

Annual List and Brief Review of Articles on Agrarian History, 1989*

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THE relationship between hunter-gatherer and farming societies is a recurring theme in the literature on prehistory. Until recently it was widely assumed that they lived in isolation but Headland and Reid (94) bring together data that suggests a very different model. They argue that in the late Holocene, forager groups were heavily dependent upon trade with food producing populations. Williams (205) reassesses existing data on the nature of the mesolithic-neolithic transition in Britain. Her interpretation, influenced by an Antipodean perspective, is that agriculture did not originate solely with the arrival of European farming communities but resulted also from a gradual shift to cultivation amongst the indigenous hunter-gatherers. The significance of food storage for hunter-gatherer sedentism is considered by Soffer (181), and Molleson (133) examines human bone from the mesolithic to trace the first known osteological effects of grinding corn. On the chronology of the agriculture, the scientific analysis of wear marks on sickle blades from the Near East by Bahn and Ungar-Hamilton (9, 195) suggests that full-scale farming began as long ago as the 11th millennium BC. Debate continues over the diffusion of farming into Europe, and Renfrew (155) reconstructs the sequence of linguistic transformations and explains his provocative theory that their movement paralleled the diffusion of agriculture from Anatolia into Europe, c.6500 BC. The question of Indo-European languages and their links with the dispersal of farming is also discussed by Ammerman and the Zvelebilis (5, 214, 215). At home, there are reports on the important work in wetland archaeology. Smith *et al* (176) describe research into the differing settlement patterns and environmental impacts of hunter-gatherers and early farming communities on the fen edge of Cambridgeshire, and Coles (38) summarizes the insights that have resulted from the discovery of the 6000-year-old wooden Sweet Track which crossed the Somerset Levels. The analysis of artefacts, pollen records and other material buried in peat surroundings

has allowed the reconstruction in some detail of the neolithic economy and lifestyle. The current view of prehistoric man's radical impact on the environment is reinforced by Drewett's study (53) of the Sussex greensands. Here the stripping of large areas of turf for round barrow construction was a cause of widespread soil erosion. Copeland (39) examines the linear characteristics of Grim's Ditch in Oxfordshire in the light of aerial photography, fieldwork and documentary evidence. Findings suggest its functions were political and economic rather than military. In an analysis of Bronze Age Britain, Gosden (78) argues that production should be placed in a social context and outlines the insights that can be gained from this approach. Reece (153) offers a new model to further the discussion of continuity between Roman and Saxon Britain and on the same theme Crabtree (43) has reconstructed the animal husbandry of the early Anglo-Saxons, from extensive bone analysis. Results indicate that although pigs were important when communities were first established they subsequently lost ground to sheep and cattle, but there was also evidence reflecting broad continuities with the preceding Iron Age and Roman periods. It has been usual to associate the Anglo-Scottish border with footloose Celtic cowboys and pastoralism. However Topping (192) has identified surface remains of cultivation which in conjunction with the demonstrably pre-Roman terraces indicate that an arable regime was significant. Reid's view (154) is that understanding of social organization in prehistory can be achieved by examining the organization of buildings and the space within them. His study centres upon northern Britain where major changes in house design occurred during the first and second centuries AD, linking these to phases of acute political and economic pressure during the Roman period. Foster (67) also focuses on the spatial patterns in buildings and uses the formal geometrical method of 'access analysis' to interpret social structure during the Iron Age.

The reliability of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle's taxation figures is examined by Gillingham (72) who concludes that they are a gross exaggeration of reality. Lawson (122) disagrees. On the later medieval period, Britnell (26) compares the economies of England and

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Italy, in a study of trade, banking, wealth and social structure. Differences, he argues, arose chiefly from similar resources of knowledge and similar social attitudes at work in different environments. Factors responsible for progress in the medieval economy are discussed by Astor (7) and technological breakthroughs are highlighted in a number of other articles. Langdon (120) summarizes his important work in the revolutionary transfer from oxen to horse power, and Holt (102) questions how far the medieval mill was a productivity breakthrough. The vertical watermill is normally associated with the coming of the Cistercians to Anglo-Saxon Ireland, but Rynne (167) demonstrates both the horizontal and vertical wheeled mills were in use as early as the seventh century AD. And whereas circular corn drying kilns have traditionally been regarded as being of sixteenth-century origin, Gibson (71) has radiocarbon dated grain from some Scottish examples which indicates that this type was in use there by the eleventh century at least. More traditional approaches to the medieval economy are taken a step further by Bailey (11). He calls for a less simplistic interpretation of the concept of the 'margin' in the population-resource model, and urges a fuller analysis of market forces, demographic factors, resource endowments and institutional influences before definitive statements about the medieval economy are made. The damaging effect of the English Conquest on the rural Welsh economy is stressed by Given (74). Taxation, expropriation and the assertion of royal control over woods and wastes all contributed to the severe dislocation. In his account of agrarian depression in the north east of England during the mid-fifteenth century, Pollard (149) links the consequent financial difficulties of great lords to events in the national political arena. Demographic history is a perennial interest. Nash (138) presents an analysis of Domesday Book which attempts to go beyond the usual global estimates of population size and to focus upon the question of the relative sizes of different social groups in a regional context. A new source for population history is brought to our attention by Jones (111): the Myntling Register. This records in detail hundreds of villein family trees in the wealthy Priory of Spalding. The reliability of these records is questioned by Bailey (10) who believes a more useful source is the long series of *nativi di sanguine* lists which give not only genealogical information but also important details about lord-peasant relations. The ravages of the Black Death are illustrated in dramatic form by Davies (47) using episcopal registers and Lomas (124) exploits a variety of indirect indicators as well as source material to assess the impact of the Black Death in Durham. Results suggest that the lowest point was reached in the mid-fifteenth century, when the population was less than half of the total in 1348. On marketing,

Dyer (56) uses household accounts and records of debt to determine the spatial pattern of purchase in relation to the wealth and status of consumers. One striking feature was the importance of transactions conducted outside formal markets; another was the dependence of market town economies on the prosperity of the particular wealth group that patronized them. The trading pattern of two Wiltshire manors is reconstructed by Farmer (64) who highlights the ingenuity and enterprise of those concerned with marketing the produce of the countryside. The combination of legal and social history using court rolls has been a growth area in medieval research but Bonfield (21) questions whether it has been based upon a perception of customary law which is flawed. Payling (144) describes the fourteenth-century dispute over the valuable Ampthill estate to illustrate how local rivalries for land and influence could alter political allegiances at the highest level. In his study of lordship at work, Walker (197) exposes the realities of power, authority and lawlessness through the experiences of John of Gaunt, the leading magnate of his day. Difficulties stemmed from the depredations of agents who acted in his name and alienated the gentry. On settlement, the origin of planned villages has been the focus of considerable interest recently, with authorities assuming that modern maps are valuable indicators of earlier forms. To test this assumption, Campey (33) has examined an exceptionally rich archival source which shows that although this was often true, many seemingly regular layouts were actually the result of gradual polyfocal development. Our understanding of spatial variation in medieval agriculture is advanced by the work of Campbell and Power (31) who outline the results of an important pilot study of some 700 demesne and 1500 annual farm accounts. Cluster analysis of the data has revealed a large degree of differentiation by the late thirteenth century – which the authors link to environmental conditions, field systems and market forces. Farming practices have received little attention. The usual focus of medievalists has been upon the large cereal dominated estates of the English lowlands, but Watkins (200) directs attention towards an area where livestock was dominant. Postles (151) considers the significance of weeding, or the lack of it, for grain yields. Doubts over the reliability of the Domesday record are reinforced by Hooke's careful study (103) of the extent and usage of woodlands in the post Roman era. Place-names, charters and other evidence suggest that their significance has been seriously underestimated.

On the early modern period, Fletcher and Upton (66) describe the bundles of stewards' accounts held by Merton College, Oxford. They contain what are probably the earliest continuous references to the daily supply of food and drink to an academic

community. Harley (90) looks at maps as documentary records, arguing that we should treat them as a text rather than as a mirror of reality, and English (61) draws our attentions to the new on-line bibliography of literature relating to East Yorkshire which should be a valuable aid for local history studies of all periods. Considerable attention has been paid to developments in the Scottish economy. Whatley (203) for example takes stock of the various arguments over the economic causes and consequences of the Union of 1707, pointing out that in many areas issues remain unresolved. Changes to the taxation system during the late sixteenth century are traced by Goodare (76) who finds that it remained basically feudal in nature, inequitable and unpopular. The economic condition of the Scottish nobility is explored by Brown (27,28) in his search for the root cause of the mid-seventeenth-century rebellion. He cites taxation and the royal threat to property rights as placing intolerable pressures upon an élite which was already suffering financially. In a comparative study, Lachman (119) examines élite conflict in France and England, and on government in the localities Robertson's West Country study (158) describes Thomas Cromwell's masterly political and administrative skills. These extended over a whole range of local issues from treason to fishnets. Central-local relations during the Civil War are explored by Palfrey (143) who argues that central authority had to rely on negotiation and persuasion rather than brute force to obtain popular support. Articles on population history are legion this year. Poos (150) summarizes recent research and current issues and Crenshaw (46) provides a review of the literature. The rise in mortality from the late seventeenth century is explained by Dobson (49). She argues that the greater incidence of disease was linked to increased mobility which when combined with unfavourable environmental and domestic living conditions accentuated the transmission of pathogens. Historians have given the mean age of first marriage a central role in explanations of subsequent demographic increase, but Hill's account (99) of the complex social and economic factors involved suggests that their statistics should be questioned. A broad historical survey of family structures in Britain and other European countries is provided by Wall (198), and Stapleton (183) uses a local study to build up a picture of patterns of mobility. In her penetrating analysis of class relationships in the north east, Gregson (82) urges less reliance on the ideal-type models for explaining change and a greater consideration of the peculiarities of place and circumstance. Her own regional study suggests that class struggle *per se* had less influence upon the emergence of capitalist class relations than market fluctuations, farm size and the nature of customary tenure. Gunn (83) offers a detailed re-examination of the Lincolnshire revolt and suggests

new approaches to the study of disorder generally and in his account of protest in a Tudor market town, Mayhew (131) argues that disorder was not merely an expression of economic crises but endemic in society at large. Phillips (147) uses a variety of personal documentary records to illustrate his belief that there was more defiance than deference in later Georgian England due to fierce individualism combined with a strong sense of personal dignity, and Kingman (116) investigates a dispute over an enclosure. Despite thirty years of popular resistance to the loss of their open fields, locals were defeated by the threats, bribery, corruption and extensive use of social contacts by the leading family. Higson's article (98) further illustrates how easily a local magnate could manipulate the redistribution of land to consolidate and glamorize his country seat, and Turner's investigation of enclosure in Buckinghamshire (194) reveals a widespread but passive opposition to it. Smith (178) examines the little-used wages books and other accounting records of employers to reconstruct the diverse work patterns and lifestyles of the sixteenth-century labourer. Research into the poor law has tended to focus upon southern England, so to restore the balance Rushton (166) draws upon local records of the north east to trace changes in the approach to welfare support. In the main there was a growth of hostility towards outsiders. This is confirmed in Eccles's own local account (58) of the vagrant poor who were most vulnerable. On Irish agriculture, Solar (182) used reports in provincial newspapers to investigate pre-Famine harvest fluctuations. These highlight the stabilizing effect of mixed farming and strong regional differences in crop performance. Much attention has been paid to innovation. Overton (142) considers the complex role of the weather in decisions to adopt new practices and Hidden (97) reconstructs Tull's family history to throw light upon his ideas. It seems that financial difficulties may have prompted enterprise. The flow of information on the New Husbandry between England and Hungary is explored by Kurucz (118), and Sullivan (186) analyses trends in the issue of English patents. He detects a marked upsurge from the 1750s and relates it causally to productivity increases. With Simon (175) the same author offers an econometric model of invention in agriculture, linking book publication and patenting with rising food prices, population growth and the stock of knowledge.

Much less has been written on the modern period. Amongst the more important contributions Crafts (44) argues the case, in an international context, for the superior productivity achievements in British agriculture, and through an economic analysis constructs an explanation of the paradoxical transfer of labour to industry. Also on the supply side of farming Bairoch (12) provides a long term view of productivity

between 1800 and the present day and Grantham (80) employs French evidence to explore the role of market opportunities in the growth of European farm production. King (115) considers the civil case of 1788 in England which made gleaning illegal. This has been cited as reflecting élite pressure on the poor and a growth in absolute conceptions of property ownership. But from a scrutiny of local court records King shows that the legal sanction was largely inoperative because tradition favoured gleaners, sympathy was on their side and religious considerations favoured them. McKeown (127) examines different explanations for the change in attitude of the Peel government towards Repeal and offers an empirical regression analysis of Corn Law voting to provide a clearer verdict on some conflicting theories. The scant historical sympathy accorded the Protectionists contrasts with Macintyre's portrayal (126) of this movement. From the 1840s it offered a powerful and concerted challenge to Liberal Conservatism. The philosophy that underpinned the proposals of the Liberal land reformers to tax the incremental value of estates is discussed by Vogel (196), and Leneman (123) investigates the government's Scottish land settlement programme after the First World War. Despite mismanagement and disappointment during the early years, by the 1930s many of its aims had been achieved. Copus (40) sheds light on why and how sheep breeds were developed from the mid-eighteenth century, and shows how remarkably responsive farmers were to market influences. The survival of the 'peasantry' is discussed by Donajgrodzki (51). Using the example of an upland Yorkshire area he argues that family-centred farming on small acreages, low rents and flexible attitudes to work provided efficient mechanisms for surmounting economic conditions which were often disadvantageous to large farmers. A systematic sampling of passenger lists by Erickson (62) provides a demographic and occupational structure of British emigrants to America, and Tsokhas's detailed study (193) deals with imperial wool purchases during the First World War to expose the fallacy of Australia's dependent position. Although well placed as never before to exploit the so-called imperial division of labour, British interests failed to take advantage.

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