hereafter BLHA], Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4286, fos 266, 285; nos 4524–9.

TABLE 1. Stand composition of the forest district of Alt-Ruppin in 1825 and 1845 in *Morgen*

	1825	*1845*
Pine	30,099	16,190
Broadleaf and coniferous trees (mottled)		8,160
Beech	4,953	144
Oak	73	25
Birch	292	
Alder	20	57
Broadleaf trees (mottled)		57
Tree-covered forested area in total	**35,437**	**24,632**
Clearings	4,146	572
Potential forested area in total	**39,583**	**25,205**
Total area	**40,578**	**26,530**

Note: figures rounded to the nearest *Morgen*.
Sources: For 1825, BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4285, fo. 52; for 1845, no. 4286, fo. 66.

valley areas of larger rivers.[23] In the 1780s, 58 per cent of the woodland in the Kurmark was covered with pure pine stands; seven per cent with pine, oak, and beech (mottled); 15 per cent with oak; four per cent with beech; and 16 per cent with alder and birch. In the following decades, the cover of pine stands became 'endlessly still more overwhelming', until 'recently more for maintaining broadleaf trees was done again', as Wilhelm Pfeil observed in 1839.[24] Following this general trend, the cover of pure pine stands in the forest district of Alt-Ruppin reached its peak around 1825.

Considering the dominance of pine trees, it is no wonder that in the forest district of Alt-Ruppin, high forest management with 100- or 120-year cutting cycles was practised. Here, even the broadleaf trees exclusively formed a high forest, leaving no room for coppice.[25] Traditionally, only alder trees formed a coppice in Brandenburg.[26] Thus, subjects and locals were permitted to gather fallen dead wood as fuel and to graze their livestock under the tall trees.

On the domain land, there were also peasants' woods (*Bauernheide*) that belonged to some village communities (Table 2) but were under the supervision of domain authorities until the *Landeskulturedikt* of 1811.[27] Although covering a much smaller portion of the woodlands in Brandenburg than the royal and noble lords', they were never negligible and gained importance throughout the nineteenth century. According to the 1833 forestry report, nearly everywhere in the province of Brandenburg, peasants and peasant communities were converting inferior

[23] Pfeil, *Die Forstgeschichte Preußens*, pp. 15, 41–3; Hasel and Schwartz, *Forstgeschichte*, pp. 292–4.
[24] Pfeil, *Die Forstgeschichte Preußens*, pp. 20–1.
[25] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4285, fo. 4; no. 4295.
[26] Pfeil, *Die Forstgeschichte Preußens*, p. 58.
[27] Karl Hasel, *Zur Geschichte der Forstgesetzgebung in Preußen* (1974), pp. 10, 24.

TABLE 2. Development of the areas of peasants' wood (*Bauernheide*) in the villages of the royal domain of Alt-Ruppin from 1799 to 1860 (in *Morgen*)

	1799	*1817*	*1860*
Buberow			15
Dabergotz		1.5	
Darritz			70
Glambeck	110		
Grieben	400		3705
Herzberg		70–80	831
Keller		12	
Klosterheide	50	50	678
Königstädt		10	40
Krangen	100		1633
Lichtenberg	30	32	
Lüdersdorf	10	48	98
Molchow	60	70	820
Pfalzheim	70		240
Rönnebeck		3–4	
Schönberg		110	1905
Schulzendorf		20	?
Seebeck	84		678
Storbeck		26	598
Strubensee	150		437
Vielitz	150		709
Wuthenow	40		526

Sources: For 1799, Bratring, *Die Grafschaft Ruppin*; for 1817, BLHA, Rep. 7, Amt Alt-Ruppin, No. 207; for 1860, Lieselott Enders, *Historisches Ortslexikon für Brandenburg, Teil II Ruppin* (1970).

arable land to forest.[28] This was precisely the case in the Alt-Ruppin royal domain. For 22 out of the 30 villages that belonged to the Alt-Ruppin domain from 1819 to 1846, we have evidence for existence of peasant-owned woodland between 1799 and 1860. Out of the 22, twelve succeeded in extending their woodland to 200–2000 *Morgen* (*c*.50–500 ha) or more by 1860, while the others created modest woodlands of under 100 *Morgen* (*c*.25 ha) (Table 2).

[28] Hartmut Harnisch, *Kapitalistische Agrarreform und industrielle Revolution: Agrarhistorische Untersuchungen über das ostelbische Preußen zwischen Spätfeudalismus und bürgerlich-demokratischer Revolution von 1848/49 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Provinz Brandenburg* (1984), p. 157.

II

The Seven Years' War between 1756 and 1763 caused immense damage to the Prussian economy and woodlands. After the War, the royal authorities had to reconstruct the Prussian Treasury and the royal forests. In this situation, it was no wonder that the authorities were interested in converting the tenant rights of domain peasants into freeholds. Until 1764, most peasants in the royal domains of Alt-Ruppin and Lindow were usufructuaries and entitled to free timber. When the Lindow domain was dissolved in 1764 and incorporated into the neighbouring domains of Alt-Ruppin, Friedrichsthal, etc., the authorities offered farm ownership to the usufructuary peasants in these domains under the condition that they give up their right to free timber and pay one-third of the costs of any timber granted to them. In the expanded domain of Alt-Ruppin, peasants from 17 villages accepted ownership of their farms and agreed to forego their right to free timber, while peasants from ten other villages did not accept this offer because they were concerned not to lose the provision of free timber.[29] In the Kurmark, there was a general reluctance among usufructuary peasants to accept the ownership of their farm if it entailed giving up their entitlement to free timber.[30]

Meanwhile, however, Friedrich II accomplished fundamental reforms of royal forest management to improve the forest revenue. In 1764, he prohibited selection cutting and ordered the division of his forests into compartments with a 70-year cutting cycle. However, this plan could not immediately be realized due to the lack of trained officials or appropriate administrative organs for forestry. In 1770, the king created the forest academy in Berlin and the independent forest department under a minister in the General Directory (*Generaldirektorium*), the central administration in Berlin. It was only between 1780 and 1786 that Carl Philipp von Kropff, as a councillor of the forest department, took charge of dividing the forest districts in Brandenburg, Pommern, West and East Prussia into compartments. To produce thick pinewoods, he sought to adopt longer cutting cycles than the 70 years that Friedrich II insisted on into his final years. While following the king's order of division into 70 compartments, von Kropff divided each district into two blocks with 70 compartments and, by doing so, realized the longer cutting cycle of 140 years.[31] The shift from selection cutting to compartment cutting was significant: as the areas of large-scale felling increased, it became possible and necessary to reforest them through sowing or planting. Thus, the royal forestry shifted from natural to artificial regeneration, which required much more intensive labour-inputs.[32]

No later than 1776, Friedrich II ordered subjects entitled to timber grants from royal forests to perform gratuitous labour in the forests.[33] Details relating to this were only stipulated in the subsequent order of 1785. As such, the compulsory labour consisted essentially of ploughing, harrowing, and hoeing forest grounds to prepare them for sowing, and gathering and delivering pinecones. Each full-peasant (*Vollbauer*) was compelled to plough at least one

[29] Iida, *Ruppiner Bauernleben,* pp. 101–4.

[30] Lieselott Enders, 'Das bäuerliche Besitzrecht in der Mark Brandenburg, untersucht am Beispiel der Prignitz vom 13. bis 18. Jahrhundert', in J. Peters (ed.), *Gutsherrschaftsgesellschaften im europäischen Vergleich* (1997), pp. 418–9.

[31] Rubner, *Forstgeschichte im Zeitalter der industriellen Revolution*, pp. 68–70; Asche, 'Von Waldglashütten', p. 72; Milnik, *Im Dienst am Wald*, pp. 56–7.

[32] Hasel and Schwartz, *Forstgeschichte*, p. 279.

[33] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 226, fo. 1.

Morgen (roughly a quarter hectare) of land each year, harrow two *Morgen* of land and gather two *Scheffel* of pinecones (one *Scheffel* = 55 litres). Each half-peasant (*Halbbauer* or *Kossäte*) was held to half of these obligations. Ploughing and harrowing could be replaced by hoeing.[34] A draft of the declaration of the 1785 order prescribed possible substitutes for these labours and conversion tables. Services which might be required included transporting pinecones and brushwood, trenching forest land, sowing pinecones from a sack into furrows and 'turning' them, pruning branches that came too near to firebreaks, cutting and spreading brushwood, etc.[35] This shows that obligatory labourers took particular charge of a whole series of pine plantation tasks. They cultivated land with ploughs, harrows or hoes, gathered and brought pinecones, sowed them and, as soon as they burst open on a warm day, 'turned' them to and fro so that the seeds fell out.[36]

For the peasants, labour obligations in royal forests were new. In an order of 1776, Friedrich II admitted that the obligations were an innovation but rejected any argument that the peasants had not been previously required to undertake these tasks.[37] The royal authorities, however, did concede some limitations when imposing the new corvée. The order contained a proviso that the labour services should only be demanded in the forests that provided the peasants with timber and 'never for the other from which they received nothing'.[38] Thus, the king admitted the reciprocal character of the new corvée. The 1785 order combined this reciprocal character with the rhetoric of 'wood shortage'.[39] Since the burden of timber grants had produced a deterioration of the forests, the subjects needed to render labour so that they could restore the forests to the condition necessary to provide them with free timber again and to protect their offspring from future wood shortages. The order stated that the king was thus concerned for 'conservation' of his subjects and never intended to impose excess labour on them.[40]

The labour due for the forest was much lighter than that for demesne farms, which, as we saw, might amount to 156 days a year in the Alt-Ruppin domain. According to the draft of the declaration for the 1785 order, the yearly labour of each full-peasant, for instance ploughing one *Morgen* of forest land and harrowing two *Morgen* of forest land, were to be equivalent to four days of the labour that a competent and mature person could perform in a day of twelve hours.[41] Additionally, the order charged domain officials to make sure that the peasants' forest corvée did not conflict with their sowing season on the crop field. They should perform ploughing immediately after the harvest, harrowing in the spring and collecting pinecones in December and January.[42]

[34] *NCC*, VII, cols 3009–14.

[35] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 226, fos 61–6.

[36] Ludwig von Rönne, *Das Domainen-, Forst- und Jagd-Wesen des Preußischen Staates* (1854), pp. 590–2; Georg Ludwig Hartig, 'Ueber das dichte und dünne Säen und Pflanzen bei Holzkulturen', *Allgemeines Forst- und Jagd-Archiv*, VII (1826), pp. 15–16.

[37] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 226, fo. 1.

[38] Ibid.

[39] See, for instance, Joachim Radkau, *Wood: a history* (2012), pp. 156–71; Paul Warde, 'Fear of wood shortage and the reality of the woodland in Europe, *c.*1450–1850', *Hist. Workshop J.* 62 (2006), pp. 28–57.

[40] *NCC*, VII, col. 3009.

[41] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 226, fo. 64.

[42] *NCC*, VII, cols 3010, 3012.

What helped the peasants' economy was that they could enjoy an increasing amount of timber so long as they performed the forest corvée. As shown in Table 5, the corvée that the peasants of Alt-Ruppin domain had to perform in 1825 was not at all different from what the 1785 order stipulated, and the obligations remained fixed until 1846. In contrast, the timber grants could increase in line with demand. As stipulated in Clause 210, Title 22, Part I of the Prussian General Legal Code of 1794,

> when the changed situations or increased demands of the entitled farm make a relocation or enlargement of the farm buildings that originally existed necessary, then the timber needed for that can be taken from the obligated wood.[43]

It seems likely that timber was especially needed in the late eighteenth century for enlarging farm buildings. According to the 1750 'livestock table' of the royal domain of Alt-Ruppin, the total number of livestock in all 22 villages and the town of Alt-Rippin was 1593 horses, 2303 cattle, and 9936 sheep. In 1798, whilst the number of horses decreased to 1442, the number of cattle and sheep almost doubled to 4834 and 18,001 respectively.[44] The late eighteenth century coincided with a period of agrarian boom, which encouraged those villages equipped with extensive open lands to develop excellent meadows and pastures to enable them to augment the numbers of their livestock.[45]

While imposing forest labour on all peasants in the domains in return for timber grants, the royal authorities specifically mobilized peasants living close to royal forests to perform additional labours in return for access to the forest's resources. In 1796, the villagers of Storbeck petitioned the authorities to permit them to continue raking moss and pine needles in the Alt-Ruppin forest, which they needed as litter because they were short of hay and straw. On this occasion, the forest official for Alt-Ruppin not only granted Storbeck's demand, but also offered the same concession to the villages of Darritz, Pfalzheim, and Nietwerder, all of whom were experiencing the same shortage. Ultimately, the four villages were allowed to rake moss and pine needles on a predetermined day every week (only during the winter) in a place specified by the forest officials. The peasants' gain from the forest was, of course, combined with their obligations to the forest owner. In return for being permitted to rake moss and pine needles, the peasants were obligated to deliver a certain quantity of pinecones to the forest authorities, in accordance with an ordinance of 1788.[46] In 1796, after large-scale insect and wind damage had occurred in the Ruppin forests in 1792–93, as in most Prussian forests, the authorities needed larger numbers of pinecones for reforestation.[47]

The forest authorities combined the neighbouring villagers' forest use and labour in another way. Among the villages near the Alt-Ruppin forest, Pfalzheim was especially disadvantaged

[43] Hans Hattenhauer (ed.), *Allgemeines Landrecht für die preussischen Staaten von 1794* (third edn, 1996), p. 346.

[44] BLHA, Rep. 7, Amt Alt-Ruppin, no. 882; Bratring, *Die Grafschaft Ruppin*, pp. 380–449.

[45] Iida, *Ruppiner Bauernleben,* pp. 66–71; Hartmut Harnisch, 'Peasants and markets: the background to the agrarian reforms in feudal Prussia east of the Elbe, 1760–1807', in Evans and Lee (eds), *German Peasantry*, pp. 37–70.

[46] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 1871, fos 1–7; no. 1836, fos 65–6.

[47] Bratring, *Die Grafschaft Ruppin*, p. 42; Carl Wilhelm Hennert, *Ueber den Raupenfraß und Windbruch in den Königl. Preuß. Forsten von dem Jahre 1791 bis 1794* (sec. edn, 1798; repr. 2013).

and regarded as the most miserable village in the Alt-Ruppin domain. Its poor crops were insufficient to provide the villagers' basic needs. For this reason, Alt-Ruppin's forest official used to lease forest land to the villagers, who cultivated it before it was afforested in the following year. Thus, the villagers could attain an increase in arable land while the forest office not only gained some rent but also saved the expense of preparing the ground for afforestation.[48] Reportedly, Pfalzheim villagers used 74 *Morgen* of land agriculturally in 1789–90, 44 *Morgen* of land in 1790–91, two pieces of 60-*Morgen* land in 1791–92, and 24 *Morgen* of land in 1794–95. The 90-*Morgen* clearing, which was planted with pine in 1797–98, showed 'very good tree growth', because the villagers had previously cultivated the area for crops.[49] Thus, in the royal forest grounds, cooperation between peasants and the authorities improved even in the late eighteenth century.

III

From 1799, a few decades after the introduction of forest labour obligations, the question arose over whether these obligations should be cancelled as part of Friedrich Wilhelm III's order to abolish labour services for the demesne farms in royal domains. In the Alt-Ruppin domain, negotiations began in 1803 with four villages (Dabergotz, Molchow, Nietwerder, and Wuthenow) where usufructuary peasants were saddled with labour obligations for the royal demesne farms in Dabergotz and Alt-Ruppin. For their release from labour obligations for both demesne farms, the peasants were required to pay commutation rents that were at least twice as high as those paid by neighbouring peasants who were already exempt from labour. Simultaneously, they were required to purchase their farms and relinquish their rights to timber. The peasants in Nietwerder responded by offering to continue their labour services for the forests (but not for the demesne farms) in order to retain their right to timber. The authorities refused their request and insisted that the cancellation of their right to timber was a non-negotiable condition. It was not until 1817 that Nietwerder eventually accepted these terms, following three other villages, in order to be free from corvée for demesne farms. Following the emancipation, the demesne farm in Dabergotz was alienated in 1810.[50] The demesne farm in Alt-Ruppin was divided into plots, most of which were obtained by the inhabitants of the town of Alt-Ruppin.[51]

Whilst freeing peasants of the four villages from their labour obligations for royal demesne farms and forests, the royal authorities were initially ready to accept other peasants' applications to convert their forest labour obligations into a commutation rent. Accordingly, an order of 13 December 1804 stipulated the conversion rates of each type of forest labour, 16 gr for ploughing one *Morgen* of forest land, four gr for harrowing one *Morgen* of forest land, and four gr for delivering one *Scheffel* of pinecones. Before long, however, the authorities had to reconsider this policy. In January 1817, Carl Philipp von Kropff, chief forest supervisor (*Oberforstmeister*) of the governorate district of Potsdam, argued that it was an inopportune

[48] BLHA, Rep. 7, Amt Alt-Ruppin, no. 115, fo. 95.

[49] BLHA, Rep. 2, Kurmärkische Kriegs- und Domänenkammer, no. D. 16527.

[50] Iida, 'Bäuerliches Beharren', pp. 129–37.

[51] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4534.

TABLE 3. Area distribution of age groups of trees in the Alt-Ruppin forest district in 1846 (in *Morgen*)

Over 100	*81–100*	*61–80*	*41–60*	*21–40*	*1–20*	*Clearing*	*Total*
2,995	1,504	2,331	5,220	7,601	5,137	417	25,205
11.9%	6.0%	9.2%	20.7%	30.2%	20.4%	1.7%	100.0%

Source: BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4286, fos 314–15.

moment for converting forest labour obligations into fixed commutation rent. Insects had recently devastated parts of the forest, which needed to be replanted. As a result of the wars from 1813, there was a shortage of labour and so the price of pinecones was very high. For these reasons, the forest labour services were, for the time being, 'still very necessary'. Therefore, von Kropff proposed either to suspend the conversion of forest labour services into rent temporarily or to raise the 1804 conversion rate from 16 gr to one rt for ploughing one *Morgen* of land, from four gr to six gr for harrowing one *Morgen* of land, and from four gr to at least five gr for delivering one *Scheffel* of pinecones.[52] After this, the authorities compelled the peasants to pay higher commutation rent for being freed from their forest labour services.[53]

The problems von Kropff mentioned seem to have not only been caused by temporary circumstances, but also reflected the longer-term development of forest structure. According to a description of the Alt-Ruppin forest district of 1846, the distribution of age groups of trees in the district was remarkably uneven (Table 3). While the area with trees over 60 years of age was only 27 per cent, the area with trees younger than 60 years amounted to 71 per cent. This shows that afforestation had intensified since the mid-1780s, the decade in which forest labour services had been introduced. Also, Table 3 demonstrates that afforestation reached its peak between the mid-1800s and mid-1820s. It was exactly during these two decades that von Kropff considered forest labour services to be imperative.

As reported in 1846, intensive afforestation essentially resulted from the endeavour to replace beech trees with pine trees, which corresponded with the growing dominance of conifer from the 1780s to the 1820s in the province of Brandenburg as a whole.[54] To use the upper storey of pine trees, the lower beech stands were cut down before reaching their useable thickness. Consequently, forest authorities achieved large areas of coniferous forestry but had insufficient labour at their disposal to undertake reforestation after felling. Thus, there arose a backlog of bare lands to be reforested.[55]

Reforestation often failed and had to be repeated because the clear-felled areas tended to become overgrown with grass, as did the areas formerly covered with beech trees, which, because of richer soil, had once been used for agriculture. Prior agricultural use also brought mice, which devastated the subsequent silviculture. Indeed, some areas that had once been

[52] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 226.

[53] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 747, fos 198–203.

[54] Pfeil, *Die Forstgeschichte Preußens*, pp. 20–1.

[55] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4286, fos 326–7.

covered with dense beech stands became broad bare land with only sparse pine trees after a succession of unsuccessful seedings.[56] These failures necessarily wasted labour and seed. Waste was also caused by insect damage. The pure pine stands were more vulnerable to this than mixed stands and created a broader area of bare land that needed replanting.[57]

According to the general planting plan of the Alt-Ruppin forest district, there were bare lands of about 4523 *Morgen* (1155 ha) in 1820, which were to be afforested within 20 years.[58] In 1845, however, there remained 572 *Morgen* (146 ha) of bare lands (Table 1). The authorities made efforts to quicken the regeneration process through artificial planting, but this required more labour that they had at their disposal.[59] It is no wonder that, in 1829 and 1830, the then forest inspector of Rheinsberg, who was responsible for Alt-Ruppin and several other forest districts, carried out an investigation to discover how many royal subjects were entitled to the timber grant, but were not performing their labour obligations in the forest districts. These proved to be only few in number. He then investigated the possibility of strictly enforcing the 1785 order.[60]

Artificial planting helped not only to quicken regeneration but also to make the forestry more compatible with wood pasturage, which was used by neighbouring peasants and foresters into the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the pasture in the forest dominated by dense conifer stands was not rich. According to an estimate made in 1856 for the Alt-Ruppin forest district, the average area needed for pasturing a cow was either 29 or 38 *Morgen* in conifer stands (depending on the cutting cycle) while it was 25 in oak and beech.[61] The grazing area of the district was extensive and almost all the forested area was open for grazing unless it was closed to protect young trees.[62] The expansion of younger stands, however, meant an increase in the area in which grazing was not permitted, which necessarily narrowed the area for wood pasturage. Accordingly the authorities endeavoured to reopen the preserved area promptly. Therefore, in the list of each preserve, they recorded when it could be reopened for livestock grazing. This data confirms that the duration of the closure depended on whether the area had been sown by hand (*aus der Hand angesät*) or left to 'natural seeding' (*natürliche Besamung*). According to the 1835 list (Table 4), areas artificially sown in 1820 were already scheduled to be reopened in four years, while in areas of 'natural seeding', many closed areas had existed since 1809 and still had no prospect of being reopened. Thus, artificial sowing was likely to result in an even-aged stand that could be reopened more promptly, while natural seeding resulted in a stand of 'unequal ages' that delayed its reopening.[63]

Because the forestry authorities needed more labour to undertake the sowing of trees, they did not press for the redemption of forest labour obligations. Table 5 compares the existing labour obligations for the Alt-Ruppin forest district in 1825 and 1846. In 1825, peasants of almost all the villages of the Alt-Ruppin domain – except the aforementioned four villages of Dabergotz, Molchow, Nietwerder and Wuthenow – were still obliged to do forest labour. In

[56] Ibid., fos 327–8.

[57] Hasel and Schwartz, *Forstgeschichte,* p. 300.

[58] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4285, fos 15–18.

[59] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4286, fos 316, 318, 330.

[60] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 748, fos 337–50.

[61] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4288, p. 33.

[62] Table 1; BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4286, fos 393–408.

[63] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4524.

TABLE 4. Preserved areas in the royal forest district of Alt-Ruppin in 1835

Year established	*Artificial sowing*				*Natural seeding*			
	Size (Morgen)	*Tree type*	*Ages of trees (years)*	*When to be reopened*	*Size (Morgen)*	*Tree type*	*Ages of trees (years)*	*When to be reopened*
1809					32	Pine	9–23	Undecided
1810					82	Beech/Pine	18–23	Undecided
					143	Beech/Pine	23–63	Undecided
1812					175	Pine/Birch	8–21	Undecided
1813					271	Pine	9–28	Undecided
					53	Pine	12–20	Undecided
					62	Pine	3–24	Undecided
					80	Pine	3–24	Undecided
					22	Pine	8–24	Undecided
					99	Pine	8–24	Undecided
1814					22	Pine	16–24	Undecided
					15	Pine	12–20	Undecided
					275	Pine	16–24	Undecided
					39	Pine	19	Undecided
					51	Pine	19	Undecided
1815					117	Pine	1–23	Undecided
					20	Pine	19	Soon
					131	Pine	1–23	Undecided
					24	Pine/Birch	11–19	Undecided
1816					215	Pine	3–20	Undecided
					37	Pine	7–10	Undecided
					306	Pine/Birch	1–19	Undecided
					79	Pine/Birch	14–24	In a few years
					131	Pine/Birch	10–16	Undecided
1817					128	Pine	13–21	In a few years
1818					61	Pine	18	In a few years
1820	56	Pine	15	In 4 years	219	Pine	1–19	Undecided
	4	Pine	15	In 4 years	141	Pine	8–14	Undecided
					42	Pine	4–13	Undecided
1821	34	Pine	14	In 6 years	34	Pine/Beech	13–27	Undecided
	4	Pine	14	In 6 years	209	Pine/Beech	11–21	Undecided
	99	Pine	14	Undecided	170	Pine	8–11	Undecided
					94	Pine/Beech	10–14	Undecided
					182	Pine/Beech	8–14	Undecided

Year established	*Artificial sowing*				*Natural seeding*			
	Size (Morgen)	*Tree type*	*Ages of trees (years)*	*When to be reopened*	*Size (Morgen)*	*Tree type*	*Ages of trees (years)*	*When to be reopened*
1821 *continued*					193	Pine/Beech	10–19	Undecided
					90	Pine/Beech	10–19	Undecided
					273	Beech/Pine	2–24	Undecided
1822	110	Pine	13	Undecided	116	Pine	1–9	Undecided
1823	95	Pine	10–12	Undecided	134	Pine	1–9	Undecided
					289	Pine/Beech	1–40	Undecided
					180	Pine/Birch	2–11	Undecided
					199	Beech/Pine	4–12	Undecided
					91	Pine/Beech	12	Undecided
					127	Pine/Beech	12	Undecided
1824	76	Pine	11	Undecided				
1825	145	Pine	5–10	Undecided				
1829					44	Pine	1–4	Undecided
1830	19	Pine	4	Undecided	91	Pine	2–6	Undecided
	59	Pine	4	Undecided				
1834	100	Pine	–	Undecided				
1835	15	Pine		Undecided	52	Pine	Seeding	Undecided
	113	Pine		Undecided	129	Pine	Seeding	Undecided
	50	Oak		Undecided	134	Pine	Seeding	Undecided
					335	Pine/Oak	Seeding	Undecided
					210	Beech/Pine	1–60	Undecided

Notes: The preserved areas that were partly sown and partly left to natural seeding are not included. In cases, where the year of establishment is unknown, the areas are also excluded.
Source: BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4524.

1846, about two-thirds of the 1825 labour obligations still existed. This was, however, not solely due to the authorities' need for labour, but the preference of many peasants to maintain their entitlements to timber grants from the royal forest.

The enfranchisement edict (*Regulierungsedikt*) of 14 September 1811 and its declaration of 29 May 1816 provided the framework for liquidating the relationships between the royal authorities and usufructuary peasants in the villages of Bechlin, Kerzlin, Kraatz, Schulzendorf, Vielitz, and Wildberg, who were already exempt from labour obligations for demesne farms. Negotiations did not always begin quickly after the legislation. Without the inducement of relief from their labour obligations for the demesne farms, these peasants often preferred to negotiate for better terms and, while doing so, continued to render forest labour services.[64]

[64] Iida, 'Bäuerliches Beharren', pp. 137–47.

TABLE 5. Labour obligations for the Alt-Ruppin forest district in 1825 and 1846

Village/ Town		*Number of subjects obligated to labour (1825)*			*Labour obligations per year (1825)*					*Remaining labour obligations per year (1846)*				
		Bauern	*Kossäten*	*Büdner*	Ploughing *Morgen*	Harrowing *Morgen*	Hoeing *Morgen*	Collecting pine cones *Wispel*	Collecting pine cones *Scheffel*	Ploughing *Morgen*	Harrowing *Morgen*	Hoeing *Morgen*	Collecting pine cones *Wispel*	Collecting pine cones *Scheffel*
1	Alt-Ruppin	7		94	7	14	5.22	2	13	5	10	5.22	2	10
2	Bechlin	14	14.5		21.25	42.5		1	18.5					
3	Dabergotz		5		2.5	5			5					
4	Darritz	9			9	18			18	9	18			18
5	Keller	8	2		9	18			18	6	12			12
6	Kerzlin	14	11											
7	Klosterheide	5			5	10			10					
8	Krangen	15			15	30		1	6	14	28		1	4
9	Langen	6	1		3.25	6.5			6.5					
10	Lichtenberg	16	2		17	34		1	10	15	30		1	6
11	Manker	11	18		20	40		1	16	18.5	37		1	13
12	Pfalzheim	6			6	12			12					
13	Rönnebeck	21	6		24	48		2		23	46		1	22
14	Schönberg	14	5		16.5	33		1	9					
15	Seebeck	12			12	24		1		12	24		1	
16	Storbeck	12			12	24		1		11	22			22
17	Strubensee	8	1		8.5	17			17	7.5	15			15
18	Walchow	11	1		11.5	23			23	11.5	23			23
19	Nietwerder		1		0.5	1			1					
20	Wuthenow		1		0.5	1			1					
	Total	189	68.5	94	200.5	401	5.22	18	16	132.5	265	5.22	13	1

Note: One *Wispel* = 24 *Scheffel*.
Source: For 1825, BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4285, fos 13–14; for 1846, BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4286, fo. 532.

The peasants in Bechlin and Kerzlin continued to perform labour after 1825 (Table 5), though those in Kerzlin did so only occasionally, perhaps because of their remote location.[65] The peasants in Vielitz performed services until at least 1832, probably in the Rüthnick forest district.[66]

[65] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III D, no. 17180.
[66] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III D, no. 17309.

In the village of Schulzendorf, however, the peasants began negotiations in 1818 and secured a settlement in 1823.[67] Their willingness to give up their entitlement to timber can be traced back to their decision to create their own woodland. In around 1809, they decided to sow the sandy or stony area of their arable field, consisting of about 60 *Morgen*, with pinecones. As they could not obtain sufficient pinecones all at once, they planned to sow the area in stages over six years. Each of the peasants had to obtain yearly ten to twelve *Scheffel* of pinecones while, as a community, they were obliged to supply the royal forest district of Lüdersdorf with 32 *Scheffel* of pinecones annually. They considered this to be impossible and petitioned the king to free them from this obligation for six years, but their request was not granted. At that time, the pinecones from Schulzendorf were needed by the Lüdersdorf forest district, which was running short of funds for recovering from the most recent insect damage.[68] Thus, the peasants' own forestry conflicted with their labour services for the royal forest. An 1817 report stated that their woodland of 20 *Morgen* not only included the young plantations mentioned above but, also six *Morgen* that was densely wooded.[69] For these reasons, it is understandable that when they had the opportunity to do so, they terminated their forest service by giving up their timber rights.

The ending of the relationship between the farm-owning peasants and the royal authorities was authorized by the redemption order (*Ablösungsordnung*) of 7 June 1821. In the Alt-Ruppin domain, this category of peasants was found in the 17 villages that in 1764 had accepted the offer of farm ownership. In 1819, three more villages that consisted of farm-owning peasants (Buberow, Glambeck, and Grieben) were incorporated from Friedrichsthal into Alt-Ruppin domain. It was only in 1839–40 that the governorate of Potsdam commissioned an official named Wittchow to begin negotiating with a greater part of these villages. As Wittchow's report of 4 June 1840 stated, all the peasants in Buberow, Grieben, Klosterheide, and Schönberg quickly agreed to the authorities' redemption proposal including the redemption of their entitlements to timber grants. Wittchow remarked that the villages of Grieben, Klosterheide, and Schönberg had quite large quantities of woodlands, which Table 2 confirms. Buberow owned only small woodlands but had, for a long time, been interested in redeeming their labour obligation to the remote forest district of Lüdersdorf.[70] However, few if any of the peasants in the eleven other villages agreed to the redemption plan, because they wished to retain their timber grants.[71]

It was prudent for peasants to retain their right to timber because the fixed compensation rents that they received after the redemption did not cover the future cost of timber. This rose considerably during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. The price of pine timber per cubic meter in the forest district of Alt-Ruppin climbed from 4.90 Mark in the 1800s to 11.93 Mark in the 1840s, and further advanced to about 17 or 18 Mark in the 1870s, following the general trend in the governorate district of Potsdam.[72] As long as they were entitled to timber, the peasants could receive, instead of a fixed rent, an increasing quantity of building

[67] Iida, 'Bäuerliches Beharren', pp. 137–8.

[68] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 747, fos 1–13.

[69] BLHA, Rep. 7, Amt Alt-Ruppin, no. 207, fo. 150.

[70] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 747, fo. 198.

[71] Iida, 'Bäuerliches Beharren', pp. 148–58.

[72] Udo Eggert, 'Die Bewegung der Holzpreise und Tagelohn-Sätze in den preussischen Staatsforsten von 1800 bis 1879', in *Zeitschrift des Königl. Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus* 23 (1883), pp. 8–9, 12–3.

timber for rebuilding or enlarging their stables and barns to handle the concurrent advances in agriculture.[73] As Hartmut Harnisch has shown, the need to enlarge farm buildings came from the shift to the stall-feeding of livestock and the increase in farm produce.[74] In the domain of Alt-Ruppin, the numbers of stall-fed horses increased considerably. In the 1831 statistical survey of the domain, the horses the inhabitants held were divided between 'stall horses' (*Stallpferde*), 'grass horses' (*Graspferde*), and 'foals' (*Fohlen*). Of the 31 villages recorded, stall horses were found in all but three. In all there were 918 'stall horses' and 553 'grass horses'.[75] In 1800 stall-feeding was only noticed in nine settlements in the district of Ruppin comprising 136 villages and other settlements.[76] The spread of this practice required the peasants to extend their stables and, thus, necessitated more timber. Even more timber was demanded because, among farm buildings, stables endured least well because of the animals' sweat and excrement, and needed to be rebuilt every 50 or 80 years, where houses and barns needed to be rebuilt only every 100 and 120 years respectively.[77] In 1856, an official observed that the agriculture of peasants' farms of the Alt-Ruppin domain was generally improving, increasing the need to extend their stables and barns.[78] There was therefore little incentive for peasants to end their forest labour services when it involved the loss of their rights to timber.

Thus, while a significant part of the forest labour obligations introduced by the 1785 order remained throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the authorities also introduced additional labour obligations for the forests. Since the forests suffered from repeated insect damage, forest officials required compulsory labour for exterminating insects. After the peasants in Molchow, on 24 and 26 March 1821, sent 13 men on each day to collect moss from a royal forest, pile it in a heap and bury it, the peasants asked the authorities to pay them daily wages for this labour. They believed that they were no longer required to offer forest labour for nothing, because they had, as mentioned, already given up their entitlement to timber. The governorate of Potsdam, however, rejected this demand, because, in the 1818 settlement with Molchow, the authorities reserved the right to demand forest labour for exterminating insects while giving up the labour for afforestation due to the 1785 order. This was not merely a single occurrence but a general policy in the province. The governorate stated that, due to the order of 18 May 1815, each inhabitant should help to exterminate forest insects in his district. There was, however, much confusion and conflict over whether this labour should be paid or not.[79]

IV

In the case of Prussia's royal domains, the peasants' labour obligations for demesne farms developed in the sixteenth century and ceased after the 1799 order but those for royal forests only started in the late eighteenth century and continued in part at least until after 1850.

[73] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4288, pp. 96–7.

[74] Harnisch, *Kapitalistische Agrarreform*, pp. 312–13.

[75] BLHA, Rep. 7, Amt Alt-Ruppin, no. 283, fos 134–6.

[76] BLHA, Rep. 2, Kurmärkische Kriegs- und Domänenkammer, D. 39, fo. 82; Bratring, *Statistisch-Topographische Beschreibung*, II, p. 20.

[77] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III D, no. 1154, fo. 56.

[78] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 4288, pp. 96–7.

[79] BLHA, Rep. 2A, Regierung Potsdam, III F, no. 229.

The royal authorities introduced this new corvée as part of a closer management of the forests and a shift from selection cutting to compartment cutting. Large-scale felling enabled and required artificial regeneration, which needed peasant labour comparable to agriculture. The royal forests continued to need this corvée during the first half of the nineteenth century. Endeavours to create pure pine stands by cutting beech trees resulted in too much bare land requiring reforestation. The reforestation attempts suffered from frequent failure and often needed to be replanted. Thus, the redemption of forest labour obligations proceeded slowly because the labour continued to be needed.

The peasants accepted this new corvée and often continued until the mid-nineteenth century to undertake it because it gave them access to timber at a discount price. It was much lighter than the corvée for demesne farms; it did not increase and it enabled the peasants to meet their increasing needs for timber. Hence they saw advantage in these labour services where their labour obligations for the demesne farms only served the lords' purposes with no corresponding advantage to the peasants. Where peasants had taken the initiative to create their own woodlands, becoming independent of timber grants, they quickly redeemed their forest labour obligations.

Peasants' accommodation to forest labour obligations was not a result of their subordination to the lords' oppression, which older writers tended to take for granted, but rather arose out of their calculation of self-advantage in a relationship with their lords which was more reciprocal than repressive. Whilst these conclusions come from a study of the royal domain estates, it should be asked whether comparable developments occurred on noble estates in Brandenburg-Prussia, where the lords often had sizable forests and were usually responsible for providing their non-farm-owning peasants with timber. The available brief accounts of forestry in noble lordships like Boitzenburg and Stavenow suggest that developments here run in parallel with those in the royal domains we have identified here. This is a subject worthy of future research. Here too we may well find forms of reciprocity between peasants and lords.[80]

[80] Hartmut Harnisch, *Die Herrschaft Boitzenburg. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der sozialökonomischen Struktur ländlicher Gebiete in der Mark Brandenburg vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (1968), pp. 177–80, 207; William W. Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians. Brandenburg Junkers and villagers, 1500–1840* (2002), pp. 219–20, 587, 600.

Shifts in agrarian entrepreneurship in mid-Victorian England and Wales*

by Piero Montebruno, Robert J. Bennett, Carry van Lieshout, Harry Smith and Max Satchell

Abstract

This paper provides the first full-population analysis of changes in the entrepreneurial status of farmers during the mid-nineteenth century: between being employers or sole proprietors with no workforce. Using a unique dataset of all farmers and workforces in the 1851–81 English and Welsh censuses, this paper explores the effects of changes in agriculture on entrepreneur choices. A short 'Golden Age' was followed by increasing technical changes and the onset of agricultural depression causing an important shift in agricultural entrepreneurial activity: initially the employer proportion increased slowly, but from the 1860s employers reduced labour and more worked as sole proprietors. Our findings show that farmers were adaptable and resilient to change through shifts in entrepreneurial status and/or greater involvement of the family, supporting the conclusions of earlier researchers who took an optimistic interpretation of flexibility and robustness of farmers. We also show the adaptations to be highly geographically variegated, depending on land quality, distance to local markets, and rail lines.

This paper uses a new whole-population database for all farmers in England and Wales over 1851–81, which allows the first systematic national analysis of farmers' entrepreneurial status at four data points. The paper draws on the original census records which are now available as a digital resource. The reliance on the published census tables, and various defects that have previously held back use of the records, can now be mostly overcome. We use the new data to examine how farmers adapted to the changing circumstances of the period through their form of proprietorship: as employers of waged labour or as sole proprietors farming on their own account, sometimes supported by family labour.

British agriculture underwent a dramatic change in the mid-nineteenth century. In the previous two centuries it had witnessed sustained growth. Between 1700 and 1850, output increased by between 100 and 172 per cent, land under cultivation increased by about

* This research has been supported by the ESRC under project grant ES/M010953: *Drivers of entrepreneurship and small businesses*. Extraction and coding of the data for 1871 was assisted by Joe Day and supported by Isaac Newton Trust Grant 17.07(d) *Employers in 1871*. Extraction of 1881 data was initially undertaken by Gill Newton, supported by Leverhulme Trust grant RG66385: *The long-term evolution of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs)*. For acknowledgments of the data sources employed in this paper, please see Appendix II.

25–33 per cent, capital inputs nearly doubled and labour productivity increased substantially.[1] This changed dramatically during the mid-nineteenth century. The new data allow these changes to be examined for their effect on proprietor status. As has been well understood, there was a brief 'Golden Age' for farming up to the 1860s, followed by an agricultural depression that extended from 1873 to 1896.[2] Whilst it has also been well known that between 1851 and 1911 the number of people involved in farming fell from 1.7 million to 1.2 million, and agriculture's share of national income fell from around 20 per cent to 6 per cent,[3] there has been little attention paid to how farms as businesses changed their organizational status. The new data allow this issue to be unravelled.

Entrepreneurial status is a neglected aspect of how farmers responded to changing conditions. This has, in many ways, been the result of the lack of sufficient information.[4] For instance, Collins observed that 'little is known in detail about farmers as an entrepreneurial group'.[5] Clark directly confronted the changes in entrepreneurial status over time as a response variable, arguing that, while the proportion of proprietors in agriculture declined with economic development over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in England and Wales as other industries expanded, 'within agriculture itself … the proportion of working proprietors often tends to increase'.[6] However, he was not able to pursue the implications of his finding further. More generally, where discussed, agricultural entrepreneurs have been interpreted as an aspect of Britain's more general supposed entrepreneurial failure, with farmers criticized for not adapting quickly enough to changing circumstances.[7] The important distinction we can now examine is between farmers who ran their own businesses as an employer of others, and those operating on their own account as an individual with no other formal or regular labour inputs. We use the term 'own account' as this was the terminology used in the census: the phrase was also widely used outside farming. The modern equivalent is 'self-employed', people operating on their own account. The term, with this definition, is used in modern censuses,

[1] R. C. Allen, 'The growth of labor productivity in early modern English agriculture', *Explorations in Economic Hist.*, 25 (1988), pp. 117-46; R. C. Allen, 'Labor productivity and farm size in English agriculture before mechanization: Reply to Clark', *Explorations in Economic Hist.*, 28 (1991), pp. 478-92; J. Burnette, 'Agriculture, 1700–1870', in R. Floud, J. Humphries and P. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge economic history of modern Britain,* I, *1700-1870* (2014), pp. 89-117; G. Clark, 'Labor productivity and farm size in English agriculture before mechanization: A note', *Explorations in Economic Hist.*, 28 (1991), pp. 248-57. M. E. Turner, 'Agricultural output, income and productivity', in E. J. T. Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales,* VII, *1850–1914* (2 vols, 2000) [hereafter *AHEW* VII], (i) pp. 224–319; and E. J. T. Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', in *AHEW* VII (i), pp.73–223.

[2] R. Perren, *Agriculture in depression, 1870–1940* (1995), pp. 7–30.

[3] M. Turner, 'Agriculture, 1860–1914', in R. Floud and P. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge economic history of modern Britain,* II, *Economic maturity, 1860–1939* (2004), pp. 133–60.

[4] Farmers themselves are oddly understudied as a group, although see R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *The farmer in England, 1650–1980* (2013) and G. E. Mingay, 'The farmer' in *AHEW* VII, (i), pp. 759–809.

[5] Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', p. 167.

[6] C. Clark, *The conditions of economic progress* (1957), pp. 495–6.

[7] For mild criticism see M. Daunton, *Wealth and welfare: An economic and social history of Britain, 1851–1951* (2007), pp. 48–9; for stronger criticism see P. J. Perry, *British farming in the Great Depression, 1870–1914: An historical geography* (1974); for a defence see E. H. Hunt and S. J. Pam, 'Responding to agricultural depression, 1873–96: managerial success, entrepreneurial failure?', *AgHR* 50 (2002), pp. 225–52. Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', pp. 167–75 summarizes many of the arguments.

the Labour Force Survey, and other sources. Whilst discussions in agricultural history often distinguish between employers as 'capitalist farmers' and own account as 'peasants', both terms are misleading for England and Wales after the 1850s, which had very few subsistence peasants and almost all farmers traded in the market.

The census definition has the advantage that it was deliberately held at a point in the year when there was little need for seasonal labour. A farmer is therefore only recorded as an employer if employing workers all year round; while an own-account farmer was able to run the farm on his own for most of the year. Whilst there are some uncertainties in the census about how far part-time, seasonal labour, and the retired were included, as discussed further below, the instructions make it clear that for women, only those 'regularly employed' were to be recorded, and 'farmer's son' or 'farmer's daughter' were to be returned only if 'employed'.[8] These distinctions were adjusted in some census publications, but we use the original census responses where the instructions are the key determinant of what was included. The census data we are using should normally distinguish employers who had formal long-term labour, from own account who had either no labourers or depended on their family for occasional inputs that were not being used on the date.

However, we recognize that the distinction between employers and own account can be confused because in farming (as well as other businesses) many labour inputs will be not fully recorded where provided within family farms by a spouse, family member or through social networks that are informal, occasional or are required only for brief peak periods such as harvesting. Errington and Gasson refer to the flexibility that these family farms offer in weathering hard times and offering durability through changing social and economic circumstances.[9] Family offered flexible and casual assistance between pure own-account and employer status, and can also facilitate business succession.[10] As Hibbard noted, this flexibility was crucial: 'farmers will do anything possible to avoid hiring men' on a permanent basis.[11] Indeed, the concept of a 'family size farm' is long-established. In countries like the central USA in the 1940s this was 15–120 acres on poorer land, or 165–200 acres on better land. In Europe in the 1950s it was 100–300 acres.[12] In England and Wales Grigg showed that the average farm size continued at about 80 acres from the 1880s until the 1950s, but medium-sized farms (which he equated to family-owned) of 100–300 acres increased in number and proportion until the 1950s, and did not show marked decline until the 1980s.[13] These sizes could be operated by a

[8] E.g. BPP, 1854. *Census of England and Wales for the year 1851, General Report*: 'General Instructions' to farmers, and to women and children, p. 14. E. Higgs, 'Occupational censuses and the agricultural workforce in Victorian England and Wales', *EcHR* 48 (1995), pp. 700–16; E. Higgs, *Making sense of the census* (2005).

[9] A. Errington and R. Gasson, 'Labour use in the farm family business', *J. Agricultural Economics* 34 (1994), pp. 293–307.

[10] R. Gasson, G. Crow, A. Errington, J. Hutson, T. Marsden, and D. M. Winter, 'The farm as a family business: A review', *J. Agricultural Economics* 39 (1988), pp. 1–41; C. Potter and M. Lobley, 'The farm family life cycle, succession paths and environmental change in Britain's countryside', *J. Farm Economics* 47 (1996), pp. 172–90. See also M. Anderson, *Family structure in nineteenth-century Lancashire* (1971); L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780–1850* (rev. edn, 1997).

[11] B. H. Hibbard, *Agricultural economics* (1948), p. 130.

[12] Ibid., pp. 71–5; W. A. Lewis, *The theory of economic growth* (1955), p. 134.

[13] D. Grigg, 'Farm size in England and Wales, from early Victorian times to the present', *AgHR* 35 (1987), pp. 179–89.

single individual as a true own account, or as a *de facto* own account with occasional inputs from family members who were not counted as formal employees. Above these sizes, or at some smaller sizes depending on land quality and potential for intensification, continuous or near-continuous employment of others as labourers or machine operatives is required. Indeed, in nineteenth-century England and Wales family farms were mainly important in the north of England and were rarer elsewhere.[14] Hence the possibility of unmeasured family inputs is borne in mind in the interpretation below.

This paper focuses on entrepreneurial distinctions, but also takes account of interactions with a wider set of influences on farmers of their demographic and family status (such as gender, marital status, availability of family members), the land quality of their farms, access to markets, and the potential (over time) to adjust farm size. As we explained, the paper exploits a new whole-population database for all farmers in England and Wales over 1851–81. This database is at the individual level for over 150,000 farmers per census year and can be analysed at various geographical scales; here we use 623–630 registration districts (RDs) and 15,297–16,395 parishes; we also use a panel of 11,764 continuous parish units which are each aggregated to a common boundary to remove any effects of boundary changes. The analysis covers all parishes and RDs in England and Wales, but the numbers that contain farmers vary a little between years due to urbanization and any data gaps, as reported in the tables and discussed further below. The national coverage of the dataset for individual farmers allows us to examine questions that could previously only be addressed using the tables published by the General Record Office (GRO), which were limited in scope, were affected by data-editing (especially affecting women), and are only fully available for 1851. Individual-level data over four census years offers the opportunity to examine how entrepreneur status developed in a period where agriculture experienced many technical changes and had been opened to unfettered price competition through removal of tariff and market barriers.

The paper first introduces the significance of the period examined and the database used. Section II discusses the challenges of the census data and how they have been overcome. Section III presents analysis of entrepreneurial status and estimates cross-sectional models of the main influences on entrepreneurial status. Section IV extends the estimates to panel data based on continuous parishes, which confirms the robustness of the cross-section estimation. The paper confirms that the likelihood of farmers being employers significantly declined after 1861. The probability of being an employer was also higher on the better-quality land and closer to markets and transport access. Demographic and family structure interacted with these changes, allowing the shift to a greater proportion of own-account farmers in more marginal areas and where the possibility of using spouse and other family labour was available to avoid paying workers, and/or by diversifying into lodging provision.

[14] L. Shaw-Taylor, 'The rise of agrarian capitalism and the decline of family farming in England', *EcHR* 65 (2012), p. 51.

I

A critical change occurred for British agriculture after 1846–49, at the start of our analysis in 1851, when the repeal of the Corn Laws removed all restrictions and protective tariffs on food imports, and reform of the Navigation Laws removed restrictions on access by foreign shipping. The main immediate effect was to remove limits on grain imports. British farmers and the agricultural lobby agitated against this. Nevertheless, initially agriculture prospered and the period has been referred to as 'the Golden Age of British Agriculture'.[15] These changes have been discussed at great length in studies of agricultural history.[16] In summary, grain prices initially rose, mainly as a result of growing population demand and delays in the onset of competition from the great producers in Europe and America during the Crimean War and the American Civil War. However, from the early 1870s the price of grain in Britain fell dramatically as a result of cheap bulk imports from America as railways opened up the prairies and shipping rates were cut.[17] The subsequent period is often referred to as the 'Great Depression' in agriculture, lasting until about 1896.[18]

However, whatever the strength of the depression, there were other factors at work, many of which began in the 1850s and 1860s, as indeed we find for entrepreneurship below. There were important technical developments of labour-saving farm equipment, and improvements in fertilizers, seed, pest control and other techniques.[19] Changes in taste interacted with prices which together increased demand for meat: contemporaries noted that 'the sort of man who had bread and cheese for his dinner 40 years ago now demands a [meat] chop'; resulting in a 300 per cent increase in meat imports.[20] There was a run of bad seasons. And there were reductions in farm profits and rental incomes that among other things reflected growing pressures of wage competition from industry, and widening differences in returns to be gained from agriculture compared to industrial investments. Moreover, these had differing impacts between types of farms and regions: most significant was a decline in the value of output relative to costs (primarily rent and wages) of grain producers and regions, which was less significant for livestock farmers and those closest to urban demands.[21]

[15] R. Prothero, *English farming, past and present* (1912).

[16] See recent review by Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', pp. 73–200; Turner, 'Agricultural output, income and productivity', pp. 72–224.

[17] R. Lawton and C. G. Pooley, *Britain, 1740–1950: An historical geography* (1992), pp. 144–5; N. Koning, *The failure of agrarian capitalism: Agrarian politics in the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands and the USA, 1846–1919* (1994), pp. 72–80; Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change'; R. Perren, *Taste, trade and technology: The development of the international meat industry since 1840* (2006), pp. 19–23, 40–51; C. Ó Gráda, 'British Agriculture, 1860–1914', in R. Floud and D. McClosky (eds.), *The economic history of Britain since 1700* (sec. edn, 1994), pp. 146–72; Turner, 'Agricultural output, income and productivity', pp. 140–4.

[18] T. W. Fletcher, 'The great depression of English agriculture, 1873–1896', *EcHR*, 13 (1961), pp. 417–32.

[19] N. Verdon, *Working the Land: A history of the farmworker from 1850 to the present day* (2017), pp. 76–80; and extensive reviews in the chapters in Collins ed., *AHEW*, Chapters 6–9.

[20] P. Graham, *The revival of English agriculture* (1899); Perren, *Taste, trade and technology*, pp. 9, 79–80.

[21] J. R. Bellerby, *Agriculture and industry: Relative income* (1956), pp. 56–8; C. H. Feinstein, *National income, expenditure and output of the United Kingdom, 1855–1965* (1972), Tables 8 and 23. Turner, 'Agricultural output, income and productivity': pp. 224–320 assesses the various estimates and provides a revision.

In areas more reliant on cereal production, in the south and east of England, especially counties such as Oxfordshire and Berkshire, output fell by 20 per cent between 1873 and 1894. In the more pastoral north and west, notably Lancashire and Cheshire, output increased.[22] Previous studies of the geography of these changes have relied on small-scale datasets (such as bankruptcies) and have usually been restricted to county-level analysis. One major advantage of the data used here is that it reveals the geography of agriculture in finer detail than has been previously possible, for the whole country and for parishes and individuals, rather than just certain counties or particular regions, and permits us to drill down into changes in entrepreneurial structure.[23] The period which we examine, 1851–81, thus covers two phases, a short period of with steady or slow growth in farming opportunities, and a second phase where technical and other changes began to become significant from the 1860s, intensifying after about 1873 as a result of price and cost pressures on grain and in some parts of the country.

A major impact of the changes was to intensify the ongoing reduction in size of the agricultural workforce. The total farm labour force declined by 22.5 per cent from 1.48m in 1851 to 1.15m by 1881, against a background of rapidly rising total population numbers. Yet the number of farmer proprietors reduced by far less. As noted in previous discussions the number of farmers stayed remarkably stable across the mid- to late nineteenth century.[24] In our estimates derived from the census, farm proprietors reduced by 10.6 per cent, from 210,254 in 1851 to 187,988 in 1881. Indeed, Lawton and Pooley observe that 'the achievements of British farming from the 1830s to the mid-1870s were impressive', with further developments maintaining steady progress in farming until prices recovered in the late 1890s.[25]

The shift between different types of proprietor is an important aspect of adaptation which has not been previously fully examined but on which we can now report. Figure 1a shows the aggregate changes in numbers evidenced by the new data we use in this paper, and Figure 1b expresses this as an index. The actual numbers behind these figures are given in Table 1. The fall in farm workers was continuous, but the rate of decline increased rapidly after 1861. Employer numbers also began to decline rapidly after 1861 and this continued subsequently.[26] Conversely, own-account farming, which had been fairly stable between 1851 and 1861, began to increase rapidly after 1861 and then levelled off. Change was much more marked for own account, indicating farmers substituting for employed workers as employer numbers declined, rather than leaving the market; this is emphasized by the indexed changes in Figure 1.b.

[22] F. M. L. Thompson, 'An anatomy of English agriculture, 1870–1914', in B. A. Holderness and M. Turner (eds), *Land, labour and agriculture, 1700–1920: Essays for Gordon Mingay* (1991), pp. 230–1; Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', p. 144.

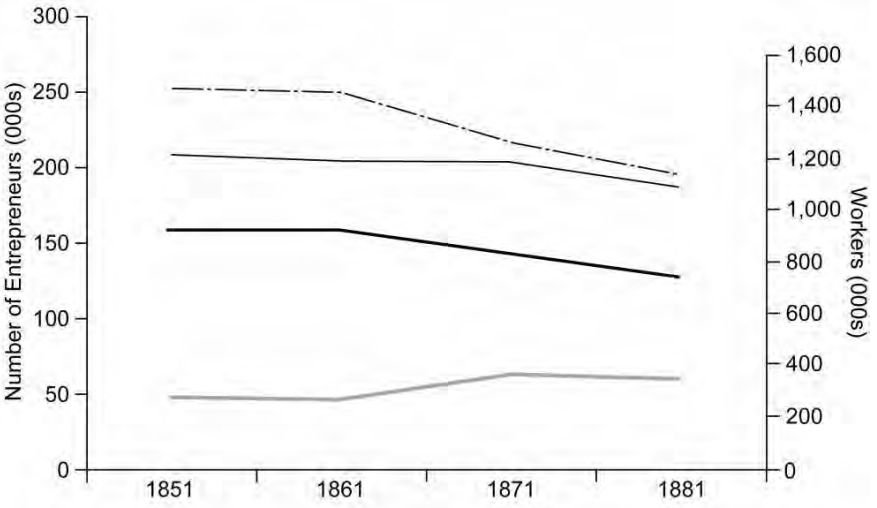
[23] For previous geographies, see P. J. Perry, 'Where was the "Great Agricultural Depression"? A geography of agricultural bankruptcy in late Victorian England and Wales', *AgHR* 20 (1972), pp. 30–45; D. Grigg, *English agriculture: an historical perspective* (1989); M. Overton, 'Re-establishing the English agricultural revolution', *AgHR* 44 (1996), pp. 1–20. Thompson, 'Anatomy', pp. 224–31; the geography is also examined in the chapters by Hallas, Holderness, Moore-Colyer, Holderness and Mingay, Walton, and Wilmot in Collins (ed.), *AHEW*, VII (i), ch. 5. Much of this commentary confirms the division between grain and grazing suggested by Caird in 1852, see J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850–51* (1852), frontispiece.

[24] Grigg, *English agriculture*, ch. 9; Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', pp. 167–8.

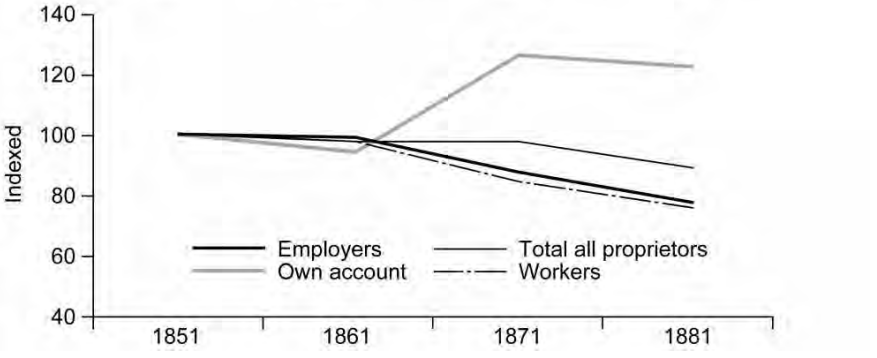
[25] Lawton and Pooley, *Britain, 1740–1950*, p. 139.

[26] This figure includes all self-reported farm workers, not the number reported as employees by farmers.

FIGURE 1
a. Change in numbers of farm proprietors by type, and farm workers;



b. Changes in farm proprietors by type indexed to 1851 = 100.



Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

TABLE 1. Number of farm proprietors by type, and farm workers (as used in Figure 1)

	1851	*1861*	*1871*	*1881*
Employers	160,640	159,061	142,385	127,119
Own account	49,614	47,494	62,825	60,880
Total all proprietors	210,254	206,555	205,210	187,999
Workers	1,482,007	1,456,015	1,264,335	1,148,814

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

While from the 1870s the agricultural depression thus had effects on the form of farm entrepreneurship, a reduction in employer numbers and a shift to own account was part of an organizational change that began earlier. Many former employers shed workforce to the point that they no longer had any permanent employees, becoming instead own-account proprietors. The 1871 census report primarily ascribed this to technical change. Recognizing a fall in number of employers and a rise in own-account farmers between 1851 and 1871 in a

sample of counties, they concluded that as agricultural production had increased over this period, 'human labour is being replaced by machinery, [so that] the proportion of that labour consumed in any given agricultural product becomes every year less'.[27] As Koning concluded for the period, this 'was not really a period of stagnation. Rather, it was a period of profound structural change'.[28] The new data indicate that one of the structural changes that has been previously neglected was the entrepreneurial status of farmers.

The entrepreneurial trends can be compared with aggregate trends in farm output levels. Although the census lacks such data, the *Agricultural Statistics* allows tracking from 1866 of the general output trend. Ojala and Bellerby, using these statistics for sample areas, calculated gross output, costs and net output or agricultural income for the United Kingdom.[29] Their data, extended by Turner, shows first an increase and then a decrease in profits parallel to the 'Golden Age' and the depression.[30] Feinstein's series, which were derived from tax records and adjustments to Bellerby, show that agricultural output remained fairly stable over the whole period 1855–81, but with a peak in 1868–70. Farm profits, however, rose to a peak of £55m in 1873 and then declined dramatically to only £13m by 1879, subsequently recovering only slowly.[31] Hence, whilst profits were under great pressure, gross output estimates for the period show farm production to have been remarkably resilient.[32] This was achieved through major structural adjustments by farmers, including the adjustment we focus on: the entrepreneurial decision to hire less labour. But Figure 1 shows the start of entrepreneurial shifts to have pre-dated the major economic effects of the depression.

II

The role of entrepreneur status in the changes in farming can now be examined for the first time at the individual level for each farmer in the entire population using data that has become available from the historic population censuses. As noted by Grigg the censuses provide 'the only *comprehensive* survey of the size of farms in England and Wales' for this period.[33] However, the comprehensive results collected on farm entrepreneurs were not fully published by the census administrators with the result that Grigg and others were not able to use them in any depth. Mapping has been undertaken for 1851, the only year fully published at county level, by Grigg, Lawton and Pooley, and Shaw-Taylor.[34] The deficiency of published material has recently been overcome through an electronic version of the original individual census records becoming available through *The Integrated Census Microdata* (I-CeM) for 1851–61 and

[27] BPP, LXXI (1873), Census of England and Wales, 1871, General Report. IV, p. xlviii.

[28] Koning, *Failure of agrarian capitalism*, p. 71.

[29] E. M. Ojala, *Agriculture and economic progress* (1952); Bellerby, *Agriculture and industry*.

[30] Bellerby, *Agriculture and industry*, pp. 56–84; Turner, 'Agricultural output, income and productivity', pp. 224–320, and B. Afton and M. Turner, 'Agricultural output', *AHEW,* VII (ii), Table 38.7; Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', p. 74.

[31] Feinstein, *National income, expenditure and output*, Tables 8 and 23: T24 and T60; see also Turner's discussion of Feinstein, 'Agricultural output, income and productivity', pp. 272–5.

[32] Lawton and Pooley, *Britain, 1740–1950,* p. 139; Afton and Turner, 'Agricultural output', Table 38.11.

[33] Grigg, 'Farm size', p. 187.

[34] Grigg, 'Farm size'; Lawton and Pooley, *Britain, 1740–1950;* Shaw-Taylor, 'Agrarian capitalism'.

1881–1911.[35] However, I-CeM does not contain the census data for England and Wales for 1871, which has been derived here from other census transcriptions by S&N.[36] We refer to this as the I-CeM/S&N data, which is part of a 'British Business Census of Entrepreneurs' data deposit at UKDA.[37] The use and interpretation of these data requires detailed understanding of the census process.

The I-CeM/S&N data contain transcribed and coded individual census records. As part of their occupational information, in the four censuses, 1851–81, farmers were instructed to state the numbers of acres they occupied, and the number of people they employed on the farm at the time of the census. After 1881, however, the census question changed and no information on acres or workforce was collected, so we have to restrict our discussion to the four census years. The employer information was additional to workers being asked to identify themselves as agricultural labourers: the farmer listed as his occupation 'farmer of X acres employing Y labourers', while labourers were returned as 'agricultural labourer'. The question was intended to record the regular formal workforce on Britain's farms. The census administrators deliberately avoided holding the census during the harvesting season, meaning that farmers who returned a workforce were supposed to be reporting the number of those who were employed by them throughout the year. As noted above, the instruction also sought to exclude informal family labour unless fully employed, and even then they were to be described as 'farmer's son' and 'farmer's daughter' or 'farmer's wife'. This should have excluded spouses and children from the workforce listed by employers unless they were fully employed throughout the year.[38] Married couples generally returned the employer information under the household head, usually the husband. While the term 'farmer's wife' could mean anything from business partner to a social indicator of marital status, it certainly included some women's labour on the farm;[39] however, in the terms of the census instructions, only 'regular', non-seasonal work should have been included. Analysis of the census database now available can include or exclude these wives, sons and daughters, as desired by the researcher. More broadly, of the farmers who, as employers, returned the farms' acres and employees, between 9 and 10 per cent were female; about three quarters of these were widows who had taken over the farm.

The terminology of the workforce instructions changed over time: in 1851 farmers were asked to simply return their labourers. The 1861 question read 'men and boys employed on the farm', and in 1871 and 1881 it changed to 'men, women, and boys'. This was reflected in the farmers' responses: 73 per cent of the workforce returned by farmers in 1851 were labourers,

[35] K. Schürer, E. Higgs, A. M. Reid and E. M. Garrett, *Integrated Census Microdata, 1851–1911, version V. 2 (I-CeM.2)* (2016).

[36] For 1871 data from S&N: The Genealogist is comparable to I-CeM and comes from the same Census Enumerator Books (CEBs). However, because of the way the S&N data had to be extracted, information on relationships within the household, such as the number of servants present, as well as marital status, is unavailable. In addition, the 1871 extractions have several geographically concentrated data gaps in S&N, resulting in the lower N of parishes in Tables 1 and 2. This deficiency is corrected by weighting for national numbers in Figure 1, and weighting by data completeness at RD level in Tables 2 and 4. Further detail of data processing for 1871 is discussed in C. van Lieshout, J. Day, P. Montebruno, and R. J. Bennett, *Extraction of data on Entrepreneurs from the 1871 Census to supplement I-CeM* (2018), doi.org/10.17863/CAM.27488.

[37] Due for deposit in Mar.–Apr. 2019.

[38] BPP, 1854. Census of England and Wales for the year 1851, General Report, p. lxxviii.

[39] Higgs, 'Occupational censuses'; Higgs, *Making sense*.

which dropped to 20 per cent in later years, as the majority of the workforce was described as men and boys. Women or girls were rare in the returned workforces: only 2 per cent of the reported workforce was explicitly female in 1851 and 1861, but this rose to 3–4 per cent in 1871 and 1881, reflecting the change in census question. This compares to 5–6 per cent of self-reported agricultural labourers being female in both I-CeM/S&N and the published census tables. While it is possible that the farmers underreported some of their female workforce, it is more likely that they were hidden under the gender-neutral 'labourer' descriptor. Because of this imprecise response in so many cases, attention is restricted here to the aggregate number of workforce returned; though future analysis could look at the gender and age of those listed.

While the vast majority of farmers answered the census question for employers to give their workforce, there are two indicators showing that not every farmer fully followed the instruction. First, there were farmers who returned acreages but no employees, but who were unlikely to have been able to farm without employing a workforce. Second, there is a discrepancy between the total workforce declared by employers, and the number of people who self-identified as agricultural labourers. For example, in 1881 farmers reported 614,028 employees while self-reported agricultural labourers numbered 737,026, 20 per cent more. For 1851 employer-reported workers were 592,696 and self-reported labourers 989,289 (67 per cent more). This has been a source of previous criticism of the published census tables.[40] However, much of this discrepancy arises because agricultural labourers were asked by the census to report their occupation even if retired or temporarily out of work (which was a large number because the census was taken at a low point for seasonal employment). The rest of the discrepancy was accounted for by a few employers who omitted to give their workforce. This number can, however, be estimated from the responses they did provide, as discussed below. This allows our data to be more complete than the published tables based on the same records. It is a surprising result that has not been previously noted, that checks between the actual census data (now in I-CeM/S&N) and the published census tables in 1851, 1861 and 1871 show that the Census General Reports missed some farm employers who listed their employees in the original records; moreover the proportion omitted increased the larger the size of the farm. This makes the I-CeM/S&N data in some respects superior in coverage to the published tables for larger farms, which until now formed the only available basis for farm size analysis.[41]

The detailed information on workforce and acreage provided in the occupational descriptor can be used to identify farmers as either employers or own account.[42] The new e-census data,

[40] D. R. Mills, 'Trouble with farms at the Census Office: An evaluation of farm statistics from the censuses of 1851–1881 in England and Wales', *AgHR* 47 (1999), pp. 58–77; M. Overton, *Agricultural revolution in England. The transformation of the agrarian economy, 1500–1850* (1996); see for a partial rebuttal, L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Family farms and capitalist farms in mid nineteenth-century England', *AgHR* 53 (2005), p. 164.

[41] See C. Van Lieshout and R. J. Bennett, 'Extracted data on employers and farmers compared with published tables in the Census General Reports, 1851–1881' (working paper, 2019) (doi.org/10.17863/CAM.37165), Tables 2 and 3 for the 1851 GRO complete county coverage; Tables 5 for 1861 GRO 10 sample counties; and Table 7 and 8 for 1871 GRO 'representative' counties.

[42] The detailed methodology required to extract the employer and own account information is discussed in working papers by the authors, in particular C. Van Lieshout, R. J. Bennett, H. Smith, G. Newton, 'Identifying businesses and entrepreneurs in the Censuses, 1851–1881' (2017), doi.org/10.17863/CAM.9639; and R. J. Bennett, P. Montebruno, H. Smith, and C. van Lieshout, 'Reconstructing entrepreneurship and business numbers for censuses, 1851–81' (2018), available at

when processed, provide a unique and comprehensive source for all farms for this period. This overcomes the two main deficiencies of most previous analyses of early British farming: first, that the data previously available (from the *Agricultural Statistics*) was only for holdings, which are often multiple, not farms; and second, that these are available only from 1866 when, as noted above, many changes were already established.[43] It also allows some of the claims about the supposed inaccuracy of census returns to be refuted, though, as shown below, careful treatment of the data is required.[44]

The information on the status of farm entrepreneurs given in the census data allows differentiation of employers (E) who employ a workforce, from own account (OA) who employ no one else. The demographics of each agricultural entrepreneur are also recorded: age, sex, marital status, relationship with others in the household, their number of domestic servants, and their location. The data also give the quantity of labour, if any, reported by each farmer and the number of acres farmed (excluding wasteland and rough grazing).[45] The summary statistics for all farmers in England and Wales 1851–81 are shown in Table 2 at parish level. The number of parishes containing enough farmers to provide reliable summary statistics varies by year, with 1871 indicating the smaller set available in the S&N data. The total number of parishes in existence reduced from 16,395 to 15,297 over 1851–81 as a result of boundary changes, so that Table 2 indicates that between 88 per cent and 93 per cent of parishes contained farmers (with 79 per cent available in 1871).

Relationships between individuals within the same household (RELA) are coded into nine categories. The census records relationship with respect to the 'head' of the household responsible for making the census return. Other members of their family (conjugal family unit [CFU] of spouse, sons and daughters), are distinguished here from older generations (parents, uncles and aunts), siblings of the head, other family relatives (grandparents, cousins, nephews, nieces), household domestic servants, co-resident farm workers, lodgers, and finally any other non-household people who were visiting at the time of the census.[46] Land quality is measured in five categories defined by the modern typology of Agricultural Land Classification (ALC).[47] This has been projected backwards to the period of study by using the 1930s land use survey and adjusted for earlier changes of forest cover, reservoirs and urban development.[48] Land is graded on a five-point scale, with Grade 5 (the worst) used as a base category to allow estimation of the model. Other variables included control for gender, marital status, and locational variables measuring distance to nearest market town, distance to nearest rail line, latitude and longitude.

Note 42 *continued*
www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/driversofentrepreneurship/wp9reconstruction.pdf

[43] See J. Ashton and B. E. Cracknell, 'Agricultural holdings and farm business structure in England and Wales', *J. Agricultural Economics*, 14 (1961), pp. 472–506; Grigg, 'Farm size'; Grigg, *English agriculture*.

[44] Mills, 'Trouble with farms at the Census Office'.

[45] Higgs, *Making sense*.

[46] This is a simplification of the of RELA codes in I-CeM: see E. Higgs, C. Jones, K. Schürer and A. Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide* (sec. edn, 2015).

[47] Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, *Agricultural land classification of England and Wales* (1988).

[48] K. J. Taylor, N. Walford, and B. Short, 'Assessing the land use of interwar Britain: A comparison of the First Land Utilisation Survey field sheets and 1:63,360 scale maps, *Applied Geography*, 30 (2010), pp. 50–62. These data have been prepared by Max Satchell with the detailed methods to be reported in a forthcoming Working Paper.

TABLE 2. Summary Statistics: means at parish level 1851–81; 1871 raw data, unweighted.

	1851				*1861*			
Variable	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Min.*	*Max.*
ParID	8,420	4,639	3	16,397	8,250	4,579	3	16,194
Ees [prob of being employer]	0.587	0.322	0	1	0.544	0.324	0	1
Total Employees	40.096	60.909	0	4078	39.618	47.66	0	1186
Acreage	1,417.42	1,944.78	0	88,303	1,359.79	1,362.37	0	15,754
E [Employers]	10.299	12.195	0	204	9.567	11.217	0	166
OA [Own accounts]	3.008	8.263	0	162	2.75	9.19	0	182
Log E/OA	1.329	1.202	–4.997	4.852	1.428	1.169	–4.5	4.963
Agricultural workers reported	2.445	6.302	0	139	2.539	5.352	0	124
Sex Male (proportion)	0.908	0.124	0	1	0.908	0.123	0	1
Age	49.600	6.470	16	88	49.587	6.689	14	89
Servants (domestic)	1.749	1.200	0	10	1.606	1.134	0	10
RELA Head	0.929	0.131	0	1	0.924	0.131	0	1
RELA CFU member	0.033	0.084	0	1	0.039	0.089	0	1
RELA Older generation	0.002	0.022	0	1	0.003	0.023	0	1
RELA Siblings	0.011	0.043	0	0.667	0.012	0.044	0	1
RELA Other Family	0.004	0.022	0	0.5	0.004	0.024	0	1
RELA Servants	0.001	0.016	0	0.5	0.002	0.025	0	1
RELA Working Title	0.000	0.013	0	1	0.	0.006	0	0.429
RELA Lodgers/Boarders	0.004	0.032	0	1	0.006	0.039	0	1
RELA Non-household	0.001	0.025	0	1	0.002	0.032	0	1
Marital status Single	0.156	0.170	0	1	0.151	0.171	0	1
Marital status Married	0.696	0.207	0	1	0.704	0.21	0	1
Agricultural land, Grade 1	2.669	10.991	0	100	2.649	10.921	0	100
Agricultural land, Grade 2	16.374	23.939	0	100	16.723	24.292	0	100
Agricultural land, Grade 3	60.570	31.942	0	100	60.462	31.982	0	100
Agricultural land, Grade 4	14.863	21.793	0	100	14.697	21.631	0	100
Agricultural land, Grade 5	5.525	16.101	0	100	5.469	16.029	0	100
Distance to Town Centre	2,448.04	3,279.24	0	25,088.74	2,421.55	3,216.734	0	25,088.74
Latitude	52.549	1.194	50.033	55.76	52.557	1.198	50.033	55.764
Longitude	–1.532	1.492	–5.647	1.732	–1.511	1.48	–5.647	1.732
Distance to rail line	8,738.44	10,430.106	1.113	71,848.25	4,747.14	4,827.39	0.038	47,234.16
No of parishes	14,370				14,875			

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

	1871				1881			
Variable	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Min.*	*Max.*
ParID	8,162	4,515	2	16,028	7,805	4,343	3	15,297
Ees [prob of being employer]	0.572	0.362	0	1	0.529	0.32	0	1
Total Employees	37.147	46.197	0	961	42.343	99.244	0	5490
Acreage	1,575.12	1,749.16	0	80,000	1,520.55	1,559.43	0	18,553.8
E [Employers]	8.709	10.283	0	155	8.833	10.116	0	154
OA [Own accounts]	4.681	12.364	0	233	4.244	12.098	0	195
Log E/OA	1.062	1.486	–5.136	5.05	1.198	1.207	–4.41	5.043
Agricultural workers reported	0.018	0.165	0	6	2.483	4.949	0	98
Sex Male (proportion)	0.902	0.142	0	1	0.915	0.122	0	1
Age	50.375	7.001	17	94	49.901	6.61	17.5	89
Servants (domestic)	NA	NA	NA	NA	1.276	1.016	0	16
RELA Head	0.957	0.113	0	1	0.931	0.117	0	1
RELA CFU member	0.024	0.08	0	1	0.034	0.079	0	1
RELA Older generation	0.002	0.028	0	1	0.003	0.026	0	1
RELA Siblings	0.007	0.043	0	1	0.013	0.045	0	1
RELA Other Family	0.001	0.016	0	0.5	0.003	0.023	0	1
RELA Servants	0.002	0.026	0	1	0.001	0.013	0	0.5
RELA Working Title	0.001	0.017	0	1	0	0.007	0	0.333
RELA Lodgers/Boarders	0.002	0.028	0	1	0.005	0.037	0	1
RELA Non-household	0	0.009	0	1	0.002	0.034	0	1
Marital status Single	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.149	0.17	0	1
Marital status Married	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.708	0.211	0	1
Agricultural land, Grade 1	2.852	11.373	0	100	2.652	10.898	0	100
Agricultural land, Grade 2	17.591	24.814	0	100	16.844	24.481	0	100
Agricultural land, Grade 3	59.977	31.893	0	100	60.698	31.981	0	100
Agricultural land, Grade 4	14.262	21.368	0	100	14.523	21.561	0	100
Agricultural land, Grade 5	5.318	15.745	0	100	5.284	15.71	0	100
Distance to Town Centre	2,460.12	3,411.94	0	54716.09	2,403.78	3,207.98	0	25088.74
Latitude	52.544	1.169	49.934	55.764	52.538	1.191	50.0	55.764
Longitude	–1.47	1.512	–6.314	1.732	–1.5	1.493	–5.64	1.732
Distance to rail line	3,483.635	3,558.356	0.038	59475.54	2,917.68	2,740.42	0.03	59,475.5
No of parishes	12,666				14,287			

A significant census defect, already alluded to, was that it was possible for some farmers to respond to the census question without specifying their workforce, despite reporting a farm acreage that must have required the employment of labour. This non-response bias has previously been considered a critical defect of the census, but this can now be corrected using the I-CeM/S&N individual census records.[49] First, many small farmers who did not respond to the employer question were smallholders who had another occupation (often as labourers) and only a small acreage of farmland.[50] These can be identified from the census returns and excluded. (We exclude from most of the analysis and discussion all farmers who returned under five acres. This is line with many other analyses of farms that truncate data to exclude the smallest operators as not relevant to farming as an industry.[51]) Second, we can make use of the extra information in the farm question of acres. All farmers of any significance appear to have answered the question on acreage even when they reported no employees. This can be used to estimate the number of non-respondent employers to compensate for the non-response bias. This uses a logit regression to estimate the probability of reporting employees based on the acreage of each farmer's farm and their employees for those farms that returned both data. This estimate is then applied to those farmers who only reported acres, to distinguish those that were most probably employers from those that were own account. This is based on the simplest and most parsimonious model, but with estimation for each of 623–630 Registration Districts (RDs) separately, so that differences between the employer/own account ratios for a given acreage takes account of the main locational differences in farming.[52] The method of calculation is explained further in the Appendix. Although this is an important adjustment, it should be noted that the majority of the data derives from the original employer descriptions; the proportion of farm employers adjusted was 25.7 per cent in 1851, 20.95 per cent in 1861, 22.2 per cent in 1871, and 16.2 per cent in 1881.

After these adjustments the full data can be used to give an overview of the geographical patterns of farm entrepreneurship. We use the acreage that marks the median point of cut-off between employer and own-account status as a means to indicate how the pattern of entrepreneurship varies for each RD (calculated as described in the Appendix). As shown in Figures 2a–2d for each year, there is an evolution between the census years. In 1851 the area covered by farms with low average cut-offs (i.e. areas where a small acreage was sufficient to support employers) was much greater than in subsequent years, with a severe decrease in area of employer-run farms by 1881. The change was initially slow over 1851–61, and was greatest over 1861–71, now evidencing the geographical variations in the general trend shown in Figure 1. Conversely, the areas with high cut-offs, associated with primarily own-account farms, expanded from what were chiefly upland areas with poorer land in 1851. This reflected a persistence of family farms in these areas that has been noted from earlier periods.[53] But by 1881 high cut-offs covered a much wider northern area, much of which had good quality land. Small farms, of 50 acres or fewer, that nevertheless employed people became mainly restricted

[49] Mills, 'Trouble with farms at the Census Office'.

[50] Higgs, *Making sense;* Grigg, 'Farm size'; Mills, 'Trouble with farms at the Census Office'.

[51] P. Allanson, 'Farm size structure in England and Wales, 1939–89', *J. Agricultural Economics* 43 (1992), pp. 137–48.

[52] There were 623 RDs in 1851 and 1861, 626 in 1871 and 630 in 1881.

[53] Shaw-Taylor, 'Agrarian capitalism', pp. 49–56.

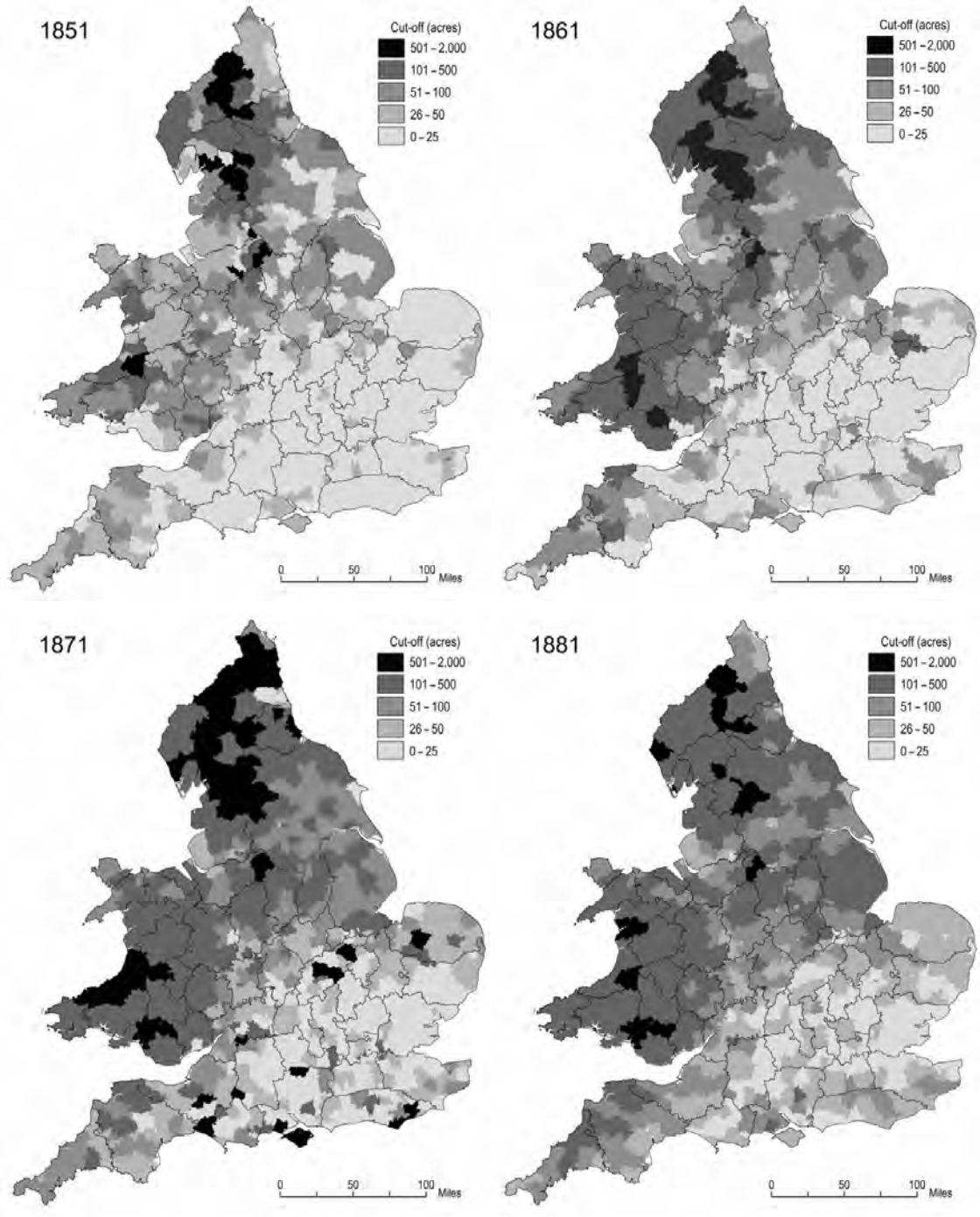


FIGURE 2a–d. Geographical distribution of cut-off (average size in acres) above which farmers were more likely to be employers than own account for each Registration District 1851–81.

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

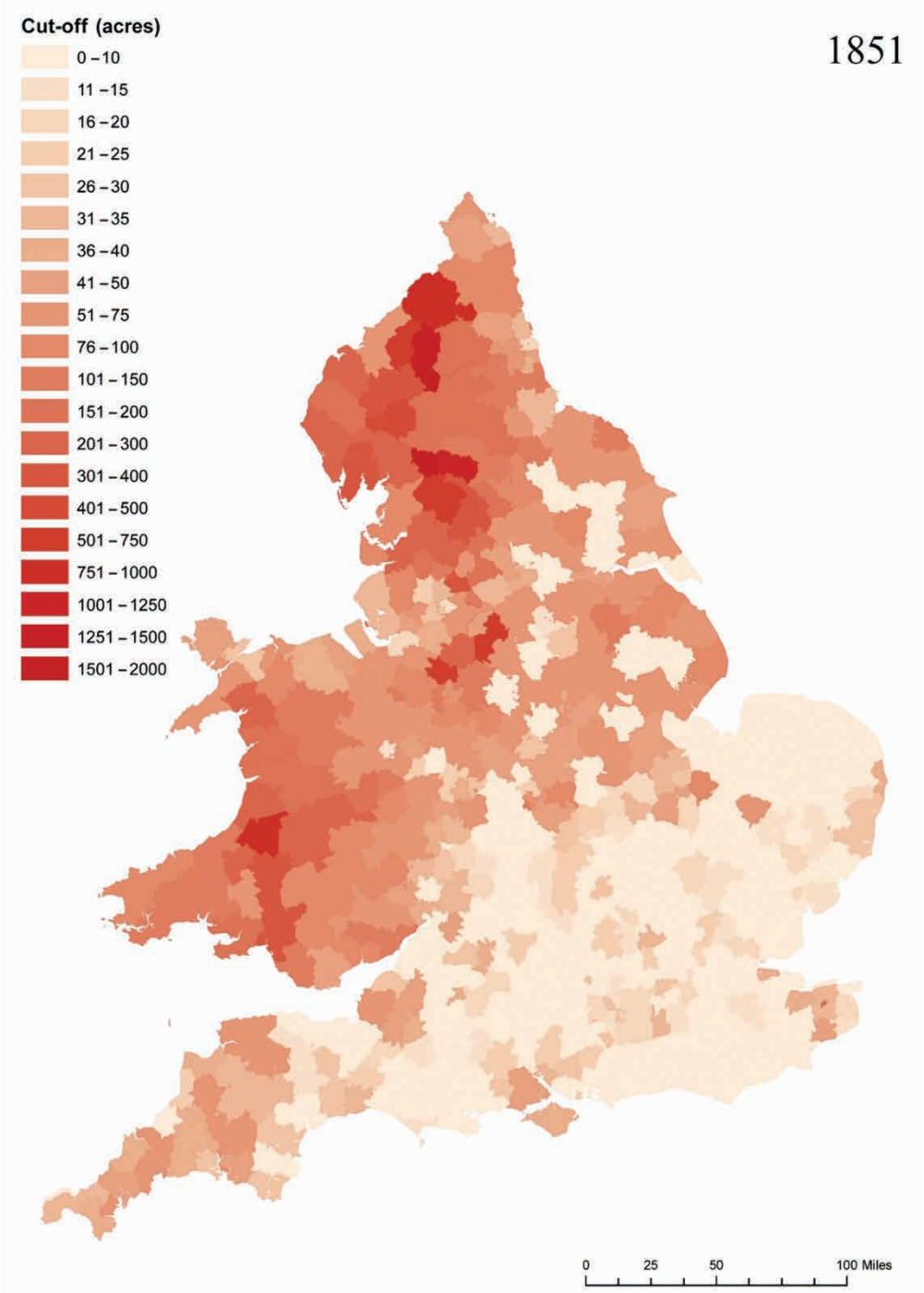


FIGURE 2a. Geographical distribution of cut-off (average size in acres) above which farmers were more likely to be employers than own account for each Registration District 1851.

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

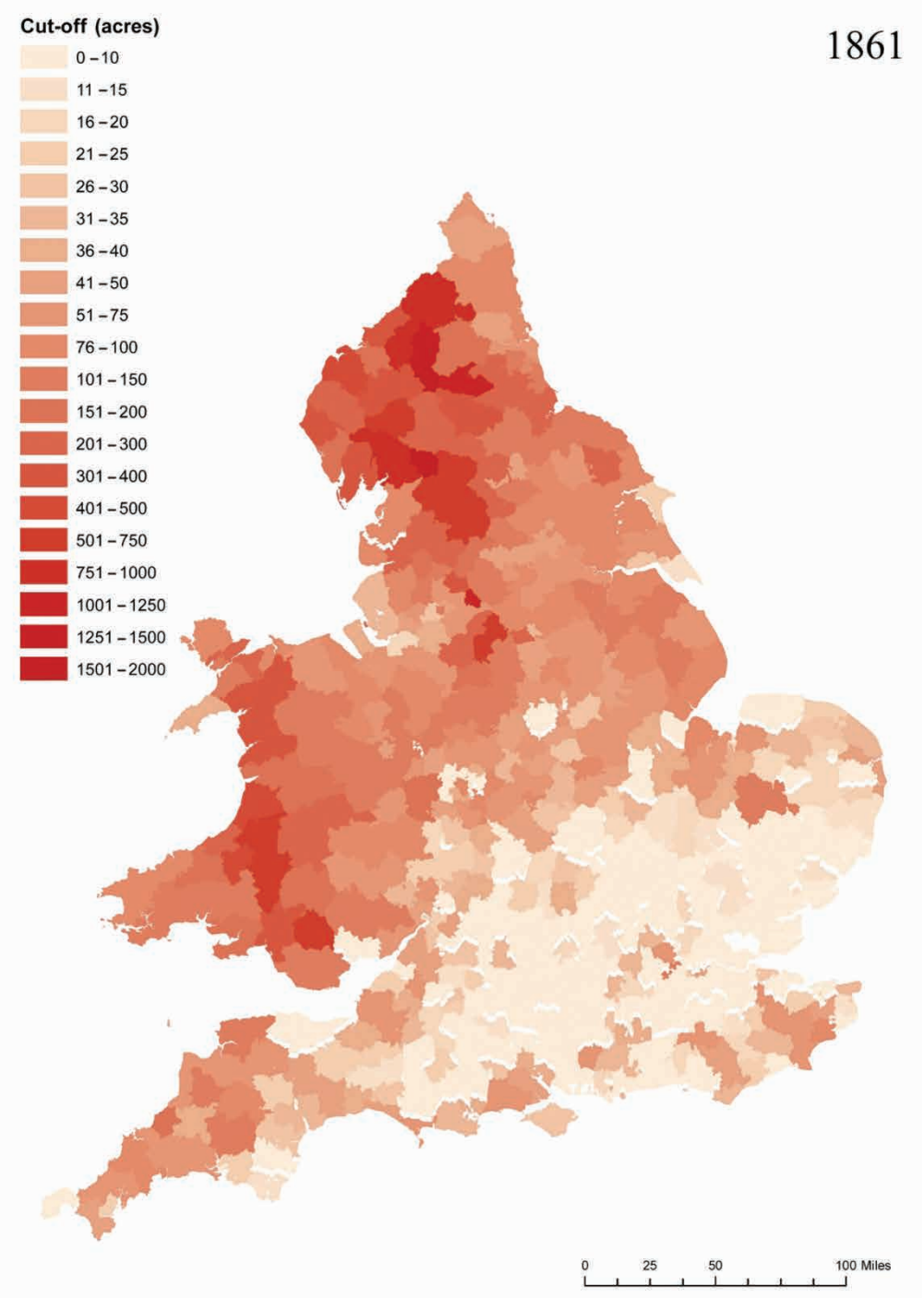


FIGURE 2b. Geographical distribution of cut-off (average size in acres) above which farmers were more likely to be employers than own account for each Registration District 1861.

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

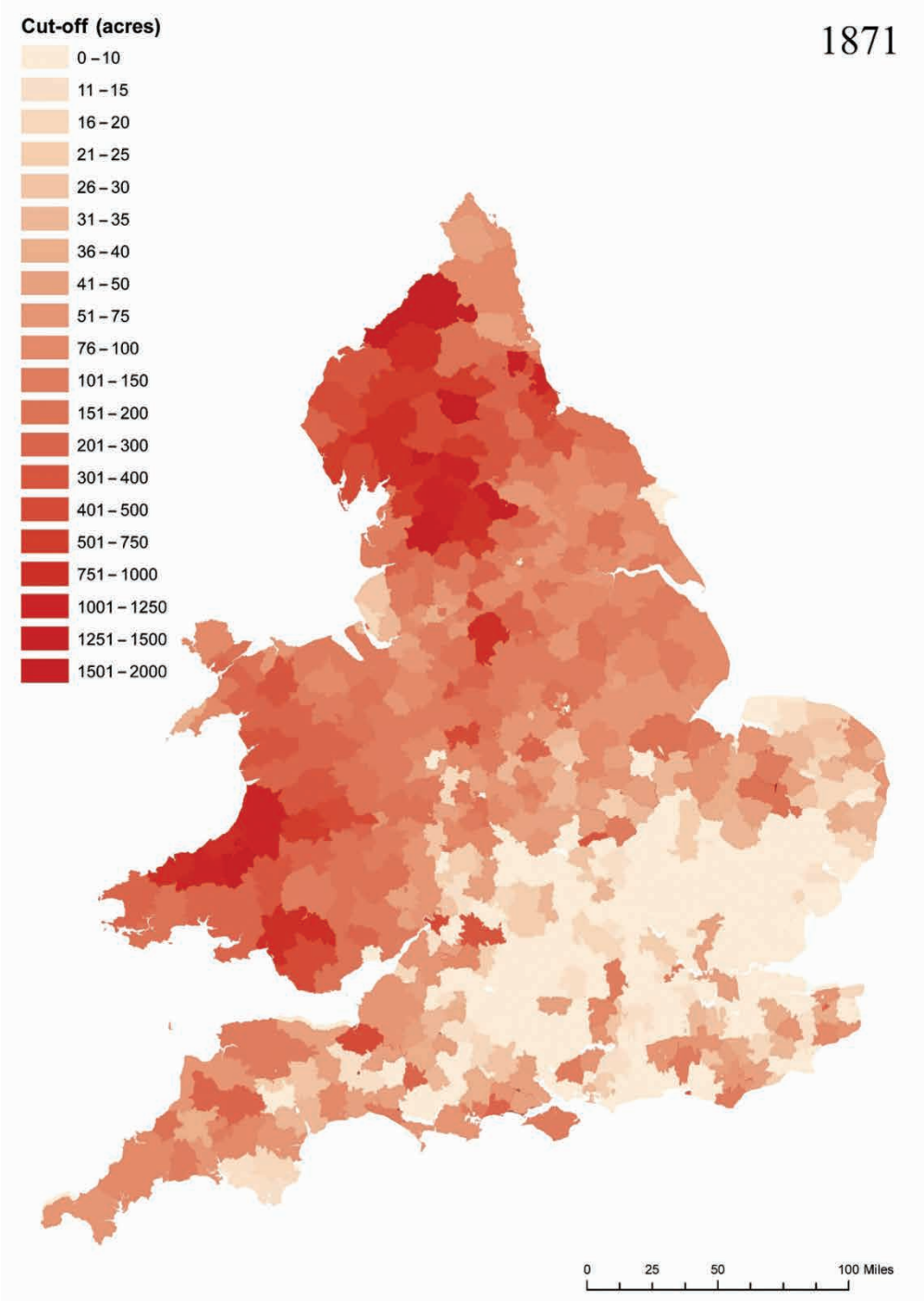


FIGURE 2C. Geographical distribution of cut-off (average size in acres) above which farmers were more likely to be employers than own account for each Registration District 1871.

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

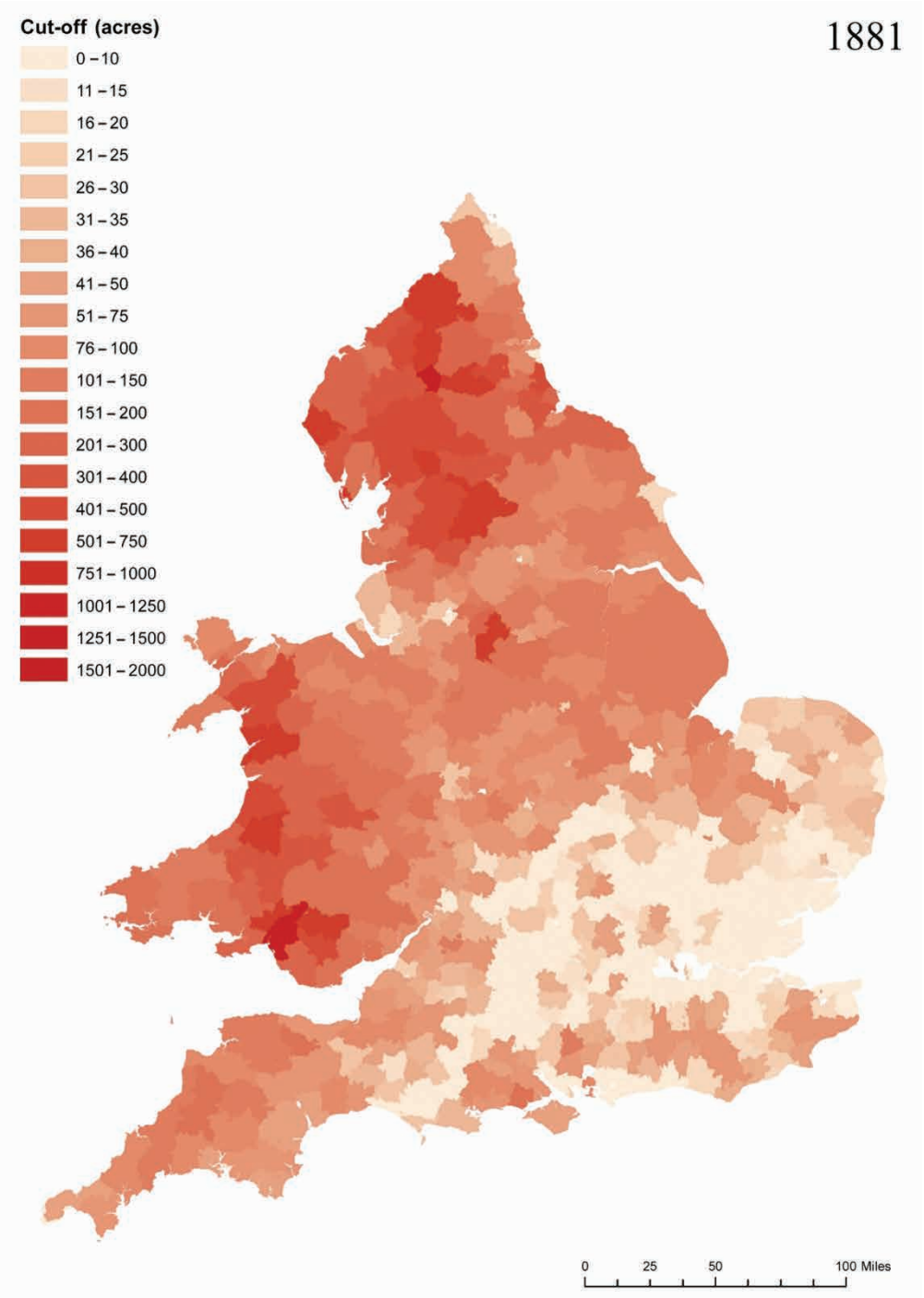


FIGURE 2d. Geographical distribution of cut-off (average size in acres) above which farmers were more likely to be employers than own account for each Registration District 1881.

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

to an area around London and the south east, and to lesser extent the areas around the major urban centres in the Midlands, the north west, and west Yorkshire.

The mapping of the geographical pattern provides insights for the first time, at a national scale, based on farms as the entrepreneurial units rather than holdings, and for the whole period 1851–81. In the north, south west and Wales, farmers reduced their workforce. The high cut-off areas in 1851, in upland locations, expanded by 1881 to include nearly all counties above the line running from the Severn to the Wash. The change in Wales is particularly noticeable. The south and east of the country were, in contrast, characterized by fairly stable cut-offs, which rose slightly between 1851 and 1881. While a significant switch from arable to pasture in the south and east probably accounts for the stability of this region,[54] this did not result in any reduced probability of being an employer because the market for their produce (mainly meat, milk and dairy) remained buoyant. The figures suggest contrasted entrepreneurial responses between regions: with farm employers mostly able to maintain workforces and outputs in the south and east, where the ratio of employers to own account even increased to a small extent, whilst in the north and west farmers generally switched to own-account farming or cut their employees so that the ratio of employers to own account significantly decreased. This adjustment may have been more likely since the north and west traditionally tended to have more family farms and thus found it easier to revert to a less labour-intensive form of farming.[55] However, while farmers in the south and east were more likely to maintain their status as employers, they also tended to reduce the number of workers they employed. In Sussex, for instance, farmers employed on average 8.7 workers in 1871, but only 8.1 by 1881, while farmers in Surrey contracted their average workforce from 8.1 to 7.4 over the same period. These data confirm existing accounts of the basic geography of the agricultural depression, but they also allow more nuanced interpretation. For example, while much of Lancashire followed the general pattern of the north, west Lancashire maintained relatively low cut-off acreages throughout the period, reflecting the contrast between the arable west of the county and the pastoral east.[56] Yorkshire also exhibited significant internal variation, with the area around Leeds and other wool-producing urban centres being characterized by employers with relatively small farms, a pattern also seen on the east coast from Bridlington south and a central part of the North Riding. Much of the rest of the north of the West and North Ridings were characterized by high cut-offs, as was much of the East Riding. These local variations indicate important complexity not visible in previous analyses, which should open the door to more research to explain the sub-regional variation in how farmers responded to the pressures of the 1870s and 1880s.

The maps indicate some of the additional factors, which we examine below in more detail using parishes, such as land quality, urban and transport access. Close to urban areas the cut-off between employer and own account average acreages was lower, while in areas of predominantly upland and rough grazing the cut-off was much higher. Clearly farmers' adjustments to their entrepreneurial status depended on location, land quality, and other factors. This was in addition to adaptations in farm practices and technical change noted in the earlier historiography. As agricultural production became increasingly capital-intensive, more single entrepreneurs

[54] Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', p. 150.
[55] Shaw-Taylor, 'Agrarian capitalism', p. 57.
[56] T. W. Fletcher, 'Lancashire livestock farming during the Great Depression', *AgHR* 9 (1961), pp. 18–20.

operating on their own account could manage their farm alone. Employer-status farmers became increasingly concentrated on very large farms, on those with better land, or those that were favourably located, mainly by adjusting to meet urban demands through shifts of agricultural output from grain and arable crops to dairying and meat production as observed by contemporaries.[57] But it can now be seen unambiguously that these changes chiefly occurred on farms close to London or other urban centres where changes in consumer preferences had most impact.

III

We next investigate the factors underlying the geographical patterns in Figure 2 statistically, and also control for the effects of household structure, gender, and marital status using the census information. We initially make cross-sectional estimates of the influence of different factors on entrepreneurial decisions. We use the dependent variable, Log E/OA:

$$\log \frac{\mathrm{E} + 1}{\mathrm{OA} + 1}$$

This defines the ratio of the number of employers (E) to own account (OA) for each geographical location. The addition of one in the numerator and denominator is a standard manipulation to remove zeros to allow model convergence and ensure calculations are always feasible. The estimates are for geographical units and not the individual farms. We are interested in how individual choice probabilities between employer or own account were influenced by different local and personal factors.

The ratio is positive if there are more employers than own account in a location, and negative if there are more own account than employers. Consequently, this dependent variable is analogous to a log-likelihood ratio. As well as the ratio of the number of employers and own account it is also the ratio of the percentage of employers and the percentage of own account in a geographical unit, as proved by:

$$\log \frac{E + 1}{OA + 1} =$$

$$= \log \left(\frac{E + 1 \ \#Farms}{\mathrm{OA} + 1 \ \#Farms} \right) =$$

$$= \log \frac{\dfrac{E + 1}{\#Farms}}{\dfrac{\mathrm{OA} + 1}{\#Farms}} =$$

[57] Graham, *Revival*.

$$\log \frac{\sim perc\ E}{\sim perc\ OA}$$

Consequently, the estimates permit us to explore the probability between the employer and own-account entrepreneurship in a given location, while controlling for other inputs. The model is:

$$\log \frac{E+1}{OA+1} = \beta_A A + \beta_L L + \beta_K K + \beta_T T + \beta_Y Y$$

The logarithm allows the calculation of the semi-elasticity of substitution between employer and own-account entrepreneurship in a given place after controlling for other factors.

This model of entrepreneurial change derives from a standard production function of the marketed surplus (profit) from agriculture. This is the earnings in excess of payment to all the factors of production, excluding entrepreneurship. The economic activity of a farm depends on combining different inputs to produce agricultural products.[58] These inputs vary from labour (L, skilled or unskilled labour), capital (K, machines, tools, buildings, chemicals, fertilizers), land (A, both quality and quantity measured in acres), access to markets (T, transport as distance or access to main agricultural markets or points of transport access, such as railways) and management/entrepreneurship (ENT, the degree of entrepreneurship, as employers E, or as own account OA):

$$Y = f(L,\ K,\ A,\ T,\ ENT)$$

Thus, farm entrepreneurship is measured by the capacity of management to combine factors. Profits are the payment to the entrepreneur as coordinator, arbitrageur, innovator, and uncertainty-bearer.[59] But the key aspect – first discussed by Cantillon for the eighteenth century – is bearing the uncertainty of fluctuating demand and weather conditions, which 'hired factors' do not share as they receive payments whatever the profit (provided the farm remains in business). In Cantillon's words: 'The price of the Farmer's produce depends naturally upon these unforeseen circumstances, and consequently he conducts the enterprise at an uncertainty'.[60]

The equation for entrepreneurship is equivalent to an expansion of the standard production function:

$$\bar{Y} = f(E,\ OA \mid A,\ L,\ K,\ T)$$

To the left of the vertical bar of conditionality, there are the two variables of employer and own account entrepreneurship at a location. To the right, the other inputs which are held constant

[58] A. Barkley and P. W. Barkley, *Principles of agricultural economics* (2013); D. Colman and T. Young, *Principles of agricultural economics: Markets and prices in less developed countries* (1989); J. Boyle, *Agricultural economics* (third edn, 1928).

[59] H. Barreto, *The entrepreneur in microeconomic theory: Disappearance and explanation* (1989).

[60] R. Cantillon, *Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en Général*, trans. and ed. by Henry Higgs (1731), p. 63.

and are not available for our estimates: the bar over the output indicates that the output is fixed. In this simplification we have to assume, in the absence of any available detailed other data, that E and OA are the only variables that vary by location and thus there is a direct measurement of the substitutability of the two forms of entrepreneurship. The model could be extended in future if other data become available.

The estimates use individual-level data aggregated within the smallest available geographical unit, the parish. This allows a highly sensitive assessment of the geography of farm entrepreneurship at a level of detail not previously possible. In the rural areas of England and Wales, where most farms are located, a parish corresponds to a village, group of hamlets, or small town, so that the units used generally correspond to functional communities. We first develop a sequence of cross-sectional parish estimates. Table 3 shows the results for the estimates of Log E/OA. For 1871, as noted earlier, because the census transcripts are derived from S&N, marital status and servant variables were not available. Also, because of some data gaps, 1871 estimates are weighted to align their coverage with the other years.

The two main causal variables estimated are the inputs of Total Employees (the sum of total employees declared by all farmers in the parish) and Acreages (the sum of total farm acreages in the parish). Both have both positive and highly significant coefficients: the expected signs. The coefficients for Acreages and Total Employees first increased over time, and then decreased. This pattern neatly aligns with the timing of the 'Golden Age' and ensuing challenges. Stable employer numbers 1851–61 reflected growth in markets driven by population growth and improving living standards.[61] But growth had slowed by the early 1860s, so that by the 1871 census the likelihood of being an employer had reduced at a given acreage, and own account increased. By 1881 the coefficient for the number of employees had decreased, indicating the reducing probability of employers in a parish even as the number of employees increased; i.e. average farm workforce sizes increased for those that were employers. Conversely, the small increases in size of the acreage coefficient indicates that being an employer became only slightly more likely as average farm acreages increased; this reflects the rigidities in the agricultural land market and restrictions of agricultural tenancy,[62] which results in relative stability of the acreage coefficients.

The estimates include a group of controls, which all have the expected signs. Age increased the employer/own-account entrepreneurship ratio at first positively, but then at older age decreased as the negative second order term takes effect. This age effect has been generally observed in other empirical studies and occurs across most industry sectors in the rest of the I-CeM/S&N data 1851–81.[63] Also, the estimates indicate that, as already known from the published census occupational tables, men were more frequently farmers than women, but we can now see that men were significantly more likely to be employers and to have larger farms and workforce. The

[61] Prothero, *English Farming*, p. 374.

[62] Grigg, 'Farm size', pp. 182–4; Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', pp. 179–83.

[63] E.g. S. McNally, 'Farm diversification in England and Wales – what can we learn from the farm business survey?' *J. Rural Studies* 17 (2001), pp. 247–57; L. Rønning and L. Kovereid, 'Income diversification in Norwegian farm households: Reassessing pluriactivity', *International Small Business J.* 24 (2006), pp. 405–20; R. J. Bennett, H. Smith, C. van Lieshout, P. Montebruno and G. Newton, *The age of entrepreneurship: Business proprietors, self-employment and corporations since 1851* (2019), ch. 6.

TABLE 3. Estimation of cross-sections, 1851–81

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
Independent variables	*1851*		*1861*		*1871*		*1881*	
Total Employees	0.00418‡	(2.69)	0.00648‡	(6.79)	0.00423‡	(2.66)	0.00156‡	(3.52)
Acreage	0.0001000‡	(2.94)	0.000118‡	(4.88)	0.000107‡	(2.93)	0.000114‡	(9.86)
Age	0.109‡	(9.47)	0.118‡	(18.40)	0.105‡	(6.53)	0.107‡	(12.58)
Age # Age	−0.00107‡	(−9.19)	−0.00118‡	(−17.91)	−0.00105‡	(−7.03)	−0.00109‡	(−12.59)
Sex Male	0.389‡	(5.90)	0.146†	(2.56)	−0.00425	(−0.25)	0.462‡	(6.88)
Servants	0.0711‡	(9.96)	0.0950‡	(14.08)	NA		0.114‡	(12.56)
RELA CFU member	−0.725‡	(−7.72)	−0.392‡	(−5.27)	0.0245	(0.64)	0.248†	(2.46)
RELA Older generation	−0.980‡	(−3.75)	−0.522†	(−2.31)	0.920†	(2.45)	0.536†	(1.98)
RELA Siblings	−0.189	(−1.02)	0.0654	(0.44)	0.248	(0.63)	0.769‡	(4.50)
RELA Other Family	−0.510*	(−1.73)	0.134	(0.46)	0.483	(1.27)	0.463	(1.54)
RELA Servants	−1.874‡	(−4.49)	−0.166	(−0.88)	NA	(2.78)	−1.796†	(−2.49)
RELA Working Title	−1.351‡	(−3.98)	0.992	(1.41)	0.431	(0.39)	1.363	(1.25)
RELA Lodger/Boarders	−1.440‡	(−7.71)	−0.677‡	(−4.56)	−0.556	(−1.11)	−0.194	(−1.03)
RELA Non-household	−0.738‡	(−2.61)	−0.578†	(−2.51)	NA	(4.13)	−0.115	(−0.56)
Marital status Married	−0.248‡	(−5.97)	−0.0887‡	(−2.66)	NA		−0.211‡	(−5.32)
Agricultural land, Grade 1	−0.00198	(−1.59)	0.0106‡	(7.80)	0.0129	(1.41)	0.0119‡	(8.09)
Agricultural land, Grade 2	0.00601‡	(6.27)	0.0149‡	(13.90)	0.0211‡	(2.68)	0.0169‡	(16.96)
Agricultural land, Grade 3	0.00528‡	(5.94)	0.0153‡	(15.15)	0.0204†	(2.34)	0.0166‡	(17.16)
Agricultural land, Grade 4	0.00308‡	(2.93)	0.00701‡	(6.25)	0.0217†	(2.46)	0.00829‡	(7.37)
Distance to Town Centre	−0.0000134‡	(−3.57)	−0.0000136‡	(−3.67)	0.0000318‡	(6.47)	−0.00000807†	(−2.11)
Latitude	−0.166‡	(−10.60)	−0.136‡	(−12.31)	−0.144‡	(−5.78)	−0.271‡	(−30.87)
Longitude	0.0343‡	(3.30)	0.0230‡	(2.79)	0.132‡	(9.54)	0.169‡	(25.40)
Distance to rail lines	−0.0000340‡	(−6.85)	−0.0000254‡	(−4.97)	−0.000007‡	(−3.08)	−0.00000280	(−0.37)
r2	0.202		0.309		0.242		0.301	
N	14,719		14,869		12,660		14,287	

Notes:
t statistics in parentheses: * p<0.10, † p<0.05, ‡ p<0.01.
For 1871 marital status unavailable and some RELA codes samples too small to estimate. Census variables are parish averages from individual data. Grades of agricultural land and transport variables at continuous parish level. Distance to Town Centre, Latitude, Longitude, and 1871 separate extraction at Registration Sub-District level.
Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

number of household *domestic* servants can be used as an imperfect surrogate for household income.[64] The estimates show that having a greater number of servants (and hence generally higher income) elevated the probability of being an employer. Hence employers and large farms were generally more likely to be headed by males in middle age and yielding higher incomes.

Being the head of a household had the highest likelihood of being an employer (the base category in the estimates, not shown). In comparison *all other* types of individual within the household for 1851 and 1861 have negative probabilities, indicating less probability of being a farm employer compared to the head. The least negative of these were members of the head's family (CFU), then lodgers or boarders, non-household members, and older generation, with the most unlikely being in-house domestic servants, as to be expected. There was a marked contrast for the later period for some household members. Although the number of farmers who were not heads is small and hence difficult to interpret, it is clear that members of the same family unit, older generation and siblings had a higher likelihood of being an employer (positive probabilities) by 1881, whereas they were previously negative. This suggests that in the face of increasing challenges, some heads were no longer the active farm proprietors but had either moved to waged employment in other industries, developed ancillary occupations, or had retired. This resulted in leaving other family members to manage the farm, primarily as own-account farmers. Under financial pressures a farmer could also diversify into other occupations using farm premises, rather than bolstering farm output through employing farm workers. This would reflect local market opportunities. Some suggestion of this is indicated by the decreasing size of the negative probability of employer status with having lodgers, which suggests some switching towards taking lodgers less out of necessity and more as a diversification strategy. Other analysis points to the development of multiple occupations by farmers in this period, especially by taking in lodgers.[65] For this, family support was critical, with the presence of a spouse and other family members a major explanatory variable in predicting the likelihood of individuals developing accommodation activities.

More generally, the role of spouses was a critical feature of the period. Married farmers, both male and female, were less likely to be employers than single people. Being married increased the probability of being own account. This at first sight seems counterintuitive. Marriage generally implies having additional resources to manage the house, which should make individuals more likely to be employers. However, the data contain elements of both explicit and disguised workforce support from spouses (and other family members). As noted at the outset, entrepreneur status can be confused in farming because many labour inputs can be provided within family farms by a spouse or family (and this was imperfectly recorded by census administrators). This means that married farmers have a potential reserve of labour that makes them less likely to become employers, other things held constant such as land quality and farm size. Hence, at a given size, a farmer could operate as a *de facto* own account by using access

[64] These are domestic live-in servants on census night; they *exclude* farm servants working on the farm, though there may have been some overlap between the two: Higgs, *Making sense*.

[65] D. Radicic, R. J. Bennett, and G. Newton, 'Portfolio entrepreneurship in farming: Empirical evidence from the 1881 census for England and Wales', *J. Rural Studies* 55 (2017), pp. 289–302; Bennett *et al*., *Age of entrepreneurship*, ch. 11.

to unwaged labour inputs from a spouse or family. In historical case studies spouses have been argued to be important contributors to farming activity.[66] The effects are similar to modern studies which demonstrate the availability of input from farmer's wives to be inversely related to farm size, being over 20 times higher in the smallest farms than medium and larger sizes.[67] In our estimates there is a trend in this relationship, with the probability of being an employer decreasing for the married between 1851 and 1861 (though it remained highly significant), but under greater price pressures the probability returned by 1881 to approximately the same levels as in 1851. For 1871 it is not possible to estimate this effect, as marital status was not available in the I-CeM/S&N data. Recognition of these effects may also be increased in census data by some individuals not returning their spouse as employees, because they were not formally enumerated as workers, or because they were *de facto* partners and were co-own account (a status that the census was generally deficient in recording). No adequate attempt was made to allow for this in the UK census, but the US Census of Agriculture used a multiplier of 1.5 to adjust farm employment estimates for the inputs from spouse and family: as noted by Gregor 'small operators have always reacted to pressures … by using their own labor prodigally'.[68]

The main geographical variables that we can estimate are land quality, transport access, and locational proxies for climate. Quality of agricultural land had important effects, as to be expected. In our estimates the land quality coefficients show that Grade 1 (best), Grade 2 (very good), Grade 3 (good) were strong predictors of employing agricultural labourers in the production function of the farm, except for 1851 where Grade 1 is negative but insignificant. The high-quality land grades are positive compared to the base level, Grade 5 (the worst kind of land). However, there were only small differences in land quality effects between the better grades (1–3) reflecting that all these were good land for agriculture with investment or effort if there was demand; but the poorest land (4, and 5) were normally least amenable to improvement and hence least likely to support a workforce. This indicates that employer status on better quality land varied as a result of improvements which were likely to reflect the location of the land relative to market opportunities.

This effect of market potential is strongly confirmed by the coefficient of Distance to Town Centre being mostly negative. The greater the distance, the poorer the access to markets, which decreased the likelihood of being an employer over being own account. Town Centres are defined from Law and Robson, who identified 934 towns of 2,500 or more inhabitants and a density of more than one person per acre.[69] Similarly, poorer transport access, measured by Distance to Rail Line from the centre of each parish, decreases the probability of employer entrepreneurship. Our estimates confirm at national scale previous case studies.

[66] Anderson, 'Family structure'; M. Winstanley, 'Industrialization and the small farm: Family and household economy in nineteenth-century Lancashire', *Past and Present* 152 (1996), pp. 157–95; Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes*.

[67] R. Gasson, 'Farmers' Wives – their contribution to the farm business', *J. Agricultural Economics* 43 (1992), pp. 74–87; Errington and Gasson, 'Labour use'.

[68] H. F. Gregor, *Industrialization of U.S. Agriculture: An interpretive atlas* (1982), pp. 99, 25.

[69] C. M. Law, 'The growth of urban population in England and Wales, 1801–1911', *Trans. Institute of British Geographers* 41 (1967), pp. 125–43; B. Robson, *Urban growth: An approach* (1973). Database: R. J. Bennett, *Urban population database, 1801–1911* (2012) [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN. 7154, dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7154-1; C. Law, B. Robson, J. Langton [original data producers].

As Schwartz found in a Dorset case study of the effects of the depression, farmers with rail access maintained, expanded, or diversified production compared to those who had no or little access.[70] Other case studies that do not cover the depression also show that poor access reduced the extent to which farm workers were employed.[71] We also tested the effect of other transport variables in the cross-sections: distance to railway stations, distance to main road, and distance to waterways. They show similar effects to that for distance to rail line when used separately, but the rail line variable was the strongest predictor.

The model also takes account of climate effects known to be important for agriculture.[72] Latitude is a proxy for temperature: the further north, the colder the weather. It is also a proxy for elevation as generally speaking, higher land is located further north. The coefficient is significant for all years and negative, as expected, i.e. the more northerly and more elevated, the colder the farm, the lower its likely output, and the less likely it was to have scope for large employment. The more elevated north had a lower proportion of employers to own account than the warmer and less elevated south. Longitude in England and Wales primarily represents changes in moisture as generally rain-bearing winds come from the south west. The variable is measured as distance from the east so that a positive coefficient indicates that more productive lands are where rainfall moderates. A key Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food report states that 'in climatic terms, the poorest areas are both the wettest and coldest and conversely the climate is regarded as more favourable as temperature increases and rainfall moderates'.[73] As a result, the south and east present a more favourable climate for land productivity, being warmer, less elevated and moderately drier. This is confirmed in our results, which show that the south and east have greater scope for large farm employment rather than own account as the leading entrepreneurial type. Latitude and longitude are approximations that could be developed in any subsequent analysis to include climate and elevation data explicitly.

The overall conclusion to be drawn from the cross-sectional estimates is that our main research expectation is confirmed: that Total Employees and Acreages mutually adjusted, and this was finely spatially variegated. Given there were rigidities in the land market that limited the adjustment of farm acreage, the main response came through the entrepreneurial decision whether or not to hire labour. The probability of being an employer first increased slightly from 1851 to 1861 and then reduced, dropping in 1871, and then again by 1881, which aligns with the timing of the 'Golden Age' and growing challenges, including the agricultural depression. As Grigg argued, the actual farm sizes in this period did not change greatly;[74] instead we demonstrate that the number of employees was a significant adjust mechanism, especially at the cut-off margin we map between having employees at all and operating on own account. This change could have been driven either by entrepreneurial choice, employers deciding to cut their workforce, or by labour market forces that increased labour costs and reduced the labour pool by workers migrating from agricultural areas to find alternative employment. As

[70] R. M. Schwartz, 'Rail transport, agrarian crisis, and the restructuring of agriculture', *Social Science Hist.* 34, (2010), pp. 229–55.

[71] E.g. Anderson, 'Family structure'; Winstanley, 'Industrialisation'.

[72] E.g. Grigg, *English agriculture*, pp. 28–37.

[73] Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, *Agricultural land classification,* p. 11.

[74] Grigg, 'Farm size', p. 183.

shown in Figures 1 and 2, the decline in the numbers of agricultural labourers began before the onset of the agricultural depression. The labour market tightened over the period, as reflected in a general increase in wages across England and Wales, in both high- and low-wage areas. During the depression agricultural wages were stable or rose.[75] Consequently, while migration away from rural areas forced some farmers to decrease their workforce size, increasing wages combined with squeezed profits was most important. This gives a new answer to the question posed by Collins as to whether farm business strategy was short-term or chronic.[76] The adjustment appears to have been mostly strategic through a different approach to using home, spouse and family resources. It was also geographically highly variegated. Our range of control variables confirms the significant effect on entrepreneurial choices of land quality, and location relative to urban centres or rail lines that provided access to urban markets. Climate was an important secondary variable, whilst demographic features of a farmer's age, gender, and income also played significant roles.

IV

The cross-sectional estimates reveal much about the effect of economic changes on entrepreneurship choices. But the spatial units used vary for each time slice due to changes in parish boundaries.[77] This could have distortionary effects on the estimates. To check the robustness of the cross-sections, the data are re-estimated with a panel. The same entrepreneurial and demographic variables are used (age, gender, marital status, relationship to the head), but the estimation is now undertaken for a panel of parishes with consistent boundaries across all years. These are aggregations of the original parish units to form the smallest homogeneous geographical units that are continuous between 1851 and 1891, thus avoiding the effects of boundary changes. These aligned boundaries follow the method developed used by Wrigley for the early censuses.[78] There are 12,552 continuous parishes, of which 11,764 contain farmers for all years. These cover the whole of England and Wales, meaning that we work with a complete geographical coverage for each year. The panel allows the use of fixed effects to control for unobservable variables for individual geographical units, such as capital intensity which is not available in any of the data for the period at this level of granularity. The only limitation of the panel approach is that all invariant controls are dropped; similarly, data for all time slices are pooled into one estimate.

The estimates of the panel model at continuous parish level (ConPar) are shown in Table 4. The model of the entrepreneurial equation with demographic controls (which vary between years) is as follows:

$$\log \frac{Eh_{i,j} + 1}{Es_{i,j} + 1} = \beta_A A_{i,j} + \beta_L L_{i,j} + \beta_{Demographics} Demographics_{i,j} + \varepsilon_{i,j}$$

$$(i = ConPar, j = years)$$

[75] Daunton, *Wealth and welfare*, p. 47; E. H. Hunt, 'Labour productivity in English agriculture, 1850–1914', *EcHR*, 20 (1967), pp. 280–92; Turner, 'Agricultural output, income and productivity', pp. 272–7.

[76] Collins, 'Rural and agricultural change', p. 157.

[77] Higgs, *Making sense*.

[78] E. A. Wrigley, *The early English censuses* (2011).

TABLE 4. Estimates of Log E/OA using continuous parish level panel data (11,764 parishes in each year) with reghdf

	(1)	
	lEOA	
Total Employees	0.00221‡	(4.71)
Acreage	0.0000462‡	(2.75)
Age	0.0393‡	(7.47)
Age x Age	−0.000383‡	(−7.37)
Sex Male	0.0358	(0.99)
RELA 10 CFU	−0.189‡	(−3.66)
RELA 10 Older	0.0847	(0.58)
RELA 10 Sibl	−0.0297	(−0.20)
RELA 10 Other Family	0.0183	(0.11)
RELA 10 Servant	−0.342	(−1.25)
RELA 10 WorkingTitle	−0.145	(−0.67)
RELA 10 LodgBoard	−0.454‡	(−3.65)
RELA 10 Nonhousehold	−0.315*	(−1.91)
1861	0.113‡	(10.06)
1871	−0.012	(−0.83)
1881	−0.157‡	(−12.99)
r2	0.601	
N	47,058	

Note: t statistics in parentheses; * p<0.10, † p<0.05, ‡ p<0.01.
Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

The estimation is run with the Stata command reghdfe (high dimensional fixed effect panel data) with continuous parishes and year fixed effects, with standard error clustered at the continuous parish level.[79] This command has been recently made available by Correia.[80] The p-values of the causal variables Acreages (A) and Total Employees (L) are positive and both highly significant. They are also within the credible range, and similar to those for the cross-sections. The controls are all significant and also in a credible range. As before,

[79] This estimator uses clustered standard errors because some observations are related to each other within a group, so that an unobservable is similar for group members. In our case, unobserved traits like the opportunities of farmers are expected to be similar within a parish and dissimilar between parishes. The estimator takes this into account.

[80] S. Correia, *reghdfe: Stata Module for Linear and Instrumental-Variable/Gmm Regression Absorbing Multiple Levels of Fixed Effects*, Statistical Software Components s457874 (2017). This approach is used because the panel data at the continuous parish level have 48,000 observations with more than 12,000 factor variables which exceed the upper limit of matrix size of 11,000. This package absorbs the fixed effects, so there is no need to invert a matrix bigger than the Stata current limits.

greater age increased the probability of being an employer but this diminished at higher ages through the negative second order term. Males again had higher probability of employer entrepreneurship. At the same time, the probability of being an employer was less likely where there were internal resources from other household members, particularly where the farm was run by a member of the conjugal family unit (CFU), or there were lodgers. The positive but insignificant coefficient for older family members than the head of household indicates that the headship of the house had passed to others and younger household members were the main operatives. Marital status cannot be estimated as this variable is not available for the 1871 data. However, although the role of spouses cannot be estimated, as before, having other family available indicates the effect of disguised family inputs that were not fully measured.

These features confirm the same patterns as the cross sections, and establish the robustness of the conclusions drawn. The specification confirms that, after controlling for demographic and other variables, acreages (the quantity of the input land) critically affect the ratio between employer and own account entrepreneurship: an increase of 50 farm acres in the parish causes a 0.3 per cent increase in the ratio of employers to own account'

Finally, if we add year dummies as explicit fixed effects, the results are as expected. 1851 as the base year is omitted; 1861 is strongly positive in comparison, increasing employer probability from 1851, which means they register the 'Golden Age' effect; 1871 is not significant, reflecting its intermediate status at a turning point and perhaps the poorer data available; and 1881 is strongly negative, registering the depression effect. All this is as expected and constitutes a robustness check for the cross-sectional estimates.

V

Following the work of Grigg, it is possible to add to our analysis an assessment of farm size changes between 1851 and 1881. This is an important contribution because almost all previous large-scale analyses have used farm holdings, whereas our analysis is able to focus on the most relevant entrepreneurial unit – the farm. The farm is a business, whereas different numbers of parcels or holdings were likely to have confused links to entrepreneurship. This explains the fact that while Grigg's data show over 300,000 holdings in each year examined between 1870 and 1935, the census data contained only two-thirds of this number of farms.[81]

Tables 5 and 6 gives the farm size distribution for each year provided by the census data. Table 5 gives the summary statistics for all farms between 5 and 1,500 acres in order to eliminate outliers. Table 6 shows the breakdown banded by size. For farms smaller than 100 acres the average number of employees was usually two or fewer, while farms between 100 and 300 acres employed two to four workers, for 300–500 acres the workforce was approximately ten, and for farms over 500 acres it was twenty or more. Note that data on the smallest farms of 0–5 are given for completeness, but should be treated as unreliable, as noted earlier.[82]

[81] Grigg, 'Farm size', Table 1.

[82] Ibid.

TABLE 5. Summary statistics for acres and total employees of farms in England and Wales for years for farms with over 5 and less than 1,500 acres; employees only for farmers with non-zero employees

	Acres					*Total Employees*				
	N	*mean*	*min*	*max*	*median*	*N*	*mean*	*min*	*max*	*median*
1851	164,792	120	6	1,491	78	109,056	5	1	1,044	3
1861	171,348	116	6	1,460	70	92,246	6	1	951	4
1871	161,316	119	6	1,487	70	72,640	6	1	213	4
1881	174,166	122	5	1,488	70	81,993	6	1	3,500	3

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

Most interesting is change over time. For most farms the option to change size was limited, only occurring at the margin when additional holdings became available in a convenient location. This occurred infrequently but more often in the depression. The very small changes to acreage in each category show that change in farm size was indeed very slow and mostly restricted to the largest farms. Small average acreage increases occurred in all categories over 50 acres. The largest size increases occurred on the largest farm categories (over 500 acres), and this was mainly at the end of the period after the onset of the depression. Hence farm size changes, such as they were, lagged the adjustment to increased own account farming.

Similarly, the average Total Employees employed generally decreased from a peak in 1851, as expected from the general decline in the agricultural labour force. But there were important differences for different farm size categories. Ignoring the problematic 0–5 category, there was a small increase between 1851 and 1861 for farms of 20–50 acres while all other size categories saw a continuous decrease from 1851 onwards. This general decrease in employee numbers, when compared with the statistics on relatively stable farm output for the period,[83] indicates increased productivity and greater capital-intensity. At the same time, the probability of being an employer (Ees) decreased after 1851 for all sizes of farms below 50 acres (excluding the 0–5 acre farms); and this continued in the later years up to 1881. But it decreased by the largest amount for smallest farms, where own account entrepreneurship was most viable; hence the smallest farms were most likely to shift to own account – which is an expected result since they would be closer to production margins. For the medium and larger farms of over 50 acres the probability of being an employer initially decreased, but then showed a small increase between 1871 and 1881. It was generally greatest for the over 300 acre categories.

[83] Feinstein, *National income*, Table 8; Turner, 'Agricultural output, income and productivity', Figs. 3.15 and 3.17.

TABLE 6. Summary of statistics by year for farm size, acreage, number of employees, and model estimates of probability of being an employer or own account

Year	*Farm size employees*	*Acreage*	*Mean no. of Employees*	*Ees*	*Log E/OA*	*N of farms*
1851	0–5	0.164001	0.284875	0.034468	–1.03075	69652
1861	0–5	0.22582	0.524979	0.084587	0.089891	56368
1871	0–5	1.93917	2.35401	0.356916	0.131865	7562
1881	0–5	0.27075	2.52871	0.12631	0.811577	55142
1851	5–20	11.42	0.399585	0.193126	0.206495	26117
1861	5–20	11.5186	0.375839	0.138262	–0.22662	30529
1871	5–20	11.2884	0.269961	0.100385	–0.81615	31449
1881	5–20	11.4514	0.193639	0.090835	–1.03721	32917
1851	20–50	32.1138	0.989783	0.478838	1.534968	33932
1861	20–50	31.8642	1.00149	0.345772	0.775851	38349
1871	20–50	31.9313	0.704168	0.270536	–0.00775	35145
1881	20–50	31.9485	0.546777	0.259041	–0.06631	37743
1851	50–100	69.9843	1.82472	0.702079	2.667138	35950
1861	50–100	69.507	1.73958	0.562516	1.816416	35439
1871	50–100	69.8627	1.3963	0.462667	0.903749	32304
1881	50–100	70.0629	1.18835	0.471774	1.023895	35180
1851	100–300	164.921	4.46987	0.874104	4.333271	55860
1861	100–300	165.32	4.46337	0.776499	3.36856	53530
1871	100–300	166.767	3.75933	0.668538	1.885028	49345
1881	100–300	168.111	3.46793	0.711756	2.514745	52799
1851	300–500	361.304	11.2079	0.944911	5.681342	10323
1861	300–500	361.826	10.7516	0.883793	5.313206	10662
1871	300–500	364.625	9.37021	0.789134	2.486032	10675
1881	300–500	365.073	9.09431	0.863959	4.246762	11695
1851	500–1500	684.009	21.4092	0.939919	5.127292	4247
1861	500–1500	688.454	19.527	0.878834	5.645447	4564
1871	500–1500	694.403	17.0785	0.783309	2.477035	4841
1881	500–1500	711.455	18.947	0.888732	4.974255	5680
1851	1500–11500	2637.33	30.7174	0.907834	–0.4821	778
1861	1500–72000	3189.313	28.4474	0.820175	4.727388	228
1871	1500–80000	2112.04	26.2488	0.770335	2.70805	209
1881	1500–30000	2822.886	26.5841	0.764526	3.822411	327

Note: Number of farms is the total observations N in each size class. Note, 0–5 employee category given only for completeness; these data should be treated as unreliable as described in the text.
Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

VI

This paper has begun a process of analysis with the new data available from digitized versions of the census. Further research with these data will be able to take some research questions further than it has been possible here. Here we have focused on the neglected aspect of changes in the dominant forms of farm entrepreneurship: showing a major shift from employer to own account after 1861. Technical change and increased mechanisation, competition from industrial wages and returns on investment, abolition of protective tariffs, reduced cost of shipping, and the growth of highly competitively priced food imports from America, Russia and Australasia, as well as other factors, presented critical challenges for British farms in the mid-nineteenth century. The paper has used four cross-sections of the long-term changes over the 30 years 1851–81 to show that important changes occurred in the 1860s, well before the agricultural depression of the 1870s. Over 1861–71 it has been shown that a major shift of farm businesses occurred, first towards own-account sole proprietors, and then after 1871 both entrepreneur types declined. This was a tipping point towards more modern farming where operating as individuals has become the norm, with no other regular labour inputs, except perhaps part-time spouses, family or other occasional inputs. The paper has confirmed that farmers generally tried to avoid hiring others, and that under extreme price pressures and using technical developments, they increasingly opted for own-account status and shed all employees. In other research we show that the 1860s was the critical long-term change point for farm entrepreneurship: subsequently own account farming continued to increase rapidly until 1900, before starting to decline; however, employer numbers began to recover in 1891 and showed an uneven increase over time up to 1911.[84]

The paper has also confirmed, by estimating a range of control variables, the effects of land quality, location relative to urban centres or rail lines that provided access to urban markets, climate, and demographic features of a farmer's age, gender, availability of other inputs through marital status and family members, and wealth effects. The robustness of the cross-sectional effects is confirmed by a panel estimation which holds local units of analysis constant over time. These controls demonstrate, at parish level, the variegated effects of geography across the country, allowing a much more nuanced assessment of regional and local changes than has been previously possible. We find farm employers mostly able to maintain their status as employers, albeit while reducing their workforce size in the south and east. There, the ratio of employers to own account increased slightly between 1851 and 1861 and was generally maintained after 1871, whilst in the north and west farmers were more likely to become own account and cut their employees so that the ratio of employers to own account significantly decreased by 1871 and 1881. In doing so farmers in the north were reverting to a form of family-based own-account farming which had been common in 1851 but which had long been rarer in the south and east of England.

The paper has been able to add more robust understanding of farm size adjustments for the period, previously impossible at a national level because complete census records were

[84] R. J. Bennett, H. Smith, and P. Montebruno, 'The population of non-corporate business proprietors in England and Wales, 1891–1911', forthcoming in *Business Hist.,* Tables 8 and 9.

unpublished and the *Agricultural Statistics* were restricted to holdings rather than farms, and only from 1866. The panel data indicate that an increase of 50 farm acres in the parish led to a 0.3 per cent increase in the ratio between employers and own account entrepreneurs, and an increase of five employees in the parish led to an increase of 0.1 per cent in this ratio, all other factors held constant. Farm acreage changed only slowly, but for all size groups from 20–50 acres upwards, where farmers could acquire large holdings, they did increase farm sizes somewhat, albeit they worked such land with reduced labour.

The results of the analysis also allow more general commentary on the effect of macro-economic changes. The agricultural depression after 1873 saw an acceleration of the decline in the agricultural workforce; however, farmer numbers reduced only slowly. The land asset or tenancy of farms is all that many individuals had available. They could have given this up for waged employment if it was available, which may have not been possible and may have required migration to urban areas. For many individuals the option of adapting their use of the land and becoming own account offered more assured futures than the alternatives available, even if income potential was small and increasing price competition led them to becoming essentially 'survival' entrepreneurs. The pressures experienced by farmers after our period of analysis continued this challenge and increased the importance of entrepreneurial choice, with own account becoming more dominant into the twentieth century. The evolution over 1851–81 has not been previously fully examined. The reduction in employer entrepreneurship we have shown, and the shift towards greater numbers of own-account operators (perhaps supported by part-time spouse and family labour where this was available) was a major response which began in this early period. However, responses varied. Some small farmers, where they were located close to urban areas, or had transport access that opened new market opportunities, could benefit. The message of this period was therefore mixed: indicating a strong survival of the farmer and the farm unit, but a severe diminution of its potential to employ others, with very variable fortunes depending on access to markets.

Our findings thus provide a different conclusion to some previous historical studies that have argued that farmers failed in this period. These writers have argued that when faced with challenges, farmers were unwilling, or were unable, to adapt; for example, that rather than shifting to dairy and meat farming, they stuck to unprofitable wheat for too long instead. These failures have been blamed variously on ignorance, conservatism, the risk-aversion of landlords, or the restrictive nature of the tenurial system which held farmers back because, as tenants, they had little incentive or ability to develop new methods for raising productivity and output.[85] Our findings instead support Hunt and Pam and others who have argued that farmers and landlords in this period were often flexible, and dealt with the situation as best they could, given the constraints of the tenurial system and the limited and risky opportunities available for arable farmers to move into high-yield alternatives, such as dairy and high-quality meat production.[86] Our conclusions generally support a more optimistic interpretation of the robustness of farmers,

[85] C. P. Kindleberger, *Economic growth in France and Britain, 1851–1950* (1964); A. Offer, *The First World War: an agrarian interpretation* (1989); P. J. Perry, *British farming in the Great Depression* (1974).

[86] E. H. Hunt and S. J. Pam, 'Responding to agricultural depression, 1873–96: managerial success, entrepreneurial failure?', *AgHR* 50 (2002), pp. 225–52.

especially those with small or medium-sized 'family farms'. These proved adaptable and resilient to change through shifts in entrepreneurial status and greater involvement of the family in the farm. Larger farms also began to make important changes by limited expansion, but generally more slowly than smaller farmers and only at the end of our period.

Appendix I:
Calculation of the cut-off and listing of cut-offs by Registration District.

A model is used to estimate the probability of the correct reporting of employees for those farmers who failed to provide employee numbers and only gave acres. This uses the acreage and employees of those farms that returned both data. This is estimated for each of 623–630 Registration Districts (RDs). The model estimated is: Logit(E)=βAcres. The model produces for each RD a sigmoid cumulative probability function. On this curve there is a cut-off, found by inverting the logistic function. An example is illustrated in Figure A.1, where the cut-off corresponds to the median, or 'mid-aggregate point'. This was suggested by Lund and Price (1998) as the best measure of farm size differences since it is not distorted by extreme values.[87] Farm size in most countries is a truncated lognormal distribution,[88] and the use of a logistic initiated in a seminal paper on farming by Nerlove and Press, responded to the difficulties of effectively measuring central tendency in such data.[89]

The actual estimates of cut-off for each RD were calibrated by testing the best fit of the predicted number of employers and own account to those observed in the population for each year. This was, on average 0.25, the point at and above which a farmer can be expected to employ others, which varies greatly by location. The estimate was tested for robustness by mapping a variety of cut-offs and checking the differences in the number of employer farmers. In the range of 0.25 – 0.5 the geography does not change, indicating that choice of cut-off correctly confronts the margin between employers and own account. In detail the model is estimated as follows. The cut-off is found from the inverse of the logit function. The logit model is:

$$y = \frac{e^{\alpha+\beta x}}{1 + e^{\alpha+\beta x}}$$

Starting from this equation, Its inverse is calculated as follows:

$$\mathrm{y} = \frac{e^{\alpha+\beta x}}{1 + e^{\alpha+\beta x}}$$

$$y + ye^{\alpha+\beta x} = e^{\alpha+\beta x}$$

[87] P. Lund and R. Price, 'The measurement of average farm size', *J. Agricultural Economics* 49 (1998), pp. 100–10.

[88] P. Allanson, 'Farm size structure in England and Wales, 1939–89', *J. Agricultural Economics* 43 (1992) pp. 137–48.

[89] I. Nerlove, and S. J. Press, *Univariate and Multivariate Log-Linear and Logistic Models*, Santa Monica, CA., RAND Corporation, R-1306-EDA/NIH (1973).

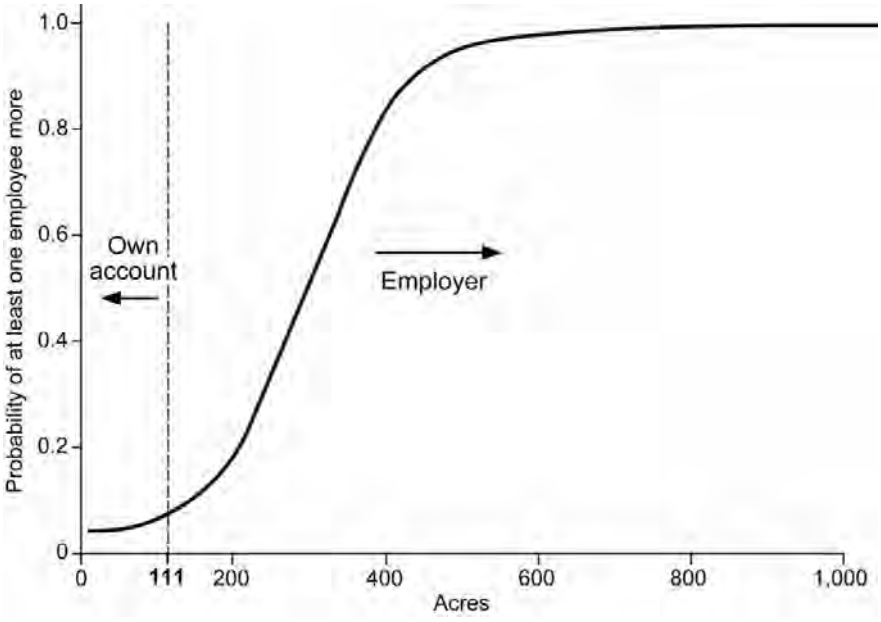


FIGURE A.1. Example of the mid-aggregate point cut-off (in acres) of the logistic function (illustrated for the England and Wales average of 111 acres)

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

$$y = e^{\alpha+\beta x}(1 - y)$$

$$\frac{y}{1 - y} = e^{\alpha+\beta x}$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{y}{1 - y}\right) = \alpha + \beta x$$

Which gives the inverse:

$$x = \frac{-\alpha + \ln\left(\frac{y}{1 - y}\right)}{\beta}$$

Evaluating this inverse at y = 0.5, the ln(y/1 – y) vanishes. Thus, the result is simply:

$$x = -\frac{\alpha}{\beta}$$

The cut-off (Figure A.1) shows two clouds of points: one along the Y-axis for the variable E being one (where all farmers are employers, above a certain acreage), and one for E being zero

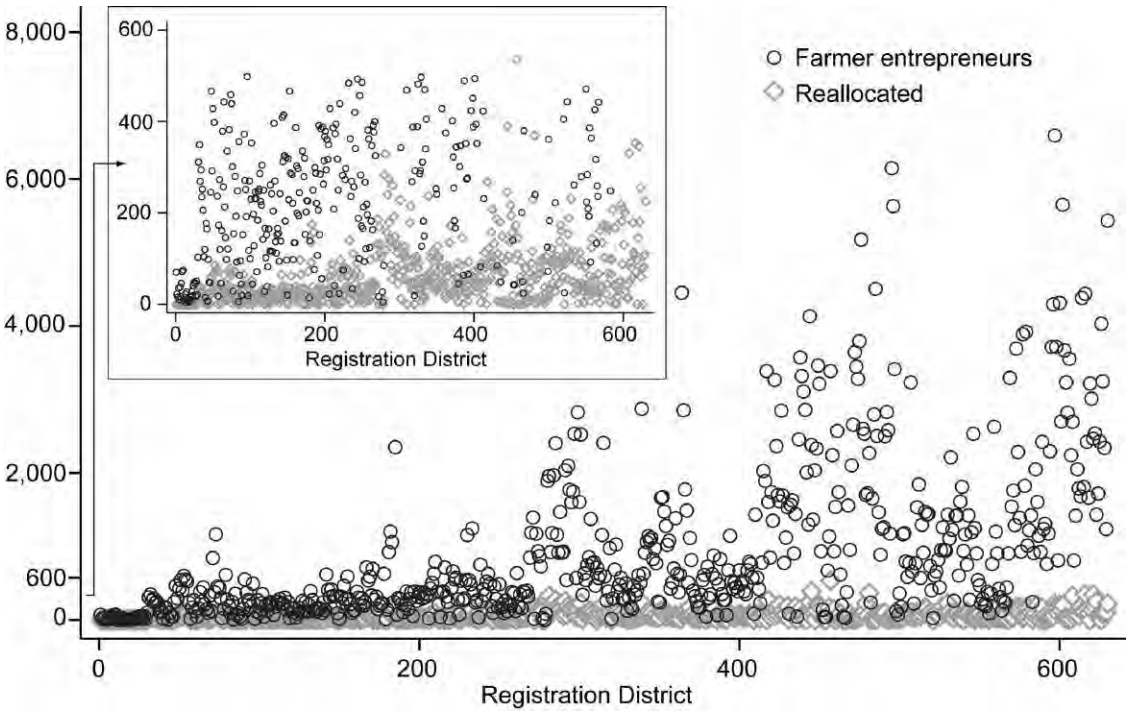


FIGURE A.2. Frequency distribution of number of all farm entrepreneurs (Employers plus Own-account) (black points) in each of the 630 Registration Districts, and farmers reallocated to employer status by the logit model (grey diamonds). Data ordered by Registration District code. Close-up: same variables, but only for RDs with less than 500 total farm entrepreneurs; example for 1881.

Source: Authors' calculations from I-CeM/S&N data.

(where all farmers are own account, below a certain acreage). The sigmoid curve is generally right-facing; i.e. the coefficient for acres is positive. Also for some districts the farmers are *all* either employers (which are assigned a probability of 1), or *all* own account (assigned a probability of zero). Outliers are dropped in a few cases to achieve convergence. The frequency distribution of the farmer responses who gave only acres, and those reallocated to employer status based on their acres is shown in Figure A.2. The reallocation is distributed widely across all RDs, mostly in small numbers in each case.

Appendix II:
Data acknowledgements

The data used for 1851-61 and 1881 derive from K. Schürer, E. Higgs, A. M. Reid and E. M. Garrett, *Integrated Census Microdata, 1851-1911, version V. 2 (I-CeM.2)*, [data collection]. UK Data Service, SN: 7481, dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7481-1 (2016); see E. Higgs, C. Jones, K. Schürer and A. Wilkinson, *Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) Guide* (sec. edn, 2015). The 1871 census data were provided by S&N (TheGenealogist).

The GIS boundary files for RSDs were constructed by Joe Day for the ESRC fertility project directed by Alice Reid: www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/victorianfertilitydecline/publications.html

RD boundaries are an aggregation of these files. RSD and GIS parish files, developed from A. E. M. Satchell, P. Kitson, G. Newton, L. Shaw-Taylor and E. A. Wrigley, *1851 England and Wales census parishes, townships and places* (2006), ESRC RES-000-23-1579, supported by Leverhulme Trust and the British Academy; A. E. M. Satchell, *England and Wales census parishes, townships and places* (2015), which is an enhanced and corrected version of N. Burton, J. Westwood and P. Carter, *GIS of the ancient parishes of England and Wales, 1500-1850* (2014), UKDA, SN 4828; which in turn is a GIS version of R. J. P. Kain and R. P. Oliver, *Historic parishes of England and Wales: An electronic map of boundaries before 1850 with a gazetteer and metadata* (2001) UKDA, SN 4348.

The rail data have been coded to parishes using the GIS files from J. Martí-Henneberg, A. E. M. Satchell, X. You, L. Shaw-Taylor and E. A. Wrigley, 'England, Wales and Scotland railway stations 1807–1994 shapefile' (2017); which is an enhanced version of J. Martí-Henneberg, F. Tapiador, A. E. M. Satchell, L. Shaw-Taylor, and E. A. Wrigley, 'Lines of England and Wales, 1807–1994 dynamic GIS shapefile' (2008); this dataset is a GIS digitization of the rail lines in M. H. Cobb, *The railways of Great Britain, a historical atlas at the scale of 1 inch to 1 mile* (2 vols, 2005).

'Sweet Public Lands': The open-range sheep industry of Nevada and its legal dimension in the late nineteenth century*

by Iker Saitua

Abstract

The present article traces the late nineteenth-century development of the open-range sheep industry in the state of Nevada. In particularly, it explores how free access to the public-domain lands combined with favourable environmental conditions fostered the expansion of sheep grazing to the detriment of cattle ranching during the late nineteenth century. With the expansion of the livestock industry on the public-domain lands, the United States Federal Government, as the owner of such vast lands, pursued a *laissez-faire* policy toward grazing rather than imposing range rules. This article demonstrates how its inaction strongly benefited the growth of the sheep industry.

In March 1896, J. W. Freeman, a Nevada sheep operator, wrote to the *American Wool and Cotton Reporter* that Nevada was a good country for sheep grazing: 'Nevada's soils are like her feeds, various brush, foliage, bunch grass, white and black sage are all found in the immediate vicinities. She has miles of such domain, and there are today over one-half million sheep roving over her "hills and dales"'. Freeman described in detail how the open ranges of Nevada made the range sheep industry viable:

> The mountain ranges produce bunch grass and sunflowers and are well watered. Upon these the sheep are run during the spring, summer and autumn. Upon her vast deserts a very rich feed known as 'white sage', grows to a height of one or two feet. This feed is utilized when the 'snow is on the ground'. There being no water on the deserts the feed grows undisturbed during the summer; the stock owners are not obliged to put up hay as the 'bush', sand grass and white sage produce such a variety of feed that 'Mary's little lambs' would leave hay stacks and roam at will. The herders laugh and grow fat when the beautiful snow falls and they fall down out of the mountains on to these deserts where there is such abundance of feed that one herder can easily take care of five thousand head.[1]

* I thank the editor of the *Review* and the anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments. This article has been made possible thanks to the financial support provided by the Basque Government through its post-doctoral fellowship programme.

[1] As reprinted in *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman*, 12 Mar. 1896.

As Freeman explained, the economic success of those sheep enterprises depended largely upon the free use of public-domain lands.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Nevada became one of the major sheep-producing states in the North American West, largely due to the presence of a very high proportion of public-domain range lands. Federally owned rangelands in Nevada encompassed all grazing lands not under private ownership, which meant that well over 90 per cent of the range was free and open, but owned by the Federal government. The range may be described as one single common whose forage resources were under pressure from overgrazing by uncontrolled private interests. In other words, the lands of faraway Nevada were examples of marginal lands open for development and exploitation. The scarcity of water sources determined much of the socio-economic activity of Nevada. Because of its arid ecosystem, Nevada has been unsuited to most kinds of crop agriculture and consequently, the state's population remained low and sparse in the nineteenth century. During the early mining boom, its population was concentrated in small urban mining developments. By the end of the nineteenth century mining had fallen into depression in Nevada. Thereafter, livestock farming surpassed a declining mining industry in the state. Throughout these years, it was the possession and control of water which determined the use of the Nevada's rangelands.[2]

Mining was the first modern extractive sector to be developed by the Euro-American population in Nevada. The continued presence of newcomers who tried to prosper in the so-called Silver State in the extraction of minerals aided the development of the livestock industry. In other words, miners and early settlers needed feeding. After the American Civil War (1861–65), Nevada's rangelands supported thousands of cattle and to a lesser degree sheep. By the late 1880s, the sheep industry had become a fast growing sector. For many with capital to invest in the American West, sheep grazing was a profitable business offering an opportunity for good profits from low investment. In other words, the sheep industry appeared to be a low-risk business. By the late 1880s, the state of Nevada was regarded as 'the best sheep country' in the United States.[3] Free access to the public-domain lands made sheep farming profitable in the state. In the 1890s, as the mining camps declined, the sheep population increased considerably in Nevada, producing competition for the forage on the range between cattle producers and sheep raisers at a time of environmental change. Cattle owners and local authorities became increasingly frustrated over the Federal government inaction concerning the management of the public-domain lands in Nevada. In 1905 the free and open range situation changed when the US Forest Service began establishing a range control programme in the newly created National Forests that Congress had authorized in Nevada. But these National Forests only ever comprised a small portion of the state's surface.[4]

[2] Effie M. Mack, *Nevada: a history of the State from the earliest times through the Civil War* (1936), pp. 19–38; Elmer O. Wooton, 'The public domain of Nevada and factors affecting its use', *United States Department of Agriculture Tech. Bulletin 301* (Apr. 1932), pp. 37–8.

[3] *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman*, 18 Apr. 1889.

[4] Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (1973), pp. 115–22; Marion Clawson, 'Range lands of north-eastern Nevada: their proper and profitable use (a progress report)', (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, 1938), p. 6; Richard H. Lane, 'The cultural ecology of sheep nomadism: northeastern Nevada, 1870–1972' (unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University, 1974), pp. 142–3, 171.

This article aims to contribute to the existing American agricultural historiography with an emphasis on public land policy.[5] It analyses the historical development of the open-range sheep industry in Nevada before the Federal government instituted land-management on portions of the public domain at the turn of the century. It examines the origins of the open-range sheep industry in a period of largely unrestricted capitalist competition in the American West during the late nineteenth century. It also explores how transhumant sheep-raising faced continual competition from other range resource-user groups – primarily from cattle ranching – and from local government desires to regulate the public domain. It focuses on the relationship among land, law, and polity. More particularly, it analyses Federal laws and regulations applicable to public-domain lands, as well as state-level measures to address grazing problems in Nevada which affected the sheep industry. The constitutional aspect is central to our understanding of the development and expansion of range sheep production during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the state of Nevada.

I

The economic evolution of the Nevada Territory and its early years as a state was largely determined by the development of the Far West's mining economy. As the demand for animal products increased, the sheep industry became a highly profitable business. The first domestic sheep to enter Nevada were introduced in 1841 by the Workman and Rowland party, who drove the flock of 150 sheep from New Mexico to California passing through the southern portion of the present boundaries of Nevada. The Workman-Rowland migration was followed by larger sheep drives from New Mexico to California in the early 1850s.[6]

With the Gold Rush in California (which started in 1849), the new state created a market for sheep. Generally, the point of departure for the sheep flocks into California became New Mexico, where investors could find sheep at low prices. In the long livestock drives thousands of head of sheep moved from northwestern New Mexico to the mining camps in California. Nevada became part of the trail on the way to California. In 1852 one of the major, commercial sheep drives to California, was undertaken by Richens Lacy Wootton, also known as 'Uncle Dick', who trailed 9000 sheep from Taos in New Mexico to Sacramento with the help of 14 hired sheepherders, seven guards, eight goats, and sheep dogs to control the flocks. A year later, Christopher 'Kit' Carson, along with his partner Lucien B. Maxwell, bought 13,000 head of sheep in Santa Fe and trailed them to Sacramento. Both parties stimulated later sheep drives and established the route for the trailing of these animals to the Pacific Coast. One source calculated that between 1852 and 1860 more than half a million sheep traversed Nevada in their way to California.[7]

[5] On the evolution of American agricultural historiography, see R. Douglas Hurt, 'Reflections on American agricultural history', *AgHR* 52 (2004), pp. 1–19.

[6] Elliott, *History of Nevada*, p. 115; Clel Georgetta, 'Sheep in Nevada', *Nevada Historical Society Q.* 2, (1965), p. 18.

[7] Edward N. Wentworth, *America's sheep trails: history, personalities* (1948), pp. 165–9; Byrd W. Sawyer, *Nevada nomads: a story of the sheep industry* (1971), pp. 1–13; Clel Georgetta, *Golden fleece in Nevada* (1972), pp. 6–26.

In the 1850s, livestock agriculture had its beginnings in the western portion of the Great Basin. Mormon migrants from Utah began to settle in the Carson Valley area and developed rural communities. Historians have concluded that Mormon migrants must have brought small flocks of sheep with them. Stockmen from California also began wintering their cattle in western rangelands of Nevada, primarily in the Truckee Meadows, as forerunners of the eastward movement of the California ranch frontier. By the second half of the 1850s, three prominent livestock ranching operations had been started in Nevada: by Fred Dangberg in the Carson Valley, Hock Mason in the area of today's Lyon County, and the Smith Brothers in the valley to which they gave their family name. At the same time, the decline of placer mining (from river alluvium) in California prompted prospectors and capitalists to explore for precious metals in the interior of the Far West. New lodes were found immediately across the Sierra. In 1859, the discovery of the Comstock Lode created a prosperous local economy and, of course, strengthened the small livestock industry east of the Sierra in what was then Utah Territory. Stock farmers initially prospered alongside the mining bonanzas of the Comstock, but they continued after the closure of the Comstock mines.[8]

The relation between mining discoveries and the development of a livestock economy, however, does not completely explain the trajectory of the livestock industry in Nevada which continued as a profitable sector during the twenty years of Nevada's mining depression from 1880 to 1900. The success of early stockmen proved the potential of selected Nevada ranges for grazing. In 1890, Hubert H. Bancroft optimistically wrote: 'Nevada is a better agricultural country than at first glance one might expect to find'.[9] In the years immediately following the Civil War, cattle herds from Texas began appearing in Elko County. In the early 1870s, important cattle grazing operations were established by several prominent ranchers from California and elsewhere such as John W. Long's in the Clover Valley and the Altube Brothers in Independence Valley.[10]

After Nevada secured statehood in 1864, the future for the stock industry on its open rangelands seemed promising. Expansion of livestock production on the Pacific Coast brought falling stock market prices in California. Large sheep flocks now grazed eastward into the Great Basin to serve the satellite markets created around the new Nevada mining districts. In the spring of 1869, the Central Pacific Railroad completed its route across Nevada. The railroad opened new markets for livestock raised on Nevada ranges. New mineral discoveries increased the railroad traffic, as did livestock production. Along the railroad's route, property values rose significantly and stock agriculture in adjoining counties expanded. In the summer of 1872, the *Humboldt Register* reported that an increasing number of 'sheepmen' was acquiring titles to lands in Humboldt County, Nevada.[11] Because sheep products were more valued in Chicago and other far away markets on the East Coast, the development and improvement of transportation and favourable market conditions made Nevada a perfect state to raise meat on

[8] Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 116–18; Mack, *Nevada*, pp. 200–8, 437–55; James W. Hulse, *The silver state: Nevada's heritage reinterpreted* (1991), pp. 74–9, 133–5.

[9] Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540–1888* (*The works of Hubert Howe Bancroft,* 25, 1890), p. 243.

[10] Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 118–21; Sam P. Davis, *The history of Nevada* (2 vols, 1913), I, pp. 640–5; Edna B. Patterson, Louise A. Ulph and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's northeast frontier* (1969), pp. 211–13.

[11] From the *Humboldt Register* as noted in *Territorial Enterprise*, 6 Aug. 1872.

the hoof. Free forage from Federal lands, of course, lowered production costs. All contributed to the ultimate objective of securing the largest margin of profit.[12]

In 1875, the *Territorial Enterprise* of Virginia City reported that Nevada did not need any more miners:

> In the Atlantic States they appear not to understand that the rich silver mines of the Comstock are few in number … The Comstock does not cover the whole State, nor does the bonanza extend through the whole Comstock. We now have miners enough and more than enough to work all of our mines, both paying and prospective. Let this be understood abroad, and let moneyless men give the Comstock a wide berth.

The *Enterprise* advised those wanting to go West to enter the region's emerging sheep-ranching industry: 'Better cross the Sierras and seek employment on the sheep ranches of Southern California, than to stop here to starve while walking over the millions that lie buried deep in the rocky bosom of the big bonanza'.[13]

From 1864 to 1878, fluctuations in the Comstock mining boom laid bare the uncertain basis of the state's economy. When the Comstock failed after 1877, the structural weakness of the mining economy became evident. As an alternative to failing mining investments many capitalists invested in stock ranching.[14] In 1876, a Nevada sheep operator said: 'Sheep are better than a government bond; you can tear off a coupon every six months half as big as the bond, and the bond is left as big as it was'.[15] Within 20 years of the Comstock's failure, stock-raising operations had assumed a major role in Nevada's economy with sheep starting to rival cattle as the preferred livestock. In 1881, a correspondent for the *New York Times* in a travel article, 'Through Nevada's Desert', noticed: 'The people of Nevada, now that the mining future is so dubious, can see nothing ahead but agriculture, and, as it has been demonstrated that the soil is good, the great problem is water'.[16] Later, in 1885, the *Central Nevadan* noted: 'There is no country in the world where sheep thrive so well, are so free from disease and attain such perfection as in Nevada'.[17]

II

In Nevada, the arid conditions determined economic development, specially for crop agriculture, as well as for grazing and ultimately the failure of the state to attract a population base. Despite the small, sparse settlements around mining, and ranching towns along the railways, most of the public domain of Nevada remained unclaimed. The unsettled land situation in Nevada challenged a Federal land policy that encouraged the alienation and privatization of the public-domain lands.[18]

[12] James A. Young and B. Abbott Sparks, *Cattle in the cold desert* (1985), pp. 48–55; Byrd W. Sawyer, *Nevada nomads*, pp. 15, 17; Henry Stewart, *The shepherd's manual: a practical treatise on the sheep. Designed especially for American shepherds* (1876), p. 33.

[13] An article from the *Territorial Enterprise* as reprinted in the *New York Times*, 21 Mar. 1875.

[14] Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 171–3.

[15] *Emmetsburg Palo Alto Pilot*, 23 Mar. 1876.

[16] *New York Times*, 20 Mar. 1881.

[17] As reprinted in *Nevada State Journal*, 18 Aug. 1885.

[18] Romanzo Adams, 'Public Range Lands – a new policy needed', *American J. of Sociology* 22 (1916), pp. 325–31.

On 31 October 1864, Nevada became the thirty-sixth state in the Union. Its statehood Enabling Act by Congress asserted ownership of the public domain by the United States and required the state to forever disclaim any right and title to the unappropriated Federal lands. By this Act, Congress granted 12,800 acres to Nevada for public buildings and education. From the late nineteenth century on, the history of Nevada's Federal lands has been a matter of local versus Federal authority, particularly in access and use of resources. Any consideration of the practical operation of important land laws of the United States in relation to the range industry and its need for water is a complicated undertaking.[19]

In March 1861 Congress established the Territory of Nevada. The following year it passed the Homestead Act, which offered squatters the opportunity to claim 160 acres of unappropriated public domain. It was assumed that the homesteader living on the land would make improvements in terms of both structures and land cultivation.[20] The homestead law with its later amendments operated with variable degrees of success in the West. It was most effective in the humid lands of the Upper Mississippi Valleys and moderately so in portions of the Intermountain and Pacific Regions, but in Nevada it was largely unsuited to the type of large-scale stock agriculture grazing that occurred on the state's marginal lands. The failure of Federal land policy in the state was legendary. Between 1864 and 1904 far fewer homestead entries were made in Nevada than in any other western public-domain state. Other generous land acts aimed to promote settlement in the arid West: The Timber Culture Act, the Timber and Stone Act, the Desert Land Act of 1877, and the Carey Act of 1894. Some required the development of water supplies and irrigation. All failed to bring about the desired settlement. The result was the continued ownership of much of the West and almost all of Nevada by the Federal government. What land was acquired from the government resulted in the monopolization of water sources by large livestock operations who thereby controlled the rangelands.[21]

In 1880 Congress responded with a two-million-acre land grant in Nevada by which the state's citizens were able to select lands for purchase. Under the original school land grants to states dating from 1841, and earlier, sections 16 and 36 in every surveyed township were granted to the state for the support of common schools. This system could not work in Nevada. First, Nevada was mostly unsurveyed. Secondly such a system of allocation would, in many cases, award worthless lands far from water sources. The 1880 grant provided for the disposition of 'selected lands' to be made under regulations prescribed by the Nevada Legislature. The 1881 state legislative session initiated the school land-selling process of randomly chosen acreage

[19] Davis, *History of Nevada*, pp. 266–7; Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 84–5; *Biennial report of the surveyor-general and State land register of the State of Nevada, 1909–1910* (1911), pp. 28–30; Eleanor Bushnell, *The Nevada constitution: origin and growth* (1965), pp. 117–18; Michael J. Brodhead, 'Accepting the verdict: national supremacy as expressed in State constitutions, 1861–1912', *Nevada Historical Society Q.* 13 (1970), pp. 9–10; Michael J. Brodhead and James W. Hulse, 'Paul W. Gates, Western land policy and the equal footing doctrine', *Nevada Historical Society Q.* 29 (1986), pp. 234–6, 239.

[20] On the Homestead Act, see Paul W. Gates and Robert W. Swenson, *History of public land law development* (1968).

[21] Henry N. Smith, *Virgin land: the American West as symbol and myth* (1950), pp. 195–6; Eric Foner, *Free soil, free labor, free men: the ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (1970), pp. 31–8, 175; Gates and Swenson, *History of public land*, pp. 393–414, 638–54; Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, pp. 89–98; Mack, *Nevada*, pp. 415, 420; *Biennial report …, 1909–1910*, pp. 9–21; Donald J. Pisani, *To reclaim a divided West: water, law, and public policy, 1848–1902* (1992), pp. 186–8.

in no less than 40-acre parcels. The lands selected for purchase were generally those with nearby water sources and were secured by cattle interests. The school land sales, along with the assertion of prior rights under a registration law, allowed some ranchers to secure riparian rights through the ownership of lands around water sources. The legislature set a price of $1.25 acre for the land, requiring only 25*c*. an acre down payment and extending the terms of payments to as much as 50 years. These generous credit terms caused a rapid purchase of school lands and, of course, a monopolization of water sources.[22]

Nevada's large stock firms, such as those owned by John Sparks, W. N. M. McGill or the Dangberg family, became major purchasers of state selected school lands. Those large operations, as range scientist James A. Young observed, 'deposited funds in Carson City to be drawn upon to meet the numerous annual credit payments for state school grant lands'.[23] These companies had a number of contracts for further land purchases. There was a close cooperation between the State Land Office and the large livestock operations. The monopolization of land ownership served a two-fold purpose for the large firms: they owned the best lands along the streams for hay and winter-feed production and at the same time they excluded small operators and itinerants from access to water. By allowing the possession and control of water sources, the school land disposition system facilitated the rangeland monopolization. At a lower level, small grazing operations and livestock farms struggled to survive in Nevada. Their business needed to secure the prized hay pasture, irrigated lands, some good rangeland, and access to water on their home ranch of no more than 320 acres, as well as the use of the public domain. Small operators could only survive in the ranching business by producing hay and watering in the private lands for the winter season and grazing on the Federal lands. For many this was beyond their limited resources.[24]

For the most part, public rangelands and mining districts remained without Federal regulation. Congress had no intention of imposing control or closing the open rangelands to settlement. It did insist by the late 1880s that the public range should not be fenced by stock operators or graziers. In the absence of central government regulation and its uncertainty about western public rangelands and mineral lodes, state authorities began taking decisions. After the coming of homesteaders and sheep owners to Nevada, cattle producers made increased use of the rangelands. In 1873, the Nevada legislature passed a branding law in an attempt to establish order on the ranges. With lack of enforcement, however, the state's capacity

[22] Mack, *Nevada*, pp. 420–2; *Appendix to the Journals of Senate and Assembly of the tenth session of the legislature of the State of Nevada* (1881), p. 10; *Report of the surveyor general and State land register of the State of Nevada, for the years 1881 and 1882* (1883), pp. 21–2; Joseph Nimmo, Jr., 'Report in regard to the range and ranch cattle business of the United States', *United States Treasury Department, Bureau of Statistics* (1885), pp. 430–44; Adams, 'Public range', pp. 324–51; Bancroft, *History of Nevada*, pp. 315–17; Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, pp. 94–8; John M. Townley, 'Management of Nevada's State lands, 1864–1900', *J. of the West* 17 (1978), pp. 63–73; Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, p. 99; Clawson, 'Range lands', pp. 102–7; William D. Rowley, *Reclaiming the arid West: the career of Francis G. Newlands* (1996), pp. 51–2; Donald J. Pisani, *Water and American Government: The Reclamation Bureau, national water policy, and the West, 1902–1935* (2002), pp. 89–90. See also Robert G. Dunbar, *Forging new rights in Western waters* (1984).

[23] Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, p. 98.

[24] Ibid., pp. 96–8; Clawson, 'Range lands', pp. 4–6; *Statutes of the State of Nevada passed at the fourteenth session of the legislature, 1889* (1889), p. 129; Townley, 'Management', pp. 63–73; Adams, 'Public range', pp. 324–51.

to control the range problems was limited. When Nevada began to enforce some range law, livestock operators often ignored it.[25]

Squatters settled on different corners of Nevada's public domain, but without any assurance that in the future they could acquire their properties. Typically, they declared their intent to file a pre-emptive claim under one of the land laws, although most of them did not proceed with their claim because they could not raise the standardized $1.25 per acre for the land their animals grazed. Initially, the land could not be taxed by the state because it was still public domain belonging to the Federal government. But in 1865, the legislature of Nevada enacted a property tax law, which permitted counties to assess what they considered 'possessory property' on the public-domain lands or land subject to claims which a squatter had not 'proved up'. The assessment occurred after improvement to the property had taken place, when houses, outbuildings and barns had been erected and the land grazed.[26]

Toward the end of the 1880s, after a rapid growth in the numbers of livestock and especially sheep, lack of regulation and grazing controls exposed continuing quarrels over range resources. In general terms, the ownership of land in Nevada was divided between three categories. First, the greater part of Nevada was public domain, with a huge percentage of marginal lands remaining unclaimed; second, over half of the privately owned property belonged to the railroads and big ranch outfits; and third, virtually the rest of the privately owned lands were situated around or close to water sources along streams adjacent to productive grasslands. The result was most of the private property in Nevada was held as large ranches monopolizing surface waters. These ranches exploited the Nevada's 'sweet' public lands, to paraphrase the title of a novel from Robert Laxalt, as a free resource.[27] In June 1880, the *New York Times* reported that 'In the sage-brush lands, alfalfa, the cereals, and all vegetables flourish in profusion where water can be obtained, and Nevada is becoming an important stock-raising State'.[28] Because of a huge depression in the mining industry, many investors in the extraction of metals moved their capital into the livestock business. These years witnessed a rise in the number and weights of sheep slaughtered in Nevada.[29]

For the fiscal year ending on 30 June 1885, Christopher C. Powning, US Surveyor General of Nevada, prepared a report on the state's extractive economic activities utilizing public lands. The sheep industry was, Powning wrote, 'in a prosperous condition'. There were:

> 500,000 sheep on the ranges. Mutton sheep are valued at $2 per head, and lambs at $1.50. The average annual increase is 80 per cent. The wool clip averages 6 pounds, and good Nevada

[25] Clawson, 'Range lands', pp. 13–4, 16–7; *Statutes of the State of Nevada passed at the sixth session of the legislature, 1873*, pp. 99–101; Halina M. Stewart, 'The Nevada State detectives', *Nevada Historical Society Q.* 49 (2006), pp. 25–8. See also Velma Stevens Truett, *On the hoof in Nevada* (1950).

[26] Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, pp. 97–8; *Statutes of the State of Nevada, passed at the first session of the legislature, 1864–5* (1865), pp. 343–44; Romanzo Adams, *Taxation in Nevada: a history* (1918), pp. 100–10.

[27] In 1957 Robert Laxalt published his biographical novel, *Sweet Promised Land*. In what was to become a classic book of the western literature, Laxalt told the story of his father, Dominique, a Basque immigrant, a sheepherder in the Nevada desert.

[28] *New York Times*, 4 June 1880.

[29] Wooton, 'The public domain', pp. 37–49; Adams, 'Public range', pp. 331–5, 341–6; Elliott, *History of Nevada*, pp. 171–4; Patterson *et al*, *Nevada's northeast*, pp. 269–79; Stephen Powers, *The American merino: for wool and for mutton* (1907), p. 276.

> wool brings 16 cents per pound. There are no dry seasons here for sheep, and each year will witness a marked increase in this important, permanent and profitable industry.[30]

While economic winds favoured sheep grazing, it lacked, however, support from the state authorities. On range issues, the Nevada state government and cattle interests came together to the detriment of the sheep industry. Nevada's legislature actively sponsored legislation to undermine sheep grazing because of its migratory, itinerant, and foreign character. The state sought legal ways to limit competition for the range and assert the cattle industry's economic position. In February 1889, the Nevada legislature passed a stock trespass law and in 1893 a further statute declaring it unlawful 'to herd or graze any live stock upon the lands of another without having first obtained the consent of the owner or owners of the land so to do'. The state tried to close access from the public lands to water streams, springs, or holes which were surrounded by privately owned lands. The new trespass law made stockmen responsible for double the damages caused by their stock trespassing onto private property.[31]

Use of the public-domain lands in the intermountain states of Nevada and Utah were absolutely vital to the operations of big stock outfits. The grazing of the Federal lands significantly reduced sheep production costs. The open-range system of livestock grazing offers a picturesque feature of the Western agricultural history of this period. Basically, the labour contracted to graze livestock by the companies – either the sheepherders or their counterparts in the cattle industry who rode horses, the cowboys – wandered at will over the Federal lands looking for pastures to graze that remained in the public domain.[32] For many years, livestock operators grazed stock freely on these lands. By the end of the century, every stockman knew that the days of free and open range might be numbered. Although many livestock owners made fortunes and prospered under the conditions of open-range grazing, uncontrolled stock numbers on the range depleted the resources. Competition for forage brought conflict and damage to the ranges. Early on, sheep grazing faced opposition in the state, specially from the powerful cattle interests. After 1890, however, various developments offered opportunities for sheep on Nevada ranges.[33]

III

As in the Great Plains, the early cattle industry in the Great Basin developed with open-range grazing. Low operating expenses with cheap labour, free forage, and the open range made for large profits. In the late 1880s, severe droughts and cold winters occurred. The winter of 1889–90 was the disastrous 'White Winter' on the Nevada ranges. The losses during this winter

[30] *Report of the U.S. surveyor general of Nevada for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1885* (1885).

[31] Rowley, *Reclaiming the arid West*, pp. 50–2; *Statutes of the State of Nevada, passed at the sixteenth session of the legislature, 1893* (1893), pp. 30–1.

[32] New interpretations of ranch labour include David Igler, *Industrial cowboys: Miller & Lux and the transformation of the Far West, 1850–1920* (2001); Jacqueline M. Moore, *Cow boys and cattle men: class and masculinities on the Texas frontier, 1865–1900* (2010).

[33] William Rowley, 'From open range to closed range on the public lands', in William G. Robbins and James C. Foster (eds), *Land in the American West: private claims and the common good* (2000), pp. 96–8; Louise E. Peffer, *The closing of the public domain: disposal and reservation policies, 1900–1950* (1951), p. 26; Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, pp. 89–100.

surpassed all previous winters and wreaked havoc on northern Nevada ranges. Locally in the Great Basin, the 'White Winter' forced a transformation of open-range grazing practices to include the cultivation of hay crops for winter feed. In many cases this meant smaller home ranch operations, the irrigation of lands and even the planting of alfalfa. All of this was a far cry from itinerant 'transhumance' grazing operations and large outfits that simply let cattle run freely on the open range during cold and dangerous winters.[34]

After the 'White Winter', stock operators abandoned the classic open-range system. They placed greater emphasis upon the raising of hay for winter feeding. The process required greater capital investment, reducing profit margins. Stock operators of all kinds suffered great losses. Many were forced to quit their businesses. Bankruptcies were frequent. Others reduced their operations, and some transferred into sheep grazing. Generally, numbers of stock, both sheep and cattle, on the rangelands fell dramatically. In March 1890, C. S. Reynolds, a sheep broker from Nebraska, analysed the crisis in the business:

> This Winter has been an unfortunate one to wool growers on the Pacific slope, as the heavy storms have killed many sheep. I have found severe losses in Oregon, Nevada, Utah and Northern California. As the wool growing industry is too extensive to be confined to any one district the sheep owners who pulled their flocks through will get no increase over last year's prices. Some Pacific slope sheep raisers will be driven out of the business by their heavy losses this Winter … In Utah, Oregon and Nevada the loss is universal. Montana will show a fair increase. In eastern Oregon and Nevada the loss of sheep is 65 per cent. One reason for the heavy loss in Nevada is that no hay was raised during the last two years. When this year's storms began all communication from the outside was shut off, and no hay was obtainable. The meagre supply of hay was given to the cattle, and the sheep had to rustle or starve. Nearly every year I buy several hundred sheep at or near Austin, Nevada. This year there is not enough wool there to line an overcoat. All in all, it will be a pretty hard year for sheep growers.[35]

Still, the stock survival rate during this harsh winter was greater among sheep than cattle. In the spring of 1891, a Nevada sheepman, Patrick L. Flanagan, sheared 8000 sheep whose fleeces weighed 60,000 pounds. In the same year, John Taylor, another prominent state rancher, loaded over 70,000 pounds of wool, worth 20*c*. a pound, into railroad cars at Winnemucca.[36]

In Nevada, the 'White Winter' added to the already hard economic times. The mines were in a terribly depressed condition. In August 1891, on a visit to San Francisco, Nevada Governor Roswell K. Colcord said the state's mines were not attractive for further investment. Most mine locations were either exhausted or oversupplied with labour. He warned people in California to stay put and not to go to Nevada.[37] During the decade of 1890, a general mining depression, disastrous winters for livestock, and a general national depression after 1893 reduced the

[34] Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (1981), pp. 226–30; Edna Patterson, 'Early cattle in Elko County', *Nevada Historical Society Q.* 8 (1965), pp. 6–12; James A. Young, 'Hay making: the mechanical revolution on the western range', *Western Historical Q.* 14 (1983), pp. 311–13.

[35] *Daily Nevada State Journal*, 14 Mar. 1890.

[36] Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, p. 135; *Daily Tribune*, 10 Apr. 1891.

[37] *New York Times*, 31 Aug. 1891.

population of Nevada from 47,355 in 1890 to 42,335 by 1900.[38] Nonetheless, the state continued to attract ambitious speculators and some intrepid settlers. On 24 December 1891, the *Reno Evening Gazette* pointed out that 'Nevada is becoming noted for other things besides her mineral wealth'.[39]

The winter of 1889–90 significantly reduced cattle numbers on the Nevada ranges to the benefit of sheep graziers. James Young explained how: 'The net immediate effect of the White Winter was freedom for the range sheep industry to expand without competition from previously established cattle ranches'. Availability of range resources was altered by overgrazing, inappropriate agricultural practices, as well as droughts and severe winters. In the spring of 1890, the depletion of the perennial grasses over the preceding years of overgrazing coupled with drought led to the their replacement by shrubs and annual grasses. Bitterbush, a desirable browser, was accompanied by the spread of the toxic big sagebrush and the expansion of the pinyon/juniper trees into the grasslands. The range's resources underwent a severe alteration in the decade of the 1890s that favoured sheep because of their ability to survive on a range supporting a variety of browse.[40]

Consequently, the new economic situation after the 'White Winter' opened up a promising period for the sheep industry of Nevada. The advance of the sheep industry frustrated the cattle community in Nevada. After the 'White Winter', the Nevada ranges became a major producer of sheep. Sheep breeders stocked Nevada ranges with tens of thousands of animals. Dispersed over wide range areas, market centers grew up with packinghouses in Denver (Colorado) or Omaha (Nebraska) that connected the West with the main national markets.[41] Although less than the cattle, the sheep industry took at least a year to produce marketable lambs and wool. The lengthy production systems made it difficult to adjust the supply to market demand. Both national and international markets influenced local prices.[42] On 27 September 1893, the Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune* reported about some 'heavy sheep shipments from Nevada' that ran directly to the main markets in San Francisco and to the midwestern and eastern cities of Chicago and New York.[43] In the years 1890–99, according to the agricultural census of 1900, the total sheep population in Nevada had increased from 273,469 to 568,251 head, more than the total number of neat cattle (see Table 1).[44]

Meanwhile, the Nevada state legislature continued discussing the competition for range sources. While the state assembly proposed several strategies to exclude sheep from state ranges, little was accomplished. In February 1895, John H. Weiland from Elko filed a bill in the Nevada legislature to limit itinerant sheep operations and specially prevent out of state companies (largely from Utah, California, or Idaho) from using Nevada's open ranges by

[38] *Twelfth Census of the United States, taken in the year 1900* (1902), p. 632.

[39] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 24 Dec. 1891.

[40] Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, p. 135.

[41] For a discussion of how the city acted as a nucleus and prod for the countryside's often distant development in terms of agricultural crops or stock enterprises, see William Cronon, *Nature's metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (1991).

[42] Young and Sparks, *Cattle*, pp. 1356; Lane, 'Cultural ecology', pp. 56–9; Richard White, *'It's your misfortune and none of my own': a history of the American West* (1991), pp. 222–7; Powers, *American merino*, pp. 209–51.

[43] *Daily Tribune*, 27 Sept. 1893.

[44] *U.S. Census Office, Census reports. Vol. V, twelfth census of the United States, taken in the year 1900, agriculture. Pt. I, farms, live stock, and animal products* (1902), pp. 704, 708.

TABLE 1. Total number of sheep and neat cattle in the state of Nevada, 1860–1900.

Nevada	*1860*	*1870*	*1880*	*1890*	*1900*
Total number of sheep	376	11,018	280,695	273,469	568,251
Total number of neat cattle	5,471	31,516	216,823	210,900	304,131

Source: U.S. Census Office, Twelfth census of the United States, taken in the year 1900, agriculture. Pt. I, farms, live stock, and animal products (1902), Vol. V, pp. 704, 708.

requiring licenses for sheep grazing. Grazing licenses (which could be as much as $250 on a large flock) would be issued on a preference basis according to the total of number of sheep grazed. County sheriffs would be the sheep license collectors and in charge of inquiries and detailed examinations. It would be a misdemeanor for any person to graze sheep without the proper license. The legislature, however, was deeply divided and the sheep license bill was lost on a vote of eighteen to nine. Nevertheless, the session established a special committee consisting of three members from the Assembly and two from the Senate to formulate a measure that would satisfy both cattle and sheep interests. The members of the committee consisted of two cattlemen and two sheepmen, as well as one disinterested party. Patrick L. Flanagan, a sheep grazier and Republican representative from Washoe County, said: 'This is a question of very great importance, and as we fully realize the necessity of a bill protecting both cattle and sheep interests'.[45]

On 21 February 1895, the *Nevada State Journal* declared that by attempting to pass the sheep license act, the state legislature was 'at the quickest speed possible [trying] to kill the sheep industry in Nevada'. The article remarked that the sheep industry should be considered one of the main economic sectors in Nevada. It argued that the economic development in Nevada was largely based on livestock ranching, either sheep or cattle. Given the arid climate and poor lands for crop agriculture, it explained how sheep ranching naturally grew and prospered in Nevada. The *State Journal* contended that the development of the sheep industry held the key to the state's future:

> There are many persons engaged in it, and considerable of the revenue for the support of State and county governments is derived from it. It utilizes pasturage in Nevada which other wise would be wasted. It gives employment to a good many persons, who, if the business is crippled by unfriendly legislation, would have to leave the State.[46]

On 11 March 1895, the Sheep Law Committee proposed in the Senate a substitute act for Assembly Bill N. 90. It read as follows:

> An act supplemental to an Act entitled 'An Act to provide revenue for the support of the government of the State of Nevada, and to repeal certain Acts relating thereto', approved March 23, 1891, and to all Acts amendatory thereof, and to provide for a license upon the

[45] *The journal of the assembly of the seventeenth session of the legislature of the State of Nevada, 1895* (1895), pp. 103–4, 180; *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman*, 21 Mar. 1895.

[46] *Nevada State Journal*, 21 Feb. 1895.

> business of owning, raising, grazing, herding or pasturing sheep in the several counties of the State of Nevada and to declare a violation thereof a misdemeanor, and to provide punishment thereof.[47]

The state substitute bill was then approved by the majority and approved by the Governor of Nevada, John E. Jones.[48]

The *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman* spoke for many Nevada ranchers and landowners when it urged a solution to bring order to the rangelands, regardless of the competition between the sheep and cattle interests. It was in the interest of all graziers, be they either sheep or cattle people, to suppress the 'roving bands of stock'.

> Decent stockmen in Nevada have been at, the mercy of roving bands of stock that were owned by aliens and run where they pleased, taking the best of everybody's feed without paying rent, taxes or anything else … This would simply have had the effect to kill the business, and the State and counties would have lost an important industry. Nevada has so few lines that can be made productive that every one who gave the matter any intelligent consideration felt that it would be very bad to kill off the sheep industry.[49]

The majority of resident stock operators (sheep and cattle people) who owned land, either large or small, saw transient sheep grazing on the public domain as a threat to established range practices and therefore a threat to law and order. Part of the law was a reaction against recent European immigration and the out-of-state companies who employed herders to bring sheep into Nevada. Assemblyman Patrick Flanagan, backed the Sheep License Act because it undermined the position of the non-resident stock growers – especially Basque and Portuguese immigrant herders and the Mormon sheepmen of Utah – who contributed nothing in the way of tax revenue to the state.[50] The anti-Basque sentiment was explicit in the Flanagan's statements. According to Flanigan, nine-tenths of the state's wool-growers community strongly supported the bill.[51]

In 1897, the legislature revised the law to compel all the sheep owners to pay a license to the counties in which they operated, unless they owned one acre of land for every two head of sheep on the range. Although the new law was approved and celebrated by many established stock operators, its application was problematic. The itinerant graziers who moved sheep

[47] *The journal of the assembly of the seventeenth session of the legislature of the State of Nevada, 1895*, p. 188.

[48] Ibid., pp. 207–8.

[49] *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman*, 21 Mar. 1895.

[50] Typically, non-English-speaking immigrants (including Portuguese, Mexicans, and Basques) and other marginalized groups occupied the lower-ranking occupations in the sheep industry. For more discussion on these immigrant experiences, see Arnold Peg, 'Wyoming's Hispanic sheepherders', *Ann. of Wyoming* 69 (1997), pp. 29–42; Donald Warrin, 'An immigrant path to social mobility: Portuguese Atlantic islanders in the California sheep industry', *California Hist.* 76 (1997–8), pp. 94–107; J. Kent Hicks and Eileen Johnson, 'Pastores presence on the southern high plains of Texas', *Historical Arch.* 34 (2000), pp. 46–60; Iker Saitua, 'Becoming herders: Basque immigration, labor, and settlement in Nevada, 1880–1910', *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 66 (2016), pp. 58–70. For more general works on those immigrant communities who were engaged in raising sheep in the West, see William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao, *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World* (1975); Alexander Campbell McGregor, *Counting sheep: from open range to agribusiness on the Columbia Plateau* (1982); Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Scots in the North American West, 1790–1917* (2000).

[51] *Nevada State Journal*, 5 May 1895.

from one grazing land to another were difficult to follow as they moved across county lines. The sheep growers had to pay for a license unless they owned one acre for each two sheep they owned. This requirement could be evaded by leasing parcels of land since there was no distinction in law between leasing or owning land. Since the railroads were the largest land owners, their land agents saw the new regulation as another way to make money. Sheep raisers began to lease railroad land because it was much cheaper than the amount they had to pay under the new state sheep tax laws. Consequently, the railroad companies leased a great deal of poor and worthless lands to sheep operators.[52]

On 26 January 1897, a taxpayer from Golconda wrote a letter to the editor of the Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune* complaining about these irregular activities:

> … [T]he result is that except to help the railroad company lease worthless land the law is a blank failure. The only parties satisfied with it are the railroad companies and the tramp sheep-owners. The sheep-owner rents a few townships (that is the odd sections) of alkali land at, say, $10 per township – which likely he never sees at all. Certainly he never occupies – and with his lease in his pocket claims the right to range over the whole State. The question may be settled to the satisfaction of the courts, the railroad company and the tramp sheepmen, but scarcely to the satisfaction of the taxpayers and legitimate stock-raisers.[53]

Clearly, this Nevadan described a fraud which undermined the law. The law did not satisfy those from the livestock community who wished for a restriction on the outsiders who were creating chaos on the Nevada ranges. Despite amendments to the legislation made in 1897, this state of affairs persisted until the 1930s.

IV

Exploitation and degradation of the natural resources raised concerns among forestry and water experts as well as those Progressives who sought to champion the cause of an emerging Conservation Movement that emphasized the 'wise use' of resources based upon a utilitarian doctrine that stressed use for the greatest number, for the greatest good, for the longest period of time. In the 1890s Congress initiated a partial reorganization of the public domain. In response to calls to conserve the nation's forest resources, Congress gave the President the authority to proclaim forest reserves on the public domain, mostly in the Far and Mountain West. Establishment of forest reserves was a first step to conserve and protect conservation of water and timber resources. With the passage of the Land Revision Act of 1891, Congress prohibited land entries or private land claims under the land laws of the United States on the designated or proclaimed forest reserve lands. The immediate effects of the Land Revision Act were to close resource use development on these lands.[54] The historian William Rowley has contended: 'The move toward regulated grazing in the forest reserves became part of an

[52] *The journal of the assembly of the eighteenth session of the legislature of the State of Nevada, 1897* (1897), pp. 182–3, 198, 219; *The journal of the Senate of the eighteenth session of the legislature of the State of Nevada, 1897* (1897), p. 203.

[53] *Daily Tribune*, 28 Jan. 1897.

[54] Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the making of modern environmentalism* (2001), pp. 138–9; William D. Rowley, *US Forest Service grazing and rangelands: a history* (1985), pp. 4–5, 54.

effort to achieve stability and permanency in an industry that had experienced destructive competition and resultant devastation of range forage'.[55]

During the 1890s, several Administrations set aside millions of acres of Federal lands as forest reserves to prevent their monopolization and destructive logging practices. The reserved lands also included grazing lands and their forage resources. The celebrated Conservation Movement took pride in the creation of forest reserves. Before long, however, far western members of Congress demanded some answers on how the resources of these lands were to be utilized. Some accused the Federal government of banning resource use entirely on the reserves and plotting to turn them into preserves or parks. In 1897, Congress passed the Forest Organic or Forest Use Act. The Act permitted resource use in the reserves, but only under the regulation and supervision of the Department of Interior from where the original forest reserves were administered. In 1898 and 1899 the Department of Interior and its General Land Office moved to regulate and limit the numbers of stock grazing on the newly established forest reserves.[56] In March 1898, Nevada's *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman* informed its grazing community that the Federal government had reopened the forest reserve in California 'to her starving herds'.[57] While California witnessed the enforcement of the first conservation laws, in Nevada sheep operators did not have to worry about the closing of the public-domain lands yet.

By contrast with California, no forest reserves were created in Nevada at this time. In this state, the commencement of government management of renewable natural resources on public-domain lands significantly altered the economics of sheep production. The establishment of national parks and forest reserves in California closed access by sheep graziers to parts of the Sierra. It is well known that in 1891 Captain Abram E. Wood, commander of the Forth Cavalry and first acting superintendent in charge of the troops assigned to protect the Yosemite National Park, drove out bands of sheep. Woolgrowers accused the forest reserves and later the National Forests of permitting cattle to graze and excluding sheep. Typically, local groups, specially sheep and wool interests, rallied against grazing use regulations in the new forest reserves. While forest reserves were proclaimed in California during the 1890s, no lands in Nevada were reserved for National Forests until after 1905. Until then the free and open range existed even in the valuable high mountain pastures. In many respects it became a free for all as graziers competed for resources, sometimes violently so. In the 1890s, the continued free and open range in Nevada drew in sheepmen from California who no longer had access to the extensive forest reserves in that state. In 1894, John Muir described the invasion of Nevada in his *The mountains of California*: 'Immense numbers of starving sheep and cattle have been driven through them [the Sierra] into Nevada, trampling the wild gardens and meadows almost out of existence'.[58] The situation intensified the competition for forage and water resources on the Nevada ranges.[59]

[55] Rowley, *US Forest Service*, p. 5.

[56] Harold K. Steen, *The US Forest Service: a history* (1976), pp. 56–61; Rowley, *US Forest Service*, pp. 22–31.

[57] *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman*, 31 Mar. 1898.

[58] John Muir, *The mountains of California* (1907), p. 96.

[59] Harvey Meyerson, *Nature's army: when soldiers fought for Yosemite* (2001), pp. 95–103; 'Conquering the West: the Federal lands question', *National Wool Grower* 55 (1965), pp. 87–9; Rowley, *US Forest Service*, pp. 28–38; Clawson, 'Range lands', pp. 4–6.

Unregulated livestock grazing on common land invited crises and conflicts. In the still abundant free open ranges of Nevada, law enforcement was weak or absent. Confrontations occurred between landowning stock operators and nomadic sheep graziers over water rights, trespass, and the destruction of forage resources on the common rangelands. Samuel Hays has described how by 'resorting to force and violence, sheepherders and cowboys "solved" their disputes over grazing lands by slaughtering rival livestock and murdering rival stockmen'.[60] In the growing anarchy on the Nevada ranges, it was contracted sheepherders who often bore the brunt of the resulting range conflicts. Sheepherders, either Basques or other European immigrants, or Mexicans, were easy targets for their opponents or enemies. In November 1895, two Basque sheepherders were killed at a sheep camp northwest of Pyramid Lake near Winnemucca Valley, in Nevada, by two ranch hands working for the cattle operation of J. M. Flannigan.[61] Hostility to European immigrants and Mexicans was a feature of the conflicts that marked the Nevada range struggles from the 1890s to the 1930s.

By the early twentieth century, livestock agriculture in Nevada was a major economic activity. In 1900, the Nevada Surveyor General, Edward D. Kelley, in his Biennial Report, declared that it was 'one of the most prominent as well as most profitable in the State'.[62] In addition, the international markets gave an impetus to the western sheep industry. From 1896 to 1901, US exports (largely to the British markets) increased from 323,576 head of sheep, worth $1,948,841, to 432,419, worth $2,514,766. In 1902, the Bureau of Animal Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture reported that most of the animals had entered the export trade to Great Britain. 'It is believed that the time has come when an effort should be made to introduce our fine breeding animals to the stockmen of other countries'. In 1900, the total number of sheep reported on Nevada ranches was 887,039, worth $2,344,865.[63]

Despite these positive trends, sheep grazing represented a continuing threat to those who traditionally operated on the public-domain lands of Nevada. While the Department of Interior tried to ignore grazing issues on its public domain other than the prevention of any unlicenced fencing of lands, the Nevada range users faced issues of overgrazing and the destruction of water sources. Year after year, Nevada policymakers tried to address the grazing problems on the state's ranges. While state powers over Federal lands were limited, the Nevada legislature took some measures to resolve the matters at hand. Nevada still offered good opportunities for open-range stock grazing because of the free range and rising prices. The

[60] Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the gospel of efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (1959), p. 50.

[61] Richard H. Lane, 'Trouble in the sweet promised land: Basques in early 20th century northeastern Nevada', in William A. Douglass, Rirchard W. Etulain and William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (eds), *Anglo-American contributions to Basque studies: essays in honor of Jon Bilbao* (1977), pp. 33–41; *Nevada State Journal*, 16 Nov. 1895.

[62] *Biennial Report of the Surveyor-General and State Land Register, State of Nevada, for 1899–1900* (1901), p. 7; *Biennial Report …, 1903–1904* (1905), p. 9.

[63] D. E. Salmon, 'Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year 1901', *Bureau of Animal Industry, USDA* (1902), pp. 615, 12, 640. Richard White has assessed that the economic potential in the American West was firmly intermingled with the worldwide markets: 'The West possessed an extractive economy that depended on outside markets, outside capital, and, most often, skills and technologies imported from the outside. Westerners had learned to look anxiously to eastern and European markets and investors. Outsiders controlled their economic fate'. White, *'It's your misfortune and none of my own'*, p. 267.

increasing arrival, however, of new stock enterprises meant more competition for ranges which were becoming depleted. Although the most productive lands were occupied and controlled by specific livestock and railroad companies, the remaining marginal rangelands still presented opportunities for the expansion of grazing enterprises.[64]

The lack of forest in this arid state made it difficult for Nevada to qualify for forest reserve designations. On 10 August 1904, Gifford Pinchot, chief of the Division of Forestry, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and on behalf of the Public Land Commission, sent a letter to John Sparks, Nevada Governor, asking about lands under state ownership and their relation to the open-range public domain.[65] From Carson City, Edward Kelley, State Land Register, replied. Some of the questions and answers referred to were as follows:

> Pinchot: What class of lands are most in demand?
> Kelley: Agricultural and grazing lands are in greatest demand.
> Pinchot: What protection is given to the State lands against fire and trespass?
> Kelley: No protection except the general law against setting out fires, and a special law, which concerns individuals only, against trespass.
> Pinchot: Is the State taking any steps to use and perpetuate the State timber lands, and if not, is special legislation required before such action can be taken?
> Kelley: None of the reverted lands now owned by the State are timber lands.[66]

The responses reflected how in the early twentieth century, Nevada's public lands largely remained unregulated and unprotected. Only after 1905 with the transfer of forest reserves from the Department of Interior to the Department of Agriculture were National Forests created in Nevada under the management of the United States Forest Service.[67]

It was the administration of Theodore Roosevelt (1901–09) which invigorated the Conservation Movement. Gifford Pinchot, a friend and advisor to Roosevelt, persuaded the President to move the forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture under a new National Forest System. In February 1905, the Department of the Interior's administrative functions and responsibilities were transferred to a newly established agency, the United States Forest Service, within the Department of Agriculture. Pinchot was appointed Chief Forester for the new agency.

In 1902, the Department of Interior had issued the *Forest Reserve Manual* which stated that the Secretary of the Interior possessed the authority to restrict any livestock grazing activity with the aim of protecting the forest reserves. It had started to issue permits.[68] The new Forest Service continued to implement the permit system that the General Land Office had begun. It issued a *Use Book* that defined resource-use regulations under a permit for an allotment. It set out rules on grazing seasons, set numbers of stock, and issued grazing permits based upon

[64] Lane, 'Cultural ecology', pp. 63–74; Clawson, 'Range lands', pp. 8–16.

[65] In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed a Public Land Commission composed by Gifford Pinchot, Frederick H. Newell, and William A. Richards in an attempt to determine the problems affecting the public-domain lands. *Report of the public lands commission, with appendix*, 58th Cong., third Sess., Doc. no. 189 (1905), pp. 3–11.

[66] Edward D. Kelley to Gifford Pinchot, 31 Aug. 1904; Gifford Pinchot to John Sparks, Aug. 10, 1904, *Biennial Report of the Surveyor-General and State Land Register, 1903–1904* (1904), pp. 15–16.

[67] Lane, 'Cultural ecology', p. 142.

[68] Miller, *Gifford Pinchot*, pp. 162–4; Rowley, *U.S. Forest Service*, pp. 46–59.

property ownership and traditional use criteria. Three classes of grazing permits were available: first, Class A to those owners of ranch properties within or adjacent to the National Forests who customarily grazed stock on lands now within the National Forests; second, Class B for those who possessed property near the National Forests and traditionally grazed stock in these high mountain pastures; and third, Class C to itinerant graziers who did not own property or a home ranch. The various permits were issued on the basis of this preference criteria. The permits were considered to be grazing privileges and not permanent concessions by the Forest Service. The preference system favoured the first two classes. Few Class C permits were issued to itinerant graziers. Also, as William Rowley has explained, the Forest Service based its preference system on the concept of 'commensurate property ownership'. The principle of commensurability required graziers to own enough private land to support winter feeding of stock when they were removed from the National Forests at the end of the grazing season. The Forest Service considered these policies to be the means to defend established landowning ranchers and small homesteads against the intrusion of itinerant sheep graziers.[69]

With the arrival of the Forest Service grazing regulations, order finally started to take hold in the high mountain pastures of Nevada's mountain ranges. While the US Forest Service had taken control of some parts of the grazing on the public lands, a vast open range still remained outside Forest Service management. Nevada's ranges remained unregulated and a persisting problem. Range conflicts continued and helped prompt a national debate over the future of the still unregulated and free and open-range grazing on the public domain. During the first three decades of the century, this situation increasingly pushed the Nevada legislature to become involved in range issues. Local experiments in range matters preceded Federal involvement. Finally, after much hesitation, Congress extended a grazing control programme to the remaining non-privatized public-domain lands with the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 followed by various implementation phases until the creation of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) in 1946.[70]

V

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Nevada witnessed a sheep boom similar to that experienced in other western public-land states. Demand for meat and wool in the United States and abroad spurred the expansion of the Nevada's sheep industry. In comparison with cattle ranching, the open-range sheep industry had higher short term returns on

[69] William D. Rowley, 'Privilege vs. Right: livestock grazing in US government forests', in Harold K. Steen (ed.), *History of sustained-yield forestry: a symposium* (1984), pp. 61–7; Rowley, *US Forest Service*, pp. 58–62.

[70] Clawson, 'Range lands', p. 6; Lane, 'Cultural ecology', pp. 98–111, 121–31; Ivan Sack, 'History of Toiyabe National Forest' (unpublished ms, 1965, held by Special Collections, University of Nevada Library, Reno); Iker Saitua, 'Sagebrush laborers: Basque immigrants in Nevada's sheep industry, international dimensions, and the making of an agricultural workforce, 1880–1954', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nevada-Reno, 2016), pp. 178–86. After management by the Bureau of Land Management began, the public range for grazing livestock would be governed exclusively through a permit system without exception. For a comprehensive history of the BLM, see: James R. Skillen, *The nation's largest landlord: The Bureau of Land Management in the American West* (2008).

investment. The economic success of those sheep outfits depended largely upon the free use of public-domain lands, secure winter feed, water resources, and employment of low wage but dependable agricultural labour. After the 'White Winter' of 1889–90, the economic profitability of sheep grazing in the Great Basin encouraged old stock owners and newcomers to enter this industry. After this devastating weather event, the sheep population increased considerably in Nevada. But the increasing presence of sheepherders in the public rangelands drew derision from a cowboy culture in the West.

It was the Federal government's laissez-faire policy towards grazing on the public domain which allowed the free-range stock industry to grow at impressive rates but the unstable conditions this created made for a destructive competition for the range resources. Possession of water sources and water rights created the opportunity for exclusive range use by preventing the stock of competitors from having access to water sources: the control and ownership of water became an instrument to monopolize public rangelands. Exclusive use of rangelands facilitated by water ownership did not confer ownership or rights to the forage on the lands in question. Problems on the Nevada ranges called for some authority to order the growing tensions between itinerant graziers and landowning stock operators, both cattle and sheep owners. Private and even state legislative efforts were not successful in bringing order to range affairs, specially after sheep entered the competition for Nevada range resources in greater numbers from the early 1890s.

By the turn of the century, the state of Nevada still offered the ideal setting to produce sheep at the lowest cost possible because of the abundant ungranted public domain and its grazing lands. The lack of any regulation of grazing on these lands in terms of numbers and season of graze coupled with the cheap labour needed to oversee great flocks of sheep presented tremendous opportunities for profit. It was not until after 1905 that Forest Reserves (or subsequently) National Forests were established which brought the first government range regulations. With the coming of Federal land management to portions of the public domain in Nevada (mountain pastures), the Forest Service tried to exclude or at the least limit large itinerant sheepherding from the lands it administered. The grazing lands beyond the Forest Service's National Forests, however, were anything but ordered. Chaotic conditions on the open range continued for many years. It was only with the Taylor Grazing Act in 1934 that Congress began to resolve the problems posed by the public-domain lands outside the National Forests.

Annual list of publications on Agrarian History, 2017*

Compiled by Peter McShane
The Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading

JOURNAL AND BOOK ARTICLES

ABRAMS, LYNN, 'The taming of Highland masculinity: inter-personal violence and shifting codes of manhood, *c*.1760–1840', in Abrams and Ewan (eds), *Nine centuries of man,* pp. 80–98.

ADELMAN, JULIANA, 'Food in Ireland since 1740', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland,* pp. 233–43.

ALEXANDER, CATHERINE, 'Northumberland ladies' networks; women's conversations and practices as revealed by a seventeenth-century cookbook', *Local Historian,* 47, pp. 317–23.

ALLEN, J. R., 'Geological resources and their exploitation in the Berkshire chalklands of the later nineteenth century: a first survey', *Landscape Hist.,* 38, pp. 67–80.

AMBROSE, LINDA M., 'Women's Institutes in Canada and the United Kingdom', in Ambrose and Jensen (eds), *Women in agriculture, 1880–1965,* pp. 120–35.

AMBROSE, LINDA M. and JENSEN, JOAN M., 'Introduction', in Ambrose and Jensen (eds), *Women in agriculture,* pp. 1–14.

ANDREWS, MAGGIE, 'The indefatigable Mrs Webb', in Ambrose and Jensen (eds), *Women in agriculture,* pp. 139–55.

ANDREWS, PATRICK, 'The lost community of Gore Fields', *Proc. Dorset Natural History and Arch. Soc.,* 137, pp. 46–56 (2016).

ATKINSON, PAUL *et al.*, 'Patterns of infant mortality in rural England and Wales, 1850–1910', *EcHR,* 70, pp. 1268–90.

BAKER, JOHN, 'Old English sæte and the historical significance of "folk" names', *Early Medieval Europe,* 25, pp. 417–42.

BARTON, GREGORY A., 'The myth of the peasant in the global organic farming movement', *Itinerario,* 41, pp. 75–91.

BASSETT, STEVEN and WAGER, SARAH, '*Donnelie* (Warwicks): identifying a lost Domesday manor and understanding the nature and function of its *haia* (hay)', *Midland Hist.,* 42, pp. 1–17.

BATEMAN, JOHN CHRISTOPHER, 'Precursors of the heavy ceramics manufacturing industry in Calderdale: pot making from the 1640s to 1986', *Trans. Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 25, pp. 41–63.

BATES, SANDRA, 'Warminster Maltings, Pound Street, Warminster', *Brewery Hist.,* 169, pp. 31–5.

BATMAN, PHIL, 'Surname indices: the effects of parliamentary enclosure of the fields on kinship families during the nineteenth century', *Family & Community Hist.,* 20, pp. 102–20.

BEARD, ELLEN L., 'Satire and social change: the bard, the schoolmaster and the drover', *Northern Scotland,* 8, pp. 1–21.

BICHARD, MAURICE (ed.), 'A short history of the UK basketmaking industry, 1940–1965. Part 1: wartime and its aftermath', *The Basketmakers' Association Newsletter,* 161, pp. 43–7; 'Part 2: an industry in decline', ibid., 162, pp. 46–9; 'Part 3: reducing demand', ibid., 163, pp. 49–51.

BIGNELL, JONATHAN *et al.*, 'Agents, beneficiaries and victims: picturing people on the land', in Haigron (ed.), *The English countryside,* pp. 61–82.

BLAKSTAD, MICHAEL, 'The tithing of turnips: a Hampshire village in the Westminster spotlight', *Hampshire Stud.,* 72, pp. 129–50.

* Publications are normally of 2017 unless stated. The following short titles are used: *AgHR, Agricultural History Review*; *EcHR, Economic History Review.*

BLUM, MATTHIAS *et al.,* 'Women of an uncertain age: quantifying human capital accumulation in rural Ireland in the nineteenth century', *EcHR,* 70, pp. 187–223.

BODILY, DICK, 'William Smith of Woolston: Victorian agricultural innovator', *Vintage Spirit,* 185, pp. 46–9.

BOND, JAMES, 'Continental plant introductions to medieval monastic gardens in Britain', in Klápště (ed.), *Agrarian technology,* pp. 89–105.

BOND, JAMES and CLARK, DAVID, 'Appleton Manor: a "most remarkable mansion"', *Oxoniensia,* 72, pp. 1–34.

BOOKER, DANIEL, 'The Medsteds of Heighton in Firle: the rise and fall of a 14th-century Sussex family (1302–1416)', *Sussex Arch. Coll.,* 155, pp. 135–49.

BOOT, H. M., 'Using census returns and the own-children method to measure marital fertility in Rawtenstall, 1851–1901', *Local Population Stud.,* 98, pp. 54–73.

BORGONOVO, JOHN, 'Peasant resistance traditions and the Irish War of Independence, 1918–21', in Favretto and Itçaina (eds), *Protest, popular culture and tradition,* pp. 63–88.

BOWIE, GAVIN, 'Aspects of harvesting and drying grain crops in English farming', *Rural History Today,* 33, pp. 6–7.

BOYER, G. R., '"Work for their prime, the workhouse for their age": old age pauperism in Victorian England', *Social Science History,* 40, pp. 3–32 (2016).

BRADY, NIALL, 'What the plough can reveal about the role of agrarian technology in the changing nature of early medieval Ireland', in Klápště (ed.), *Agrarian technology,* pp. 143–55.

BRANDON-JONES, MICHAEL, 'The agricultural meeting at Bristol in 1842', *Rural History Today,* 32, pp. 1–3.

BRASSLEY, PAUL, 'Electrifying farms in England', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 83–114.

BRASSLEY, PAUL, BURCHARDT, JEREMY and SAYER, KAREN, 'Conclusion: electricity, rurality and modernity', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 221–45.

—, 'Introduction', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 1–11.

BREATHNACH, CIARA and GEARY, LAURENCE M., 'Crime and punishment: Whiteboyism and the law in late nineteenth-century Ireland', in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 149–74.

BREEN, TOM, '*Public or private?* An analysis of the legal status of Rights of Way in Norfolk', *Landscapes,* 18, pp. 55–70.

BRIDGER, KATIE, '"It is no walking for thee in the high wey": gentry encounters, hierarchy and the Leicestershire landscape in the records of Star Chamber, *c.*1496–1547', *Midland Hist.,* 42, pp. 159–82.

BROAD, JOHN, 'A "little London" near you?' *Rural History Today,* 33, pp. 1–2.

BROOKES, STUART and LANGLANDS, ALEXANDER, 'Stowford: an early medieval hundred meeting place', *Wilts. Arch. and Natural Hist. Mag.,* 110, pp. 237–41.

BROWN, IAIN GORDON, '"A fitter place for Campania than Yorkshire": Sir John Clerk and Thomas Blackwell at Studley Royal', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 66–81.

BUCKLEY, MIKE, 'The origins and evolution of a Pennine township: medieval and early modern settlement in Saddleworth', in Smith (ed.), *History in the south Pennines*, pp. 231–82.

BUTLER, RICHARD J., 'Cork's courthouses, the landed elite, and the Rockite Rebellion: architectural responses to agrarian violence, 1820–1827', in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 87–111.

BUTLER, TONY, 'Museum of English Rural Life, Reading', *Museums J.,* January, pp. 42–5.

CAMPBELL, BRUCE M. S., 'Global climates, the 1257 mega-eruption of Samalas Volcano, Indonesia, and the English food crisis of 1258', *Trans. Royal Historical Society,* 27, pp. 87–121.

CAMPBELL, EVE, '*Pobul Uí Cheallacháin:* landscape and power in an early modern Gaelic lordship', *Landscapes,* 18, pp. 19–36.

CARTER, LAURA, 'Rethinking folk culture in twentieth-century Britain', *20th Century British History,* 28, pp. 543–69.

CASTLE, WILLIAM, 'How the Percheron came to Britain; part 4: a new era dawns', *Heavy Horse World,* spring, pp. 53–5.

CAUNCE, STEPHEN, '"Dancing and drinking were the order of the day": the hiring fairs of Chester, Nantwich and Whitchurch in the late-nineteenth century', *Local Historian,* 47, pp. 111–26.

CHARNLEY, BERRIS, 'Geneticists on the farm: agriculture and the all-English loaf' in Leggett and Sleigh (eds), *Scientific governance in Britain, 1914–79,* pp. 181–98.

CHESTER-KADWELL, BRENDAN, 'Changing patterns of routeways in the landscape of the eastern High Weald from the end of the Roman period to the building of the turnpikes', *Archaeologia Cantiana,* 138, pp. 227–56.

CLARIDGE, JORDAN, 'The role of demesnes in the trade of agricultural horses in late medieval England', *AgHR,* 65, pp. 1–19.

CLARK, GEMMA M., 'Arson in modern Ireland: fire and protest before the Famine', in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 211–26.

CLAXTON, KIKI, 'Weald and Downland Museum, West Sussex', *Museums J.,* 54, pp. 54–9.

COLLINGE, JAMES T., '"With envious eyes": rabbit-poaching and class conflict in H. G. Wells's *The Time Machine* and *The Island of Doctor Moreau', Literature & History,* 26, pp. 39–55.

COOMBER, RICHARD, 'Parliamentary enclosure in Shipley: process and effect', in Smith (ed.), *History in the south Pennines*, pp. 343–67.

COOPER, GRAHAM G. and SHANNON, WILLIAM D., 'The control of salters (deer-leaps) in private deer-parks associated with forests: a case study using a 1608 map of Leagram park in the Forest of Bowland, Lancashire', *Landscape Hist.,* 38, pp. 43–66.

CORNELL, HARRIET, 'Social control and masculinity in early modern Scotland: expectations and behaviour in a lowland parish', in Abrams and Ewan (eds), *Nine centuries of man,* pp. 183–202.

COX, CATHERINE, 'Health and welfare, 1750–2000', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland,* pp. 261–81.

CRAGOE, MATTHEW, 'The parish elite at play? Cricket, community and the "middling sort" in eighteenth-century Kent', *History,* 102, pp. 45–67.

CRAWFORD, MIKE, 'Probate records of the Upper Calder Valley, 1688–1700', in Smith (ed.), *History in the south Pennines*, pp. 67–96.

CREIGHTON, OLIVER H. and RIPPON, STEPHEN, 'Conquest, colonisation and the countryside: archaeology and the mid-11th- to mid-12th-century rural landscape', in Hadley and Dyer (eds), *The archaeology of the eleventh century,* pp. 57–87.

CROLL, ANDY, '"Reconciled gradually to the system of indoor relief": the poor law in Wales during the "crusade against out-relief", *c.*1870–*c.*1890', *Family & Community Hist.,* 20, pp. 121–44.

CROOK, DAVID, 'The northward expansion of the boundary of Sherwood Forest in the sixteenth century', *Trans. Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire,* 120, pp. 95–112 (2016).

CROSSMAN, VIRGINIA, 'Attitudes and responses to vagrancy in Ireland in the long nineteenth century', in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 264–89.

CURLING, LUCYANN, 'Farming in East Kent in 1816', *Rural History Today,* 32, pp. 7–8.

CURRIE, JEAN ILA, 'The history of Walsopthorne Farm, Herefordshire', *Rural History Today,* 33, pp. 4–5.

DALWOOD, HAL, 'Water, *wics* and *burhs*', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 187–201.

DALY, MARY E., 'Famine and famine relief, 1740–2000', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland,* pp. 38–52.

DANGAR, ADRIAN, 'Hunt coverts, Britain's crowns of thorns', *The Field,* 330, pp. 106–10.

DICKASON, RENÉE, 'Visions of rurality in popular British fictional television series from the 1970s to the present day', in Haigron (ed.), *The English countryside,* pp. 83–111.

DIDELOT, X., 'Heroic sacrifice or tragic mistake? Revisiting the Eyam Plague, 350 years on', *Significance,* 13, pp. 20–4 (2016).

DITT, KARL, 'The electrification of the countryside: the interests of electrical enterprises and the rural population in England, 1888–1939', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 15–37.

DIXON, PIERS, 'Mukked and folded land: the evidence of field data for medieval cultivation techniques in Scotland', in Klápště (ed.), *Agrarian technology,* pp. 107–23.

DODD, JOY, 'An authority on agricultural subjects: Robert Brown of Markle, 1756–1831', *Trans. East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society,* 31, pp. 82–103.

DOOLEY, TERENCE, 'The Big House', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland,* pp. 161–76.

DOWER, ROBIN and RYDER, PETER F., 'The Black Barn at Tow House, Bardon Mill, Northumberland, a heather-thatched barn and its context', *Arch. Aeliana,* 45, pp. 159–85.

DREW, CHRISTINE and ELLIOTT, PAUL, 'Victorian gardening, horticulture and arboriculture in the Midlands: John Frederick Wood (1806–1865) of Nottingham and the Midland florist and suburban horticulturist', *Trans. Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire,* 120, pp. 121–42 (2016).

DUNGY, MADELEINE LYNCH, 'The global agricultural crisis and British diplomacy in the League of Nations in 1931', *AgHR,* 65, pp. 297–319.

DUNNE, TERRENCE M., 'The law of Captain Rock', in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 38–52.

DYER, CHRISTOPHER, 'The Midland economy and society, 1314–1348: insights from changes in the landscape', *Midland Hist.,* 42, pp. 36–57.

DYER, CHRISTOPHER, HARWARD, CHIZ and WESTERN, GAYNOR, 'Iron Age burials and medieval farm buildings; excavations at Horse and Groom

Inn, Bourton-on-the-Hill, 2013', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, 135, pp. 155–94.

EARLE, REBECCA, 'Promoting potatoes in eighteenth-century Europe', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 51, pp. 147–62.

EDWARDS, SIAN, '"Nothing gets her goat!": the farmer's wife and the duality of rural femininity in the Young Farmers' Club movement in 1950s Britain', *Women's History Rev.,* 26, pp. 26–45.

FALVEY, HEATHER, 'Dury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire (1766): a review essay', *Local Historian,* 47, pp. 149–52.

FENNELLY, KATHERINE, 'Victims of Ireland's Great Famine: the bioarchaeology of mass burials at Kilkenny Union Workhouse', *Post-Medieval Arch.,* 51, pp. 525–6.

FISHER, JESS LUMSDEN, '"Night marauders" and "Deluded wretches": public discourses on Ribbonism in pre-Famine Ireland', in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 53–66.

FITZPATRICK, ELIZABETH and HENNESSY, RONAN, 'Finn's Seat: topographies of power and royal marchlands of Gaelic polities in medieval Ireland', *Landscape Hist.*, 38, pp. 29–62.

FLECHNER, ROY, 'Investigating "peasant conversion" in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England: a preliminary enquiry', in Edwards, Ní Mhaonaigh and Flechner (eds), *Transforming landscapes of belief,* pp. 429–56.

FLEETWOOD, DAVID, 'The electrification of Highland Scotland', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 69–82.

FORREST, MARK, 'Patterns of economic change in the south-west during the fifteenth century: evidence from the reductions to the fifteenths and tenths', *EcHR,* 70, pp. 423–51.

FORWARD, ALICE and HINES, JOHN, 'Cosmeston, South Wales: conquest, colonisation and material culture change', in Klápště (ed.), *Agrarian technology,* pp. 125–41.

FOTHERGILL, B. TYR, 'Urban animals: human-poultry relationships in later post-medieval Belfast', *Int. J. Historical Archaeology,* 21, pp. 107–33.

FRANKLIN, BILL, 'Rev. Henry Jephcott, Enclosure Commissioner', *Northants. Past and Present*, 70, pp. 56–61.

FRANKLIN, WILLIAM, 'The Ferrars and the enclosure of Little Gidding', *Proc. Cambs. Antiquarian. Soc.*, 106, pp. 89–98.

FRASER, SHANNON MARGUERITE, 'Courting danger: interpreting sublime landscape in a Scottish wilderness garden', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 155–75.

FUNNELL, JOHN, 'Excavations on a medieval farmstead at Patchway Field, Stanmer, near Brighton', *Sussex Arch. Coll.,* 155, pp. 200–3.

GALLAHER, SIMON A., 'Children and families in the workhouse populations of the Antrim, Ballymena and Ballymoney Poor Law Unions in the mid nineteenth century', *Local Population Stud.,* 99, pp. 81–92.

GARDINER, MARK, 'Inland waterways and coastal transport: landing places, canals and bridges', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 152–66.

—, 'Manorial farmsteads and the expression of lordship before and after the Norman Conquest', in Hadley and Dyer (eds), *The archaeology of the eleventh century,* pp. 88–103.

GEARY, F. KEITH, 'Population movements in a Warwickshire village, 1841–1891: Bidford-on-Avon', *Local Population Stud.,* 98, pp. 74–86.

GIBBONS, GARY, 'Delineating the Marlborough White Horse: shaping the hill figure, c.1860–1901, and 2015 survey', *Wilts. Arch. and Natural Hist. Mag.,* 110, pp. 203–21.

GOATER, THIERRY, 'Myths of "Old England" revisited: Thomas Hardy's dissonant representations of rural spaces in *Under the Greenwood Tree, Far from the Madding Crowd* and *The Woodlanders*', in Haigron (ed.), *The English countryside,* pp. 157–74.

GOULD, DAVID, 'The distribution of rabbit warrens in medieval England: an east-west divide?', *Landscape Hist.,* 38, pp. 25–41.

—, 'The physical settings of rabbit warrens in south-west England', *Landscapes,* 18, pp. 141–60.

GREGORY, DERWIN and LICENCE, TOM, 'Historic global commodity networks: the research potential of rubbish dumps for the study of rural household market access during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Rural Hist.,* 28, pp. 161–75.

GRIEVES, KEITH, '"Patriotism in things of beauty": Thomas Cecil Farrer, historical continuity and liberty in the Surrey countryside', *Surrey Archaeological Coll.,* 100, pp. 163–85.

GRIFFIN, CARL J. and ROBERTSON, IAIN, 'Elvers and salmon: moral ecologies and conflict on the nineteenth-century Severn', in Worthington (ed.), *The new coastal history,* pp. 99–116.

GUTTRIDGE, CHESTER, 'George Williamson, 19th century Cheshire brewer', *Brewery Hist.,* 170, pp. 55–66.

HADLEY, DAWN M. and DYER, CHRISTOPHER, 'Introduction', in Hadley and Dyer (eds), *The archaeology of the eleventh century,* pp. 1–13.

HAIGRON, DAVID, 'Introduction', in Haigron (ed.), *The English countryside,* pp. 1–31.

HAILWOOD, MARK, 'Alehouses and good fellowship in early modern England: an overview', *Brewery Hist.,* 170, pp. 3–6.

HANLY, MARGARET, 'A rediscovered people: the poor, the very poor and the destitute in the North-west', *Family & Community Hist.,* 20, pp. 193–205.

HARVEY, DAVID C., 'Ambiguities of the hedge: an exercise in creative pleaching – of moments, memories and meanings', *Landscape Hist.,* 38, pp. 109–27.

HEALEY, JONATHAN, '"By the charitie of good people": poverty and neighbourly support in seventeenth-century Lancashire', *Family and Community Hist.,* 19, pp. 83–94 (2016).

HELM, RICHARD and SWEETINBURGH, SHEILA, 'The Home Farm of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, before and after the Dissolution', *Arch. Cantiana*, 138, pp. 65–88.

HERITAGE, TOM, 'The living arrangements of older people in the 1851 and 1891 census enumerators' books for Hertfordshire', *Local Population Stud.,* 98, pp. 30–53.

HEWITT, IAIN, GONZALEZ RUIZ, ANNA and FANGMANN, JESSICA, 'Toller Porcorum: a post-medieval "wetland" management landscape at Woolcombe, Dorset', *Proc. Dorset Natural History and Arch. Soc.,* 138, pp. 112–26.

HILLMAN, JONATHAN and COOK, HADRIAN, '"By floating and watering such land as lieth capable thereof": recovering meadow irrigation in Nottinghamshire', *Trans. Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire,* 120, pp. 75–94 (2016).

HILSON, MARY, '"A model co-operative country": Irish-Finnish contacts at the turn of the twentieth century', *Irish Historical Stud.,* 41, pp. 221–37.

HOBBS, PETER, 'A Pulham garden rediscovered at Nonington', *Arch. Cantiana,* 138, pp. 291–300.

HOLLAND, SARAH, 'Farm service and hiring practices in mid-nineteenth-century England: the Doncaster region in the West Riding of Yorkshire', in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in rural Europe, 1400–1900,* pp. 183–202.

HOLMES, MATTHEW, 'Changing techniques in crop plant classification: molecularization at the National Institute of Agricultural Botany during the 1980s', *Annals of Science,* 74, pp. 149–64.

—, 'The sparrow question: social and scientific accord in Britain, 1850–1900', *J. History of Biology,* 50, pp. 645–71.

HOOKE, DELLA, 'Groves in Anglo-Saxon England', *Landscape Hist.,* 38, pp. 5–23.

—, 'Rivers, wells and springs in Anglo-Saxon England: water in sacred and mystical contexts', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 107–35.

—, 'Water in the landscape: charters, laws and place-names', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 33–67.

HOOKE, DELLA and HYER, MAREN CLEGG, 'Introduction', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 1–14.

HOPEWELL, DAVID and EDWARDS, NANCY, 'Early medieval settlement and field systems at Rhuddgaer, Anglesey', *Arch. Cambrensis*, 166, pp. 213–42.

HORNER, ARNOLD, 'Retrieving the landscapes of eighteenth-century County Kildare: the 1755–60 estate maps of John Rocque', *Archaeology Ireland,* 31, pp. 19–23.

HOWE, TONY, SAVAGE, RICHARD and SAVAGE, PAMELA, 'Downside Mill, Cobham: an evaluation with notes on observations at Coxes Lock Mill, Addlestone', *Surrey Archaeological Coll.* 100, pp. 31–53.

HOYLE, RICHARD W., 'Britain', in Alfani and Ó Gráda (eds), *Famine in European history,* pp. 141–65.

—, 'A re-reading of the *Gest of Robyn Hode*', *Nottingham Medieval Stud.,* 61, pp. 67–113.

HUGGINS, MICHAEL, 'Whiteboys and Ribbonmen: what's in a name?' in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 21–37.

HUGHES, KYLE and MACRAILD, DONALD M., 'Introduction: crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century; themes and perspectives', in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 1–20.

IMPEY, EDWARD and BELFORD, PAUL, 'The lost medieval barn of Abingdon Abbey at Cumnor', *Oxoniensia,* 72, pp. 35–58.

JENNINGS, PAUL, 'hush, whisht and wabble shops, illicit spirits, shebeens and bogus clubs: an introduction to illegal drinking in nineteenth-century England and Wales', *Brewery Hist.,* 170, pp. 7–21.

JERVIS, BEN, 'Decline or transformation? Archaeology and the late medieval "urban decline" in southern England', *Archaeological J.,* 174, pp. 211–43.

JERVIS, BEN, WHELAN, FIONA E. and LIVARDA, ALEXANDRA, 'Cuisine and conquest: interdisciplinary perspectives on food, continuity and change in 11th-century England and beyond', in Hadley and Dyer (eds), *The archaeology of the eleventh century,* pp. 244–62.

JONES, MARTIN D., 'Uncovering the enthusiasms and prejudices of a 19th-century country parson: Maurice Smelt, rector of Binsted (1815–63) and Slindon (1815–65)', *Sussex Arch. Coll.,* 155, pp. 157–63.

JONES, NIGEL W. and SILVESTER, ROBERT, 'Tŷ Uchaf, a seventeenth-century farmhouse at Cwm

Llêch, Pennant Melangell', *Montgomeryshire Coll.,* 105, pp. 51–69.

JONES, PETER, 'The New Poor Laws in Scotland, England and Wales: comparative perspectives', *Local Population Stud.,* 99, pp. 31–41.

—, '"We cannot see them … they have gone out of our reach": narratives of change in the fisheries of Scotland's Great Firths, *c.* 1770–1890', in Worthington (ed.), *The new coastal history,* pp. 283–300.

JONES, PETER M., 'Making chemistry the "science" of agriculture, *c.* 1760–1840', *History of Science*, 54, pp. 169–94 (2016).

JONES, RICHARD *et al.,* 'Living with a trespasser: riparian names and medieval settlement on the River Trent floodplain', *European J. Post-Classical Archaeologies,* 18, pp. 33–64.

JUDD, CATHERINE NEALY, 'Western plague literature, the Irish Famine and Anthony Trollope's *Castle Richmond', Irish Studies Rev.* 25, pp. 215–40.

KEITH, SIMON, 'A study of "Domesday watermills" in the Cambridgeshire landscape', *Proc. Cambs. Antiquarian. Soc.*, 106, pp. 49–60.

KELLEHER, MARGARET, 'Famine and commemoration, 1909–2017: sites and dynamics of memory', *Canadian J. Irish Studies,* 40, pp. 21–37.

KENNY, KEVIN, 'Irish emigrations in a comparative perspective', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland,* pp. 405–22.

KILPI, HANNA I., 'The role of lesser aristocratic women in twelfth-century Yorkshire society: the Rumilly, Arches, and St Quentin Charters', *Northern Hist.,* 54, pp. 133–48.

KING, STEVEN, 'Thinking and rethinking the New Poor Law', *Local Population Stud.,* 99, pp. 5–19.

KINMONTH, CLAUDIA, 'Knowing our noggins: rare Irish wooden vessels rediscovered', *Folk Life,* 55, pp. 46–52.

KOWOL, KIT, 'An experiment in conservative modernity: interwar conservatism and Henry Ford's English farms', *J. British Studies*, 55, pp. 781–805 (2016).

LA POUTRÉ, HUGO J. P., 'Fertilization by manure: a manor model comparing English demesne and peasant land, *c.*1300', *AgHR,* 65, pp. 20–48.

LANGDON, JOHN and WHITE, JAMES, 'An early seventeenth-century river environment: the 1618 survey of the Itchen', *Hampshire Stud.,* 72, pp. 142–65.

LAW, SARAH, 'Early eighteenth-century rides in estate context: practice at Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire, 1700–43', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 45–65.

LEMANSKI, S. JAY, 'Slave or free: the Aehtemann in Anglo-Saxon rural society', *Haskins Society J.,* 29, pp. 53–79.

LENNON, JOSEPH, '"Dreams that hunger makes": memories of hunger in Yeats, Mangan, Speranza, and Irish folklore', *Irish University Rev.,* 47, pp. 62–81.

LILLEY, KEITH D., 'Mapping the nation: landscapes of survey and the material cultures of the early Ordnance Survey in Britain and Ireland', *Landscapes,* 18, pp. 178–99.

LUCK, KATE, 'The growing pains of the "Women on the Land Movement" in Wiltshire: recruitment and training women before the formation of the Women's Land Army', *Local Historian,* 47, pp. 193–207.

LYTTLETON, JAMES, 'The manor houses of the 1st Lord Baltimore in an English Atlantic world', *Post-Medieval Archaeology,* 51, pp. 43–61.

MAC CUARTA, BRIAN, 'Sir Barnaby O'Brien's Irish revenues for 1629–31, Thomond rent, 1629, and Carlow tenants 1639', *Analecta Hibernica,* 48, pp. 31–72.

MACKAY, THERESA, 'Women at work: innkeeping in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1790–1840', *J. Scottish Historical Studies,* 37, pp. 155–76.

MACKINNON, IAIN, 'Colonialism and the Highland Clearances', *Northern Scotland,* 8, pp. 22–48.

MACPHERSON, D. A. J., 'The Scots abroad: recent approaches to migration, diaspora and identity', *Northern Scotland,* 8, pp. 87–95.

MAHONEY, CAT, 'The Women's Land Army remembered on British television', in Kay, Mahoney and Shaw (eds), *The past in visual culture,* pp. 46–65.

MANSELL, CHARMIAN, 'Female service and the village community in south-west England, 1550–1650: the labour laws reconsidered', in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in rural Europe, 1400–1900,* pp. 77–94.

MARGETTS, ANDREW, 'The Hayworth: a lowland vaccary site in south-east England', *Medieval Arch.,* 61, pp. 117–48.

—, 'A medieval moated site and manorial complex rediscovered through LiDAR at Broadbridge Heath, West Sussex', *Sussex Arch. Coll.,* 155, pp. 111–17.

MARSH, BETHANY, '"Lodging the Irish": an examination of parochial charity dispensed in Nottinghamshire to refugees from Ireland, 1641–1651', *Midland Hist.,* 42, pp. 194–216.

MARTIN, JOHN, 'The impact of the British food production campaign (1939–1945) on agricultural specialisation and rural patterns of development: a reappraisal', in Antoine (ed.), *Agricultural specialisation and rural patterns of development,* pp. 175–91.

MASTERS, PHILIP and STRADLING, SALLY, 'Historic routes in Cherwell District, North Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensia,* 71, pp. 1–18 (2016).

MAUME, PATRICK, 'The Head Pacificator and Captain Rock: sedition, suicide, and Honest Tom Steele',

in Hughes and MacRaild (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century,* pp. 227–42.

MAYER, JED, 'Edward Carpenter, Henry Salt, and the animal limits of Victorian environments', in Mazzeno and Morrison (eds), *Victorian writers and the environment,* pp. 220–35.

MCCORMICK, FINBAR and MURRAY, EMILY, 'The zooarchaeology of medieval Ireland', in Albarella *et al.* (eds), *The Oxford handbook of zooarchaeology,* pp. 195–213.

MCCULLOUGH, PETER, 'Robert Veysey of Chimney: "from nothing to a very great estate"', *Oxoniensia,* 72, pp. 59–82.

MCGAURAN, JOHN-PAUL, 'George Cornewall Lewis, Irish character and the Irish poor law debate, 1833–1836', *J. Historical Geography,* 57, pp. 28–39.

MCKERRACHER, MARK, 'Playing with fire? Charred grain as a proxy for cereal surpluses in early medieval England', *Medieval Settlement Res.,* 31, pp. 63–6 (2016).

MCGRATH, BRID, 'Reconstructing an early modern Irish economic community: Clonmell's cess roll, 1642', *Irish Economic and Social History,* 44, pp. 122–42.

MILESON, STEPHEN, 'Openness and closure in the later medieval village', *Past and Present,* 234, pp. 3–37.

MILLICAN, KIRSTY *et al.,* 'Mapping the historic landscape: historic land-use assessment in Scotland', *Landscapes,* 18, pp. 71–87.

MONTAÑO, JOHN PATRICK, 'Cultural conflict and the landscape of conquest in early modern Ireland', *Canadian J. Irish Studies,* 40, pp. 120–41.

MONTGOMERY, ALISON and MORRAL, GILL, '"Toton Unearthed": insights into the archaeology and history of a medieval manor: excavations at Toton, Nottinghamshire', *Trans. Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire,* 121, pp. 99–116.

MOORE-COLYER, RICHARD, 'Lighting the landscape: rural electrification in Wales', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 51–68.

MOORHOUSE, STEPHEN, 'Features within medieval township farming landscapes in Yorkshire and their function', in Klápště (ed.), *Agrarian technology,* pp. 49–88.

MORGAN, JOHN EMRYS, 'The micro-politics of water management in early modern England: regulation and representation in Commissions of Sewers', *Environment and History,* 23, pp. 409–30.

MORRISON, RONALD D., 'Agriculture and ecology in Richard Jefferies's *Hodge and His Masters',* in Mazzeno and Morrison (eds), *Victorian writers and the environment,* pp. 205–19.

MOULTON, MO, 'Not to nationalise, but to rationalise? Cooperatives, leadership and the State in the Irish dairy industry, 1890–1932', *Irish Economic and Social Hist.,* 44, pp. 85–101.

MUNKWITZ, ERICA, '"The Master is the mistress": women and fox hunting as sports coaching in Britain', *Sport in History,* 37, pp. 395–422.

MURPHY, CONOR *et al.*, 'Irish droughts in newspaper archives: rediscovering forgotten hazards?', *Weather,* 72, pp. 151–5.

MYERS, KATHERINE, '"Wise substitute of *Providence!*". The 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury's stoic philosophy of nature in estate gardening', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 193–212.

MYRDAL, JANKEN and SAPOZNIK, ALEXANDRA, 'Technology, labour and productivity potential in peasant agriculture: England, *c.*1000 to 1348', *AgHR,* 65, pp. 194–212.

NIXON, SEAN J., 'Vanishing peregrines: J. A. Baker, environmental crisis and bird-centred cultures of nature, 1954–73', *Rural Hist.,* 28, pp. 205–26.

O'CONNOR, TERRY, 'Animals in urban life in medieval to early modern England', in Albarella *et al.* (eds), *The Oxford handbook of zooarchaeology,* pp. 214–29.

Ó GRÁDA, CORMAC, 'Ireland', in Alfani and Ó Gráda (eds), *Famine in European history,* pp. 166–84.

O'ROURKE, GERARD, 'Agrarian agitation and the struggle of one activist during the Land War in Donoughmore', *Irish Genealogist,* 14, pp. 532–40.

O'SULLIVAN, MUIRIS and DOWNEY, LIAM, 'Early churches: agriculture and food', *Archaeology Ireland,* 31, pp. 18–21.

ORSI, COSMA, 'The political economy of inclusion: the rise and fall of the workhouse system', *J. History of Economic Thought,* 39, pp. 453–81.

PAGE, ARNAUD, '"The greatest victory which the chemist has won in the fight (…) against nature": nitrogenous fertilizers in Great Britain and the British Empire, 1910s-1950s', *History of Science*, 54, pp. 383–98 (2016).

PAGET, ELIZABETH, '"No longer a singularity": linen production in Saddleworth in the seventeenth century', in Smith (ed.), *History in the south Pennines*, pp. 283–304.

PARKER, DAVID, 'A taxing enquiry: how many people were there in precensus Ireland?', *History Ireland,* 25, pp. 22–5.

PEARCE, CATHRYN J., 'Charity and philanthropy in a coastal world: Scottish fishing communities and the Shipwrecked Fishermen and Mariners' Royal Benevolent Society, 1839–1848', in Worthington (ed.), *The new coastal history,* pp. 149–63.

PEDGLEY, DAVID E., 'Wallingford's malting industry', *Berkshire Old and New,* 34, pp. 26–44.

PEMBREY, DANIEL, 'The ha-ha: designed to have the last laugh', *The Field,* 330, pp. 108–11.

PENISTON-BIRD, CORINNA M., '"Yes, we had no bananas": sharing memories of the Second World War', in Addyman, Wood and Yiannitsaros (eds), *Food, drink and the written word, 1820–1945,* pp. 167–86.

PERREN, RICHARD, 'From couper to farmers' cooperative: livestock fairs and markets in north-east Scotland from 1800 to 1900', *AgHR,* 65, pp. 213–34.

PLANK, GEOFFREY, 'Thomas Tryon, sheep and the politics of Eden', *Cultural and Social History,* 14, pp. 565–81.

POWELL, BOB, '"He that by the plough would thrive": a history of assisted ploughing', *Heavy Horse World,* summer, pp. 62–5.

POWELL, JOHN, 'Romano-British and medieval settlement in the vicinity of Brent Knoll Hillfort, Somerset', *Som. Arch. and Natural Hist.*, 160, pp. 17–50.

PRENDIVILLE, BRENDAN, 'Rural protest in England', in Haigron (ed.), *The English countryside,* pp. 35–59.

PRESCOTT, ANDREW, '"Great and horrible rumour": shaping the English Revolt of 1381', in Firnhaber-Baker and Schoenaers (eds), *The Routledge history handbook of medieval revolt,* pp. 76–103.

QUINAULT, ROLAND, 'Who martyred the Tolpuddle labourers?', *History Today,* 67, pp. 10–17.

QUINN, E. MOORE and DELAY, CARA, 'Bounty, moderation, and miracles: women and food in narratives of the Great Famine', *New Hibernia Rev.,* 21, pp. 111–29.

RAWSON, GRAHAM, 'Economies and strategies of the northern rural poor: the mitigation of poverty in a West Riding township in the nineteenth century', *Rural Hist.,* 28, pp. 69–92.

READ, CHARLES, 'The Irish Famine and unusual market behaviour in Cork', *Irish Economic and Social Hist.,* 44, pp. 3–18.

REYNOLDS, REBECCA, 'Food from the water: fishing', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 136–51.

RICHARDSON, FRANCES, 'The enclosure of the commons and wastes in Nantconwy, North Wales, 1540 to 1900', *AgHR*, 65, pp. 49–73.

RICHARDSON, SHAUN, 'A hay rake-making business at West Mill, Askrigg, Wensleydale, North Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological J.,* 89, pp. 182–99.

RIPPON, STEPHEN, 'Marshlands and other wetlands', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 89–106.

RITCH, ALISTAIR, 'New Poor Law medical care in the local health economy', *Local Population Stud.,* 99, pp. 42–55.

RITCHIE, ELIZABETH, 'Feeding in the forest: how Scottish settlers learned to raise livestock in the old-growth forests of Upper Canada, 1814 to 1850', *AgHR,* 65, pp. 74–93.

ROBERTS, MATTHEW, 'Rural Luddism and the makeshift economy of the Nottinghamshire framework knitters', *Social Hist.,* 42, pp. 365–98.

ROBSON, ELLY, 'Improvement and epistemologies of landscape in seventeenth-century English forest enclosure', *Historical J.,* 60, pp. 597–632.

ROFFEY, SIMON, 'Charity and conquest: *leprosaria* in early Norman England', in Hadley and Dyer (eds), *The archaeology of the eleventh century,* pp. 159–76.

RONALDS, BEVERLEY F., 'Ronalds nurserymen in Brentford and beyond', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 82–100.

ROUSE, PAUL, 'The farmers since 1850', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland,* pp. 129–44.

RUDLING, MARY, 'A comparison of poor relief in a Wealden parish and a South Downs parish in eastern Sussex, *c.* 1830–1860', *Sussex Arch. Coll.,* 155, pp. 181–96.

RYLAND-EPTON, LOUISE, 'Cirencester Workhouse under the Old Poor Law', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, 135, pp. 225–36.

SALVAGNO, LENNY, VINER-DANIELS, SARAH and ALBARELLA, UMBERTO, 'Building and tanning in the 18th and 19th centuries: an analysis of cattle horncores from Greenwich High Road (London)', *Post-Medieval Arch.,* 51, pp. 145–63.

SAYER, KAREN, 'Electrification and its alternatives in the farmer's and labourer's home', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 118–34.

—, 'The "modern" management of rats: British agricultural science in farm and field during the twentieth century', *BJHS Themes,* 2, pp. 235–63.

SAYER, KAREN and VERDON, NICOLA, 'The professionalization of farming women in late Victorian Britain: the role and legacy of the Langham Place feminists', in Ambrose and Jensen (eds), *Women in agriculture,* pp. 17–33.

SEIDEL, HAZEL, 'The probate records of Marsden manor court, 1655–1855: two centuries of change in a small Pennine town', in Smith (ed.), *History in the south Pennines*, pp. 203–30.

SERJEANTSON, DALE, 'Fishing, wildfowling and marine mammal exploitation in northern Scotland from prehistory to early modern times', in Albarella

et al. (eds), *The Oxford handbook of zooarchaeology,* pp. 164–77.

SHARPE, RICHARD, 'Common carriers in medieval England: evidence from Oxford archives', *Oxoniensia,* 71, pp. 27–62 (2016).

SHAW, RICHARD, 'Bede's sources for his references to "hides" in the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *History of the Abbots*', *Historical Res.*, 89, pp. 412–34 (2016).

SHEAIL, JOHN, 'Power to the people: power stations and the national grid', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 38–50.

SHIRLEY, ROSEMARY, 'Pylons and frozen peas: the Women's Institute goes electric', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 135–53.

SIMMONS, IAN G., 'The emergence of the south Lindsey coast of the Wash before Domesday', *Midland Hist.,* 42, pp. 139–58.

—, 'Fen and sea: medieval and early modern landscape evolution in south-east Lincolnshire before 1700', *Landscapes,* 18, pp. 37–54.

SLAVIN, PHILIP, 'The preacher in the rye: allegory and reality of rural life in Middle English sermons', in Sharp *et al.* (eds), *From learning to love,* pp. 492–514.

SMITH, NIGEL, 'Township boundaries and commons disputes in the south Pennines: Langfield and the case of the Mandike', in Smith (ed.), *History in the south Pennines*, pp. 1–32

SMITH, PAUL and WESTON, PETER, 'A working-class gardener in 1950s Lincolnshire: Hilda Smith, her flower garden and allotment', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 213–23.

SMOUT, T. CHRISTOPHER, 'The Firth of Forth: what drives change', in Worthington (ed.), *The new coastal history,* pp. 49–64.

SOLAR, PETER M., 'Occupation, poverty and social class in pre-famine Ireland, 1740–1850', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland,* pp. 25–37.

STEAD, DAVID, 'The farm records of Rev. Ralph Sadleir, Castleknock, 1857–61', *Dublin Historical Record,* 70, pp. 118–31.

STEMBRIDGE, P. K., 'The development of Thomas Goldney's eighteenth-century garden', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 117–42.

STOBART, JON, 'Making the global local? Overseas goods in English rural shops, *c.*1600–1760', *Business Hist,* 59, pp. 1136–53.

STONE, GORDON, 'Mona Brewery, Llanfachraeth, Anglesey: further information', *Brewery Hist.,* 171, pp. 28–44.

STUART BRUNDAGE, JONAH, 'The pacification of elite lifestyles: state formation, elite reproduction, and the practice of hunting in early modern England', *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 59, pp. 786–817.

SUGDEN, KEITH, 'An occupational study to track the rise of adult male mule spinning in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1777–1813', *Textile Hist.,* 48, pp. 160–75.

SUGGETT, RICHARD, 'The vernacular houses of Breconshire: following Jones and Smith', *Brycheiniog,* 48, pp. 22–57.

SUODENJOKI, SAMI, 'Mobilising for land, nation and class interests: agrarian agitation in Finland and Ireland, 1879–1918', *Irish Historical Stud.,* 41, pp. 200–20.

SYKES, NAOMI JANE, 'Fair game: exploring the dynamics, perception and environmental impact of "surplus" wild foods in England 10kya-present', *World Arch.,* 49, pp. 61–72.

SZRETER, SIMON, 'Treatment rates for the pox in early modern England: a comparative estimate of the prevalence of syphilis in the city of Chester and its rural vicinity in the 1770s', *Continuity and Change,* 32, pp. 183–223.

TADMOR, NAOMI, 'The settlement of the poor and the rise of the form in England, *c.*1662–1780', *Past and Present,* 236, pp. 43–97.

TANKARD, DANAE, '"Buttons no bigger than nutmegs": the clothing of country gentlemen, *c.*1660–1715', *Cultural and Social Hist.* 14, pp. 1–16.

TAYLOR, DAVID THOMAS, 'The decline of the handmade nailing community in Wombourne, 1841–1901', *Local Historian,* 47, pp. 29–45.

—, 'Examining the effect of occupational structure on social mobility – an investigation of a Black Country village, 1851–1901', *Family & Community Hist.,* 20, pp. 85–101.

TAYLOR, IAIN, 'One for the (farm) workers? Perpetrator risk and victim risk transfer during the "Sevenoaks fires" of 1830', *Rural Hist.,* 28, pp. 137–59.

TELLO, ENRIC *et al.*, 'The onset of the English agricultural revolution: climate factors and soil nutrients', *J. Interdisciplinary Hist.*, 47, pp. 445–74.

THOLONIAT, RICHARD, 'London's parks, suburbs and environs: the English countryside through the eyes of French visitors (1814–1914)', in Haigron (ed.), *The English countryside,* pp. 137–55.

THOMAS, BEN, '"The Clach": Alexander Mackenzie and the Land Question in the late-nineteenth century Highlands and Islands', *Northern Scotland,* 8, pp. 68–86.

THOMAS, LIZ, 'Manifestations of institutional reform and resistance to reform in Ulster workhouses, Ireland, 1838–1855', *Int. J. Historical Archaeology,* 21, pp. 867–900.

TITTLER, ROBERT, 'Rural society and the painters' trade in post-Reformation England', *Rural Hist.,* 28, pp. 1–19.

TOSH, JOHN, 'From the "cape of despair" to the Cape of Good Hope: letters of the emigrant poor in early nineteenth-century England', *Social Hist.,* 42, pp. 480–500.

TRISTRAM, EMMA, 'Identifying the meeting place of Binsted Hundred near Arundel, West Sussex', *Sussex Arch. Coll.,* 155, pp. 97–102.

VAN BAVEL, BAS and RIJPMA, AUKE, 'How important were formalized charity and social spending before the rise of the welfare state? A long-run analysis of selected western European cases, 1400–1850', *EcHR,* 69, pp. 159–87 (2016).

VAN PUYMBROECK, BIRGIT, 'Becoming a Land Girl: reprinting Alice Meynell's "The Shepherdess" in the *Landswoman', Victorian Periodicals Rev.,* 50, pp. 398–417.

VARNAVA, ANDREKOS, 'The vagaries and value of the army transport mule in the British army during the First World War', *Historical Res.,* 90, pp. 422–46.

VEALE, LUCY, BOWEN, JAMES P. and ENDFIELD, GEORGINA H., '"Instead of fetching flowers, the youths brought in flakes of snow": exploring extreme weather history through English parish registers', *Archives and Records,* 38, pp. 119–42.

VOSKUIL, LYNN M., 'Victorian orchids and the forms of ecological society', in Karpenko and Claggett (eds), *Strange science,* pp. 19–39.

WADDINGTON, KEIR, '"I should have thought that Wales was a wet part of the world": drought, rural communities and public health, 1870–1914', *Social History of Medicine,* 30, pp. 590–611.

WADE MARTINS, SUSANNA, 'New displays at the Museum of English Rural Life', *Rural History Today,* 32, pp. 4–6.

WAGER, SARAH J., 'The hays of medieval England: a reappraisal', *AgHR,* 65, pp. 167–93.

WALKER, JOHN and ALCOCK, NAT, 'The carpentry of a twelfth-century aisled hall: Burmington Manor, Warwickshire', *Vernacular Architecture,* 48, pp. 63–77.

WALTER, BRONWEN, 'The diaspora in comparative and multi-generational perspective', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland,* pp. 423–38.

WARD, DEREK, 'A contemporary account of life in a Pennine township in the reign of George III: the memoirs of John Taylor', in Smith (ed.), *History in the south Pennines,* pp. 187–202.

WARREN, MARTYN, 'Rural broadband: a twenty-first century comparison with electrification', in Brassley, Burchardt and Sayer (eds), *Transforming the countryside,* pp. 205–20.

WASS, STEPHEN, 'The Enstone Marvels rediscovered', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 176–92.

WATSON, CHRIS, '"To beare the towne harmless": manorial regulation of mobility and settlement in early modern Lancashire', *Rural Hist.,* 28, pp. 119–35.

WATTS, MARTIN A., 'Watermills and waterwheels', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 167–86.

WHITE, BONNIE J., 'Meriel Talbot and the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women, 1919–1937', *Britain and the World,* 10, pp. 32–52.

WHITE, VIVIEN, 'George London at Fetcham Park, Surrey', *Garden Hist.,* 45, pp. 143–54.

WHITTLE, JANE, 'Introduction: servants in the economy and society of rural Europe', in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in rural Europe, 1400–1900,* pp. 1–18.

—, 'A different pattern of employment: servants in rural England *c.*1500–1660', in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in rural Europe, 1400–1900,* pp. 57–76.

WICKHAM-CROWLEY, KELLEY M., 'Fens and frontiers', in Hyer and Hooke (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world,* pp. 68–88.

WILCOX, DAVID, 'Scottish late seventeenth-century male clothing; part 2: the Barrock Estate clothing finds described', *Costume,* 51, pp. 28–53.

WILLIAMSON, TOM, 'Grass, wood and water: approaches to the ecology of Brown's landscapes', in Rotherham and Hadley (eds), *What did Capability Brown do for ecology?,* pp. 141–66.

—, 'Seeing the wood for the trees: the long-term aesthetics of woodland in England', in Woudstra and Roth (eds), *A history of groves,* pp. 34–53.

WILLIAMSON, TOM *et al.,* 'The landscape archaeology of Knettishall Heath, Suffolk and its implications', *Landscapes,* 18, pp. 161–77.

WILLMOTH, FRANCES, 'William Dugdale's itinerary of his tour of the Fens, May-June 1657', *Proc. Cambs. Antiquarian. Soc.,* 106, pp. 115–28.

WOOD, ANDY, 'Five swans over Littleport: Fenland folklore and popular memory, *c.* 1810–1978', in Arnold, Hilton and Rüger (eds), *History after Hobsbawm,* pp. 225–41.

WOODS, ABIGAIL, 'From one medicine to two: the evolving relationship between human and veterinary medicine in England, 1791–1835', *Bull. History of Medicine,* 91, pp. 494–523.

WOUDSTRA, JAN, 'The history and development of groves in English formal gardens (1600–1750)', in Woudstra and Roth (eds), *A history of groves,* pp. 67–85.

ZWEINIGER-BARGIELOWSKA, INA, 'Food consumption in Britain during the Second World War', in Berghoff, Logemann and Rómer (eds), *The consumer on the home front,* pp. 75–92.

BOOKS CITED

ABRAMS, L. and EWAN, E. (eds), *Nine centuries of man: manhood and masculinity in Scottish history.*

ADDYMAN, M., WOOD, L. and YIANNITSAROS, C. (eds), *Food, drink and the written word, 1820–1945.*

ALBARELLA, U. *et al.* (eds), *The Oxford handbook of zooarchaeology.*

ALFANI, G. and Ó GRÁDA, C. (eds), *Famine in European history.*

AMBROSE, L. and JENSEN, J. (eds), *Women in agriculture: professionalizing rural life in North America and Europe, 1880–1965.*

ANTOINE, A. (ed.), *Agricultural specialization and rural patterns of development* (2016).

ARNOLD, J., HILTON, M. and RÜGER, J. (eds), *History after Hobsbawm: writing the past for the twenty-first century.*

BERGHOFF, H., LOGEMANN, J. and RÓMER, FELIX (eds), *The consumer on the home front: Second World War civilian consumption in comparative perspective.*

BIAGINI, E. and DALY, M. (eds), *The Cambridge social history of modern Ireland.*

BRASSLEY, P., BURCHARDT, J. and SAYER, K. (eds), *Transforming the countryside: the electrification of rural Britain.*

EDWARDS, N., NÍ MHAONAIGH, M. and FLECHNER, R. (eds), *Transforming landscapes of belief in the early medieval insular world and beyond.*

FAVRETTO, I. and ITÇAINA, X. (eds), *Protest, popular culture and tradition in modern and contemporary Western Europe.*

FIRNHABER-BAKER, J. and SCHOENAERS, D. (eds), *The Routledge history handbook of medieval revolt.*

HADLEY, D. M. and DYER, C. C. (eds), *The archaeology of the eleventh century: continuities and transformations.*

HAIGRON, D. (ed.), *The English countryside: representations, identities, mutations.*

HUGHES, K. and MACRAILD, D. (eds), *Crime, violence and the Irish in the nineteenth century.*

HYER, M. and HOOKE, D. (eds), *Water and the environment in the Anglo-Saxon world.*

KARPENKO, L. and CLAGGETT, S. (eds), *Strange science: investigating the limits of knowledge in the Victorian Age.*

KAY, J., MAHONEY, C. and SHAW, C. (eds), *The past in visual culture: essays on memory, nostalgia and the media.*

KLÁPŠTĚ, J. (ed.), *Ruralia X. Agrarian technology in the medieval landscape* (2016).

LEGGETT, D. and SLEIGH, C. (eds), *Scientific governance in Britain, 1914–79* (2016).

MAZZENO, L. and MORRISON, R. (eds), *Victorian writers and the environment: ecocritical perspectives.*

ROTHERHAM, I. and HADLEY, C. (eds), *What did Capability Brown do for ecology? The legacy for biodiversity, landscapes and nature conservation.*

SHARP, T. *et al.* (eds), *From learning to love: schools, law, and pastoral care in the Middle Ages: essays in honour of Joseph W. Goering.*

SMITH, NIGEL (ed.), *History in the South Pennines: the legacy of Alan Petford.*

WHITTLE, JANE (ed.), *Servants in rural Europe, 1400–1900.*

WORTHINGTON, D. (ed.), *The new coastal history: cultural and environmental perspectives from Scotland and beyond.*

WOUDSTRA, J. and ROTH, C. (eds), *A history of groves.*

NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED IN 2017

AHDB BEEF & LAMB (GREAT BRITAIN), *Livestock markets: serving the industry for 200 years: a review of livestock markets in England.*

ALLEN, VALERIE and EVANS, RUTH (eds), *Roadworks: medieval Britain, medieval roads* (2016).

ASH, ERIC H., *The draining of the Fens. Projectors, popular politics and state building in early modern England.*

BAYFORD, FRANK, *Memories of Chase farm.*

BENSON, ANN, *Troy House: a Tudor estate across time.*

BOLGER, THERESA *et al.*, *Colonising a royal landscape: the history and archaeology of a medieval village at Mullamast, County Kildare.*

BOOS, FLORENCE SAUNDERS, *Memoirs of Victorian working-class women: the hard way up.*

BOWEN, JANE and IVES, KARON, *A tale of two mills: Spindleston & Waren, 1735–1914.*

BROGDEN, WILLIAM ALVIS, *Ichnographia rustica: Stephen Switzer and the designed landscape.*

BROWN, PETE, *The apple orchard: the story of our most English fruit* (2016).

BUCKLEY, M. *et al.* (eds), *Mapping Saddleworth; v. 2, manuscript maps of the parish, 1625–1822.*

BURTON, ANTHONY and SCOTT, ROB, *Crafted in Britain: the survival of Britain's traditional industries.*

CALLERY, SEAN, *The story of Hook Norton for readers of all ages.*

CASEY, BRIAN (ed.), *Lords, land and labourers: the big houses and landed estates of Royal Meath* (2016).

CAUNCE, STEPHEN, *Amongst farm horses.* 2nd rev. ed.

CHAMBERS, GEORGE and MCDOUGALL, IAN, *The origins of the dairy industry in Ulster.*

COATES, PETER, MOON, DAVID and WARDE, PAUL (eds), *Local places, global processes: histories of environmental change in Britain and beyond* (2016).

COCK-STARKEY, CLAIRE, *The golden age of the garden: a miscellany.*

COCKIN, TIM, *The parish atlas of England: an atlas of English parish boundaries.*

COOK, HADRIAN F., *New Forest: the forging of a landscape.*

CORDER-BIRCH, ADRIAN, *Whitlock Brothers: a history of the family, farms, forage works, foundry and factory at Great Yeldham.*

COUPLAND, PHILIP M., *Farming, fascism and ecology: a life of Jorian Jenks.*

CROOT, PATRICIA, *The world of the small farmer: tenure, profit and politics in the early modern Somerset Levels*

DAVIES-SHIEL, MICHAEL, *Water-power mills of South Lakeland.*

DAWSON, ROBERT, *British gypsy and traveller history to 1900 through art.*

DELANEY ENDA and MAC SUIBHNE BREANDÁN (eds), *Ireland's Great Famine and popular politics* (2016).

DOOLEY, TERENCE, *Castle Hyde: changing fortunes of an Irish country house.*

DOOLEY, TERENCE and RIDGWAY, CHRISTOPHER (eds), *The country house and the Great War: Irish and British experiences* (2016).

DYSON, PATRICIA ANN, *A history of "Penny's Hey"* (2016).

EBREY, HELEN, *Myddle: the life and times of a Shropshire farmworker's daughter, 1911–1928.*

EDMUNDS, RICHARD, *The early Romany Boswell: a family history 1650–1810. Part 1, The early Boswells & famous Boswells.*

FARJON, ALIJOS, *Ancient oaks in the English landscape.*

FELUS, KATE, *The secret life of a Georgian garden* (2016).

FIENNES, PETER, *Oak and ash and thorn: the ancient woods and new forests of Britain.*

FINAN, THOMAS, *Landscape and history on the medieval Irish frontier: the King's Cantreds in the thirteenth century* (2016).

FOLEY, JACK, *Swinford Spalpeens: aspects of migration and emigration from the East Mayo area, 1815–1970.*

GALVIN, JOHN, *A social history of rural Ireland in the 1950s: remembering Crotta.*

GILCHRIST, BILLY, *Farming history of Bishopbriggs: war years to present day.*

GOODSPEED, TYLER BECK, *Famine and finance: credit and the great famine of Ireland.*

GRADY, CHRIS and GRADY, RAYMOND, *Murrisk: a history of an Irish fishing village.*

GULLAND, PETER, *The toll roads of Buckinghamshire, 1706–1881, with their connections into neighbouring counties.*

HARRIS, NIGEL, *Wheat flour milling from millstones to rollers.*

HAY, GEORGE, *The Yeomanry cavalry and military identities in rural Britain, 1815–1914.*

HEAD, DOMINIC, *Modernity and the English rural novel.*

HOLROYD, AMY TWIGGER, *Folk fashion: understanding homemade clothes.*

HULONCE, LESLEY, *Pauper children and poor law childhoods in England and Wales, 1834–1910* (2016).

HUNTER, SUSAN, *Eaglesham: the farmlands and the Orry* (2016).

IMPEY, EDWARD, MILES, DANIEL and LEA, RICHARD, *The great barn of 1425–27 at Harmondsworth, Middlesex.*

JACQUES, DAVID, *Gardens of Court and country: English design, 1630–1730.*

JONES, DAVID, S. D., *Servants of the Lord: outdoor staff of the great country houses.*

JOY, DAVE, *Liverpool cowkeepers* (2016).

KEANE, GERRY, *Did they mention Ardkil? A land and social history of a South Mayo townland.*

KELLY, JAMES, *Food rioting in Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the 'moral economy' and the Irish crowd.*

KENCH, DAVID M. *et al, Geology, generosity and glimpses into Eydon's past.*

KING, CARLA, *Michael Davitt: after the Land League, 1882–1906 (2016).*

LEETE, JOHN, *Wartime New Forest revealed.*

MAC SUIBHNE, BREANDÁN, *The end of outrage: post-famine adjustment in rural Ireland.*

—, *subjects lacking words? The gray zone of the Great Famine.*

MARTIN, GRAHAM, *The sweet pea man: the life and times of the Victorian plant hybridist Henry Eckford.*

MCCOMBS, BEVERLEY, *The Ascott martyrs.*

MCDONAGH, BRIONY, *Elite women and the agricultural landscape, 1700–1830.*

MCDONALD, JANET, *Horses in the British Army, 1750–1950.*

MIERS, MARY, *Highland retreats: the architecture and interiors of Scotland's romantic North.*

MUGGLETON, DAVID, *Brewing in West Sussex.*

NICHOLLS, ANGELA, *Almshouses in early modern England: charitable housing in the mixed economy of welfare, 1550–1725.*

NIEMANN, DEREK, *A tale of trees: the battle to save Britain's ancient woodland* (2016).

O'CONNELL, MICHAEL, KELLY, FERGUS and MCADAM, JAMES H. (eds), *Cattle in ancient and modern Ireland: farming practices, environment and economy* (2016).

Ó GRÁDA, CORMAC, *Notes on the demography of the Famine in Ulster.*

O'NEILL, PETER D., *Famine Irish and the American racial state.*

OOSTHUIZEN, SUSAN, *The Anglo-Saxon Fenland.*

OVERY, CAROLINE and TANSEY, E. M. (eds), *Historical perspectives on rural medicine: the proceedings of two Witness Seminars held by the History of Modern Biomedicine Research Group, Queen Mary University of London, on 29 January 2010 and 3 September 2015.*

PENN, ROB, *Woods: a celebration.*

PETTIGREW, JUDITH, REYNOLDS, RORY W. and ROUSE, SANDRA, *A place in the country: Three Counties Asylum, 1860–1999.*

PRIBYL, KATHLEEN, *Farming, famine and plague: the impact of climate in late medieval England.*

RANDALL, JOHN, *The historic shielings of Pàirc.*

RAVILIOUS, JAMES, *The recent past.*

RAVILIOUS, ROBIN, *James Ravilious: a life.*

RAY, KEITH and BAPTY, IAN, *Offa's Dyke: landscape and hegemony in eighth-century Britain* (2016).

ROSE, SUSAN, *The wealth of England: the medieval wool trade and its political importance, 1100–1600.*

ROSEN, ADRIENNE and CLIFFE, JANICE, *The making of Chipping Norton: a guide to its buildings and history to 1750.*

ROSSABI, ANDREW, *A peculiarly English genius, or, A Wiltshire Taoist: a biography of Richard Jefferies. Volume 1, The early years, 1848–1867.*

SAMBROOK, PATRICIA, *The servants' story: managing a great country house.*

SAUL, NIGEL, *Lordship and faith: the English gentry and the parish church in the middle ages.*

SCOTT, CAROLINE, *Holding the Home Front: the Women's Land Army in the First World War.*

SCRIVEN, DAVID, *The court roll of the Manor of Wakefield: from 12 October 1781 to 6 September 1782.*

SHAVE, SAMANTHA A., *Poor Law practice in England, 1780–1850.*

SMITH, JON and SHERWOOD, LINDA, *Short butts and sandy bottom: the Newsham tithe apportionment of 1841.*

SPUFFORD, MARGARET and MEE, SUSAN, *The clothing of the common sort, 1570–1700.*

STOBART, JON, *Sugar and spice: grocers and groceries in provincial England, 1650–1830* (2016).

STOBART, JON and HANN, ANDREW (eds), *The Country House: material culture and consumption* (2016).

TAYLOR, PATRICK, *Drainage windmills on the Broads.*

THOMPSON, F. M. L., *English landed society revisited: the collected papers of F. M. L. Thompson* (2 vols).

TICHELAR, MICHAEL, *The history of opposition to blood sports in twentieth century England: hunting at bay.*

TITTENSOR, RUTH, *Shades of green: an environmental and cultural history of Sitka spruce* (2016).

VARLOW, PETER and VARLOW, SALLY, *In an old house: the 500–year history of a Sussex yeoman's farmstead and its people.*

VERDON, NICOLA, *Working the land; a history of the farmworker in England from 1850 to the present day.*

WADE, STEPHEN, *Lost to the sea: Britain's vanished coastal communities – Norfolk and Suffolk.*

—, *Lost to the sea: Britain's vanished coastal communities – the Yorkshire coast and Holderness.*

WARWICK, HUGH, *Linescapes: remapping and reconnecting Britain's fragmented wildlife.*

WEAVER, LAWRENCE TREVELYAN, *Painter of pedigree: Thomas Weaver of Shrewsbury animal artist of the agricultural revolution.*

WHITTEMORE, COLIN, *Farming stories from the Scottish borders: hard lives for poor reward.*

WHITWORTH, ALAN, *A dovecote compendium; v. 1.*

WILLIAMS, GARETH, *Ask the fellows that cut the coal: George Ewart Evans of Abercynon, 1909–1988.*

WILLIAMSON, TOM, BARNES, GERRY and PILLATT, TONY, *Trees in England: management and disease since 1600.*

WINCHESTER, ANGUS, *Lake District field-names: a guide for local historians.*

WINGRAVE WITH ROWSHAM HERITAGE ASSOCIATION ENCLOSURE GROUP, *The enclosure of Wingrave and Rowsham, 1798.*

WOOD, STEVE and BREARS, PETER, *The real Wuthering Heights: the story of the Withins Farms* (2016).

WOODHEAD, JILL, *A village of schools: a study of education in the village of Combe Down, Bath, 1727–2000.*

WORSLEY, PETER, *The Darwin farms: the Lincolnshire estates of Charles and Erasmus Darwin and their family.*

Book Reviews

Britain and Ireland

MARK MCKERRACHER, *Farming transformed in Anglo-Saxon England. Agriculture in the long eighth century* (Windgather Press, 2018). 164 pp. £34.99.

Over the last thirty years or so landscape historians and archaeologists have transformed our understanding of many aspects of Anglo-Saxon rural society. Thousands of developer-funded excavations – not all are great set-piece digs; rather, the great majority are evaluations, that is multiple trial trenches in advance of development – have gathered data not only about settlements and fieldscapes, but also stock and crops. However, relatively few sites have been formally published. Most reports languish in often hard to find grey literature, whose ever-expanding scale deters all but the most determined – and time-rich – from exploring it. Accordingly, overviews such as this, based on a PhD thesis, are to be warmly welcomed.

This is not the first recent work of synthesis on the subject, and Banham and Faith's ambitious *Anglo-Saxon farms and farming* (2014; reviewed in *AgHR* 63.2) merits special mention. Where McKerracher's study differs is through its extensive use of archaeologically recovered 'pollen, sediments, charred seeds, animal bones, watermills, corn-drying ovens, granaries and stockyards' from between the later seventh and early ninth centuries. This, the 'long eighth century', is increasingly identified as a period which saw profound political, social and economic change as the underpinnings of medieval England emerged. Jumping ahead, McKerracher concludes that it was agricultural innovation and intensification that powered these changes.

The study is based on two large study areas: the first greater East Anglia (essentially Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex), and the second based on the upper and middle Thames valley (Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire). As is noted, these include a wide variety of contrasting landscape types including the uplands of the Chilterns and the Cotswolds, which allows examination of the influence of soils and topography. The country's harsher zones such as the moorlands of the South West, the Pennines and the Dales lie beyond the scope of the book; here different trajectories and narratives can be assumed.

McKerracher aligns himself with the Tom Williamson 'cow and plough' school of landscape and agricultural history, which allows for a strong degree of environmental determinism. He begins by examining the small but growing evidence (including finds of coulters and shares) for the introduction and spread of the heavy mouldboard plough, which he speculates was familiar on at least high-status estates by the tenth and eleventh centuries. Heavy ploughs allowed arable expansion onto claylands and especially clay watersheds, which in turn started to reduce the available pasture and wood-pasture, requiring the closer management of stock (including oxen) via closes and droveways as well as the active management and modification of hay meadows for winter feedstuffs.

Taken together the evidence, including that of animal bones, indicates that in, or by, the long eighth century farmers were over-wintering much of their livestock. At the same time, as noted above, for the first time since perhaps the fifth century all the study regions began to produce a cereal surplus. The archaeological and palynological evidence from crops and especially weeds suggests that this growth was achieved by farmers growing crops best suited to land often newly brought into – or back into – cultivation. Hulled barley (notably on saline silts) and free-threshing wheat (in clay vales) remained most important, although oats and rye (on droughty sands) were increasingly grown. And as the volume of the cereal crop expanded so did the need for specialist structures such as granaries, helms (both tricky to identify archaeologically although examples are known) and barns to store it as well as ovens to dry and malt grain. Mills, too, started to be constructed in the seventh century, after a three-century hiatus. At much the same time flax, grapes and hemp re-appear in the farming record, possibly evidence for the demands of the expanding monastic church, or more probably for a generally more buoyant, less localized, economy.

A concluding chapter flags some key sites and discoveries beyond the study areas, which generally

support the book's earlier conclusions, for instance showing how watermills and large grain ovens are found primarily on high-status sites, both lay and ecclesiastical (points set in a wider context – with acknowledgement to McKerracher's work – in John Blair's magisterial *Building in Anglo-Saxon England*, 2018). The conclusion seems inescapable, that agricultural intensification went hand-in-hand with the emergence of powerful and clearly defined and powerful local lordship. Which was the more powerful driver is a moot point.

If drab by Windgather's normal standards, the book is well and engagingly written – the source PhD must have been wholly rewritten and only a few buzzwords like paradigm and agency pop up – and with a large number of figures locating sites, quantifying data and bringing together elements of site plans from excavations. It is also mercifully concise, with the main text running to just 125 pages. Would that all authors were so continent.

PAUL STAMPER
University of Leicester

MOIRA COLEMAN (ed.), *Household Inventories of Helmingham Hall, 1597–1741* (Suffolk Records Society, 61, The Boydell Press, 2018), 337 pp. 6 colour plates, 22 b&w illus. £15.

For readers familiar with record society volumes and used to a brief introduction, a few notes on editorial practices, followed by pages of transcribed documents and a simple index, this book will be a revelation. In her editing of the four household inventories of Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, from 1597 to 1741, Moira Coleman provides an embarrassment of riches not only in the contents of the house, but also in her interpretation. These documents are not left to speak for themselves. The entries, accompanied by lengthy and meticulous footnotes, occupy less than half the pages and are linked to a magnificent glossary and index of household goods of similar length. In addition, there are two substantial appendices on the development of the hall, 1597–1741 and the Tollemaches' period at Fakenham Magna, 1622–1665.

Coleman begins with a generous introduction outlining the history of Tollemache family, the background of the four inventories compiled in 1597, 1626, 1708 and 1741, and the editorial practices employed. The contents closely reflect the family's progress from comfortable gentry, to aspiring baronets in the early seventeenth century and finally to wealthy aristocrats in the eighteenth century. Like so many successful landed families, the Tollemaches married well. The big leap came in 1648 when Sir Lionel Tollemach, third baronet, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Murray, first earl of Dysart. When he died in 1655 she inherited the Scottish estates and became the second countess of Dysart in her own right, a common feature of Scottish peerages, which allow female succession in the absence of male heirs. In the Genealogical Table Elizabeth's husband is credited with the title, but when the sixth earl died in 1821 without heirs, and the title passed to his eldest surviving sister, Louisa, she is rightly described as the seventh countess of Dysart. This is an important point as it led to the division of the estate, between Louisa's family, who inherited the earldom with its estate at Ham House in Surrey, alongside her husband's estate in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, and the family of Jane, the younger sister, whose son, John, inherited the Tollemache estates in Suffolk, Cheshire and Northamptonshire. The situation is confusing as both families adopted the Tollemache name, but it explains the forward, written by 'The Lord Tollemache, Helmingham' at the front of the volume and Coleman's thanks to Sir Lyonel Tollemache for access to the Buckminster Park Archive. A further confusion is that the Tollemache baronetcy granted to the family in 1612 died out with the sixth earl, as it was restricted to male heirs. The baronetcy that survives was created in 1793 for Louisa's son William Manners, descended through his father from the Dukes of Rutland.

The title continued with the Tollemache family at Buckminster until the ninth earl died in 1935 without heirs. As before, the earldom went through his sister to a niece and her two daughters who served as countesses of Dysart from 1935 to 2011. The present holder, John Grant, thirteenth earl of Dysart, and seventeenth laird of Rothiemurchus, is the son of the younger daughter and a Scottish laird. The baronetcy survived as there was a male Tollemache heir available to inherit the title and the Buckminster estate; they also kept Ham House, which Sir Lyonel Tollemache, fourth baronet, and his son Cecil gave to the National Trust in 1948. The Surrey estate, beautifully situated along the Thames between Richmond and Kingston, was developed in the 1930s and finally sold in 1949. After three centuries, the Tollemache links with the earldom of Dysart and the iconic Ham House were finally severed.

In contrast to this tortuous tale, the estates in Suffolk, Cheshire and Northamptonshire left by the sixth earl to his nephew, John Tollemache, eldest son of his youngest sister Jane, flourished and became a model enterprise. W. E. Gladstone described John 'as the greatest estate manager of his day'. As MP for Cheshire constituencies from 1841 to 1872, he campaigned for land reform and was raised to the peerage as Baron Tollemache in 1876. His descendants at Helmingham today seem to follow

that tradition living in their moated manor house, tending their gardens and managing their historic estates.

Viewed from this perspective, it is almost as if the Tollemaches have turned back to their seventeenth-century forebears with their activities firmly rooted in Suffolk. Lord Tollemache, avidly interested in the history of the family, encouraged Coleman in her venture over many years. She was also supported by Victor Gray, honorary archivist at Helmingham and general editor of the volume and a team of academics, advisers and curators, who notably helped to compile the glossary and index of household goods, and the referencing system which provides easy access to the inventories.

So, how does this ingenious system work? It is quite simple. Each entry has been allotted a reference number: this consists of the year of the inventory, i.e. 97, 26, 08, 41 followed by the order in the listing, which for 1597 runs from 1 to 1216; for 1626 from 1 to 1549, while the later inventories are half that size, making a total of 4091 entries. If, for example, you want to search the close stools, look them up in the glossary either under stools, or close stools, where you will find a full description and the reference number which leads to their location in the hall. So, in 1597 there is one close stool in the Drying chamber, 97.544; three with their pans in the Old Chamber, 97.568; two with their pans in the Wardrobe 97.883; and finally a pan for a close stool in the Soap House, 97.561. So hours of fun await you! I would have preferred the glossary straight after the inventories with the two appendices at the end, but for giving us such a feast of records this minor inconvenience can be forgiven.

ELIZABETH GRIFFITHS
University of Exeter

JENNIFER S. HOLT (ed.), *The Hornby Castle Estates: Agrarian change from the 1582 Survey to the 1751 Sederunt* (The Chetham Society, 2017). xxxiii + 626 pp. 28 maps, plates, figures and tables. £39.95.

This volume presents an account of the estates belonging to the Lords of Hornby, a manor nine miles to the north east of Lancaster. Background information is presented on the Lords of the Manor from as early as 1465, starting with the three Stanleys (Lords Mounteagle), the three Parkers (known as Lords Morley and Mounteagle) through to Colonel Francis Charteris, Earl of Wemyss. The first chapter concludes with a description of the origins and location of the various estates, which extended beyond the manor and parish of Hornby.

Chapter two opens with a short description of tenant right, under which the estates were managed, and its impact on the lords' income. Indeed, on p. 58, Holt notes that 'failure to overturn tenantright' meant that 'lands became a diminishing asset'. A review of the various legal battles between landlord and tenant includes the enclosure of moorland at Tatham and the disputes regarding the rights to take timber. Holt goes on to discuss enfranchisement, which allowed the owning lords to sell their rights to the tenants, after which the latter were effectively freeholders. Two enfranchisements are considered in particular – those of 1711 and 1774 – both of which occurred in a period when ownership of the estates changed hands: Holt considers this to be asset-stripping by the lords.

The purpose of both the 1582 Survey and the 1751 Sederunt was to determine the economic potential of the estates at points of transition and was related directly to the financial aspects of tenantright – the title of chapter three The annual value accruing to the landlords is examined in comparison to that of the customary tenants: here Holt finds that whilst the landlords took 18 per cent of the total in 1582, by 1774 this had decreased to three per cent with the tenants directly benefiting from the other 97 per cent. The changes on the estates over this period are then examined to understand what brought about this effect. The four main factors were absentee landlords with estates managed by an agent, a reduction in the direct farming of the demesne lands, less focus on the town of Hornby, and the fact that the Lord was no longer able to intervene in the society of his estates.

Noting that the organization of the castle's household in 1582 was essentially medieval, chapter four observes that the real power on the estates lay with the customary tenants rather than their absentee landlords. Using the Survey and Sederunt, supplemented by other sources, this chapter examines how the resources of the Hornby estates were managed. It considers those who held office, be it as bailiffs, stewards, receivers and constables: it also looks at the court system and the appointment of jurors. Further, tenants were responsible for the maintenance of common resources such as corn kilns, mills and weirs, bridges and roads – in fact, all of the facilities provided to every individual on the estate. The power of the churchwardens and the Twenty-Four is also examined, with specific consideration given to the Quakers who lived in the area. The chapter then moves on to consider the distribution of land in terms of farm sizes, as well as the right to cattle closes or cattle gates in the outlying, higher land. Finally, this leads to a discussion of the landscape of the Hornby estate area and its features, and in particular, the effects of enclosure and improvement on that landscape.

In the final chapter of the introductory section, the economies of activities beyond the land are examined: these provided an additional source of income for some tenants. However, there were others making a living on the estate who were not tenants. For example, a tenant might malt and brew his or her own grain. On the other hand, there could be non-tenant maltsters and brewers who bought in grain: these and other independent tradespeople formed a wider economic community that took little or no notice of the Lord of Hornby.

Starting with the arable economies, the expected range of crops was grown, although potatoes were being grown in 1663: the inventories of a number of Hornby inhabitants who died in the 1670s included reference to this new crop. Livestock was again as expected, along with the food crops arising from fish and game. The practice of share cropping, or farming to halves, is examined with examples being given of its application to animals, albeit less usually than for field crops. The management of the estate's woodlands is looked at along with buildings in terms of the structures, materials and usage: most of the buildings are measured in bays and outshots, even when not cruck-built. Finally, the wide range of trades practised by the residents is considered, in terms of their contribution to the wealth of the area.

In summary, the introductory chapters examine the Hornby estates on the basis of documentary evidence, from the viewpoint of who held the power, how they achieved and kept it, and the economic implications for the lords, tenants and the wider population. Having extracted and summarized the changes in agrarian practice over a two hundred year period, a transcription of the two key documents, the 1582 Survey and the 1751 Sederunt, is clearly presented. This is followed by a number of appendices presenting key supporting documents.

Written in the way that many records society volumes are produced, the introductory section preceding the transcribed documents excels itself in its extent (224 pages) and its quality. The obvious errors are few and minor, such as the date of the Pentecost Rental in Table 2 (1772 not 1722) or the term 'bouse' (p. 206), which is not included in the Glossary. There are also errors of addition in the transcription: however, these may be errors in the original documents. Overall, this is a splendid piece of work which is clearly written, well bound on quality paper and will provide source material for students of agricultural and rural history, as well as for those interested in vernacular architecture and social change.

ALAN WADSWORTH
Evesham, Worcestershire

MALCOLM DICK and ELAINE MITCHELL (eds), *Gardens and green spaces in the West Midlands since 1700* (West Midlands Publications, 2018). 212 pp. 90 illus., figs & tables. £16.99.

Malcolm Dick and Elaine Mitchell's edited collection aims to contribute towards what Tom Williamson has called the 'new garden history' by offering social, political, economic and industrial context to gardens and green spaces in the West Midlands. The collection was born out of a conference entitled 'Landscape and Green Spaces: Garden History in the West Midlands', the Annual Conference of the Centre for West Midlands History, held in the March of 2014 at the University of Birmingham. Through nine chapters, plus an introduction and foreword penned by Timothy Mowl, the period since 1700 is explored. In doing so, the chapters examine not only the connections between green spaces and the developing industrial landscape, but also the multiplicity of sources and methodologies utilized by garden historians.

The nine contributors cover the period well and investigate many different themes that converge upon these spaces: the relationship between the urban and the rural, issues of gender, class and religion, as well as the implications of public history and heritage. The case studies offered demonstrate the distinctiveness of space and place, situating the West Midlands within wider British contexts but also emphasizing specific moments within an area of the country that changed dramatically during this period. David Whitehead's chapter on the origins of picturesque landscaping in Stuart and Georgian Herefordshire looks to what made this county a unique place through a discussion of the interplay between art, poetry and landscape, building a comprehensive and interdisciplinary case study. Here Whitehead explains the opposition to the ordered landscaping championed by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, which centred upon a desire to maintain the local character of Herefordshire. On a smaller scale, John Hemingway's chapter on William Shenstone's garden at The Leasowes in Halesowen shows the creative management and desires of one specific character rather than a wider movement. We learn of the experience Shenstone desired to create for visitors to the garden which in turn unveils wider details about landscape management, sources of knowledge for gentlemen gardeners in the eighteenth century and how these green spaces invoked as much artistic and architectural fervour as the great houses often at the centre of the landscapes.

The sheer range of sources used within the nine chapters quickly attest to a point made by Timothy Mowl in his foreword, that 'budding garden historians … must

become polymaths' (p. xv). Elaine Mitchell's contribution on the provincial pleasure garden, focusing on Duddeston, re-evaluates perceptions of industrializing towns by presenting the urban garden as a space of polite sociability. This is executed using extensive source material that highlights specific visitor experiences as well as convincingly evaluating J. Pedley's painting of Birmingham's Vauxhall as an accurate visual record. The importance of compiling a full picture through wide-ranging source material is especially clear in Joe Hawkins' chapter: in it, he offers a practical application of historical sources to restore Worcestershire's Hagley Park for the twenty-first century visitor. Not only does Hawkins desire to understand the physical landscape, but more importantly, to recapture the experience of the individual in this historic leisure space. This chapter, which is an appropriate final contribution to the book, underlines the usefulness of this 'new garden history' to West Midlands heritage in understanding landscape change and human interaction with it over time.

The relationship between the urban and the rural is a theme characterizing many of the contributions to the book. Whilst Clare Hickman's examination of therapeutic landscapes in the early twentieth century combines green spaces with health history, presenting such spaces as a retreat from the harsh effects of the urban, Harriet Devlin's work on the industrial landscape of Coalbrookdale looks to the religious and philanthropic effects on a space where the spoils of industry and the countryside came to be enjoyed simultaneously. Similarly, in Katy Layton-Jones' chapter, we are presented with a convincing argument for the understanding of urban public parks as spaces which were heavily intertwined with the surrounding industry. Layton-Jones looks to the inclusion of new industrial materials and machinery within these parks, with items as simple as wrought iron gates acting to create a new harmony between the seemingly incongruous rural and urban. As time went on, though increasingly wealthy industrialists desired to retreat from the crowdedness of growing urban areas, the city began to be incorporated into areas for retreat as with urban parks. Maureen Perrie demonstrates this within her chapter on the landscaping of south Birmingham and the estates of Richard Cadbury and Joseph Chamberlain: the views to urban townscapes were not hidden by extensive landscaping of the estates, but instead included, further developing the relationship between the rural and urban. These chapters offer many interesting insights into this relationship, one which would certainly benefit from comparison with other areas of the British Isles to see if this was a country-wide phenomenon.

Whilst the collection is wide in scope and admirable in the range of material covered, it is also made clear at several points, most notably in the introduction, that it aims to be a stimulus to further research activity, as the field is still in its infancy. This is particularly referenced in Dianne Barre's fascinating contribution on the female involvement in garden history and enterprising activity. Barre uses the *Derby Mercury* to uncover several fascinating stories of women between 1780 and 1830, but also highlights the deficiencies of the sources which tend to obscure female involvement. Barre uses her chapter to outline future research questions on the issue of gender and garden history. Overall, Dick and Mitchell's edited collection manages to be comprehensive whilst keeping to a locale, contextualizing garden spaces in multiple ways for a range of uses, in a way that will surely invite new research that will further develop the sub-discipline in exciting new ways.

LIZZIE ROGERS
University of Hull

JAMES HUNTER, *Set adrift upon the world: The Sutherland Clearances* (Birlinn, 2016). 572 pp. 27 b&w and colour illus. £14.99.

In August 2013, guests and visitors from around the world congregated in the Strath of Kildonan, in the eastern part of the Scottish county of Sutherlandshire, to commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of the Strath's notorious clearances. The two-week 'Translocation Festival', overseen by Helmsdale's Timespan Museum and Arts Centre, did more than reflect on a well-known narrative – the idea of a traditional agrarian society being destroyed by the inevitable creep of capitalism – it ensured that voices were given to those who had been marginalized in the past. Jacquie Aitken, of Timespan, stressed a fact that can often be buried beneath statistics and official accounts: the evicted and dispossessed 'were "real" people with the same thoughts and feelings as us'. This human focus, indeed, has become more prevalent in historical narratives – in recent months I have heard exactly the same argument made in the context of the Great Irish Famine (for example in identifying and attributing personalities to the 'Strokestown 1490', a previously amorphous group of evictees from the west of Ireland), as well as Finland's 'Great Hunger Years' (the inauguration address for a memorial in Ruovesi, in the summer of 2018, stressed that it was all very well to recall that '19 per cent of the parish died in 1868', but that each individual who perished was an individual with hopes, dreams, families and friends). James Hunter's latest contribution to the historiography of

the *Gàidhealtachd* and its Diaspora continues what has been, for him, a career-long crusade to amplify the subaltern voices of Scottish history.

For those acquainted with Hunter's previous works, *Set adrift upon the world* adopts a familiar tone – combative but optimistic, and determined to highlight the power structures which facilitated the mass social engineering and evictions of the Highland Clearances. The book's structure is largely chronological, although it leaps back into the present from time to time, in order to give context to characters, refer to the descendants of those who were cleared, to make explicit points about the cyclical nature of history, or to underline the persistence of the abuse of hegemonic power (allusions to Orwell and Stalin crop up quite regularly). Generations of writers who have, in Hunter's eyes, connived to normalize the Clearances and their consequences within a narrative of inevitable economic rationalization and progress, are treated with suspicion, if not outright disdain.

Hunter opens the book (p. 1) with a *dramatis personae* ('actors in the Clearance drama') and notes that 'what follows is a story'. As a result, it is tempting to bracket *Set adrift upon the world* alongside earlier polemical works about Sutherland – such as Ian Grimble's *The trial of Patrick Sellar* (1962), or John Prebble's *The Highland Clearances* (1963) or, indeed, the agitprop of John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the stag, and the black, black oil* (1973). What sets Hunter apart, however, is the sheer depth and breadth of his archival knowledge (in Gaelic and English), his extensive fieldwork, and his journalistic ability to weave complex stands into a compelling and readable narrative.

A key theme of the book is that the people themselves, despite the trying circumstances, always retained some sort of agency: early protests against the estate reorganization, therefore, are presented as rooted in tradition (pp. 94–5); the decision made by many cleared tenants to emigrate to Canada rather than remain in small coastal crofts, is presented as a conscious choice which sought to deprive the estate of labour (p. 129); attempts were made to bargain with the British crown (p. 115) – by promising a steady flow of soldiers for the empire in return for a guarantee against eviction; and during the Crofters War period of the 1880s (pp. 348–40), the actions of Patrick Sellar, James Loch, and the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland were used to stir the people of Sutherlandshire to protest or (especially after 1885) political action. Another theme – that of a pre-Clearance 'Golden Age', is a trope dismissed relatively easily as romanticism in literary works such as *Butcher's broom* (Neil Gunn, 1934), *And the cock crew* (Fionn MacColla, 1945), *The desperate journey* (Kathleen Fidler, 1964), or *Consider the lilies* (Iain Crichton Smith, 1968). Hunter is aware of this trap, however, and throughout *Set adrift upon the world* he presents the common perception of Sutherlandshire's 'wilderness', or 'unimprovability', only to counter that any wilderness is entirely man-made, and that pre-Clearance society was not only viable, but thriving (*inter alia*, pp. 5, 69, 90). This contention is reinforced in the conclusion (p. 472), where a future is imagined in which houses have been rebuilt and the straths resettled, and the Clearances are seen as 'an indefensible departure from the way things were, and the way they should have been'.

In setting up the 'Rebellion at Kildonan' (p. 63), Hunter quotes the renowned artist Alison Watt on Henry Raeburn's portrait of Major William Clunes (included in the book's plates section along with twenty-six other images). Clunes' new sheep farm at Torrish was one of the major triggers for the Kildonan Rising of 1813, and his portrait is featured prominently in the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. 'Few artists', argues Watt, 'have the skill or chutzpah' to create such a striking image. It is also fair to argue, after reading *Set adrift upon the world*, that few historians other than James Hunter possess the skill or chutzpah to produce such a coherent, convincing, and moving book about the Sutherland Clearances.

ANDREW G. NEWBY
Institute of Advanced Social Research, University of Tampere

EDWARD BUJAK, *English landed society in the Great War: defending the realm* (Bloomsbury, 2018). 208 pp. 7 illus. £85.

Edward Bujak's previous books have focused on landholdings in England and the agricultural revolution, and on the 'gentlemen' of the Royal Flying Corps. This latest work both builds on and combines these interests, looking at the relationship between English landed society and the First World War, both in terms of landed estates' contribution to the war effort, and the impact of the war on landed society. It is a compact book of just 122 pages plus 41 pages of notes and a 16-page bibliography, and Bujak has chosen to examine his subject matter through the lens of the bible of landed society, *Country Life* magazine, referencing or quoting at length no less than 85 times from issues published between 1901 and December 1918, the vast majority published during wartime.

The book clearly charts how the role of landed estates and the socio-economic class that owned them changed over the course of the war. This was initially as a recruitment vehicle until conscription was introduced

in 1916, both with regard to landed society's 'fearless and perfect gentle knights' providing officer-class material, and also the volunteering or offering of irresistible cash inducements by squires to landed estates workforces if they enlisted. The book is most chilling when recounting the instance of the Earl of Wemyss who issued a decree to his estate workforce to either 'enlist or be dismissed' – before his wife intervened to soften her husband's stark ultimatum to his workforce. Over the course of the war some estate lands were used for training camps and aerodromes, and as casualties mounted, some country estate houses were converted to military hospitals, where the wounded could experience being treated more as guests than patients by some particularly compassionate and generous aristocratic hosts.

Bujak's unwavering focus on 'landed society' does lead to some unfortunate insensitivity. He attests that 'the weight of the war fell disproportionately on English landed society', with 'few landed families … unaffected', but recognizes that the death toll only amounted to 800 titled men in the first 16 months of the war. Yet at the same time Bujak notes that across the whole of the war between 243,000 and 300,000 agricultural workers in England and Wales joined the armed services, but omits to say how many did not return. The accepted mortality figures are that some 12 per cent of the British army's ordinary soldiers were killed during the war, compared, admittedly, with 17 per cent of its officers, but that 12 per cent represented a higher number in absolute terms as the 'lower ranks' naturally comprised the larger number of soldiers; this would mean that perhaps 30,000 agricultural worker/soldiers died in the war – but this is a book on landed *society*, and the workforce that served it plainly does not count as part of it.

The chapters on fox hunting and game keeping are excellent illustrations of landed society culture at the time and the conflicting needs of wartime Britain, although readers of a sensitive disposition may flinch at the numbers of so-called game birds that were shot by the landed gentry for their amusement. War became an extension of game shooting and fox hunting, with – at least in one instance, incredibly, English beagles being transported to France to hunt French hares behind the Allied lines. This certainly provides a stark counterpoint to the world of John Lewis-Stempel's *Where poppies blow: the British soldier, nature, the Great War* where soldiers embraced nature rather than making a leisure pursuit out of destroying it. Further, fox hunting was seen within landed society as having provided a 'national service', with the country owing a 'debt' to fox hunting due to its consequent supply of horses and men already capable of riding and commanding horses – resources valued by the cavalry. That is, until fox hunting was increasingly curtailed over the course of the war, as a more efficient means of containing the fox population was sought in order to protect the growing poultry farms, which were being increased in order to help meet food needs.

The book will be of greater relevance to readers of the *Review* whose interests lie in rural life rather than agriculture. As the book highlights, pre-war many estates made more money from rural lifestyle pursuits for the gentry than they did out of farming. Bujak quotes a *Country Life* article from 1916 criticizing the neglect of agriculture by landowners because they valued the land chiefly as a generator of income through the provision of shooting, hunting and other sporting facilities, with the country house providing a pleasant focal point for social life. Agriculture was only mobilized in support of the war effort from 1917, and this helps to explain why there is only one 'agriculture' chapter – 'Landlords and Food Security' – in the book, and this is just 11 pages long, compared to 27 for gamekeeping and fox hunting combined.

In looking at how war impacts countries which are not themselves battlegrounds, the book signifies a welcome broadening of subject matter into 'Home Front' history by Bloomsbury Academic's *Studies in military history*, which has previously focused mainly on more conventional battlefield histories. However, the publisher's back cover promotional text asserts that the author 'explores the … corrosive effects that the progressive and systematic militarization of the countryside had on the authority of the squire'. In this respect the book does not deliver an examination of the militarization of the landscape of landed estates, nor proves that such a militarization was either progressive or systematic. The book shows that landed estates were subject to change during the war as a result of demands placed on them by the War Office, whether for increased agricultural production or for sites for training camps, aerodromes and hospitals, but the evidence is sporadic and there is no analysis of how temporary or permanent these changes were.

The book is also very tightly bookended contextually. Bujak's introduction sets the historical scene with Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' of 1909, accurately highlighting that the world was changing under the feet of the landed aristocracy before the war, but since the 1890s consecutive Liberal Governments had turned against the aristocracy and their landed estates as the epitome of offensive levels of inequality. Similarly, the post-war end of the book does not look forward to the impact on estates of the interwar economic depression, and with the advent of the Second World War just 21

years after the Great War ended, there was also scope for a comparison with how landed society was affected across the two wars, yet this is not acknowledged, not even as a pointer to further study. Whilst fully respecting the author's decision to adopt a narrow focus, a few additional pages to put *English landed society in the Great War* in a broader historical context would have made this interesting book more rounded.

GARY WILLIS
University of Bristol

MICHAEL TICHELAR, *The failure of land reform in twentieth-century England. The triumph of private property* (Routledge, 2019). 230 pp. £95.

Since at least the nineteenth century, various political interests and campaign groups have sought to reform legislation and taxation to alter the power of private property. In Ireland, Scotland, and to a lesser extent, Wales, the land reform movement was driven by nationalist movements seeking to remove English control as a route to independence. English land reform has a long historiography, much of which has been led by Tichelar himself. Paul Readman and Matthew Cragoe's research on the land question has charted radical opposition to the concentration of aristocratic land ownership up to 1914, while Andrew Cox focused on the party-political conflicts over reconstruction of blitzed cities after the end of the Second World War. The period between 1914 and 1945 is less well studied, as F. M. L. Thompson noted in his chapter 'The strange death of the English land question' in Readman and Cragoe's edited collection, *The land question in Britain* of 2010. In this book, Tichelar seeks to revive the question, bringing together his extensive previous articles and studies to give a detailed narrative of attempts at land reform throughout the twentieth century.

The language of 'failure' of land reform and the 'triumph' of private property noted in the title presents Tichelar's argument from the start. Political parties attempted but did not ultimately succeed in legislating for and creating strong enough institutions to redress what has historically, and continues to be, the overbearing weight of private property. But he never quite fully argues that land nationalization was ever a viable solution or that private property was always in the wrong. He points to two key factors which prevented extensive reform. The primary cause, he argues, was ultimately the strength of the Conservative governments in overturning or modifying any of the Liberals' and then Labour's policies. Tichelar's main focus is on the Labour Party, but he compares Conservative policy throughout. The second more practical reason for failure was the complexity of administering the valuation of land separately from buildings, 'a major constraint on policies seeking to tax land values, especially any levy on the unimproved value of land' (p. 202).

After two opening chapters outlining the main arguments, the narrative begins with a broad-brush overview of the origins of the English land question. The utopianism of the seventeenth-century Diggers, the anti-enclosure movement of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth-century Chartist Land Plan and Land Tenure Reform Association and the philosophies of Smith, Ricardo and Mill are presented as pioneers of the broader political critique of the inequalities of land ownership. Tichelar is more confident in the detail when he moves on to the twentieth century. He underlines two main turning points in the chronology of the land question: first, the point when major reform was most possible, and second, when political priorities and ideologies decisively shifted away from idealism to pragmatism and new interpretations of land reform. The first decisive point came with Lloyd George's People's Budget of 1909, which sought to introduce the rating of site values, a tax on the unimproved value of land regardless of whether it had planning permission for development or not. It was the most ambitious attempt to tax land values in the period, but was repealed in 1921. The central programme of the socialist and early Labour movements prioritized land nationalization in order to reduce the power of the aristocracy, and to encourage a utopian 'back to the land' drive among the working class. Following economic crises and the Second World War, however, the demand for reform came to be more associated with taxing the unearned increment and betterment value of land earmarked for development. From then on, Tichelar argues, it became increasingly impossible to enact the taxation of land values for a variety of reasons, mostly because of the 'ideological triumph of property rights' and party-political conflict (p. 5). The urgent need for post-war urban reconstruction was accompanied by fears of property developers speculating in the redevelopment of bombed sites. Land reform then became more directly linked to the nationalization of development rights rather than of the land itself (p. 3). The Labour government created a Central Land Board responsible for creating a betterment levy seeking to capture increases in development land values for the community. But as in 1921, the Conservative government of 1951 reversed the progressive policy, repealing the betterment clauses in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act (p. 19). The diminution of aristocratic estates also helped to soften the old radical critique of the propertied elite, while the rights of property owners were subsequently

boosted by the growth of owner-occupation and the consequent ideology of home ownership, which reached its peak under the Thatcher government of the 1980s (p. 12).

Tichelar shows how, by the post-war era, land reform came to mean something largely different to its earlier incarnations. The requisition of land for military purposes and the post-war reconstruction plans gave the state control over land on a scale that the earlier land reformers would not have thought possible. The growth of the commons preservation movement further began to shift the focus away from the whole framework of taxing development land. Through progressive town and country planning legislation, the state began to acquire radical powers of access and control over land for specific purposes, including development control, the establishment of green belts and national parks, garden cities and new towns, and national agencies such as the Forestry Commission (p. 5). This attitude to the relationship between the state and land continues today, although issues over the lack of social and 'affordable' housing have indicated the relevance of the older debates over inequality of land ownership.

Tichelar builds on his earlier extensive work on the Labour Party's policies towards land reform, and this focus on Labour runs through the whole book. His research is comprehensive, using a wide range of political and legislative sources, though it would have been interesting to have heard more from landowners themselves about the impact of the various government policies. His argument is threaded clearly throughout the book, although often tending to repetition. Essentially the main narrative is charted in chapter one, and then repeated in more detail through the other chapters. It could therefore be more concisely written, but overall the book makes a significant contribution to the history of land ownership in England, with a continuing relevance to debates today.

KATRINA NAVICKAS
University of Hertfordshire

DAVID JOHNSON, *Lime kilns: history and heritage* (Amberley Publishing, 2018). 96 pp. 100 illus. £14.99.

Lime kilns are among the commonest industrial archaeological sites in the British landscape and are by no means restricted to limestone country. In this attractive slender volume, David Johnson, who has researched lime kilns in northern England extensively over many years, provides an overview of the development of lime kilns (mainly but not exclusively in a British context) from the earliest times to the present day. It offers a useful guide to these often unnoticed legacies of the past for all who are interested in the history of the rural landscape.

Lime was a ubiquitous part of life in rural Britain for many centuries, not only as the soil sweetener so central to the era of Improvement but also as the key ingredient in mortar for building and as a constituent of processes as diverse as tanning, bleaching and paper-making. In order to obtain quicklime from raw limestone or chalk, the stone was broken into small pieces and 'burnt' with fuel in a kiln in order to achieve the process of calcination, which removed moisture and gasses and changed its chemical composition. Though the form and complexity of kilns evolved across the centuries, the process remained essentially the same.

The bulk of this book takes the form of a chronological canter through the development of kilns from the Romano-British and medieval centuries to modern times. Many early kilns, often surviving as little more than a slight depression in a pasture, were clamp kilns in which the limestone and fuel were sealed using turf or clay. Such were the crude 'sow' kilns found in the Yorkshire Dales, some of which have been shown by excavation to have been medieval in date, though the same simple technology continued to be used for new kilns until the 1850s.

More numerous are the stone-built field kilns which proliferated during the era of land improvement and enclosure during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Often set into a hillside near an outcrop of limestone, they can be recognized by the tell-tale stone-arched draw hole from which the finished lime was shovelled. Ordnance Survey maps show that there were thousands of field kilns in the mid-nineteenth century. Kilns tended to grow larger over time, allowing higher temperatures and greater quantities of lime to be obtained.

Kilns of this era were by no means restricted to limestone and chalk country. A major coastal trade in lime developed, involving both the shipping of raw limestone or chalk to areas which had none and the trading of quicklime. This resulted in kilns being built in coastal locations, both along the western seaboard from Devon and Cornwall through Wales to western Scotland and on the North Sea coast in East Anglia (to which chalk from Kent was transported) and in Northumberland (from which lime was sent to eastern Scotland).

The later chapters trace the evolution of large commercial lime kilns across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a story of the quest for improved efficiency, economies of scale and a higher-quality end product. Most were located close to large commercial quarries and produced lime on a scale altogether more

massive than the field kilns. Batteries of kilns were built, serviced by mineral railways and tramways, both to feed the kilns and to transport the finished lime. Increasingly complex vertical kilns were devised, with sophisticated air flows to optimize efficiency. Equally sophisticated were the horizontal continuous kilns, such as the Hoffmann kilns, where a ring of twelve or more firing chambers around a central flue enabled continuous production of lime. Dr Johnson brings each of these phases in the history of lime kilns alive through descriptions and illustrations of specific sites, thus weaving a wealth of local detail into the text.

The book is topped and tailed by brief excursions into the culture of lime kilns, both in art and literature and as modern 'heritage assets'. A helpful bibliography provides a guide to further reading for those who wish to pursue the subject in greater depth.

This is a welcome addition to Amberley Publishing's list of richly illustrated books which aim to appeal to a wide readership and to provide authoritative introductions to a topic. Amberley is continuing the tradition established by the erstwhile Shire 'albums', 'Archaeology' and 'Discovering' series, in publishing pithy introductions to archaeological and historical topics in the form of attractive slim books of around 15,000 words and 100 or more illustrations. It is a format which enforces brevity, with the result that the reader is sometimes left wishing that some sections could have been fuller, but, as David Johnson's book demonstrates, it can work well to provide a short, illustrated introduction to a subject with which a reader is unfamiliar.

ANGUS J. L. WINCHESTER
Lancaster University

Europe and Elsewhere

JAN KLÁPŠTĚ (ed.), *Ruralia X. Agrarian technology in the medieval landscape* (Brepols, 2016). xviii + 450 pp. € 90.00.

Ruralia X is a hefty volume containing papers delivered at a conference in Slovenia in 2013. In all there are 27 papers in a little under 450 pages, plus a short retrospect by the British archaeologist Alan Aberg and a foreword by Eva Svensson and Mark Gardiner. Inevitably it is something of a cornucopia and given the size of the volume it is really only possible to give brief mentions of each paper. Archaeology is, of course, a broad church. As its title suggests, the book really divides between studies of landscapes and field systems and studies of tools with little or no work that spans the two. A few are essentially documentary studies. The range is from Spain to the Danube with contributions from Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and a good wodge of papers from England but little from France and Italy and nothing from Portugal. The arrangement of the book is geographical rather than thematic and the balance of the book is in the first millennium AD rather than the second.

The first paper is a long contribution from the English archaeologists Stephen Moorhouse and James Bond, 'An approach to understanding medieval field systems across Europe: the structure and anatomy of township field systems'. As one might expect the paper draws heavily on the English evidence but the paper is certainly to be recommended as a statement of where we are with field systems (it has a long bibliography) even if avoids the question of origins. Moorhouse then contributes a second paper, 'Features within medieval townships farming landscapes in Yorkshire and their function'. Steve Moorhouse will not mind me saying (not least because I have known him since I was a teenager, which is some years since) that his writing appears but slowly, and this is a valuable statement of the work he has been doing on the landscape of the Dales since the 1980s. One is grateful to have it and wonders whether it is a foretaste of a longer discussion, or whether this could be made more readily available for local audiences. Bond then has a second paper on 'Continental plant introductions to medieval monastic gardens in Britain'. Piers Dixon then contributes a useful paper on medieval and post-medieval Scottish field systems. The paper by Alice Forward and John Hines on the excavation of a manorial site at Cosmeston in the Vale of Glamorgan is a much less ambitious excavation report and discussion: it would have been in the spirit of the book if the paper could have looked at the landscape of the manor and its field systems. So far we have had little mention of tools: Niall Brady offers a discussion of early medieval Irish ploughs which moves from artefacts to discussions of corn-drying kilns and watermills. Brady suggests a shift from cultivation using ards to cultivation using ploughs in the tenth century and suggests some of the implications of this change.

The focus of the volume then shifts to Scandinavia. Ingvild Øye contributes a very useful overview of 'agrarian technology and land use in Scandinavia landscapes, c. 800–1300' (including a nice picture of an ard on p. 165). Vibeke Vandrup Martens offers an account of Norwegian farm mounds where he argues they are the natural accumulation of decayed buildings built of turf and wood, and waste from the human activities on the site. Janicke Larsen offers an account of the landscape of a single farm in western Norway. A short paper by Catarina Karlsson then presents the result of experimental archaeology on the rate of wear

on iron ard blades (100 grams of iron and steel per ploughed hectare as it happens) showing the continued demand for iron. Skipping ahead, Lars Agersnap Larsen contributes a paper on the mouldboard plough 'in the Danish area, 200–1500 AD' and suggests that mouldboard ploughs were known in the first millennium AD. Known, of course, is not the same as used. A paper on excavations in Greenland by Peter Steen Henriksen suggests that barley really was grown in Greenland by its Norse settlers.

Lying almost exactly in the centre of the book is something rather different, perhaps incongruous. This is a paper by Janken Myrdal and Alexandra Sapoznik on spade cultivation and the sources for it, including written sources, archaeology and images. A catalogue of the images is provided. The case that the authors make (and have previously developed in the *Review*) is that spade cultivation is much more important in the peasant economy in northern Europe than has been allowed, and explains how peasants were able to make a living off apparently very small parcels of land.

We then pick up the logical order of the volume with two papers from the Low Countries, Johan P. W. Verspay on the spatial organization of late medieval settlements (seen archaeologically) in the sandy soil areas of Brabant and Phillippe Mignot and Nicolas Schroeder on the small town of Wellin in Belgium, an early aristocratic estate centre.

Two papers follow on aspects of field systems. Hans Renes contributes a short synoptic discussion of the landscape history and archaeology of open fields in Europe which to my mind would not have been too short at twice the length. Nicolas Poirier's paper, 'Archaeological evidence for agrarian manuring' reviews the documentary and iconographical evidence for manure spreading and shows the appearance of domestic pottery in the fields but the question which is not answered (and perhaps cannot be answered) is whether this pottery was carried out to the fields in human excrement or animal dung.

Poirier worked on Berry in eastern France, but *Ruralia X* then flies over the remainder of France to Spain. A single village and its territory on the northern coast of Spain is the subject of a paper by Margarita Fernández Mier and Pablo Alonso Gonzalez. Occupation is found from the Iron Age onwards. Appropriate attention is paid to the commons of the village. The advantages of a 'long-term microterritorial research' project are handsomely demonstrated. Josep Torró shows the extent of drainage of coastal marshes on the east coast of Spain around Valencia. The technologies employed here offer an interesting counterpoint from those familiar from the North Sea coastlines. We then take wing to the one Italian paper in the volume, by Paolo de Vingo, on agricultural tools found in Merovingian areas. A map would have been a useful addition to this paper, which ranges far.

Rainer Schreg offers a paper (in German) on fields in the low German mountains which combines map analysis with limited excavation. He looks for a revival of research into field systems using the new technologies now available. Iris Nießen writes on the use of place names in landscape studies drawing on examples from Swabia.

Finally we turn to Hungary and the Danube. Miklós Takács writes on tools and agrarian techniques in medieval Hungary. Szabina Merva discusses the agricultural practices of sites on the Danube although I was puzzled by her findings: accumulations of animal bones surely shows the consumption of animals rather than their breeding. Rozália Bajkai discusses a technology which has not featured much before in the volume, hand milling, and offers an account which will be found useful by a much wider audience. In a paper which is not wholly dissimilar to that of Myrdal and Sapoznik, Zdeňka Měchurová offers a discussion (in German) of the farmers' year and the tools used, mixing surviving specimens with medieval illustration. There is apparently little change over time. Finally the editor, Jan Klápště, who whether through meanness or modesty does not have his name on the title page, offers a short discussion of tools in areas of Slovenia and the Czech Republic.

The papers, with only a few exceptions, are in English. All have abstracts in English, German and French. The book, it should be said, is well illustrated. The papers are of varying interest but no two readers will ever agree which the most interesting are. It would be conceded that the papers show varying degrees of ambition. The lack of papers on France and Italy leaves a big gap in the volume. It is hard to come to any great conclusions about current research interests except to say that plainly a lot is going on. It might be possible to suggest that some countries are more interested in the ethnography of tools than others, and some more interested in landscape archaeology than others. The theme which does emerge is that of the need for iron. Like salt it was a necessity for the functioning of society: like salt, its manufacture, trade and use is poorly documented, but if there is a lesson of this collection of essays, it would be that it would be a mistake to overlook iron and its place in the agrarian economy. Agriculture did not – could not – happen without it.

R. W. HOYLE
University of Reading

DIANE CHAMBODUC DE SAINT PULGENT and MARIE DEJOUX (eds), *La fabrique des sociétés médiévales méditerranéennes. Les Moyen Age de François Menant* (Editions de la Sorbonne, 2018) 543 pp. 22 b&w figs. 10 tables. €35.

This book contains a bulky collection of 46 essays dedicated to an influential historian of the middle ages, François Menant. The essays reflect his very wide range of interests, and cover subjects as diverse as the development of Lombardy, the crisis around 1300 (especially in southern Europe), credit, rural elites, towns, literacy, and the practice and culture of political power. It would not be possible in a limited space to cover all of these themes, and therefore this review will focus on the rural matters most likely to interest readers of this journal.

Menant takes a sceptical view of the importance of the crisis around the year 1300, associated by continental scholars with 'Anglo-Saxon' historical writing. In conventional interpretations of the period, around 1300 economic growth came to an end, and the population, especially the numerous smallholders, suffered from bad harvests and famine. A number of contributors to this book demonstrate the recurrence of famine throughout the middle ages, not just in the early fourteenth century, and point to the regional differences which make it difficult to recognize a general European crisis around 1300. A small town in western France, St Jean d'Angély, which has rich documentation for the 1330s, has been studied by Petrowiste. The town's records of commercial transactions epitomize the complexity of the period with its varied interactions between rural producers and the townspeople. A simple relationship between human population and landed resources, often regarded as lying behind the crisis, seems incompatible with the activities of the rural elites and entrepreneurs, who were involved in the rural industries discussed here by Drendel and Reyerson. Entrepreneurs persisted, and a fifteenth-century example is revealed by Verna in the form of an individual functioning as a draper, butcher and merchant in the vicinity of Perpignan, who dealt in iron. Enterprising peasants supplying Toulouse with wood fuel around 1500 are analysed by Fabre. The early fourteenth-century's capacity for social mobility and renewal is demonstrated by To Figueras in his discovery that a significant number of peasants' sons in Catalonia went to school. Their parents invested heavily in their education, expecting that they would have a clerical career, though they also apprenticed sons for the more mundane occupations of shoemaker and tailor.

Menant has worked on credit, and the subject is represented in this book by a number of essays. Our knowledge of trade between country and town at St Jean d'Angély comes from references to debts, and here credit can be regarded as an aid to the flow of trade, though some traders got into difficulties. At Montpellier around the same time a female trader was apparently exploiting the local peasants who received loans and paid back in pieces of the linen that they made. Smail's study of the recovery of debts in the Lucca region suggests a growth in peasant poverty during the fourteenth century. To add to this rather negative picture of the role of credit, Laliena Corbera reveals that rural communities in Aragon would borrow money in order to pay collective royal taxes, or to fund public works such as the building of churches and bridges. Over the years these loans multiplied, and the villagers incurred substantial annual payments, so the original borrowers had saddled their successors with heavy burdens.

The countryside of Lombardy between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries was the subject of Menant's research for his doctorate, and of course the Italian sources allow detailed analysis of regional societies and economies before the thirteenth century. In southern Europe in general the division between the early and later middle ages is not as clear cut as is the case in England, for example. The accessibility of evidence as early as the eighth and ninth centuries enables Cândido da Silva to enquire into the morality of the market for grain, and Bührer-Thierry can examine members of the rural elite in the same centuries near Lucca, with their stone houses and other signs of relative affluence. Lefeuvre uses notarial acts to identify an elite family living in the neighbourhood of Florence in the mid-twelfth century. Contributors to this book make reference to the prominence of women as advancing credit, and forming part of the rural elites, in both the early and later medieval centuries.

This volume gives us an insight into the current preoccupations of continental scholars, and presents alternatives to the doom-laden interpretation of the later middle ages which seems to be gaining strength among historical circles in the 'Anglo-Saxon' world. We also gain insights into the collective spirit of academic activity in continental Europe. The introduction by Bourin and the two editors presents the progress of historical scholarship through a series of well-planned and carefully focused conferences in which François Menant had a prominent role. Later published as books, these events mark significant stages in the advance of knowledge and understanding. Such a coordinated pursuit of a common purpose differs greatly from the individualism prevailing in the 'Anglo-Saxon' academic world.

CHRISTOPHER DYER
University of Leicester

KYM ANDERSON and VICENTE PINILLA (eds), *Wine globalization: a new comparative history* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). 574 pp. 169 b&w illus. and tables. £120.

Wine is as much a marker of wealth as it is of trade, and discourses of consumption tend towards luxury and distinction. Yet, in its production, it connotes a rather more rustic engagement with the natural world, prompting comparisons between the domestic and international engagement with national wine cultures and markets. This fascinating volume edited by Anderson and Pinilla is packed with such stories, reconciling them to give a strong sense of how wine markets have evolved across two waves of globalization and over a century of development. The volume emerges from the ground-breaking work on the Global Wine Markets Database (covering 1835 to 2016), and its individual chapters provide a qualitative context for this material which both impressively situates the in-depth data and creates a meaningful cohesion across the book.

The volume is divided into four parts, with substantive engagements first into 'traditional markets' (broadly meaning what we call 'the Old World' when discussing wine, though including the UK as an important consumer) and 'newer markets' (broadly meaning 'the New World', though also engaging with emerging markets in Africa and Asia) bookended by the editors providing analytical overviews of the material. The database itself covers 47 individual countries, with a densely detailed and skilfully managed dataset that gives a wonderful overview of changes in the global market for wine across more than a century. The data is woven into the chapters throughout, giving invaluable insight into both the particular and the global. Tables are well presented and labelled throughout, and the 'Global Overview' by the editors in part 1 is a particularly rich treasure trove of information. Likewise, in the final chapter, the dataset serves as the basis for the editors to offer econometric projections, forecasts and analyses of likely developments up until 2025.

In the first substantive section, the story of the changing market for French produce is told well by the Franco-Spanish team of Jean-Michel Chevet, Eva Fernández, Eric Giraud-Héraud and Vicente Pinilla. The narrative is focused squarely on the wine sector, charting its many fluctuations in production, consumption, and export in response to pests, war, and the loss of empire. The story is one of the rise and fall of cooperatives as policy tools, the amelioration of varietals, and of complimentary measures to limit production. Here, as throughout, the tone weighs more economic than historical, and despite some strong analysis, chapters conclude by more readily offering predictions for the near future than concise analytical judgements of their historical material. Karl Storchmann does some extraordinarily nimble work summarizing the turbulent twentieth centuries of Germany and Austria (and Switzerland), to show how their wine industries responded to civilizational rupture, and subsequently negotiated the balance between free enterprise and state control. Across two chapters on Italy (the first by Giovanni Federico and Pablo Martinelli, the second by Alessandro Corsi, Eugenio Pomarici and Roberta Sardone) we get a sense of stasis followed by a rapid post-war uplift in production, driven by technological improvement, and a later export boom (beset by the 1986 adulteration scandal). Similar rapid shifts can be seen in chapters on Portugal (by Pedro Lains) and Spain (by Eva Fernández and Vicente Pinilla), and integration into global trade flows in the late twentieth century altered their fortunes (although more positively for Spain).

In the second section on 'Newer Markets', we see equally diverse stories. From the collapse in Moroccan and Algerian production described by Giulia Meloni and Johan Swinnen, to booms in Argentina which Steve Stein and Ana María Maetu attribute to the quality revolution in the 1990s that made the wine more palatable to the outside world, and in Chile where William Foster and Oscar Melo point to the 'return to normalcy' following the 1988 referendum on military rule as ushering in a more adaptive engagement with international tastes and trade. More noted 'New World' stalwarts Australia and New Zealand are surveyed by Kym Anderson, and the Antipodean 'export-led experience' after 1986 became a replicable measure of how to challenge established norms in the world of wine. For South Africa (surveyed by Nick Vink, Willem H. Boshoff, Gavin Williams, Johan Fourie and Lewis S. McLean), those lessons – tested in earlier export booms in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – would be fully employed after the end of apartheid in 1994. Another New World champion is clearly the United States, which is surveyed by Julian M. Alston, James T. Lapsely, Olena Sambucci and Daniel A. Summer. Here, the table wine revolution of the 1960s was recognized as a marker of quality at the famous 1976 Judgement of Paris and led eventually to a second boom driven by Californian expansion in the 1990s. Kym Anderson's final content chapter on 'Asia and other Emerging Regions' presents a sense of how China in particular has led the Asian share of global wine consumption to treble from 2000 to 2016, and also contributed strongly to burgeoning production levels.

From these myriad examples the book presents not

a single story, but a variety of developments as diverse as their *terroirs* and interlinked by the development of a global marketplace. It benefits, however, from the perspective this brings; for example, the concept of 'comparative advantage' (the share of wine in national merchandise exports divided by wine's share of global exports) gives a valuable analytical tool to understand and contextualize pronounced global changes. The scope of precise, generous, and well-presented information and analysis across all these chapters is truly global in scale, and the result is a testament to the excellent work of both contributors and editors. This book would make a valuable acquisition for many university libraries for the sake of its contextualized dataset alone. Yet, it will also be of great appeal to researchers and students keen to situate their knowledge of a particular country or region within a broader historical and global context. This volume is an invaluable compendium of broad economic insight and sharp historical analysis which I would heartily recommend.

ANDREW W. M. SMITH
University of Chichester

NANCY K. BERLAGE, *Farmers helping farmers. The rise of the Farm and Home Bureaus, 1914–1935* (Louisiana State University Press, 2016). 308 pp. 13 b&w illus. $48.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has held its place as one of the premier organizations representing commercial farmers in the United States for nearly 100 years now. It did not begin its existence as a nationally prominent association, but rather as an intensely local movement focused on organizing and supporting business-oriented farmers similarly to the ways in which business and industry was so effectively organizing and achieving economic and political dominance. This, in essence, is Nancy Berlage's thesis in her recent book, *Farmers helping farmers*.

Leaving the later story of growing national prominence to others, Berlage takes readers to the grassroots origins of the Farm Bureau and emphasizes the local links that remained core to the Farm Bureau's successes at the state and national levels. In these earliest years, small groups of leading farm families recruited like-minded farmers in their communities to create associations that could support each other socially, economically, and politically. Berlage neatly traces that activity through chapters focused on early local organizational structure and strategies and how those built to the eventual state and national organizations with which most historians are more familiar.

While Berlage's primary focus is the local functions of the Farm and Home Bureaus, she deftly links those developments to the broader national movement embracing organization and efficiency. Just as urban business and industrial leaders were rising to economic and political dominance through their deployment of those doctrines, farm leaders hoped their own adoption of those business principles would convey a forward-looking and efficient business vision in agriculture and help the sector to regain a place at the table of national leadership. For many early Farm Bureau organizers and leaders that effort gained traction through its link to governmental efforts to modernize U.S. agriculture through activities of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA).

Those links to government are detailed in Berlage's examination of cooperation between local Farm Bureaus and the USDA and state extension services to support county extension agents in their local communities. These were key strategies in early local organizing that lent the weight of Federal and state government to the local bureaus and the legitimacy of local support to the new county extension services. Berlage complicates the more common understanding of that early partnership as dominated by government with evidence of the role played by local farmers in accepting and supporting the arrangement. Berlage also devotes a whole chapter to the way in which local Farm Bureaus strengthened their visibility as progressive leaders, and expanded their memberships, by linking their organizations to the USDA's fight to eradicate bovine tuberculosis, a widespread contagion that not only reduced the economic value of farmers' livestock, but also threatened human contagion. Through both collaborations, the Farm Bureau identified itself to national and state professionals and leaders as the representatives of forward-looking farmers in their communities. Such activities advanced the organization's intent to gain for agriculture the same type of associational relationship to government that professional organizations and leaders in other business sectors held.

Berlage's work especially shines in its analysis of the place of women and children in the development of local Farm Bureau associations and the Farm Bureau's vision of their roles in a modernizing agriculture. Having described in her second chapter the ways in which early organizing encompassed all members of the farm family, Berlage returns her attention to women and children in her final three chapters. Two are devoted to examining competing visions of farm women's place in a professionalizing agriculture sector. The first focuses on the rise of home economics, the extension home demonstration program, and the independent Home Bureaus as offering opportunities for women's professional and organizational independence. Berlage notes,

however, both the promise of intellectual and institutional leadership that separate organization offered and the limits it could pose through its definition of separate spheres and potential exclusion of women from a role in farm production. The second describes the alternative approach of integration into the Farm Bureau organization modelled on the integrated farm family unit, which allowed women to initiate projects and take leadership roles across the range of home, family, and productive activities of farming. While leaving women free from the limitations of separate spheres, Berlage points out that women could find it difficult to assert their views in the integrated organization. Berlage's final chapter analyses the Farm Bureau's approach to youth work, which tied together, although not without tensions, the organization's emphasis on the professional, specialized vocational skills of farming and the centrality of family as the productive core of American agriculture.

Berlage's well-written study provides a long-missing understanding of the Farm Bureau's early years and grass-roots origins, drawing an important and illuminating connection between local farm organizing and the broader emphasis on organization and efficiency in business, industry, and government of the period. She makes clear the social and cultural appeal of the organization for families and communities and delves deeply into the ways that women and children benefited from, defined, and were defined by the organization. Room remains for other historians to expand this research to other regions, exploring whether the same local orientation and social and cultural approaches characterized the organization's early years outside the Northeast and Midwest communities that are Berlage's focus. Room also remains for others to fill in the gap between her narrative of the local community origins of the Farm Bureau and the more familiar narrative of the Farm Bureau's later role as a power in national farm politics. In both cases, however, the foundations for that further research are securely laid, and all historians with an interest in the American Farm Bureau Federation and in American agriculture in the early twentieth century will want to be familiar with Berlage's work.

ANNE EFFLAND
U.S. Department of Agriculture

DAVID SOTO FERNÁNDEZ and JOSÉ MIGUEL LANA BERASÁIN (eds), *Del pasado al futuro como problema: la historia agraria contemporánea española en el siglo xxi* (Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2018), 368 pp. €28.

The book is an attempt to describe the main advances that have taken place in the study of contemporary Spanish agrarian history, as well as the challenges that the discipline faces in the near future. The editors took the interesting (and in my opinion wise) decision of inviting young academics to present their contributions, choosing authors who received their doctorates after the year 2000. Although the decision could initially sound controversial, the reasons behind their choice are convincingly explained by the editors. The volume contains 311 pages (368 including a detailed bibliography) divided in thirteen chapters that vary both in the approaches followed and the themes analysed.

Summarizing briefly the content, in chapter one the editors explain the developments in agrarian history in contemporary Spain, with a special emphasis on the institutional and epistemological turning point that came at the turn of the century. The chapter is an excellent piece of work required to understand the current state of agrarian history in Spain, and how internal and particularly external factors have had an influence on the development of the discipline. As mentioned above, it also provides an explanation of their decision to include in the volume the contributions from young academics. In chapter two Fernández Mier moves beyond contemporary history, to explain how the use of archaeology and its recent improvements could be used by historians to study agrarian systems in times when traditional sources did not exist. In chapter three Collantes focuses on the concept of the food system and its use by agrarian historians, proposing that the three main epistemological schools that have covered this field could find common ground here. Chapters four and five present case studies, the first one by Martín-Retortillo with a study of agrarian output and productivity in Europe between 1950 and 2005, and the second by Serrano González with the analysis of water resources and their use in Spain since 1850. Living standards in rural areas is the focus of chapter six, where García Montero explains how the existing literature has measured historical welfare levels in the countryside. In chapter seven Beltrán Tapia introduces the role of the commons and their importance in the agrarian world, particularly in Spain. Chapter eight presents the third case study of the book, where Medina-Albadalejo focuses on the history and economic impact of cooperatives in Spanish agriculture in the twentieth century. In chapter nine Cabana Iglesia presents the importance of understanding the role of women in the rural world and the lines that could be followed in future research. The connection between political changes like democratization and the countryside is described by Herrera González de Molina in chapter ten, and

developing the theme of the connection between the rural world and politics, Cabo presents a long term view of the evolution of agrarian parties in Europe in chapter eleven. In chapter twelve Lanero Táboas summarizes the main literature on agrarian reforms in Western Europe between 1945 and 1960, extending the analysis for Spain until 1987. Finally, the book concludes with Botella Rodríguez's chapter on the main problems and challenges faced in the rural world in Latin America, including also a comparison with other countries in East Asia.

The book contains, in practically all the chapters, a summary of the literature in each one of the topics covered (particularly detailed in the case of chapters twelve and thirteen). Three chapters (four, five and eight) take the form of case studies. This provides the reader with a generous description of the current state-of-the-art in a wide range of issues related to contemporary Spanish agrarian history. However, it is in the epistemological discussions and the examples given concerning the roads the discipline should follow where the best contributions are made. Very good examples of this are the chapters dealing with the role of archaeology, food systems, welfare levels and the commons, where the authors explain the potential that each one of the topics analysed has for agrarian historians, and the way they can overcome the problems that the traditional literature has encountered. This approach is, in my opinion, an excellent way to reach a wider audience, where the chapters clearly introduce the topic and the main contributions of the literature, and the methodological difficulties are addressed from an academically robust and convincing perspective.

The editors were very clear in the introductory chapter when they explained that the scope of the book went beyond a simple review of the literature, trying also to suggest an agenda for future research. I believe that in this sense and in general, the volume achieves their ambitious goal. Although not all the chapters are equally successful fulfilling this purpose, the book can certainly provides the reader with an excellent background and a clear road map for future studies in some of the most important and promising fields in contemporary agrarian history.

CARLOS SANTIAGO-CABALLERO
Department of Social Sciences, Universidad Carlos III

PAUL WARDE, LIBBY ROBIN and SVERKER SÖRLIN, *The environment: a history of the idea* (John Hopkins University Press, 2018). 256 pp. $29.95.

The environment is at the forefront of public debate, although despite this there is often a lack of political will to address environmental issues. As a sub-discipline, environmental history has emerged only relatively recently in Europe compared to the USA. This pocket-sized book considers the emergence of the environment as a concept since 1948. The authors are leading environmental historians and the book originates from the inaugural World Congress of Environmental History. The prologue begins by posing thought-provoking questions: 'Is it possible for the economy to grow without the environment being destroyed? Will our lifestyles impoverish the planet for our children and grandchildren? Is the world sick?' (pp. 1–2). It continues by introducing the post-war backdrop to human perceptions of the environment, illustrated with notable defining events such as space exploration and the Chernobyl disaster. There follow seven discursive chapters.

The first chapter, 'Road to survival', begins by highlighting the significance of Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* as a catalyst inspiring people's interest in the environment as something man could alter rather than being in the background. Nevertheless it is argued that 'The environment was an idea whose moment came earlier, whose story was first written in an earlier time' (p. 8). There follows a discussion of events in the post-war period and influential works with it being further argued that: 'The history of an idea, and particularly the idea of the environment, is also the history of a style of imagination, a history of sciences, and very much a history of politics' (p. 14). Four dimensions of environment are proposed: future, expertise, trust in numbers, and scale and scalability. The notion of a 'post-war environmental turn' during the 1960s, reflected in governmental policy, is put forward, yet it is argued that aside from politics the '*conceptual* revolution' 'was silent, unsought, and largely unheralded' (p. 24).

The second chapter, 'Expertise for the future', explores the rise of environmentalism as a social, political and media phenomenon during the 1960s and '70s, whilst highlighting the derivation of the term 'environment' from French; Thomas Carlyle borrowed it in 1827 for a different meaning and it was widely used by writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Discussion returns to the environment as a global concern conceived during post-war reconstruction by American and Soviet scientists. The third chapter, 'Resources for Freedom', outlines how Malthusian thought influenced post-war thinking about the environment along with the development of modelling and predictive technology, and how links between statistics, ecology, demography, economics and geopolitics contributed to post-war understanding of the environment. In the

1960–70s writers like Garrett Hardin were inspired by space race thinking about the planets and much of the environmental debate at that time was concerned with global resources.

The fourth chapter, 'Ecology on the march', outlines how in the Australian and the US dustbowls during the 1930s pastoral farming systems were replaced with urban settlements heightening drought risk, soil erosion and the need for conservation of land, soil and wildlife. Hence emphasis is placed on the importance of ecology and ecological thinking regarding the stewardship of animals and land. Desertification crises necessitated the management of nature as increased output and productivity from the land was prioritized. By 1968 the Green Revolution in agriculture had led to greater research and applied technology. It is outlined how in particular ecology, which had nineteenth-century origins, sought to address concerns about the environment and world oceans whereas scientists studying animals tended to work in disciplines like zoology, anatomy, physiology, medicine and agriculture. Seemingly modern concepts such as ecosystem are shown to have a history; it was coined in 1928 by A. R. Clapham, a crop physiologist at the Rothamsted agricultural research station. It is pointed out that by the 1940s ecology and ecologists were making major contributions to the environment discourse as it was appreciated that animals and plants could impact on ecology.

In the twenty-first century, climate change is the foremost environmental issue. Therefore it seems appropriate that the fifth chapter, 'Climate enters the environment', examines how from the 1920s the discourse of climate and environment converged. As in earlier chapters, discussion is structured along the lines of notable interventions by leading figures. Climate has become an environmental issue in the last twenty years, whereas in the nineteenth century climate change science was part of different scientific disciplines. Like the earlier discussion of the term environment, the Greek origins of 'climate' are highlighted leading onto a general point that climate has been considered as essentially a local and regional phenomenon, only being recognized as a global issue relatively recently. There is an interesting section exploring work on climate and environmental warfare during the Cold War. It is argued that today, climate is central to the 'globalizing narrative' of environment. (p. 121).

Chapter six, 'The Earth is one but the World is not', explores the emergence of environmental politics since the 1960s with environmentalists addressing long-standing issues like protecting green space, ecological sites and combating pollution. By comparison, policy makers were more focused on economic development. The setting up of national and transnational environmental initiatives involved with nature conservation, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Wildlife Fund and the individuals behind them are discussed, for instance the geographer Dudley Stamp. Likewise it is shown how climate and weather were not considered environmental until high-profile droughts in the late 1960–70s.

The last chapter, 'Seeking a safe future', begins by outlining how Earth system science emerged from environmental science in the 1970s. Parallels are drawn with earlier thinkers, namely Carl Linnaeus, before turning to the Anthropocene, a suggested geological epoch marking human impact on the Earth which raises similar questions as the idea of the environment. In synthesizing the arguments made throughout the book, three ages of environment are identified: the period 1948–72 when there was progress in science and technology associated with the Cold War, a second phase from about 1970 when the environment became the concern of governments and institutions followed by the widespread use of the term environment during the past two decades. The final forward-looking section suggests ways the humanities can engage with the environment, especially by bringing together narratives of human and non-human development, and addressing concepts or problems as stories to aid interpretation. Concluding that it has a history, the authors ask, conversely, 'But does the environment have a future?' (p. 180)

This book, written in an engaging narrative style with notes at the end, could perhaps have been more lavishly illustrated. Explicit reference is made to agriculture on only a few occasions, for example, with regards to the role of the agricultural science (p. 79) and there is clearly scope for further work. Nevertheless this is a highly recommended book that agricultural and rural historians will appreciate the significance of in tracing the history of the environment. It will be of interest to a wide academic readership, including historians of the environment, ideas, politics, science and technology. More importantly, this book deserves to be read by the wider public as it explains how perceptions of the environment have evolved relative to the history of the twentieth century. Understanding this history can inform contemporary responses to present and future environmental issues.

JAMES P. BOWEN
Leeds Trinity University

CAROLE L. CRUMLEY, TOMMY LENNARTSON and ANNA WESTIN (eds), *Issues and concepts in historical ecology: the past and future of landscapes and regions* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). 338 pp. 143 b&w and colour illus. and tables. £49.99.

Historical ecology has a long history, and as a term has been used in a variety of ways, in different times and places. In essence, however, it refers to the study of change over time in ecological systems and also – due to the fact that, for millennia, and globally, these have been modified by human agency – the long-term character of human/natural interactions. The extent to which the environment has been shaped by human activities affects, of course, the very definition of 'nature', and as several of the contributors to this excellent volume emphasize, nature and the natural are culturally defined. More than that: definitions of what is 'natural' change with progressive modifications to ecosystems, an idea articulated in the concept of the 'shifting baseline', which describes how declines in biodiversity are insufficiently recognized because each successive generation reads the present situation as 'normal'. The entanglement of humans and the natural environment ensures the need for a measure of historical awareness when setting goals for nature conservation. Indeed, one of the attractive things about this book, and about the subject of historical ecology itself, is that it is more than an abstract academic enquiry, but a pursuit with urgent practical relevance in a fast-changing world. The opening chapter is entitled 'Is there a future for the past?'

To understand the history of nature involves not only a measure of collaborative and trans-disciplinary working but also the sharing of concepts and approaches between the humanities – especially social and economic history and archaeology – and the natural sciences – principally ecology. Much of the book is thus, as its title makes clear, concerned with conceptual and theoretical issues, the discussion of which is often challenging and invigorating, sometimes repetitive and on occasions, for some tastes, unnecessarily tortuous. In the first category one might place the excellent discussion by Sinclair, Moen and Crumley of how we think of time and causation in complex systems; and the exploration in chapter six of how frameworks and concepts in the natural sciences (such as niche construction or 'adaptation') can inform enquiries in the social sciences, and *vice versa*. The discussion of such matters in the abstract can become a little laboured, and so it is fortunate that most of the contributors employ case studies which both make these ideas clear and, in many cases, are simply interesting and informative in their own right. Of particular note are the discussions by Lennartsson and his collaborators of reindeer husbandry in Sweden, and of agriculture in colonial America, in their chapter on 'Diversity in ecological and social contexts'.

At times, the discussion of the relationship between changes in eco-systems, and changes in human societies, can appear slightly naïve. Explaining the European witch-craze of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a direct consequence of climate change seems to ignore many generations of scholarship. And at times cross-disciplinary interchange seems strained, as arguably in the discussion of the use of the concept of 'diversity' in biological and cultural contexts. Indeed, in some cases the subtlety of the analysis of human/natural interaction does not appear to be matched by a similar level of sophistication in the discussion of the workings of human societies. Concepts like 'class', for example, or of social inequality more generally as a driver of environmental change, are largely ignored. Moreover, the reader is left with a lingering suspicion that the particular concepts and issues which the contributors have chosen to focus on are themselves to a large extent the product of their own intellectual and social milieu. Of the key influences shaping our current environmental crisis only climate change – fashionable and topical – receives a chapter of its own, written with particular clarity by Frerik Ljunqvist. Much less is said about the impact of globalization over the past few centuries, and the consequent impact on ecosystems of alien introductions – surely one of the key impacts of humans on the 'natural' world. Nor is there any real discussion of the effects over time of population growth, of the impact of billions of humans on the natural environment. To some extent, it might reasonably be argued that the cross-disciplinarity which the book serves to foster is best realized, and certainly explained, in more focused local and small-scale case studies. But both human numbers and globalization must count as among the basic 'issues' which historical ecology needs to examine and evaluate, and even the demographics of small-scale societies is a topic which receives limited attention, in spite of the vital part it plays in the shaping of local ecological systems.

Such minor quibbles aside, this is an invigorating book, full of new ideas and striking arguments. The contributors have worked hard, and successfully, in their attempt to provide a conceptual framework to a vitally important field of intellectual enquiry. And the editors have done an excellent service in bringing together such a powerful team.

TOM WILLIAMSON
University of East Anglia

THE

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW



a journal of agricultural and rural history

Volume 67, Part II
2019

Agricultural History Review
Volume 67 Part II 2019

CONTENTS

Notes on contributors		iii
Forthcoming conferences		iv
Lords, tenants and attitudes to manorial office-holding, *c.*1300–*c.*1600	SPIKE GIBBS	155
Decline and disparkment: Management trends in English deer parks, 1500–1750	ROBERT LIDDIARD	175
Women and wage labour in rural Flanders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries	LIES VERVAET	203
'A garden to every cottage': cottage gardens and the nineteenth-century agricultural labourer	DANAE TANKARD	227
The origins of National Parks in England		
'In good hands'. The preservation of the New Forest and the long journey towards National Park designation	CATHERINE GLOVER	251
Opposition to the creation of national parks: the case of the Yorkshire Dales	R. W. HOYLE	283
Book Reviews		
Paul Cavill, *A new dictionary of English field-names*, with an introduction by Rebecca Gregory	MICHAEL COSTEN	315
Trevor Dean, Glyn Parry and Edward Vallance (eds), *Faith, place and people in early modern England: Essays in honour of Margaret Spufford*	DAVE HITCHCOCK	316

Carl J. Griffin and Briony McDonagh (eds), *Remembering protest in Britain since 1500: memory, materiality and the landscape*	JONATHAN HEALEY	317
Martin Empson, *'Kill all the Gentlemen'. Class struggle and change in the English countryside*	LEONARD BAKER	318
Sylvia Crocker, *Squatters and Social Crime: Encroachments in the New Forest in the Eighteenth Century*	JOHN BROAD	320
Richard Olney, *Farming and society in North Lincolnshire. The Dixons of Holton-Le-Moor, 1741–1906* Peter Worsley, *The Lincolnshire estates of Charles and Erasmus Darwin and their family*	SHIRLEY BROOK	320
Emma Page (ed.), *Exbury: the Mitford family's New Forest estate in the 18th century*	ALAN WADSWORTH	322
Sarah Holland, *Communities in contrast. Doncaster and its rural hinterland, c.1830–1870*	CHARLES RAWDING	323
Richard Hawking, *At the field's edge: Adrian Bell and the English countryside*	ELIZABETH BLACK	324
Jeremy Diaper, *T. S. Eliot and organicism*	PHILIP CONFORD	325
Rosa Congost and Pablo F. Luna (eds), *Agrarian change and imperfect property. Emphyteusis in Europe (16th to 19th centuries)*	CATHERINE CASSON	326
E. M. Dermineur (ed.), *Women and credit in pre-industrial Europe*	HANNAH ROBB	328
Christopher M. Parsons, *A not-so-new world: empire and environment in French colonial North America*	RACHEL WINCHCOMBE	329
Joshua MacFadyen, *Flax Americana. A history of the fibre and oil that covered a continent*	ANDREW WATSON	330
Gérard Chouquer and Marie-Claude Maurel (eds), *Les mutations récentes du foncier et des agricultures en Europe*	NADINE VIVIER	331
Winter Conference Report 2018	PAUL WARDE	333
Spring Conference Report 2019	JOSHUA RHODES	335
On the changing of the editor: some valedictory reflections	R. W. HOYLE	338

Notes on Contributors

SPIKE GIBBS is currently an LSE Fellow in the Department of Economic History at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His recently completed PhD thesis examined manorial office-holding between 1300 and 1600, concentrating on the impact of the decline in lordship and rise of the state on the governance of England's village communities. Email: a.s.gibbs@lse.ac.uk.

CATHERINE GLOVER obtained an MA in Regional and Local History and Archaeology at the University of Winchester in 2012, completing a dissertation on country houses in the New Forest in the late nineteenth century. She has published in *Southern History*, volunteers one day a week at the New Forest Heritage Centre, and is the Web Administrator and Publishing Manager for the British Agricultural History Society. Email: catherine_glover@btinternet.com.

RICHARD HOYLE is the retiring editor of *Agricultural History Review*. The first issue he saw through the press was Volume 47 part 1 (1999). When he started he was Professor of History at the University of Central Lancashire. He then served for a long period as Professor of Rural History at the University of Reading before moving to the Institute of Historical Research to become Professor of Regional and Local History and Director of the Victoria County History. He is now back at Reading as Visiting Professor of Economic History. In 2010 he became the founding president of EURHO, the European Rural History Organisation. Email: r.w.hoyle@reading.ac.uk.

ROBERT LIDDIARD is Professor of History at the University of East Anglia, Norwich. He has published widely on various aspects of English landscape history, with particular reference to deer parks and hunting grounds and the landscape context of fortifications in the medieval and post-medieval periods. Address: School of History, University of East Anglia, Norwich Research Park, Norwick, NR4 7TJ; e.mail: rob.liddiard@uea.ac.uk

DANAE TANKARD is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Chichester. She is a social and cultural historian, mainly of the seventeenth century, and focuses her research on Sussex. She is the author of *Houses of the Weald and Downland: people and houses of south-east England, c.1300–1900* (2012) and *Clothing in 17th-century provincial England* (2019). Address: Institute of Arts and Humanities, University of Chichester, College Lane, West Sussex, PO19 6PE; email: d.tankard@chi.ac.uk.

LIES VERVAET obtained her PhD in History at Gent University, Belgium, in 2015, with a study on the estate management of St John's Hospital of Bruges, one of the major landowners of medieval Flanders. In this study, she focused on the organization of the leasehold system, on the organization of rural labour, on the food provisioning of the urban landlord and on geographical aspects of the estate management. From 2015 to 2017 she worked as a postdoctoral fellow of the Research Foundation Flanders – FWO, with a project about women, labour and land in the late medieval Low Countries, in particular coastal Flanders. Currently, she is working in a regional heritage organization, engaged in landscape history in Flanders. Email: liesvervaet@gmail.com.

Forthcoming conferences

The British Agricultural History Society
Spring Conference
Wortley Hall, near Sheffield
6 to 8 April 2020

Speakers include Professor Paul Warde (Cambridge), Dr James Bowen (Leeds Trinity); Professor Nicola Whyte (Exeter); Sally Goodsir (Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust); Dr Kristof Fatsar (Kingston); Martino Lorenzo Fagnani (Pavia); Luciamo Maffi (Genoa); Dr Spike Gibbs (LSE); Dr John Davies (Carmarthenshire); Dr Jane Rowling (Hull); Prof. Gregory Bankoff (Hull); Dr Harvey Osborne (Suffolk); Catherine Glover and Prof. Richard Hoyle (Reading).

Lords, tenants and attitudes to manorial office-holding, *c.*1300–*c.*1600*

by Spike Gibbs

Abstract

Recent revisionist scholarship has challenged the view that the relationship between lords and tenants in late medieval England was inherently conflictual. However the consequences of this revisionism for the position of manorial officials, individuals drawn from a lord's tenants to help run his manor, have not yet been fully considered. Using the surviving court rolls of three case-study manors, this article demonstrates that tenants were invested in an effectively functioning system of officers, which met their needs in the manor court. To preserve this system, tenants policed both officials and the wider community independently of seigneurial pressure to ensure officers performed their work correctly. This 'positive' attitude of tenants towards manorial office-holding in turn has greater ramifications in explaining the persistence of manorial structures into the sixteenth century and implying that the exercise of manorial lordship was as much collaborative as conflictual.

The relationship between lords and tenants has long been a central theme in the economic and social history of late medieval England. The traditional view, often associated with a Marxist historiography, argues that this relationship, particularly as far as it concerns unfree tenants, was fundamentally exploitative due to a process of 'surplus extraction' by which lords, using coercive means, sought to expropriate the wealth and labour of peasant households.[1] Manorial structures and especially the manorial court, are seen as the key instruments by which the lord controlled his tenants and thus achieved this extraction.[2] Whilst acknowledging some

* I would like to thank Chris Briggs for his helpful comments on, and supervision of, the chapter of the PhD thesis on which this article is based. I am also grateful to Richard Hoyle and the two anonymous reviewers for the *Agricultural History Review* for their useful suggestions which have been crucial in improving the paper. Any errors remain my own.

[1] R. Brenner, 'Agrarian class structure and economic development in pre-industrial Europe' in T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin (eds), *The Brenner debate: agrarian class structure and economic development in pre-industrial Europe* (1985), pp. 27, 31–6; R. H. Hilton, *Bond men made free: medieval peasant movements and the English rising of 1381* (1977), pp. 41–2; id., 'Peasant movements in England before 1381', *EcHR* 2 (1949), pp. 118–20; id., *The English peasantry in the later middle ages: the Ford lectures for 1973 and related studies* (1975), pp. 58–69; C. C. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later middle ages: social change in England, c.1200–1520* (1989), pp. 136–8.

[2] Hilton, *English peasantry*, pp. 231–4; C. C. Dyer *Lords and peasants in a changing society: the estates of the bishopric of Worcester, 680–1540* (1980), pp. 52, 265; R. Faith, *The English peasantry and the growth of lordship* (1997), p. 256; J. S. Beckerman, 'Procedural innovation and institutional change in medieval English manorial courts', *Law and Hist. Rev.* 10 (1992), pp. 199–200; R. Evans, 'Whose was the manorial court?',

successful resistance, Ralph Evans notes that at Thorncroft 'the manorial court … consistently secured eventual compliance' to the desires of the lord.[3]

Within this model the role of manorial officials is of prime importance. Officials provided the personnel necessary to run manors, and therefore to enforce seigneurial policies on the ground. Whilst the actual suite of officers, as well as the roles they performed, varied greatly between different manors, they could include reeves, who managed the lord's demesne land, beadles or messors who enforced the decisions of the manorial court, and presentment jurors who reported offences to the court.[4] Manor courts which also held leet sessions, a franchise allowing lords to police aspects of the royal law such as petty violence and the assize of bread and ale, additionally had leet jurors or capital pledges, who presented these offences, and constables who enforced the peace within the leet. Whilst such roles were technically to keep the King's peace, the lord's franchise meant these officials allowed him to collect the amercements paid by offenders, meaning that they still served a seigneurial purpose.[5]

In this framework, the position of officials is fundamentally conditioned by the relationship of tenants to both their lord and manorial structures. Officials were an essential element in enabling a lord to receive the profits of lordship. At the same time, they bore the brunt of discontent with seigneurial policies, being both immediately accessible and worse protected than lords. This point is significant due to the method by which offices were filled on many manors. Whilst some lords used hired officials called bailiffs, many instead relied on individuals chosen from among their own tenants, who were obliged to serve due to their tenure.[6] The more important tenant-officials were sometimes rewarded by rent-remittances, but they were not professionals, often serving for only short periods of time before being discharged as other individuals were selected to serve in the same office.[7] Reeves could be held personally responsible for any shortfalls in their accounts, and therefore had to secure the cooperation of their fellow tenants in paying amercements and rents.[8] The fact that officials had to live among the tenants, and were typically unfree tenants themselves, reveals a potential conflict of interest between serving the lord efficiently and maintaining positive relations with the community of tenants.[9]

The pressures underlying this conflict were linked to the changing nature of lordship, which was in turn linked to demographic change. This leads to three stages in the position of manorial office-holding. The first stage, conditioned by the high population and direct demesne management of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, saw officers in a

in R. Evans (ed.), *Lordship and learning: studies in memory of Trevor Aston* (2004), pp. 155–8; S. H. Rigby, *English society in the later middle ages: class, status and gender* (1995), pp. 25–8.

[3] R. Evans, 'Merton College's control of its tenants at Thorncroft, 1270–1349', in Z. Razi and R. M. Smith (eds), *Medieval society and the manor court* (1996), p. 254.

[4] M. Bailey, *The English manor,* c.*1200*–c.*1500* (2002), pp. 98–9, 171–4.

[5] Bailey, *English manor,* pp. 181–3.

[6] Following the convention found in the secondary literature, hired manorial officials are referred to as bailiffs to distinguish them from officials drawn from among the lord's tenants, although in the actual documentation the nomenclature is often less clear cut.

[7] Bailey, *English manor*, pp. 99–100, 171.

[8] Ibid., pp. 100–4.

[9] Hilton, *English peasantry,* pp. 57–8.

relatively positive position. David Stone has suggested reeves were competent managers and able to meet seigneurial expectations.[10] Officers also benefited from the opportunity to cream off significant perquisites for themselves, as is vividly revealed by the formulary of Robert le Carpenter, which details methods which allowed officials to utilize their position for illicit profit.[11] This meant serving in office was at least a manageable burden and may have provided opportunities for enrichment, despite lords' attempts to prevent fraud.

However, in the second stage, the population collapse caused by the Black Death is seen to have reversed this picture. Lords attempted to maintain revenues in the face of falling prices and rising wages, engaging in a process of 'Feudal Reaction'.[12] This meant that reeves came under increased pressure to keep estates profitable whilst officials were required to enforce aspects of serfdom, including labour services, designed to replace expensive waged labour, at a time when a reduced population meant it was easier to resist servile obligations.[13] Officers and office-holding became subject to attack from their fellow tenants, with Peter Larson detailing a litany of assaults on officers and refusals to serve as officials on the manors of the Bishop of Durham.[14] In such straitened times, the office-holding system looks to have been increasingly unattractive for those serving, especially as the post-Black Death world offered opportunities for skilled agriculturalists beyond their home manor.[15]

Finally, in the third stage, the impact of successive plagues in the fifteenth century led to a restructuring of the manorial economy and in turn a reduction in the importance of office. Sustained low grain prices and high labour costs triggered a shift in seigneurial policy from direct management to the leasing of agricultural land, meaning that lords sought less control over their tenants through courts and officers.[16] Simultaneously, serfdom declined and then disappeared across England, meaning that manor courts were no longer required to monitor personal unfreedom.[17] These changes have led to the view that manor courts, and thus manorial office-holding, fell into terminal decline by the sixteenth century, especially with the

[10] D. Stone, *Decision-making in medieval agriculture* (2005), pp. 189–203.

[11] P. D. A. Harvey, *A medieval Oxfordshire village: Cuxham, 1240–1400* (1965), pp. 69–71; C. D. Briggs, 'Monitoring demesne managers through the manor court before and after the Black Death', in J. Langdon, R. Goddard and M. Müller (eds), *Survival and discord in medieval society: essays in honour of Christopher Dyer* (2010) p. 180; Dyer, *Lords and peasants*, p. 114; M. Carlin, 'Cheating the boss: Robert Carpenter's embezzlement instructions (1261x1268) and employee fraud in medieval England', in B. Dodds and C. D. Liddy (eds), *Commercial activity, markets and entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages: essays in honour of Richard Britnell* (2011), pp. 184–90.

[12] R. H. Britnell, 'Feudal reaction after the Black Death in the palatinate of Durham', *Past and Present* 128 (1990), pp. 1–2; P. V. Hargreaves, 'Seigniorial reaction and peasant responses: Worcester priory and its peasants after the Black Death', *Midland Hist.*, 24 (1999), pp. 53–5, 73–4.

[13] Stone, *Decision-making*, pp. 221–4; C. C. Dyer, 'The English medieval village community and its decline', *J. British Studies*, 33 (1994), pp. 416–7, 427–8.

[14] P. L. Larson, *Conflict and compromise in the late medieval countryside: lords and peasants in Durham, 1349–1400* (2006), pp. 136–8, 217–21.

[15] Stone, *Decision-making*, pp. 105, 168, 224; Harvey, *Oxfordshire village*, p. 73; D. Stone, 'The reeve', in S. H. Rigby (ed.) with the assistance of A. Minnis, *Historians on Chaucer: the 'General Prologue' to the Canterbury Tales* (2014), pp. 413–6.

[16] B. F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages* (1977), pp. 148–51; J. L. Bolton, *The medieval English economy, 1150–1500* (1980), p. 214; C. C. Dyer, *An age of transition? Economy and society in England in the later middle ages* (2005), pp. 96–7.

[17] Larson, *Conflict and Compromise*, pp. 235–50; M. Bailey *The decline of serfdom in late medieval England: from bondage to freedom* (2014), pp. 326–9.

rise of the parish as an alternative structure of village government from the fifteenth century onwards.[18]

The impression of tenants' attitudes to manorial office-holding given in this traditional schema is largely predicated on their role in mediating the lord-tenant relationship. Officers had to tread a difficult line between the desires of the lord and their fellow villagers. By the same token, they could variously ally with either side in order to further their own ends and utilize office to improve their standing, perhaps giving them a measure of control over their fellow tenants.[19] Alternatively, they could seek to lessen the burdens on their fellows through overlooking non-performance of labour services and concealing heriots.[20] This approach is sensitive to flexibility in attitudes to office, suggesting that office-holding was not always a system used entirely to subjugate a tenantry nor entirely used by tenants to meet their own needs. However, it adopts a model of a continuum with the lord's desires at one end and the tenants' desires at the other. Interpretations typically explore the role of reeves and beadles in collecting rents, entry fines and servile dues, and organizing works on the demesne: actions designed to extract cash and labour from the tenants to benefit the lord. It was through not exercising such elements of extraction, typically via concealment, that officers could side with their fellow tenants.[21] Whilst in the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century officials were able to manage this balance, their position became untenable after the Black Death as officials became trapped between lords exerting power from above, and the community of tenants, exerting power from below. In turn, as lords increasingly abandoned direct management and controlling their unfree tenants, office-holding itself withered away with the decay of lordship, suggesting officials largely served seigneurial purposes.

This article seeks to take a different approach to office-holding. It is informed by both a revisionist approach to the relations between lord and tenants, and innovations in the understanding of who benefited from manorial structures. For the period before demographic decline, John Hatcher and Junichi Kanzaka have argued that rents fixed by custom meant that villein tenants (as opposed to freemen) were at an advantage in the land-hungry pre-Plague era.[22] Similarly, depressed wages incentivized lords to commute the labour services of unfree tenants for cash that could be used to pay better-motivated waged labour to work their

[18] C. C. Dyer and R. W. Hoyle, 'Britain, 1000–1750', in B. J. P. van Bavel and R. W. Hoyle (eds), *Social relations: property and power* (2010), p. 67; Dyer, 'Medieval village', pp. 428–9; Beckerman, 'Procedural Innovation', p. 200.

[19] Harvey, *Oxfordshire village*, pp. 69–70; C. C. Dyer, 'The political life of the fifteenth-century English village', in L. Clark and C. Carpenter (eds), *Political culture in late medieval Britain* (2004), p. 141; Larson, *Conflict and compromise*, pp. 22–7, 58; M. Müller, 'A divided class? Peasants and peasant communities in later medieval England', in P. R. Coss and C. Wickham (eds), *Rodney Hilton's middle ages: an exploration of historical themes* (2007), pp. 117–18.

[20] P. R. Schofield, *Peasants and community in medieval England, 1200–1500* (2003), pp. 42–4, 168; Evans, 'Merton College's control of its tenants', p. 210; Briggs, 'Monitoring demesne managers', p. 180.

[21] Briggs, 'Monitoring demesne managers', pp. 179–80, 194; Dyer, *Age of transition*, p. 95; Schofield, *Peasant and community*, pp. 42–3.

[22] J. Kanzaka, 'Villein rents in thirteenth-century England: an analysis of the hundred rolls of 1279–80', *EcHR* 55 (2002), p. 617; J. Hatcher, 'English serfdom and villeinage: towards a reassessment', *Past and Present* 90 (1981), pp. 7–14; J. Hatcher, 'Lordship and villeinage before the Black Death: from Karl Marx to the Marxists and back again', in M. Kowaleski, J. Langdon and P. R. Schofield (eds), *Peasants and lords in the medieval English economy: essays in honour of Bruce Campbell* (2015), pp. 131–40.

lands.[23] For the period after the Black Death, Mark Bailey has found little evidence for a 'feudal reaction'. Any attempt to tighten the seigneurial grip over tenants was hampered by the inability of lords to compel tenants to return if they fled the manor. Lords instead quickly dropped aspects of personal unfreedom such as marriage fines and converted servile tenures into new forms of heritable holdings and leaseholds.[24]

Several historians have also re-evaluated manorial structures, revealing their utility for tenants as well as for enforcing lordship. They have emphasized that even before the Plague, courts facilitated *intervivos* land transfers (which allowed tenants to participate in fluid land markets) and deathbed transfers (which allowed tenants to fashion inheritance strategies).[25] The court's role as a forum for interpersonal litigation allowed tenants to enter into enforceable credit relationships.[26] This position has been further extended in studies examining manorial courts in the early modern period. These have argued that manorial structures played an important role in village life even after the waning of their use as an instrument of seigneurial control in the fifteenth century. This was due to their ability to regulate village communities independently of lordship. Marjorie McIntosh has emphasized the role of manor courts in 'controlling misbehaviour', revealing how villagers from the late fourteenth century onwards took their own initiative in policing their neighbours via court leets, prefiguring national trends in the late sixteenth century.[27] Other studies have noted that manor courts remained important for the management of commons as a forum in which bylaws could be made and enforced.[28] Brodie Waddell has taken a long view of manor courts, arguing that they remained important up to the mid-nineteenth century. He has emphasized that the flexibility of the courts made this possible, through a shift from policing crime and disorder to maintaining the fabric of the manor through bylaws and orders to repair hedges and ditches.[29]

How does this more positive view of lord-tenant relations and the long-term utility of manorial structures for tenants affect the model of manorial office-holding as being mainly seigneurially driven outlined above? Here, it is argued that is necessary to ask what evidence there is for tenants being committed to a well-functioning system of officers. This

[23] R. H. Britnell, *Britain and Ireland, 1050–1530: economy and society* (2004), pp. 235–6; B. M. S. Campbell, 'The land', in R. Horrox and W. M. Ormrod (eds), *A social history of England, 1200–1500* (2006), pp. 212–3.

[24] M. Bailey, 'The myth of "seigniorial reaction" in England after the Black Death', in Kowaleski, Langdon and Schofield (eds), *Peasants and lords*, pp. 149–65; Bailey, *Decline of serfdom,* p. 337; P. R. Schofield, *Peasants and historians: debating the medieval English peasantry* (2016), pp. 104, 108.

[25] P. D. A. Harvey, 'Introduction', in P. D. A. Harvey (ed.), *The peasant land market in medieval England* (1984), pp. 24–5; J. Whittle, *The development of agrarian capitalism: land and labour in Norfolk, 1440–1580* (2000), pp. 85–177; L. Bonfield and L. R. Poos, 'The development of deathbed transfers in medieval English manor courts', in Razi and Smith (eds), *Medieval society and the manor court*, pp. 134–41.

[26] C. D. Briggs, *Credit and village society in fourteenth-century England* (2009), pp. 12–18.

[27] M. K. McIntosh, *Controlling misbehavior in England, 1370–1600* (1998), pp. 1–20, 34–45.

[28] L. Shaw-Taylor, 'The management of common land in the lowlands of southern England, *c.*1500–*c.*1850', in P. Warde, L. Shaw-Taylor and M. de Moor (eds), *The management of common land in north west Europe, c.1500–1850* (2002), pp. 63–8; A. J. L. Winchester, *The harvest of the hills: rural life in northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400–1700* (2000), pp. 33, 148–51.

[29] B. Waddell, 'Governing England through the manor courts, 1550–1850', *Historical J.*, 55 (2012), pp. 280, 301–7.

questions the notion of office-holding as purely, or even mainly, a seigneurial obligation, arguing instead that tenants, at least collectively, had a positive 'attitude' towards manorial office. In exploring this, the range of officials examined is broadened beyond that typical of studies in the pre-existing literature to include jurors and capital pledges alongside demesne-management positions such as reeves and beadles. It thus encompasses all the officials on these manors who were chosen from amongst the lord's tenants. In this way a more holistic view of the manorial office-holding system can be achieved. The time-frame adopted also extends beyond the traditional close of the late middle ages, ending in 1600. This is to see whether there is evidence of tenants' engagement with office beyond the traditional narrative of decline in the fifteenth century in accordance with the recent interest shown by early modernists in manor courts.

The evidence here used to examine attitudes consists of entries concerning manorial officials made in the surviving court rolls of three manors for the period *c.*1300 to *c.*1600.[30] These are Little Downham (Cambs.), Horstead (Norf.) and Worfield (Shrops.). The entries fall into three categories: those detailing official failure or illicit behaviour, those detailing officials resisting the lord, and those detailing offences made against officials. Using this qualitative evidence is challenging. All entries reveal a deviation from a 'normal' standard of behaviour, and thus represent exceptional rather than typical evidence that is hard to evaluate. This concern is in part alleviated by the evidence collection process. Rather than cherry-picking evidence from a large number of manors, three case study manors were chosen and then every surviving roll consulted, meaning that the selected incidents represent a known sample of all entries surviving for these manors. A more fundamental frustration is the terse nature of court rolls, which contain Latin summaries of complex events that took place both inside and outside court sessions. These examples can therefore only offer snapshots into 'real' events, and motive must nearly always be imputed rather than directly read.

All three manors held courts leet, but had different sets of officials. Downham, held by the Bishop of Ely, had a reeve, a messor, capital pledges, a jury and a constable. However, between 1444 and 1471 the reeve and messor were replaced by a salaried bailiff. Worfield, held by the Lords of Abergavenny, had a reeve, beadle, a leet jury, a jury and a constable. Horstead, held by the crown and then King's College Cambridge, had capital pledges, a jury and a constable, with a salaried bailiff representing the lords' interests. Barring the bailiffs, all these officials were chosen from among the lord's tenants, typically being put forward by the community. Whilst space does not permit extensive comparative discussion of how these different configurations of office-holding systems might have affected attitudes, the diversity reveals that the arguments made here are appropriate for more than one sort of manor.

Three aspects of attitudes are examined. Firstly, it is argued that the reporting of corruption in office by tenants and other officials reveals that tenants wanted at least some aspects of officers' work to be performed correctly, and that these often concurred with the desires of the

[30] Unfortunately, none of these court roll series are entirely complete. Downham's court rolls survive between 1310 and 1582 with gaps of more than three years for 1317–22, 1336–61, 1475–83 and 1509–51. Horstead's rolls survive for 1392–1599 with gaps of more than three years for 1494–1510 and 1562–5. Worfield's rolls survive 1327–1600, but with gaps of more than three years 1467–71 and 1542–7 as well as very patchy survival pre-Black Death.

lord. Secondly, it is shown how a tenant-officer system allowed tenants to defend themselves against aspects of seigneurial administration, in a way that would be far harder if they had not had an active role in the running of the manor. Thirdly, the perspective is shifted by exploring the offences made against officials by their fellow tenants, and the way these were punished. This further reveals the commitment amongst at least some tenants to a well-functioning office-holding system, showing how they worked to prevent protests against the authority of officers.

I

The evidence of medieval estate manuals reveals that lords were concerned about the losses caused by illicit behaviour in office, and sought to minimize this as much as possible.[31] However, monitoring corruption was not a straightforward task for any lords and was especially difficult for those who were not resident on their manors. Whilst audited accounts and the supervision of the steward provided some form of monitoring, lords also relied on accusations arising from the tenant body as a whole. These came in the form of presentments made by manorial juries or more general inquests asked of the whole homage, in response to charges laid by the steward.[32] However, the question of incentives is paramount here. If an illicit profit affected the lord alone, why would the tenants choose to present it?

Partially this must have been due to fear of being punished for concealment if the tenants' knowledge of corruption was later made known to the steward.[33] As is shown below, officials and tenants at the case-study manors were presented for failing to disclose information, although none of this was directly related to official corruption. Another key aspect of coercion was the fact that officials could be made liable for each other's failings and corruption in their accounts, creating an incentive for reporting. This both affected individuals serving successively in the same role, as well as officers who worked in tandem. An example of the former is seen in a Worfield session of *c*.1393.[34] The jury made a series of presentments concerning Thomas de Rugge, a former reeve who had ended his service in 1392.[35] These stated that Rugge had not delivered the profit of two horses and 26*s*. 6*d*. in money forfeited by a felon, failed to pay 46*s*. 8*d*. of rent from the leasing of a mill and only supplied part of the value of a heriot and stray. The fact that Rugge only had to supply the balance of the account, with no additional punishment, suggests that this was not outright corruption but rather a failure to fully account for the year. However, more intriguing is that these charges were specifically made because Thomas was charged in the account of Roger Broke, his successor as reeve. This would seem evidence of Broke's need to monitor Rugge's actions in office to avoid being made liable for any profits which his predecessor failed to render.[36]

[31] D. Oschinsky (ed.), *Walter of Henley and other treatises on estate management and accounting* (1971), pp. 274–81 [c.35–49], 317 [c.33–5].

[32] Harvey, *Oxfordshire village*, p. 66, n. 1; Briggs, 'Monitoring demesne managers', pp. 184–5.

[33] Evans, 'Whose was the manorial court?', p. 164.

[34] Shropshire Archives (hereafter SA), P314/W/1/1/212, *c*.1393.

[35] SA, P314/W/1/1/184, 2 Dec. 1392.

[36] Harvey notes the common practice of charging reeves with the debts of their predecessors: Harvey, *Oxfordshire village*, p. 67, n. 8.

Chains of responsibility also incentivized officers to monitor the behaviour of their fellows.[37] In 1416, William Gerbod complained that when he had been reeve three years earlier, Henry Barker had served under him as beadle 'to levy and collect rents, fines, amercements and services as was customary'. However, whilst William had 'repeatedly requested the aforesaid Henry to account with him', he had 'always refused to do this', making William liable for the money Henry owed. Henry came to defend himself, and the court ordered that the two men account to two auditors assigned by the steward.[38] Whilst the outcome of this case is not stated, it reveals how the lord's accounting system made senior officials responsible for the behaviour of subordinate officials, and that disagreements could actually lead the former to seek more seigneurial oversight of their roles.[39] A less explicit case is seen in 1412 at Downham, where the messor was amerced 40*d*. for refusing to sow the lord's seeds when he was required to by the reeve, meaning the latter had to utilize hired labour instead. Plausibly, in this instance the jury presented the case to ensure the reeve was not punished for his subordinate's failures.[40]

Beyond these pressures on officials to report misbehaviour, one can find hints of juries and the wider homage presenting illicit profits of officials as a form of control over individual officers. As Chris Briggs has demonstrated, the monitoring role of tenants was far from neutral, and tenants could choose to make presentments against officials they found objectionable.[41] In a detailed set of presentments of 1316, the Downham jury outlined a series of illicit profits made by William Personn as reeve, totalling 25*s*. 10*d*. in damage to the lord.[42] These mainly involved utilizing the lord's resources for his own ends, including using the lord's workhorses, cart, and *famuli* to carry his crops and sedge, pasturing his beasts on the lord's land, and taking the lord's timber. The jury's accusations even extended to failure to perform tasks, with them stating 'that the plough-team of the lord laid idle through three successive weeks in Summer and Autumn'. However, the steward stated this was due to work required for the bishop's kitchen and did not cause loss to the lord. Why the jury chose to present such a comprehensive list of abuses against Personn cannot be established for certain, although an intriguing possibility is provided by a presentment in the same list stating that Personn had committed adultery with the wife of Robert Maurice. Was this violation of a moral norm behind the presentment? One of the cases Briggs identified for nearby Landbeach concerned John Frer sending peat turves to his 'concubine', a remarkably similar situation, although as Frer was a salaried outsider, attributing a 'moral' explanation is more tenuous.[43] Furthermore, Maurice's wife was mentioned separately in a later presentment, when it was stated that Personn had allowed her servants to forage in the manor's fen. Thus, it was perhaps as much that Personn had allowed his mistress to benefit from illicit profits, rather than his taking of illicit profits himself, which had angered the wider office-holding community. This argument could potentially be extended to Frer.

[37] Briggs notes the overall responsibility of demesne managers for their subordinates: Briggs, 'Monitoring demesne managers', p. 183.

[38] SA, P314/W/1/1/244, 14 May 1416.

[39] Dyer notes the joint accounting practices of beadles with reeves on manors of the Bishop of Worcester: Dyer, *Lords and peasants*, p. 114.

[40] Cambridge University Library, Ely Diocesan Records (hereafter CUL, EDR), C11/2/4, m. 30, 28 Dec. 1412.

[41] Briggs, 'Monitoring demesne managers', pp. 190, 194–5.

[42] CUL, EDR, C11/1/1, m. 6, 27 Feb. 1316.

[43] Briggs, 'Monitoring demesne managers', p. 18.

However, beyond cases of presentment of illicit profits as an indirect punishment for other transgressions, a significant incentive for officials, and tenants more generally, to monitor the behaviour of officers is that roles performed incorrectly might have a negative impact on the tenants. In a landscape where seigneurial and tenants' land lay intermingled, poor management of the former could damage the latter.[44] At Downham, reeves were presented for mismanaging seigneurial livestock which led to damage to the tenant's crops and failing to scour ditches and maintain watercourses which led to the flooding of common roads.[45]

The detailed case of Thomas Jenkins reveals how concerns about corruption could affect both lord and tenants, leading the jury to be incentivized to report abuse in office. Jenkins served as reeve in 1402–04, but concerns about his conduct emerged in the following year. In July 1405, the jury presented that Jenkins should answer for 2*s*. he received for selling escheated pigs, although this entry gives no suggestion of dishonesty. More importantly, in the same session men who had acted as mainpernors of the farmer of the lord's mill paid for an inquisition into Jenkins. They had been 'greatly damaged' by the fact that this farmer had unexpectedly fled from the district and asked if Jenkins 'did in any way … help and counsel in contriving the withdrawal' of the farmer. The inquisition returned a negative verdict, as they 'could not find that [Thomas] had awareness of the withdrawal of the … farmer nor was counsel to the same party'.[46]

The following session saw an inquisition to examine Jenkins' management of 'divers heriots, escheats and strays … valued by the [jury]', which had come to the reeve 'in the time of the pestilence … as is put in the record of the court rolls', but in his account had only rendered 3*s*. 1*d*. profit to the lord.[47] This suspicion of peculation was confirmed in subsequent court sessions which also describe other forms of systematic fraud committed by Jenkins.[48] These concerned land transfers. Jenkins, whilst he was 'guard of the … rolls of the courts under the seal of … the clerk of the lord' had 'fraudulently and deceitfully without the notice of the steward [and clerk] unsealed the same and to enrich himself … took the rolls of the court held … 11 October [1402] after … the auditing of the account'. He then recorded an *intervivos* transfer with a fine of 3*s*., 'although … the steward and clerk … exist completely in ignorance [of the transfer]' and 'of the aforesaid fine nothing was given to the lord'. Jenkins had committed the same fraud with another land transfer as well as an amercement levied for a hue and cry raised against him as reeve. The implication of the fraud is that Jenkins had used the role of reeve at Worfield, in whose presence all valid extra-curial transfers of land had to be made, unless on a tenant's deathbed, to accept legitimate transfers and the payment of their fines.[49] He had then concealed these transfers from the following court session and in his account, before returning to the roll for the previous session and adding an entry about the transfer to cover up the fraud, retaining the fine for himself.

This case demonstrates the way a rogue official could be problematic for both lord and tenants alike. Clearly, corruption concerning underpayment of seigneurial dues such as escheats, heriots

[44] Evans, 'Whose was the manor court?', p, 161.

[45] CUL, EDR, C11/1/1, m. 7, 13 Dec. 1324; C11/1/3, m. 4, 28 Nov. 1379; C11/2/5, m. 17, 26 Jan. 1422.

[46] SA, P314/W/1/1/233, 1 July 1405.

[47] SA, P314/W/1/1/233, 28 July 1405.

[48] SA, P314/W/1/1/234, 10 Mar. 1406, 27 Sept. 1406.

[49] A statement of the reeve's role in legitimating *intervivos* transfers is seen in an inquiry of 1404: SA, P314/W/1/1/232, 6 Apr. 1404.

and strays was largely a problem for the lord. However, embezzling fines for land transfers through doctoring records was a concern for both lord and those making the transfer, whilst the former was similarly financially defrauded, the latter's land transfer was not officially recorded and hence not valid. It seems unlikely that the tenants involved in the transfer were complicit in the deception as there is no obvious reason why they would want their fine to go to Jenkins rather than the lord. The earlier concern over the miller, if unfounded, reveals a similar phenomenon. Whilst the miller leaving at the reeve's behest would be a problem for both a lord and village left without his services, the system of economic ties provided by mainpernors, who presumably had agreed to swear for the miller in exchange for a fee or other financial incentive, shows how again concerns of lord and tenants over official misbehaviour could be connected.

Outside of the lord's direct concern, officials were often punished for their failure to perform activities rather than being overzealous in failing to help tenants prosecute interpersonal cases, showing how tenants and communities utilized the system of officials. At Worfield and Downham *c.*1400, reeves, beadles, and messors were amerced for failing to attach and distrain tenants to make them respond to civil pleas, showing how tenants relied on efficient officials to maintain an effective local legal system.[50] In 1418, Worfield's beadle was placed under pain of 40*d.* to levy the money owed in several interpersonal complaints.[51] Sometimes, individuals even brought interpersonal suits against officials for failure to perform tasks. In 1324, Clement the Brewer complained that John le Eyr, 'who was chosen in public as messor through the assent of all the community of Downham to guard the crops in the fields', had allowed animals of several tenants to consume half of an acre of his peas to damage of 40*d*. The case ended with the parties being granted licence to agree and John placing himself in mercy.[52] A similar attempt was made at Worfield in 1353, when Thomas Eche brought a trespass plea against William Bullock, alleging that when the latter was reeve he had failed to levy 10*s.* owed to Thomas by William de Ewyke, which he had recovered in court in the presence of the steward, demanding 2*s.* in damages for this failure. Bullock's response was that, due to Ewyke's 'destruction' (presumably a fall into poverty), he had exercised clemency and had accounted for this previously, a response that led to Thomas being amerced.[53]

Beyond the need for effective officials to meet the requirements of individuals as litigants and conveyers of land, officials needed to meet standards of behaviour in order for them to be able to regulate the village community and enforce bylaws concerning common land and village infrastructure. This is particularly evident for jurors. At all three manors there were presentments against individuals for failure to fulfil the expectations of this office. Thomas Rugge was amerced 2*s.* in 1396 at Worfield 'for doing contempt in court and concealing a certain presentment' as a juror, significantly more than the 8*d.* Thomas Jenkins had to pay for advising this action.[54] Beyond preventing simple corruption, a key aim was to keep both the deliberations of juries and dissension between officials private, presumably in order not

[50] SA, P314/W/1/1/190, 1 Dec. 1394; P314/W/1/1/191, 27 Jan. 1395; P314/W/1/1/192, 20 Feb. 1395; P314/W/1/1/195, 23 Oct. 1395; P314/W/1/1/234, 27 Sept. 1406; P314/W/1/1/240, 9 Feb. 1412; P314/W/1/1/240, 1 Mar. 1412; P314/W/1/1/243, 10 Dec. 1414; CUL, EDR, C11/1/3, m. 6, 25 Sept. 1380.

[51] SA, P314/W/1/1/249, 13 June 1418.

[52] CUL, EDR, C11/1/1, m. 8, 28 Jan. 1326.

[53] SA, P314/W/1/1/34, 5 Aug. 1353.

[54] SA, P314/W/1/1/199, 6 Sept. 1396.

to damage the reputation of the jury and the authority of their decisions. In 1411, John Veyse 'after he was sworn into the jury … was ordered that he conceal their deliberations … but revealed these deliberations openly'. Veyse then said all the jurors were false, and was amerced 6*d*.[55] Similarly, in 1455, John Buxham was amerced 3*d*. for not only withdrawing from his fellow jurors and refusing to come to render his verdict, but also exposing the deliberations of his fellow jurors.[56] At Horstead, in 1429, John Reve, a capital pledge, was amerced 3*s*. 4*d*. for disputing 'openly in full court the decision of his fellows in the last leet in contempt of court and as a malicious example to others'.[57]

A close reading of the types of official failure reported in court rolls reveals that the coercive systems created by lords to incentivize informing were only part of the reason why such reports were made. Communities of tenants were heavily dependent on efficient officeholders, who did not enrich themselves in ways that undermined the security of land transactions and were diligent in enforcing aspects of interpersonal suits. Jurors that maintained the authority of their office were vital if this organ was to be used to govern the community for communal purposes, especially as their presentments served to monitor the actions of all other manorial officials.

II

As well as fulfilling roles beneficial to the community, leading to an investment in monitoring their performance, officials could also be important in protecting the tenants from aspects of the seigneurial administration. Resistance was sometimes illicit, with juries concealing presentments concerning seigneurial rights. For instance, at Horstead in 1439 and Worfield in 1485 the jury failed to present marriages of unfree women without licence, even though they normally presented *merchet* dues.[58] Plausibly this is the tip of a larger iceberg of successfully concealed marriage fines, suggesting that juries exercised an element of discretion in making presentments concerning servile incidents. At Downham in 1332 and 1404, the messor also concealed presentments, although it is not clear for what reason.[59] In 1408, the jurors for Coltishall, a separate fee held as part of Horstead manor, 'concealed and would not present' that William Ode had damaged the lord's pastures and reed beds next to Horstead mill and that two men had stolen fish from the nets of the miller of Horstead, for which these jurors were together amerced 26*s*. 8*d*.[60] The reasons for this concealment are not made explicit but potentially could be due to tensions with the miller, with the whole homage of Coltishall being amerced in 1402 for refusing to reveal which residents of Coltishall had damaged the mill.[61]

Other forms of resistance were more active than concealment. An intriguing example can be seen at Downham in an order to seize the lands of Thomas Overyng, a former reeve, in 1571. This action was justified by both Thomas' failure to surrender his rent and because he was negligent in

[55] CUL, EDR, C11/2/4, m. 29, 14 Dec. 1411.
[56] CUL, EDR, C11/2/6, m. 50, 20 June 1455.
[57] King's College Archives (hereafter KCA), HOR/37, 25 Aug. 1429.
[58] KCA, HOR/37, 11 June 1439; SA, P314/W/1/1/459, 10 Oct. 1485.
[59] CUL, EDR, C11/1/2, m. 7, 2 Dec. 1332; C11/2/4, m. 12, 23 Sept. 1404.
[60] KCA, HOR/36, 11 June 1408.
[61] KCA, HOR/31, 11 June 1402.

performing his office, both standard reasons for seizure. However, a third reason given was that Thomas had 'alleged in full court that the lord would not allocate in his account to the tenants of the manor for their transport services, in great insult to the lord and in an evil example to others'.[62] It is impossible to know whether there was any truth in Thomas's allegation that the lord was not going to record payments made in lieu of labour services. Certainly, there is no indication in the surviving rolls of connected discontent over labour services, which still appear to have been owed in cash or actual labour at Downham at this date. However, the outburst does reveal the role reeves could potentially take, through their work in managing the lord's estate and compiling its accounts, in ensuring that tenants were treated customarily by the seigneurial regime and reporting perceived abuses. Thomas was not apparently adversely affected in the longer term by his protest, continuing to appear as a juror down to 1578.[63] A variation on this theme can be seen at Worfield, when in 1528 the jury claimed that when William Guldon and William Bradeney had been reeves (in *c.*1470 and 1500–01 respectively) 'they repaired … a bridge next to the mill … from the undertakings and expenses of the lord', being allowed these expenses at the audit of their accounts.[64] Whilst the context of this presentment is unclear, the outcome seems to have been aimed at ensuring the cost of repairing the bridge fell on the lord, and thus not on the tenants, an argument that the tenants could make due to the knowledge they had acquired through their collective past integration into the seigneurial management of the manor as reeves. Whilst Guldon was almost certainly deceased by 1528, Bradeney was still alive and present on the leet jury, if not the jury making the presentment, in the leet of 1528.[65] The ability of former officials to pass on the knowledge they gained in office could provide a way to resist seigneurial exactions in future.

Jurors could also take a role in ensuring the lord and his higher officials met expectations. Jean Birrell has recently emphasized that custumals were a crucial tool used by tenants to constrain the demands of their lords. This can certainly be claimed for Worfield's 1403 custumal, which was effectively purchased by the tenants as a collective through a payment of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* for William Beauchamp's 'good lordship'.[66] This custumal codified that tenants owed mill suit but made clear that this was 'provided that the measures on our … mills be lawful and approved … according to what it shall be necessary to … take and the miller who shall be guilty of any … departure from upright dealing shall be punished'.[67] Manorial juries took the lead role in defending these rights, presenting millers both for unjust milling and not keeping the mill in good repair, the latter presumably due to concerns over their liability for repair works as well as need to mill their grain.[68] These presentments could be extensive.

[62] CUL, EDR, C11/3/11, 9 Mar. 1571.

[63] CUL, EDR, C11/3/11, 12 Mar. 1578.

[64] SA, P314/W/1/1/630, 3 Dec. 1528; P314/W/1/1/499, 10 Aug. 1500. Unfortunately, William Gyldon is described in the entry as having served 25 years before Bradeney and thus sometime in the gap in the rolls between 1466 and 1472.

[65] SA, P314/W/1/1/630, 3 Dec. 1528

[66] J. Birrell, 'Manorial custumals reconsidered', *Past and Present* 224 (2014), pp. 33–7; SA, P314/W/1/1/226, 25 Apr. 1403.

[67] SA, 5586/2/1/42.

[68] That customary tenants were required to repair the mill is seen in several court-roll entries ordering them to do so: SA, P314/W/1/1/371, 14 June 1475; P314/W/1/1/386, 30 May 1477; P314/W/1/1/418, 3 Apr. 1481; P314/W/1/1/560, 17 Apr. 1521; P314/W/1/1/572, 10 Aug. 1523; P314/W/1/1/506, 27 Jan. 1512; P314/W/1/1/648, 18 June 1534; P314/W/1/1/649, 29 July 1535; P314/W/1/1/773, 2 Nov. 1570.

As well as explicit fraud in measures, millers were also presented in 1409 and 1518 for keeping livestock in the mill which ate the tenants' grain.[69]

Analogous practice can be seen at Horstead, and to a lesser extent at Downham, for much of the fifteenth century, where the lord and his bailiff were frequently presented for not maintaining infrastructure in the lord's hands or performing the work owed in the common watercourse.[70] A further unusual case is seen at Downham, in a series of presentments concerning rabbits from the lord's warren. In 1431, the jury presented that 'the lord's rabbits continue to do damage in the crops of the tenants … [they] yearly destroy all the harvested crops inside a furlong around the vill', so drawing attention to a seigneurial activity which damaged the community of tenants. Even more striking is that they also said 'that unless speedily … a remedy is found they wish to abandon their lands lying there into the lord's hand'.[71] In a period when tenants were in short supply, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest an implicit threat in this statement. The complaint was made in a subsequent session, with it being noted that the rabbits had been destroying the grain 'for divers years gone' and that therefore the tenants 'cannot … work their lands … held of the lord'.[72] A marginal note orders that this should be discussed with the lord, and, as the presentment does not appear again, this policy of raising attention to an issue in seigneurial management, and plausibly implying some pressure, may have been successful.

Therefore jurors used their position as presenting officials to highlight seigneurial practices which were damaging their community. They could also utilize their vital function in administering the manor court to pressure the lord to address tenants' concerns. This is seen in 1513, when the capital pledges at Horstead refused to 'render their verdict until the lord demonstrates settlements between him and the residents of the lord'.[73] Whilst it is impossible to know the outcome of this protest, or even what these 'settlements' were about, a marginal note refers consideration to the lord's council. At the next leet session the capital pledges made presentments, suggesting a relatively quick resolution.[74] A Downham jury, for reasons unfortunately left unstated, also refused to render their verdict in 1380, and were thus placed under pain, although the fact that they subsequently agreed to present suggests a less successful protest.[75]

The engagement of tenants via office-holding in the governing structure of the manor provided a route for them to soften seigneurial exactions and carry out protests against seigneurial policies they felt to be unjust. Concealment, verbal protests, presentments and even modest strikes allowed tenants, or at least those holding office, to mediate the effects of seigneurial actions on the local community.

[69] SA, P314/W/1/1/37, 21 May 1355; P314/W/1/1/200, 28 Oct. 1396; P314/W/1/1/238, 29 Oct. 1409; P314/W/1/1/544, 31 May 1518.

[70] KCA, HOR/33, 11 June 1410; 11 June 1412; HOR/34, 11 June 1413; 11 June 1414; 11 June 1415; 11 June 1420; 11 June 1421; HOR/37, 11 June 1423; 14 Sept. 1424; 11 June 1427; 11 June 1428; 11 June 1429; 11 June 1430; HOR/34, 11 June 1433; HOR/37, 11 June 1436; 11 June 1437; 11 June 1438; 11 June 1439; HOR/36, 11 June 1444; HOR/37, 18 June 1446; 25 July 1450; 11 June 1452; 31 July 1458; HOR/39, m. 6, 11 June 1463; m. 32, 3 Aug. 1475; CUL, EDR, C11/2/6, m. 19, 20 Mar. 1431; C11/2/6, m. 29, 4 Dec. 1439; C11/3/7, m. 20, 13 May 1472.

[71] CUL, EDR, C11/2/6, m. 19, 20 Mar. 1431.

[72] CUL, EDR, C11/2/6, m. 20, 20 Sept. 1431.

[73] KCA, HOR/45, m. 5, 11 June 1513.

[74] KCA, HOR/45, m. 7, 4 May 1514.

[75] CUL, EDR, C11/1/3, m. 6, 3 Aug. 1380.

III

Up to this point, we have concentrated mainly on attitudes to office-holding in relation to the lord, finding that the office-holding system was not purely a seigneurial imposition, and served a vital purpose for tenants in terms of meeting crucial needs of governance and providing a way to temper and challenge seigneurial policies. There is however a chronological element to this argument. Most of the examples above are drawn from before 1475, suggesting the argument may not hold so well for the later period. On one level this is a problem of relying on qualitative evidence; as a rule the earlier rolls give more detail about the types of offences committed by officials, allowing a close reading to understand motivations, whilst later records are more summary. For instance, at turn of the sixteenth-century Downham, officials were presented if they had 'not done [their] office' with the nature of this failure left unexplained.[76]

Beyond this caveat, the largely fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronology probably does reflect real changes. As lords increasingly moved away from direct cultivation towards leasing land, there was simply less scope for corruption and mismanagement by officers that could negatively impact other officials, lords and tenants, or opportunities for tension between lord and tenants in which office-holding could be used for resistance.[77] Similarly, interpersonal litigation is normally argued to have been in decline in the manorial setting from the mid-fifteenth century, leaving presentment as the dominant procedure from this point onwards.[78] This would remove an aspect of officials' roles that tenants as litigants were keen to ensure ran smoothly. Thus, it could be argued that tenants were committed to an effective office-holding system, but their investment saw a decline in line with waning lordship and interpersonal justice through the manor court.

However, little attention has as yet been devoted to the way officers were treated by their fellow tenants, or indeed how officers maintained their authority against external resistance, aspects of their roles that should be less sensitive to the shifting nature of seigneurial profits from manors or their use for civil litigation. The rolls are littered with presentments for resisting officers in their work, or questioning their decisions, allowing a picture of attitudes to office from those governed by, but not currently serving as, officers to be analysed. Obviously, these incidences are problematic in that they may only represent a proportion of resistance. Other forms may have been covert and so not uncovered; considered justifiable and thus not reported; or the perpetrator may have been able to actively or passively coerce officials into not censuring them. However, even this partial evidence at least allows a glimpse into the way office-holding was perceived by tenants more widely, and how officers responded to challenges to their authority.

Table 1 summarizes the number of 'resistance actions' taken against reeves, messors, beadles and constables per decade for Worfield and Downham (Horstead is excluded as these officials were not seen on this manor). Resistance actions have been taken to encompass any record

[76] CUL, EDR, C11/3/10, m. 9, 14 Sept. 1494; C11/3/10, m. 13, 23 Aug. 1498; C11/3/10, m. 17, 1 Jan. 1501; C11/3/10, m. 24, 20 Sept. 1508.

[77] B. F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates in the middle ages* (1977), pp. 148–51; M. Bailey, 'Rural society', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-century attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England* (1994), pp. 152–4.

[78] C. D. Briggs, 'Seigniorial control of villagers' litigation beyond the manor in later medieval England', *Hist. Research* 81 (2008), p. 421; Beckerman, 'Procedural innovation', pp. 243–5.

TABLE 1. Number of 'resistance actions' and mean amercement per offender by decade at Little Downham and Worfield

Decade	*Little Downham*		*Worfield*	
	Number of resistance actions	*Mean amercement per offender*	*Number of resistance actions*	*Mean amercement per offender*
1310s	0	–	N/A	–
1320s	0	–	0	–
1330s	0	–	1	3d.
1340s	N/A	–	0	–
1350s	N/A	–	2	1s. 2*d*.
1360s	1	4*d*.	1	6*d*.
1370s	0	–	3	6*d*.
1380s	1	3*d*.	3	2s. 5*d*.
1390s	1	6*d*.	2	6*d*.
1400s	8	8*d*.	0	–
1410s	4	2s. 5*d*.	4	9*d*.
1420s	3	6*d*.	0	–
1430s	3	6*d*.	3	7*d*.
1440s	1	3*d*.	1	1s.
1450s	0	N/A	0	–
1460s	0	N/A	0	–
1470s	0	N/A	0	–
1480s	2	4*d*.	0	–
1490s	2	3*d*.	2	10*d*.
1500s	2	6*d*.	3	10s. 3*d*.
1510s	N/A	–	0	–
1520s	N/A	–	3	7*d*.
1530s	N/A	–	0	–
1540s	N/A	–	2	8*d*.
1550s	2	6*d*.	3	8*d*.
1560s	0	–	2	2s.
1570s	0	–	1	6*d*.
1580s	0	–	0	–
1590s	N/A	–	0	–

Notes: N/A refers to decades for which no rolls survive.
Sources: Little Downham, CUL, EDR, C11/1/1-3, C11/2/4-6, C11/3/7-10; Worfield SA, P314/W/1/1/1-840.

of resistance to an official including ignoring orders, resisting arrest, resisting distraint, pound-breaking (when an official is explicitly mentioned) and assault. The most striking feature at both manors is the overall lack of evidence of resistance to officers performing their duties. Whilst clearly there were always incidents of resistance, there were also multiple and sometimes consecutive decades of no recorded instances. These figures seem low even in comparison to McIntosh's for assaults at the manor of Havering, where she suggested an average of 0.5 per year for much of the fifteenth century showed that 'the level of physical aggression against court officials was low'.[79] This is even more striking when it is considered that McIntosh only includes assaults in her calculation rather than all 'resistance actions'. There is, furthermore, no particularly distinct chronological pattern, and the period after the Black Death does not stand out as an era of tensions, although there was an increase in both manors in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. This suggests that officers did not face an unduly difficult position in the economic changes after the Plague, questioning the notion that these individuals were caught in the vice between lord and their fellow tenants, and signifying that resistance to officers cannot simply be thought of in terms of this relationship.

On the other hand, that attacks were presented reveals that officeholders, both when serving themselves and as jurors responsible for presentment, wanted to protect officers and ensure they could perform their role. As Table 1 shows, generally punishments were under a shilling, putting them within the typical range of amercements for most offences on the manor. However, in four decades the average was significantly raised, in all cases because of one unusually heavy amercement. By looking at these instances, it is possible to consider challenges to officials that were perceived to be particularly egregious. For 1352 when Thomas de le Hethe was amerced 2*s*. for rescue against the reeve, it is hard to understand the reason for this stricter punishment.[80] Thomas had committed other offences for which he was amerced separately, perhaps explaining this increased severity, although on similar occasions at Worfield offenders were not amerced more. In two other instances, the reason for severity is more obvious, and indicates that the court system continued to protect officials against attacks, allowing them to perform their work. At Downham in 1411, the large amercement of 10*s*. imposed on John Clement for abducting livestock out of the reeve's custody was possibly due to his status as an outsider from Ely and the fact that he had taken three stray animals which were of significant value to the lord.[81] It was the violence used against the reeve which was likely to have been at issue when William Bulwardyn was amerced 20*s*. in 1501 at Worfield. Whilst William was likely also an outsider, being 'formerly of Claverley', the presentment details how he, along with his associates, came 'in force and arms, namely staffs and knives' to assault the reeve and take an horse which the official had distrained 'for diverse offences and amercements previously made'.[82] This unusual level of detail is evidence of the severity of this incident, explaining the unusually large amercement.

A final incident involving an exceptionally high amercement occurred in 1387 at Worfield, when John Bradeney was amerced 3*s*. 4*d*. This occurrence reveals a different form of severity.

[79] M. K. McIntosh, *Autonomy and community: the royal manor of Havering, 1200–1500,* (1986), Table 13, pp. 211–5.

[80] SA, P314/W/1/1/34, 22 May 1352.

[81] CUL, EDR, C11/2/4, m. 27, 1 Apr. 1411.

[82] SA, P314/W/1/1/500, 13 Oct. 1501.

Bradeney insulted both the reeve and beadle 'in open court in the presence of the steward and the whole homage'.[83] The public nature of a direct challenge to officials was at issue here, the action was not simply resistance to them carrying out their duty in the moment, but a questioning of their status and authority more generally. This kind of resistance is more commonly evidenced in attacks on the position of jurors and capital pledges, which were seen at all three manors. Occasionally, the detail available only suggests a public insult to the jury; in 1565 Humphrey Russell was amerced 12*d.* for 'badly treating, scolding and calling the jury infamous', a rather inexplicable act in that the jury had just presented another tenant for unjustly drawing blood against the same Humphrey.[84] However, more typically the presentments specifically detail that the jury was called 'false' or 'perjurers' or that their deliberations were disputed, with this language being used across all the case studies.[85] These attacks are qualitatively different to those above committed against officials in the course of these duties. Whilst the former prevented officers carrying out their role, calling jurors 'false' was a direct attack on their ability to govern the community and consequently met with an immediate punishment. On one occasion the potentially seditious nature of disputing the jury's decision is explicitly stated: in 1447, three tenants at Horstead were each amerced 12*d.* for calling the jury 'false' 'in a bad example to others'.[86] Similarly, at Downham, an entry of 1413 details how Robert Walsham had made accusations 'openly in court', whilst a presentment of 1439 details how Thomas Son of Stephen violated the jurors 'calling the same false publicly'.[87] Presentment of these offences went beyond simply punishing the individual offender. It also aimed to ensure that views contrary to the jurors' decisions were not circulated publicly, and thus played an important role in maintaining the authority of jurors.

This authority extended beyond the court itself, with offences occurring outside this context being reported and punished. In 1409, an unknown individual described as 'one of the fellows of Walter de Swanton' was presented for 'disputing the decision of the capital pledges' at Horstead, the lack of a name suggesting that this dispute had not occurred in court.[88] At Downham, this is seen clearly in a presentment of 1444. John More, who is described explicitly as 'a serf of the lord', had 'openly in the tavern insulted, with diverse malicious words the tenants and capital pledges that presented the same for diverse defects'.[89] Clearly, More's actions were still a public act, but took place in a different public arena of the tavern, displaying how officers worked to maintain their authority in the community even outside of court sessions. This 1444 presentment also connects an attack on the capital pledges and an attack on the tenants more widely, suggesting that an action which challenged the credit of the former had a similar effect on the latter. A similar connection is seen in 1483 at Horstead, when Nicholas and Thomas Aleyn 'made contempt both of the lord and tenants … criticising and calling false and calling these said tenants knaves and harlots for their verdict made in court

[83] SA, P314/W/1/1/162, 15 July 1387.

[84] SA, P314/W/1/1/758, 16 Oct. 1565.

[85] SA, P314/W/1/1/199, 6 Sept. 1396; KCA, HOR/33, 2 Aug. 1409; HOR/37, 6 Jan. 1447; HOR/40, m. 1, 4 Nov. 1483; CUL, EDR, C11/2/4, m. 7, 7 Mar. 1402; C11/2/5, m. 1, 22 Dec. 1413; C11/2/5, m. 7, 12 Jan. 1417; C11/2/6, m. 4, 14 Jan. 1424; C11/2/6, m. 29, 4 Dec. 1439; C11/2/6, m. 32, 13 Dec. 1440; C11/3/10, 7 Jan. 1562.

[86] KCA, HOR/37, 6 Jan. 1447.

[87] CUL, EDR, C11/2/5, m. 1, 22 Dec. 1413; C11/2/6, m. 29, 4 Dec. 1439.

[88] KCA, HOR/33, 2 Aug. 1409.

[89] CUL, EDR, C11/2/6, m. 37, 20 Nov. 1444.

of diverse transgressions' made by the same. The Aleyns had also made threats against the tenants 'both in open court and outside the court' at various places and times.[90] The reference to a 'verdict made in court' suggests that the insult was potentially aimed specifically at jurors but the entry utilizes the language of the general community of 'tenants' to give an impression of damage to the community as a whole.

These presentments reveal an active role by officials in maintaining their authority and suggest a far cry from a system which was either in decay, or which placed individuals in an awkward vice between lord and fellow tenants. Those holding office responded decisively to attacks on the credit of their presentments and judgements, and thus challenges to their ability to govern, defending the legitimacy of the office-holding system. However, it is also important to consider the motivations and status of those who were making these attacks. Many medievalists have suggested that manorial office-holding was to some extent oligarchical, with service concentrated on a group of more prominent tenants.[91] How far can presentments of abuse against officials be seen as resistance by an excluded group to a governing group? Unfortunately direct statements of motivation are rarely recorded in these type of entries. In the case of John More, the accusation of falsehood, according to the entry, directly flowed from presentments made against the offender in court, as did that of the Aleyns.[92] In 1413, Robert Walsham was amerced 40*d*. for complaining that the jury had 'made false bylaws and customs'.[93] These presentments do seem to have resulted from a perception of unjust treatment by the officer group, although it is unclear whether these were the actions of aggrieved individuals or symptomatic of a more general undercurrent of hostility towards a governing group.

One source of evidence to examine how far objections were the protests of an excluded group is to look at the identities of those protesting, to see if they were outside of the office-holding group. At Worfield, there is some evidence to support this position. Of 36 individuals identified as making a protest against officers, 78 per cent cannot be found serving in any office.[94] This does, however, leave a large minority who both served in office and protested. At Downham, the figures are less convincing, of 33 individuals, only 45 per cent cannot be found serving in office, thus the majority of protests were made by figures who were somehow

[90] KCA, HOR/40, m. 1, 4 Nov. 1483.

[91] E. Britton, *The community of the vill: a study in the history of the family and village life in fourteenth-century England* (1977), pp. 44–9, 104–5; Z. Razi, *Life, marriage and death in a medieval parish: economy, society and demography in Halesowen, 1270–1400* (1980), pp. 76–7; C. C. Dyer, 'Power and conflict in the medieval English village', in C. C. Dyer, *Everyday life in medieval England* (1994), p. 7; id., 'Political life', pp. 142–3; M. Spufford, 'Puritanism and social control?', in A. J. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds), *Order and disorder in early modern England* (1985), pp. 49–50; R. M. Smith, 'Contrasting susceptibility to famine in early fourteenth- and late sixteenth-century England: the significance of late medieval rural social structural and village governmental changes', in M. J. Braddick and P. Withington (eds), *Popular culture and political agency in early modern England and Ireland: essays in honour of John Walter* (2017), p. 49.

[92] CUL, EDR, C11/2/6, m. 37, 20 Nov. 1444; KCA, HOR/40, m. 1, 4 Nov. 1483.

[93] CUL, EDR, C11/2/5, m. 1, 22 Dec. 1413.

[94] The names of all individuals making a protest against officers were compared with a comprehensive list of all office-holders at these manors generated by the author. If the name of an office-holder was found to appear within five years of a protester with the same name (either before or after the individual's protest), these individuals were identified as the same person. For more detail on this methodology see S. Gibbs, 'Manorial Officeholding in Late Medieval and Early Modern England, 1300–1600' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2019), pp. 262–4.

'insiders'. Similarly, of the five men reported at Horstead, four are recorded as holding office. It is therefore hard to interpret protests against officeholders at these manors as objections by a subjugated to a dominant group. This cannot disprove stratification. The court rolls may simply not record the protests of a subjugated group, which if covert, may have been designed to avoid presentment and punishment. However, it does suggest that the aim of officeholders in monitoring and presentment of resistance was to maintain their authority against protesting individuals generally drawn from the same group as those currently in office. In much the same way as the monitoring of abuse by serving officers, it aimed to preserve the authority of the office-holding system from damage by its own participants.

IV

An analysis of attitudes to office has revealed that the privileged group who served in these positions were strongly committed to the success of the office-holding system. They sought to ensure that officials performed their roles efficiently and to an accepted standard and that the authority of officers was maintained in the face of physical and verbal dissent. This complicates models that have seen officers as solely mediating between lords and tenants, or that they had to choose between working for the lord or the community. Undoubtedly, officers could be caught between two countervailing pressures from above and below, and on certain estates after the Black Death, such as that of the Bishop of Durham, this would seem the most accurate picture to adopt. However, surveying a longer period and focusing on aspects of officials' roles beyond demesne management, by examining jurors and capital pledges alongside reeves and haywards, reveals that seeing the lord and a greater body of tenants as poles apart gives a one-dimensional picture of a more complex phenomenon. Whilst tenants and juries may have lacked the motivation to report illicit profits using seigneurial resources or rights, failure and abuse in many other aspects of officials' work, such as maintaining seigneurial watercourses and ditches, corruption in recording *intervivos* transfers and failing to enforce interpersonal suits, could also negatively impact on the tenants. Monitoring the behaviour of officials and punishing dissension against their decisions ensured that the authority of these officers was maintained, which was vital in using them to regulate the community's communal resources. The integration of tenants into the lord's management of the manor allowed protests against certain aspects of seigneurial government. This perspective explains why there were so few overall attacks on the office-holding system in terms of abuse against officers.

This analysis has two greater ramifications. Firstly, it supports the early modern literature which argues for the importance of manorial courts in local governance into the post-medieval period. This point, however, does come with caveats. It is important to note that tenants still required seigneurial support to use courts for communal purposes as only lords could call a manor court, and some lords such as the Verney family clearly opposed an institution that could threaten their dominance over their estates, meaning courts on their manors fell into abeyance.[95] However, other lords presumably saw the indirect benefits of allowing courts to manage communal concerns among their tenants and thus continued to call these bodies even

[95] J. Broad, *Transforming English rural society: the Verneys and the Claydons, 1600–1820* (2004), pp. 50–2.

if they did not exercise direct aspects of lordship through this institution as their predecessors had. Moreover, this argument should not be read as endorsing a steady-state model. Clearly manorial officers' roles changed over time. For instance, as reeves increasingly shifted from being demesne managers to rent collectors, the capacity to use them to resist seigneurial pressures faded. However, other officials such as jurors and capital pledges were still able to present a significant range of business and therefore could still fulfil important roles after the waning of lordship. A more significant question is how far this model of positive attitudes leading to extended use of manorial structures by tenants is applicable across a wider variety of manors. All three of the manors examined held courts leet, allowing them to police petty misbehaviour, but this was not true of the majority of English manor courts. This may have limited their utility to tenant communities. Furthermore, this study necessitated the selection of manors with good sixteenth-century records, which clearly has the potential to bias the findings towards active rather than moribund manor courts. Thus, the evidence adduced should not be taken to suggest that all manor courts were sustained beyond 1500 by tenants committed to their smooth running, but does provide a mechanism explaining how continued usage could occur on certain manors.

The second and more significant ramification of this analysis is to support the more positive view of lord-tenant relations seen in revisionist approaches. Both lord and tenants had a vested interest in the office-holding system. Policing officers could provide lord and tenants with a common objective. Even the role of officers in resisting aspects of seigneurial administration can be argued to have improved lord-tenant relations by providing a 'safety valve' by which tenants could peacefully resist aspects of lordship. Such a view strongly rejects the notion of a largely conflictual relationship even before 1349 and further reinforces the case against a 'Feudal Reaction' after the Black Death.

Of course, that office-holding necessarily benefited all tenants is probably too benevolent a view. In maintaining the office-holding system and the authority of officers, the 'elite' tenants who served in office were preserving their own status and ability to govern the village as much as the position of the entire community of tenants. As Bruce Campbell has argued, substantial tenants who served as officeholders 'in maintaining the manorial status quo … served their own interests as well as those of lords'.[96] Thus the evidence of attitudes to office suggests that the manorial system in late medieval England was maintained through the collaboration of local elites with lords instead of simply through the coercive powers of lordship.

[96] Campbell, 'The land', p. 224.

Decline and disparkment: Management trends in English deer parks, 1500–1750*

by Robert Liddiard

Abstract

Deer parks have been the subject of much research in recent years, but the bulk of this work has focused on the place of parks in the medieval countryside, rather than their later histories. This article examines the fate of medieval parks in the two centuries after 1500, a period usually characterized as one of decline as park enclosures were broken up and turned over to agriculture. While the post-medieval period undoubtedly witnessed significant changes to medieval parks, these need to be set in a longer perspective. Disparkment was not confined to the period after 1500 and many of the management trends in deer parks down to the mid-seventeenth century were continuations of those that had originated in the late medieval period. It was the pervasiveness and more permanent character of certain management regimes, rather than their novelty, that distinguishes the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from the earlier period. The real decline of the medieval deer park lay in the century after 1650, not the century before.

Medieval deer parks have been the subject of much academic attention in recent years resulting in a somewhat niche area being brought back into mainstream discussions of English society and landscape. The majority of this research has focused on the origin and role of parks in the medieval countryside, with comparatively little work on their post-medieval histories. A certain unevenness of coverage is perhaps in part connected with the long-standing perception that the later history of the medieval deer park is simply one of decline, with enclosures broken up and turned over to agriculture and so leaving little more to be said.[1] Such a view originated with the pioneering work on parks by Evelyn Shirley in the mid-nineteenth century. It was given greater authority in the 1970s by Cantor and Hatherly who posited two trajectories for medieval deer parks after 1500. The first, 'failure to survive' referred to disparkment, which

* Earlier versions of this paper formed the basis of conference or research seminar presentations at the University of Cambridge, Sheffield Hallam University and the Institute of Historical Research. I am grateful to Richard Hoyle for his encouragement in finally bringing this piece to publication, the two anonymous referees for their comments and also to Stephen Fletcher, Anne Rowe and Tom Williamson for advice and references.

[1] The notable exceptions being S. Pittman, 'Disparkment. A case study for Elizabethan and Jacobean parks in Kent', *Southern Hist.* 35 (2013), pp. 44–76 and J. Bond, *Somerset parks and gardens: a landscape history* (1998).

was judged to have chiefly taken place from 1550 to the Civil War, while the second, 'survival by adaptation', saw medieval parks incorporated into the landscaped grounds of post-medieval mansions.[2] Both processes had largely run their course by the mid-seventeenth century, by which point medieval deer enclosures, along with the medieval concept of a park, had largely ceased to exist, and the park – and any deer within it – had become the ornamental adjunct to the house. Either implicitly or explicitly, this explanatory framework is deeply ingrained in writing on parks, and reflected in the most recent work that portrays the period after 1500 as significantly different in character to what had gone before.[3]

Given the length of time since much of this interpretation was laid down, a re-examination of the fate of medieval parks in the post-medieval period is perhaps justified for its own sake, but is also timely because of the clearer picture of park management during the late Middle Ages that has emerged from a range of new studies. Here the emphasis has been on the variety of roles that parks served, the often specialist economic functions that co-existed with the more traditional role as hunting preserve and the identification of regional trends in parkland regimes.[4] If medievalists have successfully underlined the complexity and vitality of parks down to 1500, then it might therefore follow that their 'afterlives' were also varied and not necessarily always as cataclysmic as has often been thought in the past.

This is not to suggest a form of homeostasis, as the period 1450–1750 was a particularly complex one in the history of parks as it witnessed a series of overlapping processes: the decline of existing enclosures and the creation of new ones; changes in hunting practices; shifts in management regimes within the pales, and changes in the perceived aesthetic qualities of parkland. The observation of these trends is frequently difficult; primary source material relating to the break up and extinction of medieval parks is often fragmentary and lacks chronological precision. Much of the existing literature is local in character, meaning that broader patterns are difficult to elucidate.[5] A further complication is the traditional divide between the medieval and early modern periods as well as the subject divisions between history, archaeology and art history, which results in a number of distinctive historiographies all with different agendas. These specialisms frequently serve to obscure, rather than illuminate, continuities and discontinuities.

Before assessing trends in parkland regimes after 1500, it is worth briefly outlining the issues concerned. A park was a contiguous block of demesne that comprised wooded areas and grazing; a private wood-pasture. The additional presence of deer required certain requisites: a secure enclosure; an adequate area of grazing; water; shelter; supplementary fodder for the herd and investment of human resources in management, especially if hunting was envisaged. A lack

[2] E. P. Shirley, *Some account of English deer parks* (1867). L. M. Cantor and J. M. Hatherly, 'The medieval parks of England', *Geography* 64 (1979), pp. 71–85.

[3] S. Lasdun, *The English park. Royal, private and public* (1991); S. Mileson, *Parks in medieval England* (2009), p. 10; J. Fletcher, *Gardens of earthly delight. The history of deer parks* (2011).

[4] A. Richardson, *The forest, park and palace of Clarendon, c.1200–c.1650: reconstructing an actual, conceptual and documented Wiltshire landscape* (British Archaeological Reports, British Ser., 387, 2005); R. Liddiard (ed.), *The medieval park: new perspectives* (2007); O. H. Creighton, *Designs upon the land: elite landscapes of the Middle Ages* (2009); A. Rowe, *Medieval parks of Hertfordshire* (2009).

[5] Mileson's comment on the state of research into medieval parks in 2005. The same observation applies to the study of medieval parks after 1500 at the present time, S. A. Mileson, 'The importance of parks in fifteenth-century society', in L. Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century*, 5 (2005), pp. 19–37.

of expenditure could soon lead to deterioration; the large sums expended to maintain a viable park were in part the reason why ownership was such a marker of social rank. Yet park resources were also of value in themselves and their management could provide materials for upkeep, be exploited directly, or farmed out. It needs to be remembered that while the primary reason for establishment may have been the desire on the part of the owner to create an environment for the keeping of deer, imparkment also had the additional benefit for lords of removing common rights over the area concerned. Thereafter any letting of grazing land had to be paid for as an agistment and was at the lord's discretion. Within the park, number of potential tensions existed. The particularly destructive grazing habits of deer meant they needed to be excluded from areas of young growth such as coppice. If other stock animals were introduced within the pale, then they were in competition with the deer for the available grazing. The answer to both problems was to 'compartmentalise' the park and divide it into closes and so permit alternative uses, rather than leave it 'uncompartmented', where deer and other stock could roam freely.[6] At their extreme, the conflicting demands of deer-keeping and profitability were potentially difficult to reconcile: the more the park was managed for deer, the less it could function as a purely economic resource. Conversely, the more it was used as a purely agricultural landscape, the more the deer had to be excluded and so the less it served as a park. When exactly the balance began to move towards parks as a source of income rather than places of pleasure remains the subject of debate. A long-standing interpretation holds that after 1350 parks were managed more flexibly and with a greater eye on profitability.[7] But more recently the idea that the needs of the deer remained the prime determinant in park management down to 1500 has been forcefully set out which, if the case, by implication means any decisive shift in character must have occurred thereafter.[8]

With these issues in mind, this article discusses the place of medieval parks in the post-medieval landscape, with a focus on the fate of those enclosures that failed to survive and were eventually disparked. But it deliberately does so against a longer chronology, before and after the usual cut off dates of 1500 and 1640, and from a background of medieval management trends. When considered in a longer perspective, it suggests not only that more medieval parks survived into the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, albeit in modified form, than might otherwise be thought, but also that many of the causal factors for disparkment in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not necessarily dissimilar to those in earlier centuries. It also suggests that the particular management regimes seen in deer parks in the period after 1500 were not so much new or symptomatic of decline, but rather continuations of practices that had emerged towards the end of the Middle Ages. While Cantor and Hatherly's idea of a two-fold trajectory has a certain unanswerable logic to it; after all, the only possible options for a medieval park was disparkment or incorporation into a successor, the routes to each outcome were frequently complex, aspects of them not necessarily mutually exclusive, and continued to play out into the eighteenth century.

[6] O. Rackham, *Trees and woodland in the British landscape* (revised edn, 1990), p. 157.

[7] Cantor and Hatherly, 'Medieval parks', p. 79; P. Stamper, 'Woods and parks' in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The countryside of medieval England* (1988), pp. 128–48, at pp. 146–7.

[8] Mileson, *Parks*, pp. 63–76.

I

The idea that rates of disparkment were significantly greater in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than hitherto had been the case is so crucial to the idea of decline that it is useful to review the reasons for deer park failure in the Middle Ages as well as estimates of fluctuating numbers. While the nature of park creation and enlargement have tended to loom large in discussions, shrinkage and disparkment were in fact also relatively common before 1500 and were usually a response to shifting economic circumstances, changes in ownership, and the prohibitive cost of maintenance, albeit that these factors frequently worked in combination.

Given that parks established in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were often of considerable size it is unsurprising that those situated on potential agricultural land were prone to contraction during the expansion of settlement and arable cultivation between the Norman Conquest and the Black Death. At some point before 1300 the extensive park at Parc Le Broes in Gower was halved in area under pressure of agricultural expansion, with the modern pattern of field boundaries indicating a phased reduction, with some parkland converted to open field and some into closes.[9] At Rivenhall in Essex, the eleventh-century park was expanded in the twelfth, before two large intakes associated with moated farms were made in the thirteenth century, which reduced the total area of the park by nearly one-quarter.[10] In other cases the irregular shape of boundary pales evidences shrinkage, as at Conisbrough in Yorkshire where the large park to the south of the castle was encroached upon by the fields of adjacent villages at some point after the late eleventh century.[11] A more wholesale re-arrangement occurred at Belton in Leicestershire in the thirteenth century when the park of Grace Dieu priory, which was situated on potentially good arable, was relocated onto poorer soil in order that the site could be given over to cultivation.[12] At Coventry, in what is probably the best documented case of intrusion, successive intakes were made into Cheyslesmore park by the expanding city prior to 1200 with a further expansion of burgage plots anticipated in the 1340s before being abruptly curtailed by the Black Death.[13]

The extreme end of episodes of shrinkage was full disparkment. That this occurred from an early date is seen at Long Crendon and Oakley in Buckinghamshire where parks were recorded

[9] D. K. Leighton, 'A fresh look at Parc Le Breos', *Gower* 50 (1999), pp. 71–9.

[10] W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: investigations of a villa, church, and village, 1950–1977* (Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 55, 1985), p. 183.

[11] P. Buckland, D. Hey, R. O'Neill and I. Tyers, 'The Conisbrough estate and the southern boundary of Northumbria. Environmental and archaeological evidence from a late sixth/early seventh-century structure and later deer park boundary at Conisbrough, South Yorkshire' (www.researchgate.net/profile/Paul_Buckland/publication/234037890_Conisbrough_with_figures/links/02bfe50e73aa126aaf000000/Conisbrough-with-figures.pdf).

[12] A. Squires, 'Parks and woodland in medieval Leicestershire, 1086–1530', in P. Bowman and P. Liddle (eds), *Leicestershire Landscapes* (Leicestershire Museums and Archaeological Fieldwork Group Monographs, 1, 2004), pp. 141–53, at p. 148.

[13] K. D. Lilley, 'Urban design in medieval Coventry: the planning of Much and Little Park Street within the Earl of Chester's fee', *Midland Hist.* 23 (1998), pp. 1–20; N. W. Alcock, 'Queen Isabella's new suburb in Coventry in 1348' *Midland Hist.* 33 (2008), pp. 240–8; G. Demidowicz, 'From Queen Street to Little Park, Coventry: the failure of the medieval suburb in Cheylesmore Park and its transformation into the Little Park', *Midland Hist.* 37 (2012), pp. 106–15.

in Domesday but disappeared thereafter; in the case of Long Crendon it became the site for Nutley Abbey.[14] At Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire the twelfth-century park of the Prior of Merton disappears from the documentary record at the turn of the thirteenth century, with ridge and furrow over the likely area suggesting that it was subsumed within expanding open fields.[15] Similar cases of medieval cultivation remains post-dating park boundary banks suggest that such unrecorded disparkments were perhaps commonplace.[16] County studies consistently provide cases of parks that appear fleetingly in the documentary record but otherwise lack evidence for their existence. Here the impression is of diminutive parks that came and went in short spaces of time, such as Metham park in Yorkshire that was subject to a trespass in 1312, but never heard of again.[17] It was these smaller parks that were probably more susceptible to the vagaries of economics or tenurial circumstance and so more likely to fail than those larger and well-established enclosures that could draw on the more substantial resource base of a major barony.[18] But in all such cases, and presumably many more, choices were being exercised by park owners over the best use of their demesne assets. At Marshwood park at Dunster in the early fourteenth century, the issue was set out by an unnamed estate official who suggested that the 400 acres of laund should be turned over to arable and the deer restricted to the remainder of the park. This, he argued, would generate more profit than the rest of the demesne.[19] While this, albeit highly unusual, source has been taken as evidence that lords tended to eschew the economic benefits of disparkment in favour of their deer, it does indicate that owners were mindful of alternative uses. The evidence for park shrinkage and removal in the Middle Ages suggests that in many cases income was preferred to deer.

If economic circumstances often provoked changes, parks were also vulnerable to the failure of a family line or changes of ownership, especially in cases where their patrons had overreached themselves. At Barrow in Leicestershire, the park was broken up into quarters following the division of the estate on which it lay among four co-heiresses, and did not survive thereafter.[20] A similar situation occurred at Egremont in Cumbria when partition of the barony of Copeland between three sisters resulted in the splitting of the park into three closes that were subsequently leased as farmland.[21] Elsewhere, the death of the individual responsible for establishment of a park could initiate disparkment, as at Ratbury in Leicestershire, which was abandoned and reverted to woodland on the death in 1310 of its creator, Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham. Where a park failed to hold the interest of the owner, often because it lay away from the main holdings or was geographically removed from the main residence, then the chances of disparkment probably increased. While practically impossible to track with certainty, where at least some quantitative evidence can be brought to bear, it shows that

[14] L. M. Cantor and J. Hatherly, 'The medieval parks of Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 20 (1977), pp. 431–50, at pp. 444–5.

[15] T. Way, *A study of the impact of imparkment on the social landscape of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire from c1080 to 1760* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 258, 1997), p. 248.

[16] Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments (England), *Northamptonshire,* III (1981), p. 165.

[17] S. Neave, *Medieval parks of East Yorkshire* (1991), p. 44.

[18] Rowe, *Medieval parks*, p. 27.

[19] H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *A history of Dunster and of the families of Mohun and Luttrell* (2 vols, 1909), I, p. 324.

[20] Squires, 'Parks and woodland', p. 148.

[21] A. J. L. Winchester, 'Baronial and manorial parks in medieval Cumbria', in Liddiard (ed.), *Medieval park*, pp. 165–84, at p. 179.

disparkment was certainly not uncommon: in Leicestershire of 56 parks recorded before 1500, 12 out of 17 parks that only appear once in the documentary record before 1350 do not appear thereafter, while of 32 parks known to be in existence after 1350, 16 continued in use up to 1530, with the remaining 16 presumably lost.[22]

Against this somewhat fluid background, it is worth considering the overall number of parks in medieval England. In terms of absolute figures, national estimates are notoriously problematic. Rackham provided no firm evidence to support his oft-quoted figure of 3200 medieval parks in existence *c.*1300, while Cantor produced a more modest total of 1900 based on the records of central government.[23] Whatever the precise figure, in the most recent analysis by Mileson, a case has been made that through to the end of the fifteenth century numbers remained high.[24] Medieval totals can be set against the numbers of parks depicted on county maps by Saxton in 1577 (838 in England and Wales) and Morden in 1695 (819).[25] While superficially indicating decline, these figures do not take into account the fact that not all medieval parks were in existence at the same time, meaning that the number at any given point would have been smaller, and that cartographers such as Saxton are prone to under recording, especially in the case of more minor enclosures, and so numbers on the ground in the later periods are likely to be higher. When these factors are taken into account, the rate of decline does not necessarily appear dramatic.

More reliable statistics are provided by detailed local studies, usually undertaken on a county basis, which suggest a more regionally and chronologically varied picture of dismemberment but also establishment. In places such as Cornwall, the traditional view of the sixteenth century as a period characterized by rapid disparkment appears to hold true, but these appear to be the exception.[26] Elsewhere, overall numbers of parks remained stable or actually increased. In Suffolk, the second half of the sixteenth century saw the heaviest rate of disparkment, but losses were exceeded by new creations by 1602.[27] In Kent by contrast, the rate of disparkment was greatest in the period 1509–1558, largely as a result of ecclesiastical parks changing hands after the Reformation, but then dropped between 1558 and 1625. Newly created parks left the total number of parks in the county largely unchanged.[28] In Sussex, it has been suggested that, of 121 Tudor parks in the county, only six were disparked in the sixteenth century, but the rate accelerated thereafter, with a further 22 lost down to 1700.[29] The most detailed survey to date is that of Hertfordshire. Here the total number of parks in

[22] Squires, 'Parks and woodland', p. 150.

[23] O. Rackham, *The history of the countryside* (1986), p. 123; L. M. Cantor, *The medieval parks of England: a gazetteer* (1983), p. 3.

[24] Mileson, *Parks*, pp. 37–8, where it is suggested that 70% of parks in existence in 1400 were still in place in 1500.

[25] W. Ravenhill, *Christopher Saxton's 16th century maps* (1992); J. B. Harley, *The county maps from William Camden's Britannia 1695 by Robert Morden: a facsimile* (1972).

[26] J. Hatcher, *Rural economy and society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300–1500* (1970), pp. 179–84; P. Herring, 'Cornish medieval deer parks', in R. Wilson-North (ed.), *The lie of the land: aspects of the archaeology and history of the designed landscape in the south-west of England* (2003), pp. 34–50.

[27] R. Hoppitt, 'A study of the development of deer parks in Suffolk from the eleventh to the seventeenth century' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of East Anglia, 1992), p. 85.

[28] Pittman, 'Disparkment', pp. 49–58.

[29] R. B. Manning, *Hunters and poachers. A social and cultural history of unlawful hunting in England, 1485–1640* (1993), pp. 125–7.

the county stood at 25–30 in the 1480s, rose to 35–40 in the 1590s before falling back to 25–30 by 1642; that is the same number as at the end of the Middle Ages.[30] In addition, while there is no doubt that some distinct categories of parks, such as those owned by the Crown and leading Royalists, suffered during the Civil War and Interregnum, this should not be taken as evidence of the wholesale extinction of medieval enclosures. Although scholars have been reluctant to extend their studies beyond 1640, where this has been done, the conclusions indicate that the survival of medieval enclosures was more widespread than has often been assumed. In Wiltshire, the total of 22 parks shown by Speed was matched by those of Morden, while in Shropshire, numbers of medieval parks in existence fell slowly; in 1577 some 19 of the county's 30 parks were medieval in origin, falling to 17 in 1611, 14 in 1695 and 8 by 1752: here it was the period after 1700 that was particularly significant for disparkment.[31] In Hertfordshire, a similar picture emerges, but again with perhaps a more significant pre-1660 base for surviving parks than might otherwise be expected: of the 48 paled parks mapped in Hertfordshire in 1766 10 had medieval origins, a further 10 had been established after 1500 but before the Civil War, with 28 created after the Restoration.[32]

When compared against medieval rates for disparkment the figures for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while certainly higher, do not look revolutionary. The calculation of a disparkment rate of two to three parks per decade in Kent for the period between 1558 and 1602 can be compared to just over one per decade in Leicestershire if a mean average is taken over the period from 1350 to 1530. In the case of Charnwood forest in Leicestershire, the rate of disparkment is arguably seen in microcosm: of 11 medieval parks, two were disparked in the fourteenth century, two in the fifteenth, three in the sixteenth, three in the seventeenth, with one remaining intact.[33] Here the slow fall in numbers was not counteracted by new creations, but by showing the drawn-out chronology of 'failure to survive', these figures are instructive. Cumulatively, these local studies are significant, showing as they do that blanket interpretations of this period after 1550 as one of decline should be resisted. They confirm the suggestion made long ago by Kerridge that in the sixteenth century numbers of new creations tended to at least match those of disparkments, but at the same time argue that the same process of creation and abandonment continued at least into the early seventeenth century.[34]

While the broad trends in park numbers seem to be becoming clearer, balancing totals of new creations against failures, while revealing, mask a number of complications, not least that they do not quite compare like with like. The first concerns the nature of the newly created parks of the sixteenth century, most of which were associated with residences and not, like the majority of parks of the eleventh to the thirteenth century, situated some distance from

[30] A. Rowe, *Tudor and early Stuart parks of Hertfordshire* (2019), p. 11.

[31] K. Watts, 'Wiltshire deer parks: an introductory survey', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural Hist. Magazine* 89 (1996), pp. 88–98; id., 'Some Wiltshire deer parks', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural Hist. Magazine* 91 (1998), pp. 90–102; S. Morris, 'Shropshire deer parks, *c*.1500–*c*.1914: recreation, status and husbandry' (unpubl. PhD Thesis, University of East Anglia, 2005), pp. 142–3.

[32] A. Macnair, A. Rowe and T. Williamson, *Drury and Andrews' map of Hertfordshire* (2016), pp. 171–2.

[33] A. E. Squires and W. Humphrey, *The medieval parks of Charnwood Forest* (1986).

[34] E. Kerridge, *Agrarian problems in the sixteenth century and after* (1969), p. 102.

the house. To complicate matters, the idea of placing a park adjacent to a major residence had been current since the twelfth century, but the period following 1350 saw this trend accelerate. Whilst there is a tendency in studies of Tudor parks to emphasize the novelty of newly established parks framing the country seat, the trend was already deep-rooted by the fifteenth century; in Hertfordshire all newly created parks post-1450 were associated with large houses.[35] While the intensity of park creation may have been significant in the sixteenth century, on the ground it represents a continuation of a particular pattern that had been established in an earlier period. Secondly, patterns of disparkment were not necessarily even, with certain kinds of medieval park more vulnerable than others. Those no longer retained as hunting grounds, especially in those areas of forest that were themselves being turned over to agricultural use, had a high probability of being leased out or disparked entirely in the absence of a clear reason for retention, as was the case by 1610 across royal forests in Wales, Cheshire, the forest of Knaresborough and the Duchy of Cornwall.[36] As with the royal residences with which they were often associated, the approach of successive monarchs to their parks was to concentrate on their most favoured places, which continued to see investment, and neglect or sell off others.[37] Those parks situated in an inconvenient location if a new house was envisaged were also more likely to see changes. In such circumstances owners could simply replace one park with another, as did William Lord Cecil, who disparked King's Cliffe, but created Burghley House as a more suitable substitute.[38] Cumulatively, such individual cases could assume a much greater significance as they played out across a wider geography. In Northamptonshire, for example, observers noted that it was the parks some distance from houses – themselves more likely to be on plateau locations on poor soil and so medieval in origin – that tended to be disparked.[39] A similar trend can be observed in Norfolk where by 1660 only a small fraction of the county's parks had medieval origins and the majority of parks were associated with mansions.[40] From at least the fifteenth century, a slow, but decisive, shift in the geography of parks was therefore underway, as new creations reflected the patterns of house building, rather than that of 'waste' or woodland that had governed the majority of medieval imparkments.

The idea that new always replaced old should not be pushed too far. Just because a park was created after 1500, this did not necessarily guarantee greater longevity and lifespans could be just as short as some of their medieval counterparts. Filwood in Somerset existed for only six years before the pale was removed and the area given over to arable, while at Wedmore in the same county, the 'new' park created *c.*1539 was disparked 14 years later.[41] Moreover, existing medieval deer parks were frequently expanded after 1500 and 'traditional' imparkment of

[35] A. Rowe and T. Williamson, *Hertfordshire: a landscape history* (2013), pp. 228–9.

[36] *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household* (1790), pp. 315–6.

[37] D. L. Thomas, 'The Elizabethan Crown lands: their purposes and problems' in R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *The estates of the English Crown, 1558–1640* (1992), pp. 81–5; P. Gregg, *Charles I* (1984), p. 125.

[38] J. M. Steane, 'The medieval parks of Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 5 (1975), pp. 211–33, at p. 227.

[39] J. Morton, *Natural history of Northamptonshire* (1712), p. 12.

[40] T. Williamson, *The archaeology of the landscape park. Garden design in Norfolk, England, c.1680–1840* (British Archaeological Reports, 256, 1998), pp. 40–6.

[41] J. Bond, *Somerset,* p. 59; H. Hudson and F. Neale, 'Wedmore, Sand Park', *Somerset Arch.* 135 (1992), pp. 159–60.

waste or arable remained a feature of park development down to the Civil War. At Thornbury in Gloucestershire, the Stafford family aggressively expanded their existing parks and created new ones, as did the Percys at Petworth in Sussex, in both cases provoking disputes with commoners.[42] More sustained episodes of imparking, such as that pursued by Henry VIII in southern Northamptonshire, still had the potential to change landscapes as radically in the sixteenth century just as they had in the twelfth.[43] Such schemes of park creation are best seen as part of a much longer tradition of asserting lordly rights via enclosure that had originated in the Middle Ages and continued well into the seventeenth.[44] The activities of John Weld at Willey in Shropshire are a case in point. Despite being already in possession of a park, his personal ambition led him in 1625 to acquire part of newly disafforested Shirlett forest for a second, which exhibited all the characteristics of a medieval enclosure. Six years later, when he believed himself terminally ill, the reality of aggrandizement was laid bare when Weld advised his son to consider 'whether best to dispark my park when I die, for it is a trouble and charge, and gets much envy'.[45] Such sentiments are important reminders that, whether attached to a residence or not, there was still a degree of commonality between new creations and their older medieval counterparts: a deer park was a deer park and the ideals it espoused remained undiminished.

II

Even if overall numbers of parks were relatively static, clearly a proportion of medieval deer enclosures were steadily going out of use after 1500, but when viewed against the medieval background of contraction and extinction, the root causes of park failure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended to be the long-standing ones. What was undoubtedly important, however, was the unusual rate at which parks, often those long established, changed hands and this helped give the disparkments of the period a particular character. As park ownership was disproportionately concentrated towards the higher reaches of the social scale, any upheaval in landowning at this level of society was always likely to be significant and the combined effects of the Reformation, the Civil War and Interregnum, together with the political or economic misfortune of aristocratic families all made for a period characterized by an unusually high turnover of possession. Enclosures passed to and from the crown, between individuals and from the nobility to the gentry owing to the vagaries of forfeiture, economic misfortune, as a reward for office, for reasons of patronage, or as part of political settlements.[46] As had been the case in the Middle Ages, new ownership was often the catalyst for change.

[42] C. Phillpotts, 'Park Farm, Thornbury, South Gloucestershire. Documentary research report' (Cotswold Archaeology, 2010): available at https://consultations.southglos.gov.uk/gf2.ti/aw/249186/16086/PDF/5b5d590c031a5e605f56564c/987381%209%20Documentary%20Research%20Assessment.pdf; A. Wood, '"Some banglyng about the customes". Popular memory and the experience of defeat in a Sussex village, 1549–1640', *Rural Hist.* 25 (2014), pp. 1–14.

[43] D. Hall, 'The woodland landscapes of southern Northamptonshire', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 54 (2001), pp. 33–46.

[44] J. P. Cooper, 'The fortune of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford', *EcHR* 11 (1958), pp. 227–48.

[45] P. A. Stamper, 'Willey's parks: attitudes, aspirations, and exploitation', *Trans. Shropshire Arch. and Hist. Soc.* 65 (1987), pp. 70–4.

[46] D. L. Peach, *The history of Hursley Park* (1972); Pittman, 'Disparkment', p. 61.

In the case of well-run, long-established enclosures, new owners were often presented with huge potential for the sale of timber, realizing opportunities from grazing, or converting all or part of their acquisition to agriculture. Parkland assets were well recognized as sources of ready cash; in 1574 when John, Lord Lumley, succeeded to indebted land of the Earl of Arundel it was noted in a survey that the financial situation 'is not fader to be improved other then by disparkinge of parks'.[47] In 1630 when Guildford park in Surrey passed from the crown to John Murray, Viscount Annandale, he immediately sold off 700 acres, leaving 300 acres as the 'Little Park' which was eventually broken up three decades later.[48] In cases where a park slipped down the social scale and ended up in the hands of the gentry, retention may have provided a degree of prestige, but maintenance was frequently beyond the means of the new owner and so provoked contraction. A common strategy was to build a mansion and retain enough parkland to provide a suitable setting while disparking or leasing out the remainder, as at Donington park in Leicestershire, which was granted to the Grey family by the crown in 1535. By the 1550s it had been divided, with an area around a new mansion kept as parkland, but with the larger portion farmland.[49]

While an unfavourable financial situation for some owners may have worked towards disparkment, for others parks represented economic opportunities, the realization of which, in something of a paradox, resulted in similar outcomes. As had been the case in the thirteenth century, in a period of rising population and higher prices, from the late sixteenth century parks were again given over to settlement or put to alternative uses as lords resumed the direct exploitation their demesnes. One of the attractions of parkland was that it represented opportunities to create new tenements held either by tenants at will, or let via short-term leases, strategies that were financially beneficial at a time when inflation was eating into the income from copyholds. At Stock in Essex the 750-acre episcopal park of Crondon, with 600 deer, was acquired by the Petrie family in 1548 and within two years 500 acres had been disparked and replaced by new five farms let at rents far higher than those of the existing tenements.[50] Similar economic motivations no doubt lay behind the planned settlement in 1551 of Flemish weavers on plots within Worrall Park in Somerset by the Duke of Somerset and at Mudgely Park in the same county when the Clifton family planned a new settlement of ten tofts.[51] There were also immediate benefits to be gained on acquisition, especially in the case of larger, well-managed, enclosures with significant quantities of timber and grazing.[52] The denuding of parkland resources is a common theme throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially where parks were acquired by new owners; in the 1550s for example, it was asset stripping that characterized the seven-year tenure by the Duke of Somerset of the parks of the Bishop of Wells.[53] Sir Robert Cecil (later earl of Salisbury) acquired two parks

[47] E. Miller (ed.) *The records of the Lumleys of Lumley castle* (1904), p. 71.

[48] A. Crocker, 'Disparking the royal park of Guildford', *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 92 (2005), pp. 187–215.

[49] P. Liddle, 'A late Medieval enclosure in Donington Park', *Leicestershire Arch. and Hist. Soc. Trans.* 53 (1978), pp. 8–29.

[50] A. Robey, 'The village of Stock, Essex, 1550–1610: a social and economic survey' (unpubl. PhD thesis, London School of Economics, 1991), pp. 48–65.

[51] E. Green, 'On some Flemish weavers settled at Glastonbury, AD 1551', *Proc. Somersetshire Arch. and Natural Hist. Soc.* 26 (1880), pp. 17–24.

[52] Rowe and Williamson, *Hertfordshire*, p. 153.

[53] Bond, *Somerset*, p. 55.

from the crown at Brigstock in Rockingham Forest in Northamptonshire in 1602. He had the deer expelled and the woodland grubbed up before successfully disafforesting the parks and letting the land out in closes. This provoked widespread protest by those who lost parkland grazing rights.[54] Similar actions characterized cases during the Civil War and Interregnum when Parliamentarians found themselves in receipt of parks or parcels of parkland and took to felling trees and turning them over to agriculture.[55] In such instances reducing numbers of deer or removing them altogether was expedient as they were otherwise an impediment to pasturing stock and their need for woodland cover hindered felling. The conversion of parkland assets into cash certainly took place during the Middle Ages, but these seem to have been comparatively rare events in longer management regimes and given the somewhat serendipitous circumstances in which many new park owners found themselves after 1550 and during the 1640s and 1650s, it is unsurprising that many took advantage in order to obtain short-term financial advantage or clear debts.

The general point worth highlighting here is that, regardless of the exact causes, where a park had significantly contracted in size or been denuded of its assets and the deer removed, the costs of reinstatement became higher and so increased the likelihood of final disparkment. Where the park had effectively become an agricultural landscape anyway, it probably made little difference on the ground; at Leagram in Lancashire, official disparkment took place in 1556 after a royal commission had reported that the park was too decayed to support deer.[56] The costs of restocking or repairing of the surrounding pale, deserve particular emphasis as they was clearly key determinants in whether a park would continue in existence or not. At Haya park in Yorkshire in the fifteenth century, neglect had meant that:

> the payle with continewance of tyme is growne so shorte as it will not hold the deere nor scarce any horses. Teir is not woodd within the parke nor herdlie within the Lordship sufficient to staunche the payle fitt for a parke

while the final abandonment of Erringden park in the same county in 1449 took place after it had earlier been reported that it was already partially dispaled.[57] What was true in the fifteenth was also true in the seventeenth; in 1686 the cost of adequate paling was the key issue for the estate of Harfield Place in Middlesex in deciding whether to retain or abandon the park.[58] Poor fencing caused deer to escape, which meant the additional cost of re-stocking the herd. At Newsome at Wressle in Yorkshire, the decay of the pale meant that in 1570 it was reported that 'the deer lie out of the ground and especially in summer, in the corn fields, and are stolen and spoiled'.[59] The well-known depredations of the Civil War should be seen against this background because they suggest not so much that medieval parks were themselves in terminal decline, but that decayed parks were more likely to be disparked owing to the cost

[54] P. A. J. Pettit, *The royal forests of Northamptonshire. A study in their economy, 1558–1714* (Northampton Rec. Soc., 23, 1968), pp. 171–82.

[55] I. Gentles, 'The management of the Crown Lands, 1649–60', *AgHR* 19 (1971), pp. 25–41.

[56] N. Neil and R. Thurnhill, *Deer parks in the forest of Bowland* (2013), p. 44.

[57] B. E. Coates, 'Parklands in transition: medieval deer park to modern landscape park', *Trans. Hunter Archaeological Soc.* 9 (1964–9), pp. 132–50, at p. 138 for Haya and pp. 138–9 for Erringden.

[58] Warwickshire RO, CR136/B1145, fos. 1–4.

[59] Neave, *Medieval Parks*, p. 44.

of reinstatement. A catastrophic event might have furthered the process, but need not in itself always be decisive.

But, even during periods of neglect, disparkment was not an inevitable outcome and re-instatement after deterioration was not uncommon. Here there is virtue in appreciating the medieval background of park decline and restoration as it is probable that many parks underwent periodic periods of decay, only to subsequently recover. The park at Donington was repaired after suffering despoliations at the hands of a royal army in 1322 and at Wicken in Northamptonshire in 1290 John Fitz Alan was licensed to re-enclose the park the pale of which had decayed during the occupancy of his mother.[60] Staverton Park in Suffolk was described as being without deer and 'greatly broken down' in 1382, possibly as a result of the Peasants' Revolt, but it was evidently repaired and remained intact well into the seventeenth century.[61] Good management at Sheriff Hutton park in the late sixteenth century ensured its recovery from a period of asset stripping a few decades earlier and at South Park at Burstwick in Yorkshire decay in the 1520s had been reversed by the 1550s and the head of deer increased.[62] In such cases it was no doubt the condition of the park and financial situation of the owners which determined whether reinstatement would ultimately be successful. In cases where extensive tree felling or ploughing had taken place and the habitat for deer had been effectively removed, the full reinstatement could only be achieved over a long period of time, not least in order to allow the regeneration of vegetation and tree cover needed to furnish a suitable environment for a herd. Where the costs were deemed too great or the retention of a deer herd was no longer required, disparkment was more likely to follow, but this was by no means inevitable. At New Park in Sutton in the Forest in Yorkshire, decay during a period of Parliamentarian occupation in the 1650s meant that, despite Royalist efforts after 1660, the park declined, while in contrast at Wardour in Wiltshire, both pre-Civil War parks were reinstated, despite spoliation during the conflict.[63]

What needs to be emphasized is the often protracted nature of the decline of the majority of medieval parks as well as the range of factors variously working towards final dismemberment or retention. Peripheral location, transfers of ownership, poor management or economies in maintenance leading to ruined pales, depleted deer herds and partial enclosure tended to ultimately result in disparkment, whereas tenurial stability, a favourable resource base and desire to maintain a hunting ground led to continued use. For many parks there was probably a long period where its ultimate fate hung in the balance with some fine margins between failure to survive and survival by adaptation. In the case of the park of the lords of Hallamshire at Sheffield, the medieval park of 2500 acres had been progressively divided and let out over the course of the seventeenth century with the parkland restricted to the area around a residence at Manor Lodge. The trigger for full disparkment was the decision in 1708 by Thomas Duke of Norfolk to abandon this seat in favour of nearby

[60] L. Fox, 'Ministers' accounts of the Honour of Leicester (1322 to 1324)', *Leicestershire Arch. Soc.* 19 (1938), pp. 199–273; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281–92*, p. 382.

[61] Hoppitt, 'Study', p. 187.

[62] E. Dennison (ed.), *Within the Pale. The story of Sheriff Hutton Park* (2005), p. 166; Neave, *Medieval Parks*, p. 23.

[63] VCH *Yorkshire North Riding,* II, pp. 196–202; Watts, 'Some Wiltshire deer parks', p. 101.

Worksop Manor, after which the final remnant of the park was converted to farmland.[64] At Thrybergh Park in the same county by contrast, the indebted Royalist Sir John Reresby progressively sold off wood from his park not, as his son was later at pains to point out 'by ill-husbandry' but:

> by reason of the war and the narrowness of his then present fortune' and that 'my father having sold a great deal of timber in the old park and reduced his park to so narrow a compass just before the house that the deer did not live or increase in any number, I added some field-land to it … and compassed it well with a stone wall

decisions that ultimately guaranteed its longevity.[65] But in all such cases, what needs to be stressed is that disparkment nearly always seems to have been a process, rather than an event. Rarely, if ever, did a vibrant medieval hunting ground become completely dismembered overnight; probably more typical was the case at Pendley in Hertfordshire, which progressively contracted from the late sixteenth century and while a local farmer in 1731 recounted that he did not know when it had finally ceased to exist, he believed the park had been 'disparked at severall times by degrees'.[66]

III

If the broad casual factors for imparkment and disparkment were similar down to 1640 then an area of more decisive change would appear to lie in how parks were managed, with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries characterized by increasing sub-division and non-deer related activities within pales. While the extent to which the preference for income started to eclipse deer-keeping after 1350 and beyond has been the subject of debate, differences in interpretation are less pronounced if it is simply accepted that a number of parkland regimes – in which deer did not always have to form part – co-existed throughout the late Middle Ages and continued thereafter.[67]

Clearly parks managed along familiar lines were retained at least down to the Civil War. At Lopham in Norfolk a cartographic depiction of the large park of the Earls of Arundel in 1612 shows a characteristically medieval enclosure with lodge at its centre surrounded by a substantial laund with a scattering of trees and coppice on the periphery; a scene that would have been entirely familiar to earlier generations.[68] The vibrancy of the park as hunting landscape remained undiminished down to 1640 and was reflected in investment in infrastructure such as boundary walls and pales and especially, from the late Middle Ages onwards, in deer courses. Here the demands of hunting dictated the internal form of the park, with deer chased by dogs along rides before being dispatched, often in great numbers, at a final enclosure overlooked by onlooking spectators housed in purpose built viewing stands, such as

[64] D. Hey, *The fiery blades of Hallamshire. Sheffield and its neighbourhood, 1660–1740* (1991).

[65] A. Browning (ed.), *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, 1634–1689* (1875), pp. 21–2, 81.

[66] Rowe, *Tudor*, p.18.

[67] For a cogent summary of the current state of research, see S. Mileson, 'Royal and aristocratic landscapes of pleasure', in C. Gerrard, A. Gutierrez and E. Wells (eds), *The Oxford handbook of later medieval archaeology in Britain* (2018), pp. 386–400.

[68] Arundel Castle Archives, P5/1.

at that built during the 1630s at Lodge Park in Gloucestershire and which echoed a tradition that probably originated in the late fourteenth century.[69]

Elsewhere, as in parts of the north of England, there is little reason to doubt that there was a move to stock-rearing in parks in the later Middle Ages to such an extent that the term 'park' was ceased to be synonymous with deer.[70] In other wood-pasture economies, such as the Forest of Arden, there was also a trend toward giving parkland over to specialized agriculture, either whole or in part, which reflected the both economic priorities of the owner and broader trends in the local and regional economy.[71] That there were strategies at work is well illustrated in the case of the three parks owned by the Staffords at Madeley in Staffordshire. Here the Great Park was retained as a 'traditional' park and hunting ground and survived into the seventeenth century, while that at Leycett (created at some point between 1369 and 1372) had its deer removed in 1386 before being let on a series of long leases. That at Nethersethey was similarly short-lived, being imparked after 1395, and probably serving as a stock enclosure and then disparked in 1401 when it was divided into two farms and leased.[72] In late fifteenth-century Hertfordshire, the gentleman Sir William Say oversaw a similar policy of acquisition and disposal with those at his seat at Bedwell and what was probably a hunting park at Benington retained, in contrast to those at Little and Great Munden and Sayes, which were leased and then disparked.[73]

The point at which a multiplicity of regimes emerged, and their longevity, is unclear. Comparisons across the medieval and post-medieval periods are complicated by the fact that, especially prior to the Black Death, we are largely ignorant of the details of park management.[74] But even before 1348, there must have been parks where, even for short periods, some kind of specialization occurred at the expense of deer; in 1281 at Vastern Old Park in Wiltshire for example some 616 of 789 acres of parkland was arable, while at Pulham in Norfolk in 1251, of the 60-acre park, 29½ acres was under the plough.[75] In the case of royal parks, and probably also those of the greater baronage, horse studs were habitually housed within park pales and at the largest enterprises the needs of the deer must have been reduced in favour of equines.[76] Deer management also took place alongside the

[69] For the political symbolism of hunting, see D. C. Beaver, *Hunting and the politics of violence before the English Civil War* (2008); for medieval deer courses, C. C. Taylor, 'Ravensdale park, Derbyshire and medieval deer coursing', *Landscape Hist.* 26 (2004), pp. 37–57 and for post-medieval courses, J. Musty, 'Deer coursing at Clarendon Palace and Hampton Court', *Antiquaries J.* 66 (1986), pp. 131–4; J. Roberts, *Royal landscape: the gardens and parks of Windsor* (1997), p. 138; Fletcher, *Gardens*, pp. 109–15; J. Haworth, *Lodge Par*k (2002).

[70] S. Moorhouse, 'The medieval parks of Yorkshire: function, contents and chronology', in Liddiard, *Medieval park*, pp. 99–127, at p. 125; Winchester, 'Baronial', p. 166.

[71] VCH *Shropshire*, VIII, pp. 101, 298; J. Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (2004), p. 179; A. Watkins, 'Cattle grazing in the forest of Arden in the later middle ages', *AgHR* 37 (1989), pp. 12–25; *idem*, 'Landowners and their estates in the forest of Arden in the fifteenth century' *AgHR* 45 (1997), pp. 18–33.

[72] L. M. Cantor and J. S. Moore, 'The medieval parks of the earls of Stafford at Madeley', *North Staffordshire J. of Field Studies* 3 (1963), pp. 37–58.

[73] Rowe, *Medieval Parks*, p. 27.

[74] J. Birrell, 'Deer and deer farming in medieval England', *AgHR* 40 (1992), pp. 112–26.

[75] Watts, 'Some Wiltshire', p. 91; Rackham, *Trees*, pp. 155–7.

[76] R. H. C. Davis, *The medieval warhorse* (1989), pp. 91–6; C. Gladitz, *Horse breeding in the medieval world* (1997), pp. 147–54; for a detailed description of the horse stud at Ightenhill see R. C. Shaw, *The royal forest of Lancaster* (1956), pp. 381–96.



FIGURE 1. Detail from map of Tilstock Park, Whitchurch, Shropshire *c.*1600 showing timber felling and clearance within the medieval park. (Shropshire Archives)

husbandry of other elite foodstuffs such as fish and rabbit and so, to some extent, dictated a mixed economy. Sporadic references also exist to what are called 'parks without deer' throughout the medieval period, but it is difficult to tell if these were places where deer were temporarily or more permanently absent.[77] The fact that deer were lacking certainly did not necessarily herald imminent disparkment; in the case of Cawston in Norfolk, which was recorded as being without deer in 1382, the park remained intact until at least the late sixteenth century.[78] Such enclosures obviously retained some degree of integrity and identity as parks, but must have been, in effect, paled agricultural landscapes. This was the case at Staverton in Suffolk, which was described as without deer in the late fourteenth century and which appears to have been chiefly used a stock pasture from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth.[79] The number of such deer-less parks is difficult to determine, but were clearly

[77] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post-Mortem* (hereafter *CIPM*), IV, pp. 24, 291; V, p. 398; X, no. 247; XII, p. 149.

[78] *CIPM,* XV, p. 246; Norfolk Record Office [hereafter NRO], MC 341/12, 706X4A.

[79] Hoppitt, 'Study', pp. 182–9.

numerous enough to cause difficulties for contemporaries faced with trying to decide when a park was defunct. Here definitions varied from those enclosures without deer, to those where there had been an irrecoverable change in land use.[80] Ambiguities of definition presuppose that there were at least a certain number of parks where deer were removed in order to prioritize other activities; here the fact that contemporaries often simply elided an absence of deer with disparkment tends to obscure the fact that parks could continue in existence, albeit with a slightly different function. At Wem and Whitchurch in Shropshire, the two parks were without deer for some two decades after 1580 before final disparkment, while in the intervening period they were gradually denuded of woodland and the land let as pasture (Figure 1).[81] This case is unlikely to be unique and that Gervase Markham, one of the few writers to give advice on parkland management, recommended in 1616 that a park should not 'consist of one kind of ground only, as all of wood, all grass, or all coppice, but of divers, as part high wood, part grass or champion, and part coppice or underwood or thick spring', also assumes the existence of enclosures that deviated from this ideal and were specialist agrarian landscapes.[82] Such places were probably similar to that described by Richard Gough, in his famous account of Myddle in Shropshire, where by 1701 the park had clearly not functioned as a game reserve for a considerable time. Gough recalled how the ruined lodge 'was made use of only for housing of catell and bestowing of fodder' and the park's timber had been progressively felled.[83] The presence of deer-less parks could also be played to advantage; in attempting to get round statutes requiring them to keep certain numbers of horses in their parks, owners could claim that their parks were not parks at all as deer had been replaced by cattle.[84] The existence of such places not only draws attention to the fact that contemporaries were aware that a variety of regimes existed on the ground, but that parks not containing deer, or given over to a specific land-use, were sufficient in number to warrant comment (Figure 2). Now, as then, whether we wish to classify them as parks is a matter of definition, but the point is that a trend towards using parks for purposes other than deer which had emerged at the end of the Middle Ages was becoming more pervasive.

Whether deer were present or not, at the level of the individual park, economic concerns encouraged internal sub-division, whether in the fifteenth century in the leasing of parks either in their entirety or as separate parcels, or in the sixteenth when agrarian expansion encouraged lords to more intensively exploit their parks in order to take advantage of higher prices. In a 1602 survey of Oswestry it was recommended by the surveyor that the Upper Park be sub-divided as 'the greatest proffitt will be in letting it by perticulers', rather than leasing it out whole and that if it were 'to be let in parcells I cannot thinke but that they may be better prysed'.[85] The point here is that regardless of when it took place, dividing up a park permitted specialized use that, crucially, would otherwise be difficult given the presence of deer. At Lilleshall in Shropshire, down to the early eighteenth century it was in the separate

[80] Pittman, 'Disparkment', pp. 47–9.

[81] S. Watts, 'The significance of colonisation in two north Shropshire parishes: Wem and Whitchurch, *c*.1560–1660', *Midland Hist.* 25 (2000), pp. 61–77.

[82] G. Markham, *Maison Rustique or the Countrey Farme* (1616), p. 669.

[83] D. Hey (ed.), *Richard Gough. The history of Myddle* (1984), pp. 57–8.

[84] J. Thirsk, *The rural economy of England: collected essays* (1984), p. 387.

[85] W. J. Slack (ed.) *The lordship of Oswestry, 1393–1607* (1951), p. 57.

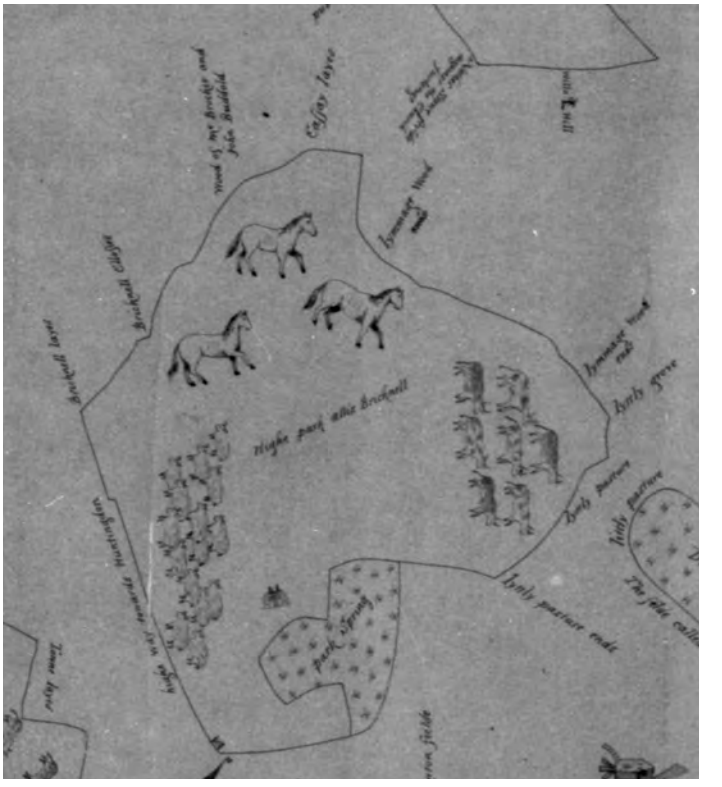


FIGURE 2. Map of Kimbolton Huntingdonshire in 1582 showing the park as a stock ground for cattle, horses and sheep, rather than deer. (Reproduced by kind permission of Mr Patrick Knight)

closes within the park that the most intensive grazing took place.[86] While a lack of evidence precludes a definitive answer to how many parks were compartmented before 1348, what does seem apparent is that after this date – and certainly by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – compartmentation seems to have become the dominant regime.[87] At the same time, there is evidence that internal divisions in parks were assuming a more permanent character.

Consistent references to underwood in inquisitions after 1200 demonstrate the ubiquity of coppice and so some degree of segregation must have existed in order to prevent damage by deer, as must also have been the case when parts of parks were given over to arable. The often careful delineation of grazing rights found in agistment agreements argue, as in later periods, that management of stock alongside deer was judiciously orchestrated in parkland regimes and in cases where pasture was specifically noted as being for the deer it also presupposes that some kind of internal division existed.[88] In some cases, 'hard' internal divisions presumably did exist, as at Cockermouth in Cumbria which was noted in 1276 as being recently divided into closes. Earthwork remains at Clarendon park show that permanent boundaries separated

[86] J. P. Bowen, 'From medieval deer park to an enclosed agricultural and developing industrial landscape: the post-medieval evolution of Lilleshall park, Shropshire', *Midland Hist.* 38 (2013), pp. 194–212.

[87] This is the suggestion, albeit often made implicitly, for instance in Mileson, *Parks*, pp. 66–7, and at p. 73; J. Bond, 'Forests, chases, warrens and parks in Medieval Wessex', in M. Aston and C. Lewis (eds), *The medieval landscape of Wessex* (1994), pp. 115–58 at pp. 142–4.

[88] Rowe, *Medieval parks*, p. 31; Mileson, *Parks*, pp. 64–6

the inner from the outer park and also that areas of coppice were banked, ditched and hedged.[89] But it is worth noting that elsewhere field survey does not furnish many clear-cut archaeological examples of medieval sub-divisions. At Foxley in Norfolk, where the deer park became managed woodland and so chances of earthwork survival are high, the interior reveals no archaeological evidence of internal partitions, which is significant as in 1391 it was noted that the park contained both deer and coppice.[90] At Lamarsh in Essex the surviving low earthworks in the former park suggest that the park's internal compartments were periodically re-organized.[91] While it is perfectly possible that modern hedges in former parkland perpetuate the line of pre-existing sub-divisions, the probability must be that in many cases medieval parks were divided up by more ephemeral fences or dead hedges – a barrier to stock formed out of cut branches – in an *ad hoc* manner, a technique noted at Upper Park in Oswestry in 1602, when it was noted that in the un-compartmented park, which was clearly said to lack internal closes, 'some dead hedges doth sever it, as the fermer findeth occasione when he soweth part'.[92] It is probably also relevant that Gervase Markham recommended that the resources of a park such as grazing, coppice and arable, should ideally be segregated, which in turn suggests that in uncompartmented park the resources would be scattered, something also noted at Oswestry where the arable and pasture were 'here and there dispersed among woodes and coppyces'.[93] All this argues that during the Middle Ages a park's internal divisions were more likely to be semi-permanent or subject to change, something which aligns with the suggestion that medieval regimes were frequently short-term in outlook.

By way of contrast, if the incentive on the part of a park owner was greater profit by direct exploitation or that of a lessee to maximize their return, then this encouraged more impermeable boundaries. At Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire, in the late sixteenth century deer destroyed a large area of parkland that had been planted with oats. At a later date deer-proof fences had to be made round closes in the park to keep the animals out. In the early seventeenth century part of the west lawn required hedging in order to keep out 'the raskall deere'.[94] Particular difficulties existed if cattle-rearing was envisaged. Contemporary writers stressed that cattle and deer could not be co-grazed, probably because both species competed for forage in a way that deer and sheep did not.[95] Attempts to manage deer alongside other stock or arable within the same park seem to have been a bugbear for many owners, especially in the early decades of the seventeenth century when the market for cattle was strong. In 1604 Humfrey Nurtall, park keeper at Shifnal in Shropshire wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury to complain of feeding and accommodating the herd of deer that had been forced to share the park with cattle as 'They [the deer] doe gretlie decaye by meanes of converting of the best parte of the parke into tyllage and mowing grownde, being utterlie excluded from the same and wyntour feeding in those parts'.[96]

[89] Winchester, 'Baronial and manorial parks', pp. 173–6; T. Beaumont James and C. Gerrard, *Clarendon: landscape of kings* (2007), p. 55.

[90] *CPR, 1388–92*, p. 486; field survey in G. Barnes and T. Williamson, *Re-thinking ancient woodland: the archaeology and history of woods in Norfolk* (2015), pp. 184–7.

[91] L. Alston, 'Lamarsh park, the origin and management of a medieval deer park', *Colchester Archaeological Group Annual Bulletin* 35 (1993), pp. 3–16.

[92] Slack, *Lordship of Oswestry,* p. 57.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Dennison, *Within the Pale*, pp. 68, 166.

[95] Markham, *Maison Rustique*, p. 699.

[96] Morris, 'Shropshire', p. 108.

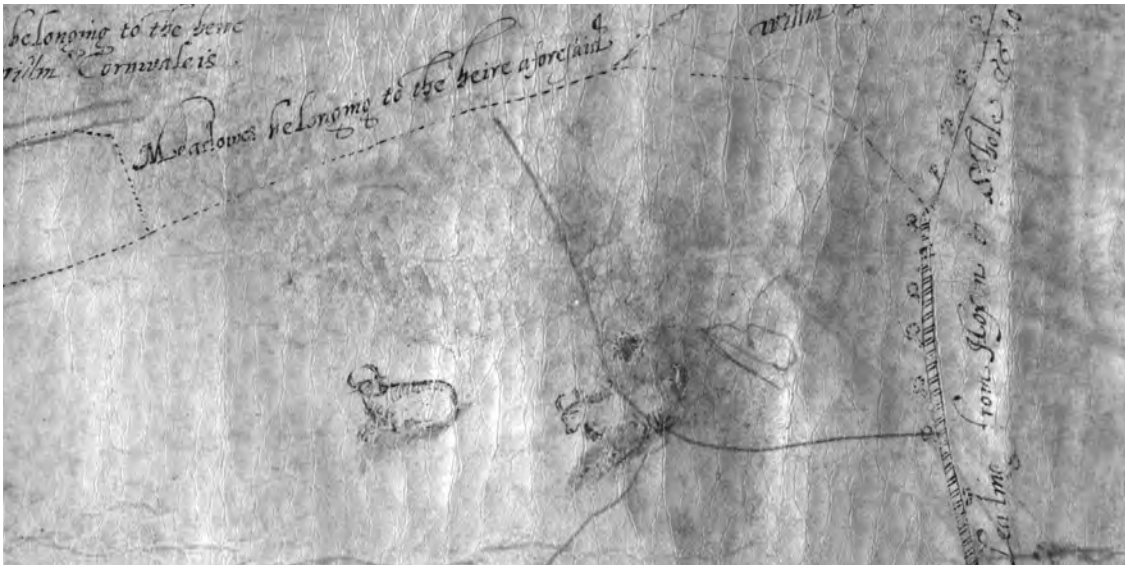


FIGURE 3. Parkland cattle in 1619 as depicted on an estate map of Hoxne, Suffolk. (Reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich branch. HD40/422)

In such circumstances, owners with an eye for income removed the deer altogether, not least because the cost of maintaining the herd, especially when it came to the provisioning of winter fodder, was prohibitive. It is worth noting in this context that the contemporary observations on parkland regimes that refer to disparkment, such as Richard Carew's statement that lords in Cornwall were 'making the deer leap the pale to give the bullocks place' actually place the emphasis on the changes to stock kept within the pale.[97] This move towards stock is seen elsewhere, such as at Oakley in Shropshire where the owner Sir Charles Foxe was asked to explain in 1617 why he 'keepeth there more sheep and cattle than deer', rather than maintaining deer. It is often shown on contemporary maps, as at Hoxne in Suffolk where a map of 1619 depicts grazing cattle in parkland rather than deer (Figure 3).[98] While such places were still described as parks, they were, in effect, stock grounds and probably could remain as such for considerable periods of time.

The switch towards economic management goes some way to explaining the situation seen commonly in cartographic sources which show parks ar divided into what are effectively fields or where separate closes, usually along the edge of the park and abutting up against the pale, have been made. At Sheffield, for example, by the 1640s a series of enclosures used for various purposes ringed the central lawn which retained the deer. When such closes were granted on long leases and where tenants were obliged to ensure that the boundaries were securely hedged or fenced, it encouraged a move towards more permanent sub-divisions; in 1699 Richard Richmond, lessee of 477 acres in Sheffield park was required to 'plant or sett or cause to be

[97] F. E. Halliday (ed.), *Richard Carew of Anthony. The survey of Cornwall* (1953), p. 106.

[98] *VCH Shropshire,* IV, pp. 119–68; NRO, Accn. Barnes 1.5.1986 Map Tree 4; Suffolk Record Office (hereafter SRO), I HD 40/422.

planted or sett three oakes, ashes or elmes upon every acre length of fences and walls', which does not suggest that divisions were considered temporary.[99] In this sense, compartmentalization was a factor ultimately working towards disparkment in that divisions intended to be more long-lived made reinstatement less likely.

What a discussion of regimes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrates is not so much that the activities within parks were so different from those previously, but that certain practices became more common and, crucially, had a greater degree of permanence. But again, the idea that such changes in management were something of a death knell needs to be treated with caution. While there is a tendency to see the internal enclosure of parks as the inevitable first stage of disparkment, this did not have to be the case. At Castle Hedingham in Essex for example, two of the castle's three deer parks extant in the 1590s and shown as compartmented and leased were maintained until the 1740s when they were finally disparked.[100] Equally, at Castle Rising in Norfolk, the park probably lost its deer in the 1640s, but the park itself survived until the 1725 with its final extinction associated with the enclosure of the surrounding chase.[101] At Henham and Benacre in Suffolk, maps of 1699 and 1778 respectively show parks comprised of a series of hedged and paled enclosures, while that at Loudham of 1739 shows the same, but with an adjacent 'Corn Park' within the overall bounds, with the two divided by a deer-proof fence.[102] While there is the tendency to view such late survivals in teleological terms and as a final stage before disparkment, arguably they are better interpreted on their own terms as post-medieval deer parks that were continuations of a much longer tradition.

Here it should also be borne in mind that a move towards specialization and sub-division was not confined to parks, but to the landscape more generally, which from the late Middle Ages was itself becoming more regionally diverse and increasingly enclosed. From the point of view of land use, parks tended to mirror regional trends. In the north west Winchester has shown that the sub-division of parks into separate closes for grazing was part of larger shift towards the enclosure of uplands for specialized stock-rearing.[103] In such cases final disparkment did not necessarily result in a radical change in land use; rather it tended to follow the dominant land use of the area, in the Weald of Kent for example, former parkland was chiefly used as pasture, albeit for stock other than deer.[104] If one of the indexes of disparkment was irrevocable change in land use, then the decisive break with the past could occur relatively late. At Clarendon, this occurred during the mid-eighteenth century while at Willey in Shropshire the 'emphatic' watershed moment was in the 1750s when part of the park was given over to ironworking and the remainder to farmland; up to this point the eighteenth century landscape was seemingly little different to its thirteenth-century predecessor.[105]

[99] G. Scurfield, 'Seventeenth-century Sheffield and its environs', *Yorkshire Archaeological J.* 58 (1986), pp. 147–71, at pp. 153–4.

[100] Essex Record Office (hereafter ERO), D/DMh M1; D/DMh P1.

[101] For tree felling and deer killing in 1644 see Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/172, 2 Aug. 1644; for break-up of chase, NRO, HOW 572, 348X1; HOW 609, 348X2.

[102] SRO (I), HA 11 C9/19/2; T 631 (Rolls); HB 10:50/20/41.

[103] A. J. L. Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes of medieval northern England', in D. Hooke (ed.), *Landscape: The richest historical record* (2000), pp. 75–84.

[104] Pittman, 'Disparkment', pp. 68–9.

[105] Stamper, 'Willey's Parks', p. 73.

IV

If all of this suggests support for the traditional view that post-1500 estate economics were trumping the deer, then at the same time one of the characteristic features of park regimes after this date is the lengths that park owners went to in order to combine the keeping of deer while at the same time maximizing other agrarian activities within their pales – a case of wanting to have your venison and eat it.

Where owners possessed more than one park it allowed the possibility of giving individual enclosures a specific role. In Cumbria in the 1560s the two parks of Lord Wharton appear to have had slightly differently functions, with that at Wharton Hall housing 300 deer and that at Ravenstonedale used for grazing cattle and oxen.[106] At Castle Cary in Somerset, by 1633 the Home Park close to the house retained deer, but the slightly more distant park at Ansford was leased out, probably as a stock pasture.[107] Along similar lines, but superficially a more odd arrangement, was where the boundary pale was kept intact but the deer restricted to a discrete area, with the rest of the park given over to agriculture. Here the area of actual parkland for use by the deer was contracted but continued in attenuated form – in effect a park in miniature – with the remainder effectively an agricultural landscape little different to that beyond the pale. This trend, it is worth emphasizing, had emerged by the fifteenth century at the latest and continued well into the seventeenth. At Wrotham in Kent in 1492 an internal paled pound for deer was created prior to the park being leased, but a particularly clear example of attenuated parkland comes from the episcopal park of Stanhope in Weardale. At the start of the fifteenth century two meadows within the pale were let for grazing. In 1419 the whole park was granted to the Bishop of Durham's master forester. This grant initiated the construction of a series of specialized grazing sheils that in subsequent decades became increasingly administratively distinct as tenancies. A more dramatic change occurred in the 1490s when the area for deer was reduced in size and an inner 'New Park' was carved out of the original bounds, with the remainder largely grazing. This arrangement proved remarkably stable with deer continuing to be kept within the new enclosure until at least the seventeenth century.[108] At Langley Marish in Buckinghamshire a new pale erected in 1626 divided the park in two, with the 'lower grounde reduced to a better use', which was 'for the game, and delightfull to hunte in, by reason of the faire artificial lawns latelie made and leueled with maine conuenient and pleasant standinges'.[109] Similar examples of 'attenuated' parkland are regularly depicted cartographically, such as at Rockingham in Northamptonshire in 1615 and at Wabridge in Cambridgeshire in 1651, as paled areas within the larger park pale.[110]

[106] Winchester, 'Baronial and manorial parks', pp. 178–9; R. W. Hoyle, 'Thomas first lord Wharton's parks at Ravenstonedale and Wharton', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc.*, new ser. 95 (1995), pp. 111–18; M. Blackett-Ord, 'Lord Wharton's deer park walls', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc.*, new ser. 86 (1986), pp. 133–40.

[107] Bond, *Somerset*, p. 59.

[108] J. Semple, 'The medieval parks of Wrotham', *Arch. Cantiana* 128 (2008), pp. 179–209; J. L. Drury, 'Early settlement in Stanhope Park, Weardale, *c.*1406–79', *Arch. Aeliana*, 5th ser. 4 (1976), pp. 139–49.

[109] G. Lipscomb, *The History and antiquities of the county of Buckinghamshire* (4 vols, 1847), IV, p. 533.

[110] Northamptonshire Record Office, Map 2328; Way, *Study*, p. 284.

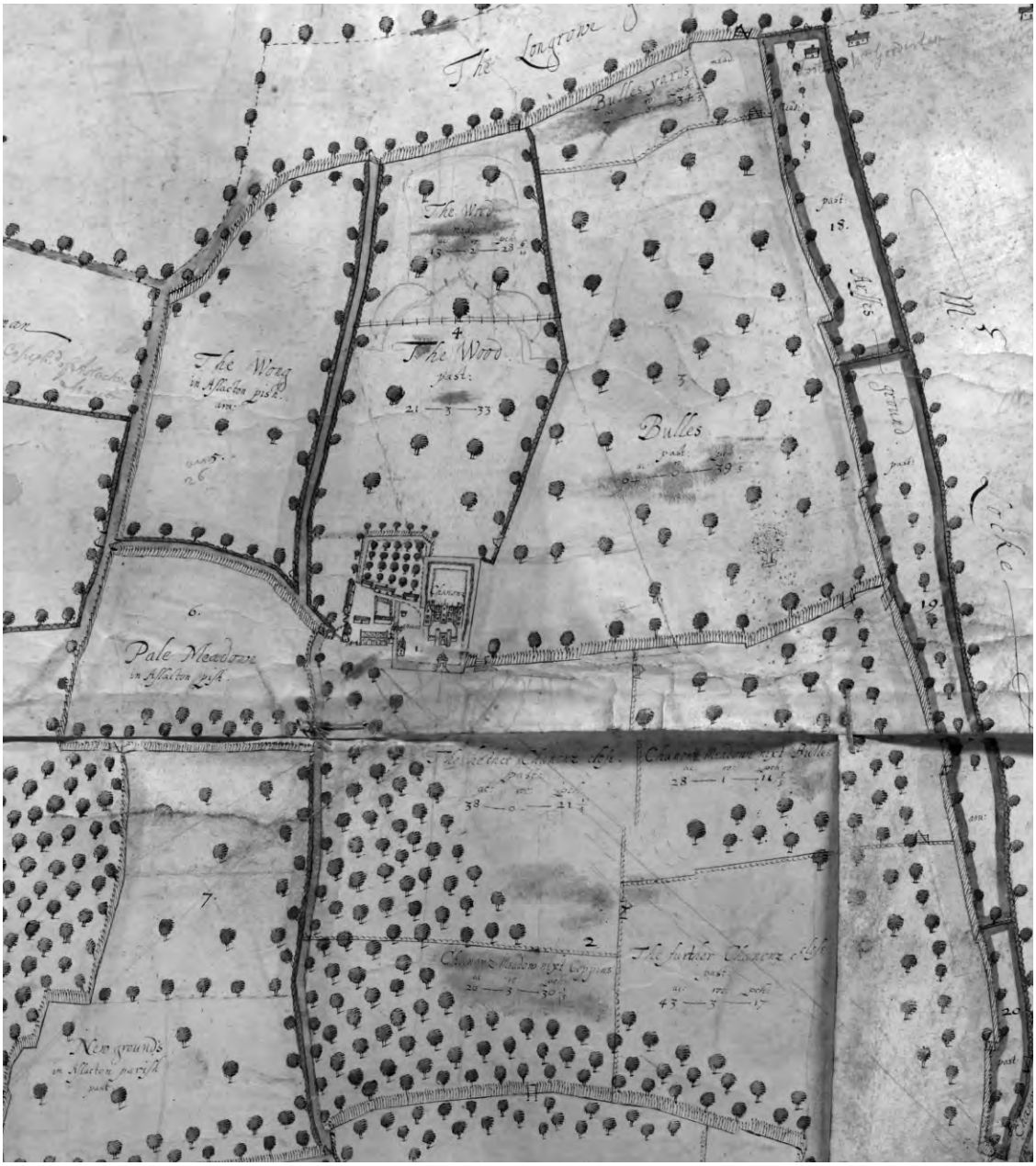


FIGURE 4. Mixed parkland economies as shown on a map of Channonz Hall, Tibenham, Norfolk in 1640. The park has external and internal pales and to judge from the named closes the northern portion of the park was reserved for cattle while the deer were kept in the area to the south.
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Norfolk Record Office)

At Crondon in Essex, the park carved out by the Petrie family in the 1550s had by the 1670s shrunk to a small area around the hall, with the remainder divided into fields, albeit still with a pale.[111] In a particularly clear case at Tibenham in Norfolk, a map of 1640 shows an inner pale cutting the park in two, named areas suggesting specialized cattle rearing in one part, with deer presumably in the second (Figure 4).[112]

In cases where parks were leased either entirely or in closes, owners were keen either to give their deer herds a degree of protection from tenants or ensure a degree of future proofing in the event that they decided to take them back into direct management. At Haverah Park in Yorkshire, the crown leased the park for a term of seven years, but ensured that the lessee reserved sufficient pasture for the keeping of game, while at Haya park in 1581 a similar lease restricted the amount of arable permitted within the pale and stated that a minimum number of deer be retained.[113] This was analogous to the arrangement seen as late as 1702 at Everingham in Yorkshire where the deer park was leased, but the owner reserved pasture and agistment for 50 deer and five horses. The lessee was to provide winter hay for the herd.[114] Elsewhere, the park at Huish Episcopi in Somerset was leased for pasture in the fifteenth century, but retained its fences and gates, while at New Park in Thornbury, work on the park fence continued in the 1550s, even though the grazing was farmed out and deer probably removed.[115] Grants or leases of portions of parks frequently stipulated that the recipient maintain the pale, a neat method of keeping future use as a game reserve in mind, while at the same time pushing the cost of fencing onto the tenant.[116] Such arrangements also go some way to explaining the otherwise contradictory statements that a park had been divided into fields, but still contained deer, as at Currypool in Somerset or where contemporaries deemed disparkment to have taken place, when other evidence points to the park's continued existence.[117] What also needs to be noted is the longevity and persistence of this kind of regime, which probably helps to explain the survival of medieval enclosures as late as the eighteenth century and cases where otherwise agricultural landscapes were still referred to as parks well into the post-medieval period. At Earsham in Norfolk the medieval park is depicted on an estate map of *c.*1700 with its pale intact, but with the interior divided into closes and farmed; one detail shows ploughing and another cattle being fed turnips from a cart (Figure 5).[118] A similarly late date for final termination is suggested at the former archiepiscopal park at Hexgrave in Nottinghamshire. Here the clauses for retaining provision for deer for the lessees of its constituent closes were only removed in 1761; arguably this was the moment, when deer-keeping was no longer considered even as an outside possibility, that really marked the end of the park's existence.[119]

The evidence from management regimes post-1500 demonstrates that while park owners may have had one eye on economic exploitation, they continued to prize their deer enclosures,

[111] ERO, D/DP P13.
[112] NRO, Accn. Barnes 1.5.1986 Map Tree 4.
[113] Coates, 'Parklands', p. 139.
[114] Neave, *Medieval Parks*, p. 36.
[115] Bond, *Somerset*, p. 59; Phillpotts, 'Park Farm', p. 21.
[116] Pittman, 'Disparkment', pp. 66–7.
[117] Bond, *Somerset*, p. 59.
[118] Map of Earsham Park, *c.*1700, in private ownership.
[119] P. Lyth, 'The deer parks of the Archbishops of York at Southwell', *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* 90 (1986), pp. 14–29.

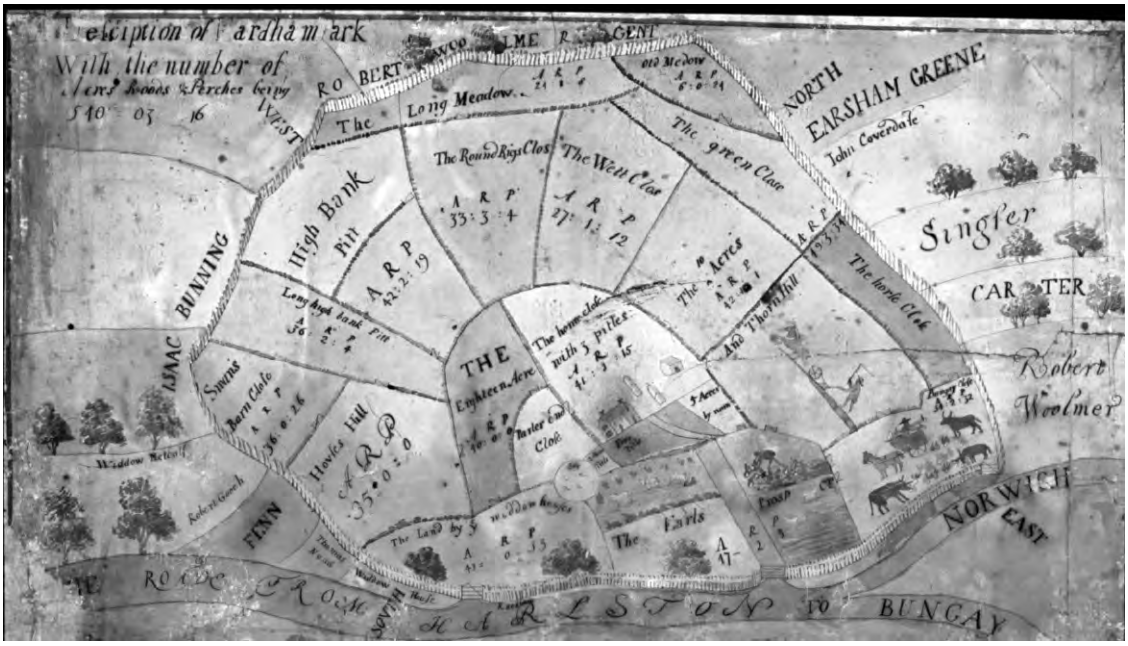


FIGURE 5. Map of Earsham park, Norfolk *c.*1700.
While still depicted as a paled park and retaining its integrity as an enclosure, the interior is given over to agriculture and its former role long since extinguished. Such as the 'afterlife' of many medieval parks.
(Reproduced by kind permission of Mr Nicholas Meade)

regardless of how many deer were actually present or even if they were temporarily excluded. But this was not new. As has been seen above in the case of Dunster, this was an issue that existed as far back as the fourteenth century.[120] When placed against the medieval background of reconciling competing interests within the pale, the changes taking place in the post-medieval period do not therefore look terribly unusual, but perhaps more pervasive; if Mileson is correct in the observation that down to the end of the Middle Ages the economic needs of tenants still had to 'fit round' the game, then the same was true for many parks of the post-medieval period.[121] As late as 1759 these concerns were expressed by the estate manager responsible for Capplebank park in Yorkshire:

> I am apt to think that neither your Lordships or any of your family will ever live at Bolton so that it answers no end in keeping so many Deer in the Park where they eat up the most of the Grass. If they were all or most of them destroyed the Land might be let, which would turn to advantage, but keeping the Deer never will.[122]

In a similar vein, the correspondence in 1736 from the estate manager of Everingham park in Yorkshire to the absentee landowner Marmaduke Constable, over the suggestion that horses

[120] Maxwell Lyte, *Dunster,* I, p. 324.
[121] Mileson, *Parks*, p. 73.
[122] I. Dormor, 'Woodland management in two Yorkshire dales since the fifteenth century' (unpubl. PhD thesis, York St John College, University of Leeds, 2002), p. 206.

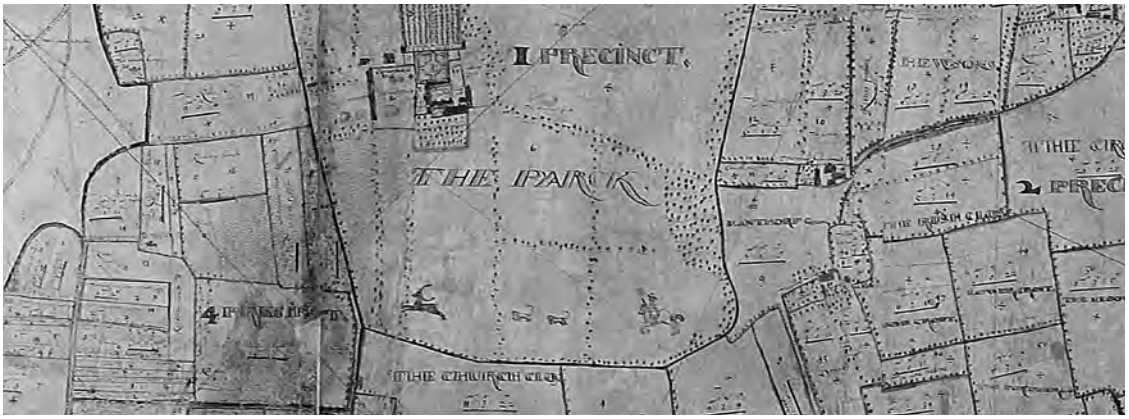


FIGURE 6. Hunting scene on a 1652 map of Somerleyton park in Suffolk.
(Reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich branch. Map No. 295)

should be over wintered in the park (which had provoked a reaction from the keeper) is also of interest in showing how reconciling deer-keeping and profit remained a source of tension:

> John cries out the Park is too little for the Deer alone; but he ought to consider your profit and not altogether his own. Be pleased to decide the contest; and doubtless you will pass sentence in favour of that creature you have most value for. I am often put to the necessity of making use of that sentence. *Omne regnum in divisum desolabitur.*[123]

Many owners, it seems, eschewed the 'all or nothing' approach to the economics of their parks. The distinguishing characteristics of deer parks post-1500 therefore seems to lie in the intensification of long-standing trends, rather than their novelty.

V

If the management trends in deer parks down to the Civil War were not symptomatic of decline, then the widespread restocking and reinstatement of parks after 1660, often with deer from Parliamentarian estates, is unsurprising. It also suggests not only that the familiar picture of despoiled parks in the 1640s and 1650s was not universally applicable, but that the ideals of deer enclosures remained intact. Even though feudal tenure had been abolished in 1660, petitions for licenses to impark following the Restoration suggest a concern for the reassertion of the traditional status associated with park ownership.[124] To judge from cartographic depictions, such as that of Somerlyton in Suffolk from 1652 which shows a gentleman chasing a deer with dogs, the park had lost none of its association with hunting (Figure 6).[125] The real

[123] 'Every kingdom divided will be laid waste'. P. Roebuck (ed.), *Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence, 1726–43* (Yorkshire Archaeological Soc. Rec. Ser. 136, 1974), p. 92.

[124] J. Thirsk, 'Agricultural policy: Public debate and legislation', in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales*, V, *1640–1750* (2 vols, 1985), II, pp. 366–71.

[125] SRO, Map 295 (Map of Somerleyton, 1652)

questions are not therefore so much why some parks went out of use in the period down to 1640; rather, we should ask when and why the traditional forms of management ceased to the extent that by 1740 a gentleman's park need not necessarily contain deer at all.[126] The answer probably lies in a number of factors that worked in combination in the century after 1700 to gradually, but decisively, shift the status of deer and, by extension, the character of the park.

Clearly a major influence was the steady replacement of deer hunting by fox hunting as the elite pastime. Chasing deer in traditional form clearly continued beyond the Civil War; on one such occasion at Helmsley in Yorkshire in 1664, Marmaduke Rawdon and his cousin 'had very good sport' in taking a 'fat bucke' in the park.[127] The last major hunting treatise to place emphasis on pursuing deer was Richard Blome's *The Gentleman's Recreation* of 1686, which indicates that the traditional quarry remained king, albeit that sections on game shooting and foxhunting signposted a different direction.[128] The rise of fox hunting as an aristocratic pastime emerged in the late seventeenth century and in the Midlands the crucial period of crossover was 1720–50, by which time it was pre-eminent.[129] Here the older idea that deer hunting was curtailed due to a lack of suitable beasts can be dismissed, as studies of forests have shown that wild deer continued to exist, and in some cases thrive, well into the eighteenth century. While the hunting of 'carted' deer continued, this was arguably an inferior form of foxhunting rather than the continuation of a medieval tradition.[130] After 1660 the last monarch to hunt in anything like medieval style in a park was George I and thereafter the chief sport became shooting, something associated with the improvement in gun technology and which itself probably made deer hunting in parks unrewarding. This is not to say that deer were not valued or still seen as a prized animals, but their changing status is clearly reflected in statute law. In 1671 deer ceased to be judged 'game' and instead became classed as the private property of the owner; the harsh penalties for illegally taking them was not for the crime of poaching, but theft.[131] As a result, the status of venison also changed from 1700 and gradually lost its place as an elite meat. By 1800 John Bull and the Prince Regent gorged on English beef, not venison haunch. To judge from the ease and rate at which Samuel Pepys consumed venison pasties, the meat was no longer something only obtained by direct farming or as a gift, but was already becoming more of a commodity. By the end of the eighteenth century, deer were being publicly advertised for sale.[132]

While on large estates venison continued to be exchanged as part of patronage networks, more generally it seems to have been more valued for its historic connotations, rather than any association with hunting. The Society of Tempers founded in Hereford in 1752, for example, held an annual venison dinner to commemorate historical events such as Elizabeth I's birthday and the Gunpowder Plot and here the choice of meat was deliberately backward looking.[133] Archaeological evidence confirms the fall in deer consumption on high-status

[126] T. Williamson, *Polite landscapes: gardens and society in eighteenth-century England* (1995), pp. 75–6.

[127] R. Davies (ed.), *The life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York* (Camden Soc., Old Ser. 85, 1863), p. 123.

[128] R. Blome, *The gentleman's recreation* (1686).

[129] M. de Belin, *From the deer to the fox. The hunting transition and the landscape, 1600–1850* (2013), pp. 60–2.

[130] Ibid., pp. 101–4.

[131] P. B. Munsche, *Gentlemen and poachers: the English game laws, 1671–1831* (1981), pp. 3–7.

[132] *Hereford J.*, 24 June 1789.

[133] D. Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford* (2007), p. 60.

sites; at Dudley Castle the bone assemblage suggests a decline in venison after 1640 and thereafter became residual. More generally, excavated bone evidence indicates that individual animals were kept alive for longer than their medieval counterparts, which not only suggests that they were no longer being hunted, but that they were more valued as living animals, most likely as ornaments for the park.[134] At Everingham in Yorkshire male deer were deliberately retained and female fawns killed at birth in order both to restrict the size of the herd, but also probably because bucks were favoured for their decorative antlers.[135] Where established deer herds existed in parks, they were more likely to be retained for their connection with the past and in giving a sense of lineage to an ancient family seat. At Knole in Kent John Sackville 3rd Duke of Dorset on his death in 1799 stated in his will that the deer 'shall be regarded as heirlooms and shall be in possession of the person in possession of Knole park', indicating the shift from enclosures that existed to rear and hunt deer to those where the animals were primarily ornamental.[136] If deer were increasingly ornamental, then the same was true of the environment in which they were kept. A clear example of the changing character of the park comes from Rivenhall in Essex where the rump of the medieval park was incorporated in the sixteenth century into the grounds of the Tudor mansion. While this would appear to be a straightforward example of 'survival by adaption', the real break with the past was in the late seventeenth century when the park was expanded, but in order to accord with the symmetry of the main facade of the house, not to provide for deer or as a hunting ground.[137] As the purpose and the meaning of the park changed, so did the place of the beasts within it; the more the park became an environment governed by aesthetics, the less that environment became suitable for keeping deer.[138]

If the status of the deer park as a hunting ground was waning, then from the point of view of land use, it was often agricultural investment, at whatever point it came, that was the final death knell of a medieval park. Those parks that had undergone 'improvement' were not, it seems, ever reinstated. That husbandry had been developed was used to argue against reinstatement of royal parks post-1660.[139] While sub-dividing a park did not mean an end to its existence, permanent enclosures and new farms on parkland emphatically did and as the 'marginal' land upon which many medieval parks were situated became more amenable to farming, so land use could decisively change. At Stansted in Essex, in the early to mid-seventeenth century, the parkland lodge was demolished and replaced with a brick farmhouse. The ditches for funnelling deer during the hunt were backfilled; here the break with the past was intended to be irrecoverable.[140] So too at the former episcopal park of Marwell in Hampshire, where the profits of a legal career allowed Henry Mildmay to improve his estate from the mid-1650s. The former parkland (already probably subdivided) was subject

[134] N. Sykes *et al.*, 'Wild to domestic and back again: the dynamics of fallow deer management in medieval England (*c.*11th–16th century AD)', *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research* (2016), pp. 113–26.

[135] Roebuck, *Constable estate correspondence*, p. 54.

[136] K. Taylor, 'The development of the park and gardens at Knole', *Arch. Cantiana* 123 (2003), pp. 153–84.

[137] Rodwell, *Rivenhall*, p. 183.

[138] D. Brown and T. Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape revolution in eighteenth-century England* (2016), pp. 158–9.

[139] Gentles, 'Management', p. 38.

[140] N. Cooke, F. Brown and C. Phillpotts, *From hunter gathers to huntsmen. A history of the Stansted landscape* (2008), pp. 260–2, 275–7.

to farm consolidation and programme of estate building works undertaken that had a sense of finality about them.[141]

That improvement and traditional forms of park management were seemingly irreconcilable indicates that the key difference was ideological. Deer parks formed part of a medieval suite of management practices that defied easy categorization, dubbed 'intermediate exploitation' by some modern scholars.[142] Parks were in part hunting grounds, partly agricultural landscapes, uneconomic to run and often maintained by labour services. They were a poor fit when it came to the rationality of the age of reason. It is instructive that much of the evidence presented here points towards the period 1700–50 as the one where the last traces of medieval management persisted. It was at this time that agricultural 'improvement', building on a seventeenth-century base, became decisive.[143] The medieval idea of a park was reinvented in the nineteenth century with the Gothic revival. That the publication of Shirley's classic text in 1865 effectively established a new subject of historical enquiry, is the surest indication that the older concept of the deer park had long since become redundant.

VI

Since the work of Shirley in the 1860s, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been seen as a watershed in the history of the English deer park. This article suggests that, while the period 1500–1650 is certainly characterized by considerable complexity, too sharp a contrast between the medieval and early modern periods has been drawn in the past. Failure to survive was not confined to the period from 1550 onwards as deer parks were always to some extent in decline, as enclosures fell out of use as a response to changing economic and familial circumstances. Incidents of disparkment and trends in deer park management in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, to a large extent, a predictable outcome of broader social and economic conditions. Rather than interpreting the late sixteenth century as a watershed, this article has argued for structural continuities in the history of deer parks from the end of the Middle Ages to the middle of the seventeenth century that arose from the specific requirements of keeping deer and the social significance that the possession of a deer park bestowed. The real death knell for the deer park in its medieval form was when deer, the enclosures in which they were kept, the mechanisms for the upkeep of those enclosures, and the forms of management that defined them in the first place no longer carried with them the connotations of lordship that they had in earlier centuries. Here it was the century after 1640, not the century before, that was ultimately more decisive.

[141] E. Roberts and M. Gale, 'Henry Mildmay's new farms, 1656–1704', *Proc. Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Soc.* 50 (1994), pp. 169–92.

[142] T. Williamson, 'Fish, fur and feather: man and nature in the post-medieval landscape', in K. Barker and T. Darvill (ed.), *Making English landscapes* (1997), pp. 92–117.

[143] R. C. Allen, *Enclosure and the yeoman* (1992); P. Slack, *The invention of improvement: information and material progress in seventeenth-century England* (2014).

Women and wage labour in rural Flanders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*

by Lies Vervaet

Abstract

This article addresses women's participation and remuneration in the agricultural labour market in coastal Flanders during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. An analysis of unique and unexplored late medieval farm accounts demonstrates that women's employment opportunities in this dynamic and commercial region had diminished by the middle of the sixteenth century. This article argues that demographic developments, which are usually considered to be the drivers of change in the debate about female wage labour in the centuries after the Black Death, cannot adequately explain the observed changes. The regional scope of this study enables it to demonstrate the complex and interrelated factors affecting women's prospects. These include (local) developments in population numbers, the type of rural economy (and related to this the agricultural techniques used), as well as the social and economic structure of rural society.

During the summer of 1445, Lyskin Aelbrechts worked for several weeks as a harvest labourer at a large farm north of Bruges. She reaped corn, especially wheat, using a sickle. Like the other harvest labourers, Lyskin received a piece rate according to the area she harvested. This rate was the same for all labourers, regardless of gender. Not only did Lyskin receive cash for her labour, she also received free beer during the work. At the end of the summer, Lyskin had earnt approximately 200 Flemish *d. groten* for her work. This was sufficient to buy the equivalent of approximately 650 litres of wheat on the Bruges grain market. A century later, during the summer of 1547, Callekin Cocx was hired at the same farm. The male harvest workers reaped and mowed the crops, while Callekin and her female colleagues made sheaves. For sheaving wheat, beans and other fodder crops, she received a piece rate according to the number of bound sheaves. In total she earned 96 Flemish *d. groten* by working in the fields. With this amount of money, Callekin could buy the equivalent of approximately 140 litres of wheat on the Bruges market.[1]

* The author would like to thank Erik Thoen, Thijs Lambrecht, Kristof Dombrecht and the participants in the session 'Women's work in rural north-west Europe, 1400–1800' at the European Social Science History Conference in Valencia in 2016 for their helpful comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper.

[1] Archives of the Public Welfare Organization of Bruges, Archives of the St John's Hospital, Accounts St John's Hospital, 1445–6; Pacquets, C. Box Scueringhe, account Scueringhe farm, 1547–8.

The experience of these two women, most probably both single, young women, working on the same farm a century apart was completely different. While Lyskin and her female colleagues in 1445 had access to the high-paid jobs during harvest, Callekin and her fellow harvesters in 1547 performed low-paid, assisting jobs. The purpose of this paper is to explain why the experiences of these women working as harvest labourers on the same farm were so markedly different.

I

Most historians would explain the dissimilar experiences of the two women by reference to different demographic conditions and thus the supply of labour. The demographic catastrophe of the Black Death in the second half of the fourteenth century caused a severe shortage of labour. Although there has been general agreement that even before the plague the working activities of women were not restricted to housework or family care, some scholars have emphasized the particularly high participation of women in the labour market between *c.*1350 and *c.*1500. They argue that the shortage of male workers enabled women to access a whole range of employment opportunities.[2] Moreover, the post-plague labour shortage is thought to have led to greater wage equality between the sexes, including in agriculture.[3] This supposed 'golden age' was short-lived however, since the economic position of women would come under increased pressure from the sixteenth century onwards.[4] This line of reasoning has been challenged by a number of historians, among them Bennett who contended that women's work was always low-skilled, low-status and low-paid because of patriarchal prejudices towards women and Bardsley who held that women invariably received the same pay as young, old or disabled men.[5] The 'golden age' idea has been re-asserted by De Moor and van Zanden, who argue that the higher participation and remuneration of women in the labour market in the post-Black Death period resulted in their emancipation. By working as servants for several years, women could save some money. Among other things, this would have resulted in marriages based on consensus, which in turn, via different processes, stimulated economic growth.[6] This challenging hypothesis has re-stimulated the debate on the economic opportunities for women in the pre-industrial period. Even though the rise of

[2] R. Hilton, *The English peasantry in the later middle ages* (1975), pp. 95–110; C. M. Barron, 'The "golden age" of women in medieval London', in K. Bate (ed.), *Medieval women in southern England* (1989), pp. 46–50; P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, work and life cycle in a medieval economy. Women in York and Yorkshire, c.1300–1520* (1992).

[3] S. A. C. Penn, 'Female wage-earners in late fourteenth-century England', *AgHR* 35 (1987), pp. 8–11.

[4] M. Howell, *The marriage exchange: property, social place and gender in cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1550* (1998); J. L. van Zanden, 'The Malthusian Intermezzo. Women's wages and human capital formation between the late middle ages and the demographic transition of the nineteenth century', *The History of the Family*, 16 (2011), pp. 334–5.

[5] J. M. Bennett, *Ale, beer and brewsters in England. Women's work in a changing world, 1300–1600* (1999) and S. Bardsley, 'Women's work reconsidered, Gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present* 165 (1999), pp. 22–7. Also M. E. Mate, *Daughters, wives and widows after the Black Death. Women in Sussex, 1350–1535* (1998), pp. 193–4.

[6] M. De Moor and J. L. van Zanden, 'Girl power: the European marriage pattern and labour markets in the North Sea region in the late medieval and early modern period', *EcHR* 63 (2009), pp. 1–33.

well-functioning labour markets was fundamental to De Moor and van Zanden's analysis, it was the sudden fall in population levels due to the Black Death and the resulting labour scarcity which was crucial.

Nevertheless, evidence from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests that changes in the rural economy unrelated to demographical crises had an important influence on female participation and remuneration in agriculture.[7] Specialization in pastoral farming and, in particular dairying, in some English counties in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for instance, resulted in less female unemployment and but also significantly higher wages for those women who could secure skilled work.[8] The type of the rural economy, which varied according to time and place, clearly affected the opportunities for women on the labour market. Moreover, Allen has pointed out that changes in the size of farms affected female employment in different ways to that of men. When farm size increased, employment per acre declined: for men, and even more for women. A shift to large farms consequently changed the sex balance of rural employment.[9] Finally, research into early modern proto-industrial sectors has pointed to institutional restraints such as guild pressure or community norms.[10]

One of the reasons for the emphasis on demography as an explanatory factor in the changing experiences of working rural women in the centuries after the Black Death is that the debate is heavily based on an understanding of the English situation. England was severely struck by the plague, so that, after its initial visitation and subsequent recurrences, by the 1370s the population had been halved. In other regions, such as the southern Low Countries, the evidence for population loss is less straightforward, but recent estimates indicate a reduction in the order of 30 per cent.[11] A second reason is the focus on a national or even international scale. Information on women's wages and employment patterns in medieval Europe is still very scarce. For this reason, some historians have brought together data from various places and times. Collecting disparate wage data across one country or even across several countries tends to lead to the determination of general developments as explanatory factors, while regional or even local processes are ignored. A number of influential historians of women's work such as Bennett, Schmidt and Verdon have argued that gathering empirical evidence from a regional

[7] R. M. Smith, 'Relative prices, forms of agrarian labour and female marriage patterns in England, 1350–1800', in I. Devos and L. Kennedy (eds), *Marriage and rural economy. Western Europe since 1400* (1999), pp. 19–48; J. Burnette, 'Laborers at the Oakes. Changes in the demand for female day-laborers at a farm near Sheffield during the Agricultural Revolution', *JEcH* 59 (1999), pp. 41–67; *ead.*, 'The wages and employment of female day-labourers in English agriculture, 1740–1850', *EcHR* 57 (2004), pp. 664–90; N. Verdon, *Rural Women workers in nineteenth-century England. Gender, work and wages* (2002); P. Sharpe, 'The female labour market in English agriculture during the Industrial Revolution: Expansion or contradiction', *AgHR* 47 (1999), pp. 161–81.

[8] K. D. M. Snell, 'Agricultural seasonal employment, the standard of living, and women's work in the south and east, 1690–1860', *EcHR* 34 (1981), pp. 421–2.

[9] R. C. Allen, 'The growth of labor productivity in early modern English agriculture', *Explorations in Economic Hist.* 25 (1988), pp. 130–2.

[10] S. Ogilvie, *Bitter Living. Women, markets and social capital in early modern Germany* (2003); E. Van Nederveen-Meerkerk, 'Market wage or discrimination? The remuneration of male and female wool spinners in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic', *EcHR* 63 (2011), pp. 165–86.

[11] J. Roosen and D. R. Curtis, 'The "light touch" of the Black Death in the southern Netherlands: an urban trick?', *EcHR* 72 (2018), pp. 37–8.

or local perspective is necessary to understand women's experiences.[12] Humphries and Sarasua too have argued that local demand was dominant in shaping women's place in past labour markets.[13] Some social and economic historians too plead for a more regional approach, since economic development principally took place on a regional scale in the pre-industrial period.[14] While early modernist historians have considered women's experiences in one particular economic sector or one particular city or region, this perspective has seldom been applied to the late middle ages and especially to the rural world.

In this article, we consider women's wage labour from the perspective of one well-studied region, that of coastal Flanders, the part of the county of Flanders bordering the North Sea. This regional scope enables this paper to demonstrate meticulously and in detail that demography did indeed matter, but that only a complex and interrelated combination of factors can explain the different experiences of working women in the late medieval countryside. The fluctuation in population over time affected women's prospects, but so too did the nature of rural economy and, related to this, the agricultural techniques used, as well as the economic structure of rural society. These claims are based on new data on farm labourers for a region which has seldom been looked from a gendered perspective, except for the large cities.[15] The case of coastal Flanders shows that, even in a region with a highly developed market for wage labour and at a time of decreasing population, the opportunities for women were quite limited compared to those of men, except in very particular periods and for selected groups of women.

This research makes use of previously unexplored farm accounts, which we briefly introduce in the next part of this paper. In the third part, the activities of working women on large holdings are considered and differentiated according to the type of contract. In the fourth part, the complex interplay of the various factors which explain the changing opportunities in this region are considered in detail. In this part, we also trace the geographical and economic background of the women workers, which may have implications for their reliance on wage labour. Recent research has indeed emphasized that only in a few regions of north-western Europe did a considerable proportion of the rural population completely depend on fulltime

[12] J. M. Bennett, 'Medieval women in modern perspective', in B. G. Smith (ed.), *Women's history in global perspective* (2000), p. 144; A. Schmidt, 'Vrouwenarbeid in Nederland in de vroegmoderne tijd', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*, 2 (2005), pp. 11–12; Verdon, *Rural women workers*, pp. 17 and 197.

[13] J. Humphries and C. Sarasua, 'Off the record: reconstructing women's labor force participation in the European past', *Feminist Economics* 18 (2012), p. 53.

[14] E. Thoen, '"Social agrosystems" as an economic concept to explain regional differences. An essay taking the former county of Flanders as an example (Middle Ages – 19th century)', in B. J. P. van Bavel and E. Thoen (eds), *Landholding and land transfer in the North Sea Area (late middle ages – 19th century)* (2004), pp. 4–66; B. J. P. van Bavel, *Manors and markets. Economy and society in the Low Countries, 500–1600* (2010), pp. 3–7.

[15] For the late medieval period and sixteenth century, most attention, for Flanders and the Low Countries as a whole, has been on cities, e.g. M. Howell, *Women, production and patriarchy in late medieval cities* (1986); S. Hutton, *Women and economic activities in late medieval Ghent* (2011); P. Stabel, 'Working alone? Single women in the urban economy of late medieval Flanders (thirteenth–early fifteenth centuries)', in J. De Groot, I. Devos and A. Schmidt (eds), *Single life and the city, 1200–1900* (2015), pp. 27–49.

[16] J. Whittle, *The development of agrarian capitalism: land and labour in Norfolk, 1440–1580* (2000), pp. 301–4; B. J. P. van Bavel, 'Rural wage labour in the sixteenth-century Low Countries: an assessment of the importance and nature of wage labour in the countryside of Holland, Guelders and Flanders', *Continuity and Change* 21 (2006), pp. 62–6.

wage labour.[16] Moreover, employment in agriculture was primarily characterized by its irregularity.[17] In this study, we wish to present a more complex explanatory framework for women's changing experiences as wage labourers in the late medieval countryside, in the way it has been achieved for several economic sectors in the early modern Low Countries or for rural England in later periods.[18]

II

For coastal Flanders, it has been assumed that wage labour became an important source of income in the late middle ages. This region was among the first rural societies of north-western Europe to change from a peasant society to one dominated by large, commercially-oriented, leasehold farms. Around 1300, small freehold peasants, cultivating no more than one to three ha of arable land, dominated rural society. They combined arable farming with proto-industrial activities such as peat digging, wool processing, salt making or fishing. Gradually these smallholders lost the ownership of their properties to urban dwellers and ecclesiastical institutions. The new landowners leased their lands on competitive conditions for short terms. By the middle of the sixteenth century, large commercial tenant farmers dominated rural society.[19] They increasingly focused on commercial livestock farming instead of intensive cereal cultivation.[20] The land and lease market tended to become a closed one, dominated by the wealthy and powerful.[21] These changes meant that increasing numbers of rural dwellers depended on the labour market to make a living.[22]

Despite the relatively well-known social and economic structure of coastal Flanders, one major research problem arises. Rural wage labour is extremely hard to document. Most of the large farms (which made use of wage labour) were leased out from as early as the fourteenth century.[23] Detailed account books kept by landlords are almost completely lacking for the late medieval period and the sixteenth century. As a result, little is known about wages for labourers performing agricultural tasks such as ploughing, threshing or carting, or for harvesters. As for

[17] J. Hatcher, 'Unreal wages: Long-run living standards and the "Golden Age" of the fifteenth century', in B. Dodds and C. D. Liddy (eds), *Commercial activity, markets and entrepreneurs in the middle ages. Essays in honour of Richard Britnell* (2011), pp. 6–7.

[18] e.g. E. Van Nederveen-Meerkerk, *De draad in eigen handen. Vrouwen en loonarbeid in de Nederlandse textielnijverheid, 1581–1810* (2007); D. Van den Heuvel, *Women and entrepreneurship: female traders in the northen Netherlands, c.1580–1815* (2007); M. Van Dekken, *Brouwen, branden en bedienen. Productie en verkoop van drank door vrouwen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, circa 1500–1800* (2011); A. Schmidt, 'Women and guilds: corporations and female labour market participation in early modern Holland', *Gender and History*, 21 (2009), pp. 170–89; K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the labouring poor: Social change and agrarian England, 1660–1900* (1985); Verdon, *Rural Women Workers.*

[19] T. Soens, *De spade in de dijk? Waterbeheer en rurale samenleving in de Vlaamse kustvlakte (1280–1580)* (2009), pp. 75–112.

[20] K. Dombrecht, *Plattelandsgemeenschappen, lokale elites en ongelijkheid in het Vlaamse kustgebied (14e–16e eeuw). Case-study: Dudzele ambacht* (unpubl. PhD thesis, Ghent University, 2014), pp. 97–115.

[21] L. Vervaet, *Goederenbeheer in een veranderende samenleving. Het Sint-Janshospitaal van Brugge, c.1275–c.1575* (unpubl. PhD thesis, Ghent University, 2015), pp. 288–301.

[22] E. Thoen and T. Soens, 'The family or the farm: a Sophie's choice? The late medieval crisis in the former county of Flanders', in J. Drendel (ed.) *Crisis in the later middle ages: beyond the Postan-Duby paradigm* (2015), p. 141.

[23] A. Verhulst, *Précis d'histoire rurale de la Belgique* (1990), p. 78 and p. 110.

other regions, most studies have concentrated on reconstructing the wages of building workers or manual labourers (including those digging or maintaining drainage works) employed by major organizations.[24] Soens has recently presented a wage series for unskilled labourers for the period 1280–1580.[25] Nevertheless, wage labourers performing agricultural tasks – and especially the women in this group – have remained one of the most intangible groups of pre-industrial society.[26] Fortunately, some highly informative farm accounts of institutional landowners, who kept at least part of their lands under direct cultivation, have recently been discovered. The farm accounts of the Saint John's hospital of Bruges, the Hospital of Our Lady of the Potterie of Bruges[27], the Abbey of Ter Doest in Lissewege[28] and the Abbey of Terhagen near Axel[29] allow us to gather new evidence on rural wage labour. The friars and sisters of St John's hospital managed a large farm of about 200 ha called Scueringhe, situated in the rich clay polders north of Bruges, in the village of Zuienkerke.[30] Scamelweeken in Vlissegem, close by Zuienkerke, farmed by the friars and sisters of the Potterie, was especially large by the region's standards. In 1511, it extended to 133 ha.[31] The size of Scueringhe and Scamelweeken made the hospitals of the Potterie and St John's two of the most important rural employers in the region. In 1445 for instance, no less than 165 individuals received a wage by working at least temporarily at Scueringhe farm. On the other hand, because farms in general gradually became larger during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these large holdings became more representative of the whole over time. The area of the farm in Lissewege, also situated north of Bruges, belonging to the Abbey of Ter Doest is less certain. In 1572–3 approximately 50 ha was used as arable land. Terhagen Abbey managed between 25 and 35 ha in the second half of the sixteenth century close to the city of Axel. The farm accounts of these four organizations[32], although widely varying in detail, inform us about the participation and remuneration of women in the agricultural labour market. More generally, the accounts present new and unique wage series for agricultural work. Sources of this kind have hitherto not been exploited by scholars employing a gendered perspective in the Low Countries.

[24] For instance, E. Scholliers, 'Lonen in steden en dorpen van Oost-Vlaanderen (15e–17e eeuw)', in C. Verlinden and J. Craeybeckx (eds), *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant* (4 vols, 1965), II, pp. 514–77; K. Deblonde-Cottenier, G. De Mey and W. Prevenier, 'Prijzen en lonen in de domeinen der Gentse abdijen', in C. Verlinden and J. Craeybeckx (eds), *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant* (4 vols, 1972), IV, pp. 230–326.

[25] T. Soens, 'Floods and money: funding drainage and flood control in coastal Flanders from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries', *Continuity and Change* 26 (2011), pp. 333–65; Appendix.

[26] Whittle, *Development*, p. 226; P. Van Cruyningen, 'Vrouwenarbeid in de Zeeuwse landbouw in de achttiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*, 2 (2005), pp. 43–4.

[27] G. Maréchal, *Sociale en politieke gebondenheid van het Brugse hospitaalwezen in de middeleeuwen* (1978).

[28] R. De Ganck and N. Huyghebaert, 'Abbaye de Ter Doest à Lissewege', in *Monasticon Belge, III, Province de Flandre Occidentale* (4 vols, 1966), II, pp. 319–54.

[29] M. Nuyttens, 'Abbaye de Ter Hagen à Axel, Merelbeke et Gand', in *Monasticon Belge, VII, Province de Flandre Orientale* (5 vols, 1980), III, pp. 461–71.

[30] Vervaet, *Goederenbeheer*, pp. 150–3.

[31] J. Mertens, *De laatmiddeleeuwse landbouweconomie in enkele gemeenten van het Brugse Vrije* (1970), p. 66.

III

As in later periods, two different types of female labourers were hired on the large commercial farms of late medieval Flanders: permanent, live-in servants and casual labourers.[33] Here we consider each in turn.

(i) Servants

The accounts show that from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, servants were hired in two terms per year, for the winter or for the summer.[34] They either worked in the household or undertook tasks related to dairying. Scueringhe farm, for instance, employed a maid responsible for the provisions, a general maid and one or two dairymaids. In all likelihood, these servants were asked to do a great variety of tasks.[35]

The employment opportunities for women as live-in servants on the large farms were rather limited compared to those of men, and they hardly changed during the period under consideration. The gender balance was skewed: men were always in the majority. At Ter Doest farm, at least eight males worked during the winter of 1572–3, but only two women. At Scueringhe farm, the number of female servants fluctuated between three, four or five per term, while that of male servants fluctuated between 25 and 40 per term. The men also outnumbered the women at Scamelweeken farm at the end of the fifteenth century. In the summer of 1497, the managers of this farm hired three women but at least eight men as servants. These indications are in line with the findings based on a tax register for the nearby village of Watervliet in 1544, where the large farms hired a disproportionately male workforce.[36] This was also the case in early modern England where it has been established that large farms employed a lower proportion of female servants than small to medium-sized farms.[37]

Along with these relatively limited opportunities for employment as servants, the remuneration of the women who were employed in this role remained lower than that of

[32] Archives of the Public Welfare Organisation of Bruges, Archives of the St John's Hospital, Accounts of St John's Hospital, 1412–13, 1413–14, 1419–20, 1420–21, 1421–22, 1442–23, 1443–44, 1445–46, 1446–47, 1453–54, 1454–55, 1455–56, 1490–91; Pacquets St John's Hospital, C. Box Scueringhe, account, Scueringhe farm, 1543–44, 1545–46, 1546–47, 1547–48. The account of Scueringhe farm of 1346–47 is described and partly edited by J. Himpens, 1956. Unfortunately, the original document has since been lost. Our Lady of the Potterie, Archives of Our Lady of the Potterie in Bruges, Accounts, 1377–78, 1378–79, 1379–80, 1380–81, 1382–83, 1385–86, 1387–88, 1388–89, 1390–91, 1393–94, 1395–96, 1398–99, 1400–01, 1402–03, 1493–04 and 1494–05; Comptes Divers, register 158, account 1495–06, 1496–07 and 1497–08; State Archives Bruges, Verzameling Oud Kerkarchief, nr. 146, Accounts of Ter Doest, 1572–73, 1575–76 and 1576–77; State Archives Ghent, Archives of the Abbey of Terhagen Ghent, nr. 38, Accounts 1557, 1558, 1559, 1563, 1564, 1567, 1570 and 1574.

[33] P. Vandewalle, *De geschiedenis van de landbouw in de Kasselrij Veurne, 1550–1645* (1986), pp. 182–7; T. Lambrecht, 'Agrarian Change, labour organization and welfare entitlements in the North-Sea Area, *c.* 1650–1800', in King and Winter (eds), *Migration, settlement and belonging in Europe,* p. 209.

[34] L. Vervaet, 'The employment of servants in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century coastal Flanders: a case study of Scueringhe farm near Bruges', in J. Whittle (ed.), *Servants in rural Europe* (2017), pp. 23–5.

[35] J. Whittle, 'Housewives and servants in rural England, 1440–1650: evidence of women's work from probate documents', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, sixth ser., 15 (2005), pp. 73–4.

[36] T. Lambrecht, 'The institution of service in rural Flanders in the sixteenth century: a regional perspective', in Whittle (ed.), *Servants in rural Europe*, pp. 40–1.

[37] Whittle, 'Housewives', pp. 54–6.

their male colleagues. All servants received the usual board and lodging, and a bonus in cash[38] but the cash wages of female servants amounted to 50 to 70 per cent of the wages of men at Scueringhe and Scamelweeken farm during the first half of the fifteenth century and in the middle of the sixteenth. This proportion is similar to that found in late medieval rural England.[39] Although experience, skill and age mattered a great deal, the cash wages of experienced female servants remained fairly stable at Scueringhe. Expressed in litres of wheat, for a year's service a dairymaid would earn approximately 717 litres in 1420, 942 litres in 1450 and 730 litres in 1547, board and lodging not included.

Women also enjoyed fewer career opportunities than men as measured by potential earnings. The range of wages was much greater for men than women. In 1453, the foreman of Scueringhe farm, the highest paid servant, earned 264 Flemish *d. groten* during the winter season, nearly five times as much as a younger, inexperienced male servant, who only received 56 *groten*. The highest paid female servant received on average only twice as much as the lowest paid maid. Maykin Van den Berghe for instance received only 72*d.* groten for her service during the winter at Scueringhe farm in 1453, while Cornelie, the highest paid female servant that year, received 120*d.* groten. Moreover, moving to a larger farm did not result in increased earnings for female servants in the middle of the sixteenth century, in the way it did for their male counterparts. In the village of Watervliet, maximum wages for male servants rose with farm size, while those of female servants were unrelated to farm size.[40]

Despite these limitations, female servants appeared to be a mobile workforce. Most women only worked one or two terms at a holding. At Scamelweeken farm, from 1 May until 1 October 1496, Grote Janne, Cleen Janne and Betkin were hired. The next term, only Betkin stayed and Grote Barbele and Cleene Barbele were employed in the place of Grote Janne and Cleen Janne. These findings correspond with the traditional view of early modern servanthood as being characterized by a high degree of mobility.[41] Besides, the Scueringhe maids only exceptionally worked as casual labourers after – or before – their service: there was hardly any overlap between the two types of employment. In accordance with the traditional view, the female servants were mostly young and unmarried. In Middle Dutch, the spelling of the names in administrative sources gives an indirect indication of age. Diminutive names with the suffix – '*in*', for instance *Betkin* for the name Elizabeth or *Maykin* for the name Mary – could indicate a younger person.[42] At least half of all female servants employed at Scueringhe farm and all the female servants working at Ter Doest farm bore a diminutive name. It is noteworthy that the farm administrators do not once refer to the husbands of their female servants. Presumably

[38] Even though wages were always expressed in monetary terms, it is possible that in reality remuneration in kind was given, which frequently occurred in Flanders and other regions in the early modern period, T. Lambrecht, *Een grote hoeve in een klein dorp. Relaties van arbeid en pacht op het Vlaamse platteland tijdens de 18e eeuw* (2002), pp. 150–63; P. van Cruyningen, *Behoudend maar buigzaam. Boeren in West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, 1650–1850* (2000), p. 180.

[39] A. Kussmaul, *Servants in husbandry in early modern England* (1981), pp. 143–4; Bardsley, 'Women's work', p. 29.

[40] Lambrecht, 'Institution', pp. 44–6.

[41] A. Kussmaul, 'The ambiguous mobility of farm servants', *EcHR* 34 (1981), pp. 222–5.

[42] G. Dupont, 'Van Copkin over Coppin naar Jacob. De relatie tussen de voornaamsvorm en de leeftijd van de naamdrager in het Middelnederlands op basis van administratieve bronnen voor het graafschap Vlaanderen, eind 14de – midden 16de eeuw', *Naamkunde*, 33 (2001), pp. 119–21.

these servants were single women. The customs of the Bruges rural district support this presumption, because marriage was one of the accepted reasons to end service.[43] Servant Pieter Van Rye, foreman of Ter Doest in 1573, received a present worth 48 Flemish *d. groten* when he left the farm because of his marriage. As observed for other regions, service functioned as a transitional occupation between childhood and adulthood. Through service, young people could save some money or goods to establish their own household, independent of their parents.[44]

(ii) Casual labourers

The work of the permanent labourers was in varying degrees supplemented by that of casual workers. Farm accounts, such as those of Scueringhe and of Scamelweeken, differentiated between regular day labourers and harvesters.[45] Male labourers were hired at any time of the year, especially for threshing, but also for manuring, transportation, digging or some other unspecified tasks. They normally received a daily wage but sometimes (and increasingly for threshing) piece rates. Obviously, the harvesters were hired only during summer. Their pay was almost always based on the work they completed. At Scueringhe farm, they were already receiving piece rates in 1346 which is quite early by comparison with other regions of the Low Countries.[46] The wages of casual labourers were, at all times, always paid in cash. They may also have received drink but the sources are never explicit on this point.

The managers of Scueringhe and Scamelweeken farms hired women exclusively for harvest work, and never as casual labour during other seasons. Their employment was always for short periods, a maximum of six weeks during the months of July and August. Nevertheless, in 1346–47 and in the 1440s women's labour was extremely important during the weeks of harvest: in the summer of 1445, 43 of the 79 individual harvesters were women at Scueringhe. Women not only bound or gathered the sheaves, but also reaped with the sickle. In 1445 and 1446, as many as 60 per cent of all hired reapers were women. As demonstrated for the late medieval English countryside and for fourteenth-century northern France, women at this moment were an essential part of the harvest labour force.[47] The women in Zuienkerke received the same piece rates for reaping as their male counterparts, even before the arrival of the Black Death. In the first half of the fifteenth century, this amounted to 35–45 Flemish *d. groten* per ha, as

[43] L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutume du Franc de Bruges* (3 vols, 1879), I, p. 246.

[44] Kussmaul, *Servants*, p. 31.

[45] The accounts differ greatly in detail. In the detailed accounts from the 1440s, the harvest period is divided into the number of harvest weeks, usually five or six. For each week the wage rates for each task are given, for instance using the sickle (in Dutch 'snidene') at 22*d. groten* per week or using the scythe ('pickene') 7*d.* per week. Wages differed from week to week. All harvest labourers are mentioned in a random order, but divided by task. For each labourer the processed acreage is given and the total wage earned for that week.

[46] E. Scholliers and F. Daelemans, *De conjunctuur van een domein: Herzele 1444–1752* (1981), p. 42; P. Priester, *Geschiedenis van de Zeeuwse landbouw, circa 1600–1910* (1998), pp. 166–8, 183–5.

[47] M. Roberts, 'Sickles and scythes: women's work and men's work at harvest time', *History Workshop J.* 7 (1979), pp. 102–3; D. Youngs, 'Servants and labourers on a late medieval demesne: the case of Newton, Cheshire, 1480–1520', *AgHR* 47 (1999), p. 157; B. Delmaire, 'La femme aux champs (nord de la France, XIVe siècle)', in L. Jegoe *et al.* (eds), *Splendor Reginae: passions, genre et famille. Mélanges en l'honneur de Régine Le Jan* (2015), pp. 140–3; J. Whittle, 'The food economy or lords, tenants and workers in a medieval village: Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1328–48', in M. Kowaleski *et al.* (eds), *Peasants and lords in the medieval English economy* (2015), p. 45.

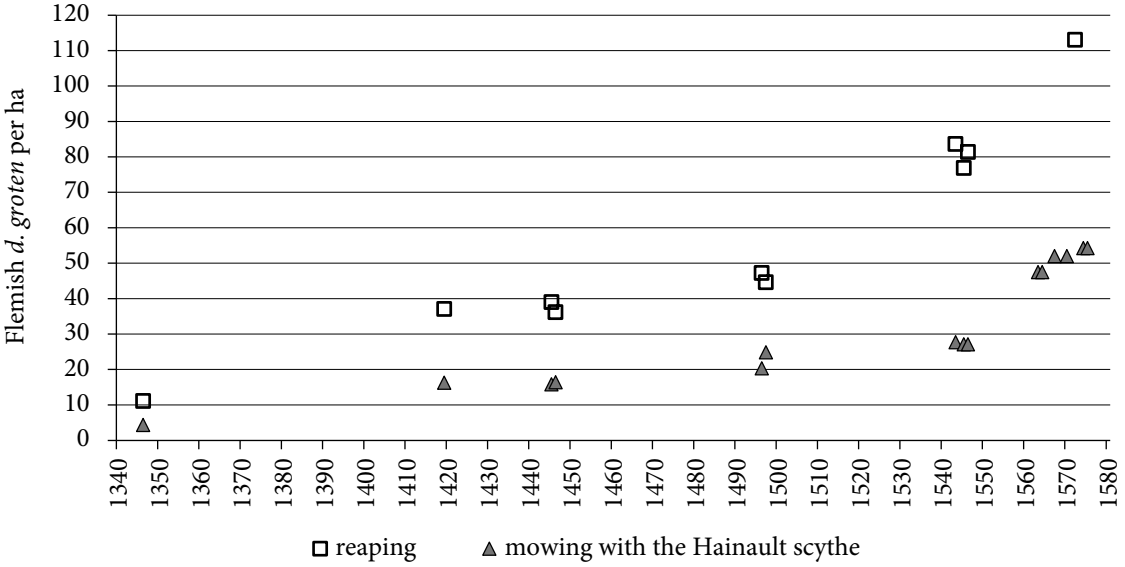


FIGURE 1. Nominal harvest wages in coastal Flanders: nominal piece rates for reaping and for harvesting with the Hainault scythe, in Flemish *d. groten* per ha.

Sources: see note 32.

Figure 1 shows. Although there is much variance, the Scueringhe women reaped approximately the same acreages as the men, which is remarkable in view of the fact that estimates for England in the 1830s and 1840s indicate that on average a man reaped three quarters of an acre in the same time as a women reaped half an acre.[48] Such differences presumably resulted from differences in physical capacity, essential in performing hard manual labour, between the average men and the average women.[49] A possible explanation for the parity at Scueringhe is that the women there were helped by younger siblings or children, whose names were not registered in the accounts.[50] However, as we will demonstrate later, the women doing the harvesting were probably young and mobile and it is unlikely that even younger relatives travelled with them. All in all, it is most likely that harvest labourers were paid at the end of each week when a note was taken of the payments to individuals, but that the composition of the group of harvest workers changed daily. The similar output of male and female workers primarily resulted from differences in the number of days – or even in the number of hours – of harvest work at this particular farm.

[48] J. Burnette, 'An investigation of the female-male wage gap during the Industrial Revolution in Britain', *EcHR* 50 (1997), p. 275.

[49] Ibid., pp. 275–6; J. Hatcher, 'Debate. Women's work reconsidered: gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present* 173 (2001), pp. 193–4.

[50] Hiring children was not an unusual strategy to reduce labour costs. Poos noticed that on a large fifteenth-century Essex farm, the agricultural tasks were performed by servant boys of 11 and 12-year-old, L. Poos, *A rural society after the Black Death: Essex, 1350–1525* (1991), pp. 213–9. The Flemish farm accounts only offer evidence of young boys hired as scarecrows and as cowherds.

For the women processing large acreages, we assumed that they worked at least six full days per week, although working on a Sunday was not impossible.[51] On the other hand, there were always some days during harvest-time when it was impossible to reap because of rain. This makes six days work a week a reasonable number.[52] So to estimate the daily earnings of the harvest workers, we divided the harvested acreage per week by six and multiplied this by the stipulated piece rate. Reapers at Scueringhe farm processed a maximum of 0.20 to 0.30 ha per day, which accords with the estimate of 0.20 ha a day suggested by Slicher van Bath.[53] In the nineteenth century, farmers of bordering Zealand in the northern Low Countries expected labourers, hired for reaping and also for binding, to process approximately 0.10 to 0.15 ha a day.[54] The reapers of Scueringhe farm earned a maximum of 8–11 Flemish *d. groten* a day in the 1440s. Women like Lyskin Aelbrechts could earn 10.2 Flemish *d. groten* a day, her colleague Mandine 11*d.* This is an exceptional daily wage in comparison to contemporary wages: threshers at Scueringhe farm received 4–5 Flemish *d. groten* a day as Figure 2 shows; labourers employed by the waterboard of Blankenberge earned 5–6 Flemish *d. groten* a day[55]; in Bruges in the 1440s, a master-mason received 12 *groten* during summer.[56] On top of their wages, the harvesters received free beer during the work.[57] Usually, harvest piece rates in commercial agriculture were exceptionally high.[58] At Scamelweeken farm in 1496, the ploughmen received 4 Flemish *d. groten* a day, while his colleague working on the same farm during harvest received 6 or even 7 *groten*. The high harvest wages also resulted from the long workdays: harvest labourers most probably toiled from sunrise to sunset.[59] It also possibly reflected the health risk of working in the coastal region, where we know that, in the eighteenth century at least, the mosquitoes continued to carry malaria.[60]

By working several weeks at Scueringhe farm during the summers of the 1440s, women could make a significant sum of money as the cases of Lyskin Aelbrechts and Callekin Cocx show. In five or six weeks of harvest, this could be almost enough to lease a 3-ha parcel north of Bruges in 1445.[61] Moreover, the amount they earned in a couple of weeks approaches the cash amount a female servant received for a whole year of service at Scueringhe farm. This

[51] F. Scheelings, 'Het werkgedrag en de arbeidsmoraal van de plattelandsbevolking op de vooravond van de Industriële Revolutie', in *Arbeid in veelvoud* (1988), pp. 101–2; T. Lambrecht, 'Les fêtes religieuses et le travail dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', in C. Maitte and D. Terrier (eds), *Pour une histoire du travail* (2014), pp. 47–9.

[52] See also Roberts, 'Sickles', p. 24 who supposed that a working week was six days.

[53] B. H. Slicher van Bath, *De agrarische geschiedenis van West-Europa (500–1850)* (1987), p. 203.

[54] Priester, *Geschiedenis*, p. 96.

[55] Soens, 'Floods', Appendix.

[56] J. P. Sosson, *Les travaux publics de la ville de Bruges XIXe–XVe siècles. Les materiaux. Les hommes* (1977), p. 301.

[57] The custom of offering beer to harvest workers is also noticed for the early modern farms in Zeeland, Priester, *Geschiedenis*, p. 96.

[58] In early modern Zeeland Flanders, dominated by an intensive commercial cereal culture, wages for reapers approached or even exceeded the fifteenth-century Scueringhe wages (own calculations based on van Cruyninghen, *Behoudend*, p. 74).

[59] E. Scholliers, 'Werktijden en arbeidsomstandigheden in de pre-industriële periode', in E. Scholliers and P. Scholliers (eds), *Werktijd en werktijdverkorting* (1983), pp. 12–13.

[60] I. Devos, 'Malaria in Vlaanderen tijdens de 18de en de 19de eeuw', in J. Parmentier and S. Spanoghe (eds), *Orbis in orbem. Liber amicorum John Everaert* (2001), pp. 213–14.

[61] Vervaet, *Goederenbeheer*, pp. 72–8.

TABLE 1. Employment patterns of female servants at Scueringhe farm

	First half of fifteenth century	*Middle of the sixteenth century*
Number of hired female servants	2–5	2–4
Percentage of women workers	10–13	18–25
Wages (range)	600–900 litres of wheat	600–800 litres of wheat
Women's wages as proportion of men's wages (range)	60–70	70

Sources: see note 32.

TABLE 2. Employment patterns of female casual labourers in coastal Flanders

	First half of the fifteenth century	*Middle of the sixteenth century*
Performed task	reaping	binding and 'assisting'
Kind of remuneration	piece rates	piece rates and daily wages
Number of working women at Scueringhe farm per year	*circa* 40	*circa* 5–10
Proportion of women workers for harvest work Scueringhe farm	*circa* 50%	*circa* 15%
Estimated daily wage	*circa* 6–10 Flemish *d. groten*	*circa* 2 Flemish *d. groten*

Sources: see note 32.

confirms the wide gap between daily wages implicit in annual service contracts and those earned casually during the late middle ages, as has recently been demonstrated for England by Humphries and Weisdorf.[62] Notwithstanding the security of employment and the value of board and lodging enjoyed by servants, it appears that casual work offered the most attractive opportunities in fifteenth-century coastal Flanders.

However, a century later, the situation for women was completely different. Substantially fewer women found employment on the large farms. At the farm at Scueringhe, only 10 to 15 per cent of all harvest labourers during the summers of 1543, 1545, 1546 and 1547 were women. Moreover, their work was limited to making sheaves. At the Ter Doest farm, the harvest work of women in the 1570s was simply described as 'assisting' ('gheholpen inden ougst' in Dutch). Obviously, the relegation of women to subsidiary jobs had consequences for their remuneration. For sheaving at Scueringhe in the 1540s, they earned 1 or 1.5 Flemish *d. groten* per 1000 sheaves.[63] Griete Cheyns, for instance, received only 2 Flemish *d. groten* a day for assisting during the harvest at Ter Doest farm in 1572, while her male counterparts received at least 4 or even 6 Flemish *d. groten* for

[62] J. Humphries and J. Weisdorf, 'The wages of women in England, 1260–1850', *JEcH* 75 (2015), pp. 418–9.

[63] Because the information in the accounts, or other contemporary evidence, does not allow a calculation of the number of sheaves made in one day, it was impossible to arrive at an estimate of daily wages for gathering or sheaving.

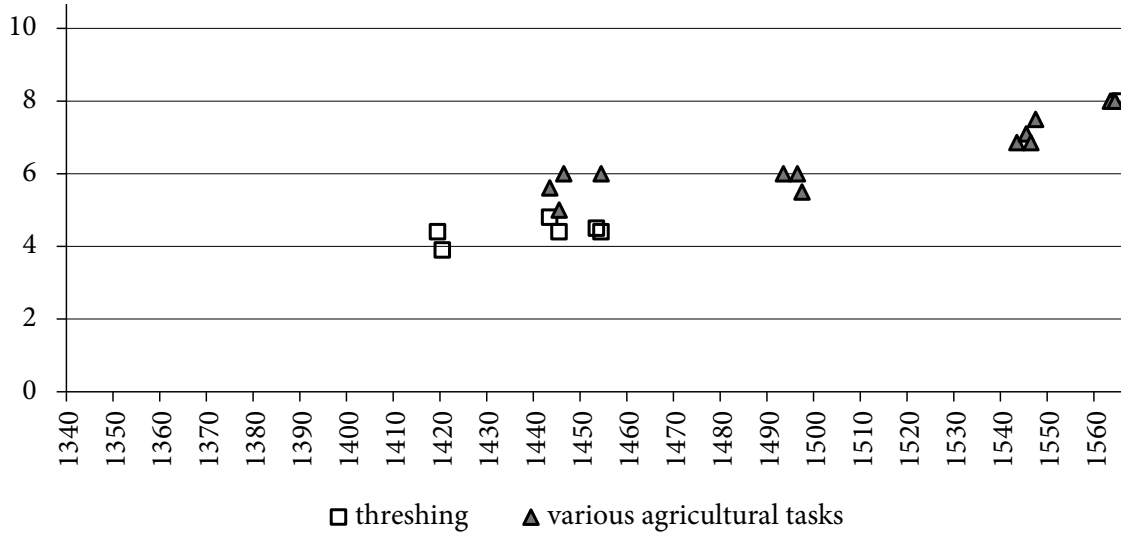


FIGURE 2. Nominal daily wages for casual labour in coastal Flanders: recorded daily wages for threshing and various agricultural tasks, performed by men, in Flemish *d. groten*.

Sources: see note 32.

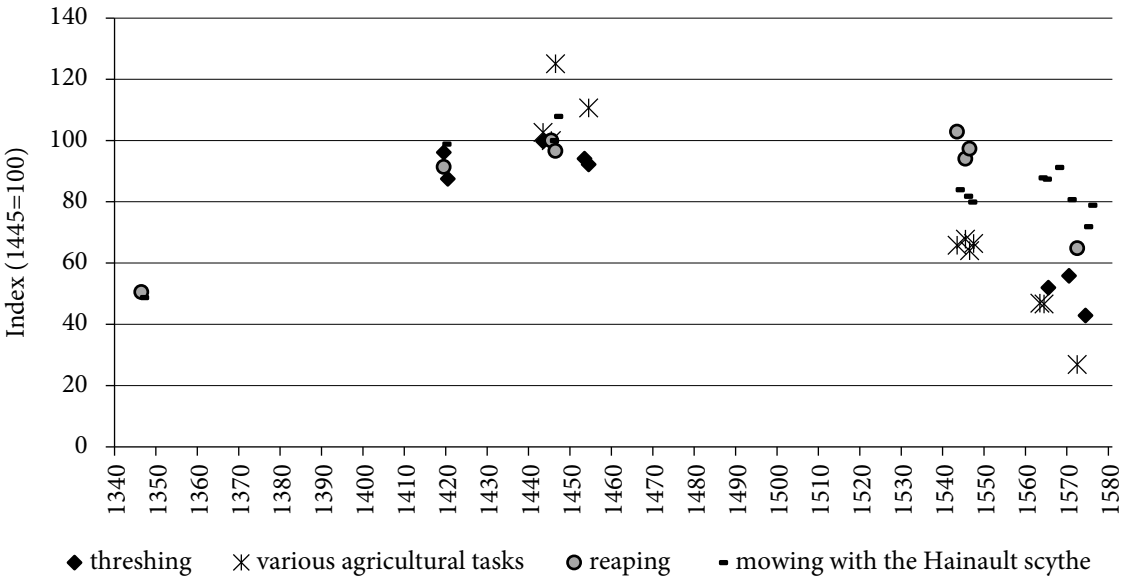


FIGURE 3. Index of the real wages, expressed in litres of wheat, for threshing (daily wages), various agricultural tasks (daily wages), reaping (piece rates per ha) and mowing with the Hainault scythe (piece rates per ha), with 1445=100.

Notes: Bruges wheat prices (11-year moving average) taken from Verhulst, *Prijzen*. Because of the booming cereal prices from the 1550s onwards, the downward trend of real wages has to be nuanced.
Sources: see note 32.

casual work. On the same farm in the summer of 1575, the male mower received 16 Flemish *d. groten*, while several 'assisting' women only earned 6 *groten* each. It is clear that by the middle of the sixteenth century women had lost access to the highest-paid jobs in agriculture. Reapers received approximately 80 Flemish *d. groten* per ha in the 1540s at Scueringhe farm. With this payment, labourers could buy the same amount of cereal at the Bruges market as their colleagues a century before, as Figure 3 demonstrates. However, the opportunity to earn on this scale was now reserved to men. A very limited number of women might also earn money by performing domestic jobs at the farm on a casual basis. At Ter Doest farm in the 1570s, several women received a daily wage for cleaning and doing the laundry.

The question obviously arises of what happened between the middle of the fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century. In contrast to permanent employment as servants, casual labour for women was subject to substantial changes. How can we explain these changing work patterns of women? It is tempting to consider the period around 1440 as a golden age, caused by a labour shortage and similar to that supposed for the English countryside in the century-and-a-half after the Black Death. Following this line of reasoning, the radically changed situation by the middle of the sixteenth century could be explained by demographic recovery. In the next section of the paper, we argue that the characteristics of the labour supply was indeed a factor, but that it combined with changes in the type of rural economy and changes in the social structure of society.

IV

Before addressing the interplay of different explanatory factors, it is important to bear in mind that women in the late medieval Flemish countryside experienced few normative and institutional restrictions in the labour market, at least in comparison to those in the booming urban centres of the Low Countries or early modern Germany.[64] Unfree labour and servile dues had been insignificant from the high middle ages onwards.[65] Guilds played a minor role in the Flemish countryside. In the Low Countries, labour legislation only arose in the second half of the sixteenth century.[66] Previously, only general stipulations in regional customary law regulated wage labour. In these bodies of law, no differentiation according to gender was made. In some cases, it was even explicitly stated that the same rules applied to farmhands as to maids.[67]

(i) Demography

There is no doubt that coastal Flanders experienced a serious labour shortage in 1430s and 1440s. The rich Scueringhe data dates from a particularly turbulent political period. In 1436–38, the city of Bruges revolted against the Duke of Burgundy. This event was accompanied by

[64] Stabel, 'Working alone'; E. Kloek, 'Vrouwenarbeid aan banden gelegd? De arbeidsdeling naar sekse volgens de keurboeken van de oude draperie van Leiden, ca. 1380–1580', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 13 (1987), pp. 373–402; Ogilvie, *Bitter Living*.

[65] Verhulst, *Précis,* pp. 73–5.

[66] C. Verlinden and J. Craeybeckx, *Prijzen- en lonenpolitiek in de Nederlanden in 1561 en 1588–1589: onuitgegeven adviezen, ontwerpen en ordonnanties* (1962), p. 6.

[67] For the rural district around Bruges, Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutume*, I, pp. 245–8; Lambrecht, 'Institution', pp. 50–4.

famine and an outbreak of the plague[68] and had an impact on the countryside around Bruges.[69] Moreover, during the 1430s, English soldiers frequently plundered the Flemish coastline from the sea.[70] Besides these political troubles, the coastal region suffered ecological problems. Between *c.*1370 and *c.*1425, the area was subjected to several storm surges.[71] Consequently, the region experienced a succession of demographic crises, which could explain the large numbers of women hired during harvests of the 1440s.

The prevailing labour shortage in the second quarter of the fifteenth century is demonstrated by the high value of daily wages for casual work. The amount of wheat which could be bought by the daily wage for ploughing, harrowing and manuring was never higher than in the 1440s and 1450s. Generally, the decades around 1440 are considered to be advantageous for wage labourers in Flanders.[72] By the middle of the sixteenth century, the amount one day of labour could buy was only half as much as a century before, as Figure 3 demonstrates. As in Flanders generally, real wages markedly decreased in the sixteenth century.[73]

The most obvious explanation for the observed change in the employment characteristics of women by the middle of the sixteenth century would be a recovery in population numbers. However, the coastal area witnessed a fundamental population decrease between the first half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. In general, population levels decreased by a quarter between *c.*1450 and *c.*1530.[74] In Zuienkerke, the decline was even more pronounced: in 1425, the village counted approximately 1133 inhabitants, but by 1527 the number had shrunk to approximately 450 inhabitants.[75] And yet this marked population decrease did not lead, as one might expect, to an expanded participation of women in farm labour, but rather to the opposite. For this reason, processes other than demographic developments need to be considered.

(ii) Changes in the rural economy

In the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century, large holdings in coastal Flanders focused on cereal culture, in particular the growing of wheat. At the Scueringhe farm, approximately 65 to 75 per cent of the land was reserved for arable in the first half of the fifteenth century. At this holding, 120 to 150 ha of crops had to be harvested in a couple of weeks. Given that one reaper processed approximately 0.20 to 0.30 ha per day, it is clear that the managers of St John's had to find a large number of temporary harvest workers. In such a situation, systematic discrimination against women, by offering them lower rates, would have been neither rational nor efficient. A similar situation pertained in late medieval England, where

[68] W. Blockmans, 'The social and economic effects of plague in the Low Countries, 1349–1500', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis* 58 (1980), pp. 856–7; W. Vangassen, *De pestepidemieën na 1350, voornamelijk deze van 1400 en 1438 in Vlaanderen en Henegouwen* (unpubl. MA dissertation, Gent University, 1952), pp. 67–78.

[69] Vervaet, *Goederenbeheer*, pp. 211–2.

[70] M. K. E. Gottschalk, *Historische geografie van Westelijk Zeeuws-Vlaanderen* (2 vols, 1958), II, pp. 46–50.

[71] Ibid., I, pp. 162–210; II, pp. 2–32.

[72] Sosson, *Travaux*, pp. 300–4; E. Thoen, *Landbouweconomie en bevolking in Vlaanderen gedurende de late Middeleeuwen en het begin van de Moderne Tijden* (1988), pp. 963–72; W. Blockmans, *Metropolen aan de Noordzee: de geschiedenis van Nederland, 1100–1560* (2010), p. 563.

[73] Thoen and Soens, 'Family', p. 200

[74] Dombrecht, *Plattelandsgemeenschappen*, pp. 67–72.

[75] Ibid., p. 70.

Hatcher has observed that wage discrimination according to gender was implausible.[76] Whittle has similarly noticed that women working in the harvest in pre-Black Death Hunstanton, a village in Norfolk, were paid the same as men.[77] On the large farms of northern France, focusing on commercial cereal culture, the differences between the sexes in day-rates for harvest labour was also minimal.[78]

The use of piece rates on the Flemish farms, the same for both sexes, meant that labourers were stimulated to work speedily. Moreover, it also meant that harvest work required less control by the employers. Conversely, the output per worker needed to be accurately determined. The friars of Scamelweeken farm spent heavily on supervising the harvest each year.

In a predominantly cereal culture, the sickle was the ideal instrument for harvesting. It cuts the stalks evenly, without gathering too many weeds, and the loss of corn was limited. Consequently, in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century coastal Flanders, labourers used the sickle above all else. At Scueringhe farm in the 1440s, only a small part of the arable acreage was mown, most probably the area covered with fodder crops. The same kind of correlation between the type of crop and the technique used has been found for early modern England.[79]

From the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, cattle-raising became more important. Land was increasingly exploited as fertile grassland rather than arable for cereals.[80] A specialization in some branches of pastoral agriculture could offer opportunities for women, for instance as live-in dairymaids.[81] Like other farmers in the sixteenth century, the friars of St John's came to focus on the fattening of oxen for urban markets.[82] This required less labour than dairy farming and in particular offered little or no work for women. The development of this specialism explains the stability in the number of female servants and their wages in the Flemish coastal area.

The shift to pastoral farming resulted in a reduced area needing harvest. At Scueringhe farm in the 1540s, only 40 per cent of the land was used for arable farming of which a large part was now reserved for fodder crops. Consequently, the friars needed far fewer labourers during the harvest. In the 1540s, they hired approximately 35 individuals for harvest jobs, where in the 1440s the number might have been as many as 120. Besides, the sixteenth-century harvesters of the coastal area primarily used the Hainault scythe, called *pick* in Middle Dutch.[83] At Scueringhe farm in the 1540s, at least 80 per cent of the cultivated area was harvested with this tool. At Ter Doest farm in the 1570s, 78 per cent of the cultivated land was harvested this way. The sickle was still used for a small acreage of wheat. At Ter Haghen

[76] Hatcher, 'Debate', p. 195.

[77] J. Whittle, 'The food economy of lords, tenants and workers in a medieval village: Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1328–1348', in M. Kowalewski, J. Langdon and P. Schofield, *Peasants and lords in the medieval English economy. Essays in honour of Bruce M. S. Campbell* (2015), pp. 44–5.

[78] Delmaire, 'La femme', p. 146: women earned on average 90% of the wages of men during the harvest of 1341, while disparities of 70% were considered as usual for late medieval England.

[79] When JPs fixed the wages of harvest piece-workers after 1563, they assumed that wheat and rye would always be reaped, but that barley, oats, peas and beans would more commonly be mown. Roberts, 'Sickles', p. 15.

[80] Dombrecht, *Plattelandsgemeenschappen*, pp. 99–103.

[81] Snell, 'Employment', pp. 421–2.

[82] Vervaet, *Goederenbeheer*, pp. 110–7.

[83] E. Thoen, 'The birth of the Flemish Husbandry: agricultural technology in medieval Flanders', in G. Astill and J. Langdon (eds), *Medieval farming and technology. The impact of agricultural change in north-west Europe* (1997), p. 81.

farm between 1557 and 1574, all crops were harvested with the Hainault scythe. With it, workers could easily cut the stalks close to their roots. This generated more straw, necessary for cattle farming. The scythe also enabled workers to cut weighty, flattened or jumbled corn. Harvesting with the Hainault scythe was one-and-a-half times quicker than reaping.[84] The piece rate for *pickers* was substantially lower than that for reapers. At Scueringhe farm in the 1540s, *pickers* received 28 Flemish *d. groten* per ha, while their small number of colleagues still using the sickle received 80 *groten,* as Figure 1 shows. This figure also demonstrates that the disparity in remuneration between the sickle and the scythe was never as large as in the sixteenth century, implying that harvesting with the scythe was unquestionably advantageous to the employer.

However, the Hainault scythe was strictly reserved for men. The most cited reason for this exclusivity is that harvesting crops with the Hainault scythe – or generally with a common scythe – demanded unusual physical strength, stature and skill.[85] Another argument is the usual attire of women at the time. The rhythmically used hook could get caught up in their long skirts. Even if the skirts were raised and bound together, the bulk of the fabric would hamper their movement.[86] It is also likely that the idea that working with the scythe was inappropriate for women also prevailed. Agricultural tasks were all gendered in medieval Europe.[87] The impact of customs and social expectations is hard to determine in this particular case, among others because of the lack of contemporary comments.

The shift from arable farming to pastoral farming and, related to it, the changing preference of employers for the Hainault scythe reduced the opportunities for women. In the sixteenth century, the reduced workforce was primarily composed of men using the scythe. The work of women was restricted to binding and gathering sheaves. These 'assisting' jobs were far less financially rewarding. The impact of the type of rural economy and the tools used can be shown by a comparison to early modern Zeeland Flanders, part of the Dutch Republic. This region specialized in commercial grain cultivation. Moreover, the region was regularly confronted with an acute labour shortage, due to border conflicts and warfare with the Southern Low Countries. According to Van Cruyningen, the sickle was retained as the preferred harvest implement because all type of workers, including women and children, could easily use it.[88]

[84] P. Lindemans, *Geschiedenis van de landbouw in België* (2 vols, 1952), II, p. 61; Roberts, 'Sickles', p. 5.

[85] Roberts, 'Sickles', p. 8. This argument, appealing to divergence in strength, has been criticized by M. Muller on the grounds that the extent of difference between the physiques of men and women is at least in part culturally determined, M. Muller, 'Peasant women, agency and status in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century England, some reconsiderations', in C. Beattie and M. F. Stevens (eds), *Married women and the law in pre-modern northwest Europe, c. 1200–1700* (2013), p. 101, based on Ann Oakley, *Sex, Gender and Society* (1972), pp. 27–8.

[86] This argument has been put forward by Dr. Isis Sturtewagen, a medieval archeologist specializing in late medieval clothing. Her argument is, among other things, based on the miniatures of Simon Bening, a Flemish miniaturist working in Bruges around 1500 and producer of the Golf Book (British Library, Add. MS 24098). I am grateful to her for her suggestion.

[87] J. Whittle, 'Rural economies', in J. M. Bennett and R. Karras (eds), *The Oxford handbook of women and gender in Medieval Europe* (2013), pp. 316–20.

[88] Van Cruyningen, *Behoudend*, pp. 167–8.

(iii) Structural social transformation of the region

By focusing on livestock farming, farmers were responding to ecological problems, in particular the deteriorating soil hydrology, as well as an increasing demand for meat from the urban centres[89], but foremost to structural problems in the labour market. In the fourteenth century and first half of the fifteenth, numerous smallholdings in the coastal area disappeared.[90] As a result, the large farms were no longer able to draw on a plentiful supply of local smallholders to work several days a week on the farm, especially during the harvest season, for an additional income or in exchange for the loan of a horse and a plough to work their own small acreages. In fact, it is only for the first half of the fourteenth century we have indications of such intense labour relations between the smallholders of Zuienkerke and Scueringhe farm.[91] The labour abundance in this period is reflected in the extremely low remuneration for harvest labour in comparison to its later evolution, as Figure 3 shows. From the end of the fourteenth century onwards, farm managers had to look elsewhere for the necessary labour force.

The labourers at Scueringhe farm, men as well as women, were certainly not of local origin in the 1440s, as can be demonstrated by searching for their names or the names of relatives in three different types of sources available for the region. All landowners are accurately described in the water board rate books because every landowner, in practice the freeholders and customary holders, contributed to the maintenance of dikes and roads according to the land area they owned.[92] The names of the Scueringhe workers, or possible relatives, do not appear among the landowners, even the smallest, of the village and surrounding villages. It is true that even in the fifteenth century, most land in the area north of Bruges was leased out, so it is possible that the workers or their relatives cultivated small plots of land in Zuienkerke and surrounding villages. Yet similar names are not to be found among the leaseholders of St John's of Bruges, the landlord who owned at least one-fifth of all the land in the neighbourhood of Scueringhe farm.[93] Moreover, among the 277 different taxpayers of the shire of Zuienkerke in 1425, which – in addition to male heads of households – included widows (with or without children), cohabitating sisters and single women, no obvious relatives of the farm hands are mentioned.[94] It is also significant that in the Scueringhe accounts of the 1440s, the workers were only seldom identified as 'the son

[89] E. Thoen and T. Soens, 'Elevage, prés et paturage dans le comté de Flandre au Moyen Age et au début des Temps Modernes. Les liens avec l'économie rurale régionale', in *Prés, prairies et paturages dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne* (2006), pp. 92–3; T. Soens and E. Thoen, 'Vegetarians or Carnivores? Standards of living and diet in late medieval Flanders', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, 'Le interazioni fra economia e ambiente biologico nell'Europa preindustriale, secc. XIII–XVIII : atti della 'Quarantunesima Settimana di studi', 26–30 aprile 2009' ('Economic and biological interactions in pre-industrial Europe, from the 13th to the 18th century') (2010), pp. 526–7.

[90] Soens, *De spade in de dijk?*, pp. 73–87. From several parameters, among others the characteristics of the lease market, it is clear that bankrupt peasant families did not stay in the Flemish coastal region.

[91] J. Himpens, *Het Sint-Janshospitaal te Brugge (1188–1350)* (unpubl. MA dissertation, Catholic University of Leuven, 1956), p. 122.

[92] Archives of the Public Welfare Organisation of Bruges, Archives of the St John's Hospital, A. Water Boards, nr. 7: Water Board Register of the Blankenbergse Watering, 1456.

[93] Vervaet, *Goederenbeheer*, pp. 50–7.

[94] State Archives of Bruges, Bundels van het Vrije, nr. 271: Zettingslijst Zuienkerke 1425.

of or the daughter of …' which further argues for a non-local origin: the friars and sisters of St John's, dominating the area north of Bruges, would have known at least some of the inhabitants by name.

Where did the workers came from? Several fifteenth-century casual workers at Scueringhe and Scamelweeken farm bore a surname referring to the same eastern and north-eastern counties of the Low Counties, in particular Brabant, Holland, Zeeland and Guelderland. Although using surnames to determine the origin of workers is a risky business, references such as Jan Beel from Zeeland or the anonymous Zeeusche wyf, the Oosterlync or the Brabandere indicate the same geographical labour mobility. In addition, several names refer to villages in the sandy, inland part of Flanders. Occasionally, the farm administrator registered the origin of the workers, such as 'de mans van Oudenaerde', 'Cornelis and Hannekin, beede van Oudenaerde', and 'Lauwericx Wittinc van Eeklo'. This suggests at least temporary migration in the rural sector in late medieval Flanders, several decades before more confident evidence exists.[95] In the eighteenth century, numerous inhabitants of inland Flanders travelled to the polders to work for several weeks in the cereal harvest.[96] As with the early modern situation, the mobility of the fifteenth-century harvesters has to be considered temporary rather than permanent labour migration. This is also suggested by the customary law of the Bruges rural district, which dictated that judgments on conflicts over the wage of harvest workers had to be executed immediately.[97]

With high wages, the friars of St John's and the Potterie hoped to attract extra labourers originating from regions with a surplus of labour, such as inland Flanders.[98] Labourers were able to take advantage of the exceptional wages, especially during the harvest season. They constantly travelled around, looking for higher wages. And higher wages were as good as always available, since summer wages on Scueringhe farm varied even from week to week, in the 1440s from 34 to 50 Flemish *d. groten* per ha.[99] Wages indeed varied according to the sort of the cereal, but also according to the condition (thinly or thickly sown, flattened or standing) and the urgency of the work. This urgency, moreover, enabled the workers to negotiate rates with the farm managers. Scholars have pointed to the strong bargaining position of harvest labourers.[100] The crew of harvesters at Scueringhe farm changed weekly, sometimes even daily, in the 1440s. Harvest labourers weren't only geographically mobile, but lacked any attachment to where they worked. In this decade, on average, only 12 per cent of the harvesters at Scueringhe farm in any one summer returned there the following

[95] Verlinden and Craeybeckx, *Prijzen- en lonenpolitiek*, p. 101.

[96] Van Cruyninghen, *Behoudend*, pp. 171–8; Lambrecht, 'Agrarian Change', pp. 214–5. Labour mobility during the harvest season has also been documented for the northern Low Countries from the sixteenth century onwards, B. J. P. van Bavel, *Goederenverwerving en goederenbeheer van de Abdij van Mariënweerd (1129–1592)* (1993), p. 440; J. Lucassen, *Naar de kusten van de Noordzee. Trekarbeid in Europees perspectief, 1600–1900* (1984), pp. 117–9.

[97] Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutume,* I, p. 248.

[98] E. Thoen, 'A "commercial survival economy" in evolution. The Flemish countryside and the transition to capitalism (Middle Ages–19th century)', in P. Hoppenbrouwers and J. L. van Zanden (eds), *Peasants into farmers: the transformation of rural economy and society in the Low Countries (Middle Ages–19th century) in the light of the Brenner debate* (2001), pp. 111–19.

[99] On the farms of l'hôpital Saint Saveur of Lille, northern France, the harvest wages even differed per day in the 1340s, Delmaire, *La femme*, pp. 145–6.

[100] Youngs, 'Servants', p. 155.

summer. Clearly, the friars of the hospital farms maintained an anonymous and impersonal relationship with their employees.

It would seem that at this moment, female harvesters were as free to move from job to job as their male counterparts. This was possible because, in all probability, they were young and unmarried. At least a third of the Scueringhe female harvesters bore a diminutive name. The supposition that they were young is also supported by a small number of them (7 per cent) being referred to as 'daughter of'. At the same time, the normal lack of reference to parents or relatives (as for the male harvest workers in the first half of the fifteenth century) confirms their non-local origin. The clerk keeping the accounts never referred to the women's husband. The significance of this absence can be appreciated by considering the contemporary rent and lease registers of St John's, in which women were predominantly identified in relation to their husband (even if deceased), despite the fact that, according to regional customary law, they were legally capable of renting and cultivating land in their own name. For these reasons it can be assumed that the working women were unmarried, notwithstanding the fact that reference to a husband living in a village at a distance and unknown to the farm managers was most probably irrelevant to them.[101]

The geographical and temporal mobility of the working women has consequences for the value of their remuneration, because their earnings were spent in other regions. Let's suppose that the Scueringhe women of the 1440s originated from inland Flanders or from Brabant. Taking into account deductions from their summer earnings for travel and lodgings, these women would still have been able to lease a plot of land encompassing 2.5 ha in the area south of Gent, and similarly 2.5 ha in Brabant close to Brussels.[102] Knowing that farm size seldom exceeded a few ha in inland Flanders[103], the summer earnings of the women clearly offered the prospect of starting their own farm and household.

The harvest labourers, originating from outside coastal Flanders, had to be paid on the completion of their work, doubtless in cash, and before a single part of the crop could be sold. This is also suggested by the activities of farm managers on the credit market. In 1495, the friars of the Potterie borrowed a large sum of money from the Bruges political elite which was clearly intended to pay for the harvest costs at Scamelweeken farm. The sum was repaid without interest later in the year.

As a consequence of the changing social structure of the coastal region, with migrant workers replacing local workers, the large commercial farms were confronted with growing labour costs.[104] Although sharp fluctuations occurred annually, these costs approached

[101] Several scholars have argued that women without the adage 'wife of' must not automatically be regarded as unmarried, e.g. Muller, 'Peasant women', pp. 104–06 and J. Bennett, *Ale*, pp. 166–70; These historians emphasize that the marital status of women was simply irrelevant for the author of the documents.

[102] L. Verstappen, *Pachtprijzen als meters van economische politiek en conjunctuur. Een vergelijkende studie tussen het platteland rond Brugge, Gent en Leiden (1450–1570)* (unpubl. MA dissertation, Gent University, 2001), Appendix; Thoen, *Landbouwekonomie*, pp. 531–7; F. Daelemans and F. Scheelings, 'Pachtprijzen in Brabant, 14de–18de eeuw', in F. Daelemans (ed.), *Pachtprijzen en economische conjunctuur (14de–20ste eeuw)* (1983), Appendix 2.

[103] Thoen, 'A "commercial survival economy"', pp. 113–16.

[104] The profitability of such farms was largely determined by the size of the labour costs, B. J. P. van Bavel, *Transitie en continuïteit: de bezitsverhoudingen*

TABLE 3. Number of winter servants per ha of arable land at Scueringhe farm, 1346–1547

Period	*Number of winter servants per ha arable land*
1346	0.27
1403–1421	0.25
1442–1455	0.23
1543–1547	0.18

Sources: see note 32.

TABLE 4. Labour costs and revenues at Scueringhe farm, 1445–6 and 1543–7

Period	*Annual labour costs in grams of silver (average for the period)*	*Annual farm revenues in grams of silver (average of the period)*
1445–6	30,933	45,504
1543–7	15,760	39,675

Sources: see note 32.

60 per cent of the annual budget at Scamelweeken farm in the 1380s and 1390s. In the 1440s, a period marked by demographic crisis as discussed above, those of Scueringhe farm even approached the income of the farm, as Table 4 shows. Conversely, on the flourishing early modern cereal farms of Zealand Flanders, labour costs constituted approximately 30 to 40 per cent of the annual budget.[105] The shift towards less labour-intensive but more capital-intensive livestock farming should be considered as a response to structural changes on the labour market. Population indeed mattered in this story, however only in an indirect manner. Besides focusing on the fattening of cattle, farmers above all sought to rationalize wage labour by introducing piece rates for threshers, introducing the Hainault scythe instead of the sickle and balancing the number of servants versus casual labourers according to the wages they expected to pay them.[106] Table 3 shows the decreasing labour input at Scueringhe farm between the middle of the fourteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century. For farms such as Scueringhe or Scamelweeken, not lacking in the necessary capital, these measures undoubtedly had positive results. While annual revenues only slightly decreased, their labour costs had substantially decreased by the middle of the sixteenth century, as Table 4 shows for Scueringhe farm.

Such figures, however, pertain to institutional farms. For freehold and tenant farmers, the later with rent to pay each year, the struggle to keep down labour costs was even more fierce. Undoubtedly they lacked the capital to switch to livestock meaning that many of them could not continue in farming. Consequently, in otherwise prosperous and politically stable periods

Note 104 *continued*
en de plattelandseconomie in het westelijke gedeelte van het Gelderse rivierengebied, ca. 1300–ca. 1570 (1999), pp. 614–17.

[105] Van Cruyningen, *Behoudend*, p. 235.

[106] Vervaet, 'Employment', pp. 34–5.

such as the 1530s and 1540s, the group of (nearly) landless people who depended on wage labour increased.[107] The work patterns of the threshers of Scueringhe farm demonstrate the growing importance of wage labour for rural dwellers. In 1454, 29 different people threshed the corn. Threshers worked at least two days and at maximum of 26 days on the farm; on average, they threshed for 15 days. A century later the cereal harvest, reduced because of the shift to pastoral agriculture, was processed by only nine different threshers. On average, each of these worked approximately 83 days on the farm, which is five times more than their predecessors.[108] The social and economic transformation of the region explains why enough male (harvest) labourers were available in 1540s, notwithstanding the substantial demographic decline which had taken place. That the labour supply now sufficed is suggested by the evolution of real wages for casual workers. With their daily wage, casual workers were able to buy only half as much cereal at the Bruges market as their colleagues one century earlier, as Figure 3 shows. Farmers could recruit more locally in the 1540s. Approximately 10 per cent of all the workers bore the same surname as the leaseholders of St Johns in Zuienkerke and surrounding villages. Moreover, some workers were referred to as 'several people from the village, Jacob from the village' and similar formulations. Despite this more locally based recruitment, the relationship between employer and employee remained rather anonymous and impersonal, as demonstrated above, and also by the appearance of descriptions such as 'Passchier and his companions'. This pattern of recruiting gangs with a foreman, who negotiated the wages of the entire gang, was typical for large early modern farms.[109]

In the 1540s, a period of adequate male labour supply, women were undoubtedly excluded from the best-paid harvest work. Farmers clearly preferred men as harvest workers, not only with the labour-intensive Hainault scythe but also for reaping small acreages with the sickle. Tasks such as harvesting and threshing had to be performed as quickly as possible in this very competitive and commercial environment. Therefore, employers sought physical strength and speed. Women were frequently employed to undertake the 'assisting' jobs on Scueringhe farm in the middle of the sixteenth century, but they found work through their husband or male relatives and not independently as in the 1440s. Jannekin processed the fodder crops for the horses on Scueringhe farm in the 1543, while her husband Geert Pasman worked as a casual labourer at least 106 days on the same farm; the wife of Adriaen Van Bergheyke made sheaves in the fields during the summer of 1547, while her husband worked the preceding years at the farm as a casual worker and harvest worker; Dyne Bertille assisted during the hay harvest, while her brother Luc was hired to dig peat at the farm in 1543. Notably, women were now sometimes referred to anonymously as 'wives from the village' or the like. Women, it seemed, not only performed low-paid roles but were also not worth mentioning by their proper name.

The question of what the female casual labourers did for the rest of the year and the economic activities the female servants performed after their period of service is hard to

[107] Dombrecht, *Plattelandsgemeenschappen*, p. 152.

[108] Since threshers worked by piece rate in the sixteenth century, I can only roughly estimate the total number of working days, based on the general output of threshing provided by Slicher van Bath, *Geschiedenis*, p. 203.

[109] Allen, 'Growth', p. 137; C. M. Newman, 'Work and wages at Durham Priory and its estates, 1494–1519', *Continuity and Change* 16 (2001), p. 370; Lucassen, *Naar de Kusten*, pp. 117–9.

answer. Looking for their names in contemporary sources is like searching for a needle in a haystack. Generally, it appears that in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Flemish coastal region women did not have other major opportunities to make a living. Local rural industries where women could find employment, such as brick making or peat digging, were in decline from the fifteenth century onwards.[110] The limit of two looms per village and the prohibition on the sale of wool in the rural district around Bruges, imposed after pressure from urban weavers, made it impossible for a domestic textile industry to develop in the coastal area.[111] The opportunities for women to secure small acreages of land to run as smallholdings were also reduced from the fifteenth century.[112]

V

Until now, the debate about female wage labour in the centuries after the Black Death has chiefly taken place on a national scale, emphasizing demographic developments as the driver of change. Several historians have, however, convincingly argued for the importance of regional and even local case studies, because these allow us to place women's experiences in their proper context. This article presents previously unexploited evidence for wage labour by women in agriculture in one of most dynamic parts of northern Europe, coastal Flanders. Analysing the work patterns of women on large commercial farms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries confirms the importance of differentiating according to the type of employment, as has recently been pointed out by Humphries and Weisdorf. The large farms consistently employed a few female live-in workers with long-term contracts, in spite of the shift to cattle farming and of demographic decline. Moreover, female servants always earned far less than their male colleagues. In commercial agriculture, service did not provide the advantageous opportunities for women identified by some scholars for the urban economies of north-western Europe. As casual workers, women only found employment on large farms during the brief harvest period. Remarkably, they did not experience wage discrimination, not even in the era before the Black Death. The stipulated piece rates for harvest work pertained to both men and women. However, specific harvest tasks were strictly divided between the sexes. In the era dominated by cereal cultivation in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, women reaped corn with the sickle. Especially in periods with extreme labour scarcity such as the 1440s, numerous women, a large proportion of whom originated from other regions, worked in the fields during harvest. Due to the shift to livestock in the sixteenth century, fewer workers were needed. Besides, farm managers preferred the labour-saving Hainault scythe which, as an instrument reserved for male use, pushed women into the low-paid 'assisting' jobs such as binding. As in early modern textile industries[113], the late medieval rural labour market consisted of different segments, with each segment not only experiencing its own development but also having its

[110] Dombrecht, *Plattelandsgemeenschappen*.

[111] L. Vervaet, 'The economic opportunities of rural women in late medieval Flanders', in M. Muller (ed.), *The Routledge History handbook of medieval rural life, c.1100–1550* (forthcoming, 2020).

[112] *Ead*., 'Women and leasehold in rural Flanders, c. 1290 to c. 1570', *Rural Hist*., 30 (2019), pp. 6–7.

[113] E. Van Nederveen Meerkerk, 'Market wage or discrimination? The remuneration of male and female wool spinners in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic', *EcHR* 63 (2010), pp. 165–86.

own gender aspects. In the sixteenth century, employers found sufficient male labour because of the increase in nearly landless labourers in the region. The evidence of coastal Flanders confirms the idea that women were recruited into the labour force when needed but overlooked when supplies of male labour were adequate.[114] The significance and structural consequences of these temporary opportunities for only a specific group of women for rural society as a whole should not be overestimated.

This regional, empirical study demonstrates that the presence of a free and well-developed market for wage labour combined with declining population numbers is not a sufficient explanation of changes in the participation and remuneration of female workers in late medieval rural society. An adequate explanation integrates demographic evolution, both long-term and short-term, the type of rural economy, and related to this the hand tools used, and the social structure of rural society. Nevertheless, far more research is necessary to understand the divergent impact on men and women of one of the most fundamental evolutions in rural society, in particular the development towards agrarian capitalism.

[114] Mate, *Daughters*, p. 56; A. M. de Pleijt and J. L. van Zanden, 'Two worlds of female labour: Gender wage inequality in Western Europe, 1300–1800', Lund University, Department of Economic History, Seminar Paper 195 (2017).

'A garden to every cottage': cottage gardens and the nineteenth-century agricultural labourer*

by Danae Tankard

Abstract

This article considers the economic, social and moral value attached to the gardens of agricultural labourers from *c.*1830 to *c.*1910. Its focus is southern England, with a particular emphasis on Sussex. The allotment movement gained a new impetus in the wake of the Swing Riots of 1830 but the spread of allotments across the country was extremely uneven. In Sussex they were never widespread and labourers were generally forced to rely on their gardens to help provision the household. However, garden size varied widely, with some cottages having very small gardens, and some having none at all. To encourage productive gardening agricultural and horticultural societies held annual shows, awarding cash prizes for 'best cultivated garden' and 'best vegetables', with entrants being examined for their moral probity and domestic management. For labourers, economic necessity was balanced by an enjoyment of aesthetic gardening. Flower gardens, usually located at the front, allowed labourers to display their respectability and social worth.

The quotation in the title of this article comes from a prize-winning essay by George Nicholls published in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* in 1846 in which the author made four recommendations for how the 'condition' of agricultural labourers could be improved without increasing their wages.[1] Nicholls' fourth recommendation was that landowners should provide their labourers and cottage tenants with gardens of between a quarter and half an acre.[2] He outlined the benefits that would accrue from the more widespread provision of decent-sized cottage gardens: it would enable the labourer to become more self-sufficient, providing the household with 'many little comforts' that it would not otherwise have; it would occupy his

* This article began life as a conference paper given at the International Conference of the European Rural History Organisation held in Leuven, Belgium, in 2017. I would like to thank Karin Hallgren for inviting me to join the panel 'Kitchen gardens in rural and urban contexts – examining practices, produce, gender and roles of garden cultivation 1350–2017'. I would also like to thank Brian Short and Christopher Whittick for their comments on the article whilst it was in draft.

[1] G. Nicholls, 'On the condition of the agricultural labourer; with suggestions for its improvement', *JRASE,* 7 (1846), pp. 1–30 (quote from p. 21).

[2] The other three recommendations were: providing more employment for agricultural labourers; improving their educational provision; improving cottages.

leisure time 'keeping him from idle associates, and from falling into dissipated or vicious habits'; it would unite his family in a shared endeavour and instil in them a sense of pride; and it would make his small cottage appear more roomy and cheerful. In Nicholls' view, the labourer's cottage and garden together should become 'a little world within which his dearest affections are centred', keeping him happy and contented and encouraging him to believe that although his was a 'life of labour and endurance', he was nevertheless appreciated by his superiors.[3] Nicholls, a Poor Law commissioner and an ardent supporter of the principle of 'less eligibility', was one of many nineteenth-century social commentators who advocated the importance of the cottage garden to the agricultural labourer, seeing its successful cultivation as a means of improving his material standard of living whilst also inculcating in him a range of positive behaviours and values.[4] The importance of the agricultural labourer's garden to his social and economic welfare has also been recognized by historians investigating a range of interrelated themes including labouring households' income and survival strategies (and more broadly changes in agricultural labourers' standards of living over the course of the nineteenth century), the gendered division of rural labour and labourers' access to land.[5] Despite this recognition, the subject of agricultural labourers' gardens has received remarkably little detailed scholarly attention.[6]

This article seeks to redress this lacuna, focusing on the gardens of agricultural labourers living in Sussex but drawing too on evidence from other southern counties. Whilst acknowledging the importance of allotments, it emphasizes that in some counties, including Sussex, they were never that widespread and for the majority of labouring households gardens provided their only cultivation space. The primary purpose of allotments and gardens was of course food production for household consumption and, if possible, for sale. However, as we shall see, the contribution that home-grown produce could make was highly variable because of the uneven provision of allotments and significant variations in garden size. This article also considers the role of agricultural and horticultural shows in stimulating competitive gardening amongst agricultural labourers by offering cash prizes for well-cultivated gardens. Organized by the social elite, these competitions rewarded successful gardening and household self-sufficiency whilst also seeking to improve inter-class relations and to instil in the labouring class habits of industry and moral probity. However, labourers' gardens were more than just productive spaces; evidence of widespread flower cultivation points to the social and aesthetic significance that gardens had to labouring households and suggests that gardening was also valued as a leisure activity rather than being seen merely as an economic necessity.

[3] Nicholls, 'Condition of the agricultural labourer', pp. 20–3.

[4] ODNB, 'Nicholls, Sir George (1781–1865), poor-law reformer and administrator' (accessed 18 Apr. 2019).

[5] See, for example, N. Verdon, *Rural women workers in 19th-century England: gender, work and wages* (2002), ch. 6, 'Survival strategies: women, work and the informal economy' (see especially pp. 186–7 for a very brief discussion of labourers' gardens); B. Reay, *Rural Englands: labouring lives in the nineteenth century* (2004), ch. 4, 'Household strategies' (see especially pp. 75–8).

[6] Margaret Willes provides some useful information about rural working-class gardens in *The gardens of the British working class* (2014), pp. 123–8, but her focus is mainly on the urban working class. See also K. Sayer, *Country cottages: a cultural history* (2000), ch. 3, 'The English cottage garden' (see esp. pp. 84–101).

I

As most nineteenth-century social commentators acknowledged, the basic problem for the agricultural labourer was his complete dependence on wages. He had no independent means of subsistence. In the 1820s and 1830s there was a substantial labour surplus, especially in the south where most agricultural labourers lived; the problems of oversupply of labour were exacerbated by the advent of mechanized threshing which meant that many rural labourers lost their winter work. In Sussex wage levels could be as low as 8*s*. to 9*s*. a week and were topped up to subsistence levels through parochially administered poor rates.[7] The reliance of a significant number of able-bodied men on parish relief strained social relations within rural communities; farmers resented their increasingly heavy tax burden whilst labourers found their dependency humiliating and degrading.[8] Critics of the Old Poor Law also argued that this dependency had created 'moral havoc' amongst the labouring population, destroying their industry, honesty and self-respect and encouraging an abject passivity.[9]

Various land provision schemes were established to try to ameliorate the plight of the impoverished labourer, including cow pastures, potato grounds and allotments.[10] From the outset these schemes were intended to have both material and moral benefits, reducing the labourer's dependency on wages and poor relief and restoring in him a sense of pride and a belief that he had at his disposal the means to improve his and his family's lot. 1830 marked the beginning of what Jeremy Burchardt has identified as the second phase of the allotment movement, initiated in response to the widespread agricultural disturbances of that year.[11] One of the pioneers of this phase of the allotment movement in Sussex was Mary Ann Gilbert, the wife of Davies Gilbert, former president of the Board of Agriculture. Seeing 'independent support' as preferable to a degrading dependence on poor relief, in 1830 she established 50 allotments on wasteland to the east of Beachy Head in Eastbourne. The allotments were fenced off and entered via an iron gate on which hung a sign reading 'Here waste not time and you'll want not food'.[12] The following year a group of Sussex 'noblemen and gentlemen', which included the Duke of Norfolk, the earls of Chichester, Sheffield and Surrey and Viscount Gage, established the Sussex Association for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes, with Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, as its president. Its main purpose, according to the minutes of its first meeting, was

[7] In 1824 weekly wages in the Chichester district were between 9*s*. and 10*s*. a week; in the Hailsham district (in the low Weald) they were 8*s*. a week (BPP 1825, 299, *Abstract return on practice of paying wages of labour out of poor rates*, pp. 42–3).

[8] See R. Wells, 'Social protest, class, conflict and consciousness in the English countryside, 1700–1800', in M. Reed and R. Wells (eds), *Class, conflict and protest in the English countryside, 1700–1880* (1990), pp. 138–47.

[9] R. Jones, *Essay on the distribution of wealth and on the sources of taxation* (1831), p. 317 (quoted in the 'Second quarterly report of the Sussex Association for the Condition of the Labouring Classes' (1832), p. 7, East Sussex RO (hereafter ESRO), AMS 5784).

[10] For an overview of these schemes see J. Burchardt, *The allotment movement in England, 1793–1873* (2002), pp. 9–47.

[11] Burchardt has identified three main phases in the allotment movement: a first phase lasting from *c*.1793 to *c*.1800, a second phase lasting from 1830 to the early 1850s and a third phase beginning in the 1870s (Burchardt, *Allotment movement*, pp. 9–47).

[12] A. C. Todd, 'An answer to poverty in Sussex, 1830–45', *AgHR* 4 (1956), pp. 45–51.

> the amelioration of the condition of the Sussex peasantry by every practicable means, and particularly by promoting the cultivation of small allotments of land to the labourer, as the surest and readiest method of encouraging his industry, increasing his comforts and making him independent of parish relief.[13]

The Earl of Chichester practised what he preached, turning over some of his own land in the parish of Falmer to allotments.[14] In western Sussex the fifth Duke of Richmond was equally active, establishing a number of allotment schemes.[15] In 1832 he set aside 11 acres of land in the parish of Tangmere to provide allotments for 'industrious labourers' which were managed by the parish rector, Robert Tredcroft.[16]

Despite this early flurry of activity, allotments were never that widespread in Sussex or its neighbouring counties of Kent and Surrey. Burchardt has identified 32 Sussex parishes with allotment sites during the period 1830 to 1845. There were, however, approximately 270 rural (or largely rural) parishes in Sussex which means that some 240 of them had no allotment provision at all.[17] The first official 'census' of allotment plots in different counties undertaken as part of the *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain for 1873* recorded 2782 allotments in Sussex, containing 519 acres, suggesting that the number of allotments might not have increased significantly after the 1830s, or had perhaps increased and then declined as was the case in Kent.[18] In comparison, Wiltshire had some 15,445 allotments (4310 acres) and Northamptonshire had 16,447 allotments (4294 acres).[19] The reasons for the relative scarcity of allotments in Sussex are unclear, but seem to have been due to an assumption on the part of landowners and farmers that cottage gardens were large enough to meet a labouring household's needs and that labourers neither needed nor wanted allotments. As we have seen, Nicholls recommended that labourers should be provided with gardens of between one quarter and half an acre but in Sussex what was thought to constitute a 'good' or a 'fair' garden was one containing about 20 rods of ground, the equivalent to 330 square feet (30.6 square metres) or about one eighth of an acre.[20] This was thought to be the maximum that one man could cultivate on his own without bringing in additional labour or exhausting him to a point where he was unable to fulfil his responsibilities to his employer.[21] In 1867

[13] ESRO, AMS 5784. For its prospectus see ESRO, SAS/CO 4/230/8. This organization does not seem to have been affiliated to the Labourer's Friend Society, which had been established in 1830. For a discussion of this organization and its affiliated societies see Burchardt, *Allotment movement*, pp. 51, 70–108.

[14] D. Roberts, *Paternalism in early Victorian England* (1979), p. 118.

[15] Roberts, *Paternalism,* p. 108.

[16] West Sussex RO (hereafter WSRO), Goodwood Mss 579, fo. 440, 1435, fos. 42, 65, 82, 1438, fo. 112, 1477, fo. 400. I would like to thank Graham Claydon for sharing his transcriptions of the Tredcroft correspondence with me.

[17] Burchardt, *Allotment movement*, pp. 60–1. Figures for parishes have been calculated from J. A. Vickers (ed), *The religious census of Sussex 1851* (Sussex Record Soc. 75, 1989).

[18] Burchardt, *Allotment movement*, p. 61. In his response to the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes in 1884, Alfred Simmons claimed that in Kent in the 1840s there had been some 2200 allotments but that now they 'are very scarce indeed' (BPP, 1885, C.4402, *RC on the Housing of the Working Classes*, p. 554).

[19] BPP, 1873, lxix, *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain for 1873*, Appendix; Burchardt, *Allotment movement*, pp. 222–6.

[20] A rod or a perch is a linear measurement of about 5.5 yards or 16.5 feet.

[21] BPP, 1867–8, 4068, *RC on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture*, App. 2, p. 161.

the assistant parliamentary commissioner the Revd James Fraser gathered information on gardens and allotments as part of his investigation into the living and working conditions of rural labourers undertaken for the Royal Commission on Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture. Information for 12 of the 21 parishes making up the Horsham and Hailsham Unions (all lying within the Sussex Weald) is summarized in Table 1.[22]

As we can see, only two out of 12 parishes had allotments. In the case of Ifield, allotments were no doubt intended to supplement cottage gardens (which at ten rods or less would have been considered small). Parishes where there were one or two predominant landowners were as unlikely to have allotments as those with several 'small proprietors'. Elsewhere in Sussex allotments were similarly sparse and by mid-century some earlier allotment schemes had disappeared. In 1867 there were no allotments in any of the downland and coastal parishes in the Westhampnett Union where the sixth Duke of Richmond was the predominant landowner. The Tangmere allotments, established in 1832 by the fifth Duke of Richmond, had gone; Fraser noted that 'there were some allotments 15 or 20 years ago, but they have been abandoned as unnecessary'.[23] A keen cottage builder, the sixth Duke, who had inherited the estate on his father's death in 1860, perhaps considered that the provision of adequate gardens obviated the need for allotments. In his report on the Thakeham Union made to the Royal Commission in 1892 William E. Bear recorded that across the 17 union parishes there were only 113 allotments, the equivalent of one allotment to 71.3 people. He was told by the landowners, farmers, clergymen and 'other impartial witnesses' that the lack of allotments reflected a lack of demand from labourers who 'nearly all have fair or good gardens'.[24]

However, as Bear noted, the size of gardens in these parishes varied considerably; many were between 10 and 20 rods but some were 'very small' and others had no gardens at all. Cottages in villages were least likely to have 'good' or 'fair' gardens. In Amberley, Bear reported that 'one of the chief faults … is the small size of many of the gardens, though very few houses are altogether without them. This is a common fault, and almost an unavoidable one in large villages'.[25] In the neighbouring county of Kent there were also significant variations in garden size. In his investigation into rural living conditions in the villages of Hernehill, Dunkirk and Boughton under Blean undertaken in the wake of the Hernehill Rising of 1838, Frederick Liardet noted that in Boughton under Blean many of the cottages, 'being in the street' had very small gardens and some of them were without gardens altogether. Of the 50 dwellings he observed, nine were garden-less; only three had gardens larger than 20 perches (or rods) and the remainder were 'small patches not sufficient to raise half the quantity of vegetables required by a family'. In contrast, in the neighbouring village of Hernehill gardens were relatively large (between eight and 16 perches), which allowed householders to grow a sufficient supply of

[22] BPP, 1867–8, 4068, App. 2, pp. 76–86.

[23] Ibid., pp. 86–98. Quote from p. 97.

[24] BPP, 1893–4, C.6894-I, *RC on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer, Vol. 1 England. Part I. Reports by Mr William E. Bear*, pp. 61–2. The labourers Bear questioned gave a slightly more mixed response: whilst some expressed indifference to allotments, others said that they would be glad to have them 'but that they did not know how to go to work to obtain them' (p. 61).

[25] Ibid., p. 59. Bear does not say what he considers a 'very small' garden to be, but presumably something smaller than 10 rods. 'Good', 'large' or 'fair' gardens appear to be those of about 20 rods.

TABLE 1. Summary of information supplied to the Revd James Fraser about cottage gardens and allotments in parishes in the Horsham and Hailsham Unions, 1867.

Parish	*Union*	*Gardens*	*Allotments*	*Landowners*
Slinfold	Horsham	Most of these cottages have a sufficient amount of garden; in this stiff clay soil 20 rods is considered to be as much as a man can profitably cultivate.	None.	Several proprietors; 2 of chief landowners are resident.
Warnham	Horsham	All the cottages have more or less garden, from five rods to 20.	None.	3 large and a few small proprietors.
Ifield	Horsham	Few of the gardens would exceed 10 rods.	There are 2 acres of allotment, let in parcels of 10 rods each.	About 1700a belongs to one proprietor; 8 or 9 other landowners.
Rusper	Horsham	Fair piece of garden ground.	None.	8 or 10 landowners.
West Grinstead	Horsham	20 rods is considered to be an adequate size for a garden.	There are no allotments now; there were some, but the people gave them up of their own accord.	Several landowners.
Shipley	Horsham	Most of the cottages have good gardens, from 20 to 30 rods in size.	None.	2 principal landowners.
Nuthurst	Horsham	Most have sufficient gardens.	None.	4 principal landowners.
Warbleton	Hailsham	Most of the cottages, except about a score built 40 years ago, have gardens; 20 rods is considered to be a sufficient size for a garden.	There are nine acres of allotment, divided into parcels of from 20 to 40 rods apiece. The people are found anxious to have them, and the lots are very well cultivated.	Several landowners; 4 of landowners are resident.
Heathfield	Hailsham	There are no allotments, most of the cottages having fair gardens.	None.	4 principal and a great many small proprietors.
Hooe	Hailsham	Most of the cottages have gardens averaging 20 rods in size, but there are no allotments.	None.	4 or 5 large landowners, none of whom are resident, and 6 or 7 small proprietors.
Wartling	Hailsham	There are no allotments, but nearly all the cottages have gardens.	None.	2 landowners own ¾ of land; 20 or so small proprietors.
Ninfield	Hailsham	Almost all have gardens.	There are no allotments.	2 chief landowners.

Source: BPP, 1867–8, 4068, *RC on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture*, Appendix 2, pp. 76–86.

vegetables to last the year.[26] It is also the case that whilst it was recommended that new cottages should have at least 20 rods of land this did not always happen; Fraser was told that those recently built in the Sussex village of Barnham had 'very little garden and very small rooms'.[27]

II

The primary *material* benefits to the rural working class of a garden or an allotment were the provision of food for the household and the opportunity to enhance household income by selling surplus produce. Successive parliamentary reports on the condition of the agricultural labourer made reference to the poverty of his household's diet, the result of restricted budgets, poor shopping facilities and the housewife's apparent inability to cook.[28] In 1864 a report was published on the diet of the poorer labouring classes in England which gave examples of a typical daily diet for agricultural labourers in different counties. In Sussex a labouring family consumed tea, bread, butter or cheese for breakfast; for dinner (lunch, the main meal of the day) they ate a little meat, vegetables, cheese or butter and bread daily but they cooked only once or twice a week; supper was bread and butter.[29] Information was taken from two Sussex families, family 'D' and family 'W', both living in the parish of Horsham. Family 'D' with 10 members consumed 1 lb of peas and 7 lbs of potatoes a week, but no other vegetables; family 'W' with 7 members consumed 14 lbs of potatoes but no other vegetables. The report's author does not record whether the peas and potatoes consumed by these families were home grown. Neither household had an allotment; neither had a pig.[30]

Much of what labourers ate was shop-bought.[31] Their restricted budgets and rural isolation meant that they were largely dependent on the village shop where prices could be as much as 25 per cent higher than in town shops and where the ready extension of credit ensured their continued custom. In some villages in the north-east of Sussex labourers were paid in cheques which could be redeemed only at the village shop giving them no choice but to buy their goods there.[32] The prices charged for vegetables in village shops made them unaffordable to many labouring households.[33] Heavy dependency on bread meant that labouring families were particularly vulnerable during periods of high wheat prices.[34] During the 1840s, when the price

[26] F. Liardet, 'State of the peasantry in the county of Kent', *Central Society of Education* (1839), pp. 99–100, 120, 122. For an analysis of the Hernehill Rising see B. Reay, *The last rising of the agricultural labourers* (1990); for a microstudy of these three villages see Reay, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800–1930* (1996).

[27] BPP, 1867–8, 4068, App. 2, p. 160.

[28] For a discussion of nineteenth-century agricultural labourers' diets, J. Burnett, *Plenty and want: a social history of diet in England from 1815 to the present day* (1979), pp. 30–47; 149–76.

[29] BPP, 1864, 3416, *Sixth Report of the Medical Office of the Privy Council*, App. 6, p. 259.

[30] BPP, 1864, 3416, App. 6, pp. 312–14.

[31] In 1864 it was estimated that nationally 30% of labouring households bought all of their bread and a further 50% bought at least some of their bread (BPP, 1864, 3416, p. 239).

[32] BPP, 1843, 510, *Reports of the Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture*, pp. 141–2.

[33] Ibid., p. 37.

[34] It has been estimated that in the first half of the nineteenth century 75% of family income was spent on food and 71% of that was spending on bread (55.5% of all income) – see E. Griffin, 'Diets, hunger and living standards during the British Industrial Revolution', *Past and Present* 239 (2018), p. 13.

of a half-gallon loaf of wheaten bread had reached 1*s*. 2*d*. Sussex labourers ate 'crammings', a kind of pudding made out of flour residue, bean porridge which supposedly made your insides feel like they were on fire, or 'growy bread' which was so heavy and doughy that you could pull long strings of it out of your mouth. Nevertheless they remained hungry: looking back on his life during the 'hungry forties', Heyshott labourer George Pollard remembered 'we wor nigh starved sometimes'.[35]

Productive gardening had the potential to reduce labourers' dependency on shop-bought goods and provide the household with potatoes as an alternative carbohydrate source to bread. A witness to the 1843 *Select Committee on the Labouring Poor* claimed that he had known children of ten or 11 years old who had never tasted a vegetable until their father acquired an allotment.[36] Labouring women's cooking skills were supposedly also enhanced by having a regular supply of vegetables; according to one local farmer, these skills had been lost because for so many years labouring households had eaten little but shop-bought bread, butter and cheese.[37] In addition to home-grown produce (including home-produced pork and eggs), labourers' diets could be supplemented by wild foods such as berries and mushrooms, the occasional poached or gifted rabbit and, for those living in coastal villages, fish and shellfish.[38] Despite these additions diets remained highly restricted in terms of choice and were often deficient in both calories and nutrients.[39]

As Emma Griffin has observed, it is difficult to estimate the contribution that garden and allotment produce made to household diets as this kind of information was seldom recorded by social investigators.[40] However, Benjamin Rowntree and May Kendall did collect it for each of the 42 households they surveyed between August 1912 and March 1913, and included it in their report *How the labourer lives: a study of the rural labour problem*, published in 1913, although they seldom recorded the size of the garden or allotment.[41] The amount of garden produce consumed in these households in a single week varied significantly from nothing to 25 per cent but overall the authors estimated that it constituted less than one twelfth (8.33 per cent) of the food that they consumed. Moreover, as they noted, garden produce was not available all year round. Supplies of potatoes had usually run out by December or January,

[35] T. Fisher Unwin, *The hungry forties: life under the bread tax* (1904), pp. 17–54. A half-gallon loaf weighed approximately 4lb 5oz. A basic bread ration for one adult was approximately one pound of bread a day. 'Crammings' were made out of what was left over after the flour and bran had been taken away, mixed with a bit of bread flour. It was usually made into a kind of pudding (p. 22). For the description of 'growy bread' and bean porridge see p. 29. Quote from p. 38. Wages in the Midhurst district of Sussex in the 1840s were 9*s*. a week. See also Burnett, *Plenty and want*, pp. 40–1.

[36] Cited in BPP, 1843, 510, p. 37.

[37] BPP, 1843, 510, p. 143

[38] Verdon, *Rural women workers*, pp. 181–2.

[39] I. Gazeley and S. Horrell, 'Nutrition in the English agricultural labourer's household over the course of the long nineteenth century', *EcHR* 66 (2013), pp. 757–84.

[40] Griffin, 'Diets, hunger and living standards', p. 19. For their study of agricultural labourers' nutrition Gazeley and Horrell assumed that a garden (of unknown size) could provide 35 lbs of potatoes per week (allowing 1 lb of potatoes per person for a family of five) and 3 lbs of vegetables ('Nutrition in the English agricultural labourer's household', App. 1). I would like to thank Sara Horrell for providing me with the appendices which were not accessible online.

[41] B. S. Rowntree and M. Kendall, *How the labourer lives: a study of the rural labour problem* (1913). The households were spread across seven counties: Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Bedfordshire, Essex, Leicestershire, North and West Yorkshire. Only respectable families were chosen for investigation and families with 'an abnormally large' number of children were excluded (p. 38).

forcing households to buy more or to replace them with shop-bought bread at a time of the year when household budgets were already stretched by lower winter wages and the increased costs of fuel.[42]

Whilst none of the labourers' wives that Rowntree and Kendall spoke to complained of hunger, one did observe that after their meals her family were never 'completely satisfied like', except on Sundays.[43] Others complained about the tedium of their daily diets: when asked whether she enjoyed her food Mrs Dewhurst replied 'bread and margarine and potatoes – that is what it is', adding 'I sometimes think I'd like to sit down and have a real proper dinner'.[44] Rowntree and Kendall's conclusions were that in the households they surveyed, despite the important contribution made by home-grown produce, diets were not just tedious but nutritionally inadequate, with women and children most likely to be underfed.[45]

Similar problems occur when trying to quantify the amount of income a household could potentially generate from the sale of surplus garden and allotment produce. Burchardt has estimated that in the second quarter of the nineteenth century an allotment of a quarter of an acre with no pig kept on it would increase annual income by 11 per cent, and with a pig by between 15 per cent and 21 per cent. He suggests that the significance of allotments to household economies had probably declined by the end of the nineteenth century as food prices fell and family incomes rose.[46] A Board of Trade report of 1907 estimated that the gross annual value of the produce of a garden or an allotment of up to a quarter of an acre in size was between 25*s*. and £5, with fruit from 'well-established' fruit trees being worth from £1 to £2 per year.[47] In 1892, whilst carrying out an investigation for the Royal Commission on Labour, William E. Bear was told that in Thakeham sales of garden fruit were more than sufficient to pay household rents.[48] However, it is noticeable that of the households surveyed by Rowntree and Kendall very few had any surplus produce to sell. One Essex household was able to sell vegetables from its 'excellent' garden; another in Oxfordshire had sold corn grown on their allotment that year for 16*s*. 6*d*. In both cases the profits were put towards paying their rent.[49] As we have seen, most labouring households in Sussex did not have access to allotments and few had gardens bigger than one-eighth of an acre, making it unlikely that there was much in the way of surplus produce to sell.

[42] Ibid., pp. 74, 110, 306–7.

[43] Ibid., p. 240.

[44] Ibid., p. 50. Mrs Dewhurst was married to an agricultural labourer earning 12s. a week. They had two sons, aged 3 years and 6 months, and three daughters, aged 6, 4½ and 2. They rented an allotment for 1*d*. per week. 25% of the food they consumed was home produce.

[45] Ibid., 299–309; Burnett, *Plenty and want*, pp. 174–6. For a discussion of the unequal distribution of food within the household, see Verdon, *Rural women workers*, p. 172.

[46] Burchardt, *Allotment movement*, pp. 160–4.

[47] Cited in F. G. Heath, *British rural life and labour* (1911), p. 61.

[48] BPP, 1893–4, C.6894-I, *Reports by Mr William E. Bear*, p. 59. Rents varied widely across the district, from as low as 1*s*. per week on farms to as much as 3*s*. 6*d*. a week in village centres. The average annual income of an 'ordinary' labourer was estimated at £45 5*s*. 4*d*. (pp. 60, 69).

[49] Rowntree and Kendall, *How the labourer lives*, pp. 86, 261–2.

III

In *Old West Surrey*, first published in 1904, the garden designer Gertrude Jekyll described 'cottage folk' as 'great lovers of flowers', with even the tiniest cottage gardens crammed with plants providing a visual feast for passers-by (Figure 1).[50] In contrast, in 1913 Rowntree and Kendall noted that in the gardens of the cottages they surveyed 'the old fashioned flowers which we associated with village life had apparently, to a very great extent, yielded precedence to potatoes'. Moreover, few cottages had roses growing around the porch because 'in the first place there were no porches, and in the second no one would ever have time or patience to make roses climb about them'.[51] So whose account is the more accurate, that of the unashamedly sentimentalist Gertrude Jekyll or that of experienced social investigators Rowntree and Kendall? In fact, evidence from a range of sources suggests that many rural labourers were keen flower gardeners. As we have seen, in his investigation into the living conditions of the rural working class in three Kent villages, Frederick Liardet noted how many of the households he surveyed had gardens. He also recorded the state of their cultivation and the number of them which included flowers.[52] The results of his findings are summarized in Table 2.

Liardet found that 59 out of 142, or just over 40 per cent, of gardens contained flowers. Liardet provided no information about the appearance of these flower gardens, the range of flowers that were being grown or whether they were located to the front or the back of the cottage. Other sources suggest that flowers were more likely to be grown in the front garden, whilst vegetables and fruit trees were grown in the back garden (where there was one), which was also the usual location of the privy, the pigsty and the household refuse dump.[53] For example, in his report of 1893 on cottage accommodation in the Thakeham Union, Bear noted that the best cottages in the district were those built in Stopham by Sir Walter Barttelot; these were 'well-constructed of stone, and commodious, and most of them have pretty flower gardens in front and kitchen gardens well stocked with fruit trees behind'.[54] In southern England, according to Gertrude Jekyll, 'the most usual form of the cottage flower-garden is a strip on each side of the path leading from the road to the cottage door'; Flora Thompson noted that in the Oxfordshire hamlet of Lark Rise (or Juniper Hill) in the 1880s 'most of the houses had at least a narrow border beside the pathway'.[55] In her village women did not work in vegetable gardens or on allotments but the 'Victorian code' which viewed women's outdoor work as 'unwomanly' nevertheless permitted them to work in the flower garden.[56] According to Thompson the maintenance of a flower garden cost the household little other than time as plants could be grown from harvested seeds, roots and cuttings.[57]

For Liardet, the presence of a flower garden was worthy of comment because there was a direct link between flower cultivation and domestic comfort; or, in his words, 'the cottages

[50] G. Jekyll, *Old West Surrey: some notes and memories* (1904), p. 268.

[51] Rowntree and Kendall, *How the labourer lives*, p. 329.

[52] Liardet, 'State of the peasantry', pp. 101–2, 117, 120.

[53] F. Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* ([*Lark Rise* first published 1939] 2008), pp. 23, 24.

[54] BPP, 1893, C.6894-I, *Reports by Mr William E. Bear*, p. 59.

[55] Jekyll, *Old West Surrey*, p. 268; Thompson, *Lark Rise*, p. 115.

[56] Thompson, *Lark Rise*, pp. 114–5.

[57] Ibid., p. 115.

TABLE 2. Summary of information about cottage gardens in Hernehill, Dunkirk and Boughton under Blean, 1839

Village	*Number of households surveyed*	*Number of these with gardens*	*Number of these with well-cultivated gardens*	*Number of gardens in which flowers are cultivated*
Hernehill	51	51	48	30
Dunkirk	50	50	40	8
Boughton under Blean	50	41	37	21
Total	151	142	125	59

Source: F. Liardet, 'State of the peasantry in the county of Kent', *Central Society of Education* (1839), pp. 101–2, 117, 120.



FIGURE 1. 'Cottagers and their pot plants', original photograph from Gertrude Jekyll, *Old West Surrey: some notes and memories* (1904), Surrey History Centre, 6521/2/2/287. Reproduced by permission of the Surrey History Centre.

of the cultivators of flowers generally exhibited greater proofs of comfort and cleanliness than those of others'.[58] Writing a few years later George Nicholls observed that it was important that labourers taught their children how to grow flowers so that as adults these skills would 'exercise an ameliorating influence upon their character and pursuits'.[59] Many labouring households of course were well aware of the importance of showing a respectable face to the world, despite their poverty. Thompson recalled the pride of the hamlet's housewives in being able to offer refreshments to an unexpected guest, a cup of tea or perhaps a glass of homemade wine: '"You don't want to be poor and look poor, too" they would say; and "We've got our pride. Yes, we've got our pride"'.[60] A blooming flower garden, therefore, might serve as an 'invisible character reference' and as a way of 'broadcasting and establishing one's social worth'.[61] It must also have provided considerable aesthetic enjoyment to a social group dismissed by Richard Jefferies as lacking 'poetical feeling' and having 'no appreciation of beauty'.[62]

However, many social commentators noted the disparity between the beauty of a cottage's exterior and the misery of its interior. In *The English peasantry* (1874) Francis Heath described his visit to a row of cottages in a Somerset hamlet in 1873. Their external appearance was idyllic: the cottages were creeper-bound and their front gardens were full of fruit trees, flowers, shrubs and vegetables; 'rustic' beehives were scattered around the gardens and the cottages' walls were almost entirely hidden by trailing plants and shrubs. At first sight these were, Heath noted, 'the cottage homes of England' described by the poet Felicia Hemans.[63] However, on entering one of the cottages he discovered a family of eight living in abject poverty and squalor. There was 'one wretched little downstairs room' in which four of the five children – a group of 'ragged little creatures' – were assembled.[64] Upstairs in one of the two tiny bedrooms he encountered the husband's 93-year old bedridden mother. Both bedrooms were lit only by a single small window, and the one in the second bedroom was missing several panes of glass which the landlord refused to replace because it was the tenant's responsibility. The cottage's only garden was the small space at the front although the tenant also rented 'a few yards of potato ground' elsewhere.[65] Trade unionist Joseph Arch described these outwardly picturesque cottages, covered with ivy and climbing roses without but 'undrained and unclean within' as 'garnished hovels'; Richard Jefferies noted that in summer time a cottage might achieve 'something of that Arcadian beauty which is supposed to prevail in this country' but in winter when much of the foliage had died back the same cottage – 'the wretched place' – looked 'not unlike a dunghill'.[66]

[58] Liardet, 'State of the peasantry', p. 102.

[59] Nicholls, 'Condition of the agricultural labourer', p. 22.

[60] Thompson, *Lark Rise*, p. 118.

[61] P. Johnson, 'Conspicuous consumption and working-class culture in late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, 38 (1988), pp. 36, 40.

[62] R. Jefferies, *The toilers of the field* ([1892] 1981), p. 75.

[63] In her poem 'The homes of England' (1827), pr. in *The poetical works of Mrs Felicia Hemans: complete in one volume with a critical preface* (1836), p. 318.

[64] The oldest boy, aged 9½, was working as a farm labourer.

[65] F. G. Heath, *The English peasantry* (1874), pp. 105–9.

[66] F. E. Warwick (ed.), *Joseph Arch: the story of his life told by himself* (1898), p. 44; Jefferies, *Toilers of the field*, pp. 59, 69.



FIGURE 2. Thatched cottage, Balcombe (West Sussex), *c.*1900, PP/WSL/PC001054, West Sussex County Council Library Service www.westsussexpast.org.uk

IV

One of the ways in which members of the social elite sought to encourage the agricultural labourer to help himself through productive gardening was by offering him the chance to compete for cash prizes at agricultural and horticultural shows. By 1836 the East Sussex Agricultural Association (established in 1831 as the Sussex Association for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes) was holding annual shows to reward industrious and 'moral' agricultural labourers.[67] Winners were given printed certificates presented in varnished oak frames and a cash prize.[68] In the same year the West Sussex Agricultural Association and the Arundel and Bramber Agricultural Association were established, almost certainly in response to an upsurge in rural unrest in the wake of the implementation of the New Poor Law Act the previous year.[69] As with the East Sussex Association, their primary sponsors were

[67] *The Farmer's Magazine* 5 (1836), pp. 23–4.

[68] *Labourer's Friend Magazine* 8 (1837), p. 25.

[69] For a discussion of the West Sussex Agricultural Association see M. Walford, 'Rewarding "The Respectables" – shaping the future?: 19th-century agricultural associations in Hampshire and West Sussex', *Hampshire Stud.* 65 (2010), pp. 202–23. The WSAA held its final meeting in 1864. Walford attributes the decline of the Association to a lack support for it after the death of the 5th Duke of Richmond in 1860 (Walford, 'Rewarding "The Respectables"', p. 217); R. Wells, 'Resistance to the New Poor Law in the rural south', in J. Rule and R. Wells (eds.), *Crime, protest and popular politics in southern England, 1740–1850* (1997), pp. 91–126.

members of the rural elite, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Surrey, but neither set out to promote or to establish allotments, focusing instead on their annual competitions. Like the East Sussex Association, they also sought to improve class relations; the full title of the Arundel and Bramber Agricultural Association was 'The Arundel and Bramber Agricultural Association for the encouragement of industrious cottagers, labourers and servants, and for promoting harmony and good feeling amongst the classes of society'.[70]

Those wishing to enter one of the competition categories needed to provide a certificate of character signed by their employer, the local minister and a churchwarden. The former was required to certify that the candidate was a good employee, the latter that he or she was of good character (Figure 3).[71] For the West Sussex Agricultural Association competition categories included: labourers who had brought up the largest families respectably, with the smallest amount of parochial relief; labourers or widows whose daughters had been placed out at respectable service at an early age and who had remained in service with good characters and whose families had (by their own industry) the greatest improvement in their condition in life; single labourers who had been in service the longest period and who had voluntarily afforded the most material aid or support for their relatives; cottagers who had the greatest number of bee stalls; cottagers whose cottages and gardens of not more than half an acre were kept and cultivated in the neatest manner. The last category was open only to those who had put their daughters out into service at an appropriate age. From 1859 the judges were also required to satisfy themselves that candidates in the cottages and gardens category had tried – so far as possible – to maintain standards of decency in their homes by ensuring that they, their sons, and their daughters, had separate bedrooms and that no bedrooms that could have been used to accommodate household members had been let to lodgers.[72]

The Duke of Richmond encouraged prize winners to hang their certificates on their cottage walls where they could remind those who saw them of the rewards of virtue.[73] No doubt more useful to the labourers were the cash prizes: those winning first prize at the West Sussex show in the cottages and gardens category received £1 10*s*., the equivalent to approximately three weeks' wages for an ordinary agricultural labourer.[74] Prizes and certificates were given out at a dinner attended by members of the association, including its president, the Duke of Richmond, invited guests and competition entrants.[75] This display of social egalitarianism was an important function of the competition: as the Duke of Richmond said 'you showed a better example, and let it appear that you are not ashamed to see them sit down to dinner with you, and the labourers have experienced great gratification for it'.[76] Richmond did not, of course, go so far as to sit next to his labourers who were seated at the other end of the

[70] *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle,* 1 Feb.1836.

[71] WSRO, MP 1122.

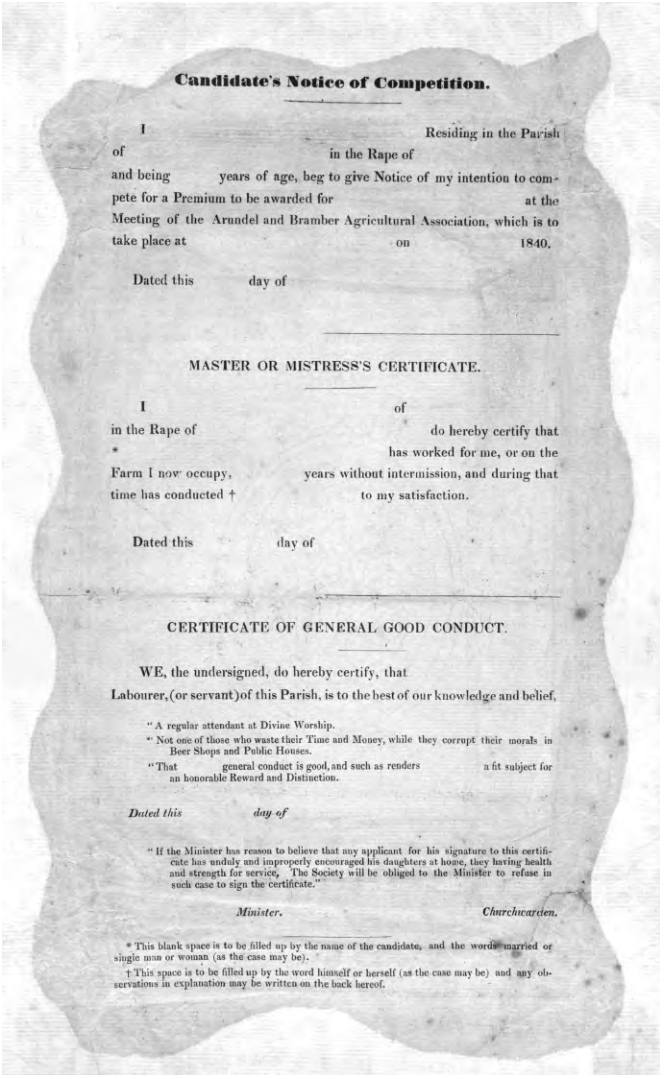
[72] WSRO, MP 5528.

[73] Roberts, *Paternalism*, p. 114.

[74] Wages in the Chichester district in 1848 were 12*s*. a week (BPP, 1850, 1152, *Settlement and poor removal: Reports to the Poor Law Board*, p. 89).

[75] Guests at the dinner held in 1846 included the Earl of Chichester, the Bishop of Chichester and East Somerset conservative MP, William Miles (Roberts, *Paternalism,* p. 107).

[76] *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 13 Sept. 1841, cited in Walford, 'Rewarding "The Respectables"', p. 216.



Candidate's Notice of Competition.

I Residing in the Parish of in the Rape of and being years of age, beg to give Notice of my intention to compete for a Premium to be awarded for at the Meeting of the Arundel and Bramber Agricultural Association, which is to take place at on 1840.

Dated this day of

MASTER OR MISTRESS'S CERTIFICATE.

I of in the Rape of do hereby certify that * has worked for me, or on the Farm I now occupy, years without intermission, and during that time has conducted † to my satisfaction.

Dated this day of

CERTIFICATE OF GENERAL GOOD CONDUCT.

WE, the undersigned, do hereby certify, that Labourer, (or servant) of this Parish, is to the best of our knowledge and belief,

"A regular attendant at Divine Worship.
"Not one of those who waste their Time and Money, while they corrupt their morals in Beer Shops and Public Houses.
"That general conduct is good, and such as renders a fit subject for an honorable Reward and Distinction.

Dated this day of

"If the Minister has reason to believe that any applicant for his signature to this certificate has unduly and improperly encouraged his daughters at home, they having health and strength for service, The Society will be obliged to the Minister to refuse in such case to sign the certificate."

Minister. *Churchwarden.*

* This blank space is to be filled up by the name of the candidate, and the words married or single man or woman (as the case may be).

† This space is to be filled up by the word himself or herself (as the case may be) and any observations in explanation may be written on the back hereof.

FIGURE 3. Arundel and Bramber Agricultural Association, proforma certificate of character, 1840, West Sussex Record Office, MP 1122. Reproduced with the permission of the West Sussex Record Office.

hall. As David Roberts has noted, in these events 'one found a microcosm of that hierarchical and patriarchal society that dominated Sussex'. In addition to their certificates, prizes and free dinner, the labourers who attended were obliged to listen to 'sermons on the iniquity of indolence, wasteful extravagance, improvidence, and beer shops'.[77]

Lists of prize winners published in the local newspaper show that the same men won prizes in successive years.[78] For example William Steer, an agricultural labourer living in the coastal village of West Wittering, won first or second prize in the 'cottages and gardens' category in 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855 and 1856, receiving a total of £8 over this period.[79] This extra

[77] Roberts, *Paternalism*, pp. 107, 109.

[78] These have been collated and transcribed by Malcolm Walford (WSRO, MP 5528).

[79] In 1863 a new eligibility criterion was introduced which precluded entrants who had won £6 in this class in previous years.

income would have made a significant difference to Steer's family: the 1851 Census records that in addition to himself and his wife, he had four children living at home with him, aged between one and ten.[80] At this time he also had two male lodgers, both agricultural labourers, their presence suggesting that the household struggled to make ends meet. Moreover, his cottage is likely to have been severely overcrowded: in his report on cottage accommodation in West Wittering in 1867 the Revd James Fraser noted that there were insufficient cottages in the parish and that most had two bedrooms, some had only one and very few had three. The shortage of accommodation also meant that rents in West Wittering were high.[81] Steer was nevertheless fortunate to have what would have been deemed a 'good' sized garden of 41 perches (approximately a quarter of an acre).[82]

The use of cottage garden competitions to stimulate productive gardening, reward industry and self-help and improve inter-class relations was also a feature of nineteenth-century horticultural shows.[83] Probably the earliest horticultural society in Sussex was the Ditchling Horticultural Society, established in 1824, and which held its annual show in July or August.[84] Its founder was Thomas Attree, a wealthy Brighton-based solicitor and lord of the manor of Ditchling Garden.[85] The Society's purpose, as reported in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* in 1834, was 'the improvement of cottage gardening and drawing the attention of the labourers to the many advantages and comforts to be derived from the proper management arising from the smallest piece of land'.[86] Cottagers wishing to compete in the show had to be members of the Ditchling Cottagers' Society, for which they paid an annual membership fee of 3d.[87] In addition to prizes for 'best cultivated garden' and 'best vegetables', prizes were given to male and female servants for length of service; for the best management of pigs, bees and poultry; 'for general habits of industry, economy and cleanliness apparent in cottages' and for heads of household who had brought up the largest family with the least assistance from the parish.[88] Gardens and cottages were inspected prior to the annual show and a report submitted to the judging panel. Only the report submitted in 1843 survives: its contents are set out in Table 3.[89]

As well as providing useful details of the range of vegetables that some cottagers were growing and which households kept pigs and bees, the report also shows the importance the Society attached to good domestic management. Members of its committee could congratulate themselves that the Society – or more specifically the spirit of competition engendered by its annual show – had improved more than garden cultivation: in the same year they reported with satisfaction that they had found 'the gardens in general under much better management

[80] TNA, HO 107/1652, p. 25, no. 108.

[81] BPP, 1867–8, 4068, App. 2, p. 92. Rents ranged from £2 12s. to £6 10s. per annum, the latter being beyond the means of an agricultural labourer.

[82] WSRO, TD W147.

[83] For the background to the nineteenth-century horticultural show see B. Elliott, 'Flower shows in nineteenth-century Britain', *Garden Hist.* 29 (2001), pp. 171–84.

[84] The first minute book covers the period 1831–1845 (ESRO, ACC 11108/4/1/1). For the history of the Ditchling Horticultural Society see R. Morley, *Red roughs and copper kettles: a history of the Ditchling Horticultural Society* (1990).

[85] Morley, *Red roughs*, p. 12.

[86] *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, 14 July 1834 (cited in Morley, *Red roughs*, p. 20).

[87] ESRO, ACC 11108/4/4/2.

[88] ESRO, ACC 11108/4/1/1.

[89] ESRO, ACC 11108/4/10/1.

TABLE 3. Report of the cottages and gardens of Ditchling looked over by Mr Leach of Hurst[pierpoint] on 20 July 1843

William Marten	Garden well cropped with peas, beans, onions and potatoes, soil stiff, cottage very clean, 6 children.
Henry Waller	Garden well cropped, cottage very clean, soil stiff.
Thomas Scrase	Garden well cropped, cottage clean, soil stiff, a faggot stack.
William Simmons	Garden clean cropped with potatoes, turnips, beans, onions and French beans, 3 hives of bees, cottage clean.
William Pellett	One pig, cottage, clean, no garden.
Thomas Helmsley	Garden well cropped, cottage clean, pig.
William Steven's widow	Cottage clean, left with 7 children.
John Hallett	Garden well cropped, cottage clean.
Sarah Mitchell	Cottage very clean. No garden.
Thomas Mitchell	Cottage clean.
James Barrett	Good garden, well cropped, one pig, cottage clean, 3 children.
Richard Hallett	Garden well cropped with potatoes, peas, onions, house and French beans and cabbage, a very fine flower garden, 2 good pigs, cottage clean.
George Brooker	Good garden, well cropped, 2 good pigs.
James Helmsley	Good garden, well cropped, one good pig, cottage clean, 7 children.
Thomas Chambers	Garden well cropped, cottage clean, 7 children.
Jonathan Stevens	Good garden, well cropped, cottage clean, 4 children.
George Helmsley	Good garden, well cropped, cottage clean, 6 children.
William Slater	Garden well cropped with peas, beans, French beans, onions and cabbage, 13 hives of bees, 2 pigs, a faggot stack, cottage clean.
John Brookes	Garden well cropped, cottage clean.

Source: East Sussex Record Office, ACC 11108/4/10/1.

than they had anticipated, more cleanliness and comfort in the dwellings, and in some instances of cottage economy, such as a well-furnished fuel stack, a good hog or two in the pound, the collection and use of manures well attended to and in one or more instances the superior management of bees'.[90]

As we saw with the West Sussex Agricultural Association, the same men won prizes at successive shows. For example, in 1847 agricultural labourer Jonathan Stevens won second prize (2*s*.) for best spring-sown onions, the following year he won second prize (2*s*.) for his spring-sown onions, second prize (2*s*.) for best long carrots, and in 1849 (a particularly good year for him) he won first prize (2*s*.) for heaviest bunch of red currants, first prize (2*s*. 6*d*.) for best spring-sown onions, first prize (2*s*. 6*d*.) for best autumn-sown onions (2*s*. 6*d*.), first and third prize (2*s*. 6*d*. and 1*s*.) for best turnips and a copper tea kettle for 'best tray of vegetables

[90] Cited in Morley, *Red roughs*, p. 25.

of six sorts', bringing his cash winnings for that show to 13*s*. which was 1*s*. 6*d*. more than the weekly agricultural wage in Ditchling at this date.[91]

By the late nineteenth century the link between behavioural regulation and competition eligibility had become less overt but garden shows remained a means by which the principles of self-help and positive inter-class relations could be reinforced. Prizes for cottage cleanliness had disappeared and new competition categories for 'works of industry' had been introduced, the latter part of a national movement which sought to encourage the practice of craft skills amongst the working classes as a means of practical self-help and to encourage industry, creativity and self-expression.[92] The 1884 annual garden show of the Pulborough, Stopham and Fittleworth Cottagers' Society, for example, included categories for needlework and knitting, ironing, drawing, model-making and pressed flower designs, as well as 'strongest straw skep of bees', 'plate of new honey in combs' and 'best three-quarters loaves of homemade bread'.[93] In his speech at that year's show Sir Walter Barttelot, conservative MP for West Sussex, expressed his pleasure in 'seeing the people endeavouring to help themselves'. He was also keen to point out that all those attending the Show 'met there upon common ground' and expressed the hope that 'nothing would occur to separate class from class'. To those agricultural labourers who were about to gain the franchise (the Representation of the People Act, which extended the franchise to many agricultural labourers, received royal assent in December of that year), he said that they should 'do their best with it, not in the interest of any one class, but take a broad view of it and so use it for the common good of all, as every class should be maintained'. Barttelot's speech was received with cheers; some of those who heard it may have been less enthusiastic had they known that he had voted against the reform bill during its passage through parliament.[94]

The village horticultural, or flower, show also became part of the repackaging of rural leisure, mediated by the Anglican church and the local elite, which took place throughout the nineteenth century and which is perhaps best illustrated by the reinvention of the 'harvest home' as the 'harvest festival' in the 1850s and 1860s.[95] As well as trying to teach the labourer that drunkenness was not a prerequisite for enjoyment, these new forms of rural leisure were an attempt to wean him from his taste for blood sports. A report in the *Cottage gardener* in 1848 celebrated the success of a horticultural show held in the Northumberland village of Etal, previously 'one of the most wicked places that could be found', where men had enjoyed participating in cock- and dog-fighting and even 'man fighting' whilst 'giving utterance to the most horrid imprecations and blasphemy'. These same men were now amongst the principal exhibitors at the garden show and were noted for their 'Christian bearing and industrial habits';

[91] ESRO, ACC 11108/4/3. In 1848 an agricultural labourer in Ditchling would have received 11s. 6d. a week as a standing wage (BPP, 1850, 1152, p. 89).

[92] A. Anderson, 'Victorian high society and social duty: the promotion of "recreative learning and voluntary teaching"', *History and Education* 31 (2002), pp. 311–34.

[93] *Horsham Advertiser*, 27 Sept. 1884.

[94] *Horsham Advertiser*, 27 Sept. 1884. Barttelot stood with the leader of the Conservative party, Sir Stafford Northcote, in opposing the passage of the Reform Bill. I would like to thank Robin Eagles and Philip Salmon of the History of Parliament Trust for providing me with information about Barttelot's voting patterns during the passage of the bill.

[95] B. Bushaway, *By rite: custom, ceremony and community in England, 1700–1880* (1982), pp. 238–79.

their formerly barren gardens were filled with flowers and vegetables, their cottages were freshly white-washed.[96] By the 1860s village garden shows offered their visitors a variety of entertainments, besides the exhibits themselves, catering for all ages and both genders. Games on offer at the 1861 Ditchling Horticultural Show (disrupted by heavy rain) included women's stool ball, racing, bran dipping and pole climbing. Boys making it to the top of the pole won 'the ingredients for a good dinner' that were attached there. Two hundred local school children were treated to plum cake and wine-in-water and later on there was dancing to a full band, tea and sweets in one of the cottages and syllabub at Thomas Attree's dairy.[97] Brass bands and dancing were regular features of garden shows in the 1880s: in 1884 the Pulborough, Stopham and Fittleworth Show hosted the band of the Royal Sussex Militia whilst at the 1887 Ashtead Show in Surrey the King's Yeomanry Band played a selection of music through the afternoon and evening.[98]

Flora Thompson observed that in her village women did not work in vegetable gardens or on allotments and the dominance of men as prize winners in the vegetable categories at garden shows suggests that productive gardening was seen as a male activity.[99] This is also indicated by the way in which technical education classes were promoted in the late nineteenth century. By the early 1890s some rural parishes offered their working-class men gardening classes, subsidized by the newly created county councils.[100] In the parish of Fittleworth, cottage gardening classes for 'young men or lads' began in February 1892, although it was noted the following month that these had not so far been well attended. In contrast, women and girls were offered classes on cookery and home dressmaking.[101] The same gendered pattern of technical education can also be seen in other parishes. In Ashtead in Surrey for example, evening classes for men in horticulture were run during the winter months from 1891; for women and girls there were classes in dressmaking, domestic economy and nursing. 'Those for whom the classes were chiefly intended' did not always appreciate the efforts of their social betters to educate them, however. In 1897 technical classes in Ashtead were stopped because of low attendance and what the parish magazine described as 'a lamentable lack of enthusiasm'.[102] Many working-class men may have preferred to discuss gardening in a more informal and socially equal setting: George Sturt recorded that in the village of Farnham in Surrey during the month of March 'gardening talk [is] the staple conversation in the village, and the public house is the club room where the discussions take place, the times being Saturday night and Sunday'. Attendance was essential for the keen gardener: as his gardener Fred Bettesworth told him, those who stay at home 'learns nothin''.[103]

[96] Cited in Willes, *Gardens of the British working class*, p. 238.

[97] ESRO, ACC 11108/4/10/5.

[98] *Horsham Advertiser*, 27 Sept. 1884; Surrey History Centre (hereafter SHC), 5420/2/1.

[99] Thompson, *Lark Rise*, pp. 114–5. Burchardt has noted that by the late nineteenth century allotments were largely the preserve of men (Burchardt, *Allotment movement*, p. 170). For a discussion of the gendered division of garden labour see Sayer, *Country cottages*, pp. 99–101.

[100] The Technical Instruction Act of 1889 allowed local authorities to levy rates to fund technical and manual education. For a brief discussion of the implementation of Act in rural areas see R. Sellman, 'The country school', in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian countryside* (2 vols, 1981), p. 551.

[101] WSRO, Par 86/7/19.

[102] SHC, 5420/2/1.

[103] George Sturt (writing as George Bourne), *Memoirs of a Surrey labourer* ([1907], 1930), pp. 11–13.

V

In his autobiography Joseph Arch recorded that he kept his 'little house' and garden in 'apple-pie order'. His garden was 'choke full of fruit and vegetables in their season and I raised as many flowers as I could find room for'.[104] Arch was not, of course, an 'ordinary' agricultural labourer. Moreover, he was unusual because he owned his own house.[105] One of the greatest threats to the success of the labourer's garden was the insecurity of his cottage tenure which meant that he could be evicted at a week's notice. Giving evidence to the Royal Commission enquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes in 1884, the trade unionist and newspaper editor Alfred Simmons noted that insecurity in cottage tenures in Kent and Sussex meant that labourers did not want to invest in seed for their gardens and were 'careless respecting them'. When asked whether a labourer, given notice to quit his cottage, would be given any compensation for loss of garden crops, Simmons's response was 'no'. He also reported that in Kent farmers were appropriating labourers' gardens in order to create larger farms.[106] Sturt's account of the difficulties his gardener Fred Bettesworth experienced in finding a cottage in the final years of his life poignantly brings home the instability that many labourers faced. On one occasion, having already sown early peas and paid a neighbour to help him dig his plot, Bettesworth was forced to move out from his cottage because the landlord took exception to the 'filthy appearance' of his frail and mentally infirm wife.[107] Labourers might also experience the wilful destruction of their gardens by vengeful farmers if they found themselves in dispute with them. When farmer James Hodson's attempts to evict Sussex labourer James Nye from his cottage in 1861 proved unsuccessful, he twice turned his livestock onto Nye's garden.[108] Theft of garden produce was also a perennial problem. In his account of his childhood in the 'hungry forties' Heyshott labourer David Miles recorded that vegetable theft was rife:

> folks used to put up a little 'ill o' taters for the winter, not two rods from their winders, but people 'ud come by night and steal 'em. A 'ungry belly makes a man desprit. They'd steal a'most anything, even bees and brocli from the garden.[109]

There were also threats caused by disease or inclement weather conditions. Miles remembered the effects of the potato blight of the 1840s vividly:

> never shall I forgit 'ow the folks went a-wanderin' about, peerin' at the 'taters, and tryin' to find out what wor wrong wi' 'em. It wor awful bad for the low class' many on 'em were nigh starvin'.[110]

[104] Warwick (ed.), *Joseph Arch*, p. 57.

[105] Arch was a hedger and ditcher. He also worked as a self-employed roofer and carpenter. ODNB, 'Arch, Joseph (1826–1919)', (accessed 2 Oct. 2018).

[106] BPP, 1884–5, C.4402, pp. 551, 556. Simmons established the Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union in 1872 and was its general secretary until 1887.

[107] Sturt, *Memoirs of a Surrey labourer*, pp. 134–42.

[108] J. Nye, *A small account of my travels through the wilderness*, ed. V. Gammon (1981), p. 31. Hodson was one of the overseers of the parish of Kingston where Nye was then living. He was trying to get Nye and his family removed to the parish of St Anne's in Lewes.

[109] Fisher Unwin, *The hungry forties*, p. 25.

[110] Ibid., p. 24.

There were, of course, more mundane and habitual barriers to successful gardening, perhaps the greatest of which were the long hours that agricultural labourers had to work. In summer an ordinary labourer might work for ten hours a day, six days a week; men working with animals (horsemen, stockmen and shepherds) often worked longer hours, 13 or 14, and usually had to work on Sundays too, not all day but enough to disrupt their 'leisure' time.[111] Working days might be considerably longer for agricultural labourers who had to walk some distance to their place of work, a relatively common occurrence where there was a lack of affordable housing in the area. In his report to the Poor Law Board in 1850, Captain Robinson noted that lack of housing in the rural districts of Sussex and Surrey forced many agricultural labourers to live in towns and large villages; agricultural labourers living in the small city of Chichester, for example, had to walk up to five miles to get to work.[112] Working in a garden or on an allotment after a lengthy and strenuous working day can hardly have been a pleasurable task for many of these men but they were forced to do so, often until it was almost too dark to see or 'by moonshine', because they knew that if they did not 'they would positively starve'.[113] The time they had available for allotment gardening might also be circumscribed by rules governing some allotments which precluded tenants from working on them on Sundays.[114] The limitations on their time meant that some labourers were forced to forgo a day's paid work, which they could ill afford, in order to work on their gardens and allotments.[115] There were also the logistics of getting water to a garden or an allotment during extended periods of dry weather. Flora Thompson noted that in the 1880s only three out of 30 cottages in Lark Rise had their own water supply and that the only 'public' well was on the outskirts of the hamlet on a vacant cottage plot. Most cottages had a water butt against an outside wall which was used for household laundry and for watering the garden but when the water ran out, women were forced to walk to the well, carrying the water home in buckets suspended from a yoke.[116] Rowntree and May noted similar problems with water supply in many of the villages they investigated in 1912–13.[117]

VI

Jeremy Burchardt has argued that allotments made a much larger contribution to living standards than historians had previously recognized and played a crucial part in the family economies of those who had them.[118] This is undoubtedly true but the provision of allotments across the country was highly uneven and in the southern counties of Sussex, Kent and Surrey they were never that common. In Sussex, the argument landowners and farmers used to justify the lack of allotments was that most cottages already had 'good' or 'fair' gardens. But many cottages had gardens that were significantly smaller than this and some had no garden at all.

[111] BPP, 1893–4, C.6894-I, *Reports by Mr William E. Bear*, pp. 9–10.

[112] BPP, 1850, 1152, pp. 81, 89.

[113] Rowntree and Kendall, *How the labourer lives*, p. 74.

[114] The rules of the Rotherfield Allotment Gardens (established in 1844) stipulated that 'no work may be done in the allotments on the Sabbath on any pretence whatever' (ESRO, PAR 465/16/1).

[115] Rowntree and Kendall, *How the labourer lives*, p. 55.

[116] Thompson, *Lark Rise*, p. 22.

[117] Rowntree and Kendall, *How the labourer lives*, p. 330.

[118] Burchardt, *Allotment movement*, p. 4.

It is also notable that amongst the households that Rowntree and Kendall surveyed in 1912–13, those that held allotments still led hand-to-mouth existences with monotonous, nutritionally inadequate diets and had little in the way of surplus produce to sell.

The labourer's garden was vitally important to the success of the household as an economic unit. Returning home after a ten-hour working day, perhaps having walked some distance to and from work, many men may well have found the prospect of the beer shop more enticing than three or four hours of gardening but they knew if they did not put the work in when it was necessary their families would go hungry in the future.[119] Gardening also had a social value to these households, however: the regularity with which men like William Steer and Jonathan Stevens entered their produce into gardening competitions suggests that they enjoyed the spirit of competition and associated male camaraderie as much as the cash prizes. Many labouring households also found the time to cultivate flower gardens, which were of no economic use to the household, usually located at the front of their cottages where they were most visible. As well as providing the occupants with aesthetic enjoyment these gardens no doubt also allowed them to display their respectability and social worth in the face of grinding and relentless poverty.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the living conditions of agricultural labourers remained poor. Although larger landowners like the sixth Duke of Richmond had made strenuous efforts to improve cottages on their estates, much rural housing was wholly inadequate. Social investigators repeatedly drew attention to poorly maintained, overcrowded and insanitary cottages.[120] The problem besetting the agricultural labourer at the end of the nineteenth century was the same as the one we encountered at its start: agricultural wages simply were not sufficient to allow him a better standard of living. The principle of self-help continued to underlie much of the social commentary on the plight of the agricultural labourer with productive gardening, either on an allotment or in a garden, seen as key to improving his material lot as well as encouraging in him habits of thrift and industry.[121] However, as the evidence of Rowntree and Kendall showed, thriftiness was not a lesson most agricultural labouring families needed to learn; for those they surveyed (who were chosen to participate because of their sobriety, thrift and honesty), household budgets were as lean as the bones they used to make their soup, even with the contribution of their garden produce.[122] The psychological impact of such austere lifestyles is eloquently conveyed by the words of one agricultural labourer's wife, Mrs Dewhurst, who we have already encountered complaining about the tedium and stringency of her diet: 'you can't really call it living; it's dragging of yourself along'.[123]

[119] Rowntree and Kendall, *How the labourer lives*, p. 74.

[120] See for example BPP, 1884–5, C4402, especially pp. 533–57; *The Cottage Question: 1 Evidence showing the need of reform* (The Land Law Reform Association, 1897).

[121] BPP, 1884–5, C.4402, p. 42.

[122] Rowntree and Kendall, *How the labourer lives*, p. 38.

[123] Ibid., p. 50.

The origins of National Parks in England

‘In good hands’. The preservation of the New Forest and the long journey towards National Park designation*

by Catherine Glover

Abstract

The New Forest, once the hunting preserve of English monarchs, owes its distinctive landscape to stock-keeping and timber production. It avoided enclosure in the eighteenth century and again in the 1870s, benefiting from the new public perception of the need to conserve open spaces. Although subsequently treasured as ‘a national park’, it was not until the 1920s that an outcry over the felling of ‘ancient and ornamental woodland’ triggered calls for it to be given legal protection and spurred government to consider the case for national parks generally. In the 1940s, however, it was accepted that the Forest was ‘in good hands’ so it was not among the candidates for national park designation recommended by the Hobhouse Committee (1947). Plans drawn up in the 1950s for giving it status as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty were abandoned. It was not until the late 1980s that calls for national park status began to be debated seriously but in 1994 these too were dropped. Designation of the New Forest National Park was finally confirmed in 2004.

Although the aspiration to create national parks to protect the landscape can be traced back into the nineteenth century, in England and Wales they were first created under the provisions of the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act. Between 1951 and 1957 ten parks were designated, three in Wales and the remainder either in the northern uplands of England or the south-west peninsula. The New Forest in Hampshire had been talked about as a national park (although with varying meanings of the phrase) from at least the 1870s. It was one of the areas of landscape beauty included in various lists of potential national parks compiled in 1930s and early 1940s. But despite its claim to have national park status conferred on it, it was not included in the Hobhouse Committee’s list and failed to be included amongst the parks created in the 1950s. It had to wait until 2004 before designation was confirmed. Why did it take so long to achieve

* I would like to thank Peter Roberts for generously sharing his knowledge of New Forest history with me and for reading the paper before submission; Paul Warde and the two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions; the staff of the Hampshire Record Office; and the staff and my fellow volunteers at the New Forest Heritage Centre for all their support. Most of all my thanks go to Richard Hoyle for proposing the session on ‘The creation of National Parks in England’ at Rural History 2015 in Girona, where a very early version of this paper was given, and for encouraging me to complete it.

what had been widely anticipated in the 1940s and earlier? This paper uses the New Forest as a unique case study to explore the evolution of the idea of the national park and the changing attitudes of both government and public towards the protection of open spaces over 150 years.

For many, the New Forest was a national park *avant la lettre*. A search of *The Times* digital archive up to 1949 revealed a total of 159 mentions of the phrase 'national park' in a primarily British context, and a further 47 mentions of national parks overseas.[1] Of the former, 17 (11 per cent) were references to the New Forest. The only two areas mentioned more frequently were the Lake District and the Forest of Dean. Putting this into perspective, 27 other areas were mentioned, ten of which were selected in 1949 as potential national parks: 11 per cent therefore seems disproportionate for an area that did not make the final top ten.[2]

I

The New Forest is in Hampshire, but in a part of the county almost cut off from the remainder, a roughly triangular area between the River Avon and Southampton Water (Map 1). Geologically, 'the Bagshot Beds … are deposited over a great trough of chalk that dips from Badbury and Pentridge to the Island, and from Purbeck to the Hampshire South Downs'.[3] The soils are thin and poor, with little agricultural potential apart from the 'small intake fields and common grazings, unchanged in fundamentals from … the Bronze Age'.[4] It is a commonplace that the New Forest is neither new nor completely forested in the modern sense of 'wooded'. The *Nova Foresta* was mentioned in Domesday Book but the concept of a 'forest' had already existed in Normandy and appears to have referred to its fiscal status: revenue being collected in the New Forest from honey, pasturage, and timber for building.[5] By the time of Henry II, the 'forest' had become a legal entity based on royal hunting rights, with a system of 'Forest Law', under which the people of the area continued to exercise customary rights of common: pasture (for cattle and ponies), mast ('pannage' for pigs), marl (for soil improvement), turbary (cutting of 'turves' for fuel) and estovers (fuel wood). Pasture, mast and estovers are still exercised today. Since 1877 the guardian of the commoners' rights has been the Court of Verderers. The Official Verderer is a crown appointment; five other verderers are elected by holders of common rights and four appointed by various bodies to represent forestry, agriculture, planning, and amenity interests (Figure 1).[6]

Ecologically, the Forest is of international importance: it is 'the largest area of wild, or "unsown" vegetation in lowland Britain', including 'large tracts' of 'heathland, valley mire and ancient pasture woodland', habitats which are now rare and fragmented elsewhere in

[1] *The Times Digital Archive, 1785–2010*: only 'opinion and editorial' items were included, as a sample of the 'national conversation' on the subject. The first use of 'national park' in *The Times* was on 8 Aug. 1859 when it was used to describe Hyde Park.

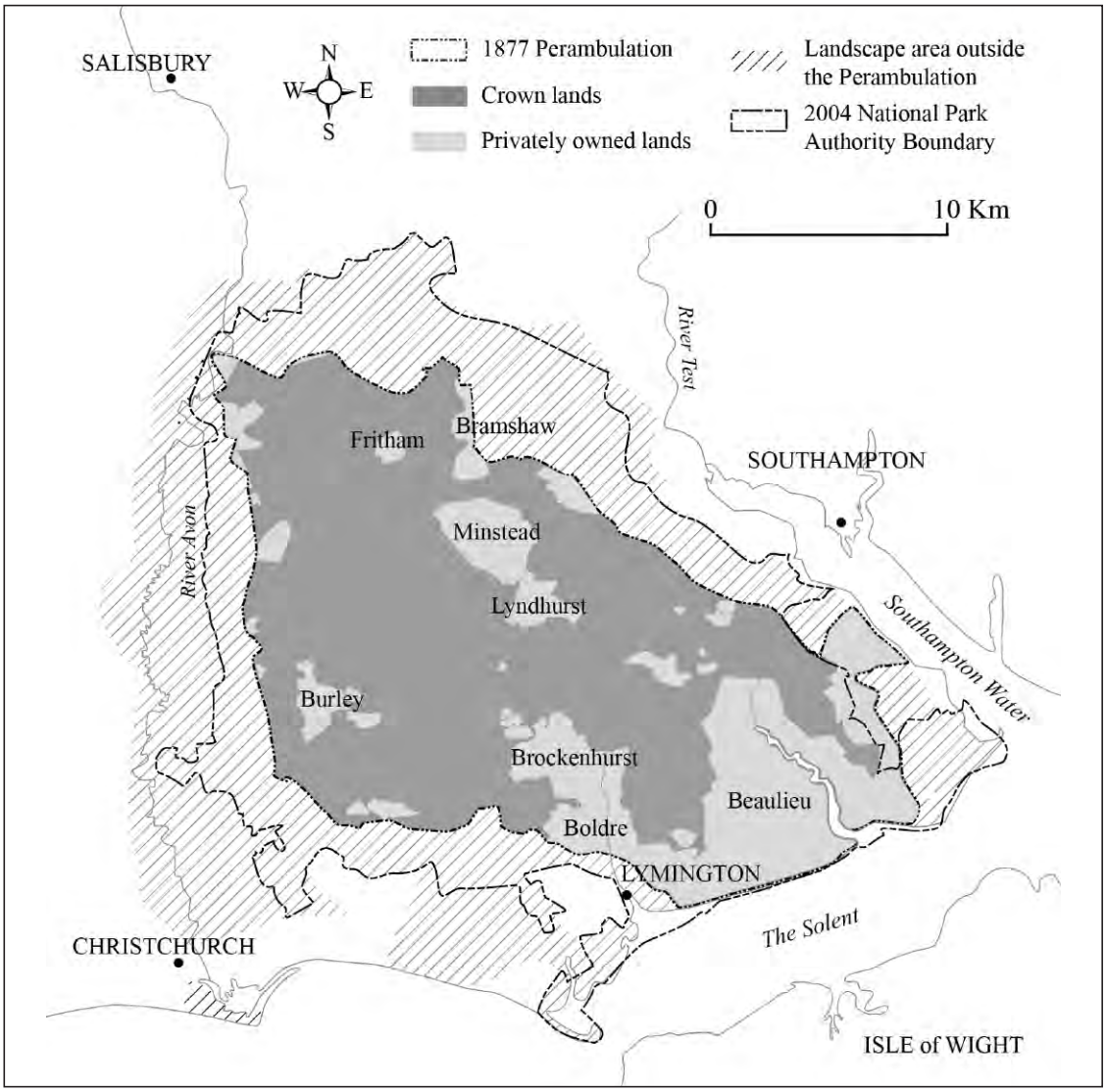
[2] Arthur Hobhouse, *Report of the National Parks Committee (England and Wales)* (Cmd. 7121, 1947), Appendix A, suggested 12.

[3] Heywood Sumner, *Cuckoo Hill: the Book of Gorley* (*c*.1904–09, repr. 1987), p. 86.

[4] F. E. Kenchington, *The commoners' New Forest* (1944), p. 10.

[5] Dolly Jørgensen, 'The roots of the English royal forest', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 32 (2010), pp. 114–28, esp. p. 127.

[6] Sarah Nield, *Forest Law and the Verderers of the New Forest* (2005); Anthony Pasmore, *New Forest Commoners* (1969), p. 7; Statute 12–13 and 14 Geo. VI, c.69, New Forest Act, 1949.



MAP 1. The New Forest area, showing the crown and privately owned lands within the perambulation; the wider landscape of mixed grazing and woodland beyond it; and the National Park Authority boundary as finally designated in 2004. Drawing: Author.

Europe.[7] There are said to be about 1000 ancient trees; 63 per cent of our 24,000 types of insects, 75 per cent of all dragonfly species are found here, and all six species of our native reptiles, including adders and sand lizards; for ground-nesting birds such as the rare Dartford warbler it provides essential habitat; and the mires are home to the aromatic bog myrtle, the bog orchid, and pale green sphagnum moss.[8]

[7] Colin R. Tubbs, *The New Forest* (1986, sec. edn, 2001), p. 18.

[8] Ian Gambles (ed.), *British forests: the Forestry Commission, 1919–2019* (2019), p. 243.



FIGURE 1. Common rights being exercised in the New Forest, early 2000s. Photo: Author.

The Forest is best understood as a large lowland common over which adjacent townships had commoning rights. In this respect it is similar to Dartmoor.[9] The owner of the soil, in effect the manorial lord, was the crown, and since 1919 the crown's interest has been exercised by the Forestry Commission. The Deputy Surveyor was, both before and after 1919, the title given to the official in charge of forestry in the New Forest.[10] As for extent, in 1870, local landowner G. E. Briscoe Eyre wrote that the 'total area [of the Crown lands] measures about 63,000 acres, of which 2,089 are the demesne lands of the Crown ['crown freeholds']; about 27,000 acres are more or less covered with wood, natural or planted; the remainder is moorland'. But the crown did not own all the land inside the traditional boundary (known as the 'perambulation'): some manors, such as Beaulieu and Minstead, had been alienated and were in private ownership. These lands extended to about 28,000 acres, some of which was woodland, and although they included most of the land suitable for agriculture within the perambulation, increasingly they offered opportunities for residential building. The crown, like all manorial lords, sought to enclose the common but for forestry rather than arable cultivation. This established a tension between the crown and the commoners from the late seventeenth century if not before.[11]

[9] Matthew Kelly, *Quartz and feldspar – Dartmoor: A British landscape in modern times* (2015).

[10] Statute 13 and 14 Geo. V, c.21, Forestry (Transfer of Woods) Act, 1923.

[11] Richard Hoyle and Catherine Glover, 'The failure of land reform in the New Forest', paper given at Rural History 2019.

The holdings to which common rights are attached are situated on the fringes of the Forest, outside the perambulation, while the rights are exercised inside. In 1964 the perambulation, which had persisted more or less unchanged since 1217–18, was amended to include the adjacent commons and exclude areas of industrial development along the Solent.[12] For the most part the crown forbade residential and industrial development in the areas it controlled (except for the development of private houses, some of considerable size, in small enclaves of crown freehold). Residential development was only able to take place on the privately owned lands, such as Brockenhurst (where it was boosted by the presence of a railway station). Lyndhurst – the administrative centre of the Forest – was a royal manor whose copyholds were enfranchised from the 1830s, allowing the village to grow into a small town. As a landscape, though, the New Forest covers a wider area than the perambulation, outside which neither the Verderers nor the Forestry Commission have any jurisdiction or control.

The use of the Forest for both hunting and stock-keeping preserved two-thirds of the 90,000 acres in an unenclosed state into the nineteenth century. Initially trees and underwood were preserved as shelter and fodder for the deer, but silviculture was recognized as an important use of the Forest from the fifteenth century onwards, with small enclosures being made to protect the saplings. From this time, at least, the Forest has been a space contested by rival interests. Even in the medieval period when the crown leased out enclosures for silviculture, there was conflict between stock-keeping and timber conservation with both commoners and minor crown officials being presented to the courts for removing hedges, felling timber, clearing underwood and using the coppices as paddocks.[13] In 1698, to respond to the demand for timber for the navy and for building materials, the crown sought to put timber production on a more systematic footing, and by statute assumed the power to make enclosures for the purpose of silviculture over a 20-year period. The legislation allowed for the enclosures to be thrown open once the trees were established and for the enclosure of further areas of equal size, the area enclosed at one time never to exceed 6000 acres.[14] The Commoners petitioned against these 'rolling powers' and crown officials seemed loath to implement them. After the surrender of revenues from the Crown Estates to parliament (on the accession of George III), the government became more interested in the productivity of the Forest and in 1787 commissioned a survey. Further legislation followed and the full 6000 acres was enclosed by 1811.[15]

By the 1840s the Forest was thought to contain an excessive number of deer, about 3–4000. Most of the 100 or so bucks killed each year were given to neighbouring landowners in compensation for the damage caused to crops or to office-holders with little or no current connection to the Forest. One buck cost 8 to 10 times as much as a sheep to keep (taking into consideration the number of years they had to be kept) and there must also have been

[12] Statute, 1964 c.83, New Forest Act, 1964.

[13] C. R. Tubbs, 'The development of the smallholding and cottage stock-keeping economy of the New Forest', *AgHR* 13 (1965), pp. 27–8.

[14] Statute 9 and 10 Will. 3, c.36, An act for the increase and preservation of timber in the New Forest, 1698.

[15] D. J. Stagg, 'Silvicultural inclosure in the New Forest from 1780 to 1850', *Proc. Hampshire Field Club* 46 (1990), p. 135; Hoyle and Glover, 'Failure of land reform'.

the cost of transporting the carcases. They were a temptation to deer-stealers.[16] In addition they were a threat to young trees. The government therefore proposed to eliminate the deer and to ramp up timber production further.[17] They persuaded the commoners to accept this with the argument that removing the deer would be to their mutual advantage, but, by way of *compensation* for giving up the right to keep the Forest for deer, the crown demanded the right to enclose a further 10,000 acres, bringing the total to 16,000. The so-called Deer Removal Act was passed in 1851 and it was to have profound ramifications, to which we will return in Section II.[18]

Into the contest between the crown (which wished to enclose) and the commoners (who wanted to maintain their rights to graze), a third element entered in the nineteenth century: the public seeking recreation, whether as residents or as day-trippers. The writings of William Gilpin (1724–1804), vicar of Boldre in the southern New Forest, had done much to stimulate aesthetic awareness of 'wild' landscapes. His book, *Remarks on forest scenery and other woodland views, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, illustrated by the scenes of New Forest in Hampshire,* appeared in 1791.[19] The opening of the Southampton and Dorchester Railway in 1847 made the Forest more accessible to those who would appreciate its beauty, and over the next 50 years it became fashionable to have a house there and come down at the weekend for riding, hunting or other country pursuits. Day excursions were also laid on by the railway company.[20]

The result was that the Forest developed a multitude of stakeholders with overlapping – and frequently conflicting – interests. In 1960 it could be said that:

> The New Forest … is planned, ruled, maintained and managed by a host of organizations and individuals. Apart from the Forestry Commission … we have the Court of Verderers, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the planning authorities, the Ministry of Transport; parish, urban and district councils; bodies like the New Forest Pony Breeding and Cattle Society, the Commoners' Defence Association, the National Farmers' Union; Nature Conservancy, traditional hunting and sporting interests, those requiring the preservation of archaeological relics, the local fire services and the police.[21]

But even then this list was not exhaustive. To it must be added important players such as the New Forest Association, the National Trust (who acquired some of the adjacent commons), and private landowners such as Lord Montagu of Beaulieu. It may already be gathered that

[16] Peter Roberts, *Saving the New Forest: New Forest Association – the first 150 years* (2017), p. 4; BPP, 1848, 538, Report from the Select Committee on the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown, pp. 89, 94, 100, 102.

[17] Gerald Lascelles, *Thirty-five years in the New Forest* (1915).

[18] Heywood Sumner, 'The New Forest Deer Removal Act, 1851, and afterwards', ed. G. F. Le Pard, *Hampshire Stud.* 54 (1999), p. 76.

[19] W. Gilpin, *Remarks on Forest Scenery, and Other Woodland Views* … (3 vols, 1791).

[20] C. E. M. Glover, 'A country house or a house in the country? A study of country houses in the New Forest and their residents, *c.*1851 to *c.*1923' (unpubl. MA dissertation, University of Winchester, 2012); *The Times*, 2 Aug. 1877.

[21] 'Agriculture: Amenity and production in the New Forest', from A Correspondent, *The Times*, 26 Sept. 1960; the New Forest was legally transferred under the Forestry (Transfer of Woods) Act, 1923 to the Forestry Commission, which in turn was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food under the Forestry Act, 1945.

the story of why the New Forest missed out of becoming a national park in the 1950s and had to wait a further fifty years is a tangled one. As Arthur Cadman, Deputy Surveyor of the New Forest 1959–68 wrote, 'All men who have anything to do with administration know that there are two sides to every question. But in the New Forest one is fortunate if there are less than six sides to any problem that arises.'[22]

II

We pick up the story with the Deer Removal Act of 1851. Though the commoners had consented to it, over the succeeding decade they came to realize that they had been double-crossed. The Office of Woods deliberately chose to enclose the best pasture areas for the new timber plantations because its policy was, according to Lawrence Cumberbatch, Deputy Surveyor 1849–80:

> that the Crown should, as soon as possible, exercise its right of enclosing the 16,000 acres, because, exclusive of other advantages, by so doing all the best pasture would be taken from the commoners and the value of their rights of pasture would then be materially diminished, which would be of importance to the Crown in the event of any such rights being commuted.[23]

Ancient trees were being felled too: in 1851, 'more than three hundred ancient yews were swept away, and a sea of Scotch fir now conceals even the configuration of the soil'.[24] Far from removing the restrictions imposed under the Forest Laws for the purpose of protecting the deer, the Office of Woods tightened up on them.[25] Now that the deer were not browsing the undergrowth and depositing their dung, the quality of the unenclosed pasture deteriorated. The crown proposed to lease sporting rights rather than issuing licences.[26] This last, together with the realization that the loss of common pasture would affect the rents that their tenants were able to pay, galvanized local landowners. There was a storm of letters to *The Times* and other papers, and a group of landowners formed the New Forest Association (NFA) in 1867.[27] Petitioning parliament only seemed to make matters worse, though, and in 1871 the Treasury brought forward a bill to disafforest the New Forest.[28] This was countered by Henry Fawcett, MP for Brighton, who moved a resolution:

[22] New Forest Heritage Centre (hereafter, NFHC), CTL2019.1.20.25, W. A. Cadman, 'The New Forest: The work of the Forestry Commission' (unpubl. typescript, n.d.).

[23] BPP 1854, 377, Report from the Select Committee on Crown Forests, 1854, pp. 121–3, at p. 123: Letter from Cumberbatch to Thomas Kennedy, Commissioner of Woods etc, 31 Dec. 1853; p. 154 (q. 2032); p. 155 (qq. 2047–9).

[24] G. E. Briscoe Eyre, 'The New Forest: a sketch', *Fortnightly Rev.*, April 1870 (repr. in *Briscoe Eyre's New Forest*, 2006), p. 13. This is also mentioned in Parliamentary Debates, Commons, Third ser. 207, c.330: 'the Poet Laureate [Alfred Tennyson] … had gone down to the New Forest to search there for an ancient wood of yews, which had existed since the time of William the Conqueror; but all trace of them was gone. … it had been sold to a merchant at Lyndhurst for £60'.

[25] Heywood Sumner, 'Presidential Address: New Forest and old woods', *Proc. Bournemouth Natural Science Soc.* 18 (1925–6), p. 52.

[26] 1866, 98, Crown Lands. A bill to amend Law relating to Woods, Forests and Land Revenues of Crown.

[27] Roberts, *Saving the New Forest*, p. 17.

[28] 1871, Bills and Acts, 81, A bill to disafforest the New Forest.



FIGURE 2. Invitation to the New Forest Exhibition, Summer 1875.

Source: NFRL, James O'Donald May's Collection.

> That, in the opinion of this House, pending legislation on the New Forest, no felling of ornamental timber and no fresh inclosures should be permitted in the New Forest; and that no timber whatever should be cut, except for the purposes of thinning the young plantations, executing necessary repairs in the Forest, and satisfying the fuel rights of the Commoners.[29]

Funds were raised for the New Forest's cause by holding an art exhibition in London (Figure 2). A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1875, out of which emerged the New Forest Act of 1877, which banned the enclosure of what were now termed 'Ancient and Ornamental' woods (mostly thought to be ancient pasture-woodland[30]), ended the crown's rolling powers of enclosure, and re-established the ancient Court of Verderers, changing its role from acting on behalf of the crown to protecting the interests of the commoners. Arguably the New Forest was the site of the first successful battle for landscape preservation in Britain,

[29] Parliamentary Debates, Commons, Third ser. 207, cc.328–343.

[30] Tubbs, *New Forest*, p. 162.

predating the (unsuccessful) protest against the Thirlmere reservoir by a few years.[31] But the Office of Woods' policy of rigorously exploiting the crown lands of the New Forest at the expense of commoners' rights left a legacy of mistrust and antagonism that has continued to the present day.

III

'The best idea we ever had' began in America in 1865 when Frederick Law Olmsted set out the philosophic basis for national parks: the preservation of areas of unique natural beauty for the benefit of the public.[32] In Britain, the silver lining to the cloud that hung over the Forest in the 1870s was perhaps that it brought the public at large to realize that:

> the New Forest … was … to be considered as a national property; and that, inasmuch as the interests of the commoners who claimed the full and free enjoyment of their Common rights, and of the public who desired the preservation of the Forest as a National Park of unrivalled beauty, were identical and not antagonistic, such interests ought not to be deemed subservient to any present advantage which would accrue to the crown.[33]

In 1871 an editorial in *The Times* pointed out that:

> the [New Forest] Bill materially affects the interests of a third party, whose very existence is ignored in it … The nation at large is the real owner of the New Forest … What parliament has, above all, to consider is whether this unique National Park, so rich in scenery of a kind which is fast disappearing from the Old World, is not worth keeping up even, if need be, at some pecuniary sacrifice.[34]

It was not only for recreation that the unenclosed Forest was valued: it was 'the only district in England available for the training and manoeuvring of troops in large masses'.[35] In 1882, John Wise referred to the New Forest as 'the park of the nation' and in 1891 Briscoe Eyre described it as 'a National Park of unique beauty … and the home of a prosperous population of small freeholders and cottage farmers unrivalled elsewhere'.[36] In 1902, C. J. Cornish, the natural historian who founded *Country Life*, referred to it as the 'national forest', which, together with the River Thames, the 'national stream', ought to be 'controlled by trustees of such standing and position that their decision on matters of taste and expediency in managing and maintaining the[ir] natural amenities would be beyond question'.[37] In 1909, the Verderers,

[31] Ian O. Brodie, *Why National Parks?* (2013), p. 14; Harriet Ritvo, *The dawn of green: Manchester, Thirlmere, and modern environmentalism* (2015).

[32] Wallace Stegner, 'The Best Idea We Ever Had', *Wilderness* 46 (1983), p. 4; Frederick Law Olmsted, *Yosemite and the Mariposa Grove: A Preliminary Report, 1865* (repr. 2009).

[33] Henry T. J. Jenkinson, *The New Forest: the preservation of the old timber, the open commons and common rights in the New Forest, a matter of national interest* (1871), p. 4.

[34] *The Times,* 17 Apr. 1871.

[35] Jenkinson, *New Forest*, pp. 3–4.

[36] NFHC, CTL2016.1.82, Mortimer Collection, Draft letter by G. E. Briscoe Eyre, 16 Jan. 1891.

[37] J. R. Wise, *The New Forest: its history and scenery* (1862, artist's edition, 1882), Preface to the artist's edition, p. x; C. J. Cornish, *The naturalist on the Thames* (1902), pp. 254–5; id., *The New Forest* (1894); Andrew Goudie, 'Vaughan Cornish: Geographer', *Trans. Institute of British Geographers* 55 (1972) pp. 1–16.

engaged in a long-running dispute with the Office of Woods over use of the Forest for military manoeuvres, complained that the Office was 'ignoring … the policy of treating the New Forest as a National Park … The [Office of Woods'] indifference to the overgrowth of the open Forest by heath, gorse and rubbish, and more obviously by seedling Scotch fir … is a standing menace to … its enjoyment by the public.'[38]

It was one thing to apply the term 'national park' to a cherished part of the landscape and quite another to envisage how the American idea of national parks like Yellowstone, established in 1872 could be realized in densely populated, intensively farmed Britain. In 1910 a feature article pointed out that, although the Swiss had recently created a national park in which 'all the characteristic species of wild animals, birds, and plants which it is desired to safeguard' could be preserved, 'we cannot in this country set aside a single area for the preservation of all our rarest and most beautiful species'. But, the writer concluded, 'there is no reason to prevent us extending to them equally full protection on a more widely distributed basis.'[39] Thus the idea of multiple nature reserves took hold.

In 1924 the recently established Forestry Commission took over the management of the Forest.[40] In January 1926 its chairman, Lord Lovat, made a speech outlining the policy for restocking the decaying old woods (towards which they had no obligation), which would involve keeping out grazing animals so that the woods would be able to regenerate naturally.[41] An argument about how to treat the 'old woods' had been rumbling on since the 1880s when Auberon Herbert had started the New Forest Old Woods Protection Society, which 'advocated [a policy of] "Leave Well alone"'. But the Commission's policy, endorsed in 1925 by Heywood Sumner in his Presidential Address to the Bournemouth Natural Science Society, was that there was no justification for 'leaving ill alone': for woods with no protective undergrowth, it was necessary to 're-stock (by inclosure)', so '"that the ancient ornamental woods and trees shall be carefully preserved, and the character of the scenery shall be maintained"'.[42]

The new policy was guaranteed to cause resentment locally, and in 1927, Barbara, Lady Stephen, who had a country house at Hale, drew the nation's attention to:

> a fine old wood of beech and oak, known as Burley Old … The passer-by is now distressed to see that at one end of this wood a large space has been cleared and that the ground is strewn with the trunks of tall old trees. If rural England is to be saved, surely there is nothing more worth preserving that these splendid woods in the national forest. In answer to inquiries, I am told that this destruction is part of a scheme of profit-producing forestry.[43]

The Commission pleaded that the said felling was just business as usual and that the mature trees they had felled would immediately be replaced.[44] But this particular wood was one that, 45 years previously, the Commissioner of Woods, Sir Henry Loch, had pledged to preserve

[38] CTL2016.1.91.2, Mortimer Collection, Typescript headed 'New Forest', n.d. but late 1909 or early 1910.

[39] *The Times,* 11 Apr. 1910.

[40] George Ryle, *Forest Service: the first forty-five years of the Forestry Commission of Great Britain* (1969), p. 152.

[41] Sumner, 'New Forest and old woods', p. 52.

[42] NFHC, CTL2016.1.48, Mortimer Collection, *The New Forest*, unpubl. booklet containing correspondence between Mr Gerard [sic] Lascelles and Mr Auberon Herbert (n.d. but *c*.1888); Sumner, 'New Forest and old woods', pp. 52–3, 58.

[43] *The Times*, 21 Feb. 1927.

[44] *The Times*, 22 Feb. 1927.

'in its original state and character', a letter reminded readers of *The Times*, adding, 'does the nation wish its splendid national park to be administered on the lines laid down in 1882 or on the economic principles of 1927?'[45] In the face of this public relations disaster, in March 1927 the Commission invited the NFA, in consultation with the Verderers, to nominate six people to sit on a New Forest Advisory Committee. To reflect the national importance of the area, the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society (CFPS) and the National Trust were also represented on the Committee.[46] Speaking on behalf of the Commission, Lord Lovat stated that 'there were certain areas which he regarded as of national importance … These areas should be treated from the point of view of the maintenance of their beauty … They [the Commission] were prepared, within limits, to spend money in order to keep up the present standard of beauty.'[47] The Commission assured the New Forest Advisory Committee that the 'public have free access to the open forest and all inclosures … Numerous free permissions to camp are issued annually'. In addition hunting and shooting were allowed, there were '3 golf courses on the waste and cricket and football grounds', and the Forest was still used for military training.[48] In this way, the Forestry Commission recognized, perhaps belatedly, that the New Forest was not simply a part of its estate, but a part of the national imagination.

The NFA had been more or less moribund since the turn of the century, but on 30 April 1927 it held a meeting in Brockenhurst attended by over 400 people. The CFPS lent its support to the Association, describing the New Forest as 'the largest and most valuable common in the country and above all … a national park of unique interest and beauty'.[49] The NFA pledged itself to 'oppose by every legitimate means any policy or system of forestry dictated by commercial or economic consideration which is calculated to lead to the destruction or diminution of the natural beauty or amenities of the Forest'. At a meeting of the new Advisory Committee in May 1927, two resolutions were passed: one to submit to the Verderers, 'deprecating the locking of enclosure gates and deploring the disfigurement caused by the opening of gravel pits for repairing highways', and the other to the Commission, 'expressing the opinion that the New Forest ought to be primarily regarded as a national park and reserve for flora and fauna'.[50] A memo dated June 1927 by two members of the Committee, Lord Montagu, President of the NFA, and Miss Penelope Eyre (sister of G. E. Briscoe Eyre, founder member of the NFA), stresses 'how the present policy of the Forestry Commission, if persisted in, will ruin the beauty of the New Forest … the replacement of hard wood trees by conifers is … detrimental to the fauna and flora, and will eventually diminish, if not destroy, the charm of the New Forest'. They

[45] *The Times*, 1 Mar. 1927, letter signed by Frank Willan, Arthur Hugh Clough, Arthur W. E. Prothero and Lord Manners.

[46] Hampshire Record Office (hereafter, HRO), 49M98W/84/9, NFA, *Annual Report, 1928*, pp. 7–8. The Committee was still meeting in 1947 (Forestry Commission, *Report of the New Forest Committee* (1947), p. 75).

[47] *The Times*, 3 Mar. 1927. Anthony Pasmore, *Verderers of the New Forest: a history of the Forest, 1877–1977* (1977), p. 153.

[48] NFHC, LYHNF2016.693, L. C. Southern, 'New Forest Papers: The Forestry Commission's Statement to the New Forest Advisory Committee' (unpubl. typescript, *c.*1927), p. 6. Underlining as in original.

[49] HRO, 49M98W/84/9, NFA, *Annual Report, 1928*; Roberts, *Saving the New Forest*, p. 70; *The Times*, 2 May 1927.

[50] HRO, 49M98W/84/9, NFA, *Annual Report, 1928*, p. 4.

went on to say that 'the oak plantations of William III … are now threatened with destruction and replacement with firs, & with treatment by the scientific Forester'. In Broomy Inclosure, they wrote, 'Among the trees cut are about 20 yews – magnificent old trees. This is the result of the present drastic policy of cutting out squares regardless of whatever ornamental, rare or old timber exists here.'[51] They suggested that 'the Forest could be taken over by the Office of Works … [so] that beauty will not continue to be sacrificed to economic considerations, and that modern Forestry, scientific or otherwise, will be practiced [sic] elsewhere'.[52] In *The Times*, Lord Montagu criticized the policies of the new management, and contrasted it with what he believed 'the New Forest Association and … the vast majority of the public, as well as the important national bodies who share our views' wanted: 'the New Forest to be treated primarily as a great national park, in which the preservation of beauty and the enjoyment of the public shall be the paramount, not the secondary, consideration'. The Commission, he said 'has 300,000 acres to develop elsewhere. Let it alter its present policy or leave the New Forest to be administered by those really sympathetic to its national character'.[53]

In response, Mr F. C. Osmaston asked 'who will be willing to pay for this luxury?'[54] The answer thrown back at him was: 'those same people who are at present made to pay for the uncontrolled vagaries of the commercial forester in these islands', many of whom are prepared to contribute towards purchasing open spaces 'for the enjoyment of the community'.[55] Indeed, the crown's ownership of the Forest was held up by Penelope Eyre as 'one of the great arguments for [its] preservation as a national park, which is generally ignored, namely, the considerable amount of capital which has to be annually expended in "saving", that is to say, in purchasing beauty spots for public recreation'. She continued, 'Surely, … in the knowledge of the rapidity with which London spreads its tentacles over the countryside, to preserve the beautiful New Forest, which is only 80 miles from London, when not one penny of capital need be sunk, is the only sane policy to pursue.'[56] In the House of Lords, Montagu spoke eloquently about the need to make the New Forest a national park [under] the Office of Works: 'I believe that when England knows [about the policy of felling the old trees] it will protest in far stronger terms than I have done to-day against what is a national calamity'.[57] In reply Lord Clinton, who had recently replaced Lord Lovat as chairman of the Forestry Commission, protested that 'there are some 45,000 acres altogether in the Forest that are already … a national park. The only care that we are allowed to take of that area of open woods is to take out from time to time sufficient dead wood to supply the Commoners with fuel'.[58]

In January 1928, after another two meetings, the 'commissioners accepted the recommendations for special treatment in a number of cases, involving altogether 1181 acres. In certain other cases they undertook to treat the woods in question with special regard for amenity and in other cases again they undertook that no felling should be done for ten years'.[59] Further

[51] NFHC, LYHNF2016.692, New Forest Papers: Notes on enclosures and some recent cuttings by Lord Montagu and Miss Eyre (unpubl. typescript, *c.*1927).

[52] Ibid.

[53] *The Times*, 22 June 1927.

[54] *The Times*, 24 June 1927. He appears to have been the son of L. S. Osmaston, Deputy Surveyor, 1925–31.

[55] *The Times*, 6 July 1927.

[56] *The Times*, 8 July 1927.

[57] Parliamentary Debates, Lords, Fifth ser. 68, cols. 194, 196.

[58] Ibid., cols. 205–6.

[59] HRO, 49M98W/84/9, NFA, *Annual Report, 1928*, p. 11.

evidence that the Commission was aware of the importance of keeping the public on side, was shown by David W. Young, then Deputy Surveyor of the Forest of Dean, who wrote in 1928 that 'it would be a mistake to attempt to exclude the public from the Commission's forest areas', even though extra fire patrols were needed on bank holidays and local early-closing days, evidence of frequent recreational use by an eager public.[60] One wonders how long it took for the importance of amenity value to percolate down through the organization: in 1925, an article in the *Journal of the Forestry Commission* called 'Sixty years hence: a plea for a truer perspective' had made no mention of 'amenity' whatsoever.[61]

IV

The controversy over preserving the amenity of the New Forest brought the notion of national parks in Britain back into the public conversation. In 1925 Lord Bledisloe had put forward a national park scheme for the Forest of Dean, provoking the Forestry Commission into discussing the idea of forest parks.[62] Five days after Labour was returned to power in June 1929, Bledisloe wrote again of the 'urgent need for the establishment of a National Park for Britain (not merely as a sanctuary for wild fauna and flora, but also as a healthy and peaceful summer resort for the brain-weary workers in our crowded towns)'. As a result a National Parks Committee was appointed, with Christopher Addison as chairman, which met for the first time on 10 October 1929.[63] But despite having 'unanimously and with great enthusiasm' passed a resolution at the meeting in April 1927 that 'the New Forest owing to its unique character and natural features ought to be maintained as a National Park and not developed as a commercial forest', and again in 1928 'that the only objects of its administration should be the preservation of its beauty and interest and the maintenance of all its amenities for the use and enjoyment of the nation', the NFA failed to give evidence to the Addison Committee, perhaps because of disagreements among the membership. In 1927 the NFA's Treasurer, Colonel Mansel-Jones, had felt it 'desirable that as a National Park, the … sole aim should be the preservation of the amenities of the forest and the gradual elimination of those alien trees which had been introduced for purely commercial motives', and Athena Clough (daughter of Arthur Hugh Clough), thought that, because the 'Forestry Commissioners are not free, they are … held in close check by the Treasury. The New Forest should be managed by a body that is free to follow a different policy'. But there were also members who were loyal to the Commission, such as Heywood Sumner, who claimed to have resigned from the Association because he was 'a humble supporter of the Forestry Commissioners as the Crown Authority in the N.F.'[64] There were other dissenting voices on the issue of how to preserve forests. Lord Montagu argued in

[60] Quoted in John Sheail, *An environmental history of twentieth-century Britain* (2002), p. 94.

[61] A. D. Hopkinson, 'Sixty years hence: a plea for a truer perspective', *J. Forestry Commission* 4 (1925), pp. 27–9. Neither does 'amenity' appear in the index to the Commission's own centenary history: Gambles (ed.), *British forests*.

[62] TNA, F 19/9, clipping from *Dean Forest Guardian*, 27 Nov. 1925.

[63] *The Times*, 10 June 1929; TNA, HLG 52/717; C. Addison, *Report of the National Park Committee* (Cmnd 3851, 1931) (hereafter, Addison Report).

[64] HRO, 49M98W/84/9, NFA, *Annual Report, 1928*; Roberts, *Saving the New Forest*, pp. 74, 75 and 78; HRO, 49M98W/B4/9, letter to Frank Warren from Heywood Sumner, 24 Oct. 1929.

a pamphlet that it was impossible to 'save the old woods', as it was natural for them to contain 'trees in all stages of growth and decay', and he suggested that natural regeneration could be achieved without human assistance: 'hardly, if ever, do you see … saplings without nature's barbed wire defences close by, the bramble, the thorn, the furze bush or the holly, warding off the bite of animals', implying that enclosure was unnecessary.[65] H. H. Haines, retired from the Indian Forestry Service, stressed that it 'is important for Nature-lovers to take note that the recent trend … is NOT CALCULATED TO PRESERVE [THE NEW FOREST] AS A NATURAL FOREST, but as a cattle and pony preserve, tending to the destruction of all its amenities as we view them'.[66]

In 1930, Vaughan Cornish, a member of the Council for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE) included the New Forest in a list of 14 possible national parks.[67] It was also suggested as a possible national park by a number of witnesses to the Addison committee. Patrick Abercrombie supported its inclusion and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh cited it, together with the Black Forest, as 'illustrations of the ideal form of development'; the Central Committee on Camping Legislation suggested that 'the regulations made by the Forestry Commission governing camping in the New Forest might be taken as model which could be varied' to meet 'the requirements of solitary campers'; and the British Correlating Committee for the Protection of Nature suggested 'smaller enclosures such as those in the New Forest … as sanctuaries for breeding and preservation … in the case of both animals and plants'. But in a memorandum published in Addison's Report, the Forestry Commission expressed the view that the New Forest, together with the forests of Dean and Delamere, 'are in a true sense already national playgrounds, and any attempt to exploit them further in that direction would tend to defeat its own purpose besides creating difficulties … where the commoners have statutory rights'.[68] Cornish, as chairman of the National Parks Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, again advocated national park status for the New Forest in 1932.[69] In 1934, at the CPRE's national conference in Southampton, the chairman of the Forestry Commission, Sir Roy Robinson, claimed that 'the New Forest was the nearest thing in this country to a national park', and the following year, David Young, now Deputy Surveyor of the New Forest, called it 'the first in all but name of Britain's national parks. Its woods and plantations are a definite part of its amenities and have to be managed with due regard to that fact.' Forest Aesthetics, he added 'is a branch of the science or art of forestry which is of vital importance to state forestry in this country'.[70] The Addison Report fell victim to the economic crisis and was shelved,[71] but it provided the impetus for the Joint Standing Conference on National Parks (SCNP) to be established in 1936.[72]

[65] Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, *The New Forest and its old woods: a history of certain woods and the story of natural regeneration* (1926) (copy in HRO, 46M70.E12).

[66] NFHC, LYHNF2016.694, H. H. Haines, Letter dated 2 Dec. 1928, small capitals as in original.

[67] Vaughan Cornish, *National parks and the heritage of scenery* (1930), map facing p. 5.

[68] Addison Report, pp. 66, 67, 92, 105, 112.

[69] *The Times*, 11 Nov. 1932.

[70] *The Times*, 29 Oct. 1934; David W. Young, 'The New Forest', *J. Soc. Foresters of Great Britain* 9 (1935), pp. 1–16.

[71] Clare V. J. Griffiths, *Labour and the countryside: the politics of rural Britain, 1918–1939* (2007), p. 312. It has also been argued that the 'burdens of compensation on planning authorities' in the 1932 T&CP Act rendered it 'a dead letter' (Ann MacEwen and Malcolm MacEwen, *National Parks: conservation or cosmetics?* (1982), p. 7).

[72] MacEwen and MacEwen, *National Parks*, p. 7.

In 1935, however, the Forestry Commission acknowledged the demand for outdoor recreation by establishing a committee to investigate 'how surplus and unplantable land in the Forests … may be put to use of a public character'.[73] As a result, by the start of the Second World War it had established three National Forest Parks: in Argyll, the Forest of Dean and Snowdonia.[74] In 1942 the Commission, when asked whether the New Forest had been designated a National Forest Park, or afforded similar protection, answered that it 'has in effect been used as a national forest park for so many years that it would be unnecessary now to designate it as such'.[75] Later the same year, the National Forest Parks (Great Britain) Committee had the New Forest on a list of possible parks but decided to suppress the list.[76] It was still in the running as a post-war Forest Park in 1944: though it never actually became one, it was treated alongside the others as a Forest Park in all but name.[77]

It may therefore be claimed that by 1939 the Forestry Commission had partially absorbed the agenda of the Addison Report and had implemented some of its recommendations. It was only as part of wartime 'post-war reconstruction planning' that national parks began to be taken seriously by other government departments. In 1942, following the publication of the Scott report on Rural Land Use, which was favourable to national parks and nature reserves, the government appointed John Dower to work on a 'Preliminary Report on National Parks', and in June 1943, he produced a first draft, in which he defined a national park as:

> an extensive area of beautiful and relatively wild country in which, for the nation's benefit and by appropriate national decision and action, (a) the characteristic landscape beauty is strictly preserved, (b) access and facilities for public open-air enjoyment, including particularly cross-country and field-path walking, are amply provided (c) wild life and places and buildings of scientific, historic or architectural interest are suitably protected, while (d) established farming use is effectively maintained.[78]

In this draft Dower proposed twelve areas in 'Group A – Proposed national parks'. This list included the New Forest, which, together with the Forest of Dean and Kielder Forest, were 'proposed as National Parks of a special type to be established in consultation and collaboration with the Forestry Commission'. (Map 2) In August all three were still 'in', but they were to disappear from Group A before publication.[79] They were moved to Group C, Regional Reserves, 'areas likely to be suggested … but in my view, not likely to be found suitable to be selected as, or reserved for [national parks]'. They were the two and a half special parks that would have needed the *cooperation* of the Commission.[80] In a covering letter with his revisions, Dower explained that he had overhauled his 'area recommendations with the effect (1) of making the National Park claim a bit more modest & (2) avoiding any treading on the

[73] TNA, F 1/6, Preliminary Draft of Post War Reconstruction Report, 1942, p. 1. In the 1920s large areas of 'high or peaty hill land' were considered unplantable: Ryle, *Forest Service*, p. 47.

[74] Ibid., p. 2.

[75] TNA, F 18/592, Correspondence, Feb. 1942, with Arnold Whittick, architectural historian, who published two articles, 'National Forest Parks', and 'National Parks', both in *Wood* 7 (1942), pp. 77–9 and 140–2.

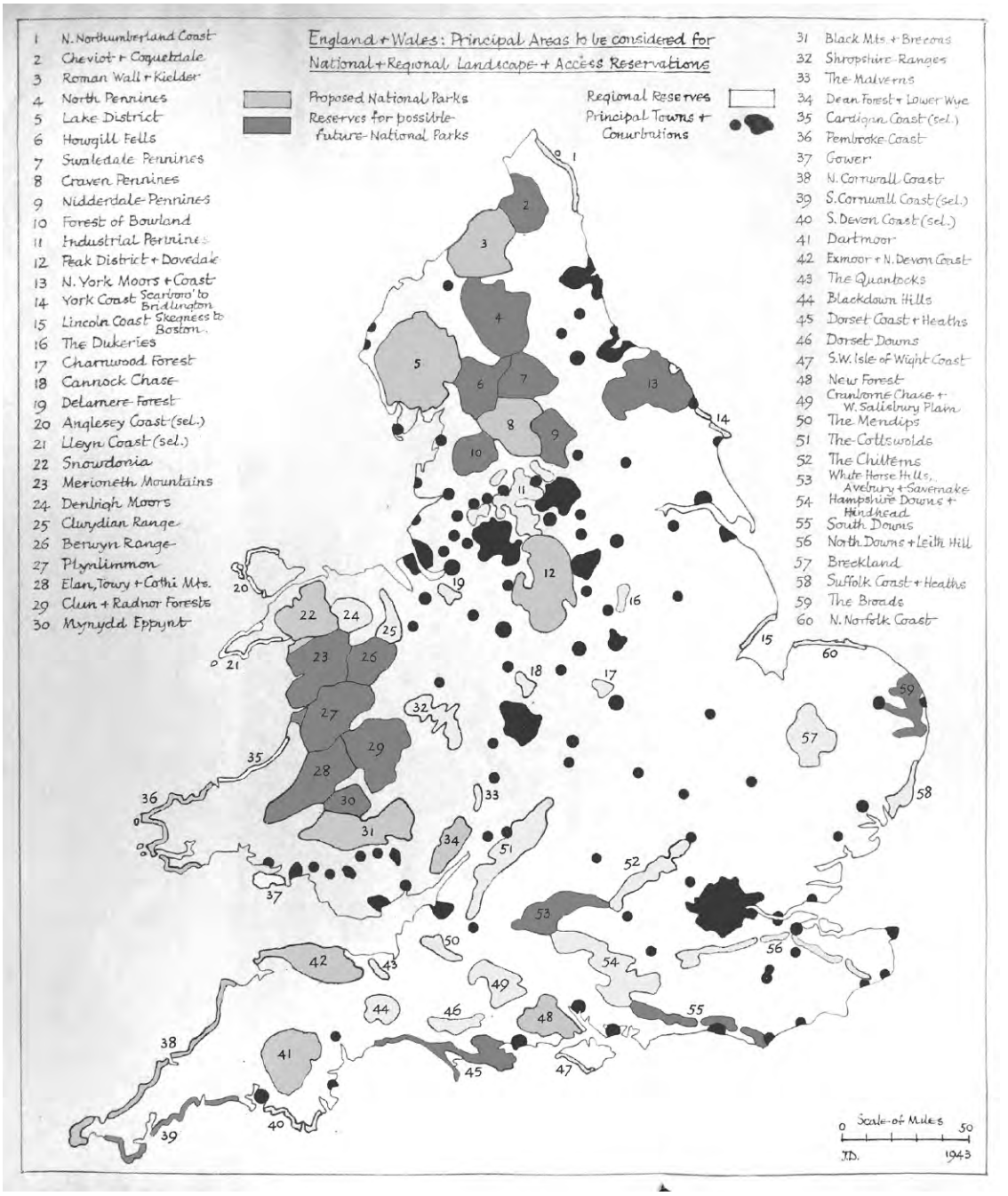
[76] TNA, F 18/592, Draft Report on National Forest Parks and Minutes of Meeting, 20 Oct. 1942.

[77] F 18/592, Memo from A.C. (E.&W.), 10 June 1944; Forestry Commission, *National Forest Parks* (1961).

[78] TNA, HLG 93/55, Paper NP/1, June 1943, p. 2.

[79] TNA, HLG 93/55, Marked-up NP/1, Nov. 1943, p. 4.

[80] Ibid., p. 3. Author's italics.



MAP 2. England and Wales principal areas to be considered for national and regional landscape and access reservations.

Source: TNA, HLG 93/55 John Dower, Draft Preliminary Report on National Parks and Associated Matters, June 1943.

Commission's toes'.[81] He also wrote that he 'should have included several southern or eastern areas in Groups A or B, if [he] had not been *reasonably sure that they are likely to be dealt with satisfactorily by other agencies*, notably the South Downs (by the county and local authorities) and the New Forest (by the Forestry Commission)'.[82] But he also made the point that the 'Forestry Commission, both as potentially rival claimant to National Parks Commission over wide areas of upland country, and as valuable supporter of National Park objectives in its "National Forest Parks", is a special case'. In a second draft of his report he had stated that '"a mutually beneficial relation can be established and any rival claims satisfactorily solved, if there is sufficiently early, frank and close consultation" between F.C. and N.P.C., assisted by M.T.C.P. and M.A.F. This is an important and urgent, but not necessarily "problem", issue.[83]

The Dower Report was eventually published in May 1945, but without the status of a Departmental report, as the Government did not want to be bound by its proposals.[84] Later that year, however, under the Labour government, Lewis Silkin, the Minister for Town and Country Planning appointed a new National Parks Committee under the chairmanship of Arthur Hobhouse, with John Dower as a member. In August 1945, at its first meeting, there was a discussion of possible areas that should be considered as additions to the list of possible national parks, and the opinion was expressed that:

> the Forestry Commission with the advice of a local Planning Committee were doing their best to give recreation in the New Forest suitable importance and not merely to make it subservient to economic forestry. It was agreed that *it was in good hands, and that* its consideration as a National Park should be deferred until a later stage; in any case the Forestry Commission would probably raise strong opposition to its investigation by the Committee.[85]

At the following meeting, Dower offered the following *corrigendum*: 'delete "it was in good hands and that"', and he added in parentheses that he did 'not think the Committee was – or should be – *at all satisfied with the state of affairs in the New Forest*, although [he] agreed that any intervention would probably be unwise and useless'.[86]

So what was 'the state of affairs in the New Forest'? Efforts to give protection to the area had not been completely absent. In 1938–39 an informal committee of local planning officers had held a series of meetings, producing a report entitled the 'Protection of the New Forest', which was revised in 1945.[87] It was acknowledged that the problem was *not* protection of an open space – that had been taken care of in 1877 – but that, of various threats to the landscape and ecology of the Forest, the most serious was 'People': population growth having been 'during the

[81] TNA, HLG 93/55, Covering letter, 21 Oct. 1943.

[82] TNA, HLG 93/55, Marked-up NP/1, Nov. 1943, p. 4. Author's italics.

[83] TNA, HLG 93/55, Paper NP/2, Aug. 1943, p. 8. Underlining as in original. In the final report, the section on the Forestry Commission is much expanded and these words do not appear.

[84] Gordon E. Cherry, *Environmental planning, 1939–1969*, II, *National Parks and recreation in the countryside* (1975), p. 48.

[85] TNA, HLG 93/3, National Parks Committee, Minutes of 1st Meeting, 1 Aug. 1945. Author's italics.

[86] TNA, HLG 93/38, John Dower, Proposed Corrigenda to Minutes of 1st Meeting of the National Parks Preparatory Committee (1 Aug. 1945), 30 Sept. 1945. Author's italics.

[87] TNA, MAF 141/171, Committee of Planning Officers, 'The Protection of the New Forest: Report of the Planning Officers, 1938–1939'; *The Times*, 13 May 1939.

past two or three decades three or four times the average in the rest of the country'. Therefore both reports were very much concerned with limiting the development of residential housing within the Forest and controlling industrial development to the east, in the area between the Forest and Southampton Water. They were also concerned about 'overhead wires and petrol stations … [and] advertisements'. Mineral extraction was also a threat: 'mainly gravel, sand, and brick-earth … china-clay'. They recommended 'the planting of inclosures where semi-urban areas abut on to the Forest'.[88] Lastly there were roads: 'the new road [across the Forest] to Bournemouth … must be made safer, speedier and more attractive'. The 1945 report ends:

> We honestly believe that, provided the difficult question of compensation can be surmounted, none of our recommendations will harm anyone unless, possibly, the speculator. Even with speculative building, per se, we have no quarrel. It can perform a useful function but in rural areas, in its most ruthless and wholesale form, generally known as 'Estate' development, can be very mischievous. There is a real danger that this kind of development—whether in the Forest itself or in the surround which we have included in our survey—may destroy the Forest as we know it almost in a night and we may wake up to find it gone—
>
> England has lost much in this absent-minded way. She shall not lose the New Forest for the want of warning. After all, the fact that a man has an estate on which he wishes to realise profit, is not a relevant reason for covering the countryside with houses.[89]

The Forest, as an open space, was protected by the New Forest Act 1877, and the local planning authorities were – at least on paper – keen to protect it from population pressure and urban development. But was that enough? In April 1946 the Baker Committee was appointed by the Forestry Commissioners to continue the work of the Planning Officers and consider the problem of 'adjusting the Forest to modern requirements'.[90] It sat at the same time as the Hobhouse Committee and both reported in 1947, but whether or not it was a response to the Dower Report and a parallel committee to Hobhouse is not clear. Peter Roberts, in his history of the NFA, has suggested that the Commission had instigated the Baker Committee 'to forestall any risk of the New Forest being thought suitable for a national park' by the Hobhouse Committee.[91] The 'amenities of the Open Forest … represent the various interests of the general public', the Baker Report said, and:

> nothing should be permitted which would change the wild heaths into a Park or would lead to the disappearance of any plant or creature whose natural habitat is in the Forest. … Everyone wishes to preserve the Forest as he knows it but usually with insistence on some particular interest. We find nothing irreconcilable in the competing claims made on behalf of nature lovers and holiday-makers. We do however put in the first place the preservation of the Open Forest as a place of natural beauty and the maintenance of the habitats which it provides for an exceptional fauna and certain rare plants. Having made all the provision

[88] Noted by Pasmore as being 'taken up and developed for political and financial purposes … to take shape eventually in the controversial "Verderers' Inclosures"' (Pasmore, *Verderers*, p. 161).

[89] New Forest Advisory Planning Committee, *Protection of the New Forest: Planning Officers' Report - Technical Committee's Revision* (1945).

[90] Harold Baker, *Report of the New Forest Committee* (1947) (hereafter Baker Report), p. 1.

[91] Roberts, *Saving the New Forest*, p. 133.

> possible for this we shall then come to consider how far the requirements of those who wish to use it as a playing ground can be met.[92]

The report recommended that the whole Forest be made a nature reserve 'under the strictest By-laws' – game excepted, as hunting and shooting were still practised in the Forest albeit under licence.[93] For visitors, 'road-houses', permanent holiday camps and bathing facilities were rejected in favour of campsites because:

> The intention [of those who suggested road-houses etc] was to provide for all classes of holiday-makers in the Forest, and that we strongly deprecate. There are, fortunately, many classes for whom the Forest can provide enjoyment, but the kind here contemplated is one which would destroy peace and quiet and be injurious to the wild life of the Forest.[94]

This is an example of what David Matless has called 'an ecology of pleasures' and 'the assumption of unbridgeable cultures', in which different pleasures are allocated to different habitats, and some pleasures – and, by implication, the people who enjoy them – are superior to others.[95] The report did not confine itself to the perambulation but carried forward the Planning Officers' approach to safeguarding the area to the east, expressing dismay at the recent proposal for a five-fold increase in quantity of oil to be processed at the Fawley refinery, and a corresponding expansion of the works. Extended wharfage and land reclamation were also felt to be threats to the Forest. As a result of the Baker Report, and despite petitions against it, the New Forest Act 1949 came into law. The number of verderers was increased and one of them would be nominated by 'a body "specially concerned with the preservation of the amenity of the countryside"'.[96] But contrary to Baker's recommendation, the Court of Verderers 'was not given responsibility for nature conservation within the Forest'.[97] For the Verderers, the 1949 Act included a Faustian pact. By 1939 the Court's financial position had been perilous: it had £37 in the bank. But the War had come to the rescue, with both the Air Ministry and the War Office having to pay compensation for their use of the Forest for bombing ranges, airfields and other military purposes. All of these emergency uses overrode the New Forest Act 1877, but the Verderers had had no choice but to consent, tacitly, to them and receive compensation; their minutes from that time are 'increasingly incomplete and difficult to interpret' and so there is no record, either, of a meeting with the Commission where permission for further timber enclosures in return for cash payment as a means of financing the Court must have been discussed.[98]

[92] Baker Report, pp. 56–7.

[93] Ibid., p. 60.

[94] Ibid., pp. 64–5. We will never know what the 'road-house … half-way between Cadnam and Ringwood on the Trunk Road' might have been like, but David W. Guzke, in 'Improved pubs and road houses: Rivals for public affection in interwar England', *Brewery Hist.* 119 (2005), pp. 2–9, describes 'the Thatched Barn [Herts.], a roadhouse of unmatched splendour offering "deluxe social and sporting facilities on the grand scale". To woo adventurous motorists, the Barn offered a diverse range of unorthodox entertainment – gymnasium, shooting gallery, sports field, squash courts, and games rooms … Risqué, pioneering novel types of leisure activities and class specific, the roadhouse evoked slightly wicked leisure outings by the propertied classes which through drinking, dining and dancing defied the reality of the dismal 1930s'.

[95] David Matless, 'Moral geographies of English landscape', *Landscape Res.* 22 (1997), pp. 152–3.

[96] Initially the CPRE, later replaced by the Countryside Commission: Tubbs, *New Forest*, p. 92, quoting from and referring to New Forest Act, 1949.

[97] Pasmore, *Verderers*, p. 181.

[98] Ibid., pp. 163–4

The Verderers' authority to grant timber, as well as agricultural, enclosures, was embodied in the 1949 Act. Berkeley Pigott, later a verderer himself, wrote that because it allowed 'a further 8,000 acres [to] be inclosed for forestry and agriculture', this New Forest Act would *not* 'safeguard a national heritage but further … despoil it'.[99] Despite the Baker Report having devoted about one tenth of its pages to 'amenities', in 1954 Major Henry Jervoise of Herriard Park wrote to Katharine Kenyon of CPRE, that the 'Forestry Commission really have not much interest in amenities: in fact very little indeed … The function of the Forestry Commission is to grow timber trees and to provide for present and future needs'.[100] Moreover, the omission of the New Forest from the Hobhouse recommendations kept its protection off the national agenda for most of the 1950s.

V

In 1959 the Forestry Commission and the Nature Conservancy signed an agreement recognizing the Forest's 'important nature reserve status'.[101] In the same year, the National Parks Commission (NPC) put forward a proposal to designate the New Forest and Solent Coast – including the north-west coast of the Isle of Wight – as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB). The proposal fitted well with the Development Plan for Hampshire, which included making the coastal area a green belt, and the county council informally agreed to it. When approached by the NPC, however, the Official Verderer, Colonel J. B. Scott, wrote, 'I very much doubt … that the National Parks Commission have any jurisdiction over the New Forest. As you will know, this is Crown land, and therefore I think, stands on its own'. Scott was disabused of this view but once the Court had met he wrote back to say that AONB designation (even with the associated 75% grant towards 'certain beautifying exercises'), 'would be no practical benefit to the Forest, since the whole of [our] activities are directed towards the maintenance of [it] as a place of beauty'. Lord Radnor, Chairman of the Forestry Commission 'heartily concurred' with the Verderers. The implications of designating 'an area consisting largely of Crown Land' were queried on the grounds that 'the crown is not subject to normal planning control'.[102] The attempt at creating an AONB was therefore dropped in 1962, even though the proposal had a wider scope than the area under the protection of the Verderers and the Forestry Commission. They could not prevent development in the surrounding fringes nor on the privately owned lands that accounted for one third of the area *within* the perambulation and where much housing was being developed, resulting in parts of the Forest becoming suburbanised. An opportunity to manage the larger landscape (Map 1) was therefore missed.

[99] *The Times*, 21 Feb. 1949.

[100] HRO, 38M74/2/8, copy of letter, written on 13 Aug. 1954 by Jervoise, sent by Kenyon to the Official Verderer, 15 Nov. 1968. Underlining as in original.

[101] Tubbs, *New Forest*, pp. 97.

[102] See the papers in TNA, COU 1/1446, Public local inquiry on June 24th 1959: Proposals for alterations or additions to the Development Plan for Hampshire. Statement on behalf of the National Parks Commission; Letter from G. B. Wheatley, Clerk of the County Council to the National Parks Commission, 13 Mar. 1961; 'Hampshire Plan For Green Belt Along Whole Coast', cutting from *The Times*, 17 Nov. 1958; Letter from Col. J. B. Scott to J. R. B. Ferguson, 6 Nov. 1961; Letter from J. R. B. Ferguson to Col. J. B. Scott, 13 Nov. 1961; Letter from Col. J. B. Scott to J. R. B. Ferguson, 22 Jan. 1962; Letter from Lord Radnor to Lord Strang, 24 Jan. 1962; Memo from P. W. Cashell to HMM, 14 Feb. 1962.



FIGURE 3. Ocknell Plain in the 1960s. Driving, parking, and camping were allowed everywhere on the Open Forest (i.e. outside the Forestry Commission enclosures).

Source: Leaflet entitled *The New Forest: Can it Survive?* (n.d.) (copy in NFHC).

By the mid-1960s it was recognized that 'more money, more leisure, and above all more cars' – nine million of them in 1966, expected to rise to 26 million by 1980 – were posing a threat to national parks and other designated areas (Figures 3, 4, 5).[103] The New Forest Act 1964 widened the Deputy Surveyor's scope for amenity management by enabling him to do more to maintain the Ancient and Ornamental Woods, to make enclosures for amenity purposes such as screening against the 'growing mass of ugly industrial developments' to the east, and to provide recreational campsites on the open forest.[104] The Act specified that they and the Verderers should 'have regard to the desirability of conserving flora, fauna and geological and physiographical features of special interest', putting limitations on commercial forestry.[105] The New Forest Act 1970 ensured that the Verderers would be consulted over any recreational facilities proposed by the Commission under the Countryside Act 1968, which further authorised it not only to provide such facilities on its land but also to 'plant, care for and manage trees in the interests of amenity'.[106] But the New Forest was suffering: the 'soil under trees [was] becoming so impacted by vehicular traffic that even mature specimens are dying'.[107] In 1966 the Buchanan Report on South Hampshire recommended 'the setting up of a New Forest Authority [representing] all the major authorities and organisations who have a real interest in, and concern for, this unique area', which would not be limited to the perambulation.[108] As with the AONB idea, the Verderers were affronted by Buchanan's suggestion that the 'question of recreation is so considerable that it could not be covered locally' but they knew that, to look like a credible body, they had to respond, and they drew up a memorandum regarding 'public

[103] *Leisure in the Countryside: England and Wales*, Cmnd 2928 (1966), pp. 4, 6.
[104] Ryle, *Forest Service*, p. 152.
[105] New Forest Act, 1964.
[106] Tubbs, *New Forest*, pp. 94–7; Countryside Act 1968.
[107] Colin Buchanan and Partners, *South Hampshire Study: Supplementary Volume 2* (1966), p. 130.
[108] Ibid., p. 148.



FIGURE 4. Damage done by vehicles on the Open Forest in the 1960s.

Source: as for Figure 3.

pressure'.[109] In it they stressed the interdependence of forestry, commoners and public, but pointed out that the latter was 'the only one of the three interests (except campers) who do not contribute materially to the maintenance of the Forest'. Moreover, commoners' grazings were being damaged by public pressure, putting commoning – which itself was essential to maintain the character of the landscape which the public came to enjoy – in peril.[110] Close cooperation with the Forestry Commission was essential to keeping the Forest in is present condition, and a 'New Forest Authority' as recommended by the Buchanan Report 'would be neither in the interests of the New Forest nor the Nation'.[111] On the basis that only 11 per cent of visitors move away from their cars, the exclusion of vehicles from large areas was to be given top priority, complemented by the provision of car parks and picnic areas, 'as in Canada', speed restrictions, 'clearways' on some roads, organized campsites, lavatories, wildlife reservations and education, litter control, wardens, view points, and control of visitor numbers in certain areas and at peak periods ('"New Forest Full" notices might have to be used'); funded by a 'capitation grant'. They acknowledged the risk that the Forestry Commission might want to withdraw from the administration of the Forest altogether.[112]

[109] HRO, 38M74/1/2, annotated clipping from *Lymington Times*, 18 Feb. 1967, 'Buchanan v. Verderers: Professor is still unrepentant'; Memorandum submitted by the Court of Verderers to the Minister of Land and Natural Resources: Public Pressure on the New Forest, 1967 (copy in NFHC, N.410).

[110] Memorandum submitted by the Court of Verderers, pp. 3–4.

[111] Ibid, pp. 5, 6.

[112] HRO, 38M74/1/11, Notes for the Memorandum, jointly made by the Deputy Surveyor and the Verderers' Clerk, 13 Oct. 1966.



FIGURE 5. Public pressure on the New Forest in the 1960s.

Source: as for Figure 3

Sir Oliver Crosthwaite-Eyre (grandson of G. E. Briscoe Eyre), MP and elected verderer, thought that the Forest should be 'run on the same lines as the Canadian National Parks, where the charges made to the public were used for the benefit of the Forest'. Maldwin Drummond (a local landowner and elected verderer) wrote that 'the Verderers had insufficient knowledge to deal with the problems which might arise in the next 20 years' and that they should look at 'such things as the methods used in America for the control of the American National Parks'.[113] In a newspaper article Drummond wrote:

> the people who live [here] realise it is no longer good enough just to hope that time will pass them by, leaving one of the last havens of peace undisturbed … It is as if the place has lost its heart and has died a death by overuse, undercare and, beyond anything, lack of foresight![114]

The 'land of many uses' concept of US National Forests – where land could be used for more than one purpose, including livestock grazing, recreation and timber production – mentioned in a talk given in 1968 by the Hampshire County Land Agent, C. C. Bonsey, based on his visit to America, must have resonated with the Verderers. In their précis of the talk, they noted other ideas, including the value of interpretation in '[getting] the visitor on the side of the management' and of entrance fees in generating 'respect for the … area' as well as controlling demand for 'over-used facilities'. They recognized that investment in 'attractive facilities in the right place acts

[113] HRO, 38M74/2/3, Minutes of Verderers Court, 13 Nov. 1967.

[114] HRO, 38M74/2/5, clipping from *Southern Evening Echo*, 27 Apr. 1968, 'Changes In The New Forest – With More Visitors', 13 Nov. 1967.

as a magnet and will draw public use to these areas, relieving the pressure on other places'.[115] Their interest in drawing upon the North American experience shows their commitment to finding solutions, but there was nothing the Verderers could do, as their funding came almost entirely from 'marking fees' paid by commoners: should the commoners be expected to fund measures to alleviate public pressure, even though they might in turn benefit? Or should the public fund the commoners, who did, after all, provide the ponies and cattle, the 'mowing machine' that maintained the lawns the public found so attractive? 'The only people who can take action in regard to the open forest are the Forestry Commission', wrote the Verderers' Clerk:

> they are the people who will have access to whatever funds are available. On the other hand they cannot act without the agreement of the Verderers … The County Council have virtually no standing so far as the open forest is concerned, but they are very much concerned with the villages, the fringe of the Forest and the relieving of pressure by appropriate action taken outside the perambulation.[116]

No New Forest Authority would appear, but in December 1966 a Joint Steering Committee – with members representing the Verderers, County Council, Forestry Commission, Nature Conservancy, and two rural district councils – was appointed, to achieve the objective articulated by Buchanan, that 'the uniqueness of the New Forest should be preserved, … finding the balance between the conservation necessary to preserve this uniqueness … and … the exploitation for recreational purposes which such spaces in this country must shortly face'.[117]

But while concern about public pressure was building in the 1960s, another threat – this time from within – was coming to the boil. Early in 1970 there was another public outcry about the policies of the Forestry Commission towards the broadleaved woodlands when they began to 'thin' Rushpole Wood, and 'a duplicated extract' of the 1963 Working Plan was leaked.[118] This exposed the Commission's policy of virtually eliminating broadleaved trees from the enclosures, and exploiting the unenclosed woods commercially. Anthony Pasmore, an elected verderer, described this as 'an unprecedented orgy of hardwood clearance and conifer planting which … hit Burley Old [the wood at the centre of the 1927 controversy] particularly hard'.[119] As a result of the furore, Jim Prior, Minister of Agriculture,[120] banned the felling of hardwoods and, as it had in 1927, the Commission set up a committee – this time named the New Forest Consultative Panel – which, according to Colin Tubbs, senior officer of the Nature Conservancy Council in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight and leading eco-historian of the New Forest, was successful in killing off 'many potentially damaging ideas before germination'.[121]

[115] HRO, 38M74/2/5, 'The part played by American parks in outdoor recreation', précis of talk given by County Land Agent to the Verderers of the New Forest, 25 Mar. 1968.

[116] HRO, 38M74/2/6, Letter from Verderers' Clerk to Official Verderer, 3 July 1968.

[117] Working Party of the Joint Steering Committee, 'Conservation of the New Forest: Draft', 1970 (copy in NFHC, N.503).

[118] *The Times*, 20 Jan. 1970, 3 Mar. 1970, 12 Sept. 1970.

[119] Anthony Pasmore, Monthly opinion column, 'New Forest Notes', *Lymington Times* (hereafter, Pasmore, 'Notes'), Dec. 1996; and see his photographs in Tubbs, *New Forest*, pp. 205–6.

[120] The Forestry Commission had been transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries under the Forestry Act, 1945.

[121] *The Times*, 24 Nov. 1970; Tubbs, *New Forest*, pp. 102–3. The Consultative Panel still meets.

[122] HRO, 38M74/4/1, Handwritten note, n.d.

In early 1971 Crosthwaite-Eyre suggested to his fellow verderers that 'commercial forestry should be abandoned. Because N[ew] F[orest] of insufficient size to cope with all interests'.[122] The Minister of Agriculture's Mandate presented to the Verderers' Court in May did not go quite so far: 'the balance between commercial timber production and conservation and amenity needs to be considered afresh in the light of the current state of public opinion towards the conservation of amenity'.[123] The Forestry Commission accepted the challenge, but they placed the blame on 'the public who swarm into the Forest in their millions each year and who, while enjoying its amenities, threaten to turn it in to a cheerless memorial, a sombre reminder of man's capacity to destroy'.[124] They also recognized 'the importance of the Forest as a national heritage and laid down that its traditional character must be conserved.[125] In the same year, the Joint Steering Committee, on which the Commission was represented, published its final recommendations. Having considered two strategies, 'concentration' and 'dispersal', they decided in favour of the latter because it would provide for the type of recreation which people had 'been used to enjoying … but on a controlled footing' and required less financial investment. The result was the end of free access across the Forest to cars and campers: from 1976 car-free zones restricted the former while official campsites confined the latter.[126]

Despite the focus on conserving the Forest itself, by the end of the 1970s 'large-scale housing estates of high density' had been authorised by the County Council 'in Lyndhurst, Brockenhurst and Sway, and Ashurst (bordering on the Forest)'.[127] In 1979 a Brockenhurst resident concerned about the South West Hampshire Structure Plan asked the Department of the Environment 'why, along with the Lake District, the Yorkshire Dales, etc., the New Forest Perambulation was not designated a "National Park", since its character seems to fit so exactly the description of areas qualifying for designation … given in the … Act of 1949'. By way of reply he was told about the attempt to designate the New Forest as an AONB, shelved, as we saw on p. 270, because of opposition by the Verderers and Forestry Commission. By now (1979), the official pointed out, a small area on the edge of the New Forest had been designated as part of the South Hampshire AONB.[128] There is no evidence in their reports that either Buchanan or the Joint Steering Committee ever considered a national park framework for the New Forest, neither do the Verderers appear to have thought that a national park could be the answer to their funding problem, possibly because over this period central government aid for existing national parks was diminishing.[129]

[123] Minutes of Verderers Court, 20 May 1971; NFHC, CTL2019.1.20.27, 'The future management of the New Forest', 3 May 1971.

[124] Forestry Commission, *The New Forest: can it survive?* (leaflet, n.d., *c.*1970).

[125] NFHC, CTL2019.1.20.29, Forestry Commission, 'Conservation of the New Forest: Recommendations accepted', press release, 16 Oct. 1972.

[126] New Forest Joint Steering Group, *Conservation of the New Forest* (1970), p. 13; Tubbs, *New Forest*, pp. 99–100; Forestry Commission, *New Forest Management Plan, 1972–1981: Inclosed and Open Forest* (rev. 1973); *The Times*, 6 July 1972.

[127] Tubbs, *New Forest*, p. 103.

[128] TNA, COU 1/1446, Letter from Ian Mackenzie to Dept of the Environment, 31 Dec. 1979; R. G. Woolmore, Landscape Adviser, to Mackenzie, 21 Feb. 19[80].

[129] John Blunden and Nigel Curry (eds), *A People's Charter? Forty years of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949* (1989), p. 104.

VI

Awareness of the need to conserve the wider landscape area was growing and in 1984, to safeguard against future adverse development, New Forest District Council identified the New Forest Heritage Area, and adopted special planning policies to protect it. Like the area proposed by the planning officers in 1938 and 1945, this included fringe areas outside the Forest as well as the non-crown lands within it and extended the definition of 'New Forest' into the Test Valley and even across the county boundary into Wiltshire. This move was welcomed by the NFA as it designated 'some 200 square miles of Forest and its countryside runback surrounding the perambulation as a protected green belt area in which the strictest conservation policies should apply'.[130] In 1986 the Countryside Commission's guidelines on landscape assessment 'make it quite clear that natural beauty is not simply about the visual qualities of the landscape such as form and colour, but that it is very much influenced by human associations and national sentiment'. This particularly applied to lowland landscapes whose characters owed more to differences in historical development than to topographical features.[131] The national – indeed, international – importance of the New Forest landscape and its ecology was now acknowledged and it had become obvious to organizations both inside and outside the Forest that something needed to be done to afford it greater protection. In 1986 the Forestry Commission set up yet another body, the New Forest Review Group, whose most important finding was that commoning – essential to maintaining the landscape character – was on the decline, both because it was uneconomic and because of the high cost of property: 'it is the grazing of stock which is the one essential element sustaining the character of the Forest … support for the existing commoning system is not only the cheapest way of doing that but also the most effective'.[132] The Report, published in 1988 after a public consultation, recommended that the Heritage Area defined by New Forest District Council 'should be accorded statutory status comparable in planning terms with a National Park', with an advisory committee of the six local planning authorities rather than a single National Park Authority, which they considered 'inappropriate and over-bureaucratic'.[133] Defending the Review Group, its chairman, David Perry (Deputy Surveyor 1985–1992), said, 'National Park is a bit of a naughty word, and a concept which is a bit dated'.[134] But Peter Frost, then Director of the local branch of CPRE, felt that an opportunity to provide 'management aimed specifically at conservation, [with] resources and teeth', had been missed. The CPRE acknowledged that the legislation protecting the Forest was superior to National Parks legislation, because of the Verderers' unique power of veto over development, and suggested that the Verderers' veto be

[130] Roberts, *Saving the New Forest*, p. 130; NFA, *Annual Report, 1984*, p. 4 (copy in NFHC, N.281).

[131] Land Use Consultants, *New Forest Heritage Area: Proposed boundary, draft report, June 1991*, p. 5 (copy in NFHC, N.228).

[132] *Report of the New Forest Review Group* (1988), p. 13 (copy in NFHC, N.227).

[133] Tubbs, *New Forest*, p. 103; *The Times*, 21 Mar. 1990. *Report of the New Forest Review Group*.

[134] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.12, Justin Strong, 'Forest groups angry at park call', clipping from unknown newspaper, 6 Nov. 1989; NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.11, clipping from *The Reporter* (Forest edn), 9 Nov. 1989.

[135] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.27, clipping from unknown newspaper, n.d.; CTL.1.24.24, clipping from *New Forest Post*, 26 Jan. 1989; CTL2019.1.24.98, extract from CPRE New Forest Branch Resolution, 11 Sept. 1989.

extended to the whole Heritage Area.[135] The Ramblers Association, too, criticized the proposed committee as having 'no powers, no staff and no finance worth speaking of', and called for the Forest to be made a national park, which would 'give the land European status, with European protection and funding', to guard it against privatization as had happened in other parts of the country. The Ramblers suggested a national park administered by a planning board similar to that of the Peak District National Park, with 50 per cent of the members appointed by local authorities and 50 per cent by the Secretary of State for the Environment, to represent a range of interests. This would avoid the 'fundamental mistake' made in the 1950s with eight of the ten original Parks (including the Yorkshire Dales) where local authorities retained planning responsibilities, and Park committees were only advisory.[136] Colin Tubbs, on behalf of the Nature Conservancy Council, was worried that governance by an unelected authority would give less, not more, ecological protection and jeopardize the future of commoning.

When it came, in March 1990, the government's response to the Review, a glossy publication entitled *The future for the New Forest*, was a disappointment. Stronger financial support for commoning was not forthcoming, the government merely promising to give 'further consideration' to this. It rejected the call for the Forest to be considered for nomination as a World Heritage Site.[137] Although it endorsed the establishment of a Heritage Area Committee, as the NFA's president, Belinda Lady Montagu, wrote to *The Times*, 'the minister was unable to accept what he acknowledged to be the Review Group's most important single recommendation, that of obtaining a recognised national status for the New Forest heritage area. … What remained scarcely merited publication'.[138] That the Minister for Agriculture 'could not accept that all the land within the area could be described as being of the highest national and international importance' was 'completely unexpected'. This had never been claimed: the idea of the wider Heritage Area was that it was an 'integral part of the Forest' and that its inclusion would protect the Forest from development pressure.[139] The secretary of the Council for National Parks (CNP) described the government's report as 'very timid and unimaginative', and Marion Shoard, in an article entitled 'Now the call of the tame demands to be heard', suggested that National Park designation was needed for not only the New Forest but also 'the Hardy country of Dorset, the Chilterns, the Somerset Levels, East Anglia's Breckland and the Lower Wye Valley with the Vale of Herefordshire.'[140] Lady Montagu pointed out that '[we] may well be apprehensive as to whether the New Forest has a future. The Forest faces the same pressures identified in a *Times* report over 50 years ago (May 13, 1939). These have since intensified but are apparently no nearer a solution'.[141]

[136] NFHC, CTL2019.1.24.48, 'The New Forest: the case for a national park', based on a talk given by Alan Mattingly, Director of the Ramblers' Association to the New Forest Consultative Panel, 13 July 1989; NFHC, CTL2019.1.24.54, 'Twelve good reasons to designate the New Forest as Britain's twelfth National Park', 3 Nov. 1989; R. W. Hoyle, 'Opposition to the creation of national parks: the case of the Yorkshire Dales', below, pp. 283–314.

[137] Forestry Commission, *The future for the New Forest* (1990), pp. 15, 31. (The claim to World Heritage status was 'on the grounds of its unique ecology, landscape and recreational significance': *Report of the New Forest Review Group*, p. 18.)

[138] *The Times*, 9 Apr. 1990.

[139] David Stagg in NFA, *Annual Report, 1989* [Mar. 1990] (copy in NFHC, N.281); Forestry Commission, *Future for the New Forest*, p. 7.

[140] *The Times*, 21 Mar., 28 Apr. 1990.

[141] *The Times*, 9 Apr. 1990, referring to the article in *The Times* about 'The Protection of the New Forest: Report of the Planning Officers, 1938–1939': see p. 268.

The Heritage Area Committee was set up in June 1990, with the primary purpose of promoting and coordinating measures to ensure the conservation of a redefined Heritage Area, 'a revised boundary, to incorporate essential grazing land as well as the best of the landscape around the Forest's perambulation'. It soon changed its name to 'New Forest Committee'.[142] David Stagg, NFA Council member, amenity verderer and historian of the New Forest, saw the Committee as 'the embryo of a Broads type authority' and the Heritage Area as 'a significant first step toward breaking the power and influence of the Commission. Never again will they be able to instigate their own "review", write and edit the report, doctor the recommendations, and write the response.'[143] The Ramblers' Association continued to lobby for National Park designation, as voluntary special interest groups were excluded from the New Forest Committee.[144] David Coleman, representing the Countryside Commission on the Committee, conceded that the New Forest satisfied the two criteria for national park status: it had 'natural beauty of outstanding national importance and afford[ed] nationally important, very unusual (particularly in the lowlands of Britain) opportunities for outdoor recreation'. But Coleman felt that the Committee did not have the 'purpose, powers and resources' to play the role of '"trenchant defender" that was needed to protect the Forest against 'outside, national level or regional level pressures', seeing its role as mediator between conflicting local interests. He acknowledged that the Forestry Commission 'since the 1970s with the conservation review … has of course done an enormous amount to provide enjoyment and to manage enjoyment of the Forest'. But, he added, 'as a matter of policy, that can be changed by Ministers'. He also identified the issue of lack of national funding for the Verderers 'in the present framework'.[145]

Meanwhile, on the fortieth anniversary of the national parks legislation, the Countryside Commission established a National Parks Review Panel, under the chairmanship of Professor Ron Edwards.[146] Although the establishment of new parks was not in its remit, those who opposed National Park designation felt that redefining the Heritage Area would keep the Panel off the New Forest's back. Ted Johnson, Chief Planning Officer of New Forest District Council and member of the Review Group wrote, 'what [we had] argued strongly against was the imposition of a new administrative structure. Like Dower we were satisfied that the Forest is in good hands'.[147] Nevertheless, in their manifesto for the April 1992 general election, the Conservative Party promised that National Park authorities would become independent boards and the 'New Forest will be given a statutory status which will give it as great a level of protection as any National Park'.[148] After being returned to power, later in the year the Conservative government accepted Edwards's recommendation to give statutory recognition

[142] Land Use Consultants, *New Forest Heritage Area*, p. 1.

[143] NFHC, CTL2019.1.24.99, Letter from David Stagg to Fiona Reynolds, CPRE, 18 Apr. 1990.

[144] 'The New Forest: an agenda for the 1990s'. A response by the Ramblers' Association to the Forestry Commission's report, *The Future for the New Forest*, July 1990 (copy in NFHC, N.284), p. 4.

[145] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.19, David Coleman, 'Should the New Forest be a National Park?', paper given at a seminar at Lyndhurst Park Hotel, 26 Nov. 1990.

[146] NFHC, CTL2019.1.24.60, Countryside Commission press release, 'Are National Parks fit to face the future?', 13 Dec. 1989.

[147] NFA, *Annual Report, 1989* [Mar. 1990] (copy in NFHC, N.281). As we saw on p. 267, Dower himself had had his doubts about this.

[148] 1992 Conservative Party General Election Manifesto [www.conservativemanifesto.com/1992/1992-conservative-manifesto.shtml]

to a 'body … broadly based on the New Forest committee'. The committee would have no executive functions, but like other national parks, 75 per cent of its funding would come from the Department of the Environment, and some of this would be used to put 'the funding of the Verderers' activities on a firmer footing'. It was also understood that '[o]ne of the principal uses for the money [would] probably be help for the 250 commoners'. With the exception of a section of the Avon Valley south of Fordingbridge, the revised boundary took in more land than the original 1988 boundary. A logo was unveiled. Publicity leaflets proclaimed that legislation was proposed that would make the 'New Forest an Area of National Significance, providing the same protection as a National Park but with special administrative arrangements tailored to the local situation'.[149] This was a complete U-turn: it was not to be the last.

The New Forest was to be a 'tailor-made Park *like* that of the Norfolk Broads', whose Broads Authority had received statutory recognition in 1988. The New Forest Association was keen to point out the difference between the two areas:

> [the Forest] has miraculously survived for nine centuries with its Crown lands protected over at least the last century or so by special legislation in the form of the various New Forest Acts, whereas a high percentage of the Broads area is in private ownership and the real raison d'etre for its actual existence is for recreation and tourist activities.[150]

CPRE was one of the organisations that had recommended national park status for the New Forest to Edwards. They welcomed the government's proposals, but were disappointed by the limited powers and responsibilities proposed.[151] Others were worried that 'statutory recognition' would make the Committee too powerful for their liking. Councillor Ann Drake of New Forest District Council found herself defending the Committee, which 'had [previously] been accused of being toothless, "but now we're accused of being power hungry"'.[152] In November 1992, the Commoners' Defence Association voted by 187 to 68 in favour of a motion tabled by Anthony Pasmore to oppose statutory powers for the Committee.[153] The composition of the new Committee was a concern: double the number of local authority appointees, plus new ministerial appointees, but the Verderers' representation halved. The commoners felt unrepresented, even though 'acknowledged by all parties as crucial to the forest's survival'.[154] David Stagg disagreed: in an open letter to the *New Forest Post* he pointed out that 'now government has accepted the part played by commoning in preserving the Forest'. Stagg was concerned that, far from being 'adequately protected and safe in the hands of the Verderers and the Forestry Commission', the Forest's traditional character was threatened by development pressure on the areas *outside* the lands over which they had control. He argued that statutory

[149] Dept of the Environment, *The New Forest: the government's proposals – a consultation paper* (Sept. 1992) (copy in NFHC, N.274); Michael McCarthy in *The Times*, 20 Jan. 1992; Countryside Commission, *National Parks in England and Wales* (rev. edn, 1992); NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.71, clipping from *Lymington Times*, 3 Oct. 1992; NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.80, clipping from *New Forest Post*, 14 May 1992.

[150] NFA, *Annual Report, 1991* [Mar. 1992] (copy in NFHC, N.281), pp. 12–13.

[151] 'The future of the New Forest': CPRE's response to the Government's consultation paper, Dec. 1992 (copy in NFHC, N.282), p. 3.

[152] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.73, clipping from *Lymington Times*, 12 Dec. 1992.

[153] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.14, clipping from *New Forest Post*, 26 Nov. 1992.

[154] Pasmore, 'Notes', Oct. 1992.

recognition for the Heritage Area was essential to protect the Forest against development and especially to preserve the backup grazing land necessary to support commoning. Moreover, he wrote, statutory recognition for the Committee was necessary to allow it to 'prevent the type of conflict so frequent in the past when organisations have been forced to compromise between a balance of interests'. He accused the other side of making 'empty, misleading and scaremongering prophecies' and suggested that lessons could be learnt from history:

> Some 40 years ago the Forest faced the same decision, whether it was better to rely upon its own protection or to accept national recognition. It was decided … that the Forest was sufficiently protected by the powers of the verderers and the Forestry Commission. [But] in 1964, when it became necessary to fence the Forest … national funding was not available and [it] was done on a shoe-string and [many] commons … were lost.[155]

In January 1993 the Verderers, by a vote of seven to two[156], officially welcomed the principle of the Heritage Area and also the proposed Committee, 'as a liaison body between the various statutory authorities' on the understanding that its 'statutory powers [would] not in any way infringe upon the responsibilities and duties of the existing statutory bodies'.[157] Pasmore favoured a doughnut-shaped park, in which the Committee would only have authority *outside* the area the Verderers themselves controlled.[158] Both the Commoners' Defence Association and the Pony and Cattle Breeding Society came out against statutory recognition for the Committee, but the New Forest Association, because it reflected a wider range of interests, found it difficult to come to a consensus. In March 1993, its Council unanimously disagreed with the proposed new composition of the Committee; they were split, however, on whether it should have statutory recognition, but by a narrow majority finally agreed to support it. At the subsequent AGM, Lord Manners, the recently retired Official Verderer, was one of those who proposed a motion that overturned this decision.[159] As the meeting had been 'relatively poorly attended', the President, Lady Montagu, felt that she had to ballot the members by post: the result was '3 to 1 in favour … "[of supporting] in principle the Government's Proposals for the New Forest"'. David Stagg wrote in the *Lymington Post* that the issue of statutory recognition for the Committee might be:

> a ploy to divert attention from the main Government proposal to establish a New Forest Heritage Area, an area of approximately double the size of the present Forest, this to enjoy the strongest measure of planning protection. This is the real issue upon which the Forest societies have been prevented from expressing an opinion.[160]

It appeared, though, that the tide had turned, and over the course of 1993–94 'the opinion of the Forest people seems to have increasingly hardened against the granting of statutory powers to the N. F. Committee', possibly, it was thought, because of uncertainty caused by the impending

[155] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.13, clipping from *New Forest Post*, 26 Nov. 1992.

[156] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.72, clipping from *Lymington Times*, 19 June 1993; Colin Tubbs, 'The New Forest: one step backwards', *ECOS* 15(3/4) (1994), p. 4, has '9:1'.

[157] NFA, *Annual Report, 1992* [Mar. 1993] (copy in NFHC, N.281), p. 3.

[158] Pasmore, 'Notes', Jan. 1993.

[159] Pasmore, 'Notes', June 1993.

[160] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.72, clipping from *Lymington Times*, 19 June 1993.

reorganization of local government.[161] A more sinister cause was suggested by Colin Tubbs: the Forestry Commission and the Verderers had become 'increasingly nervous and unenthusiastic about the prospect of [the Committee] evolving into a statutory authority with an overview of their management of the crown lands'; the local MP, Patrick McNair-Wilson, 'gripped by a similar condition', recruited the local branch of the Conservative Association to his cause; as the Early Day Motion proposed by John Denham, Labour MP for Southampton Itchen, on 19 April 1994 put it: of '223 letters of objection received since September 1992, 198 were submitted since 1 January 1994; and that, of these, 181 were pro-forma objections recommending an enhanced role for the verderers … distributed to members of the … Conservative Association'.[162] Statutory and voluntary conservation bodies, as well as the New Forest Association and CPRE kept up pressure on government throughout this period, with 'unassailable' arguments but these were outweighed by 'erroneous statements about the extent to which local people did not wish to have a new bureaucracy imposed upon them', questions about the cost of the Committee, and a 'smear campaign' belittling its work to date.[163] McNair-Wilson argued that the proposed boundary left out 'some highly vulnerable areas, i.e. those blighted by gravel extraction [in the Avon Valley]' and made the 'surprise' suggestion of replacing it with the boundary of New Forest District Council. This would have been unlikely to achieve parliamentary recognition and so would have failed to give additional protection to the Forest. Finally, on 14 July 1994, in answer to a written Parliamentary Question from McNair-Wilson, the Environment Minister Robert Atkins upheld the government's decision to extend 'the scope of development control as applies in national parks to [the Heritage Area]', but dropped the idea of statutory recognition for either the Committee or the Heritage Area.[164] In a second U-turn the government had rejected its own consultation paper, and reneged on its own manifesto.[165] Without a nationally recognized coordinating body, and central government funding, yet again the New Forest had failed to become even a quasi-national park.

It was not until Labour came to power in 1997 that the plan to create a national park was revived. Clearly, Labour wanted to do that 'green thing' that the Conservatives had failed at. On 20 September 1999, John Prescott, Deputy Prime Minister, announced the New Forest National Park as 'a hundredth birthday present from Labour to the nation'. In the *Lymington Times*, Pasmore observed:

> that he should be in a position to give this generous present in the first place necessarily implies that the previous owners must first of all be deprived of something. Those "owners" are, of course, the Forest community, its commoners, and all who value its tranquillity and traditional way of life, whether they live in Brockenhurst or Birmingham.[166]

[161] NFA, *Annual Report, 1993* [Mar. 1994] (copy in NFHC, N.281), pp. 3, 11; nationally, there were fears that local government reorganization would 'undermine the very existence' of national parks as local councils effectively ran them: *The Times,* 4 Feb. 1993.

[162] Tubbs, 'One step backwards', pp. 4–5.

[163] Ibid., pp. 5–6; NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.69, clipping from *Lymington Times* (letters by David Stagg, Peter Frost, chairman, NFA, and Peter Roberts, chairman, New Forest District Branch of the CPRE), 19 Mar. 1994.

[164] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.83, clipping from *Lymington Times*, 17 May 1994; NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.2, Dept of Environment Press Release: 'Decision announced on New Forest proposals', 14 July 1994.

[165] See p. 278.

[166] Pasmore, 'Notes', Nov. 1999.

In the Forest, many of the arguments from the start of the decade were rehearsed. Nevertheless, in June 2004, after a public enquiry to determine the boundary and administration arrangements, National Park designation was confirmed, not 'tailor-made', but following the pattern of the other national parks. The mainstream view prevailed: that park status would enhance the provision of tourist facilities and hence the local economy.

VII

The New Forest embodies a unique set of historical circumstances that have kept it unenclosed throughout the past millennium. It has always been a contested space where conflicting demands have been made on its resources. We have reviewed 150 years of its history, starting in 1851 with the Deer Removal Act, which led to the 1870s movement that 'saved' it from total enclosure as a timber plantation, and ending in 1999 with the decision to give it National Park status. We have seen that it was frequently referred to as 'a national park' and, ironically, as state-owned land, it was the best candidate to become *the* National Park as envisaged in the 1930s. But when national parks began to be taken seriously, in the mid-1940s, it quietly dropped out of the race. Was this simply because – in an era when access to open space was the primary concern – it was considered that the Forest as an open space was already 'in good hands'? Or did its guardians, the Forestry Commission and the Verderers – both of whom had, quite legitimately, other priorities, forestry and commoning – present too many difficulties? No direct evidence for the latter has been found, but as we have seen (p. 267 above), John Dower was not convinced.

It was not just the statutory authorities in the Forest who held back from demanding national park status. The Ramblers were silent on the case for the New Forest in the 1930s and '40s, although in the 1980s they turned their attention to it. The NFA could have done more: as an organization representing all shades of opinion, it showed a lack of decision at crucial moments such as 1930 and 1994. Even the commoners were split, some believing that national park status would ensure that their way of life would continue,[167] while others argued that 'grazing livestock and intensive recreation simply do not mix'.[168]

What did the New Forest miss by not becoming a *de facto* national park in the 1950s? It missed out on a source of funding, which could have been used in the 1960s to mitigate public pressure on the Forest; some might argue that national park status would have attracted more visitors sooner, with the accompanying economic benefits. But more importantly, national park status could have applied to the whole landscape area (Map 1) and minimized the effects of development on the core Forest, on the practice of commoning, and on the unique ecology it supports. A more holistic approach to managing the unique ecosystem for the benefit of nature, commoning, forestry and recreation could have prevented some of the ecological disasters of the post-war decades. But this is easy to say with hindsight: other national parks have not been immune to potentially harmful developments. At some moments it might reasonably be said that the New Forest was a national park without the name; at other times it fell well short of this.

[167] NFHC, CTL2019.1.21.10, clipping from *The Guardian*, 22 Jan. 1992.
[168] Pasmore, 'Notes', Jan. 2002.

Opposition to the creation of national parks: the case of the Yorkshire Dales*

by R. W. Hoyle

Abstract

The ten first-generation national parks created under the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949 generally disappointed those who had advocated national parks in the 1930s and 1940s. Their governance was much less strong than had been envisaged, their administration mostly being no more than the planning committees of the county councils within whose boundaries they lay. Here we explore the establishment of the Yorkshire Dales National Park, designated in 1952 and confirmed in 1954. The idea of a Dales National Park had been canvassed since the early 1930s. We find little public opposition to the designation of the park but little public support for it either. Farmers expressed fears of the damage which an influx of walkers would cause, but it is hard to ascertain whether their fears were well founded. Opposition came mainly from the North Riding County Council. The West Riding County Council seems to have been more accepting of the park, but was reluctant to be yoked to the North Riding in a Joint Board as the act envisaged, so both councils could readily agree that they wanted a weaker Joint Advisory Committee. It was this unsatisfactory arrangement that was finally implemented in 1956.

National parks are now a familiar and largely uncontentious part of the English and Welsh landscape: the seventieth anniversary of the statute enabling their creation has just passed without attracting much comment.[1] Of course, they are complained about by those who live under their jurisdiction and who believe that they place unreasonable restraints on such matters as house extensions and replacement windows. And having had their budgets cut, in some cases quite severely, they are less of a presence than they were a few years ago: in the Yorkshire Dales for instance, some visitor centres have closed. Seen over a long period of time, there can

* An earlier version of this paper was prepared for Rural History 2015. I am grateful to the *Review's* referees for their comments, not all of which I have been able to incorporate, and for some additional references.

[1] There is a large corpus of writing on national parks, much of it now quite old. For an assessment written about the time of their thirtieth birthday, Ann MacEwen and Malcolm MacEwen, *National parks: conservation or cosmetics* (1982); at the time of their fortieth birthday, John Blunden and Nigel Curry (eds), *A people's charter. Forty years of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949* (1989) and at 50 years Gavin Parker and Neil Ravenscroft, 'Benevolence, nationalism and hegemony: fifty years of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949', *Leisure Studies* 18 (1999), pp. 297–313. None of these works make much (if any) use of the records of the National Parks Commission in the National Archives. There is a useful summary of developments in John Sheail, *An environmental history of twentieth-century Britain* (2002), pp. 115–22.

be no doubt that their record has been mixed. They have often failed to prevent quarrying or industrial development within their boundaries. But in any assessment, they may well be seen to have slowed the speed of development, especially of housing, whilst managing the influx of the public into areas of landscape beauty by providing car parks, marking routes and undertaking remedial works where the volume of visitors was in danger of destroying the very footpaths on which they trod. If they have both encouraged and managed access, they have also had a mission to educate visitors, whether through the provision of visitor centres or literature.

National parks not only had a difficult gestation but were brought up by quarrelling parents, by a government that could not quite believe that they were necessary, and local authorities who were reluctant to cede power to what they considered to be an unnecessary intrusion into existing arrangements. The dilution of the administrative arrangements proposed by the Hobhouse Report (1947) by the 1949 Act establishing the parks has been described elsewhere.[2]

Both the report and the act wished to remove the parks from the control of the county authorities and place them under the supervision of boards nominated by the county councils and the minister. The Boards would be free from direct local government interference and able to concentrate on the needs of the park. Only one such board was ever established (in the Peak District). The other parks had advisory committees which were dependencies of the local government authorities in whose area the park lay. Implicit in these arrangements was the assumption that a board would know better than a directly elected body what was best for a park, and so a special planning regime would be imposed on local residents without them having any control through elected councillors over what the national park authority decided. We can recognize an element of democratic deficit here. Within the area of the Yorkshire Dales National Park (and doubtless others), this was – and continues – to be a matter of complaint.[3]

This paper wishes to revisit the politics of the late 1940s and early 1950s, looking at the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Yorkshire Dales National Park. It shows how the idea of a Dales national park was in circulation from the years around 1930. It seeks to recover local attitudes to the creation of the national park, and to show that opinion was by no means favourable to it. Indeed, there were some who argued that the Park would, in effect, do exactly the opposite of what its promoters sought, that it would damage the countryside rather than maintain it in its present state. The larger public seems, however, to have been largely indifferent to it. Most of the opposition seems to have taken the form of local authority 'turf wars', as county councils dug in their heels against being forced to cede control.

I

The essential timeline is well known and can be quickly run through here. As Catherine Glover has shown, the phrase 'national park' was used in popular discourse throughout the late nineteenth century but rather loosely: it was often applied to the New Forest.[4] Whilst the first

[2] G. Cherry, *Environmental Planning*, II, *National Parks and recreation in the countryside* (1975).

[3] See, for instance, the complaints of Keswick Town Council against the Lake District National Park Authority and their vote of no confidence in the authority, reported in *The Guardia*n, 14 Oct. 2019.

[4] Catherine Glover, '"In good hands." The preservation of the New Forest and the long journey towards National Park designation', above, pp. 251–82.

American national park (Yellowstone) was established as early as 1872 and others created from time to time, the United States National Park Service was only established in 1916. There was some awareness of these developments in Britain. Charles Bathurst, Lord and later Viscount Bledisloe (1867–1958), then Parliamentary Secretary for the Ministry of Agriculture, made a private visit to parks in Canada and the Yellowstone in the USA in 1925, and returned a committed advocate of the idea. He particularly saw the Forest of Dean as a potential national park and lobbied within government for this end.[5]

A more formally established lobby group emerged with the foundation of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE) in 1926. This served to focus concerns over the industrialization and suburbanization of the countryside, many of them resulting from the increased ease of access brought by the motor car and lorry. The formation of CPRE was prompted by a manifesto, 'The preservation of rural England' published by Patrick Abercrombie in *The Town Planning Review* for May 1926.[6] Abercrombie summarized contemporary anxieties and then offered a range of suggested solutions. Under the heading of 'Wild Country', Abercrombie suggested 'the creation of a series of National Parks or Nature reserves (as exists in Canada) in which Crown lands, such as the New Forest and Forest of Dean, would be merged, and many of the great private parks, such as Ashridge, which frequently preserve primeval sections of country'.[7]

Through their Standing Conference on National Parks, CPRE emerged as a leading lobbyist for national parks. In 1929 it wrote to the new Labour Prime Minister, Ramsey MacDonald, asking for an enquiry into the need for national parks, and he acceded to their request by establishing a committee under the chairmanship of Christopher, later Lord, Addison (1859–1951). The Addison Committee had the misfortune to report in 1931 just as the economy went into recession.[8] The implementation of Addison's recommendations was an objective of the national parks movement in the 1930s, but it achieved little resonance in government. The concerns that were widely expressed in the 1920s were, to a degree, answered by the enhanced powers given local authorities by the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act. After this, there was a tendency in government to believe that a framework to deal with the worst aspects of development had been put in place.[9] The 1932 act offered nothing for a different lobby which emerged quite rapidly in the early 1930s, the Ramblers, where a number of long-established societies were drawn together in a new national organization, the Ramblers Association. Whilst they shared Abercrombie's ideas about despoliation of the landscape, their chief concern was access to high ground, a demand which was not met by the Access to Mountains Act of 1939

[5] John Sheail, 'The concept of national parks in Great Britain, 1900–1950', *Trans. Institute of British Geographers* 66 (1975), pp. 42. For Bledisloe, see ODNB (although this article makes no reference to his interest in national parks).

[6] Sir Patrick Abercrombie (1879–1957) was the leading planning consultant of the inter-war years. See ODNB. His essay can be found in *Town Planning Rev.* 12 (1926), pp. 5–56.

[7] Ibid., p. 15 (capitals as in the original).

[8] C. Addison, *Report of the National Park Committee* (Cmnd 3851, 1931) (hereafter, Addison Report).

[9] See, for instance, the comments of the Bowland-Malhamdale National Reserve Committee in 1935, cited at p. 273 below or the letter of R. S. Hudson to CPRE after he had received a delegation from them, HLG 52/716, 27 May 1937. See also John Sheail, 'The introduction of statutory planning in rural areas. The example of the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Town Planning Rev.,* 50 (1979), pp. 71–83 and a forthcoming paper of mine, 'Some consequences of a bungalow at Malham Cove: inter-war planning in the West Riding Yorkshire Dales'.

which offered access but also put multiple impediments in the way of its achievement.[10] For the national parks lobby, the 1930s were a lost decade.

This changed with the war. As has often been commented, Labour captured the domestic post-war planning agenda during the war and in a series of reports laid out a progressive programme. Hence national parks were part of the vision of Lord Justice Scott in his eponymous report of 1942. John Dower, already a prominent lobbyist for national parks, was commissioned at about the same time to survey potential park areas. His report appeared in May 1945 as a government paper but with a disclaimer that it was published for discussion only.[11] But a further committee under Sir Arthur Hobhouse was appointed in July 1945 with a brief to make a reality of Dower's report, and this in turn published its report in July 1947.[12] Legislation followed, and the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act received the royal assent in December 1949. The first park was created in 1951: the last of the ten first-generation parks in 1957.

Even in its full title, the act reflected the concerns of the two pressure groups which had emerged in the 1930s, the CPRE, opposed to inappropriate development, afforestation (especially in the Lake District), the penetration of the countryside by the motorcar and advertising, and housing and industrial development, and the rambling lobby, represented by the Ramblers Association who shared many of the preoccupations of CPRE but were chiefly concerned with access to the countryside for walkers. Both shared deep-seated assumptions about the superiority of the walker over the motorist. Conservation was treated as a separate question with its own enquiry under J. S. Huxley and this led to the establishment of the Nature Conservancy in 1949.[13] It was assumed that national parks would neither restrain or restrict farming.

The tortuous process by which Hobhouse became an act has been traced by Cherry.[14] The 1949 statute fell between the enthusiasm of the national parks lobby and their supporters in government and the scepticism of the Treasury and the county councils. The latter had stated their opposition to national parks as independent, freestanding entities as early as 1941.[15] Their planning powers had been strengthened by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. They saw no need for a National Parks Commission. The Treasury took the view that if the national parks were to be controlled by the county councils, then they could also pay their costs. The National Parks Commission was in effect subordinated to the Ministry of Health and Local Government: it 'designated' the parks but the minister 'confirmed' them, had the power to fix their boundaries and laid down the park's administrative arrangements. There is a view that the Commission was weakly led.[16] Its first chairman was a retired career civil servant,

[10] John Sheail, 'The Access to Mountains Act 1939: an essay in compromise', *Rural Hist.* 21, (2010), pp. 59–74.

[11] John Dower, *National Parks in England and Wales* (Cmd 6628, 1945).

[12] Sir Arthur Hobhouse, *Report of the National Parks Committee (England and Wales)* (Cmd 7121, 1947).

[13] Nature conservation was separated out from planning and treated as a scientific (as opposed to a planning) issue. Sheail, *Environmental History*, pp. 127–8.

[14] Cherry, *Environmental Planning*, II, ch. 5.

[15] MacEwen and MacEwen, *National Parks*, p. 8.

[16] Ibid., pp. 21–2. The MacEwans perhaps reflected a larger disillusionment with the achievements of national parks current in the late 1970s. They headed their account of the years 1949–74 'downhill (nearly all the way)'. But they had no access to the NPC's own papers and their assessment is ripe for reappraisal. I am grateful to a referee for information on the MacEwans.

Sir Patrick Duff (1889–1972).[17] Its founding secretary (1950–63) was Harold M. Abrahams (1899–1978), the Cambridge Athlete and gold medallist in the 1924 Olympic Games.[18] Neither man had any previous connection to the national parks movement although many of the initial commissioners had been recruited from the lobby groups.

The 1949 act laid down that where a park included land from more than one county, there was to be a joint planning board. But the minister was also given discretion 'in special circumstances' to place the administration of a park in more than one county in the hands of county council committees with a Joint Advisory Committee to bind the committees together and represent the interests of the park as a whole. The Joint Advisory Committees had no resources, staff or executive role and so were bound to be weaker than a Planning Board. The only park to be given an executive Planning Board was the first to be created, the Peak District. The arrangements for the Lake District were diluted. The third park, Snowdonia, only had county council committees and a Joint Advisory Committee. Thereafter the parks which spanned county boundaries were managed by committees of the county councils and a joint advisory board. This served to 'breach the principle that each park should be administered as a geographical entity'.[19]

As the arrangements for the governance of the national parks (the Peak District apart) were weak from the beginning, they were bound to disappoint. Moreover, as Lord Strang (Chairman of the Commission 1954–66) admitted, the National Park Commission's views had little purchase on government. They were unable to keep industrial development and quarrying out of the park areas. (The boundaries of the park areas were in any case drawn to exclude towns and existing industrial developments, for instance the Peak District boundaries neatly skirted both Buxton and the quarrying around the town.[20]) They also proved to be unable to resist road schemes.[21] But rather than ban cars, which would have been the aspiration of the older generation of walkers, the parks attempted to manage cars through the provision of car parks and even buses. Where there was something of an exclusionist streak in the rambling movement, the national parks justified their existence by encouraging visitors, and then attempted to educate them through visitor centres, posters, displays and printed leaflets.

We need to be clear that the national parks as they emerged did not normally own land: they controlled land through the planning process. This was not invariably understood at the time and has often been misunderstood since. The assumption in the 1930s was that

[17] Duff was chairman from 1949 to 1954, when he retired. His successor was a career diplomat, William Strang (1893–1978), created Lord Strang in the New Year Honours in 1954 and appointed chairman of the NPC a few weeks later (*The Times*, 1 Jan., 2 Mar. 1954). He served as chairman until 1966.

[18] Ibid., p. 21. Abrahams' biography in ODNB reduces his 13 years at the NPC to one short sentence.

[19] Cherry, *Environmental Planning*, II, pp. 109–113; Blunden and Curry, *A people's charter*, ch. 5; MacEwen and MacEwen, *National Parks*, pp. 21–2.

[20] MacEwen and MacEwen, *National Parks*, pp. 14, 22.

[21] For example, the Dartmoor National Park Authority was powerless to stop the A30 Oakhampton bypass (approved in 1986 and opened in 1988) running through the park rather than circumventing its boundaries. For a useful account, see Dartmoor National Park Authority, 'Dartmoor Factsheet: the Okehampton bypass – a case study in planning', https://www.dartmoor.gov.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/814483/lab-okebypass.pdf (accessed 30 June 2019).

government would purchase all the land within a national park area. The model here was, in some respects, the National Trust, which had acquired considerable estates in the Lake District and also in Dovedale in the Derbyshire White Peak. Informed opinion saw the Trust's landholdings as the nuclei from which national parks could develop in the future. The idea that land would be compulsorily purchased did not seem strange at a time when the water boards were actively acquiring land within the catchment of their reservoirs, when the Forest Commission was building an extensive estate to plant and respectable opinion could advocate the wholesale nationalization of agricultural land so that a rational planned agriculture could be instituted. Land nationalization remained a policy of the Labour Party until late in the war.[22] Arguably it was dropped because the sums involved in compensation would have been enormous (and could not be afforded in post-war conditions). It may also have been thought unnecessary because landowners and farmers had proved to be pliable in wartime conditions. Dower showed the way forwards when he argued in his report that the acquisition of all the land within a national park was not 'essential'. Indeed, he saw the costs of acquisition as being so high that they would limit the number and size of the national parks. He certainly saw a role for the acquisition of land by the national parks, to place it in public hands, whether it was areas over which voluntary access had proved impossible to achieve, or sites of archaeological interest which might otherwise be damaged, or simply beauty spots which required management. Dower acknowledged a particular argument for the acquisition of hill farms by the state but he did not recommend the blanket acquisition of land.[23]

In this light it is helpful to see the 1949 act as a further dimension of what has come to be called 'state-directed agriculture'.[24] The third part of the act, on the provision of access to open ground, established a process which could compel landowners to allow access to uplands if they would not enter into a voluntary agreement. Compensation might be offered. This was a device to allow access to areas such as the Dark Peak in Derbyshire where land had been closed to walkers in the 1930s by a mixture of private and municipal owners, the former concerned about their grouse and the latter about the maintenance of pure water supplies. The arrangements reflected a form of hybridity characteristic of the post-war Labour government. The freehold of the land would not be confiscated, but the owners would have their palms crossed with government gold, and if that were not enough to being them into line, ultimately they would be compelled to implement the government's policy.

As we noted, this was not fully understood at the time. The very word 'national' created expectations. People occasionally behaved, and voiced the belief, that all property had been thrown into some form of communistic form of possession with the creation of the parks, and, in effect, there was no longer such a thing as trespass. A letter from the Lake District Safeguarding Society – apparently a lobby group for landlords and tenants – told a possibly apocryphal story in late 1938 but made a serious point:

[22] M. Tichelar, 'The Labour Party, agricultural policy and the retreat from rural land nationalisation during the Second World War', *AgHR* 51 (2003), pp. 209–25.

[23] Dower, *National Parks,* pp. 45–6.

[24] Brian Short, Charles Watkins and John Martin (eds), *The front line of freedom (2006); Brian Short, The battle of the fields. Rural community and authority in Britain during the Second World War* (2014).



FIGURE 1. 'This land is yours'. Cutting from *News Chronicle*, 8 Dec. 1953

> It was felt that misapprehension arises from the rather unfortunate name by which the project has become known. One member told of a party of hikers who had invaded his grounds. When gently informed that they were on private property, they retorted, 'Ah, just you wait till we've got our national park here'. The word 'park' conjures up ideas and suggests rights and privileges for the public which are certainly not advocated by the most ardent supporters of the proposal. It is difficult to find the right title, but 'National Reserve' might be better than 'National Park'.[25]

Attitudes such as this and some wild rhetoric in the press plainly served to alienate not only landowners but also the residents of the national parks. As an example of this, when the Designation Order for the Yorkshire Dales was published in December 1953, a newspaper published a map of the projected park under the headline 'This Land Is Yours' with an opening paragraph 'All this land, rugged and wild, pastoral and lovely, is to belong to the nation. The Yorkshire Dales National Park will be its name and it will cover 680 square miles' (Figure 1).[26]

[25] *Yorkshire Post* (hereafter *YP*), 25 Nov. 1938.

[26] *News Chronicle* 8 Dec. 1953 (a clipping in NYRO, NRCC/P/YD1), echoing Woodie Guthrie's song, 'This land is your land', recorded by him in 1944.

This was a problem of which the National Parks Commission was all too aware. Pauline Dower, John Dower's widow, who was one of the founding members of the commission, reported on:

> the almost universal ignorance revealed as to the effect of designation [of land as a national park], many people thinking, for example, that access to all privately held land would automatically follow.[27]

Roland H. Wade, over many years a voluble correspondent to the *Yorkshire Post* on behalf of national parks[28], had a letter published in October 1950 after a West Riding County Councillor had been quoted as arguing for the exclusion of land in the south of the county from the Peak District National Park.

> The area is a water collection area for local authorities and they want protection from contamination. Naturally, if it becomes part of the National Park, there will be people walking over it and there will be danger of contamination.

Wade replied:

> the idea seems to be based on a misconception as to the purpose of the National Park. When a National Park is created the land within it does not become public land … There is nothing in the National Parks and Countryside Act, 1949, to say that the public can have unlimited access to all land in the National Parks.[29]

Two years later Wade had a full length article in the Leeds paper titled 'Misunderstandings about the National Parks' which started with the anecdote that that 'an enterprising motor-mower firm recently asked the National Parks Commission for a contract to cut the grass in their parks'. He went on:

> The National Park idea has probably suffered more from its name than from any other cause. There is confusion with the national parks in the United States and Africa, which are nature reserves where wild animals are protected; the word 'national' suggests nationalisation of the land and an invasion by hoards of unruly townsmen; 'park' suggests railings, turnstiles, litter. A national park means none of these things. … there is no change of ownership, no railings surround it, there is no more access than before.[30]

Lord Bolton told an anecdote to a reporter from the *Yorkshire Post*. He had found two unknown people in the entrance hall of Bolton Hall in Wensleydale admiring the paintings.

> They were a respectable couple … They were very polite but I pointed out, equally politely I hope, that Bolton Hall was a private house. They said they thought it was going to be in the

[27] COU 2/1, Minutes of the National Park Commission, 13th Meeting, 13 Mar. 1951, Minute 149 (1).

[28] The first letter of Wade's in the *Yorkshire Post* on a conservation topic is of 11 Apr. 1936. He was active in both CPRE and the Friends of the Lake District. John Cousins, *Friends of the Lake District: the early years* (2009), pp. 101–2.

[29] *YP*, 16, 25 Oct. 1950.

[30] 'Misunderstandings about the national parks', *YP*, 1 Nov. 1952. On this occasion Wade was writing as Chairman of the Leeds and Lower Dales branch of the CPRE. (This had been established in 1948: *YP,* 6 Oct. 1948.)

> National Park area and they did not think that it would be wrong to anticipate that. They were rather indignent that I should ask them to leave.

This drew a further letter from Wade. 'The root of the misunderstanding about National Parks seems to be the word "park" which gives the impression that the land in a national park is open for the public to wander at will. This is, of course, a fallacy.'[31]

So whilst the establishment of a national park stopped well short of the nationalization of land, it is interesting to ask whether landowners had any choice about being included in a national park. And the answer is that they did not. Here we need to consider the processes to be gone through to secure park status. The areas of potential parks had been identified first by Addison, then in greater detail by Dower, and then by Hobhouse who provided maps of the twelve parks that he proposed. The 1949 Act lay down a two-phase process to create a national park. First the National Parks Commission, after consulting locally, brought forwards proposals which were advertised and which contained a right of appeal. This was designation. Objections went to the Ministry of Local Government and Housing, and it was for the Minister to convene a public enquiry to consider the National Park Commission's proposal and hear objections to it. He then received a report from the enquiry's inspector and on the basis of this issued a confirmation order. Now it can be argued that this process was, in a real sense, undemocratic. The selection of national park areas had been made by government committee – of course, one could argue that they chose themselves – and there was a degree of horse trading involved within the committees.[32] The National Parks Commission went to some trouble to inspect the areas before announcing its designation proposals, and acted on suggestions it received. In the case of the Yorkshire Dales it adjusted the boundaries originally proposed to remove the towns of Settle and Richmond, and some small areas of agricultural land. But in effect the decision that there would be a Yorkshire Dales National Park had been taken some years before anyone locally was asked their opinion, and when a public process was commenced, it was less about the desirability of the park than its exact boundaries. Hence we might find that popular opposition was articulated less rather than more, simply because opposition might well be seen to be hopeless. Occasionally local opposition had an effect: the Quantocks escaped being a part of the Exmoor National Park after local opposition, but it might be held that the whole idea of a national park in Somerset was unpopular, and the exclusion of the Quantocks was an expedient manoeuvre to secure the larger objective.[33]

II

As an area of scenic beauty, the Yorkshire Dales lagged in the public mind behind the Lake District and the Peak District in Derbyshire. Nonetheless, the establishment of the Addison Committee in September 1929 provoked some discussion of whether the Dales should be a

[31] *YP*, 8 Apr., 10 Apr. 1954.

[32] See here Cherry, *Environmental Planning*, II, pp. 52–5 for the volatility of the Hobhouse committee's dozen recommended parks

[33] Ibid., p. 113.

national park (although what was thought of seems to have been a fairly narrow zone around Malham rather than the more extensive tract of land designated in 1952).

In January 1930 the *Yorkshire Post's* London correspondent published an article on 'National Parks in the North'. He had evidently been talking to the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society whose spokesman suggested that the commons of Yorkshire and Cumberland were particularly suited for national park status. An unnamed authority was quoted as saying that the Pennine watershed area from Northumberland to Derbyshire would make a suitable national park: another one might be the Yorkshire coast from Whitby to Scarborough. The Lake District, this unnamed authority suggested, was less of a concern being 'generally remote from threatened development schemes'. The Yorkshire Moorland area would serve well as both an area for public recreation and for wildlife preservation. This article provoked a letter from J. C. Appleyard of Torver near Coniston who pressed the claim of the Lake District, adding that it was not safe at all but was being subjected to new 'hideous buildings' on an almost weekly basis 'and one of its fine valleys is even now threatened with a long line of unsightly electricity pylons'. He ended by saying that in his opinion, the two leading candidates of the north of England for national park status were the Lake District and the sea coast. This small controversy was followed by an article by the popular Yorkshire novelist Phyllis Bentley in which she expressed herself in favour of national parks, and, weighing the possibilities, came down in favour of the 'Pennine chain' between Lancashire and Yorkshire. There was, then, no consensus over the most desirable areas for national park status.[34]

There was some developing interest in the Yorkshire Dales. On 15 February 1930 the *Yorkshire Post* carried a notice of a meeting of town planners in Manchester to consider the designation of the Forest of Bowland as a national park (an ambition still to be achieved). Before it had met, the Keighley regional town planning committee passed a resolution recommending Malham Cove be given park status. There was concern during 1929–30 over buildings being erected close to the Cove; this attracted some newspaper interest with one columnist asking whether Malham could not be put under the control of an authority like the National Trust.[35] At the conference on 10 March, the Manchester and District Joint Planning Advisory Committee agreed to recommend to Addison's committee that national park status should be conferred on the Forest of Bowland, the area around Malham (including the Cove and Malham Tarn) and Dovedale in the Peak District, with selected areas acquired by the authority of an act of parliament.[36] Two of the witnesses who appeared before the Addison committee also suggested areas of the Dales suitable for treatment as national parks. Professor Patrick Abercrombie suggested the area of the Three Peaks or Swaledale. The geographer Dr Vaughan Cornish argued that the parks should be chosen as representatives of landscape types, and recommended a broad sweep of land between Ingleton and Kilnsey from west to east and from Settle to Horton in Ribblesdale, but including the summits of Ingleborough and

[34] *YP*, 7, 10 and 14 Jan. 1930.

[35] I hope to write about this episode on another occasion: 'Some consequences of a bungalow at Malham Cove'. See the *Yorkshire Post*, 3 Oct. 1929, 'A nature lovers diary. National Parks'.

[36] See the summary of their proposals in the Addison Report, pp. 80–4: a copy of their printed advocacy document is in TNA, HLG 52/720.

Pen-y-Ghent.[37] Addison's committee drew back from making recommendations about which areas should have national park status conferred on them, simply offering a résumé of the suggestions they had received.

The idea of a Bowland-Malham park received some support locally. Local initiatives came together at a meeting convened by the West Riding Ramblers Federation in February 1933 which established an action group to press government for the creation of a national park in Malhamdale and the Forest of Bowland.[38] But a year later the annual conference of the 'Bowland-Malhamdale national reserve committee' were told that '[N]o aid would be forthcoming from the State with regard to the establishment of National Parks for some considerable time'.[39]

> The government had made it clear that they could give no financial support to any such schemes and could take no action beyond that made possible under the Town and Country Planning Act 1932.[40]

Planning controls might well have offered the way forwards. The rural district councils covering the southern Dales area (Sedbergh, Settle and Skipton) announced their intention of producing a joint planning scheme in 1937. By the outbreak of war, planning protection had been extended to virtually all of the area later incorporated into the national park but in very different ways. Under the act, planning was a responsibility of the rural and urban district councils. The Clerk to the North Riding County Council, H. L. Thornley (later Sir Hubert) seized the initiative by commissioning a county-wide report from Abercrombie and then persuading the second-level authorities to cede their planning powers to the county council, which all but two agreed to. Thornley then appointed a planning officer, S. Lee Vincent, in 1934. The result was an organized and centralized planning regime conducted by the County Council. In the West Riding however, the County Council was much more hands off and left the various urban and district councils to develop their own joint planning authorities.[41] This difference of approach had important consequences after the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act had transferred planning functions to the county councils.

Overall there was little pressure on the landscape of the Dales: no arterial roads were planned.[42] There was the usual problem of inappropriate buildings, roadside garages and advertising hoardings but nothing out of the ordinary. The Forestry Commission was sniffing around for land to purchase on the eve of the Second World War, but no afforestation took place until long after the war.[43] The limestone uplands in the upper Dales were generally open to walkers. The moors where access was restricted by the requirements of either grouse moor owners or water companies were on the millstone grit lower down the Dales. The problem which emerged later was that of quarrying, but there seems to have been little concern about

[37] Addison Report, p. 106.

[38] 'National park plan campaign'; editorial, 'Bowland and Malham', 4 Feb. 1933.

[39] *Leeds Mercury*, 17 Sept. 1934.

[40] *YP*, 26 Feb. 1934.

[41] Hoyle, 'Some consequences of a bungalow at Malham Cove'; Sheail, 'Introduction of statutory planning'.

[42] See here the wartime assessments of John Dower, especially his 'Reconstruction in the Yorkshire Dales, IV, Building', *Yorkshire Dalesman* 4 (6) (1942), p. 104 and W. S. Cameron, 'A suggested West Riding regional park', *Yorkshire Dalesman* 5 (12), (1945), pp. 224–7.

[43] *Manchester Guardian*, 30 Nov. 1937; 24 Jan. 1938.

this in the 1930s. Conversely, the Dales had no pressure group or amenity society to make its case. A suggestion of a society for Yorkshire Dales folk, both local and scattered, in 1936, seems to have come to nothing: it had as one of its aims the conservation of the Dales.[44] The *Dalesman*, initially the *Yorkshire Dalesman*, was launched in April 1939: its readership (then as now) may well have been Dales people living away as much as Dales residents. CPRE seems to have come late to the Dales.[45] As there was little or no conflict with landlords and their gamekeepers, the ramblers' groups were much less of a force than those of Manchester and Sheffield.

III

Whilst in the 1930s there was little government interest in the national parks agenda, they came to feature prominently in the planning for post-war reconstruction. The Scott Report thought that national parks were long overdue. The idea of the national park ceased to be the possession of the lobby groups and became a concern of government.

There was no danger that the Yorkshire Dales would be overlooked as a potential national park. The reason for this was the emergence of John Dower (1900–47) as one of the leading advocates of national parks.[46] Dower was born in Ilkley. He trained as an architect and was responsible for designing the Malham Youth Hostel which opened in July 1938.[47] He later lived in Kirkby Malham. In 1938 Dower wrote the Standing Committee on National Parks pamphlet, *The case for national parks in Great Britain,* and then appears speaking to an number of sympathetic societies: to the National Housing and Town Planning Council in Harrogate in November 1938 and at the annual meeting of the Friends of the Lake District in May 1939 (where he expressed optimism that attitudes had changed over the previous few months and that public support for a national park policy was growing).[48] In 1942, after being invalided out of the army (having contracted the TB which was to kill him), he joined the civil service. Dower was then given oversight of rural policy successively in the Ministry of Works and Planning and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. He was commissioned by the ministry to investigate possible locations for National Parks, work which finally resulted in the publication of the eponymous Report of May 1945.

Between June and November 1942 Dower published a series of six articles in the *Yorkshire Dalesman* on post-war 'Reconstruction in the Yorkshire Dales'.[49] In the third of these ('The open air') Dower argued that open-air recreation was second only to farming in the uses made of the Dales landscape. The Dales were 'a beautiful country, to be kept beautifully'. He did not underestimate the problems of retaining that beauty and restraining unsightly and unwelcome development and promised to deal with them in a future article. Here he

[44] *YP*, 6 Mar. 1936.

[45] The establishment of a Craven branch was announced in 1948: the *Yorkshire Dalesman* 9 (12), (Mar. 1948), pp. 423–4; also 10 (3) (June 1948), p. 88.

[46] For Dower, see ODNB; also John Sheail, 'John Dower, national parks and town and country planning in Britain', *Planning Perspectives* 10 (1995), pp. 1–16.

[47] *YP*, 18 July 1938.

[48] *YP*, 23 Nov. 1938, 22 May 1939.

[49] John Dower, 'Reconstruction in the Yorkshire Dales', *Yorkshire Dalesman* 4 (1942), (3), pp. 44–8; (4), pp. 64–7; (5), pp. 84–6; (6), pp. 103–4; (7), pp. 124–7 and (8), 144–6.

turned his attention to rambling. He did not think that there was any inherent conflict between farmers and ramblers. He accepted that some ramblers were 'careless, ignorant or loutish' but thought that farmers stood to gain far more from the ramblers than they would cost them. It was in the desire of ramblers to have access to the high moorlands where he envisaged trouble. The 1939 Access to Mountains Act was unsatisfactory and he expected its repeal before its terms had been put into effect. Rather he expected conflict with the owners of grouse moors and the water boards, the one concerned about their shooting and the other the purity of water. He advocated access to grouse moors except on shooting days. The water boards should chlorinate the water they supplied. He looked for better signposting of footpaths, the provision of more accommodation 'to deal with the post-war flood of visitors'. There needed to be stronger protection of both flora and fauna including 'nature sanctuaries' to which public access was limited.

> Preservation of the landscape (and of the farming on which it depends), freedom and facilities for open-air recreation and protection of wildlife in the best of Britain's larger stretches of beautiful, wilder country, these are precisely the purposes of the 'National Parks' which people so widely desire and which government seems at last to regard with favour as an element in post-war reconstruction

Dower thought that the Lake District had an unanswerable claim to being a national park but that at least some of the dales – Wharfedale above Bolton Abbey, Malham, Upper Ribblesdale and the Three Peaks – should all come high on any list of potential national park areas. He did not, on this occasion, make any mention of Swaledale and Wensleydale.

His final article discussed the 'ways and means' by which his vision could be achieved and was therefore chiefly concerned with planning, but here he barely mentioned national parks as the vehicle through which control might be exercised. The fullest discussion of a future Dales national park came from another writer, W. S. Cameron who was at this time the Leeds City Engineer.[50] Cameron argued that 'the wilder type of country' was best suited for national parks and here he mentioned the Lake District, Snowdonia and the Grampians. He also saw a need for parks placed nearer to the industrial conurbations which were accessible by urban populations on a weekend, and this led him to argue for a system of 'lesser national or regional parks'. Their status would prevent them suffering the wrong type of development. They might be elevated to full national park status at a later date. Cameron particularly wanted to see the development and marking of footpaths, but also provision to be made for people who wanted country cottages or to retire to the country. For this reason he urged the controlled development of villages. The careful planning of holiday camps and camping sites would be permitted: ribbon development would be banned. Bungalow and shack building would be held in check. Cameron, hardly surprisingly given his professional concerns, saw the answer as lying in the careful zoning and planning of the countryside. The area he had in mind for his regional park was essentially the northern part of the West Riding from Skipton

[50] Cameron, 'Suggested West Riding Regional Park'. He also gave a lecture on a similar theme, *YP,* 1 Dec. 1943. For Cameron see the account of his career in *YP,* 8 July 1942 when he was elected President of the Town Planning Institute. He retired in 1947 after 44 years of service: *YP,* 30 Apr. 1952.

to Dent, but he also included the south side of Wensleydale in the North Riding. The map accompanying his article excluded all the major towns (so Skipton, Settle, Ingleton, Sedbergh, Hawes and Askrigg) but it included a much larger area than Dower had envisaged.

Dower's and Cameron's contributions showed how the whole question of national parks was developing quickly in the middle war years both in terms of the institutional form a national park should take but also the areas that they might encompass. There was an initial assumption that there might be only two or three national parks. Elsewhere small areas of supremely important landscape might be protected, but over time the number of projected national parks came to grow in number and to incorporate much larger areas. So in the case of the Yorkshire Dales the Dower report placed the Craven Pennines (upper Wharfedale, upper Airedale (including Malham) and upper Ribblesdale in the first tranche of national parks, and then the 'Swaledale Pennines' (with parts of Wensleydale and the Howgill Fells) in his second list of 'possible future national parks'.[51] Dower was a member of the Hobhouse Committee which identified a Yorkshire Dales National Park consisting of Dower's Craven Pennines and Swaledale Pennines, and finally Dentdale and the Howgills were added to make the Yorkshire Dales National Park as it was created in 1954.[52] As it developed in this way, the national park came to incorporate much larger areas of farmland within its boundaries and this was to produce dissension. It also crossed a county boundary and so the park acquired two masters. Overall though, it is important to appreciate that the idea of some form of Yorkshire Dales National Park had been canvassed for twenty years before the passage of the 1949 act. The idea was surely a familiar one: it was not called into existence by either Dower, Hobhouse or the implementation of the 1949 act.

IV

Everyone must have been aware of the direction of the wind after the publication of the Hobhouse report. The Yorkshire Dales were to become a national park. Of course, what this meant in practice was not plain for a few more years. But at this stage there is little evidence of opposition, or local grumbling. Perhaps people were sanguine about the implications, or perhaps they thought that it would not happen. In November 1949 Tom Stephenson, the honorary secretary of the Ramblers Association, told an audience of ramblers at Bradford and a Youth Hostels Association meeting at Halifax later in the month that the creation of a Dales national park was not inevitable, and it needed to be lobbied for. A year later it was reported that youth hostellers were 'apathetic' towards the creation of a national park.[53] It was October 1952 before the boundaries of the projected park were sent to the relevant local authorities for comment. The one that moved to reject the whole idea was Sedbergh Rural District Council which may not have been expecting to be included within the national park's boundaries. (It was not included in the park as projected by Hobhouse.)[54] Councillor Parkinson was quoted

[51] See Glover, '"In good hands"', Map 2. This map shows all of Dower's candidate areas but only appeared in an earlier draft of the report and not in the published version.

[52] Cherry, *Environmental Planning*, II, pp. 42–3, 53.

[53] *YP*, 2 Nov., 28 Nov. 1949; 11 Dec. 1950.

[54] For the following, *YP*, 31 Oct. 1952.

as saying that 'It is going to be like living in a native reserve with a lot more people telling us what to do'.[55] Another councillor expressed a fear of new regulations.

> We have seen what has happened in the Lake District and we do not want it to happen here. Roofs of farm buildings would have to be painted some colour or other and there would be all sorts of regulations.

Several members wanted the rural council area to be omitted from the park: 'It was agreed that no opportunity should be lost of objecting to the inclusion of the area if the district was not going to benefit'. The Conservative member of parliament for Skipton, G. B. Drayson, put in an appearance at Dent, saying 'he wished to congratulate rural councillors on their determination to resist further interference by officials'. Drayson viewed the National Parks Act as a 'Socialist measure to nationalise the countryside': 'the Yorkshire Dales are what they are because they have always been left alone'.[56] Drayson though seems to have made no further public utterances about the national park, or at least none that can be discovered. An account of his annual meet-the-people tour of his constituency in the summer of 1953 does not suggest that the national park was a subject of complaint.[57] Whilst Sedbergh failed to escape the park, Settle and Richmond both did, the park's boundaries being redrawn to exclude them.[58] But the national park does not seem to have met any local demand or caught local interest and of the local councils, only Richmond Borough went so far as to lodge an appeal against the designation notice.[59]

V

Opposition to the national park came less from the rural district councils and councillors than from the two county councils between which the Dales were divided (Map 1).[60] The North Riding County Council (NRCC) under its clerk H. L. Thornley, had some experience of national parks having already been forced to accommodate the North Yorkshire Moors National Park which had been designated in February 1952 and confirmed (after an enquiry had been held) the following November. Thornley appears to have been eager not to lose a

[55] In 1949 the Vicar of Staveley in Westmorland went so far as to express fears that under the National Park, Lakeland residents would be treated 'as a type of American Indian, dwelling there by kind permission of the authorities' and that 'the inhabitants should live in reservations for the curious gaze of visitors'. *YP*, 18 Feb., also 30 Mar. 1949. The colonial overtones are made explicit here, but the word 'reserve' was used in the 1930s as an alternative to 'park' (as in the Bowland-Malhamdale National Reserve Committee) and see the example on p. 289 above.

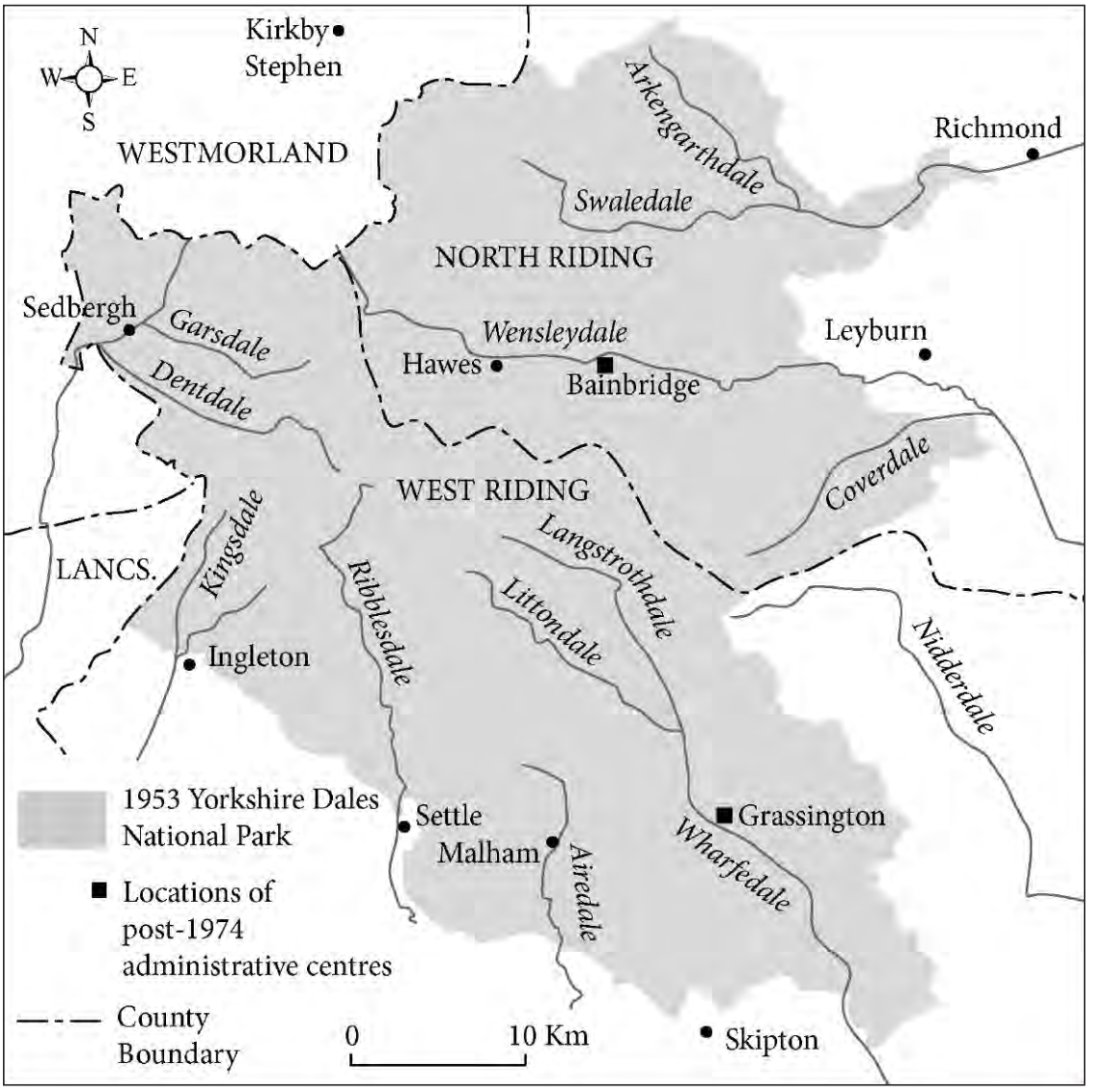
[56] *YP*, 1 Nov. 1952.

[57] 'Few questions for Skipton MP', *YP*, 13 Aug. 1953, '550 miles tour of constituency', *YP*, 22 Aug. 1953.

[58] 'Settle may be excluded from National Park', *YP*, 8 Dec. 1952. YD1, letters from Reeth, Leyburn and Richmond RDCs saying they would not oppose designation, Dec. 1953.

[59] COU 1/845 (1C), 'Summary of comments received from local authorities'.

[60] This section is largely based on the NPC's files now in the National Archives and two files of papers from the archive of the North Riding County Council, NYRO, NRCC/P/YD1 and 2 (hereafter YD1, YD2). A third file is labelled 'Mr Thornley's National Park papers'. Kenyon shared his correspondence with Thornley and so taken together these files contain most of the correspondence between the two councils and the NPC. It should be noted that the title of Clerk applied to what we would now call the chief executive of the county council.



MAP 1. Yorkshire Dales National Park. Drawing: Catherine Glover.

further part of his county to a national park and worked to have the confirmation delayed or, if that were not possible, to neuter the park authority. Bernard Kenyon, the clerk to the West Riding County Council (WRCC), seems to have been more accepting of the national park, perhaps because his authority had more Labour members who were sympathetic to it. The WRCC were already the junior partners in the joint board for the Peak District National Park.

On 3 June 1952 Harold Abrahams, the secretary of the Commission, wrote to the clerks of the two county councils, alerting them to the fact that the Commission was going to consider the designation of the Dales as a national park, and would be sending a party of commissioners

and officers to spy out the terrain one weekend in July. He was at pains to say that no decision had been taken, and if it was decided to proceed to designation, then there would be an opportunity for consultation.[61]

The West Riding's attitude at this stage and the practical problems that it anticipated were outlined at a private meeting of Abrahams and Kenyon in July. Kenyon warned that there would be considerable opposition to a joint board. Abrahams countered by saying that the Commission would press for the Act to be implemented in the way parliament intended and it would not agree to a joint advisory committee. Kenyon outlined his opposition to a board on several grounds, the first, geography. The county boundary followed natural geographical features. Second, the organization of the counties was very different, The West Riding delegated where the North Riding had centralized everything.[62] A joint board would span very different arrangements and, if it was created, and was seen to work, then the NRCC would be faced with arguments for the same delegation to be extended throughout the county. Third, he expected strong opposition to the appointment of a single planning officer covering the whole area. But Kenyon was plainly not ill-disposed to the West Riding Dales being made a national park, and he made the practical suggestion that the Commission should meet with the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the County Council. He thought that the gesture would be appreciated and helpful for both sides.[63] The idea of a meeting was not immediately followed up.

The intention to move to designation was communicated to the two county councils by a letter of 10 September. Thornley replied expressing surprise at the extent of the area to be designated and requesting the NPC's assurance that there would be no attempt to establish a joint board.[64] Kenyon wrote to Thornley clearly trying to concert a joint response: Thornley was cool about this, suggesting that there was no point meeting until his planning committee had met, but urging that they agree to oppose any idea of a joint board.[65]

Abrahams wrote to Thornley on 18 September acknowledging that the council's committees needed to meet before the council could offer a response, but also saying that as the National Parks Commission was being criticized in parliament and elsewhere for the slowness of its progress, it would have to press on by circulating the park boundary maps. The issue of management boards having been raised, Abrahams pointed to the clear intention of the 1949 act to create Joint Boards where a park spanned a county boundary.[66] Writing to Thornley on the same day, Kenyon thought that his council would resist any suggestion of a national park for the Dales. If they failed in this point of view, then they would object to a joint board and argue for an advisory committee alone.[67]

As the date for the announcement of designation drew close, Abrahams revived Kenyon's suggestion of a meeting with the Chairman of the WRCC.[68] This was agreed within the Commission and it was arranged that representatives of the two sides would meet for

[61] Copy in YD1 with commissioners' itinerary.

[62] Kenyon did not expound on this, but it reflects the way in which the different implementations of the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act (see above p. 293) had been carried forwards as arrangements under the 1947 act.

[63] Memo for NPC chairman, COU1/908 (27).

[64] YD1, Abrahams to Thornley 10 Sept. and reply 12 Sept.

[65] YD1, Kenyon to Thornley, 11 Sept. and reply 13 Sept.

[66] YD1, Abrahams to Thornley, 18 Sept. 1952.

[67] YD1, Kenyon to Thornley 18 Sept.

[68] COU 1/908 (28).

dinner at the Queen's Hotel in Leeds on 6 October. Representing the NPC were Sir Patrick Duff (chairman) and Abrahams.[69] For the WRCC, the chairman of the council, Alderman Tomlinson, the chairman of the Planning Committee, Alderman Sir Bertram Wilson and his deputy chairman, County Councillor Nicholson, attended together with Kenyon and Arthur Bates, the County Planning Officer. Duff opened by saying that the NPC had decided to move to designation. Once the designation had been published, suggestions for amendments could be submitted. As for administration, parliament had made provision for the establishment of a Joint Board when a park spanned planning authorities and the NPC would argue for this, although the final decision lay with the minister.

Alderman Wilson immediately conceded the suitability of the Dales as a national park and turned to questions of administration. He reiterated a point made by Kenyon to Abrahams. 'The North and West Ridings were very different in temperament and outlook and the mere paper construction of a Joint Board would not produce the unity of purpose desired by the National Parks Commission'. He spoke from the experience of trying to operate a joint board for agricultural education. Hence he thought that the WRCC would be 'wholeheartedly' supportive of a separate planning committee, and if a Joint Advisory Committee was set up, they would find that the County Committee would really listen to their views. They would employ a planning consultant. So Wilson argued that the NPC should agree to the creation of a Joint Advisory Committee for five years: if at the end of that period the results were unsatisfactory, then they could proceed to establish a joint board. Duff, however, stood by a joint board. He did not see how the park could be seen as a single unit without one. Each county would only be concerned with its own portion of the park rather than the needs of the park overall.

Because of their preoccupation with a Joint Board, the NPC seem to have missed the subtext of what was being said to them. The West Riding welcomed the designation of the Dales. Given an agreement to have a county committee, they would take the park seriously and fund it appropriately. There was no expectation on their part that the North Riding would do that and whatever the practical problems of administering a park which crossed a major watershed, the West Riding did not wish to be held back by the North Riding who they saw as temperamentally quite different to them. The dinner at the Queen's Hotel ended amicably but without any agreement. There was no parallel meeting with the North Riding authorities: there was discussion within the NPC about whether there should be, but as the North Riding had never asked for a meeting, it was finally agreed that a meeting was unnecessary. This seems to have been a major mistake as well as showing a lack of courtesy.[70] Thus, not really understanding the local politics, the NPC plunged into designation.

[69] See the minute of the meeting at COU1/908 (57).

[70] Kenyon told Thornley of the meeting (but in deliberately vague terms) and stressed that the West Riding had stated its opposition to a Joint Board. YD1, Kenyon to Thornley, 16 Oct. 1952.

VI

On 8 October Abrahams wrote formally to the councils announcing the Commission's intention to designate the national park and supplying a printed account of its boundaries. An announcement was made in the press.[71] At about this time the Number One planning sub-committee in the North Riding declared its objection to any new national park in the county, and insisted that if one was to go ahead, then Richmond and lower Swaledale must be omitted. The county planning committee, when it met on 31 October, took a softer line. It accepted the idea of a park but on three conditions: that the existing planning arrangements were left unaltered, that a joint advisory committee be established, and Richmond and the townships of lower Swaledale excluded. This was relayed to Abrahams on 5 December. The West Riding seemed more accepting of the park. Kenyon, on the other hand, told Thornley on 8 December that his planning sub-committee had agreed to the principle of a park provided it had a joint advisory committee, and had asked for the adjustments of its boundaries in small respects (notably the exclusion of Settle). This was communicated to Abrahams after the full county planning committee had met on 22 December.[72]

The Commission responded by sending three commissioners to look at the areas recommended for exclusion. On their recommendation the boundary at Settle was redrawn to exclude the town and the West Riding appears to have been satisfied with this and a number of other small changes. On 19 March though, the NPC wrote to the NRCC to say that it would concede the exclusion of Richmond but not the townships of lower Swaledale: and after inspection, it wished to include more of Coverdale in the park.[73] When it met on 24 April, the North Riding county planning committee was unable to decide its attitude and referred the NPC's proposals back to the sub-committees. When it met again on 31 July, it offered no view of the area to be designated, but referred to the objections being made by Leyburn RDC about the inclusion within the park of their water-gathering grounds which, they feared, would be polluted by walkers. It also suggested that this was not the right moment for designation and that the county council should first gain experience of managing the North Yorkshire Moors National Park.[74]

This was relayed to Abrahams on 6 August.[75] He wrote back on 14 October after a meeting of the Commission.[76] The time for consultation had ended. Although the NPC had been unable to persuade Leyburn to withdraw its objections, they now proposed to move to designation. They could not accept the argument that the designation should be deferred.[77] Thornley then

[71] YD1, Abrahams to Clerk of NRCC, 8 Oct. The map was published in the *Evening Gazette* 9 Oct., and mentioned in the *YP* on 10 October.

[72] YD1, Thornley to NPC, 5 Dec.; Kenyon to Thornley, 8 Dec., Kenyon to NPC, 22 Dec. Bates had canvassed the omission of Settle and other small boundary revisions on 7 Nov.; COU 1/839 (3) and subsequent correspondence.

[73] COU 1/840 (12A), Minutes of the Commissioners' visit to the Dales 23–5 Feb. 1953. YD1, Rathbone (NPC) to S. Lee Vincent, 19 Jan., Vincent to Rathbone, 27 Jan., Abrahams to NRCC, 19 Mar. The adjustments to boundaries are described in COU 1/838 and COU 2/203, Committee A, meeting of 9 Mar. 1953.

[74] YD1, Abrahams to Thornley, 19 Mar, 15 May; minutes of 24 Apr and 31 July; correspondence with the clerk of Leyburn RDC.

[75] Original letter COU 1/840 (20), circulated with commentary by Abrahams on 25 Aug. (25).

[76] COU 1/840 (26), copy in YD1.

[77] YD1, Abrahams to Thornley, 14 Oct. 1953.

wrote to Kenyon saying that as the Commission declined to defer designation, he was inclined to harden his position and oppose it, especially if the West Riding would take the same stance. Kenyon replied saying that he had heard nothing from the Commission since an acknowledgement of his letter of 22 December of the previous year. He had heard informally that the boundary revisions the council had sought had been accepted and he could not see how, having engaged in a discussion of boundaries, the West Riding could now move to oppose the whole idea of the park. On the other hand, he was still opposed to the idea of a joint board but was waiting to see what was proposed.[78]

At the North Riding Planning Committee held on 31 October, a resolution was passed saying that if the deferment of designation was unacceptable, then they reserved the right to oppose the scheme, and in particular they continued to insist that there should be no joint board. Again this was relayed to Abrahams in a letter saying that the Council felt that there was no advantage in having a Dales national park. This letter was communicated to the Commissioners at their meeting on 10 November 'and its contents noted with regret'. By this time the designation notice had been published with slightly amended boundaries from those which had been proposed initially. On 13 November, having been warned of the impending publication of the designation order, Kenyon wrote to Thornley seeking a meeting to concert their response. Whether they met is never disclosed.[79]

VII

The designation order was signed on 7 December 1953. The initiative then passed to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government with whom objections had to be lodged, and in whose gift the convening of an enquiry lay.[80] Kenyon wrote to the Ministry lodging his council's objections to the designation. It was plain that he had resolved the problem he mentioned to Thornley, of facing in two directions at once. He acknowledged that the West Riding's advice had been taken in making adjustments to the boundary. The council's planning committee had decided that they should not formally oppose the designation, but Kenyon had also been asked to express their view that they could not 'see that any advantage to the public will accrue from the setting up of the proposed park'. They were 'firmly of opinion that the powers of the existing local planning authorities were quite adequate to control development and preserve amenities within the area'. The committee would not be disappointed if the Minister shared their view that the park was unnecessary. Their attitude had also changed with their growing experience of the joint board for the Peak District National Park. They felt that it was far too expensive. To establish a joint board would involve unjustifiable expenditure. Results every bit as satisfactory could be achieved by continuing the existing arrangements under a Joint Advisory Committee.[81]

[78] YD1, Thornley to Kenyon 16 Oct. and reply 22 Oct. 1953; Thornley to Kenyon 23 Oct. 1953.

[79] YD1, minute 31 Oct. 1953, Thornley to NPC, 2 Nov. 1953 (copy in COU 1/840 (28)), and Abrahams to Thornley, 18 Nov. 1953. Kenyon to Thornley, 13 Nov. 1953.

[80] The objections received are presented, with the response of the National Parks Commission, in the file prepared for their counsel at the enquiry, contained in COU 1/845.

[81] HLG 92/134 (original letter): copy in YD1, Kenyon to Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 31 Dec. 1953.

Thornley penned his own response to the Ministry on 11 January 1954.[82] He offered four grounds to show that he was not to be left behind in the obfuscation stakes. First, his council was not 'wholly opposed', but thought that it was too soon to proceed to the designation. The public needed longer to become attuned to the 'idea and ideals' of a national park. Moreover, the County Council already had one national park within its boundaries and wished to gain experience of managing that before becoming involved in the administration of another. In time, the experience of the first park might persuade farmers and landowners that their worst fears were unjustified. Second, he contended that the part of the proposed park within their county was already adequately protected by the exercise of the existing planning powers. Third, if it was really felt that some stronger protection was needed, then it should apply only to the upland areas, the valley floors being given status as an Areas of Natural Beauty under Section 87 of the 1949 act. Indeed, Thornley argued that the valleys did not meet the criteria laid down in Section 5 of the act, of offering opportunities for open air recreation. (In their brief for the enquiry, the NPC commented, somewhat acidly, that the council envisaged a Yorkshire Dales National Park 'which contained no Dales'.[83]) Fourth, he insisted that a joint board would be both unnecessary and complicated to administer.

Given the fact that both councils had written letters which, if not quite objecting to the national park, contained considerable reservations about its creation, a public enquiry was probably inevitable. Perhaps anticipating one, Thornley had written in early December to the chairman of the County Planning Committee, Alderman W. R. Burrill-Robinson of Leyburn asking him to canvass opinion amongst his fellow landowners. He received a letter in mid-January from the County Secretary of the NFU asking about the council's attitude and suggesting that they would consider their response to the national park at a meeting to be held in February: Thornley warned them that they had only a matter of days left in which to lodge an objection, which they did.[84] He also sought the advice of other clerks of county councils as to their experience of the National Parks Commission, maintaining a correspondence with R. L. Rickards, the clerk of Somerset County Council, who was opposed to the designation of the Exmoor National Park (announced in January and confirmed in October 1954).

Other than the objections of the two county councils, the most important submission came from 750 members of the National Farmers Union submitted on their behalf by Freeman, Son and Curry solicitors of Darlington. Its arguments were largely congruent with those of the NRCC.[85] Freeman, Son and Curry pointed out that the valley bottoms of Wensleydale and Swaledale were exclusively agricultural land. It therefore proposed that the whole of the lower

[82] HLG 92/134, Thornley to Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 11 Jan. 1954, copy in YD2. A different view of the thinking of the NRCC comes from a minute of a conversation with S. Lee Vincent on 1 April. Vincent said that he personally favoured a park and believed that most of the county councillors did so too. The request of the county for a deferment until they had digested the North York Moors Park was perfectly genuine as was the request for a Joint Advisory Committee. Vincent thought that geography alone made a joint board unworkable. If there could be agreement on these points, he thought that opposition would disappear. COU 1/840 (34).

[83] COU 1 /844, Brief for counsel, p. 2.

[84] YD1, Thornley to Burrill-Robinson, 10 Dec; YD2, Secretary, North Riding and Durham branch of the NFU to Thornley, 14 Jan. 1954, with reply.

[85] Freeman, Son and Curry of Darlington were the solicitors for the NFU's North Yorkshire and South Durham branch and had appeared on their behalf at the enquiry into the North Yorkshire Moors National Park in 1952: *YP* 16 July 1952.

land in the two valleys be excluded and the boundaries of the national park redrawn to include only the high land. It justified this proposal by saying that the area was under an eradication plan for bovine TB. It feared that visitors to the Dales would leave gates open and allow the mixing of animals. Moreover it argued that the disease could be spread by them from one holding to another. Increased access would therefore undermine other government initiatives and waste government money. Moreover, a policy of encouraging tourists into the Dales would worsen the problem of sheep stealing by making it harder to identify and apprehend thieves. There was the possibility of conflicts between walkers and bulls. At a time when farmers were being encouraged to produce more for the national interest, the damage caused by walkers (and their dogs) would be an additional cost. All in all the national park would do nothing to advance the 'government's policy of full agricultural production'. For these reasons the minimum they sought was for the designation order to be deferred for three years: but they also argued that a national park authority would merely bring additional expense without any improvement in the efficiency of the planning authority. An assessment of their objections noted that:

> The exclusion of the agricultural areas from the park would leave the main areas of undeveloped moorland but remove from the control of any park board or committee almost all development within the areas as well as the places of rest, refreshment or recreation outside fell-walking.[86]

And this was doubtless the intention.

The Commission took the question of bovine TB eradication seriously and took advice to establish what weight it carried.[87] But overall they were somewhat dismissive of the objections. The Chairman of the Commission, Sir Patrick Duff, turned to Col. Gerald Haythornthwaite, a longstanding advocate of national parks, member of the Hobhouse Committee and of the Peak District National Park committee. He had been called on to give evidence at the North Yorkshire Moors enquiry the previous year. Would he be willing to do it again?

> In the Dales I have had representations submitted on behalf of 750 farmers whose apprehension is, as usual, that designation will lead to increased trespass and damage, sheep stealing etc etc. … You can see the sort of ammunition that will help me in resisting the objections of the Yorkshire Dales farmers: I wonder whether you would be able to provide me with any based on experiences in the Peak. An ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory.

Haythornthwaite was willing to say that overall the Peak District National Park had had a positive effect. It was hard to assess whether there was less damage and nuisance to farmers, but he did think that as there was now some 'serious attention being paid to improving countryside behaviour, farmers are less agitated by the problem'. He also thought that there was more public interest in farmers' problems than there had been, and some valuable initiatives were now taking place. He concluded, 'There is no doubt that, far from increasing farmers'

[86] COU 1/844 (5).

[87] COU 1/844 (10)–(14).The Ministry of Agriculture thought that there was nothing of substance in the argument. HLG 92/134, Minute of meeting with representatives of MAF, 7 Sept. 1954.

troubles and bad behaviour in the countryside, the National Park in the Peak is the means of putting an end to them'.[88]

One has the impression that the NPC were somewhat under-estimating their local opponent. In April, some weeks before the hearing, the *Yorkshire Post* carried a report by a correspondent who had plainly spoken to the county council and interviewed Lord Bolton at length.[89] The paper had been a supporter of national parks over the previous 20 years, but this article began:

> Who wants the Yorkshire dales area to be made into a national park? There appears to have been little public demand for it … Enquiries I have made in the area show that there will also be considerable opposition from the farming community. They will base their arguments on the adverse affects of an increase in the use of the countryside by people who have no knowledge of it and little respect for it. This fear … is shared by landowners in the area. … Inquiries show that the agricultural communities in the great cultivated valleys of the Dales area are very disturbed by the prospect before them. Some would go further and say that they are quite alarmed.

Lord Bolton, who we have already encountered chasing strangers out of the entrance hall of Bolton Hall, was acting as spokesman for this body of opinion although, as he admitted, his estate was only partly in the park. His opposition was based on the fact that large parts of the area designated were unsuitable for a park:

> Some areas, such as the Lake District and Snowdonia, both of which consist largely of mountains, are obviously suitable. But in this area there are large tracts, mainly in the valleys, which are intensively cultivated farmland. Townspeople who have not yet come to appreciate the countryside may not be able to do much damage on mountains, but they can do a tremendous amount of damage on agricultural land.

He accepted that in time people might be educated into how to behave in the countryside, but thought that this was a gamble, especially at a time when farmers were being encouraged to develop their land to the full, 'it seems quite iniquitous to lay the land open to the abuses which may come in with a national park'. So whilst Bolton acknowledged that there were 'real country lovers', some of whom were writing to him to oppose the park because they thought it would increase the number of visitors to the Dales:

> There is good reason to assume that there will be more hooliganism in the countryside, more gates left open, more ricks and woodlands fired, more dogs chasing sheep and sometimes being encouraged to do so, more poaching on private lands, more rabbit netting round young plantations broken down and more broken glass lying around.

In common with the county council, he was in favour of planning, but believed that the existing powers were perfectly adequate.

The article drew two letters in response, including the one from the veteran letter-writer Roland H. Wade which we cited earlier. Both drew attention to the fallacy that the national park would make the land any more open to visitors. The first pointed out that the law of

[88] COU 1/845 (4), (8), (11).

[89] *YP*, 8 Apr. 1954. 'Landowners' fears of Dales park'.

trespass remained in force. Wade made the observation that fears that the establishment of the park would produce 'an invasion of cultivated land by hoards of unruly townsmen' had not occurred in the Lake District and seemed unlikely to occur in the Dales.[90]

Bolton embroidered on his themes in a memorandum sent to the enquiry.[91] He was not against national parks, not even the Yorkshire Dales one. He was merely against the inclusion of Wensleydale and land like it in the park. This was, he argued, intensively cultivated land and therefore quite different from the parks already created. The moorland in the park could be made open to access whether the park was established or not, but:

> the land of the dale itself is enclosed into fields, many of them very small, which are farmed to the limit of their capacity by farmers and smallholders. It is my contention that the formation of a park would gravely endanger the livelihood of the community.

He envisaged gates left open, and problems if TB-attested cattle got out and mixed with those which were not attested. He was concerned about dogs running sheep; litter, and damage by fire. He poured scorn on the arguments of those in favour of the park. He accepted that the creation of the park did not give any additional rights of access, but in his experience 'the mere prospect of the Dale becoming a national park has, during the last two or three years, tended to give rise to the assumption that everything within it is open to the public'. He thought that the introduction of bylaws would do nothing to mitigate the problems he foresaw, nor the introduction of wardens, and argued that if those who maintained that the creation of the park would not increase visitor numbers were right, then why do it?

VIII

And so the scene was set for the public enquiry held at Northallerton on 13 May 1954.[92] The National Parks Commission was represented by counsel, J. Ramsey Willis. The two county councils were represented by their respective clerks. Leyburn RDC sent its clerk. The other opponents of the designation were the Bradford Angling Club, one private landowner and the NFU, North Riding and South Durham Branch, represented by Mr Freeman of Freeman, Son and Curry. Lord Bolton was represented by his agent. On the pro-national park side, there was Col. Haythornthwaite appearing for CPRE and the Standing Committee of National Parks, representatives of the Ramblers Association, the Youth Hostels Association, the Skipton Chamber of Commerce and the Cave Research Group.

Willis opened proceedings by attacking the objections made by the County Councils. He considered their objections to be really about the administration of the area and this was not properly the concern of the enquiry. The county councils maintained that the 1947 Planning Act was adequate: but Willis argued that parliament had held that it was not adequate when it passed the 1949 act which placed on the NPC the obligation to designate national parks. The suggestion that the Dales themselves should be excluded made a nonsense of the whole idea

[90] *YP*, 10 Apr. 1954.

[91] Copy with correspondence in HLG 92/134.

[92] The following is based on the minute of the enquiry in COU 1/846 (34). The inspector's report in HLG 92/134 gives a full account of the evidence presented.

of a Yorkshire Dales National Park. The NPC, he said, was not without sympathy for the idea that the designation be deferred until after the North Yorkshire Moors Park had bedded in, but could not accept it. He had sympathy too for the farmers and their anxieties: it was part of the Commission's job to educate people into good 'country manners'.

The North Riding was then called to give evidence. The County Planning Officer, S. Lee Vincent made three points. Strict planning controls in Wensleydale and Swaledale had been instituted in 1939 and 1942 respectively. He did not think that the valley bottoms fell within the terms of Section 5 of the act as they did not provide facilities for 'open air recreation'. And finally there would be no cost savings to the county council if a new authority was established. Alderman Burrill-Robinson, the chairman of the County Planning Committee, then gave evidence. He praised the job that his authority had been doing: 'he could not conceive of any improvement which could be effected by a new authority'.

Mr Kenyon was then called. Kenyon was not happy. He argued that Willis, appearing for the NPC, had made no case for the park and he thought that the inspector should adjourn the inquiry until he did. Kenyon stressed that the Dales were intensely cultivated: the park was merely an invitation for people to trespass. And Kenyon ended by saying.

> So far as we can see no advantage will accrue. It will merely be costly and we in Yorkshire do not think that is any virtue. We may be heretics in this, but we think it is going to cost a lot and produce little. We think it should be left alone.[93]

He then called on the West Riding's County Planning Officer, Mr Bates. He argued that the park was not a national one, but of interest only to people in Yorkshire and to a lesser extent Lancashire. The council had exercised a strict control over advertisements, camp sites and other developments: they could show that recreational facilities in the area were adequate. Bates went onto argue, contrary one might say, to the mind of parliament, that the 1947 Planning Act had made the Hobhouse Committee's report redundant. He felt that the area fell short of the requirements of Section 5 of the act for designation. In addition, nominations by the minister to the planning boards were undemocratic and likely to be unpopular. (In this, history proved him right.) The clerk of Leyburn Rural District Council appeared to argue for the exclusion of their water-gathering grounds from the park: they feared contamination of their supply and felt that the creation of a national park would increase the danger.

Counsel then appeared for Mr Hirst and the Bradford anglers, but contributed nothing of significance. Mr Hirst was forced to concede that the public could already walk along the banks of the rivers whose fishing they owned. Mr Freeman opened on behalf of the farmers with an account of a previous attempt to reduce Yorkshire to a national park (by the Normans). He enlivened matters by tipping a bag of litter and rubbish gathered by one of his clients from the shore of Semerwater onto the table in front of him, asking rhetorically how much more litter would be left if the national park came into existence. This was seized on in the following day's papers. But Freeman's main request was the exclusion from the park of the lowland pastures in Wensleydale and Swaledale (up to the 1000-foot contour).[94]

[93] COU 1/845 (34), p. 3.

[94] See the clippings in COU 1/844 (27a–d).

Freeman produced as a witness an Askrigg farmer, R. M. Hodgson.[95] His statement retails a number of now familiar objections: the dangers of bulls, the likely cost to the rates, the persistent damage to dry stone walls by people climbing them, the tuberculosis eradication scheme and the litter left by tourists. He thought that there was sufficient access to the open land of the fells and no need to make any new paths through the enclosed agricultural areas. Mr Hodgson agreed that farmers feared an increase in damage and trespass and the establishment of rights of access to the rough upland pastures. Mr Orde-Powlett spoke on behalf of Lord Bolton, but we have already reviewed his opinions.

The other witnesses spoke on behalf of the designation, including the Ramblers Association who called for an early designation under a Joint Board with executive powers, and relied heavily on the experience of the Peak District Park to argue that there was nothing to fear from this. Some witnesses thought that the farmers (or rather their wives) might benefit from the enhanced tourist trade. Mr Batts, speaking on behalf of the Youth Hostels Association, complained that the North Riding County Council had deliberately inflamed rather than allayed farmer's fears.[96]

Willis wound up by reducing the arguments against designation to three. There was a fear of trespass which the minister had addressed in his confirmation letter for the Peak District National Park: the authorities had a duty to understand and respect the needs of farmers. Second, there were those who felt that the 1949 act was not necessary. He could not accept this and reminded the enquiry of the terms of the 1949 act. Third, there was the objection to the inclusion of agricultural land, but the Minister had already ruled that the inclusion of such land was unavoidable. The fears that an inflow of people would hinder TB eradication was based on a misapprehension but the matter would be discussed further between ministries.

The inspector, in his report of 24 May, weighed the inclusion of agricultural land within the park.[97] He expressed himself appreciative of the farmer's fears.

> Designation may for them be the thin end of the wedge; it may mean a small scale invasion of their country by the urban population with all the bad manners of the town dweller, who has done so much to build up an unfortunate reputation; they know that no codes or regulation can insure the protection of their farms, flocks and herds; they foresee years of effort to build up on attested land brought to nought by the carelessness of a passer by. But at the same time it must be realised that Wensleydale, Swaledale, Bishopdale and Coverdale are not without roads and footpaths already open to the public.

[95] Hodgson described himself in his statement as a JP and ex-Chairman of the South Durham and North Yorkshire County Branch of the NFU. He held other public offices. He had been at Lowlands farm, Askrigg, since 1921 and farmed 240 acres with sheep rights. YD2, proof of Richard Mason Hodgson.

[96] COU 1/844 (34) (minutes of enquiry), p. 6. Batts's claim is almost certainly true. Thornley brought 'independent' witnesses forwards: Kenyon did not. We know that Thornley had seen and corrected Lord Bolton's statement: the drafts are in his file. Likewise Burrell-Robinson. He was told by Freeman of his stunt in advance. One suspects strongly that he inspired the newspaper coverage. YD2, letter, Bolton to Thornley, 23 Apr. 1954 enclosing draft statement; Thornley to Bolton making suggestions for amendments, 24 Apr. copy draft statement (n.d.); Freeman to Thornley 8 May 1954.

[97] HLG 92/134.

He could not support the exclusion of agricultural land from within the boundaries of the park and certainly could not accede to the request for the withdrawal of the whole of Wensleydale and Swaledale. There was no right of access to this land. 'The very name of the Park would lose its force if two such important dales were to be excluded.' Hence the inspector recommended that the designation order be confirmed.

The Minister saw no need to make any amendment to the order and wrote announcing his confirmation of the order on 8 October.[98] He had weighed the arguments made by the farmers' representatives and whilst not finding them groundless, did not consider that he would be justified in excluding areas of agricultural land from the park. Rather he placed some emphasis on the education of visitors to the countryside, and the fact that the establishment of the national park gave the public no additional rights of access. 'It would be impossible to confine the park to the uplands without removing some of the most attractive scenery'. He acknowledged, but gave short shrift to the arguments of the two county councils. As for Leyburn, he simply did not accept that an area should be excluded from a national park simply because it was a gathering ground for water. The Ministry recognized that to reduce the area of the park, or limit it to the upper moorland 'would bring about a great outcry and might set up frictions between the farmers and the ramblers rather than quieten it down'.[99]

The press response to the Minister's letter was perhaps muted. The *Yorkshire Post* carried a long précis of the Minister's letter with a map. At the end it quoted Mr Hodgson of Askrigg who expressed his disappointment and reiterated his fears of poor behaviour by visitors.[100] Leyburn renewed their protest about the inclusion of their gathering grounds. They were reminded that the protection of the water supply was their responsibility and that they might like to consider chlorination. As they had raised the matter, the Ministry looked forwards to being told how they would proceed.[101]

IX

This is far from the end of the story. Kenyon was dissatisfied with the conduct of the enquiry and took up his view that the NPC should have offered itself for cross-examination at the enquiry with Sir Thomas Sheepshanks, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Ultimately there was agreement that nothing could be done but Sheepshanks acknowledged that parts of the process were unsatisfactory and communicated this to the National Parks Commission.[102]

A note in the Ministry's file by A. B. Valentine of a conversation with Kenyon suggests that some of his complaints were feigned but pursued with a purpose.[103] Kenyon had only attended

[98] HLG 92/134 (a copy at COU 1/845 (35)).

[99] HLG 92/134, Macmillan to Sir Thomas Dugdale, [early] Oct. 1954.

[100] *YP* 13 Oct 1954, 'Victory for planners of Dales Park'.

[101] HLG 92/134, clerk of Leyburn RDC to Minister, 16 Nov. 1954 and reply.

[102] The correspondence between Kenyon and Sheepshanks, and Kenyon and Thornley about procedure can be found in 'Mr Thornley's file'. The question of appropriate process was discussed by the NPC: COU 2/1, 48th meeting, 15 June 1954, minute 594.

[103] HLG 92/134, Memo, A. B. Valentine, 14 July 1954.

the enquiry because the County Planning Officer, Arthur Bates, could not arrive before lunch. He was dissatisfied with Ramsey Willis's opening statement which, he claimed, only lasted ten minutes. But the North Riding's objections ended half an hour before lunch and so Kenyon was forced to get to his feet and introduce the West Riding's case. As he wasn't familiar enough with it, he extemporized with a critique of the Commission's procedure at the enquiry. If this had came about by accident, Kenyon also told Valentine that if he could be reassured:

> that there is not to be a board, his indignation about the proceedings would evaporate at once but implied that if we [the ministry] confirmed the order and tried to set up a Board, or had not by that time made our intentions plain in this regard, he might still try to go to court on the basis that no inquiry as required by the Act had taken place.

Kenyon had noticed that a different process had been employed at the Exmoor Enquiry in June. Lord Strang had appeared for the NPC and justified the need for a park.

Once the Minister had given his consent to the establishment of the park, the local planning authorities had three months in which to consult with the National Parks Commission on the administrative needs of the park. There was agreement – as we have seen – between the two counties that a Joint Board was unacceptable. They therefore sought the creation of a Joint Advisory Committee under Section 8 (2) of the act. The Councils took the initiative on this by sending near identical letters to the Ministry at the NPC at the beginning of December. The letters claimed that they had proved at the inquiry that the Dales were well managed by the councils. Whilst the designation would give them additional powers, there was no question that the two councils could continue to manage the Dales in an entirely satisfactory manner. A joint board 'would be an impediment to proper administration and would at the same time add costs'. In the West Riding's letter, they reiterated a point made two years earlier; 'that the West Riding cannot be accused of putting economy before the amenities of the area'. The council exercised its planning responsibilities through six area offices, one of which was at Skipton, which could continue to administer the West Riding Dales.

A meeting of the two councils with the NPC was held at the end of January: its minutes cannot disguise the fact that it was acrimonious in the extreme.[104] The county delegations were supplied with a copy of the Joint Advisory Committee arrangements for Snowdonia on their arrival. Once the meeting started, Kenyon immediately tore into them, saying how unacceptable they were. Abrahams was finally forced to intervene to say that it had been given to them to show the *minimum* they believed the minister would accept if no joint board was established. Lord Strang said that it was up to the counties to persuade the NPC that special circumstances existed in the Dales: Kenyon replied that the special circumstances were self-evident. Strang retorted that the NPC did not accept that view. In fact some commissioners were coming to favour a joint advisory committee. Pauline Dower wrote to Strang saying that an advisory committee would be better than having the park managed by two 'unwilling and resentful authorities forced into too close association on a Joint Board'.[105] Negotiations dragged on through 1955.[106] In March 1956 the minister conceded the establishment of an advisory

[104] See the minute, COU1/848 (34).

[105] COU 1/848 (25).

[106] There is much material on this in 'Mr Thornley's file'.

committee for an initial three years, not because he was persuaded that by the arguments of the two county councils that the park was not a single unit and lacked a natural administrative centre, but on grounds of economy.[107]

The new park was therefore hobbled from its origins by the two county councils. In effect it was run as two halves by the planning departments of the parent county councils with an 18-member Joint Advisory Committee, of whom six were appointed by each county council and six by the minister. The West Riding committee met for the first time on 11 April 1957 and the North Riding committee on 17 July 1957. The Joint Advisory Committee did not meet until September 1957. These arrangements – which had been envisaged to be temporary – remained in force until 1974.[108]

The two committees were supported by the planning departments of the two county councils without any dedicated staff. It has been suggested that the West Riding Committee took its business seriously where the North Riding Committee was much more reliant on its officers. There was a view that the North Riding was much more permissive about building bungalows than the West Riding. It was claimed – doubtless scurrilously – that the councillors on the North Riding Committee instructed their officers to be brisk when it met on Test Match days so that the councillors could watch the cricket on television. And the North Riding trailed behind the West Riding in other respects. A visitor centre was provided at Clapham (in the West Riding) in 1968 and another at Aysgarth (North Riding) in 1973. In 1963 the West Riding appointed the first warden and the North Riding one of their own the following year.[109]

When the National Parks Commission published a handbook to the Yorkshire Dales in 1970, it found it hard to conceal the fact that the existence of the National Park was still contentious.[110] Jointly written by the planning officers of the two county authorities, one of whom had given evidence against the establishment of the park at the 1954 enquiry, their account stopped short well short of justifying the existence of the Park. Its powers, they explained, were essentially the normal planning powers that local authorities had been exercising for some years before the park came into existence. The national park was criticized for restricting building and requiring building to be done to a high standard. But these strict controls would have been implemented whether or not there had been a national park, and indeed had been enforced before the national park was designated. On the perennial problem of litter left by the public, some progress had been made with tougher legislation and the establishment of a warden service. More could have been done to improve facilities for visitors had money been forthcoming: but car parks had been provided, a visitor centre established at Clapham and a mobile one at Malham. And they continued:

> Opinion is divided about the desirability of large numbers of visitors. They certainly bring in more trade but many farmers feel that these visitors may cause damage which more than

[107] COU 1/848 (90B).

[108] For the following, Colin Speakman, *The Yorkshire Dales National Park. A celebration of 60 years* (2014), ch. 2.

[109] Ibid., pp. 30–1.

[110] B. F. Dixon and S. Lee Vincent, 'The work of the national park authorities', in I. G. Simmons (ed.), *Yorkshire Dales* (National Park Guide no. 9, 1971), pp. 48–52. See also the assessments of Arthur Raistrick, for many years the acknowledged expert on the archaeology and history of the Dales, in *The Pennine Dales* (1968), pp. 144–5, 215–6.

> offsets the benefit gained. Again it must be emphasised that this would happen whether or not the area had been designated. … The visiting public by unreasonable – even if unintentional – behaviour may well damage not only the farming economy of the area but also the very things which they have come there to enjoy.

In a sense the National Park as an institution only came into existence with the local government reorganization of 1974 which gave the national park its own chief officer and staff for the first time. Local government reorganization could not change the geography of the Dales however, and the new park authority was forced to split its administration between Grassington and Bainbridge.[111]

X

The idea of a Yorkshire Dales National Park had been in the air for over two decades before the designation order was circulated in October 1952. It had been advocated by Dower, developed by Cameron and then taken up by Hobhouse. No one could have been surprised in 1952 when the National Parks Commission brought forwards proposals for designation. The idea was perhaps so familiar that it had lost its capacity to frighten people. It may be, of course, that the real opposition was found at the first confirmations, and that subsequently national parks were seen as a juggernaut which could not be stopped.

We can identify several areas around which objections coalesced. The first were the doubts expressed by many parties about the creation of a new bureaucracy. The councillor from Sedbergh who thought that the national park would determine the colours of house roofs spoke for an element who were fearful of heavy-handed controls, and a few were willing to go out on a limb and see the park as a 'Socialist' enterprise. It was maintained by the county councils that the planning arrangements which had been put in place in the late 1930s and strengthened under the 1947 act were adequate and a new regime unnecessary. It is easy to conclude that neither county council welcomed the national park and both actively opposed it. And yet this is not quite true. It is perhaps more to the point to say that the West Riding had no illusions about the North Riding. Questions of practicality apart, what seems to have been mostly left unspoken is the West Riding's conviction that they could not easily cooperate with the North Riding in a Joint Board and therefore preferred two committees. What Kenyon perhaps envisaged was a two-speed park in which the southern part would have been developed by a committed, go-ahead local authority whereas the northern dales would have been managed by a much more staid one. The NPC seems to have been blind to these nuances, or perhaps they calculated that in a Joint Board the West Riding and the independent members could drive the North Riding forwards. The North Riding, as a largely rural county, had understandable reservations about having two special parks within its boundaries and the level of internal reorganization this involved. In retrospect their request for a pause seems more, rather than less, reasonable.

Second, there was a failure amongst the wider public to understand quite what the creation of a national park entailed. Some assumed that the national park would give access to all parts

[111] Speakman, *Yorkshire Dales National Park*, ch. 3.

of the countryside within the park's boundaries, that it amounted to land nationalization. National Parks stopped well short of meeting that expectation. The idea that property rights had been, or would be, abolished perhaps contributed to the poor behaviour of a minority.

Third, and following on from this, the major fear on the part of farmers was that the park would introduce into the Dales large numbers of people who were unversed in the ways of the countryside. They would innocently do things which were wrong, like leaving gates open, or climbing over dry stone walls. They would commit acts of vandalism and hooliganism, including lighting camp fires and removing stones from walls. Wherever they went they were alleged to leave litter. It is hard, at this distance, to know whether this was a justifiable fear based on experience or a self-reinforcing prejudice. One may suspect that of all the objections, the belief that the park was an invitation to trespass was probably the one that had the greatest purchase over farmers.

These were general problems of education, hardly limited to visitors to the Yorkshire Dales. There is a history running through the 1930s and into relatively modern times of attempts to improve the behaviour of visitors to the countryside, starting with the codes for good conduct issued by rambling societies before the war and then the Country Code which was widely circulated by the National Parks Commission precisely as the answer to vandalism and hooliganism in the countryside.[112]

Fourth, there were two arguments based on disease. The first was the inclusion of small areas of water gathering grounds within the national park area, and the second the fear that the movement of people through the park would undermine attempts to eradicate bovine TB. Both were doubtless reasonable fears, but so far as can be told, both were without foundation.

On the other side, there was a lack of persuasive argument about what the national park was supposed to achieve that was not being done already. Most notably, it brought no special funding. The questions posed by the two county councils – about what additional value the national park was going to bring – were never really answered. It brought no additional government money into the Dales. There is a sense that designation and then confirmation was an essentially bureaucratic process which did not need to be argued for, and that the parks were correspondingly the weaker for being largely imposed without local consent.

XI

There is perhaps room for an afterword. When the history of the national parks in England is reviewed, one thing becomes clear. That we have national parks at all is the result of a very successful piece of pressure group politics. The national parks lobby and the Ramblers Association had good contacts in the wartime coalition who were determined to implement one of the cherished ambitions of the 1930s. But no one in the 1930s really envisaged ten national parks: they often spoke of *the* national park which would probably be the Lake District or perhaps Snowdonia. Dower's report involved a massive expansion in the scale of the idea.

[112] Peter Merriman, '"Respect the life of the countryside": the Country Code, government and the conduct of visitors in the countryside in post-war England and Wales', *Trans. Institute of British Geographers* 30 (2005), pp. 336–50.

Had the Conservatives been returned to power in 1945, we would have heard no more of the Dower report: when they came back into power in 1950, national parks were too far developed for the policy to be reversed. Nonetheless, neither the Conservative party nor individual Conservative ministers evinced much enthusiasm for them, but short of winding up the National Parks Commission, all they could do was reduce the powers of the individual parks by denying them Boards. Local authorities uniformly disliked the national parks for taking away their powers: they disdained them as unnecessary, especially after the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. The solution was to leave the national parks as special planning areas under the immediate control of the county councils, which in turn retarded the development of the national parks and deprived them of their potential. On the evidence presented here, the inhabitants of the parks themselves were largely indifferent to them. And it is not clear that the enthusiasm of the ramblers' and walkers' lobby was quite as strong in the 1950s as it had been earlier. In a real sense national parks had few friends in their first years, and many enemies: but they were fortunate that their friends had been well placed and the institutional framework they created – even if in some respects unsatisfactory – carried them forwards in less clement times.

Book Reviews

Britain and Ireland

PAUL CAVILL, *A new dictionary of English field-names*, with an introduction by REBECCA GREGORY (English Place-Name Society, 2018). 495 pp. £30.

Many scholars and researchers, both amateur and professional, working on a project which involves the landscape, will turn to field names as a source of information. The first question to ask of this book is: 'does it provide information and guidance about field names and their use as data?' The answer is certainly 'yes'. The late John Field's excellent *English Field Names: A Dictionary* (1972) is a book which has been recommended to countless students. This new dictionary will supersede it. It is essentially two books. The first part is an introduction to the study of field-names by Rebecca Gregory, which provides a comprehensive introduction to the subject.

Gregory begins by discussing the way in which field-names can convey so much information about the landscape history of an area or even a particular piece of land, and in addition give us insight into local farming practice, industries, buildings and into language and usage. She follows this with a long and well-illustrated discussion of the content of field-names, demonstrating just how complicated they can be in structure and how much they can convey, for instance, about their position relative to the community which used them, what the land they named was like to use or how their user felt about it (Zululand!). She also points out how field-names can convey information about belief in magic and spirits – 'elf hall' (p. xi) – as well as references to executions as in 'gibbet', or the presence of finds of ancient hoards – 'goldhord'. As she makes clear, field-names can be complicated and convey much disparate information in a short form, as well as varying enormously in the date at which they originated.

Under the heading 'Using field-names' Gregory discusses how to collect them and continues with a comprehensive and very useful survey of recent work in field-name research, which clearly links the study to the wider work of the English Place-Name Society in its county place-name surveys. The material referenced in the footnotes here will be of the greatest use to anyone setting out on collection and on a survey of their own. A later section on 'Additional sources of field-names' provides an important pointer to printed and manuscript sources as well as information now available online.

There is a useful discussion of the survival of field-names and a reminder that 'we can prove that names survived, but we cannot prove they did not'. We do not know how much information we have lost about farming practices, social organization and landscapes. However, recent studies show that field-names have a much better survival rate than was hitherto imagined, so that they can often be used to aid in a reconstruction of past practices and landscapes, provided that the evidence is not pushed too far. In practice of course, it is not unusual to find a parish or estate within which there is little surviving field-name evidence prior to the commencement of the nineteenth century, while estates with a long history of ownership by a powerful figure or more probably a monastery, can retain a wealth of information stretching back into the fourteenth century or earlier. We need to remember that the social, economic and landscape history of such places may not be much like the history of some much less well documented settlements.

There is also a sharp reminder for southerners that languages other than English also had an influence on field-names. Norse, in particular, clearly had a strong impact on the naming of parts of the late Old English landscape and a useful summary of work on the topic is included. English also, even in the later middle ages was far from uniform across England and field-names reflect that. The sheer volume of available material provides an enormous reservoir for the study of the history and archaeology of landscape as well as providing a source for lexicographic and onomastic studies.

The second part, by Paul Cavill, with 45,000 attestations in the dictionary is almost twice the size of John Field's work. These field-names are grouped under 2,500 headwords and this provides the opportunity to show methodically the relationship between different

surviving forms of the same root-word. The entry 'Quiddams' is a good example, found at Grafton and Radcot in Oxfordshire with a form *Quedham* of 1278-9. The variants 'Quidham' in Shrivenham, Berkshire and 'Great and Little Quidmore' at Great Horksley in Essex as well as other examples lead to the OE word *cwead*, dirty or muddy land. This suggests that 'Quab lane' in the reviewer's parish contains the same element. The references to Old English, Middle English and Old Norse roots found in field-names is then aided by a glossary of field-name elements. For example, the headword 'Wrang' leads us to a long sequence of field-names which include the word. Wranglands, in Bardsey (West Riding), Ringlands in Warter (East Riding) and Wrongway Field, in Wesham, Lancs, all contain the Old English *wrang*, 'crooked' or Old Norse *vrangr*, with the same meaning. Kindly, on the next page, under the heading 'The Wrong', we are directed to 'Wrang'.

There is no doubt that a strength of this dictionary is that the examples quoted are drawn widely from all over England. The parish for each example and its county are clearly indicated and examples are drawn from Cornwall, Kestles in Tintagel, 'land with or near a castle, village or tor', to 'Delf,' in Newbottle, Durham, 'a quarry', OE *(ge)delf*. The many examples following this last headword illustrate the frequency with which of some of the field-names listed occur: no less than 25 are given.

There is, of course, a major problem faced by the dictionary compiler. When to stop? The volume of field-names available in the sources discussed earlier in the book is vast and much of it is still unexplored, so an enquirer should not be too disappointed if the field-name they wish to elucidate is not offered. No doubt another edition will extend and amplify the corpus.

MICHAEL COSTEN
University of Bristol

TREVOR DEAN, GLYN PARRY and EDWARD VALLANCE (eds), *Faith, place and people in early modern England: Essays in honour of Margaret Spufford* (Boydell, 2018). 233 pp. 15 illus. £60.

Faith, place and people in early modern England honours the life and work of Margaret Spufford, a pathbreaking social historian of dissent, rural communities, mobility and microhistory. From *Contrasting communities* through *Small books and pleasant histories*, to *The world of rural dissenters*, Spufford's every contribution proved her a meticulous, archivally grounded, and insightful scholar, whose life experiences encouraged in her an enduring sympathy with 'the poor and obscure' (p. 10). The collection begins with a heart-warming essay by her husband Peter Spufford, titled only 'Margaret', which recounts her remarkable career and the challenges she overcame, including illness at several stages of life. We are painted a picture of a very different academic world for the Spuffords, in which it was possible to spend days per week in the archives for years at a time, teach a night class to engaged mature students, receive Cavendish College research support, and access to research and travel grant support from Keele as an honorary lecturer in 1974. It is a world that enabled Margaret Spufford to produce several impressive books in a row, and a world we have clearly lost; one imagines that today her trajectory through higher education would be functionally impossible to achieve, and that the academy is poorer for it.

The collection divides into three sections, each corresponding one of the main arenas which dominated Spufford's scholarly inquiries: 'faith', 'place' (particularly the definitive unit of the rural locality, the parish), and 'people'. Examining faith by way of fascinating parish vicars and Catholic nonconformists, chapters by William Shiels, Henry French and Steve Hindle open the volume. Shiels contrasts the recusant communities of the Stour valley, Essex, and Lancashire, principally through an investigation of first Thomas Tresham, and second the Montague family. He challenges the 'mainly positive view of denominational relations at the parochial level' extent in our existing scholarship (p. 31). French returns us to Earls Colne and to the entirely mediocre precursor to early modern England's most posthumously famous pastor, Ralph Josselin. We learn about the ministry of William Adams, vicar of Earls Colne between 1573 and 1610, when he was deprived. By looking at Adams, apparently content as he was to 'let the spiritual weeds grow', French excavates the 'men indifferent', those who were 'readie for any coate' of religion to be placed upon them (p. 47). Steve Hindle's following chapter on the 'sad fortunes' of the Rev. John Perkins, of the Warwickshire parish of Chilvers Coton, follows on excellently from French's. We learn about the spatial arrangements of rather crowded pews, and about how the silences of the parish's voluminous record-keeping speak volumes about the marginality of Perkins, a figure apparently at both the spatial and social edges of the parish he was meant to tend. We discover at the end of this chapter that the *Sad fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton* was based on Chilvers Coton, in an excellent piece of narrative revelation (p. 91). The 'faith' section holds together well and provides a series of insightful and archivally rich case studies of marginality, the 'mud' of everyday religion, and dissent.

The second and third sections concentrate on 'place' and 'people'. Ailes provides an interesting look at how

'that great antiquary' William Dugdale, his 'compulsive cataloguer' friend Ashmole, and the 'numeracy nut' Gregory King each contributed in novel fashion to both Restoration Heraldry work and to statistical use of the Hearth Tax (p. 99). Ferguson examines Hearth Tax receipts and overseer's accounts in Restoration Woking and provides a very useful table of tax exemptions (p. 122) as part of her reconstruction. It seems significant how robust the medical provision for the poor in Woking was as early as the 1670s, for example the £1 7*s*. 6*d*. spent on the lying-in of Susan Slatt, who bore a bastard child in a Woking barn in 1673 (p. 125). Slatt must have been very ill in the immediate aftermath. I confess I do not understand the parting shots fired at 'the more cynical' (p. 131) interpretations of Hindle with respect to the old poor law, since *On the parish?* quite clearly demarcates an enormous range of compassionate treatment by individuals, against a *backdrop* of systemic and institutional parsimony. Wylie examines the 'long prehistory' (p. 149) of credit relationships in probate materials, with as much as 47 per cent of one surveyed parish's probates featuring 'formal credit' by 1755. The final section on 'people' begins with a chapter by Danae Tankard, looking at men's fashion and the centrality of the London clothing market. While Tankard nods at Spufford's *Great reclothing of rural England* in her introduction, the chapter mainly focuses on the spending and dress habits of three middling and upper-class men and it is visually rich with several great examples of surviving apparel (p. 153). This is followed by an excellent chapter from Christopher Marsh, on the 'ballading' of the London cuckhold Stephen Seager, who tried to separate from his wife Grace in the Court of Arches in 1669. Marsh combines masterful readings of the unique surviving ballad 'The Joyner's Job Finished' which comments salaciously on the entire affair, and in particular on Seager's infertility and foolishness, revealing to his neighbourhood that (in Marsh's memorable phrase) 'the cuckhold's home was a house of cards' (p. 178). Wonderfully written and rich in detail, this chapter proves a real highlight of the volume. David Cressy concludes the volume with a survey of debates around the origins and cultural composition of Gypsy communities in England, 'marginal people in a stressful culture' (p. 202). The chapter departs from the temporal consistency of the rest of the volume to examine a debate over the authenticity of Gypsy, Roma, and Traveller ancestry over a chronological distance rather away from 'Margaret Spufford's England'.

Readers of the *Agricultural History Review* will find no significant interventions in this volume to do with agrarian, agricultural, or indeed environmental history. However, if they seek well-researched and tightly argued case studies of the local and generally rural parish, and wish to flesh out an understanding of the intersections between religious practice, social marginality, space and place, and everyday life, than *Faith, place and people in early modern England: Essays in honour of Margaret Spufford* certainly has much to offer.

DAVE HITCHCOCK
Canterbury Christ Church

CARL J. GRIFFIN and BRIONY MCDONAGH (eds), *Remembering protest in Britain since 1500: memory, materiality and the landscape* (Palgrave, 2018). 267 pp. 6 illus. £79.99.

This illuminating collection of essays will be enjoyed by readers of the *Review*. It offers a series of thoughtful studies of the aftermath of protest, considering how protests were remembered, and particularly how those memories were underpinned by material culture and the landscape. The essays are conceptually aware, but based on rich archival work. The voices and ideologies of ordinary protestors are once more rescued from the fog of condescension. In short, it is a book of which Edward Thompson would have approved most heartily. The focus is on agrarian protests, though there is also room for chapters relating to Peterloo and the political radicals of the French Revolutionary era.

Subjects range from the Commotion Time of 1549 up to the Chartists, with occasional nods to more modern memories of historical protests. One cluster of essays centres on some of the best known English rural riots and rebellions. Nicola Whyte, opening the collection, looks at the history of Mousehold Heath, the epicentre of Kett's Rebellion (1549). Even as memories faded, the heath maintained a position as a 'counter space' for resistance, where people 'drew meaning from the landscape as it had been inhabited by former generations, the traces of which could be seen on the ground'. Briony McDonagh and Joshua Rodda then look for the rural preconditions leading up to the 'Midland Rising' of 1607, and consider the aftermath in which allegations of fomenting a new insurrection were used to denigrate rural protestors. The article is particularly important in its use of the Elizabethan Star Chamber material, which shows that enclosure was nothing new in Northamptonshire. Indeed, they make the fascinating observation that many of the sites of protest in 1607 had also seen earlier conflict. They question John Martin's assertion that there was an unusual spike in enclosure in the run up to the rebellion, but in doing so I think they do rather underplay the difficulties in making quantitative statements based on Star Chamber records. It is perfectly possible for there to have been a long history of enclosure in Northamptonshire *and* a major spike in the

years before the revolt. Indeed, this is what was argued by Edwin Gay in an important article on the subject (not cited here) that was published back in 1905.

Agrarian protest is also covered by fine articles on the Forest of Dean by Simon Sandall and on early nineteenth-century protest in Norfolk by Rose Wallis. In Dean, memories of the 'Book of Dennis' and the Mine Law Courts influenced later rural conflict, while in Norfolk the prosecution of protest in 1816, 1822 and 1830 was a 'calculated act of local government' informed partly what had gone before. Carl Griffin, meanwhile, offers a stimulating discussion of how rural communities might try to forget those protests where they had suffered defeats, pointing out – though – that 'nothing is ever truly lost'. Moving away from agrarian protest, Steve Poole shows how the London radicals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries knew that memory was 'an ideological field of conflict'. Alas though, attempts at memorializing radicals, rather than the generals and politicians of the establishment, were always hard to pull off.

The standout contributions are those by Ruth Mather and Heather Falvey. Mather considers the materiality and domesticity of protest in the aftermath of Peterloo, showing how women and men attempted to 'live' their radicalism by naming their children after, say, Henry Hunt, or by filling their houses with radical memorabilia. Falvey, meanwhile, is the only contributor to peer closely at the actual sources available for reconstructing protest. She uses some unusually detailed material relating to lawsuits in the Duchy of Lancaster's equity court to show that interrogatories (the leading questions put by the court to witnesses) could introduce reliable information about events 'on the ground' that was later papered over in the final depositions. It is a chapter that should be read by any historian who makes use of those courts (notably Star Chamber and Chancery) that used 'English Bill' procedure.

The book is well produced, the articles well written and there are few factual errors (although it is rather misleading to see a crucial Edward Coke quotation dated to 1641, by which time he had been dead several years). I was unsure about the statement, made in the introduction, that '[B]efore the advent of protest history there was nothing, just condescension'. It is nice and pithy, but it would surprise, say, Madeleine and Ruth Dodds. There is at times a certain slipperiness as to exactly whose memory is being recovered. This is neatly encapsulated by the discussion in the introduction of the problems of the 'archive of protest memory' and specifically Falvey's chapter on depositions. To the editors, this cautions us of our reliance 'on reading the scripts of elites'. But society was more complex than just patrician and pleb. Much of the evidence we have for the early modern period in particular comes from the 'middling sorts': depositions, so crucial to studies of memory, tended to be taken from the established farmers of the community. But recent work, notably by Alex Shepard, has shown just how distant this group had become from their poorer neighbours. Historians need, surely, to be much more attentive to the memory of the poor, the labourers, the unsettled. Casual talk of the 'elites' and 'working people' is not really enough.

The coverage, too, is not as 'systematic' as the publicity claims. The title proclaims the book to cover Britain, but every single chapter is on England. Mather's splendid essay aside, it is a book mostly about men (and surely it is to be regretted that the chief discussion of women as protesters is in a 'domestic' context). Moreover, the focus remains squarely on agrarian protest, which is fine of course, but one might argue that to properly understand protest in the sixteenth and seventeenth century you really cannot avoid religion, from the Pilgrimage of Grace, the Prayer Book Rebellion and the Northern Rising, to the Covenanter Rising of 1637, iconoclasm, Quakerism and the Fifth Monarchists.

Perhaps, indeed, the book itself is part of that process of remembering (and forgetting) protest. Griffin makes two very pertinent points. He notes that '[t]here is a tendency in protest studies to valorise and glorify *all* acts of social protest' [emphasis added], whilst also reminding us that 'memory is not a given, rather it is something created, staged, performed and mediated'. Very true. Indeed, it is mediated by historians, and staged in books like this. *Remembering Protest* is dedicated 'To the memory of the wage labourer, the threshing machine breaker, the "obsolete" commoner, the radical housewife, the "utopian" Chartist, and "stowte" John Bussey'. But the history of protest is more than just these evident good guys. It also has to encompass the xenophobic Londoners who murdered immigrants on 'Evil May Day' 1517, the brutally misogynist apprentices who made Shrove Tuesday a regular hell for seventeenth-century sex workers, and the bigoted anti-Catholic rioters of 1780. Selecting particular forms of protest for historical study and neglecting other, more distasteful ones, could itself be seen as an attempt to forget crucial aspects England's troubling past.

JONATHAN HEALEY
University of Oxford

MARTIN EMPSON, *'Kill all the Gentlemen'. Class struggle and change in the English countryside* (Bookmarks, 2018). 320 pp. £14.99.

'Kill all the Gentlemen' is a book born from current ecological and societal crises. Issues such as low wages

and temporary employment plague Britain's rural population, whilst the environmental impact of modern farming continues to be a point of concern. For Martin Empson, the origin of present-day worries is clear: 'capitalism puts profits before people and the planet'. Subsequently, by exploring the contested development of capitalism in the English countryside Empson aims to trace current conflicts back to their historical source. Yet Empson seeks to do more than simply document history, indeed he 'celebrates the rural class struggle for equality, justice and a better life and through this hopes to inspire people today'. As a socialist and an environmental activist, he dedicates his work to reasserting 'the approach of Karl Marx' into English rural protest history (p. 7). This book, consequently, provides a thought-provoking revival of socio-economic approaches that have been overlooked in recent years.

This ambitious monograph attempts to provide an overview of English rural protest from the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 to the Countryside Alliance March of 1997. Of the ten chapters, eight concern themselves with case studies ranging from Jack Cade's Revolt and the Pilgrimage of Grace to Captain Swing and Joseph Arch's Agricultural Union. The remaining two chapters are thematic; examining the ideological and material transition from feudalism to capitalism that occurred in the years surrounding the English Civil War. Commencing his study in the medieval period, Empson argues that following the Black Death feudalism was in turmoil. Reacting to widespread poverty and corruption, rebellions such as the Peasants' Revolt were thus attempting to found a 'new social order' where the exploitative nobility could be entirely eliminated (p. 57). Empson repeatedly implores historians to acknowledge the 'radical nature' of these revolts, stressing their ability to organize a 'cross section of medieval society' and their visions of 'a land held in common' (p. 84). These beliefs continued into the 'Tudor Rebellions', where Empson reinforces the primacy of socio-economic causes. It was not the Reformation's religious alterations alone that led to rebellions such as the Pilgrimage of Grace or Western Rising. Instead, these protests were caused by the emergence of capitalist relations, with landowners using religious upheaval as an opportunity to assault traditional village institutions and the poor's material well-being. Indeed, Empson argues that it was the small cadre of gentry who led Tudor uprisings that dragged the poor away from 'agrarian warfare' and back to religious issues (p. 113).

By the seventeenth century, the farming class has supposedly undergone an ideological transformation. They were now isolated from their communities and 'individually minded'; agrarian capitalism having firmly established itself with 'farming for profit' replacing the old feudal systems. The English Civil War, subsequently, was a 'class war' driven by capitalist farmers seeking representation and influence within national institutions. Attempts by the rural poor to prevent these changes, such as enclosure riots, were inevitably crushed by the military and legal might of the new capitalist order. By the late-eighteenth century, Empson argues, the poor had been similarly remodelled into a 'rural proletariat' yet still 'the development of capitalist agriculture and capitalist relations in the countryside was fought at every step of the way' (p. 204). These concerns over machinery, wages, enclosure and employment found their 'final' expression in the Swing Riots of 1830. In his longest case study, Empson depicts Swing as the dying gasps 'of the old traditions', its failure leaving a lasting realization that the rich could not be convinced to return to their 'traditional' roles. In his final chapters, Empson details the subsequent shift in the tools and mentalities of rural protestors. The adoption of agricultural unionism, abortively trialled at Tolpuddle and then championed by Joseph Arch, proved that 'agricultural workers could organise and win' (p. 281). These trailblazers thus inspired mass unionization in the early-twentieth century and the eventual modernization of rural protest. For Empson, these historical case studies serve to highlight the need for rural workers to organize, as even today 'a redesign of the world's food system will not come from above' (p. 293).

In any nationally focused work, generalizations are to be expected, especially when covering over six hundred years of history. However, Empson's narratives of 'class struggle' and the 'rise of capitalism' often feel worryingly lacking in nuance. Throughout this book, the rural 'working classes' and 'elite' are presented as two eternally opposed monolithic entities. This serves to lock historical actors into a socio-economic straitjacket, seemingly unable to operate outside of the assigned roles of their class. King Richard II, for example, could not have truly sympathized with the Peasants' Revolt, as no noble would betray 'the social structures that provided him and his class with their wealth and power' (p. 47). Enclosure riots are similarly romanticized, becoming sites of binary struggle 'as communities fought to use the resources instead of them being limited to the rich landowner' (p. 198). Such simplistic dichotomies risk obscuring the complex nature of rural power relations. As Briony McDonagh has illustrated, common rights were tangled webs of interest that cut across local socio-economic structures, often leading to alliances between multiple social groupings. Not all communities experienced enclosure equally, nor was the relationship between the rural poor and 'agrarian capitalism'

identical in every English village. It is a shame that in imposing these national models, Empson obscures the local distinctions that were foundational to the world view of rural people.

Despite these issues, Empson's meticulous and evocative retelling of these protests make this book an enjoyable read. These rebellions and revolts are expertly described through concise yet energetic prose. Though mostly reliant on secondary works, Empson nevertheless provides an interesting and well-researched synthesis. Consequently, those interested in the history of rural resistance will be well served by Empson's study. Additionally, this book provides an excellent summary of Marxist approaches to history and environmental activism, helping to contextualize many modern-day ecological conflicts. Although it occasionally stumbles, this book thus remains a valuable overview of the rural workers long struggle.

LEONARD BAKER
University of Bristol

SYLVIA CROCKER, *Squatters and social crime: Encroachments in the New Forest in the eighteenth century* (Hampshire Papers, sec. ser., no. 6, 2018). 28 pp. 10 illus. £8.

This nicely produced addition to the Hampshire Field Club papers focuses on the interactions of the commoners and squatters who lived in the New Forest with those in London who sought to manage the resources of the area for strategic reasons (timber for a wooden-hulled navy) and to provide some income for the national coffers.

Sylvia Crocker begins by putting the New Forest's economy and society in a national context of rising population, squatter encroachments and rural de-industrialization conflicting with pressures for enclosure, agricultural improvement and increased food production. She then links the encroachment on Crown Land in the New Forest to the concept of social crime as defined by Hobsbawm and Rudé with the informal economy and rules of the forest community. She argues that unauthorized squatting took place on a small scale and was vastly overshadowed by the activities of rich owners and holders of Forest offices who degraded the Forest by grabbing land and taking wood and timber. A clear analysis of Forest administration is provided with a neat diagram, followed by an account of the measures taken to manage the taking of timber and encroachment and squatting in the Forest.

Squatters and social crime makes good use of material in the Hampshire Record Office and other local sources, and some of the material in the National Archives. Another section examines printed material from local clergy, landowners, and agricultural commentators which universally denigrated the squatters for their potential drain on welfare resources and propensity to criminality, as well as their absence from church (but not necessarily from chapel). The problems of parish welfare are highlighted with discussions of extra-parochial areas, inter-commoned land, and disputed boundaries such as Nomansland on the Wiltshire/Hampshire border which became a magnet for squatters and frustrated orderly administration. A map of 1789 provides details of where squatting was concentrated, with areas adjacent to the borders of private estates prominent.

The Crown's attempts to enclose the Forest in the 1790s by statute were successfully repelled but a more modest regime of regulation was instituted in 1800, with attempts to discover who owned the land, and allowing those with continuous occupancy for more than 15 years to retain possession on acceptance of a lease. But it also attempted to draw a line under squatting by providing new mechanisms for informing on squatters. Those informed on were largely landowners trying to extend their property by more than the cottagers' plots, which were generally under one acre. Squatting was not effectively extinguished.

This short booklet will provide local historians of the New Forest area with a useful overview of Forest problems, but those seeking more from this work will be disappointed. The bibliography is relatively sparse; whole topics such as E. P. Thompson's account of forest administration and social crime in the 1720s in *Whigs and hunters* are ignored. Other Hampshire forests were affected by those disturbances, so why was the New Forest relatively unaffected? The rich archive of Charles Withers, the Surveyor General of the forests in the 1720s has much on the New Forest and is in Hampshire Record Office. Social crimes such as deer stealing and smuggling were pervasive in coastal and forest areas such as the New Forest. Were they un-policed? There is more to be said about social crime in the area.

JOHN BROAD
University of Cambridge

RICHARD OLNEY, *Farming and society in North Lincolnshire. The Dixons of Holton-Le-Moor, 1741–1906* (Lincoln Record Society, 2018). 232 pp. 23 illus. £40.

PETER WORSLEY, *The Lincolnshire estates of Charles and Erasmus Darwin and their family* (Erasmus Darwin Foundation, 2017). 149 pp. £12.

The Lincolnshire Agricultural Society celebrates its 150th anniversary in 2019. At the time of its foundation people were used to reading about the quality of

Lincolnshire farming in agricultural journals and the farming press and Lincolnshire's pre-eminence as a county of 'improvement' was widely acknowledged. Richard Olney's study of the Dixon family's estate in North Lincolnshire and that of Peter Worsley examining Darwin family farms in the county illustrate the contribution of two, very different, farming estates to this overall picture through a detailed account of how each estate was painstakingly acquired, managed, and farmed.

The Dixons were farmers of the 'middling-sort' who built up their estate from a minor purchase in 1741 to a point where they owned the whole parish, lived in a fine house, had a governess for their daughters, and a phaeton to ride out in. In 1842 the estate of Thomas John Dixon and his wife (and cousin) extended to 3600 acres of which Thomas John farmed 3000 acres himself. This was an enormous holding by contemporary standards and probably the largest in North Lincolnshire.

Olney's account is chronological, introducing us one by one to six generations of Dixon landowners at Holton. He clearly identifies the different Dixons despite the family tradition of naming the eldest son alternately William and Thomas. There are chapters on 'The grazier: William Dixon (1697–1781)'; 'The tenant farmer: Thomas Dixon (1729–1798)'; 'The old-style farmer: William Dixon (1756–1824)' and two chapters on Thomas John Dixon (1785–1871) firstly as 'The man of business' and then 'The man of property'. Finally, we meet 'The ladies of Holton', two Dixon sisters who succeeded as owners of the estate, following the failure of the male line, before it passed to a cousin whose descendants own and farm the estate today.

Olney makes it clear from the start that his book is 'primarily a piece not of economic but of social history' (p. 1). However in the detail he provides about the Dixons' farming and business activity; their land acquisition and sales; their position as owner occupiers, rentiers and tenants simultaneously; the market centres to which they turned for the sale and purchase of goods; and their involvement in the development of the local canal and later railway networks (which led to the geographical expansion of their market and business activities even as far as London), there is plenty to interest the agricultural and economic historian.

The book also has a chapter based on a twenty-year run of journals kept by William Dixon junior who is dubbed 'philosopher and philanthropist'. With his breadth of reading and his insistence on styling himself *tenant* farmer, even though he owned a considerable amount of land, he could have been the model for Elizabeth Gaskell's '*Mr* Thomas Holbrook, yeoman', in Cranford. The evolution of William junior's religious and social thought gave rise to a wide range of benevolent activities: in 1800 he was the prime mover, and subsequently a lifelong supporter, of the Caistor Union Society of Industry workhouse whose three-volume history he wrote and published himself. For his workers he founded a friendly society and provided schooling. In his local market town of Caistor he also established a savings bank (1818) and his wife founded and ran the Caistor Matron's Society.

Olney's well-structured, immensely readable book is the product of nearly fifty years' association with the Dixon family and their remarkable collection of family and estate papers. It was he who organized the removal of the archive (lowered a basketful at a time) from a loft at Holton Hall to the Lincolnshire Archives, where it is now fully catalogued and available for further study. The fine set of labour and cash accounts (1824–97), some kept by the labourers themselves (whose education the Dixons promoted in the local Sunday School), are a source which has considerable potential for those interested in the day to day experience of labouring life. With its meticulous referencing and its appendix detailing the nature and content of the archive, Olney's book will serve as an invaluable guide to anyone wishing to explore the Dixon papers for themselves.

The accumulation of land in Lincolnshire by the Darwin family can be traced back to before 1548 at Marton in the Trent Vale. Worsley's account offers insights into the experience of a landowning family who rose from a similar level in society to that of the Dixons but followed a very different path and, with the help of advantageous marriages (including intermarriage with the Wedgewood family), and national recognition in the scientific field, rose to a more elevated place in society than was aspired to by the Dixons. Clear distinctions can be made between the two families: the Darwins were never such large landowners as the Dixon family became nor was their estate centred on a single parish as was that of the Dixons. Moreover, whereas the Dixons were resident landowners who took an active part in farming their estate, the Darwins soon became absentee landowners letting out their land to tenant farmers and leaving the management of their estate to the Alford-based local land agents, the Higgins family.

Worsley is a geologist and his starting point is to place the Darwin farms in their landscape context. Maps, along with a grid reference, locate each holding clearly. Underlying geology, soils, drainage and topography are all discussed in a scientific manner which gives way to more straightforward prose for an account of the

history of the farms. Worsley visited each one in person. He includes information received from inhabitants and neighbours of former Darwin properties, which demonstrate the importance of oral testimony especially in rural areas where collective memory is strong and people's links with the soil run deep.

At various times the Darwins held land at Cleatham, in and around Lincoln, in Sutterton Fen (Amber Hill), at Claythorpe (Aby) and at Beesby. There was also a family bequest of land at Kirton Lindsey to fund a charity. These landholdings are meticulously researched by Worsley who unravels for us the confusion caused by no fewer than seven successive generations of the family being called William, while others shared the name Erasmus, Robert or Ann(e). For each farm the reasons for its acquisition are examined along with the identity of its tenants, its nineteenth-century value (although not always its acreage), and its management by the local firm of land agents. The family continued to hold farms and parcels of land in various parts of Lincolnshire until 1943 when the last remaining Darwin land in the county, at Amber Hill in Sutterton Fen, was sold.

From the late seventeenth century the family were almost always non-resident landowners. They lived first at Elston Hall in Nottinghamshire, next in Lichfield, and then on the outskirts of Shrewsbury where Charles Darwin was born in 1809. Charles later purchased Down House in Kent to be his family home. The history of the Higgins family connection with the Darwin family (John Higgins' father and Charles Darwin's father were neighbours and professional associates in Shrewsbury) illustrates how social networks as well as family connections influenced the building up of an estate. Family and social connections of both the Darwins and the Higgins family, plus those of the tenant farmers themselves, all contributed to the dispersed nature of the Darwin farms in Lincolnshire.

Worsley pays considerable attention to the history of the Higgins family and their business dealings. There is also mention of the family's charitable activities in their home town of Alford. Information about the relationship between the Darwins and their managing agent, the business that was transacted, and the dealings of the family with their farm tenants is drawn from the Higgins papers deposited at the Lincolnshire Archives in 1974 by Dorothy Higgins, granddaughter of John Higgins senior. The deposit includes correspondence with various members of the Darwin family, principally Charles Darwin, farm records, and an account book belonging to Higgins which Worsley considers to be the single most valuable item in the deposit. There are also papers relating to Higgins' work as an Assistant Tithe Commissioner, an Enclosure Surveyor, and a Crown Agent. Worsley mentions a report drawn up by Higgins in 1846 in relation to the proposed East Lincolnshire railway line which 'examined seven groups of prospective agricultural traffic: bones and oil cake, fat beasts, sheep, spring corn, wheat, and wool. He also assessed likely tonnages of chalk and lime' (p. 61). Worsley concludes that the role of land agents, and archive deposits of their papers, are areas of study which invite further attention.

In the books by Olney and Worsley we see clearly that, alongside wider political and economic circumstances which affect the fortunes of an estate, there are also social and kinship networks and individual, personal factors such as intelligence, aptitude, character, health, good or bad fortune, and the existence, or otherwise, of direct issue. These are harder for the historian to identify and more difficult to quantify. Micro-studies, such Olney's study of the Dixons of Holton-le-Moor and that of Worsley focusing on the Darwin family estates, exemplify the importance of the human element in the history of landownership.

SHIRLEY BROOK
Lincoln

EMMA PAGE (ed.), *Exbury: the Mitford family's New Forest estate in the 18th century* (New Forest Heritage Centre, 2018). 329 pp. illus. £19.99.

This volume, the sixth in the New Forest Record Series, is based on the Exbury Estate book. Exbury, on the south coast of Hampshire, was the Mitford family's estate in the New Forest in the eighteenth century. The estate book was started by William Mitford in 1725 but it was his son John who added the instruction that the book should be 'kept and preserv'd for the use of the person … entitled to the freehold & inheritance of the Mannor of Exbury'. Thus, at the end of the twentieth century, its discovery in the archives of a legal company resulted in its return to the current owners of the Exbury Estate and manor, the Rothschilds.

The Estate book has been transcribed and edited by Emma Page: she has recently used the Exbury estate as a substantial case study in her DPhil thesis on the landed gentry of the West Solent region in the eighteenth century. In her short introduction of 19 pages to this volume she suggests that, as a London merchant, William Mitford was keen to join the ranks of the landed gentry. However, his first purchase of 291 acres near Lymington in 1711 was insufficient for him to become part of this social grouping. Clearly prepared to take a long view, Mitford then purchased two farms in 1718 extending to 476 acres and these formed the basis of the Exbury estate which was developed by the Mitfords during the rest of the century.

Page examines how these purchases were financed and notes that, whilst strip-farming was still practised in Exbury, with the related inconveniences, the upside was that land was less expensive. Enclosure in the Exbury area was more likely to be piecemeal than by Act of Parliament or any formal agreement. Thus, as well as larger farms, the Mitfords built up the estate through the purchase of individual smallholdings, fields or even strips in fields, as well as coppices and commons.

The topic of agriculture is addressed in less than two pages, but there are details in the transcriptions relating to various agricultural husbandry practices such as marling and the use and value of urban dung. The estate book provides an excellent insight into the conditions which formed part of the tenancy agreements under which the Exbury farms were let: for example, one tenant is to plough and sow no more than three successive crops of grain, to be followed by laying the land down to grass for three years before it is ploughed again (pp. 279–80). A number of the entries give details of the acreages of fields and their associated values.

Other aspects of farming activities from the first half of the eighteenth century include the conversion factor between statute and woodland acres and an indication of corn yields and prices as part of a tithe calculation for one of the estate farms. There are examples of sub-sub-letting (p. 174) and also the practice of the descent of land through the female line, for example, '18½ acres in Leap to the use of Henry Stempe & Mary his wife & to the heirs of the said Mary for ever' (p. 176). As well as tenanted farms, the Exbury estate included a number of cottages, although the income from these would have been limited if the example of a cottage 'paying yearly 200 Shrimps at Michaelmas if demanded' (p. 124) was any sort of guide.

By 1747 however, more of Mitford's income came from timber and salt production than from the rental of farms. The nearby port and dockyard of Portsmouth would have provided outlets for both products, along with the numerous other shipbuilding locations in the adjacent area on the Beaulieu river. The book contains information on both timber and salt: for example, on the relative profits to be made from growing firs rather than oak (p. 282), and the cost of building a salt works, including the costs of the boat for transporting the salt and the windmill required to power the works (pp. 133–6). There is also reference to riverine activities in terms of the rent for fishing on the Exbury river which amounted to the 'ancient rent of 50*s*. & 10m oysters' (i.e. 10,000 oysters, p. 201).

Emma Page notes that this source will be of interest to social, economic, agrarian, local and family historians: to that list can be added building historians. The book contains details of the cost of re-building Gilbury Farm (p. 100), as well as details of the materials and labour needed to build a large barn (p. 222).

In summary, this is a well-produced book, although, as with any transcription of historic documents, it is difficult to know whether what appears to be a typographical error is actually a faithful reproduction of the original source. In the opinion of this reviewer, the book would have been improved by the inclusion of a Mitford family tree, thereby obviating the need for the lengthy, somewhat confused, paragraph on page 10 linking the 'Mitford sisters' of the twentieth century with the Mitfords of the 1670s. The glossary provided is also lacking: for example, moot (both noun and verb) (p. 110), ayres or jeyens (p. 111), landshot (p. 113) and jesment sheep (p. 129) are some of the terms noted which are not included in what might have been better termed a 'Select Glossary'. Despite this, the publication of this volume has brought to light the existence and contents of an estate book which contains much rich detail from the early part of the eighteenth century.

ALAN WADSWORTH
Evesham

SARAH HOLLAND, *Communities in contrast. Doncaster and its rural hinterland, c.1830–1870* (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2019). 160 pp. 13 illus. £18.99.

This book looks at six villages in the Doncaster area during the middle years of the nineteenth century. It contains five thematic chapters along with an introduction and conclusion. The themes under consideration are 'Social hierarchies, power relations and agency in the countryside'; 'rural economies'; 'living and working conditions'; 'religion and education' and 'rural recreation'. As such, it might be considered to be a relatively conventional local history which makes use of a range of both local and national sources to discuss developments in the area during the period under study.

In a relatively slim volume, the author attempts to cover a wide area of rural history. On the one hand, this might be considered as a strength in as much as a lot of topics are touched upon. On the other hand, it can lead to some surprising generalizations which are not always supported by the material under consideration. For instance, in the chapter on 'Rural economies' we are presented with: 'Brown brought wealth and business acumen from industry to agriculture, and his investments epitomized a metamorphosis of the entrepreneurial spirit in the nineteenth century' (p. 64). While the Brown family had made their money in the West Yorkshire woollen industry, the suggestion that agriculture required industrial entrepreneurs to

kick-start innovation is somewhat questionable, and a more thorough investigation would surely have highlighted a more complex dynamic for agricultural investment and innovation.

Perhaps rather surprisingly, the theoretical premise of the book lies in a critique of Dennis Mills' *Lord and peasant in nineteenth century Britain* (1980) and his work on open and closed villages, rather than using a more recent theoretical framework. While the author uses a framework of 'agency' for her discussion, the theoretical underpinnings for this discussion are not made explicit and the reader is left with the impression that this is a book that might have been written during the 1980s. Indeed, on occasion, one is left with the impression that Mills remains the prevailing paradigm determining the structure of the research, while the critique of the model included here fails to indicate the extent to which it remains useful as an analytical tool for the nineteenth century. Having said this, for those interested in Doncaster and its rural hinterland, the book will prove to be worthwhile reading.

The title might be considered somewhat misleading as it does not really investigate 'communities in contrast'. There is some discussion of the varying landownership structures across the parishes but one is left with the feeling that the discussion is rather bland. For instance, landlord-tenant relations are only considered in a superficial manner, while there is little evaluation of the internal hierarchies within the agricultural labour force. There is no meaningful discussion of politics (with a small 'p') or of protest. There is no mention of the origins of the Revolt of the Field, nor of what Raymond Williams termed 'oppositional cultures'; indeed Holland goes as far as to state that church and chapel were 'closely aligned with authority' (p. 112). While she considers Anglicanism to some extent, there is only a limited discussion of the various strands of nonconformity. Categorizing Anglicanism and nonconformity as a single entity ignores a significant power dynamic in the nineteenth-century countryside at a time when religion and religious adherence were of real importance. Reading the text, the reader is left with the impression that the entire period can be viewed as a single entity that was relatively unproblematic and where actions can be explained through a rather passive perception of agency.

CHARLES RAWDING
Edge Hill University

RICHARD HAWKING, *At the field's edge: Adrian Bell and the English countryside* (The Crowood Press, 2019). 224 pp. illus. £20.

The recent resurgence of interest in nature writing has led to greater critical attention being paid to earlier examples of the genre. This increase in popularity is evident in the reissue of some classic works and the establishment of small, independent publishers such as Little Toller Books, who specialize in writing that focuses on rural life. In this context, Richard Hawking's new study of the English rural writer Adrian Bell is a timely contribution to revived discussions of past nature writing, as well as drawing deserved attention to one of Britain's keenest observers of rural life.

Born in London in 1901, Adrian Bell left his urban upbringing behind him in 1920 to become an apprentice farmer in Suffolk. His subsequent books detailing this move from city to countryside were highly popular, with the success of his now classic rural trilogy – *Corduroy* (1930), *Silver Ley* (1931) and *The Cherry tree* (1932) – reflecting the desire of an increasingly urban readership to reconnect with the land. Bell was not alone in his interests in country life. The inter-war period was one of increased preoccupation with rural affairs, with metropolitan-based intellectuals such as T. S. Eliot pronouncing on issues such as soil erosion and farming methods from their London offices. The 'Back to the Land' ethos, however, was no short-lived fad for Bell, but a central philosophy that shaped the core of his life and writing. It is the strength of this lifelong commitment to farming and rural life, Hawking argues, that makes Adrian Bell an authentic voice on the British countryside.

For the environmental historian, Bell offers a valuable account from the perspective of a farmer of the factors that contributed to the decline of British agriculture in the twentieth century and with it rural communities. For Hawking, Bell is an authoritative commentator on British agriculture because unlike other writers he quickly moved beyond a purely aesthetic appreciation of the countryside to recognize the complexities and hardships of rural life and the challenges brought by mechanization. Despite Bell's occasional sentimentalism in his writing, Hawking argues that he was pragmatic in recognizing the benefits of modern farming techniques and the need to adapt traditional methods to meet new demands. His clear-sighted analysis of the impact of mechanization, government policy and urbanization on farming recognizes the benefits of modernization and the potential for nostalgia to distort the realities of farming life. However, as Hawking makes clear, Bell's sensitive analysis of the impact of technological advances on agricultural work also warns against the losses caused by the capitalization of the countryside. For example, whilst accepting that machinery often eases farmers' lives, Bell also mourns the increased sense of distance from the land and the loss of intimacy and creativity in

farming that the old tools and methods had preserved. For Bell, such changes reflected a broader distancing between humans and nature in contemporary life.

Richard Hawking is a sympathetic guide to Bell's writing and a clear supporter of his philosophy, showing him to be a knowledgeable and important commentator on rural affairs in the mid-twentieth century. Hawking's study of Bell achieves a successful balance between detailing Bell's life and the broader historical context that shaped his farming and writing. The result is a study that is equally enlightening on Bell's literary achievements and the experience of modern farming. However, as in much nature writing, Bell's work is based on an underlying assumption of the moral and cultural superiority of country life that goes unchallenged by the study. Such anti-urban narratives risk deepening divisions between town and country rather than recognizing interconnections between them. They also fail to show awareness of the negative social experiences of country life for marginalized groups and individuals that drew many to the greater freedoms, opportunities and anonymity of the city. Such considerations are necessary if nature writing is to achieve a better understanding of urbanization and the social dynamics of rural communities.

Whilst Bell remained concerned with changes to agriculture throughout his life, Hawking finds his later work to be marked by a more reflective tone in his consideration of time, nature and human relations. Hawking suggests that the decline of Bell's popularity in the 1960s reflects a broader fall in interest in rural literature from a post-war population looking to the future and modernity rather than to the past. This disinterest is now being reversed as environmental concerns increase. In the contemporary context, Adrian Bell's foresight regarding nature, farming and environmental affairs makes him an important contributor to environmental debates. Bell's core argument that farming methods must maintain balance between old and modern, human and nature, producer and consumer resonates in the age of the Anthropocene, with its greater awareness of the impact of humans on the earth.

Richard Hawking's study provides an extremely informative and accessible introduction to Adrian Bell's writing and the period in which he lived and worked. For Hawking, Bell is 'one of our best documentary historians of rural life, describing and contextualizing the seismic shift in agriculture that occurred in the first half of the twentieth century'. Importantly, the study recognizes the many ways in which his lived experience of farming and nature can continue to inform contemporary understanding of the importance of balancing government policy, economic demand and environmental well-being. Bell's support for an approach to farming that incorporates modern technology when it benefits both the land and the people working on it is directly relevant to contemporary moves towards greater crop diversity, locally sourced foods and organic farming methods. Occupying the position of farmer and writer in equal measure, Bell provides an excellent example of the interconnections between culture and nature, and shows how literature can encourage greater engagement with the natural world that sustains us.

ELIZABETH BLACK
University of Roehampton

JEREMY DIAPER, *T. S. Eliot and organicism* (Clemson University Press, 2018). 218 pp. £85.

To those who know little of the organic movement's early history, linking T. S. Eliot with the philosophy of organicism may seem rather far-fetched. After all, Eliot was a banker and publisher whose poetry memorably described the 'unreal city' where he lived and worked, with its lonely typists and its swarms of commuters. But this is only part of the picture. The poet and novelist Richard Aldington recalled country walks with Eliot which revealed his responsiveness to natural beauty. Eliot's sensitivity to the English landscape is apparent at times in his *Four Quartets*, and he was baptized into the Anglican communion not in a metropolitan church, but at Finstock in the Cotswolds.

Jeremy Diaper's argument in *T. S. Eliot and organicism* goes way beyond such circumstantial considerations, though, presenting a wealth of evidence to show that Eliot attached great importance to farming and to a thriving rural culture and economy. He saw them as vital to the health of the nation, both physical and spiritual, and through his work as an editor and publisher played a key role in promoting the organic cause during the 1930s and '40s. In demonstrating this, Diaper incidentally lends weight to the thesis of my book *The origins of the Organic Movement*: that the movement emerged from a context in which Christian social thought and the idea of a God-given natural order were prominent features.

Diaper begins by tracing the roots of Eliot's agricultural awareness to a period well before his active involvement with organicism. As early as 1915, Eliot praised America's schools of agriculture as 'better and honester places than its universities', because they did work which could be taken 'seriously' (p. 1). There follows a close analysis of how Eliot used agricultural and fertility symbolism in *The Waste Land*. Diaper shows that Eliot 'was absorbed by the idea of the desert and the fertility of the soil in a poetic sense' (p. 13), before becoming concerned about soil exhaustion

in a literal sense and about the social importance of farming. He rightly emphasizes the link in Eliot's thought between restoration of the soil and cultivation of a religious sensibility, and notes *The Waste Land's* references to the unhealthy lives of city-dwellers, with their diet of tinned foodstuffs.

By the early 1930s agrarian issues were a recurrent theme of Eliot's social criticism, and the majority of Diaper's book analyses his contribution to three journals which fostered organicism: *The Criterion, The New English Weekly* (*NEW*) and *The Christian News-Letter*. In an article for the *Review* in 1998 (*AgHR* 46 part 2), I identified the *NEW* as 'A Forum for Organic Husbandry'. Eliot served on its editorial board, and Diaper's chapter on that journal reveals that the *Four Quartets* (three of which first appeared in the *NEW*) can be interpreted 'in relation to the agricultural topics that were raised with conspicuous regularity in the journal' (p. 96). Diaper's study of *The Criterion,* which Eliot edited throughout its 17-year run, has led him to regard it as a 'platform for agricultural perspectives'. *The Criterion* featured reviews of many books on agriculture, and contributors included leading organicists such as Montague Fordham, Rolf Gardiner, Philip Mairet and H. J. Massingham.

Diaper's chapter on *The Christian News-Letter* argues that Eliot's involvement with this publication – as a member of the editorial committee and occasional guest-editor – is 'integral to a complete understanding of his agricultural thinking' (p. 99). The chapter contrasts Eliot's vision of a Christian society based on a series of rural communities with the farming projects of Rolf Gardiner (Dorset), Ronald Duncan (North Devon) and John Middleton Murry (on the Suffolk/Norfolk border). Through this contrast, Diaper 'indicate[s] the limits of Eliot's agrarianism' (p. 100). It was tempered by mistrust of the paganism with which Gardiner, in particular, flirted; and by the belief that agricultural communities were not ends in themselves, but could be the means of reviving an Anglo-Catholic spirituality in the post-war world.

Diaper also examines Eliot's role as a director of Faber and Faber, the company which published so many of the early organic movement's canonical texts. He provides evidence that Eliot's contribution to this policy was at least as significant as that of Faber's agriculture editor Richard de la Mare.

I have two problems with Jeremy Diaper's book. First, he evades the contentious issue of Eliot's 'alleged' (p. 175) anti-semitism, on the grounds that it has been discussed at length elsewhere. As to whether Eliot was implicated in the organic movement's radical-Right tendencies, Diaper notes his considerable affinity with the outlook of Gerard Wallop (Viscount Lymington, later the Earl of Portsmouth), but says this was only in relation to Wallop's ideas on agriculture and rural life. In my article on Wallop ('Organic Society: Agriculture and radical politics in the career of Gerard Wallop, 9th Earl of Portsmouth (1898–1984)', *AgHR* 53 part 1), with which Diaper does not engage, I contend that his political outlook was closely intertwined with his views on these matters. Wallop was one of the early organic movement's most dedicated anti-semites, and the extent of Eliot's sympathy with his ideas requires more analysis than Diaper offers in his somewhat disingenuous dismissal of the subject.

Secondly, and more importantly for readers of this journal, the book lacks any real sense of the agricultural context, other than offering a handful of brief references to issues such as mechanization and the neglect of arable land. Readers are left unaware that an agricultural revolution was taking place. The organic movement was in part a reaction against the proposals of influential figures like C. S. Orwin and Sir Daniel Hall, who urged increased specialization and use of chemical fertilizers, and identified efficiency with output per worker rather than output per acre. While Eliot dreamed of a nation based on religious communities which practised organic husbandry, Fisons, ICI and the agricultural machinery industry were driving government policy towards the 1947 Agriculture Act and the subsequent reign of agri-business.

Nevertheless, despite this lacuna, Jeremy Diaper's monograph offers a convincing case for T. S. Eliot's major role in propagating the organicist philosophy.

PHILIP CONFORD
University of Leicester

Europe and Elsewhere

ROSA CONGOST and PABLO F. LUNA (eds), *Agrarian change and imperfect property. Emphyteusis in Europe (16th to 19th centuries)* (Brepols, 2018). 311 pp. €71.

The papers in this edited volume focus on the practice known as emphyteusis. This can be broadly defined as a contract in which one party grants the use rights to agricultural land to another party on the condition that the land is maintained, and in return for a fixed annual rent. The resulting contract may be of a long duration and the holder may be allowed to dispose of the use right by sale or bequest. Contracts often specify conditions attached to exit or eviction and allocate responsibilities for repairs and improvements.

Scholars have been divided in their interpretations of the operation and impact of emphyteusis. Some have

proposed that the resulting 'divided property rights' hindered economic development and limited opportunities for full ownership. Others have taken a more positive view of the practice, suggesting that it ensured that land was retained for productive purposes and arguing that both parties derived advantages, the landowner in the form of income and the tenant through long-term security. One reason for these contrasting views, according to the editors, is that the operation of emphyteusis varied both between locations and over time. The purpose of the volume is therefore to permit such comparisons. Thirteen papers encompass locations including Italy, Spain, Portugal, France and Germany across the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.

A number of papers in the volume demonstrate how emphyteutic leases could be employed to encourage land improvement. Challenging economic conditions in Germanic lands during the period 1680–1720, for example, encouraged the adoption of emphyteusis. After a period of disruptive warfare, landowners were looking for incentives to encourage the resettlement of agricultural lands and decided to switch from short-term leases to more generous long-term ones. Introduction of new crops was a second form of land improvement. Catalonia became an important region for wine production from the mid-eighteenth century but a great deal of labour was required to transform uncultivated land into vineyards, and around five years had to pass before the first grapes could be harvested. Landowners therefore used the contracts as an incentive to attract the necessary investment.

Institutional and individual landowners employed emphyteutic leases, but their motivations often varied. Religious houses made such arrangements with local families in central-northern Italy and in France from the middle ages until the late eighteenth century. The process fostered links with the local community and corresponded with the idea that a religious house was a perpetual institution. In Lombardy, meanwhile, long-term contracts were used by landowners during the seventeenth century to limit exposure to economic fluctuations and to transfer maintenance costs and property taxes onto tenants.

The recipients of leases are also discussed in detail in the volume. A number of contributions suggest that emphyteusis provided opportunities for small-scale farmers who would otherwise have faced difficulty in establishing holdings. Agricultural land in eighteenth-century Normandy was of good quality and population density was high. However the agricultural economy was not commercialized and small peasant holdings were the norm. Emphyteutic contracts provided an opportunity for a peasant farmer to consolidate their holdings around a farmstead. Sometimes the state actively encouraged the use of emphyteutic leases, as in Mallorca between the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries when they were first employed to strengthen the rights of large property owners, and subsequently to encourage the dispersal of their estates.

The extent to which contracts were monitored and enforced also varied between locations. In central-northern Italy penalties for non-payment of rent were limited but the land might revert to the owner if the male line of descent was interrupted. The Catalonian system initially contained an exit clause that required the tenant to return the land when the vines died. Some landowners, notably of Germanic lands, were insufficiently observant and allowed their rights to lapse, making their recovery of the land almost impossible. However landlords in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Galicia and those in eighteenth-century Normandy viewed emphyteutic leases as important assets and monitored contracts closely. Tensions arose in north-east Catalonia, meanwhile, when the success of the wine trade, established using emphyteutic contracts, caused landowners to increase rents and entry fines for future contracts.

Emphyteusis, the editors conclude, was a less rigid process than its critics suggest. It was employed by religious institutions who anticipated being a permanent fixture in the local community, but also by peasants to establish, consolidate and expand holdings. Clarification around the duration of contracts was established in some locations. Sometimes the aim was to facilitate the owner's recovery of the land, for example limiting duration to the life of the tenant or for 99 years and clarifying the procedure around eviction. However processes were also altered to reward tenants whose management and labour inputs had increased the land's value.

The editors take a more optimistic view of the connection between emphyteusis and economic growth than many previous scholars. They suggest that such long-term leases were particularly effective when they allowed an owner to delegate the clearance and cultivation of previously abandoned land. In such instances the owner was themselves required to absorb a degree of risk, as value of the rent that they set at the start of the contract might depreciate in real terms over its duration.

The book shows an awareness of the nuances in legal process between locations and over time. The introduction is particularly helpful in clarifying the direction of the argument to the reader. The volume will be a useful research resource for agricultural historians seeking to extend their knowledge of land transactions.

The geographical coverage draws out some interesting similarities and differences that raise questions for future research, including whether emphyteusis was most frequently employed in periods of economic crisis or those of economic growth.

CATHERINE CASSON
University of Manchester

E. M. DERMINEUR (ed.), *Women and credit in pre-industrial Europe* (Brepols, 2018). 364 pp. 14 illus. €100 / free open access.

The role of women in the credit economy is particularly obscure. The legal practice of coverture could prohibit women from appearing as sole litigants and a patriarchal legal code did not always record the role of women in household credit when they acted alongside their husbands as creditors and debtors. As women were more likely than their male counterparts to engage in small 'domestic' loans or to extend credit in closed social networks, many of their activities in the credit market elude the record altogether. This collection of essays brings together invaluable research on the role of women in the credit economy of pre-industrial society. Arranged chronologically, the chapters trace an almost continuous increase in female borrowing and lending in Europe from the fourteenth through to the eighteenth century. The book explores the agency of women as buyers and sellers at the marketplace, as investors in the credit market and invariably as litigants before the courts in pleas of debt litigation.

The contributions of Richard Goddard, Matthew Frank Stevens and Teresa Phipps all seek to recreate the everyday experience of credit in medieval England through a study of debt litigation. The study of credit via pleas of debt has significant limitations as noted by the authors. Debts were often settled amicably and when litigation was instigated, out-of-court settlement was the norm. Whilst these issues apply across genders, what the book highlights are the particular difficulties in identifying female agency before the courts where records rarely contain a description of the credit contract and where women frequently appeared as joint litigants with their husbands. It is possible, as suggested by Goddard, that women played a significant role as guarantors to the contracts of their male relatives. Ågren's study is particularly successful in addressing the limitations of the court records by exploring the ways in which women were able to extend the benefits of their trustworthy reputation to male borrowers. The focus on legal institutions in these chapters sets the tone for the book and the impact of legal custom on both practices in the credit economy and on the record of credit, remains a consistent thread throughout the following chapters.

Legal records remain at the forefront of the chapters on early modern English credit. Juliet Gayton's study of female participation in the seventeenth-century land market is based on manorial court records through which copyhold land was routinely surrendered. The probate and inventory records associated with death form the basis of Judith M. Spicksley's work on never-married women. Bringing together pan-European studies of women and credit, the book highlights a multiplicity of approaches to the history of women and credit. On the continent, where there existed a strong notarial culture, notaries' records indicate the involvement of women in formal credit markets. The survival of personal papers in the later early modern period points to the significance of informal networks of support. The richer continental source material is evident in those papers on female credit outside of England. Jaco Zuijderduijn explores female investors in the Low Countries through a study of life annuities issued by the town of Haarlem. Eve Rosenhaft utilizes the personal letters of the middle class widow Eva König to analyse the language of emotion in business. Montserrat Carbonell-Esteller bases her research on the accounts of the Mont de Pietat, an institution that granted loans against objects deposited as collateral. The variety of source material utilized within the book demonstrates that in spite of a legal code that sought to limit the economic agency of women, women remained active participants as both borrowers and lenders in the pre-industrial economy. The chapters thus speak to one another and as a whole, the book advances new approaches to the study of women and credit.

Whilst the book is broad in scope, it is unsurprising therefore that certain elements are missed. Considering the role of the Church in shaping the morality of the marketplace and as an authority presiding over instances of debt litigation in medieval England, it is surprising that none of the chapters explicitly address the role of religion in the credit activities of women. Though the chapter by Phipps highlights the peculiarities of localized legal custom, this is limited to the secular courts and the extent of legal pluralism in medieval England is overlooked. This does not, however, impact the overarching conclusions drawn across all papers that assess the role of women in the credit market as well as the significance of credit for advancing female independence. Fontaine's concluding remarks muse on the disjuncture between the legal code and practice in the marketplace and consider the means by which women subverted the restrictions imposed by law. The conclusions allude to the wider role of the credit market as a factor towards the empowerment of women. Subverting the legal code and exercising

autonomy in their financial affairs, women achieved a degree of economic independence through their engagement with the credit market. The book thus builds on earlier research by Judith Spicksley, William Chester Jordan, Amy M. Froide and others and raises important questions that should shape the future study of women and credit.

HANNAH ROBB
Institute of Historical Research

CHRISTOPHER M. PARSONS, *A not-so-new world: empire and environment in French colonial North America* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). 264 pp. £35.

Ecology and environment played a crucial role in the French exploration in North America. As such, Christopher Parsons places the French belief in the agricultural potential of North America and the importance of 'cultivating' this environment for colonial success at the centre of *A not-so-new-world*.

Parsons argues that the concept of 'cultivation' was central to French discourses and practices of colonialism. Whilst the French were initially optimistic about their ability to transform the 'sauvage' (meaning something akin to 'wild' in English) world of America into a well-ordered, cultivated space, these attempts at 'cultivation' were increasingly frustrated and undermined as the radical difference of the American environment began to be recognized in the late seventeenth century. The central themes explored by Parsons will of course be familiar to scholars working on English and Spanish colonization in the New World. There is a rich literature that explores European attempts to control and cultivate American lands and thus recreate European societies across the Atlantic. The transformation of wild American lands into cultivated colonial spaces was critical to colonial success, the survival of distinctly 'European' bodies, and the improvement of indigenous ones. Cultivating the American environment, then, would not only allow for European settlements to flourish, it was also key to raising indigenous peoples to European standards of civility. Parsons's work is a welcome intervention into this already flourishing field. Parsons demonstrates how these shared European convictions about the mastery of the environment and its connection to successful colonial policy were enacted (and indeed frustrated) in the French context. Parsons shows in extraordinary detail the origins of this discourse of 'cultivation', its limitations, and its importance for understanding the nature of knowledge exchange between indigenous peoples and French colonists and missionaries. In doing so, Parsons argues for a colonial history in which ecology and politics are recognized as being deeply 'entangled'.

In chapters one and two Parsons explores the meaning of 'cultivation' in a colonial context and identifies how this meaning was developed into a systemic theory of colonialism. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries French explorers, settlers, missionaries, and colonial administrators emphasized the similarities between France and North America. Rather than identifying significant differences between the two ecologies, observers instead suggested that New World plants were in fact merely 'savage' forms of plants that could be found in the Old World. Through a process of French cultivation, the qualities of these recognisable yet 'savage' plants could be improved, and the wider environment of North America made to resemble France more closely.

Chapter three explores the wider significance of the 'cultivation' metaphor for French colonialism. As Parsons argues, the notion of cultivation was intimately tied to the process of religious conversion. French missionaries recognized, but did not wholly understand, the spiritual nature of indigenous ecological knowledge. For successful conversion to take place, then, indigenous knowledge about the natural world had to first be understood and then, paradoxically, destroyed. Parsons also demonstrates how indigenous groups actively hid their ecological knowledge from French missionaries as a way of resisting both conversion and the dismantling of their spiritual connection to the natural world. What is perhaps missing from Parsons' analysis, however, is a discussion of how Christian conceptions of Eden, the Fall of Man, and the connection between agriculture and salvation framed the religious mission in New France.

Chapters four and five analyse the limitations of the French plans for 'cultivation'. Parsons argues that as the seventeenth century wore on, French understandings of indigenous spaces and ecologies became increasingly fragmented and agricultural plans for the region less coherent. Rather than noting the similarities between American and French flora and fauna, the transplantation of French plants became more important that cultivating 'savage' American ones. The boundaries between the 'cultivated' and the 'savage' continued to shift, as did notions of what constituted French colonial space. Using the example of 'Canada', Parsons argues that these shifting boundaries eventually solidified into a distinct region that was embedded in French ecological and social regimes. What increasingly defined French colonial space, then, was Frenchness. At the same time, indigenous ecological knowledge was further marginalized, a theme that Parsons explores through the establishment of botanical science in Paris. As Parsons

argues, American plant species were increasingly cleaved from their indigenous contexts, being prized for their botanical novelty and leading to the 'subtle recognition that New France was in fact a new place and not simply *sauvage* and in need of cultivation' (p. 150).

Parsons concludes the book by demonstrating just how contested the nature of New France was well into the eighteenth century. For some, the vision of a French empire remained predicated on the assumption that the Americas and Europe were essentially similar, whilst for others, a French Empire should be extractive, an understanding that was shaped by the idea put forward by France's scientists that New France was biologically distinctive and its plants uniquely useful. As Parsons also argues, in many ways our understanding of the ecology of North America remains stubbornly incomplete and tied to the physical and cultural violence of European colonialism. To rectify this, Parsons calls for the 'decolonization' of traditional ecological knowledge, and the mobilization of indigenous knowledge to confront and help rectify the 'ecological threats that centuries of aggressive agricultural expansion have wrought' (p. 188).

Whilst some aspects of Parsons' work do not break particularly new ground, the book is nonetheless a call to action that makes important interventions, not only into the history of science, environmental history, and the history of global knowledge exchange, but also into contemporary debates surrounding the entanglements of environment and politics. The book is richly researched and will no doubt become standard reading for anyone interested in the exigency of indigenous ecological knowledge or the importance of environment for the justification, implementation, and practice of European colonization in the early modern period.

RACHEL WINCHCOMBE
University of Manchester

JOSHUA MACFADYEN, *Flax Americana. A history of the fibre and oil that covered a continent* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018). 368 pp. 42 b&w illus, 9 maps, 9 tables, 4 diagrams. $110.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Great Lakes and northern Great Plains pioneers planted patches of newly ploughed land with purple-flowering plants. In *Flax Americana: A history of the fibre and oil that covered a continent*, Joshua MacFadyen uncovers the complicated story of a striking crop and vital commodity that historians have almost entirely overlooked. MacFadyen uses flax to weave together the interconnected social-ecological histories of agriculture, environment, business, science and technology, international trade, and commodities. Ironically, flax was almost always peripheral. It originated and underwent processing at the margins of the farmer's fields, the agricultural frontier, and the industrial/capitalist marketplace. As MacFadyen points out, vital statistics in the census miss the ways flax fit into marginal landscapes, communities, and economies. The marvel of his research is the piecing-together of the history from the many fragments of flax found in the documentary record, including photographs, account books, trade publications, industry promotional material, and correspondence between farmers, manufacturers, and scientists. Like the plant itself, the history of flax branched many times, flourished in colourful ways, and transformed countless places where it was cultivated; little in the story of flax lends itself to a straightforward and easy-to-explain narrative.

MacFadyen's study of the social and material complexities of flax offers an ideal environmental history. The story in *Flax Americana* hinges on the irreconcilable tension between the fibre's potential value to the industrial economy, the frustrating process of converting the plant into cloth and cordage, and the ease with which converting its seed oil into paint created value for farmers, manufacturers, and modern society. Understanding the tension requires a careful explanation of why and where farmers and manufacturers expected to fit the fibre into local and the modern economies in the late nineteenth century; the material realities of the flax plant and its agency over humans; and finally the confluence of prairie colonization, an almost frictionless conversion of seeds into oil, and the cultural desire to cover the world in colour starting in the early twentieth century. By using the geography of flax to structure the organization of the book, MacFadyen avoids confusing the reader with multiple and overlapping threads of fibre and coats of oil, and allows the book to proceed chronologically. Originating in what MacFadyen calls the rural mill complex of south-western Ontario where tight-knit communities planted it at the edges of 'new breaking' (recently ploughed land) and sold it to small manufacturers, flax migrated with the colonizing land rush into the grasslands of the Dakotas, Montana, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan where farmers grew much larger acreages and supplied the urban industrial complex with raw materials for modern consumer products, including ready-mixed paints and linoleum. The transition from fibre to seed oil, cordage to paint, small mill to industrial processing, also pulled flax into commodity webs operating at multiple scales from the local to the global.

Drawing on the work of sustainability scientists Jianguo Liu *et al.*, MacFadyen employs the concepts of telecoupling and social-ecological systems to explore the

relationships between communities, agroecosystems, and the capitalist marketplace 'over long distances, between diverse systems, and through complex interactions like feedbacks and trade-offs' (p. 16). MacFadyen uses these concepts to provide an enhanced commodity chain analysis, which acknowledges and explains the complexity and nonlinearity of the stages flax moved through on its many paths from plant to product, from producer to consumer. By framing *Flax Americana* in this way, MacFadyen treats flax as one commodity networked into a wider constellation of others. Historians of agriculture, environment, and science and technology gain a more holistic view of commodities if, as MacFadyen argues, 'we think of flax not as a standalone chain but as one section of a much larger web of all commodities' (p. 18). MacFadyen dispenses with the approach that many other historians of commodities have taken, which is to isolate a single commodity and elevate its importance (warranted, or not) above that of others. Instead, MacFadyen engages in a very generous kind of scholarship that other historians, particularly agricultural and environmental historians might embrace. There is, after all, a substitute for almost every commodity, so looking for and explaining the interconnections between them is also just good storytelling.

Perhaps the biggest contribution MacFadyen makes to agricultural and environmental history with *Flax Americana* is one that he does not fully or clearly articulate. Almost precisely halfway through the book, MacFadyen asks why has flax 'not attracted the attention of professional historians'? (p. 138). Without stating so outright, the clearest answer the book provides is because the material properties of flax never attracted much attention – from people in the past, let alone from historians who read the records they left behind.

Flax did not thrive on its own merits. As MacFadyen makes clear, flax 'was an unexceptional part of life for rural people. Their records show that they did not treat flax as extraordinary or worthy of promotional fervour' (p. 138). Indeed, flax products (cloth, rope, paint, linoleum, etc.) satisfied none of society's needs, great or small. It became a part of industrial agriculture and modern society despite its material properties, not because of them. Processing the fibre was painstaking and laborious. Seed oil applications were capricious, if not conspicuous, consumption. The story MacFadyen tells, but seems hesitant to mention, is that flax had agency that resisted easy integration into anthropogenic social-ecological systems. Domesticated, certainly. But never indispensable. In fact, the history of flax provided by *Flax Americana* appears to be explained as the triumph of human agency over that of flax, but with many of the opening rounds of the contest going to flax. The farmers, manufacturers, and promoters who saw its potential and derived some smaller benefit from their effort to achieve it, worked very hard to overcome the materiality of flax. The social, economic, and political meanings that people attached to flax constantly ran up against its ecological and physical properties. Looking only at what was grown, harvested, bought, sold, discussed, and described only gets at part of the story. Assessing the agency of the plant itself fills the story out.

ANDREW WATSON
University of Saskatchewan

GÉRARD CHOUQUER and MARIE-CLAUDE MAUREL (eds), *Les mutations récentes du foncier et des agricultures en Europe* (Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2019). 294 pp. €30.

This, the first volume of a series of books on land and agricultural issues, aims to study contemporary relationships to the land. Despite the variety of agricultural conditions in the 28 European Union member states, the land question remains crucial, complex, and universal. Legacies of historic agricultural practice and land ownership systems continue to influence European agriculture, even as new forces disrupt existing models of production. It appears impossible to protect both agriculture and the land that supports it as much as it has been in the past.

The first part of the book is devoted to developments and revolutions in agricultural policies. Several perspectives from different disciplines offer a broad scope, beginning with three papers about France. The agronomist Devienne traces the twentieth-century agricultural revolution. The 1950s saw an increase in the output per worker, while retaining the goal of sustaining soil fertility: polyculture was considered the best solution at that time, but fell out of favour in the 1980s as farmers moved towards greater specialization. Recent developments in information technologies and biotechnology require high capital investments, while the policy agenda has shifted towards sustainability and biodiversity. The second paper, by a sociologist and a political scientist, analyses changes in the relationship between rural society and politics. Acting in the post-war agricultural transformation and the growth of national economy, the peasants aspired to influence agricultural policy decision-making. Indeed, the latter was co-managed by the State and the National Federation of Farmers' Unions (FNSEA) from 1958 to 1982. This co-management, abandoned by Mitterrand, resumed after 1990 but was weakened by the importance of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and trade union pluralism which reflects the great diversity of

farms. The third paper, also about France, by the legal scholar Bosse-Platière, sheds light on the evolution of land law, from the principles of individual good and family good to the common good. Individual landowners were protected by the civil code of 1804, and from 1945, the Tenant Farmer Act consolidated individual farmers' holdings, assuming every farmer could achieve the status of the small owner. During the mid-twentieth century new organizations helped establish new legal structures for landholding that enabled greater security in inheritance. Yet in 1980, challenges emerged when it became more profitable to invest in technical capital rather than land. Agricultural land equity management (*portage foncier*), in which a person or a company buys or receives the title deeds of land and manages it, is used increasingly in France. For the farmer, this avoids the burden of land buying, but this has caused the reduction of land ownership and a shift towards land management. All the while, concerns for the environment and climate change challenge this agricultural model and encourage considering the land as a common good. Environmental law now states that: 'we do not inherit the land of our ancestors; we borrow it from our children'.

Three papers then extend the focus to Europe, reflecting on agricultural policy. Bazin and Trouvé give a very informative summary of the CAP and the evolution of its goals. In 1958, the CAP was largely inspired by the 'Danish' model, i.e. a modernized family farm organized by powerful cooperatives. It provided direct assistance to farmers to increase production and ensure a fair standard of living. However, the CAP was subsequently faced with increasingly contrasting realities across Europe, as well as overproduction, while successive reforms after 1980 opened Europe up to the world market. In the present day, debates aim at finding a solution to reconcile a sustainable agriculture and food security. In central Europe after 1989, the ways the land was privatized and the transition to the market economy were influenced by the historic patterns. The creation of cooperatives and landowners' associations ensured the transition in the 1990s before integration into the CAP. In his chapter, Maurel outlines a trend towards land grabbing for investors controlling agricultural holdings. Mediterranean agriculture is the subject of the third paper. Three types of exploitation coexisted: the aristocrats' *latifundia*, the middle class' estates, leased in *mezzadria*, and the peasants' *microfundia*. In these regions with limited agronomic potential (except in irrigated or viticultural areas), agrarian structures were only modernized on their entry into the CAP.

The second part of the book (four chapters) questions the models of agriculture in France. Since the nineteenth century there has been a lively debate between the partisans of small-scale farming and those of larger farms. Economic and political decision makers were convinced of the efficiency of large-scale capitalist exploitation, yet they protected family farming for social reasons. Cochet advocates systems of family farming which bring together land, capital and labour in the farmer's hands. He sees in it the source of progress in the post-war boom. It survives through the use of common structures like CUMA (Coopérative d'Utilisation de Matériel Agricole or Cooperative for the Use of Farm Implements). The family farm (sometimes over 300 ha.) coexists with 'companies' (F. Purseigle) where land capital, working capital and labour are dissociated. In 2007, France introduced the legal system of the 'trust' (*fiducie*) – a system similar to trusts in the Anglo-Saxon world – which provides a new legal entity into which the ownership of a property can be transferred, under conditions of specific use and duration, to a 'trustee' acting for a beneficiary. Labour can also be outsourced to a contractor providing both the workers and the machinery they use. This practice is already common for harvesting fruits and vegetables; hired foreign workers do not enjoy any social protection.

In a concluding chapter, Chouquer presents a wide reflection on the notion of land ownership, which he has developed in a recent masterly book (*Le foncier. Entre propriété et expertise*, Paris, 2019). Recalling European land tenure systems, in particular British common law and the Roman law, he analyses the current crisis of property in France. The contract system is gradually replacing the land status guaranteed by the State.

The fifteen contributors to this multidisciplinary book help the reader understand the importance of agricultural revolutions since 1945 and the less well known changes since the beginning of the twenty-first century. One of the major interests of the book is the combination of theoretical approaches and precise analysis of land ownership, farming patterns and developments. They have a strong correlation with social organization and are dependent on important historical trajectories, hence their great diversity in different European Union countries.

How can we reconcile a social Europe protecting workers and social aspirations for agroecology with the rise of agro-industrial enterprises and the need to feed a growing population? The readers will not find solutions for the future of agriculture in this book, but at least they will better understand the complexity of the problems and avoid unnuanced opinion.

NADINE VIVIER
Le Mans Université

Conference Report
The Society's Winter Conference, 2018

by Paul Warde

The theme of 2018's Winter Conference, held at the Institute for Historical Research on Saturday 1 December, was 'Material Life in Rural Britain'. Over the span of the centuries covered, from late medieval times to the twentieth century, historians demonstrated the ingenious ways to get at this most solid yet elusive subject through both written and physical evidence.

The first paper, 'The possessions of English agriculturalists *c.*1370–*c.*1460', came from Chris Briggs of the University of Cambridge, delivering findings from a project combining a variety of historical and archaeological evidence to assess the material possessions of people between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. This covers a period when historians have generally considered there to have been a rise in peasant consumption, hygiene, decorum and comfort, and debated whether we can perceive a divergence between distinctly urban and rural material cultures. Briggs has used records of the possessions of around one thousand felons and suicides from the Court of Escheators, which were claimed by the crown, valued and sold. He presented a careful and critical assessment of the quality of the sample and practices of recording, which includes data from fifteen counties.

In this period possessions were, of course, meagre by later standards; a median of five items (or groups of items, such as animals) were recorded. No suggestion of a rise in living standards based on the value of material goods was found, and among the lists that contained agricultural items (75 per cent) there was no difference between townspeople and rural inhabitants. Items thought by Goldberg to be typically 'bourgeois', such as spoons, were extremely rare, and also possessed by yeomen. Generally less than a tenth enjoyed items such as tablecloths, towels, or napkins, and only a twentieth had pewter items, which had become common even among labourers by the sixteenth century. Intriguingly, with only a single exception, ewers and basins were absent north of the Trent! The evidence points to a distinct difference with the findings from early modern inventories, where non-necessary items were common across the social order. Briggs' work suggests that in late medieval centuries the rural population did not invest in non-essential goods to any great extent, although they were not completely excluded.

Jon Stobart, from Manchester Metropolitan University, next took us to a milieu distinctly engaged in investing in non-necessary things, with his paper, 'Home comforts: material culture and well-being in the eighteenth-century country house'. This was an era when homeliness was emerging as a distinct and desirable style, characterized, in the words of Prince Picker-Muskau on Guy's Cliffe in Warwick in 1820, by an 'agreeable disorder', giving it a 'homelike air'. Stobart examined how ideals of convenience, physical ease, and emotional well-being interacted in both practice and the prescriptive writings of architects such as William Halfpenny (1747) and Roger North (1697). He drew attention to the sensual aspects of design and materiality – the importance of avoiding too much of a cold light, for a southerly aspect of rooms, and increasingly arguments for the separation of spaces for the public, guests, and privacy. Stobart argued that this was an era of more specialist zoning, differentiated space for guests, family or servants, and finds less of a preoccupation with display than is often thought. Heat was a key concern, with the introduction of expensive new stoves, but even so observers from Sweden found English houses cold (and English visitors to Sweden, the reverse). A changing preoccupation was not only the ownership of goods and furnishings, but their arrangement, as items such as sofas appeared and seating (or sites of seduction!) moved towards the centre of the room and a studied air of informality emerged.

In the afternoon Emma Griffin of the University of East Anglia took us into the nineteenth century, but an altogether different class, examining issues of allocation and access to goods and food through the lens of

a sample of 657 working-class biographies (predominately written by men). Her paper, '"A whole kipper for Father, the other six of the family a half apiece": sharing resources in the Victorian family', demonstrated that despite the limitations of a selective sample and a lack of female voices – which become much more prominent only in archived oral histories that reach back to the 1880s – these writings provide vivid and significant insight into the life of households of a kind not easily captured in metrics such as real wages. She provided telling examples of people's experience, such as the preoccupation with who got to eat eggs, or how very poor individuals were still able to obtain food outside the home whether by odd jobs, theft, or charity.

Griffin's approach is systematic and uses quantification to illustrate the prevalence of behaviours within her sample, without claiming that the sample autobiographies were representative of a particular population. What she called 'good providers' among male household heads, sharing resources throughout the family, were the most prevalent group, but still a minority. The experience of death or serious illness within families was very widespread, found in half of the works. A large proportion of the households described were not 'nuclear' and for some period lacked a male breadwinner, whether through death or desertion (the latter often associated with illegitimacy). Work was often episodic. Farmworkers however appeared to have more consistent employment and indeed a higher proportion of 'good providers.' Thus, while urban wage rates were higher this did not translate clearly into higher well-being or fewer problems for families.

The final paper, 'Pools, grids and other metaphors: The place of rural energy users in twentieth-century Britain', was delivered by Vanessa Taylor of the University of Greenwich, examining the experience and imagining of rural electrification as the new technology spread out with varying speeds across the country between the 1920s and 1960s. Taylor argued for the importance of language, among other things, in shaping understanding and arguments of how electricity should be delivered and to whom. She examined how the development of a national grid raised expectations of and appeals for connection that lead to rural people becoming a new kind of 'problem consumer', expensive to connect but assertive of an equality of treatment. In practice electrification proceeded in a piecemeal fashion, with consumers frequently not behaving as anticipated by managers of the system (and thought prone to use other fuels, or 'under-using' electricity), but alternatively reliant on their own generators. Taylor illustrated how, by the 1950s, after creation of regional electricity boards, 85 per cent of rural households had been connected, the rate often driven by a sense of obligation to citizens despite high costs – encouragement and support even extending in Highland Scotland to electric cookers being delivered to places with no road access!

Taylor showed a 1963 presentation of the 'three men who control the supply of electricity to the whole of Great Britain', but then went on to describe the much larger and more varied group of people who in practice shaped the use and encouraged the adoption of electrical supply. These included large numbers of women selling the benefits of becoming connected to gas or electricity network – even though women were themselves often denied the right to get credit or hire purchase before the early 1960s. Despite the apparent centralization of the National Grid, delivery and take-up was often localized, and was organized on a regional basis right up until privatization in the 1980s.

The day concluded with a panel and wider discussion of issues of rural material culture led by Jane Whittle (Exeter), Sara Pennell (Greenwich) and Karen Sayer (Leeds Trinity). A wide range of themes were covered, highlighting especially the value of direct engagement with material objects (and museums); whether distinctively rural materialities related to possessions or the way in which they were supplied; on the continuity of change as opposed to a model of time-specific 'consumer revolution'; regional variation; and being aware of the complex life-cycle of things and the way that they move between hands and households, not always through the market.

Conference Report
The Society's Spring Conference, 2019

by Joshua Rhodes

The Society's 67th annual conference was held in the Jubilee Conference Centre at the University of Nottingham, 8 to 10 April 2019. The conference enjoyed a rich and varied programme, a direct reflection of the success of the Society's first 'call for papers', which had brought forth proposals on all aspects of rural history.

After afternoon tea and registration, the first session started with Dr Peter Larson (Florida), who posed an interesting exercise in counter-factual history through his exploration of the social and economic development of County Durham, 1349 to 1700. Larson questioned whether County Durham's development could have been more similar to the south east of England. Through the case study of the Halls family, Larson demonstrated how socio-economic development might (under the right conditions) have mirrored that enjoyed by the south east. Larson showed how the Halls successfully increased their holdings over time and rose through the ranks from peasants, to yeoman, and finally to gentry. This was a classic example of peasant engrossment taking place in the absence of a local lord but ultimately one that was not characteristic of County Durham more widely. Larson concluded that engrossment of farms did not occur on a large scale because of strictures placed on farm size through the persistence of tenurial institutions. In the second paper of the session, Dr Frances Richardson (Oxford) addressed the rise of landed estates in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Wales, with a focus on Nantconwy in Caernarfonshire. Continuing Larson's theme on farm engrossment, Richardson's central focus concerned estate 'builders' in the sixteenth century. She delineated three paths of estate building: long-term building over many generations, small estates (2300–4450 acres) over the shorter term, and unsuccessful estate builders. A key mechanism facilitating estate expansion was the exploitation of leases on crown land. Richardson argued that crown land was easier to exploit than other types of land in Wales because it did not come with any bond tenants, whose tenurial rights on other lands limited owners' ability to exploit the land for profit via leasing. However, Richardson noted that not all estate builders successfully exploited all crown lands as some ancient native tenants achieved independence.

The Presidential Lecture, entitled 'The Rural Housing Revolution, 1550–1700', was delivered by Dr John Broad, who addressed the classic 'Great Rebuilding' debate through an analysis of the diffusion of building improvements across the social spectrum. To do so Broad employed a wide range of sources and methods, such as evidence from the Hearth Tax, probate inventories, and pictorial depictions of houses on maps. Broad argued for three phrases in the housing revolution: first, the addition of chimneys, which were not new but their widespread adoption – by 1600 – was; in the second phase, from *c*.1580 to 1650, multi-storey houses became more common; lastly, after 1650 there was consolidation, infilling with bricks being widespread. The key exception to this trend was squatter homes, which were not subject to these improvements. The lecture was an exciting revival of an old debate and prompted much discussion at the dinner afterwards about the difficulties of identifying building improvements through indirect source material. In particular, debate focused on whether pictorial depictions of houses on maps were accurate reflections of key building improvements, such as chimneys and second storeys. At the end of a stimulating session, Dr Broad confirmed that he intended to synthesize these arguments in a monograph on rural housing in early modern England.

After dinner, Professor John Beckett (Nottingham) gave a talk on Laxton open-field village, the destination for this year's excursion. Having worked closely with farms at Laxton and on its history, Beckett explained the historical development of Laxton and what remains of the open fields today, describing how this village continues to operate, and outlining the continued role of the manorial court in managing the fields and crop

rotations in the twenty-first century. What remains of the open field system is a fraction of what once was there. In 1635, the open fields covered some 1,894 acres but the acreage now stands at 483. Beckett's presentation proved a perfect primer for the excursion the following day and made the trip even more enjoyable as we had the benefit of seeing how Laxton operated in theory before witnessing it first-hand.

The second day started with two New Researchers' sessions. Eloise Kane (Bristol) considered hare hunting and class tension in the post-medieval English landscape. Kane noted that deer hunting was in decline by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and that fox hunting emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She contended that the transitional period between deer and fox hunting was a popular period for hare hunting but that this pursuit had largely been overlooked in the literature. Using archaeological evidence, Kane identified hare warrens to locate hare hunting activity. The earliest evidence of a hare warren was one near Newmarket in 1603 and Kane has identified 35 warrens in total. Using GIS she showed that their location correlate strongly with chalk areas, and that warrens were placed near the edge of parks, which was important because it allowed hunting on open land beyond the park boundary. Gary Willis (Bristol) examined the impact of war industry on the agricultural landscape of Britain between 1936 and 1946. Adopting an explicitly environmental-history perspective, Willis discussed the erection of shadow factories, royal ordinance factories, and royal admiralty sites on agricultural land. Using documents from the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE), Willis shows the lack of discussion about returning industrial sites back to their agricultural pre-war use.

In the second New Researchers' session, Iain Riddell (Leicester) examined farming in the Grampian region of Scotland. Riddell argued that farming in the area could not be understood without consideration of female workers and farmers. Employing an innovative methodology that combined social network analysis with longitudinal data on farmers in the region to 'map' women farmers onto the landscape, Riddell stressed the importance of farming knowledge passed down by women farmers. He also argued that changes in the names of farms or farmers over time give a misleading impression of a lack of continuity. He showed that although names may change, through careful reconstruction of familial ties, in many cases women (as wives and mothers) provided continuity across generations on particular farms. Their role has hitherto been overlooked owing to the practice of changing surnames upon marriage. The final new researcher's paper was delivered by Leonard Baker (Bristol) who took us to the south west of England in the nineteenth century. Baker examined how landscape change intersected with ritual and protest. He drew on several case studies, including the Pimperne (Dorset) enclosure between 1809 to 1817 and disputes over the River Tone (Somerset) between 1827 to 1832. Baker demonstrated how the Pimperne enclosure was an interesting example of a dispute where farmers wanted to enclose the Down but their attempts to do so were resisted by landowners, who wished to protect hunting interests by arguing that deer continued to use it. Through detailed comparative analysis of his case studies, Baker argued that there was no single 'moral ecology' of the English landscape but 'moral ecologies'.

In the next session, Dr Joshua Rhodes (Cambridge) re-examined the issue of family farming in nineteenth-century England. Rhodes re-examined the role of family labour by considering the relationship between family dynamics and the employment of wage labour using a sample of household-level data on farm size and family and wage labour for 60,000 farmers covering 9.5 million acres from the 1851 census. He showed that the presence of working-age family members reduced the need to employ waged labourers. He also considered the supply of family labour through the lens of the life cycle, the demand for labour according to distance from urban centres and farmers' socio-economic status. He argued that accounts of the development of agrarian capitalism need to be more sensitive to determinants of wage labour other than market forces, casting doubt on the use of wage labour alone as a measure of capitalist farming. The second paper in the session was delivered by Adrián Gustavo Zarrilli (Buenos Aires), who addressed the expansion of the agricultural frontier in Argentina between 1980 and 2017. Zarrilli demonstrated the dramatic fall in the area of native forest in the twentieth century and the increase in soybean acreage since 1981. The huge expansion in soybean cultivation has been an incentive to engage in intensive deforestation and to expand the use of agrochemicals. As Zarrilli demonstrated through shocking video footage, the environmental impacts of deforestation have been substantial and in particular the burning of forests has released large quantities of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

After lunch, we set out on the conference excursion to Laxton, led by Professor Beckett. After a lively sightseeing tour of the outskirts of Nottingham, engagingly narrated by Prof. Beckett, we reached the Laxton Visitor Centre, where we were handed over to one of the manorial tenants, who gave us a talk about how the open field system worked in the past, and how it works today, with the aid of a replica of the 1635 map held in the Bodleian Library. He then took us out to one of the three common fields, the one which is lying fallow this year, and we

walked up the side of his strip to the ridge. From here we could survey most of the field system (including the outlying areas which had been enclosed because the strips there were so far from the village), and a large heap of manure waiting to be spread over the field. Back in the village, the large number of farmhouses, with yards and farm buildings gave a noticeably different feel from that of most English villages, where the farms are generally away from the centre, among their own fields. The visit was rounded off by tea and biscuits provided by the our guide and his wife, in their farmhouse.

On day three of the conference, Professor Christopher Dyer (Leicester) was the first speaker on a panel on perceptions of medieval agriculture. Dyer addressed popular perceptions of agricultural landscapes in the Middle Ages and posed the question of how regions were characterized. He encouraged critical reflection on the boundaries of the well-known concept of 'pays' in England. By using place names and the names of roads, such as 'Woodland Road', Dyer delineated contemporaries' perceptions of different types of landscape. He also used surnames in an attempt to identify mobility patterns and to assess whether individuals moved between 'pays'. Dyer concluded that people largely seem to have stayed within their own 'pays'. The second paper was delivered by Dr Matthew Blake (Leicester), who considered the sharing of the agricultural landscape with 'wild' animals in early medieval England. Using place-names from pre-Conquest charters, Blake asked whether these provided a means to investigate wild populations of animals, such as wild boar, hares, foxes, bees, and birds. The session was rounded off by Dr Susan Kilby (Nottingham), who spoke about peasant perceptions of the agrarian landscape in the later middle ages. Using Elton in Huntingdonshire as a case study, Kilby has used field names to assess people's relationship and perception of the landscape. A search of Elton's manorial accounts and rolls yielded 145 medieval field names, which enabled her to challenge the traditional classification of medieval field names between crops, enclosed land, and wetland. The key, Kilby argued, was to situate field names within the context of the Elton landscape. In doing so, she showed that field-names also demonstrated that individuals were applying key concepts of elemental and humoral theory to their management of land.

In the penultimate paper of the conference, Dr Kent Fedorowich (Bristol) discussed the Canadian Forestry Corps who were based in Devon during the First World War. He showed how Britain was heavily reliant on timber imports at the start of the war and that it was imperative to secure a more reliable supply. He demonstrated how a decision was made to import specialized labour (rather than timber) from Canada to meet demand. Fedorowich showed the value of the specialist knowledge brought by the Canadian foresters, as they were charged with working with the largest and most complicated timbers. There were 36 timber camps in Devon, the largest number in the country, which also employed Portuguese workers and German POWs. Overall, between May 1916 and December 1918 Devon was responsible for 6.5 per cent of timber output.

The final paper of the conference was delivered by Professor Tim Soens (Antwerp). Soens considered the impact of cities on agriculture through an analysis of the relationship between Ghent and its surrounding rural regions in the late medieval period. He showed that Ghent had not always been reliant on a rural grain market. In the thirteenth century, many rents in the city were being paid in kind, which Soens argued provides evidence of food production within the city. But by the fourteenth century, this self-production had largely disappeared, and the city had become reliant on imports from rural grain markets. A key change over time, however, was the social distribution in the reliance on these imports. He demonstrated how sections of the urban population turned to purchasing land to achieve food security. Some 20 to 30 per cent of land in the rural hinterland of Ghent was owned by city dwellers before the Black Death but afterwards there was a significant shift in the social status of these owners. Soens demonstrated that there was a decline in the upper and lower sections of society who owned rural land and the emergence of a middle class who invested heavily in land. He argued that while a substantial number of the lease contracts for this land stipulated a cash rent, most were in fact paid in kind, and estimated that between 15 and 24 per cent of the population of Ghent was fed in this way, these processes having an important effect on food security. Reliance on the food market became more socially biased after the Black Death. Prior to the Black Death this had been an urban problem but after this period it disproportionately affected poorer sections of the urban population. The urban middle class had essentially achieved 'private' food security through their investment in land. The impact on agriculture was that it resulted in greater reciprocity between urban landowners and farms, and a decline in rent on leasehold lands between 1290 and 1570. In summary, Soens argued that this period was characterized by continuity in food flow, interregional trade, and urban demand, but that there were significant changes with respect to social relations of food production.

On the changing of the editor: some valedictory reflections

This is the last part of the *Review* that I will see through the press. In all, I have had charge of it for 21 years.[1] Having been Editor for so long, some have regarded my departure as equivalent to the flight of the Ravens from the Tower of London or the abandonment of Gibraltar by its Barbary apes. However, my departure is no calamity and I am pleased to say that Paul Warde has accepted the pilot's seat.

May I therefore be allowed to fill the final pages of this part of the *Review* with some valedictory reflections and, indeed, express some thanks to those with whom I have worked?

I ought to begin by saying that I never intended to serve so long. When I prepared Gordon Mingay's obituary for the *Review* in 2006, I recall thinking that his period of editorship (11 years) was excessive and not something I wanted to repeat. In fact I have exceeded Mingay's term handsomely, in part for a reason I will mention later.[2]

As editor I was committed to a broad church reflecting both agricultural and rural history, cultural history and the newcomer to the table, environmental history. Distinctions between agricultural history (economic) and rural (social) seemed (and still seem) to me to be fundamentally unhelpful. There are a few cold-war warriors who still fight the war between the two. Whilst an editor can only accept what he is sent (and our name, and a reputation for staid and old-fashioned agricultural history, was sometimes a hindrance in the beginning), I have never rejected material because it fell outside some arbitrary boundary (the exception being contemporary development studies). Of course, no editor ever gets the right supply of material to achieve the ideal balance, but over a period of years I hope that the contents of the *Review* have given a sense of what the discipline can and ought to be.

That said, the domestic discipline has changed in ways which have, in retrospect, been unhelpful. Work in the classic area of what has been called 'cow and plough history' – the study of production – has largely ceased. Three reasons can be offered for this. The first is the disappearance of Economic History as a university discipline. Appointments at any level of the discipline are rare. There are virtually no departments of Economic and Social History left in Great Britain (LSE and Glasgow may be the only ones). Postgraduates would be ill-advised to work in a subject area where the opportunities for employment are close to nil unless they can disguise their work as something else. The second is the extinction of the extra-mural departments and the third the decline – nay, disappearance – of the specialist agricultural

[1] The first volume I saw through the press was volume 47 (1999).

[2] I note that two of the founding editors of *Rural History* are still in post after thirty years, which perhaps suggests a certain lack of stamina on my part.

college in which some knowledge of the history of agriculture was seen as a desirable part of a rounded vocational education. That agriculture has been in the doldrums for much of that time has perhaps not helped. One important consequence of this is that we know relatively little about the agriculture of the twentieth century, certainly after 1945 as the research power has not been there whilst what everybody once knew has slipped out of memory and into history. The work that is being done is often carried out under the guise of veterinary history or even animal welfare. Key industries lack serviceable accounts. I have sometimes felt that there was more activity in medieval rural history than twentieth-century rural history: certainly medievalists regard rural history as something with which their students ought to be at least acquainted in a way that historians of the twentieth century do not.

It is also, of course, a generational matter. The younger generation have often been concerned with the experience of agricultural labour, much of it focused on farm servants, much of it taking a gendered approach. The *Review* has carried some important work in both this field and on poor relief, especially under the Old Poor Law. The mindset which regards farm servants as important and worthy of attention tends to disregard farmers: it certainly finds nothing of interest in the ways in which upper-class and monied individuals used the countryside for recreation (for parkland, hunting, shooting and the like) and so recent work on how the countryside was shaped for non-productive uses is, at best, patchy. Nor has there been much writing in the *Review* on popular recreations and the tensions they brought, nor on the politics of the countryside generally. There is much more that needs to be done in all of these fields. It seems likely though that the next generation will be concerned with environmental issues including weather and sustainability, and that may bring many of them back to the nuts and bolts of 'cow and plough history'. Crop rotations may be the coming thing. Just wait and see!

In terms of geographical coverage, I was once hailed whilst standing over a photocopier in a library by someone who introduced themselves as a member of our Society and said that they liked the *Review*, but it never contained anything on Yorkshire. (This conversation, I ought to add, took place in Leeds.) It is a more serious matter that whilst we have carried important papers on both Scotland and Wales, there have been too few of them, and Ireland has barely featured, much to my regret. Of course, this both reflects the character of the profession in those countries and the local opportunities for publication, but one would have liked more.

This leads me to one of the great sea changes in the character of the *Review* over the past two decades, and one which not all its readers have been happy about. We have attracted far more material from colleagues based in Europe writing about their own countries. This has often filled gaps in the work of British historians on both productivity and twentieth-century agricultural and rural history. We have occasionally made forays into Africa and North America, and very occasionally Asia. In my view the internationalist tendency in the *Review* over the past twenty years has been entirely beneficial even if the papers that it generates often bring with them editorial challenges.

The establishment of contacts between the separate national rural history communities has been one of the most welcome developments of the past two decades and more. It started with the CORN network based at Gent, whose prime mover was Erik Thoen, and subsequently PROGRESSORE led by Gérard Béaur at the CRS (CNRS/EHESS) in Paris. These brought together people who, one suspects, were largely unaware of each other, their interests and

publications. The two book series they spawned are a lasting achievement (although as the editor of the *Review*, I tended to look at them and wish that some of their best material had come my way!). It was on these foundations that the BAHS launched an international conference at the University of Sussex in September 2010. This meeting attracted much larger numbers of speakers that we envisaged, and out of it emerged the European Rural History Organisation with its biennial conferences. As the United Kingdom slips into political isolationism, this is a development we need to maintain. I have to say though that the New Internationalism perhaps generated less material for the *Review* that I originally envisaged, the call of publications with a higher international standing and national periodicals proving too strong.

There are a large number of people I need to thank – authors apart, for their patience and occasionally perseverance with me – for their contribution to the *Review* over the past two decades.

First the Book Review editors with whom I have worked: John Walton, Henry French, Bryony McDonagh and now John Morgan. There is more to this job than meets the eye: not just the management of the books as they come in, but increasingly the chasing of publishers to ensure that we get them in the first place and of the reviewers to ensure that we receive their review in a reasonable time. I am grateful to all of them, and for their patience with the editor when an email arrived asking for more reviews to ensure that the issue in proof did not appear with blank pages at the end.

Second, the referees. I have not even tried to total up how many people I have asked to referee papers. I must have had over 500 papers pass through my hands, the majority of which have received two reports. A very few people have refused my request for a report. Some I have relied upon and sent papers to time after time. They and the many others, often personally unknown to me, sometimes writing outside their area of expertise, have invariably taken considerable pains to read the paper I sent them and prepare a report 'suitable for the author's eyes'. I have always been impressed by the care that referees take, even with papers which are pretty dire, looking for the positives, making suggestions of changes for the author's benefit even when the paper was not going to be recommended for publication. It is here that the Republic of Letters is truly found.

Third, throughout we have used Carnegie Publishing of Lancaster as our setter and print buyer (for a long time they did the dispatch too), and at Carnegie much of this work has fallen on Rachel Clarke. A long time ago (a *very* long time ago), she and I agreed not to dwell on each others's mistakes. This was, to use the language of modern warfare, an asymmetrical arrangement. Rachel made few mistakes but rescued me from many more. The elegance of the *Review*, the quality of its layout and presentation, is largely down to her. Perhaps I should note that we have been doing this so long that when we started out, we posted paper proofs out in envelopes (and I would sometimes drop the corrected proofs back at Carnegie's offices) which now seems positively antediluvian. I am ever so grateful to have had Rachel to rely on. Working with her has been a pleasure. Thank you Rachel.

Fourth, that we have a good website, and that the *Review* is available both there and on JSTOR, and on publication on the Ingenta platform, is largely due to John Broad who negotiated the original agreements and organized the scanning of the *Review* when it was still a fairly novel thing to do.

Fifth, I am grateful to many generations of the Executive Committee of the British Agricultural History Society who trusted me to get on with it, accepted my applications for additional funding for longer parts and, when pressed, expressed satisfaction with what I was doing.

Finally, that I continued as the editor of the *Review* into a second decade is largely because I recruited Catherine Glover as, first, copyeditor and publications manager, then as administrator of Rural History 2010 and finally she became my wife. She took over all the work of dealing with authors once their texts had been prepared for setting, giving them a last (and frequently tough-minded) read-through, handling the proofs and the management of the website. The *Review* changed from being an evening and weekend job for the editor (often conducted on train journeys) to being a cottage enterprise. Catherine's contribution has never been properly acknowledged in the *Review* partly because neither I nor the Executive Committee ever came up with a term which was sufficiently embracing to encompass her contribution. She has brought to the *Review* not only sharp copy-editing and eagle-eyed proofreading but also a superior understanding of hyphenation (an author once told me that I couldn't hyphenate, and he may have been right). Many authors have had their papers improved in small ways by her. A good number have had their maps redrawn by her. She pointed out to one author that a particular linguistic coinage could only be found in one place on the internet, and that was in a blog he had written. The coinage was disallowed – by mutual agreement of course. In recent years she has handled all our dealings with Rachel at Carnegie. It is very much to the *Review's* advantage that she will continue in this role for the next few years.

Perhaps I might end by channelling my inner Yorkshireman. Editors are a vital part of the publication process, as the writer's friend, as the ultimate quality assurance, as the manager of the process. They might take papers and put them through the press unaltered; they might also require the author to make wholesale changes. They might, from time to time, rewrite papers. I have done all of these: I have, in addition, occasionally done additional research for authors where I have felt that there was more to be said. This all goes on after the paper has been submitted to a journal in its 'final' form.

The contribution of the editor to the publication process has never really been recognized by university hierarchies (no one became a vice chancellor by being a journal editor), by the REF and most recently by Plan S. Leaving the latter to one side for a moment, I think that the standing of the editor and the recognition of the value he or she brings to publications has probably diminished over the time I have been editor of the *Review*. There is now the belief, found amongst some academics, certainly amongst some academic librarians and in particular amongst some funders that journals (and publishers in general) are essentially parasitic on the research process, selling (through their subscriptions) work which, in some form or another, has already been paid for out of public or charitable funds. Funded research, it is held, should be free to air (as it were) so everyone can read it for free at the moment of publication. (Of course, many of the papers I have published have come from independent scholars, working outside the universities and funded out of their own pockets.)

We achieved an acceptable halfway house with Gold and Green Open Access. One element of this concordat was the emergence of the University Repository, filled with unedited papers, often withheld from the public gaze until after the paper has appeared in print, which makes the repository text redundant. As a means of spending money at a time when the universities

had some, it was ideal. We now have Plan S which insists that *all* work in a journal which prints *any* publicly funded research should be available free to all readers from the moment of publication.[3] Various sanctions are threatened for journals which do not fall into line. Of course, this is a manoeuvre against the big Science journal publishers operating in areas whose whole model (and scale) of funding is quite different to that of the Humanities and who have often been criticized for making unreasonable profits: but no distinction is drawn between journals in different fields or different proprietorships. There is no recognition that the editing of journals in the Humanities is a voluntary, often unremunerated, spare-time activity.

The implications of this for Humanities journals in particular do not need to be spelt out: once the contents of journals are freely available online, there will, on the one hand, be no need to purchase the journal because it is all there on the web for the curious to find. On the other hand there will be no income with which to support the editorial process, the setting of papers or even pay for the hosting of the website on which the journal is published. Of course, in these conditions it will be impossible to support a print version.

So the journal has shifted from being the facilitator, the channel through which research is disseminated after a rigorous and often competitive process, to being the enemy, withholding material from the public and fellow academics unless they pay a fee or a subscription to access it. Of course, I favour open access. It is a great Enlightenment project for the dissemination of knowledge. But eighteenth-century publishers did not print their books and give them away. Like certain other contemporary political projects, it is a case of having one's cake and eating it: a populist policy lacking practicality.

Having been at the sharp end of this, I cannot see how the project can possibly work. It denies that the publication process has any costs attached to it. It fails to acknowledge that publication involves not merely the peer review of papers but their improvement, by editors, throughout the publication process. It also fails to recognize that learned societies such as ours rely on journal sales to fund their running costs and other activities: in our case the website, LIBRAL, the Thirsk Prize, conferences and conference bursaries and the like. This is a moment of great danger for all humanities and social science journals, especially for those journals which continue to be managed by learned societies.

So I end my term as editor at a time of great anxiety for the future. It has been two decades of hard work (there has never been a day when I did not have some overdue *Review* business to do), but two decades of great fun. I have not enjoyed writing rejection letters (I have never decided whether short or long letters are the best way to break bad news), and copyediting is at best a grind. I shall retire both my copies of the *Oxford minidictionary of spelling* (on which I relied for correct hyphenation and without which an editor should never travel). I have enjoyed being the first to see new work, often improving it – editing is a *creative* activity despite what authors sometimes feel – and having a hand in bringing it before our community. Overall, it seems to have been time well spent. I shall go back to reading the *Review* when it comes through the letterbox, with its element of surprise restored.

R.W.H

[3] Plan S has a website: https://www.coalition-s.org/. The Royal Historical Society has been especially active in opposing unfunded open access and its policy papers can be found on its website, www.royalhistsoc.org.