

Annual List and Brief Review of Articles on Agrarian History, 1993¹

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CASTING the net wider this year to include articles from books as well as periodical literature results in a bumper catch, including a number of historiographical essays. Amongst them, Sheail (309) draws attention to the emotive beginnings of research in ecological and environmental history, and the need for a new approach to provide a more balanced view of the human impact upon the natural world. Bellamy *et al* (24) discuss ways in which the study of popular culture can be used to redress the bias towards the elite that has dominated historical writing, Phythian-Adams (274) proposes an agenda for studying underlying structures of society at the local level, and Beynon (29) considers the use of social class as the basis for a general conceptual framework though which to analyse social change. There is a growing volume of literature on the use of information technology. Dunn *et al* (105) focus upon CAL (computer assisted learning) in their annual review of developments. Although few packages offer much for higher education the Microcosm multimedia programme is noted for its pioneering technology. Methods for digitizing primary source material are described by a number of practitioners including Helsper *et al*, Thorvaldsen, van Horik and Welling (169, 338, 354, 366), and Schenk (305) examines the use of CAD and GIS systems for the reconstruction of large-scale historical field systems and land use. The wealth of information available to historians on the world-wide computer network 'at the click of a mouse' is described by Southall (330) while at the level of the individual project Bouchard (40) presents a new computer-based method involving family reconstitution to measure degrees of literacy in the past.

Research by prehistorians on early landscapes and human impacts highlights the mounting interest in the dynamics of long-term environmental change and the vital contributions of pollen analysis in reconstructing the past. A pollen sequence from Oxfordshire, for example, discussed by Day (95)

demonstrates that ancient woodland cannot be assumed to represent relics of original post-glacial woodland cover. Pollen analyses also underpin Whittington and Edwards' challenge (371) to the belief that the Roman army had a minimal impact on the environment of northern Britain, while Barber *et al* and Dumayne's palynological studies (12, 104) contribute to the long standing debate over the level of deforestation at this time. The environmental impact of prehistoric mining in Wales, particularly in relation to the use of woodland, is investigated by Mighall and Chambers (242) using pollen data. Similarly, Thompson and Stevenson (345) chart the decline of heather in upland Britain and Ireland since 1400 in relation to livestock husbandry and afforestation. On prehistoric settlement and economy Price's detailed analysis of Dartmoor (280) finds no expected association between sites and environment, nor can pastoral activities fully explain the pattern and it is concluded that tin extraction was the major underlying link. Bogucki (36) argues that the ownership of cattle for draught in neolithic society provided a source of household differentiation and access to status, power and wealth. The view that cattle had an important symbolic as well as economic value is stressed in Davis and Payne's study of an unusual bone assemblage (92) while Fairweather and Ralston's investigation of plant remains from Grampian (115) support the belief that bread wheat may have been grown in its own right in prehistoric Britain.

Major articles on medieval source material mostly focus on Domesday Book. Jackson (191) uses the contemporary meaning of Domesday terminology combined with traditional historical method and statistical analysis to argue that the Normans used ploughlands for determining manorial value. In a fresh approach to the question of the purpose of the Domesday inquest Higham (172) considers the political context of its birth and proposes that it functioned as a device to reconcile the Norman establishment to the royal cause by ensuring that military costs were evenly shared. Palliser (269) considers the reliability of the Yorkshire text as an indicator of land laid waste and concludes that it is too disorganized and incomplete to be used as a

¹ Publications are dated 1993 unless otherwise noted. References to articles or off-prints should be sent to the Bibliographical Unit, Rural History Centre, University of Reading. The Master Index containing over 40,000 classified references on British agrarian history can be consulted by appointment.

straightforward indicator of society and economy in the north. Harvey (163) provides a detailed account of unique medieval documents which provide the only systematic record of the rights and obligations of workers and tenants on an English estate. On the late Anglo-Saxon economy Jones (198) draws our attention to important developments when price-making markets replaced gift and exchange, and Fleming (119) repudiates the traditional segregation of towns and rural elites, demonstrating that the relationship between them was in fact a close and significant one. The belief that transportation in medieval times was costly compared to later periods and an obstacle to growth is challenged by Masschaele (237) in the light of new evidence from sheriffs' accounts, and Langdon (217) uses purveyance records to illustrate the inadequacies of inland water transport which, it is argued, accentuated the differences between economically advantaged and disadvantaged areas. Bailey (9) broadens the research agenda for the urban economy to include an assessment of local marketing networks of towns and villages, and Carter's local study (63) reconstructs the hierarchy of overlapping social and economic relationships which formed an urban centre's hinterland. On family structure Razi (288) uses court rolls to observe the interactions of kinship between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries in order to demonstrate that the familial system underwent a major transformation over the period due to demographic, institutional and economic change. Studies of women dominate the literature on medieval society. Biller (31) examines pastoral manuals for insights into social and demographic patterns, and in a wide ranging comparative work on European household formation Smith (323) links the state of the labour market and kinship patterns to the propensity of women to marry. Goldberg (135) seeks to establish how far there were real differences in the degree to which women were able to influence decisions regarding marriage over time, and between town and countryside. The issue of female employment in the English village as reflected in the court rolls of a Staffordshire manor is addressed by Graham (142). Her conclusion is that a marked sexual division existed with women dominating the intermittent, less stable, less specialized trades. The unchanging nature of female employment is also considered by Bennett (26) who asks why such dismal characteristics have been retained over so many centuries. In assessing the expertise of noble women as estate managers Archer (6) finds that no area was closed when circumstances demanded and that power and achievement could be immense. The pattern of personal pledging in manorial courts is discussed by Postles (278) in relation to kinship and office hold-

ing, while Biddick (30) examines the powerful yet unacknowledged ways in which the division between anthropology and history has influenced the study of the medieval peasantry.

On the medieval agrarian economy Persson (273) proposes a method for ranking regions or nations according to their labour productivity, and Mate (238) reopens the Brenner debate on agrarian class structure in a detailed regional study of the Sussex land market. Here land tenure was more multi-layered and society more complex than Brenner allowed for and it is argued that the different experiences of England and France were rooted in their respective legal systems rather than class structures. The results of intensive research into Norfolk farming between medieval and modern times are reported by Campbell and Overton (61). Their evidence on crop proportions, crop yields and livestock demonstrate a remarkable advance in land productivity during the medieval period, but it was after 1740 that the most rapid and profound transformation is identified.

Writings on estate management are even more ubiquitous than usual in the early modern literature due to Hoyle's important edited work on crown property. He and Thomas (183, 342) emphasize the failure of the crown to maximize returns during Elizabeth's reign when lands were used as a source for patronage to reward loyalty and for capital. The benign neglect and then open hostility by the Queen to the duchy of Cornwall is documented by Haslam (164) who cites the diversity of tenures as a further problem underlying the steep decline in the duchy's fortunes during the sixteenth century. The attempts to raise revenue by reforming management of crown property through afforestation, 'improvement' of wastes and drainage are discussed by Thirsk (339) who shows how the results generated little revenue for the monarch but much hostility from those who lost lands or common land in the process. The difficult and often compromising method of improving crown revenues is also highlighted in Large's in-depth local account of disafforestation (218). Hoyle's essay (182) explores the motives attached to new management policies and demonstrates how the increase of employment and food supply were anticipated at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but by the 1620s cynical manipulation of the law by the crown in order to squeeze pecuniary advantage from unprofitable assets replaced the earlier idealism. The importance of office holding and administration on crown estates is underscored by Gray (148) who shows how in Wales it was one way out of the straightjacket of small estates, partible inheritance and colonial status which prevented landowners from exercising power in government. In

a further article (147) Gray describes the tangle of interlocking partnerships which operated in the market for crown land. The management of enemy estates during the Civil War is analysed by O'Riordan (267) and Ketch (205) interprets data on landowners in the Civil Survey for County Waterford. The political events which underpinned the transformation of the Scottish nobility from feudal lords to disciplined functionaries and more or less prudent estate owners are described by Goodare (137), and Baskerville *et al* (18) demonstrate that deference and the ideology of paternalism were important factors in the voting behaviour of English freeholders in county elections during the eighteenth century.

The need not to take maps at their face value is stressed by Bendall (25) who describes rare sixteenth-century examples illustrating vividly how their design for use in litigation distorted the representation of contemporary landscapes. Hey's examination of the ballad (171) demonstrates its range of meanings and shows how folkloric elements can be related to other forms of historical evidence. Foyster (123) also uses popular ballads to explore popular attitudes to marriage and to demonstrate how they helped reinforce traditional order. Grievance and popular revolt are recurring themes. Howkins and Merricks (180) explore the meaning of ritual and symbolism in manifestations of protest in early modern times and detect elements of continuity even into the twentieth century. Bush's analysis of the 1536 rebellion (54) suggests that grievances were largely directed against taxation and landowners who were overriding the custom of tenant right. A re-examination of the Scottish plantations in Ulster by Hill (174) concludes that close cultural affinities with the Irish explain the absence of serious conflict. Proudfoot (282) undertakes an investigation of social protest in Ireland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to show that it did not depend solely on a colonial dialectic but instead reflected fundamental social and economic inequalities, reinforced by colonial transformations. The allegiances of nobility, gentry and peasant farmers in the English Civil War are discussed by Blackwood (35), and Wood (380) links conflict over land rights in early mining communities to technological and organizational developments in the lead mining industry. Popular attitudes to turnpikes are discussed by Freeman (124) who relates the extent of opposition to pre-existing systems of road maintenance, and Dyck (106) focuses on William Cobbett, maintaining that his main aim was to create a rural radical platform that addressed the experiences and political consciousness of agricultural labourers. A number of articles discuss the concept of proto-industrialization,

including Kriedte, Ogilvie and Mager (213, 264, 233), and Gray (146) presents a regional study of Irish linen production in order to demonstrate the importance of gender in uneven patterns of development.

A leading issue in research into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries relates to the controversial problem of living standards. Komlos (211) offers a critical assessment of the major study of data on height by Floud *et al* derived from military records, and presents new data on colonial runaways (210). His main finding is that for those of English origin heights declined from the 1720s, whereas Irish runaways were heavier and suffered no equivalent deterioration until after mid-century. Nicholas and Oxley (259) use height data of female convicts to chart trends in living standards between the 1790s and 1820. Findings suggest that while Irish nutritional levels slowly improved, English women's standards fell, and those in the countryside fell most of all in the face of a shrinking demand for their labour. Although northern labourers are usually represented as favoured in the case of real wages, Richardson (291) demonstrates how sharp price movements over the short term could have a devastating impact on living standards and were a potent cause of distress and protest in Lincolnshire for example. Cullen's article on Irish diet since before the advent of the potato (86) explains its advance in terms of the desire to sell grain for cash and consume potatoes as an alternative. The investigation of Irish workhouse food provision and nutrition by Crawford (82) reveals how diets deteriorated significantly when potatoes were replaced by cereal substitutes. Gibson and Smout's discussion of Scottish dietary changes (129) explores possible causes of the reduction in animal based food and increase in cereal consumption, and Collins (76) questions why wheat replaced other food grains in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe. The pattern of dental caries since Roman times is charted by Moore (252) who finds the level of decay closely correlated with the consumption of refined sugar, and Nelson (258) provides a systematic review of differences in diet between different social classes since the 1860s.

On primary source material Baker (11) asks to what degree the values of the tithe rent charge bear a direct relationship to the agricultural output of a parish and can be used reliably as a surrogate, and Hill (173) argues that censuses can serve only as a very general guide to women's employment, with little value in comparative studies. The research potential of documents which arose out of the Finance 1909-10 Act for population studies is considered by Short (315), and Rawding and Short (286) provide a case study to demonstrate how they

can throw light on landholding and landownership patterns in Edwardian England. Elites continue to attract attention. On their positive roles Moore-Colyer (248) describes how the Welsh landowners were instrumental in shaping much of the landscape and contributed to the preservation of wildlife within it, while Fletcher (120) stresses their involvement in urban growth and the railways. Scottish landowners are shown in a less favourable light by Devine (98). He argues that Highland emigration was not simply the result of population pressure and distress but was related to the changing priorities of landlord policy and widespread coercion, and Cowan's study of emigrants from the borders (80) gives the restrictive and neo-feudal practices of the landowning classes as the cause of a deep sense of alienation prompting the nineteenth-century exodus abroad. In another illuminating study of English landed society Thompson (346) explores the fluctuations in wealth and influence during the last century and the changing public perceptions of this enduring elite. On lesser mortals, Snell (327) looks behind the deference of the rural poor to ascertain from contemporary witnesses the deep-rooted sense of grievance flowing from a multitude of issues including the poor law and enclosure, and Howkins' investigation of hiring practices (179) throws light upon the often overlooked family, female and child agricultural workers. Grieves' analysis of recruitment in the First World War (152) stresses the breakdown of paternalism and traditional deference which led to more egalitarian content in the enlistment process, and Woodeson (381) uses oral testimony to show that recruits to the Women's Land Army were responding to personal motivation rather than the patriotic sentiment to which they were subjected.

On farming Dodgshon (101) provides a detailed account of systems in the Highlands and islands, from eighteenth-century estate records and literary sources, teasing out some of the strategies that lay behind them. In a shift away from the usual pre-occupation with southern England open fields and small farmers Rogers (294) focuses upon the social impact of waste land enclosure in a Lancashire village which prompted acrimonious dispute and wiped out the cottager class, and Searle (308) examines the motives of a small groups of customary tenants who played a leading role in the enclosure of Cumbrian commons. Neave's study of settlement contraction to the East Riding (257) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries considers enclosure and emparkment, although the link with the nature of landholding is also emphasized. A useful synthesis and overview of changes in Ireland's agricultural economy between 1850 and the First World War are provided by Turner (350) including

statistical indexes, and Breathnach (44) identifies the key developments in the Irish dairy industry. The adoption of the milking machine in England is investigated by Collins (75) who explains why compared to other mechanical innovations it was so slow to take hold. In his account of marling Mathew (239) argues that it was not merely a marginal device employed to raise the body of light soils but contributed in a significant way towards reducing soil acidity within the advanced mixed-farming system. The unacknowledged and crucial contribution of horses in the First World War is described by Singleton (320) who documents the vast sums spent transporting animals from remote corners of the globe to the battlefields.

The role of government is prominent in research on agrarian topics. Aalen (1) explores the wide ranging state aided programmes for rural reconstruction in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ireland, and Bull (50) assesses the significance of the nationalist response to the Irish Land Act of 1903. Johnson (194) examines the Irish Gaeltacht Commission Report of 1926 and explains why it failed to support the survival of the Irish language. The interplay of politics and ideology in the Highland land issue is explored by Cameron (59), and Anthony's detailed examination of the agricultural labour market in Scotland (5) shows how the nature of institutional intervention can be an instructive guide to the balance of power between employers and workers. The failure of a weak and divided agrarian lobby to counter a government committed to cheap food is discussed by Moore (251) in his study of the removal in 1922 of the ban on cattle imports, and Tsokhas (348) demonstrates how during the Second World War the British government's desire to purchase the Australian wool clip was constrained by Australia's own commercial and strategic objectives. Environmental issues are featuring more prominently in the literature. Sheail (308) focuses upon problems posed for the environment during the inter-war period by newly established beet sugar factories and the milk processing industry, and highlights the values of the partnership forged between the scientific community and the industry itself to limit pollution. In another study (310) Sheail underscores the dramatic loss of rural land to urban development which created pressures on the sanitary infrastructure and water supply, leading to a more co-ordinated and comprehensive approach to drainage. The interplay between farming, the environment and politics during the last fifty years is reviewed by Bishop and Phillips (34), and Brown (49) focuses upon advertising in the countryside during the inter-war period. He points out that oil companies were responsible for the

worst aesthetic offences but as popular opposition mounted they shrewdly adopted a green image and resorted to alternative methods of advertising.

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