

Annual List and Brief Review of Articles on Agrarian History, 1982*

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AMONG the few important articles on prehistory published in 1982 the continuing debate on agricultural origins figured most prominently. Kennedy (125), for example, takes a critical look at the North-Thomas thesis which argues that the emergence of exclusive communal territories (resulting from population pressure) played a crucial role in the birth of agriculture due to the incentive it gave for innovation. In particular, he criticizes the assumption that there were no exclusive property rights before agriculture was practised and argues that the barrier to development was not lack of incentive to invest but the mobility of hunters and gatherers which prohibited capital accumulation. Mayhew (145), too, questions the North-Thomas stress on property rights and also finds inconsistencies with the demographic, archaeological and anthropological record. From the example of contemporary under-developed societies, Testart (207) believes that the presence or absence of agriculture is a much less useful distinction than whether or not intensive storage was the cornerstone of an economy, since agriculturalists and storing hunter-gatherers have more in common than either have with non-storing hunter-gatherers. It has been thought that 'sols lessivés' — the argillic brown earths — were linked to clearance and agricultural activity, where they lay beneath neolithic earthworks. However, a review of pedological literature by Fisher (70) concludes that the belief is an unsound one and he suggests instead that sols lessivés developed with the post-glacial forest. Drewett (61) has collected data in the form of seeds, animal bones and artefacts to provide the basis for an economic resource area analysis of Bronze Age sites on the South Downs. From this an economic activity model is proposed. The coppiced hazel stems recently disinterred from the Somerset Levels, where they formed part of an important prehistoric trackway, are discussed again by Coles *et al* (40). From this evidence it is possible to gain valuable insights into ancient woodland practices that would have otherwise remained inaccessible. Ard marks discovered at Sumburgh in Shetland are interpreted by Lamb and Rees (128). These confirm that the implement was tilted to left or right to achieve the

effect of a mouldboard, but do not suggest a regular criss-cross ploughing pattern, and the authors warn against assuming that neat uniform fields resulted.

Medievalists were far more prolific in 1982. In a lengthy article Brenner (25) takes up objections to his argument that economic developments in pre-industrial Europe were determined by social structures based on property, while Day (51) offers a classical economic analysis of productivity and population growth to explain expansion and decline of manorialism. Opinions have differed over when the custom of peaceful and secure inheritance of baronial lands became established in England. By dating instances of forfeiture, escheat and other forms of disinheritance DeAragon (52) places the gradual crystallization of custom in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Holt (108) looks at the different relationship of the family or kin to its property before and after 1066, and in an examination of feudal wardship Walker (218) denies that males and females were treated differently. Instead both married as they wished if the feudal marriage tax was paid. Rural settlement is still attracting a good deal of attention. Barrett (10) surveys field evidence of dispersed enclosed homesteads in Ireland and tries to explain the puzzling discontinuity in the distributional pattern. Environmental constraints and evidence for alternative settlement forms are discussed as well as the relationship between indigenous and alien types. Harvey (97) speculates upon the development of some apparently unplanned villages in eastern Yorkshire and constructs a model of township development for the area. This consists of different stages where the complexity of manorial structure and degree of seigniorial power were important influences underlying change. The usefulness of Anglo-Saxon charters is again illustrated by Hooke (109) in her search for the early patterns of estates and territorial administration in the West Midlands. Findings show nodal areas, often near rivers, linked to secondary development in more heavily wooded countryside suggesting a system of organization based on sound economic foundations. Dyer (63) undertakes a study of the same geographical area in order to learn when and why villages there were deserted. He blames long-term demographic, social and land-use changes between 1320 and 1520, rather than mere landlord acquisitiveness, for abandonment, and maintains that the English experience had far more

* Publications are dated 1982 unless otherwise noted. References to articles or off-prints should be sent to the Bibliographical Unit, Institute of Agricultural History, University of Reading.

in common with events in Europe than previously believed. Nor were changes necessarily indicative of a pernicious economic decline but represented important and helpful adjustments in agrarian organization to altered needs. Field systems are again the subject of considerable research this year. Hutton (116) describes how statistical pattern recognition techniques may help interpret their history and offers an Irish case study. To test theories about the cause of land scattering Pryor (177) has carried out a world wide examination of contemporary examples. Findings offer some support for the belief that production scheduling problems, where the growing season was short and difficulties existed in obtaining labour at work peaks, led to scattering. But he finds little to support the view that risk, joint production, striving for equality or even partible inheritance underlay its development. Yelling also (239) is critical of the view that economic considerations alone determined the nature of open fields or enclosure, and argues that the distinctiveness of midland and south-eastern systems justify the inclusion of social and institutional factors in any explanation. The evolution of land division in west Sussex is investigated by Nash (155) using field work, morphometric analysis and documentary research. He dates planning and subsequent remodelling to the thirteenth century and links it to the pressure of population which encouraged closer attention to property rights, size of holdings and tenure of land. In a detailed local study of relict boundaries on Dartmoor Fleming and Ralph (73) reconstruct the sequence of colonization and land use. They also show how strips can be used to establish land mensuration and provide evidence for early use of the Devon acre. With a different approach to the study of landscape history Whitehead (224) investigates the flora of a flood meadow and relates it to both physical factors and human influence, including communal haymaking, grazing and drainage since the medieval period. The range of sources available for this type of study is described by Gulliver (89). As usual very little has been written on actual farming. However, Langdon (129) provides a useful comparative study of the economics of using horses and oxen for draught in medieval England. He shows that although oxen did cost less to keep and were generally preferred on demesnes, the special circumstances of peasant farming made horses the more economical and preferred draught animal outside. Circumstances included the lower draught requirements of peasant holdings, different fodders available from them and the greater flexibility of the horse generally. Developments in cattle husbandry from the time of the Roman occupation to the early modern period are discussed by Armitage (5), who exploits osteological evidence for information on the size and appearance of stock at different times. The accounts of a northern demesne farm are analysed by

Lomas (134) to show that, contrary to belief, arable production could be profitable in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries where land was well situated and intelligently managed. In a welcome shift of attention away from eastern England Hare (94) looks at the circumstances of the uprisings of 1450 in Wiltshire. Economic recession and difficulties in the cloth trade emerge as the major underlying causes of the unrest at that time. More directly on the textile trade, Hanham (92) examines the financial side of wool exporting and estimates that staplers were averaging profits of around 20 per cent between the 1470s and 1540s.

Source material of the early modern period has come in for some close scrutiny, particularly the land tax records. Ginter for example (82) argues that they are not sufficiently consistent or reliable to be used as a guide to degrees of wealth inequality and he challenges Soltow's recently published interpretation of them. Wilson (231) also highlights unpredictability and variation in the incidence of land tax data which he insists cannot show precise acreages or property values. But Soltow (199) has compared data from 1798 with fresh valuations of 1803-15 and maintains that, despite problems, the records are the most useful indication of wealth available, and confirm continuing inequality in England. Also taking the more positive view Beckett (17) demonstrates the value of land tax returns for studying the English economy in the eighteenth century. The lives of ordinary Welsh people have been overlooked in the past, but Griffiths (86) has analysed lay subsidy assessments of 1543 to reconstruct the social and economic geography of the Glamorgan vale. For a slightly later period Palliser (167) describes the Bishops' returns of 1563 and 1603 in relation to the study of population, and Harrison (95) focuses upon Elizabethan field books. These can identify manorial holdings, field names and acreages of land under different uses, but lack details of sub-tenancing and can give a highly distorted picture of both land holding and the socio-economic structure. It was Kerridge's view that the returns of the Inquisitions of Depopulation could not show the extent of illegal enclosure. However, a critical examination of these sources by Martin (144) suggests that difficulties were exaggerated and that those returns of 1607, in particular, provide a true measure of its 'minimum' extent. Quoting revised population estimates, Palliser (166) offers an optimistic view of what has become known as 'Tawney's Century'. He claims that up to 1640, due to prudential rather than positive checks, population remained below medieval peaks, allowing a favourable balance with resources to be maintained. Gregory King's dubious social table has been subjected to further revision by Lindert and Williamson (130), who portray the seventeenth century as more prosperous, more industrial and less socially polarized than King indicated. Two local estate studies have a similarly

optimistic tone. Coward (45) focuses on the earls of Derby between 1504 and 1642 and finds that despite economic problems and civil war they suffered no genuine crisis, nor were local influence or authority impaired. Hawkins (99) assesses the effect of three forms of discriminatory taxation on the family fortunes of the Portmans during the seventeenth century when, despite unusually high costs of wardship, recusancy and delinquency payments, the estate prospered. By contrast a demographic catastrophe which hit the south Wales gentry in the eighteenth century is the subject of an article by Jenkins (119). This totally transformed the landed community and raises questions about whether areas outside underwent similar decline. On a national theme, Williamson (230) has collated a mass of data on pay in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain to learn the degree of earning inequality both within and between different occupations. Findings suggest enormous variability over time: pay differential between farm and non-farm unskilled labour for example narrowed in the 1700s, widened from the French wars to 1860 and had narrowed again by 1880, if only temporarily. It has generally been assumed that the mid-eighteenth-century depression in agriculture was national in character. But Beckett (15) highlights strong regional differences and links evidence of prosperity in pastoral areas to a long-term growth in consumption of meat and dairy products. It is also argued that cheap bread failed to stimulate demand for industrial goods — dietary improvements generally being preferred. From analysis of figures from Home Office enquiries of the Napoleonic Wars period Turner (213) presents important new national and regional data on cereal yields. When combined with other evidence they suggest that productivity changes of the eighteenth century have been underestimated and that the greatest advance was achieved before 1770. Furthermore, there may have been stagnation from that date until 1830, when population growth was advancing rapidly. This of course has implications both for the standard of living debate and links between agricultural productivity and industrialization. The limited influence of propagandists on eighteenth-century agricultural improvements is stressed by Horn (110). More effective, she believes, was the less spectacular work of land agents like Nathaniel Kent, and in a separate article (111) his contributions are described. These lay mainly in persuading owners of estates to tackle enclosure, reclamation, drainage, rational layout of farms and more productive cropping systems. There are also a number of interesting local studies. Zell (240) considers changes in landownership which revolved around sales and purchase of Tudor crown land in Kent, while in a study of Dorset land tenure Bettey (19) shows how custom could severely curtail landlords' power and he traces the replacement of copyhold by short-term

leases at high rents. Regional changes in farm transport in Huntingdonshire between 1610 and 1749 are charted by Porter (174) from probate inventories. The diffusion of the wagon from 1660 is related to increased farm size and to requirements for greater carrying capacity as farm production rose. Early techniques for manufacturing the Rotherham plough are investigated by Marshall (143), who finds that even before the mid-eighteenth century parts were being made by patterns which created identical, interchangeable components. The value of early maps for discovering the original form and structure of vernacular buildings is illustrated by Yates (238) from Wealden examples. Also on buildings, Priestley and Corfield (176) apply computer techniques to information on rooms and their use in Norwich probate inventories. They find clear testimony to the advance in standards of comfort in domestic furnishings between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries.

There has been a welcome upsurge in publications on Ireland resulting, for the modern period at least, in a good crop of articles this year. O'Flanagan (164) indicates the rewards which may be secured by detailed scrutiny of estate maps in conjunction with other estate records, and highlights critical elements of landscape and social change which occurred in counties Cork and Waterford during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is Raymond's belief (180) that, largely for political reasons, historians of Irish economic development have for several generations past been 'unable to see the bog for the weeds'. He vigorously denies that either the Union with England or lack of market demand and incentives to invest can be blamed for pre-Famine stagnation. Instead, using a comparative analysis which draws upon Scottish experiences, he cites traditions of land tenure, greater density of population and unhelpful social values for curtailing progress after 1780. Demographic change in Ireland is of continuing interest. It had been supposed that data in early hearth tax returns was of poor quality, but Dickson *et al* (54) argue differently and offer new population estimates for the eighteenth century. These suggest major regional contrasts in the first half, and an even more rapid rate of growth thereafter than had been assumed. Focusing upon problems in the Irish linen industry, Collins (42) cites competition from cotton goods in British markets where linen was sold as the main factor in its decline. Disruption of the rural economy which followed precipitated an emigrant stream 30 years before the Famine. Mokyr and Ó Gráda (149) examine the nexus between emigration and poverty at this time. They argue that the outflow of Irish in their prime age was critical since it reduced per capita income of those who remained in Ireland and inhibited industrialization. The land question and agitation in the countryside are also widely debated. Clark (36) maintains that the Famine transformed class

structure in Ireland, which in turn fostered a significant alteration in the nature of collective action. Before, there had been action by and on behalf of the rural poor, especially the labourers, while afterwards it was mounted largely by tenant farmers concerned with rents, ejectments and land grabbing. However, Fitzpatrick (71) suggests that the primary agent of agrarian unrest was not class but family structure, and provides evidence to illustrate conflict both within and between a wide range of social strata. The Land League's achievements are discussed by Bew (21) who shows how many of their ideals were defeated by social and political realities of the nineteenth century. The failure of the United Irish League and smallholders to oust the powerful shopkeeper-grazier in the 1890s is examined by Higgins and Gibbons (102). Indebtedness on the part of smallholders was apparently the main reason for failure. Taking an international perspective, Grigg (87) considers the relationship between industrialization and modern population growth. He concludes that the traditional view which attributes reduced mortality from 1750 to industrialization is no longer tenable, since it also occurred in countries where modernization was absent. There are a number of articles on English sources. Fussell (77) describes the Tariff Commission report and the rich pickings it contains for historians of farming in the early years of the present century. Attention is also drawn by Chapman and Harris (34) to the inaccuracy of acreage estimates in enclosure acts and awards. In early acts in particular, estimates of acreages enclosed diverge markedly from actual acreages of land allotted. The shortcomings of official records are further illustrated by Chapman's study of a Sussex enclosure (33). Here the chance survival of some private papers of one of the principal unofficial participants reveals the complex motives involved, and shows that political interests and personal animosities could be as important as any desire for agricultural improvement in initiating the enclosure process. Evidence from the tithe files is used by Holt and Kain (107) to illustrate the landscape of Suffolk, while Dodd (57, 58, 60) describes the crop returns for Herefordshire, Wiltshire and south-east Scotland and the picture they give of agriculture there in the 1850s. A statistical explanation of land value changes between 1781 and 1880 based on Norton, Trist and Gilbert's figures is provided by Peters *et al* (172). They argue that the rate of interest was not a significant factor, although rent was highly influential. Crafts (46) has assembled poor law data and other evidence to throw new light upon the question of how regional price variations affected real wage differences in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although wage gains by unskilled migrants to urban areas may have been less than previously thought, Crafts believes that some gain nonetheless would have been obtained. The plight of the small owner of land in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries is considered by Beckett (14), who tests existing theories against evidence from Cumbria. He finds that regional differences were important, and contrasts those highly taxed midland and southern areas subject to enclosure of arable land with outlying pastoral areas, lightly taxed and with opportunities for by-employment. Here the small man survived late, sometimes even into the present century. The astonishing peasant industry of chicken cramming is described by Short (192) to show how environmental, technological and economic factors fashioned developments in the Sussex High Weald. Here depression rather than encouragement from conventional gentry and landowning classes stimulated innovation. There are a few articles on rural disturbances. Mitchell (147) looks at the measures taken to alleviate food shortages in Cheshire between the 1750s and 1812. Only provision of relief and protection of supplies prevented a massive breakdown in public order. Archer (4) reviews the Wells-Charlesworth debate on incendiarism in Norfolk and Suffolk, and concludes that arguments put forward are both over-emphatic and premature because research on the 1800-1830 period is still far from complete. Finally, Storch (203) investigates the last significant wave of food-price disturbances in the south west and Oxfordshire in 1867 and shows that those popular notions of 'fair price' associated with the eighteenth century had survived well into the industrial age.

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