

The **AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW**



VOLUME 16 1968

PART I

*

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Thirteenth-century Farm Economies in North Wales
by COLIN THOMAS

*

Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759
by W. G. HOSKINS

*

Great Dodford and the Later History of the Chartist Land Scheme
by P. SEARBY

*

Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture, 1850-80: a Summary
by E. H. WHETHAM

*

An Early West-Country Sheep Farmer in Australia
by JOHN ROWE

PUBLISHED BY
THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW

VOLUME 16 PART I • 1968

CONTENTS

Thirteenth-century Farm Economies in North Wales	Colin Thomas	page 1
Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759	W. G. Hoskins	15
Great Dodford and the Later History of the Chartist Land Scheme	P. Searby	32
Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture, 1850-80: a Summary	E. H. Whetham	46
An Early West-Country Sheep Farmer in Australia	John Rowe	49
List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since September 1966	H. A. Beecham	54
Reviews:		
The Peers and the Provinces. Review article of <i>The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641</i> , by Lawrence Stone	Alan Everitt	60
<i>The English Dairy Farmer, 1500-1900</i> , by G. E. Fussell	E. J. Collins	68
<i>A History of the County of Leicester, vol. V, Gartree Hundred</i> , ed. by J. M. Lee and R. A. McKinley	W. G. Hoskins	68
<i>A Medieval Society: The West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century</i> , by R. H. Hilton	Alan Rogers	70
<i>Sherington: Fiefs and Fields of a Buckinghamshire Village</i> , by A. C. Chibnall	Margaret Spufford	71
<i>Common Land and Enclosure</i> , by E. C. K. Gonner (2nd edition)	J. M. Martin	72
<i>The Enclosures of Scartho and Grimsby</i> , by E. E. Gillett, Rex C. Russell, and E. H. Trevitt	Brian Loughbrough	74
<i>John Soulbey, printer, Ulverston</i> , by Michael Twyman and William Rollinson	H. P. R. Finberg	75
<i>Narodnyie Nizy v Angliyskoy Burzhuaznoy Revolyutsii XVII veka, Dvizhenie i ideologiya istinnykh Levellerov</i> , by M. A. Barg	Christopher Hill	75
<i>Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur</i> , by Wilhelm Abel	Joan Thirsk	77
<i>Herrschaft und Bauernuntertänigkeit</i> , by Friedrich-Wilhelm Henning	Joan Thirsk	78
<i>Die Entwicklung des Pfluges in deutschen Südwesten</i> , by Ernst Klein	G. E. Fussell	78
<i>Die historischen Pflüge der Hohenheimer Sammlung</i> , by Ernst Klein and Wilhelm Krepela	G. E. Fussell	79
<i>Brandenburgische Besitzstandskarte des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , by Berthold Schulze	Joan Thirsk	80
<i>Land Tenure in Village Ceylon</i> , by G. Obeyesekere	A. Macfarlane	81
Letters to the Editor		82
Notes and Comments		14 and 48
Notes on Contributors		48
Books Received		53

T

Essays in Agrarian History

Volumes I and II

Edited by W. E. MINCHINTON

VOLUME I

THE ORIGINS OF THE MANOR IN BRITAIN *T. H. Ashton*

SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MANORS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON
THE CONDITION OF THE PEASANT IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY
J. Z. Titow

BRITISH WHEAT YIELD PER ACRE FOR SEVEN CENTURIES *M. K.
Bennett*

CHRONOLOGY OF LABOUR SERVICES (Revised) *M. M. Postan*

HARVEST FLUCTUATIONS AND ENGLISH ECONOMIC HISTORY 1480-
1619 *W. G. Hoskins*

THE TERMS OF THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEVON MONASTIC LANDS,
1536-58 *Joyce A. Youings*

TURNIP HUSBANDRY IN HIGH SUFFOLK *E. Kerridge*

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS IN OPEN-FIELD OXFORDSHIRE *M. A.
Havinden*

ENGLISH AGRICULTURE UNDER CHARLES II *R. V. Lennard*

ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH LANDOWNERS IN THE SEVEN-
TEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES *H. J. Habakkuk*

AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ENGLAND, 1660-1750:
AGRICULTURAL CHANGE *E. L. Jones*

THE COURSE OF AGRICULTURAL CHANGE 1660-1760 *A. H. John*

(Volume II over)

Obtainable by members of the British Agricultural History Society at 45s
each volume, post free, or £3 15s, post free, for the two volumes together
if ordered at the same time, before 1 July 1968. Orders, with remittance,
should be sent to David & Charles (Publishers) Ltd, South Devon House,
Newton Abbot.

ORDER FORM

To: **DAVID & CHARLES**
South Devon House
Newton Abbot

Please send me.....copy/copies of Vol. I/.....copy/copies Vol. II (delete as
necessary) of **ESSAYS IN AGRARIAN HISTORY**

My remittance for £ : : is enclosed.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

R

loca
vari
den
calc
age
recc
Ang
stat
Cae
som
thus
well
N
stuc
pos
the
ind
satis
late
lay

1 (

stud
Wes
tura

2 (

publ
3 (

Can
Rur

196

4

Essays in Agrarian History

VOLUME II

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLISH HISTORY: A RE-CONSIDERATION *G. E. Mingay*

THE LAND MARKET IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *F. M. L. Thompson*

AN INQUIRY INTO THE RENT OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *R. J. Thompson*

THE COMMISSIONERS OF ENCLOSURE *M. W. Beresford*

AGRICULTURAL RETURNS AND THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE NAPOLEONIC WARS *W. E. Minchinton*

AGRICULTURAL WAGES IN ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY *A. Wilson Fox*

LIVESTOCK PRICES IN BRITAIN, 1851-93 *E. H. Whetham*

THE CHANGING CATTLE ENTERPRISES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1870-1910 *E. H. Whetham*

THE CHANGING BASIS OF AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY, 1853-73 *E. L. Jones*

THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF ENGLISH AGRICULTURE, 1873-96 *T. W. Fletcher*

THE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM INCOME IN THE U.K., 1867-1938 *J. R. Bellerby*

OWNER-FARMING IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1900-1950 *S. G. Sturmev*

Thirteenth-century Farm Economies in North Wales

By COLIN THOMAS

RECENT research has tended to refine the traditional view of the medieval economy of North Wales as being one which was dominated by pastoralism in an overwhelmingly free social context.¹ In some localities it has been possible to clarify broad regional contrasts and elucidate variations occurring within them, chiefly as a result of the discovery of evidence in place names and field patterns of share-land cultivation and the calculation of the relative importance of the produce of pastoralism and tillage in the various administrative units for which there are early taxation records. For example, it is clear that the fertile and sheltered lowlands of Anglesey and the Llein coast acted as a granary for the incipient Welsh state,² while the vaccaries and upland grazings of the rugged interior of Caernarvon and Merioneth supported considerable numbers of livestock, some of which found their way to the border markets such as Whitchurch,³ thus establishing in a rudimentary form the drovers' routes which became well travelled in later centuries.

Nevertheless, detailed analysis of local economic structure similar to the studies made by Professor Postan⁴ for parts of lowland England has not been possible for North Wales in the closing years of its independence because of the limited content and varying quality of the documentary sources, and indeed we should be forced to rely almost entirely upon the somewhat unsatisfactory idealized picture given in the Welsh Law Codes, with all their later modifications, were it not for the existence of a handful of remarkable lay subsidies for scattered parts of Gwynedd. Following the conquest by

¹ G. R. J. Jones, 'The Tribal System in Wales: a re-assessment in the light of settlement studies', *Welsh History Review*, I, 1961, and 'The Distribution of Bond Settlements in North-West Wales', *Welsh History Review*, II, 1964. See also T. Jones Pierce, 'Pastoral and Agricultural Settlements in Early Wales', *Geografiska Annaler*, XLIII, 1961.

² G. R. J. Jones, 'The Military Geography of Gwynedd in the Thirteenth Century', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Wales, 1948.

³ C. T. Martin (ed.), 'Registrum epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis', London, 1884, vol. II, pp. 455-8. See also C. Thomas, 'The Evolution of Rural Settlement and Land Tenure', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, 1965, ch. 2, pp. 56-108.

⁴ M. M. Postan, 'Village Livestock in the Thirteenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, xv, 1962-3.

Edward I's armies of the last strongholds in the early 1280's and the completion in 1284 of a general extent or survey of property, rights, renders, and dues escheated to the Crown,¹ a series of more precise fiscal assessments was made. Only five of these subsidies are extant: that for Creuddyn commote² has not escaped the agencies of decay and mutilation, while that for Merioneth,³ apart from being incomplete in Ardudwy, gives only a summary of the numbers of households and their taxable value. The remaining three, for the royal vill of Aberfraw and its hamlets in Anglesey,⁴ the *maenor* of Nefyn in the commote of Dinllaen,⁵ and the whole commote of Gafflogion in Lleyllyn,⁶ enable a fairly clearly defined image of economic life in these areas to be reconstructed and it may be possible to project it, after careful re-moulding to suit different environmental conditions, on to those regions where the documentary record is weakest or fails us completely.

The first step is to outline the possible methods of analysis:

- (i) Distribution of actual grain output, livestock, and population totals by townships.
- (ii) Elucidation of regional contrasts in wealth, and differences in the range of wealth among individual homesteads, from one area to another, i.e. the distribution of taxable property in relation to the environment.
- (iii) Calculation of the relative importance and value of various facets of the economy on both a township and homestead basis—pastoral, tillage, maritime, commercial.
- (iv) Within the pastoral sector, evaluation of the relative status of oxen, cattle, sheep, and horses, though here it is difficult to draw valid distinctions between bond and free elements because the commote with the best evidence, Gafflogion, was overwhelmingly free.
- (v) Variations in the size of herds and flocks owned by individuals.
- (vi) Reconstruction in general terms of typical homesteads, their livestock, and land use, wealth, and status in the community.
- (vii) The interaction of town and countryside, for example, the relationship between Pwllheli and Nefyn and Gafflogion.

Some preliminary remarks on the value of individual items may be of use in setting the scene. As might be expected in an area which was isolated and remote because of its few harbours and rugged land communications even in

¹ Extent of Merioneth, 1284, printed in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd ser., XIII, 1867, pp. 183–92.

² P.R.O. Lay Subsidy 242/51. ³ P.R.O. 242/53.

⁴ P.R.O. 242/49, printed as App. Af. to F. Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, London, 1895.

⁵ P.R.O. 242/50B, printed in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* [henceforward B.B.C.S.], v, 1929–31, pp. 142–8.

⁶ P.R.O. 242/50A, printed in B.B.C.S., v, 1929–31, pp. 54–71.

the sixteenth century,¹ draught animals were more highly prized than any other type of livestock, and in each of the subsidies both oxen and horses are valued at 5s. each, while cattle were assessed at 3s. 4d. and sheep at 6d., a scale which will be emphasized below. It will be seen that this in no way implies relative numbers of stock in the sense that the least common beast might be expected to command a higher price, but simply reflects the usefulness and importance of different animals within the local economy. Perhaps the same cannot be said of the grains cultivated, because the soils of inherently mediocre fertility, combined with the rigorous coastal climate, involving high incidence of cloud cover, frequent precipitation, and strong winds, deterred extensive cultivation of corn generally, with the result that it was worth 2s. 6d. per crannog,² a measure approximating to four bushels. Oats, the most widely grown field crop, and more closely integrated with a pastoral economy (not forgetting that a staple element of the human diet was oat-cake), were worth 2s. per crannog,³ while peas were valued at $\frac{1}{3}$ d. per bushel.

Of the miscellaneous chattels and movable goods, the fishing nets recorded at Pwllheli and Nefyn, together with the boats, were clearly the most highly prized possessions at 2s. and 13s. 4d. each respectively, and indicate that the non-agricultural source of income was by no means inconsiderable.

Calculations based on data given in these documents help to clarify ideas on the controversial topic of the importance of sheep *vis-à-vis* cattle in medieval Wales. From Table I it will be seen that the extent to which sheep outnumbered cattle in these localities would be negligible were it not for the

TABLE I
NUMBERS OF LIVESTOCK

	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Horses	Total value of Cattle Sheep					
					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Gafflogion	278	761	710	179	95	3	4	17	15	0
Nefyn	87	175	205	48	21	16	8	5	2	6
Aberffraw	136	265	747	69	33	3	4	18	13	6
Total	501	1,201	1,662	296	150	3	4	41	11	0

¹ E. G. Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire Squires, 1558-1625', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Univ. of Wales, 1936, ch. 1.

² i.e. 7 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. per bushel, quite a high price when one considers that in the 1840's wheat in North Wales cost only 7s. per bushel.—Tithe Schedules.

³ 6d. per bushel, compared with only 2s. 9d. in the mid-nineteenth century.

extraordinary numbers of the former at Aberffraw where the ratio is of the order of 3:1, whereas totals are fairly similar at Nefyn and Gafflogion, but at this point it is as well to recall that the value of a cow was ten times that of a sheep, and the true status of sheep may be gauged from the last column of Table I. Oxen were the third most numerous animals and when their total value is added to that of the 296 horses, it is almost exactly equal to the total value of the 1,201 cattle. Thus, although sheep were numerically strongest their fiscal status was lowest.

The importance of various livestock in the economy of the individual homestead can be illustrated in another way, namely by calculating the percentage of households which held interests in different types of animal (Table II).

TABLE II
HOUSEHOLDS OWNING LIVESTOCK

	No. of families	Percentage of total number of families owning			
		Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Horses
Gafflogion	200	57	90	51	64
Nefyn	93	34	80	28	42
Aberffraw	68	74	97	68	46

Because of the overwhelmingly free social structure of Gafflogion, whose fifteen townships would have permitted the most valid break-down of data, it has not been possible to draw any distinction between the relative importance of the four types of stock to bond and free communities, though it may be assumed that the ratio of draught animals to cattle and sheep would normally be higher in *maerdrefi* and *tir cyfrif* bondvills than in free townships.¹ Nevertheless the broad picture can be deduced from Table II, from which it is abundantly clear that possession of some cattle was a necessity to at least four-fifths of the families in borough, *maerdref*, and rural commote alike,² though their importance was less in Nefyn because of its commercial and maritime activities.³ In contrast, only about half the population had any in-

¹ In Penmaen, the only township in Gafflogion which is recorded in 1352 as being under *tir cyfrif* tenure, the three villeins owned between them three oxen, eight cattle, but no other draught animals (Table IV). See H. Ellis (ed.), *Record of Caernarvon*, pp. 27-31, for social structure.

² Quite apart from the maintenance of a balanced diet, it has been pointed out that "often accumulation in farming societies is realised in the form of livestock."—R. E. F. Smith, *The Origins of Farming in Russia*, Paris, 1959, p. 35.

³ Cf. Pwllheli in Tables IV and V; T. Jones Pierce, 'The Old Borough of Nefyn, 1355-1882', *Trans. Caerns. Hist. Soc.*, 1957, pp. 36-55, and the same author's 'The Medieval Manor of Pwllheli', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Univ. of Liverpool, 1927.

terest in sheep, and here again the low values in Nefyn are markedly different from those of the well-stocked pastures of Aberffraw where animal husbandry played a major rôle in the overall economy. Similarly, the higher percentage of owners of draught animals in Gafflogion and Aberffraw than at Nefyn reflects the correspondingly greater emphasis upon cultivation, and suggests that even at this early date the urban economy of the borough was becoming divorced from its rural origins, though not, of course, from its

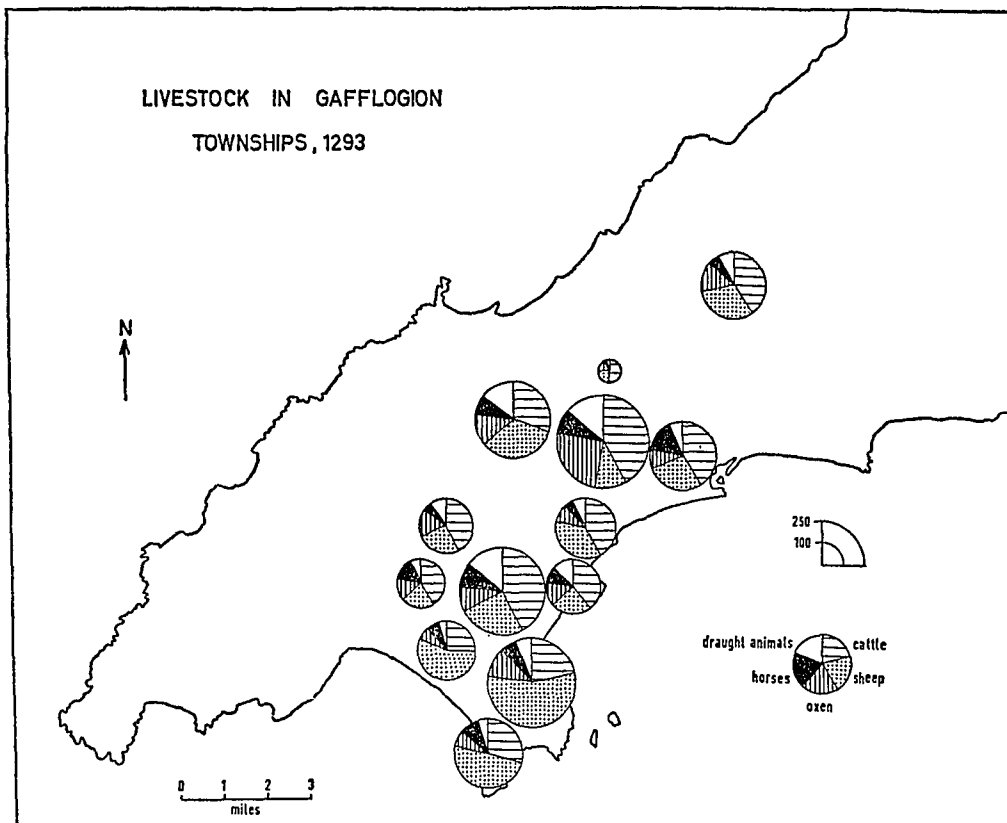


FIG. I

hinterland. Again, relative balance of arable interests in the *maerdref* and the much larger and economically broader-based commote is indicated in the fact that nearly three-quarters of Aberffraw families owned at least one ox while in Gafflogion this proportion was considerably less than two-thirds. Despite correspondingly large numbers of horse-owners in the commote compared with the *maerdref*, it cannot be stated with any degree of certainty that these animals were used in co-aration.

The general impression derived from Tables I to III, then, is one of a large number of mixed farmers on a small scale, the usual holding supporting

TABLE III
SIZE OF HERDS AND FLOCKS

Types of Stock	Place	Percentage of households having the following numbers of animals ¹									
		1	2	3	4	5	1 to 5	6	7-10	10+	Median
Cattle	Gafflogion	5	16	46	4	2	73	20	5	2	3
	Nefyn	37	38	11	3	4	93	4	2.5	0.5	2
	Aberffraw	3	29	16	27	16	91	1	5	3	4
Oxen	Gafflogion	42.4	27.4	12.4	10.6	5.2	98	1	—	1	2
	Nefyn	40.6	25.0	6.5	9.5	3.0	84.6	9.4	6	—	2
	Aberffraw	40	28	18	4	2	92	4	—	4	1
Horses	Gafflogion	68.5	29	1.5	—	—	99	1	—	—	1
	Nefyn	82	13	5	—	—	100	—	—	—	1
	Aberffraw	39	29	19	3	3	93	7	—	—	2
		Percentage of households having the following numbers of sheep									
		1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	1 to 10	11-25	26-50	50+	Median
Sheep	Gafflogion	38	50	8	4	—	88	12	—	—	6
	Nefyn	50	35	4	11	—	85	15	—	—	5
	Aberffraw	20	28	15	13	8	48	36	16	—	11

¹ No consideration is given to those families who did not own animals, for the statistical reasons indicated.

TABLE IV
OWNERSHIP OF LIVESTOCK AND CROPS IN GAFFLOGION TOWNSHIPS

Township	Total number of families	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Number of families owning			Corn	Barley	Peas
					Horses	Oats				
Botwnnog	13	7	11	5	6	8	4	1	3	
Carnguwch	11	9	11	6	5	10	—	—	1	
Bodvel	21	10	18	6	15	13	5	2	3	
Penmaen	3	2	3	1	1	3	—	2	3	
Penyberth	7	5	7	5	6	6	3	1	2	
Ystrad Geirch	18	10	16	10	11	14	5	—	3	
Cae Hwsnin	10	7	10	5	7	7	2	—	1	
Bodwrog	2	2	2	1	1	2	—	—	—	
Bachellaeth	11	6	10	6	5	9	2	1	1	
Llandinwael	8	6	8	3	3	7	3	—	2	
Llangian	30?+	12	28	11	20	20	9	4	5	
Marchros	20	18	16	17	12	15	6	1	1	
Bryn-Celyn	8	2	7	6	6	7	2	—	1	
Cilan	17	9	14	12	13	13	2	—	—	
Pwllheli	21	8	18	7	6	10	3	—	1	
Total	200+	113	179	101	117	144	46	12	27	

about five cattle, up to three oxen, perhaps ten or fifteen sheep, and one or two horses. To be more precise, when all the data for each type of stock are plotted on a dispersion graph the median values show that the 'typical' *tyddynwyr* in these parts of Caernarvon and Anglesey in 1293 would have owned three cattle, two oxen, a horse, and five or six sheep (eleven if he lived in Aberffraw). This use of the median is a far more realistic index than plain averages since a dispersion graph obviously gives results based solely on those families who owned beasts, while the average of animals for *every* family in the survey takes into account the theoretical share of all those who did not in fact have animals. For example, the average number of oxen per *tyddyn* in Aberffraw is two (the median shows one), and this distorted view is caused by the existence of two very large herds, one consisting of 20 beasts and the other of 16, whereas in reality, of the fifty households (out of a total of 68 in the *maerdref* and its hamlets) which actually held oxen, no less than 40 per cent owned only one animal. Another example of the average being distorted by extreme values entering the calculations occurs at Nefyn where the *average* number of sheep owned by the 93 heads of families is 2.2, but the truth is that only 28 per cent of the population own any sheep at all, so that the median among this minority is a flock of five animals.

As might be expected, the impression of an ideal, even spread of wealth throughout the population is not a completely accurate one: for example, Angharad verch Ada and her son in Bodvel owned no less than 42 oxen in addition to a herd of 48 cattle and 6 horses, and arable property producing 82 bushels of oats and 24 bushels of corn. David Fychan of Marchros had 4 oxen, 6 cows, 2 horses, and 20 sheep (besides 4 draught animals), together with oats and corn to the value of twenty shillings. Some of their neighbours on the other hand lived in a more modest fashion, often without arable resources but never without some stake in livestock,¹ particularly cattle, and in Pwllheli and Nefyn finding a profitable sideline in fishing.² Throughout Gafflogion as a whole pastoral activities provide two-thirds of the wealth, but Table V reveals that in addition to the unequal distribution of personal property sketched above, there existed, too, subtle local or regional shifts of emphasis in the economic pattern of the commote which reflect variations in land quality or a degree of specialization, and are in turn expressed ultimately in population density.

¹ In Nefyn the poorest tenants had no arable stakes, and usually neither sheep nor oxen, but almost without exception they possessed at least one cow.—P.R.O. 242/50B.

² At Nefyn, 41 out of 93 householders had nets, and in the case of David ap Thomas and Bleddyn Fychan, who also owned a boat each, fishing was clearly a major source of income. At Pwllheli, 9 of the 21 burgesses owned nets.

TABLE V
TOWNSHIP ECONOMIES IN GAFFLOGION COMMOTE

Township	Total number of families	Oxen	Total number of Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Draught animals	Total number of bushels of			
							Oats	Corn	Barley	Peas
Botwnnog	13	12	36	13	18	8	100	32	2	21½
Carguwch	11	21	55	8	44	10	212	—	—	10½
Bodvel	21	70	117	24	30	39	264	56	8	10½
Penmaen	3	3	8	1	4	—	28	—	6	11½
Penyberth	7	11	31	10	36	7	120	28	2	11½
Ystrad Geirch	18	27	62	17	67	30	250	48	—	11½
Cae Hwsnin	10	15	41	10	25	13	144	16	—	11½
Bodwrog	2	3	6	1	8	2	20	—	—	10½
Bachellaeth	11	12	56	6	47	11	136	8	4	—
Llandinwael	8	15	40	4	24	11	114	28	—	10½
Llangian	30?+	24	111	24	65	39	259	58	12	21½
Marchros	20	30	59	16	154	19	216	60	4	30½
Bryn-Celyn	8	9	31	8	69	6	88	20	—	11½
Cilan	17	12	44	13	75	8	142	8	—	—
Pwllheli	21	14	64	24	44	11	156	30	—	10½
Total	200+	278	761	179	710	214	2,249	392	38	17½

Such regional differences may be seen from Fig. II when analysed in the context of environmental contrasts as represented in Fig. III. This cartographic representation of some of the data contained in Table V brings out immediately a distinction between the three townships of Marchros, Cilan, and Bryn-Celyn, where sheep were numerically dominant in the livestock sector, and the remainder of the commote where cattle almost in-

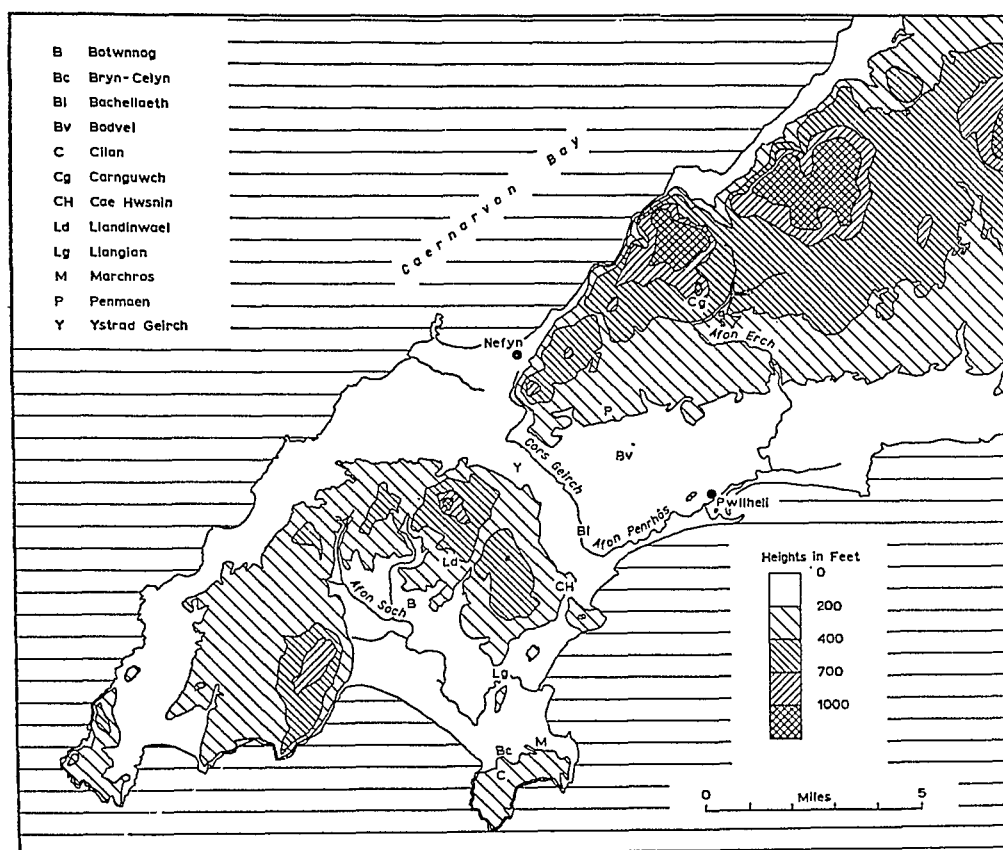


FIG. II

variably constituted at least one-third of all livestock numbers. Part of the explanation no doubt lies in the fact that the southern projection of the peninsula was climatically more exposed and also contained the most extensive areas of freely drained pastureland, whereas the central basis of the catchment areas was to some extent sheltered by the promontory and the hill country to the north, while its soils contained a larger component of imperfectly drained brown earths, and waterlogged soils on the gentler slopes leading down on to the valley floors and coastal marsh, an environment which would have been more conducive to cattle than sheep grazing.

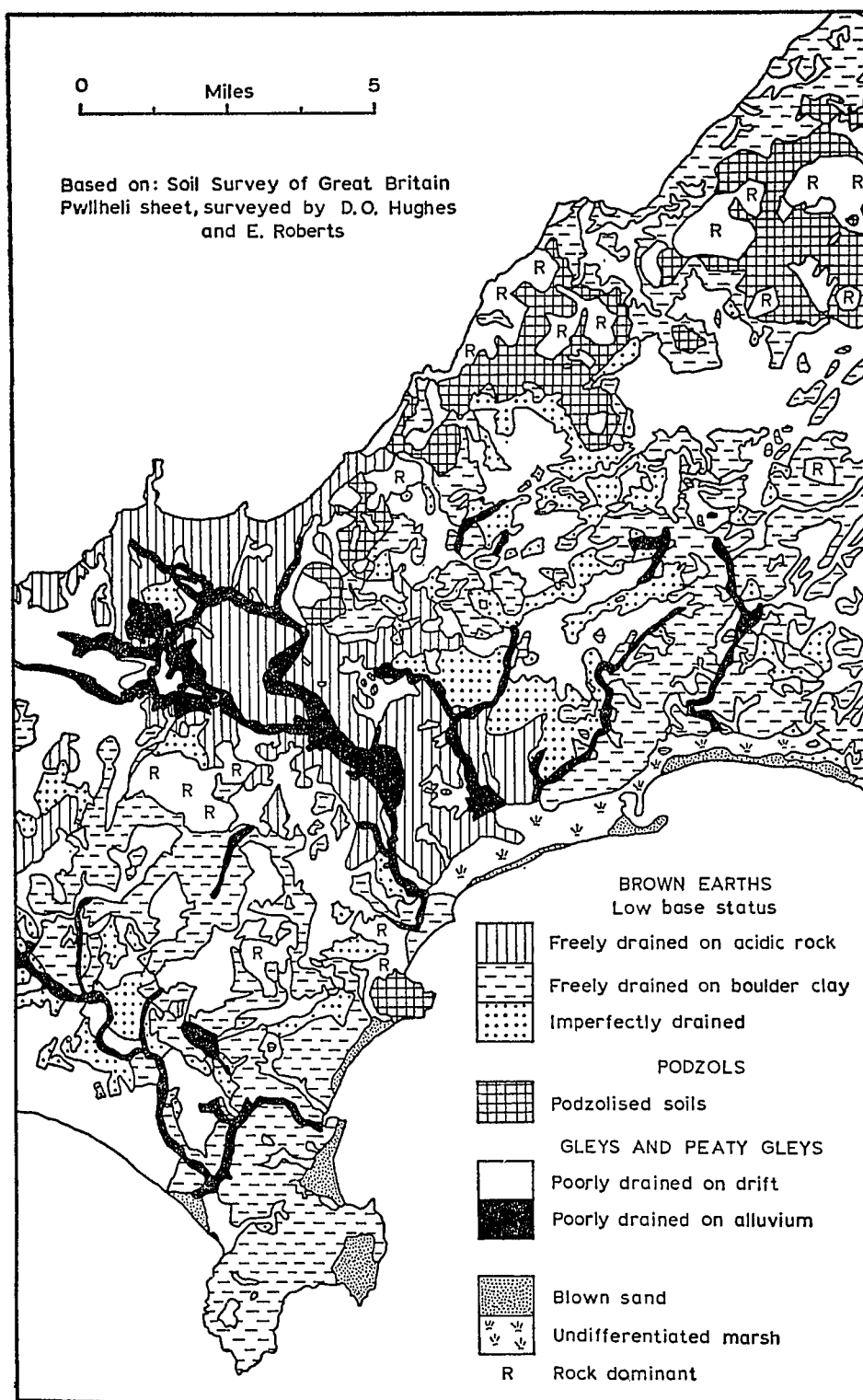


FIG. III

Another regional differentiation emerges when one considers the distribution of field crops by townships. From the point of view of actual quantities produced, Bodvel, Llangian, Marchros, and Ystrad Geirch are pre-eminent for both oats and corn, and it is clear that the arable lands of any township would tend to be found in areas of well-drained, relatively fertile soils, in this case the brown earths of low base status. On the other hand, such soils were fairly widespread in patches of varying size, slope, and aspect in Lleyrn, and mere township output is unrelated here either to population or area. Of far greater significance than this simple pattern is the relationship of cultivation to the livestock sector of the economy. The ubiquity and predominance of oats is abundantly evident from Table V, both in overall production and in its importance to individual farm economies. The output of oats was $5\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the second grain, wheat, and involved three times as many households, a reflection of the physical environment and the integration of tillage with the needs of a pastoral community.

A vivid illustration is given if one looks at townships where the output of oats was high per household, such as Carnguwch (19 bushels per household), Penyberth (17), Llandinwael and Cae Hwsnin (14)—precisely those areas where the ratio of cattle per household was also high. Conversely, this index for oats was low in those townships such as Cilan or Botwnnog (8 bushels per household) where the cattle emphasis on individual farms was weaker.

In conclusion, one may highlight five elements:

1. As Professor Postan has demonstrated a higher ratio of sheep than cattle per capita is in itself no indication of poverty, as might be implied by comparison with modern Welsh farming in Snowdonia. On the contrary, for their size the three hamlets south of Llangian were just as prosperous at this period as their neighbours and their large sheep population must be a local specialization harmonizing with the area's particular physical context.
2. Although the most valid index of wealth was the number of cattle and oxen owned by each family, the last section of Table IV indicates that cultivation, particularly of oats, was an interest shared by almost three-quarters of bond and free clansmen alike, further emphasizing the mixed economy of the communities throughout Gafflogion¹ and the rest of

¹ In Aberffraw, of the total of 68 families, 60 owned crops of oats, 55 corn, and 28 barley, a significantly higher proportion than in the mainland commote where the environment was still far from being tamed. The office of woodward of Gafflogion in 1309 was worth £8 5s. Cf. £9 for Ardudwy and £10 10s. for Eifionydd, the latter being the most backward commote in N. Wales.—P.R.O. Min.Acc. 1170/5. See also T. Jones Pierce, 'The Growth of Commutation in Gwynedd in the 13th century', B.B.C.S., x, 1941. The use of the term 'mixed economy' here exposes the need for a more precise terminology, since most agricultural systems are

North Wales, where 'tillage' and 'pastoralism' are in some senses artificial divisions imposed by modern misinterpretation of what was a fully integrated economy.¹

3. Arable concentration, if such exists, in these localities should not be correlated with social orders: it merely represents the distribution of the most fertile soils which could be exploited by existing techniques, framed around the slopes of Mynydd Nefyn and Garn Fadryn, above the ill-drained open vale of Cors Geirch in the middle reaches of the Afon Penrhos. It should always be borne in mind that, financially, one cow was the equivalent of 6 baskets of oats, 5 of corn, or 10 of barley.
4. Nothing is known of the acreage and land-use pattern of a typical homestead in the thirteenth century in North Wales, chiefly because of its indissoluble associations with the clanland as a whole, and it is therefore virtually impossible to arrive at any reliable figure for yields of respective crops. Proudfoot has estimated that medieval yields in Ireland were at a maximum about one-fourth of modern ones,² though this generalization would vary considerably between, for example, the Welsh *maerdref* demesne and the plots of a remote peasant community in the hills using the most primitive methods on much poorer soils. Further, when projecting our image of economic life based on Llein or Anglesey evidence on to areas like Merioneth, it is worth remembering that, even under present-day conditions of improved techniques, the yields per acre for Merioneth are by far the lowest for any county in Wales,³ and Stamp has focused attention on the marked falling-off of yields with only slight increases in altitude above a threshold value of a few hundred feet.⁴ Particularly would this apply in North Wales where extensive coastal lowlands are few and where maritime amelioration of climate does not penetrate far into the uplands.
5. Finally, although one can speak in broad terms of a settlement hierarchy from dispersed farmsteads, through nucleated hamlets (*maerdrefi*) to the

'mixed' inasmuch as they incorporate an element of crop and livestock husbandry, however small one may be in relation to the other. In Gafflogion at this time the balance between the two appears to have been fairly even, or at least it is extremely difficult to draw a distinction between them in the economy of any one homestead or township.

¹ Generally, those *priodorian* who had no crop of oats owned few, if any, cattle.

² V. B. Proudfoot, 'Settlement and economy in County Down from the Late Bronze Age to the Anglo-Norman Invasion', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Queen's University, Belfast, 1957. See also the same author's 'The Economy of an Irish rath', *Medieval Archaeology*, v, 1961.

³ Ministry of Agriculture, *Annual Statistical Digest*.

⁴ L. D. Stamp, *The Land of Britain, its Use and Mis-use*, London, 1962.

boroughs, all forms were intimately linked with exploitation of the soil in all its aspects. Despite the intrusion of commercial and maritime activity into the structure of Pwllheli and Nefyn, as of all other boroughs in Gwynedd, small towns were still predominantly rural in character and it would be many generations before their inhabitants could even think in terms of localized pockets where urban demand played any significant part in a market economy.

Notes and Comments

THE 1968 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

It is hoped that the new dates of publication of the REVIEW (early February and August) will provide readers with more convenient advance information about the annual conferences. It will no longer be necessary to wait until March before receiving information and registration forms. Instead, a slip will be included in each February issue, which members should return to receive full conference details and registration forms. The 1968 conference and annual general meeting will be held at the University of East Anglia at Norwich from Monday, 8 April, to Thursday, 11 April, following the conference of the Economic History Society. The theme of the conference will be 'The Scientific Revolution in Agriculture', and papers will be read by Sir Joseph Hutchinson, F.R.S., G. E. Fussell, George Ordish, and E. J. T. Collins. On Tuesday afternoon there will be a tour of Holkham House and estate with Lord Leicester's estate agent. It is hoped that as many members as possible will be able to take advantage of this opportunity to visit a new university in an area of outstanding interest for agricultural history.

RURAL LIFE IN THE AGE OF ENCLOSURE

The Department of Adult Education, Nottingham University, is running a residential course on 'Rural Life in the Age of Enclosure' from 16 to 21 April 1968. The aim of the

course is to look at the effects of parliamentary enclosure on the landscape, rural economy and society, and agricultural practice during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The directors of studies will be Mr Rex C. Russell of the Department of Adult Education, Hull University, and Mr Brian Loughbrough, Curator of the Museum of Lincolnshire Life. The course will include practical work on documents in the Lincolnshire Archives Office. The charge, inclusive of accommodation, tuition, and all meals at the Lindsey College of Agriculture, three miles north of Lincoln, is 10 guineas. Applications to attend the course should be made not later than 1 March 1968.

ESSAYS IN AGRARIAN HISTORY

The printed slip inserted in the last issue of the REVIEW contained an error concerning the concessions allowed to members of the B.A.H.S. when purchasing the two volumes of *Essays in Agrarian History*. They may be bought for 45s. each volume, or £3 15s. for both volumes, if ordered before 1 July 1968, not 1 July 1967 as printed.

THE HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN CALIFORNIA

Interested scholars and libraries may obtain without charge from the Agricultural History Center, University of California at Davis

(Continued on page 48)

SHILLINGS
PER QR.

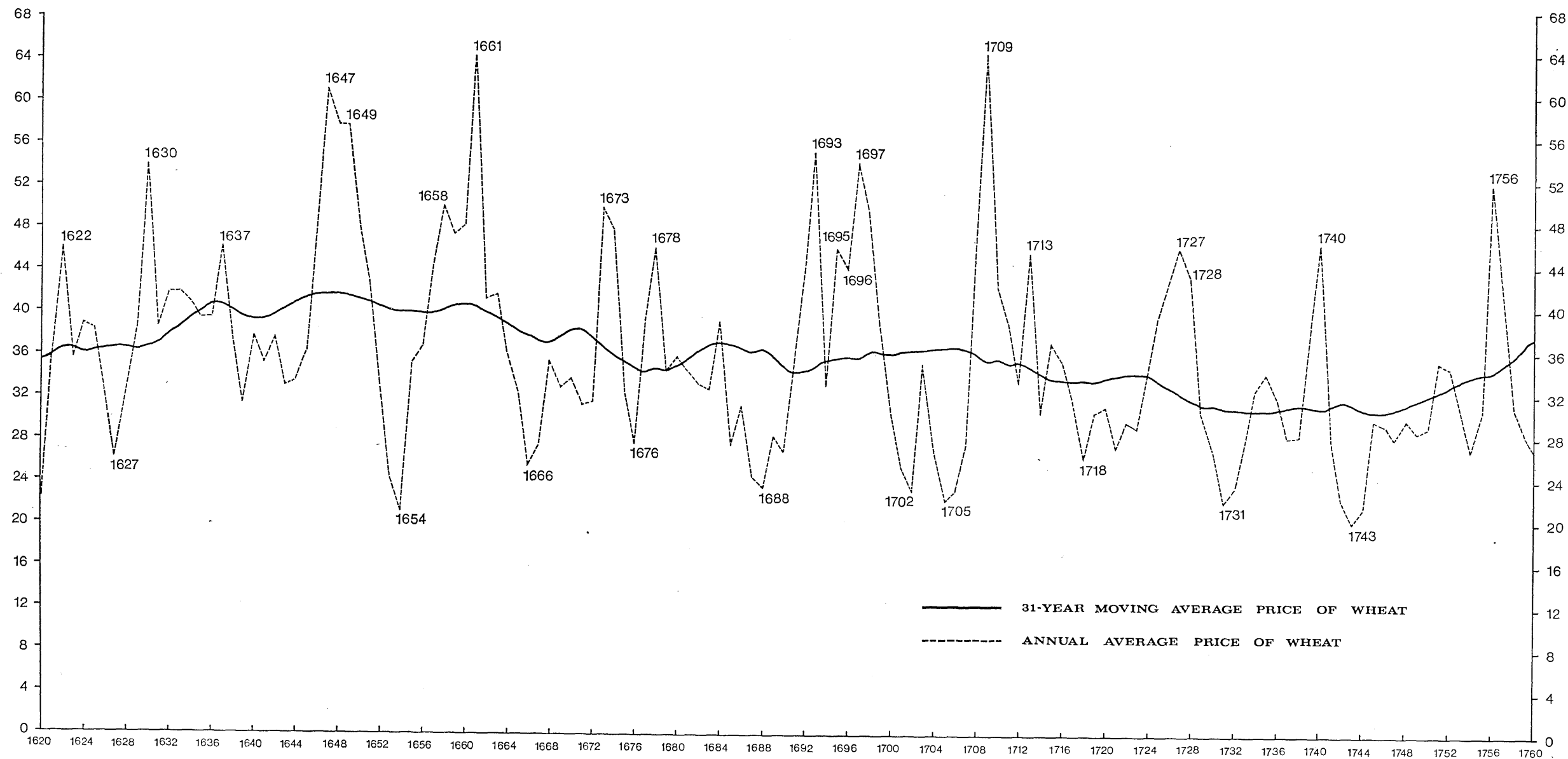


FIG. I
ENGLISH HARVEST FLUCTUATIONS, 1620-1760

Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759

By W. G. HOSKINS

IN THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW, vol. XII, pt 1 (1964), I elaborated a method for assessing the quality of wheat harvests over a period of 140 years (1480-1619) and attempted to relate the fluctuations in harvest yields to some of the general facts of English economic history. In this article I propose to apply the same technique to the succeeding 140 years (1620-1759). My method of classifying harvests was outlined in Appendix I of my earlier paper, to which the reader is referred. Nor do I propose to repeat my main conclusions for the earlier period except by way of comparison or contrast wherever it appears relevant to do so.

Of the 140 harvests between 1620 and 1759 inclusive, 37 were deficient, and of these 22 could be classed as bad; and 53 were good to a varying degree. This leaves 50 harvests out of the 140 as of average quality. These results can best be appreciated perhaps by tabulating them comparatively, as follows. I have added a classification for the period 1760-1800 as a matter of interest though I shall not discuss this period in detail in this article.

TABLE I
CLASSIFICATION OF WHEAT HARVESTS, 1480-1800

<i>Harvests</i>	1480-1619		1620-1759		1760-1800	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Deficient*	35	25	37	26	12	29
Average*	47	34	50	36	13	32
Good*	58	41	53	38	16	39
<i>Totals</i>	140	100	140	100	41	100

* To save reference to my earlier article on this crucial definition of 'deficient' and 'good', I should say here that where the average price for the harvest year was 10 per cent or more above the norm (a 31-year moving average) I classified the harvest as 'deficient'; and that where the average for the harvest year was 10 per cent or more below the norm I called the harvest 'good'. An 'average' harvest is defined as one where the average price for the year is within ± 10 per cent of the norm.

There is a remarkable consistency about these results over the whole period between 1480 and 1800, except when one looks more particularly at

the 'bad' harvests, here defined as those where the average price for the year was 25 per cent or more above the norm. Even here, the periods 1480-1619 and 1620-1759 compare closely: 24 bad harvests in the earlier period, and 22 in the later. But of the 41 harvests between 1760 and 1800 only 3 could be

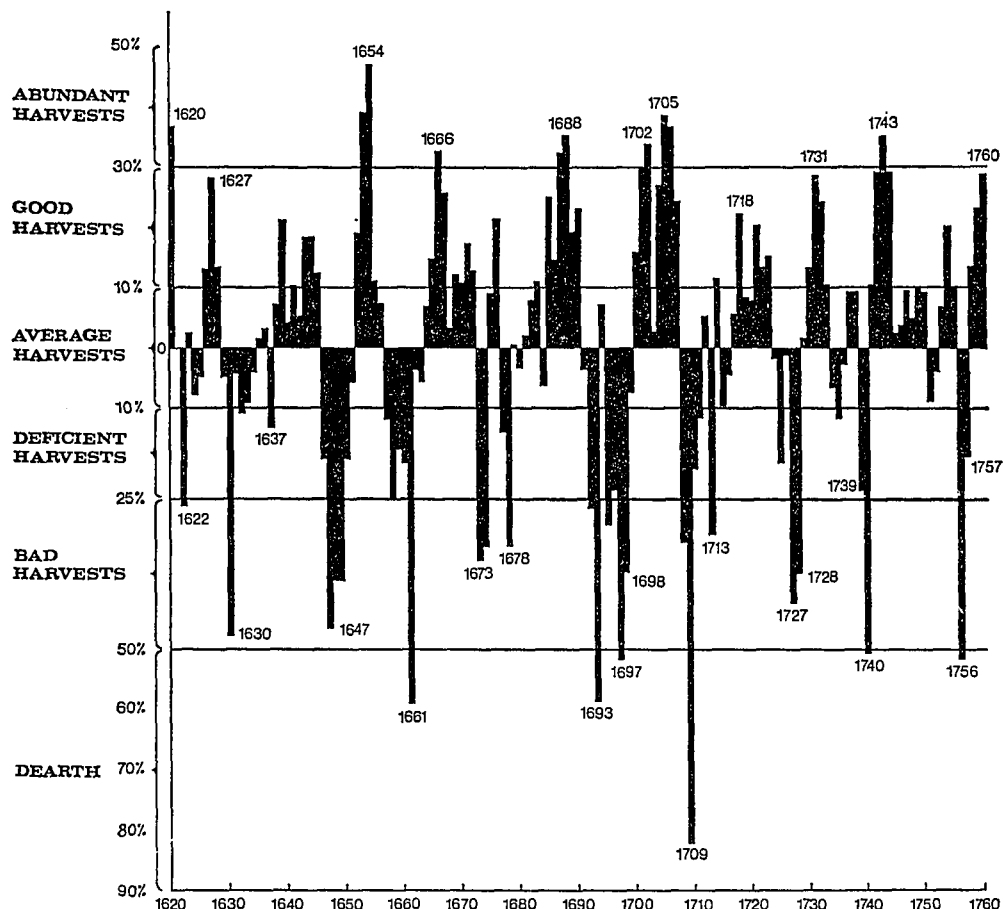


FIG. II

THE QUALITY OF ENGLISH HARVESTS, 1620-1760

The percentage figures in the left-hand margin represent the deviation of the annual average price from the thirty-one-year moving average for that year.

called 'bad' by this price-definition, despite the fact that the percentage of 'deficient' harvests was rather more than in earlier periods. I strongly suspect that the fewness of really bad harvests (by this kind of definition) was due to the effect of increased imports of corn in keeping down prices in the period 1760-1800. In other words, the classification of harvests by the criterion of price, though it works well in earlier periods when corn imports were diffi-

cult or marginal in effect, breaks down in a period when imports were both more easily organized and more massive in quantity.¹

* * *

The earlier period (1480-1619) revealed a feature of the English economy which had never before been realized, and that was that harvests—which I called “the heartbeat of the whole economy”—often showed a sequence of three or four good years in a row, or, much more dramatic in their effects, three or four failures in a row. I also suggested that these good or bad runs were not basically due to weather-cycles but to the underlying factor of yield-ratios. One bad harvest tended to generate another because of a scarcity of seed-corn and so cumulatively until a fundamental change in the weather-pattern in a given year broke the downward sequence and restored the ‘normal’ balance between bread-corn and seed-corn. The English economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an agrarian economy that worked on a very fine margin between sufficiency and shortage.

What was the harvest-pattern during the 140 years between 1620 and 1759? Table II serves to bring out the essential facts:

TABLE II
HARVEST-PATTERN BY DECADES, 1620-1759

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Deficient harvests</i>	<i>Good harvests</i>
1620-9	1	4
1630-9	3	1
1640-9	4	4
1650-9	4	4
1660-9	2	4
1670-9	4	4
1680-9	nil	6
1690-9	6	1
1700-9	2	7
1710-19	3	2
1720-9	3	3
1730-9	2	4
1740-9	1	5
1750-9	2	4
	37	53

¹ A reading of the chronology of harvests given in E. L. Jones, *Seasons and Prices*, 1964, suggests there were far more ‘bad’ harvests in the years 1760-1800 if one has regard only to home production.

At first sight this seems to represent a random pattern, yet on closer inspection it reveals some curious—and at this stage rather inexplicable—phases. Thus the pattern of good harvests is fairly consistent down to 1680: five of the six decades between the 1620's and the 1670's each produced four good harvests. Then follows a very variable pattern from 1680 to 1730; and after that a relatively consistent pattern again from 1730 to 1760. This deep-seated pattern, if it is one, hardly seems explicable in terms of yield-ratios. Perhaps at this point we have to turn to the historians of climate and ask whether in the fifty or so years from 1680 onwards there ensued a period of greater variability than is normal even in the English climate.

Good and bad harvests do not, however, fit neatly into decades. Just as the sixteenth century showed some remarkable sequences of good and bad, so did the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The worst of the 'bad runs' came in the years 1646–50 and 1657–61: each showed five bad harvests in a row. Or to put it in another way, those who lived through the time of the Civil War and the Commonwealth endured no fewer than ten harvest failures in the space of fifteen or sixteen years. Charles II returned to England in a deficient year, and the next year was even worse—it was a dearth, with its worst impact on the mass of people in the spring of 1662 before the new harvest was got in.¹ Other 'bad runs' were 1695–8 (four failures in a row) and 1708–11 (again four in a row). The worst decades of the period were the 1630's and the 1690's with only one good harvest in each decade.

Of the 'good runs', the best—each of four good harvests in a row—were 1652–5, 1704–7, 1730–3, and 1741–4; but these were all surpassed by the years 1685–90, when there were six good harvests in a row, of which two—1687 and 1688—were abundant.

* * *

It is now time to consider the whole period chronologically and to relate the harvest-picture, so far as is possible, to the general course of English economic history. For the sake of a logical roundness I begin by summarizing briefly the two decades that ushered in the seventeenth century though they were dealt with in my previous article. At the very opening of the century there were six good harvests in a row (1601–6). The year 1607 was average to poor, and the harvest of 1608 was bad. It was followed, clearly by no mere coincidence, by the severe plague-year of 1609. Plague had become a disease of poverty and malnutrition, and 1609 was a year long remembered as "the sickness time."

¹ Fig. III, *London Bread Prices 1620–1760*, shows that the average price of bread reached a peak in 1661 not equalled throughout the entire period.

The decade 1610-19 was about average as a whole but it ended with two good harvests (1618, 1619). The sequence continued: the year 1620 saw the most abundant harvest within living memory. One had to look back as far as 1558 to find a comparable abundance of corn.

The years 1621 to 1623 were unusually wet, culminating in the disastrous harvest of 1622 and the subsequent famine-months of the spring of '23. A Lincolnshire squire on the Wolds complained that many of his tenants had given up their farms and sheep-walks, that thousands of the poor had sold all they possessed and were reduced to eating dog's flesh and old horse-meat.¹ The textile workers of Wiltshire appealed to the county justices to fix

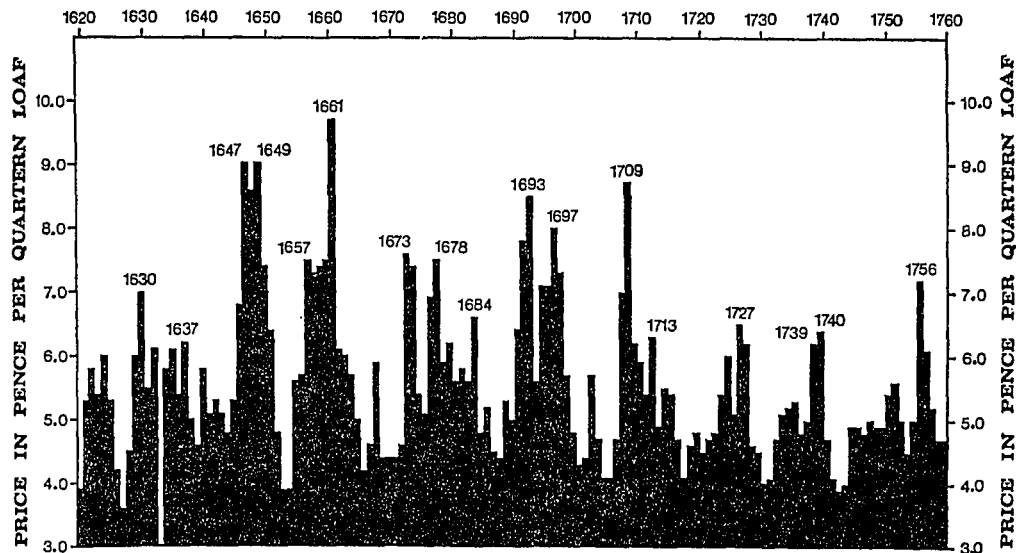


FIG. III

AVERAGE PRICE OF BREAD IN LONDON, 1620-1760

wages "in this great dearth of corn." Even so, widespread unemployment in the textile areas generally kept the price of corn below the famine-level it might have reached. From the northern counties it was reported in the same year that "scarcity and famine be great . . . yet the prices of corn are . . . such . . . as have been in time of indifferent plenty, and this happeneth because of want of monies and want of employment and labour for the poor."²

The rest of the decade was on the whole good from the harvest standpoint (1626-8 brought three plentiful harvests in a row) and the cost of living fell

¹ Quoted in Joan Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, p. 193.

² For Wiltshire, see *English Economic History: Select Documents*, ed. by Bland, Brown, and Tawney, pp. 356-7; for the northern counties, B. E. Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642*, p. 15.

appreciably. But the 1630's, with only one good harvest in ten years instead of the usual four, were a time of high food-prices and of urgent government action in all spheres of social policy. The harvest of 1630 was bad, the spring of 1631 therefore critical. The Somerset justices, noting the high prices not only of corn but of "butter, cheese, and all other commodities," in 1630 tightened their control of badgers and maltsters, and proceedings were taken against engrossers and other offenders in a time of scarcity. The Derbyshire justices, stirred up by the Privy Council like all others, were also active in 1631 about corn supplies and enclosures.¹

Evelyn says of this year (1631): "there happened an extraordinary dearth in England, corn bearing an excessive price," and plague again raged among the poor. No harvest rose above average until the very end of the decade (1639). That of 1637 was very deficient and probably explains the renewed onslaught of the Privy Council against enclosers who were generally regarded as guilty of wholesale conversion to pasture, so reducing the supplies of corn. 'Depopulators' were heavily fined and also required to give an undertaking to restore farmhouses with their arable land attached to them.²

No fewer than three commissions were appointed in the 1630's to inquire into depopulation and enclosures (in 1632, 1635, 1636) and the 1640's opened with widespread agrarian disorders.³ But on the whole, despite the local ravages of the war-years, it was a plentiful time down to the middle of the decade. The harvest of 1646 was, however, deficient, and the next three were very bad, verging upon a dearth. The year 1648 was exceedingly wet: a bad harvest was accompanied by a widespread murrain among cattle. Food-prices rocketed year after year, reaching a peak in 1650. The Phelps-Brown index of food-prices (base-period 1451-75=100) rose as follows:

1646 : 569	1649 : 821
1647 : 667	1650 : 839
1648 : 770	

In other words, food-prices rocketed by nearly 50 per cent in five years. The early 1650's saw a steady fall, so much so that by 1656 the price-index of consumables was rather below that of ten years before. For the vast majority of the population, these short-term fluctuations in the cost of living (of food above all) were infinitely more important than the long-term movements to which economic historians have always paid such assiduous attention. In no

¹ Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-91, for these counties and Rutland also.

² See among a wealth of contemporary documents, Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-6, for action by the Lincolnshire justices, c. 1637. In Leicestershire there were even more ferocious fines, the squire of Foston, for example, being fined £2,000 in 1638.

³ E. Lipson, *Economic History of England*, II, pp. 406-7.

other field of human life is Keynes's pungent dismissal of 'the long run' more appropriate;¹ and it is high time that economic historians devoted themselves to this sort of microscopic scrutiny, above all in an economy that was so wildly unequal in its distribution of wealth and resources.

The 1650's saw fairly stable prices generally, with a slight rise towards the end. The Age of Cromwell was blessed on the whole with abundance, the consecutive years from 1652 to 1655 being particularly fruitful. But 1657 was deficient, and Cromwell died of a tertian ague on 3 September 1658, amid a great tempest of wind, while England gathered in the first really bad harvest since the ominous year 1649. A run of bad years culminated in the dearth of 1661-2. Thorold Rogers calls 1662 "a famine," but this must refer to the pre-harvest months, as the harvest itself was an average one. There was a steady fall in the cost of living throughout the 1660's, with only insignificant short-term fluctuations. Indeed, from 1665 to 1672 inclusive, there were no fewer than seven good harvests out of eight, a bounty perhaps unprecedented in English history.

The Corn Laws, which in general were designed to regulate closely the export of corn from a country always liable to a sudden shortage, varied in the price-level at which they prohibited export. They have a somewhat complicated history, but the statutory price limit, above which grain exports were forbidden, had risen greatly during the hundred years or so since 1555 when the limit for wheat had been fixed at 6s. 8d. a quarter. The raising of this limit always followed rapidly upon a serious harvest failure² until in 1663, consequent upon the dearth of 1661-2, it had reached 48s. a quarter. But the Good Years from 1665 to 1672 altered all this.

In 1670 a new Act permitted the export of corn whatever the price in the home market. Though designed, as Lipson says, to promote the interests of landowners and corn-growers, it was made possible only by the dramatic change in the harvest-picture that now appeared to have taken a permanent shape. The freedom to export was still not quite absolute: an embargo could be placed on the transportation of corn in bad seasons. Yet this embargo had to be applied once only in the next thirty years, in the year 1698, after a sequence of bad harvests. It was applied also in 1709; and not until 1741 was it again found necessary. The closing years of the 1750's also saw an embargo (1757-9); but from 1765—outside the present scope of this article—it had to be almost continuously applied. The picture was beginning to change again within roughly a hundred years.

¹ For those who have still never heard it, Keynes said in answer to some objection on 'long-term' grounds: "In the long run we are all dead."

² See, for example, the brief table in Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

There had clearly been a revolution in corn-production from about the middle of the century, which continued, except for occasional bad spells, so strongly that Defoe could assert in the 1720's that Britain "may truly be called a corn country," able to supply southern and western Europe with corn whenever their own crops failed. The reasons for this revolution lie outside the scope of this present article.¹

The long series of good harvests between 1665 and 1672 ended, as so often, in a bad patch. The harvests of 1673 and 1674 were both bad, and so too was that of 1678. But the 1680's were generally good. Again there was a marvellous bounty. Of the eight harvests between 1683 and 1690, seven were good; and the relative cheapness of food continued into the early 'nineties.

Once again the pattern appeared to revert to the bad old days: 1692 was bad, 1693 a dearth, and then there were bad or deficient harvests in 1695-8 inclusive, with 1699 only average in yield. The level of food-prices (Phelps-Brown index) rose again painfully for almost the whole decade:

1690 : 513	1696 : 697
1691 : 493	1697 : 693
1692 : 542	1698 : 767
1693 : 652	1699 : 773
1694 : 693	1700 : 671
1695 : 645	

The problems of unemployment and destitution, added to those of high corn-prices, led to the great spate of provincial workhouses between 1696 and 1700, beginning at Bristol in 1696, in seven other towns in 1698 alone, and two more in 1700. Altogether ten workhouses were established in these Bad Years. The Acts setting up these institutions expressly stated that the numbers of the poor had greatly increased lately, because of the long war with France, with the consequent decay of trade and increase in unemployment, combined with the years of dearth.

The first decade of the eighteenth century reversed the pattern of the 1690's. Instead of six deficient harvests, the 1700's produced no fewer than seven good ones; but the decade ended disastrously with two very bad harvests (1708, 1709), and those of 1710 and 1711 were still deficient. Thorold Rogers calls both 1709 and 1710 "famine" years, and 1709-10 saw massive killer-epidemics arising from malnutrition. Once again these are scarcely, if ever, referred to by modern economic and social historians: one usually looks in vain in their indexes for entries under 'Harvests' or 'Epidemics', two matters of the highest concern to the great mass of the population.

¹ They are discussed to some extent in an important essay by A. H. John, 'The Course of Agricultural Change, 1660-1760', in *Studies in the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 125-55.

The bad patch—I speak from the consumers' standpoint—did not end until 1714, and apart from 1718 the rest of the decade was only average. The 1720's were also a very mixed decade with three good harvests in a row (1721-3) and two distinctly bad (1727-8). From 1713 to 1730 food-prices were therefore variable without any bad period except for a minor peak in 1729. Tooke refers to "a general sickness" from 1725 to 1729, coinciding with some degree of dearth.

Tooke speaks also of the 1730's as a decade without one season of any general or marked deficiency. In point of fact the Beveridge statistics show a moderate deficiency in 1735 and a greater one in 1739. Other records bear this out: Ellis says that 1735 was "one of the wettest seasons I ever knew," accompanied by "the most general rot in the memory of man." And 1739 was a very wet and stormy season also, followed by the great dearth of 1740. The winter of 1739-40 was one of the most hellish in the memory of man; and in 1741 came the first embargo on the export of grain since the disaster-year of 1709.

As so often happened, the bad run of harvests gave way to a splendid sequence. There were five good harvests in the 1740's (1741-4 inclusive) and another in 1749; and exports of grain from England reached a new peak.

For the 1750's there are some discrepancies between the harvest-picture as deduced from the Beveridge price-data and that tabulated by E. L. Jones in *Seasons and Prices* (1964). My own conclusions show only two deficient harvests and four good ones. Dr Jones records 1750 as "an abundant harvest" but my own conclusion is that it was only an average one generally. Again, in 1751 he suggests "a late and poor harvest" but in general it was average in quantity. In the south-west (Exeter prices) it was, however, deficient, and his Wiltshire reference bears out this regional difference. In 1752 he records "poor harvest" but I find it of average size, though again deficient in the west. His "plentiful harvest" in 1753 I find merely average, though here again some important regional differences may be concealed. For the remaining years—1754 to 1760—we are in agreement.

There were widespread food-riots in the years 1756 and 1757. The summer of 1756 was "the wettest summer in the memory of man" (a familiar phrase) and according to Tooke the harvest was "greatly deficient through the greater part of Europe." The riots of 1757 resulted from the bad preceding harvest, though the harvest of 1757 was itself still deficient and once again an embargo was placed on the export of corn.

After roughly a hundred years of rising corn production and rising grain exports, in which the age-old spectre of harvest-failure, famine, and social disorders was practically eradicated from English thinking, the 1750's were

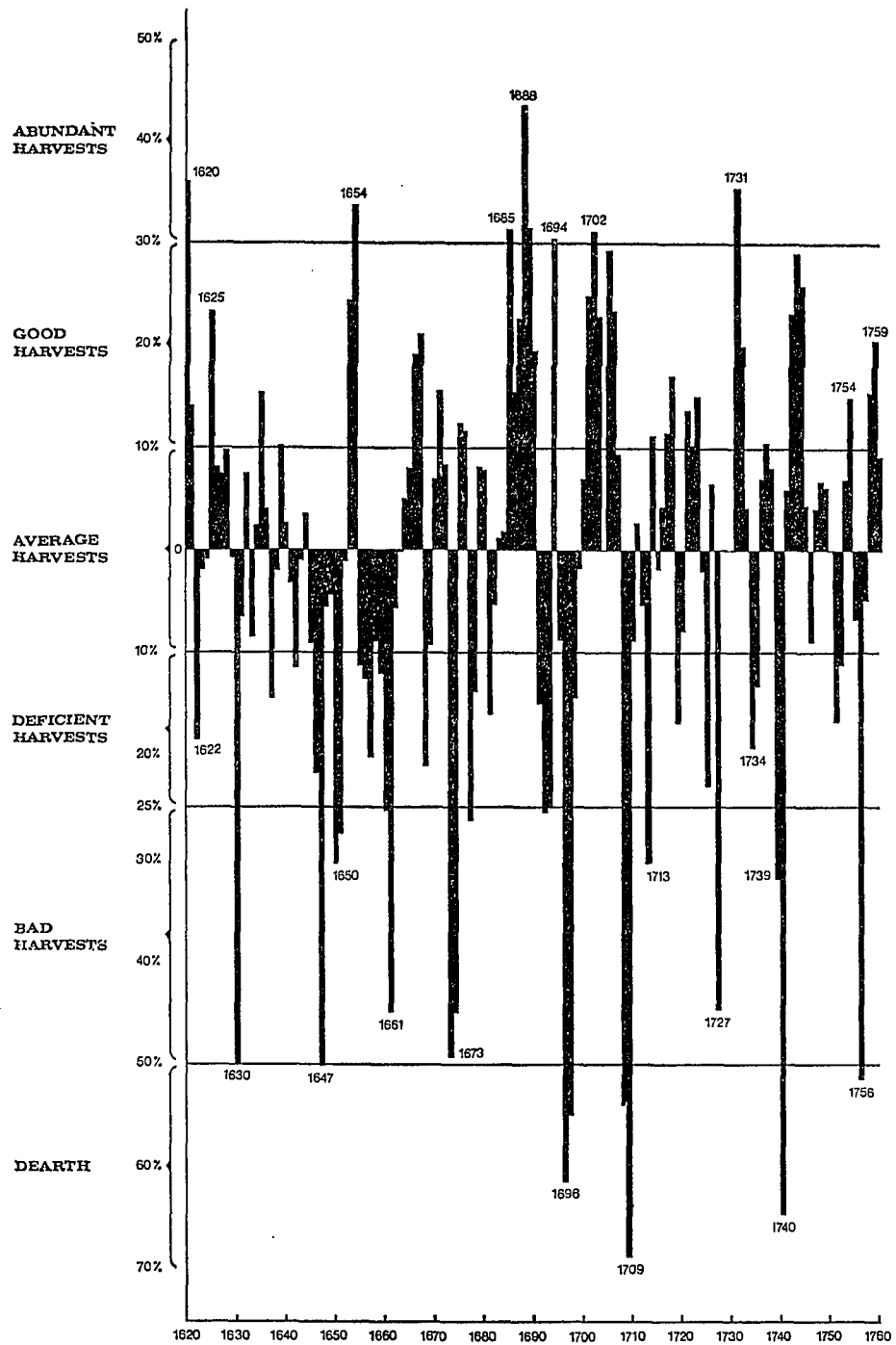


FIG. IV

QUALITY OF SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND HARVESTS, 1620-1760
(based on Exeter wheat prices)

closing with yet another reversal of fortune, just as the millions of non-producers, those in factories and growing towns, required more and more sustenance from the land. There was no sudden or dramatic change in the picture, and the new pattern was perhaps not clearly apparent until the 1790's; but it was beginning to emerge in the late 'fifties. And now I turn, finally, to discuss the most fundamental pattern of all: that of the relationship between yield-ratios and population during the two periods I have discussed in this and my preceding article.

* * *

The ratio of crop yields to seed sown is a fundamental factor of human life, above all in pre-industrial societies. I touched upon this subject only briefly in my previous article mainly because the available information for the sixteenth century is scarce. "Before the sixteenth century eight to ten bushels of wheat were thought a reasonable return for the sowing of two bushels; and thereafter it was still a common return from the strip in the open field."¹ In other words the normal yield-ratio before the sixteenth century was reckoned to be 4 or 5. At Hurdwick in west Devon (a Tavistock Abbey estate) a short series of wheat harvests between 1504 and 1537 shows an average ratio of 6.6, the lowest figure being 4.6 in 1537 and the highest 9.3 in 1508.² In a good year, therefore, the yield-ratio could be just about double that of a bad year. According to Trow-Smith, the sixteenth century saw a very marked rise in yield in those areas where enclosure had given land a long rest under pasture, especially where the practice of convertible husbandry had been widely adopted.³

Single years are almost valueless as a guide, but for what it is worth the estimated yield-ratio for wheat at Walton (Somerset) c. 1583 was 8.0; and for Cuxham (Oxfordshire) in the 1570's Thorold Rogers calculated a ratio of 8.0. Harrison in 1577 (quoted by Trow-Smith) considered that the yield of wheat in average years was commonly 16 to 21 bushels, which again gives a ratio to seed of between 8 and 10.

For rye, we have only Finberg's figures for Hurdwick which show an average ratio of 8.8 for the fifteenth century and 8.1 for the early sixteenth century. For oats, we are again dependent on the pioneer work of Finberg on the Tavistock Abbey estates. At Hurdwick the average ratio for large oats in

¹ R. Trow-Smith, *English Husbandry*, 1951, p. 105.

² See B. H. Slicher van Bath, *Yield-Ratios, 810-1820*, from which my figures in this section are taken, unless otherwise stated.

³ For the extent of convertible husbandry in a Midland parish in the late sixteenth century, see, for example, W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant*, pp. 162-4, 233.

1504-37 was 4.5, small oats 4.4. Peas and beans were an important crop from medieval times onwards but our statistical information about these yields is even more meagre. The figures calculated by Raftis for the fifteenth century (Huntingdonshire, 1401-13) show a yield-ratio of 1.7; at Grantchester in 1456 and 1457, the ratio was 2.2 and 2.3 respectively. For peas alone Thorold Rogers calculated a ratio of 6.0 at Cuxham (Oxfordshire) in the years 1571 to 1580.

Seventeenth-century yield-ratios are more informative. At Harwell (Berkshire) between 1612 and 1620, the average ratio for wheat was 11.6, although the range of yield was very wide—from as little as 5.5 in 1613 (a deficient harvest generally) to 20.2 in 1616. But at Nibley (Gloucestershire) at roughly the same time (1604-17) the average ratio for wheat was only 4.7, and at Kempsford (Gloucestershire) it was only 4.0 for a few years between 1618 and 1631. These low figures may be due to poor soils, as some of Arthur Young's statistics for the late eighteenth century (Suffolk, 1797) show a range from 6.0 on poor sandy soils to 20.0 on the finest soils. According to Thorold Rogers the ratio for wheat *c.* 1655 was 6 to 8 but some statistics for Devon and Cornwall in 1668 show much higher ratios.¹ In Devon the yield of wheat ranged from 10 to 20-25 bushels per acre according to the quality of soil, with an average yield of 15 bushels per acre. Yields are given for bad, average, and good soils. On good soil the yield of wheat was generally twice that of a poor soil. For barley the range was between 10 bushels and 25-30, so a good soil yielded 2½ to 3 times a poor one. The mean yield of barley was 14 bushels per acre. Rye ranged from 8 to 14 bushels, with an average of 12; oats, 10 to 20 with a mean of 13. Peas, 10 to 14, with an average of 12; and beans, 10 to 13 with an average of 12. In the 'Marl country' of Devon, generally "very hilly and steep," all yields were lower, only oats and barley showing a higher yield-ratio than the county generally.

TABLE III
YIELD-RATIOS ON AVERAGE SOILS IN DEVON AND CORNWALL

	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Peas</i>	<i>Beans</i>
Devon	10.0	9.6	5.6	4.3	9.6	9.6
'Marl country'	9.0	9.0	6.0	7.5	4.7	5.3
Cornwall	12.0	10.0	5.0	5.0	6.0	10.0

¹ During the reign of Charles II the Royal Society collected much agricultural information from various parts of the country but only the report on Devon and Cornwall gives seed-rates and yields. See R. V. Lennard, 'English Agriculture under Charles II', *Economic History Review*, IV, no. 1, 1932.

Whatever the merits or demerits of these figures, they are the best we have so far, and they are in line with those for Harwell earlier in the century. They also appear to represent a substantial advance on those for the early sixteenth century, but much more work needs to be done on sixteenth-century yields before we can assert how great was the advance in yield-ratios between the reign of Henry VIII and that of Charles II.

Trow-Smith cites one or two literary references which bear out the fact that seventeenth-century yields were substantially above those for the early sixteenth century. In 1601 Edward Maxey in his book *New Instruction of Plowing and Setting of Corne* reckoned that the yield of wheat in the open fields was not above 16 bushels (that is, a yield-ratio of about 8) but that in well-cultivated enclosed land "well dunged and sown with choicest picked seed" the yield could be as high as 48 to 64 bushels to the acre. Norden in 1607 asserted that on the fertile mid-Somerset levels it was possible to get as much as 10 quarters to the acre.

In view of the wide range of the seventeenth-century figures an 'average' yield-ratio may be almost without meaning for particular regions; but what has been said above would suggest that the ratio rarely fell below 8 to 10 in this period. In other words, the yield-ratio roughly doubled between late medieval times (c. 1500) and the middle of the seventeenth century. Revolutionary as this increase was, it only just kept pace with the rise of population in the same period. I estimate the population of England and Wales to have been about 2,600,000 in the 1520's and 3,800,000 in 1603.¹ Gregory King estimated the population of the country to be 5½ million in 1688. On this basis we may conclude that the population approximately doubled between the reigns of Henry VIII and Charles II. Thus the remarkable advance in yields in this period brought no real improvement in basic food supplies for the mass of the population.

It seems likely, too, that there was no discernible rise in yield-ratios from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth. Slicher van Bath collects together 129 yield-ratios for wheat given by Arthur Young between 1768 and 1771.² Of these, 72 places showed ratios of less than 10, and 57 were 10 and over. The median ratio was about 9, though a few places were half of this, and some were nearly double (e.g. Holderness 16, Ormskirk 18, and others). Other values given by William Marshall and contemporaries

¹ The first figure is based on what appear to be full musters of able-bodied men in various counties in the 1520's (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, various references). The estimate for 1603 is based on the return of communicants in that year, allowing for children under 15 constituting 40 per cent of the total population.

² S. van Bath, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-5.

aries suggest that a ratio of 9-10 was about the expected level in the last years of the eighteenth century, by which date the population of England and Wales had risen to just over 9,156,000 (1801 census). This represented a rise of over fifty per cent since the beginning of the eighteenth century, with no general rise in yield-ratios. Professor J. Percival, writing some thirty years ago, said that "it is clear that during the last three hundred years there has been little or no change in the yields of wheat which can be obtained from well-cultivated land." Since these words were written, however, the technological revolution of the last two decades has changed the whole picture dramatically. We are now living through another Agricultural Revolution comparable to that of the eighteenth century; or perhaps one might even say, the seventeenth century, about which we still know so very little.¹

¹ J. Percival, *Wheat in Modern Britain*, 1934, quoted by Trow-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 106. In 1929-38 the yield-ratio for wheat was still only about 10 (15 cwt. per acre). For 1952-62 the average ratio was about 17 (25.6 cwt. per acre). The technological revolution has recently pushed the yield to 34.8 cwt. (1962) which may represent a maximum, giving a yield-ratio of rather more than 20. For barley the ratio averaged about 23.5 in 1952-62, reaching 29 in the latter year. I get these statistics from *The Times* for 26 January 1967, supplemented by information about seed-rates from Mr Tristram Beresford of Chilmark, Wiltshire, to whom I am grateful for expert guidance. He is not, however, responsible for any conclusions I have drawn in these concluding pages.

APPENDIX I

TABLE OF ANNUAL HARVESTS FROM 1620 TO 1759 CLASSIFIED BY QUALITY
(Prices are given in shillings per quarter)

Year	1 <i>General average for year</i>	2 <i>Exeter average for year</i>	3 <i>31-year moving average (norm)</i>	4 <i>Deviation of general average from norm (percentage)</i>	5 <i>General quality of harvest</i>	6 <i>Comments</i>
1620	22.21	22.57	35.28	-37.1	Abundant	
1621	35.98	30.73	35.77	+ 0.6	Average	Good in West
1622	45.89	43.10	36.36	+26.1	Bad	Deficient in West
1623	35.52	37.13	36.44	- 2.6	Average	
1624	38.82	36.30	36.01	+ 7.8	Average	
1625	38.25	27.74	36.23	+ 5.6	Average	Good in West
1626	31.64	33.44	36.41	-13.1	Good	Average in West
1627	26.10	33.69	36.54	-28.6	Good	Average in West
1628	31.48	32.88	36.48	-13.7	Good	Less good in West
1629	38.06	36.53	36.27	+ 4.9	Average	
1630	53.80	54.68	36.44	+47.6	Bad	Dearth in West
1631	38.48	39.33	36.92	+ 4.2	Average	
1632	41.80	35.02	37.80	+10.6	Deficient	Average in West
1633	41.88	41.53	38.44	+ 9.0	Average	
1634	40.91	38.00	39.33	+ 4.0	Average	

HARVEST FLUCTUATIONS, 1620-1759

29

Year	1 <i>General average for year</i>	2 <i>Exeter average for year</i>	3 <i>31-year moving average (norm)</i>	4 <i>Deviation of general average from norm (percentage)</i>	5 <i>General quality of harvest</i>	6 <i>Comments</i>
1635	39.43	33.84	40.05	- 1.6	Average	Good in West
1636	39.41	39.08	40.71	- 3.2	Average	
1637	45.99	46.52	40.62	+13.2	Deficient	
1638	36.96	40.66	39.91	- 7.4	Average	
1639	31.11	35.40	39.44	-21.1	Good	
1640	37.64	38.32	39.33	- 4.3	Average	Average in West Deficient in West Average in West Average in West Average in West Dearth in West Average in West Average in West
1641	35.18	40.54	39.28	-10.4	Good	
1642	37.54	44.38	39.70	- 5.4	Average	
1643	32.95	40.92	40.48	-18.6	Good	
1644	33.40	39.53	40.99	-18.5	Good	
1645	36.11	45.05	41.30	-12.6	Good	
1646	49.22	50.65	41.63	+18.3	Deficient	
1647	61.04	62.72	41.72	+46.3	Bad	
1648	57.78	44.01	41.71	+38.5	Bad	
1649	57.66	43.36	41.53	+38.8	Bad	
1650	48.87	53.88	41.26	+18.4	Deficient	Bad in West
1651	43.10	52.13	40.80	+ 5.6	Average	Bad in West
1652	32.69	40.89	40.42	-19.1	Good	Average in West
1653	24.33	30.34	40.08	-39.3	Abundant	Good in West
1654	21.04	26.47	39.93	-47.3	Abundant	Deficient in West Deficient in West Average in West
1655	35.13	44.56	40.01	-12.2	Good	
1656	36.77	44.84	39.80	- 7.6	Average	
1657	44.43	47.78	39.72	+11.8	Deficient	
1658	50.13	43.66	40.11	+25.0	Bad	
1659	47.42	45.50	40.60	+16.8	Deficient	
1660	48.30	50.78	40.54	+19.1	Deficient	Bad in West
1661	64.04	58.37	40.25	+59.1	Dearth	Bad in West
1662	41.30	42.16	39.92	+ 3.5	Average	Average in West Good in West Good in West Deficient in West Average in West
1663	41.61	39.50	39.44	+ 5.5	Average	
1664	35.93	36.76	38.68	- 7.1	Average	
1665	32.25	34.94	37.97	-15.1	Good	
1666	25.13	30.16	37.51	-33.0	Abundant	
1667	27.53	29.32	37.17	-25.9	Abundant	
1668	35.43	45.07	37.18	- 4.7	Average	
1669	32.83	41.16	37.66	-12.8	Good	
1670	33.72	35.17	37.86	-11.0	Good	Average in West
1671	31.08	31.91	37.73	-17.6	Good	Average in West Worse in West
1672	32.48	34.19	37.34	-13.0	Good	
1673	49.57	54.79	36.66	+35.2	Bad	Good in West
1674	47.79	52.11	35.95	+32.9	Bad	
1675	32.02	30.89	35.29	- 9.2	Average	Bad in West Deficient in West
1676	27.26	30.77	34.87	-21.8	Good	
1677	38.94	43.20	34.20	+13.9	Deficient	Average
1678	46.04	39.44	34.67	+32.9	Bad	
1679	34.21	31.55	34.37	- 0.5	Average	Deficient in West
1680	35.82	32.00	34.70	+ 3.2	Average	
1681	34.33	40.69	35.08	- 2.2	Average	Deficient in West
1682						

Year	1 <i>General average for year</i>	2 <i>Exeter average for year</i>	3 <i>31-year moving average (norm)</i>	4 <i>Deviation of general average from norm (percentage)</i>	5 <i>General quality of harvest</i>	6 <i>Comments</i>
1682	33.09	37.90	36.03	- 8.1	Average	Average in West
1683	32.62	36.21	36.72	-11.2	Good	
1684	39.01	36.00	36.83	+ 6.0	Average	Abundant in West
1685	27.43	25.12	36.76	-25.4	Good	
1686	31.09	30.83	36.47	-14.8	Good	Good in West
1687	24.38	28.00	36.25	-32.7	Abundant	
1688	23.37	20.50	36.33	-35.7	Abundant	Abundant in West
1689	28.74	24.36	35.57	-19.2	Good	
1690	26.63	28.01	34.76	-23.4	Good	Deficient in West
1691	35.67	39.65	34.46	+ 3.5	Average	
1692	43.60	43.29	34.47	+26.5	Bad	Bad in West
1693	55.09	43.46	34.75	+58.5	Dearth	
1694	32.71	24.56	35.33	- 7.4	Average	Abundant in West
1695	45.97	38.69	35.60	+29.1	Bad	Average in West
1696	44.02	57.68	35.71	+23.3	Deficient	Dearth in West
1697	54.15	55.29	35.66	+51.9	Dearth	Deficient in West
1698	49.42	41.25	36.09	+37.0	Bad	
1699	38.68	36.67	36.00	+ 7.4	Average	
1700	30.13	33.40	35.93	-16.1	Good	Average in West
1701	25.25	27.20	36.18	-30.2	Abundant	Good in West
1702	23.80	24.90	36.21	-34.3	Abundant	Good in West
1703	35.18	27.97	36.24	- 2.9	Average	
1704	26.55	—	36.49	-27.2	Good	Good in West
1705	22.30	25.79	36.56	-39.0	Abundant	
1706	23.02	28.01	36.57	-37.0	Abundant	Good in West
1707	27.44	32.93	36.37	-24.6	Good	Average in West
1708	47.42	55.27	35.90	+32.1	Bad	Dearth in West
1709	64.28	59.47	35.24	+82.3	Dearth	Less deficient in West Better in West
1710	42.46	38.63	35.45	+19.8	Deficient	
1711	39.12	34.12	35.06	+11.6	Deficient	
1712	33.21	37.02	35.12	- 5.4	Average	
1713	45.55	45.40	34.79	+31.0	Bad	
1714	30.24	30.29	34.16	-11.5	Good	
1715	36.94	34.35	33.78	+ 9.4	Average	
1716	35.32	32.08	33.52	+ 5.4	Average	
1717	31.47	29.60	33.44	- 5.9	Average	
1718	25.98	27.80	33.55	-22.6	Good	
1719	30.56	39.12	33.48	- 8.7	Average	
1720	31.03	36.39	33.71	- 8.0	Average	
1721	27.02	29.36	34.02	-20.6	Good	
1722	29.57	30.69	34.18	-13.5	Good	
1723	29.04	29.05	34.21	-15.1	Good	
1724	34.52	34.57	33.89	+ 1.8	Average	
1725	39.62	41.04	33.33	+18.9	Deficient	
1726	33.20	30.72	32.86	+ 1.0	Average	
1727	46.01	46.78	32.30	+42.4	Bad	
1728	43.71	—	31.88	+37.2	Bad	
1729	30.55	—	31.11	- 1.8	Average	

HARVEST FLUCTUATIONS, 1620-1759

31

Year	1 <i>General average for year</i>	2 <i>Exeter average for year</i>	3 <i>31-year moving average (norm)</i>	4 <i>Deviation of general average from norm (percentage)</i>	5 <i>General quality of harvest</i>	6 <i>Comments</i>
1730	26.88	—	31.08	-13.5	Good	Abundant in West
1731	21.91	20.00	30.83	-28.9	Good	
1732	23.06	24.46	30.59	-24.6	Good	
1733	27.25	29.22	30.53	-10.7	Good	Average in West
1734	32.55	36.53	30.60	+ 6.4	Average	Deficient in West
1735	34.08	34.67	30.56	+11.5	Deficient	Better in West
1736	31.54	28.50	30.70	+ 2.7	Average	
1737	28.01	27.68	30.94	- 9.5	Average	
1738	28.06	28.50	30.99	- 9.4	Average	Worse in West
1739	38.23	40.84	30.93	+23.6	Deficient	
1740	46.33	50.74	30.78	+50.5	Dearth	Average in West
1741	27.84	29.34	31.18	-10.7	Good	
1742	22.17	24.11	31.44	-29.5	Good	
1743	19.99	22.00	30.96	-35.4	Abundant	Less abundant in West
1744	21.47	22.50	30.47	-29.5	Good	
1745	29.61	28.97	30.33	- 2.4	Average	
1746	29.23	33.16	30.43	- 3.9	Average	Less good in West
1747	27.80	29.45	30.76	- 9.6	Average	
1748	29.61	29.08	31.17	- 5.0	Average	
1749	28.42	29.80	31.70	-10.3	Good	Deficient in West
1750	28.87	31.92	31.94	- 9.6	Average	
1751	35.33	37.84	32.44	+ 8.9	Average	
1752	34.69	36.75	33.03	+ 4.9	Average	Average in West
1753	31.17	31.15	33.48	- 6.9	Average	
1754	26.88	28.69	33.82	-20.5	Good	
1755	30.22	36.39	34.10	-11.4	Good	Average in West
1756	51.91	51.91	34.21	+51.8	Dearth	
1757	41.32	36.77	35.00	+18.1	Deficient	
1758	30.95	30.39	35.93	-13.8	Good	Average in West
1759	28.42	29.40	36.99	-23.2	Good	

Great Dodford and the Later History of the Chartist Land Scheme

By P. SEARBY

"And yet again the scene is changed,
'Location Day' arrives,
O'Connor's boys come settling here
Like bees from busy hives.
The gay procession wends its way,
The waggons and the gigs,
'Fergus and Freedom' flaunts aloft,
'Less parsons and more pigs'.

Sing of the land they bought and let,
Sing of the poor man's share,
Sing of allotments fair for each,
Sing of the acres square.
Sing of the ring of axe and spade,
Sing of the fields they dug,
Sing of the muddy roads they made,
Sing of the homes so snug."¹

I

THE most significant development in the Chartist movement in the 1840's was Fergus O'Connor's land plan, to settle members of the working class on plots of two, three, or four acres. On a four-acre plot, O'Connor claimed, a settler could by careful spade cultivation grow enough to make £100 a year profit, after feeding his family and paying rent, tithe, and taxes. In May 1845 the Chartist Co-operative Land Society (later called the National Land Company) was set up to carry out O'Connor's plan. His vision of a life of rural comfort, health, and independence appealed so widely that within a few years the company had about 70,000 members, each buying shares of £1 6s. in instalments of as little as 1s. Plots were allocated to the members by ballot; the purchase of two shares entitled a member to compete in the ballot for a two-acre plot; three or four shares were necessary to compete for plots of three or four acres. By the summer of 1848, when a select committee of the House of Commons was investigating the work of the National Land Company, about 250 members had been 'located', after suc-

¹ 'A.A.T.' and W. G. Whinfield, *A Dodford Ditty or a Song of Home*, Dodford, 1900.

cess in the ballot, on four estates that had been bought and prepared for the scheme.

Recent writers on Chartism mention these first four land settlements—at Herringsgate near Rickmansworth, Minster Lovell near Witney, and Snig's End and Lowbands near Gloucester. They do not mention, however, the fifth and last settlement at Great Dodford near Bromsgrove in Worcestershire. At Dodford, says Miss J. MacAskill in the most detailed account of the land plan, "no allotments were made."¹ But the current six-inch Ordnance Survey map shows at Dodford the characteristic planned pattern of a Chartist land colony, quite unlike that of the surrounding countryside: the narrow, straight lanes, and the four-acre plots with cottages at their head; while on the ground the brick bungalows themselves are unmistakably the work of the National Land Company—each with its trefoil over the front door and identical in appearance with those at Snig's End.

Before its Chartist days Great Dodford contained little more than a large farmhouse called the Priory, which incorporated some of the remains of a Premonstratensian priory founded by Henry II. O'Connor bought the Priory and 273 acres of land in January 1848; he paid £10,546 for them.² After the preparation of the Snig's End estate the National Land Company's horses and building equipment were moved from there to Dodford in the summer of 1848, so that the new settlement could be made ready. At the same time, the select committee was meeting and much criticism of the National Land Company was emerging from it. O'Connor told a meeting of 5,000 Midlands Chartists at Dodford in July that despite the attacks on the land plan by a "lying and slandering press" and the "bullying" of the committee, the settlement at Dodford would be completed and the land plan would continue.³ The committee reported at the end of July. Despite its criticisms of the scheme it held out the possibility of legalizing the land company. O'Connor argued that its resolutions were "drawn up in the best spirit . . . and must be taken rather in the spirit of kind remonstrance and advice than as the slightest attempt to injure the land plan": the company would easily be legalized by Parliament if it altered the features which the committee had objected to—and in particular the system of balloting for plots. O'Connor admitted that the ballot system violated the Lottery Acts, and accordingly suggested a new procedure: henceforth plots should be given to those members of the National Land Company who paid large

¹ J. MacAskill, 'The Chartist Land Plan', *Chartist Studies*, ed. A. Briggs, 1959, p. 327.

² *Northern Star*, 8 January 1848; *Sixth Report of the Select Committee on the National Land Company*: H.C. 577, 1847-8, XIX, p. 14.

³ *Fourth Report of the S.C.*: H.C. 503, 1847-8, XIX, p. 75; *Northern Star*, 22 July 1848.

deposits or 'bonuses' in advance; members would in effect have to outbid each other to gain plots. O'Connor proposed this system reluctantly and really wanted one that would be legal and at the same time would not rule out the acquisition of plots by the "blistered hands, fustian jackets, and unshorn chins." He appealed for ideas to members of the National Land Company. "I beg of you—and you are not fools—to set your genius to work in every locality to devise some means by which we may get rid of the ballot without imposing a bonus that will operate against the more speedy location of the poor." The *Northern Star* records no answer to his appeal and the bonus system was adopted by the land conference in October. The amount of the bonus would be deducted from the capital value of the plot on which as a perpetual lessee the settler would pay ground rent at 4 per cent to the freeholder, the National Land Company.¹

From the summer of 1848 to the spring of 1849 roads were built and land cleared at Dodford, and forty four-acre plots marked out and their accompanying cottages built; £6,000 had been spent on this work of preparation by November 1848 and no doubt the total was higher finally. The bonus method was used to select thirty-six tenants for the new settlement in June 1849; they paid bonuses of between £55 and £150. There were no plots available for members who had subscribed less than £55 and the return of their bonuses was promised. Three other members were given plots without bonuses because they were still unlocated after winning four-acre plots in the National Land Company's ballot of May 1847. One plot had already been sold by O'Connor.² 'Location Day' was 2 July 1849. This event was not celebrated in the *Northern Star* as the location days of the other four estates had been. No doubt the omission was due to the disappointment of the settlers, which clearly existed even though allowance must be made for the exaggerations of a hostile newspaper. "One man with a wife and six children, who came from Glasgow, was so disgusted with the prospect before him that he left immediately, to make the best of his way home, and the best of his unfortunate bargain."³ The settlers' complaints were listed in the *Northern Star*: their children would fall down the open wells; there were no pumps to raise the water; no wheat had been planted; above all, the seeds that the company had sown for them promised a miserable crop. O'Connor replied: the wells would be covered; the pumps would be installed immediately (they were not); he did not want the settlers to grow wheat, and the

¹ *Sixth Report of the S.C., loc. cit.*, Conclusion; *Northern Star*, 12 August, 30 September, and 4 November 1848.

² *Ibid.*, 11 November 1848 and 23 June 1849.

³ *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 4 July and 18 July 1849.

plants were unadvanced because the great shortage of money that the land company was suffering from had prevented the sowing of the ground until the bonus money had been paid in June.¹

The rapidly declining rate of subscription to the National Land Company from the summer of 1848 onwards can clearly be traced in the *Northern Star*. In the summer of 1849 O'Connor asked for subscriptions of £13,500 to enable him to complete the purchase of land at Mathon near Malvern, where he planned a sixth settlement with plots of between one and eight acres.² It is plain from the *Northern Star* that the response was inadequate. Registration of the company was made impossible, finally, by a judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench in April 1850, but dwindling support and lack of funds already foretold the death of the land scheme. Dodford was the last Chartist land settlement. Lack of money was probably responsible for the curtailment of the original scheme to prepare at Dodford fifty four-acre plots, ten of three acres, and ten of two acres.³ Possibly to earn money to prepare the settlement, ten acres were sold in March 1849 for £400. After Location Day another ninety-four acres and Dodford Priory were sold for £4,000. The Priory was sold with twenty-one acres and there were two plots of ten acres each and one of eight; the rest of the land was sold in plots of six or four acres. In only one case a bonus payer bought a plot of four acres to enlarge his holding; perhaps significantly, he was a pawnbroker, James Topp. These sales, therefore, did not materially alter the structure of Dodford as an area of smallholdings. The sales were listed and confirmed in the second schedule of the Act of 1851 that dissolved the National Land Company.⁴

The 1851 Act gave power to the Court of Chancery to refer to a Master in Chancery the winding up of the company; those receiving allotments were confirmed in their plots as perpetual lessees and the ground rents they were to pay were to be determined by the Master.⁵ Master Goodchap fixed the ground rent at 4 per cent of the capital value of the plot and house, and valued the plots at Dodford at between £25 and £40 an acre, and the houses at £120 each, so that the average value placed on each plot and house was £275; the amount on which ground rent was paid was reduced by the size of the entry bonus, so that ground rents at Dodford were lower than at the other settlements. At four of the settlements the ground rents were bought by W. P. Roberts, the solicitor to the National Land Company. At Dodford, alone among the settlements, lessees were permitted to redeem their ground rents

¹ *Northern Star*, 7 July 1849.

² *Ibid.*, 23 June 1849.

³ *Ibid.*, 11 November 1848.

⁴ Local and Personal Acts 14 and 15 Vict. 1851, c. cxxxix.

⁵ *Ibid.*, paragraph ix.

at twenty-five years' purchase, but few did so because they would have had to borrow at 5 per cent to redeem a debt of 4 per cent.¹

In 1851 the families of twenty-five of the thirty-six bonus payers were still living in Dodford. The departure of the others probably reflects the difficulties of life in the settlement's early years. Six cottages were uninhabited. About fifteen other families at Great Dodford comprised settlers who had bought land from O'Connor, the successors of the bonus payers who had left, and perhaps also the three participants in the ballot of May 1847. The names of the members of the last two groups cannot be discovered; in addition, some of those in the first group were not in residence in 1851, probably because they had resold or leased their plots. It is thus impossible to distinguish the several categories; but when the census schedules for 1851 are examined it is clear that the non-bonus payers, taken together, came, like the bonus payers in the list on p. 37, from many parts of Britain. Their birthplaces, with those of their children, where they were different, in brackets, were: Northumberland (villages in Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, and Devon), London, Wootton in Warwickshire, Bristol (Shoreditch), Shropshire, Bath, Manchester, Stafford, Kent, Northampton, Newark, Sheffield, and Hanbury in Worcestershire. The entries relating to birthplaces in the census schedules are ambiguous in several ways, but when this list is studied in conjunction with that for the bonus payers it appears that fewer than half of the settlers had moved to Dodford from large industrial towns.² But in one respect the facts speak more clearly and eloquently than rhetoric. The size of the bonuses, the differing nature and wide dispersal of the settlers' places of origin, and the remoteness of many of them from Dodford, reveal the widespread and deep longing in Britain for the life of an independent smallholder. It may be gauged from the life of Ann Wood, who moved to Dodford from Scotland at the age of 60, with two daughters, another woman, and a granddaughter, after investing £150 in a four-acre plot which one of her daughters was still farming in 1875.³ The land plan was psychologically a stroke of genius; the disappointment of the hopes it had aroused perhaps exceeded that at the failure of the Chartist movement for the franchise.

It is admittedly difficult to decide from which social class the Dodford settlers came. So many of them covered their tracks in 1851 by describing themselves as farmers or market gardeners. But the one bonus payer in this

¹ Birmingham Reference Library: C. D. Sturge Collection of newspaper cuttings relating to land tenure: vol. 2, pp. 120 *et seq.*, C. D. Sturge, 'The National Land Company', c. 1880, p. 122.

² P.R.O.: H.O. 107/2047: Census Schedules for Bromsgrove.

³ *Bromsgrove Almanac and Directory*, 1875.

LIST OF THE DODFORD RESIDENTS OF 1851 WHO HAD BEEN
AMONGST THE 36 ALLOTTEES OF 1849, OR WHOSE PARENTS OR SPOUSES HAD BEEN ALLOTTEES

(Names and bonuses of allottees printed in the *Northern Star*, 23 June 1849:
other information from the 1851 census schedules.)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Place of birth of children, where different from that of parents; if it was the same, entry is marked thus —. No children, space left blank.</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Bonus</i>
William Ash	Newton, Staffs.	Cheadle, Cheshire	Farmer of 4 acres	£56
Stephen Baker	Kent	London	Farmer	£57 5s.
John Bucknole	Lyme Regis, Dorset	Devon	Gardener	£55
Thomas Bungay	Wiltshire	London	Farmer	£59 10s.
William Burridge	Shaftesbury, Dorset		Grocer	£100
Peter Burton	Leigh, Lancs.		Agric. labourer	£105
James Cameron	Scotland	—	Hatter	£120
John Coghill	Newark, Notts.	Leeds	Farmer of 4 acres	£100
John Crane	Spratton, Northants.		Farmer of 4 acres	£110
Nathaniel Dewhurst	York		Farmer of 4 acres	£101 15s.
James Finlay	Northumberland	—	Stone mason	£75
William Foster	Souldern, Oxon.		Gardener	£91
Henry T. Green	Chesterton, Cambs.	Leicester	Gardener	£60 10s.
William Hodgkiss	Cork, Ireland	Dudley, Worcs.	East India Co. Pensioner	£120
James Johnson	Peterborough		Agric. labourer	£118 3s. 4d.
Ann Lawes	Salisbury	—		£102
John Orrell	Bermondsey		Plumber and painter	£84
William Robinson	Malton, Yorks.		Farmer of 4 acres	£93 9s. 5d.
Alexander Shaw	Scotland	—	Carpenter	£90
William Topp	Middlesex		Pawnbroker	£64
James Town	York	—	Gardener	£65
John Wallace	Hertfordshire		Gardener	£101
Hannah Ward	Yorkshire			£85
Robert West	York	—	Farmer of 4 acres	£65
Ann Wood	Scotland	—		£150

group whose previous status it is possible to discover, John Wallace, had been a landscape gardener employing several men.¹ Of the 'farmers' of 1851 who had not been bonus payers, Jeremiah Golding had been a bootmaker and William Hackett a 'gentleman'—though since Golding had bought

¹ *Worcestershire Chronicle*, 31 July 1850.

twenty-one acres and the Priory, and Hackett ten acres, they cannot be regarded as typical of the settlers.¹ On the other hand, one cannot even be sure that the 'agricultural labourers' of 1851 (two of whom were bonus payers and three not) had come from this class and had returned to it; it seems possible that they had been forced into it by the hard early years at Dodford. The non-agricultural occupations given for the settlers not in the list on p. 37, were those of mason (3), hatter, stone-miner, shoemaker, and brick-maker. They further support the impression that the settlers were artisans or from the lower middle class. This, one presumes, is what the *Worcestershire Chronicle* meant when it described them as "intelligent looking men, clean in person, and well-conducted in manner." Thirty years later the education, which the settlers had given to their children in Dodford, where there was no school till 1877, was commended.² The bonus system naturally operated to the disadvantage of the poor—as O'Connor had foreseen.

In the years immediately after 1851 many of the families recorded in the census schedules seem to have left; by 1865 only nineteen, fourteen of whom were allottees, are recorded in the local directory, though these figures may be an underestimate, since they take no account of the possible survival in the female line of families whose surnames were extinct. But in the years after 1865 the directories record a lower rate of departure: in 1876 seventeen of the 1851 families were still there, twelve of them allottees; there was a gradual drop thereafter and in 1905 the corresponding figures were five and five. These figures from an age of great geographical mobility probably reflect the undoubted prosperity that the Dodford settlement, alone among the land colonies, possessed from the 1860's to the First World War.³

II

In the 1880's and afterwards the five Chartist settlements were visited by several trained observers, whose detailed reports make it possible to trace their fortunes from the 1860's onwards. By 1880 the first settlement, O'Connorville at Herringsgate, near Rickmansworth, had largely ceased to be agricultural in nature and was "undergoing conversion to a town of suburban villa residences," for which the cottages had been altered and enlarged; tradesmen, city clerks, and retired people lived in them. In the one-time schoolhouse lived W. P. Roberts's widow. The minority of smallholders who remained were prosperous; the new suburb gave them a market for their fruit and vegetables and employment as servants. But the other four

¹ Local and Personal Acts 14 and 15 Vict. 1851, c. CXXXIX, Second Schedule.

² *Worcestershire Chronicle*, loc. cit.; F. Impey, *La Petite Culture*, 1883, p. 17.

³ *Bromsgrove Almanac and Directory*, 1865-1905 (annual volumes).

settlements were still agricultural, and three of them were decidedly poor. Between 1865 and 1875 the settlers at Snig's End had been fairly prosperous and there had been some demand for plots; newcomers had bought leases, mortgaging their plots to raise the £70 or £80 needed. But the smallholders' position was precarious and the coming of the agricultural depression hit them badly. They were too far from Gloucester for easy marketing, especially since, owning few horses, they had to hire carts. The soil was stiff clay, in need of draining. Fruit trees did not flourish. Pigs were kept, but the plots were too small for cows or sheep. "Contrary to O'Connor's calculations and expectations, it has been found impracticable to grow sufficient produce to feed them. They have a proverb there to the effect that four acres would starve a cow but fat a pig." The settlers were chronically short of manure, and though a lot of wheat was grown, it was valued chiefly for the straw. The staple crop was Magnum Bonum potatoes. The ground was prepared with a borrowed plough, or by a spade or a special two-tined fork. "In reply to our question as to the difference in the crop after ploughing or digging, he replied that 'the difference was very little'." In the early 1880's the most sanguine observer, C. D. Sturge, estimated the gross yield of a four-acre plot at £40 a year, and the net income from it at 11s. 6d. a week, including 1s. 6d. for the value of the cottage; local farm labourers were paid between 10s. and 12s. a week. Twelve of the plots had fallen into the hands of the mortgagees of the ground rents or the leases; they could not find tenants and the plots were vacant. About twelve smallholders were doing quite well still, but the two examples that Sturge quotes had other jobs as well: one was a weaver and the other a farm labourer, who regarded his plot merely as a supplement to farm work, which was hard to obtain. Andrew Doyle, gloomier than Sturge, put the number of unoccupied plots at twenty and emphasized the need for supplementary employment and the small size of the families who said they were doing well. "No one wholly dependent on a single allotment has succeeded in maintaining a family of children in anything like comfort." The reports from Lowbands a few miles away were very similar: the need for other employment in farm work, glovemaking, and weaving; the growing of potatoes; the poverty and the unoccupied plots. "Of those few who have struggled on for some time, it was generally the case that they had but small families. In reply to our questions one of them said, 'We live as hard as we can—can't see nohow that we can live nearer; that pig you see hanging there is for sale', and this was said with a tremulous voice and quavering of the lip which at once carried conviction of its truth."

At the Charterville settlement at Minster Lovell near Witney many freeholders and perpetual leaseholders had sold out their rights in the recent

past, in "the good times," to those whom Sturge called 'investors'. Smallholders rented plots from them on short leases; when the yield and price of potatoes had been high, for example in 1872, they had been willing to pay £14 a year for a four-acre plot and cottage, plus tithe at 5s. or 7s. an acre. But in the 1880's the yield of potatoes dropped owing to the blight, and the price dropped too. The lack of cows and sheep led to a shortage of manure and impoverishment of the soil, which gave poor yields of coarse wheat and barley; this was unsuitable for malting even if it could have been delivered to the warehouse. Minster Lovell was remote from good markets. The soil was tilled with a hired plough or a breast plough. In the 1880's the smallholders lived worse than those at Lowbands or Snig's End. Harwood gives details of the annual balance sheet of a perpetual lessee of a four-acre holding:

RECEIPTS		£	s.	d.
Wheat, 1 acre—3 qrs at 43s. 6d.		6	10	6
Potatoes, 1 acre—40 bags at 7s. 6d.		15	0	0
Beans and peas, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre—3 qrs at 40s.		6	0	0
Garden produce, etc., $\frac{1}{2}$ acre		5	0	0
Barley, 1 acre— $3\frac{1}{2}$ qrs at 30s.		5	5	0
Profit on pigs and fowls		5	0	0
		£42 15 6		
PAYMENTS		£	s.	d.
Ground rent		9	10	0
Tithe, rates, and taxes		1	10	0
Hire of plough—4 acres at 15s.		3	0	0
Hire of drill—2 acres at 6s.		12	0	
Help at harvest time		1	8	0
Repairs to premises, etc.		1	10	0
Seed		3	10	0
Interest on purchase of lease at 5% on £50		2	10	0
		£23 10 0		

The smallholder earned about 7s. 6d. a week and had a cottage. If he had owned his lease outright his weekly income would have been about 1s. more. Sturge quotes a balance sheet for a good year but his smallholder still earned only 8s. a week, plus 1s. 6d. for the value of the cottage, though he paid the high rent of £15 10s. The allotment holders at Minster Lovell found it hard to supplement their incomes because of the lack of demand for labour. "The style of living is evidently wretched. On our suggesting to one of the most prosperous of them that occasionally he indulged in a joint of butchers' meat,

he replied with emphasis, 'By gom, no! A butcher is never seen in this place'.¹

In his summing up on the land scheme Sturge argued that misfortunes that O'Connor could not have foreseen had combined to vitiate its merits: the blight had caused a drop in potato yields and the railways had failed to approach the settlements closely. The collapse of the land company had meant that the schoolhouses it had built were not used for education and the settlers were deprived of agricultural advice. "Consequently, the system of cultivation recommended by O'Connor has never been carried out, viz, a system of using the produce of the land for feeding purposes, and acquiring income by the sale of milk, sheep, and pigs, instead of by the produce itself." This passage is special pleading, since Sturge does not ask whether the potatoes and cabbages that O'Connor recommended as the chief food for the stock would in fact have been a satisfactory diet for them.² But Sturge admits the unsoundness of much of the scheme, and in particular the error of making the plots too small. Seven acres would have been a more suitable size: and on such a plot the rent of the cottage would not have formed so high a proportion of the rent. The Rev. H. C. Ripley, Vicar of Minster Lovell, argued that "four acres is far too small a piece of land for a man to get a living off, whilst it is too large for a man to unite with regular daily work, supposing the work could be had, but it cannot." The most severe critic of the land plan was Andrew Doyle, assistant commissioner to the Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of the Agricultural Interests. His attitude is reminiscent of J. S. Revans's before the select committee of 1848. "Smallholdings are obstacles to the progress of scientific agriculture;" the land scheme furnished "no reasonable ground of encouragement for projects of a similar character."³ But Doyle, significantly, did not go to Dodford, which would have shed a bright gleam over the sombre reports of Sturge and Harwood. Here was a Chartist settlement where in the 1880's men were making a moderate living from four acres. At Dodford, Doyle would not have been able to dismiss the land scheme as an entire failure.

III

In north central Worcestershire are areas of light soil which have proved very good for market gardening. Though Dodford lies very near these areas, its soil is very different—a stiff red clay derived from Keuper marl, very

¹ C. D. Sturge, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3; Sturge Coll.: vol. 2, pp. 4 *et seq.*, Alfred Harwood, 'Peasant Farming in England', Spring 1882, pp. 5-14; *Report of the Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of the Agricultural Interests*: C. 3375—III, H.C., 1882, xv, p. 72.

² F. O'Connor, *A Practical Work on the Management of Small Farms*, 3rd ed. 1846, pp. 153-4.

³ C. D. Sturge, *loc. cit.*, Harwood, *op. cit.*, p. 14; C. 3375—III, p. 73.

difficult to cultivate.¹ Local residents describe it as being like bricks in summer and a swamp in winter. Soil augerings reveal that it is very much leached and has only a shallow layer of humus.² To turn the heavy soil small-holders still use a 'Dodford digging fork' with three thick tines, first made for the Dodford settlers in the last century in Stourbridge.³ Before O'Connor bought the estate it had been held by a tenant farmer at the low rent of 14s. an acre; he failed to prosper. The first year at Dodford was very hard for the settlers: one of them, John Wallace, said that they had had only dry bread to eat. For some years afterwards they did badly too, growing cereals and potatoes. Many supported themselves at their old trades, at home or in Bromsgrove, and hired labourers to work their plots. Sturge calculates the yield of a four-acre plot at about £28 in the early years, "and when ground rent and taxes (about £8) were deducted, the occupier found himself in the condition of a labourer, living rent-free and receiving about 7s. 10d. a week. To this must be added, in most cases, a fat pig at Christmas, and a quantity of vegetables all year round."⁴

John Wallace realized that with careful treatment the heavy soil was suitable for the cultivation of strawberries and other market-garden crops: early in the 1860's their growing was begun at his suggestion. From then until about 1920 strawberries were the staple crop at Dodford; 'Joseph Paxton' was the favourite variety. "The land is very undulating, and on the high ground and in little vales between, and whatever the aspect of the slope—north, south, east, or west—strawberries are grown. From the high ground one can see acres of strawberries in full bloom." Gillyflowers were grown between the strawberries and were supplemented for the market with wild flowers collected by the children from the woods nearby. There were many fruit trees and bushes. Early peas, beans, and shallots were also grown, and for a time some garlic. This was sold to Lea and Perrins as an ingredient of Worcester sauce, but the other crops were sold in Birmingham, about thirteen miles away. The proximity of Birmingham and the Black Country was the great advantage that Dodford enjoyed over the other settlements. The strawberry crop was picked during July, with the help of domestic nail-makers and their families from the nearby villages of Sidemoor and Bourn Heath; about 1900 the pickers were paid 2s. 3d. for a nine-hour day. "On

¹ K. M. Buchanan, *Worcestershire*, 1944: part 68 of the *Report of the Land Utilization Survey of Great Britain* (ed. L. D. Stamp), pp. 483, 572.

² I am very grateful to Mr D. J. Davis of Bordesley Day College of Education for this information and for his advice in the preparation of this paper.

³ Information from Mr J. F. Dolphin of Dodford.

⁴ F. Impey, *loc. cit.*; *Worcestershire Chronicle*, *loc. cit.*; C. D. Sturge, *loc. cit.*

summer evenings one may see a procession of loaded carts making for the Midlands metropolis. Some of the people have their own horses, others keep their own carts and hire horses for a month or two in the summer, and some combine with their neighbours in getting to market. The produce picked in the day—the strawberries packed in oblong wooden boxes conveniently carried, as many as a hundred dozen pounds going on one cart—is started off about eight o'clock in the evening. The buyers are met in Birmingham market in the early hours of the morning, and the grower returns with the price of his produce—for all transactions are 'cash'—and gets to bed when the rest of the world is waking up." Between 1880 and 1910 the earliest fruit of the season fetched 10d. or 1s. a lb.; the price dropped to 2½d. later. On the second Sunday in July, when the best fruit had been picked, the growers held their 'Strawberry Wake', opening their plots to visitors, who were allowed to eat as many strawberries as they liked for 6d. each; there was trouble if they tried to carry any away.¹

Even at the end of the century almost all the plots were separately farmed; there had been few amalgamations. Few smallholders mortgaged their leases. Alfred Harwood, a cautious observer, found that the cottages he entered "exhibited a degree of comfort that almost amounted to luxury." To some extent this prosperity was the result of the other occupations with which the smallholders supplemented their incomes: some made nails; one made gunlocks for the Birmingham trade; another employed several assistants making bonnets; Alexander Shaw kept a grocer's shop and William Robinson made peg tops. The smallholders complained that their plots were too small. They needed six acres to keep a horse comfortably; not many kept cows and there was room for only a few pigs. To get a good strawberry crop from the heavy soil the smallholders usually spent large sums on manure, which had to be carted along bad roads for eight or more miles; one man spent at least £26 a year on manure. Some growers used large amounts of artificial fertilizer instead. Nevertheless, when all the qualifications are made, it is clear that after they turned to market gardening the Dodford smallholders earned higher incomes from their plots than those at the other settlements. About 1880 Sturge calculated the average gross income from an acre of strawberries, peas, or garlic at about £30, and the average net income for a four-acre plot, after all outgoings, at £45. When the

¹ Harwood, *op. cit.*, p. 8; *Bromsgrove Messenger*, 21 July 1900, 'The Dodford Settlement—the Garden of the Midlands'; Birmingham Reference Library: Cotton Collection of material relating to the history of Bromsgrove: vol. 62, p. 199, newspaper cutting (1885); H. E. H. Icely, *Bromsgrove School through Four Centuries*, 1953, pp. 98–9; Information from Mr S. Bird of Dodford.

leases of the plots were sold, they fetched £300 or £400 in the 1880's and in one case £500.¹

The prosperity of Dodford and the moral qualities that independence had allegedly brought to its smallholders were held up by Jesse Collings and his Birmingham associates in the 1880's to show that the extension of peasant holdings was desirable. Dodford was a weapon in the battle for three acres and a cow. Collings argued that Dodford kept twenty people in poverty in the 1840's and 200 in prosperity in the 1880's: "these small cultivators are only acquainted with poor rates from the fact that they have to pay them. What I want to see, and what the working classes, if they are wise, will insist on securing, is that there should be three or four thousand Great Dodfords in England." Dodford also figured greatly in *La Petite Culture* (1883), one of the many pamphlets and articles on the land question written by Frederic Impey, the first Secretary of the Allotments and Small Holdings Association. This association was established in 1883, with its head office at 95 Colmore Row, Birmingham. Jesse Collings was its first President. At the Conservative dinner in Bromsgrove during the 1885 election campaign several speakers attacked Collings's plans as a plot to encourage Radicalism. To this Alexander Shaw replied that the settlers were proud of their Radicalism: "at election times the great majority marched under a banner with the inscription 'Dodford Independent Electors. Ready? Yes, Always Ready'." They had campaigned against church rates. "For this and suchlike doings they were dubbed by a neighbouring parson as the 'rag, tag and bobtail'."²

Early in this century all the Chartist settlements were visited by L. Jebb, collecting information for the Co-operative Small Holdings Association. Herringsgate was "entirely residential", Snig's End and Lowbands unprosperous. The men at Minster Lovell were doing better than they had done in the 1880's; they mostly grew potatoes and barley for sale and some produce was sold in Bristol. Ten acres were, however, regarded as necessary for a full living, except for those few settlers who were growing market-garden crops for sale in Witney. A few years earlier M. Sturge Henderson had also found Minster Lovell prosperous as compared with former times. Jebb evidently regarded Dodford as the most successful settlement but thought its future uncertain. In recent years many of the plots had been

¹ *Bromsgrove Messenger*, loc. cit.; C. D. Sturge, loc. cit.; Harwood, op. cit., pp. 8-9; *Bromsgrove Almanac and Directory*, 1875; Sturge Coll.: vol. 1, pp. 131-2, letter from F. Impey (1882); Cotton Coll.: vol. 62, p. 198, letter from Jesse Collings (newspaper cutting, 1885); Information from Mr J. F. Dolphin.

² Cotton Coll., loc. cit.; and vol. 62, p. 279, letter from Alexander Shaw (newspaper cutting, 1885); F. Impey, *Small Holdings in England*, 1909, pp. 2, 5.

bought by "Birmingham manufacturers, as a speculation." They were mostly letting them to smallholders at higher rents, £5 an acre being usual, than the ground rents paid by the original lessees. No doubt this was partly a reflection of the profitability of the plots: but "there were many complaints about the low prices paid for strawberries as compared with former times." Dodford had never faced competition from strawberry growers in Evesham and the south because their seasons were largely over when Dodford's began. In the 1890's, however, Worcestershire County Council began allotments for unemployed nailmakers at Catshill, two miles north of Dodford; strawberries were the major crop at Catshill; grown on lighter soil, they reached their peak slightly earlier than Dodford's and forced the price down. Ironically, the inception of the Catshill allotments was a result of the smallholdings movement whose arguments had drawn strength from the success of Dodford.¹

The Dodford growers were prosperous again during the war, when the greatest part of the strawberry crop was sold to Cadbury's for jam for the army; Dodford residents like to believe that the jam was reserved for officers. After 1918, however, the old economy collapsed; the last Strawberry Wake was held in 1922. There were many reasons. Many plots were bought as rural retreats by Birmingham people uninterested in strawberries. The use of artificial fertilizers produced by 1920 a decline in the quantity and quality of the crop. For several seasons viruses attacked the plants. The death of domestic nailmaking meant the disappearance of the picking force. Above all, the opening of Austin's motor factory at Longbridge, only nine miles away, meant that the Dodford men could earn there a minimum of 25s. a week as against the 16s. paid to labourers on the plots and the little more earned by the smallholders themselves.² Many of the inhabitants of the Chartist bungalows at Dodford work at BMC today. The fruit trees remain but there is only one quarter-acre of strawberries and the plots are largely uncultivated: though the caravans on one provide a belated vindication of O'Connor's claim that it is possible to live like a prince on the product of four acres.

¹ L. Jebb, *Small Holdings in England*, 1907, pp. 124 *et seq.*; pp. 350 *et seq.*; M. Sturge Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxfordshire*, 1902, p. 176; Jesse Collings, *Land Reform: Occupying Ownership, Peasant Proprietary, and Rural Education*, 1906, pp. 213 *et seq.*; R. C. Gaut, *A History of Worcestershire Agriculture and Rural Evolution*, 1939, pp. 368-9; Information from Mr J. F. Dolphin.

² Information from Mr S. Bird and Mr J. F. Dolphin.

Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture 1850-80: a Summary

By E. H. WHETHAM

THE discussion on this topic between Dr E. L. Jones and Mr E. J. T. Collins, on the one hand, and Dr R. W. Sturgess on the other,¹ has reached a point where a summary from a third party may perhaps be useful.

Dr Jones and Mr Collins maintain that the changes which occurred on the clay soils of England after 1840 were neither as extensive nor as important as those which raised the output of the light soils in the preceding fifty years. This judgement of relative importance, which will command general assent, is followed by attempts to prove that field drainage, the main technical improvement in this period for the clay soils, was useless and unproductive, and that clayland farms showed virtually no increase in production in this period. Here surely the authors do protest too much, for, as Dr Sturgess comments, their quotations supporting these arguments could be matched by others proving the opposite, and there is a sad lack of statistics.

Drainage. If field drainage was unproductive and unprofitable, why was £12 million of public money borrowed for it by landowners and farmers between 1850 and 1873? Admittedly some schemes were badly planned and executed and quickly became ineffective, but on at least one estate tile drains of nineteenth-century pattern were still discharging water in the 1930's. Contemporary literature comments on the improved state of the land after drainage, and it seems silly to argue that the operation had no effect on productivity. Apart from schemes financed privately,² the total area drained with the help of public loans in this period was not large—between two and three million acres—and this certainly does not compare with the area of light land brought under high cultivation by the turnip and the folded flocks, but it was an improvement of importance.

¹ E. J. T. Collins and E. L. Jones, 'Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, xv, 1967, pp. 65-81; R. W. Sturgess, 'The Agricultural Revolution on the English Clays', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, xiv, 1966, pp. 104-21, and xv, 1967, pp. 82-7.

² The Hope family spent about £2,500 on tile drains for their East Lothian farm, of which one-third was boulder clay.—*Jnl Roy. Agric. Soc.*, xiv, 1853.

Claylands. Dr Jones and Mr Collins state that "ever since the middle of the seventeenth century English farming had been afflicted by a laggard clayland sector" (p. 81), and that "the clayland tenantry were notoriously impoverished at the start of the third quarter of the nineteenth century" (p. 74). These sweeping generalizations show the confusion which results from using aggregates such as light land and clayland—loose descriptions of soils each supporting a variety of enterprises, both arable and grass. There is also a confusion between absolute productivity on different soils at any one time, and trends in productivity over time, which seem the main point of the present argument. During the Napoleonic Wars, farmers on the chalk and gravels learnt how to obtain an increase in output by raising the level of inputs, and their enterprises could more easily be adapted to the post-war depression since they combined grain and livestock. The heaviest midland clays give high yields of grain under thorough cultivation, which involves high costs; because of their inflexibility, these farms which flourish in war-time tend to go into grass when grain prices fail to provide profits. But the lighter the clay, the more flexible its economy, and to argue that clay farms everywhere showed no increase in output after 1840 ignores the variety of improvements available to arable farmers on all soils—guano, superphosphates, cattle cake, purer seeds, better implements. It ignores, as Dr Sturges points out (p. 83), the rise in cattle numbers in almost every county, surely a sign of rising productivity.

Dr Sturges rightly disclaims the title of 'impoverished tenantry' for the dairy farms in the north and west, blessed with an annual rainfall of 40 inches or more. This section of farming certainly saw great changes in the period under discussion, including improved techniques in cheese-making, the use of purchased feeds, and the use of rail transport. 'Railway milk' was being sold in London and the northern towns before the cattle plague of 1866; by 1880, milk was flowing into London from the clay soils of Wiltshire and Buckinghamshire, and even from the vales of Derbyshire;¹ the composition of the cattle population was changing in consequence.² Dr Jones and Mr Collins dismiss all these changes as "unsatisfactory adaptations to the swings in the market" (p. 81); yet in the 1880's, it was the grasslands of the north and west which supplied the men and the capital for the derelict farms of East Anglia, and that trend implies previous profits.

Finally, changes in costs cannot be dismissed by an index of weekly wages, in a period which saw the mechanization of the grain and hay harvests, to

¹ E. H. Whetham, 'The London Milk Trade, 1860-1900', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, xvii, 2nd ser., 1964, p. 370.

² C. S. Orwin and E. H. Whetham, *History of British Agriculture 1846-1914*, pp. 137, 358.

mention only the most important economy in labour. Perhaps agricultural historians might refer more often to the map of Farming Types published by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1941, which employed all the letters of the alphabet and still failed to describe the variety of English farming. The patches on that map indicate the areas which might now be taken as units for the further study of agricultural history in the nineteenth century.

NOTES AND COMMENTS *continued from page 14.*

(95616), a new bibliographical guide compiled by James H. Shideler and Lawrence B. Lee. The guide, *A Preliminary List of References for the History of Agriculture in California*, was a co-operative project of the Agri-

cultural History Center and the Agricultural History Branch of the Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and was published in June 1967.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

W. G. Hoskins was formerly Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford, and is now Hatton Professor of English History and Head of the Department of English Local History, University of Leicester. He is the author of many books, including *The Midland Peasant*, *The Making of the English Landscape*, and, his latest work, *Fieldwork in Local History*.

John Rowe is Senior Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Liverpool. His main field of research has been British emigration overseas, more particularly from south-western England. He has written monographs on the period of the industrial revolution in Cornwall and on the emigration of Cornish miners to America.

P. Searby is Senior Lecturer in History at

Coventry College of Education. He is the author of a short book on the Chartist movement and of several papers on nineteenth-century political history. At present he is working on the history of Victorian Coventry.

Colin Thomas is lecturer in Historical Geography at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. He was formerly at Leicester University and the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham.

Miss Edith H. Whetham was formerly Visiting Professor in Agricultural Economics, Ahmadu Bello University, Northern Nigeria; sometime Gilbey Lecturer in the History and Economics of Agriculture, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Newnham College.

An Early West-Country Sheep Farmer in Australia

By JOHN ROWE

THE unhappy decades through which British farming passed after Waterloo ended the long French Wars also saw the emergence of south-eastern Australia as the wool-farm of Britain. The development had begun even in the days when British settlements in Australia had been limited to convicts and their guardian jailers. Once Merino and other good wool breeds proved successful in Australia, and once explorers had revealed the lush grazing country in parts of the Murray-Darling valley, emigrants began to go to what was now hopefully designated *Australia Felix* to mark it off from convict-tainted Botany Bay and Van Diemen's Land. Many of them were farmers, like the Henty family of Sussex¹ but there were others who went out intent on following a pastoral career, and one of them was a naval lieutenant, James Ross Lawrence, who for some years had been the Preventive Officer at Looe in Cornwall, a fishing port that had its fair proportion—if not more—of those who had a constitutional aversion to paying the customs and excises demanded by H.M.'s revenue service.

Lawrence seems to have left to "superintend a very extensive sheep station near Melbourne", where he arrived in April 1842. In September 1843, a letter he had written to a female relation or friend was published in the *Exeter Flying Post*,² with some editorial prefatory remarks indicating that "several persons have gone to the Colony at the request and under the advice of Lieutenant Lawrence, and all are doing well," and that since free emigration to 'Port Philip' had been resumed

Lawrence's letter was likely to be of interest to "many among our Western readers [who] may probably be directing their attention to the subject," i.e. of emigration. The editor pointed out that the letter contained much "interesting information" about the climate, soil, natural productions, and mode of life of the settlers, and then directed the reader's attention to Lieutenant Lawrence's statements with regard to the "miserable servants the settlers are obliged to put up with, and would take this opportunity of reminding respectable and industrious persons in that station of the comfortable homes and very good wages which are awaiting them at the hands of their countrymen in the above fine Colony."³

Lawrence wrote: "My new occupation began in April last. The dray⁴ drawn by eight fine oxen arrived at Melbourne the 25th March and on the 27th I started with my bedding and boxes by that conveyance." He did not mention that this was the beginning of the antipodean autumn, but went on: "We were a week on the road; and every night I stretched my bed on the grass, and enjoyed sleep in a manner you people of England can hardly imagine, not having the least idea of the climate we have."

It is possible that the former lieutenant regarded the ox-wagon transport as somewhat old-fashioned; in the country he had left horse carriages had long been the most general mode of transportation and were, in fact, already being superseded by rail. Pioneering in colonial communities inevitably involved some considerable sacrifice of

² *Exeter Flying Post*, 14 September 1843.

¹ M. M. Bassett, *The Hentys*, Oxford, 1954.

³ i.e. 'Port Philip'.

⁴ Bullock-dray transport is briefly mentioned by A. Barnard, *The Australian Wool Market, 1840-1900*, Melbourne, 1958, pp. 50, 81, 182.

the comforts and amenities of civilization; and on his arrival at the 'station' or farm, Lawrence found: "a hut constructed of slabs and covered with bark, ready for my reception; one apartment serves for parlour and kitchen, the other as a bedroom. My first care was to look to the sheep, which numbered then two thousand four hundred, and I found them as fine as any I have seen in the Colony; very soon we had a large increase for the lambing season had begun. I have often seen as many as nine hundred lambs at their gambols and on many occasions have I stopped my horse to witness their innocent frolics."

For some reason the ex-seafarer did not indicate to the western farmers who read the *Exeter Flying Post* why, on this sheep station, autumn and not spring was the lambing season. The most likely explanation of this fact is that in this district sheepmen had taken advantage of the long breeding season of the Merino to arrange lambing for autumn to benefit from richer spring grazings following winter rains, so avoiding the rare and thin pickings that resulted from the over-prevalent summer droughts. It is, however, just possible that these sheep, like Lawrence, were fairly recently arrived British 'immigrants' and it would take a few seasons to change their lambing season to the more general time of spring (September).¹ Nor does Lawrence anywhere make the slightest suggestion that drought was a bugbear to the sheep-keepers of *Australia Felix*; pioneers in that region had, it is obvious, arrived during a moist climate cycle; later arrivals were to be less fortunate. The only thing that struck Lawrence as being somewhat 'extraordinary' was that he himself "brought up to employment so opposite should feel an interest in sheep, but some way or other I liked it directly after I arrived, and that liking has increased to such a degree, that if they were to offer me the best appointment the Colonial Government could give, I would reject the offer, preferring wool growing to any other occupation. I may say generally that *I rise with the ewe and go to*

bed with the crow; indeed our whole life is as near a return to the good old customs of by-gone years in England, as the difference of climate will admit; and as our drink, except in time of sheep-washing, is tea or water, we are a sober, steady sort. I have two fine horses, one for saddle or harness, the other I generally ride."

Possibly the convivial assemblies of sheepmen when flocks were brought together to be washed preparatory to shearing,² a practice that does not seem to have been particularly necessary in Australia and which, in fact, has largely died out in Britain since 1914, reminded Lawrence of features of the 'free-trade' profession which it had formerly been his business, as a preventive officer, to suppress. Pioneer existence in the Australian 'bush', however, may well have been more staid and sober than one would expect; certainly it lacked the Bacchanalian undertones of the rum-sodden jailers and convicts of Botany Bay a generation earlier and of gold miners a decade or so later.

In any event farmers with an eye to quicker and more substantial profits have tended to be rather more inclined to temperance than the majority of men. At the time Lawrence was writing such material prospects, indeed, were glowing for "We have had very good success in lambing, numbering now about three thousand eight hundred, and we gather like snow balls as we go. I expect that next month and April will add a thousand more, and eventually it will be a concern which will pay more handsome interest for the money than anything at home—like any business commenced in England, of course, all at first is outlay, but after the two first years I shall send home a good return. I feel the deepest interest in the undertaking, and devote all my time and attention to it; but in fact the duties are a pleasure, and I am heartily glad that I have exchanged the sea for a land life."

The figures that Lawrence gives might give rise to some speculation and queries by English sheep-farmers. His first flock in-

¹ I am indebted to Dr M. L. Ryder for information on Australian sheep-breeding seasons.

² A. Barnard, *The Australian Wool Market*, p. 15.

crease, apparently by lambing and not by additional purchase, from 2,400 to 3,800, would have been good in any wool-producing flock when there was little if any mutton-market to cull off surplus male sheep. A third of Lawrence's original flock may well have been under breeding age; he almost certainly had less than a hundred working rams and for fifteen hundred ewes to produce fourteen hundred lambs on the extensive grazing ranges of Australia at that time would have been excellent indeed. Yet one is left to surmise why, in the coming season, Lawrence expected a lamb crop of only a thousand, which would not be an excessive increase to expect in Australia from fourteen or fifteen hundred breeding ewes.¹

Lawrence, however, was going in, naturally enough on a pioneering frontier, for self-sufficing husbandry. Some types of livestock were liable to be more troublesome than others, while certain crops were prolific and others unexpected failures. He wrote: "I have two cows (both yielding milk, and I get now cream butter as well as milk) besides a heifer calf, a pretty young creature, and three steers that will certainly come in as yokers [i.e. as draught animals]. I have abundance of fowls, and therefore obtain eggs as I want them, and yesterday I found two broods of young ones, one six, the other eight. Immediately after my arrival, I set to work, putting up a fence to enclose about an acre as a garden, the fence was of a fashion I had seen in America, which, without nails, was nevertheless pig-proof; begging of one and borrowing of another, I got together a goodly variety of seeds, and planted at the proper season, peas, beans, onions, carrots, turnips, cabbages,

etc. etc. All I planted came to great perfection, except my carrots, which went to seed; peas I had plenty of, and my onions, although put in without manure of any sort, grew to a very large size, and were almost as mild as the Portuguese onions; cucumbers I have also had abundance of, and with a flavour I never yet met with in England. My melons are just getting ripe. The castor-oil plant, which is a beautiful one, has grown to great perfection, and my Indian corn grew to ten feet, but was blighted and is useless to the purposes intended, namely my fowls, who, ever and anon, fixed many a longing look at the stalks as they were advancing to maturity."

In Lawrence's new Eden, however, the ideal female element was lacking. He described "having plenty of vegetables, the richest milk which, in the hands of a Devonshire or Cornish woman, would turn out *scald cream butter*, not to be excelled by either of the counties; also mutton, which I would challenge England to surpass. You would conclude that my living is of no ordinary kind; but unfortunately the cook is wanting, for although, as an Irish woman, the bullock-drivers' wife is about the best importation from the Emerald Isle, still a girl of your training at the age of ten years would have considerably more of housewifery than she. This woman attends upon me, and notwithstanding I have scolded her into habits somewhat more cleanly than were at first exhibited, still she is brutally ignorant of those duties so well understood by English women. What would you think of a woman—a married woman—deficient in the knowledge of salting meat? Why, there were three of these Irish married women here at one time, and not one

¹ The annual 'lamb-crop' almost defies generalization. Normally in Britain a ewe has one or two lambs, but triplets are fairly common. Fertility varies with particular breeds and crosses, but over and above this must be reckoned lamb—and ewe—survival and mortality. Although Australian climatic conditions on the whole must be regarded as decidedly more favourable than those in England, this may have been offset by less attention being given to larger flocks throughout the entire breeding season while certain breeds, including the Merino, are much less prolific than others. In Victoria at this time it seems that an average of 8 lambs per 10 breeding ewes would not be excessively prolific; Arthur Young in his *Survey of the Agriculture of Norfolk* (1803) mentions that in some of the early years of the century one flock of 160 'New Leicesters' produced only 100 lambs, whereas a Southdown flock of 630 produced 830 as against another 'crop' of 645 lambs being borne by a flock of 600 ewes. For the object of prolificacy in Australian sheep *vide* R. H. Watson, 'Reproduction in Sheep' in *The Simple Fleece*, ed. A. Barnard, pp. 67 *et seq.*, Melbourne, 1962, while the topic in England is briefly treated by J. F. H. Thomas, *Sheep*, 1946 edition, pp. 58–60.

of them could cure a bit of mutton, and I was actually compelled to seek the assistance of men to do it for me. Where such is the case, you may easily imagine how great the destruction is in a warm climate, and there is more wasted in the shape of mutton taking all the Port Philip district together, than would be required to feed the whole of the poor in the Western counties. As I looked more narrowly into things than many other persons in charge of stations, perhaps there was less[waste] here than in many other places; but this was owing to my mollying, as I made the pickle myself after the same manner as well as I could remember you adapted. About a month since I called at a station, and there were two whole sheep just throwing away to the dogs that had spoiled from mismanagement; the fact was they were killed about sunrise, and every effort to make the meat take the salt of a hot day was unavailing, and the whole stank aloud. I always kill *after* sunset, and salt *before* sunrise the following morning. A more kindly climate cannot be found, for whether one is wet or dry—sleeping in the open air or under cover—disease appears to keep aloof, and, in fact, I have arisen from the grass of a morning as much refreshed as I ever did from the softest bed old England ever found me.”

Lawrence then proceeded to praise the ‘simple’ pastoral life, marred, however, slightly by the ignorance of his Hibernian housekeeper: “As to clothes, we require very little here, and thanks be, the quality is of no consequence, for there are neither forenoon or afternoon visits to be made, excepting to the sheep; and they don’t appear to care if I appear before them without a coat—an article, by the way, which I wear about once in three months. I had a pair of worsted stockings, good everywhere except in the heels, and I gave the Irishwoman, mentioned in another part, some worsted, requesting she would mend them. Judge my surprise, when instead of worsted, I found a piece of black cloth let in after the manner you would patch a pair of trousers; the truth was, she did not understand darning, so I removed the cloth and darned them myself.”

The one-time sailor then proceeded to pen one of the most lyrical accounts of *Australia Felix*, and this was probably the main reason his letter was communicated to and published in the Exeter paper—to promote emigration to the future colony of Victoria by agriculturists and agricultural workers of south-west England.

“On the banks of the Murray, which I visited the other day,” he wrote, “although during the very height of summer, the grass was as green as a leek, and, notwithstanding my horse stands fifteen hands high, in some places it was a foot and a half above her head—the earth a deep black mould, I sat down, struck a light, and commenced smoking, whilst the horses began eating, and filled themselves without moving two yards; it was a delightful day, for although the rays of the sun were ardent, and the sky cloudless, yet a refreshing breeze was blowing from the southward, and all nature was smiling round me. How happy might a family man be here, who had the means of building and cultivating; here every necessity in the shape of food for men, as well almost every luxury, might be raised in the greatest abundance; the water of the Murray, with that of the Goulburn, equals any either of Millbrook or the two Looes, and fish of various sorts, all excellent (we caught fourteen and made a gridiron of green sticks to broil them on), with lobsters, shrimps, and mussels, are all plentiful.

“The Fort Philip district has sufficient rain, as not a crop has yet been lost from drought. Our last spring, tell all my farm friends with kind remembrance, was as fine and growing a one as was ever experienced in Cornwall. The weather alternating between sunshine and shower in a climate genial as ours; everything grows with astonishing rapidity, and my peas were up and ripe in a crack. This sort of weather continued until the wheat required no more rain; the operations of agriculture in places remote from towns are carried on in so slovenly and careless a manner that the results do not fairly test the capabilities of the land; if we had such men as GR working out here, an acre would

carry what two can hardly now perform, everything in this country will be very cheap from the great abundance—butter, which formerly made 2s. 6d. per lb. is now 1s., and so of everything else including bread.”

Possibly neither Lawrence nor the lady to whom he wrote realized the ominous note his closing lines struck. The Old Country was

suffering and enduring what became notorious as the ‘hungry forties’. *Australia Felix* plunged into a slump before the end of the year in which Lawrence wrote, and a season or two later the antipodean flockmasters could get only a monetary return from their sheep by slaughtering them off and boiling them down for tallow.⁴

⁴ S. H. Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia*, pp. 234 *et seq.*; E. O. G. Shann, *An Economic History of Australia*, pp. 105 *et seq.*

Books Received

BARLEY, M. W., *The House and Home*. Vista Books, 1963. 208 pp. 35s.

DAVIES, G. D. D. and DUNFORD, W. J., *A Social and Economic Survey of County Council Small Holdings in East Devon*. Dept. of Agric. Economics, Exeter University, 1966. 62 pp.

Ekistics. Reviews on the Problems and Science of Human Settlements, vols. 22, no. 133, 1966, and 23, nos. 134, 135, 1967. Athens Centre of Ekistics of the Athens Technological Institute.

EVANS, GEORGE EWART, *The Horse in the Furrow*. Faber, 1967. 292 pp. 12s. 6d.

Exposición Internacional de Revistas. Facultad de Letras de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1964. 82 pp.

MEIBURG, CHARLES O., *Factor Costs of U.S. Agriculture, 1940-62*. Food Research Institute Studies, Stanford University, California, U.S.A., 1965. 29 pp. \$1.00.

RUSSELL, REX C., *The Church of England and the Provision of Elementary Education. A History of Schools and Education in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, 1800-1902, Part 3*. County Offices, Lincoln, 1967. 104 pp. 6s. 9d. post free.

SCHULTZ, THEODORE W., *Transforming Traditional Agriculture*. Yale Univ. Press, 1964. 212 pp. 45s.

SMITH, LOUIS, P. F., *Comparison of Certain Finance Costs in Agriculture. Ireland and European Economic Community, 1961*. Dept. of Economics, University College, Dublin, 1965. 78 pp. 7s. 6d.

List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since September 1966¹

Compiled by H. A. BEECHAM

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

- ALLCHIN, B. *The stone-tipped arrow: late stone-age hunters of the tropical old world*. Phoenix House. 1966.
- ALLISON, K. J., BERESFORD, M. W., and HURST, J. G. *The Deserted Villages of Oxfordshire*. Dept. of Eng. Loc. Hist., Occas. Paper, No. 17, Leicester U.P. 1965.
- ALLISON, K. J., BERESFORD, M. W., and HURST, J. G. *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire*. Dept. of Eng. Loc. Hist., Occas. Paper, No. 18. Leicester U.P. 1966.
- BEDINGTON, A. L. *A cartulary of Creak Abbey*. Norf. Rec. Soc., vol. xxxv. 1966.
- BELL, P. (ed.). *Bedfordshire wills, 1480-1519*. Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc., vol. xlv. 1966.
- BILL, P. A. *The Warwickshire Parish Clergy in the later Middle Ages*. Dugdale Soc. Occas. Paper, No. 17.
- BIRCHENOUGH, E. and J. *The Manor House, Lee, and its associations*. Borough of Lewisham, Town Hall, London, S.E.6. 1966.
- BOULTON, H. E. (ed.). *The Sherwood Forest Book*. Thoroton Soc. Rec. Ser., vol. xxiii. 1965.
- BOWEN, E. G., and GRESHAM, C. A. *History of Merioneth, vol. I. From the earliest times to the age of the native princes*. Merioneth Hist. and Rec. Soc.
- BROOKS, F. W. *Domesday Book and the East Riding*. East Yorks. Loc. Hist. Soc., Purey Cust Chambers, York. 1966.
- BUCKINGHAM, C. *Lydden: a parish history*. Thomas Becket Books, Wellington House, Lydden, Dover, Kent.
- CAMPBELL, F. E. *Stewponey Countryside*. 25 Bridgnorth Rd, Stourton, Worcs. 1966.
- CASH, M. *Devon inventories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. Dev. & Corn. Rec. Soc., vol. xi. 1966.
- CAWSTON, E. P. *A complete description and history of Battle Abbey & Monastery, Gateway, & Church of Saint Mary through the ages, 1066-1966*. East Surrey Authors' Conclave, 62 Battle Rd, St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex. 1966.
- CHALLINOR, J. *A dictionary of geology*. 3rd ed. Wales U.P., Cardiff.
- CHIBNALL, A. C. *Early Taxation Returns: Taxation of Personal Property in 1332 and later*. Bucks. Record Soc., vol. xiv. 1966.
- CLARK, G. *The Stone Age hunters*. Thames & Hudson.
- COWE, F. M. (ed.). *Wimbledon Vestry Minutes, 1736, 1743-1788*. Surrey Rec. Soc., vol. xxv. 1964.
- CROKER, J. W. *The Croker Papers: 1808-1857*. New and abridged ed. by B. Pool. Batsford.
- DAVIS, K. R. (ed.). *The Story of Potters Bar & South Mimms*. Herts. Urban District Council, Darkes Lane, Potters Bar, Herts.
- DE L'ISLE MANUSCRIPTS. *Report on the manuscripts of the Right Honourable Viscount De L'Isle preserved at Penshurst Place, Kent. vol. 6: Sidney Papers, 1626-1698*. Ed. G. D. Owen. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Publication No. 77. H.M.S.O. 1966.
- DICKINSON, P. G. M. *The history of Chaureth*

¹ The date of publication is 1967 unless otherwise stated.

- Green from the time of Domesday Book, 1086, and of Cherry Green Farmhouse and the houses round the Green from 1450.* County Records Dept., County Buildings, Huntingdon. 1966.
- EAST SUSSEX COUNTY RECORD OFFICE. *The Danny archives: a catalogue.* Ed. J. A. Wooldridge. East Sussex County Council, County Hall, Lewes, Sussex. 1966.
- ESSEX COUNTY RECORD OFFICE. *The face of Essex.* Essex County Council, Chelmsford.
- FARR, B. *The Rolls of Highworth Hundred, 1275-1287. Pt I. Introduction. Text: 1275-1281.* Wilts. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. XXI. 1966.
- FARRIES, K. G., and MASON, M. T. *The Windmills of Surrey and inner London.* Skilton.
- FILMER, R. M. *A chronicle of Kent, 1250-1760.* 12 and 13 Bow Lane, London, E.C.4.
- FINN, R. W. (comp.). *Domesday Book: a collection of contemporary documents.* Cape.
- FLETCHER, A. *Elizabethan village: illustrated from contemporary sources by A. Whiteley.* Longmans.
- FORMAN, S. *Scottish country houses & castles.* Collins.
- FRIERN BARNET. *A short History of the parish of Friern Barnet.* Church Publishers, Ramsgate, Kent.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *The English Dairy Farmer, 1500-1900.* Cass. 1966.
- GLOUCESTERSHIRE COMMUNITY COUNCIL, LOCAL HISTORY COMMITTEE. *I remember—social life in Gloucestershire villages, 1850-1950.* Community House, College Green, Gloucester, 1966.
- GOODSALL, R. H. *A Kentish Patchwork.* Constable. 1966.
- GREAT BRITAIN. HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Right Honourable Lord Sackville of Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent, 1597-1603, vol. 2: Letters relating to Lionel Cranfield's business overseas, 1597-1612.* Ed. F. J. Fisher. H.M.S.O. 1966.
- GREAT BRITAIN. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Elizabeth I. vol. 5: 1569-1572.* H.M.S.O. 1966.
- HAMPSHIRE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S INSTITUTES. *It happened in Hampshire...* comp. by W. G. Beddington, and E. B. Christy, 4th ed., 66a High Street, Winchester. 1966.
- HART, C. E. *Royal Forest: a history of Dean's Woods as producers of timber.* Oxford, Clarendon P. 1966.
- HART, C. R. *The early charters of eastern England.* Leicester U.P. 1966.
- HAVINDEN, M. A. (ed.). *Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire, 1550-1590.* Oxfordshire Rec. Soc., vol. XLIV. 1965.
- HAVINDEN, M. A., THORNTON, D. S., and WOOD, P. D. *Estate Villages, a Study of the Berkshire Villages of Ardington and Lockinge.* Lund Humphries for Univ. of Reading. 1966.
- HEARNE, T. *The remains of Thomas Hearne: Reliquiae Hearniana; being extracts from his MS diaries.* Comp. by J. Bliss, revised by J. Buchanan-Brown. Centaur Press. 1966.
- HEMBRY, P. M. *The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1540-1640: social and economic problems.* Athlone P.
- HEWITT, H. J. *Cheshire under the three Edwards.* History of Cheshire Series, vol. 5. Ed. J. J. Bagley. Cheshire Community Council, Westergate House, Watergate, Chester.
- HILL, O., and CORNFORTH, J. *English country houses: Caroline, 1625-1685.* Country Life. 1966.
- HILTON, R. H. *A medieval society: the West Midlands at the end of the thirteenth century.* Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- HODGETT, G. A. J. *Agrarian History in the later Middle Ages.* Aids for teachers series, No. 13. Historical Association. 1966.
- HORN, B. L. H. (ed.). *Letters of John Ramsay of Ochertyre, 1799-1812.* Scott. Hist. Soc., 4th ser., vol. III. 1966.
- HOWSE, V. M. *Stanford-in-the-Vale: a parish record. Pt 4.* Rosemary House, Stanford-in-the-Vale, Faringdon, Berks.

- HUDLESTON, C. R. (comp.). *List of the Howard family documents relating to Northumberland, formerly at Naworth Castle, now deposited in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic*. Durham University. South Road, Durham.
- JACK, R. I. (ed.). *The Grey of Ruthin valor: the valor of the English lands of Edmund Grey, Earl of Kent, drawn up from the minister's account of 1467-8*. Sydney U.P., Methuen. 1965.
- JANSSON, S. B. F. *Swedish Vikings in England: the evidence of the Rune stones*. H. K. Lewis, for Univ. Coll. London.
- JEFFERIES, R. *Hodge and his masters*. MacGibbon & Kee. 1966.
- JOBSON, A. *In Suffolk borders*. Hale.
- KERR, B. *Dorset cottages*. Dorset Nat. Hist. & Arch. Soc. 1965.
- LEWIS, F. *A history of Rainham, with Wennington and South Hornchurch*. P. R. Davis, 62 Billet Lane, Hornchurch, Essex. 1966.
- LINCOLN, E. F. *The Heritage of Yorkshire*. Oldbourne.
- LONDON, SCIENCE MUSEUM. *Agriculture: hand tools to mechanization*. H.M.S.O.
- MARSHALL, S. *Fenland Chronicle: recollections of William Henry and Kate Mary Edwards*. Cambridge U.P.
- MASON, J. F. A. *William the First and the Sussex rapes*. Historical Assoc., Hastings and Bexhill Branch, 11 Kingswood Ave., Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex. 1966.
- NEALE, K. J. *Chingford in History: the story of a forest village*. Chingford Historical Society, 98 Coolgardie Ave., London, E.4.
- OSBORNE, A. L. *The 'Country Life' pocket guide to English domestic architecture*. Country Life.
- RICHES, N. *The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk*. 2nd ed. With a new bibl. note by W. H. Chaloner. Cass.
- ROPER, M. (ed.). *Feet of Fines for the County of York from 1300 to 1314*. Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser., vol. CXXVII. 1965.
- SEARLE, E., and ROSS, B. (eds.). *The Cellarers' Rolls of Battle Abbey, 1275-1513*. Sussex Rec. Soc., vol. LXV. 1966.
- SHEPPARD, J. A. *The draining of the marshlands of South Holderness and the Vale of York*. East Yorks Loc. Hist. Soc. 1966.
- SMITH, A. H. *The Place-names of Westmorland, Pt I*. Eng. Place-name Soc., vol. XLII.
- SMITH, A. H. *The Place-names of Westmorland, Pt. II*. Eng. Place-name Soc., vol. XLIII.
- SOMERVILLE, A. *The autobiography of a working man*. Ed. J. Carswell. New ed. MacGibbon & Kee.
- THIRSK, JOAN (ed.). *The agrarian history of England and Wales, vol. IV, 1500-1640*. Cambridge U.P.
- WILLIAMS, C. H. (ed.). *English Historical Documents, vol. 5, 1485-1558*. Eyre and Spottiswoode.
- WORTH, R. H. *Dartmoor: compiled from the published works of the late R. Hansford Worth*. Ed. G. M. Spooner and F. S. Russell. David & Charles.

ARTICLES

- ABBOT'S HALL MUSEUM. *An Introduction to the Collections of the Abbot's Hall Museum of Rural Life*. Suffolk Review, vol. III, no. 5, pp. 1-28.
- AYDELOTTE, W. O. *The Country Gentlemen and the Repeal of the Corn Laws*. Eng. Hist. Rev., vol. LXXXII, no. 322, pp. 47-60.
- BAKER, A. R. H. *Evidence in the 'Nonarum Inquisition' of contracting arable lands in England during the early fourteenth century*. Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. XIX, no. 3, 1966, pp. 518-32.
- BAKER, A. R. H. *Some evidence of a reduction in the acreage of cultivated lands in Sussex during the early fourteenth century*. Sussex Arch. Colls., vol. CIV, 1966, pp. 1-5.
- BAPTIST, M. *Eighteenth-century maps and estate plans of Bromley, Beckenham, and Penge*. Arch. Cant., vol. LXXXI, pp. 31-8.
- BARTYS, J. *English and Scottish Farmers in Poland in the first half of the nineteenth century*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XV, 2, pp. 88-102.
- BECKWITH, I. *The remodelling of a common-*

- field system. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xv, 2, pp. 108-12.
- BELLAMY, C. V. *Excavations at Stockton in the West Riding of Yorkshire*. *Yorks. Arch. Jnl*, vol. xli, 1966, pp. 701-8.
- BENNEL, J. E. G. *The manor of the vicarage of Chalfont St. Peter*. *Records of Bucks.*, vol. xvii, 5, 1965, pp. 392-402.
- BLENCH, B. J. R. *Seaweed and its use in Jersey*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xiv, 2, 1966, pp. 122-8.
- BOURKE, P. M. A. *Notes on some agricultural units of measurement used in pre-famine Ireland*. *Irish Hist. Studies*, vol. xiv, no. 55, 1965, pp. 236-45.
- BRITNELL, R. H. *Production for the market on a small fourteenth-century estate*. *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xix, no. 2, 1966, pp. 380-7.
- BROWNSDON, T. E. *An historical note on Manx agriculture*. *Isle of Man Nat. Hist. & Ant. Soc. Proc.*, vol. vii, no. 1, 1966, pp. 5-12.
- CANTOR, L. M., and WILSON, J. D. *The medieval deer parks of Dorset, VI*. *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. & Arch. Soc.*, vol. lxxxviii, pp. 176-85.
- CLARK, H. H. *The origin and early history of the cultivated barleys. A botanical and archaeological synthesis*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xv, 1, pp. 1-18.
- CLARK, J. D. *Radiocarbon dating and the expansion of farming culture from the Near East over Europe*. *Proc. of the Prehistoric Soc.*, new ser., vol. xxi, 1965, pp. 38-73.
- COATES, B. E. *The origin and distribution of markets and fairs in medieval Derbyshire*. *Derbs. Arch. Jnl*, vol. lxxxv, 1965, pp. 92-111.
- COLEMAN, D. C. *The 'Gentry' Controversy and the Aristocracy in Crisis, 1558-1641*. *History*, vol. li, no. 172, 1966, pp. 165-78.
- COLLINS, E. J. T., and JONES, E. L. *Sectoral advance in English agriculture, 1850-80*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xv, 2, pp. 65-81.
- COOK, L. *Report on the Abbey Cwm Hir estate 1822, II*. *Radnorshire Soc. Trans.* vol. xxxvi, 1966, pp. 56-9.
- COULL, J. R. *A comparison of demographic trends in the Faroe and Shetland Islands*. *Inst. Brit. Geog. Trans.*, No. 41, pp. 159-66.
- DAVIS, R. *The rise of Protection in England, 1669-1786*. *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xix, no. 2, 1966, pp. 306-17.
- DODD, J. P. *South Lancashire in transition, a study of the crop returns for 1795-1801*. *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancs. & Cheshire*, vol. cxvii, 1966, pp. 89-107.
- DODWELL, B. *Holdings and Inheritance in medieval East Anglia*. *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xx, no. 1, pp. 53-66.
- DOUGLAS, M. *Inventory of Eatons, 1687*. *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. xvi, no. 9, pp. 289-96.
- DULLEY, A. J. F. *Four Kent towns at the end of the Middle Ages*. *Arch. Cant.*, vol. lxxxi, pp. 95-108.
- DYMOND, D. P. *Suffolk and the Compton Census, 1676*. *Suffolk Rev.*, vol. iii, no. 4, 1966, pp. 103-18.
- DYMOND, D. P. *Suffolk in the 1840's: the employment of women and children in agriculture*. *Suffolk Rev.*, vol. iii, no. 2, 1965, pp. 16-20.
- ERIXON, S. *The age of enclosures and its older traditions*. *Folk Life*, vol. iv, 1966, pp. 56-63.
- EVANS, B. M. *Sources for the study of the history of Welsh agriculture*. *Amateur Historian*, vol. vii, no. 5, pp. 154-60.
- EVERITT, A. *Work in Progress*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xiii, 2, 1965, pp. 116-25.
- EVERITT, A. *Work in Progress*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xv, 2, pp. 113-26.
- FAIRLIE, S. *The nineteenth-century Corn Law reconsidered*. *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xviii, no. 3, 1965, pp. 562-75.
- FAITH, R. J. *Peasant families and inheritance customs in medieval England*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xiv, 2, 1966, pp. 77-95.
- FIELD, R. K. *Worcestershire peasant buildings, household goods, and farming equipment in the later middle ages*. *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. ix, 1966, pp. 105-45.
- FOX, K. O. *An edited calendar of the first Brecknockshire Plea Roll of the Courts or the King's Great Sessions in Wales, July,*

1542. Nat. Lib. of Wales Jnl, vol. xiv, no. 4, 1966, pp. 469-84.
- FRASER, D. *Nottingham and the Corn Laws*. Trans. Thoroton Soc., vol. LXX, pp. 81-104.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *A Common Market of ideas. The sixteenth century farming encyclopedists*. Library Review, vol. XXI, 2, pp. 77-80.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Farming systems of the classical era*. Technology and Culture, vol. VIII, 1, pp. 16-44.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Knowlson's Nostrums*. M. & B. Veterinary Review, vol. XVIII, 4, pp. 74-7.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Ploughs and ploughing before 1800*. Agric. Hist., vol. XL, no. 3, 1966, pp. 177-86.
- GODWIN, H. *The Ancient Cultivation of Hemp*. Antiquity, vol. XLI, no. 161, pp. 42-9, and no. 162, pp. 137-8.
- GRIFFITHS, G. M. *Glimpses of Cardiganshire in sessions records*. Ceredigion, vol. v, no. 3, 1966, pp. 264-79.
- GWYNNE, M. D. *The possible origin of the dwarf cattle of Socotra*. Geogr. Jnl, vol. CIII, 1, pp. 39-42.
- HARRIS, A. *A note on the ridge-and-furrow controversy*. The Amateur Historian, vol. VII, no. 3, 1966, pp. 95-8.
- HARVEY, J. H. *Cartographical Survey of the area: Thomas Clay's Great Bookham plan, 1614-1617*. Proc. of the Leatherhead & District Loc. Hist. Soc., vol. II, no. 10, 1966, pp. 281-3.
- HOLMES, M. *Local archives of Great Britain: XXIX*. The Dorset Record Office. Archives, vol. VII, no. 36, 1966, pp. 207-14.
- HORN, P. *The Evenley Strike in 1867*. Northants. Past & Present, vol. IV, no. 1, 1966, pp. 47-50.
- HOWELL, D. W. *The economy of the landed estates of Pembrokeshire, c. 1680-1830*. Welsh Hist. Rev., vol. III, no. 3, pp. 265-86.
- JENKINS, J. G. *Technological improvement and social change in South Cardiganshire*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XIII, 2, 1965, pp. 94-105.
- JENKINS, J. G. *Traditional Methods of Dyeing Wool in Wales*. Folk Life, vol. IV, 1966, pp. 64-74.
- JESPERSEN, A. *Watermills on the River Eden*. Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland, vol. XCVII, 1966, pp. 237-44.
- JOHNSON, J. H. *Harvest migration from nineteenth-century Ireland*. Inst. Brit. Geogr. Trans., no. 41, pp. 97-112.
- JONES, D. J. V. *Distress and discontent in Cardiganshire, 1814-1819*. Ceredigion, vol. v, no. 3, 1966, pp. 280-9.
- KERRIDGE, E. *The Manorial Survey as an historical source*. Amateur Historian, vol. VII, no. 1, 1965, pp. 2-7.
- LEWIS, G. J. *The Demographic structure of a Welsh rural village during the mid-nineteenth century*. Ceredigion, vol. v, no. 3, 1966, pp. 290-309.
- LOYD, T. H. *Some documentary sidelights on the deserted Oxfordshire village of Brookend*. Oxoniensia, vols. XXIX/XXX, 1966, pp. 116-28.
- LOUGHBROUGH, B. *An account of a Yorkshire Enclosure—Staxton, 1803*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XIII, 2, 1965, pp. 106-15.
- MARTIN, J. M. *Landownership and the land tax returns*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XIV, 2, 1966, pp. 96-103.
- MARTIN, J. M. *The Parliamentary enclosure movement and rural society in Warwickshire*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XV, 1, pp. 19-39.
- MUMFORD, W. F. *Terciars on the estates of Wenlock Priory*. Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc., vol. LVIII, 1, pp. 68-76.
- NAPOLITAN, L. *The centenary of the agricultural census*. Jnl Roy. Ag. Soc. Engl., vol. CXXVII, 1966, pp. 81-96.
- NEWTON, S. C. *The gentry of Derbyshire in the Seventeenth Century*. Derbys. Arch. Jnl, vol. LXXXVI, 1966, pp. 1-30.
- PATMORE, F. W., FINCHER, R., and SUMMERS, N. *Hoveringham water mill*. Trans. Thoroton Soc., vol. LXX, pp. 71-80.
- PEARCE, S. V. *A medieval windmill, Honey Hill, Dogsthorpe*. Proc. Cambridge Ant. Soc., vol. LIX, 1966, pp. 1-32.
- PHILIPS, W. S. *Brook House Farm, Chigwell*. Trans. Essex Arch. Soc., vol. 1, pt 4, 3rd ser., 1965, pp. 221-38.
- PITTENGER, E. M. *Books on Agricultural His-*

- tory published in 1964. *Agric. Hist.*, vol. XL, no. 3, 1966, pp. 211-18.
- PUGH, R. B. *The structure and aims of the Victoria History of the Counties of England*. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, vol. XL, no. 101, pp. 65-73.
- RATCLIFFE-DENSHAM, H. B., A., and M. M. *Amberley Mount: its agricultural story from the late Bronze Age*. *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, vol. CIV, 1966, pp. 6-25.
- ROBERTS, W. O. *Tithe schedule for the Parish of Llangwnadl*. *Caernarvonshire Hist. Soc. Trans.*, vol. XXVII, 1966, pp. 107-29.
- ROBERTSON, I. M. L. *Changing form and function of settlement in South West Argyll, 1841-1961*. *Scottish Geogr. Mag.*, vol. LXXXIII, 1, pp. 29-45.
- ROWLEY, R. T. *The Clee Forest—a study in common rights*. *Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc.*, vol. LVIII, 1, pp. 48-67.
- RYDER, M. L. *A note on sheep shearing stools*. *Folk Life*, vol. IV, 1966, pp. 15-21.
- RYDER, M. L. *Some eighteenth-century Shetland wool*. *Scottish Studies*, vol. x, 2, 1966.
- SANDRED, K. I. *On the terminology of the plough in England*. *Studia Neophilologica*, vol. XXXVIII, 1966, pp. 323-38.
- SAYERS, J. E. *A record of the Archbishop of Canterbury's feudal rights*. *Jnl Soc. Archivists*, vol. III, no. 5, pp. 213-21.
- SCARFE, N. *Markets and Fairs in Seventeenth-century Suffolk*. *Suffolk Review*, vol. III, no. 2, 1965, pp. 11-15.
- SIDDLE, D. J. *The rural economy of medieval Holderness*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. XV, 1, pp. 40-5.
- SINAR, J. *The Derbyshire Record Office*. *Derbs. Arch. Jnl*, vol. LXXXV, 1965, pp. 119-22, and vol. LXXXVI, 1966, pp. 88-91.
- SMOUT, T. C., and FENTON, A. *Scottish agriculture before the improvers—an exploration*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. XIII, 2, 1965, pp. 73-93.
- STURGESS, R. W. *The agricultural revolution on the English clays*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. XIV, 2, 1966, pp. 104-21.
- STURGESS, R. W. *The agricultural revolution on the English clays: a rejoinder*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. XV, 2, pp. 82-7.
- SUTTON, J. E. G. *Ridge and Furrow in Berkshire and Oxfordshire*. *Oxoniensia*, vols. XXIX/XXX, 1966, pp. 99-115.
- SWALES, T. H. *The redistribution of the monastic lands in Norfolk at the Dissolution*. *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. XXXIV, 1, 1966, pp. 14-44.
- TATE, W. E. *Short Guides to Records: 14. Enclosure Awards and Acts*. *History*, vol. LI, no. 172, pp. 179-82.
- THOMAS, C. *Estate surveys as sources in historical geography*. *Nat. Lib. of Wales Jnl*, vol. XIV, no. 4, 1966, pp. 451-68.
- THOMPSON, F. M. L. *The social distribution of landed property in England since the sixteenth century*. *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. XIX, no. 3, 1966, pp. 505-17.
- TUBBS, C. R., and JONES, E. L. *The Distribution of gorse in the New Forest in relation to former land use*. *Papers & Proc. of Hants. Field Club & Arch. Soc.*, vol. XXIII, 1, 1964, pp. 1-10.
- TURNOCK, D. *Evolution of farming patterns in Lochaber*. *Inst. Brit. Geogr. Trans.*, no. 41, pp. 145-58.
- WACHER, J. *Excavations at Riplingham, East Yorkshire, 1956-7*. *Yorks. Arch. Jnl*, vol. XLI, 1966, pp. 608-69.
- WHITTINGTON, G. *Land utilization in Fife at the close of the eighteenth century*. *Scottish Geogr. Mag.*, vol. LXXXII, 3, 1966, pp. 184-93.
- WHITTINGTON, G. *Towards a terminology for strip lynchets*. *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vol. XV, 2, pp. 103-7.

The Peers and the Provinces

By ALAN EVERITT

REVIEW ARTICLE OF LAWRENCE STONE, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965. xxiv+842 pp. £5 5s.

NOT many years since, those of us accustomed to frequent the Public Record Office sometimes used to look up, during weary moments with our own documents, and marvel at the insatiable energy of a well-known figure in the Round Room. It was Professor Stone. Interminable rolls, files, boxes, and volumes were brought up and examined with unrelenting enthusiasm and bewildering speed. It was an educational experience merely to look on. The fruit of these labours is now before us in a volume of more than 800 pages. Probably not for a long time has so much research been put by one English historian, working unaided, into a single book. The author tells us that he has scanned six miles of Close Rolls alone, and scoured the archives of seven dukes, four marquesses, thirteen earls, one viscount, and four barons, not to mention those of mere baronets and squires. Such facts are enough to humble those of us engaged in less exalted projects. They make us marvel at a display of learning at once so formidable in its range, so fecund in its ideas, so voluminous in its detail, and so persuasive in its presentation.

Professor Stone moves with consummate ease from social mobility to the inflation of honours; from the biology of decay to estate management; from sexual morality to religion; from questions of law and credit to details of munitions, duels, leases, coalmines, feudal incidents, agricultural improvements, iron smelting, fen drainage, urban development, joint-stock companies, court attendance, diplomatic missions, gambling, love-matches, and tombs. There are particularly fascinating descriptions of the world of the London moneylenders (pp. 532-8); of the

orgiastic eating habits of noble households (pp. 555-62); of the art-collecting of the Caroline peers (pp. 718-21); of the ideals governing relationships between landlord and tenant (pp. 303-7); and of the notable part of the aristocracy in financing maritime ventures, furthering metropolitan development, and exploiting the iron industry (pp. 371-2, 357-63, and 344-52). Some of the chapters in the book would have been considerable pieces of research if published alone. Taken together they provide us with a unique panorama, not only of the financial problems of the aristocracy, but of their whole manner of life. Indeed, the greatest point for praise in the book is the fact that the author refuses to see the 'crisis of the aristocracy' merely in economic terms, and studies it as the consequence of a great variety of forces, sociological and anthropological as well. This crisis he describes as one of the three main causes of the "socio-political breakdown of 1640-2," the other two being the decline in respect for and obedience to the monarchy and the failure of the Church of England to be adequately comprehensive (pp. 12-13). Quite clearly we have in this volume a very considerable addition to our knowledge of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Yet I am not altogether happy about *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*. One turns to criticism with hesitation, the more so because the shadows of doubt which will from time to time arise are often dispelled by the author's powers of persuasion and his formidable learning. Yet there is a danger of being dazzled by the pyrotechnics and abandoning a sense of proportion. I do not myself feel convinced that the crisis was quite so catastrophic as the author appears to think, or that it was quite so central to the issues fought out in the Great Rebellion. Was the economic

position of the aristocrats of the kingdom, taken by themselves, quite so dramatic as a study on this scale seems to imply? The problem is complicated by the fact that the author is not always consistent in his use of the term 'aristocracy'. As he frankly admits, he sometimes uses it—quite legitimately—to include untitled members of the court *élite* and the greater country landlords as well as the peerage (p. 2). Most of the voluminous (and often fascinating) statistical evidence which forms the framework of the book, however, relates to noblemen alone, so that it is important to see the peers' stake in the landed wealth of the kingdom in perspective.

Some tentative figures for a single county may help to keep a sense of proportion. A provisional analysis of the income of 135 landed families in Kent about 1640 shows that the average income of the peers was £4,089, of baronets £1,405, of knights £873, and of the untitled gentry £270. In the county as a whole there were 10 peers, 31 baronets, 50 knights, and about 750 untitled gentry. Of the total landed wealth of the shire, then, it appears that the peers, baronets, and knights as a group each received about 12 or 13 per cent, and the untitled gentry as a whole about 61 per cent.¹ How far do these figures represent conditions in England generally? No very positive answer, of course, is possible. At the time the wealth of the gentry in Kent was regarded as proverbial, though in fact it was not very dissimilar, class for class, to that of landowners in Yorkshire or in such counties of the Lowland Zone as Suffolk and Northamptonshire.² There were certainly more baronets and knights in Kent than in most counties; but the number of peers was

also exceptionally great. In proportion to the size of the shire, on the other hand, the total number of minor gentry was not very different from that of other lowland counties, for example Suffolk, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Somerset.³ It is possible, then, that these figures were not wholly untypical and that the peerage in 1640 did not hold more than about one-eighth of the landed wealth of the kingdom as a whole.⁴ This is one of many points raised by this volume on which more local research is necessary before definite answers can be advanced.

What disturbs me in the book, however, is not simply a doubt about the magnitude of the crisis. Too frequently a certain tendency to exaggeration seems to mar other important topics upon which the author has so much that is illuminating to say. I found some of his comments and assumptions about life in the provinces, in particular, quite misleading. It is true that he is not primarily concerned with rural conditions; but they form the background to much that is advanced in this volume. Many statements specifically relate to country magnates, and in fact most of the peers themselves need to be regarded as provincial grandees as well as courtiers—more so, I think, than Professor Stone sometimes allows. To anyone at all acquainted with the half-lights of local history and the confusion of motives involved in most historical movements in the provinces, the conclusions which the author draws from the evidence sometimes seem over-dramatized and his psychological analysis excessively simplified and unsympathetic. So many things are described in such words as immense, extravagant, appalling, magnificent, astonishing, or

¹ For the basis and sources of these figures see my book *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60*, 1966, pp. 41, 329. Absolute accuracy cannot, of course, be claimed for them, but I think they provide a reasonably reliable guide to the scale of income in Kent. Professor Stone (p. 762) calculates the average net income of the peerage in 1641 as £5,040. In Kent this would give the nobility 15 per cent, instead of 12 per cent, of the total landed income of the county.

² *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, xxxiv, 1961, p. 106; Alan Everitt, *Suffolk and the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660*, Suffolk Records Soc., III, 1960, p. 16. There is a good deal of useful evidence of the estimated incomes of gentry in the biographical section of M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament, 1640-1641*, 1954.

³ But in the much larger county of Yorkshire there were only 679 gentry in 1642, on Dr J. T. Cliffe's computation.—*Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, xxxiv, 1961, p. 106.

⁴ This, of course, is at the end of Professor Stone's period of crisis. But according to his figures (p. 762) by that date the average net income of the peers, in real terms, had regained its 1559 level.

crazy that, if not stunned into acquiescence, one begins to wonder whether they were really quite so novel or unparalleled.

For example, while granting the copious evidence of violence and ill health in the sixteenth century, were people really always "so exceedingly irritable," with their nerves "perpetually on edge, possibly because they were nearly always ill" (p. 224)? There is a natural weakness among diarists to fill their pages with tales of misery and misfortune rather than the ordinary routine of life. Epistolary evidence, in the nature of things, tends to be pathological. But even so I cannot say I have found these statements altogether verified in the diaries and family correspondence that I am familiar with. Again, while there may be much to indicate an "explosive demand for office" after 1585 in contemporary manuscript lists of offices and fees, of which 60 are said to exist, one wonders how it is possible to know that such lists "found their way into *almost every* substantial country house in England" (p. 467: my italics). Or again, while no one who has worked on English trade is likely to idealize the Tudor and Stuart merchant, one wonders if he really always "spent his life in cut-throat competition, squeezing the last penny out of every one with whom he came in contact. . ." (p. 47). Even merchants, occasionally, seem to have been human. Or yet again, after a colourful account of the violence, murders, and pitched battles of noble families and their retainers who "lived perpetually in the precincts of war," it is disconcerting to find on a later page—where it becomes necessary to point a contrast—that apparently this fighting "was not much more dangerous than all-in wrestling" (pp. 227–34, 242). Which view is correct?

Similar defects mar Professor Stone's remarks about 'status'. Obviously the concern for social standing was a primary preoccupation of the period, although in the provinces it was often, I think, as much passive and traditional—a determination to preserve the

family's *status quo*—as dynamic and aggressive. There is a good deal of truth in the old gibe that the history of England is the history of snobbery. The Jacobean prodigy houses like Hardwick and Wollaton bear witness to it in its most extravagant guise. The total of £92,000 said to have been spent upon two Kentish mansions alone—Cobham Hall and Hothfield Place—was no doubt largely dedicated to the desire to impress.¹ Yet the mania for status is a theme and motive which Professor Stone perhaps tends to overplay. Is it not sometimes possible to discern beyond the snobbery of a Cobham or Hardwick something of "that restless and unsleeping sense of beauty" of the period?² Apparently not. These "white elephants" were merely put up "to demonstrate status," "to satisfy a lust for power," or to sublimate "thwarted political ambition." "Miserable to live in," erected at "appalling cost," and "hideous inconvenience," these "fantastic edifices still lie heavily about the English countryside like the fossilized bones of the giant reptiles of the Carboniferous Age" (pp. 551–3). All very amusing, and not altogether unjustifiable; but betraying, perhaps, a certain lack of balance, and an insensitivity to the genius of the age.

The truth is that the whole question of 'status' or 'standing' in this period has to be viewed in relation to the needs and functions of society as a whole as well as from the viewpoint of individual motive. Phrases like conspicuous consumption, social prestige, status-symbol, acquisitive process, and power *élite*—which we all sometimes find convenient, and which occur in this book perhaps too frequently—are not sufficient to explain it. After all, in our day, even that horrid status symbol, a prestige office-block, is not built *merely* to impress the public, or entirely apart from use and purpose. Similarly in the seventeenth century the function of a country house was not always merely that of a status symbol.

The famous Jacobean 'prodigy houses' of the English countryside, such as Cobham and

¹ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 555; Everitt, *Community of Kent*, p. 29.

² Cf. A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*, 1964 edn, p. 5.

Hardwick, can in fact be rather misleading in this connexion. Most of the aristocracy did not inhabit such palaces. Many of the country houses of the time—in some counties, such as Suffolk, Kent, and Leicestershire, the vast majority—were not mushroom growths of this kind, entirely newly created and unrelated to their environment. They were rambling, patchwork affairs which had grown up gradually with the centuries; they were still intimately bound up with local society, and were essentially expressions of a changing but still traditional and generally accepted authority. Such houses as Scots' Hall and Penshurst Place in Kent, or Nevill Holt in Leicestershire, of many dates and styles from the fourteenth century onwards, were in fact far more typical of the provincial magnate's home than the much-trumpeted Wollatons and Burghleys of the Midlands. They were more usually, it is true, the homes of middling and major gentry than of peers. Yet many of the peers, too, were country magnates as well as courtiers. Their expenditure, as Dr Mingay has remarked of the aristocracy of the following century, "was not all sheer extravagance and waste, for it was closely linked with the political and governmental system, as well as with the social structure. Probably only a minority of landlords relished ostentation as an end in itself. The more discerning saw it to be inherent in their social position and political functions, something essential to their role in society. . ."¹ Whether we like it or not, the country houses of many of the Jacobean aristocracy were centres of those 'county commonwealths' which went to make up the community of the realm. They need to be studied from this point of view, as well as from that of their significance in the history of class conflict.

A kindred topic on which Professor Stone is sometimes misleading, as well as often penetrating, is the hypersensitivity of the age

to 'reputation' (p. 42). To say that "active personal occupation in a trade or profession was generally thought to be humiliating" (p. 39) and that "buying and selling on the internal market was petty huckstering, and beneath the dignity of a gentleman" (p. 336) is really too *simpliste* a view of this sensitivity. No doubt such views were prevalent among the peerage; but Professor Stone extends them to the aristocracy generally. I grant his illustrative examples; I admit that many country gentlemen would have subscribed to such opinions after 1660; and some of his references (e.g., on p. 40) in fact relate to the latter half of the seventeenth century. Before 1640, however, in many parts of England, it was not in the least unusual for gentry to have business connexions, to attend fairs and markets in person, and to keep careful accounts of the buying and selling of cattle and corn from their own farms. In Suffolk leading gentry such as the Barnardistons, and in Kent families like the Twysdens and Tokes, were frequently to be seen on market days in the streets of Bury St Edmunds, Ashford, and Maidstone. In Leicestershire, according to Defoe about the turn of the century, "most of the gentlemen are graziers, and in some places the graziers are so rich that they grow gentlemen. . ."² In Northamptonshire, with its exceptional proportion of new families—usually more crusty over status than the old—the connexion between the gentry and trade was perhaps less manifest. Yet, quite as often as in other counties, the younger sons of Northamptonshire families like the Knightleys, Norwiches, Pickerings, Thorntons, Thursbys, and Scattergoods became merchants, goldsmiths, grocers, drapers, stationers, and chandlers. The position of these sons in the hierarchy was always subordinate to that of the family head; but I very much doubt if they brought any sense of humiliation to their parents.³

¹ G. E. Mingay, *Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 1963, p. 161.

² Everitt, *Suffolk and the Great Rebellion*, pp. 17–18; *Community of Kent*, p. 28; Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through England and Wales*, Everyman edn, 1959, II, p. 89.

³ Cf. Alan Everitt, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, no. 33, April 1966, p. 68. Professor Stone admits (p. 40) that in the later seventeenth century younger sons of magnates

The development of the family as a circle of authority, affection, and education is one of the most notable themes in the social history of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries. It was closely connected with the growth of domestic pietism in England, not only amongst Puritans, where it is well known, but amongst Anglicans too, especially during the years of eclipse in 1642-60—a fact which is too little recognized. The development of home life in this period is indeed a theme which needs far wider and more scholarly investigation than it has yet received. For this reason Professor Stone's suggestive pages about the domestic life of the peerage are especially welcome. Particularly valuable is the way in which he traces, more fully than his predecessors, the increasing emphasis on privacy and intimacy, the withdrawal of the family from the hall to the great chamber and dining-room, and the growth in "humanity and respect for the individual" in the 1630's-50's (pp. 669, 651).

Unfortunately, from time to time suspicions once again creep in that the pattern of change and the human motives behind it have been strangely simplified and uncomfortably forced into a statistical strait-jacket. Possibly conditions amongst the nobility were so different from those among other landed magnates, with whose papers I am more familiar, that one's doubts are unfounded. It may be true among the peerage that "the number of unions of stepchildren suggests that mothers who remarried were dangerously ready to surrender their children to the family of their new husbands" (p. 604). But is it not possible to find more various causes at work? Certainly one sometimes can amongst the leading gentry in the provinces: the young people's propinquity, for example, and a parent's not inhuman desire to provide for a daughter's future. And is the evidence really sufficient to give a valid statistical answer to the question whether parents and children "put money before other considerations" in choosing a partner (p. 617)? Apparently it is. The author

calculates that between 1600 and 1659 34 per cent of the older peerage married heiresses, compared with only 20 per cent in 1540-99. We are then asked to believe that it was financial embarrassment that actuated them, and that it drove them into "a far more single-minded pursuit of wealthy marriages than had previously been their custom." Possibly; in some cases certainly; but it seems a hazardous conclusion when so baldly put. May not chance or affection have occasionally played a part, or even a larger supply of heiresses? And what about the 66 per cent who even in 1600-59 did *not* marry heiresses? Our intellectual Fonthills, it seems, are sometimes built on slender foundations.

One of the predominant themes running through this book is the polarity between 'Court' and 'Country'. The subject is an important one, and Professor Stone has brought together a vivid miscellany of facts in illustration of it. We all know that in Charles I's reign the court nobility lived in a different world from that of the country gentry: the one rooted in London and some kind of service, real or supposed, to the state, the other in the shires and some kind of service to the parish or county. The wealth of evidence adduced in these pages goes far to explain why the animosity between the two, under the Stuarts, became so acute. Yet as one reads on it becomes clear that the author's analysis lacks the subtleties, the lights and shades, of real life. Professor Stone proves his point that respect for the peerage in general was on the decline. It is indisputable that the fear of court popery was widespread, at least in the more puritanical areas. But so far as opinion in the counties I have studied is concerned, it is going much too far to say, without qualification, that "Because so many peers were Catholics, suspicion was thrown upon the class as a whole," or that "sexual licence became ineradicably associated with the aristocracy and with the Court" (pp. 743, 668). Similarly, though I think that attempts to prove that the Rise of the Gentry was an illu-

were put out to trade, but he thinks this can "hardly be regarded as more than a very trifling shift of opinion."

sion are misguided,¹ it seems to me very unguarded to say that most of the greater gentry "were second- or third-generation *nouveaux-riches*" (p. 184). In some counties, such as Northamptonshire, many of them were; but this was far from being universally true.

Again, the inflation of honours under James I was no doubt a disgraceful development; yet it is an over-simplification to say, *tout court*, that "the squirearchy were furious at having to give way to a mob of knights often of low birth and mean estate" (p. 124). Some honours undoubtedly were bestowed on unworthy families, and everywhere one can find a few vociferous malcontents, like the Weltons and the Sedleys in Kent, enraged by any exaltation of their neighbours. Yet in general the peerages, baronetcies, and knighthoods, at least in the midland, southern, and eastern counties I am familiar with, were bestowed on the more prominent and well-endowed local families: Twysdens, Tuftons, Sidneys, Barnardistons, Knightleys, Norwiches, Derings, and Oxindens, for example. Or once again, though it is true that in Charles I's reign "the country gentry continued to put up their conventional, comfortable Jacobethan houses as if these revolutionary buildings [of Inigo Jones] did not exist," can it really be demonstrated that they did so because they "associated Inigo Jones with the popery, tyranny, and vice which they believed to be the predominant characteristics of the Caroline Court" (p. 712)? No doubt some of them did so; but it is an interesting fact that in one county where a number of novel and palladian houses were erected in the early seventeenth century, several were built by families notably hostile to the Court, like the Sedleys of St Clere. For such provincial people there is no reason to think that artistic predilection always immediately earthed to political prin-

ciple or religious prejudice. Was there any reason why it should do so?

I am afraid, however, that the author's impressions of English provincial life seem to me to lay too much stress on its relations with the Court. In fact, except in time of crisis, antagonism to the Court was rarely more than a latent force in the countryside at large: a force that sometimes manifested itself vigorously during critical periods like 1640-2, but one that did not normally engross the provincial mind in the way some historians have supposed. Quite certainly one cannot make any simple identification of the divisions of the Great Rebellion with those between 'Court' and 'Country' before 1640, since much of the deepest 'country'—in the north, the south, and Wales—in so far as it supported any party, supported the king. Equally certainly it is a mistake to identify the views of 'the Country', as Professor Stone sometimes seems to, with those of the little oligarchies of puritanical and politically minded families, like the Cromwells and Hampdens, or Pym and Warwick, whose passionate discontents fixed their minds on the misdeeds of St James's. Such groups did not represent the general sense of 'the Country', even amongst the gentry, except possibly in parts of East Anglia. The pressure of events in the 1630's drove many provincial gentry, it is true, into temporary alignment with them, just as events drove provincials into alignment with the Cavaliers in 1659-60. But the brevity of the union, in each period of crisis, showed that there was little fundamental agreement between these various sections of society. As the real divisions of the community emerged during the Civil War, and as the counties either endeavoured to stand neutral or split up on lines often cutting across the Court-Country cleavage, it became evident that these puritan family-cliques were no more

¹ But the figures cited by Professor Stone on p. 67, indicating the numbers of gentry, seem to be rather questionable. I am not altogether clear what significance he sees in the fact that after 1660 over 400 people in Kent were summoned to prove their claim to bear arms. But certainly this figure does not mean that there were 400 newcomers in the county since the previous visitation of 1619. The Heralds' Visitations are in fact of little use for estimating the number of gentry in many counties. In Kent they include neither all the gentry nor all the newcomers. Many old families ignored the Heralds' summons altogether, although many others attended their sessions; there is in fact no consistent pattern.

representative of provincial feeling as a whole than were the Court cliques of 1603-40, or the Cavalier groups of 1659-60.

Provincial life in general was, quite simply, interested in other things. Politics only touched the fringes of it, only concerned it spasmodically, only converted a minority of its inhabitants into implacable partisans. For the country gentry of the Northamptonshire uplands, for the yeomen of the Weald, for the townsmen of Leicester, for the farming squires of the south-west, for the husbandmen of the Yorkshire dales—the kind of people who really *were* 'the Country'—Westminster was usually only at the periphery of existence. After all, it would have taken most of them two or three days to reach it by any ordinary conveyance. It was the ploughing, reaping, cheese-making, marketing, weaving, building, tanning, and brewing by which they lived, and all that web of personal life that held their families and society itself together, that occupied the thoughts of provincial people in general. Yet in the long run their very remoteness from politics had a profound effect on the political history of the kingdom. For it was usually the disturbance of the routine of country life that made them intervene in times of crisis. And ultimately it was the sheer intractability of local society that defeated Cromwell, as it had defeated Charles I.

Closely connected with the antagonism between Court and Country, though essentially distinct from it, was that between the metropolis and the provinces. On this topic Professor Stone has some important evidence to add to Professor F. J. Fisher's familiar article on 'The Development of London as a Centre of conspicuous Consumption'.¹ The number of mercers in the capital, for example, is said to have risen from 30 to 300 in the second half of the sixteenth century, and by 1618 there were no fewer than 148 foreign tailors

in the metropolis. "The phenomenal growth of London was largely due to its unique role as a centre for luxury goods and professional services—doctors and lawyers, actors and bear-wards, drapers and silkmen, scriveners and money-lenders, goldsmiths and jewellers all prospered exceedingly" (p. 585).

Yet the general impression left by the author's account of London's place in the economy (especially on pp. 385-403) once again seems to me exaggerated. Great as it was, we have to remember that in 1640 the capital was no more than half the size of modern Bristol, and it probably numbered no more than 6 or 7 per cent of the total population. Locally its impact on the rural economy was often intense, as in East Suffolk or the Isle of Thanet. But it was not equally diffused throughout all parts of the kingdom, or even throughout south-eastern England. Quite close to London, for example, in Holmesdale and much of the Kentish downland, the ancient ways still lingered surprisingly: just as they do today in the Wicklow Mountains near Dublin. Local society in whole tracts of countryside, both in Kent and farther afield, remained largely unaffected, directly at least, by metropolitan development. One cannot in fact properly speak, as Professor Stone does, of the general "social mores of London and the home counties" in contrast with the rest of England in the seventeenth century (p. 610; my italics).² Certainly people in Kent were not conscious of many common assumptions shared with people in London or Essex or Hertfordshire, except in the parishes immediately adjacent to the capital. Everything, in fact, depended on the form and tenacity of the local society concerned and the strength of its customs and its family life. In much of the south and east of England, as well as the north and west, society was still very deep-rooted at most of its levels, from gentry down to labourers.

¹ *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., xxx, 1948. Professor Stone also produced valuable evidence of the great expansion of luxury imports into London in his article 'Elizabethan Overseas Trade', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., II, 1949, p. 49.

² It would require much more evidence, and from more intimately informed sources, than the quotation from Sir John Wynn of Gwydir to prove Professor Stone's view on this matter.

Again, though one can well believe that, for the peerage, London was becoming a "central matrimonial clearing house" in the late sixteenth century, it is a considerable overstatement to say, without qualification, that "for the squirearchy the contacts provided by the increasingly popular London season offered similar opportunities" (p. 624). For a few it did; but they formed only a very small proportion of the gentry as a whole in such counties as Kent.¹ Only 7 per cent of the 170 leading Kentish families in Charles I's reign married Londoners; more than two-thirds married amongst their neighbours in the shire and a further 10 per cent just across the border in Sussex or Surrey. Amongst the minor gentry local marriages were still more frequent, and in East Kent almost universal.² Despite many high-sounding royal proclamations, only a very small minority of the gentry, as distinct from the peerage, as yet attended the London season. To judge from such family papers of the time as I am familiar with, most of them had little wish to do so. And quite certainly the inhabitants of country houses who were denied the blessings of metropolitan society did not always suffer from those torments of boredom, loneliness, and melancholia to which Professor Stone supposes they were so prone. Still less were their pursuits necessarily so boorish, oafish, and clownish as he suggests (e.g., pp. 388, 401-2). Every society has its boors, not ex-

cluding the academic world. But there were also any number of provincial families, such as the Oxindens, Barnardistons, Twysdens, and Sondeses, who found their loyalties, duties, and affections principally satisfied in governing their estates, farming their demesnes, ruling their counties, reading, writing, gardening, building, adorning their houses, and bringing up a family: not altogether boorish occupations. If it had not been so, their part in the Civil War, not to mention the subsequent history of England, would be very hard to explain.

I should not like to end this article, however, on a critical note. Much of what seems to me in this volume a lack of understanding of the structure and genius of provincial society, and at times of the functions of the aristocracy within it, is not so much the fault of the author as of the state of our knowledge. His vast and valiant labours show more vividly than ever our crying need for thorough and imaginative studies of those countless *local* communities—of town and county, of village and hamlet, in dale and moor, in fen and forest—which lived out their own half-separate lives over so many centuries of English history. Though important advances have been made in this field in recent years, we are as yet only beginning to explore that provincial world which shaped the lives and minds of the vast majority of our ancestors.

¹ Probably also in Sussex: Mrs Hutchinson remarks, of her own Sussex forebears, "that it had been such a continued custom for my ancestors to take wives at home, that there was scarce a family of any note in Sussex to which they were not by intermarriages nearly related. . ."—*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, Everyman edn, 1965, p. 7. I owe this reference to Mr David Palliser. It would require a good deal of research to establish how long this custom continued in Sussex, but I should be surprised if it was very different from Kent in this respect. Mrs Hutchinson's own mother, however, was not a native of the county. Professor Stone admits that local marriages were prevalent amongst the gentry in the sixteenth century, but states (p. 624) that London's growth as a matrimonial clearing house "finally broke down this regionalism" in the late sixteenth century.

² Everitt, *Community of Kent*, p. 328.

Book Reviews

G. E. FUSSELL, *The English Dairy Farmer, 1500-1900*. Frank Cass & Co., 1966. iv+358 pp. 75s.

Mr Fussell's book is a well-documented review of the developments in management and method which have carried dairy farming from its technically backward Tudor state to the threshold of the scientific revolutions in feeding and product processing which have occurred in the present century. Beginning with the cow, it continues through chapters on animal nutrition, dairy accommodation, dairy equipment, and the techniques of cheese and butter making, to conclude with a brief but valuable treatment of marketing organization.

This work has appeared at a time when our understanding of what has happened in corn-orientated farming systems is becoming almost sophisticated. It reveals in its indirect way the present inadequate knowledge of an enterprise which has constituted the major farm activity for much of midland and western England, and whose overall contribution to the national agricultural product has always been of critical importance. Mr Fussell has provided an excellent technical background but a thorough treatment of the determinant economic and social factors of change is still required. Dairy farming is still regarded as a more or less monolithic industry with little distinction between the several and radically different types of enterprise practised on pastoral farms, arable farms, suburban smallholdings, 'rented dairies', cottagers' cow commons, and in town dairies.

Perhaps the outstanding problem requiring investigation is the rôle and development of the dairy farming sector during the Agricultural Revolution period. Both historians and contemporary observers have concentrated excessively on the more conspicuous successes in output and technique secured in arable and mixed farming systems. Mr Fussell has tried extremely hard to redress the balance of achievement and to suggest a parallel,

if less spectacular, progress in dairying. Some measure of progress there must have been but its extent even at the close of 'The Golden Age' was by most accounts still unimpressive. Pastoral dairy farmers were being accused of the worst possible form of ignorance, "the lack of knowledge of their ignorance." Literary evidence seems to imply that the Agricultural Revolution had passed them by. Mr Fussell discusses at great length the potential of new fodder crops and artificial feeds for raising livestock yields, but significantly he has not proved their extensive use on any but the most progressive dairy farms. In terms of output and productivity dairying may have lagged badly behind corn and fatstock enterprises. But without more complete indices of output, yields, per capita consumption, and price movements this important issue will hardly be resolved. Quantification to any degree of accuracy cannot be expected, but at this stage it would be useful to command a convincing analysis of the economic and social incentives, constraints, and rigidities, which are likely to have determined progress. Such, in fact, as has already been done for other products in other farming systems.

Mr Fussell has led the way. He has shown by his unique familiarity with the contemporary literature that here at least is a vast reservoir of source material to be exploited by anyone prepared to shift their ground from corn to kine.

E. J. COLLINS

J. M. LEE and R. A. MCKINLEY (eds.), *A History of the County of Leicester, vol. V, Gartree Hundred*. O.U.P., 1964. xvii+367 pp. £7 7s.

This is the first of the Leicestershire volumes of the Victoria County History to cover the detailed history and topography of a rural hundred. We have already had three general volumes of the history and one devoted solely to the city of Leicester. The hundred of Gartree includes thirty-seven ancient parishes

and four chapelries, and takes in the whole of the south-eastern quadrant of the county between Leicester and the Welland valley.

Except for the town of Market Harborough on the southern boundary, and the urban sprawl of Leicester on the north-west, which has now almost completely obliterated the old villages of Evington, Scraftoft, and Thurnby, it remains rural and mainly pastoral. Most of it is rolling country, rising to 700 feet in places, some of it very beautiful and strangely remote. It is composed of glacial drift overlying the Lower Lias clays. Though there is a variety of soils, it basically makes good grassland and many parishes have been enclosed for cattle and sheep pastures since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is 'High Leicestershire', the Paradise of the Quorn and Fernie hunts.

The villages were founded mostly on small islands of glacial sands and gravels, watered by copious springs at the junction of gravel and clay, and all had their common fields on the standard midland pattern—probably of two large fields evolving at an early date into three, as at Newton Harcourt. The reference in Gray's *English Field Systems*, p. 470, to two fields at this place at an early date seems to have been missed by the learned editors. It is not often that one catches out Mr McKinley in the medieval period. By the early fourteenth century there were three fields (*V.C.H.*, p. 344) which lasted until the enclosure in 1772.

There are all the familiar features of the *V.C.H.* pattern, and one could make the familiar criticisms. As Professor Finberg put it in the cent number of this REVIEW, the *V.C.H.* "falls rather uneasily between two categories: it is much more than a work of reference, but something less than a finished history." By reason of the traditional division of the parish histories into 'subjects' one fails to obtain a coherent picture of villages and their vicissitudes, nor does one get a picture of the historical development of the region as a whole.

Yet it is easier to criticize this massive enterprise than to suggest practicable reforms

in its arrangement and layout. Just as it used to be said that one could never design a battleship from scratch, so complicated was its evolution, so the *V.C.H.* with its 120 or so volumes cannot easily be redesigned at this late day.

Despite the archaic origin of the hundred, and its almost complete disuse today (though I once sat on a committee in Leicestershire which appointed a number of representatives to some body in London on the basis of the hundreds we lived in), it probably remains the most practical subdivision for the building-up of a county history in several volumes. My own view is that the reader would profit immensely by a long introduction to each of the 'hundred' volumes, bringing together as far as possible the main threads of the agrarian, industrial, and social history of the area under discussion, an introduction written, of course, after all the separate parish histories had been completed. Such an introduction would be no easy task, and it would be open to the objection that the hundred rarely makes a true region in the geographical sense; but it would be of great help to the reader in using the volume as a whole and would bring the *V.C.H.* a considerable step nearer to being a finished history.

Thus we get no general and clear picture of the agrarian history of this quadrant of Leicestershire, or even, to take a narrower theme, of its enclosure history. Some villages disappeared as early as the fifteenth century (e.g. Keythorpe and Holyoak) and at the other end of the time-scale the large parish of Medbourne was not finally enclosed until 1844. It seems quite likely that in Leicestershire the seventeenth century saw the great swing-over from common-field arable to enclosed pasture, a movement in which this south-eastern quarter of the county was particularly important, but it is impossible to discover whether this is so or not without further research through all that is said here about all the parishes. The information is here, but it has to be excavated from the account of each parish. A good long introduction, which avoided the danger of bogging down the

reader in still more detail and yet gave him a scholarly account of the major themes of the history of the region, would perhaps be the biggest single improvement open to the *V.C.H.* in its present form.

The volume as a whole represents the work of two excellent historians of what one may still call the 'Leicester School'. There could have been more line-maps—the *V.C.H.*, like most histories, is still strangely allergic to maps—and there might well have been more attention to the place-names of the often. These are sometimes interpreted but area. passed over in silence. There are good photographs, themselves often a unique record of the past. Altogether this is a volume one is glad to have on the shelves: it is sad to think that the rest of the county remains undone for lack of public funds.

W. G. HOSKINS

R. H. HILTON, *A Medieval Society: The West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966. x+305 pp. 50s.

Professor Hilton's work in the field of English medieval social and economic history is already well known and extensive. In this study he has put us further in his debt. The book provides an overall survey ("an imaginative understanding" as he calls it) of one region of England, the south-west Midlands, at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The period has been chosen as an era of relative stability (although Professor Hilton shows himself well aware of those changes, such as the growth of the lords' fee'd retinues and the developments in the machinery of government, which characterized the period); and the study is intended to set the stage for a later work dealing with the changes in the social and economic pattern which occurred in the two succeeding centuries.

The regional approach is much more difficult than one which concentrates on the better-documented single estate, but in its own way is more rewarding. The area chosen, the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick, has perhaps little geographical

unity but much of it had a historic unity in the days of the Anglo-Saxon settlement and later in the diocese of Worcester. Within the region, two main areas of settlement are discernible, the older in the valleys and uplands with a complementary economy based on grain, or on grain and sheep, and characterized by nucleated villages and open fields; and a later settlement of hamlets and enclosures, mainly within the forest areas of the region. The emphasis on historical as well as geographical factors to explain differences in the settlement pattern is welcome, although some readers of this journal will regret Professor Hilton's use of the term 'open fields' instead of 'common fields'. The region is treated in isolation, but despite the political events which took place within its boundaries in the second half of the thirteenth century, the author clearly feels that in many ways it was isolated.

The picture drawn is of a society dominated in village, town, and forest by local lay and ecclesiastical lords, even though as many as a half of the villages of the area may have had no resident lord. In the south-west Midlands, the monastic influence was the most potent, "primarily as preservers of the 'classical' type of medieval landlordism." This seigneurial domination expressed itself in two main ways—in an increased demand for cash, even when in the villages demesne farming as against leasing of estates was increasing; and secondly (and closely associated with the former aspect), in the increasing servility of the peasant population. This latter was mainly, but not wholly, achieved by the increasing jurisdiction of the manor court at the expense of the hundred court, but the other royal courts assisted. The process was uneven, however, and the result was a complex society of peasants, where economic and legal status by no means coincided. But in general the peasant classes were poor and primitive, under the crushing burdens of providing more cash and increased (though often commuted) services to their lords. Peasant holdings under the pressure of increasing population were growing smaller, arable was expanded at the expense of

pasture, thus aggravating the peasant's normal lack of feeding stuffs for stock, and as a result villages everywhere were understocked.

This degradation was associated elsewhere with peasant violence and flight from the manor, but in this region there are few signs of this, perhaps owing to less pressure of population on arable and pasture than in other regions. Such violence as there was, and there seems to have been a good deal, was often led by the gentry, and much of it consisted of the exploitation of the forest areas by officials and inhabitants at the expense of the king.

There is much else of value in this book: towns and their government; urban and rural industry; and the whole range of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Such a wide-ranging survey inevitably raises problems of arrangement of material, and there is some repetition. Nor is the book easy reading. There are several misprints and the index is not impeccable. More seriously, there is no general map of the region (the plate based on the Ordnance Survey is too confusing to be of much use). Nor are there any references in the text to the plates or the maps, a fault made worse by the lack of a list of maps. But these are minor blemishes on a work whose excellence makes us look forward to the sequel.

ALAN ROGERS

A. C. CHIBNALL, *Sherington: Fiefs and Fields of a Buckinghamshire Village*. Cambridge University Press, 1965. xxiv+304 pp. 8 maps. 84s.

Dr Chibnall's beautifully produced book is a product of one of the oldest traditions in the writing of local history. His interest was first aroused by the history of the Chibnall family, which appeared in Sherington in the fourteenth century, and gradually extended itself to include both the history of the other estates in Sherington and the fields and landscape of the village itself. The book represents work undertaken over the last forty years as a labour of love.

Its faults are partly the result of this background. Parishes chosen for research for

human rather than purely historical reasons often frustrate the researcher by lack of suitable documentation. In this case, there were no medieval accounts, no court rolls or Hundred Roll entry, and no map before enclosure in 1797, although there was a series of charters dealing with the affairs of the free peasantry in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the circumstances, the agricultural historian looking for information on the cultivators of the Sherington fields, rather than the holders of the Sherington fiefs in the Middle Ages, has necessarily to be somewhat disappointed.

The major merit of this section of the book is Dr Chibnall's reconstruction of the fields and furlongs in the parish. Anyone who has wrestled with the problems of mapping an open-field parish in the thirteenth, or even the sixteenth, century will admire the persistence with which Dr Chibnall has created his maps of Sherington *circa* 1300 and in 1580 by assembling pieces of the monster jigsaw of the furlongs from the abutments given in a long series of terriers, and pushing these pieces around on the base provided by the enclosure map, until they fitted each other. A careful analysis of the furlong names then shows that the two medieval open fields of the village were in complete cultivation very early, judging from the absence of elements indicating clearance in them. The predominance of pre- and even post-conquest clearance elements to the north and east of the village where the block demesne lay, shows, on the other hand, that this was a later creation.

A major change in the village economy took place some time in the sixteenth century, probably between 1530 and 1561, when the original two open fields of the village were re-organized into a three-field system. This may have been a result of seigneurial initiative, or a reaction to the beginning of the population rise. There were 33 taxpayers in 1524 and 41 families in 1563. The lords of the Sherington manors made the familiar sixteenth-century attempt to increase the number of their sheep, both by overstocking the commons and by enclosing the demesne in scattered parcels. The attempt was foiled at Sherington, but was

successful in the parishes round about. By the seventeenth century Sherington was an open-field parish surrounded by a ring of enclosed villages. Some of these local enclosures were certainly classifiable as 'depopulating'. Dr Chibnall shows that an enclosure which appeared depopulating in the neighbouring parish of Tyingham was in fact carried out simply by not replacing migrating families or those which died out. He shows himself how rapid the turnover at Sherington was; if this mobility is, as seems highly likely, typical, then the depopulating landowner of the sixteenth century must often have had an easier, and less brutal, job than is supposed.

The immediate effect of the nearby enclosures on Sherington was to accelerate the already rapid growth of the place by an influx of labourers. There were 93 houses by the decade of the Hearth Tax and over half of these were exempt from the tax on the grounds of poverty in 1671. Dr Chibnall links this wave of distressed outsiders with the appearance of dissent in strength in Sherington in the 1630's, and its hold there right through to the 1680's, when at least 40 families were involved. He does not, unfortunately, cite direct proof of the association.

While the number of poor grew, the yeomen of Sherington had their period of greatest prosperity. At the end of the sixteenth century, while the manorial lords were in difficulties and selling out to their neighbours, or to their own tenants, the freeholders who were still farming their own land, like the Chibnalls, were benefiting from the economic situation. The prosperity of the yeomen lasted until the 1660's. In the middle of the seventeenth century, only 12 per cent of the land was owned by non-residents. The next fifty years saw a major change. By 1700, only half of the Sherington farmers tilled their own land. The Knight family had farmed the largest freehold in the village in 1653, and had, according to the rector's valuation for tithe, a gross income from grain sales of £204 in a year of low prices. By 1700, they had been forced by their debts to become soap-makers in Southwark. The engrossing of holdings

continued, and more and more of them fell into the hands of merchants and outsiders in the neighbouring towns. It seems increasingly likely that the second half of the seventeenth century is the period when the fall of the yeomen really began. Dr Chibnall adds another instance.

This is not an easy book. The constant references to tables earlier or later in the text would be more willingly made by the reader if page references had been supplied. The tables themselves would have been made much easier to comprehend by further compression and rearrangement. As it is, the reader is given a great deal of information on changes in landownership in the village at different dates, but has to make a considerable effort to analyse this information himself. Despite these criticisms, the book provides another of the series of examples of local agricultural history on which generalization must ultimately rest.

MARGARET SPUFFORD

E. C. K. GONNER, *Common Land and Enclosure*. 2nd edn with new introduction by G. E. Mingay. Frank Cass, 1966. xxx+462 pp. 70s.

We give a warm welcome to a new edition of yet another of that rich feast of studies in English agricultural history which appeared in the years just prior to 1914, the fruit of much discussion of contemporary agricultural problems. The book has an admirable new introduction by G. E. Mingay which places the work in its historical setting, and also draws attention to those aspects of Gonner's account which have been amplified or seen some modification by subsequent research.

Gonner has, perhaps, stood up better than most to the detailed researches of generations of scholars. The reason for this lies in the book's basic maturity of approach to its subject. On first appearance, in 1912, the work was acclaimed by one reviewer for directing "the white searchlight of scientific analysis on the facts" of the enclosure movement. Gonner consciously set his face against the sweeping

generalization based on a few fascinating, but perhaps untypical, case-histories. His declared aim was to uncover the broad economic forces which underlay the movement and determined its progress and character, linking this to a sober and balanced assessment of its effect on the economic life of England. His method was a systematic and detailed scrutiny of such evidence as was available to him.

The result was a study of the enclosure movement remarkable for its comprehensiveness and its perceptive insight into the complex many-sidedness of the movement. Above all, later scholars have been indebted to Gonner for the initial formulation of a number of problems connected with enclosure, to whose solution their own researches could be directed. His cautious use of statistics in his examination of enclosure problems established the method of enquiry which later scholars were to adopt.

Gonner devotes the first two of his three main sections to a consideration of the process by which enclosure of common field and waste took place, and of the complex nature of this process. He rightly saw it as a piecemeal movement, taking many forms, influenced by a variety of factors, and stretching over three centuries. He does, however, tend to over-emphasize the purely physical influence of environment, and pays little attention to the variable community and landownership structure, its agricultural arrangements and customs, all of which must have greatly influenced the progress and character of the movement. Nor does he discuss, except in a very general way, the complex organization of the regional food market and other more general economic forces, which must also have had a bearing on enclosure, either as cause or effect. Looking at the process during the parliamentary era, he reached the conclusion that the local commissioners carried out their work fairly, an opinion which still generally prevails amongst scholars who have made a more systematic examination than Gonner was able to do of commissioners' awards, enclosure costs, and so on.

The third section, in which Gonner con-

siders the effects of enclosure, is the most important part of the work. He emphasized that its results depended on a wide variety of local conditions. He was able to show that there was no direct causal relationship between enclosure and depopulation or pauperism except in a very localized and temporary form. Distinction was drawn between the controversial impact of common-field enclosure and that of common pasture and waste, which was entirely beneficial to the rural community. All this has been confirmed and amplified by later research.

On the other hand modern scholarship has very considerably diminished the significance of enclosure as an agent of change in agriculture and within the rural community. Common-field farming was far less backward and inflexible than Gonner and his contemporaries imagined, while the growth in the size of farms was determined by many factors not considered by Gonner, apart from enclosure, and was in any case a long-drawn-out process.

Looking at the rural community, we know that in many unenclosed villages the landowners were, as a body, no more than a small fraction of the total householders even at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, historians have observed that a marked inequality in the division of land had commonly developed before enclosure was undertaken. In any case great variety existed in the character of rural communities between one locality and another, and this was so even within the same neighbourhood, being dependent on a variety of historical and geographical circumstances. This makes generalization about the effect on the community difficult. Gonner believed that the movement to enclose must have advanced the steady and widespread disappearance of the small owner-occupier, but this also probably depended on the particular circumstances of time and place. We now know, for example, that during the French wars this type of owner may well have seen a noticeable, if temporary, recovery.

Gonner paid comparatively little attention to the impact of human enterprise and personality, so that it is no surprise that we find

little about the new balance of social forces which enclosure helped to create in the countryside. He gave little notice to the men behind enclosure, or to the new tenant-farmer class who were, perhaps, its main beneficiaries.

The statistical tests used by Gonner are also open to some criticism. His grouping of parishes undergoing enclosure may not always have been meaningful, since he failed to distinguish how much, or what type, of common land was being enclosed by parliamentary Acts that sometimes dealt mainly with acreages of common waste. Furthermore, his tables might not always show up the effects of enclosure within limited localities.

It is important to remember that the inevitable shortcomings of this book, reflected, in reality, less on its author than on the limited outlook of contemporary discussion and of knowledge in this subject. For its comprehensive and scholarly qualities this pioneer study of enclosure remains without equal.

J. M. MARTIN

E. E. GILLETT, REX C. RUSSELL, and E. H. TREVITT, *The Enclosures of Scartho, 1795-1798, and Grimsby, 1827-1840*. Library & Museums Committee of the County Borough of Grimsby, 1964. 58 pp. 3s. 9d. incl. postage.

Recent references in the press to the use of an enclosure award in determining financial responsibility for maintaining certain public highways near Shrewsbury reveal the continuing importance of these planning documents. This excellent publication adds to the growing volume of published material on enclosure awards at a local level.

In his opening chapter Mr Gillett shows that the urban and agricultural elements in the community at Grimsby had become separated by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The town was growing rapidly and the freemen were closely divided over the provision of new building lots in the East Marsh in 1825. Only two years later, however, the urban party gained the ascen-

dancy and agreement was reached for the promotion of a Bill to enclose the remaining open grounds.

The pre-enclosure scene is described with the aid of Mr Russell's admirable maps and the history of the Bill's progress is recited by reference to the comprehensive range of surviving papers. Not the least of the difficulties encountered by the promoters were brought about by their choice of enclosure commissioner. Although John Burcham had had twenty-six years of experience preparing other Lincolnshire enclosures before he started at Grimsby, he was known to be dilatory in executing the task. In this case he took thirteen years. The writers suggest that his position as steward to one of Grimsby's chief landowners, Lord Yarborough, led to his appointment. When Burcham died his estate amounted to £600,000. No doubt much of this money came from other sources, but when one considers his expenses at Grimsby and notes that he had been a commissioner for at least sixty-nine enclosures, "it would certainly be surprising if John Burcham had not died a rich man."

By contrast, the enclosure of the neighbouring village of Scartho was carried out more rapidly by three commissioners. Their work, which is discussed in detail, was completed within three years of the Act's being passed.

Both awards contain references to local terms, two of which are of special interest. It was noted, for example, that certain persons claimed *mudfangs*. Quoting Peacock's *Glossary of words used in the Wapentakes of Manby and Corringham, Lincs.*, the writers note that a mudfang is a portion of land, usually about two feet in width, in which the roots of a boundary hedge may grow when that hedge has no adjacent ditch. Sometimes the term is applied to a hedge and the land for two feet on either side even where there is no division of property. In Scartho, too, the Scandinavian term *wong* is used to refer to a group of furlongs.

Since the execution of the awards Grimsby has expanded so that now the two settlements

are linked by continuous building, a process that was expedited by the awards themselves.

BRIAN LOUGHBROUGH

MICHAEL TWYMAN and WILLIAM ROLLINSON, *John Soulby, printer, Ulverston*. Museum of English Rural Life, Reading, 1966. 54 pp. No price stated. [10s.]

It was a fortunate chance which enabled the Museum of English Rural Life to acquire a collection of nearly five hundred posters, handbills, trade cards, billheads, and other ephemera, the work of John Soulby, a jobbing printer and stationer of Ulverston in Furness between 1821 and 1827. Two similar collections, already held by Barrow-in-Furness Public Library, cover the work of the Soulby family from 1796 to 1827. The existence of this corpus, providing as it does a unique opportunity to study the output of a provincial printer during an eventful period of typographical history, has inspired the Reading authorities to compile and publish a handsomely illustrated study in which Dr Twyman, lecturer in typography and graphic design at the university, works out the history of Soulby's business and analyses the elements of his printing style. Mr William Rollinson, of Liverpool University, contributes a description of Ulverston as it was in Soulby's time. The student of agrarian history can see from the reproductions how the local farmers and auctioneers advertised cattle fairs, sales of hay, timber, clover, and rye grass, and farms to let. On the lighter side, we can see the people of Ulverston being invited to view an exhibition of tight-rope dancing, to attend a card assembly, or to purchase "a beautiful pink stain for silk stockings."

H. P. R. FINBERG

M. A. BARG, *Narodnyie Nizy v Angliyskoy Burzhuaznoy Revolyutsii XVII veka, Dvizhenie i ideologiya istinnykh Levellerov*. Moscow, 1967. 350 pp. No price stated.

This is an excellent study of radical movements among the lower classes during the seventeenth-century English revolution,

which might with advantage be translated into English. It contains two main arguments, the second of more exclusively political interest, the other of general social and agrarian interest.

Professor Barg suggests that historians have insufficiently appreciated the central significance for seventeenth-century English history of the abolition of feudal tenures and the Court of Wards. He argues that this abolition and the form which it took was of crucial importance for the agrarian history of England. In consequence of the conversion of land previously held by knight service into freehold, agriculture was freer than industry from obstacles to capital investment and long-term planning. Equally important was the point stressed by Winstanley and other contemporaries, that though feudal tenures were abolished for the gentry, the "feudal" incidents of copyhold were not abolished. This had a long pre-history. Before the negotiations for the Great Contract in 1610, the abolition of feudal tenures had been discussed in Parliament on more than one occasion. As early as 1610 the House of Commons was insisting in this context that fines, heriots, suit of court, and work days should all remain even if knight service was abolished. This point was passed over in silence in the order of 1646 abolishing the Court of Wards, no doubt because at that date it would have been inexpedient to alienate the support of copyholders for Parliament against the King; but in the confirmation of this order in 1656 "all rents certain and heriots due to mesne lords" were explicitly retained. This was confirmed again in the Act of 1660, which was regarded as so important that it was the first business the House of Commons took up after hearing the Declaration of Breda—i.e. after accepting the restoration of Charles II.

As we know there was much agitation in the sixteen-forties and -fifties for the abolition of copyhold and its conversion into freehold, or at least for a rationalization and stabilization of the incidents of copyhold. Professor Barg sees two alternative courses of agrarian development open for seventeenth-

century England at this stage. The one finally taken was the abolition of feudal tenures for the gentry but not of copyhold; the alternative—the abolition of feudal tenures for peasantry as well as gentry—would have produced a social structure more like that which emerged in France after the Revolution of 1789, a social structure less favourable to the rise of large-scale agrarian capitalism. It is in this context that Professor Barg sees the Diggers as the most radical variant of the movements which aimed at clearing away all vestiges of feudalism and establishing a land-owning peasantry—though the Diggers wanted to see communal ownership and cultivation once landlordism had been abolished.

This brings us to Professor Barg's second, more political point. The Diggers called themselves "True Levellers." Professor Barg argues that we should not think of the Levellers as being a united party or movement. He produces a good deal of evidence, some of it admittedly circumstantial, to suggest that Lilburne and Wildman led the moderate, constitutional wing of the Levellers, and that there was a more radical wing in London (with which Walwyn and Overton may have sympathized) and especially in the country districts around London. Professor Barg sees the three *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire* pamphlets as expressions of this radical trend, apparently quite independent of the Diggers; and the latter's experiment on Cobham Heath as merely one particularly well-documented example of a movement which was repeated at Wellingborough and perhaps elsewhere. The Wellingborough Diggers sent emissaries through Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire; evidence also happens to have survived of Diggers in Kent, Essex, and Gloucestershire. Winstanley and his band of Diggers, Professor Barg suggests, may have been only the visible tip of the iceberg of True Levellerism.

This theory certainly deserves further examination. It seems on the face of it to make sense of many facts which have hitherto been

confusing—the failure of official Leveller pronouncements to take a clear and decisive stand in favour of copyholders until after the Levellers' defeat; the apparent difference in emphasis in the Putney Debates on the franchise between Wildman on the one hand, and Rainborough, Sexby, and Petty on the other; Ireton's determination at Putney to convict the Levellers of communism, despite their indignant denials, and the difficulties into which he forced them by stressing the "natural right" basis of their arguments about the franchise: for Gerrard Winstanley was to build his communist theories on natural rights. It would explain Lilburne's apparently excessive concern from 1648 onwards (i.e. before the Digger movement had appeared) to disavow any communist theories as well as his repudiation of the "True Levellers" in 1649. It would also help to account for the ease with which the Levellers were isolated and suppressed after 1649. Professor Barg would suggest that Lilburne and those who thought like him differed from the Independent Grandees only in degree, since both assumed the immutability of existing property relationships. The Grandees stole the Levellers' republican clothes, and the constitutional Levellers had no basis for an appeal to the peasant majority of the population on a specifically anti-landlord platform. Hence their apparently unprincipled readiness to conspire with royalists against the Independent republic. The "True Levellers," Professor Barg points out, were convinced and consistent republicans, since the monarch for them was merely the chief captain of the army of landlordism. Professor Barg's thesis here would seem, as he suggests, interestingly to complement that advanced by Professor C. B. Macpherson in *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*.

There is much else of interest in Professor Barg's book, notably a long chapter on the religious background of Winstanley's ideas stressing analogies between his thought and that of Thomas Münzer, as well as that of the Family of Love (whom Walwyn defended). Whether or not all of Professor Barg's argu-

ments are accepted, there is much in this fresh and stimulating book for reflection and discussion.

CHRISTOPHER HILL

WILHELM ABEL, *Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur*. Verlag Paul Parey, Hamburg and Berlin, 1966. 2nd edn revised and enlarged. 302 pp. No price stated.

Professor Abel's study of agrarian crises and economic fluctuations first appeared in 1935 and was an epoch-making work. It skilfully gathered up the different strands of economic change in the countries of western Europe and endeavoured to weave them into a unified, consistent whole. And it was remarkably successful. By tracing the movements of prices, wages, rents, and population, Professor Abel brought to light the remarkable similarities in economic trends in all west European countries between the thirteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The shape of the late medieval depression, the scale of the desertions of villages that accompanied it, the implications of the price revolution of the sixteenth century—these became some of the notable landmarks which have guided historians ever since.

In this new edition of his book Professor Abel has revised and enlarged his previous work, extending his narrative from the nineteenth into the twentieth century, and attempting a closer analysis of the short-term fluctuations as well as the long-term economic trends. He is especially thorough in incorporating recent German research, and since agrarian history flourishes in Germany, there is much to tell on this score which deserves the attention of British historians. The book does not do justice to the recent work of English agrarian historians, however; too much of the argument about England still rests on material from Macaulay, Tooke and Newmarch, and Thorold Rogers. And the sources on France do not embrace the many local studies that have appeared in recent years.

This last point of criticism, however, merely demonstrates the difficulty of revising an

old book instead of writing a new one, and Professor Abel must himself be more keenly aware of this problem than any of his critics. Some of the new material that has been collected in recent years can be fitted more or less satisfactorily into the old framework; but much of it refuses to submit to this treatment. New wine cannot be poured into old bottles. Hence, while Professor Abel's original book still needs to be read by anyone exploring economic developments throughout Europe, it no longer stands as a reliable guide to the next stage of research. Many problems which Professor Abel was unable to solve in 1935, and still cannot solve, are now being approached from other directions altogether. For example, our knowledge of the differences in farming types and social structure in different regions of Europe is growing so rapidly that it seems unlikely that we shall be able further to elucidate the "crisis" of the fifteenth or the late seventeenth centuries with the aid of price tables that represent *national* averages. Nor can we make a finer analysis of wage movements without some knowledge of the social structure of diverse farming regions. Differential movements of prices of corn and animal products in the later seventeenth century are beginning to yield clues which Professor Abel mentions but does not explore in depth. Yet they must have exerted very different effects upon the communities growing grass for a living compared with those growing corn. In short, the way forward for those who have digested Professor Abel's work but hope to answer some of the questions he left unsettled is by way of more regional studies. Fortunately, those published up to 1958 were brought together most successfully in Professor Slicher van Bath's *Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850*. His study overlaps that of Professor Abel in some ways, but to a larger extent they complement each other. The two together form a comprehensive survey of European agrarian history. It is fairly certain that the student will have to wait many years before another European conspectus supersedes them.

JOAN THIRSK

FRIEDRICH-WILHELM HENNING, *Herrschaft und Bauernuntertänigkeit. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Herrschaftsverhältnisse in den ländlichen Bereichen Ostpreussens und des Fürstentums Paderborn vor 1800*. Beiheft zum Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität, Königsberg, Preussen, no. xxv, 1964. 340 pp. 28 DM.

This volume comprises four studies of landlords and peasantry in Germany before 1800. The first and third are comparative studies of the administrative and judicial functions of the nobility and lesser landlords in rural East Prussia and in the bishopric of Paderborn in Westphalia; the second and fourth examine the status of serfs in the same two areas in the eighteenth century. The nobility and landlords exercised a powerful influence in both regions, despite the differing origins of their authority. In Paderborn the bishop was supreme overlord, but lay lords were administrators and judges under the supervision and control of the bishop. In East Prussia the landed classes owed their power to the defeat of the Teutonic knights in the fifteenth century and the dissolution of the Order in the sixteenth. They stepped into the breach and were not challenged in their exercise of judicial and administrative functions until the second half of the seventeenth century, when the Dukes of Prussia had accumulated sufficient financial and political strength to appropriate effective authority to themselves.

The status of serfs in the two regions was dissimilar in significant respects. In East Prussia serfs represented 60 per cent of the peasant (i.e. landholding) population on noble estates, and about 20 per cent on the estates of lesser lords. But in the latter case their numbers rose by 53 per cent between 1700 and 1780-90, although they represented a diminishing proportion of the total population. Labour services were still heavy and were regularly demanded, for the shortage of labour was acute, particularly on the lands of the nobility. Nevertheless, serfdom lost much of its sting and its significance declined steadily throughout the eighteenth century

owing to the general improvement in the condition of the peasantry and the rise of population. Impersonal economic trends, in fact, anticipated the legislative reforms of the nineteenth century. In Paderborn, serfdom also continued theoretically in full force—serfs totalled 20 per cent of the total population, compared with 13 per cent in East Prussia—but it was easier for serfs to obtain permission to leave their lords. Indeed, for children who had no rights to inherit land a request to leave the estate was a mere formality. Labour services had fallen into disuse and there was little reason for lords to retain landless people on their estates. In both regions of Germany, therefore, serfdom was being eroded, but by different means. This is a useful contribution to the study of the German peasantry before 1800. Over a comparatively short period it gives a valuable glimpse of the varied local circumstances which in every region modified the impact of outwardly uniform feudal institutions.

JOAN THIRSK

ERNST KLEIN, *Die Entwicklung des Pfluges in deutschen Südwesten*. Der Museumsfreund: aus Heimatsmuseen und Sammlungen in Baden-Württemberg. Heft 7, 1966. 60 pp. Illus. No price stated.

Studies of plough history multiply: but this is one of the more welcome. It covers the whole space of time in a peculiarly agricultural area, and is supremely well illustrated with reproductions of early MSS. drawings, and photographs of old ploughs preserved in various places.

There is, of course, as Dr Klein pertinently remarks, no written evidence available before Roman times, but a good deal is known about early plough types (the *ard*) from the researches of A. V. Glob and others. Dr Klein reproduces a picture of a Stone-Age plough reconstruction showing how a stone share may have been used. We come to more certain ground when he discusses Pliny's so-called Rhaetian plough which may have been used in later Roman times in south-west Germany, but I find it difficult to accept his conclusion

that the addition of wheels to what can only have been an *ard* made for easier traction. It may have been so in light land, but the wheels would almost certainly have been an embarrassment in heavy clay. In such heavy soils a swing plough seems always to have been used in England.

Plough types are acknowledged to be dependent upon soil types, land configuration, climate, types of culture, and cultivation systems, but the peasant farmer could not adopt better designs if they were too costly. The consequence is that there was a rather stubborn adherence to the traditional and well-known design, the *Haken*, which was, in fact, the *ard*, *aratrum*, or *araire*.

The earliest *Beetpflug* (asymmetrical mouldboard plough) that Dr Klein has been able to discover is dated about 1170. This plough turned a furrow, and so prepared a better seedbed, but required more power to haul it, and more skill on the part of the ploughman to use it. He suggests that it was no accident that this plough came into use in place of the *Haken* in the medieval colonizing period. Some *Haken* were provided with a wheeled forecarriage in the fifteenth century, but these were possibly lineal descendants of Pliny's Rhaetian plough or the much earlier Greek *ards* with wheels.

Dr Klein is one of the few historians who possess a detailed knowledge of plough construction and of plough parts. This has led him to a criticism of some of the pictures of ploughing scenes. For example, the mouldboard plough depicted in Plate VI, dated 1525-30, is shown as turning a furrow to the left, something I observed in an illustration to Carlo Poni's work noticed in this REVIEW, vol. XIV, part 1. This may be a mistake on the part of the artist; it was certainly unusual. It was not the case with the old German plough in the Bezirksheimatsmuseen, Bad Mergentheim, shown in Plate X. This turned the furrow to the right as is most usual.

I have always been intrigued by the *Ruchadlo-Schar*. Dr Klein illustrates it in Plate XI, No. 22. It was used in the Netherlands as well as south-west Germany; but its

purpose eludes me—to my sorrow, I confess it. It seems to have been a sort of digging plough.

Later developments are fairly well known, and have a degree of similarity throughout Western Europe. The most important development of design was the 'winding' mouldboard, which has been dealt with by a good many scholars, not least by Dr Klein himself in an essay "Über das Alter des gewundenen Streichbretts" in *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte*. . . , XIII, 2, Oct. 1965.

From this point of time, the history of animal-hauled ploughs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is rather uniform in most countries, and south-west Germany is no exception, although the influence of Schwerz and the Hohenheim factory must have been paramount there. Nevertheless there were some curious survivals such as the *Schwarzwälder Stichelpflug*; but on the whole one may say that south-western German development was not very different from that of other countries. Draining ploughs, mole ploughs, one-way ploughs, and potato-lifting ploughs were all used, and, of course, metal played a larger part than it had done in the past. In the nineteenth century many parts were made of iron, and finally the whole implement was constructed of this material.

This is a valuable essay for all who are interested in the technique of farming, and the technical development of what is still perhaps the most important implement on the farm—the plough.

G. E. FUSSELL

ERNST KLEIN assisted by WILHELM KREPELA, *Die historischen Pflüge der Hohenheimer Sammlung landwirtschaftlicher Geräte und Maschinen*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte, Vol. XVI. Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1967. 230 pp. with 454 plates. DM 86.

Few collections of early agricultural implements, especially ploughs, of full size and in models, can be as old as that at Hohenheim, although there is a collection of model ploughs dating from the eighteenth century at Ul-

tuna, Sweden.¹ This is not quite the same thing. Schwerz founded Hohenheim as a college of agriculture for teaching and research. Here ten years later the then Director began the collection with specimens brought from his estate, Gut Assumstadt. In addition models and full-scale ploughs were brought to Hohenheim for use by the implement factory as patterns.

Naturally the collection has been added to and accumulated ever since it was begun. Besides ploughs and models of ploughs it includes all sorts of hand-tools used on farms, cultivation implements, seed-drills, and harvesting machinery as well as specimens of household goods, brewing and sugar-beet equipment amongst other things. The present study is, however, as its title states, confined to the plough.

Dr Klein's introduction supplies a brief history of the plough, both the symmetrical and asymmetrical designs, with critical references to previous writers on the subject, but the history of the plough is much more meticulously delineated in the large number of pictures of material in the museum.

The first group is of *Haken* (*ard* or *aratrum* type), and includes Etruscan, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman, Indian, Arabic, and other specimens. Each picture is carefully annotated. Illustration no. 46 shows what was once believed to be the pattern of the Anglo-Saxon or Belgic plough, provided with wheels and a coulter, but no mouldboard. Dr Klein thinks, very reasonably in the light of recent research, that the attribution is an error, and that this specimen is more likely to derive from the twelfth century.

The Slavonic *Zocha* developed along rather different lines from the plough of Western Europe. In most of the examples shown here, it has a sort of double share, or rather two shares, each fixed to the ends of a sharebeam that is divided partway along its length. In this gap a kind of shovel or shovel-shaped metal blade fixed to a long handle can be adjusted by the ploughman to turn the soil to one

side or the other as required. It is not precisely a coulter because its purpose is not to cut the sod but to turn it to one side or the other in the manner of a one-way plough.

Rather more than 200 of the pictures show examples of the asymmetrical mouldboard plough which seems to have been developed in the Middle Ages. From this all the more modern patterns are derived, even the steam-plough. And in the nineteenth century many special-purpose ploughs were designed for use in cultivating for particular crops, the ridging plough for root crops for example, and the mole plough for drainage.

Dr Klein has put all agricultural historians in his debt with this piece of work. Few can have realized the wealth of material for plough history that can be studied at Hohenheim, but the opportunity to visit such places to study is not always easy to find. Here, however, is an annotated catalogue that does not precisely make it unnecessary to see the objects themselves, but tells us what they were, their origin, and date, and shows us what they looked like. It seems to me to be a work that is compulsory for all farm institutes, colleges of agriculture, and university departments of economic and social history.

G. E. FUSSELL

BERTHOLD SCHULZE, *Brandenburgische Besitzstandskarte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Der ritterschaftliche, geistliche, städtische und landesherrliche Besitz um 1540*. Historischer Atlas von Brandenburg, Neue Folge, Lieferung 1. Berliner Historische Kommission beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität, Berlin. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin. 1962. No price stated.

A remarkable series of four maps portraying the ownership of land in Brandenburg circa 1540 has been published by the Berlin Historical Commission at the Friedrich-Meinecke Institute of the Free University, Berlin. They depict the lands in the hands of ecclesiastical institutions, of knights, urban authori-

¹ Ragnar Jirloff, *Plough Models from the Eighteenth Century*, Swedish Institute of Agricultural Engineering, Ultuna, Report no. 213, 1948.

ties, and other private landlords. The maps are coloured so that it is possible to take in at a glance the proportions of land in the possession of these different categories of owners. The scale is 1:350000. It is a notable contribution to the Historical Atlas of Brandenburg.

JOAN THIRSK

G. OBEYESEKERE, *Land Tenure in Village Ceylon*. Cambridge University Press, 1967. xii+320 pp. 70s.

This fascinating book describes land tenure in the village of Madagama in south Ceylon between 1790 and 1961. The approach is largely based on E. R. Leach's classic study of *Pul Eliya*. The author starts by outlining the ideal and traditional systems and rules of land tenure as embodied in legal textbooks of the nineteenth century and the statements of villagers. In chapters 4-10 he shows how far facts accord with ideals. Among the many topics covered are inheritance systems, marriage arrangements, the effects of weather on landholding, the treatment of widows, the results of heavy taxation, and the formation of powerful 'cliques' through the ownership of land. The sources for this largely historical study, apart from the legal textbooks already mentioned, are marriage-registers, deeds of sale, taxation records, a census of 1911, and the memorized genealogies of present informants. The material is so similar to that used by historians of European communities that many passages read exactly like their work.

The use of historical material is at times too uncritical, especially if we compare it with the scepticism of Dr Leach. For instance, there is no discussion of the reliability of the sources for the construction of the 'traditional' picture (p. 51) and it is therefore too easily assumed that legal manuals give an accurate picture of what really happened. One wonders whether something more might have been squeezed out of the Grain Tax registers and the 1911 (and other?) censuses. Is there anything equivalent to the tax lists of 1889 and 1890 of which Leach makes such excellent use? The study of *Pul Eliya* suggests that the more maps and diagrams the better in

studies of the vastly complicated arrangements of land: we would have benefited from more maps of landholding in Dr Obeyesekere's work. The major theoretical under-emphasis is the absence of a discussion of population growth. The implicit conclusion of both *Pul Eliya* and the study of Madagama might be seen as the social effects of population changes on marriage, kinship, and land tenure. For instance, both authors stress that it is demographic change, rather than any special inheritance system, that leads to fragmentation of ownership. On p. 305 of *Land Tenure in Village Ceylon* we learn that there were 79 people in Madagama in 1911, on p. 8 we discover that in 1961 there were 289. We cannot merely dismiss this 400 per cent growth in fifty years as irrelevant.

The chapters on changes in the late nineteenth century are among the most interesting in the book. Dr Obeyesekere argues that the unequal grain taxation led to the dispossession of poorer villagers whose land was bought by wealthy village headmen. The changes were "a revolution in ownership of property," "analogous to that of the enclosure movement in England" (pp. 126-7). In fact it is the difference between Madagama and England that is interesting. Similar pressures seem to have led to entirely different consequences. In Madagama there does not seem to have been the growing gap between wealthy yeomen and a 'class' of landless labourers which has been illustrated for Wigston Magna and Chippenham. The process of the levelling of wealth in Madagama through conspicuous hospitality and partible inheritance would repay further investigation. Another theme of this work is the changing effects of land-pressure on residence after marriage. The ideal system whereby women resided in their husband's village broke down as men were driven from their villages by shortage of land. Again one wonders whether marriage 'flow' was directly connected to accessibility of land in pre-industrial Europe.

Neither Dr Obeyesekere nor Dr Leach has succeeded in making the necessary detail

wholly readable. Yet for those who are prepared to make the effort there is a rich reward to be had. For those interested in Ceylon, and particularly government officials who are prepared to face the immensely harmful consequences of misunderstanding, the work will be most useful. For anthropologists it has the double interest of being a pioneer attempt at historical/anthropological analysis, and of supporting Dr Leach's basic thesis, namely that 'kinship' is merely a way of talking about property relations and not a 'thing in itself'. For the agricultural historian,

read in conjunction with *Pul Eliya*, it should unbar fresh pastures. It shows that the study of land tenure cannot effectively begin until we know much more about marriage, kinship, and inheritance patterns. A new dimension would have been added to recent historical studies of English rural life if their authors had been able to read and ponder these two works. Dr Obeyesekere's book makes it clear that if historians do not do the job properly, anthropologists will soon do it for them.

A. MACFARLANE

Letters to the Editor

MADAM,—Three articles have appeared in your REVIEW which touch upon sheep-rights in East Anglia.¹ The patterns described by your contributors differ much from that revealed by a study of the history of such rights at Eriswell in the south-west corner of Breckland, a parish whose economy was singularly undisturbed throughout the Middle Ages. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in its six and a half thousand acres, there were nine sheep-rights, and details of the sizes and composition of the flocks, and of the boundaries of the rights, which were controlled by custom, are well documented.² There is nothing to suggest that the agrarian pattern in Eriswell during those two centuries differed from that of the two preceding ones (or, indeed, from that of even earlier times, but documentation sufficient for forming opinions begins only with the fifteenth century). In the area now covered by the parish the Domesday Survey places a manor of Eriswell and a (slightly larger) berewick of Coclesworth, each with its hall but under one lord. Charters of the early Middle Ages continue to

link the two names together as forming, for some purposes, a unity. In the later Middle Ages Coclesworth became known as Chamberlains (after an established but rising family of manor-tenants) and the whole was called "The Manor of Eriswell *cum* Chamberlains," as it is today. There was but one court leet and one court baron, though each section of the vill had its own distinct field system which remained intact until the enclosure award of 1818. I have ventured to name this structure a "duplex manor" differing, as it does slightly, from the common East Anglian pattern of two or more distinct manors in one vill.

In the parish all the people, save the rector (and his copyhold tenant) and some of the employed men, were either freehold or copyhold tenants of the one (duplex) manor. Three of the sheep-rights belonged to the manor, and six to persons who were manor-tenants, and each of these six was attached (as of right) to a specified messuage. These rights could be, and were, bequeathed, leased, and bought and sold. The earliest mention of a

¹ K. J. Allison, A.H.R., v, pp. 12-31; Alan Simpson, A.H.R., vi, pp. 87-96; M. R. Postgate, A.H.R., x, pp. 80-101.

² Elveden Hall Archives; Norwich Wills, Clearke, 323 ff.

sheep-right was a gift of grazing (and of land) by the lord of the manor to Royston Priory in 1261;¹ it is idle to surmise, there being no evidence, whether or not there were other sheep-rights at that time, or in whose hands they were. Within a century the Chamberlain family had acquired the Priory's possessions in Eriswell, and in 1448 sold four sheep-rights.² In the fifteenth century we find no suggestion that such rights were a monopoly of the lord; in fact they were free-tenancies, as much as were the messuages to which they were attached.

For Eriswell the wills of owners of sheep-rights are a valuable source of information. They provide a realistic picture, undistorted by specious claims of those who hoped to acquire rights which were not theirs by custom: a few examples will suffice. In 1474 the lord of the manor had to buy a sheep-right in Eriswell to endow a chantry.³ Another right, very well documented until its value disappeared with the enclosure award (when all nine rights were in the hands of one owner),⁴ was bequeathed by John Bacon of Hessel in 1513;⁵ it was acquired by a John Fisher, who bequeathed it to his widow in 1562;⁶ on her remarriage it became the subject of illuminating litigation which will be mentioned later: in the following two centuries it was bought and sold half a dozen times. In these transactions this particular right was spoken of as belonging to a messuage known as Bacons (later as Baldwins, the subsequent owners). Another right was bequeathed in 1522 by Thomas Collye to his widow as "longing" to his house: he instructed his executors to allow his widow to have the "theryings" of the fold-free (here is the local name for the fertilizing benefits of fold-ing).⁷

At Eriswell foldage (also called fold-free) was not a right belonging to the manor, but one which might be part of a sheep-right in anyone's hands. Though the exact nature of

each flock's rights varied slightly one from the other, all had each or most of these customary privileges: (a) grazing on specified areas (i) of heath land, (ii) of stubble after shack day (raking between sheaves was forbidden as decreasing the value of shack), (iii) of the ley-shift, (iv) of fen; (b) foldage on an area of the owner's land in the ley-shift. At Eriswell there is no shadow of doubt that the 'field' was divided into three 'shifts' (or 'wents'), and these into 'furlongs' which comprised 'acres'. Owing to the duplex nature of this manor, the complete system was duplicated, and each year, in each of the systems, one shift lay fallow. My predecessors, the rectors, held land in each shift in both systems, serving, as they did, a church in each section of the vill. The importance of holding land in each of three shifts is illustrated by a will of 1593, where the testator bequeaths his wife "nine acres, three in each shift," and a younger son twelve acres, four in each.⁸

The law-suit mentioned above⁹ resulted from an accusation of trespass made in the 1580's by a man who had leased Eriswell Hall, and the demesne lands worked from it, from the absentee lord of the manor. This leasing by a tenant for money for a period of years is not to be confused with the customary tenancies of the manor-tenants. The defendant was the second husband of the widow of the John Fisher mentioned above. He had erected a fold of thirty hurdles (said to be the customary number) on some of the land inherited by his wife, which was in the ley-shift, thus denying that portion to the plaintiff's sheep. The plaintiff claimed that a sheep-right depended on a specific grant by a manor lord to a particular individual (such claims were rife at the time). The defendant said that from time out of memory his wife's predecessors in their messuage had owned the sheep-right which was attached to it, and that the right included one to erect a fold. The defendant won his case, and, until the enclosure

¹ Cart. Rolls, 35 Hen. III, mem. 7.

² Feet of Fines (Suff.), 26 Hen. VI, 24.

³ Norwich Wills, Gelour 122 ff.

⁴ Elveden Hall Archives.

⁵ Norwich Wills, Johnson 119 ff.

⁶ Canterbury Wills, Chayre 7.

⁷ Sudbury Wills, Newton 82.

⁸ Eriswell Church Terriers.

⁹ Bury Record Office E18/400/1.3.

award, the right remained attached to that message.

It is possible that a laborious examination of all available wills made in the area would reveal in other places as well a pattern similar to that in Eriswell. It appears (at least in the case of some of Eriswell's neighbours) that the rather large number of 'fields' noted by Postgate originated at a formative period, when the vills comprised two or more manors, each with its field systems, and not because of any agricultural desirability.

J. T. MUNDAY

ST PETER'S RECTORY,
ERISWELL,
BRANDON, SUFFOLK

MADAM,—May I request some space for a plea for help? As part of the Nature Conservancy's research programme on hedgerows I have been undertaking a study of the factors affecting the number of species of shrubs in individual lengths of hedge. At the moment the most important factor appears to be the age of the hedge and it seems to operate in such a way that on average a hedge 100 years old has only one species of shrub in it, a hedge 200 years old has 2 species, and so on until a hedge 1,000 years old has 10 species.

Now if this correlation could be shown to be valid over the whole country or if the modifying factors, if any, such as soil type could

also be measured we would have a useful technique for dating field systems in the absence of documentary evidence.

Unfortunately to establish the correlation in the first place, we have to have a large number of accurately dated hedges from a variety of soil types, etc. So far we have made use of a number of Enclosure Award maps, early estate maps, and some Saxon charters but this leaves a very large gap of 500 years between A.D. 1050 and 1550 for which we have no precisely dated hedges.

Could I ask members of the British Agricultural History Society, who come across such hedges, either to make a note of the number of species of shrub in a 30-yard length together with any other information such as the soil type and form of management of the hedge and send it to me or, if this is not possible, to let me have a note of the whereabouts of such hedges so that I may examine them myself?

If any member is currently engaged in a survey of field systems to which he thinks this botanical approach might materially contribute, I should be happy to collaborate as far as my other commitments allow.

M. D. HOOPER

MONKS WOOD EXPERIMENTAL STATION
(THE NATURE CONSERVANCY),
ABBOTS RIPTON, HUNTINGDON

A New Methuen Series

DEBATES IN ECONOMIC HISTORY

General Editor **Peter Mathias**

The rapid pace of change in the study of economic history in recent years has meant that new interpretations of main issues, and much research, have appeared in periodicals rather than books. The purpose of this series is to make such scattered and sometimes inaccessible material readily available. Each volume contains six or eight contributions to a particular debate, reprinted *in extenso*, together with a substantial critical introduction and detailed bibliography.

AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ENGLAND 1650-1815

Edited by **E. L. Jones**

25s; *University Paperback* 15s

THE CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

Edited by **R. M. Hartwell**

25s; *University Paperback* 15s

Coming in Spring 1968

THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL FROM BRITAIN, 1870-1914

Edited by **A. R. HALL**

25s; *University Paperback* 15s

CRISIS AND CHANGE IN THE VENETIAN ECONOMY

Edited by **B. S. Pullan**

25s; *University Paperback* 15s

AGRICULTURE IN THE AUSTRALIAN ECONOMY

Edited by **D. B. Williams**

There has been an increasing need for a review of the progress of Australian agriculture over the past twenty years. This comprehensive work surveys agricultural development, its structure, economic role, and pricing and marketing methods, to give a clear picture of post-war progress and structure.

Sydney University Press 48s

METHUEN

The Economics of Agricultural Policy

GRAHAM HALLETT

This scholarly but readable book, in addition to being a significant contribution to discussion of agricultural policy, should be of particular value as an intermediate textbook for students of agricultural economics.

631 11090 9

About 42s. net

New edition

Choice of Techniques

A. K. SEN

One of the most difficult problems facing an underdeveloped economy attempting planned economic growth is the choice between alternative techniques of production. Dr Sen resolves apparent contradictions between the criteria suggested and shows the need for considering a number of other aspects of the problem. This third edition includes a discussion of the problem of programming.

631 10830 0

25s. net

Papers on Regional Development

Edited by THOMAS WILSON

If special assistance is to be given to underdeveloped areas, are there ways in which this assistance can be made to contribute to the achievement of economic expansion?

631 08460 6

Paper 35s. net

Year Book of Agricultural Co-operation 1967

Edited by the Plunkett Foundation for Co-operative Studies

The Year Book, now in its fortieth year of publication, devotes particular attention to agricultural co-operative development in twelve European countries, and to the new problems and opportunities brought about by the European Common Market, vertical integration and new technical needs.

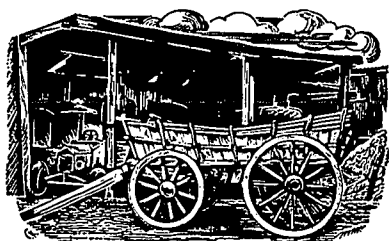
631 03160 x

45s. net

BASIL BLACKWELL

The Journals of George Sturt 1890–1927

Edited and introduced by E. D. MACKERNESS



'Sturt's Journal is a blend of self-education, autobiography, speculation, and observation, in which the latter two elements predominate. His present editor, in addition to supplying essential preliminaries in which not a shade of unjustified claim appears, does everything tactful to ensure reading which is never without clarity and seldom without grace.' *Times Literary Supplement*

'Sturt's is the authoritative voice of the rural artisan and also of the labourer . . . his journals are an unrivalled comment on a past which is now in the process of sentimentalisation.' *The Countryman*

2 volumes: £6 net the set

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Open Fields

C. S. and C. S. ORWIN

The third edition of this important study of inclosure and its consequences includes a Preface by Dr Joan Thirsk. The Bibliography has been revised and greatly enlarged.

Third edition 29 plates, 7 plans 55s net

Britain and Australia 1831–1855

A Study in Imperial Relations and Crown Lands Administration

PETER BURROUGHS

In this study of Britain's relations with the Australian colonies at a crucial period of colonial history, Dr Burroughs examines the fluctuating demands of imperial policy and the colonial response to them within the context of Crown Lands administration.

7 maps 84s net

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ERIC KERRIDGE

The Agricultural Revolution

'This has all the hallmarks of an important book. It has a weighty theory to advance, argues its case consistently and with sufficient respect to the views attacked, and rests on an enormous understructure of evidence.' *Dr Geoffrey Elton.*

84s.

ALLEN & UNWIN

40 Museum Street, London, W.C.1

The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk

Naomi Riches

With a new bibliographical note by W. H. Chaloner

An exhaustive study which explains the reasons for Norfolk's pioneering advances in agriculture in the eighteenth century and provides a carefully documented account of soil conditions, land tenure, and production techniques in the country as a whole.

Second Edition x, 194 pp.

45s

Frank Cass

67 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1

G. E. FUSSELL

A bibliography of his writings on agricultural history with an introduction by
NIGEL HARVEY. At 7s. 6d.

JOHN SOULBY

printer, Ulverston

A study of the work printed by John Soulby, father and son, between 1796 and
1827 by MICHAEL TWYMAN, with an account of Ulverston at the time by WILLIAM
ROLLINSON. At 10s.

*

THE MUSEUM OF ENGLISH RURAL LIFE
THE UNIVERSITY OF READING

WORLD AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY ABSTRACTS (WAERSA)

is the ONLY comprehensive source of information on a world scale covering all significant publica-
tions on international, regional, and national aspects of

Agricultural Policy
Trade, Marketing, and Prices
Finance and Credit
Production Economics
Co-operation

Education and Training
Rural Sociology
Research Methods and Techniques
and related topics

Each quarterly number includes over 1,000 classified and indexed abstracts. Review articles which
include comprehensive bibliographies have so far dealt with: Product Function Analysis; Marketing
Poultry Meat; Part-time Farming; Agriculture in Centrally Planned Economies; Measurement of
Productivity in Soviet Agriculture; The Adoption and Diffusion of Agricultural Practices.
Heavy subsidies contributed by Governments of the British Commonwealth and the Republic of
Ireland reduce the annual subscription well below cost.

Contributing Countries: £4 10s.

Non-contributing Countries: £7 10s.

Produced quarterly by the
COMMONWEALTH BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
31A St Giles, Oxford

Orders and Subscriptions to: C.A.B., Central Sales, Farnham Royal, near Slough, Bucks., England

THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL

No. 307

SEPTEMBER 1967

VOL. LXXVII

I. ARTICLES

Assessing the Trade Returns

R. F. HARROD

The Measurement of Quality Changes

J. L. NICHOLSON

International Diffusion of Technical Change—A Case Study of the
Oxygen Steel Making Process

G. S. MADDALA
and P. T. KNIGHT

A Keynesian View of Patinkin's Theory of Employment

P. DAVIDSON

The Neoclassical Foundations of Progress Functions

W. Y. OI

Higgledy Piggledy Growth

W. B. REDDAWAY

II. REVIEWS

III. NOTES AND MEMORANDA

IV. RECENT PERIODICALS AND NEW BOOKS

MACMILLAN & CO. LTD, LONDON, W.C.2

Applications for Fellowship:

ROYAL ECONOMIC SOCIETY

21 Bentinck Street, London, W.1

SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XLVI

No. 142

OCTOBER 1967

CONTENTS

Articles

The Scottish representation in the Cromwellian parliament
of 1656

PAUL J. PINCKNEY

Presbyterianism and the working class in a mid-nineteenth-
century city

A. ALLEN MACLAREN

William Forbes Skene: *Celtic Scotland v. Caledonia*

JAMES ANDERSON

Notes

The Massacre of Glencoe

JOHN PREBBLE

Scottish Record Office notes

SIR JAMES FERGUSON

List of Articles on Scottish History published during the year 1966

T. I. RAE

Reviews include a critique of *The History of Parliament* by W. Ferguson

Inquiries about subscriptions (30s. p.a. for two issues, 16s. for single issues, post free) and
about back numbers should be addressed to the new printers and distributors :

THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS LTD
FARMERS HALL, ABERDEEN

The British Agricultural History Society

PRESIDENT: H. P. R. FINBERG

TREASURER: C. A. JEWELL

EDITOR: JOAN THIRSK

SECRETARY: MICHAEL HAVINDEN

Executive Committee: W. H. Chaloner (*Chairman*), Miss Audrey Beecham, E. J. Collins, A. M. Everitt, G. E. Fussell, George Houston, W. Harwood Long, W. E. Minchinton, G. E. Mingay, George Ordish, W. J. Rowe, M. L. Ryder.

The Society aims at encouraging the study of the history of every aspect of the countryside by holding conferences and courses and by publishing *The Agricultural History Review*. Its revised constitution was inserted as a separate leaflet in Vol. XIV, part II of the *Review*.

Membership is open to all who are interested in the subject and the subscription is TWO GUINEAS due on 1 February in each year. Details may be obtained from the Treasurer.

The Agricultural History Review

EDITOR: JOAN THIRSK

ST HILDA'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

The Review is published twice yearly by the British Agricultural History Society and issued to all members. Single copies may be purchased from the Treasurer for 25s. Articles and letters offered for publication should be sent to the Editor. The Society does not accept responsibility for the opinions expressed by contributors, or for the accidental loss of manuscripts, or for their return if they are not accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

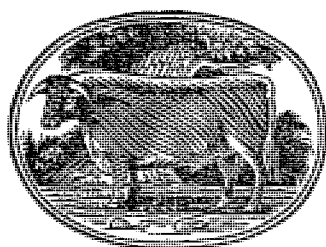
THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Articles and correspondence relating to editorial matter for the *Agricultural History Review*, and books for review, should be sent to Joan Thirsk, Editor, *Agricultural History Review*, St Hilda's College, Oxford.

Correspondence about conferences and meetings of the Society should be sent to Michael Havinden, Secretary, British Agricultural History Society, Dept. of Economic History, Streatham Court, Rennes Drive, The University, Exeter, Devon.

All other correspondence, including matters relating to membership, subscriptions, details of change of address, sale of publications, exchange publications, and advertising, should be addressed to Andrew Jewell, Treasurer, B.A.H.S., Museum of English Rural Life, The University, Whiteknights Park, Reading, Berkshire.

The AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW



VOLUME 16 1968

PART II

*

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

The First Fields in an Oxfordshire Parish

by ERNEST A. POCOCK

*

A Study of Medieval Colonization in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire

by B. K. ROBERTS

*

The Incidence and Organization of Agricultural Trades Unionism
in the 1870's

by J. P. D. DUNBABIN

*

Crofters' Common Grazings in Scotland

by JAMES R. COULL

*

Sheep and the Clearances in the Scottish Highlands: a Biologist's View

by M. L. RYDER

PUBLISHED BY

THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW

VOLUME 16 PART II · 1968

CONTENTS

The First Fields in an Oxfordshire Parish	<i>Ernest A. Pocock</i>	page 85
A Study of Medieval Colonization in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire	<i>B. K. Roberts</i>	101
The Incidence and Organization of Agricultural Trades Unionism in the 1870's	<i>J. P. D. Dunbabin</i>	114
Crofters' Common Grazings in Scotland	<i>James R. Coull</i>	142
Sheep and the Clearances in the Scottish Highlands: a Biologist's View	<i>M. L. Ryder</i>	155
A Note on the History of Black-eared White Cattle	<i>Lucia Pearson</i>	159
Reviews:		
Fish Culture in Sixteenth-century Poland. Review Article	<i>B. K. Roberts</i>	161
<i>Hortulus</i> , by Walafrid Strabo	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	164
<i>Early Charters of Eastern England</i> , by C. R. Hart	<i>H. R. Loyn</i>	164
<i>The Lordship of Canterbury</i> , by F. R. H. Du Boulay	<i>Alan R. H. Baker</i>	165
<i>Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> , by Margaret Cash	<i>Michael Havinden</i>	167
<i>The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk</i> , by Naomi Riches	<i>E. L. Jones</i>	168
<i>The State of British Agriculture, 1965-1966</i> , by K. E. Hunt and K. R. Clark	<i>W. Harwood Long</i>	169
<i>Fenland Chronicle</i> , by Sybil Marshall	<i>F. West</i>	169
<i>Det Indvundne Danmark</i> , by Fridlev Skrubbeltrang	<i>Robert M. Newcomb</i>	170
<i>Las Crisis de Subsistencias de España en el Siglo XIX</i> , by Nicolas Sanchez-Albornoz	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	172
<i>Australia's First Frontier</i> , by T. M. Perry; <i>Back of Bourke</i> , by R. L. Heathcote	<i>L. A. Clarkson</i>	172
<i>Aspetti e Problemi dell' Agricoltura Modenese</i> , by Carlo Poni	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	173
<i>Villages Désertés et Histoire Économique, XIe-XVIIIe Siècle</i>	<i>John G. Hurst</i>	176
Notes and Comments		141 and 154
Notes on Contributors		113

The First Fields in an Oxfordshire Parish

By ERNEST A. POCOCK

AT the time of Domesday, Clanfield in Oxfordshire was a very old and fully developed community. Long before the Saxon farmers came on the scene Iron Age farmers had a centre at Bampton, the neighbouring town two miles to the east, and sometimes in dry summers hut circles can still be discerned on the gravels. That Clanfield was among the early sites settled by the Saxons is suggested by the discovery of early Saxon pottery in the parish—in a section dug across ditches in Grants Hay, and in Busbies Close, Pound Lane. But how did the Saxons first farm the land, and where did they begin to open up the arable? These are practical questions that are a challenge to anyone, especially to a farmer like myself, knowing my own village and interested in its history. In this work a farmer stands in a unique position. He can read the work of other men and privately view his own land every day without any special effort. Inevitably, as he “gets his eye in,” things he took for granted take on a meaning. What at one time he took for a natural feature on these early-settled gravels can be seen to be man-made. Every bump in the field has a meaning, every bend in the road an explanation. Moreover, the experience he gains from his own land can be carried with him and tested out on other farms, wherever business or pleasure takes him.

For a long time I had accepted as natural the many old balks that appear in our modern arable fields. They seemed to have no rhyme or reason. They began anywhere, sometimes in the middle of fields, sometimes towards the edge, they went in any direction, changed course, and came to an end with no purpose at all. It was not until Mr David Sturdy, then at the Ashmolean Museum, asked me one day why fields seemed to rise when they approached a hedge that the reason for these became clear. The rise on a headland occurs simply because of the accumulation over the years of dirt cleaned off the plough. In the same way, dirt from the boot-scraper at the back-door of the farmhouse piles up until the day comes when it has to be carted away in a barrow. Manorial bylaws may have required men to throw dirt back on the land,¹ but who would do it thoroughly? In short, the balks in the middle of my fields were the headland boundaries of old furlongs, dating from before the enclosure of 1839. One other contribution to this problem came

¹ C. S. and C. S. Orwin, *The Open Fields*, p. 140.

from an old local farmer, now dead, who alleged that one of these balks or headlands in Clanfield was a road—an old Roman road. His dating of the road was wide of the mark, but the fact that it had once been a road was confirmed by later investigation.

Realizing the implications of these thoughts, I went over my own land, and saw that every balk had its parallel some eight to ten chains away. So in the summer of 1963, taking a copy of the enclosure map of the whole village, and with the help of my family, various members of the Clanfield History Society, and later Mrs B. Radford of Oxford who was also interested in the problem, and having obtained permission from other farmers, I proceeded to map out all the balks. Moreover, feeling that the size of the balks must have some relation to their age I also took cross-sections. I did not attempt to mark in the strips within the furlongs as these were so levelled out that only careful observation when the corn came through the ground would have shown them, and such work would have taken many years to accomplish. Nor was it possible to make much sense of the curious stepped ending that frequently occurs at the end of furlongs. Nevertheless, in general the picture emerged clearly. In one or two places where the shape of the furlong was a little complicated, I had difficulty in completing the outline from the ground, but a careful study of the air photographs of Clanfield supplied the answers. Luckily, I was also able to compare one air photograph of an adjoining part of Bampton parish with a pre-enclosure map of the Shrewsbury estate there,¹ and saw that the balks and headlands coincided on both map and photograph.

The next problem was to name the furlongs—a difficult and unfinished task: difficult because the axis of Barrow Field is south-east to north-west and yet all strip references are to north, south, east, or west; unfinished because the sources are few and scattered, and fresh information is continually coming to light. My main sources were as follows: the notices about the Act of Enclosure in *Jackson's Journal*, the Oxfordshire paper of that period, which specified the names of the furlongs over which the newly laid-out roads would pass; and a single pre-enclosure map which I found amongst the records of Bampton Church.² This map concerned a small estate in Clanfield, attached to St Leonard's Chapel. The chapel at the south end of the village is now cottages but it had once belonged to Bampton Church, and in 1818 a map was drawn and a schedule compiled of some strips which it owned in our parish. The map was not very accurate but it did locate and

¹ B.M. Map Room, PS4/3577, Maps C7e16(3).

² Exeter Cathedral Library MSS, D. & C. Exeter, Ch Comm. 74313, Survey of Bampton, 1818.

name the furlongs in which the strips lay. Moreover, the names of some furlongs, e.g. Badbury, are retained in modern field names, while a few have fallen out of use but are remembered by the older folk. Finally some came to light in deeds, wills, inventories, etc. Thus I was able to build up a map of the village before its enclosure, and in many places to enter up the old furlong names, or, at least, the names by which they were known just before the enclosure, for furlong names changed just as modern field names change (see Fig. I). Having slept on this work for some time now, I have tried to inter-

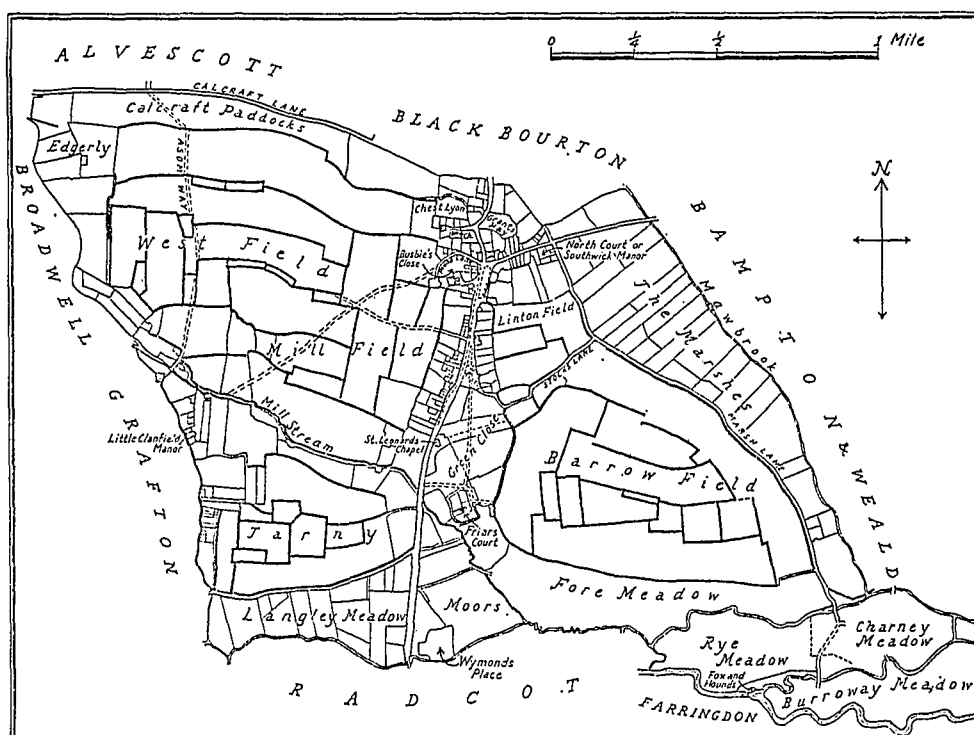


FIG. I

CLANFIELD PARISH

Note. The thick black lines indicate balks, the dotted lines old paths.

pret my discoveries and to understand how the village fields were opened up.

Clanfield lies in the south-west corner of Oxfordshire, near the counties of Berkshire and Gloucestershire. The main houses of the village lie about a mile north of the river Thames or Isis, but the south-east portion of the parish reaches to the river. The soil in this area is chiefly loam over gravel. Here and there a patch of clay creates a drainage problem, but it is never more than an acre at most, and generally much less. The Upper Thames

valley seems flat to the motorist passing through it, but it is not really so, and in Clanfield the slight undulations determined the use of the land. The area had a high-water table, and until recently the risk of floods, even summer ones, was considerable. The only land suitable for ploughing, therefore, lay on the higher well-drained ground. This consisted of two islands in the centre of the parish separated by the main street. The low marshy valleys surrounding these islands were suitable only for meadow and pasture.

The island of arable on the western side of Clanfield is divided in two by the Broadwell or Mill Stream, travelling across it from north-west to south-east. Originally the northern half was called West Field and the southern half, Tarney, i.e. Thorn Island. By the seventeenth century, however, West Field had been split into two and the southern half was called Mill Field. The name Mill Field derives either from a water mill on the west, or a windmill in the east end of Mill Field, which was in my farm buildings. The eastern island of arable, running north-west to south-east was, and still is, called Barrow Field, and lies between the old village and the meadows running to the river. Its northern end, lying nearest the village, is a later addition and came to be known as Linton Field (the first reference I have found to this field is dated 1648);¹ possibly it was set aside for flax growing. The reason for the name Barrow Field is not entirely clear. It has generally been assumed that the field contained a barrow, and indeed the first Ordnance Survey map of 1828-30 marks a barrow in the centre of the field. Today, however, nothing of this can be seen on the ground, nor can anything be seen in the air photographs. The earliest record of the field is in the Osney Deeds of the mid-thirteenth century, where the field is referred to as Burwe.² South of Barrow Field is a meadow still called Burroway Meadow in which a burgh stands beside a lost ford which crossed the Thames. A prehistoric way passes over Barrow Field from Black Bourton Barrow through Burroway ford, following the course of an old Hundred boundary, to the moated enclosure in Stanford Park. Thus it would appear that it took its name originally from the Burgh Way, but whilst the meadow land came to be known as Burroway Meadows, the arable field became Barrow Field.³

The earliest references to the fields and furlong names of Clanfield are to be found in three Osney deeds of c. 1340.⁴ The first is a gift made by a certain

¹ Bodleian Library, Clanfield Deeds.

² H. E. Salter, ed., *Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, IV, Oxford Hist. Soc., xcvi, 1937, Osney deed no. 482, pp. 507-8.

³ I discuss these ancient landmarks more fully in an article awaiting publication on prehistoric cultures in southern England.

⁴ Salter, *op. cit.*, deeds nos. 484, 482, and 483a.

Nicholas Nysternon of 5 acres in one field and 5 acres in the other, plus small portions of meadow. The last two are gifts by Peter Bokerel of 17 acres of arable and 4 acres of meadow. Although these deeds refer to two fields, it is clear that they are not describing two fields in the geographical sense, but a two-course rotation. One field, West Field, is the one that later became divided into West Field and Mill Field, whilst all the rest, including Tarny, are referred to as East Field, though by no stretch of the imagination can they all be said to lie in the east. From this it would appear that West Field was looked upon as the principal field and was the first to be brought under the plough. Indeed, some memory of this fact may have lingered on to explain why West Field was still referred to as Clanfield Field as late as the nineteenth century: it is so marked on the Davis map of Oxfordshire (1797) and on the Ordnance Survey map of 1828-30.

From our earliest records, namely, Domesday Book, the Hundred Rolls, the Osney Deeds, manorial records, and O.S. maps, we are able to see where the earliest settlements lay in the parish. These were four in number: one at Grants Hay, in what was later called Southwick Manor; another by Friars Court Farm; another at Little Clanfield; and another in association with Barrow Field. The present street form of Clanfield is modern. Near the church is a central green, now a private field of about 4 acres called Grants Hay. Around it, still clearly to be seen on the eastern portion, are small paddocks of about 1 to 2 acres. Excavations in 1964 showed that this was the site of an early Saxon settlement, and that the central field was probably an Iron Age burgh. The darkness of its soil showed that it had been greatly used for yarding cattle for security at night.

Friars Court, the second centre of settlement in Clanfield, is now a moated farmhouse with out-buildings. For many years it was owned by the Knights Hospitallers, and the Hundred Rolls and many surviving court rolls tell of a community living there. Around the house a Roman coin and Romano-British pottery have been found, suggesting that a British farmer may have lived there during the Roman period. That it is an ancient and prehistoric site is suggested by the fact that it is on the ancient straight way from Black Bourton Barrow leading to Radcot Bridge, Faringdon Church, and thence to Furze Hill, near Coxwell. Similar but uninhabited moated sites are to be found in Berkshire at Stanford park, and near Wadley, Faringdon, and at Radcot, Oxon.

Little Clanfield, the third site, with its manor house, seems by elimination to be the old Manor of Putts, which in the Hundred Rolls belonged to the Abbot of Cirencester. It would appear that this settlement was not confined originally to the land of modern Little Clanfield but had land all along the

western edge of West Field, and that it may have included Edgerly farm and Pittslands, an area in neighbouring Alvescot parish. Certainly, our parish had ancient connections with Alvescot. Finally, it is interesting to note that in this part of the parish, i.e. along its western edge we find a prehistoric site called Badbury, an enclosure of some 2-3 acres, standing at the side of the Asom Way. This is a prehistoric north to south way, affording a river crossing, and now partly lost, but its name was still in use at the time of the enclosure award.¹

The fourth settlement is connected with Barrow Field and Burroway, which were at one time separate from Clanfield, being, as the Osney deeds say, of the "ancient demesne of Bampton." In 1818 the St Leonard's extent still referred to Barrow Field as "Wield" (Weald), which was the part of Bampton parish next to it. In the Hundred Rolls De Valance had an estate with six freemen and twelve cottars in this area. Stocks Close and Stocks Lane on its north side reveal the site of one of the chief tenants, but there is no sign here of other habitations. For these we have to look to Burroway meadow, where the last of a group of houses, the *Fox and Hounds* public house, serving the bargees on the river, survived until about a hundred years ago when it was accidentally burned down. Again, as we have previously noted at the other three settlement sites, a prehistoric burgh of about 3-4 acres lay in the centre.

In my search for the origin of Clanfield and the beginning of its ploughlands, two things stand out: all the earliest settlements are on pre-Saxon sites; yet when I look at the furlong map of Clanfield I can see nothing which clearly says that the people from any of these centres began to open up the arable fields that I have mapped. Indeed, all the facts seem to indicate otherwise. If, as I have suggested, the size of the balks bears some relation to their age, then clearly the oldest lie in West Field, in its northern sector. If we look for the oldest furlong names, they are to be found there also. If greater age is implied by a balk that winds with careless indifference, then these too lie in West Field (with perhaps one exception in Barrow Field). In the earliest deeds of Osney abbey, we note yet again the importance of West Field. If we look at our earliest maps, we see West Field alternatively named Clanfield Field.²

When we look at Westfield as a whole (i.e. West Field and Mill Field) (Fig. II) we are aware of a group of furlongs possessing all the above-mentioned characteristics of great age. They form a triangle with its base on the north side consisting of Longlands (A, B, and C), and its apex at Great

¹ Part of the Asom Way is shown as furlongs M, N, and O on Fig. II. See also below, p. 93.

² See p. 89 above.

Hillingworth (U) and Green Benny (X). The size of the balks is one clue to the order in which the fields were cleared, but very conveniently the names of some of these furlongs also tell us the direction from which they were opened out. Over Redlands furlong (I) must obviously lie beyond, and have been cleared after, Redlands (D) (=Rid or cleared lands). Redlands lies next to Longlands (A, B, and C) and must be the furlong, rid or cleared after the latter one. So we reach the conclusion that in Longlands, a furlong nearly three-quarters of a mile wide (or long), with the largest balks of all, we have the place where our Westfield began. But where did the people live who opened out this first furlong? None of the settlements in Clanfield, already mentioned, lies near it. Yet as a farmer I expect men to plough their first lands at the back-door. Perhaps it was the work of a now vanished settlement? On the north side of Longlands furlong, between it and Calcroft Lane, are a line of paddocks. From air photographs we can see that many of these were split up into smaller paddocks stretching from the lane to Longlands. Although there is as yet no archaeological evidence to prove it, I suspect that here within these small paddocks may have stood the huts of the settlers who first opened out Longlands. An old man, now eighty years old, who has worked all his life on the farm to which these paddocks belong, has pointed out that the soil here is darker than on the adjoining land. A similar distinction has already been noted in Grants Hay. Moreover, the fact that a lane runs in front of these paddocks along the line of a soil change, and that a right of way existed up to enclosure times behind them, on Longlands headland, sets these paddocks apart from the surrounding land. Moreover, these paddocks have always remained outside the common fields, when the nature of the soil suggests that they should have been incorporated with them. The name of the lane that passes by these crofts is significant. On the map it is Calcroft Lane (Cattle-Croft), but I always knew it as Cowcroft. Lanes in Clanfield are known not by their ultimate destination, but by the places they pass. This, of course, is obvious: e.g. Marsh Lane goes by the marshes; Langley Lane goes by the long meadow. Thus the meaning of the name of this lane is 'the lane that goes by the cattle or cow crofts or paddocks'. These crofts are tentatively put forward as the remains of former house sites.

WEST FIELD

In looking again at the furlong pattern of West Field, it seems that three groups of people were at work before the field was completely opened out. At an early stage, the settlers (whom we will call Group 1) working out from Longlands met restriction and competition on the east and west as other settlers (whom we will call Groups 2 and 3) began to open out furlongs from

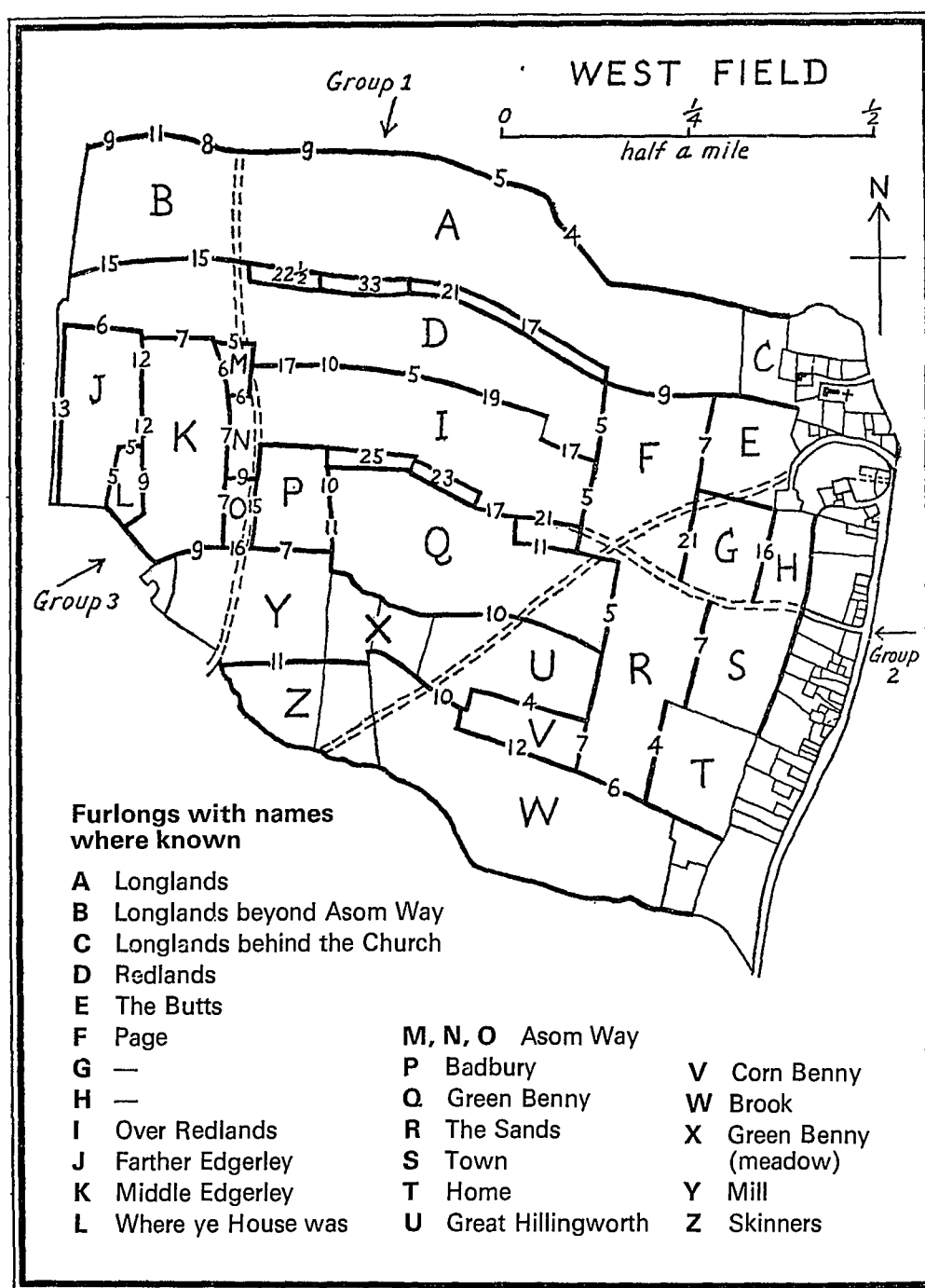


FIG. II

Note. The numbers inserted in the balks in Figures II–V represent the measurement in square yards of their cross-sections. This, of course, is only a rough guide since the balks are not uniform throughout their length.

other sides. Soon after Longlands (A, B, and C) was marked out, Group 2 opened out a block of furlongs, including Butts (E), Page (F), and Hand G, so that when Group 1 marked out Redlands (D) and later Over Redlands (I) they came up against a pre-existing boundary on the east side. Meanwhile on the west Group 3 had joined in. Although they did not mark out their furlongs, Farther Edgerley (J) and Middle Edgerley (K), tight up against Longlands, yet they were there before Redlands (D) was opened out, to restrict it and shorten its strips. When Group 1 marked out Redlands (D) they incorporated in it the odd furlong at its eastern end against Page (F). This may have belonged to Group 2 but the run of its lands suggests it belonged to Group 1 and perhaps was struck out to contain Group 2 or to balance up with Longlands. The west end of Over Redlands (I) is of interest. Furlongs M, N, and O are later additions and show not only the course of the ancient valley crossing, the Asom Way, but also the width allowed for it at that period. In other words, it was in use at the time of the field clearance. Its course across Redlands (D) and Longlands (A) is hidden by the fact that road and strips ran in the same direction. In later times, perhaps because of land shortage, M, N, and O were ploughed, very much narrowing this way in consequence. The culmination of Group 1's work is to be seen in Great Hillingworth (U). On the east there was already a barrier of furlongs: the furlong under the houses, Town (S), Home (T), and Sands (R) furlongs, which Group 2 had opened out. On the west the barrier furlong was Badbury (P), its name deriving from the ancient enclosure partially visible in air photographs under Middle Edgerley (K). L is also a curious furlong: an old deed refers to it as "where ye house was." Mill (Y) and Skinners (Z) furlongs seem to be connected with Group 3. Brook Furlong (W) is also associated with Group 3, because it was opened out from that end. The headland at the west end is much greater than at the east end where it finishes up as odd gores. Corn Benny (V) in the centre is a bobby furlong¹ with two strips of different lengths. As we shall note later, because of the direction of its strips, it would seem to have been cleared by Group 2. Green Benny (X) was an island of private land in the midst of the common fields. It was a boggy island, the Green being a reference to the fact that the grass never dried off there even in a hot summer. On laying drains through it a few years ago I found the strata were continually changing every three or four feet, running the gamut of all soils from sand to clay. Frequently we dug through mighty oak stumps, and it was here we found a perfect unpolished stone axe head about two feet down.

In looking at West Field two further points may be added. The axis of the

¹ A bobby is an odd, small piece of land.

furlongs, with the exception of Butts (E), all run in the same direction from the point from which it is suggested they were opened up. All Group 1's furlongs run from north to south, Group 2's from east to west, and all Group 3's from the outside of the field inwards. Group 1 had the most developed road system. In between Longlands (A) and Redlands (D) ran a road between a double headland, as also between Over Redlands (I) and Green Benny Furlong (Q). The latter road was used by the village to reach Asom Way and Little Clanfield Mill, but was partly realigned at the enclosure.

Finally, I suggest that the name of the settlement along Calcraft Lane may be identified with that of Benny, a place returned in the Hundred Rolls as having six serfs and thirteen cottars, and belonging to Chestlyon manor.¹ Today this site is still owned by Chestlyon Farm. For a long time I had looked to Green Benny for the location of this settlement, but it was obvious that there was no room here for the houses of serfs and cottars. Green Benny is only some 6 acres in size, and tight all around it lay the common field. However, since Green Benny Field appears to mark the end of the territory cleared by Group 1, it may well be that the name of this group was Benny and that Benna and his followers were the men who began the first furlongs in Clanfield.

TARNY FIELD

Tarny Field (Fig. III) is the south part of Clanfield's western island of arable land. Its name means thorn island, and in the Osney deeds of 1241 one furlong was called Briar Furlong. But it must have been farmed by Iron Age farmers for in Top of Tanny Furlong (K) are two slightly irregular circles and many storage pits. Moreover, north of these, in furlong E are boundary marks that have nothing to do with furlongs or modern divisions. In the east end of this furlong is a circular hut ditch of about 15 ft diameter with a rectangular yard, some 20 ft long, attached to it. This suggests that Tarny must have reverted to scrub and thorn after being cleared and farmed in the Iron Age, and at the subsequent Saxon clearance took second place to West Field from which Clanfield took its name of "cleared land".

The build-up of dirt on the Tarny headlands agrees with this as it is not so large as in West Field. The greatest double headlands here are 1 ft 7 in. by 36 yds, and 1 ft 9 in. by 30 yds wide as compared with the headlands between Longlands and Redlands in West Field measuring 2 ft 2 in. by 60 yds. Two

¹ Chestlyon manor house is sited at the end of the Calcraft Lane paddocks. It is near Grants Hay, but it is not associated with it tenurially. It should be noted that the old way from Bampton came to Southwick manor, with which Grants Hay is associated, thus indicating that Southwick was the older settlement. In the Hundred Rolls, however, Chestlyon was the principal manor.

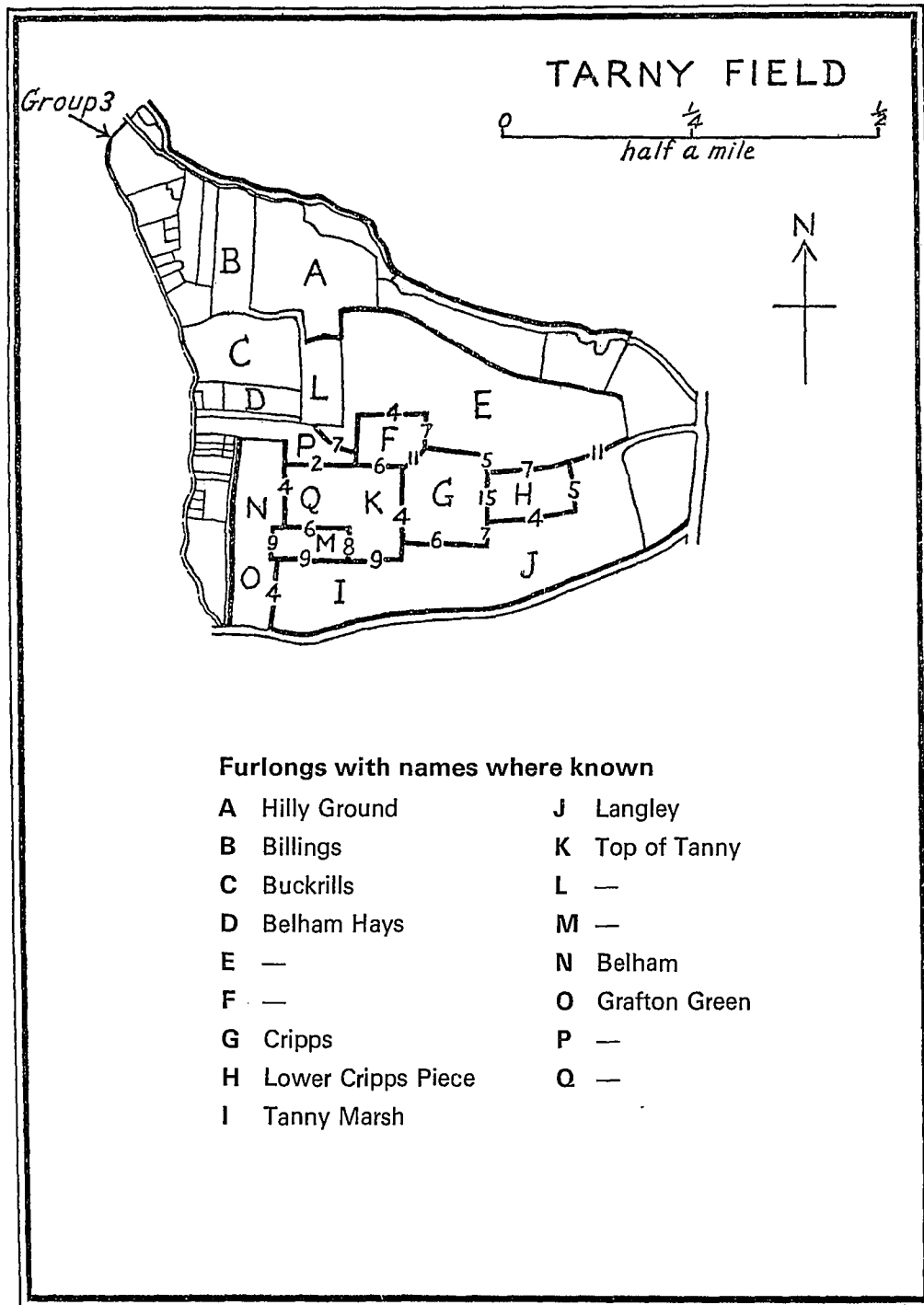


FIG. III

things are noticeable about Tarny: the amount of land held in severalty in the north-west corner near the manor house, namely, Hilly Ground (A), Billings (B), and Buckrills (C); and the fact that the field was clearly opened out from the central and highest point. Obviously when it was opened out, and for much of its life, a larger community existed in its north-west corner. This district, including Grafton, has in recent times for various reasons gradually lost its population. The opening out of the furlongs would appear to have taken place in the following order: furlong L came first, followed by P and Q; then F and M were added, followed by Top of Tanny (K), Cripps (G), and Lower Cripps (H). Later drainage, and the obvious need for more land, caused E, Grafton Green (O), Belham (N), Tanny Marsh (I), and Langley Furlong (J) to be opened out in stages. The effect of drainage is revealed in the names of these last two furlongs. Tanny Marsh tells us that when it was opened out and named, the Langley was still a marsh called Tanny Marsh, but when Langley Furlong was opened out, the marsh had been drained sufficiently to make it a meadow, i.e. the Long Lea, so its name had been changed from Tanny Marsh to Langley. This order in the opening out of the furlongs is confirmed by the headland measurements and shows that the people who cleared it must have worked from the western sides, presumably from the settlement site of Group 3.

BARROW FIELD

Barrow Field (Fig. IV), as we have already noted, was first called Burwe Field, meaning 'the way past the burgh'. It has associations with settlements below it, by the river at Burroway, and on the north and north-west at Stocks Lane and Green Close. The greatest double balks in this field vary from 2 ft 2 in. by 40 yds to 2 ft 2 in. by 45 yds. These are not so large as those in West Field but larger than Tarny's and they are found in the centre of the field. A large single headland, 1 ft 4 in. by 35 yds is also found in the east corner at the west end of Marsh (H), and in Pease Land (Z) is another, 1 ft 7 in. by 35 yds.

One prominent feature of this field is the continuous line of furlongs opened out alongside the marshes on the north-east. The modern lane runs along the headland of these furlongs and, like so many lanes in our area, lies on the line of soil change. The oldest furlong here is Marsh (H); as other furlongs were made they adjusted their line to take into account the bend in the boundary between two kinds of soil. E is a rather curiously shaped furlong, the west end of which was finally determined by a study of the air photographs. Somewhere in this region is a furlong called 'Louse'. It is an interesting fact that today when I winter cattle in the modern large field that

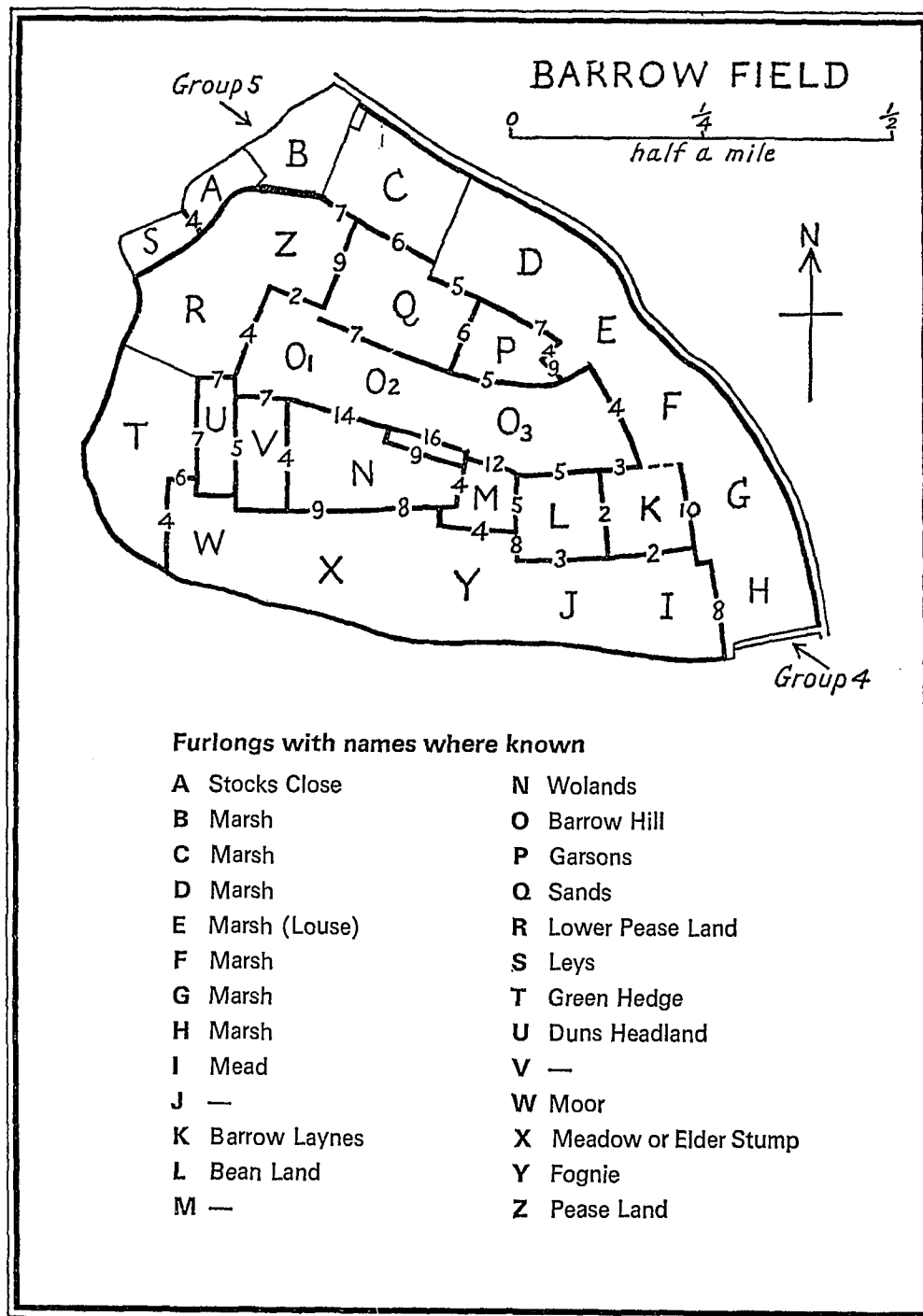


FIG. IV

covers this area, their necks become covered with lice. This row of furlongs carries on through D and C, and ends in B. This latter furlong was already in severalty at the enclosure, but was really a collection of gores, plus one or two strips that had been privately enclosed at some time—an excellent illustration of the way consolidation took place most easily at the ends of fields. The fact that the gores are in B, and that the largest headland is at the other end, in H, must surely mean they were first opened up by people working from the south-east corner, i.e. by the Burroway community, Group 4.

Meanwhile a series of fields had been cleared from Stocks Lane end by Group 5. The headland measurements suggest that Pease Land (Z) came first, then O₁ and O₂ up to the east end of Wolands (N), then Duns Headland (U), followed by V and N. From the east a group of four furlongs was opened out by Group 4. Barrow Laynes (K), Bean Land (L), and J and I, of which the first two are on clay soil. Furlong O₃, a later continuation of O₂, shows how the early settlers taking into account existing boundaries to the east at F, south at L and K, and following the headland of O₂ produced a furlong of fan-like hands, enabling them to do without gores at one end or the other. E, the odd furlong already mentioned, was opened out after this, and tried to regain the length that F had lost. In preparing to cultivate D, they attempted to produce a furlong parallel with the line of the soil change, and did not mind going back to the line of F. Because of all this, when the furlong called the Sands (Q) was opened out between G and O₂, a very oddly shaped piece was left, and this, when finally ploughed, produced Garsons (P). The remainder of the work was concerned with opening out the odd furlongs around the west and south of the field, as the land was drained.

LINTON FIELD

Although at first sight, Linton Field (Fig. V) appears to be part of Barrow Field, this is not so. It is a separate unit bounded on the south by Stocks Lane (i.e. the lane to Stocks Close). Robert Stock is named as having land there in the Hundred Rolls. On the west it is bounded by Clanfield Green and houses, on the east by the Marshes, and on the north by properties associated with Grants Hay and the Southwick Manor. It was the last field to be opened up. Its largest double headland is only 1 ft 2 in. by 34 yds and its single one 1 ft 4 in. by 27 yds. Compared with the other arable blocks it lies rather low, and I suspect can only have been brought into cultivation after the village became better drained. Culvery Furlong (A), with a single headland of 1 ft 4 in. by 27 yds, was clearly the first to be ploughed. Obviously when this happened the crofts on the west and Home Close on the east were already enclosed. Its name Culvery—dove or pigeon-pond—is interesting inasmuch

as the manor pond and pigeon-house still exist on its north side. The next furlong would seem to have been the longest part of the Marsh Furlong (B), stretching from the marshes to the village houses, and following the existing

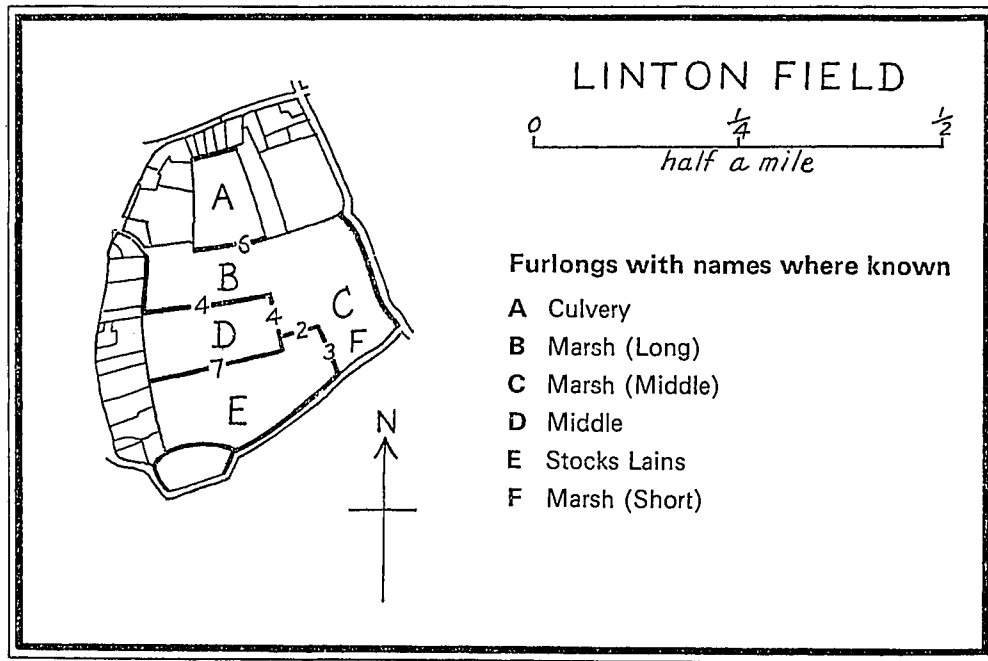


FIG. V

boundaries on the north side. Middle Furlong (D) then followed, after which came the middle portion of Marsh Furlong (C), Stocks Lains Furlong (E), and finally the shortest portion of Marsh Furlong (F).

WYMANS

Amongst the earliest records of Clanfield is a reference to Wymondsplace.¹ Today a field near The Moors is still called Wymonds. It is that portion of the Langley which was cut off from the modern Langley by the causeway built across it to serve the wharfage at Radcot.² On the air photographs an enclosure and strips can clearly be seen in the meadow. Here, no doubt, is the effort of one man, Wyman, who sought in the waste to make a home of his own. The plot of his house and some twelve strips, cover about 3 to 4 acres.

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls, Richard II, vol. I, 1377-1381, p. 281.*

² E. A. Pocock, *Radcot and its Bridge*, 1966.

CONCLUSION

The period of earliest settlement in English villages is shrouded in mystery. Yet someone somewhere did strike out the first furlong; there must have been a long period before the parish took its present form, when independent settlements nibbled away at the adjoining land until the day came when they had to come to terms with one another. What the records and the archaeologist fail to tell us may still be found in the land and in a common-sense approach to the evidence it preserves. It remains for us to devise new means of interpreting it. I have made such an attempt here. My ideas may be challenged, but the best test of their validity will be a similar investigation in other villages. For example, the shape of the first furlong, Longlands, may resemble that identified in other villages.¹ It may be possible elsewhere by studying balks on the ground and in air photographs to reconstruct a pre-enclosure map of the arable land of an early settled parish and compare it with an existing map. Although every community was a law unto itself, it may well be that some of the things seen here in Clanfield are common to other villages as well.

¹ See, for example, Lord Rennell of Rodd, *Valley on the March*, 1958, pp. 92-118.

A Study of Medieval Colonization in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire

By B. K. ROBERTS

COLONIZATION has long been recognized as one of the more potent forces moulding the landscape of the Middle Ages, but, nevertheless, while a number of recent studies have stressed the sharp differences between colonizing and non-colonizing manors, relatively few studies have been produced in the British Isles which focus upon this topic and examine in any detail the causes, processes, and effects of colonization.¹ The author was stimulated to attempt such a study as a result of discovering the existence of a large collection of private land charters relating to one parish situated within the heart of the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire. Frequent references to woodland, waste, and heathland in the charters revealed that active colonization was taking place.²

Arden, first documented in the eleventh century, was an extensive tract of woodland whose individuality emerged when once broad belts of cleared land had developed within the surrounding lowlands. Never Royal Forest, Arden developed its distinctive landscape of villages, hamlets, single farms, and small hedged fields as a result of being colonized relatively late. Domesday Book reveals that Arden in 1086 was lightly settled, poor in terms of the agricultural wealth represented by plough teams, and yet, paradoxically, rich in terms of the woodland resources which awaited exploitation.³

¹ A notable exception is a recent study of fenland colonization by H. E. Hallam, *Settlement and Society, A Study of the Early Agrarian History of South Lincolnshire*, 1965. The following two studies also lay emphasis upon colonization: J. Z. Titow, 'Some Differences between Manors and their Effects on the Condition of the Peasant in the Thirteenth Century', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, x, 1962, pt 1, pp. 1-13; E. C. Vollans, 'The Evolution of Farm-lands in the Central Chilterns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Trans. Institute of British Geographers*, no. 26, 1959, pp. 197-241. In 1959 Professor R. H. Hilton discussed the characteristics of the Arden area in his paper 'Old Enclosures in the West Midlands: a Hypothesis about their late medieval Development', *Géographie et Histoire Agraires*, Université de Nancy, Mémoire no. 21, 1959, pp. 272-83.

² The collection is lodged in the Birthplace Library, Stratford upon Avon, and comprises the muniments of the Archer family of Tanworth (henceforth referred to as Archer Coll.), together with satellite material. The author would like to acknowledge the help he received from the staff there, in particular, Mrs E. Berry.

³ R. H. Kinvig, 'Warwickshire', in *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, ed. H. C. Darby and J. B. Terrett, 1954, pp. 270-308.

From the eleventh to the early fourteenth centuries the area experienced a vigorous colonizing movement which saw the creation of new farms and fields, reclaimed piecemeal from the waste and woodland by peasant colonists. This movement appears to have been stimulated partly by peasant land hunger in the old settled lands to the south of Arden, and partly by seignorial encouragement, the result of a desire to increase income from rents and dues, and possibly to consolidate political power. The landscape which resulted was largely one of single farms associated with hedged fields held in severalty, but there is evidence to show that these forms existed in close association with a very different type of organization, a form of open-field, possibly common field, subdivided into strip holdings, and closely attached to old-established village nuclei. The relationship between these two forms and their relative chronology constitutes a major problem.¹

In the Midlands of England a sharp contrast exists between the great river valleys, with their tracts of warm, fertile, river-terrace soils, and the watershed regions, of which Arden is part, comprising upland surfaces, frequently at a general altitude of 400 to 500 feet, overlain by glacial drift of very variable character. The soils of Arden are such that, once clearance was initiated, considerable degeneration occurred, and the original oak-birch woodland was replaced by thorn, scrub, bracken, and rank grass, locally termed 'heath'. This process may well have been under way by Iron Age times, and the earliest specific references to vegetation, in mid-twelfth-century monastic foundation charters, refer to both woodland and heath.² The process of woodland destruction continued steadily throughout the period 1150 to 1350 as the result of felling, fuel extraction, and grazing animals. There is evidence from the thirteenth century of deliberate preservation in the form of enclosed woods.³

¹ Some difficulty exists in finding a term to describe this feature accurately, for if Dr J. Thirsk's definition of a 'common' field be accepted (*vide* 'The Common Fields', *Past and Present*, no. 29, Dec. 1964, p. 3) it is difficult to prove that all four necessary conditions were present in the Middle Ages. The author is of the view that they were, but the evidence is by no means conclusive and cannot be discussed here.

² See J. Ryland, *The Records of Wroxall Abbey and Manor*, 1903, MS. 79, and W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1846 edn by Caley, Ellis, and Bulkerley Bandinel, iv, pp. 113-18.

³ In 1086 one 'hay' is recorded in Arden, and from 1200 onwards references to both hays and enclosed woods become frequent. The need to enclose and protect woodland is made clear by several specific references, thus in c.1200 a grantee received the right to "free entry and exit to the enclosure called Haywode [in Baddesley Clinton] with all his farm animals for feeding, except goats, and also sufficient wood from the said enclosure for repairing houses, making hedges and firing."—Stratford upon Avon, Ferrars Coll., Baddesley Clinton, Charter no. 1. A charter of 1281 (Stratford upon Avon, Archer Coll., Tanworth, Charter no. 10, Nov. 1281) is even more specific: the grantees received the right to cut timber provided that they then "enclose the land so that more trees may grow."

This study focuses upon one parish, Tanworth, some 9,400 acres in extent, which lies at the heart of the late settled zone of Arden. Tanworth, unfortunately, was not mentioned specifically in 1086, although there are good reasons for believing that at that date it was still largely woodland, attached to, but physically separate from, an estate in the southern part of the county, Brailes.¹ This dependency persisted until the early twelfth century, but by 1202 the chapel at Tanworth had become an independent parish church, and it is significant that the earliest documentary evidence for the development of the estate derives from the period *c.* 1150–80. Tanworth, however, is clearly a name of Anglo-Saxon origin, and at least a small area of clearing in 1086 may reasonably be inferred. The character and location of this provide a further problem for investigation.

The technique adopted in this work was to locate the charters within the parish, and then use the information contained in them to compile a series of distribution maps which could be used as the basis for reconstructing the human landscape of Tanworth parish between the twelfth century and 1350. The picture so created was amplified by using court rolls, rentals, and later surveys, together with more general sources, such as taxation lists, extents, and place-names. The disappearance of the formal records of the manor, the products of the lord's administration, is to be regretted, as they would have provided a valuable framework. Broadly speaking it is possible to recognize within the parish three distinct phases of colonization, which will be considered in turn.

Phase one comprises the period between the earliest settlement and the late twelfth century, and although no direct evidence survives, a certain amount of speculation is feasible. The earliest settlement appears to have consisted of two elements: first, an area of strip-fields, and second, the demesne lands. The former are mapped in Fig. IV which shows their extent in the period 1300–50; no evidence has been found for rotational practice, and the material so far analysed throws little light on the actual disposition of tenements, but the constant use of such terms as 'selion', 'parcel', and 'furlong' clearly suggests intermixed strip holdings, while a number of charters, together with a survey of *c.* 1500, specifically use the term 'common field', the earliest such reference appearing in 1271.² This area of strip-fields can be traced back to *c.* 1200 with some certainty, and although in detail

¹ In the twelfth century Tanworth church was a chapelry of Brailes, and in an *Inquisition post mortem* of 1315 Tanworth was specifically described as a hamlet of Brailes (P.R.O. C 134/49, no. 72). As early as 1656 the antiquarian Dugdale pointed out that as Brailes lay in largely open country, and few of the surrounding manors possessed woodland, the large quantity of wood attributed to this estate in 1086 probably lay at Tanworth.

² Archer Coll., Tanworth, Charter no. 29, Sept. 1271.

changes, contraction, and perhaps expansion do occur, there is no evidence for any large-scale expansion of this small piece of open-field by the subdivision of assarts. Indeed, the earliest assarts for which proof exists lie on the edge of this field-land, and yet preserve their identity as closes in severalty.¹

When the distribution of open-field land within Arden as a whole is examined, it occurs always in close association with the earliest settlements, as indicated by place-names, and, indeed, a comparison of the distribution of such land and the extent of development indicated in Domesday Book suggests a close degree of correlation. While absolute proof can never be available, there are reasonable grounds for postulating that within Arden pre-twelfth-century colonization took a form which was to develop into open-fields, with intermixed strip holdings, open one to the other. This represents the first definable stage in the colonization of the woodland. It is also probable that in Tanworth the demesne represents land cleared before 1180; it was demonstrably present by the early thirteenth century, and certain field names suggest that this may have been the site of early clearing.² At this point mention must be made of the village of Tanworth, sited on a gravel-capped spur adjacent to open fields and demesne. The charters do not suggest any site changes, and yet curiously the settlement is not only eccentric to the parish, but the southern side of the village street actually lies within another manor and parish. None of the records examined illuminates this point, and no known facts of estate history can be invoked to account for this strange circumstance.

In about 1180, the Earl of Warwick, lord of Tanworth, subinfeudated one-third of the parish (Fig. I), creating the separate manor of Monkspath in the north, and this grant initiated a second phase of vigorous colonization, during which patterns of landownership and landscape were established which survive to the present. Falling between about 1180 and the mid-thirteenth century this phase was characterized by a determined attack on the waste and woodland by free colonists, armed with charters issued by the

¹ This situation contrasts markedly with that described by T. A. M. Bishop in 'Assarting and the Growth of the Open-Fields', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vi, no. 13, 1935, p. 13 ff. The author has discovered that several assarts were broken up to merge ultimately with the main area of open-field land in some parts of Arden, significantly in parishes on the periphery of the late settled zone, at Coleshill, for instance.

² In particular the name 'Oldburi' (early thirteenth century) is evocative, and a seventeenth-century letter describes the discovery of the "bodies of a multitude of men" together with a "spearhead of iron, much eaten with rust" and "divers potsherds," probably near Oldburi, possibly suggesting an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.—J. Burman, *The Story of Tanworth in Arden*, 1930, p. 50.

Earl. It saw the establishment of new farm units away from the initial nucleus, the dispersal of farmsteads, and the appearance of a vigorous market in land which was to have a profound effect upon subsequent developments within the parish. Three categories of seigniorial land grants may be distinguished; first, there is direct evidence for the granting of relatively small pieces of land, some 2-15 acres in extent, at a regular rate of 2d. per acre. Initially these grants occurred adjacent to the strip-field area and the demesne, and in some cases the grants may comprise demesne land; thus in the late twelfth

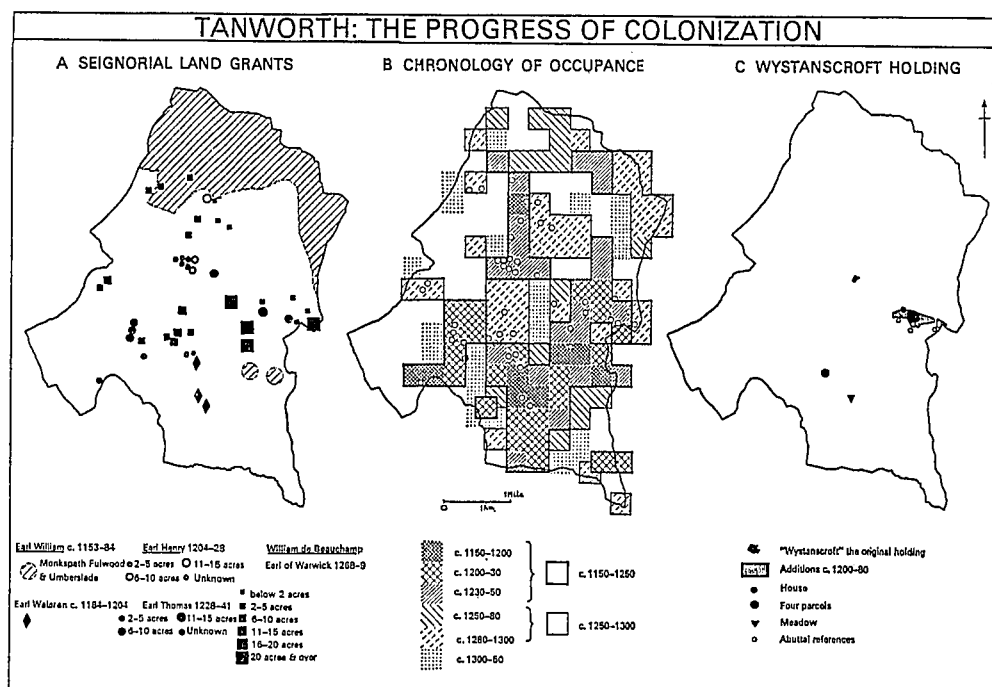


FIG. I

century Waleran, Earl of Warwick, confirmed to Herbert, son of Dolfin, "all the land in Werdesworth which Dolphin held of the grantor," while nearby one hears of "the land called little Bancroft which John son of Alard claimed."¹ By the second and third decades of the thirteenth century these grants were occurring farther afield, and one reads of "8 acres of land at Sponna in Tanworth, lying on each side of the little river between Calvesleia and the road lying between Sponna aforesaid and the land which belonged to Thomas de Hawkesawe and the great heath and the way lying between Frid and Sponna."² In spite of the small amount of evidence it is reasonable

¹ P.R.O. E 40/A4507 and Archer Coll., Tanworth, Charter no. 7, c. 1184-1204.

² Archer Coll., Tanworth, Charter no. 43, c. 1220-9.

to view the late twelfth century as a period when tentative thrusts were being made outwards from the earliest nucleus of clearing, and charters of the early thirteenth century show that this largely took the form of the creation of enclosures in severalty. By the middle of the century, grants were being made out on the plateau surface, well away from this nucleus, and while some of these small pieces seem to represent additions to existing holdings, others were clearly creations *de novo*. Fig. 1A maps these grants, and shows their scatter throughout the parish to the north of the initial focus of settlement in the south, while Fig. 1B is based on all the charters, and, using quarter-kilometer squares to provide an objective basis, maps the earliest reference within each unit. The two maps make the northward thrust quite clear, and demonstrate the piecemeal, irregular character of development.

A second category of seignorial grants is to be found in a series of somewhat larger block grants made by the Earls, ranging from 15 to 60 acres in extent. Some of these were quite irregular, comprising blocks of territory delimited by natural features, but others were clearly relatively regular blocks running from a stream to a heath or a road. One, for example, comprised "all the land in Tanworth which lies from the highway between Tanworth and Aspley, down the hedge of Roger Theke to the river Blythe, and up the Blythe to the hedge of John, son of Alard, and by the hedge of John, son of Alard back to the said highway, and so by the highway back to the hedge of Roger Theke," a long rectangular strip holding, probably about 15 acres in extent, and parallel to others of a similar nature.¹ In a parish adjacent to Tanworth, Solihull, one colonist was granted by his lord some 60 acres of land "between Tellewelle brook and the highway, in length two furlongs according to the great measure of Arden."² Many of the grants involved in this category include or are composed entirely of heathland, and it is evident that by this period the Earl was carefully preserving the main blocks of high woodland still surviving, granting only those areas which had already been devastated.

The evidence for the final category of grants is more nebulous, but the Earl was probably making block grants, of some size, to men who served him in an official capacity, and who appear as witnesses to his charters. Thus, Sir Henry de Ladbroke, described as the Earl's steward in one charter, held a large estate in Tanworth called Ladbroke; William de Bereford and Hugh de Benetford, respectively chamberlain and butler, are clearly to be linked with landholding families in Tanworth with these names, and it is not without significance that the Archer family, whose muniments form the basis of

¹ Archer Coll., Tanworth, Charter no. 9, c. 1184-1204.

² Archer Coll., Solihull, Charter no. 1, c. 1230.

this study, appear to have been granted about 25 acres of land in the late twelfth century and clearly served the Earl in some military capacity.¹ Grants of land were being used as a means of rewarding officials, and in some cases there is evidence that the land was retained in the hand of the grantee or passed to a member of his family, while in others further sub-grants took place.²

A close examination of such peasant holdings as can be reconstructed in this period reveals that discrete holdings were usual, and that it is normal to find that part of the property lay either within the strip-field area, or comprised a piece of demesne held on lease. However, as the new holdings gradually became viable, there is evidence for the development of a pattern of dispersed farmsteads, and this was accompanied by the disposal of the land lying within the original nucleus of clearing. Indeed, in one instance a strong case can be made for the alienation of a messuage within the village, which had become redundant as a result of the establishment of another on the new holding.³ The new farms were made up of squarish enclosed fields, frequently delimited by a bank and ditch of some size, the former topped by a fence or live hedge to afford some protection against the depredations of deer.⁴

The de Wystanscroft holding provides a good illustration of this phase of colonization: the original grant was made in about 1200, and comprised the land later known as Wystanscroft, some 15 acres in extent, for which a rent of 2d. per acre was demanded.⁵ This land is indicated in black in Fig. 1c. During the first half of the thirteenth century various pieces of land, amounting to at least 30 acres, were added, some being purchased from the Earl, some from other peasants, with the result that by about 1250 a compact unit of some 45-50 acres had been created, on which wheat and oats were cultivated, and which possessed a cattleshed and sheepfold.⁶ By c. 1280 it can be proved that the family were living on their new compact farm, and it is at

¹ Archer Coll., Tanworth, Charter no. 55, c. 1229-39.

² P.R.O. E 40/A4659, where Sir Henry de Ladbroke grants to John, son of Richard des Aspes, for his life, arable lands and meadows in Tanworth, together with pasture rights and stock.

³ Archer Coll., Tanworth, Charters nos 37 and 38, c. 1210-20.

⁴ Land is frequently described as "ditched and enclosed," and field evidence indicates that a substantial bank and ditch were used. At first the bank would carry a fence, which in time would develop into a live hedge, although the term *viva haia* does occur in the documents. The banks were normally about four feet high by five at the base, and the ditches five feet wide and about four feet deep.

⁵ Archer Coll., Tanworth, Charter no. 13, c. 1200; no. 14, c. 1210.

⁶ Archer Coll., Tanworth, 13 Oct. 1284, and a charter of c. 1320, a grant from Richard de Wystanscroft to Richard his son.

this period that parcels of land in the furlong called Shirewoldeshull were alienated, a sale which may be interpreted as the disposal of part of the holding which had become redundant.

A third phase of colonization, lasting from the mid-thirteenth century until the early decades of the fourteenth, saw a number of further developments: first, during the period 1268-98 the Earl of Warwick granted more small pieces of wasteland, which were added to existing farm units (Fig. 1B). For instance, Roger Gerin of Betlesworth received "three acres and three roods of waste land in Tanworth, lying in Betlesworth, and extending in length from the road leading from Betlesworth towards Alresshawe as far as the land of the said Roger, and in breadth between the highway leading from Benetford towards Birmingham as far as the land of Philp Duruvassal," in return for which he rendered to the Earl 15d. annual rent (i.e. 4d. per acre), suit of court twice yearly, and 1d. per acre scutage when this was levied.¹ These grants by charter may have been accompanied by a number of others, generally below 2 acres in extent, to persons of more humble status, who were given no charter, but held by recognition in the manorial court and whose lands were listed on the back of a court roll. All these grants resulted in the creation of further small enclosed fields in severalty.

Secondly, the period saw the rapid rise of a class of small landowners, wealthy freemen, who were able to create large compact holdings by buying out small freeholders, exchanging properties, and purchasing wasteland from the Earl.² The most successful members of this group were the Archer family, and Fig. II demonstrates how the initial holding of about 25 acres was gradually added to throughout the thirteenth century by the steady piecemeal accumulation of new land and viable holdings, tenanted and vacant. This process, linked with a policy of judicious marriages, resulted in the establishment of a large compact holding, to which was finally added the manor of Monkspath, comprising the northern third of Tanworth parish. Members of this class were never villein owners on any scale, and their holdings comprised a substantial home farm, surrounded by tenant farms, formed of small freeholdings absorbed during expansion. The Archers were the most successful of a group of such small landowners, and the result of this process was the development of a series of well-marked sub-manors within Tanworth which eventually, by prescription rather than right, acquired

¹ Archer Coll., Tanworth, c. 1268-98, a grant from William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to Roger Gerin.

² See E. A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. R. Kisch, 1953, ch. v, for a discussion of this social group based upon evidence derived from the Hundred Rolls of 1279.

courts of their own. Their owners clearly had substantial amounts of capital available to invest in land, but as the charters throw but little light on the economy of the area, the source of this is still largely an unsolved problem.

Thirdly, this period saw an intensification of the pattern of dispersed settlement; cottages and single farms were spread throughout the whole parish, together with the occasional hamlet, where a few smallholders, free and servile, often the tenants of the small landowners, were concentrated at a favoured point, a cross-road for example, where a small patch of wasteland

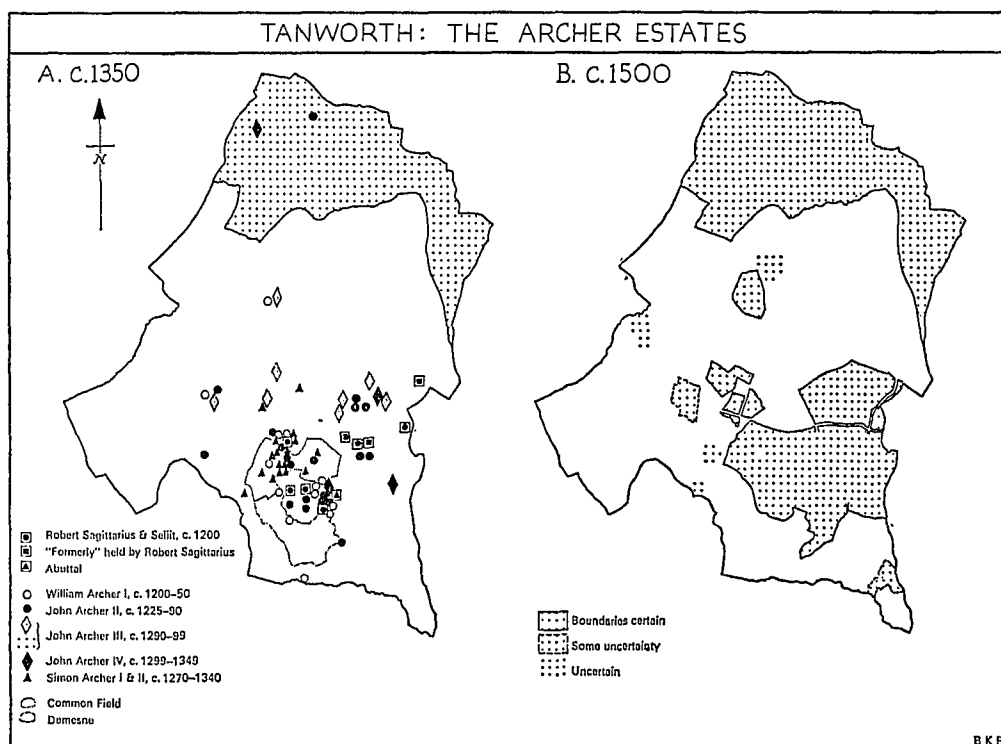


FIG. II

was available for grazing a few beasts. It was during the half-century between 1250 and 1300 that the small landowners established themselves in the large moated farmsteads which are such a notable feature of the Arden landscape today. While it is not possible to produce an actual map of settlement in 1350, all known dwellings have been recorded in Fig. IV, and in addition the information derived from a more complete survey of c.1500 has been plotted for comparison. The evidence suggests extreme dispersal, with each, in the words of William Harrison, "dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng."¹

¹ W. Harrison, *Description of England*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, New Shakespeare Soc., I, p. 259.

Finally, between 1250 and 1300 the development of a vigorous land market created opportunities for engrossing holdings as indicated above, and this had profound repercussions on the strip-field nucleus. Fig. III illustrates this point; the triplicate map is designed to record as much of the information contained within an individual land charter as possible. Fig. IIIA indicates the direction of the transactions with reference to the subject of the map, in this case Simon Archer and his son, Simon. The open circles record the accumulation of land. Fig. IIIB records any further points of in-

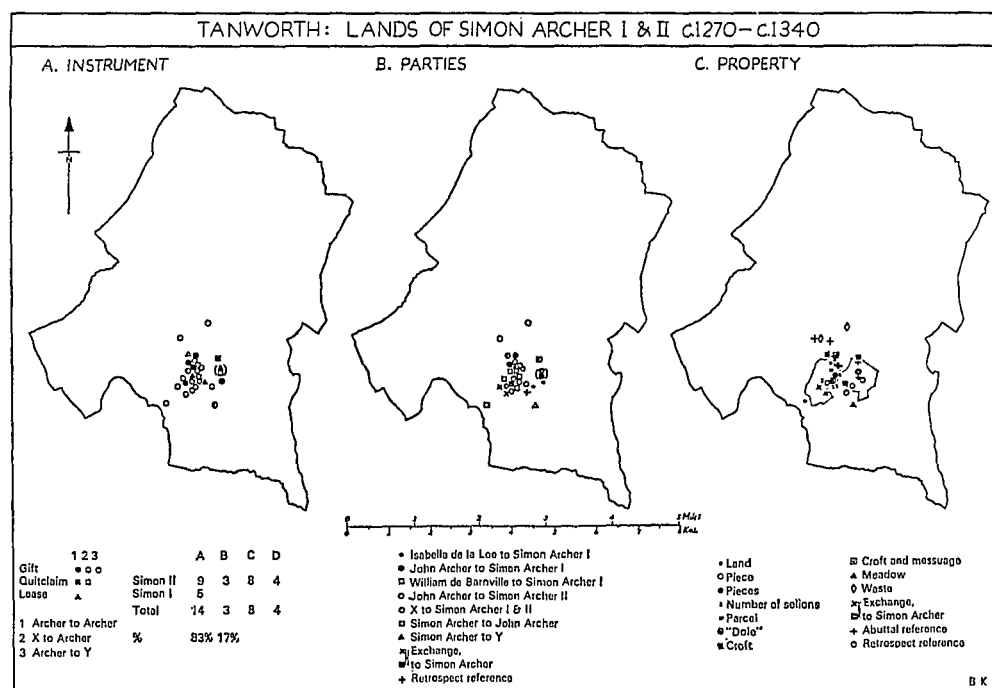
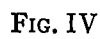


FIG. III

terest concerning the parties involved; in this example the large amount of land granted to the Archers by William de Barnville may be noted, which he had accumulated piecemeal between 1250 and 1300. Finally, Fig. IIIC records the nature of the property involved; in this case the land largely lay within the strip-field nucleus of the settlement, and the engrossing activities of the Archers resulted in the enclosure of much of the field by the end of the fourteenth century.

Fig. IV provides a means of summarizing the evidence and some of the problems which it raises. The initial focus of development was, without doubt, the area occupied by the demesne and the strip-fields, the former



being cultivated in severalty, the latter comprising intermixed holdings, each open to the other, and probably being worked in common. These lay on an area of better than average soils in a valley opening southwards towards the main early-settled region of Warwickshire, the middle Avon valley, and this must have formed an axis of penetration. Documentary evidence can prove the presence of both of these elements in the early decades of the thirteenth century, and it is reasonable to conclude that they are to be linked with the phase of Anglo-Saxon colonization indicated by the place-name Tanworth, but the problem of their origin remains. Do they represent old-established forms fossilized by social and legal changes, or are they the product of developments immediately before the appearance of documentary evidence in the late twelfth century? It is hoped that further work will throw more light on the character of these vital nuclei.

By 1350 most of Tanworth parish was occupied by enclosed severalties, fields, or 'closes', on average about 5 acres in area, associated with single farms. These were mainly established in the early thirteenth century, and at this date were in the hands of the initial grantees or their heirs or assigns. The late thirteenth century saw a growth of population, and the addition of more land to existing farm units, but the development of a market in land paved the way for the emergence of sharper social differentiation, and the period saw the rise to prominence of a group of wealthy freeholders who accumulated land to create sub-manors, and who demonstrated this wealth in the construction of large moated farmsteads. The emergence of these holdings resulted in a reduction of the number of small independent freeholds, and the concentration of land in the hands of a few powerful families, under whom the smaller men became tenants. With regard to the sources of their wealth, the charter evidence raises more questions than it solves, but the size of their rent rolls is insufficient to account for their substantial investments in land. So far actual reconstructions of farm and field boundaries have not been systematically undertaken, but there are encouraging signs that it will be possible in many cases to relate the documents to the field evidence, and so understand more fully the actual landscapes which resulted from this colonizing movement.

Tanworth is almost unique in Arden because of the exceptional degree of freedom prevailing among its inhabitants; for instance, over 60 per cent of the Earl of Warwick's income from this manor was derived from free rents, a figure of 30-40 per cent being more normal within Arden. This situation was quite clearly the result of a policy pursued by the Earl as territorial overlord. Other manors in his hands, having a similar physical environment and early settlement history to Tanworth, exhibit different trends, while the patterns

of development and landscape found on the Earl's manors contrast sharply with those found on the estates of other Arden landowners. This analysis of an extreme case poses many problems, but land charters, "minute fragments of agricultural reality," provide a means of examining an otherwise largely undocumented process.¹

¹ R. H. Hilton, 'The Content and Sources of English Agrarian History before 1500', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, III, 1955, p. 10.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

J. R. Coull is lecturer in Geography at the University of Aberdeen. He completed a Ph.D. thesis on the geography of crofting in Scotland in 1962, and has participated in several surveys, sponsored by government departments, on problems of economic development in Scotland.

J. P. D. Dunbabin is Fellow and Tutor in Politics and Modern History at St Edmund Hall, Oxford. He is engaged in research into rural discontent in nineteenth-century Britain.

B. K. Roberts is lecturer in Geography at Durham University. He is working on the development of settlement forms and field systems in the Midlands and north-east England.

M. L. Ryder is a Principal Scientific Officer

at the Agricultural Research Council's Animal Breeding Research Organization in Edinburgh. His current research interests include moulting and fleece structure. He has a book in the press on *Wool Growth*.

Miss Lucia Pearson is a lecturer in dairying at Reading University in one of the home-based posts of the Ministry of Overseas Development. She recently held a Harkness Fellowship in America and has become particularly interested in the agricultural development of South America.

Ernest A. Pocock farms 460 acres at Clanfield in south-west Oxfordshire. He is collecting material for a history of his village, and has already published two booklets on the White Horse at Uffington, Berkshire, and on Radcot bridge, the oldest surviving bridge over the Thames.

The Incidence and Organization of Agricultural Trades Unionism in the 1870's

By J. P. D. DUNBABIN

IN the summer of 1872, when the world suddenly seemed to lie at the agricultural labourers' feet, excited speakers made a number of irresponsible claims about their progress. The most remarkable that I have encountered was to the effect that Warwickshire alone had 150,000 union members, and the country as a whole 600,000. On a more formal occasion, however, members were claimed only in the majority of counties between Lincolnshire and Devon.¹ As Table I attempts to show, the second claim was the more accurate. And in the course of this article, I hope first to explore some reasons for this incidence of agricultural trades unionism, then to examine the importance of purely local factors, and finally to discuss the way in which the unions were really organized.

Of the more material demands of agricultural trades unionism, the most frequently voiced were those relating to wages, land, and housing. So one might expect to find the key to its incidence in an examination of regional variations of these three factors. But with only limited success—for such variations were more visible, and therefore probably more influential, at the village rather than the regional level.

Indeed, at county level there seems to have been no particular correlation between the quantity of rural housing in 1871 and the incidence of rural discontent; also houses were at least more plentiful in the country than in the towns.² Of their quality one can only speak impressionistically, but it is likely that it improved in stone districts and in the north. It has also been suggested that areas of nucleated villages were more conducive to, and better able to support, trades unionism than were those of scattered hamlets.³ This

¹ *Oxf. Chron.*, 3 Aug. and 26 Oct. 1872. The following abbreviations will be used in this article: *Dors. Exp.*, for *Dorset County Express*; *Heref. T.*, for *Hereford Times*; *Lab. U. Chron.*, for *Labourers' Union Chronicle*; *Oxf. Chron.*, for *Oxford Chronicle*; *P.P.*, for *Parliamentary Papers*.

² The ratio of people to inhabited houses exceeded the England and Wales average in rural Surrey, Sussex, and Hants., equalled it in Kent, Monmouthshire, Durham, and Westmorland, and approached it in Northumberland, Cumberland, Cheshire, Lancs., and Staffs. The ratio was substantially better than average in other counties.—*P.P.*, 1873, LXXI, pt 2, pp. 26 ff.

³ See e.g. *P.P.*, 1893-4, XXV, pp. 321-2, 339.

TABLE I*
MEMBERSHIP FIGURES OF AGRICULTURAL TRADES UNIONS

1874	1875	1879
<i>Lincs.</i>		
Market Rasen 1,820	1,126	800
South Lincs. 1,300	1,150	(Spalding not available)
<i>Lincolnshire and Neighbouring Counties Amalgamated Labour League</i>	<i>League total</i>	
(1873) about 9,500†	(all counties) 10,000	3,072
<i>Norfolk</i>		
Walsingham 1,830	588	1,500
Swaffham 3,452	3,518	2,800
East Dereham 1,800	1,550	—
Norwich 5,050	North Walsham 2,039	930
Acle 550	—	—
Old Buckenham 1,500	Diss 2,000	2,000
<i>Lincolnshire League</i> 4,000	<i>Lincolnshire League</i> —	<i>Lincolnshire League</i> —
<i>Suffolk</i>		
Exning 5,529	3,233	Suffolk 2,800
<i>Lincolnshire League</i> (1873) nearly 2,000	<i>Lincolnshire League</i> —	<i>Lincolnshire League</i> —
<i>Essex</i>		
North Essex 3,500	3,339	1,500
South Essex 1,700	1,100	600
<i>Northants.</i>		
Market Harborough (Leics.) 2,402	1,541	Northampton 500
Wolverton (Bucks.) 2,050	1,900	Bucks. —

* Unless otherwise stated, figures for the National Agricultural Labourers' Union districts (printed in roman) come from the *Lab. U. Chron.* accounts of annual conferences (held in the summer), and those for the Federal Union's constituent members (printed in italic) from the annual returns of the Registrar of Friendly Societies. The latter are usually year-end figures. The 1874 membership figures for the Swaffham district and for the Lincolnshire League in Norfolk are taken from L. Marion Springall, *Labouring Life in Norfolk Villages*, 1936, p. 86. I am indebted to Mrs P. L. R. Horn for the membership of the Banbury district in December 1874, and for that claimed by the Peterborough District Union in 1877. The Peterborough district also had members in a number of neighbouring counties; and the Lincolnshire League operated not only in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, but also, to some extent, in the East Riding of Yorks., Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Kent, and Wiltshire. Similarly, the West of England Union extended out of Herefordshire into Worcestershire and Wiltshire. I would welcome further information.

† An estimate based on a total League membership of 18,000–20,000 in September 1873 (Rex C. Russell, *The 'Revolt of the Field' in Lincs.* (n.pl., 1956), p. 46); on a statement that the League and the West of England Union would between them total 20,000 (*The Beehive*, 16 Aug. 1873, p. 10); on a West of England membership of over 3,500 in Herefordshire (*ibid.*, 2 Aug., p. 4); and on estimates of the League's membership in Suffolk (*ibid.*, 23 Aug., p. 4) and Norfolk.

TABLE I—continued

1874		1875		1879	
<i>Northants</i> —continued.					
<i>Peterborough District Union</i>	4,020		—	1877	2,000
<i>Hunts.</i>					
Brampton	1,300		800		—
<i>Cambs.</i>					
Wisbech	1,589		606 'men'		—
Sawston	3,000		1,200		1,500
<i>Beds.</i>					
Bedford	1,747		1,014		—
<i>Herts.</i>					
South Beds. and Herts.	1,150		893 (+ 50 since balance sheet)		—
<i>Bucks.</i>					
Wolverton	see above	Wolverton	see above		—
Aylesbury	2,577		1,650		—
<i>Middlesex</i>					
<i>Kent</i>					
West Kent	1,500		1,113		475
<i>Kent Agricultural and General Labourers' Union</i>	9,500		11,000		15,500
<i>Sussex</i>					
(<i>Kent Agricultural and General</i>)	inc. above	(<i>Kent Agricultural and General</i>)	inc. above	(<i>Kent and [East] Sussex</i>)	inc. above
<i>Surrey</i>					
Reigate	1,535		1,113	Surrey and Sussex	500
<i>West Surrey Union</i>	179		—		—
<i>Berks.</i>					
Reading	2,000	fairly quiescent	—		—
Wantage (West Berks.)	2,750	Hungerford	2,224	West Berks.	650
<i>Hants.</i>					
Andover	see below	Salisbury	see below	Salisbury	see below
North and South Hants.	1,400	Alton	1,500		800
		Isle of Wight	670		—
<i>Wilts.</i>					
Andover (Hants.)	2,020	Salisbury	3,000		1,000
<i>Dorset</i>					
Dorset	2,300		c. 2,075		1,100
<i>Somerset</i>					
Yeovil	c. 800	quiescent			—

TABLE I—*continued*

1874	1875	1879
<i>Devon*</i> } <i>Cornwall</i> }		
<i>Salop.</i> : very slight unionism		
<i>Herefordshire</i>		
Hereford 4,341	1,536	—
<i>West of England Union</i> (1873) 3,500†	—	—
<i>Worcestershire</i>		
Worcestershire 1,626	1,015	220
<i>Gloucestershire</i>		
Cirencester 2,800	2,300	2,300
<i>Gloucestershire Agricultural Association</i> not available	—	—
<i>Oxon.</i>		
Banbury (December) 2,599	2,300	1,000
Oxford 3,000	3,515	—
<i>Warws.</i>		
Warwickshire 5,090	4,467	1,300
<i>Staffs.</i>		
Burton-on-Trent 1,650	1,000	—
<i>Derbyshire</i> very slight unionism	—	—
<i>Notts.</i>	—	—
<i>Leics.</i>		
Market Harborough see above	see above	Northampton see above
<i>Rutland</i>	—	—
There was very slight unionism in Northumberland: a local union arose in 1872, was affiliated to the National Union in 1873-4, and thereafter faded away; it is unlikely to have numbered more than 250. The Lincolnshire League made a number of forays into agricultural Yorkshire, and also had an appreciable membership in the industrial north-east. There was no significant unionism in other northern counties.		
<i>Total:</i> Nov. 1873 Federal Union Over 49,000 claimed 1874 NALU 34 districts 79,257 members (out of 37 districts and 86,214 claimed at the annual conference)		

* The National Union was said to have stopped at Exeter.—*P.P.*, 1893-4, xxv, under Crediton.

† I disbelieve the 30,000 membership attributed to the West of England Union before the advent of the National Union. A loss of its members to the National must have contributed to the doubling of the numbers of the latter's Herefordshire district in the year 1873-4.

TABLE I—*continued*

<i>Total:—continued.</i>				
1875	NALU	32 districts	57,135 members	(out of 38 districts and 58,652 claimed at the annual conference)
1879	NALU	24 districts	24,275 members	(out of 23,145 (sic) claimed at the annual conference. Beds., Bucks., Oxford, and Spalding were breaking away, and their membership figures were therefore not available)

distinction should not, of course, be exaggerated—the Northumberland labourers did hold meetings and mounted tangible (though minor) movements. But the pattern of settlement does seem to have enhanced the influence of the press (probably at the expense of the pub), for “most of the homesteads being far from villages or towns farm labourers have little intercourse with the world; a reading room . . . is seldom within their reach, a provincial newspaper . . . is the only resource for the Sunday. . .”¹ Accordingly the labourers’ movement in Berwickshire and northern Northumberland revolved almost entirely around the correspondence columns of newspapers. And, though meetings assumed a greater importance elsewhere in Northumberland (especially after the advent of delegates from the National Agricultural Labourers’ Union), newspaper correspondence and advertisements continued on a scale unusual in the south. This necessarily affected the tone of discussion and diminished the role of formal organization.

The pattern of regional variations in wages also explains less than one would have anticipated. It is true that, speaking very broadly, wages were higher in the north and east than in the south and west; and agricultural unionism does not seem really to have flourished in either very high wage areas (like the Borders) or extremely low ones (like west Somerset). Contemporaries were well aware of these differences and attached great significance to them. Thus the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* ascribed the lack of progress of the local labourers’ movement to the fact that “undoubtedly . . . agricultural labour is better paid in Northumberland than any other part of England, so that whatever grievances really exist, they are not so urgent and galling as the yoke which the south country farm workers have risen against so resolutely.” And during the course of 1874 the *Hexham Courant* became increasingly exasperated at the course of events down south, concluding in October that the farming there must be incompetent, and the labourers’ leaders fools for not more resolutely encouraging migration. Moreover

¹ *P.P.*, 1868–9, XIII, p. 214.

southern farmers were surprisingly ready to accept these strictures: C. S. Read's statement that same month, that "the highly paid Scotch hind is a cheaper and better man than the Norfolk labourers," was both typical and widely quoted.¹

I would not deny that there was something in it. But the contrasts could be overdrawn. A newspaper debate put wages in the north Northumberland-Berwickshire area at between £38 13s. (or, on the most unfavourable assumption, £33 15s.) and £49 15s. a year in 1872, a poor law report for Berwickshire at £36-£38 p.a. Admittedly wages were a little higher around Hexham. But such sums were not inconceivable even in Dorset, where one of the first farmers to be affected by trades unionism submitted wage schedules for ordinary men for 1870 of from £39 19s. 9d. to £43 10s. 7d. And, in richer East Anglia, Clifford had no difficulty in unearthing ordinary labourers (including many of the Exning strikers) who earned sums of the order of £45-£50 p.a. all in.² The greater welfare of the north must have been ascribable as much to a different pattern of life (and to the more extensive employment of women) as simply to higher wages.³

But, if the incidence of unionism cannot be explained simply by the absolute level of wages in 1872, one might nevertheless hope that it would reflect differential trends in the past. Such trends are, of course, notoriously difficult to establish.⁴ But, as far as they can be ascertained, they do not seem to fall into any very clear pattern or to have been particularly influential (except, no doubt, at a highly local level).⁵ Indeed, even increasing prosperity might

¹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 22 Feb. 1873, p. 4; *Hexham Courant*, 3 Oct. 1874, p. 3; *Bury and Suffolk Standard*, 20 Oct. 1874, p. 5.

² *Berwick Journal*, 24 Jan. and 7 Feb. 1873; *Berwickshire News*, 25 March 1873; *Dors. Exp.*, 28 May 1872; F. Clifford, *The Agricultural Lock-out of 1874*, Edinburgh, 1875, pp. 26, 30, 97-8, 325, 330, etc. The Exning strike was for an increase in the minimum wage rate from 13s. to 14s. a week.

³ In south-eastern Scotland about as many women were employed as men on root-growing farms.—*P.P.*, 1870, XIII, p. 219. For an illustration of the different patterns of expenditure, see e.g. *P.P.*, 1867-8, XVII, p. 220.

⁴ One can produce very rough figures for average weekly wage rates. But to establish the labourer's real financial position, one also needs to know his regularity of employment; what perquisites he enjoyed over and above his cash wage; his opportunities for piece and harvest work; and the net income of other members of his family. Such factors cannot readily be quantified. Nor are fluctuations in basic weekly rates a very good guide to them, since the various factors assumed different importance at different times and in different parts of the country.

⁵ I base this statement on the figures for average weekly wage rates county by county given in Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present* (6th edn, ed. G. E. Fussell and O. R. MacGregor, 1961), which I have supplemented on occasion by reference to other material and translated into percentages.

bring grievances in its train. This was notably the case in south-eastern Scotland and Northumberland, where the commendable expansion of agriculture since the 1840's had involved increasing reliance on 'bondagers' (or female workers hired indirectly through the male worker and maintained by him). This system led to considerable opposition in 1866; and though the labourers allowed themselves to be bought off at the time, the subject soon came forward again and occupied the principal place in most recitals of their grievances.¹

Finally we reach the labourers' demands for land. The agricultural trades unionism of the 1870's was undoubtedly associated with a form of land hunger, yet it was far rarer in counties where allotments were scarce than in those where they were relatively numerous: it was not to be found at all in the majority of counties with more than fifty persons per allotment.² Presumably the absence of allotments here reflected an absence of demand, and thus a rather different structure of society.

But if housing and wages are only doubtful guides to the incidence of unionism, and the prevalence of allotments gives a rather paradoxical answer, we must look for other potential causes of agricultural unrest. The discovery of these, and of prophylactics against discontent, occupied much of the time of agricultural societies for most of the nineteenth century. So there is no shortage of items to choose from. I shall here concentrate on four: the system of hiring fairs; the proportion of indoor farm servants; the extent of arable farming; and the size of farms.

"If the masters and servants in lock-out districts could agree to hold periodic hirings as we in the border counties do," remarked the *Hexham Courant*,³ "wages would adjust themselves without any of the evils which must attend lock-outs or strikes." This point of view was commonly expressed in the north, and occasionally elsewhere. And, though Joseph Arch abominated the hiring system, he mentioned it as one of the principal reasons for his lack of appeal in Northumberland.⁴ Certainly the system of numerous and well-publicized hiring fairs offered an excellent opportunity for testing the state of the market, one of the main functions that intellectual

¹ See 'The Scottish Farm Labourer', *Cornhill Magazine*, x, 1864, esp. pp. 620-1; the letter of 'An Old Ploughman out of Harness', *Berwickshire News*, 13 Feb. 1872; *P.P.*, 1870, XIII, pp. 218, 225.

² These were (in increasing order of rural population to allotments of less than one acre): the East and West Ridings, Herefordshire, Northumberland, Cornwall, Sussex, Salop., Monmouthshire, Cheshire, Lancs., Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland.—*P.P.*, 1873, LXXVI, pt 2, pp. 26 ff.; *P.P.*, 1896, LXVII, p. 584. Cottage gardens, smallholdings, etc. are excluded, and so the result can only be of very general indicative value.

³ 6 June 1874, p. 5.

⁴ *P.P.*, 1882, XIV, questions 60230-3, 60546.

sympathizers ascribed to unionism in the south. Thus the Berwick fair of March 1873 assumed "the nature of a 'feeler' of the intentions of both masters and servants," the actual conclusion of engagements being postponed to other local hiring markets. Formal combinations (like the Berwickshire Farm Servants Friendly Society in November 1872) might occasionally resolve all to demand the same minimum terms for wages and conditions;¹ but this was difficult to implement in practice and never gave rise to collective bargaining as such (though agitation centring around hiring fairs might well force concessions on particular items²). Farther south the Northumberland Union offered guidance only as to hours and as to the undesirability of the bondager system: "They could not enforce a uniform rate of wages. As far as they were concerned each man must be left to make his own terms when they took to the streets for it and again offered themselves for sale." And though, after joining the National Union later in 1873, men began to express opposition to the fairs, they had no real alternative to offer. Indeed, when the farmers sought to change the date of a Newcastle hiring fair in their own interests, the men reacted not by abandoning the system but by staging a fair of their own on the old date.³

The working of the system can be illustrated from a cycle of fairs in and around southern Northumberland. In the spring of 1873 wages were rising, so at Hexham the men asked for an advance of about 10 per cent and were reluctant to find bondagers. This made hiring slow, but "towards the close nearly all were hired at advanced rates." Later, however, the farmers' reluctance grew, and in June, at Brampton, "although masters were prepared for an advance they were astonished at the terms asked. Engagements were, therefore, very slow indeed at first . . . , and servants finding the wages required too much, lowered their pretensions, and then hirings were more readily effected. Yet there were some who could not find new situations. Either they rated their services too high or there was perhaps a paucity of masters" some of whom had resolved to cut back on their labour force. But in November, at Hexham, several farmers offered too little and so failed to secure servants. By now some were grumbling openly at the high wages, and may even have declined to pay for the traditional harvest festivals. Hiring was sticky throughout 1874, the men still hoping for an advance but often

¹ *Berwick Journal*, 7 March 1873; *Berwickshire News*, 26 Nov. 1872.

² Thus it was said twenty years later of Wales where the same system prevailed that "Some combinations have been attempted, but the most successful have had only a short-lived career, and their objects have been more or less of a temporary character. . . a slight concession has, as a rule, been followed by the collapse of the movement."—*P.P.*, 1893-4, xxxvi, p. 29.

³ *Hexham Courant*, 22 Feb. 1873, p. 5; *Lab. U. Chron.*, 11 April 1874, p. 5.

not getting it, and sometimes being left on the market. Wage trends varied from fair to fair, and by 1875 the balance had shifted back slightly towards the farmers. At Hexham only good men escaped "a slight reduction;" more generally wages were said to be little changed except at Newcastle, "where, towards evening, some men had to submit to a reduction, but there was a wonderful difference in tone and demeanour; that devil-may-care sort of swagger, so disagreeably conspicuous twelve months ago, had nearly disappeared... [several miners were returning to agriculture.]... How wonderfully easy supply and demand regulate themselves."¹ In this very competitive atmosphere, there was not much place for trades unions, especially as the engagements thus reached were enforceable at law.

The only southern county where such a system might have worked was Dorset, for only there was it common to hire ordinary labourers (as distinct from carters and other skilled men) by the year. But, for good and bad reasons, hiring fairs were very much under a cloud. As a result fairs had been mildly discouraged for at least a decade before 1872, the Dorchester Farmers' Club having made repeated half-hearted attempts to boycott them, to deal privately with the men, or to find an alternative through registration and advertisements. Again the press gave the fairs very little publicity, whereas it was an essential feature of the northern system that fairs should be numerous and that everybody should know the current rates and trends at them. There was, too, a distinct casualness and uncertainty as to the obligations created by the yearly bond. These were not (as is sometimes suggested) negligible. But a labourer's contract could be terminated fairly summarily for 'misconduct', and, perhaps surprisingly, the magistrates were not really prepared to enforce contracts against ordinary labourers who had gone on strike, though they would against carters. The Dorset system of yearly engagements was therefore no guarantee against trades unionism.

Where hiring fairs really flourished, a high proportion of the farm workers were unmarried, and boarded in the farmhouses. And this certainly militated against the development of formal trades unions. For a strike must have been difficult to organize when one was actually living in a farmer's house; and close social relations were universally believed to make for an identification of the farmer's and labourers' interests. Moreover, where farms were small, there was a strong possibility that the in-servants would be the younger sons of farmers, saving to set themselves up in a farm rather than looking upon themselves as a class apart from their employers. And, in any case, the system delayed marriage, and so made it easier for the labourers

¹ *Hexham Courant*, 5 April, 7 June, 4 Oct., 15 Nov., 6 Dec., 1873, 8 and 15 May 1875, and *passim*.

to save money to tide themselves over the first really difficult period in the adult farm labourer's life. It is, therefore, interesting to note that the practice of farm servants living in declined in the south of England between 1851 and 1871, but increased in the north.

TABLE II*
RATIO OF 'INDOOR' TO 'OUTDOOR' FARM SERVANTS

County	1851	1861	1871
Lincs.	1 : 3.6	1 : 4.2	1 : 4.3
Norfolk	1 : 19.9	1 : 35.4	1 : 103.3
Suffolk	1 : 15.1	1 : 43.2	1 : 194.5
Essex	1 : 30.0	1 : 78.7	1 : 440.0
Northants.	1 : 15.1	1 : 23.3	1 : 30.7
Hunts.	1 : 16.8	1 : 42.0	1 : 41.5
Cambs.	1 : 22.4	1 : 48.6	1 : 31.9
Beds.	1 : 29.9	1 : 61.3	1 : 39.8
Herts.	1 : 11.4	1 : 19.4	1 : 22.5
Bucks.	1 : 13.8	1 : 15.5	1 : 22.6
Middlesex	1 : 16.6	1 : 27.3	1 : 31.5
Kent	1 : 8.2	1 : 11.4	1 : 12.1
Sussex	1 : 11.5	1 : 21.6	1 : 22.1
Surrey	1 : 11.5	1 : 15.8	1 : 20.9
Berks.	1 : 10.0	1 : 11.4	1 : 20.1
Hants.	1 : 13.1	1 : 17.3	1 : 23.8
Wilts.	1 : 31.4	1 : 41.9	1 : 60.0
Dorset	1 : 31.3	1 : 45.5	1 : 79.0
Somerset	1 : 8.8	1 : 12.7	1 : 12.5
Devon	1 : 2.2	1 : 2.3	1 : 3.2
Cornwall	1 : 2.2	1 : 3.1	1 : 2.8
Salop.	1 : 2.5	1 : 2.4	1 : 2.4
Herefordshire	1 : 4.3	1 : 4.9	1 : 3.7
Worcestershire	1 : 8.2	1 : 7.9	1 : 9.8
Gloucestershire	1 : 10.9	1 : 17.5	1 : 14.8
Oxon.	1 : 16.0	1 : 22.3	1 : 37.6
Warws.	1 : 5.9	1 : 7.1	1 : 8.8
Staffs.	1 : 3.2	1 : 4.0	1 : 3.1
Derbyshire	1 : 2.3	1 : 2.5	1 : 1.8
Notts.	1 : 3.1	1 : 3.3	1 : 3.3
Leics.	1 : 4.0	1 : 6.5	1 : 5.5
Rutland	1 : 6.0	1 : 9.0	1 : 11.5

* Derived from *P.P.*, 1852-3, LXXXVIII, pts 1 & 2; *P.P.*, 1863, LIII, pt 1; *P.P.*, 1873, LXXI, pt 1.

TABLE II—*continued*

<i>County</i>	1851	1861	1871
Northumberland	1 : 5.8	1 : 6.2	1 : 4.9
Durham	1 : 2.7	1 : 3.2	1 : 2.0
Yorks. North Riding	1 : 1.7	1 : 1.7	1 : 1.3
East Riding	1 : 1.5	1 : 1.5	1 : 1.4
West Riding	1 : 1.7	1 : 3.3	1 : 2.5
Cumberland	1 : 1.4	1 : 1.3	1 : 0.9
Westmorland	1 : 1.2	1 : 1.2	1 : 0.7
Lancs.	1 : 3.1	1 : 3.5	1 : 2.4
Cheshire	1 : 2.0	1 : 2.6	1 : 2.9
Monmouthshire			1 : 2.3
South Wales (incl. Radnorshire)			1 : 1.0
North Wales			1 : 0.9

While it would be too much to hope for a perfect correlation between trades unionism and the absence of indoor servants, there is, in fact, a surprisingly close one: trades unionism was present in all counties with a ratio of over 30 out-door to 1 indoor servant in 1871, and virtually absent where the ratio was less than 3 to 1.

Indoor servants were, of course, less necessary to arable than to pastoral farming. Partly for this reason, and partly because it was more labour intensive, arable farming was the more prone to unionism. The Wiltshire writer, Richard Jefferies, remarked that it was "the corn villagers [who], thinking that the farmer was absolutely dependent upon them, led the van for the agitation for high wages:" and again "it is in arable districts that agitation takes its extreme form. The very number of the population gives any movement a vigour and emphasis that is wanting where there may be as much discontent but fewer exhibit it."¹ Thus we find that trades unionism was strong in all but two of the counties with more than 40 per cent arable in 1873-4,² and virtually absent in all with less than 20 per cent.³

Lastly, there is quite good evidence that unionism, and still more industrial action, were features principally of large farms. Thus the wage demand that started the dispute around Woodbridge, Suffolk, in March 1874 was

¹ *Hodge and his Masters*, 1890 edn, pp. 397-8.

² That is in Beds., Berks., Cambs., Essex, Hunts., Lincs., Norfolk, Oxon., and Suffolk; it was relatively weak in Herts. (44 per cent) and very weak in the East Riding (42 per cent).—*P.P.*, 1874, LXIX, pp. 627 ff.

³ That is in Cheshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Lancs., and Westmorland. It was very weak in Somerset (18 per cent) and Monmouthshire (17-18 per cent). The English average was 31.4 per cent.

made to "twelve large farmers . . . employing altogether about 170 men." Also, where the farmers retaliated, the lead was taken by the large men; they could be more easily organized, and they could better afford to take a firm stand. In East Anglia the farmers formed defence associations, raising money by a levy on acreage; "the backbone . . . consisted of men who farm their own land, along with land belonging to others—owning, say, from 100 to 1,000 acres." And in Lincolnshire the first meeting to establish a comparable Farmers' Association was attended by fifty-seven men, farming over 38,000 acres.¹ It is, therefore, not surprising to find agricultural trades unionism present where a relatively high proportion of farmers employed more than ten men each, and usually absent where comparatively few did so.

TABLE III*
PERCENTAGE OF FARMERS, BY COUNTIES, EMPLOYING 10 OR MORE MEN IN 1861 AND 1871
(SAMPLES ONLY)

1861		
More than 20%	Bucks.	32·6%
	Wilts.	30·9%
	Norfolk	25·5%
	Cambs.	25·2%
	Sussex	23·1%
10%–20%	Lincs.	13·3%
Less than 10%	Salop.	5·3%
	Cheshire	2·1%
	Yorks., N.R.	1·8%
	Cumberland	0·9%
Average 17·9%		

1871		
More than 20%	Essex	29·5%
	Berks.	28·7%
	Kent	21·9%
	Hants. }	
	Norfolk	20·2%
10%–20%	Suffolk	18·8%
	Surrey	18·1%
	Sussex	17·6%
	Lincs.	12·2%
	Northumberland	10·9%
Less than 10%	Rutland	9·1%
	Notts.	5·5%
	Leics.	5·0%
	Cumberland	1·8%
	Durham }	
	Derbyshire	1·3%
	Westmorland	1·0%
Average 16·1%		

* Derived from *P.P.*, 1873, LXXI, pp. 123 ff.; *P.P.*, 1863, LIII, pt 1, pp. 139 ff.

So far I have concentrated on fairly clear-cut differences between regions. But it is arguable that the really important differences were more local, for,

¹ Clifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 10, 114, 167–8; Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

even in areas where the unions were strong, they generally constituted a minority movement, an exception to the normal pattern of relations.¹ The same was true of the farmers' defence associations that organized the lock-outs; Clifford doubts whether these latter can have contained more than 650 of Suffolk's 4,654 farmers. Therefore, there are likely to have been special factors behind the decision to join a trades union (or defence association); and, as we shall see later, whatever the union's formal constitution, the decisions that mattered were usually taken at a fairly low level. Local contrasts, therefore, are to be expected, on the pattern of those that impressed Clifford near Bury St Edmunds, where the union clearly "had not the same general hold as in the Newmarket district. It was curious, also, to find strong Union developments in one village, and none, or next to none, in the next."²

These contrasts are particularly important in explaining the origins of unionism in an area, for later there was naturally an attempt to even things out by evangelizing in the more backward districts. I shall seek to illustrate this by discussing the developments in Herefordshire and Dorset. The first stirrings in Herefordshire came in March 1871, with a well-organized and reported meeting in Leintwardine. The resultant movement was led by a local schoolmaster, Strange, and enjoyed the support of the rector. It was motivated largely by the peculiar conditions of the county, where (untypically) farmers and landlords were at loggerheads. Hence, Strange maintained in his opening speech, that "this is just the right time [to agitate], for are not our brethren the farmers trying to get reform? We say yes, and we will try to help them to get it, because what they are trying for, and what we are trying for, is part and parcel of the same burden—only they forgot our part of it." In addition to pressing the labourers' particular interests, he envisaged a joint farmer-labourer approach to the landlords for lower rents, and co-operation with the local Chamber of Agriculture on local taxation.³

For a year the agitation remained local to Leintwardine; but the following March a determined attempt was made to extend it (as had always been in-

¹ Norfolk, 18.2 thousand union members, 28.0 thousand male agricultural labourers aged 15-54; Warws., 5.1, 9.9; Herefordshire (in 1873), c. 5.5, 14.0; Lincs., c. 12.6, 33.0; Kent and East Sussex, 9.5 (subsequently reaching 15.5), c. 41.5; Suffolk, 7.5+, 26.4; Essex, 5.2+, 30.6; Dorset, 2.3, 11.1. Calculations for other areas are complicated by the overlap between trades union and census boundaries. Of course, not all union members were male agricultural labourers.

² Clifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 169.

³ *Heref. T.*, 18 March 1871, p. 3; Joseph Arch, *The Story of his Life Told by Himself*, 1898, p. 110.

tended), and "to form a combination of the whole of the agricultural labourers of the West of England, if not, indeed, of the whole country." To that end, a meeting was called in Staunton, Glos., a district held to be suitable since the many O'Connor allotments there made the labourers more independent of the farmers. The Staunton meeting was followed by several others, spaced either strategically throughout the area or clustered near Colwall and around the house of an ardent sympathizer near Ross.

Whatever may have been their original intentions, these meetings proved obnoxious to, and were sometimes physically interrupted by, farmers. Accordingly, in the context of Herefordshire rivalries, landlords proceeded to express sympathy with the labourers, which led to further newspaper controversy of the "I pay more generously than you" variety. On the whole, landlord sympathy remained fairly platonic, definitely stopping short of rent reductions in aid of wages. But one self-styled landlord, W. G. Ward of Perristone, Ross, did enter the labourers' movement with great vigour (despite his own unremarkable record as an employer), and was soon pressing for a strike and challenging the more pacific Strange for the labourers' leadership. At this point, alas, the *Hereford Times* stopped reporting the agitation, finding its meetings repetitive and abusive.¹ But we know that Ward split the local movement, affiliating part of it to the National Union. Strange retained control of the rest, under the title of the West of England Labourers' Union, and accepted only loose mergers, first with the Lincolnshire League, and then with the Federal Union.

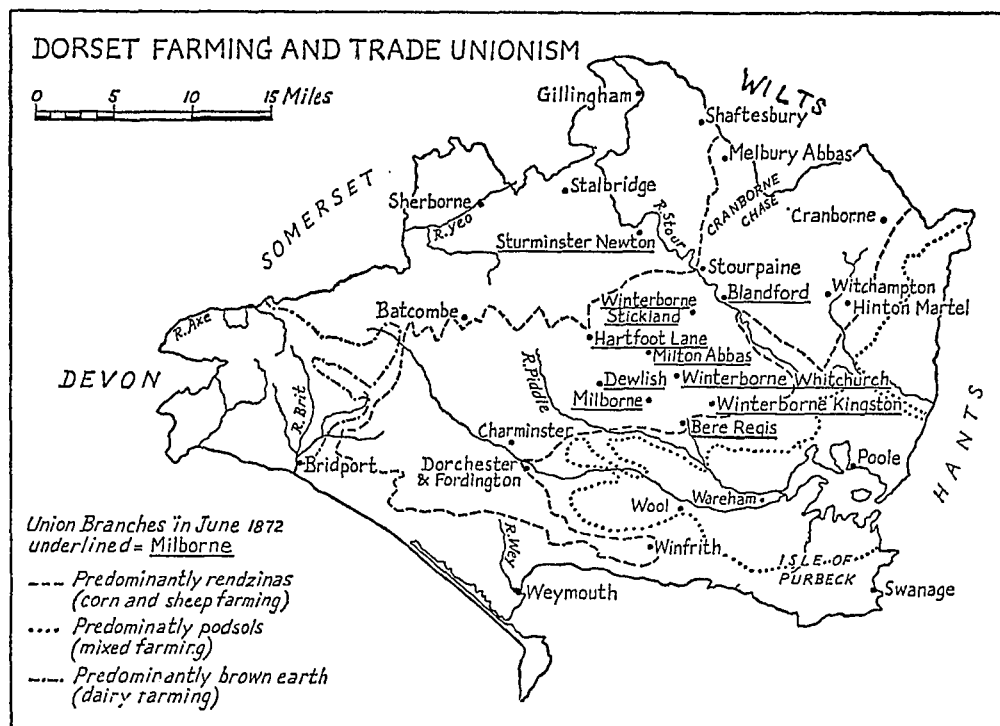
In the late 1860's Dorset could be divided, agriculturally, into four. In the north were small grass farms, using little hired labour. Wages were low and there was winter unemployment. The central chalk hills were occupied by large farms, paying (for Dorset) comparatively well. But, as the labourers often lived some distance from their work, yearly hirings and tied cottages were common (which may explain the rapid recourse to evictions in labour disputes). To the south lay the Heath, overpopulated, with bad housing, seasonal employment, and low wages. Finally, in the Isle of Purbeck, agriculture was extensively supplemented by quarrying. Alternatively, Dorset could be divided on the pattern of its villages: most of the county consisted of compact main-street villages, but especially in the west these gave place to more hamlets whose isolation must have been intensified by the comparative absence of railways in the west.²

It was observed at the time that the west of the county was not much

¹ *Heref. T.*, 9 March 1872, p. 10; 25 May, p. 5; and *passim*.

² *P.P.*, 1868-9, XIII, pp. 3-6, 235-70; Barbara Kerr, 'The Dorset Agricultural Labourer, 1750-1850', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Archaeolog. Soc.*, LXXXIV, 1962, esp. pp. 159, 174.

affected by trades unionism.¹ Moreover, of the ten branches in operation by June 1872, nine were on the central chalk hills. By September membership had approximately quadrupled (to over 2,000) and the number of branches had risen to 132. There had been particular expansion along the Piddle, up the chain of villages from Blandford to Melbury Abbas, and into the Heath District around Wool and Winfrith. But the two centres of unionism were still said to be Milborne and Stickland; and this concentration on



Derived from Barbara Kerr, 'The Dorset Agricultural Labourer, 1750-1850', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Archaeolog. Soc.*, LXXXIV, 1962, p. 159.

the centre of the county is the more remarkable in that Stalbridge, in the north, was the first district to be disturbed. Its Congregationalist minister sponsored migration, but was soon squeezed out, and does not seem to have been replaced by any very powerful union presence. By September 1872 the union had reached its approximate ceiling. Of course it continually sought to expand its area of activity, successfully in the villages to the south-east of Cranborne Chase, less so elsewhere. But its gains were counterbalanced by numerous losses, the number of branches falling to sixty by May 1874. The

¹ *Dors. Exp.*, 29 Oct. 1872, p. 2.

union's strength continued to be chiefly derived from the central and eastern chalk lands.¹

Sometimes, though rarely, one can descend to village level. Many attempts draw blank: I have failed to find any particular correlation between the incidence of trades unionism in 1872 and the quantity of allotments in the Blandford district, or the quality of housing in the Cerne district. Among the villages whose housing the 1867 Commissioner singled out as deplorable, trades unionism soon established itself in Bere Regis, Winfrith, and Fordington, but not in Charminster, Cranborne, and Batcombe. However, there does seem to be some correlation between the incidence of unionism and that of nonconformist places of worship. So it is not surprising that the movement had "found it desirable to get Christian men and teetotallers as officers," or that the sect most ready to loan chapels for meetings was the Primitive Methodist.²

The real difficulty in searching at this level for the causes of trades unionism is that there are too many possible ones. Branches were established in low-wage villages (like Winfrith and Stourpaine), in declining ones (like Bere Regis), but also in 'favoured' ones like Milborne and Whitchurch. Indeed, it was in the latter two that trades unionism started in Dorset; and, on this occasion, one can see why. Although conditions were relatively good, there were a number of sources of irritation. As in most closed villages, there was a shortage of housing. Though allotments were available (at Milborne at a pepper-corn rental), there were grumbles at their small size; and the farmers had commuted for cash some of the traditional perquisites (especially drink). More importantly, the farmers supported reading-rooms in both parishes under "the sole management of the working men:" the average daily attendance in 1867 had reached the creditable figures of nineteen and twenty-five (out of populations of 647 and 554), though not all would have been agricultural labourers. Milborne also had a working men's club, and Whitchurch a co-operative store. Such facilities had clearly taught the labourers self-reliance; and the initial strike was enough of a joint venture to persuade the *Dorset Express* that the men lacked a leader. It was, moreover, set off by newspaper reports of events in other parts of the country; and, when it failed, a letter to the *Beehive* attracted the outside assistance that made possible a second and more successful attempt.³

Prior to 1872, there had only been two other *registered* co-operatives in

¹ *Dors. Exp.*, esp. 25 June, 30 July, 17 Sept. 1872; *Lab. U. Chron.*, 16 May 1874, and *passim*.

² *P.P.*, 1868-9, XIII, pp. 6, 261, 264; *Post Office Directory of Dorset, Wilts., and Hants.*, 1867 edn; *Lab. U. Chron.*, 29 Nov. 1873, p. 6.

³ *P.P.*, 1868-9, XIII, pp. 247, 259, 264; *Dors. Exp.*, 7 and 28 May, 23 July 1872.

the rural parts of Dorset, at Milton Abbas and Winterborne Stickland. Another such store (albeit an ephemeral one) was registered at Milborne in June 1872. As we have seen, all these villages were among the earliest union strongholds, and Milborne and Stickland were described as unionism's two centres. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that by June 1875 there was a union store open to any member in the county; some £80 worth of goods are said to have been dispatched in the previous three months (at prices 15 per cent below those previously ruling for the labourer). There were similar developments in other areas. Thus, in Herefordshire, the West of England Union sought to establish "stores in connection with the branches;" and, in a county where there had previously been only one registered co-operative, 1873 saw the registration of a further five. In 1874-5 the Kent Agricultural and General also ran a store, which failed partly through organizational difficulties and partly because the wholesalers backed the established shops in a temporary price-cutting campaign.¹

I have concentrated on Herefordshire and Dorset, but the same approach can, of course, be applied elsewhere. Mr Peacock has done this for Cambridgeshire (in an as yet unpublished paper), showing, for instance, how trades unionism grew naturally in Cottenham out of a rumpus about the local charities, but gained no foothold in nearby Histon (a traditionally quiet village, and one without charities). It was trouble over charities, again, that induced the villagers of Leverton, Lincs., to turn to a local republican agitator, William Banks, and thus enabled his Amalgamated Labour League to get off the ground. Similarly in Norfolk Flaxman's short-lived Eastern Counties Union can be traced directly to disputes over enclosures. And so on.²

Moreover, if the incidence of trades unionism was largely determined by local factors, so was its permanence. In one Wiltshire village there remained only four union members in November 1873. The remainder had been put off by the return of the families the union had dispatched to the north. In another, the inhabitants had treated the union simply as another benefit club. Instead of sending their subscriptions direct to Leamington, as their mentor had intended, they split up among themselves all their accumulated assets of £6 12s. 1d.³

Any attempt to decide whether they were the losers leads necessarily to an

¹ Annual Returns of the Registrar of Friendly Societies; *Lab. U. Chron.*, 12 June 1875, p. 4; *Heref. T.*, 8 Feb. 1873, p. 8; *P.P.*, 1882, xiv, questions 61363-6.

² *The Labourer*, 15 Jan. 1876, p. 1; information from Mr F. Cossey; Springall, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-1.

³ *Lab. U. Chron.*, 29 Nov. 1873, p. 6.

examination of the union's organization. In theory there were two models, centralized and decentralized. The National Union involved a hierarchy—at about village level, *branches* (preferably with 150 members, but in fact founded for as few as four); at about county level, *districts* (preferably with at least 1,500 members); and, in the centre, an office at *Leamington*. Three-quarters of the subscriptions were to be forwarded to Leamington, and one-quarter retained by the district to meet its own administrative costs. For various reasons a number of regional unions disliked this system and refused to join the National. Instead they formed a Federal Union, in practice a confederation of virtually sovereign members which served principally to conduct relations with, and raise money from, the outside world. Moreover, at least the largest of these constituent unions, the Lincolnshire League, had a very loose structure; in late 1874 it had only just started to raise its financial centre of gravity from village to district level.¹

Both the National and the Federal Unions were split by real or alleged financial scandals, that indicated at least a considerable laxity in accounting. Moreover, we are often faced with flat contradictions about such matters as amounts of money paid in² or numbers of men on strike;³ and, though we may guess which story to prefer, it is impossible to be certain. We must, therefore, regard claims as to union finances and organization with a fair degree of scepticism. But, subject to this major proviso, I shall attempt to discuss the organization of the National Union, and to make occasional comparisons with other (and less well documented) unions.

The National's system of centralization had two possible justifications: it might assist public relations with, and the raising of funds from, the outside world; and it might make it possible for "the whole power of England ... [to] be thrown into any district that the necessities of the case shall require."⁴ Both justifications had some substance. For the world at large tended to regard all agricultural labourers' unions as part of the National. Accordingly the National was more successful than the Federal in securing outside contributions during the 1874 Eastern Counties lock-out.⁵ And centralization also facilitated a concentration of resources where they were most needed. The

¹ *Labour League Examiner*, 17 Oct. 1874, p. 1.

² See e.g. *Lab. U. Chron.*, 17 June 1875, p. 7 (under Dorset).

³ Thus the (radical) *Kent Messenger and Maidstone Telegraph* professed itself unable to locate the 900 men whom Simmons claimed as locked out.—11 Jan. and 1 Feb. 1879, p. 5.

⁴ W. G. Ward to the *Heref. T.*, 25 May 1872, p. 9.

⁵ The Federal collected £2,630 for rather under 2,000 locked out members, the National some £12,600 for rather over 3,000.—The Federal Union of Agricultural and General Labourers, *Report to the Trade Societies and General Public of the United Kingdom*, 1874, at end; Clifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2; *Lab. U. Chron.*, 29 May 1875, p. 5.

first (purely local) strike in Dorset failed, and it was assistance from Warwickshire that enabled the movement to get off the ground. Another such rescue operation was conducted in north Essex in 1876; and the central secretary was encouraged, in his perambulations, to inspect local accounts and give helpful advice.¹ But, indubitably if unreasonably, the existence of such central control served to intensify the farmers' hostility to the movement; and even the Federal Union took the same line, declaring that "the tyranny of the National Union agents was far more intolerable than that of the farmers."²

The advantages of centralization, then, though real, had their limitations. Moreover the system was necessarily expensive. Each district was entitled to retain a quarter of its income to cover its administrative costs—and, in later years when unionism was declining, few districts were able to manage on their quarter.³ No special provision was made for branch expenses, but branches appear to have added an eighth to the basic subscription.⁴ Finally there was the central office in Leamington, and that did not run on air.

A very substantial proportion of the National Union's income, therefore, went on administration, and it may well compare unfavourably in this respect with, say, the geographically far more compact Kent and Sussex Union.⁵ Thus, out of its total income of £22,400 in 1873-4, the National Union spent about £9,300 on administration and a further £400 on legal expenses. Though special circumstances made the 1874-5 performance more creditable, the 1875 annual conference (which was, in any case, meeting in an atmosphere of disillusion) heard bitter criticisms of the cost of the central office and of the National delegates. Matters were not helped by Arch's statement that "For some time there had been a deficiency of about £150; they did not know where the wrong was." The upshot was the

¹ *Oxf. Chron.*, 27 May 1876, p. 8; 30 Oct. 1875, p. 6.

² See e.g. Clifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 62, and the Federal Union's *Report, op. cit.*, p. 6.

³ At least according to the Oxford district secretary.—*Lab. U. Chron.*, 8 June 1878, p. 4.

⁴ This was the practice in the Oxford district.—*Minutes*, April-May 1873, G. D. H. Cole Collection, Nuffield College Library, Oxford; also of the Deanshanger branch of the Bucks. district.—*Lab. U. Chron.*, 1 Dec. 1877, p. 7. Many branches also maintained their own 'incidental funds'.

⁵ This relied on the immediate forwarding of the money collected at the fortnightly meetings of its 250 branches. In 1880 management (and conference) expenses accounted for £1,000-£1,200 out of a total central income of about £11,500; but there were also local contingency funds that had spent some £500-£600 paying off arrears of subscriptions.—*P.P.*, 1882, XIV, questions 59178-83, 61091-117, 61318-24. Admittedly the Kent Union had by now virtually converted itself into a benefit society, spending only some £1,500 p.a. on its trade section.

National Union's first major split, and, though this led to a tightening of financial procedures, it was now too late.¹

A *post mortem* investigation conducted after the conference by Samuel Morley and Mr Hughes found the central office reasonably competent, and laid particular blame on the management (and number) of the districts. Also "The scale of expenditure hitherto allowed appeared . . . higher than they could afford, and they noted that even this scale had been exceeded in the past year."² In my own view, the trouble was not so much palpable extravagance as a reluctance ever to count the cost. This reluctance comes out repeatedly in minor instances; and I would not, myself, be inclined to exempt the union's central institutions from this charge.

Despite this superstructure, the National Union, in its early years, showed an alarming inability to collect its subscriptions. Thus it claimed a membership of about 72,000 in 1873, 86,000 in 1874, and 59,000 in 1875. Paying 2d. a week *regularly*, 57,000 members should have brought in £24,700 p.a. Yet basic subscriptions amounted only to some £8,000 in 1872-3 (not, for many branches, a full year), £21,000 in 1873-4, and £23,000 (plus £5,600 special collections) in 1874-5. (These ratios are fairly close to those achieved by the Kent Agricultural and General in the years 1872-4, and by the Lincolnshire League in 1873.)³

Of the basic subscriptions Leamington only received about 40 per cent in 1872-3 and 1873-4, and just over 50 per cent (plus the £5,600 special collections) in 1874-5. This suggests that the union's real centre of gravity remained at a fairly low level. Symbolically, its various organs kept different financial years until the 1875 reforms. Moreover, it appears that the 1874 Exning and Alderton demands (that set off the Eastern Counties lock-out) were for improvements in both wages and hours simultaneously.⁴ This, for

¹ For the Union's annual accounts and conferences, see the *Lab. U. Chron.*, 7 June 1873; 13 June 1874; 29 May 1875.

² *Oxf. Chron.*, 30 Oct. 1875, p. 6.

³ Returns of the Registrar of Friendly Societies. But if the local funds of the Kent Agricultural and General amounted to anything substantial, this union would appear to better advantage.

⁴ The Alderton demand was for a rise of a shilling and for a 54-hour week as from 2 March (which amounts to a request that the customary longer summer hours should either not be worked or be paid at overtime rates). There had also been a strike the previous year in the same district for both higher wages and shorter hours. The Exning demand of September 1872 was explicitly for both higher wages and shorter hours (as, apparently, were the Essex ones of the same period). The combination was not explicit in that of the following March, and Clifford does not print that of February 1874. But the Newmarket meeting, held to consider the Exning strike, clearly felt that wages and hours had been linked, and resolved against concession on either.—Clifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-13, 31, 94 n., 159-61; *P.P.*, 1890, LXVIII, pp. 594-5.

some reason, was against the National Union's rules, and presumably cannot have had Leamington's prior approval. Yet the men struck on being ignored; the farmers retaliated on a wider scale, and the whole union was drawn into an unsuccessful confrontation with them.

Local initiatives were seldom so disastrous, but the pattern is not untypical. For printed forms for wage claims seem to have been issued in blank to the districts (to be filled up locally), and they could also be copied by hand at a lower level. Accordingly the Oxford district found it necessary to resolve in March 1873 that branches should consult the district secretary before making wage claims, and shortly thereafter that no branch should claim a rise in wages and a reduction of hours simultaneously.¹

I have attempted to reconstruct the workings of this district from its Minute Book, but have encountered difficulties since both Leamington and the district sent their subordinates circulars that have not survived. Considering that it never got from Leamington anything approaching the funds it sent there, Oxford was a surprisingly loyal district. It was broadly aligned behind Joseph Arch until late in 1878. It proved ready to defer some schemes in deference to the rest of the union, and it accepted a certain amount of central control over its personnel. But the minutes contain only a few references to problems that were referred to Leamington for guidance (and, even then, its advice was not always accepted). The centre does not seem generally to have been consulted (as the union constitution demanded) on such matters as the authorization of wage claims and strikes. And administrative decisions (on questions like entitlement to benefit) were primarily local. Thus in July 1873 the district executive committee rejected a claim for strike benefit on the part of five men from Watlington on the grounds that they had "violated Rule 10;" but the following September it reconsidered this decision after an appeal by the Watlington branch committee. Moreover, while Oxford was not unusual in having a district emigration fund, it did claim to lay particular stress on it, and occasionally supported it in preference to the union's central treasury.²

Moreover, if Leamington had trouble with its districts, these in turn had difficulty in controlling their branches. It seems that the Oxford district was generally consulted as to branch wage claims, but by no means always. Indeed, its periodic delegate meetings were often presented with a number of

¹ Clifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 159-60; *Minutes*, March and April-May 1873.

² District emigration funds were explicitly authorized by the 1875 Annual Council. The Oxford district preferred emigration abroad to migration within Britain, since the latter was "very temporary." As a result it claimed in 1877 to be far less affected than neighbouring districts by the industrial down-turn.—*Oxf. Chron.*, 1 Nov. 1873; 24 March 1877.

faits accomplis in the form of claims for lock-out or emigration pay, which they either accepted or rejected according to circumstances.¹ Above all, the district conducted a constant battle to persuade the branches to make their financial payments regularly and in due form; it was never entirely successful, and sometimes could give only a vague estimate of the size of its membership. Indeed, there recur in the minutes resolutions empowering the treasurer "to take what steps are necessary to make the district a/c properly balance" and "to get proper books to keep each branch a/c separate." In this, as in other administrative matters, the union was very slow to translate aspiration into reality.

In the end, the success or failure of the union turned very largely on the management of its branches. Sometimes this was good, as at Long Crendon, said in 1879 to be the best contributing branch in the National Union and to contain a small co-operative grocery. At that year's annual meeting its officers sought to retire (in disgust with Arch), and, since nobody was prepared to replace them, this would have brought the branch to an end. Sometimes the branch management was indifferent, as at Wendlebury where the treasurer had to be reprimanded for carelessness in attending meetings and handling money, or at Milton and Shipton which seem to have been torn by disputes from 1874 to 1876. Occasionally it was worse—a number of the branch secretaries who left the National Union in 1875 retained the money that had been collected for it.²

In theory, of course, the National's system of centralization should have prevented this dependence on local factors. In practice I very much doubt whether it justified its cost. Of course, the undertaking was far from easy—in 1875 the National had the largest membership of any *registered* union, but in terms of annual income it ranked only seventh,³ and its membership was not only poor but also, by urban standards, highly dispersed. Nevertheless, its management cannot be said to have been businesslike. For this, however, the labourers themselves should not be greatly blamed. Not all the delegates to the 1873 National conference were literate.⁴ And even the invaluable ex-

¹ The term 'lock-out' also covered strikes.

² For inability to give its membership, see the *Oxf. Chron.*, 24 March 1877, p. 8 (and for a similar Warws. confession, the *Lab. U. Chron.*, 7 April 1877, p. 2). For resolutions about the acquisition of account books etc., see *Minutes*, March and July 1873, Feb. and Nov. 1875. For the branch management, see the *Oxf. Chron.*, 8 March 1879, p. 8; *Minutes*, Sept. and Nov. 1874, April 1876; *Lab. U. Chron.*, 7 April 1877, p. 5.

³ *P.P.*, 1877, LXXVII, p. 144. On the same basis the Kent Agricultural and General ranked ninth and eleventh, the Lincolnshire League eleventh and fourteenth.

⁴ *Lab. U. Chron.*, 21 June, p. 5. And in 1878 the Oxford district secretary could deprecate the competence of the original personnel at his level.—*Ibid.*, 8 June, p. 4.

perience that many had gained from chapels and benefit societies was not entirely relevant. For the unions, to be successful, had to operate on a far larger scale. And they almost inevitably encountered opposition and conflict of a kind not met with by philanthropic or religious undertakings.

The labourers were, indeed, conscious of their limitations, and pathetically grateful for the sympathy and assistance of their social superiors. But they were rather unfortunate in their helpers. To some extent, this was to be expected. Any movement that went in for emigration was bound to encounter some unscrupulous agents, like Thomas Alsop the representative of Brazil,¹ or the engaging character who simultaneously advocated emigration to the labourers and a continuation of the lock-out to the farmers.

But the gentlemen sympathizers were also fairly mixed. Thus Samuel Morley supported the agricultural labourers, as he did so many other progressive charities, but felt that unions should usually be "mere organizations for promoting migration and emigration." Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice helped to introduce the West of England union to Wiltshire in 1872, but seems, nevertheless, to have identified himself primarily with the country gentlemen. And his associate, Canon Girdlestone, was, on his earlier record, drawn on to the National Union's consulting committee, but proved fundamentally unsympathetic both towards strikes and towards the union's wider activities. Such men did not value the 'Revolt of the Field' for its trades-union content, but for either philanthropic or political reasons.²

There were, too, the eccentrics, like W. G. Ward or Professor Newman. Ward we have already met in Herefordshire. He began by opposing strikes on the grounds that he could not be sure that the labourers' sense of justice would preserve them from pressing their advantage too far. But he rapidly overcame these scruples and joined the National Union's consulting committee. By 1873, he had progressed to writing a letter that could be construed as advocating arson and that caused a considerable upset at the annual conference. Again Professor F. W. Newman's attitude towards trades unions was one of conventional hostility, but he was ready to speak on behalf of the agricultural labourers, and in 1875 he told an American friend (out of the blue) that he was now "*President* of a Farm Labourers' Union, which has so

¹ There can be no doubt that emigration to Brazil was advocated from union platforms and conducted, at least in part, under union auspices. See e.g. *Dors. Exp.*, 10 Dec. 1872; *Heref. T.*, 22 Feb. 1873, p. 10; *Oxford Journal*, 12 April 1873. This was the more discreditable since official cautions had already been issued against such emigration, which proved disastrous.—*P.P.*, 1873, xviii, pp. 310 ff., 389.

² Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Fitzmaurice to Dilke, 26 Dec. 1882.—B.M.Add. MS. 43882; *Oxford Journal*, 30 March 1872; E. Selley, *Village Trades Unions in Two Centuries*, 1919, p. 88; Clifford, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

little support that I cannot tell whether it will sink or swim."¹ Ward was also prominently associated with this 'New Union', the product of disillusion with the National's financial laxity, general ill success, and inability to provide land for the labourer. In banner headlines, it offered allotments and smallholdings (to be balloted for among contributors). These were to be obtained by investing subscriptions in the hire or purchase of land, while at the same time issuing members with promissory notes. The scheme was costed on the totally unrealistic basis of 100,000 members. And the honorary secretary even promised that the value of members' subscriptions would be doubled in three years.²

The labourers were not likely to gain all that much from such adherents. Indeed, they did not begin to get the sound business advice they needed—and deserved—until after 1875, when the split induced Samuel Morley to overhaul the union's finances and introduce a number of common-sense reforms. But, by then, the economic climate was singularly unpropitious for purely trades union activities. According to Arch, there had always been pressure "to have the cart of agricultural reforms stuck before the Union horse."³ Now such pressures became more difficult to resist, and the labourer's interests underwent considerable diversification, notably into emigration, insurance, charities, allotments, and politics.

Of course, none of these channels was new. But all were further developed. Indeed by 1879 the secretary of the Oxford district of the National Union could write to the papers from the union's offices, styling himself 'General Emigration Agent, Emigration Office', and asserting that "emigration is admitted to be the only way out of the difficulty the working classes have to meet with in this country."⁴ Such a transition was very natural. For, on the one hand, emigration was an obvious way of improving conditions, and, particularly after the Brazil fiasco, unions came to feel a responsibility for supervising it. Arch was accordingly sent on a fact-finding tour of Canada in 1873. Equally, too, the calling of emigration agent could be profitable: Simmons said that the intermediary between the colonial agent and the labourer was paid a commission of up to 5 per cent of the full fare out.⁵

Certainly a large number of union leaders either themselves emigrated

¹ For Ward, see the *Heref. T.*, 13 April 1872, p. 10, 18 May, p. 11; A. Clayden, *The Revolt of the Field*, 1874, pp. 145 ff.; Howard Evans, *Radical Fights of Forty Years*, n.d., p. 38. For Newman, see his letters to E. Sargent of 24 Oct. 1875 and e.g. 20 Jan. 1879.—Microfilm copies from the Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

² *Lab. U. Chron.*, 14 Aug. 1875, pp. 4-5, and *passim*.

³ *The Story of His Life*, pp. 118-21.

⁴ *Oxf. Chron.*, 15 March, p. 9.

⁵ *P.P.*, 1882, xiv, questions 61371-4. See also the Oxford district's *Minutes*, March 1875.

or acted as emigration agents (or both).¹ It is less easy to say how far the ordinary labourers followed them. Simmons claimed in 1881 to have sent 4,000 men (or nearly 10,000 people) out of Kent; and, in the same year, Arch was speaking in terms of three-quarters of a million people (albeit not all from unionized areas).² This latter claim was clearly excessive. But the emigration statistics do suggest that the 'Revolt of the Field' had a very appreciable impact, even though other factors were also of importance.³ Besides increasing the total volume of emigration, union intervention may also have temporarily altered its direction. Arch claimed that in 1874-5 union-sponsored emigrants to Canada outnumbered those to Australasia by about 4 to 2½,⁴ whereas in 1869-72 more than half the total agricultural labourers went to Australasia and in 1876-82 considerably more than half.

In Lincolnshire, in Mr Russell's words, the conflict of 1874 "was followed by compromise, and the compromise . . . by an intensified drive for emigration by the unions"; this constituted a more indirect strategy than had their wages claims of the early part of the year. But the Lincolnshire League pulled in its horns in other ways also: in January 1875 its executive committee remarked that since expenditure (and central demands) had fallen, each district must now be saving money; and by May we find its members recommended to "aim at making the Amalgamated Labour League one of the best organized, and best managed benefit clubs in the world." The other unions also underwent a similar development. Thus the Kent and Sussex established its sick benefit section in 1875; and the same year saw the establishment of at least nine sick and benefit funds by local organizations of the National Union.⁵ The process continued in 1876, and by 1877 the time had come for some rationalization. Accordingly the Lincolnshire League moved to

¹ A list would include such figures as: Simmons (secretary of the Kent and Sussex Union); Taylor (secretary of the National Union); Vincent (editor of the *Lab. U. Chron.*); Clayden (author of *The Revolt of the Field*); Holloway and Leggett (the first chairman and the first secretary of the Oxford district); Bayliss (that district's secretary from 1874-9); Richardson (founder of the Aylesbury district); and Challis (founder of the Sawston, Cambs., district).

² *P.P.*, 1882, XIV, questions 61371-4, 58422-9, 60354.

³ Emigration of male agricultural labourers from the U.K. was: in 1869, 1.6 thousand; 1870, 1.8; 1871, 1.4; 1872, 2.5; 1873, 3.7; 1874, 6.9; 1875, 5.4; 1876, 3.4; 1877, 4.1; 1878, 6.1; 1879, 4.1; 1880, 3.9; 1881, 2.7; 1882, 5.7. Until 1876, figures relate to departures of all nationalities to 'Places outside Europe'; from 1877 to U.K. nationals only and to all places though this change is probably not significant. It is important that these figures include Irish emigrants. They are derived from *P.P.*, 1876, XLII, and from the annual returns of the Emigration Commissioners.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 254 (written, admittedly, long after the event).

⁵ In Bucks., Glos., Oxon., Kent, Northants., Staffs., Suffolk and Cambs., and Wilts.; Herefordshire, Worcs., and Warws. already possessed comparable societies.

establish a uniform scale of subscriptions and entry fees and a centralized deaths fund, and the National Union formed a central sick benefit society that took over the more solvent of its local ones.¹ Most of the local societies were very small; but Simmons claimed 9,000 members for his Kent and Sussex society, and Arch's statements are consistent with a membership of about 4,000 in 1879-80.²

Of course it was common for industrial trades unions to provide facilities for insurance; and some such facilities were clearly very necessary. Moreover, union speakers had promised them from the beginning. Their prospect was one of the union's principal attractions, and they had occasionally even been implemented at a branch level.³ Nevertheless, their constitution under union auspices was an unfortunate development. For, the unions being evanescent, so were their benefit funds. And, contrariwise, the actuarial unsoundness of its benefit funds brought Arch's union into discredit.

More hopeful were the labourers' attempts to reform local charities and to secure allotments. As can be seen from the printed lists in many churches, the problem of misplaced or mislaid charities was not new. But it was probably exacerbated, from the labourers' point of view, by the mid-century reforms and the diversion of funds to middle class education. In some areas, as we have seen, it played a substantial part in establishing the labourers' movement; and it survived to become one of "the stalking-horses of the [1889 county council] election contests." Accordingly, the unions devoted considerable attention to charities, especially in the later 1870's. Thus Banks claimed in 1879 to be investigating the charities of no fewer than forty parishes. And in 1877 there was a "great turmoil about the charities" of Withington, Glos., as a result of which they were distributed that winter with less regard for religious denomination than ever before. In that year the Oxford district had also been doing its best to secure the election of *bona fide* working men as churchwardens to get "a thorough investigation" of misappropriated charities; "already good results had sprung from this." In 1878 wide-spread attempts were made to contest elections or exhumate charities at the Easter vestry meetings; the *Labourers' Union Chronicle* reported them under the heading of 'The Battle of the Vestries'.⁴

¹ Those with funds of more than £1 a head.

² *The Labourer*, 16 Jan. and 1 May 1875; 25 Nov. 1876; 29 Dec. 1877; *P.P.*, 1882, xiv, questions 58413-20, 61117; Arch, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 380-1.

³ See e.g. *Lab. U. Chron.*, 29 Nov. 1873 (Leics.); 5 Sept. 1874 (Stourpaine, Dorset); Clifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 153.

⁴ *The Labourer*, 4 Jan. 1879; *Lab. U. Chron.*, 16 March and 4 May 1878; *Oxf. Chron.*, 23 March 1878; Springall, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-9; *County Council Magazine*, III, 1891, pp. 99-107.

One of the purposes of such activity was to procure allotments. Thus, in response to a question as to "how the labourer was to get possession of the bits of land for his own cultivation," one branch secretary reminded his audience of the existence of a couple of farms "which rightly belonged to the poor. Let them draw up a paper and get it signed by all persons interested in the estate, and then send it up to London to the Charity Commissioners. . ."¹ Such pressure for the land had, indirectly, a considerable effect. Admittedly union attempts directly to purchase land were seldom very successful. But the new-found independence that had led to the 'Revolt of the Field' caused also a more confident and persistent voicing of the labourers' demands at a local level. And it encouraged landlords to act on their belief that the provision of allotments was a specific for discontent. Finally, the advent of the 'Great Depression' increased the supply of land and lowered its value. The details of the process vary enormously from place to place, but the general trend is quite clear:² the number of allotments grew by over 40 per cent between 1873 and 1886; the rate of growth then almost doubled between 1886 and 1890; and thereafter it fell back sharply.³

It is difficult not to connect this acceleration in the mid-1880's with the agricultural labourers' acquisition of the parliamentary franchise in 1885. There had been demands for the franchise ever since 1872. It represented the logical consequence of attempts to secure the return of labourers to local elective bodies. Indeed, many men even thought it a prerequisite for reform at a more local level. The labourers' movement thus merged increasingly with the politics of the day, a number of its leaders accepting minor roles in the Liberal party. Its political potentialities had always constituted one of its attractions to gentlemen radicals; and, by 1885, Birmingham politicians had come to rely heavily on an appeal to the new voters. The Conservatives, of course, soon replied in kind. So, especially before the 1892 elections, the country was treated to the spectacle of the two great parties holding conferences on the rural question that were (apart from their party-political affiliations) surprisingly similar in content. Interestingly enough, their participants came from more or less the areas in which we have seen trades unionism to have been concentrated in the 1870's. Northumberland still remained consciously aloof, the Liberal delegate from Hexham remarking that "he had been painfully impressed with the instances which had been

¹ *Oxf. Chron.*; *Oxford Journal*, 3 Aug. 1872.

² Thus in the early 1890's there was a surplus of allotments at Buntingford, Herts., and some were being given up around Cirencester, Glos., whereas there had been a long struggle "which is only now terminating" to secure allotments in some villages around Stratford-on-Avon.

³ *P.P.*, 1896, LXVII, pp. 520-1, 584.

mentioned of the tyranny of the squire and the parson in the southern and midland districts of England . . . there was nothing of that sort in Northumberland."¹

¹ *The Times*, 11 Dec. 1891 and 30 Jan. 1892.

Notes and Comments

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The annual conference of the British Agricultural History Society was held at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, from Monday, 8 April, to Wednesday, 10 April 1968. An opening reception was given by the Vice-Chancellor of the University and was followed by dinner at which the Society's guests were the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Frank Thistlethwaite; Prof. R. Markham, F.R.S.; Prof. Sir Joseph Hutchinson, F.R.S.; Mr G. E. Fussell; Dr R. A. C. Parker; Mr G. Ordish, and Mr E. J. T. Collins.

Prof. Hutchinson opened the conference with a paper on 'Greek Agriculture and Agrarian History'. He was followed by Mr G. E. Fussell on 'Eighteenth-century Theories of Crop Nutrition'. Mr R. A. C. Parker set the scene for the excursion with a paper on 'The Coke Estate at Holkham', and during the excursion members were shown over Holkham Hall by Lord Leicester's estate agent, and shown round the farms by the farm manager. This was a most interesting and enjoyable visit. The conference ended with papers by Mr George Ordish on 'A Hundred and Fifty Years of Crop Pest Control', and by Mr E. J. T. Collins on 'Labour Supply and Harvesting Technique in Britain, 1790-1880'.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

This was held at Norwich on Tuesday, 9 April 1968, with Dr W. H. Chaloner in the chair. Mr G. E. Fussell was elected President of the Society in succession to Prof. H. P. R. Finberg, Mr C. A. Jewell was re-elected Treasurer, and Mr M. A. Havinden was re-

elected Secretary. Miss Audrey Beecham, Dr W. H. Chaloner, and Mr G. E. Fussell retired from the Executive Committee under rule. Dr Chaloner was re-elected and Dr D. R. Denman and Dr F. M. L. Thompson were elected to the vacancies.

In presenting the report of the Executive Committee, Dr W. H. Chaloner was pleased to record that, after a slight fall last year, membership had now risen from 645 to 672. He noted, however, that most of the new members were libraries, and that individual membership had fallen from 423 to 414, and expressed the hope that members would endeavour to recruit new subscribers. He paid tribute to the retiring President, Prof. H. P. R. Finberg, for all his good work during his term of office. As a founder member and first editor of the *REVIEW*, the Society owed him a very great debt. He also thanked the British Academy for a generous grant of £300 towards the costs of the *REVIEW*, and Prof. W. E. Minchinton for his work in editing the two volumes of *Essays in Agrarian History* which were successfully published this year under the Society's sponsorship. It was also gratifying to note the successful publication of Volume IV of the *Agrarian History of England*, edited by Dr Joan Thirsk, and the foundation of the first Chair of Agrarian History at a British University, at the University of Kent, to be occupied by Dr G. E. Mingay.

The Treasurer reported that the Society's finances were in a healthy condition and that this would allow the size of the *REVIEW* to be enlarged from 64 to 84 pages.

(Continued on page 154)

Crofters' Common Grazings in Scotland

By JAMES R. COULL

IN temperate Europe, the utilization of rough or unimproved land for grazing in common has been for centuries a feature of the traditional economy—especially in regions of hill and mountain; indeed the use of hill grazings in such regions as the Highlands has been the stamp of adjustment to environment of economies dependent principally on stock rearing. In the old way in the crofting districts, the stock had to exist mainly on the hill, although they also grazed the inbye lands of townships after the harvest had been gathered; this is changing somewhat, now that croft land is used more for producing food for animals rather than people, although the hill grazings are still of vital importance. Some idea of the extent and importance of hill land may be got from the ratios of inbye to outbye land computed by F. Fraser Darling: this ratio is 1:12.5 in the Outer Hebrides, 1:20 in Skye, and rises as high as 1:85 in Wester Ross and 1:90 in the North-West Mainland.¹

The survival of common land, along with the ways of utilization, is certainly not peculiar to the Scottish Highlands. Thus there are more than 4,500 units of common land totalling some 1½ million acres in England and Wales, and significantly most of it is in hill areas like the mountains of Wales and the Lake District.² W. G. Hoskins has pointed out that commons are among the most ancient institutions of England.³ It is also known as far apart as Norway and Greece. Indeed, the use of part of the landscape for pasturing stock in common has been a feature of man's activity in agricultural villages throughout Europe. At subsistence level the use of pasture in common is indeed one of the most widespread and most permanent of geographical relationships.

In the crofting districts, as elsewhere, common grazings were linked with the team-work which used to exist in considerably larger degree in crofting townships, based on co-operation between neighbours in the tending of stock. In fact, it is on common grazings that a measure of the team-work which was once a general feature of township organization has survived; crofters generally join in the gathering of sheep and lambs for separating, dipping, etc., and in some cases (especially in Skye) the sheep are owned on a club system. Township organization also shows in the 'souming' (i.e. stint-

¹ F. F. Darling, *West Highland Survey*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 15, 16.

² *Report of Royal Commission on Common Land*, 1958, pp. 16-20.

³ W. G. Hoskins, in *Report of Royal Commission on Common Land*, p. 149.

ing) of grazings, and in the administration of these by grazings committees (of which there are 681) and grazings constables (of whom there are 23).¹ Before the 1886 Crofters Act the regulation of the grazings was traditionally performed by a constable, and up to that time the Shetland 'scattalds' (commons) were generally unregulated,² but now most of the grazings constables are actually in Shetland. However, the decline of the old way of life is shown on the commons too, as stocking regulations often count for little, and overstocking with sheep is especially frequent.

While common land is now mainly found on the western seaboard, north of the Firth of Lorne, and on the Western Isles and Shetland, there are still plentiful examples of it in areas where the farming landscape was reorganized by the Improving Movement. Thus there are fifteen in Caithness, nearly forty on the east coast of Sutherland, about a dozen in Easter Ross, and a handful in Orkney; and commons are to be found in Glenurquhart and Lochaber, at Newtonmore (Strathspey, East Inverness-shire), on Lochtay-side (Perthshire), Glenlivet (Banffshire), and there are a few in the northern part of Argyllshire. There are few commons in the Hebrides south of Tiree and Mull—and, indeed, in Mull they are largely confined to the Ross in the south-west; there is one common on Jura, two in the Rhinns of Islay, two on Colonsay, one on Arran, but none on Gigha. The commons in these outlying areas of the crofting region do show remnants of township organization, and they are still soumed (at least officially); on the other hand, they are often attached to crofts a good deal larger than the West Highland average, and are parts of more viable agricultural units. At the same time, crofting townships can be found which have no common; these are mainly old fishing townships like Shildaig (Torridon, Wester Ross) where stock were in any case of limited importance, but they also include ones like Kenovay and Salum (Tiree) where agriculture is advanced. In addition there are many crofts scattered throughout the Highland zone of Scotland—mainly towards the south and east—which have no commons attached.

The size of commons and the regulations for their use show great variations throughout the crofting districts. At the simplest, each township has its own common in which there are a number of equal shares: this can be found on both west and east coasts (e.g. Toscaig (Applecross, Wester Ross) 2,837 acres in 24 shares; Airdens (Creich, Sutherland), 1,133 acres in 21 shares). In the West Highlands, this sort of system is the general but by no means the universal rule; and in practice the general lack of fencing between adjoining townships means that the formal division often has little significance.

¹ *Crofters' Commission Report*, 1955-6, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 28.

Also frequent is the sharing of a general common by several townships in a district: thus in the Ness district of Lewis there are 16 townships sharing a common of 20,000 acres, and several of these have their own township commons in addition. In the Bettyhill district (N. Sutherland), 9 townships share a common of 2,953 acres in 52 $\frac{7}{8}$ shares, with an enlargement of 1,568 acres in 86 shares; in Sutherland these enlargements, often separately soumed, are quite frequent as a result of the break-up of some of the sheep farms after 1918. A township may also have its common in two parts—often on two contrasting types of terrain: most significant here are those of the machair isles (mainly Tiree and the Uists) where townships may have common on both the low sandy machair and the hill; but it is also to be found elsewhere as at Tighphuirst (Appin, Argyll) where there are 8 acres of hill and 3 acres of shore common.

The pattern of a mixture of big and small commons is, however, most characteristic of Shetland, and here the pattern can be very complicated, with small groups of crofts sharing odd parcels of rough land. Thus in the southern part of the island of Unst there are 13 scattalds, unfenced from each other, from 300 to 600 acres in size and with a total area of 5,052 acres, in which there are well over 100 shareholders. An example of the amplitude of scattald size is given by the 5 townships of Maywick, Ireland, Bigton, Channerwick, and Levenwick in the South Mainland. Here there is a big scattald of 3,081 acres in 96 shares; one of 57 acres in 4 shares, one of 45 acres in 3 shares, and two of 12 acres in each of which there is now only one share. The pattern of fragmented commons is also well instanced by Walls parish, where the big scattald of the district (in this case a whole parish) is over 2,000 acres, while there are 16 smaller scattalds varying from a few acres to over 400 acres in size. The usual Shetland pattern is that of a big district scattald extending to several thousand acres, while odd fragments of rough land intermingled with inbye croft land are grazed in common by the crofts adjacent to them.

The great part of crofters' common grazings is poor hill land with a low carrying capacity for stock. The distribution of types of hill land in the Highlands has been outlined by M. E. Hardy.¹ The great majority of the grazings come into the category of 'marshy grass moors', but with 'peat moors' on the flatter areas of the North Coast and Lewis, and with 'dry grass moors' on the Durness limestone and on parts of the hill land to the east of the main watershed. Also included in some cases are 'mountain pastures', which extend as far up as 2,500 feet beyond which there is little grazing. Common grazings

¹ M. E. Hardy, *Esquisse de la Végétation des Highlands d'Ecosse*, Paris, 1905.

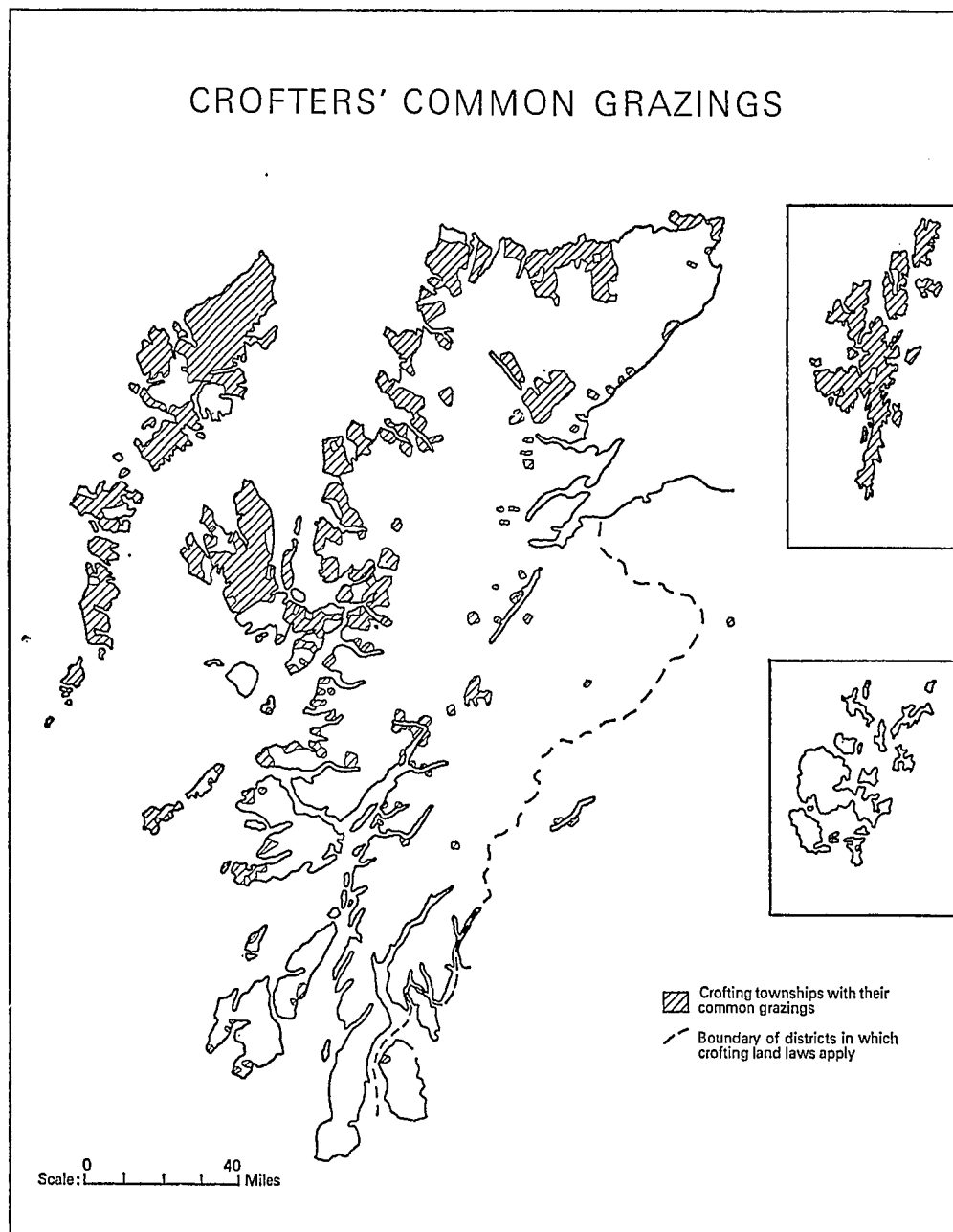


FIG. I

Note. This map is based on a variety of sources and cannot claim absolute accuracy, but it shows in a general way the distribution of crofting townships and their grazings.

cover a fragmented band from the Ardnamurchan Peninsula round the coast to Strath-Halladale in Sutherland, together with outliers in the east already mentioned. The great part of the outbye land on the islands from Tiree northwards (including Shetland but excluding Orkney) is also occupied by common grazings. The great bulk of the remainder of the hill land in the crofting districts is occupied by farms (mainly sheep farms), deer forests, grouse moors, and forestry plantations.

The carrying capacity of the grazings depends principally on drainage and geology, although the human factor of management and improvement can be of great consequence. In the wetter west, there is very little of the heather moor common in the Eastern Highlands; on most of the land heather is mixed with sedges and rough grasses, or is absent. The herbage is generally low in quality—there is enough protein and carbohydrate in it for two or three months in summer, but it has too much fibre for the rest of the year, and is always low in mineral content.¹ In the North-West Highlands, the grazings on the acid Precambrian rocks are poor, and can only support one ewe to some 10 acres; and on the poorly drained old peneplains of North Sutherland and Lewis, with their great thicknesses of peat, the ratio is a good deal wider. The position is better on the volcanic rocks of Skye and Mainland Argyll. Here the better sward can support one ewe to 3 or 4 acres; and on the Durness limestone of the north-west, one ewe to 2 acres is possible, while on the rich grazings of the Hebridean machairs a ewe requires less than an acre.² There is thus a wide variety in the capacity of the commons to carry stock, but generally speaking the carry is low.

Virtually all commons have at least paper regulations to control the stocking of the grazings. In the Gaelic-speaking areas these 'souming' regulations appear to go far back into history, and they probably came into being with the filling in of the settlement map and the competition for the use of the grazings between communities and between individuals. They are recorded by such writers as MacDonald.³ Soumings vary considerably, both between townships and estates. In Shetland, on the other hand, there were no regulations for stocking the scattalds (apart from one or two estates) until after the Crofters Act of 1886, and this may well be related to the more individualistic tradition that was associated with the udal owner-occupier system of tenure. Even under the old subsistence economy, there seems to have been a constant tendency to overstocking, and for the stronger members of the

¹ A. R. Wannop, in 'Symposium on Science and Hill Farming', *Advancement of Science*, 1958, p. 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

³ J. MacDonald, *Agricultural View of the Hebrides*, Edinburgh, 1811, pp. 458, 466.

community to take advantage of the weak: this again is instanced by MacDonald and by the Napier Commission Report.¹

The soumings are very varied, and they depend only partly on the size and carrying capacity of the grazings. Generally they take the formula of " x cows and y sheep per crofter" or "per share", but with a number of other provisions. On most commons, both sheep and cattle are allowed, but on the commons of most townships on the mainland of Argyll and in Lochaber no sheep are allowed, although the townships may be let for the wintering of hogs. Here the crofts have generally been looked on as providing homes where one or two cows for the family could be kept. The same is often found in former fishing townships like Plockton and Shieldaig (Wester Ross) where commons are small or absent, and only cows are allowed. In the former fishing village of Jeantown (Loch Carron, Wester Ross) there are 35 shares in a common of 164 acres, each of which has a souming of a single cow.

In many townships, there is an equal souming with each croft. Thus in Barrapoll (Tiree) each has the right to graze 5 cows and 14 sheep, Toscaig (Applecross) has a souming of 2 cows, 2 stirks, and 12 sheep per share, while at Airdens (Creich, E. Sutherland) the souming is 16 sheep. Soumings may be quite high—thus at West Hough (Tiree) 6 yeld cattle and 40 sheep are allowed; at Strome More (Loch Carron, Wester Ross) each croft has a minimum of 3 cows and 1 follower and 40 sheep; and at South Olnafirth (Delting, Shetland) there are 80 sheep per acre.

The basis of the souming may, however, be the rent or acreage of the crofts: thus in Melness (Sutherland) the souming is 1 cow and follower and 6 sheep per £1 of rent in 1886; Dunie (Kincardine, Easter Ross) has 6 sheep per £1 of rent in 1886; in the Ness district of Lewis, the usual township allowance is 1 cow and 7 sheep per £1 of present rent; while at Achengill and Nybster (Caithness) the souming is 1 sheep per croft acre. It is also possible, because of the vagaries of historical division and consolidation, to find that the soumings follow no simple formula: thus at Balephuill (Tiree) and Achork (E. Sutherland) the crofts all have different soumings, while crofters may have multiples of the same basic allowance, as happens at Garvan and Duiskey (Lochaber) where each crofter has a multiple of the basic allowance of 1 cow and 12 sheep. Occasionally the position may be even more complicated, as at Blairmore and Culdrain (E. Sutherland), where all the crofts have different soumings on the old common pasture (from 1 to 36 sheep on 593 acres, but equal soumings on an enlargement (3 sheep each on 263 acres).

The system is usually more elastic than the above would indicate, as it is generally possible to substitute one type of stock for another, or younger for

¹ A. Carmichael, in *Crofters' Commission Report*, 1884, pp. 468, 469.

older animals, at a stated equivalence. On the Mainland and Western Isles, a cow is usually equivalent to from 4 to 6 sheep, although in Harris it is as high as 8 sheep. In Shetland, where the souming is usually stated in sheep only, the ratio is narrower—often 1 cow to 3 sheep. A horse's grazing is more than that of a cow, and as a rule is equivalent to that of 2 cows. Thus in Adabrock (Ness, Lewis) 1 horse is equivalent to 2 cows or 10 sheep; in Melness (Sutherland) 1 horse is equivalent to 8 sheep, 1 cow to 5 sheep, 1 cattle beast of less than 2 years to 3 sheep; and in Milltown (Applecross) 1 cow is equivalent to 6 sheep. In West Hough (Tiree), 2 cattle of more than 3 years are equivalent to 3 two-year olds or 4 one-year olds, while at Kilmory (Ardnamurchan) 2 sheep are equivalent to 3 hoggs. There may even be equivalences for stock grazed part of the day or year; at Achancarnan (Assynt, Sutherland) 1 cow grazed for half a day is equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ sheep, while at Bigton (Shetland) 1 work pony grazed part of the year is equivalent to 3 sheep (as opposed to 6 sheep for one grazed the whole year). These variations are a reflection of local tradition rather than any rational appraisal of different stock types.

However, there may be limitations within the equivalences, usually to control the selective grazing of sheep. Thus in Ruaig (Tiree) cows may only be replaced by sheep (in the ratio 1:4) from 1 May to 15 November, to save the winter grazing; and at Middleton on the same island, sheep may only replace cattle till their total reaches 146; while in the Melness district (Sutherland) the sheep total must not exceed 2,000. In Tiree too are the fine Reef grazings which are reserved for winter use for cattle only. At Shielfoot (Ardnamurchan) cows from the neighbouring township of Newtown may graze on payment of 25s. a year per head. At Blaich (Lochaber) horses may not be replaced by sheep, and horses at Airds (Muckairn, Argyll) may only graze three months per year. A vestige of the immediate past—the need for work animals—can be seen in the existence of a number of horse-parks, as at Knockvologan (Mull) where on 9 acres 3 crofts are each allowed 3 horses; and at Caoles (Tiree), where there are 15 shares in 90 acres, each with a soum of 2 horses; horse-parks are also found at Ardmore and Upper Halistra (Watnish, Skye) and Opinan and Sand (Wester Ross), although these horse-parks have been largely rendered redundant with the advent of the tractor, and are in fact little used.

A number of townships too have additions allowed to the stated soumings for special circumstances. Thus on the Shetland scattalds (e.g. Ireland and Bigton, Dunrossness) crofters may graze milk cows above their soum without penalty, although at the same time geese are expressly forbidden. At Blairmore and Culdrain (Rogart, E. Sutherland), 2 cattle beasts may be grazed morning and afternoon above the souming; and at Trislaig (Locha-

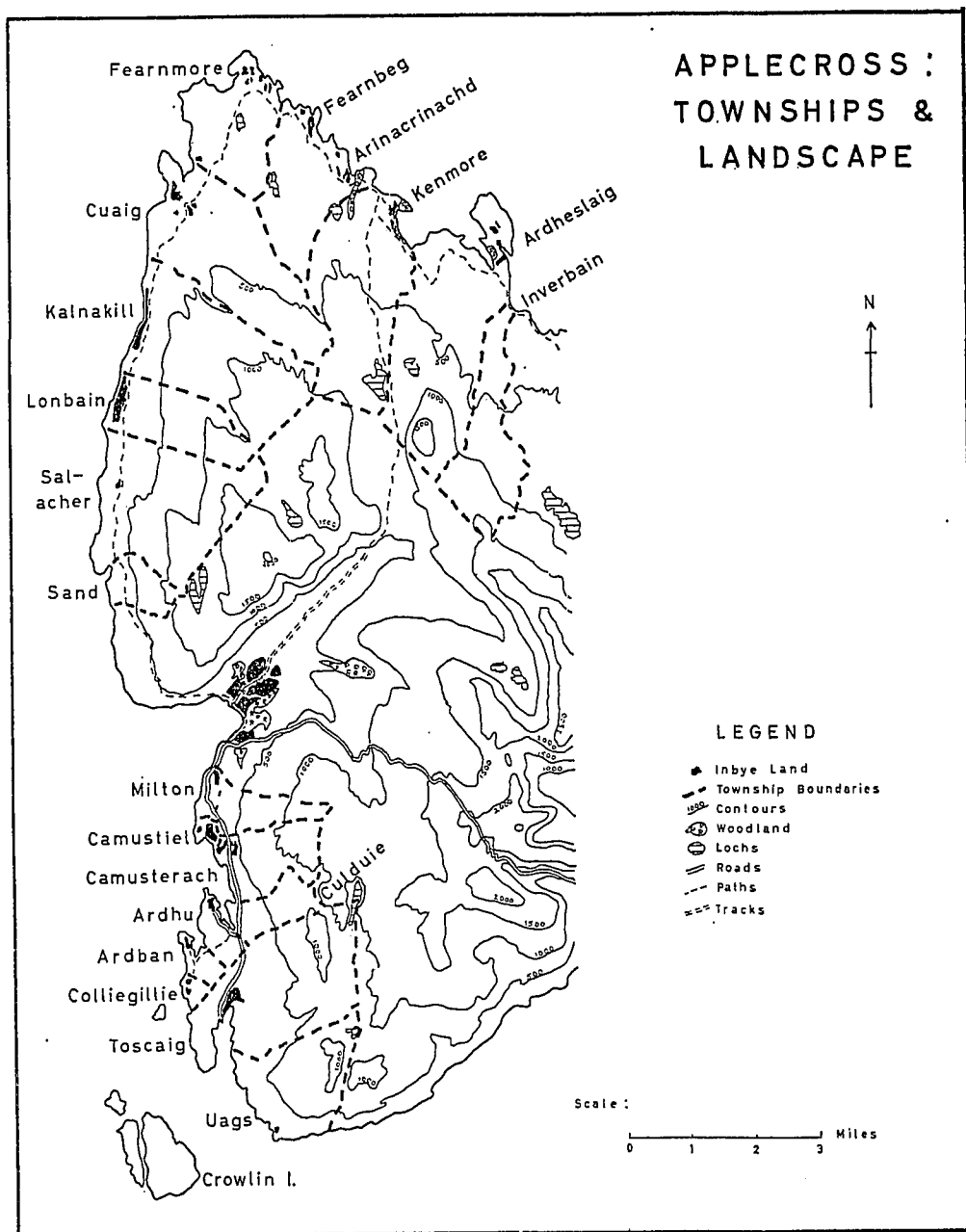


FIG. II

Note. The boundaries between townships are unfenced and of limited significance now. But the 'soumings' of the townships are still officially fixed on the basis of the extent of grazing land available.

ber), if any crofter wishes to retain a horse he can graze it on the common (as well as his cattle). Occasionally, too, it may be permissible to keep extra hogs in summer and autumn to replace ewes to be cast later in the year: thus in east Harris and at Airdens (Creich, E. Sutherland) 4 extra hogs are allowed, and at Maywick, Ireland, Bigton, Channerwick, and Levenwick (Shetland), 1 extra hogg for every 5 sheep.

In the event of souns being unused—a common occurrence now with the big proportion of elderly crofters—grazings committees have authority to let them on the payment of an extra rent, generally £1 or £2 a year. The committees also have a number of other powers for the maintenance and control of the grazing, although most of them are now little used. Thus the provisions for the engaging of herds and shepherds are almost a dead letter, although shepherds are employed on the big and economically important grazings on Hynish and West Hough (Tiree), and a winter herd for the Reef grazings in winter on the same island. A shepherd is also employed in winter in Ness (Lewis) where the many crofters need pay but little per head to cut down their sheep losses in the bogs. They are also employed by some sheep clubs, as Dunbeath (Caithness), but for the most part the Agricultural Employment Act at the outbreak of war, by instituting wage minima and conditions, gave the death-blow to an institution already in decline. Written into the regulations are provisions for the committees to control bulls, rams, and (in Shetland) pony stallions; but few townships now have their own bull—more often a bull is kept between several townships or is supplied by a neighbouring farm, and it is now frequent for crofters to keep their own rams. Committees also may insist that animals prone to stray be kept on a crofter's own land; in Shetland, sheep prone to force their way through fences are often fitted with a triangular wooden collar to prevent their wandering.

Township regulations usually provide for the control of the cutting of peats and the maintenance of head-dykes, and (in the Uists and Tiree) for the prevention of sand-blowing on the machairs, and these are still quite often enforced. It is uncommon, however, to find enforcement of the provisions for regulating the taking of seaweed from the beaches, the construction and maintenance of hill drains, muirburning, and bracken control. The condition of most commons well attests this.

Key dates in the agricultural calendar have always been the times of the closing and opening of the inbye land of the townships to stock; these allowed the keying together of crop and animal husbandry in the economy, by keeping the stock off the crofts until after the harvest was gathered. In most townships the old system of letting the township stock range all over the inbye land in winter is still retained, although with the increase of en-

closure and sown grasses it is becoming common for exceptions to be made within townships: crofters who improve their land are given the right to enclose their own animals on their crofts. In the progressive Isle of Tìree, for example, only one township (Ruaig) out of thirty still opens its gates in winter. On the other hand, where tradition is still strong, the leaving of gates open in winter may be a condition for use of the commons—as in Ness (Lewis). In some townships the dates for shutting and opening of gates are fixed at the same times every year: at Ruaig (Tìree) it is the 1st of May to the 15th of November; in Melness all yeld sheep must be out by the 15th of April, and ewes by the 25th of May, and they are not allowed back till the 25th of November. In other townships, there is more flexibility in the dates to allow for the vagaries of the seasons, the grazings committee fixing the dates each year, as happens at Taynuilt (Argyll) and Ness (Lewis). The usual time for adjusting the souming is at the time of the gathering of the stock into the township for winter; up to this time the offspring of the year—lambs, calves, and foals are not counted, but thereafter they are part of the souming, and excess animals must be sold or slaughtered if the regulations are enforced; in practice they are usually disposed of earlier, at the autumn sales.

Cattle are almost always wintered on the crofts—generally indoors—the chief exceptions to the rule being the Hebridean machairs. Sheep are usually brought down from the high hill to winter in the township and on the parts of the common immediately adjoining; they may be taken into the crofts for part of the day and oats and hay fed to them, and put on the hill at night. In Shetland the hardy native breed are kept on the hill all year, but the hoggs are often wintered in sheds, while on the Mainland and in Skye it has become fairly common for crofters to send their hoggs to east coast farms for wintering.

Linked with the use of commons in the old way of life was the use of shielings,¹ with the associated practice of transhumance; this now survives only in Lewis, and there in a modified form, although it is not beyond living memory on the West Highland Mainland, and existed east of the Great Glen until the first part of the nineteenth century. While shielings were bound to decline in any case through contact with industrial civilization, which made the effort involved uneconomic, the turning over of many of the hill grazings to commercial sheep rearing certainly accelerated the process. In Lewis, shielings have survived in the northern part of the island—especially with the congested townships of the Ey Peninsula, which have commons several miles away on the main part of the island. They are also used to a limited

¹ I. Whitaker, 'Some Traditional Techniques in Modern Scottish Farming', *Scottish Studies*, III, 1959, pp. 167-72.

extent in Barvas parish, but to a much lesser extent than a generation ago. Traditionally there was always something of a holiday in the shieling visits, and this is now their main function, many crofters not taking any cattle with them. The shielings of some Barvas townships, such as Borge, were close enough to make daily journeys feasible, and now crofters from the Ey Peninsula may make daily journeys by bus. The use of shielings in the last few centuries is unrecorded in Shetland, although here the grazing in common of small, uninhabited islands is still practised, as it is in several places on the Western seaboard.¹ The profusion of small 'holms' in Shetland gives scope for this, although landing on some of them is hazardous as there may be no real break in their surrounding cliffs. A. C. O'Dell has instanced a case at Gletness, Nesting, where island pasture is used by crofters in annual rotation;² this is a variant of the practice still known in some Shetland townships whereby inbye pasture is held in annual rotation (e.g. Tresta (Fetlar), Norby (Sandness)).

Before the coming of commercial sheep-rearing at the end of the eighteenth century, the grazings of the Highland hills were not at all fully utilized. Most of the grazing was considered too rough for cattle,³ and in any case it was found impossible under the old system to keep enough stock alive over winter to make full use of the summer growth. Since the coming of sheep, there has been progressive deterioration of the vegetation because of their selective grazing; and this deterioration has in modern times been accelerated on many—probably most—crofters' commons by overstocking. While understocking is known—especially in the townships in the southern part of the crofting region which have only cattle in their soumings—overstocking often reaches serious proportions, especially in the Hebrides. The position is worst in the islands of Lewis and Barra, where squatters may graze stock in addition to those of congested townships. Thus in 1959 the stocking of Gravir in Park was over 200 per cent of the souming,⁴ and at Kneep (Uig) in 1960 the figure actually reached 358 per cent:⁵ this excess of stock is doubly unfortunate in that it results in poorer quality sheep as well as poorer grazing, but it is a situation very difficult to remedy. The multiple responsibility for the common, and the short-term thinking of an ageing population militate against improvement. Nothing is ever done to improve many commons—

¹ I. Whitaker, 'Some Traditional Techniques in Modern Scottish Farming', *Scottish Studies*, p. 173.

² A. C. O'Dell, *Historical Geography of the Shetland Islands*, Lerwick, 1939, p. 54.

³ E.g. T. Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*, 1772, London, 1790, p. 308.

⁴ J. B. Caird and Associates, *Park. A Geographical Study of a Lewis Crofting District*, Glasgow, 1960, p. 30.

⁵ H. A. Moisley and Associates, *Uig, a Hebridean Parish*, pts I and II, Glasgow, 1961, p. 44.

especially on the Mainland; and for the rest the only treatment the majority ever get is burning in spring to bring on the new growth. This may be done on a planned rotation system with good results, but it is often haphazard and may have as its chief effect the spread of bracken.

The spread of bracken on the lower slopes,¹ generally up to 600 or 800 feet, is indeed one of the worst features of hill regression. It is useless for grazing, it may give cattle bracken poisoning, it may conceal sheep infected with the maggot fly, and it harbours ticks dangerous to stock. It tends to be worst on the best hill land, and now covers much abandoned arable land. It is only in Shetland and some other islands—for example the boggy moors of north Lewis—that bracken is not a serious menace. Several factors have undoubtedly contributed to the modern spread of bracken: estates cannot now obtain cheap labour for cutting it, and very seldom do townships now combine to cut it; it is no longer used for thatch; climatic fluctuations have even been invoked; but a major cause seems to be the upset of the former ecological equilibrium which existed when cattle were dominant in the economy, sheep stocks were smaller, and muir-burning less frequent. Sheep have caused degeneration by their continued selective grazing, while cattle grazed more completely and also bruised the bracken fronds. Bracken can be eliminated by ploughing in or repeated cutting, but the best hope now seems to be the development of a suitable chemical spray; it is a world-wide problem, and a great deal of research is being devoted to its control. At the same time, the spread of bracken is only one element in the problem of grazings management—other plants such as juncus (in wet areas) are reducing their carrying capacity.

Rather exceptionally, grazings regulations may be well adhered to, generally where crofting is active and the maintenance of the grazings a matter of real concern. This occurs, for example, in some of the townships of Tiree, such as West Hough, and in those on Loch Inchard (W. Sutherland) where the Westminster Estate has encouraged the crofters and provided supplementary employment in forestry. In addition, improvements to hill land are proceeding in some townships with the help of the grants available under the Crofters Act of 1955. Particularly in Lewis, townships have fertilized and reseeded parts of their commons of anything up to 50 acres, and greatly improved them for grazing. In Shetland improvement is most frequent of all, and here the general practice is by individual effort—a crofter's share of the scattald is delimited, fenced, and improved. In these isles, the opportunities for hill improvement are often at their best: the land is steep enough for drainage, yet not too steep for tractors to work on it, and much of it is neither

¹ F. F. Darling, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-3.

too rough nor too rocky; in addition with the less compact scatter of crofts general in Shetland, it is often possible for a crofter to get his share of the scattald adjoining his own holding. In 1961, for example, there were 1,014 claims for such improvements aided by the Crofters' Commission, at a cost of over £46,000; 360 of the claims were in Shetland and 536 in Ross (mostly in Lewis).¹ The total acreage now improved is well over 20,000 acres,² although in Lewis the pace of improvement has slackened as most of the accessible land in the vicinity of the townships has already been improved. Improvement of hill land is certainly now well within man's technical abilities, although it would not be economically feasible for crofters without outside help.

Although partial apportionment is now frequent in Shetland and occasional elsewhere, commons are still very much part of the crofting scene. Despite the modern trend towards economic individualism, they seem likely to continue so in most of the crofting area for the future; even if the amalgamation of crofts is achieved, it would still be uneconomic and impractical in most cases to apportion the commons. This is well shown by the island of Tiree, and by most of the crofts in Skye created after 1918, where commonity is still very significant despite the bigger size of the holdings. It would seem that even with a system of small farms in much of the Highlands, common grazing might well continue—as it has in parts of Wales and the Lake District: such is the enduring influence of a hill environment.

¹ *Crofters' Commission Report*, 1961, p. 31.

² Information from Crofters' Commission. The bulk of the material in this paper comes from the files of the Crofters' Commission, access to which is gratefully acknowledged.

NOTES AND COMMENTS *continued from page 141.*

FUTURE CONFERENCES

Enquiries are being made about the possibility of holding the 1969 conference at the Agricultural College at Wageningen in the Netherlands, and further details will be included in the next issue. As a result of the questionnaire on the future of the December conferences it has been decided to hold these at irregular intervals whenever it seems opportune.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GRANGER MOVEMENT

Scholars and librarians may obtain, upon request, from the Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis (95616), an annotated Granger bibliography. The guide, *A Preliminary List of References for the History of the Granger Movement*, was compiled by Dennis Nordin, and published by the Center in co-operation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Sheep and the Clearances in the Scottish Highlands: a Biologist's View

By M. L. RYDER

SO complete was the introduction of sheep to the Scottish Highlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that sheep husbandry traditions there today merely reflect Lowland influence, and provide no continuity with the husbandry of the Old Scottish Shortwool kept earlier in the area. The evictions that made way for the new sheep breeds caused so much injustice and distress, that the blame became illogically transferred to the sheep itself as if it possessed some malevolent force, instead of being the innocent agent. It is naturally difficult to view the clearances dispassionately, but so much has been written that is agriculturally and historically unsound that it is necessary to cut through the sentimentality with scientific detachment.

The present author questions the much-repeated assertion that the Highland region is cattle country, and that the sheep is alien to the area. The hills of England and Wales are not regarded as being good cattle country, so it is surprising that the much wilder hills of Scotland should be regarded as such. In fact, the sheep is fundamentally a mountain animal whereas cattle have their natural home on the lowlands. Sheep can thrive on land that is too poor to support any other farm animal, but a much better hill is needed for cattle. Moreover, cattle need a bigger lowland area for wintering. The large Highland farmers who are successful with cattle today are fortunate in having a big area of such low land available, and probably also have plenty of meadow for hay.

It was of course the valley land that was

taken from the crofters in the clearances. Here they had grown small quantities of oats and bere, and taken their cattle and sheep to the shieling in summer. This can hardly have utilized the hills to the full when even today winter provides a tight feed bottleneck, and the hills could support more sheep in summer. Where pasture has deteriorated this has been due as much to under-grazing by sheep as to the lack of cattle, which is blamed by their protagonists, although it is true that where the amount of winter keep allows cattle to run with sheep on the hill in summer they help by eating the longer and coarser grass which is less suitable for sheep. James Hogg¹ was well aware of the social problems of the highland peasants, but he regarded most of the Highlands as unsuitable for cattle, and favoured sheep.

Mitchison² considered that the shieling system, although exploiting the higher ground, prevented the proper cultivation of the valleys for winter feed by taking people to the hills in summer, but the soil and climate of the Highlands make them unsuitable for arable farming. The highlanders ameliorated the winter conditions by housing their *seana chaorich cheaga* (little old sheep) but the new sheep were probably more hardy, as well as being too numerous to house easily. According to Whitaker,³ although the origin of transhumance is ancient, the first reference to the wintering of hill sheep on low ground is dated 1669, and refers to the Melrose district. It was not until the eighteenth century that the discovery was made that sheep could be kept over the winter on low ground in the High-

¹ James Hogg, *The Shepherd's Guide*, Edinburgh, 1807, p. 255.

² R. Mitchison, *Agricultural Sir John*, London, 1960, p. 104.

³ I. Whitaker, 'Some traditional Techniques in Modern Scottish farming', *Scot. Stud.*, 3, 1959, pp. 163-88.

lands without being housed, at any rate at night. The discovery has been attributed to one man—a lazy incomer—whereas it is more likely to have resulted from the introduction of new methods with new sheep and shepherds from the south.

Historical records¹ suggest that the goat, although liking more shelter, was as common as the sheep before the clearances, and that both outnumbered cattle. Dr Johnson in his *Journey in the Western Isles* (1773) gave the stock of a tacksman in the Highlands on the mainland as: "100 sheep, as many goats, 12 milk cows and 28 beeves ready for the drovers". Gray² stated that before the clearances sheep were grazed with cattle in equal numbers. According to Franklin³ cattle only became an important export after the Union (1707) and in order to develop cattle some chiefs restricted the number of sheep kept by their clansmen to only one sheep to every head of cattle.

An Act of Parliament following the 1745 rebellion destroyed the connection between the chief and his clan, and caused power to be measured by wealth rather than by the number of men. Mitchison⁴ emphasized the pressure of increasing population in forcing improvements in agriculture and stressed the backwardness of the Highlands as late as 1780. The Borders had changed from mixed to pasture farming in the seventeenth century, and in the Lowlands the population, displaced by improvements during the eighteenth century, took up other industries. Improvement in the Highlands presented peculiar problems owing to the primitive nature of the agriculture, and the high value which highlanders placed on leisure. As Mitchison pointed out, the situation has been over-coloured by the prejudice and horror of contemporary observers. The Highlands

were under-capitalized, yet already overpopulated—the earlier aim had been to keep the land stocked with men. Cattle made possible the Highland way of life, but did not justify it economically. There was already extreme poverty in the highlands (as, indeed, in other parts) in the eighteenth century before the clearances.

The first stage in improvement was to abolish the strip-cultivation of runrig agriculture and to create larger farms. This was legally much simpler than in England, but shortage of capital, archaic practices, and the large number of small tenants caused difficulties. If waste land could have been enclosed, or other industries established, reorganization would have merely meant resettlement, but it was difficult to establish the English type of settlement with by-employments. Thus a rising population, without other industry, meant either starvation or emigration. Since many lairds lacked capital for other improvement they converted their estates into sheep-walks. Sheep farmers from the south were offering high rents, and so some of the first people to be forced from the land were the tacksmen. These had formerly been the chiefs' agents, and could not afford the increased rents.

Of the new breeds that appeared during the eighteenth century the Cheviot appears to have evolved entirely from the native Dunface or Old Scottish Shortwool.⁵ About 1800 the Cheviot still had a dun face, and the rams were horned. The Cheviot appears to have evolved on the Border, and the Border Leicester, which developed later, seems to be the result of crossing the Cheviot with the English Leicester.⁶ The Blackface, which, as the Scottish Blackface, is now the most numerous breed in the British Isles, came entirely from south of the Border. About the year 1800

¹B. R. S. Megaw, 'Goat-keeping in the Old Highland Economy', *Scot. Stud.*, 7, 1963, p. 201; 8, 1964, p. 213.

²M. Gray, *The Highland Economy, 1750-1850*, Edinburgh, 1957, p. 38.

³T. Bedford Franklin, *A History of Scottish Farming*, London, 1952, p. 165.

⁴R. Mitchison, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁵M. L. Ryder, 'The History of Sheep Breeds in Britain', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, XII, 1, 1964, pp. 1-12; II, pp. 65-82.

⁶M. L. Ryder, 'Sheep Type in the History of Scotland', *Scot. Stud.*, in the press.

Blackfaces were termed "short sheep" suggesting that Cheviots, which were named "long sheep", were already bigger. Another name for the Blackface was the Linton, from the market, West Linton in Peeblesshire, from which the sheep were bought for the Highlands. It did not begin to enter the Highlands until about 1750, however, and before the clearances its introduction would have been gradual, by a crossing with the indigenous sheep.

According to MacLagan¹ the movement started in 1752 when John Campbell took Blackface sheep from Ayrshire to Dunbartonshire. The spread of the Blackface into Argyllshire and Perthshire, reaching Ross-shire about 1775, is well chronicled. By 1800 they had reached the Great Glen, and by 1840 runrig was almost extinct. The Cheviot was taken from the Borders to Caithness about 1790. Although such movements are frequently attributed to one man, in this instance, Sir John Sinclair, Kerr of Armadale, too, introduced the Cheviot into northern Scotland in 1791.² Here it developed into a larger type known today as the North Country Cheviot. In Caithness and Sutherland the Cheviot predominates to this day. Sutherland was the last county to receive sheep, and this was associated with particular bitterness. The highlander hated the sheep and the shepherds that caused him to leave his glen to provide winter grazing. Wheeler³ used maps to give graphic illustration of the way in which settlements distributed throughout the county were swept to the coasts so that the interior could be used as a relatively small number of sheep estates.

It has been said that the sheep happened to pay best owing to the high price of wool during the Napoleonic wars, and that any eco-

nomic form of farming would have caused evictions. True as this may be, it ignores the fact that much of the land in question can support only sheep.

According to Mitchison,⁴ the conflict of the tenants' and landlords' interests came to a head on the issue of sheep about 1780. By turning over the land to sheep the owner could receive a great increase in rent with regularity and security. Where there was adequate arable land (as in south-west Scotland) or where there were other industries, the change did not mean distress. But the large sheep farm involved new men from the south because the highlander disliked the lonely life of the shepherd. Also, the expense of the change meant that the landlord could not wait for the 2,000 sheep, regarded as being an economic flock, to build up, or for the local men to gain experience as shepherds. The sheep farm thus did little to help the economy, and many landowners were unwilling to adopt it. On the other hand, had the reorganization of small farms been quicker, sheep would probably have been less important.

The effect of sheep on depopulation has created controversy. Adams⁵ claimed that sheep had no long-term effect on emigration. He showed that people moved from areas without sheep, as well as from those with, and said that landowners were unsuccessful in keeping them back. Symon⁶ claimed that emigration from the Highlands, owing to shortage of food, began even before 1745. Mitchison⁷ considered that these views ignored the contemporary opinions of some writers such as Sinclair, but the contemporary opinions are likely to have been biased. Sinclair in fact advocated sheep in the Highlands, but in flocks of only 300 in order to avoid depopu-

¹ D. S. MacLagan, 'Stock Rearing in the Highlands, 1720-1820', *Trans. Roy. High. Agric. Soc.*, 6th Ser., II, 1958, pp. 63-71.

² R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry, 1700-1900*, London, 1959, p. 137.

³ P. T. Wheeler, 'Landownership and the Crofting System in Sutherland since 1800', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, 1, 1966, p. 45.

⁴ Mitchison, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁵ M. I. Adams, 'The Causes of Highland Emigration, 1783-1803', *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, XIX, 1922, p. 73.

⁶ J. A. Symon, *Scottish Farming Past and Present*, Edinburgh, 1959, p. 271.

⁷ Mitchison, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

lation. Even so he gave his own tenants crofts in Caithness.

An account published by the Highland Society about 1790 stated that the sheep was only one reason for depopulation. Increase of population and attractive accounts of America came before sheep as reasons for emigration. In fact, despite the emigration of nearly 40,000 highlanders between 1760 and 1808 the Highland population continued to rise until 1840.¹

Indeed, the departure of the last crofters was accompanied by the departure of many of the sheep, because after 1850 the lairds found that deer forests provided still more income.

It was not until the Crofters Holdings Act of 1886 that security of tenure was provided. Symon² showed how by 1874 falling sheep and wool prices and declining pastures paved the way for the sportsman. Wheeler³ showed that livestock numbers were at a maximum in 1876. In Argyllshire, Inverness-shire, and Ross-shire sheep numbers dropped from 2,187,000 in 1879 to 1,609,000 in 1914. The sheep at first co-existed with the game, but heather burning had to be limited in order to keep grouse, and as sheep interfered with deer-stalking, the sportsmen became willing to pay for the grazing, as well as the sporting rent, and so sheep numbers declined.

¹ MacLagan, *op. cit.*

² Symon, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

³ Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

A Note on the History of Black-eared White Cattle

By LUCIA PEARSON

A RECENT assessment of the economic value of a South American breed of black-eared white cattle, the Blanco Orejinegro, prompted an investigation of their history.¹ Their resemblance to British White and Wild White cattle has been observed by various authors,² but their appearance has not been described in the English literature in any detail. As the history of the British breeds is disputed, it is proposed here to clarify the extent of the similarity and to examine some evidence which may have bearing on the origin of both groups.

In South America, the black-eared white colour pattern is confined to the Blanco Orejinegro (BON) which inhabit the Andean region of Colombia and were estimated to number 2½ million in 1955.³ The coat is white but black flecks occur in some individuals, especially on the lower neck and flanks. The skin is considerably pigmented, but the effect increases and then decreases with age. Apart from black ears, the breed has black mucosae, feet, and horn tips. A recessive variant exists called the Blanco Orejimonio which is identical except that black is replaced by a reddish colour. In body shape and markings, the BON most closely resembles the oldest Wild

White herds in Britain, especially those at Cadzow and the older stock at Chartley which have been illustrated by Whitehead.⁴ The BON resembles the oldest and purest of the British herds, that at Chillingham, and differs from all others in that its calves are born white, never black or coloured. Although the Chillingham cattle now all have reddish ears, Bewick⁵ and Pennant⁶ described black-eared animals among them in the eighteenth century which seem to have been purposely destroyed. The present stock differ from the red-eared variant of the BON because they have black muzzles, feet, and tips to their horns.

Velasquez⁷ considered that Spaniards among the Roman legionaries left white stock in Britain and that descendants of similar cattle were later taken to South America. The advent of black-eared white cattle to the New World is apparently not documented, but a general account of the movement of plants and animals is given by Robertson.⁸ Whitehead⁹ reviewed a great deal of evidence and thought it most probable that the British white cattle were introduced by the Romans. However, although the Romans may have crossed existing types more frequently than had been the practice before, there appears

¹ Lucia Pearson, R. K. Waugh, B. Salazar, F. Botero, and O. Acosta, 'Milking performance of Blanco Orejinegro and Jersey cross-bred cattle', *Jnl Agric. Sci.*, LXX, 1968, pp. 65-72. I wish to thank Miss J. M. C. Toynbee, Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge, Mr I. L. Mason of the Institute of Animal Genetics, Edinburgh, and Dr J. G. Hall, A.R.C., Animal Breeding Research Organization, Edinburgh, and his co-workers for help with this article.

² G. K. Whitehead, *The Ancient White Cattle of Britain and their Descendants*, 1953; E. Pinzon, *et alii*, *Bovinos criollos Colombianos*, Ministerio de Agricultura de Colombia, Bogotá, 1959.

³ E. Camacho-Leyra (ed.), *Guía agropecuaria de Colombia*, Entrega I, I.C.O.P., Bogotá, 1955.

⁴ G. K. Whitehead, *op. cit.* ⁵ T. Bewick, *A General History of Quadrupeds*, 1790.

⁶ T. Pennant, *British Zoology*, 4th edn, London, 4 vols, 1776-7.

⁷ J. Velasquez-Q., *Ganado Blanco Orejinegro*, Publicación del Banco Cafetero, Bogotá, 1954.

⁸ J. A. Robertson, 'Some Notes on the Transfer of Plants and Animals by Spain to its Colonies Overseas', in *Studies in Hispanic-American History*, ed. W. W. Pierson, James Sprunt Historical Studies, University of North Carolina Press, 1927.

⁹ G. K. Whitehead, *op. cit.*

to be no positive evidence that they introduced cattle of a new type to Britain.¹ In fact, a certain amount of evidence exists to the contrary. There is no need to attribute the introduction of cattle larger than the Celtic Shorthorn to the invasion, since pre-conquest remains have been found.² Caesar's expeditions may have been carried out without wagons at all,³ and it seems most unlikely that cattle should have been imported otherwise when, according to Strabo,⁴ the island was quickly to become noted as a source of supply to the continent. If black-eared white cattle did accompany the Romans, they were probably not of Italian origin as certain writers have suggested. The existence of white cattle in Roman Italy is well documented. Columella⁵ referred to a small white breed in Campania and to a very large one in Umbria. Varro⁶ mentioned that although white cattle were common round the Black Sea, they were comparatively rare in Italy. They were not considered hardy and were usually reserved for sacrifice. The black-eared white colour pattern is not, however, described by Columella, Varro, Palladius, or Virgil,⁷ all of whom make specific reference to coat colour and to ears. The pattern is so distinct that it seems unlikely that it should have escaped remark if it had in fact been common. In addition, the appearance of present-day Mediterranean "white" breeds does not, as has been thought, support the view. Their black points give them a superficial resemblance to the true black-eared white, but they do not have black ears, are grey rather than white, and sometimes produce coloured calves.⁸

Zeuner⁹ has discussed the possibility that black-eared white cattle existed in Western

Europe much earlier and suggested a similarity to the Palaeolithic animals painted at Lascaux. The evidence is not clear, but Pliny¹⁰ mentioned the sacrifice of white cattle by the Druids of Gaul. The close connection between the Celts and the Iberians could explain a resemblance between cattle in Britain and Spain.

Whatever the connection, the present distribution of the colour pattern among cattle of *Bos taurus* and *Bos indicus* types which cannot be closely related suggests that, by itself, the similarity of coat colour need only imply the most distant relationship. Mason¹¹ has given a list of the breeds and types of cattle in which the pattern may be found: British White and Wild White, Colombian Blanco Orejinegro, East African Boran (often), Mauritius Creole, Nigerian White Fulani, North Finnish, Polish Marsh, and Swedish Mountain. The colour of the Norwegian Black-sided Trondheim and Nordland and the South African Nguni is often reduced to white with black points including the ears. Thus the correct explanation may be that the cattle were selected out independently in various regions, perhaps initially for religious purposes. A study of blood characteristics may offer the most promising direction for future research. This has been done for the cattle at Chillingham¹² whose blood gives an apparently unique electrophoretic pattern and whose "B" blood group combination has been reported previously only in Damascene cattle. An extension of this work to other types of red- and black-eared cattle might help to elucidate their connection and have an interesting bearing on the history of human migrations.

¹ Sheppard Frere, *History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire: Britannia*, London, 1967, p. 279; Louis C. West, *Roman Britain: Objects of Trade*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 22, 106.

² S. Frere, *loc. cit.*; T. E. R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, Oxford, 1907, p. 151; T. Grahame, quoted in G. K. Whitehead, *loc. cit.*, p. 26.

³ J. F. C. Fuller, *Julius Caesar: Man, Soldier and Tyrant*, London, 1965, p. 82.

⁴ Strabo, *Geography*, 4:5.

⁵ Columella, *De Re Rustica*, 6:1.

⁶ Varro, *De Re Rustica*, 2:5.

⁷ Palladius, *De Re Rustica*, 4:11; Virgil, *Georgics*, 3:51.

⁸ I. L. Mason, The Institute of Animal Genetics, Edinburgh, 1966, personal communication.

⁹ F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals*, London, 1963.

¹⁰ Pliny, *Natural History*, 16:95.

¹¹ I. L. Mason, *loc. cit.*

¹² J. G. Hall, Animal Breeding Research Organization, Edinburgh, 1966, personal communication.

Fish Culture in Sixteenth-century Poland

By B. K. ROBERTS

REVIEW ARTICLE OF WOJCIECH SZCZYGIELSKI, *Z Dziejów Gospodarki Rybnej w Polsce w XVI-XVIII Wieku* [The History of Fish Breeding in Poland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries]. Instytut Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Studia z Dziejów Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego, vol. ix, no. 2, Warsaw, 1969. 68 pp.; *Idem, Gospodarka Stawowa na Ziemiach Potudniowo-Zachodniej Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII Wieku* [Fish Breeding in the South-West Regions of Rzeczpospolita, Poland, from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries.] Institute of History, University of Łódź, 1965. 308 pp.

FRANCIS DAY writing in 1880-4 on the *Fishes of Great Britain and Ireland* remarks of the carp that "in some countries, especially those where eating fish forms a portion of the religious creed of the people, this fish is largely cultivated, while a supply is kept in stews, so that when fast or feast days come round it is readily available; they were, likewise, very useful in times when the means of carriage was slow." As an item of diet fish has not received the attention it deserves, for in the period before the Reformation, and indeed long after it, fish was the only animal food permitted on the fasts of the Church. In a pre-refrigeration era those areas remote from sea or even large river fisheries had difficulty in maintaining supplies of fresh fish, and this encouraged the creation of artificial ponds or stews and the development of careful fish breeding and rearing techniques. Two recent publications from Poland by Wojciech Szczygielski discuss in some detail the history of fish culture from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and this brief review of their content, based upon an English abstract and a letter from the author, provides an opportunity to make some compari-

sons and comment on some general problems of the history of this branch of agriculture.

The History of Fish Breeding in Poland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries contains an English summary (pp. 67-8); this argues that the development of true fish culture as opposed to the management of semi-natural ponds developed vigorously in Poland during the sixteenth century as part of a general expansion of economic activity. This trend seems to have been attendant on a population rise which had the effect of lifting cereal prices and, when associated with devaluation, depressing the real wages of unskilled labour, thus making the investment of capital in the construction of fish ponds an exceedingly profitable venture. The price of fish rose steadily throughout the century in response to an increasing demand. These favourable economic circumstances were fortunately linked with marked improvement in breeding and rearing techniques, and as early as the fifteenth century the value of separate ponds for spawning, nursing, and rearing or fattening was appreciated, an essential preliminary to controlled pisciculture.

The sixteenth century saw the development of a system of fish transference from one pond to another: in particular, fry produced in small spawning ponds could be transferred to larger ponds for rearing to a marketable weight, although the general practice seems to have been to allow some growth in nursery ponds of intermediate size, necessitating three stages of transfer. In this way it was possible to take advantage of a variety of ponds, natural and artificial, including millponds, for the third stage. The total time taken to bring a fish to maturity from spawning to rearing pond seems to have been four or five years, and annual yields were of the order of 40-50 kilograms per hec-

tare, occasionally reaching 65 kg/ha. or, exceptionally, 75 kg/ha. It is instructive to compare these figures with the yields of modern ponds in Israel, whose pond culture practices follow essentially the pattern evolved in Central Europe, modified by technical development and climatic variations; Israeli unfertilized ponds average 400–500 kg/ha., while within fertilized ponds yields of the order of 2,000–3,000 kg/ha. are normal. The abstract makes no specific reference to artificial feeding in Poland, the yield clearly being regarded as a function of soil quality, and this may account for the relatively low efficiency.

Fish culture in Poland was a form of agrarian investment which was closely linked with other aspects of production; ponds were generally sited to take advantage of small patches of waste land, marshy hollows for instance, but in some circumstances it was possible to alternate fish production with grain production on the same land, no doubt using the beds of large shallow ponds which were periodically drained and then cropped; rich yields could thus be obtained. It was inevitable that close links should develop between the techniques of pond construction and supply, and land drainage and improvement: for instance, the mud scoured from the pond beds when they were cleaned constituted a valuable manure which was widely used throughout Poland.

The information provided by the English summary on post-sixteenth century conditions is unfortunately most perfunctory, but during the seventeenth century there appears to have been a marked recession in fish production, a recession which was no doubt linked with the general agricultural depression of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, although this is not specifically stated in the abstract. The art of fish culture was, however, preserved on some large estates, and in the improved climate of the late eighteenth century a revival took place. There are strong indications that fish culture was at all periods particularly associated with the large estates, whose owners possessed a reserve of capital and could enlist

the help of semi-servile labour in pond construction. The system developed most strongly in south-west Poland, in the valleys of the Warta and Prosna around Kalisz and Sieradz, around Łowicz, in the valley of the Vistula between Kraków and Sandomierz, and around Oświęcim and Zator.

The second study by Dr Szczygielski entitled *Fish-Breeding in South-Western Poland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries: A Study of Agricultural Progress*, is much more detailed, but unfortunately contains no English summary. In comparison with the paper discussed above it examines more specific problems, amongst others the organization of breeding, the techniques of fish-pond construction, the transporting and marketing of the fish, and the organization of the fish farms. As might be expected these developments were not confined to Poland. A highly developed fish culture was also found during the sixteenth century in Czechoslovakia, and comparable techniques were probably widespread throughout the whole of Europe from the sixteenth century onwards.

The English material on fish culture affords a number of contrasts and parallels with regard to techniques, the relationship to general economic trends, and agricultural practices. Perhaps the most fundamental problem raised by this Polish work concerns the date of the introduction of the technique of fish transfer from spawning ponds to rearing ponds. Quite clearly this method was known by the early eighteenth century for Mortimer, writing in 1721, noted that "A pond of an acre of land, if 'tis a feeding and not a breeding pond, will every year feed well two hundred carps of three years old," and in another context the same author, when discussing the draining of ponds, states that "if 'tis a breeding pond you must take out the smaller (fish) to store other ponds." Unfortunately the medieval material is rather ambiguous on this point, for while both early fourteenth and mid-fifteenth century sources from the English Midlands make it clear that multiple pond complexes existed and that small fish

were being deliberately preserved for restocking it is not certain that fry were being produced carefully in spawning ponds. The transfer of both 'bremettes' and single live fish over substantial distances may perhaps be taken to suggest that the careful selection of fish was occurring, but too much must not be read into such slender evidence.

The development of fish culture in the English Midlands during the Middle Ages was dependent partially upon location, and the distance from sea and river fisheries, partially upon the general economic factors of the period, and partially upon social factors, such as the emergence of a wealthy class of freeholders. In this last respect the work done by the reviewer may well be atypical, and as in Poland the larger landowners may have been more deeply involved in fish culture than has been suggested. At this stage little can be said concerning the fortunes of pisciculture during the successive booms and slumps of the post-medieval period, but there is certainly evidence for the maintenance of fish culture throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similarly, the relationship between pisciculture and agricultural practice is hard to determine; writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries point out the virtues of pond mud which is described as "a singular compasse for land" and good for "wheat land, or your garden, or to better any other barren ground that yeeldes no profit" and there are late sixteenth-century references to pond mud being scoured out to use as manure. It is hard to believe that this is not an ancient and widespread practice, especially as the regular scouring of ponds would seem to be attested by a survey of the lands of the Bishop of Worcester as early as 1299. Gervase Markham writing in 1614 on the *Pleasures of Princes* describes, in addition to the feeding of

fish with garbage and "the bloode of sheepe, calves, hogges and such like," the turving of the bottoms of spawning ponds. A logical extension of this latter practice would be the cultivation of the bed of a large pond, and one example is known to the author, at Wormleighton (Warwickshire), where the bed of a large pond has undoubtedly been ploughed, although this may of course have been subsequent to draining. Day mentions that it is possible to rotate crops of vegetables and fish, in which case three ponds are needed.

These two publications, by revealing the character and extent of former fish culture in Poland, emphasize the work yet to be done in this well-documented country. One of the crucial problems would seem to be the date at which the breme was replaced by the carp as the common pond fish. Dr Szczygielski states that the qualities of the carp as a food fish were first noticed in Poland during the fifteenth century. Both breme and carp in fact have qualities which make them suitable for cultivation: they are gregarious, they frequent sluggish water, grow rapidly, and have substantial powers of reproduction and resistance to live transport conditions. In England there is no mention of the carp in any of the medieval material the author has examined, the breme being dominant, and Day indicates that the earliest reference to the carp seems to be in 1496. By the seventeenth century, however, the normal pond fish was the carp, though it is not clear why; possibly it was somewhat more adaptable than the breme, and was regarded as better eating. The answer may well be a question of taste, but the possibility of a close link between the adoption of the carp and the development of new techniques of controlled breeding in both Poland and England seems very likely and would repay further investigation.

Book Reviews

WALAFRID STRABO. *Hortulus*. Trans. Raef. Payne. Commentary by Wilfrid Blunt. xi+91 pp. Illus. Hunt Botanical Library, Pittsburgh, Penn., 1966. \$12.

The first thing that strikes the eye about this book is the beauty of its production, a lovely cover, excellent paper, and fine printing. This is just as it should be for a modern version of a gardening poem more than a thousand years old. Walafrid Strabo composed his *Hortulus* in the ninth century A.D., and few people would have been more surprised than he (if it were possible) to find that his poem has survived, and is being read today. It deals with the pleasures and pains of monastic gardening at Reichenau and St Gall. Most commentators (the work was first printed in 1510) suggest that Walafrid owed a debt to Virgil. Perhaps he did in a manner of speaking, but there is little similarity between the content of the *Georgics* and the *Hortulus*. The latter has much more the character of a *Herbal*; the former with some elasticity of imagination can be regarded as a farming textbook.

The *Hortulus* opens with a panegyric on the pleasures of gardening, coupled with an exordium to spare neither manual labour nor dung spreading. Beyond that there are few instructions concerning the actual cultivation of the herb garden, though the difficulties created by weeds and wet patches are acknowledged as obstacles in the path of success that must be overcome. The main part of the work consists of short verses describing individual plants and their medicinal uses. It is the usual pattern of the innumerable *Herbals* that were produced from the day of Dioscorides until modern times. Such criticism may sound derogatory, but is dictated by one point of view. The poem itself, or each few verses on a plant, such as Southernwood, is charming, and is illustrative of the state of herbal medicine in the ninth century. The lily and the rose, as most commentators have remarked, were Walafrid's favourite flowers because of their religious associations as well

as their intrinsic beauty. Of the value of the poem as literature there can be no doubt: more, it is a valuable historical document.

The Hunt Botanical Library edition contains a photographic reproduction of "the St. Gall draft of the *Hortulus* (the Vatican Codex no. 469 leaves 29-39)," a Latin version in modern printing, and a translation in unrhymed verse. It is a pleasure to handle the volume which has made Walafrid's poem more readily accessible to the historian of gardening, and of botany, and to the general reader.

G. E. FUSSELL

C. R. HART, *Early Charters of Eastern England*. Leicester U.P., 1966. 280 pp. 55s.

Dr Hart's work makes a very valuable contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies. The book is divided into three parts: pp. 21-113 present a critical catalogue of the known pre-Conquest charters of Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Rutland, and the Soke of Peterborough; pp. 117-209 contain up-to-date scholarly editions with full apparatus of the early charters of Barking Abbey and of Thorney Abbey; and pp. 213-49 treat of land transactions entered into by the four great fenland abbeys of Ely, Ramsey, Peterborough, and Bury St Edmunds. There is also a useful short introduction, and carefully prepared indexes of places, and of persons and corporate bodies. Part I registers and analyses some 167 documents relating to the eastern counties. Sound observations on points of detail characterize this section of the work. Dr Hart's general judgement on authenticity is fair and dependable. Where he disagrees with other scholars (as in relation to the Ramsey evidence) he sets out fully the reasons why. No student of agrarian history in the eastern counties should fail to consult this section. Dr Hart makes many new identifications of places, and his comments on the people concerned in the transactions are always well based. For Suffolk alone,

for example, in very few pages he gives an edition of a hitherto unpublished Lambeth manuscript version of a Christ Church charter, makes several plausible new identifications of places (Wortham on p. 54, Redgrave on p. 62), and gives a thoroughly convincing interpretation of the bounds of Bury St Edmunds (pp. 54-8). Incidentally his Christ Church charter has interest for post- as well as pre-Conquest historians, and may well, as he suggests, be connected with the great pleas at Penenden Heath. To readers of this journal Part II will be almost as interesting as Part I. Dr Hart brings together existing material relating to the abbeys of Barking and Thorney. For the early Anglo-Saxon period Barking has a special importance, and it is good to welcome new editions of the Erkenwald and Hodilred charters. Dr Hart's analysis gives us a good example of the way in which acceptance of Christianity and the establishment of tenure by book helped to bring about a slow territorialization of political and social authority. It was in the interests of king and church alike to establish security of tenure. The setting up of wealthy abbeys, endowed with 300 hides or more, had vast social consequence for the community—and for earlier smaller churches such as St Peter *ad murum* (still happily with us). Part III is naturally shorter than the other sections, but is again packed with important material which adds much to our knowledge of people and of places connected with the fenland abbeys. One notes a valuable appraisal of Turkil of Harringworth (pp. 236-8), neighbour and active supporter of Hereward, which strongly suggests that he should be identified as the man chiefly responsible for the re-apportionment of the fen south and east of Whittlesey Mere. Dr Hart is constantly aware of the problems, linguistic, diplomatic, and historical which encompass his material. He reminds us of the peculiarities of the situation in the east where muniments do not survive in any quantity until after the Benedictine revival got under way in the tenth century. He brings out well our dependence on Bury St Edmunds records for the last phase

of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic history. By his painstaking, modest, and lively approach to his difficult task Dr Hart has made documents of primary importance to the legal, agrarian, and social historian much more accessible and often much more tractable, and so has put all serious students of the period greatly in his debt.

H. R. LOYN

F. R. H. DU BOULAY, *The Lordship of Canterbury. An Essay on Medieval Society*. Nelson, 1966. xiv+418 pp. 4 maps. 7 tables. £4 4s.

The long-recognized enigmatic character of medieval Kentish society has attracted the attention of many writers. One of considerable import is Professor du Boulay, who has published papers and edited texts in this field and who has now collated and expanded his hitherto disparate works. The result is an important study of the medieval archbishopric of Canterbury, comparable in many ways with R. A. L. Smith's account of the administration and estates of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, which was published in 1943.

A discussion of the archives of the archbishop constitutes a useful introductory chapter. Throughout the book Prof. du Boulay makes clear the extent to which his conclusions had to be qualified by the limitations of the source materials available to him. The account of the archbishop as territorial magnate and of those communities under his lordship is more or less chronological. The author deals first with the acquisition of the property (completed in essence by 1086, and concentrated in Kent and Sussex) and the enfeoffments to military tenants in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is succeeded by a lengthy account of rural society, occupying a quarter of the entire text. There then follows in turn an examination of the archbishop's demesnes, and of the management of the estate, household, and Liberty (the archbishop's private franchise). The study concludes with the compulsory property exchanges forced on Cranmer by Henry VIII, exchanges which marked the

end of the Canterbury estates as the Middle Ages had known them.

From the point of view of agricultural history, the sections on rural history and on the management of the demesnes are of most interest. Prof. du Boulay's description of the agrarian economy of medieval Kent, as reflected in the documents of the archbishop, is lucid and stimulating. His account of the sulung and yoke, for example, should do much to clear away the mists surrounding these peculiarly Kentish units for apportioning services. Sulungs and their quarter-fractions, yokes, were real enough in the sense that they were of precise acreage and extended over the ground so that the fields of a township lay within some yoke, and local men knew well enough in which yoke their possessions lay. But the yokes were not themselves a field system. The size of the yoke varied from manor to manor and Prof. du Boulay favours the view that, as yokes of different sizes were found even on a single manor, the sizes must have been in some way related to land values. The reviewer has recently shown that this was certainly the case at Gillingham. On the rôle of the yoke during the Middle Ages, Prof. du Boulay is clear. About its origins, he is justifiably reticent, although the reviewer considers the evidence in support of the suggestion that a yoke must at one time have been equated with the real holding of a family is more substantial than Prof. du Boulay believes. On the decline of the yoke, Prof. du Boulay seems excessively cautious, observing its disappearance "for reasons which do not immediately appear." Yet the *raison d'être* of the yoke was the apportionment of labour services, so that some discussion of the impact of the commutation of services upon 'jugation' was to be expected. None is provided. Certainly, the reviewer's examination of the evidence for Wrotham and Gillingham has led him to suggest that with the commutation of services on these manors the yokes lost their utility and gradually disappeared from the records.

There emerges from this study as clear a picture of the medieval agrarian economy as

the source materials will allow. The absence of a series of crop accounts prevents the author's saying much about rotations and yields on the demesnes. The growth of population and the operation of gavelkind tenure are seen as fundamental factors in the development of a pattern of smallholdings and scattered farmsteads. Partible inheritance encouraged subdivision of holdings but the free alienability of land promoted early leasing, exchanging, and buying of land and thus the augmentation, consolidation, and enclosure of individual holdings. Proximity to London and the continent, coupled with the precocious spread of commercial influences, contributed to the early development of an active land market.

This study confirms the existence in Kent of an irregular open-field system, although Prof. du Boulay avoids the term 'open-field', preferring to describe tenants' lands as "not regularly intermingled strips, but blocks and patches of crops within larger fields, with pasture available elsewhere for the tenants' beasts." Livestock of those tenants who had helped plough the demesne, and of any others who had arranged terms with the lord by which their animals could feed upon his stubble, were pastured in common with those of the lord on many manors. Probably some tenants with parcels in larger fields followed this demesne practice by mutual agreement but there was undoubtedly a minimum of common pasturing on the arable in Kent. Co-operative ploughing is evidenced but it was not associated with a common-field system. The emphasis of this entire study, in fact, is upon the individualism and private enterprise which characterized medieval Kentish society.

In the space of this review, it has been impossible to treat all of the many facets of rural history dealt with by Prof. du Boulay. He has written, for example, an extremely lively account of assarting and of woodland management. Some themes of medieval Kentish history which have yet to be exhaustively studied are frequently touched upon here—such as the ever-growing impact of London,

the changing distribution of population and of prosperity, and the detailed progress of enclosure. One can detect—as was Prof. du Boulay's intention—the imprint of Marc Bloch upon this excellent study. There is evidence throughout of an attempt “to resurrect the past as well as to analyse it,” to give an historian's kiss of life to the seemingly dead documents of medieval administration. Furthermore, the estates are appropriately placed in their geographical context and agricultural activities are related to properties of soil and location as well as to factors of supply and demand. It does, however, seem a pity that Prof. du Boulay rarely compares the archbishop's estates with others in Kent and makes little attempt to see Kent in an English context. Some practical application of *la méthode comparative* of Marc Bloch is appropriate even in a regional monograph.

ALAN R. H. BAKER

MARGARET CASH (ed.), *Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. XI, 1966. xxv+206 pp. Available from Mrs Miller, c/o Devon and Exeter Institution, 7 The Close, Exeter. 40s. post free.

Readers of this journal will be well aware of the value of probate inventories as a source for agricultural history, and especially for details of the crops and livestock kept by countless ordinary farmers whose activities appear in no other record. For reconstructing an objective pattern of farming to balance the subjective accounts of commentators or improvers there is no comparable source. The Devon and Cornwall Record Society are therefore to be congratulated on this volume, containing 266 inventories dating from 1531 to 1699, even if they are, in the editor's words, “a pathetic few compared with those which are known to have survived until 1942 when the Exeter Probate Registry was destroyed by enemy action.” It is gratifying to be given even this small portion when we had thought that all were lost. The volume is welcome also because it relates to a pastoral

county in the ‘highland zone’ of England, whereas most of the previously published volumes of inventories come from the midland and eastern counties.

Another interesting feature of this volume is its chronological spread. Unlike most collections of inventories which have very few examples from the period 1640–60, when the administration of the Church Courts, which handled probate matters, generally broke down, this collection derives mainly from that period. No fewer than 109 (41 per cent) of the inventories were made between 1640 and 1659 (86 in the 1640's and 23 in the 1650's). This is partly because of the fortunate survival of a file of inventories, mostly dated 1640–9 from the records of the Consistory Court of the Diocese of Exeter. In fact most of the inventories in this volume have survived because they were the subject of Court actions. In some cases the deceased's executors claimed that the inventories undervalued the goods they listed, and in others it was claimed that the value of the personal estate was insufficient to pay the legacies listed in the will. This also raises the interesting question of the reliability of the valuations given in inventories. Clearly they cannot always have been the same as the market value, but the fact that they were intended to approximate as closely as possible to it is suggested by the case of Joseph Clarke of Malborough whose inventory was made on 30 July 1684; for this inventory gives not valuations, but the prices actually received when the goods were “sold att publiq serveis to the best profferers.”

The editor deals skilfully with the formidable complications of transcribing inventories accurately and her glossary is a helpful guide both to the meaning of archaic terms and to old Devon dialect. In her introduction she gives a useful survey of the material relating to houses and their contents, but the treatment of occupations and agricultural matters is more summary. Even though many of the inventories do not state the deceased's occupation it would have been helpful to have had a list with reference numbers of those that do

(and in the case of others the occupation can often be deduced from the contents) so that the reader could easily turn up stonemasons, weavers, etc., without having to search through the whole volume. Similarly tables of crop acreages (where these exist) and livestock numbers at different periods are also valuable. Admittedly there are too few examples from each decade to make for very reliable comparisons over time, but an analysis of the very limited figures for crop acreages is not without interest. For instance four farmers with crops growing in the summer, whose inventories were taken between 1641 and 1654, all grew a far higher proportion of oats than was usual in the midlands, and far less barley, reflecting the pastoral nature of the Devon economy. The farmer with the largest sown acreage was Leonard Yeo of Huish (near Torrington in North Devon) who had 59 acres of growing crops consisting of 25 acres of wheat, 20 acres of oats, 10 acres of barley, and 4 acres of beans and peas. The other farmers had an even higher proportion of their acreage devoted to oats—the major crop in two cases. This is just an example of the value of inventories for regional comparisons.

However, perhaps it is unfair to expect an editor to provide too much analysis. That is the historian's task and in this volume a considerable chunk of most intractable raw material has been very ably processed for his use.

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

NAOMI RICHES. *The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk*. With a New Bibliographical Note by W. H. Chaloner. Frank Cass, 2nd edition, 1967. x+194 pp. 45s.

After thirty years Naomi Riches' volume deserves reprinting, but the publishers have been unkind to her and to potential buyers in the way they have handled it. Their re-edition is heralded as carrying a new bibliographical note, but this extends to only one and one-quarter sides and lists some quite marginal references while failing to notice any of Dr Allison's work or two or three other relevant

articles. Cass reprints such as Chambers' *Nottinghamshire* have been prefaced by essays on the continuing evolution of their subject, with appropriate citations. Several agricultural historians could have performed this essential duty for the present book, including at least four who have lately written on Norfolk.

A proper introduction might have done away with the dustjacket pitfall which invites us to learn of Norfolk's "remarkable leadership over the rest of the country" during the "agricultural revolution" of the eighteenth century. Such a position might have been acceptable in the 1937 edition. Later research has not only tugged so hard from either end of the 'agricultural revolution' that—for want of any meaningful definition—it has come to pieces, but has also relegated Norfolk to a slightly less prominent position among a number of early-developed counties. It should be pointed out that Naomi Riches did not justify her own claim that Norfolk was foremost in husbandry technique, since, while her work examined Norfolk in exemplary depth, it contained virtually no *explicit* comparison with the advance of other areas. Her implicit comparisons, apparently redounding to Norfolk's credit, came home to roost in the final, puzzled section on the county's decay as a node of progressive technique during the early nineteenth century—a feature which is easy to document. Yet much waste continued to be caused by thoughtless publicity for the 'Norfolk system' as a means of improving agriculture anywhere in Britain. Despite some notorious failures in the west, it was still necessary in 1849 for Read to declare that "the Welsh farmer, therefore, should adapt his system of improvements to his own soil and climate, and not to that of Norfolk," and for Pusey to warn in 1850 that "there is indeed a source of loss which lies in the *mis-application* of practices, as . . . in the transfer of systems, as from an eastern corn-growing county to the mountains of Wales."

Agricultural history, too, for long suffered through taking for granted the rôle which propagandists like Arthur Young had indi-

cated for Norfolk husbandry. Nowadays we have a better perspective and should be able once more to read Naomi Riches' material with profit. Although Norfolk was certainly early advanced we can see that much of the supposed distinctiveness of its agriculture was not only patchy within the county, but becomes illusory when the practices of other counties containing sizeable portions of light land are investigated. *The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk* is worth reading again as a rich and compact county study and a minor classic which marks a never-to-be-forgotten stage in the historiography of English farming. Nevertheless, non-specialist readers ought to have been warned not to accept the emphasis on Norfolk's importance at face value.

E. L. JONES

K. E. HUNT and K. R. CLARK. *The State of British Agriculture, 1965-1966*. Agricultural Economics Research Institute, Oxford, 1966. vi+184 pp. 21s.

This book continues a series of reviews which the Agricultural Economics Research Institute has produced from time to time since 1952. It is the first to have appeared since 1960 and, like the other six, it provides a comprehensive statistical description of the agricultural industry. There are about 150 pages of tables and charts which deal with such subjects as land use, agricultural population, international trade, commodity supplies, and prices. This issue differs from its predecessors in providing in addition to the statistics a new section which reviews the economic approach to the industry and refers to some 300 key books, articles, and research studies. They cover subjects as diverse as the National Union of Agricultural Workers, the problems of the small farm, international commodity agreements, and the marketing of food. The compilers had three classes of user in mind when they decided on this innovation: teachers and students, especially in agriculture and its allied subjects; those in industry, commerce, market research, etc., who are investigating for the first time some aspect of

agriculture with which they are unacquainted; and foreigners who may wish to study British agriculture in order to compare it with their own. The two parts together provide a comprehensive source book for the study of the British agricultural economy, and subject and author indexes amplify the guide to the references which the contents list provides.

Almost by definition few allusions to agricultural history can be expected in a review of this nature, but by including what the compilers term a long view of British agricultural history the recent book by C. S. Orwin and E. H. Whetham is referred to and some which cover the war and pre-war periods although they were published before 1960.

To the extent that the recent development of farming has been the result of adopting the discoveries of scientists, publications which describe these innovations and their effect on farming can be appropriately included, and attention is drawn, therefore, to the 'Farmers' Guide to Agricultural Research', which has appeared annually since 1925, in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* and to Sir John Russell's *History of Agricultural Science in Great Britain, 1920-1954*. It would, however, be invidious to emphasize one section, even to readers who are likely to be less interested in the whole, for *The State of British Agriculture* is a compendium whose usefulness is in its comprehensiveness rather than in the excellence of any of its parts.

W. HARWOOD LONG

SYBIL MARSHALL. *Fenland Chronicle*. C.U.P., 1967. viii+280 pp. 45s.

This is an absorbing chronicle which captures and preserves life as it was lived on the fens in the nineteenth century with all its facets and in all its aspects from birth to burial. Nothing is overdrawn or merely whimsical; nothing is softened or idealized. On reading these pages, those whose parents came from the fens will recollect much that they heard in childhood; others will receive a truthful portrayal of the harshness of this environment with its hunger, discomfort, and disease. Yet the overall

picture is not one of misery or despair. The flowers of spring, the games of children, the Sunday School treats, and anniversary services, the joys of the fair, battles of wits, practical jokes, and horseplay all fit into the story. The resulting picture is of people who combatted or endured the harsh conditions of their lives and, for the main part, preserved to the end their feelings of kindness and neighbourliness.

The value of the book lies partly in the author's faithful picture of the externals of fenland life and partly in her sympathetic treatment of the joys and sorrows, hopes and despairs, triumphs and defeats which form the common lot but which have a flavour of their own in the fens. Those who are unfamiliar with the idiom of the fens should not rush through the book but absorb it by reading two or three chapters at a time. It is, however, a book which can be thoroughly recommended both to the general reader and to the student of social and economic history. Its value will increase with the passage of time.

F. WEST

FRIDLEV SKRUBBELTRANG, *Det Indvundne Danmark*. Det Danske Hedeselskab and Gyldendalske Boghandel, København, 1966. 497 pp. 76.00 kroner.

The existence of a national drive to pioneer the wastelands is a common enough theme of agricultural history during the past 150 years. Rather few would expect, however, to find evidence of this drive manifested in a land as long settled as Denmark, in the bosom of ancient Europe. The year 1966 was the occasion of the centenary celebration on the part of the Danish Heath Society of its rôle in the effort to wrest arable from the heathlands which have long covered the glacial outwash plains of central Jutland. Heath, moors, and drift sand once composed one million hectares or roughly one-third of the land area of Jutland, but today scarcely 200,000 hectares remain in this primitive state. An area equivalent to approximately one-quarter of Jutland has been won from the wilderness and today supports fields, pasture, and forest.

An achievement of this magnitude, accomplished in the course of a century, is something to be self-congratulatory about. It is the story of this landscape revolution as contributed to by the Heath Society up to 1914 that Dr Fridlev Skrubbeltrang of the University of Copenhagen has written. The narrative is composed according to the following scheme: heathland reclamation prior to 1866, the founding of the Heath Society, the period when the Society was dominated by E. M. Dalgas, and the time of stormy transition between 1894 and 1914.

The entrepreneurs of the Heath Society did not originate the idea of turning the sandy and acidic soils of central Jutland to modern, agricultural usage. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, official attention on the part of the King and his ministers had been focused, from time to time, upon the problem of reclamation and the best methods for achieving it. The history of the "potato Germans" of the heathlands near Viborg in the 1760's is celebrated in fact, and the landscape residue of their efforts is yet visible. The largely unco-ordinated early efforts lacked a commanding central purpose and any realization that the heathlands would have to be studied before they could be utilized successfully. Admirable work on the part of individuals to clear land and to initiate forestation within the context of the reforming spirit of the times—epitomized in the enclosure movement at the end of the eighteenth century—are summarized at length by the author in the first portion of his book.

The founding of the Danish Heath Society and its initial success was the result of a complex of factors. After the loss of southern Jutland and Schleswig in the war of 1864 with Prussia, a national rallying cry was raised by far-seeing leaders to win within what had been lost without. A great national loss was turned to positive purpose, and a cause of suitable attractiveness thereafter existed which could serve as a rallying point for both interest and investment. The international circulation of scientific and reforming ideas in the middle of the nineteenth century had

as a precipitate in Jutland the adoption of the principle of co-ordinated, scientific programmes backed by adequate capital in the attack upon the heathlands. In addition, and fortunately for Danish affairs, there existed a group of men who could clearly anticipate the needs of reclamation, muster the influence and resources to attempt it, and provide the continuity of leadership essential for an effective programme. The personalities, their manoeuvres, and the initial experiments with drainage, forestation, and land clearing come within the author's scope in the second section.

The personality of Enrico Mylius Dalgas (1828-94) looms like a giant in the history of the Heath Society and its work in Jutland. Partaking of the positive characteristics of a breadth of view as international as his name, Dalgas provided the stimulating leadership, political acumen, and technical grasp vitally necessary in the Society's efforts to popularize the idea of heathland reclamation and to lead the way therein. The author unravels the complex history of the maturing of the concept and its related agronomic innovations through the thickets of Parliament and in the field trials where drainage, marling, and windbreak experiments were carried out. The Heath Society, in time, became one among many agencies working for the conversion of heathlands to profitable usage. Governmental investment and support of the programmes in terms of law-giving were of course essential all along. At its foundations the process rested upon the shoulders and clog-shod feet of those ultimately responsible for the reclamation work, the farmers and their families who actually won the land to the plough. Dalgas's orchestration of the central theme was undoubtedly the key to the Society's eventual accomplishments. It is therefore fitting that his tenure as a directive force in the Society should receive special emphasis.

At the death of Dalgas a reshuffle of the leadership within the Heath Society resulted in attendant dislocations. The very success of the reclamation process necessitated the ex-

amination of new goals for the Society and also served to promote active criticism of the organization in its function as the heathland's patron. The enactment of new laws governing the reclaimed lands and a widening of the organizational structure were attended by reformations in the economic structure of the Society and the adoption of new research programmes. Thereafter, increasing attention was paid both to techniques for marshland drainage and to research into sustained-yield forestry as the conversion of the heathland in the traditional context pushed ahead to a foreseeable conclusion. Within a period of thirty years about the turn of the century, wasteland in Jutland was reduced by nearly 35 per cent, an impressive indication of the success of the concerted reclamation efforts. Skrubbeltrang concludes this volume at the First World War, a turning point in the history of Denmark's heathlands as it was a watershed in much of Europe.

Of the two critical comments which can be made of this volume, one is more a criticism of the potential readership, for a lack of ability in Danish will prevent many potential readers from opening the book. The second evaluation is one frequently voiced by geographers, namely, that the study could have profited from a wider use of maps. The folded map of the status of Society and State forestation and drainage efforts by 1913 whets the appetite for more. The demonstrated competence of the author to deal with agricultural history in Denmark is well known, and this first volume is a complete narrative of the official Society story. Herein pride of place has been given to the managers and leaders and their policies; *Hedens Opdyrkning i Danmark*, published in 1953 as a commemorative work, tells more about the quiet epic of the farmers themselves who contested the heath beneath the broad skies of Central Jutland.

With the success of *Det Indvundne Danmark* to go upon, one waits eagerly for the sequel which should bring the story up to the present day and the current search for identity and mission on the part of the Heath Society. For now that the heathlands have been so

completely converted to arable and forest plantation that a heathland museum has been established, what more is there for the Danish Heath Society to aspire to or to accomplish?

ROBERT M. NEWCOMB

NICOLAS SANCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, *Las Crisis de Subsistencias de España en el Siglo XIX*. Colección de Estudios y Monografías, Series C, No. 1, Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas, Rosario, Argentina, 1963. 124 pp. No price stated.

This is a series of short essays, arising out of work undertaken at Rosario in 1961 and 1962, on agricultural crises in Spain between 1820 and 1868. The first essay discusses the legislation prohibiting the import of grain into Spain between 1820 and 1868. The second is a study of food prices during the food crisis of 1856-7: prices of wheat are tabulated for all months from June 1856 to May 1857, and the price rise in various provinces represented in graphs. Considerable regional differences emerge, for poor communications militated against the development of a national market. The food crisis is then discussed in association with the financial and commercial crisis of 1857, population trends, and bank deposits and withdrawals between 1839 and 1867. The appendix contains two local wheat price series for 1780-1895 and 1827-58. The whole is essentially an interim report on a large subject, but English agricultural historians will welcome news of this research at present in progress in Argentina.

JOAN THIRSK

T. M. PERRY, *Australia's First Frontier: The Spread of Settlement in New South Wales, 1788-1829*. Melbourne University Press in association with the Australian National University, 1963. 163 pp. illus. \$A6.00, 60s.; R. L. HEATHCOTE, *Back of Bourke: A Study of Land Appraisal and Settlement in Semi-arid Australia*. Melbourne University Press, 1965. xv+244 pp. \$A6.50, 65s. The creation of a successful primary industry is a major theme in Australian economic history. The spread of land settlement is basic to

this theme, but has been little studied since Professor Stephen Roberts's pioneer work many years ago. Hence the books reviewed here are welcome additions to a limited literature.

Dr Perry's concern is with the first forty years of Australian history, from the first perilous toe-hold established at Port Jackson by the First Fleet in 1788, to the proclamation, in 1829, of the boundaries of the Limits of Settlement, embracing 22,000,000 acres and 35,000 settlers. During the first three decades settlement was confined largely to the Cumberland Plain, hemmed in by the Blue Mountains. The land was generally unattractive to farmers, but agriculture commenced on pockets of better soils near Sydney and Parramatta, and within a few years spread to the alluvial soils of the Hawkesbury river, where farmers balanced the "greatest luxuriance" of their crops against the risks of flooding. By the early nineteenth century farmers were clearing the 'forest lands' of the rest of the Plain.

A way was found across the Blue Mountains in 1813 and within two years a small number of settlers with their stock was permitted to move to outlying areas. Land was still available in the Cumberland Plain, but falling fertility, recurrent flooding, droughts, plagues of caterpillars, and the disappearance of natural feed compelled the settlers to look beyond the Plain for pasturage for their sheep and cattle. The direction of movement was controlled by government policy. Governor Macquarie wanted Westmoreland and Bathurst to the west to be carefully settled by the Colony's few respectable stock holders. Here were grazed the great sheep flocks owned by absentee proprietors and cared for by assigned convict servants. Meanwhile, small settlers rearing a few cattle for the Sydney market were directed southwards towards Argyle. They might have gone north to the Hunter Valley but Macquarie wished to keep remote the outlying penal establishment at Newcastle. Not until the 1820's was the Hunter opened up to meet the growing demand for land from newly-arriving free

settlers, colonial free-born, and ex-convicts. The area possessed water transport to the growing Sydney market and became a mixed farming frontier, economically and socially distinct from the big-man's sheep frontier to the west, and the small-man's cattle frontier to the south.

If the first view of Australia was unattractive, the prospect of the semi-arid plains of the interior was mysterious. Early opinions fluctuated between "the broad oasis spreads its vesture fair", to "yon barren Desert's broad and drear expanse." The settlement of this region is studied by Dr Heathcote who takes the Warrego Country of Northern New South Wales—Southern Queensland as his focus. In the mid-nineteenth century cattle men, advancing ahead of official land settlement policy, sought out the river frontages and water holes for their stock. In the 1860's and 70's new techniques, notably those exploiting artesian water, brought the sheep men; but also led to overstocking, deterioration of the natural feed, difficulties emphasized by the severe droughts at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During the present century official attempts at closer settlement have led to the break-up of the large holdings of graziers, but to only a slow growth of population and stock densities, which are still lower today than those reached in the late nineteenth century. Dr Heathcote argues that government policy directed towards conservation of the natural resources of the semi-arid plains and closer settlement is misplaced. He believes the stockmen have probably been right to exploit the resources of the region, using the feed when it is available after good rains; for unused pasturage does not survive the ravages of drought and bush fire.

Dr Perry and Dr Heathcote are geographers. Their accounts of the spread of settlement in Australia are mainly in terms of the interaction of environment, land disposal policies, and general knowledge of the potentialities of unsettled lands. Dr Heathcote, in particular, has an interesting discussion of 'historical geosophy:' the historical develop-

ment of geographical knowledge, true and false, about the inland plains. Of the two, Dr Perry is the better historian. He tells us nothing of the capital and labour requirements, or the state of the market for agricultural products necessary for settlement, but, as befits an enquiry that starts with a consideration of the relevance of F. J. Turner's frontier thesis to Australian history, Dr Perry makes some interesting observations about the differences in social arrangements and, by implication, political institutions, at the different frontiers. And he can tell a story. Dr Heathcote appreciates the importance of capital, transport, and markets for the development of the semi-arid plains, although he does not explore them. But his book is marred by repetition, poor organization, and a prose style often as semi-arid as the plains he treats, occasionally watered by a striking phrase (his title for example). None the less, both authors have placed historians in their debt, not least because of their excellent statistical appendices. May they stimulate historians of Australian land settlement to build upon their geographical foundations.

L. A. CLARKSON

CARLO PONI, *Aspetti e Problemi dell' Agricoltura Modenese dall' Eta delle Riforme alla Fine della Restaurazione*. (*Aspects and Problems of Modenese Agriculture from the Age of Reform to the End of the Restoration*.) S.T.E.M., Mucchi, Modena. Reprinted from vol. LX, 4th ser., Collezione Storica del Risorgimento e dell' Unità d'Italia. 54 pp. No price stated.

Only in specially favoured parts of Italy is the country naturally suited to agriculture. Even in these parts the intervention of man has been essential on the one hand to drain marshes or irrigate dry land, on the other to preserve the soil from denudation by terracing the mountain slopes to prevent climatic erosion. Yet there are areas in Italy that have always, or at least since classical times, been very productive either in cereal foodstuffs, the vine and the olive, or animal products. And it has been a tradition since classical

times that fodder crops, trefoil, lucern, lupins, and so on, should be cultivated to be used as green manure or for animal fodder. It was perhaps this tradition, not necessarily transmitted by the literature, that stimulated the idea of alternate husbandry in the mind of the sixteenth-century Tarello, who was probably the first European to suggest it in writing although it may have been practised in the field in the Low Countries, if not to perfection, at least to some degree since the fourteenth century.

Unfortunately the words of this agricultural prophet, Tarello, were not generally accepted, even in his own country, and were ignored elsewhere, because his book failed to be translated into the vernacular languages, or to be circulated in Latin, the *lingua franca* of that time. Professor Poni has emphasized the importance of this point in his opening pages where he considers the proposals for reform in landownership and tenure made by Muratori in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Though Muratori was anxious that the country should be freed from the burdens imposed upon the peasantry by the continuance of the feudal system, he was not apparently fully conversant with the need for changes in the methods of production that had been advocated by Italian writers on farming technique ever since the Renaissance. He did realize some of the most important necessities, and invoked State intervention to reduce the privileges of the feudal aristocracy who put obstacles in the path of agricultural development. Muratori laid it down that it was the State's business to make main drains and embankments against floods and to create a working system of water control. The landowner or his factor should persuade the peasants to drain their lands of stagnant water by making ditches. The water problem seems to have been a major obstacle to agricultural progress in Modena.

The difficulties of the peasants were increased because landowners preferred to live in the city, and were opposed to the changes that were essential to progress. Some peasants followed their example, leaving their farms and becoming beggars in the city, but many

of the most severe handicaps were those common to all the small farmers of Western Europe. For one thing there was a very scanty supply of manure for the arable. Experiments with other forms of fertilizer than dung were needed as well as scientific investigation into plant nutrition etc. The introduction of new crops such as sesamum, sorghum, tobacco, and buckwheat, combined with the reduction of the area under vines in favour of mulberries, was also suggested.

The rotations defeated progress. In the eighteenth century the pasture was kept separate from the arable instead of the production of forage crops and crops for human consumption being integrated with one another.

After the Napoleonic conquest an agricultural society was founded in 1804 and began to function in 1806, but before a real reform of systems could be introduced it was essential that economic and social conditions should be changed. Increased production turned upon the introduction of a rotation that would include supplies of forage and so provide better nutrition for stock and, with the additional supplies of better manure that this would ensure, increase the yield of grain crops. These aims were not achieved, and with the restoration there was a return to feudal conditions in the early years of the nineteenth century. By the 1840's conditions were very bad. The countryside was invaded by masterless men who begged and robbed, and though there was a great deal of discussion in government and other circles very little of moment seems to have been done to improve the economic and social conditions of the share croppers and the oxherds. It is a disappointing conclusion for Professor Poni to have to leave with his readers.

G. E. FUSSELL

Villages Désertés et Histoire Économique, XIe-XVIIIe Siècle. Les Hommes et la Terre, XI, S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris, for the vie Section, Centre De Recherches Historiques, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1965. 619 pp. 75 figs. 133 pls.

This volume was produced on the occasion of the first international symposium on deserted

medieval villages which formed one of the sessions of the Third International Economic History Conference at Munich in August 1964. The twenty contributions to this large volume are not the papers read at the conference but a series of papers collected by the Sixth Section of the *Centre de Recherches Historiques* who organized the symposium. During the past few years the Sixth Section, under the direction of F. Braudel, has initiated an important research project on the deserted villages of France and the Mediterranean countries where this subject has been much neglected in the past. This volume is a preliminary report on the progress of this research and is designed to point the way to future work. Of the 619 pages, 340 are devoted to work in France, 172 to the work of the Sixth Section in the Mediterranean, only leaving about 100 pages for summaries of work in other countries. This publication does not, therefore, give a general survey of work in progress or accomplished on the deserted villages of Europe; this still remains to be written.

The book is divided into four parts. In the first, six authors describe the problems of studying deserted villages in France and list the various methods used to tackle them. In the second, six further essays describe the work actually done in France from both the historical and archaeological aspects. The third part summarizes historical research by students of the Sixth Section on the deserted villages of Greece, Italy, and Spain. In the fourth part five authors give summaries of greatly varying value on the work carried out on deserted villages in northern Europe, in Germany, England, Norway, and Sweden, Poland, and Denmark.

In the first part, on the problems and methods of investigating deserted medieval villages in France, G. Duby points out that the late medieval population decline is much better documented than the earlier expansion. Although declining population may have affected marginal land, economic factors and manorial policy were a greater cause of desertion. M. Roncayolo shows that geography cannot explain desertion as so much depends

on how land was utilized or exploited; but much help can be given on the questions of soils, geology, drainage, erosion, and the disruption by man of the natural equilibrium. P. Courbin describes how the two deserted villages excavated by the Sixth Section were chosen out of eighty possible sites, and how the excavations were planned, organized, and equipped. R. Chevallier gives a useful general survey of air photography, mainly in the Somme area, but it is a pity that so few of his 84 plates are of deserted villages. J.-M. Pesez lists the various possible documentary and cartographical sources and describes many problems which are common to English research such as the definition of farm, hamlet, and village. His *cri de cœur* on the *Dictionnaire Topographique De La France* reminds us very much of our experience with early volumes of the *Victoria County History*. J. Monfrin describes work on place names quoting De Loigne's early list of 93 sites in the Pas De Calais published in 1903. He draws attention to the value of the *Vieux* place name in suggesting a migrated site and suggests that the *Mézières* place name, usually associated with Roman sites, may also refer to medieval ruins.

In the second part, on the results of work on deserted medieval villages in France, J.-M. Pesez and E. Le Roy Ladourie give an excellent summary of the work so far accomplished in locating French deserted sites, illustrated by nine maps of different areas or types of desertion. They show that the reasons for desertion are much more complex than in England, and in particular how plague and war losses were quickly made good; desertion in these periods were mainly on marginal land. C. Higounet discusses deserted *bastides* showing that it was new towns planted on marginal land which were the first to go in the late medieval economic recession. J. Glenisson and J. Misraki show that the populations for *bastides* rarely came from more than forty miles away. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was great mobility of population due to war, etc., but after 1450 people were much more settled. G. Demains d'Archimbaud reports on her excavations at

the castle and village of Rougiers, Provence, inhabited between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. W. Hensel then describes the trial excavations carried out, under the direction of Polish archaeologists for the Sixth Section, at Montaigut, Tarn, and Saint-Jean-Le-Froid, Aveyron. A series of twelve-foot grids showed extensive traces of structures and complex levels together with many small finds.

In the third part H. Antoniadis-Bibicou lists and maps 2,049 deserted villages in Greece based on documentary evidence. The peaks of desertion were in the fourteenth-century economic recession and during the nineteenth-century war of independence. C. Klapisch-Zuber and J. Day list and map deserted villages in Liguria, Tuscany, Roman Compagna, Calabria, Sardinia, and Sicily from documentary evidence. It is a pity that this was not linked with the field work by the British School at Rome in the area north of Rome. N. Cabrilla lists and maps 4,000 deserted villages in central, southern, and eastern Spain from the documentary evidence. It is to be hoped that these surveys will now be followed up on the ground.

In the final section W. Abel summarizes the work carried out on *Wüstungen* in Germany, mainly by geographers, in over 500 papers. Scharlau's division into *Ortwüstungen* (deserted villages) and *Flurwüstungen* (deserted fields) is described and some account given of drowned villages on the north-west coast. M. W. Beresford summarizes the pro-

gress in England since the publication of the *Lost Villages of England* in 1954. H. Bjørkvik describes the desertion of farms in Norway and Sweden which seems to be due to many different factors. He shows that the retreat from marginal land was in full swing well before the Black Death. A. Gieysztor reports on work in Poland based on place name and historical evidence. T. Ramskou gives a most unsatisfactory account of work in Denmark as it is all about prehistory or migrations of Viking times. The period covered by this book (eleventh-eighteenth centuries) is not mentioned, despite the important excavations carried out over the past thirty years by Prof. Axel Steensberg.

This volume gives an excellent summary of the preliminary work on deserted medieval villages by the Sixth Section of the Centre De Recherches Historiques during the past five years in France and other Mediterranean countries. The authors are to be congratulated for presenting so fully at this early stage their first findings. So often one has to wait a very long time before the results of such complex research is published. The other essays in the final section do not cover the great amount of work in progress in other parts of Europe, e.g. that in Czechoslovakia and Rumania where a great deal has been achieved since the war. It would really have been better if a general survey had not been attempted and the volume had concentrated on the very important work initiated by the Sixth Section.

JOHN G. HURST

Debates in Economic History
A series edited by Peter Mathias

AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN ENGLAND 1650-1815

Edited with an introduction by E. L. JONES

Dr Jones has chosen seven essays, reprinted here in full, to illustrate altered perspectives of agricultural change. His introduction places the beginnings of a significant rise in farm output as far back as the mid-17th century, and concludes that agriculture played a vital but complicated role in the economy of 18th-century England.

"E. L. Jones is an authority who wears his learning lightly and nicely explodes myths without belittling people."

Times Educational Supplement
25s. University Paperback 15s.

METHUEN

JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Vol. XIX, No. 2

MAY, 1968

CONTENTS

- | | |
|---|---|
| The Geography of Agriculture | Professor J. T. COPPOCK |
| Accounting for Capital in the Farm Business | I. G. REID |
| The Economic Study of African Small Farms; Some Kenya Experiences | J. D. MACARTHUR |
| Applications of Game Theory Models in Agriculture | R. C. AGRAWAL and Professor E. O. HEADY |
| The Economics of High Concentrate Beef Production as Affected by Breed-Type, Sex, Supplementary Hay and Type of Cereal | E. OWEN and G. M. DAVIES |
| Price-Quality Relationships in a Durable Asset: Estimation of a Constant Quality Price Index for New Farm Tractors, 1948-1965 | A. J. RAYNER |
| Note on Potential Gains from the Enclosure of Common Land in Under-developed Countries | C. B. BAXTER and Professor A. BOTTOMLEY |

With Reviews, Abstracts, etc.

JOURNAL OF THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SOCIETY

Published thrice yearly; annual subscription 63s.

- EDITOR:** O. J. Beilby, Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland, St Andrew's House, Edinburgh 1, Scotland.
- SECRETARY:** Dr T. W. Gardner, Department of Agricultural Economics, The University, Manchester 13.

SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XLVII

No. 143

April 1968

CONTENTS

Local authority records: a comment	D. CHARMAN
The assured Scots: Scottish collaborators with England during the Rough Wooing	M. H. MERRIMAN
The covenanters: a revision article	I. B. COWAN
The Glasgow merchant community in the seventeenth century	T. C. SMOUT
Scottish and English land legislation, 1905-11	J. BROWN

Among the books reviewed are: Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*; A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840*; Peter L. Payne (ed.), *Studies in Scottish Business History*.

Inquiries about subscriptions (30s. p.a. for two issues, 16s. for single issues, post free) and about back numbers should be addressed to the printers and distributors:

THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS LTD
FARMERS HALL, ABERDEEN

FOLK LIFE

The Journal of the Society for Folk Life Studies

Volume VI

1968

ARTICLES

Homage to Sigurd Erixon	I. C. PEATE and INGEMAR LIMAN
Traditional Methods of Fulling Cloth in Ireland	A. T. LUCAS
Old-World Legacies in America	W. J. ROWE
Celtic Numerals in North West England	MICHAEL V. BARRY
Alternating Turf and Stone—An obsolete building practice	ALEXANDER FENTON
Country Cider	D. M. D. THACKER
Straw Costume in Irish Folk Customs	ALAN GAILEY
Yorkshire Cheese Making	KATE MASON
Animal Droppings as Fuel	CAOIMHIN O DANACHAIR

NOTES

Thistle Tongs from Galloway (S. PILLING); The 'Blessed Field' (I. C. PEATE); Fishing at Preesall (J. McN. DODGSON); The Rush Mat makers of Newborough, Anglesey (J. G. JENKINS)

Book Reviews

Notes and Comments

Applications for membership:

THE HON. SECRETARY, c/o National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh

The British Agricultural History Society

PRESIDENT: G. E. FUSSELL

TREASURER: C. A. JEWELL

EDITOR: JOAN THIRSK

SECRETARY: MICHAEL HAVINDEN

Executive Committee: W. E. Minchinton (*Chairman*), W. H. Chaloner, E. J. Collins, D. R. Denman, A. M. Everitt, G. E. Fussell, George Houston, W. Harwood Long, G. E. Mingay, George Ordish, W. J. Rowe, M. L. Ryder, F. M. L. Thompson.

The Society aims at encouraging the study of the history of every aspect of the countryside by holding conferences and courses and by publishing *The Agricultural History Review*. Its revised constitution was inserted as a separate leaflet in Vol. xiv, part II of the *Review*.

Membership is open to all who are interested in the subject and the subscription is TWO GUINEAS due on 1 February in each year. Details may be obtained from the Treasurer.

The Agricultural History Review

EDITOR: JOAN THIRSK

ST HILDA'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

The *Review* is published twice yearly by the British Agricultural History Society and issued to all members. Single copies may be purchased from the Treasurer for 25s. Articles and letters offered for publication should be sent to the Editor. The Society does not accept responsibility for the opinions expressed by contributors, or for the accidental loss of manuscripts, or for their return if they are not accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Articles and correspondence relating to editorial matter for the *Agricultural History Review*, and books for review, should be sent to Joan Thirsk, Editor, *Agricultural History Review*, St Hilda's College, Oxford.

Correspondence about conferences and meetings of the Society should be sent to Michael Havinden, Secretary, British Agricultural History Society, Dept. of Economic History, Streatham Court, Rennes Drive, The University, Exeter, Devon.

All other correspondence, including matters relating to membership, subscriptions, details of change of address, sale of publications, exchange publications, and advertising, should be addressed to Andrew Jewell, Treasurer, B.A.H.S., Museum of English Rural Life, The University, Whiteknights Park, Reading, Berkshire.