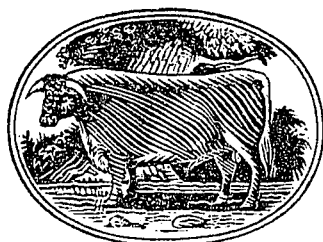


The **AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW**



VOLUME 18 1970

PART I

*

Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall

JOHN HATCHER

*

Tithing Customs and Disputes: the Evidence of Glebe Terriers, 1698-1850

E. J. EVANS

*

The Landlord and Agricultural Transformation, 1870-1900

RICHARD PERREN

*

Harvesting by the Gauls: the Forerunner of the Combine Harvester

LESLIE G. MATTHEWS

*

The London Companies and Tenant Right in Nineteenth-Century Ireland

OLIVE ROBINSON

*

Recent Changes in Kenyan Land Tenure: Review Article

EDITH H. WHETHAM

PUBLISHED BY

THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW

VOLUME 18 PART 1 · 1970

CONTENTS

Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall	<i>John Hatcher</i>	page 1
Tithing Customs and Disputes: the Evidence of Glebe Terriers, 1698-1850	<i>E. J. Evans</i>	17
The Landlord and Agricultural Transformation, 1870-1900	<i>Richard Perren</i>	36
Harvesting by the Gauls: the Forerunner of the Combine Harvester	<i>Leslie G. Matthews</i>	52
The London Companies and Tenant Right in Nineteenth-Century Ireland	<i>Olive Robinson</i>	54
List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since June 1968	<i>John Sheail</i>	64
Reviews:		
Recent Changes in Kenyan Land Tenure. Review article of <i>Land Reform in the Kikuyu Country</i> , by M. P. K. Sorrenson	<i>Edith H. Whetham</i>	72
<i>A Victoria History of the County of Gloucester</i> , Vol. VIII, ed. by C. R. Elrington	<i>H. P. R. Finberg</i>	76
<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland</i> , by A. H. Smith	<i>J. L. Kirby</i>	76
<i>A Medieval Farming Glossary</i> , by John L. Fisher	<i>R. H. Hilton</i>	77
<i>Bulletin for Local History Tutors and Students: East Midlands Region</i> , ed. by A. Rogers	<i>Alan Everitt</i>	77
<i>A History of Nidderdale</i> , by Pateley Bridge Tutorial Class; <i>Moorland and Vale-Land Farming in North- East Yorkshire</i> , by Bryan Waites	<i>R. H. Hilton</i>	78
<i>Catalogue of Essex Parish Records, 1240-1894</i> , by F. G. Emmison; <i>Stuart Essex</i>	<i>Dorothy M. Owen</i>	79
<i>The Enclosures of Barton-on-Humber, Searby, Nettleton, Caistor, and Caistor Moors</i> , by Rex C. Russell	<i>Brian Loughbrough</i>	80
<i>The English Village Community and the Enclosure Move- ments</i> , by W. E. Tate	<i>W. H. Chaloner</i>	80
<i>Mobility of Farm Families</i> , by J. S. Nalson	<i>A. Macfarlane</i>	81
<i>Morvern Transformed</i> , by P. Gaskell	<i>Alexander Fenton</i>	82
<i>Rinderhaltung im nordwesteuropäischen Küstengebiet vom 15 bis zum 19 Jahrhundert</i> , by H. Wiese and J. Böls	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	83

(continued on page iii of cover)

Non-Manorialism in Medieval Cornwall

By JOHN HATCHER

I

THE almost infinite variety of manorial structures to be found in medieval England is a commonplace, and it is equally well known that even in the most highly manorialized regions there were frequent deviations from the so-called classical manor, with its large demesne, predominance of villein land, and ample supplies of compulsory labour. Nevertheless, despite the manifold variations and departures from the classical manor, over most of thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century England the essential elements of manorialism and rural feudalism are clearly perceptible.¹ Yet for a small number of regions one might argue that rural conditions differed so widely and in so many fundamental respects from the accepted norm that they should not be called 'manorialized'. Of course any definition of the elements essential to manorialism, and their relative proportions, must be open to criticism; but however loose the definition, the structure of the seventeen Cornish manors of the Earldom and later the Duchy of Cornwall is likely to contravene more than one of its premises. At the turn of the thirteenth century, when records of these manors commence, there was no direct exploitation of demesnes and little to suggest that such exploitation had ever been of great importance.² There were no open fields and no indication that they had ever existed,³ and there were no common pastures. Furthermore, and perhaps most significant of all, instead of the customary division of tenants into free, villein, and cottar, Duchy tenants were divided into free, conventional, and villein (*nativi de stipite*). In fact, the bulk of the Duchy's tenantry held land by conventional tenure, which did not mean hereditary tenure and rents and obligations regulated by custom, but a seven-year

¹ G. C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*, 1942, p. 55; E. A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century*, 1956, pp. 69, 87. For a recent discussion by Professor Postan, see M. M. Postan, ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 1, 2nd edn, 1966, pp. 575-81.

² Some small scale arable demesne farming is in evidence in the earliest manorial account of 1287-8 on the manors of Helstone-in-Triggshire and Calstock, but by the time of the next available account some nine years later it had ceased (*cf.* P.R.O., SC6/816/9 and P.R.O., E119/1). A final ill-fated attempt to reintroduce demesne farming using the Old Deer Park of Helstone-in-Triggshire was made in 1335-6, but high winds and torrential rains ruined the harvest.—P.R.O., SC6/1094/14.

³ The open fields whose existence has been firmly established in medieval Cornwall invariably appear to have been the result of unusual circumstances; the most frequently encountered are the open fields of a number of boroughs. There is no standard work on the open fields in Cornwall, but see Charles Henderson, *Essays in Cornish History*, 1935, p. 67; W. G. V. Balchin, *The Making of the English Landscape. 2: Cornwall*, 1954, pp. 46-7; H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems*, 1915, pp. 263-6; R. R. Rawson, 'The Open Field in Flintshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., VI, 1953.

lease at a free market rent with negligible services and no renewal as of right.

The seventeen manors which the Duchy of Cornwall retained under direct control in Cornwall were termed either *antiqua maneria*, because they had all formed part of the Earldom of Cornwall before it had been made into a duchy in 1337, or assessionable manors, because the bulk of their land was subject to periodic leasings called assessions. These seventeen manors were well distributed throughout the county: in the south-east lay Trematon, Calstock, Climsland, Rillaton, and Liskeard; in the north-east Tintagel, Helstone-in-Triggshire, and Penmayne; in central Cornwall Talskiddy, Restormel, Penlyne, Penkneth, Tewington, and Tybesta; and in the west Tywarnhaile, Moresk, and Helston-in-Kirrier.

Conventionarii were by no means limited to Duchy manors. A glance through the collections of Cornish manorial documents in the Public Record Office or the Cornwall County Record Office is sufficient to show how widespread was tenure *per conventionam* throughout the county in the later middle ages; it even existed in some regions of Devon.¹ Nevertheless, it would be premature to suggest that the detailed conditions of tenure on Duchy manors were paralleled elsewhere.

When the Duchy was founded in 1337 there were approximately 800 conventionaries on the seventeen manors, three times as many as the number of free tenants and more than ten times the number of villeins; furthermore conventional rents at this time were in aggregate more than six times as great as the combined free and villein rents. Thus, we can see that the *conventionarii* were not merely a small group of *adventitii* or the farmers of parcels of demesne, but by far the most important category of tenants on the Cornish manors of the Duchy in the later middle ages. The significance of free tenure should not be underestimated, however, and lands held in freehold, both in socage and serjeanty, constituted more than a third of all lands on Duchy manors; indeed upon some manors, such as Tewington and Helstone-in-Triggshire, freehold lands were more extensive than customary lands. Most free tenants held in socage, the conditions of which included the payment of a money rent, the rendering of suit to the manorial court, and the swearing of fealty to the Duke; in addition a relief of 12s. 6d. per Cornish acre was owed upon death.² The rents of free tenures were in general extremely low: as little as 2s. or 3s. was often payable for a holding comprising 60 acres or more, whilst some free tenants held vast amounts of land for purely token rents. In contrast good conventional land rarely fetched less than 3d. per acre and could realise as much as 1s. 3d. per acre.

¹ H. P. R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 249–52; W. G. Hoskins, *Devon*, 1954, p. 90.

² The Cornish acre was a measure of indeterminate extent, but it seems generally to have been approximately equal to 40–60 statute English acres, depending upon the fertility of the soil.

Although this is not the place for a detailed discussion of agrarian systems and farming practices on Duchy manors, some general statements should perhaps be made, in the light of the limited knowledge of medieval Cornish agriculture at large. In the absence of open fields the land (*terra*) of each manor, as opposed to the waste (*terra vasta*), was for the most part divided into compact individually enclosed holdings, or groups of holdings enclosed together. A system of convertible husbandry or ley farming appears to have been widely adopted, by which the holdings of *terra* were split into interchangeable units, each unit bearing corn for a number of years, probably enjoying a regular rotation of crops, and serving as good quality pasture when lying fallow. Unfortunately, sufficient evidence does not exist to support firm conclusions on the length of the ley and the period of cropping; nevertheless although the soil, relief, climate, and rainfall of Cornwall would lead one to expect an overwhelming preponderance of pastoral husbandry throughout the county, it appears that high levels of demand for foodstuffs from the important non-agrarian sectors of the Cornish economy, in particular mining, fishing, and seafaring, encouraged arable farming.¹ Inventories and court rolls suggest that corn growing was widespread and of great importance. Finally there were no commons; all land not held in freehold or villein tenure was subject to leaseings under the conventional system. In contrast to the *terra*, waste usually lay open, serving as rough pasture, and although in the first half of the fourteenth century some was drawn into arable cultivation for short periods this practice declined sharply in importance after the Black Death.²

II

The basis of conventional tenure, which could be either free or unfree in status, was a contract made between the Duchy and its tenant, the Duchy agreeing to demise, for example, a holding of land, and the tenant agreeing to pay a sum of money and be liable for certain specified dues and services. It was the normal practice of the Duchy to make leases *en bloc* at a court of assession, held on each of the manors every seven years a few months before the leases then in force were due to expire.³ The cost of the lease was made up primarily of a rent and a fine called an assession fine, both of which were freely variable

¹ Discussed in detail in John Hatcher, 'A Diversified Economy: Later Medieval Cornwall', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., XXII, no. 2, 1969.

² The periodic cultivation of even the poorest soils, which has long been accepted as an essential feature of medieval Cornish agriculture, is not borne out by the evidence of the assessionable manors. The records of these manors demonstrate that the regular use of waste land as arable was extremely limited and confined to the period of intense population pressure before the Black Death. Such land brought in from the waste for arable cultivation was termed *bacticum*, and was usually farmed for terms ranging from 2-5 years.

³ In the mid-fifteenth century many leases were made for 14- and 21-year periods, but by the accession of Henry VII the seven-year lease had become once again the only term.

according to what officials of the Duchy and potential tenants thought the leases were worth. In practice rents invariably remained fixed whilst changes in demand were reflected in adjustments to fines.¹ But the fines themselves very much resembled rents as they were payable in instalments over the first six years of the seven-year *conventio*.²

Conventional leases ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, and a few months before that Michaelmas in which they were due to expire a commission of assessioners would be appointed to create new leases. The assessioners, often four or five in number, frequently included the receiver and the steward of the Cornish estates of the Duchy, the auditors of the ministers' accounts, and a senior official, such as the receiver-general or the steward-in-chief of all the estates of the Duchy.³ Permission was usually given for a quorum to be formed from within those appointed, but it was invariably stipulated that one or other of the more senior officials should always be present. Each manor was visited in turn and all persons wishing to take leases had to attend the court of assession held on their manor in person. If a tenant did not attend to renew his lease he could lose his holding by default.⁴ But if a tenant had a good excuse, such as sickness, for failing to appear at the court of assession, then another might be given authority to act as his attorney.⁵ On the other hand conventional tenants were completely free to relinquish holdings at the assession if they so desired.⁶ Leases could be taken up by women, and many who did so were the widows of previous tenants.⁷ Leases taken jointly by two, three, or even more persons were not uncommon.⁸

To ensure the suitability and credit-worthiness of persons wishing to take up a conventional lease for the first time each potential tenant was subjected to

¹ Of course when a holding or mill was not burdened with a fine, as was sometimes the case, then rents had to be adjusted.

² With the exception of the first two assessions (1333 and 1340) when assession fines were made payable over three years and four years respectively.

³ Many appointments are contained in the preambles of the assession rolls themselves, but see also *Registers of Edward the Black Prince, B.P.R.*, 1930-3, I, p. 64; II, pp. 91, 205; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1422-29, p. 423.

⁴ Assession rolls do not normally record the reason for holdings changing hands, but we are told that Henry of Tywarnhaile lost his holding on the manor of Tywarnhaile in 1333 for failing to attend the court of assession.—Duchy of Cornwall Office [D.C.O.], 471.

⁵ For example, William Geel of Calstock took lands for Edward Lowys in 1333 and 1340 because Edward was infirm.—D.C.O., 471; P.R.O., SC11, Roll 153; and Sarah, wife of Milo de Tregora, took the lands of her husband as he was ill at the time of the assession in 1333.—D.C.O., 471, Moresk.

⁶ There are a few isolated instances of compulsion being used to force tenants to hold conventional land in the years immediately after the Black Death, but these are exceptional.

⁷ Many examples of female lessees could be given. Women often held lands for a considerable length of time, renewing leases when they expired. The land they leased was not always of modest dimensions, and Alice Stere held one of the most significant groupings of conventional land on Helstone-in-Triggshire manor in 1504.—D.C.O., 483.

⁸ Waste land was often leased and shared by a group of tenants, but similar arrangements for holdings of *terra* were by no means uncommon.

careful scrutiny: the assessioners were frequently enjoined to grant leases only to 'proper and sufficient persons'. How many potential lessees were turned away by Duchy officials we cannot know, but we are told, for example, that John Harebeare was refused a lease on Calstock manor in 1333 because nothing was known about him.¹ It was common practice for two pledges to stand surety for each conventional tenant before a lease was granted and assume responsibility for the debts of that tenant if he had insufficient capital to pay them himself or if he fled the manor owing money to the Duchy. If the payments due from a tenant were in arrear for more than a month and "sufficient distress" could not be found then the Duchy could evict the tenant from his holding and lease it to another. In the period before the Black Death, whilst the regular assession system was in its infancy, the homage of the manor appears to have played a major part in the acceptance of new tenants, and a number of holdings at this time were filled by persons who were elected to take them by the homage.² On occasion the officials of the Duchy refused to grant renewals of leases on the grounds of the misbehaviour or incapacity of tenants. For example, at Climsland in 1333 John Lobeck was granted a lease to a holding which Walter de Leye *minus sufficiens adhuc tenet*, and John Byle took a holding which Richard Putte had held *impotens*.³

It is evident that the rights of conventional tenants did not extend beyond the life of their leases, and that sitting tenants could not demand a renewal of their leases as of right. Generally, however, a first option does appear to have been given to the tenant in possession to renew his lease at a rent and assession fine as great as any other potential tenant was willing to offer, but such an option depended upon the sufferance of the Duchy assessioners and not upon any customary right, as was to be frequently demonstrated in the later middle ages. The right of the Duchy to grant leases to whomsoever it wished is constantly stressed, and the exercise of this right is conveniently illustrated by an instruction sent to the auditors of the ministers' accounts of the Cornish estates by the council of the Black Prince in 1357, which directed them to let William Romsey atte Dunrewe have at the next assession the lands held by Roger Vicaire in conventional tenure.⁴ Nevertheless, whilst this grant categorically denies Roger Vicaire any renewal of his lease it also emphasizes the strength of his existing contract, for he could not be evicted within its term despite the fact that the auditors had not heeded a similar directive made on William Romsey's behalf before the assession of 1356.⁵

The refusal to pay the current market price for a conventional holding

¹ D.C.O., 471, Calstock.

² See, for example, D.C.O., 471, Tintagel, Moresk; P.R.O., SC11, Roll 153, Climsland.

³ D.C.O., 471, Climsland.

⁴ B.P.R., II, pp. 113-14.

⁵ B.P.R., II, p. 65. For a further example see also p. 67.

normally meant eviction, and a large number of holdings must have changed hands at assessions because sitting tenants were unable or unwilling to match the values put upon their holdings by rivals. Of such occurrences that which took place at the assession of 1364 on Tewington manor may be taken as typical: John de Nansmelyn went to this assession to renew his lease on a messuage and 11 acres in Nansmelyn, for which in the previous assession of 1356 he had paid a fine of 20s.; but John Jordon also came to the assession and offered a fine of 33s. 4d. for this holding, which John de Nansmelyn refused to equal, and so lost possession.¹ This feature of conventional tenure contrasts most strongly with the attitudes and practices concerning landholding prevailing in most regions of medieval England, where there was a strong sentiment against alienation and in favour of continuity, notwithstanding the alienation by villeins which has been shown to have been much more common than historians once thought,² and the ability of lords to evict tenants who were unable or who refused to pay their rents or perform their services. It would be true to say that throughout England the holders of customary land were invariably secure in tenure, and holdings descended to heirs within the same family usually intact and via the eldest son. On Duchy manors, however, a high proportion of holdings changed hands every seven years in the fourteenth century: for example, less than half the conventional holdings on western and central manors remained in the hands of the same tenants from 1337 to 1348, whilst on eastern manors more than a third changed hands. Such a rapid turnover may well have had some deleterious effects upon the state of repair of holdings and the care with which they were farmed, and no doubt the Duchy was anxious that tenants should renew their leases, as long as no financial loss was incurred.

Although the rents³ of conventional leases were freely variable according to the interplay of market forces, and as a general rule tenants had to pay the full market rate or forfeit their lands, the Duchy on occasion made allowances for the disabilities of tenants and acted with compassion towards them, reducing their assession fines or allowing them to remain stable whilst others were rising, on account of their tenants' old age, sickness, or poverty.⁴ But it was an exception when Richard Russell of Tintagel in 1371 successfully contrived to obtain a reduction in the annual rent of his holding from 11s. to 10s. by claiming that it had been only 5s. at the time of Queen Isabella some 40 years before.⁵

¹ D.C.O., 473, Tewington.

² *Carte Nativorum*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan, Northants. Rec. Soc., xx, 1960.

³ 'Rents' in this context means the total annual money payment for land including both annual rent and assession fine.

⁴ For example, D.C.O., 473, Climsland, in which Nicholas Midwinter did not have the fine on his holding increased, "because of his age, poverty, and infirmity."

⁵ P.R.O., E306/2/2 or D.C.O., 475, Tintagel. The earliest record we have of this holding (1331: P.R.O., E142/41) gives the annual rent as 6s. 6d. plus 3s. 6d. new increment.

All demises and transfers of conventional lands and properties by tenants within the duration of their leases had to be licensed by the manorial courts, and this regulation was stressed in the commissions to the assessioners throughout the middle ages. If a tenant wished to surrender his holding before his lease expired he had first to find another person who would undertake to lease it for the rest of the assessional period upon the same terms as it had previously been leased; and this person had to be acceptable to the Duchy. Upon the licensed transfer of such a holding a small fine, usually one shilling or 8d., was payable by the incoming tenant and the transfer was duly recorded in the manorial court. Tenants did not always want to relinquish complete holdings, and many instances of half or even quarter holdings changing hands are recorded. Often tenants wanted to grant short-term leases of portions of the lands they held from the Duchy to other persons; these transactions also required a license for which a nominal fine of 2d. or 3d. was levied, although complete responsibility for the payment of rents and fines to the Duchy still remained with the original tenant. Certain tenants, by virtue of the large amounts of land they leased from the Duchy, obtained special dispensation to sub-let without recourse to the manorial court, but even they could not dispose of the complete holdings without having first obtained permission.¹

The extreme flexibility of conventional tenure meant that the relative numbers of free and unfree conventionaries could fluctuate considerably from one assession to another. Conventional land invariably assumed the status of its tenant, and by the close of the fourteenth century most holdings had been held in both free and unfree conventional tenure; but the holdings of the *nativi de stipite* were kept distinct from conventional holdings.

III

No mention is made of any exceptional forms of tenure in Domesday Cornwall. Apart from the 40 *cervisarii* of Helston-in-Kirrier, all tenants were divided into the conventional *servi*, *bordarii*, and *villani*, although these categories may well have disguised marked variations in status. The assession system as it existed when the Duchy was founded in 1337 was very much in its infancy, and at least from the earliest manorial account of 1287-8² until 1333, the tenants of the assessionable manors were divided into only three categories: free, conventional, and villein. It was not until the regular system of assessions was instituted in 1333 that conventional tenants could be either free or unfree. From the rather unsatisfactory documentation of the period before

¹ See, for example, the terms of the leases granted to William Jagow of Tybesta manor (D.C.O., 467), Henry Gartha of Liskeard manor (D.C.O., 478), and John Trewyk of Helston-in-Kirrier manor (P.R.O., E306/2/3).

² P.R.O., SC6/816/9.

1333 it is possible to glean only a few details of prevailing conditions of tenure, and these appear to have accorded much more closely with conditions ruling elsewhere in England than those instituted in 1333. The *villani* appear to have held land on very similar terms to the *nativi de stipite* of the post-assession period, having hereditary titles at fixed rents, owing all their goods and chattels to their lord on death, and paying an entry fine on inheritance.¹ The conventionaries were all free and held their lands by leases of apparently indeterminate length,² which were renewed on a rather haphazard basis for nominal fines. Only when a conventional holding changed hands was a fine of any consequence charged. Upon the death of a conventional tenant his estate appears to have been charged with either a heriot or a relief, the incoming tenant paying a fine for the right to enter into the holding.

Conventional tenures had apparently existed in name at least for many years previous to our first record of them in 1288, yet the failure to effect any significant reassessment in their rents to bring them into line with changes in their value for at least forty years before the estates of the Earldom passed into the hands of Edward III in 1330 belied their true nature. Eventually, however, in response to intense and mounting pressure on the land in the generation before the Black Death, it was decided to turn the potentially flexible qualities of these tenures to the lord's advantage by creating short-term leases subject to frequent revision of rents. The preamble of the first assession roll, made in 1333 during John of Eltham's tenure of the estates, sheds much light on the economic characteristics of this period and upon the reasoning of those who were commissioned to create new conventional leases.³ We are told that the leases in force in the spring of 1333 were all due to expire the following Michaelmas, and that the Earl "without doing wrong to anyone could take the lands into his own hands again and make his profit thereof, which might perhaps turn to the injury and damage of the said tenants," and yet "if the tenants are willing to pay according to the true valuation of the lands then the Earl is prepared that new contracts might be enacted upon such terms as might be agreed between the tenants and the assessioners." The assessioners were instructed to lease the lands "for the term of life, lives or years to such as would give most." After an appraisal of the land market in Cornwall at this time the assessioners decided to lease the conventional lands for only seven years, the short leases giving the lord opportunity to re-assess their values at frequent intervals.

¹ The main source of information on conditions of tenure prevailing in the pre-Duchy period are the abbreviated records of court proceedings contained in the ministers' accounts (P.R.O., SC6/811/1 *et seq.*).

² The demise of land to Paschasio de Nansmleyn for a 10-year term in 1296-7 appears to have been exceptional.—P.R.O., E119/1, Tewington; L. M. Midgley, *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296-7*, Camden Society, 3rd ser., LXVI, 1942, p. 244.

³ D.C.O., 471.

IV

The *nativi de stipite*, or neifs by birth, formed a category of tenants distinct from the conventional and free tenants of the assessionable manors, and they resembled in many respects the typical English villeins of this time. They were tied to their lands, which they held by inheritance, were not subject to the periodic assessions of the conventional tenants, and their rents were fixed. Under the Duchy the *nativi de stipite* never comprised more than 10 per cent of the tenantry, and their distribution throughout the Cornish manors was irregular. They were, however, found in greater numbers in the east. As the rents of the *nativi* were fixed, a period of rising demand for land which led to increases in the prices of conventional lands, such as those which occurred on the assessionable manors in the decades before the Black Death, could create marked differences in the relative rent levels of lands held by conventionaries and lands held by *nativi*. The sole means of effecting some adjustment to the price of villein lands rested in the right of the lord to tallage them at will, a right which, with the advent of the regular system of assessions in 1333, resolved itself into the imposition of a certain sum for tallage every seven years. With each assession after 1347 regardless of movements in demand for land the amounts of tallage levied on villein lands were slowly but steadily increased, until by the beginning of the fifteenth century the differences in the prices of comparable villein and conventional lands had become much less marked.¹

The numbers of *nativi de stipite* were bound to decline in the course of time as lines of succession died out, since it was the policy of the Duchy not to create new tenancies of this type. The Black Death of 1348-9 gave a great boost to this inevitable process, as the unprecedented mortality caused whole families to be wiped out within the space of a few months. The results of the plague are plain to see: for example on Climsland manor in 1347 there were 19 *nativi de stipite*,² by 1356 this total had fallen to 13,³ and by 1364 to 12 and one of these, Desiderata Alren, daughter and heir of Reynald Alren, had a note placed against her name on the assession roll stating that the "issue of blood" would cease on her death as she had no progeny except by a free husband.⁴ But lack of heirs was not the only reason for the decline in the numbers of the *nativi de stipite* and many examples can be found of *nativi* being upgraded into unfree conventionaries and even into free conventionaries. At the assession of

¹ For example, in the hamlet of Ovese on Climsland manor a free conventional holding consisting of a messuage and 16 acres was leased in 1347 for an annual rent of 2s. 8d. and an assession fine of 15s., whilst in the same hamlet a holding consisting of a messuage and 24 acres was held *de stipite* for an annual rent of 2s. 4d. and 5s. tallage; by 1392 the tallage on the villein holding had risen to 16s. 8d. whilst the assession fine on the conventional holding had risen to only 17s.

² D.C.O., 472, Climsland.

³ D.C.O., 472a, Climsland.

⁴ D.C.O., 473, Climsland.

1364, for example, all the *nativi de stipite* of Restormel manor, except one, were made unfree conventionaries without increase to their rents or tallage.¹ This action was probably the result of a personal favour bestowed on them by the Black Prince, the first Duke of Cornwall, who had spent the early spring of 1363 at Restormel castle.² The assession roll of 1406 is the latest extant document which adheres to a distinction between conventionaries and *nativi de stipite*³ and it appears that from this time tenure *de stipite* was abolished and these holdings became subject to the same conditions as unfree conventional holdings.

v

All conventional tenants and *nativi de stipite* shared certain conditions of tenure in common with each other and with customary tenants throughout England.⁴ They paid their rents at the four principal terms of the year and their instalments of assession fines or tallage at Michaelmas in each of the first six years of the seven-year assessional term. They swore fealty to the Duke, owed suit to the manorial court from three weeks to three weeks, were liable to serve as reeve, tithingman, or beadle when elected, and were required to manure their lands and maintain their holdings in good repair. A cardinal difference between the tenorial conditions of the free conventionaries and those of the unfree conventionaries and *nativi de stipite*, however, lay in inheritance customs and in the respective death duties with which estates were burdened. The estates of free conventionaries were liable to a heriot of the best animal from each holding, but no other goods.⁵ On the other hand all the goods and chattels of unfree conventionaries and *nativi de stipite* were forfeit to the lord on death,⁶ with the sole exception of the unfree tenants of Rillaton manor, who for some reason were liable only for heriots.

The forfeiture of all possessions was an oppressive burden on the Duchy's unfree tenants, and although in law most English villeins remained the property of their lords and thus could not possess anything, in practice estates usually passed intact to heirs after heriot and mortuary had been paid. It should be

¹ D.C.O., 473, Restormel.

² The Prince stayed at Restormel from 24 February to Easter 1363 while an expedition to Gascony was being prepared at Plymouth.—*B.P.R.*, II, pp. 203-4.

³ The next assession roll (P.R.O., E306/2/10, dated 1420) contains no distinctions between conventionaries and *nativi de stipite*.

⁴ The conditions of tenure specified in the early assession rolls and in the Caption of Seisin of 1337 are sometimes misleading and ambiguous. At the time these rolls were compiled the assession system had not been in existence for long and certain discrepancies appear as the result of misunderstandings which were clarified in later documents. For example, in 1333 most unfree conventionaries are stated to be holding *ad voluntatem domini* (D.C.O., 471); and in 1337 the unfree conventionaries of Tintagel were held liable to be tallaged at the will of the lord, although being conventional tenants their conditions of tenure should have been specified and secure.

⁵ *Unum averium quod maioris pretii fuerit, et nichil percipiet de aliis catallis suis.*

⁶ *Et cum obierit dominus habebit omnia catalla sua.*

mentioned, however, that on some estates it was customary for the lord to seize part of his deceased villeins' estates, commonly one third.¹ The customary right of the Duchy to all the goods of unfree tenants was not exercised to the full: on the death of an unfree tenant his moveable estate was valued by six manorial jurymen, the expenses of the burial and wake usually deducted, and a third part of the final valuation allowed to pass to his widow or next heir without charge. Furthermore, goods ceded to the Duchy were frequently re-sold cheaply to heirs.² Nevertheless this custom was onerous enough to provoke a petition from unfree tenants to the council governing the Duchy in 1382. This petition, which asked that the custom prevailing on Rillaton manor and on certain other Cornish estates (i.e. a heriot only) should be adopted on all Duchy manors, met with no success.³

Impartible inheritance was the rule for all holdings on Duchy manors in Cornwall.⁴ With conventional tenure inheritance customs were not a crucial consideration as heirs retained possession only for the remainder of the lease. Holdings of the *nativi de stipite* descended to the youngest sons (ultimogeniture or Borough English), whilst conventional and free holdings descended to the eldest sons (primogeniture).

Unfree conventionaries and *nativi de stipite* were subjected to a number of further restrictions common to English villeinage with which free conventionaries were not burdened. The unfree were unable to give away their daughters in marriage without first obtaining licence from the manorial court, a privilege which could cost from 12d. to 6s. 8d., and they could not send their sons to school or allow them to take Holy Orders without permission, though this could frequently be obtained by petition to the Duke.⁵ Unfree tenants could also be fined for fornication.⁶

In addition to these general conditions of tenure the tenants of many Duchy manors owed services and customary rents, all of them light, which were specifically suited to the structures of the manors upon which they were found. Unfortunately no comprehensive list of services and customary rents exists, the rolls of the assessments and the various Duchy surveys containing only partial lists.⁷ Reference to the liability to perform labour services can be found

¹ H. S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor*, 1937, pp. 145-6; Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, pp. 76-7; W. F. Mumford, 'Terciars on the Estates of Wenlock Priory', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeolog. Soc.*, LVIII, 1965.

² For examples of this process at work, see P.R.O., SC2/160/2, court held at Liskeard on 22 January 7 Henry V; P.R.O., SC2/158/12, court held at Calstock 20 January 10 Edward IV.

³ *B.P.R.*, II, pp. 215-16.

⁴ Contrary to the expectation of Prof. Homans, *English Villagers*, p. 118.

⁵ See for example, *B.P.R.*, II, pp. 118, 193; *C.P.R.*, 1413-1416, p. 138.

⁶ The fine for fornication was 5s. 1d. It was not imposed in the fifteenth century.

⁷ Even the Caption of Seisin, commissioned on the creation of the Duchy in 1337 (P.R.O., E120/1), has innumerable omissions.

on a number of manors, but in all cases they were extremely light and probably never had been onerous, and by the early fourteenth century they had, almost without exception, been rendered obsolete. Furthermore it is obvious that by the time the Duchy was created in 1337 many customary rents and services had lost much of what significance they had once possessed and were included in the rents of tenancies, permanently commuted, or even ignored.

The tenants of manors with deer-parks were invariably liable to perform services concerned with these parks. One such service was assistance when the lord, or someone else in his name, wished to hunt.¹ The performance of this service was rarely necessary as Dukes visited their Cornish possessions most infrequently.² The conventionaries and *nativi* of Helstone-in-Triggshire manor were liable to perform nominal ploughing and reaping services whenever the Old Deer Park was broken up and used as arable. For each half acre of land by Cornish measure that he held (probably 20–30 acres by English measure) each tenant was liable to plough half a statute English acre, and for this ploughing he would receive $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in wages and 1d. for sustenance.³ The only other mention of ploughing services relates to Climsland manor, when in the assession roll of 1364 it is stated rather abruptly that the customary tenants should plough for the lord when necessary.⁴ With the abandonment of demesne farming, to all intents and purposes by the early fourteenth century, these labour services were rendered irrelevant and ignored. But a duty which was exacted from the customary tenants of those manors with parks was the requirement to assist in the maintenance of enclosures; but as the tenants received payments of $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. or $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per perch this work may have provided a welcome source of income in the slack periods of the farming year.

A number of other services, none of them onerous, can be found which had evolved to suit specific tasks. For example, at Calstock certain of the free tenants and all the customary tenants owed works of one or two days each year to maintain the giant weir in the Tamar called the *Hacche* in good repair. These works were only exacted once after the creation of the Duchy,⁵ for throughout most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the weir was farmed to the Abbey of Tavistock without the labour services, which the Duchy commuted for 1d. each. On Rillaton manor, which had the beadleship of the Hundred of East

¹ See P.R.O., E120/1, Helstone-in-Triggshire, Penkneth, Restormel, and Liskeard. *Huntyng-sylver* or *stabulagium*, as this service was termed, was usually commuted for a penny per tenant. For similar dues elsewhere in England, see N. Neilson, 'Customary Rents', *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, ed. P. Vinogradoff, II, 1910, pp. 19–20.

² The Black Prince visited Cornwall three times and certainly hunted while he was there, but subsequent medieval dukes apparently did not visit Cornwall at all. See also A. L. Rowse, 'The Duchy of Cornwall', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan. 1937, p. 51.

³ Some mention of these services is made in the Caption of Seisin (P.R.O., E120/1), but see D.C.O., 473 for a fuller description.

⁴ D.C.O., 473, Climsland. ⁵ P.R.O., SC6/816/11.

appended to it, customary tenants were liable to assist in the driving of animals impounded by the beadle.¹ The *nativi de stipite* of Climsland were liable to carry wood from the manor to the borough of Launceston, some ten miles away, the number of journeys they had to make and whether or not they received payment depending upon whether the wood was for their lord, the justices, or the steward.² The *nativi de stipite* of Calstock had to carry millstones to the manorial mills when necessary, and assist in the maintenance of the *grondbriche*.³ Finally, there are traces of two services to be found at Liskeard: one apparently involving the carriage of wine which was commuted permanently for 2s. 2d. annually,⁴ and the other involving the carriage of letters.⁵ The free tenants, conventionaries, and *nativi de stipite* of Tewington and Penlyne paid 23s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and 8s. 3d. respectively each year for the relaxation of works, the nature of which it is no longer possible to determine.⁶ The omissions from the lists of services enrolled upon the Caption of Seisin and assession rolls are striking: for example, no mention is ever made of labour services at Trematon and yet the customary tenants performed reaping and carrying services in 1338-9.⁷ Suit to mill appears to have been owed by all customary tenants and was enforced in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁸ Similarly carrying services to the mills of Tewington were apparently owed though not recorded.⁹

In addition to payments of rents, assession fines or tallage, and commuted labour services, a number of customary dues were paid on certain of the assessionable manors. The merging of these traditional payments indistinguishably with the rents of tenancies was a process which had been taking place ever since they had been instituted, and their absence from records after 1288 is not proof that they had never existed.

One of the most interesting customary dues was *berbiagium*, and it can be traced on Climsland, Calstock, Liskeard, Tintagel, Tewington, Tybesta, and Helston-in-Kirrier manors.¹⁰ But *berbiagium* was not a payment restricted to the assessionable manors, to Cornwall, or even to England.¹¹ From Duchy records it is apparent that *berbiagium* was a money payment in lieu of a payment

¹ P.R.O., E120/1, Rillaton.

² P.R.O., E120/1, Climsland.

³ P.R.O., E120/1, Calstock.

⁴ P.R.O., SC6/816/11.

⁵ P.R.O., SC6/811/1.

⁶ See, for example, P.R.O., SC6/811/1. The free tenants of Tewington are also mentioned as owing money in commutation of works in the Inquisition *Post Mortem*, made on the death of Earl Edmund in 1300 (P.R.O., E152/8 and C133 file 95).

⁷ P.R.O., SC6/816/1.

⁸ P.R.O., SC6/811/1 ff. See also the dispute concerning the liability of the tenants of Moresk to suit of mill in the seventeenth century.—B.M. Add. MS. 36, 644.

⁹ These are mentioned in a petition to the Prince's council.—*B.P.R.*, II, p. 104.

¹⁰ P.R.O., E120/1.

¹¹ *Berbiagium* was a common payment in Devon, and can also be traced in Wales and France.—E. Smirke, in *Archaeolog. Jnl*, v, 1848, pp. 273-7.

in sheep.¹ Why it was imposed is less clear, but it seems to have originated as a poll-tax upon the numbers of sheep kept by tenants. The amounts paid had become fixed and inflexible by the late thirteenth century when records begin. Another unusual payment shrouded in mystery was the 'fine of tin' payable only at Tewington, a manor adjacent to the important stannary district of Blackmore. Each year 14s. 7d. in 'fine of tin' was collected from certain free tenants in specified amounts, 20s. from conventionaries and *nativi de stipite* as a whole, and 11½d. from certain lands outside the manorial bounds.² No connection can be found between this 'fine of tin' and a payment of a similar name made through the bailiffs of the four Cornish stannaries, apparently for enjoying 'the liberties of the stannaries'.³

VI

The origins and early developments of conventional tenure on the seventeen Cornish assessionable manors remain obscure, but it seems likely that the powerful influences of colonization and mining played a significant part in their evolution. As we have seen there is no trace of tenure by contract in Cornwall in Domesday Book, and it existed on the assessionable manors in name only from 1288–1333. Henry Bracton, writing in the mid-thirteenth century noted the existence of certain privileged tenants who held land by virtue of a contract or agreement made with their lords,⁴ which specified certain villein services and customs,⁵ but we cannot know whether or not he was referring to the conventionaries of Cornwall.⁶

It is probable that nowhere else in medieval England did a land market operate so freely, so competitively, so regularly, and on so large a scale, and it is this uniqueness which may well explain lapses in the administration of conventional tenures. These tenures may well have operated with competitive rents and short leases sometime before 1287–8, and subsequently lapsed into a condition resembling ordinary customary tenure, which although less profitable to the lord was far simpler to organize. It is significant that the

¹ See, for example, the unusually detailed entry in the Caption of Seisin (P.R.O., E120/1) of payments by the free tenants of Helston-in-Kirrier.

² Much of this information is contained in the Caption of Seisin.

³ G. R. Lewis, *The Stannaries*, Harvard Economic Studies, III, 1906, p. 139. Lewis was wrong about the first record of 'fine of tin' as it can be found on the very first account of 1287–8.—P.R.O., SC6/816/9, *Stagnaria*.

⁴ Henry de Bracton, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, London, 1569, f. 7b: '*per quamdam conventionem quam cum dominis fecerunt*'.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 208 b: '*pro certis servitiis et consuetudinibus nominatis et expressis, quamvis servicia et consuetudines sunt villanae*'.

⁶ For discussion of the nature of conventional tenure, see M. Coate, 'The Duchy of Cornwall: its History and Administration, 1640–1660', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 1927; P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, 1892, pp. 70–4; Sir Frederick Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 1898, 2nd edn, I, pp. 405–6.

conventional system was reformed in 1333 when the manors were granted to John of Eltham by Edward III, and a new administrative hierarchy put in control at a time of intense pressure on the land. Efficient administration of the conventional system depended upon constant vigilance and surveillance and it is apparent that this was not always forthcoming. No re-assessment of conventional rents was made on those manors which passed out of the direct control of the Duchy in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For example, conventional rents upon Calstock and Trematon manors were at exactly the same level in 1453, when these manors returned to the Duchy, as they had been when granted to Nigel Loheryng, a retainer of the Black Prince, almost a century earlier, whilst in contrast conventional rents on the neighbouring manors of Climsland and Rillaton, which had remained in Duchy hands, had been increased substantially over the same period.

Even when manors remained in the hands of the Duchy the efficient administration of the system was not guaranteed, and for a period under Richard II at the close of the fourteenth century assessments were frequently delayed and even when held served merely to confirm the annual rents and assessment fines already in force. Furthermore, in the fourth and fifth decades of the fifteenth century 14- and 21-year leases were widely adopted, and rents became inflexible. On those manors, notably in the east of Cornwall, where demand for land was maintained, assessment fines were frozen, in sharp contrast to the previous hundred years which had seen an almost continuous increase in them. On those manors in central and western Cornwall the assessment fines in force in the early fifteenth century were also taken as the maximum, but reductions were allowed in response to a prolonged slump in demand for land. By the early sixteenth century the seven-year assessmental term had once more become standard practice, but despite a widespread resurgence in demand for land assessment fines remained fixed, and tenants by the early seventeenth century had assumed an hereditary title to the lands they held from the Duchy.¹ Many of the basic principles of conventional tenure were thus abandoned. Nevertheless, in contrast, the incidents of servile tenure continued to be exacted with only minor exceptions throughout the fifteenth century. Very few manumissions can be traced in the fifteenth century and, although a certain number were granted in the sixteenth century, unfree tenure continued up to the reign of James I.² Even by 1640 many of the lesser conditions of conventional tenure were the same as they had been three hundred years before.

Leasehold was, of course, a common form of tenure in medieval England,

¹ R. Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, ed. Tonkin, 1811, pp. 111-13; Mary Coate, 'The Duchy of Cornwall', *loc. cit.*, pp. 144-6.

² For sixteenth century manumissions, see A. L. Rowse, 'The Duchy of Cornwall', *loc. cit.*, p. 44. For tenure in villeinage in 1628, see *Calendar State Papers Domestic*, 1628-9, p. 7.

and most *compoti* contain details of leases of a few pieces of land, meadow, or pasture, perhaps also of portions of demesne, and almost certainly of mills, watercourses, fisheries, etc. But leases comparable with the Cornish *conventio* (i.e. leases of customary holdings) were much less common, though of some importance. Before the Black Death some customary holdings were turned into leaseholds, with consequent advantage to the lord who could in this way more easily exact their true market value;¹ and the changed demographic conditions of the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries encouraged a massive extension of leaseholds which tended to favour the tenant rather than the lord.² But the lack of continuous evidence of the movement of rents on particular areas of land remains a major hindrance to the agrarian historian of the middle ages. The value to the historian of the assession rolls is thus readily apparent, for they provide an almost continuous list for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the names of conventionaries and *nativi de stipite*, and the location, size, and rents of the holdings they held. What is more they record the workings of a virtually free market in land and yield invaluable data on the evolution of a 'yeoman' peasantry and the detailed vicissitudes of demand for land in Cornwall in the later middle ages.

¹ See, for example, R. H. Hilton, 'Gloucester Abbey Leases of the Late Thirteenth Century', *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Jnl*, iv, 1953-4; E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, 1951, p. 93 *et seq.*

² For example, F. C. Davenport, *The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor, 1086-1565*, 1906, p. 77 *et seq.*; F. M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey*, 1934, p. 128 *et seq.*; J. A. Raftis, *Estates of Ramsey Abbey*, 1957, p. 259 *et seq.*, 285.

Notes and Comments

THE 1970 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The 1970 conference will be held at the Hereford College of Education, Hereford, from 6-8 April. It is open to all, whether members of the Society or not. Details will be circulated later.

A CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

The Agrarian Landscape Research Group of the Institute of British Geographers is planning to hold a conference at Monks' Wood Experimental Station, near Huntingdon, on 30

April-2 May 1970. The intention is to provide an opportunity for discussion of the problems involved in studying agricultural improvement in both its historical and spatial aspects. Full programme details will be announced early in 1970 in *Area*, the house journal of the Institute. They may also be obtained from the Acting Secretary of the Group (Dr B. K. Roberts, Department of Geography, University of Durham) or from the Group's Chairman (Dr A. R. H. Baker, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge).

Tithing Customs and Disputes: the Evidence of Glebe Terriers, 1698–1850

By E. J. EVANS

"I certainly think that the institution of tithe, especially if rigorously enforced, is everywhere a great obstacle to the improvement and prosperity of any country. . . I believe too that it is as much for the real interest of the Church as for the land to adopt, if practicable, some other mode of provision."—William Pitt¹

"I am confident that I am defrauded by many of my parishioners of various vicarial dues and rights to which the laws of Heaven and earth entitle me. . . for the very word 'tithe' has ever been as unpleasing and odious, to farmers especially, as cuckoo to the married ear. Those who pay them, pay them very partially and I may say, grudgingly and of necessity."—Rev. William Jones, Vicar of Broxbourne and Hoddesdon, Herts.²

IN the last century and a half of its existence in its old form, the tithe system was at once uniquely unpopular and inefficient.³ Landowners and tenants alike had, of course, always objected to providing the tithe owner, whether a layman or a cleric, with a tenth of the produce of their land; but the developments of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries made the tithe owner's demands doubly onerous. Agricultural improvements bringing increased yields meant in their turn an increased return for the tithe owner, without the latter having had to bear any of the expenses of improvement. Thomas Thompson was one of many to voice the frustration of the agricultural interest when he asked: "Is it equitable that, whenever I work for myself, I should be compelled to work for another person also?"⁴ Adam Smith pointed out that the poorer lands were harder hit by the impost because of the higher capital outlay necessary to improve them,⁵ while the researches of Arthur Young and the Board of Agriculture were not slow to bring to light numerous cases of lands left barren because the burden of tithe, after heavy initial improvement expenditure, would not bring the improver any real return for his outlay. Typical of the comments of the Board of Agriculture Reports was this, from Stafford-

¹ William Pitt, Letter to the Duke of Rutland, 7 November 1786. Quoted in Earl Stanhope, *Life of William Pitt*, 1861, pp. 318–19.

² O. F. Christie (ed.), *The Diary of Rev. William Jones*, 26 January 1803, p. 147.

³ I wish to acknowledge my thanks to Dr David Robinson, Assistant Archivist, of the Lichfield Joint Record Office, for introducing to me much of the primary material on which this study has been based.

⁴ T. Thompson, *Tithes Indefensible*, 3rd edn, York, 1796, p. 50.

⁵ "Upon the rent of rich lands, the tythe may sometimes be a tax of no more than one fifth part or four shillings in the pound; whereas on that of poorer lands it may sometimes be a tax of one-half, or of ten shillings in the pound."—Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Everyman edn, II, pp. 318–19.

shire: "I have the most satisfactory proofs from the evidence of several respectable cultivators that the quantity of wheat sown is affected by the tithe system; they have assured me that they decline sowing wheat and choose to manage their land in a grazing system because they cannot bear the idea of paying the enormous rates that have been asked them by the titheman."¹

The arguments of the agricultural interest against tithes are fairly well known. Equally important, however, was the agitation by tithe payers against the lengthy and expensive lawsuits initiated by tithe owners to recover their rights in ecclesiastical, common law, or equity courts. Many saw victimization rather than justice as the motive of plaintiffs in such suits, and there can be no doubt that the costs, sometimes running into hundreds of pounds for a tithe claim of perhaps only a few shillings, could be ruinous. Summary jurisdiction before two justices of the peace for tithe claims not exceeding 40s. was provided in 1696, but this sum was not raised to £10 until 1813 and the opportunities for punitive action by tithe owners remained great, if their own resources could stand it.²

The tithe owners, of course, did not have it all their own way. Techniques of evasion had become quite sophisticated by this period and in their depositions in Court, many tithe owners stated either that they had taken legal action only as a last resort after years of prevarication or downright refusal to pay, or to combat the small customary payments or 'modus' which were offered instead of the full tithe, and which undermined their income.

It was obvious that the system was out of date and in great need of radical overhaul. The problem was frequently brought before Parliament throughout the period, and certain minor adjustments were made. Hemp and flax which were regarded as "beneficial to agriculture" were rendered liable to a money payment per acre rather than tithe in kind by an Act of 1696³ and madder was similarly regulated in 1757.⁴ The summary jurisdiction of the justices of the peace was an innovation, although strictly limited. Major amendments of tithe law were always defeated in the Lords, even if they succeeded in the Commons. Such was the fate of a bill to relieve Quakers from frequent prosecutions for their consciences' sake, introduced in 1736.⁵ Bills were also introduced in 1730 and 1772 to protect possessions against long dormant claims for tithe which were suddenly revived, for example, by a new incumbent, but both bills were withdrawn after government pressure.

Glebe terriers, which from the end of the seventeenth century record the customs observed at the parish level in the assessment and often the collection

¹ W. Pitt, *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Stafford*, 2nd edn, 1813, p. 34.

² 7 & 8 Wil. III, c. 6; 53 Geo. III, c. 127.

³ 11 & 12 Wil. III, c. 16.

⁴ 31 Geo. II, c. 12.

⁵ For a detailed study of the Quaker campaign, see N. C. Hunt, *Two Early Political Associations*, 1961, c. VI *passim*.

of tithes, provide much useful information which adds to our understanding of how the tithe system worked, and why it was such a failure. Apart from Dr Barratt's important work on Warwickshire terriers,¹ little has yet been done towards an analysis of glebe terriers as a source of information about tithes, though they have been much used on pre-enclosure field systems and crop rotations. This study has been based on the glebe terriers of the 126 Staffordshire and 5 Warwickshire parishes whose terriers survive in the Lichfield Joint Record Office in sufficient numbers to be useful as a series.² It is hoped that it sheds light on the operation of the system in its final and controversial phase, leading to the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, by which tithes were converted into variable corn rents.³

Glebe terriers were originally produced to enable an accurate record to be kept of the profits of a living. It was not until the Ecclesiastical Canons of 1604 were produced, however, that any explicit demand for details of profits from tithes was made,⁴ but in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, as elsewhere, this demand throughout the seventeenth century was met only in haphazard fashion. There are a few scattered references to 'portions of tithes' in the terriers, but predominantly they were concerned with glebe lands and the parsonage house. Professor Best has dated the "second phase of endeavour to draw up and safely preserve accurate terriers" after the efforts of Whitgift and Laud, from the early years of the eighteenth century.⁵ In Lichfield and Coventry the effort was made a few years earlier than this. William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry from 1692-8, instituted the episcopal visitation of 1698 which required terriers to be returned containing detailed tithing customs. Some few parishes had been giving this information in the 1670's and 1680's, but it was not until the terriers of 1698 that the practice became general. As Dr Barratt has noted in her Warwickshire study, the terriers which were compiled on the occasion of an episcopal visitation and then returned to the bishop's registry were produced by the parish clergy and churchwardens, assisted by other 'substantial' or 'ancient' parishioners.⁶ In fact the Lichfield terriers were nearly always the work of the incumbent alone, who then signed it and called on his churchwardens to countersign, or put their marks to his work. The only exceptions to this seem to have been on occasions when an episcopal visitation coincided with the vacancy of a living, or when the incumbent was at odds with his parishioners and separate terriers were compiled

¹ D. M. Barratt (ed.), *Ecclesiastical Terriers of Warwickshire Parishes*, 1, Dugdale Society Publications, xxii. Dr Barratt has prefaced it with a most useful introduction.

² The class reference of these documents in the Lichfield Joint Record Office is B/V/6. A particular terrier may be located by this reference, plus the parish and date of compilation.

³ 6 & 7 Wil. IV, c. 71.

⁴ E. Cardwall, *Synodalia*, 1, 1842, no. LXXXVII, p. 296.

⁵ G. F. A. Best, *Temporal Pillars*, 1964, p. 100.

⁶ D. M. Barratt, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. i.

by the contending parties. The terrier returned to the registry from Bushbury (Staffs.) in 1698 was in two parts. The first was in the form of an orthodox terrier, setting forth the various tithes, compositions, and moduses for tithes, ending: "Annual or yearly rates and Moduses for tith hay arising yearly in all the said Parish except Saltmore." This was signed by three churchwardens, but not by the vicar. Instead he added the acid rejoinder: "I do allow all the particulars above mentioned in this Parish to be true—except that last clause relating to the annual or yearly rates and Moduses for Tyth-hay arising yearly from the Parish which I bitterly deny." The question of tithe hay payments in Bushbury had in fact been the subject of bitter dispute since Thomas Hall was presented to the vicarage in 1693. Hall determined to put aside the small customary payments accepted by his predecessors, and alleged by the parishioners to be unalterable money payments or moduses, and to substitute either payment in kind or a more realistic composition. To this end, lengthy proceedings were instituted, first in the ecclesiastical court at Lichfield, and later in the court of the exchequer and at common law in the Stafford Assizes, which gave an equivocal award to the vicar.¹ The cost to the protagonists must have been enormous.

A terrier was returned from a parish to the diocesan registry on average once in every five years, though rather more frequently at the beginning of the period, when regular triennial visitations were held, than at the end. Each terrier usually begins by giving a long rehearsal of the situation and size of the parsonage house and glebe lands. There then follows a list of the tithes payable together with compositions and moduses accepted by the incumbent. The terrier closes by listing the surplice fees for weddings, burials, churchings, and the like, and sometimes indicates the customary payments due to the parish clerk. The parish of Tixall (Staffs.) affords a good example of prevalent tithing customs in its terrier of 1698: "The Tyths & offerings due to the Parsonage are as follows: Every House for the Garden and Smoake pays Two pence. When there are Seaven or ten Cows belonging to a family which hath had within one year seaven or ten Calves, one is due. Every Cow & Calfe under seaven or above that amount not to a tythe calfe pays one penny halfpenny. Every barren cow pays one penny. Every mare and colt pays two pence. When there belongs to any house Seaven sheep, one fleece is due. . . for every sheep that is under seaven & above ten that amounts not to a tyth fleece, for every such fleece is due a penny. If they winter there sheep till Candlemas & then sell them off Halfe Tythe is due as is for Cows above mentioned. If any one living out of the parish send sheep into this Parish to be winter'd, Halfe Tythe is due. The tythe lamb is due as the wool is, Except every odd lamb under seaven or above ten. . . one

¹ For details of the case see L.J.R.O., B/C/5, 1696-7; Public Record Office, E112/739 no. 53; E112/740 nos. 66 & 84; E134, 7 Wil. III, Mich. 17.

halfpenny. Geese are also tythed after the same manner. Tyth piggs are paid at Seaven or ten and so upward; as in other things above mentioned. Hemp & Flax is pd. every tenth bound, if taken green, And the eleventh if watered. Every Acre of Hemp or Flax sown four shillings, according to the Act of Parliament.¹ Tyth honey is paid at every seaven or ten Pints or Quarts. . . Eggs are paid for every Cock two Eggs, And for every Hen one Egg. Apples are tyth'd at Seaven or ten in number or measure. . .

"The whole Parish pays all manner of tyth in kind Except only the. . . Astons Demesnes, for which he pays ten pounds per Annum to the Rector. . . being a Rate Tyth for & in lieu of all due & Tyths arising from out of the said Demesne Lands. . ."

This terrier indicates very well how tithes were accounted, and although there are many local variations from parish to parish, it shows the type of payment which was made throughout Staffordshire and elsewhere. The system of 'half-tithing' for those keeping stock inside the parish and living outside it is perhaps a little unusual. More commonly the vicar was paid a sum of money for the sheep of 'forraigners' wintered in the parish, generally calculated per score. The custom of taking a tithe animal at seven instead of ten and making an allowance for the number wanting up to ten is practised in nearly every parish under study. It enabled the incumbent to get something like his full due from the small farmer keeping only limited stock. In some parishes the tithe could be reserved from year to year until the number reached seven or ten. The terrier of Pattingham (1698) explains how the tithe animal was often chosen: "The custom of tithing lambs is this, the owners first chuse two & then the Vicar takes his tithe & then the owner takes out seven more to make them ten & so on till all are tithed. If there be seven od ones. . . the Vicar has one ordinarily allowing 3d. a lamb for those which make up ten. But if there be six od ones or a lesser number, the Vicar takes either 3d. a lamb or reserves them for the increase of the Insuing year." Such customs were designed to prevent the vicar being given the least profitable animal of the seven or ten for his tithe.

The evidence of the terriers indicates that by the eighteenth century there were considerable divergences from what the ecclesiastical law books regarded as the usual division of tithes. It is not possible here to enter into minute detail concerning the definitions of Great and Small, Mixed, Predial, and Agistment tithes, but it must be noted that 'Great' and 'Small' tithes differed substantially.² Great tithes were accounted to be those of corn, hay, and wood, and

¹ 3 Wil. III & Mary, c. 3, 'An Act for the better Ascertainning the Tythes of Flax and Hemp'. By 11 & 12 Wil. III, c. 16 (1699) it was enacted that a payment of five shillings should be made to the tithe owner for every acre of land on which the crop was sown unless the land was already covered by a modus, or discharged from payment altogether.

² The best general expositions of tithe law in modern works are: J. A. Venn, *Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, 1923, ch. v, *passim*; and J. E. C. Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church*, 1956,

were in most situations by far the most valuable. Small tithes were the residue. The incumbent of a vicarage was entitled to take small tithes only, while if the living was a rectory, the rector or lay impropriator was entitled to take both great and small tithes. The great tithes of a vicarage would be owned either by a lay impropriator or by one of the dignitaries of the church. The chances were that the lay impropriator, especially if he had no other direct connections with the parish, would regard the collection of his tithes purely as a business transaction and would entrust the task to one of his stewards or agents.

The perpetual curacy was the third class of permanent living and its chief characteristic, as Professor Best reminds us, was "that its small . . . as well as its great . . . tithes were completely appropriated. . . and the incumbent was completely supported by a fixed money payment or 'pension' paid to him by the Impropriator."¹ Of the 131 parishes in this study there are 42 rectories, 34 vicarages, and 55 perpetual curacies, although it should be noted that 9 of these curacies were given rectorial or vicarial status in the ecclesiastical reorganization of the early nineteenth century.

Dr Barratt in her Warwickshire study has noted certain changes in the collection of tithes by the end of the seventeenth century.² The present study indicates a similar, or rather larger, divergence from what has been regarded as the norm. All the ancient treatises clearly classify hay as a great tithe, and thus to be collected by the rector or lay impropriator. However, of the 34 vicarages in this collection, 23 indicate definitely in their terriers that tithe hay, or a modus in lieu of tithe hay, is collected by the vicar. Some even formally classify hay as a small tithe. The Vicar of Mayfield in 1701 indicated that the profits of the vicar consisted of "The Tyth of Hay. . . and all other small Tythes and Surplice Fees."

Even tithe corn, the most jealously defended tithe, because it was by far the most valuable, was not exclusively collected by the great tithe owner. At Ilam, for example, in 1701 the Vicar was collecting "All maner of tyths as well as corne, hay woll lamb and allso all other small tyths and duties within the Lordship of Throwley being part of the parish of Ilam aforesaid." It is clear that the old rigid divisions between great and small tithes were beginning to mean less in many Staffordshire parishes by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Many perpetual curacies, although not originally financed by tithes were considerably concerned in their collection by this period. The rector of Stoke-on-Trent had for a considerable time allowed the various curacies under his patronage the collection of great and small tithes for the use of the perpetual

chs. v & vi, *passim*. For a longer contemporary account see R. Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, London 1767, III, pp. 373-502.

¹ G. F. A. Best, *op. cit.* p. 17.

² D. M. Barratt, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. xxvi-xxix.

curate. The 1701 Burslem terrier states: "The Rector of Stoke-on-Trent and his predecessors. . . has. . . given and allowed unto the Curate of Burslem all the Tyths in kind of Corne, Grain, Hemp, Flax, Wooll Lamb, pigs and geese annually arising within the liberties of the said Township and Chappellry. . . together with the Easter Roll and Surplice Fees, as also the Modus paid in lieu of Tyth Hay."

Fourteen perpetual curacies in this study were supported by grants of tithe made by the impropiator. It may well be that this method of support was the more popular because the impropiator wished to avoid the trouble and expense of collecting what was often a variable revenue when he was obliged to make a payment to the curate anyway. The perpetual curate of Butterson noted in his terrier of 1698 that he received "the Tithes in kind. . . (of) Wool and Lamb due to the Curate at St. Barnabas Day. . . Tith hemp and flax at their season: Tith geese at Michaelmas: And tith eggs on Good Friday." There were, however, many impropiators who preferred to retain the more usual method of support, in making a fixed money payment deducted each year from the revenue of the tithes.

The terriers which included tithing customs for the first time in 1698 generally mentioned that the tithes due were payable in kind. The exceptions to this were the customary payments or moduses of two types. Firstly, the 'farm modus' of a certain sum, generally in multiples of a mark, payable in lieu of all tithes from certain lands, often the demesnes, as in the Aston demesnes in the Tixall example quoted above;¹ and secondly, moduses payable in lieu of certain types of tithe. The most common of these was the payment in lieu of tithe hay. Long before 1698 it had evidently become impracticable for the tithe owner to collect tithe hay in kind from the whole parish. The incumbent would only need a certain amount of hay for fodder for his own animals on the glebe lands, and found it more profitable to compound with his parishioners for a certain sum of money, rather than try to sell off large quantities of surplus hay. It was probably only for the direct needs of the incumbent that certain specifically named holdings might still have to render their hay tithes in kind. The 1698 Audley terrier indicates the usual practice: "There is one Meadow called Hall Meadowe belonginge to the tenement of Mr Haworth which onely payeth tyth hay in kind. . . every tenth cock in grass soe soon as itt may be cocked and counted is to have room made for the Vicar to carry itt out and make it in a convenient place—and for all the rest of the hay in the parish. . . all the parishoners & the said Mr Howarth for the residue of his hay are to pay for every day's mowing 1d., as well up land as all other sort of Meadowing—and to pay neither more nor less."

To ensure that each tenement paid the right amount of hay composition it

¹ *Ut supra*, p. 9.

was a common practice to make a list of the amounts payable from each and to insert it into the terrier, which could then provide a ready point of reference when the tenement changed hands, was split up or enlarged, or when payment was queried.¹

Customary payments were also noted in the terriers for personal tithes when these were claimed. The most important of these were the payments in lieu of the profits of corn mills. A strict tenth should have been payable on the profits of corn mills; but such profits, unlike the farmer's crops which stood in the field, were almost impossible to discover accurately. Often the only means of getting anything at all was to make a generous composition with the miller. Elford (Staffs.) which had three mills provides a useful example from its 1698 terrier: "The annual custom for the Tyth of Elford Mills is, for the Grist, 6s. 8d., for the water belonging to the Mill, 1s. od. For the Mill Holmes the tyth is due in kind but there has been sometimes Compositions, . . . 3s., 4s., sometimes 4s. 6d. or 5s. od. Comberford Corne Mill now turned into a Walke Mill pays yearly 5s. od."

It has been common to regard the imposition of personal tithes as virtually obsolete by the eighteenth century. It is true that only in a small number of parishes were personal tithes listed in the terrier. The Abbots Bromley terrier of 1714 noted: "Any person that hath any trade, science, calling payes for it 4d. per year." None the less, the Vicar of Uttoxeter in 1778, Athanesius Herring, considered it worth his while to institute a successful action in the ecclesiastical court against a parishioner, Robert Pretty, for non-payment of personal tithe, including 4d. for every inhabitant "using or Exercising Merchandize, Handycraft, Trade Art Faculty or Science. . . for using or Exercising the same in the name of a personal Tythe."² Payments either by or on behalf of servants were also required in some parishes, and it would probably be unwise to dismiss the prevalence of personal tithing too quickly.

Tithes were, however, essentially an agricultural impost and Christopher Hill has shown how easily payment was being evaded in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London.³ With the growth of towns from the mid-eighteenth century it became almost impossible to keep a check on profits which should theoretically have been tithed. Agriculturalists frequently pointed to the unfair advantage that merchants and industrialists had in not having to pay any more than a nominal tithe, if that; and the terriers do not indicate that any real fight was put up in Staffordshire to maintain an income from tithes in the towns. A tithe on the profits of industry was simply not

¹ The Dilhorne terrier of 1735 provides a good example of this.

² L.J.R.O., B/C/5 1778: Herring v. Pretty. The incidence of the personal tithe is also noted in the Uttoxeter terriers from 1698.

³ J. E. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, c. v & XII *passim*.

practicable, and although at Wombourne, on the edge of what was to become the Black Country, a *modus* payment of 5s. 4d. was noted in lieu of the profits of a forge in 1732, this represented nothing like an economic equivalent. The vicar of Wednesbury in 1730, Edward Eginton, told a sad tale of the ruinous effect on his income of the workings of a coal mine in the parish: "N.B. There is a very great Coal mine in the Parish which is prejudicial to the Vicar by distroying a great deal of ground otherwise profitable to him: The most Learned in the Law allow that if Toythe is not due (which is a quere) yet satisfaction ought to be made from the Land Rendered useless. Mr Serjeant Hoo was of that opinion who was Lord of the Manor, Master of a Considerable part of the mine—yearley dureing his life gave two guineas towards damages as likeways did the Honourable Mr Ward, another of the Proprietors; and Mr Sparrow, the same who rented the mines; But now it's wholly falln into the hands of Quakers—ERGO."¹

The tithe owners were, however, rather more successful in the imposition of a full tithe on the new 'improving' crops, which were being introduced into Staffordshire from the early eighteenth century. As early as 1708 the Darlaston terrier noted: "Tythe plants, Turnips, and Carrotts paid as required." The Caverswall terrier included a new section in 1722 on root crops which came under the eye of the Vicar: "Tythe in kind of Potatoes, Parsnips Carriots, Turnips and all manner of roots."

The actual process of tithe collection could be fraught with difficulty. It was as important to follow the custom of the parish in setting out the tithe as it was to attend at the right time and in the correct fashion to collect it. Many defendants were hauled into Court for not setting out their tithes in order to allow a fair tenth to be collected,² while some tried in their own turn to sue the tithe owner for trespass if he did not collect his tithes in the correct fashion. The terriers of Blithfield from 1741 onwards go even further and give precise and minute details about the route which the rector's servants should take when touring the parish to collect their tithes, which argues for previous tussles and accusations of interference or trespass. Similarly the Caverswall terrier (1698) concludes: "It is lawfull for the Vicar. . . or his servants. . . to have free ingress, egress or regress into any house, cottage close, ground, etc. at all and every time or times of the year to visne take or carry away all manner of tythes due. . . with any manner of wain, oxen, cart, horses, or any other carriage whatsoever or to order. . . cast, dry and Tyth hay or grass in as free and ample manner as the owners or occupyers. . . can do for the residue with-

¹ From the Wednesbury terrier of 1730. See also J. F. Ede, *A History of Wednesbury*, 1962, pp. 187-8.

² See, for example, L.J.R.O., B/C/5 1711/2: *Backhouse v. Thomson* in Tamworth parish. This case turned on whether the impropiator had a right to demand his tithe corn in 'shuck'—properly covered—or whether he had to accept it only in bundles, in 'sheaf'.

out any let, suit, trouble, molestation, interruption or disturbance whatever."

Defenders of the clergy's right to tithes often argued that it was the greed of farmers which provoked tithe disputes and not vice versa. The difficulties facing a new incumbent could certainly be considerable. A correspondent to Cobbett's *Political Register* in 1808 argued: "It is almost universally true that when a new incumbent appears in a parish a combination of farmers is immediately formed to harass him into acceptance of their own terms."¹ These terriers lend a certain amount of strength to this argument. It is noticeable in certain parishes that when a new incumbent signs a terrier for the first time, the customs have changed—and generally to the farmers' advantage. The new rector of Kingsley in 1732, George Wenman, signed a terrier in which the old custom of tithing sheep at the sixth and making an allowance for each under ten was changed to one much more advantageous to the parishioners: "A half-penny for Every Lamb. . . but if we keep them after Lady Day and sell then out of the Parish any time before Midsummer, we pay one penny for every sheep." The style of this terrier, with its frequent reference to "we" rather than "the parishioners" suggests that it was drawn up by the parishioners and signed in innocence by the new incumbent. The parishioners would thus have some sort of documentary evidence to produce if in later years another rector should wish to question the custom.

Parishioners might also hope to benefit from a vacancy. The two churchwardens of Mucklestone and eighteen inhabitants all signed a terrier in 1747, during a vacancy, which included for the first time moduses of 4d. and 6d. for each day's mowing of hay within the townships of Gravenhunger and Aston respectively. This directly contradicted the terrier of 1698 signed by the Rector, Harry Broughton: "There are no known Prescriptions belonging to any particular Towns or parcells of Land within the . . . parish." Certainly, faced with situations like this, many incumbents would quickly try to get their own back, and many bitter disputes were founded on tithe owners trying to re-impose old customs, or parishioners attempting to give the force of law to temporary arrangements which were advantageous to them.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century a number of tithes were still taken in kind, strictly according to the customs prescribed in the parish terrier. A study of those tithe account books which survive indicates clearly, however, that individual compositions were being increasingly favoured. Such compositions would be especially valuable to vicars or rectors who were non-resident, and to whom regular payments in kind would be an encumbrance. Regular agreements might also be reached between larger owners or occupiers who possessed ready cash enough to discharge their lands. Rectors might also prefer regular payments in cash to hiring servants to collect in kind. In general,

¹ Cobbett, *Political Register*, XIII, 1808, pp. 341-5.

the terriers make no reference to individual compositions which could be revoked when circumstances changed. This codicil to the terrier of Biddulph in 1705 is exceptional, but revealing: "And it may not be improper to be noted that the inhabitants of the Parish of Biddulph have for several years last past entered into Composition and agreement with the Vicars of the said Parish to pay each his certain sum of money annually in lieu of all tythes and dues whatsoever including in Composition the Tythe of Wooll and Lamb, flax Hemp, Easter Offerings."

It was, of course, not necessary that the terriers should make reference to transitory compositions. These could be revoked on expiry, and payment in kind could be substituted if agreement could not again be reached. The case of the 'modus' was very different, and the terriers pay special attention to them, for the modus presented the greatest single obstacle to the full realization of an incumbent's income. Eminent judges and counsel defined moduses precisely. Sir Henry Gough's counsel in the Claverdon (Warwickshire) tithe dispute stated: "The essential characteristic of a modus, its being founded on a Composition real antecedent to the Statute of 13 Elizabeth, which is the foundation of every Modus subsisting in this kingdom."¹ Lord Hardwicke, then Lord Chief Justice, declared in the case of *Ekins v. Dormer*, 1747, that: "A Modus is nothing more than an ancient composition between a lord of a manor, and the owners of the land in a parish, and rector, which gains strength by time."² The case law of this period, though by no means clear, tended to support the view of Gough's counsel that if the defendant of a modus could prove continuous payment from 1570 or before then the modus was to be considered a valid ancient charge, and payment in kind could not be re-imposed. As the burden of proof was on the defendant of a modus, however, this could be extremely difficult, especially if no accurate accounts survived. It was not surprising that a large number of "pretended moduses" were in fact set aside when they were tried by courts of law. The problem, however, for the parish vicar wishing to break an ancient modus was, as the terriers often indicate, more complex than this. In the first place, if anyone in the parish claimed a modus it was most likely to be the lord of the manor, or those who occupied the demesne land under his protection. As the lord of the manor was quite often also the patron of the living, the incumbent was automatically placed in a weak position. Thus at Lapley although the terrier undergoes considerable alteration, including frequent questioning of a modus for hay, the following entry remains constant: "The demesne Land is exempt from paying Tyths. It pays forty shillings p. ann. to the Vicar." The lordship of the manor, and the patronage of the vicarage of Lapley was in the hands of the Biddulph family.

¹ H. Gwillim, *Collection of Acts and Records. . . Respecting Tithes*, 1801, III, p. 1294.

² F. Plowden, *The Principles and Law of Tithing*, 1806, p. 176.

No vicar could have hoped to break this *modus* which bore no relation at all to the titheable value of the *demesne*.

The other problem was that of litigation, which could extend over several years and was viciously expensive. The vicar with an annual income of less than about £200—the vast majority in the eighteenth century—could not consider legal action to secure his right without the aid of affluent friends. The most likely source of help would normally be the patron of the living, who would have a vested interest in making it as valuable as possible—unless, of course he himself sought to defend a *modus*. Clearly the link between lord of the manor, patron, and incumbent was quite strong enough to ensure that many certainly unfair and probably invalid *moduses* were maintained.

The economic inequity of the *modus* was clear enough. As most of the *moduses* represented payments made as a rough equivalent to the tithe at the latest in the mid-sixteenth century, and generally earlier, such sums of money would clearly be derisory by the end of the seventeenth century—to say nothing of those which were still being defended in the 1820's.¹

It is not surprising, therefore, that when they felt strong enough, incumbents should attempt in the *terriers* to attack *moduses* which they hoped to break. The vicar of Rushall in 1698, George Hill, made an attack on two *moduses* in his parish: "Item, forty-eight shillings now paid yearly by Mr Thomas Leigh in Discharge of all vicariall Tythes arising from his lands . . . which he pretends to be his benevolence and noe right, but it is judged otherwise . . . Mrs Elizabeth Persehouse pays two shillings and sixpence yearely in Discharge of all Vicariall Tythes, pleading prescription for the same which it is hoped she cannot." John Fletcher, Vicar of Tutbury in 1722, extended the success of the impropiator of the great tithes, the Earl of Devonshire, and used it as a plea for the invalidity of the *modus* claimed for small tithes: "Rolleston Park of late years hath paid but six shillings per Annum, pretending it a *Modus*: but it was found nothing so . . . when William Earl of Devonshire, brought a special Verdict against John Powel, Esq., owner of the said Park for the great Tythe, and it was then made evident that the small ones did as rightly appertain to the Vicar. Hanbury Park pretends to have paid by way of a *Modus* only two shillings per annum. . . Stockley Park likewise. . . two shillings. We are informed there was an Old Vicar's Book in the Hands of the Earl of Devonshire which confounded the aforesaid pretended *Moduses*." In neither case do these *moduses* appear in subsequent *terriers* and it is likely that the vicars were able to substitute a more realistic payment. It is likely also that the success of the vicar of Tutbury was made possible only because of the previous action of the impropiator.

¹ Many of the depositions in the court of exchequer (P.R.O. Class E112) give information as to the value both of the tithe and of the *modus* claimed by the defendants. In some eighteenth-century cases, the *modus* barely represented a tithe of the tithe!

Fletcher may well not have had the resources to break the moduses of his own volition.

Because glebe terriers provided such useful evidence in law suits concerning tithe, incumbents became increasingly wary of changing the information provided in them. 'Custom' was of paramount importance, and a set of terriers which provided an unbroken set of customs governing the payment of tithe would carry more weight when presented in evidence. It is for this reason that in most Staffordshire parishes between about 1730 and 1755 the practice was adopted of copying out older terriers and returning them to the diocesan registry on the occasion of a visitation. By 1747 the registry clerks were marking each terrier which was returned to them: 'Copy of the terrier', in some cases incorrectly as there were changes from the previous terrier in some parishes. The Rector of Forton in 1755 described his terrier as "a true Copy (even as it is spelt)." The copies which were returned were generally of originals made between 1698 and 1732, and by the late eighteenth century they were being sent to Lichfield almost automatically on each visitation. However frustrating for the historian, the reasons for these copies were sound enough. Their evidence in disputes was second only in value to the endowments of vicarages, which had often been long since lost anyway. As Lord McDonald said in judgment at Warwick Assizes in 1794: "A terrier . . . is an instrument well known in the law. By the canons it is directed that an enquiry shall from time to time be made of the temporal rights of the clergyman . . . and returned to the registry of the bishop, the proper guardian of those rights. That return is called a terrier and has authenticity from being found in the proper place."¹ John Tomlinson, who bought the advowson of Stoke-on-Trent in 1817 and thereafter proceeded to revive most of the tithes which had fallen into obsolescence, clearly regarded the evidence of the terriers as vital for his campaign of reviving tithes by law suits. He and his brother wrote to the diocesan registrar, John Mott:

'Cliffville, 25 November 1830

'Dear Sir,

We send you on the other side a list of Terriers relating to Stoke Rectory of which we want copies in order to produce Evidence under a Common Suit of Chancery for Examination of witnesses in one of Mr Tomlinson's Tithe suits—and we should feel particularly obliged to you if you would allow the copies to be made *immediately*, as Mr F. W. Tomlinson will (be) in Lichfield all Saturday next. . . with a view to examine the Copies with the Original terriers in the Registry' . . .

We remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(signed) Jno. & F. W. Tomlinson.'²

¹ *Miller v. Forster*, Warwick Assizes 1794. Cited in Plowden, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

² Letter preserved with the Stoke-on-Trent terriers.

The Vicar of Walsall, John Darwall, in a letter to his proctor in the Ecclesiastical Court at Lichfield in 1783 said that he was only trying to recover from a local miller, James Gough, "a Modus for his Mill in lieu of the Tenth of the Toll, to which I'm expressly entitled by my terrier."¹ Inspection of the terrier, indeed, was one of the first tasks for contending parties in a tithe suit. The bill of costs for a Cheadle parishioner, defending a suit against the rector, John Chilton, in 1734 included a payment of 6s. 8d. "for the search of several Terriers of Cheadle being necessary to be looked into on the part of Hurst."² Similarly when in 1820 a tithe committee consisting of the leading inhabitants of Cheadle was set up to defend their non-payment of certain tithes against the rector, Delabere Pritchett, one of its earliest actions was to resolve to "examine all the Terriers and other documents in the Bishop's Registry at Lichfield relating to the Rectory of Cheadle."³

The legal importance of terriers is further indicated by the practice of signing the terrier. In its most usual form the terrier was signed by the incumbent and two churchwardens. In Walsall, however, the terrier is regularly signed not only by these but also by leading civic dignitaries, including the mayor. Elsewhere a large number of signatures on the terrier seems to be indicative of unrest in the parish. At Checkley in 1698 there is some doubt about the particular amounts to be paid by the inhabitants. The terrier is delicately framed to avoid giving offence and is signed by the rector, two churchwardens, two sidesmen, and seven other inhabitants: "But what are all the particular modi which the parishioners pretend to discharge their Ancient Meadows from tith hay we cannot relate, unless the ancient records at London, Lest we wrong the Rector or the Parishoners."

Conversely, terriers signed only by churchwardens and not by the incumbent could be regarded as valid evidence, provided that they were returned to the registry in the normal way.⁴ This being so, it is not surprising that incumbents should be loath to record compositions. A composition was not necessarily binding, but if the contract was incorporated in the terrier there was the danger that a new incumbent might be forced even in a court of law to retain the payment, as a modus, which because of the decreasing value of money, was no longer acceptable to him.

A similar attitude lies behind the frequent appeals to the 'custom of the parish', for when a terrier was lost or destroyed, the courts in the event of a

¹ L.J.R.O., B/C/5: 1785 (Add. Series). Darwall to Buckeridge 30 September 1783. See also the Walsall terriers. The 1698 terrier mentions a modus of 6s. 8d. in lieu of "the Lady of the Manor's Mill" but in 1751, the vicar was noticed as being entitled to a tenth of the toll from newly-erected mills.

² L.J.R.O., B/C/5: 1733-4: Chilton v. Hurst. Cheadle.

³ Stafford County Record Office, D239/M4405. Meeting of 12 Dec., 1820.

⁴ Decision given in Illingworth v. Mrs Leigh, Fillongley, Warwicks, 1800. Case cited in Plowden, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-20.

dispute would consider the evidence of the oldest inhabitants as to what the custom has been over a long period. Thus at Audley in 1698, the terrier begins: "The rate and manner of tything between the Vicar and Parishioners . . . hath been the use and custom . . . for a great number of years, as the parishioners affirm." When the terrier was lost or mislaid for any reason, similar evidence was relied on. The 1698 Dilhorne terrier stated: "The Easter Role being lost and embezzled in the late Civill Wars we have no guide or direction as to these things but what we have learned from ancient men, and the parishioners have confessed to."

Almost the only parish which seems to have had little regard for 'custom' in the submission of its terriers in the 1750's and 1760's was Haughton, Staffs., thanks entirely to the efforts of its remarkable rector from 1726 to 1777, Randall Darwall. His terriers give his viewpoint on the struggle to overthrow the easy-going ways of his predecessors and to institute a rigorous method of tithe assessment and collection.

Darwall's predecessor, William Royston, had been in the habit of returning short terriers giving little information, beyond the assertion that all tithes great and small were due and payable in kind, and that pigs, lambs, and calves were tithed at the seventh. Darwall's first terrier in 1732 was an attempt to clear up the confusion: "As to the small Tythes and Customary Dues of the Parish, there has been such Confusion and Irregularity for several years in the gathering of 'em that 'tis next to an Impossibility to ascertain the just right. Nor cou'd I obtain a Sight of my predecessor's Accounts, nor those of his Son. And the terriers likewise that have been formerly given up are vastly short and imperfect. . . Most of the Old people are dead; and those that remain are either really or pretendedly ignorant of the matter." Darwall also complained in this terrier that what the parishioners were claiming as a *modus* for tithe hay in part of St Giles' Meadow was in reality "An Imposition: and a temporary agreement only of Old Mr Royston, the late Rector." Darwall was never able to break this *modus*, about which he complained in each successive terrier. He wrote in the 1773 terrier that the occupier of the meadow had been promised extensive support if the *modus* should be questioned in court: "Mr Dale then pretended that his Landlord, Mr Crewe wou'd spend 2 or 3 hundred Pounds in support of the said *Modus*." Such support Darwall lacked. Indeed he had to fight to prevent the *modus* being extended. In 1755 he noted that another occupier was "fraudulently contriving to hook in all the Meadow Land belonging to Mr Crew into the same monstrous kind of a *Modus*; But such unfair purposes (I hope) will never be accomplished."

Darwall's campaign to restore what he called his "just rights" drew him into controversy with the lord of the manor, and an experienced lawyer and Master in Chancery, Francis Elde. The rector put forward a claim to tithe fish

from a pool called the Turn Pit, which was on Elde's land. The lawyer's power over the parishioners appears to have been considerably stronger than the rector's. The 1751 terrier states: "Since Mr Elde purchased the Woodhouse Estate and thereby (as it is asserted) became Lord of the Mannour, the said Tithe (of fish) has been arbitrarily with-held, and the People effectually prevented from declaring what they know of the Matter under this politic but false and groundless suggestion (instill'd into 'em by the said equitable Master in Chancery!) vizt. that if Tithe fish are due out of the Turn-Pit, they're equally out of all their Pits!"

The rector admitted that his attempt to increase his income by searching out his full dues had made him unpopular with his parishioners—an ever present danger in such cases. He wrote in the 1766 terrier that he had been "exposed to very unjust obloquy." But the dilemma must have been a real one, and one which could be multiplied throughout the country. For an incumbent with a social conscience but a poor income, the alternatives were either to be content with what the parishioners gave and not to be too zealous in enquiring after arrears or non-payments of tithe; or else to press every claim which, after all, were the claims of the church and not of an individual and would redound on the successor, who might otherwise be similarly defrauded. In the case of Darwall and many others, this latter course was attended with bitterness and acrimony throughout the parish, making the pastoral office of the incumbent virtually impossible. Moreover, in Darwall's case as he had not the resources to fight long legal battles he was doomed to disappointment. He wearily noted in 1755 that the wealthy and influential Elde "is determined (it seems) that *Might shall overcome Right.*"

The final insult was reported in the terrier of 1773 over Darwall's claim for tithe honey: "Tithe honey is indisputably due. And my predecessor's daughter in law gave me to understand that he had receiv'd every time any Bees were put down (though there were but few then in the Parish) a large Quantity of Honey in lieu of Tithe; and that her said Father in law oft purchased the Remainder, being fond of Methegalis. But instead of paying me, some unconscionable Neighbours lately stole the only Hive I had left & pilfered the Honey. A strange Requittal for uncommon forbearance." Of course, it may legitimately be doubted just how forbearing Darwall had been. Claims for tithe fish and tithe honey, which were the exception rather than the rule in Staffordshire, were hardly likely to lead to better relations between parson and parishioners; but one must none the less set against the common picture of the grasping parson caricatured by Cruickshank and many others,¹ the poor vicar trying to

¹ See, for example, Cruickshanks's 'Preachee and Floggee too!', attacking the clerical magistrate, in D. George, *English Political Caricature*, II, p. 182; and the anonymous frontispiece: 'The Parson returning from Tithing', in A. Tindal Hart, *Country Counting House*, 1962.

discharge his pastoral duties on an inadequate income, knowing that the effective execution of the former could depend to some extent on the continuance of the latter. Tithes in Staffordshire were not collected only by fat opulent rectors and the agents of large landowners who bought up impropriation after impropriation, although these may easily be found. There were many livings less well endowed than Darwell's Haughton,¹ and the many subterfuges to which landowners and occupiers would resort to avoid full payment of tithe could increase the hardship of certain vicarages which relied on tithes for the major part of their income.

There were, however, vicars of fairly modest means who were quite prepared to spend considerable time and money in building up a strong case against their parishioners with a view to subsequent litigation. Documents deposited with the glebe terriers of Alstonfield indicate the activity in this direction of the Rev. John Simpson, who was presented to the vicarage in 1822. From the outset he manifested his dissatisfaction with the revenue he received from the vicarage, and his attention soon turned, inevitably, to the large number of moduses claimed by the inhabitants. By 1829, he was writing to the Diocesan Registrar, who often advised incumbents on their tithe rights,² with a view to obtaining an authoritative legal opinion on his chances of breaking most of the moduses claimed.

A letter written by Simpson to the diocesan registrar, John Mott, on 14 July 1829, asks for advice and indicates that Simpson must have spent a considerable amount of time delving into the tithe history of the parish. He asks: "The several moduses for Hay: whether they are good or not. . . The 18 farm householders did each formerly pay 3s. 4d., but the farms have undergone perpetual alterations. . . No one can tell me which land or what quantity of land did formerly belong either to each of these farms separately; or to them all collectively. The three pounds hay money are supposed to be included in the Composition paid by some of the inhabitants of Warslow . . . but no one knows by which. . . What is to be done in this Case? Can the Modus be set aside? If not, where can I look for my three pounds?" Two further letters followed in quick succession, the last posing yet again the thorny problem of the tithe of mills: "P.S. In case a Miller refuses to render an Account of the profits of his Mill, how am I to act? I have sent him notice to exhibit his books, but he has taken no notice and is, I understand, determined not to account.

"Another miller so rendered his accounts as to cause it to appear that he has

¹ It is not easy to obtain an accurate estimate of the value of many eighteenth-century livings. The rector of Haughton in 1832 estimated his income at a comfortable £400, while complaining that the tithes could be improved.—Church Commissioners File, Millbank, NB20/187.

² See the Letter Books of John Mott, Diocesan Registrar, in L.J.R.O., B/A/19. Many of the letters are concerned with formal matters such as probate; but there are frequent entries which answer such questions as those posed by Simpson in this letter.

been and is a very considerable loser every year. . . He takes the whole of his trade to be abt. £70 per annum so that he is, according to this Acct., losing annually abt. £25."¹ It is hardly surprising that with profits so notoriously difficult to determine, most incumbents gave up the struggle and made a not too onerous composition with the mill proprietors in their parish.

Mott wrote three letters in reply which were generally optimistic about Simpson's chances of success,² and the entire case was in due course referred to the eminent ecclesiastical lawyer, Dr Stephen Lushington. He returned a closely argued 'opinion' which was again very much in Simpson's favour: "It appears to me that the Modus for the 18 farms cannot be sustained, first because . . . the precise extent and boundaries of the antient farm must be alleged and proved, which from this statement I conclude will be impossible, and . . . because the amount of payment has varied." Lushington concluded that "there is a fair prospect of success."

Legal caution must not be allowed to disguise the fact that Simpson had built for himself a very strong case. He did not, however, need to take it into open court. The enclosure of Alstonfield was being discussed and prepared very soon after this correspondence, and, armed with his own researches and with a favourable opinion from Lushington, the vicar was able to present a very strong case to the enclosure commissioners. Certainly, he did very well out of enclosure. In dealing with the vicar's claim, the Act of Enclosure of 1834 said: "And whereas the sum received by the said Vicar . . . for Tithes or Modus. . . has never exceeded in any One Year the Sum of One Hundred and Twenty Pounds, and Disputes have from Time to Time arisen as to the amount of Tithes, Moduses and Annual Payments due to the said Vicar, it is expedient that the same shall be settled."³ The settlement was very much to the vicar's advantage. He was given land to the yearly value of £300 exclusive of surplice fees. After a lengthy period of haggling the award was confirmed in June 1839, almost exactly five years after the passing of the Act, and Simpson was given 484 acres out of the total amount of 3,500 acres to be enclosed.⁴ Simpson's pressure had very nearly trebled the value of his living.

Disputes over tithe continued throughout the eighteenth century up to the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836. A very necessary clause in that Act was that which provided for an arbitrator to determine any suits then pending in courts

¹ Simpson to Mott, 23 September 1829. Letter with the terriers.

² L.J.R.O., B/A/19, Letter Book 'B', pp. 294, 442, 478. With regard to Simpson's claim to mill tithes, Mott said that he could obtain an account in a court of law and "it would be useless for the Owner to say that there was no Profit, if he admitted the fact of the Mill having been work'd at the periods pleaded." He admitted, however, that mill tithes were not common, and offered to write personally to the millers in question, urging them to pay, rather than risk legal action.

³ 4 & 5 Wil. IV, c. 15, s. 39. See also British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, 1836, XLIV, pp. 280-1.

⁴ P.R.O., I.R.18/9236, and S.R.O., Q/RDc 24.

of law "touching the right to any Tithes or . . . the Existence of any Modus or Composition Real or Prescriptive, or Customary Payment."¹

That such a situation still existed in 1836 is attributable to two main factors: the large number of moduses long since granted and the even larger number claimed, and the lack of any definite and irrefragable statute as to what was payable in a particular situation, and what was not. Tithe law was overwhelmingly case law, complex, confused, and contradictory in some cases. The overriding and always implicit principles remained that the 'custom of the parish' was the final arbiter of the right to take, and the mode of taking, tithes. In such a situation, which was very much like the promised land for the lawyer, the significance of glebe terriers is obvious. Quite often they provided the only documentary evidence which could be referred to by a court of law. On their testimony, together with that of the oldest inhabitants, and on the skill or craft of the lawyer, might depend the doubling or trebling of the income of impropriator, rector, or vicar. Many of them also give valuable insights into one of the most important aspects of village life, the relationship between the incumbent and his parishioners. Many disputes which did not reach the law courts, and which might otherwise be lost to the historian, are to be found, hinted at, or explained, in certain terriers. Others seem to have been drawn up almost with one eye on their subsequent usefulness as evidence in tithe suits. Their drawbacks as evidence have been noted above. Above all they do not give sufficient information about the vitally important lay impropriators, whose terriers were their estate accounts. However, terriers remain a primary source of information for a study of the tithe system in its final phase, which study itself can cast much light on one facet of the breakdown of the old village community.

¹ 6 & 7 Wil. IV, c. 71, s. 24.

The Landlord and Agricultural Transformation, 1870-1900¹

By RICHARD PERREN

I

BY now the distinguishing features of the fortunes of English agriculture between 1870 and 1900 are well known.² The succession of wet seasons culminating in that of 1879, accompanied by the drastic fall in the prices of cereals throughout the 1880's spelt disaster for many farmers in the cereal-growing regions of the south-east of England, especially if they happened to work heavy clayland farms. For the livestock producer, though the initial situation in 1879 was still serious, in the long run it was less gloomy. With rising real wages for much of the time, and a rising population, the demand for livestock products was promising. Meat prices did not fall till after 1885, and then the decline was much smaller than for cereals. *Per capita* consumption of meat and dairy products rose continuously right up to 1914. A good deal of this rising consumption was supplied by overseas producers, but not all of it; there was still an opportunity for home producers to supply this buoyant market with those foods where their advantage as producers was greatest, such as high quality meats, dairy foods, poultry, eggs, and fresh milk. But to do this successfully required from the farmer increased specialization and the adaptation of his enterprises to the changed market conditions after 1879, if he had not taken steps to do so before that date.

Of course to some extent British agriculture had changed its emphasis in the twenty years before 1873.³ As early as 1849 Caird had anticipated an improvement in vegetable and livestock product prices as a result of rising population, and a relative deterioration in cereal prices as imports increased. The fall in cereal prices did not come till the 1880's, but in the meantime there is no doubt that there was a marked improvement in animal product prices after 1850.⁴ This encouraged farmers on mixed farms to increase their production of livestock by making it more profitable for them to use the grain they produced as

¹ I am grateful to the Archivist, Mr F. W. Stitt, and the staff of the Stafford County Record Office for making the documents I have used available to me so readily. I am also grateful to Mr E. J. T. Collins for valuable suggestions made during the preparation of this article. The responsibility for the opinions stated is my own.

² T. W. Fletcher, 'The Great Depression of English Agriculture, 1873-96', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd series, XIII, 1961.

³ E. L. Jones, 'The Changing Basis of Agricultural Prosperity, 1853-73', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, x, 1962.

⁴ E. L. Jones and E. J. T. Collins, 'Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture, 1850-80', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, xv, 1967, p. 79.

feed, rather than selling it for cash. A further impetus to livestock farming was given by the imports of oilcake from Europe and further afield which grew from 273,000 tons in 1856 to 740,000 tons a year by the 1880's.¹ These developments required increased capital both from the tenant farmer and from the landlord. From the tenant more capital was required to buy in more livestock and also for purchased feeding stuffs if they were used; from the landlord increased livestock usually implied heavier expenditure on new buildings to house them, especially if the farmer concentrated on stall- or yard-feeding.² In the 1850's and 1860's this type of farming spread from mixed farming regions, where it had originated, to the dairying parts of Cheshire and Gloucestershire and into parts of Cornwall and Cumberland which had previously depended on grain.³ Developments after 1879 encouraged further reliance on livestock. Prices of cereals and oilcake fell, acting as a stimulus for farmers to use purchased cattle foods, and the greater efficiency of fattening cattle in covered fold yards, where they put on weight more rapidly with less inputs than if they had been fed in the open, was especially attractive to farmers at a time when profit margins were under severe pressure and every economy was desirable. Furthermore, the fact that the provision of new buildings was, on most estates, the landlord's responsibility relieved the tenant of the need to make outlays in this direction. But even in areas where more intensive methods of cattle feeding were not adopted there was generally still a need for landlords to undertake increased expenditure when greater reliance was placed upon livestock farming. With marginal arable land converted to pasture there would still be a need for extra buildings to carry the increased number of stock in winter, and even the 'arable dairy farming' practised in parts of Essex still required milking parlours and accommodation for the dairy herds.⁴

Thus successful adaptation, whether it was carried out before 1879, or after, required from the landowner a certain level of expenditure, both on land and on farm buildings. The purpose of this article is to examine statistics of income and expenditure on these items for eight estates in different parts of England between 1872 and 1892, and for one estate between 1870 and 1900, to find out the extent to which landlords seemed to be incurring the extra costs of transformation before 1879, and how the process proceeded after that date. Also, some attempt will be made to judge the success of this work by seeing how far

¹ F. M. L. Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution, 1815-1880', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd series, XXI, 1968, pp. 67-8.

² W. Wilson, *British Farming*, 1862, pp. 437-8; W. Wright, 'On the Improvements in the Farming of Yorkshire. . .', *Journal Royal Agric. Soc. of England* [henceforth *J.R.A.S.E.*], XXII, 1861, p. 91; M. Evershed, 'Early Fattening of Cattle', *J.R.A.S.E.*, 2nd ser., XIV, 1878, p. 162; J. A. Clarke, 'Practical Agriculture', *loc. cit.*, pp. 498-503.

³ Jones, *loc. cit.*, p. 229, footnote 4.

⁴ Sir W. Gavin, *Ninety Years of Family Farming*, 1967, p. 86.

large estate expenditures on buildings and land are correlated with small declines in the rents of such estates (Part II). Part III is concerned with a comparison of two sets of estates, namely, the Shropshire and Staffordshire estates of the Dukes of Sutherland and the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates of the Dukes of Bedford, to see what other factors besides mere levels of estate expenditure affected the success, or otherwise, of agricultural transformation.

II

In February 1894 the second Royal Commission on Agriculture sent out a letter¹ to a number of large landowners in England and Scotland explaining that "The Commission desire to be informed at first hand by the experience of landowners in different parts of the country, of the effect upon rents of the present agricultural depression, as compared with a period of 15 or 20 years ago; and of the way in which the diminution of gross income has been accompanied by a diminution of the owner's outlay under different heads." The Commissioners asked for information between 1872 and 1892, though not all the replies they received went back as far as 1872. Of the thirty replies they got for England some sixteen did so, though not all of these are suitable for purposes of comparison.² In all, eight were found to be suitable, four of these were in counties which were predominantly arable areas and four were in counties where livestock farming predominated. In certain cases, because the landowner did not want his identity to be disclosed, it is not possible to identify the precise location of the estates. (See TABLE I.) In the arable group of estates this problem presents the least difficulty as regards Suffolk which it is admitted was heavily committed to cereal production at this time. Also the Duke of Bedford's estates were described as being largely comprised of "some of the best wheat land in England"³ and the Duke of Richmond has been regarded as the champion of the corn-growing interest;⁴ nor does the inclusion of the Holkham estate in this group require any justification. In the livestock counties, the estates in Cheshire and Northumberland present no problem as these were predominantly livestock counties, and so, too, was Gloucestershire. Also, Harewood Hall was situated in the West Riding of Yorkshire which was predominantly livestock-oriented.⁵

As we would expect, the estates in the arable counties showed a greater fall

¹ *R.C. Agriculture, 1894-97. Particulars of Expenditure and Outgoings on Certain Estates in Great Britain, and Farm Accounts*, p. 4.

² For example, one estate in Middlesex gave no figures for its acreage, and some of the others were plainly very small outlying estates of large landowners.

³ Duke of Bedford, *The Story of a Great Agricultural Estate*, 1897. p. 55.

⁴ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁵ *R.C. Agriculture, 1894-97, Final Report*, p. 7 and map facing that page, which defines arable and livestock counties in 1895.

in rents and net estate income than the estates in the livestock counties between 1872-4 and 1890-2. The Cheshire estate was the best off, with a rise in net estate income, and though the major part of this comes from a falling off in expenditure in 1890-2 these years do also see a small increase in rent over the

TABLE I¹

EIGHT ESTATES: COMPARISON OF AVERAGE ANNUAL ACREAGE
RENT, EXPENDITURE, AND NET INCOME BETWEEN 1872-4 AND 1890-2

(²)	<i>Estates</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Rent</i> £	<i>Expen- diture</i> £	<i>Net</i> <i>Income</i> £	<i>Per cent</i> <i>Change</i>
LIVESTOCK COUNTIES							
8-9	An Estate in Cheshire	1872-4	16,110	31,378	13,676	17,702	
		1890-2	16,110	31,890	9,454	22,436	26.7
22-23	An Estate in Northumberland	1872-4	11,333	8,864	4,030	4,834	
		1890-2	11,483	8,023	3,631	4,392	9.2
6-7	An Estate in Yorkshire ³ (Earl of Harewood)	1872-4	28,221	37,396	12,461	24,935	
		1890-2	28,193	31,735	10,375	21,360	-14.4
18-19	An Estate in Gloucestershire (Lord Fitzhardinge)	1872-4	17,379	36,773	10,087	26,686	
		1890-2	18,387	31,742	9,499	22,243	-16.6
ARABLE COUNTIES							
12-13	An Estate in Norfolk ³ (Holkham Estate)	1872-4	44,037	58,833	20,243	38,590	
		1890-2 ⁴	45,177	44,492	14,275	30,217	-21.7
32-33	Goodwood Estate, Sussex (Duke of Richmond)	1873-5	14,247	18,550	7,752	10,797	
		1890-2	14,247	13,794	5,637	8,157	-24.5
16-17	Estates in Beds. and Bucks. (Duke of Bedford)	1872-4	30,619	48,849 ⁵	26,067	22,782	
		1890-2	24,634	31,366	17,997	13,369	-41.3
14-15	An Estate in Suffolk	1872-4	15,075	20,182	2,730	17,452	
		1890-2	15,326	11,514	5,160	6,354	-63.6

¹ *R.C. Agriculture, 1894-97. Particulars of Expenditure. . . and Farm Accounts.*

² These are the page numbers of the returns.

³ These estates identified in the *Final Report, Report by Mr George Lambert*, p. 207.

⁴ Return starts in 1873.

⁵ These figures are an overstatement of agricultural rents as those making the return inadvertently included urban property.—Duke of Bedford, *The Story of a Great Agricultural Estate*, 1897, p. 65.

early seventies. At the other end of the scale come the Duke of Bedford's estates in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire and the estate in Suffolk. It might be objected that the position of the Duke of Bedford's estates is made to look worse than it really was by the fall in acreage between the two periods;

but even when this is taken into account the net income per acre fell from 16s. 3d. in 1872-4 to 12s. 3d. in 1890-2—a decline of 24.3 per cent—which makes the estates equal with the Duke of Richmond's Goodwood estate. On the Suffolk estate, expenditure does rise in the period 1890-2 but even on this estate the decline in rents between the two sets of dates accounts for the major part of the decline in net estate income, as it does on the other estates.

When the Commissioners sent out the forms of reply to the landowners they left separate columns for the ordinary expenses of running the estate such as rates, taxes, management charges, and repairs to fences and buildings, and for items of extraordinary expenditure, that is, money spent on new buildings and land improvements. However, when they came to the work carried out on the estate very few owners made any distinction between these two classes of expenditure in their accounts.¹ Usually money spent on new buildings was included along with sums spent on maintenance and repairs in the estate building account. From the landlord's point of view this was logical because both classes of work were carried out by the same labour as and when the need for them arose.² However, the failure to make this distinction does create problems if one wants to compare the sums spent on permanent improvements with the ordinary expenditure of the estate. Some estates did make returns with the items for permanent improvements separated but for the sake of comparability all cases considered so far include expenditure on both current and capital items. But TABLES II and III, which deal with expenditure on the actual estate itself, make this distinction where it is possible to do so.

On the four estates in livestock counties, expenditure on land and buildings was at quite high levels in the seventies, in no case being much below 20 per cent of the rent received. On the Cheshire estate the level of expenditure shows a tendency to decline in the late eighties, but this seems to indicate that the transformation of the seventies was a success and allowed the landlord to reduce his infusions of capital without rents suffering to any great extent. This would be in accordance with much of what is already known about Cheshire, which probably fared best of all the English counties during the depression³ because of its heavy concentration on livestock and dairying, especially milk production for which the Lancashire and Merseyside cities provided a buoyant market. Also, the lower level of expenditure on these items for this estate, than

¹ *Select Committee (House of Lords) on the Improvement of Lands*, 1873, Q.1964, 1698-1700.

² R. J. Thompson 'The Enquiry into the Agricultural Land in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century', *Jnl Roy. Stat. Soc.*, LXX, 1907, p. 602, considered the distinction between 'repairs' and 'permanent improvements' in many cases a purely artificial one. While it would not be fair to charge the cost of improvements, lasting over a number of years, against *one* year's rent they may be fairly charged against income over a *number* of years, as their effects would be reflected in the rents.

³ T. W. Fletcher, 'Lancashire Livestock Farming in the Great Depression', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, ix, 1961, p. 17.

for some others, would seem to indicate that relatively little was required to be spent on the process of transformation. The Northumberland estate seems to have undergone very heavy expenditure on new buildings and land improvements, especially between 1880 and 1885, and it would seem that more expenditure from the landlord was necessary to maintain rents on this estate than on the Cheshire estate. The Gloucestershire estate of Lord Fitzhardinge shows a lower level of expenditure on fresh items, but substantial sums were spent on repairs and maintenance and, overall, the level of expenditure on the fabric of the estate seems to have been very high.

One feature which all the estates have in common is the comparatively high level of expenditure on drainage and land improvements immediately after 1879. This is not surprising as no matter how much the landlord had spent on new buildings the effects of the wet years 1879-81 on the actual land itself were quite independent and most estates could have some land which was particularly badly affected and would have needed immediate treatment to remedy the situation, either by drainage, expenditure on fertilizers, expenditure on grass seeds, or some combination of the three.

As far as the estates in the arable part of the country were concerned (TABLE II) estate expenditure on these items was generally significantly lower than in

TABLE II¹

Years	Estate	Expenditure as a percentage of rent received			
		Repairs, fences, and insurance	New buildings	Drainage and land improvement	Total
1872-9	Cheshire	17.1		4.7	21.8
1880-5		12.2		5.9	18.1
1886-92		6.5		1.7	8.2
1872-9	Northumberland	5.0	18.3	9.1	32.4
1880-5		5.7	29.0	8.9	43.6
1886-92		7.1	17.3	5.8	30.2
1872-9	Yorkshire (Earl of Harewood)	16.8		2.6	19.4
1880-5		12.8		5.0	17.8
1886-92		17.1		4.3	21.4
1872-9	Gloucestershire (Lord Fitzhardinge)	23.6	4.5	2.6	30.7
1880-5		21.4	7.5	8.6	37.5
1886-92		17.3	8.2	2.0	27.5

¹ Same source as TABLE I.

the livestock area; so was it on buildings and repairs. The level was lowest of all on the Suffolk estate where the decline in net estate income was greatest. Here little expenditure on new buildings was undertaken: even in the period 1886-92 work was only carried out during four of those years, and even normal repairs were at a very low level; the column for drainage and land improvements bears the remark "available to ascertain." The accounts of this estate point to very little being spent on transformation either before 1879 or after it. Also, both the Earl of Leicester's Norfolk estate and the Duke of Richmond's Sussex properties exhibited lower levels of expenditure on these items than did the estates in livestock areas. But the Duke of Bedford's Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire estates do not follow this rule. Here expenditure was higher than on either the Yorkshire or Cheshire estates before 1879, yet the fall in rents and net estate income was much higher. This points to the fact that the landlord was not able to control the fall of rents simply by the size of his expenditure. There were other factors at work about which nothing has been said so far. These factors were, broadly, the frame of mind of the estate management towards meeting changed conditions, and the limitations which the nature of the estate itself imposed on the management in this direction.

TABLE III¹

Years	Estate	<i>Expenditure as a percentage of rent received</i>			
		<i>Repairs, fences, and insurance</i>	<i>New buildings</i>	<i>Drainage and land improvement</i>	<i>Total</i>
1872-9	Norfolk—Holkham	13.9		0.8	14.7
1880-5		15.4		1.5	16.9
1886-92		9.2		0.1	9.3
1873-9	Goodwood, Sussex (Duke of Richmond)	7.9			7.9
1880-5		9.2		Nil	9.2
1886-92		7.6			7.6
1872-9	Beds. and Bucks. (Duke of Bedford)	18.4	10.3	3.6	32.3
1880-5		14.2	7.7	7.0	28.9
1886-92		11.3	4.6	4.5	20.4
1872-9	Suffolk	4.3	0.7		5.0
1880-5		2.8	1.2	Nil	4.0
1886-92		5.8	9.0		14.8

¹ Same source as TABLE I.

Natural limitations would include climate, soil type, and soil fertility which would determine the sorts of farming it was both possible *and profitable* to carry out on the estate. However, the general rule for these eight estates was that the larger expenditures on repairs, new buildings, and land improvements were associated with the smaller declines in rent and net estate income. This was tested by calculating Spearman's rank correlation coefficient between the expenditure on the permanent structure and land of the estates, expressed as a percentage of the rents received over the 21 years, 1872-92, and the decline in rent per acre between 1872-4 and 1890-2. This figure was found to have a value of -0.67 .¹

III

As our concern is to analyse the role of the landlord in this period of agricultural depression, something should first be said about the circumstances of the Dukes of Sutherland and Bedford before we go on to compare their estates. In the first place, both were substantial landowners, having other agricultural properties besides those which are of immediate interest here. In 1892 the properties of the Duke of Bedford comprised 22,845 acres in Lincolnshire, 24,792 acres in Devon and Dorset, and 25,401 acres of the Woburn estate in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire—73,038 acres in all.² The Duke of Sutherland was the largest private landowner in the United Kingdom with 1,326,453 acres in the counties of Sutherland and Ross, a mere 1,853 acres in Stitterham, Yorkshire, besides his Shropshire and Staffordshire estates. In all he owned some 1,358,545 acres in 1880.³ Neither of these landowners was wholly dependent on their agricultural properties for their incomes. The Duke of Bedford had substantial urban properties, especially in London, which yielded a steady income,⁴ and the Duke of Sutherland had substantial industrial properties around North Staffordshire and in the Wolverhampton area, which were very profitable in the 1870's. So both these landowners had at least adequate external sources of income which would be used to meet the bills for repairs, new buildings, and land improvements, supposing the normal incomes from the estates were not enough to meet these, and the other costs of running the properties. Also, both landowners took an interest in the welfare of their estates and the progress of agricultural development. The Dukes of Bedford had traditionally fostered experimental agriculture, and since 1876 the resources of the Woburn Abbey home farm had been at the disposal of

¹ For a sample of size 8 this value is significant at the 5 per cent level and implies a real inverse correlation between the two variables.

² Duke of Bedford, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

³ J. Bateman, *Great Landowners of Great Britain*, 1883, p. 361.

⁴ F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Estates in the Nineteenth Century*, 1963, p. 336; D. Spring *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: its Administration*, 1962, p. 41 where he describes the London property as "perhaps the most valuable land in the world."

Lawes and Gilbert for investigations into livestock feeding and the laying-down of permanent pasture.¹ The Dukes of Sutherland had also shown an interest in agricultural improvements, both in the past by their drainage of a large portion of the Shropshire estate in the 1800's, and in the 1870's when the third Duke spent colossal sums in Scottish land reclamations.²

But despite this similarity in circumstances and attitudes between the two landlords, the financial history of the two estates is distinctly different during this period. The performance of the Duke of Sutherland's Shropshire estate³ is summarized in TABLE IV. As in the case of most of the estate figures taken from the Royal Commission, no distinction was ever made between items of current and capital expenditure when it came to farm buildings and work on land improvements.

A number of points in the pattern of expenditure are important. Firstly, the large amount spent on buildings in the early seventies was caused by the fresh construction of farm buildings and cottages—mainly farm buildings. This suggests that the estate was taking considerable care over transformation, even before 1879, and will be referred to again later, though it is true that not everything was done in this direction before the eighties. A second rise in expenditure in the nineties is accounted for by further work on farm buildings. Secondly, as on so many of the estates looked at so far, particularly those in livestock areas, expenditure on drainage and land implements rises in the 1880's. On this estate it was a reaction to the need for drainage and the conversion of heavy arable land to pasture.

The overall effects of this expenditure was that net estate income was very well maintained throughout the eighties and was in fact higher in the quinquennium 1888-92 than it had ever been in the seventies, despite the fall in rents. The most serious fall in rents and net estate income came between 1893-7, partly as a result of the renewed fall in agricultural prices of the early nineties and the difficult seasons which were bound to have repercussions on rents, and partly as the result of renewed expenditure on buildings after 1892 which reduced net estate income further. The recovery of net estate income in 1896-1900 was due solely to the fact that the management felt it had done all it could by the provision of new buildings, and so in 1896 the

¹ Duke of Bedford, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-4.

² E. S. Richards, *James Loch and the House of Sutherland 1812-1855*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Nottingham University, May 1965; C. G. Roberts, 'Sutherland Reclamation', *J.R.A.S.E.*, 2nd ser., xv, 1879.

³ Information on the Duke of Sutherland's properties came from the Staffordshire County Record Office, series D593, the Sutherland collection [hereafter cited as S.C.R.O. D593]. The Shropshire property comprised land in the east of the county in the parishes of Lilleshall, Muxton, Sheriffhales, Kinnersley, and Longdon-on-Tern. The figures in TABLE IV refer to a constant acreage of farms paying £50 p.a. rental, or more, amounting to 13,953 acres.—S.C.R.O., D593 G/1/24/2-27 & D593 H/14/3/19.

decision was taken drastically to reduce the size of the estate building and other departments. The work done on land improvements was also reduced at this time.

TABLE IV

DUKE OF SUTHERLAND'S SHROPSHIRE ESTATE: EXPENDITURE AND INCOME, 1871-1900
(overlapping quinquennial averages)

	<i>Expenditure</i> ¹				<i>Income</i>	
	<i>Drainage and land improve- ments</i>	<i>Buildings and repairs</i>	<i>Other</i> ² <i>expenses</i>	<i>Total expenses</i>	<i>Rents from</i> ³ <i>farms of over £50 rental</i>	<i>Net income from farms</i>
1871-5	£ 1,240	£ 7,947	£ 4,790	£ 13,977	£ 23,423	£ 9,446
1873-7	1,543	9,396	4,780	15,719	23,464	7,945
1886-80	2,239	7,927	4,816	14,982	22,590	7,608
1878-82	2,694	6,757	4,778	14,229	22,538	8,309
1881-5	2,985	6,526	4,531	14,042	22,562	8,520
1883-7	2,998	6,045	4,333	13,376	22,228	8,852
1886-90	2,849	5,754	4,120	12,723	22,657	9,934
1888-92	2,529	5,669	4,042	12,240	22,776	10,536
1891-5	2,352	7,056	4,210	13,618	21,675	8,057
1893-7	2,359	7,514	4,406	14,279	20,683	6,404
1896-1900	1,991	5,414	4,273	11,678	20,027	8,349

¹ S.C.R.O. D593 F5/4/10-39.

² This includes general management, rates, taxes, and tithes.

³ Shropshire County Record Office, 673/2/76-81; S.C.R.O., D593 G/1/24/2-27.

Unfortunately it is not possible to present the same sort of breakdown of expenditure on the Duke of Sutherland's Staffordshire properties¹ because this estate, on the edge of the Potteries, contained a fair proportion of urban property besides farms. At times large sums were spent on this town property and the estate accounts are constructed in such a way that it is impossible to separate these sums from purely farm expenditure. Nevertheless, the estate accounts and correspondence indicate a pattern of activity between 1870 and

¹ The Staffordshire property comprised land in the parishes of Trentham, Barlaston, Blurton, Hanford, Normacot, Clayton, and Hanchurch. The estate had an agricultural acreage of 6,505 acres being farms of £50 rental p.a., or over.--S.C.R.O., D593 H/14/2/10 and D593 G/2/6/82.

1900 which was very similar to that carried out in Shropshire. Although it had a high percentage of pasture,¹ the Staffordshire estate was worse off than the Shropshire estate, especially just after 1879, because it had a higher proportion of clayland. The effect of this can be seen in the decline of rents in the early 1880's. On the Shropshire estate the average rent per acre received between 1876-8 and 1882-4 fell by less than 1 per cent. On the Staffordshire estate there was a fall of over $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.² But even on the heavy land the fall was not so severe as on the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates where in 1879 half a year's rent was remitted to the farm tenants, with remissions of 25 per cent in 1880 and 1881 and 10 per cent in 1882. In 1883 and 1884 rents were paid in full.³ On the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates by 1895 the position was as follows:⁴

Total rental in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1878	£43,975
Total amount of rents remitted since 1879	132,222
The revaluation of rents made in 1895, and brought into force with effect from Michaelmas, 1895, was	20,063
Showing a reduction of	23,912
Being (say) 55 per cent.	

Only on the Shropshire estate of the Duke of Sutherland was anything ever approaching an overall revaluation ever carried out, and even this, which was undertaken in 1893, was only partial and amounted to only 6 per cent of the rent proper of the tenants affected, and even with the land tax and the fire insurance for the farm buildings which the landlord now took over at that date, it only came to 8 per cent.⁵

The management's attitude on the Duke of Sutherland's estates to tenants' demands for rent reductions was to resist any demand for a universal reduction. When the tenants on the Shropshire estate presented a petition in 1881⁶ asking for a reduction on the grounds of low prices of farm produce, competition from both foreign grain and cattle, disease amongst their livestock, and the gradual reduction of their capital, the estate was able to reply that: "nothing like a case calling for a general and substantial reduction of rents has been made out, but on the contrary, all have been most liberally dealt with as to buildings. Most of the cases having a special claim have already been assisted and are in course of receiving assistance in a way most likely to render their farms increasingly valuable—and further that there is a majority. . . whose holdings

¹ 75 per cent of the land on the Staffordshire estate was pasture in 1870, rising to 85 per cent in 1900.—Public Record Office, [hereafter cited as P.R.O.] M.A.F. 68 (Parish Agricultural Returns).

² S.C.R.O., D593 G/1/24/2-4 & 8-10; G/1/22/22-24 & 30-33.

³ Duke of Bedford, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵ S.C.R.O., D593 G/4/17.

⁶ S.C.R.O., D593 L/3/69 Memorial from sundry tenants asking for a reduction of rents. (This document gives the estate's reply to the petitioners.)

would let at equal or increased rents." Again in 1893 when a petition caused a reduction, the principle of treating every case on its merits was still adhered to. On the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates, however, the regular remissions were given as a means of avoiding a revaluation of the estates' rental which the management wanted to avoid at all costs, as it was hoped that circumstances might improve; and if a revaluation were adopted it could not be confined to the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates. Hence the policy of remissions along with assistance to tenants in the form of laying down land to grass, etc.¹ But the policy was only of limited success and with the revaluation of 1895 the estate finally accepted the inevitable. Thus, though the objects of both estate managements were similar—the avoidance of permanent or "across the board" rent reductions, and the offering of improvements to tenants to help them adapt to the changed circumstances—the outcome in each case was dissimilar.

The reasons for this difference in outcome seem to lie with the attitude of the management and the sort of agriculture which was predominant on the estates. Both the Duke of Sutherland's estates were in livestock counties and were subject to a system of dairying or mixed farming with a strong emphasis on the livestock side. Thus it was possible to concentrate production on livestock as prices for this branch of production improved from the 1850's onwards. In 1858 the Shropshire estate was revalued and from that date, till 1881, something like £80,000 was spent on the farm buildings—the greater part of this being for additions to capital—and about £19,000 on drainage, over £10,000 of this being for fresh work. So something like £90,000 was spent on transformation in the 24 years before 1881. As a result of this the management told the Shropshire tenants in that year that the rise in beef and mutton prices had "fairly met the fall in grain."² The chief enterprise of the Shropshire estate was the fattening of cattle, on grass to some extent, though more were finished off in the winter on oilcakes under cover.³ On the light land in the parishes of Lilleshall and Sheriffhales there was also some concentration on sheep and barley,⁴ the sheep being folded on the root crops one year and on the barley enriched with their manure, the next. But on the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates the first place was given to corn-growing and the 1850's and 1860's saw increasing emphasis on this crop.⁵ Against this sort of background the unpreparedness of these estates for the changes after 1879 is not surprising.

The experience of the Duke of Sutherland's properties after 1870 also

¹ Duke of Bedford, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.

² S.C.R.O., D593 L/3/69.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ G. W. Robinson, *A Survey of the Soils and Agriculture of Shropshire*, 1916, p. 29.

⁵ W. Bennett, 'The Farming of Bedfordshire', *J.R.A.S.E.*, XVIII, 1857, p. 17, where the author refers to the Duke allowing a tenant to break up second-rate pasture for corn-growing.

points to a more or less successful process of transformation. Nationally the numbers of sheep dropped after 1879 but this did not happen on the Shropshire estate. In 1870 the density of stocking was 86 per hundred acres of pasture; it was the same in 1885, but by 1900 it had risen to 95 sheep and lambs per hundred acres. Also the acreage of barley on the estate, which was 8 per cent of all arable and pasture land, was 10 per cent in 1900. The fattening of cattle continued to develop. In 1870 the ratio of calves to every hundred cows in milk and calf was 94, but by 1900 this figure had reached 194, which points to an increased tendency to fatten more calves bred on the farm instead of buying in from outside.¹ All this seemed to point to increased agricultural production on the estate by 1900 which was a sound basis for the preservation of rents. On the Staffordshire estate, dairying developed despite the decline in the farm manufacture of cheese after 1875.² The Potteries provided a ready market for fresh milk, and so did London for those farms which were conveniently placed for reaching stations on the London and North Western Railway line.

All this is not to deny that the years after 1879 imposed something of a strain on the management of the Duke of Sutherland's properties, but the cost was nowhere near as great as for the Duke of Bedford. For instance, if we consider the burden of farms in hand, between 1880 and 1899 these cost the Shropshire estate £4,398, or an average of £220 per annum.³ On the Bedfordshire estate only, however, the cost of farms in hand amounted to £23,116 between 1879 and 1896, or an average of £1,284 per annum.⁴

The sort of assistance offered to tenants on the Duke of Sutherland's estates after 1879 appears to have been thoroughly in keeping with the needs of the times. On both estates farmers were provided with Dutch barns for the storage of fodder during the winter. The Dutch barns consisted of a galvanized iron roof resting on iron supports and needed far less maintenance than an ordinary barn. Also they saved the farmer the annual expense of having to pay for hay ricks to be thatched, which was important at a time when labour costs were rising; straw also tended to be scarce as less corn was grown, especially on the Staffordshire estate. On the Shropshire estate, some tenants were offered covered fold yards to assist the winter fattening of cattle⁵ and one was given a small railway along which fodder trucks full of feeding stuffs could be pushed, to save on labour costs in stall-feeding.⁶ In addition, heavy arable was drained and converted to pasture on both estates as and when circumstances demanded.

In contrast the response to changing circumstances was never so positive on

¹ P.R.O., MAF 68.

² *Agricultural Gazette*, n.s., vi, 20:8, 1877, p. 185.

³ S.C.R.O., D593 F/5/4/20-39.

⁴ Duke of Bedford, *op. cit.*, p. 185. These sums are not included in the figures for expenditure in TABLES I and IV.

⁵ These were offered to some tenants on the Shropshire estate in 1893 in lieu of rent reductions.

⁶ S.C.R.O., D593 K/5/2/16 749-50.

the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates, nor, when it was attempted, was it followed by such successful results. This was partly because these estates were forced to incur a large proportion of the expenses of transformation all at once, whereas they had been more evenly spread out on the Duke of Sutherland's estates. Also the job was much larger on estates which were largely geared to cereal production than on those where livestock already predominated. But it seems that the attitude of the management also contributed to the difficulties after 1879, being unaware of the reasons for change and psychologically unprepared to make these changes. Writing of the views of those responsible for the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates in 1880, the Duke of Bedford said:¹ "Agriculturists and the nation at large were alike insensible to the real character of the depression. Nevertheless the causes at work were not obscure even in 1880. The gust of prosperity consequent on the continental wars of 1870 and 1877-78 had spent itself. Cheap marine transport had already thrown open the English market to the cereals of four continents. . . It is easy to be wise after the event, but it is strange that a catastrophe which was no longer merely impending but had actually taken place should have been regarded by those best able to judge as a passing cloud."

However, it must be emphasized that this was certainly not the attitude of those responsible for the management of the Duke of Sutherland's properties at that time. Both before 1879 and after, the situation had been correctly appraised and sufficient steps taken to deal with it. In 1879 the agent for the Shropshire and Staffordshire properties reported to his employer² that "heavy land will generally not now bear the cost of cultivation with the corn prices which, so far I think, may be taken as practically permanent and therefore. . . a change from arable to pasture is desirable—on the ground that so far as can be judged from experience it will yield more rent in that form than in any other possible at present. *This has been long recognised here and a good deal has been done in the direction of this change.*"

On the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates, in contrast, heavy land appears to have been infrequently, if at all, seeded down before 1879. We are told that in 1881 the ninth Duke of Bedford "anxious to gain experience in this direction" had 64½ acres of arable, whose rental had been 27s. an acre in 1878, seeded down to grass. The operation cost £10 os. 6d. an acre initially and a further £5 an acre for incidental and necessary outlays: in the valuation of 1895 this land was put at 5s. an acre.³ The problem here was that on the extremes of heavy clay and light sands, where the natural fertility of the soil was

¹ Duke of Bedford, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

² S.C.R.O., D593 K/3/9/65 G. Menzies to the Duke of Sutherland, 6:9:1879 (Italics not in the original.)

³ Duke of Bedford, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-7 and p. 204 for further examples.

limited, it was impossible under any circumstances to make an expensive conversion to pasture pay. Between 1880 and 1895 the landlord converted 1,308 acres on these estates to pasture, but large areas were also converted by the tenants or else just allowed to "tumble down".¹ This last feature was entirely absent on the Duke of Sutherland's estates where all conversion to pasture was carried out properly, with manures and seeds from the landlord. This experience would seem to point to the fact that the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates contained a proportion of marginal land which it was profitable to turn to corn production when prices were high, but which was profitable for neither cereal nor intensive grass production after 1879 and 1885 when the prices of both corn and livestock had declined. Under these circumstances the landlord's verdict² was: "It is best to accept the situation and accept that these lands must revert to the condition they were in before the then high price of corn justified their being broken up and brought into cultivation. If they only produce a rental of 5s. an acre it is more profitable for the landowners and farmers than if the latter lost £5 an acre by corn growing."

IV

If the examples quoted from the Royal Commission are representative, it would seem that there was a broad correlation between the amount a landlord spent on the farms on his estate and the extent to which rent levels were maintained after 1879. Also, it would seem that landlords in livestock areas were generally willing to spend more money on their estates than landowners in the arable part of the country, both before and after 1879. The relative reluctance of landowners in the arable districts to spend money before 1879 may have been because they thought it unnecessary to do so while cereal prices were being maintained. Their failure to do so afterwards may have been because they found the costs of transformation, especially for heavy land, coming with the precipitate fall in rents, too much for them to meet. However, the availability of capital to the landlord is not the only variable which has to be taken into account. The comparisons made between the Duke of Bedford's arable estates and Duke of Sutherland's livestock-producing estates show that both the attitude of their managements and the limitations imposed by climate and soil types played an important part in affecting the success of any schemes adopted. The Duke of Bedford's managers who had stuck to cereal production in the 1860's showed more inertia and reluctance to accept changes in the structure of farming after 1879 than the managers of the Sutherland estates, who were prepared to do everything to encourage the extension of livestock production, even before the situation regarding cereals had reached calamitous proportions. But even as late as 1880 the appreciation of the situation by the management of the Bedford-

¹ Duke of Bedford, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, p. 206.

shire and Buckinghamshire estates was still incomplete, and this incomplete appreciation led the management to apply measures which only imperfectly answered it. Perhaps a more satisfactory solution would have been achieved if the estate had accepted from the start that rents on this sort of land were bound to fall and that the answer was to encourage the tenants to try new systems of farming,¹ or else for the estate to run the farms which came in hand under a rigorous system of management,² paying strict attention to costs, with the object of making a profit, instead of spending money on the costly conversion to pasture of land which was really unsuitable for such treatment.

¹ *R.C. Agriculture, 1894-97, Final Report, Report by G. W. Lambert*, pp. 205-6 and *Report by F. A. Channing*, pp. 251-8 for accounts of successful farming, many in predominantly arable districts.

² F. M. L. Thompson, 'Agriculture since 1870', *V.C.H. Wiltshire*, IV, 1959, p. 197; Gavin, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

Letter to the Editor

MADAM,—My attention has been drawn to Dr Chaloner's note on p. 161 of volume 17 of the *Agricultural History Review* in which he writes, "It would be interesting to know when the first British broiler plant was established."

I believe that, as a result of a Nuffield Farm Scholarship in 1952, I was the first to establish a broiler plant in the U.K. in 1953, with my partner, Fred Fitz, under the name of Fitz and Sykes, Oakley Farm, Dinton, Salisbury, with 3,000 birds. We expanded in May 1953 to 6,000-bird capacity. We developed this plant in an ex-Army camp. By the end of 1953 a number of such plants were in operation in the U.K.

The lag between the establishment of the broiler industry in America and in Britain requires explanation. It is not difficult to account for it from 1939 onwards. Feed to poultry and pigs was restricted by the rationing system from September 1939 to September 1953. In this period, the broiler industry was a practical impossibility. As a result of this rationing, our pig and poultry industries went through a protracted period of technical stagnation. On the other hand America and Canada

in the war and post-war years were producing big harvests of feed grains which they could not export. Moreover, the war generated an increased demand for animal products. Hence, over this long period, the U.S. and Canadian poultry and hog industries blossomed in many respects.

The modern poultry industry is, of course (together with the farming of fish), the most efficient method today of producing animal products economically. By 1953 the Americans and Canadians had managed to evolve a low-cost animal production technology, whilst war-torn Europe, with its vast populations requiring *economically produced* proteins, was in no shape to do so. Thus the great contribution of our broiler industry lay in successfully pioneering business procedures such as vertical integration which rapidly put this right throughout Europe.

GEOFFREY SYKES

THE BROILER COMPANY LTD,
GODWINS,
BERWICK ST JAMES,
SALISBURY, WILTSHIRE

Harvesting by the Gauls: The Forerunner of the Combine Harvester

By LESLIE G. MATTHEWS

A REMARKABLE discovery was made in the summer of 1958, in the ramparts of Montauban-Buzenol, not far from Virton, Belgium. Attention was called to this by J. van Oocteghem, s.j., in *Les Etudes Classiques* (Namur University, April 1959). The discovery was a large fragment of sculpture of the Gallo-Roman period on which was figured part of a machine. It showed a wheeled implement, carrying knives or pointed blades of a sort, a workman lifting material with a rod, faced by an animal that might be a donkey standing between the shafts of a wheeled contrivance. What did it depict? Fortunately the answer came by reference to a much earlier discovery, made more than a century before—in 1854—of a Gallo-Roman sculptured fragment at Arlon, Belgium, and which was housed in the Arlon Museum. This earlier fragment had been described by the President of the Archaeological Institute of Luxembourg (M. A. Bertrang) in the *Bulletin Trimestriel* (Oct. 1958).

Bertrang had noted that the Arlon Museum guide, published in 1905, referred to this earlier fragment as a "frieze depicting a man enclosed in a rectangular container with his hands bearing upon it, and following the rump of an animal whose tail could be clearly seen. Corn or herbage of some kind surrounded him—explanation is difficult."

Another writer (E. Esperandiu) gave a fuller description: "A man, wearing a short tunic, his arms bare, leaning forward, walking towards his left and carrying on his shoulder a sort of contrivance which surrounded him, and guiding two animals—around him were tall herbs or a field of corn. He is probably an agricultural worker. The stone is broken on the left side."

It remained for the experts to link the two fragments: for when put together it became clear that these two fragments fitted, save for a minor break in the centre, and that here was a

first-hand representation of the Gaulish corn-harvester, first described by Pliny the Elder, and later by Palladius, and for long thought to be the kind of story brought back by returned soldiers from Gaul—the sort of story that would go down well with the people at home.

As van Oocteghem aptly remarks, in this part of Gaul our ancestors had nothing to learn from the Romans, rather the contrary!

The following are free translations from the original descriptions:

1. Pliny the Elder (23–79 A.D.) *Nat. Hist.* XVIII, 72 296 notes:

"On their great estates the Gauls make use of a very large container (or tank-vallus) with toothed sides and which is propelled by means of two wheels across a field of corn by a beast pushing in the contrary direction; the ears (of corn) cut off by this means fall into the container."

2. Palladius (Fourth-century writer on Agromics) Book VII *De re rustica* describes the mechanics of this operation in greater detail: "They obviate much hand-labour and in a day an ox can get in the whole harvest. The vehicle (used) is mounted on two small wheels. Two flat sheets (of metal) are mounted on the vehicle towards the exterior, the smaller of the two being in the front of it. On these sheets are fixed recurved teeth. Two short shafts are attached to the front of the vehicle. An ox is harnessed with its head towards the vehicle. It must be a quiet animal so that it does not push too heavily. As it propels the machine across the field the ears of corn are gripped by the teeth, cut off, and fall into the vehicle, while the straw falls outside and the operator who is behind raises or lowers the machine. Thus by constantly going backwards and forwards across the field the whole crop is garnered. This is a good practice where the fields are level and where the straw is of no importance."



Fragment de Montauban (58 × 155 cm.)



Fragment d'Arlon (62 × 115 cm.)

Gallo-Roman bas relief, probably second century A.D.

Redrawn from illustrations to 'La Moissonneuse Gauloise' by
J. Van Ooteghem, S.J., in *Les Etudes Classiques*, Namur University,
1959, xxvii, no. 2

The London Companies and Tenant Right in Nineteenth-Century Ireland

By OLIVE ROBINSON

THE London companies as owners in fee of lands in county Londonderry were faced with tenant right as an established custom when they undertook the responsibility of direct management of their estates in the nineteenth century. The companies were granted lands in the early seventeenth century in return for the financial contribution to the Crown's scheme for the plantation of Ulster with British colonists, and although for two centuries they had delegated their responsibilities as landlords to middlemen, in the nineteenth century all but four of the twelve great companies transformed their association with Ireland by repossessing their lands on the expiry of middlemen's leases.

Under their lease covenants the lessees of estates had been required to maintain and improve the property, but for two centuries the companies had failed to enforce these obligations, and estates had consequently deteriorated as middlemen sought to maximize their income by permitting unrestricted subdivision of holdings and by rackrenting the occupying tenantry. This change in the companies' association with Ireland, however, signified their intention of letting lands directly to the occupying tenants, and introducing a system of estate administration which would increase their income as landlords and improve the lot of the tenantry.¹

Tenant right, by contrast, was inextricably bound up with the general lack of landlord interest in estate improvement in Ireland. Thus the implications of 'the Ulster custom' were summarized by the Devon Commission: "Large tracts having become the property of public bodies or of individuals resident at a distance, landlords were well contented to let their farms to those who would undertake the cultivation and entire management, reserving to themselves a rent, but making no expenditure and exercising little interference with the land. Under such circumstances it seems neither extraordinary nor unreasonable that a tenant quitting a farm either at his own desire or from any difference with his landlord, should obtain from his successor a sum of money, partly in remuneration for his expenditure, and partly as a price paid for the possession of land which the new tenant would have no other means of acquiring."² It was generally acknowledged that estates on which the custom prevailed showed more improvement than those where it did not: "anomalous as the custom is, if considered by reference to all ordinary notions of property, it must be admitted that the district in which it has prevailed has thriven and improved in comparison with other parts of the country."³

Tenant right did, of course, exist on estates of landlords who were regarded as good or improving proprietors,⁴ but where landlords in-

¹ O. Robinson, 'The London companies as progressive landlords in nineteenth-century Ireland', in *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xv, no. 1, 1962. The eight company estates which were repossessed on the expiry of the lease covered an area of approximately 205,550 statute acres in the county of Londonderry.—T. W. Moody, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609-41*, Appendix G.

² Digest of Evidence taken before H.M. Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland, 1847, pt II, pp. 1119-20. See also W. D. Ferguson and A. Vance, *The Tenure and Improvement of Land in Ireland*, p. 302, and Tenure (Ireland) Bill, Sel. Cttee. H.L. 1867 (518), xiv, 101.

³ Digest of Evidence, 1847, *op. cit.*, pt II, p. 1120. Cf. W. E. Gladstone, *Speech on the 2nd Reading of the Irish Land Bill, 1870*, p. 14.

⁴ W. D. Henderson, *Lecture on the History and Origin of Ulster Tenant Right to the National Reform Union*, Manchester, 1877. See also J. Hamilton, *Sixty Years Experience as an Irish Landlord*, ed. H. C. White, London, 1894, and Earl of Belmore, *History of Two Ulster Manors*.

tended to improve their estates, tenant right by its nature presented a potential threat to the landlord's interest; at the very least improving landlords would encounter the difficulty of separating whatever interests the tenant had in improvement from those of his landlord. The tenant right system appeared in fact to imply that the interests of the tenantry and improving landlords would eventually conflict. On the one hand, tenant right was open to the threat of restriction or "submergence under a programme of genuine agricultural improvement,"¹ while on the other, the landlord's improvements were endangered by the possibility that tenant right was "carved out of the landlord's interest."²

There is little detailed information to indicate how improving landlords were affected by the operation of the tenant right custom, beyond evidence that at times they endeavoured to choose the incoming tenants and control the prices paid for tenant right of farms.³ The London companies on repossession of their estates in the nineteenth century were prepared to grant leases to the occupying tenants, but only to those with larger farms (ranging from 15 to 30 acres), so that leaseholding tenants were in the minority. The bulk of the tenantry on company estates held farms from year to year, as tenants at will, which meant that in practice the majority of company tenants continued (as under the middlemen) to rely on tenant right as a protection against possible landlord expropriation of their interest in improvements. Since the companies, however, were genuinely interested in the development of their property for the mutual benefit of landlords and tenants, consideration of their experience should help

to show if, and to what extent the tenant right system involved an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the occupying tenantry and progressive landlords in nineteenth-century Ireland.⁴

I

The earliest extensive evidence concerning tenant right on company lands relates to the operation of the custom on the Clothworkers' estate in the late 1830's, while the property was still under the control of a middleman who was holding the estate for the duration of the two surviving lives named in the lease granted in 1770.⁵ Edward Oseland, the company's representative in Ireland paid particular attention to the question of tenant right, and reported at length on the subject. Describing tenant right in 1838 he wrote: "the custom for the outgoing tenant to obtain a cash payment from his successor has been permitted by the landlord as long as he received his rent (and the agent his fee for altering the tenant's name in the rent book), and it has become a right equal in effect to a law; on the Clothworkers' property no one can now be found to take a farm unless the outgoing tenant is perfectly satisfied on leaving, and not a few cases have occurred recently, and even in this peaceable part of Ireland, when parties have been ejected for non-payment of rent, not having received a compensation as the tenant right for leaving, the incoming tenant's house and corn stacks have been set on fire." Oseland also learned that incoming tenants were "paying exorbitant prices for land, far in excess of the value of any improvements made by their predecessors, yet the outgoing

¹ C. R. Fay, *The Ulster Custom of Tenant Right* (unpublished paper, Public Record Office, Northern Ireland (P.R.O.N.I.), 1952, p. 13.

² W. E. Gladstone, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Cf. *Digest of Evidence*, 1847, *op. cit.*, pt II, p. 1120: "The increasing interest which many landlords, particularly some amongst the largest proprietors, take in their estates, the improved intercourse with their tenants, the liberal expenditure made by some of them in permanent improvements, all tend to place the relation of landlord and tenant on the footing most advantageous for both, and in proportion as feelings of confidence grow up, the evils of an unrestricted tenant right will be avoided, and the beneficial results, which under a modified form it is calculated to produce, will be secured."

³ Cf. *Digest of Evidence*, 1847, *op. cit.*, pt I, p. 295, evidence of John Hancock, land agent in county Armagh.

⁴ This study is based on an examination of the Irish estate records of the Worshipful Companies of Drapers, Fishmongers, Grocers, Clothworkers, Merchant Taylors, Ironmongers, Salters, and Skinners of London, to which companies the writer is indebted. The records of the Mercers' company were lost when the company's Hall was destroyed in 1941.

⁵ P.R.O.N.I., 2nd Report on the Clothworkers' estate, by E. Oseland.

tenant expected payment even where the landlord excused him 3 or 4 years' rent."¹ In 1840, the year in which the middleman's lease expired, Oseland's findings were fully confirmed in a survey of the estate undertaken for the company by his successor, Edward Driver.²

Agents on other company estates agreed with Driver that the effects of tenant right were "injurious"; they were "certain that tenant right could not be maintained in law." There was no uniform practice in regard to the value of tenant right, payments ranging from seven to fifteen years' rent of the farm. Some agents thought that tenant right should be limited to five or seven years' rent, whether tenants held from year to year or on lease, but most agents feared the tenants' reaction to any control of the tenant right—the damage that would be done to the incoming tenant's crops and stock if he did not pay the tenant right.

Driver however, did not attempt to conceal his opposition to tenant right. He denounced as "outrageously absurd" the action of the Mercers' company in admitting that "all their tenants may claim for tenant right, even the yearly tenants, a compensation to be computed at 5 years' amount of the rent of their farms;" he equally condemned as "monstrous and exorbitant" the advice of his predecessor that the Clothworkers should allow an outgoing tenant a maximum of seven years' rent for his tenant right. Driver suggested to company agents that in future the outgoing tenant should be paid only for "any outlay or improvement he may have made on the premises," and argued that if the companies showed a united front

"the whole of the inconvenience of the present abominable system of tenant right claim might be abolished, and a wholesome substitute provided." He admitted that it might prove difficult to find an incoming tenant on such terms, but thought that in view of "the anxiety manifested for taking land," the tenant would take "all risks" after the farm had been kept in hand by the landlords for a year.³

While the companies' representatives and agents thus had strong views about tenant right, the earliest formal statement of company attitudes to the custom did not appear until their estate agents submitted evidence in answer to the inquiries of the Devon Commissioners in 1845. On the Drapers' estate, which had been repossessed by the company in 1817, farms were selling at £7 to £20 per acre. If a farm was improved it "sold so much the better," but values varied with the quality and situation of the land; tenure did not affect the sale "one way or another." The agent encouraged the adjoining tenant to buy in the interest of the company's consolidation policy;⁴ he also required the name of the incoming tenant to be submitted to him for approval. He often objected to the incoming tenants proposed. When some tenants lost their holdings through the squaring of farms by the landlords they received compensation of not less than ten years' rent of the holding. The Drapers did not interfere with the sale of tenant right but "by degrees were checking the immense sums given for tenant right;"⁵ it was the opinion of their agent that "anything like radical reformation would cause poverty and confusion."⁶ The Fishmongers' agent reported

¹ P.R.O.N.I. 3rd Report on the Clothworkers' estate 1838, by F. Oseland.

² P.R.O.N.I., E. Driver, *Survey of the Manor of Clothworkers 1840*.

³ E. Driver, *op. cit.*

⁴ The Drapers regarded some enlargement of farms as a prerequisite of improvement on their estate, and instructed the agent to encourage consolidation at every opportunity. (See Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Drapers' Company, 1820-53, Drapers' Hall, London.) All the companies were anxious to enlarge holdings but they were not prepared to enforce consolidation because of the disaffection which would have ensued. (See Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Fishmongers' Company, vols. O-U, Fishmongers' Hall, London; Minutes of the Irish Committee of the Grocers' Company, 1840-70, Grocers' Hall, London; Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Ironmongers' Company, 1842-55, Ironmongers' Hall, London.) Cf. J. H. Johnson, 'Population Movements in County Derry during a Pre-Famine Year', *Proc. Roy. Irish Academy*, LX, section C, no. 3, 1959, p. 153: "Consolidation (in county Derry) was the result of emigration and not the cause."

⁵ In the 1840's the average rent per statute acre on the Drapers' estate ranged from about 8s. 4d. to 13s. 10d. so that tenant right prices could have been as high as the equivalent of twenty-eight years' rent.—Drapers' Minutes, 1842.

⁶ 'Law and practice in respect of the occupation of land in Ireland', in *Mins. of Evidence*, 1845, 606, xix, 648, 682.

that on his company's estate which had been under their direct management from 1820, the occupying tenants were obtaining from five to seven years' rent for the tenant right of their farms, "farms without leases selling for as much as farms with leases."¹ On the Clothworkers' property although the company had been fully informed about the disadvantages of tenant right before they repossessed the estate in 1840, they nevertheless fully recognized the custom. Their estate agent did not seem to share the doubts about tenant right expressed earlier by Driver and Oseland, and thought that it was "not only judicious to allow the sale of tenant right," but that it would be "cruelly unjust to prevent it;" unjust because "the tenantry and their forefathers had been permitted to make all the permanent improvements at their own expense," and injudicious because "with the poor classes it was the best security against dilapidation of the premises, the price of tenant right always being in proportion to the condition of the farm." In the 1840's tenant right on the Clothworkers' estate was selling at three years' rent of the holding.² On the Ironmongers' property tenant right was fetching up to £15 per acre in 1844 and the money received enabled tenants to emigrate to America. The company had repossessed the estate in 1841 and when a farm was offered for sale they expected the agent to persuade the adjoining tenant to buy it, and he had been successful in several cases although tenant right was often as much as fifteen years' rent of the farm.³ In the case of the Grocers' estate where there were signs that the landlords were opposed to tenant right by 1845, the average price of tenant right was reported by the agent to be "equal to 2 or 3 years' rent of the farm, the company allowing the sale of tenant right in certain cases." From 1821 when the property was repossessed the company "had allowed the adjoining tenant of a farm offered for sale to pay something like 2 years' rent, but they were not

anxious to recognize tenant right on the estate."⁴

From the evidence quoted it is apparent that the companies had decided that recognition of tenant right was their only practical course. Although the Drapers and Grocers appeared anxious to control prices paid for tenant right there is no indication that they imposed any general sanctions on the tenants' freedom to sell tenant right for as much as they could obtain. While the records suggest that the value of tenant right on company estates was at least influenced by the condition of a farm, there was no reliable evidence of any unique relationship between the value of tenant right and the value of improvements on the farm. The Clothworkers' agent was the only witness to claim that the price of tenant right was *always* in proportion to the condition of the farm, and his statement was strikingly inconsistent with the earlier evidence about tenant right on the Clothworkers' property.⁵ It is not possible on the basis of the evidence available to ascertain the extent to which sums paid for tenant right represented compensation for improvements carried out by the tenant or compensation for the surrender of his right of possession, but it seems fairly clear that the tenant's improvement interest was invariably small. As the evidence of Driver and Oseland indicated, there were no improvements whatever on the Clothworkers' estate to support the tenants' claim that they had an interest in improvements. By 1845 both the Clothworkers' and Ironmongers' estates had been under direct company management for only four or five years, and while the companies had embarked on policies of estate improvement, little progress could have been achieved in so few years. Even on the estates of the Drapers, Fishmongers, and Grocers where conditions were somewhat better than on the estates which had been more recently repossessed by companies, progress was not spectacular despite the companies' large outlay on the development of their properties

¹ *Ibid.*, 729. ² *Ibid.*, 652.

³ *Ibid.*, 633, 648; Report of the Deputation to the Ironmongers' estate, 1841 (Ironmongers' Hall, London).

⁴ 'Law and practice in respect of the occupation of land in Ireland', in *Mins. of Evidence*, 1845, 606, xix, 728.

⁵ Cf. pp. 55-6 above. Of course, the comparatively low tenant right prices quoted by the agents in respect of both the Clothworkers' and Grocers' estates may not have represented the prices actually paid. The agents did not always know the true prices received for tenant right (cf. evidence of John Hancock, *op. cit.*).

over a period of twenty-five years,¹ and the tenants' capacity for improvement continued to be very limited. It is therefore probably fair to assume that until 1845 payments for tenant right of farms on company estates were largely payments to the outgoing tenant for his interest in the occupation of land. There was in fact no change in the essence of the tenant right custom as it had existed on company estates before repossession.

II

While companies had obviously accepted tenant right as an established custom they became increasingly apprehensive about the effects of the system. As landlords directly responsible for the management of their estates they were investing almost half their annual income from the property on improvement, and although progress was slow, they had a growing interest in improvements which could be expected to materialize in the long term. The companies were spending large sums annually on general farm improvements, repair, and erection of farm buildings, consolidation of farms, construction of roads, support for educational, medical, and religious institutions, and on the provision of direct financial relief for distressed tenants.² Company lands were let at rents which the companies considered to be 'just' to both landlords and tenants—rents which would give the landlords some return on their investment in the property and at the same time leave the occupying tenants with a reasonable standard of living, a standard well above the subsistence level to which they had been accustomed when holding from middlemen.³ The companies were absentee landlords

but they maintained contact with the occupying tenantry by sending deputations of company members to inspect estates at intervals, and make recommendations concerning estate improvement and rent policies; the companies' estates were managed by resident estate agents carefully chosen and controlled to ensure that they did not usurp the landlords' functions.⁴ The companies were consequently in a rather different position from landlords who limited their estate administration to the collection of the maximum rents their tenants could be made to pay, and who left the occupying tenant, with his subsistence standard of living, responsible for the maintenance and improvement of the productive powers of the soil and all permanent structures thereon; the most (or worst) such landlords had to fear from tenant right was that when farms changed hands the incoming tenant's capacity to cultivate the land and pay his rent was depleted by payments for tenant right, whether financed out of his own capital or by borrowing.

Until about 1850 the companies' actual criticism of tenant right was limited to remarks about the disadvantages of payments for tenant right which exhausted the incoming tenant's resources, an effect of tenant right which they tried to minimize by requiring that the incoming tenant should be approved by the estate agent. But during the period 1850-70 the companies directly expressed anxiety about the lack of any close relationship between the value of tenant right and the value of the improvements for which the tenant alone was responsible.

The Clothworkers were the first company to reveal their anxiety about tenant right, although their agent had defended the system in his evi-

¹ Cf. O. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

² Between 1817 and 1870 the Drapers' company spent £190,000 on such objects, the Fishmongers £158,028 (1820-70), the Grocers £124,499 (1822-70), the Clothworkers £62,587 (1840-70), and the Ironmongers £40,949 (1841-68). In addition the companies had to meet the costs of estate administration (salaries of agents, costs of estate inspections by company deputations, general administrative expenses in England and Ireland), together with estate charges (tithes, county cesses, poor rates, and property taxes). See O. Robinson, *op. cit.* pp. 197-8 and 114; Clothworkers' Irish Estate accounts, 1840-71, (Merchant Taylors' Hall, London); Ironmongers' Irish Estate Account Book, 1840-68 (Ironmongers' Hall, London); T. Girtin, *The Triple Crowns. A Narrative History of the Drapers' Company, 1364-1964*, pp. 305-12.

³ O. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-110. Even contemporary opinion considered that the rents charged by the London companies were reasonable. Cf. H. D. Inglis, *Ireland in 1834*, II, p. 220: "Company lands on the whole are reasonably let"; J. Wiggins, *The 'Monster' Misery of Ireland*, p. 56: "The rents of company lands approach more in proportion to those of England."

⁴ See O. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

dence to the Devon Commission. In 1850 the company attempted to define the limits of tenant right: "As far as all reasonable improvements go and for all erections made upon a holding, an outgoing tenant is justified in looking for compensation, but this compensation must be based upon a due regard to all rights, and must not be extended so as to compromise the rights of the proprietor." The company also noted that "tenants were giving considerable sums for the tenant right of holdings, which did not include any valuation of crops in the ground," and considered it "strange" that such tenants had been seeking rent reductions.¹

Members of the Ironmongers' company who visited their estate in 1853 advised the company to warn tenants who asked for supplies of tiles for drainage and for roofing houses and farm buildings, that assistance would be granted only if it could be given "without giving any pretence to the tenants for claiming an interest in the increased value of the property in consequence of such grants." The Ironmongers were always prepared to pay a tenant the value of his tenant right if he wished to give up his farm; in 1853 for example, when the company sold 11 acres of land to the Directors of the Derry, Coleraine, and Castledawson Railway Company for a line through the estate, they obtained £15 per acre for the landlords' interest, "the Railway company undertaking to settle with the tenants for any claims they may have for severance or otherwise."²

In 1861 a company deputation which inspected the Fishmongers' estate complained about the effects of tenant right. They stated in their report that tenant right encouraged landlords to withhold assistance from tenants: "Tenant right invades landlords' rights, almost depriving him of the right to relet his land at a fair and equitable rent; the tenant has a vested interest in the improved condition of the property even though improvements are not done by him." They were convinced that tenant right values on the estate had been inflated as a

result of the company's high investment in improvements and their policy of charging reasonable rents. A statement of the prices paid for the tenant right of sixty-six leasehold farms on the Fishmongers' estate sold during the years 1857-70, showed that the incoming tenants were paying twenty-five and a half years' rent for leases which on average had only twelve years to run. The deputation recalled that members of the company who had been to Ireland in 1857 had reported that "tenants were getting more for their tenant right than formerly, or than is obtained on other estates," and expressed the view that the landlords' interest might have been better served in Ireland "if they had provided farm buildings sufficient for the working of the farm and the preservation of crops."³

Tenants on the Grocers' estate were reported by the agent in 1865 to be "eager to obtain allowances for improvement, not with the idea of improving the estate of the company, but of increasing their own profits, considering that they have a property or interest in the improvements affected."⁴ In 1870 he defined tenant right as "a payment by the incoming tenant nominally for improvements effected by the outgoing tenant, but really for the quiet and peaceable possession of the premises." Tenant right on the Grocers' estate generally amounted to ten years' rent of the holding though in some parts of the property more than this sum was given, "chiefly to satisfy the claims of the creditors of the outgoing tenant." The agent admitted that tenants did not deny the company the right of participating in the increased value of the property, and had hitherto agreed to a reasonable increase in rent, but he "nonetheless felt after 34 years' experience of tenant right in all its bearings, that the wise and judicious interference of the government had become necessary to declare and substantiate the legal rights of both the owners and occupiers of land." It was his opinion that the tenant right of Ulster had during the preceding few

¹ Minutes of the Clothworkers-Merchant Taylors' Irish Estate Committee of Management, 1853 (Merchant Taylors' Hall, London).

² Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Ironmongers' Company, 1852-3, and Report of the deputation to the Ironmongers' estate, 1853 (Ironmongers' Hall, London).

³ Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Fishmongers' Company, vol. S-U (Fishmongers' Hall, London).

⁴ Minutes of the Irish Committee of the Grocers' Company, 1865 (Grocers' Hall, London).

years "assumed the character of an undefined outstanding claim against property;" he considered that any law which would systematize such claims must favour landed proprietors: "The want of capital amongst landlords and their indolence combined to produce the gigantic proportion that tenant right has lately assumed in reference to the actual fee simple of estates; the abuse would gradually deprive the landlord of a right periodically to increase rent."¹

In the early 1860's less than a decade after they had repossessed their estate, the Salters' company became particularly worried about the effects of tenant right. The company was convinced that the tenants' ability to maintain and improve their farms was seriously impaired by payments for tenant right. When the estate had been taken over on the expiry of the ninety-nine-year lease term in 1853, the company had immediately started to improve the property and had been spending at a rate of some £6,000 annually (almost half the rental). Considerable care had been taken to set rents which the tenants' circumstances allowed them to pay, and the company expected that tenants would be able to undertake some improvement of their holdings, but this expectation had not been fulfilled. The Salters therefore adopted the attitude that some control or restriction of tenant right was essential.²

III

Whatever the advantages of tenant right, it seems evident that from the early 1850's the companies as landlords had begun to regard the disadvantages of the system as a considerable problem. Although tenant right payments had

helped to finance the emigration of tenants prepared to give up farms, and so enabled the companies to effect some enlargement of farms (a feature of the system which they regarded as highly beneficial), tenant right prices were being continually forced up by the growing pressure for land, as the experience of the famine years receded and the prospects of agriculture appeared more promising. In the latter part of the 1850's and throughout the 1860's company deputations and agents were reporting that tenants were reluctant to give up holdings owing "to the increased value of estates;" tenants were "clinging tenaciously to the land" and were not anxious to emigrate because "of the present disturbed state of America."³ On company estates tenant right prices were also undoubtedly affected by the companies' moderate rent policies. On the Fishmongers' estate for example, a tenant "who had lately paid £550 for an interest of 18 months in a lease of 69 acres let at £13 10s. per year", told the company in 1857 that he had been "induced to part with £550 for the tenant right of the holding knowing the easy terms on which the company let their estate;" the Fishmongers had actually reduced their rents in 1852 by an average of 9 per cent, and subsequent company deputations to the estate had observed that tenants were "generally contented" with the rents set in 1852.⁴ In such circumstances it is hardly surprising to find that the companies which recorded protests about tenant right were complaining that the custom was encroaching on landlords' rights. As improving landlords the companies were beset with the practical difficulty of distinguishing the tenant's interest in improvements from those of the landlord.⁵ The

¹ Minutes of the Irish Committee of the Grocers' Company, 1870 (Grocers' Hall, London).

² Irish Society and the London Companies (Irish Estates), Select Cttee. Mins. of Evidence, 1890, 322, xiv, 433. See also, J. Steven Watson, *A History of the Salters' Company*, pp. 132-3.

³ Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Drapers' Company, 1856-68 (Drapers' Hall, London); Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Fishmongers' Company, vol. P-W (Fishmongers' Hall, London); Minutes of the Irish Committee of the Grocers' Company, 1851-70 (Grocers' Hall, London). See also G. Campbell, *The Irish Land*, p. 40: "Demand for land has again become great; tenant right has become as valuable as ever, or more valuable than ever." Cf. S. C. Johnson, *A History of Emigration to North America, 1763-1912*, p. 344, and J. H. Johnson, "The Population of Londonderry during the Great Irish Famine", *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., x, 1957-8, pp. 283-5.

⁴ Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Fishmongers' Company, vol. U. (Fishmongers' Hall, London.)

⁵ Cf. p. 59 above, statement by the Fishmongers' company deputation in 1857, that the "landlords' interest might have been better served in Ireland if they had provided farm buildings sufficient for the work of the farm and the preservation of crops."

Fishmongers, Ironmongers, and Grocers were accusing tenants of expecting payment for improvements carried out not with their own but with their landlords' capital, while the Salters were directly suggesting that the tenants could have no interest in the improved value of farms since the company alone was responsible for all improvements on the estate.

Notwithstanding this hardening attitude towards tenant right, only the Ironmongers and Salters took positive action to limit the tenants' freedom to sell their tenant right for its market value. From 1860 the Ironmongers limited the price which the incoming tenant could pay for a farm on their estate to ten years' purchase of the rent. The company at the same time informed tenants that they would pay this price to any tenants anxious to quit, and were prepared to lend capital to tenants willing to buy the tenant right of adjoining farms offered for sale.¹ The Salters placed a similar restriction on their tenants in 1864, when it was ordered that the price paid on the transfer of a holding should not exceed ten years' purchase of the rent. Specific rules to control the tenant right custom on the estate were introduced: "A tenant cannot sell his tenant right in his farm until he has first obtained permission of the landlords; when a farm is sold the purchasing tenant is required to sign a contract in which the value of the tenant right is stated to be a sum not exceeding ten years' present rent of the farm; when a tenant dies his son or successor in the farm is required to sign a contract similar in its terms to the contract signed by the purchasing tenant."²

There is no explicit reference in the Ironmongers' records to the effects of their restriction of tenant right, other than a statement that twenty tenants had availed themselves of loans from the company at 5 per cent for the purchase of tenant right at ten years' rent.³ But in the case of the Salters' estate where the restriction of tenant right was more thoroughgoing than on

the Ironmongers' property, tenants at once objected to the "restriction of the tenant's liberty to sell his improvements to the highest bidder, the old and immemorial custom of the estate." They disputed the company's claim that limitation of tenant right would be "a benefit to the tenant and a protection to the landlords' interest," and feared the "placing of the value of tenant right, i.e. of the tenants' property, under the arbitrary control of landlords." Despite these protests the Salters did not alter their decision to limit tenant right. After "due consideration" the company informed tenants that "they had not taken the course they adopted without the fullest consideration, and that it was their firm intention to carry it out in order to curb the exorbitant sums being paid by the incoming tenants for ruinous and dilapidated buildings."⁴

IV

In view of the Salters' adherence to the policy of restricting tenant right, it might appear remarkable that the other companies did not follow their example. They too had been expressing dissatisfaction with tenant right and were equally anxious to prevent any infringement of their rights as landlords. Their apprehensions about the effects of tenant right were certainly no less than those of the Salters. In fact the Drapers, Fishmongers, and Grocers had been investing capital on their estates from 1820 and consequently had cause for greater concern about tenant right as a threat to their interests, than the Salters' company which had not repossessed lands until 1853.

However, it seems reasonable to conclude that the failure of these companies to take steps to relieve their fears about tenant right reflected their appreciation that the benefits which should accrue from control of tenant right might not be realized. It was only to be expected that with the majority of tenants holding their farms from year to year, regulation of

¹ Report of the Deputation to the Ironmongers' estate, 1860 (Ironmongers' Hall, London).

² Irish Society and the London Companies (Irish Estates), Select Cttee. Mins. of Evidence, 1890, 322, XIV, 433-4.

³ Reports of Deputations to the Ironmongers' estate, 1860, 1863, 1868, 1871 (Ironmongers' Hall, London).

⁴ Livery Companies of the City of London, R. Com. Returns of the Great Companies, 1884, c. 4073-1, xxxix, 355; Irish Society and the London Companies (Irish Estates), Select Cttee. Mins. of Evidence, 1890, 322, XIV, 433-4, 559-64. Cf. J. Steven Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

tenant right would evoke opposition similar to that aroused on the Salters' estate. It should be noted that the Salters' tenants were in no way inhibited from expressing objections to the control of tenant right by the lack of evident improvement on their holdings. In an assertion that restriction of tenant right would "tend greatly to discourage improving tenants from expending either capital or labour upon their farms" they were unequivocally implying that by interfering with the tenant's freedom to sell his tenant right, landlords were running the risk of destroying the tenant's willingness to improve, if and when he possessed the means to do so.¹ The relationship between landlords and tenants in nineteenth-century Ireland was a non-contractual one, whether landlords chose to recognize it as such or not. The Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment Act of 1860 (Lord Justice Deasy's Act) which had sought to place the relation of landlord and tenant on a basis of contract between the parties and not upon tenure or service, had been a failure.² If landlords intended to carry out policies of estate improvement as the London companies were doing, it was in their own interest to recognize the non-contractual nature of landlord and tenant relations and make every effort to foster goodwill between the two.³ The companies' estate improvement policies necessarily involved a considerable measure of co-operation from the tenants, and failure on the part of the companies as landlords to gain and maintain the tenants' co-operation would have inevitably increased the cost of developing estates. The yield on the companies' investment in land improvement in county Londonderry in the nineteenth century must have been en-

hanced by the efforts of a generally co-operative occupying tenantry prepared to supply their labour and gradually acquire a knowledge of improved agricultural techniques.

While the operation of tenant right on the estates of improving landlords in the circumstances of nineteenth-century Ireland probably enabled the occupying tenants to encroach on the value of the landlords' interest in improvement, just as in conditions of land shortage they were able to cash in on the scarcity of land by giving up mere possession of farms, the very fact that the tenants' improvements or potential improvements were protected, ensured a measure of protection for the landlords' improvements. By attempting to enforce rigid control of tenant right the London companies were more likely to extinguish than sustain their increasing interest in the improved value of their property. Restriction of tenant right would almost certainly have destroyed the tenants' willingness to maintain existing improvements or participate in any future development. Tenant right afforded the occupying tenants protection for any improvements they had done or might do, and once landlords sought to interfere with the custom they simultaneously endangered the value of existing improvements and made future progress more difficult and more costly. There was no evidence that restriction of tenant right on the Ironmongers' and Salters' estates led to any significant improvements in the condition of tenants' farms, or that the landlords' burden of estate improvement was diminished.⁴

The experience of the London companies as landlords in nineteenth-century Ireland suggests that though tenant right often conflicted

¹ For example, in 1871 the Grocers' agent reported that small tenants preferred to invest their capital in the banks at 2½ per cent, rather than on the development of their farms. (Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Grocers' Company, 1871, Grocers' Hall, London.) The companies of course, did not exploit their freedom to increase the rents of tenants at will as often as they wished, but from the tenants' point of view there was always the risk that a company might change its rent policy.

² Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment Act (Ireland) 23 & 24 Vic., c. 154. Cf. J. E. Pomfret, *The Struggle for Land in Ireland, 1800-1923*, p. 68: "The act . . . was a total failure because landlords uniformly refused to give assent to the proposals which the tenants placed before them."

³ Cf. Joan Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming. The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times*, pp. 265-6.

⁴ Reports of depositions to the Ironmongers' estate, 1863, 1868, 1871, 1874, 1877 (Ironmongers' Hall, London); Livery Companies of the City of London, R. Com. Returns of the Great Companies, 1884, c. 4073-1, xxxix. 355; Irish Society and the London Companies (Irish Estates), Select Cttee. Mins. of Evidence, 1890, 322, xiv, 433-4, 559-64.

with landlords' rights, on balance Irish landlords, including the most progressive, had something to gain from the continuance of the tenant right system where it existed as an established custom. It was not worthwhile for landlords to attempt to control tenant right in order to avoid its incidental dangers; it was more worthwhile to tolerate its disadvantages for the sake of its advantages.¹ The existence of tenant right was a feature of the land system in nineteenth-century Ireland which helped to promote agricultural advancement and ensure that the occupying tenants were not wholly indifferent to progress. Clearly, interference with tenant right was unacceptable to tenants, for though it was only a permissive right existing through the force of custom, it implied some notion of co-partnership in the land. The essence of tenant right was that the tenant "exercised a right to dispose of his holding for a valuable consideration although he may himself be a tenant at will, and although he may have expended nothing in permanent improvements."² It was therefore inevitable that efforts

by improving landlords to control or regulate tenant right should be regarded by the tenantry as an attempt to destroy the custom. The Land Act of 1870 was a major legislative endeavour to settle the problem of landlord and tenant relations in Ireland by legalizing the Ulster custom of tenant right and similar usages throughout Ireland. It proved unsuccessful because tenants were offered a measure of compensation for their improvements, yet denied sufficient protection against rising rents to guarantee them the degree of co-partnership interest implicit in the tenant right system.³ Progress could not be hastened by paring down tenant right. It was only to be attained by the replacement of tenant right with something stronger in the shape of the Three F's (free sale, fair rent, and fixity of tenure) of the Land Act of 1881, which recognized dual ownership in land and took the Irish landlord and tenant problem another stage towards its eventual solution by land purchase and the establishment of a peasant proprietary.⁴

¹ Cf. B. A. Kennedy, 'Tenant Right before 1870', in T. W. Moody and J. C. Beckett (eds.), *Ulster since 1800*, London, 1954, pp. 41-2: "Ulster landlords tolerated this custom for several reasons; they were well aware that the efficiency of their tenants' culture was 50 per cent better than that of the average tenant in other parts of Ireland. The more produce, the more assured they were of their rental. . . And of course, it was all the better to have a contented tenantry. Yet landlords did not love tenant right for its own sake. The Ulster custom curbed their power to extort exorbitant rents, and they probably regarded it as a necessary evil."

² Digest of Evidence, 1847, *op. cit.*, pt II, pp. 1119-20.

³ Act 33 & 34 Vict. See Working of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, Mins. of Evidence, 1881, c. 2779, xviii, 7; cf. A. G. Richey, *The Irish Land Laws*, p. 62, *et seq.*

⁴ Cf. C. R. Fay, *op. cit.*, p. 13: "The Land Act of 1881 took tenant right to its furthest point, but beside it now was the alternative of Land Purchase."

List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since June 1968¹

Compiled by JOHN SHEAIL

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

- AIKIN, J. *A Description of the Country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester*. 1st ed. reprinted. David & Charles. 1968.
- ALDERSON, F. *View North: a long look at Northern England*. David & Charles. 1968.
- AVERY, D. *The Tudor Hundred of Edmonton: evidences and survivals*. Edmonton Hundred Hist. Soc., Occ. Papers, no. 13, 1968.
- BAINES, E. *Baines's Lancashire: a new printing of the two volumes of 'History directory and gazetteer [sic] of the County Palatine of Lancaster'*. David & Charles. 1968.
- BARLOW, D. *The Records of the Forfeited Estates Commission*. H.M.S.O. 1968.
- BENTWICH, HELEN C. *The Vale of Health on Hampstead Heath, 1777-1967*. 6 Hampstead High St, London, N.W.3, 1968.
- BLYTHE, R. *Akenfield: portrait of an English Village*. Allen Lane.
- BOURNE, HOPE L. *A little History of Exmoor*. Dent. 1968.
- BROCKLEBANK, JOAN. *Affpuddle in the County of Dorset A.D. 987-1953: a study compiled from written sources*. Horace G. Commin Ltd. 1968.
- BRODRICK, G. C. *English Land and English Landlords*. 1st ed. reprinted. David & Charles. 1968.
- BUTTERWORTH, E. *A Statistical Sketch of the County Palatine of Lancaster 1841*. 1st ed. reprinted. Lancashire & Cheshire Antiq. Soc. 1968.
- CAMPBELL, MILDRED. *The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts*. Reprinted. Merlin P. 1967.
- CLEW, K. R. *Tadworth, an illustrated History*. R. J. Chappell. 1968.
- COCKBURN, J. S. (ed.). *A Victoria History of the County of Middlesex*, vol. 1. Oxford U.P.
- COUZENS, PHYLLIS. *Bruton in Selwood: some account of its History*. Abbey P. 1968.
- COZENS-HARDY, B. (ed.). *Mary Hardy's Diary*. Norf. Rec. Soc., vol. XXXVII, 1968.
- CROSTHWAITE, P. *A series of Accurate Maps of the Principal Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire*. Reprinted with introd. by W. Rollinson. Graham. 1968.
- DAVIS, G. E. *A history of Haslingfield*. 6 Barton Rd, Haslingfield, Cambs. 1968.
- DEFOE, D. *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain divided into Circuits or Journies*. New ed. with introd. by G. D. H. Cole. Reprinted. Cass. 1968.
- DISBURY, D. *The History of Ashbury*. 44 Hythe Park Rd, Egham, Surrey. 1968.
- DOUGLAS, MONA. *They lived in Ellan Vannin*. Times P. 1968.
- DUNNING, R. W. *The Hylle Cartulary*. Somerset Rec. Soc., vol. LXVIII. 1968.
- EDMONDS, G. C. *A History of Chalfont St Peter and Gerrards Cross*. Smythe. 1968.
- ELEY, G. *Mona, enchanted island: an introduction to Anglesey*. Priory P. 1968.
- ELVEY, G. R. (ed.). *Luffield Priory Charters, Part 1*. Bucks. Rec. Soc., vol. xv. 1968, and Northants. Rec. Soc., vol. XXII. 1968.
- ENGLISH, J. S. *Gainsborough's Fairs and Markets*. Gainsborough Public Library. 1968.
- EVERETT, B. *A History of Kirkthorpe*. St Peters Church, Kirkthorpe, Wakefield. 1968.
- EVERITT, A. *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion*. Historical Association.

¹The date of publication is 1969 unless otherwise stated.

- FARR, M. W. *The Fetherstons of Packwood in the Seventeenth Century*. Dugdale Soc. Occ. Papers, no. 18.
- FINBERG, H. P. R. *Tavistock Abbey: a Study in the Social and Economic History of Devon*. 2nd ed. David & Charles.
- FISHER, J. L. *A Medieval Farming Glossary of Latin and English Words*. National Council of Social Service. 1968.
- FLETCHER, H. R. *The Story of the Royal Horticultural Society, 1804-1968*. Oxford U.P.
- GAYDON, A. T. (ed.). *A Victoria History of Shropshire*, vol. VIII. Oxford U.P. 1968.
- GELL, W. *A Tour in the Lakes made in 1797*. Ed. by W. Rollinson. Frank Graham. 1968.
- GRAHAM, F. *Cheshire one hundred years ago*. Graham.
- GRAHAM, F. *Lancashire one hundred years ago; compiled by Frank Graham from old prints*. Graham. 1968.
- GRAHAM, F. *Northumberland and Durham one hundred years ago*. Graham. 1968.
- GRAHAM, F. *Picturesque Lakeland one hundred years ago*. Graham.
- GRAHAM, F. *Yorkshire one hundred years ago: York and West Riding*. Graham.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *Report from Select Committees on Agricultural Distress. . . , House of Commons, 1820-28*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture, 1833*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *First and Second Reports from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Agriculture and Agricultural Distress, 1836*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *Third Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Agriculture, Part II, 1836*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the State of Agriculture in England and Wales, 1837*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *Special Assistant Commissioners on the Employment of Women in Agriculture, 1843*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *Report from the Select Committee on Commons' Inclosure, 1844*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *First Report from the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture, 1868*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GREAT BRITAIN. *Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture, Second Report, 1868-9*. Reprinted. Irish U.P. 1968.
- GUTTERY, D. R. *The Story of Pensnett Chase: chapters from Kingswinford History*. County Borough of Dudley (Libraries, Museums & Arts Dept). 1967.
- HARTLEY, MARIE and INGILBY, JOAN. *Life and Tradition in the Yorkshire Dales*. Dent. 1968.
- HEY, D. *The Village of Ecclesfield*. Huddersfield Advertiser. 1968.
- HIGGINS, L. S. *New Nottage and Porthcawl from prehistoric times to 1950*. Gomerian P. 1968.
- HOBBSBAWM, E. J. and RUDÉ, G. *Captain Swing*. Lawrence & Wishart.
- HODGSON, H. W. *A Bibliography of the History and Topography of Cumberland & Westmorland*. Joint Archives Committee for Cumberland, Westmorland, & Carlisle. 1968.
- HOLT, J. *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster, 1795*. Reprinted. David & Charles.
- HOSKINS, W. G. *Devon and its People*. David & Charles. 1968.
- HOWELLS, R. *The Sounds Between: the Story of the Islands of Skomer, Skokholm, Ramsey and Grassholm and of those who have sought to wrest a living from them*. Gomerian P. 1968.
- HOWSE, JASMINE S. *Hinton Waldrist through the centuries*. Rosemary Ho., Stanford in the Vale, Faringdon, Berks. 1968.
- HOWSE, VIOLET M. *Goosey: a parish record*. Rosemary Ho., Stanford in the Vale, Faringdon, Berks. 1968.
- JONES, E. L. (ed.). *The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873*. Macmillan. 1968.
- JONES, P. E. *A Historical Guide to Belmont, Lancashire*. 40 Regina Cres., Ravenshead, Nottingham. 1968.
- KENYON, KATHERINE M. R. *The Living Fields*. Warren. 1968.
- KERRIDGE, E. *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and after*. Allen & Unwin.

- LAMB, H. H. *The Changing Climate—selected papers*. Methuen. 1968.
- LEACH, T. R. *Sausthorpe*. 3 Merleswen, Dunholme, Lincs. 1968.
- LEE, S. T. *The Story of Stanley, Derbyshire*. Church Pubs. 1968.
- LLOYD, H. A. *The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640*. Univ. of Wales P. 1968.
- LOADES, D. M. (ed.). *The Papers of George Wyatt Esquire*. Royal Hist. Soc., Camden, 4th ser., vol. v. 1968.
- MACFARLANE, MARGARET M. *Village and District History: Buchanan*. Scottish Women's Rural Institute (Buchanan Branch). 1968.
- MARSHALL, W. *The Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture*. 5 vols. Reprinted. David & Charles.
- MILLER, E. *Eyewitness: the North-East in the early Nineteenth Century*. H. Hill & Son for Sunderland College of Education. 1968.
- MOREAU, R. E. *The Departed Village: Berrick Salome at the turn of the century*. Oxford. 1968.
- MUNBY, L. M. (ed.). *East Anglian Studies*. Heffer. 1968.
- OWEN, A. E. B. (ed.). *The Records of the Commissioners of Sewers in the Parts of Holland, 1547-1603*. Lincs. Rec. Soc., vol. LXIII. 1968.
- PARTRIDGE, M. *Early Agricultural Machinery*. H. Evelyn.
- PETTIT, P. A. (ed.). *The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire*. Northants. Rec. Soc., vol. XXIII. 1968.
- PIRIE-GORDON, H. *Rickmansworth Park: a short history*. 31 Great Queen St, London, W.C.2.
- PUGH, R. B. (ed.). *A Victoria History of the County of Dorset*, vol. III. Oxford U.P. 1968.
- RANDELL, A. R. *Fenland Memories*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- REEVES, H. L. *Findon: a downland village*. Sheepdown Pubs. 1968.
- RIDLEY, NANCY. *Northumbrian Heritage*. Hale. 1968.
- ROPER, J. S. (ed.). *Dudley Probate Inventories (third series)*. 133 Tipton Rd, Woodsetton, Dudley. 1968.
- RUSSELL, R. C. *The Enclosure of Searby, 1763-1765; Nettleton, 1791-1795; Caistor, 1796-1798, and Caistor Moors, 1811-1814*. Workers' Educational Association (Nettleton Branch). 1968.
- RUSSELL, R. C. *The Enclosure of Barton on Humber, 1793-1796*. Workers' Educational Association (Barton Branch). 1968.
- RYLE, G. *Forestry Service: the first forty-five years of the Forestry Commission of Great Britain*. David & Charles.
- SALTMAN, A. (ed.). *The Cartulary of Dale Abbey*. Derbys. Arch. Soc., Rec. Ser., vol. XI, 1967.
- SEYMOUR, A. *The Land where I belong*. Roundwood P. 1968.
- SIMOND, L. *An American in Regency England: the Journal of a Tour in 1810-1811*. Maxwell. 1968.
- SMITH, B. S. (ed.). *Gloucestershire Historical Studies*. U. of Bristol (Dept. of Extra-Mural Studies). 1967-8.
- SWANZY, K. *The Offchurch Story*. Abbey P. 1968.
- THOMPSON, F. *Harris and Lewis, Outer Hebrides*. David & Charles. 1968.
- THOMPSON, F. M. L. *Chartered Surveyors: the growth of a profession*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1968.
- THWAITE, H. (ed.). *Abstracts of Abbotside Wills, 1555-1688*. Yorks. Arch. Soc., Rec. Ser., vol. CXXX, 1968.
- TITOW, J. Z. *English Rural Society, 1200-1350*. Allen & Unwin.
- TOMLINSON, W. W. *Tomlinson's Comprehensive Guide to Northumberland: a reprint of the eleventh edition*. New introd. by Roland Bibby. David & Charles. 1968.
- TUBBS, C. R. *The New Forest: an ecological history*. David & Charles.
- VAISEY, D. G. (ed.). *Probate Inventories of Lichfield and District, 1568-1680*. Staffs. Rec. Soc., vol. v.
- VANCOUVER, C. *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon, 1808*. Reprinted. David & Charles.
- VESEY-FITZGERALD, B. *The Vanishing Wild Life of Britain*. MacGibbon & Kee.
- WAKEFIELD, MARY E. *Brewood*. 1 Sandy Lane, Brewood, Staffs. 1968.
- WALTON, MARY. *A History of the Parish of Sharrow, Sheffield*. 19 Clifford Rd, Sharrow, Sheffield. 1968.

- WARD, J. T. *East Yorkshire Landed Estates in the Nineteenth Century*. East Yorks. Local Hist. Ser., no. 23. 1967.
- WEBBER, R. *The Early Horticulturists*. David & Charles. 1968.
- WHITE, W. *White's Devon: a reprint of 'History, Gazetteer and Directory of Devonshire', 1850*. 1st ed. Reprinted. New introd. by W. E. Minchinton. David & Charles. 1968.
- WILLIAMS, E. W. *Abergele, the Story of a Parish*. Bryn Haul, Abergele, Denbigh. 1968.
- WILLIAMS, G. R. *Chester and the Northern Marches*. Longmans Young Books. 1968.
- WRINGTON. *Wrington Village Records: Studies of the History of a Somerset Village; compiled by members of a University of Bristol Extra-Mural class*. Dept. of Extra-Mural Studies, 20a Berkeley Sq., Bristol 8.
- WYATT, G. *Ackhampstead: a History compiled for the Frieth Village Society*. Moor Cottage, Moor End Common, Lane End, High Wycombe. 1968.
- WYNESS, F. *Royal Valley: the Story of the Aberdeenshire Dee*. Alex. P. Reid & Son. 1968.
- YOUNG, A. *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk, 1804*. Reprinted. David & Charles.

ARTICLES

- ADAMA, I. H. *The Land Surveyor and his Influence on the Scottish Rural Landscape*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIV, no. 3, 1968, pp. 248-55.
- ANSCOMB, J. W. *An Eighteenth-Century Inclosure and Foot Ball Play at West Haddon*. Northants. Past & Present, vol. IV, no. 3, 1968, pp. 175-80.
- BARKER, P. A. *The Deserted Medieval Hamlet of Braggington*. Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc., vol. LVIII, pt 2, 1968, pp. 123-39.
- BARLEY, M. W. *Barn at Aspley Hall, Nottingham*. Thoroton Soc. Trans., vol. LXXII, 1968, pp. 71-2.
- BEECHAM, H. A. *List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since June 1967*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XVII, pt 1, pp. 56-63.
- BENGER, F. B. *Leatherhead Common Meadow*. Proc. Leatherhead & District Local Hist. Soc., vol. III, no. 2, 1968, pp. 51-5.
- BERESFORD, G. *Northend Farm House, Long Crendon*. Records of Bucks., vol. XVIII, pt 2, 1967, pp. 125-35.
- BISSON, S. W. *The Jersey Chantry Certificate*. Société Jersiaise Annual Bull., vol. XIX, pt 3, 1967, pp. 255-8.
- BLENCH, B. J. R. *A Note on the Jersey Trench-plough*. Société Jersiaise Annual Bull., vol. XIX, pt 4, 1968, pp. 315-18.
- BONNEY, D. J. *Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement Sites in Wiltshire: some Geographical Considerations*. Wilts. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag., vol. LXIII, 1968, pp. 27-38.
- BRANDENBURG, D. J. *Commentary on Eighteenth-Century British Agriculture*. Agric. Hist., vol. XLIII, no. 1, pp. 19-24.
- BRANIGAN, K. *The Distribution and Development of Romano-British Occupation in the Chess Valley*. Records of Bucks., vol. XVIII, pt 2, 1967, pp. 136-49.
- BRENT, J. A. *Alciston Manor in the Later Middle Ages*. Sussex Arch. Coll., vol. xcvi, 1968, pp. 89-102.
- BROWN, A. V. *The Last Phase of the Enclosure of Otmoor*. Oxoniensia, vol. xxxii, 1967, pp. 34-52.
- CANTOR, L. M. *The Medieval Forests and Chases of Staffordshire*. N. Staffs. Jnl of Field Studies, vol. VIII, 1968, pp. 39-53.
- CARTER, J. *Watermills in North Oxfordshire*. Cake & Cockhorse, Banbury Hist. Soc., vol. III, no. 12, 1968, pp. 215-22.
- CLAY, C. *Marriage, Inheritance, and the Rise of Large Estates in England, 1660-1815*. Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. XXI, no. 3, 1968, pp. 503-18.
- COLE, E. J. L. *An Incomplete Account (1011 Edward III)*. Radnors. Soc. Trans., vol. xxxviii, 1968, pp. 44-50.
- CULLEN, L. M. *Irish History without the Potato*. Past & Present, no. 40, 1968, pp. 72-83.
- CUNLIFFE, B. and PHILLIPSON, D. W. *Excavations at Eldon's Seat, Encombe, Dorset*. Proc. Prehistoric Soc., vol. xxxiv, 1968, pp. 191-237.
- DAVIES, R. R. *Baronial Accounts, Incomes, and*

- Arrears in the Later Middle Ages*. Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. XXI, no. 2, 1968, pp. 211-29.
- DODWELL, BARBARA. *The Making of the Domesday Survey in Norfolk: the Hundred and a Half of Clackclose*. Eng. Hist. Rev., vol. LXXXIV, no. 330, pp. 79-83.
- DOUCH, H. L. *Windmills in Cornwall and Devon*. Devon & Cornwall N. & Q., vol. XXXI, pt 2, 1968, pp. 56-9.
- DYER, C. *Population and Agriculture on a Warwickshire Manor in the Later Middle Ages*. Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Jnl, vol. XI, no. 2, 1968, pp. 113-27.
- ELLIOTT, S. *The Role of the Open Fields in the Development of Nineteenth-Century Stamford*. Lincs. Hist. & Arch., no. 3, 1968, pp. 11-18.
- EVERETT, SUSANNA. *The Domesday Geography of Three Exmoor Parishes*. Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. CXII, 1968, pp. 54-60.
- FAIRHURST, H. *An Old Estate Plan of Auchindrain, Mid-Argyll*. Scottish Studies, vol. XII, pt 2, pp. 183-6.
- FAIRLIE, SUSAN. *The Corn Laws and British Wheat Production, 1829-76*. Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. XXII, no. 1, pp. 88-116.
- FARMER, D. L. *Some Livestock Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England*. Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. XXII, no. 1, pp. 1-16.
- FINBERG, H. P. R. *Some Crediton Documents Re-examined: with some Observations on the Criticism of Anglo-Saxon Charters*. Antiquaries Jnl, vol. XLVIII, pt 1, 1968, pp. 59-86.
- FREND, W. H. C. *A Roman Farm-settlement at Godmanchester*. Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc., vol. LXI, 1968, pp. 19-44.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *The Classical Tradition in West-European Farming: the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XVII, pt 1, pp. 1-8.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Science and Practice in Eighteenth-Century British Agriculture*. Agric. Hist., vol. XLIII, no. 1, pp. 7-18.
- GELLING, MARGARET. *The Charter Bounds of Aesclesbyrig and Ashbury*. Berks. Arch. Jnl, vol. LXIII, 1967-8, pp. 5-14.
- HALL, R. de Z. *Customary Weights of Flax, Somerset*. Somerset & Dorset N. & Q., vol. XXIX, pt 287, 1968, pp. 1-2.
- HAMER, J. H. *Trading at St White-Down Fair, 1637-1649*. Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. CXII, 1968, pp. 61-70.
- HARDY, EVELYN. *Life on a Suffolk Manor in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Suffolk Rev., vol. III, no. 7, 1968, pp. 225-37.
- HARRIS, A. *A Note on Common Fields in North Lancashire*. Trans. Historic Soc. of Lancs. & Cheshire, vol. CXIX, 1968, pp. 225-8.
- HARRIS, A. *Some Maps of Deserted Medieval Villages in the East Riding of Yorkshire*. Geographische Zeitschrift, LVI, no. 3, 1968, pp. 181-93.
- HARTWELL, R. M. *Economic Growth in England before the Industrial Revolution: some methodological issues*. Jnl of Econ. Hist., vol. XXIX, no. 1, pp. 13-31.
- HARVEY, BARBARA. *The Leasing of the Abbot of Westminster's Demesnes in the Later Middle Ages*. Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. XXII, no. 1, pp. 17-27.
- HENRIQUES, URSULA. *How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?* Hist. Jnl, vol. XI, no. 2, 1968, pp. 365-71.
- HEXTER, J. H. *The English Aristocracy: its Crises, and the English Revolution, 1558-1660*. Jnl of Brit. Studies, vol. VIII, pt 1, 1968, pp. 22-78.
- HIGGS, E. S. & JARMAN, M. R. *The Origins of Agriculture: a reconsideration*. Antiquity, vol. XLIII, no. 169, pp. 31-41.
- HODGSON, G. W. I. *A Comparative Account of the Animal Remains from Corstopitum and the Iron Age Site of Catcote near Hartlepool, County Durham*. Archaeological Aeliana, vol. XLVI, 1968, pp. 127-62.
- HODGSON, R. I. *Medieval Colonization in Northern Rydale, Yorkshire*. Geogr. Jnl, vol. CXXXV, pt 1, pp. 44-54.
- HOLMES, J. *The Chichester Dykes*. Sussex Arch. Coll., vol. xcvi, 1968, pp. 63-73.
- HOMANS, G. C. *The Explanation of English Regional Differences*. Past & Present, no. 42, pp. 18-34.
- HORN, P. L. R. *The Farm Workers, the Dockers, and Oxford University*. Oxoniensia, vol. XXXII, 1967, pp. 60-72.
- HORN, PAMELA. *Nineteenth-Century Naseby Farm Workers*. Northants. Past & Present, vol. IV, no. 3, 1968, pp. 167-74.

- HORN, PAMELA. *The Chartist Land Company*. Cake & Cockhorse, Banbury Hist. Soc., vol. IV, no. 2, 1968, pp. 19-24.
- HOSFORD, W. H. *The Manor of Sleaford in the Thirteenth Century*. Nottingham Med. Studies, vol. XII, 1968, pp. 21-39.
- HOSKINS, W. G. *Lords and Commoners*. Geogr. Mag., vol. XL, no. 15, 1968, pp. 1278-87.
- HUGHES, C. J. *Hides, Carucates and Yardlands in Leicestershire: the case of Saddington*. Trans. Leics. Arch. & Hist. Soc., vol. XLIII, 1967-8, pp. 19-23.
- HYDE, PATRICIA. *Oxfordshire Hundred Rolls of 1279. 2. The Borough of Witney*. Oxfords. Rec. Soc., vol. XLVI, 1968, pp. 89-107.
- JONES, D. J. V. *The Amlwch Riots of 1817*. Anglesey Antiq. Soc. & Field Club, 1966, pp. 93-102.
- JONES, E. L. *Agricultural Origins of Industry*. Past & Present, no. 40, 1968, pp. 58-71.
- JONES, E. L. *The Condition of English Agriculture, 1500-1640*. Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. XXI, no. 3, 1968, pp. 614-19.
- JONES, E. L. *The Institute of Agricultural History at the University of Reading*. Area, no. 1, pp. 16-18.
- JONES-EVANS, P. *Evan Pan Jones—Land Reformer*. Welsh Hist. Rev., vol. IV, no. 2, 1968, pp. 143-60.
- KELTING, E. L. *The Rivers and Sea Walls of Somerset*. Proc. Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. CXII, 1968, pp. 12-20.
- LAW, C. M. and HOOSON, D. J. M. *The Straw-Plait and Straw-Hat Industries of the South Midlands*. E. Midland Geographer, vol. IV, pt 6, 1968, pp. 329-50.
- LLOYD, A. T. *The Salterns of the Lymington Area*. Proc. Hants. Field Club, vol. XXIV, 1967, pp. 86-102.
- MASON, R. T. and WOOD, R. H. *Winkhurst Farm, Bough Beech*. Archæologia Cantiana, vol. LXXXIII, 1968, pp. 33-8.
- MINCHINTON, W. *Windmills in Devon*. Devon & Cornwall N. & Q., vol. XXXI, pt 3, 1968, pp. 78-82.
- MORTIMORE, M. J. *Landownership and Urban Growth in Bradford and its Environs in the West Riding Conurbation, 1850-1950*. Trans. Inst. British Geographers, vol. XLVI, pp. 99-113.
- MULLETT, C. F. *A Village Aristotle and the Harmony of Interests: James Anderson (1739-1808) of Monks Hill*. Jnl of Brit. Studies, vol. VIII, pt 1, 1968, pp. 94-118.
- MUNBY, L. M. *Short Guides to Records: 20. Tithe Apportionments and Maps*. History, vol. LIV, no. 180, pp. 68-71.
- MUSTY, J. *Water-mills on the River Bourne, South Wiltshire: the Excavations of the Site of Gomeldon Mill*. Wilts. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag., vol. LXIII, 1968, pp. 46-53.
- NEUMAN, M. D. *A Suggestion regarding the Origins of the Speenhamland Plan*. Eng. Hist. Rev., vol. LXXXIV, no. 331, pp. 317-23.
- NICHOLAS, E. M. *"Crows" in Cornish Hedges in the Pendeen Area*. Cornish Archaeology, no. 7, 1968, pp. 68-72.
- NIELSON, V. C. *Cheese Making and Cheese Chambers in Gloucestershire*. Industrial Archaeology, vol. V, no. 2, 1968, pp. 162-70.
- OLDFIELD, F. *Pollen Analysis and the History of Land Use*. Advancement of Science, vol. XXV, no. 125, pp. 298-320.
- PEARS, N. V. *Man in the Cairngorms: a Population-Resource Balance Problem*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIV, no. 1, 1968, pp. 45-55.
- PHILLIPS, A. D. M. *Underdraining and the English Claylands, 1850-80: a review*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XVII, pt 1, pp. 44-55.
- PHILLIPS, R. *The Last of the Drovers*. Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion, 1968, pt 1, pp. 110-21.
- PORTEOUS, J. D. *The Island-Parish of Jura*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIV, no. 1, 1968, pp. 56-65.
- QUAIFE, JILL. *Reeve's Account of the Manor of Burnham, 14-15 Richard II, A.D. 1390-1391*. Trans. Essex Arch. Soc., vol. II, pt 2, 1968, pp. 147-57.
- RAYBOULD, T. J. *Systems of Management and Administration on the Dudley Estates, 1774-1833*. Business Hist., vol. X, no. 1, pp. 1-11.
- REYNOLDS, J., BURRELL, C., and BIGNELL, J. *Durrgate Mill, Winchester*. Proc. Hants. Field Club, vol. XXIV, 1967, pp. 103-12.
- RIGOLD, S. E. *The Cherhill Barn*. Wilts. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag., vol. LXIII, 1968, pp. 58-65.

- ROBERTSON, ISOBEL M. L. *Changing Form and Function of Settlement in South-West Argyll, 1841-1961*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIII, no. 1, 1967, pp. 29-45.
- RODEN, D. *Inheritance Customs and Succession to Land in the Chiltern Hills in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*. Jnl of Brit. Studies, vol. VII, no. 1, 1967, pp. 1-11.
- RODEN, D. *Demesne Farming in the Chiltern Hills*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XVII, pt 1, pp. 9-23.
- ROWE, D. J. *The Chartist Convention and the Regions*. Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. XXII, no. 1, pp. 58-74.
- ROWLEY, R. T. *The Clee Forest—a Study in Common Rights*. Trans. Shropshire Arch. Soc., vol. LVIII, pt 1, 1967, pp. 48-67.
- RYDER, M. *The Evolution of Scottish Breeds of Sheep*. Scottish Studies, vol. XII, pt 2, pp. 127-68.
- SEYMOUR, W. *The New Forest from Norman Times*. History Today, vol. XVIII, 1968, pp. 614-21.
- SKELTON, R. A. *The Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-1755*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIII, no. 1, 1967, pp. 5-16.
- SMITH, B. S. *The Dougharty Family of Worcester, Estate Surveyors and Mapmakers, 1700-60*. Worcs. Hist. Soc., vol. V, 1967, pp. 138-77.
- SOMERS-COCKS, J. V. *Dartmoor and Domesday Book*. Devon & Cornwall N. & Q., vol. xxx, pts 11 & 12, 1967, pp. 290-3.
- SOMERS-COCKS, J. V. *Length and Breadth Measurements in Domesday Book*. Devon & Cornwall N. & Q., vol. xxxi, pt 3, 1968, pp. 82-4.
- STEAD, I. M. *An Iron Age Hill-Fort at Grimthorpe, Yorkshire*. Proc. Prehistoric Soc., vol. XXXIV, 1968, pp. 148-90.
- STEVENS, JOAN. *An Eighteenth-Century Diary*. Société Jersiaise Annual Bull., vol. XIX, pt 3, 1967, pp. 244-53.
- STONE, E. *Oxfordshire Hundred Rolls of 1279. 1. The Hundred of Bampton*. Oxfords. Rec. Soc., vol. XLVI, 1968, pp. 7-87.
- STONE, J. C. *An Evaluation of the "Nidisdaile" MS Map by Timothy Pont*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIV, no. 3, 1968, pp. 160-71.
- STOYEL, B. D. and A. J. *The Old Mill, Bexley*. Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. LXXXIII, 1968, pp. 105-10.
- SUMMERS, N. and TRAIN, K. *Hall Farm and the Clarkson Family of Kirton*. Thoroton Soc. Trans., vol. LXXII, 1968, pp. 73-80.
- TAYLOR, C. C. *Three Deserted Medieval Settlements in Whiteparish*. Wilts. Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag., vol. LXIII, 1968, pp. 39-45.
- TEBBUTT, C. F. *Rabbit Warrens on Ashdown Forest*. Sussex N. & Q., vol. XVII, no. 2, 1968, pp. 52-4.
- THOMAS, C. *Enclosure and the Rural Landscape of Merioneth in the Sixteenth Century*. Trans. Inst. of British Geographers, vol. XLII, 1967, pp. 153-62.
- THOMAS, K. *Another Digger Broadside*. Past & Present, no. 42, pp. 57-68.
- TOMKINSON, A. *The Carucage of 1220 in an Oxfordshire Hundred*. Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, vol. XLI, no. 104, 1968, pp. 212-15.
- TRIGGS, A. *The Windmills of Hampshire*. Industrial Archaeology, vol. VI, no. 1, pp. 1-12.
- TRINDER, B. S. *Banbury Fair in the 19th Century*. Cake & Cockhorse, Banbury Hist. Soc., vol. IV, no. 2, 1968, pp. 29-30.
- TURK, F. A. *Report on the Animal Remains from Nor-Nour, Isles of Scilly*. Royal Inst. of Cornwall, vol. V, pt 3, 1967, pp. 250-66.
- TURNOCK, D. *Glenelg, Glengarry and Lochiel: an Evolutionary Study in Land Use*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIII, no. 2, 1967, pp. 89-103.
- TURNOCK, D. *Depopulation in North-East Scotland with reference to the Countryside*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIV, no. 3, 1968, pp. 256-68.
- TURNOCK, D. *North Morar—the Improving Movement on a West Highland Estate*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXV, no. 1, pp. 17-30.
- TURNOCK, D. *Some Aspects of Crofting in "Locaber"*. Scottish Studies, vol. XIII, pt 1, pp. 33-45.
- TYE, W. *The Chevalliers of Aspoll Hall, their Cider Press and Barley Corn*. Société Jersiaise Annual Bull., vol. XIX, pt 4, 1968, pp. 307-14.
- VERITY, T. E. A., HARRISON, J. V., and HUDLESTON, C. R. *The Browns of Burnfoot: the Decline and Fall of a Yeoman Family*.

- Trans. Cumb. & Westm. Antiq. & Arch. Soc., vol. LXVIII, 1968, pp. 169-91.
- WAINWRIGHT, G. J. *The Excavations of a Durotrigian Farmstead near Tollard Royal in Cranbourne Chase*. Proc. Prehistoric Soc., vol. XXXIV, 1968, pp. 102-47.
- WAITES, B. *Aspects of Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Arable Farming in the Yorkshire Wolds*. Yorks. Arch. Soc., vol. XLII, pt 166, 1968, pp. 136-42.
- WAKELIN, M. F. *Names for the Cow-House in Devon and Cornwall*. Devon & Cornwall N. & Q., vol. XXXI, pt 2, 1968, pp. 52-6.
- WALMSLEY, J. F. *The "Censarii" of Burton Abbey and the Domesday Population*. N. Staffs. Jnl of Field Studies, vol. VIII, 1968, pp. 73-80.
- WARD, J. T. *The Saving of a Yorkshire Estate: George Lane-Fox and Bramham Estate*. Yorks. Arch. Jnl, vol. XLII, pt 165, 1967, pp. 63-71.
- WEAVER, M. E. *Notes on a Farmhouse Complex at Penrice, Karslake Downs*. Cornish Archaeology, no. 6, 1967, pp. 57-63.
- WEBSTER, D. and H., and PETCH, D. F. *A Possible Vineyard of the Romano-British Period at North Thoresby, Lincolnshire*. Lincs Hist. & Arch., no. 2, 1967, pp. 55-62.
- WELCH, MARY A. (ed.). *Willoughby Letters of the First Half of the Sixteenth Century*. Thoroton Soc., Rec. Series, vol XXIV, 1967, pp. 1-99.
- WHITTINGTON, G., and SOULSBY, J. A. *A Preliminary Investigation into Pit Place-Names*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIV, no. 2, 1968, pp. 117-25.
- WIGHTMAN, W. R. *The Pattern of Vegetation in the Vale of Pickering Area, c. A.D. 1300*. Trans. Inst. British Geographers, vol. XLV, 1968, pp. 125-42.
- WILLIS, D. P. *Population and Economy of Fair Isle*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXXIII, no. 2, 1967, pp. 113-17.
- WILSON, D. G. *Plant Remains from a Roman Well at Bunny, Nottinghamshire*. Thoroton Soc. Trans., vol. LXXII, 1968, pp. 42-50.
- WILSON, J. D. and CANTOR, L. M. *A Medieval Park Site at Clossworth*. Somerset & Dorset N. & Q., vol. XXIX, pt 289, pp. 49-51.
- YELLING, J. *The Combination and Rotation of Crops in East Worcestershire, 1540-1660*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. XVII, pt 1, pp. 24-43.
- YELLING, J. A. *Common Land and Enclosure in East Worcestershire, 1540-1870*. Trans. Inst. British Geographers, vol. XLV, 1968, pp. 157-68.

Recent Changes in Kenyan Land Tenure

By EDITH H. WHETHAM

REVIEW ARTICLE OF M. P. K. SORRENSON, *Land Reform in the Kikuyu Country*, Oxford U.P., Nairobi, 1967, 266 pp. 20s. in East Africa.

MR Sorrenson, of the University of Auckland, has recently published an account of land reform in the Kikuyu area of Kenya which describes the changes, voluntary and enforced, in land tenure over some eighty years ending in 1960. Neither he nor his publishers explain the interval of eight years during which his book was in gestation. This gap can be partly filled by the annual reports of the Department of Settlement in Kenya, from 1962-3 onwards, which describe the conversion of some million acres, formerly held by Europeans, into small farms for Africans, chiefly of the Kikuyu people. Taken together, these publications describe one of the most striking revolutions in land tenure which has occurred in recent years.

Mr Sorrenson discusses the conflicting traditions about the origins of Kikuyu settlement in the Fort Hall, Nyeri, and Kiambu areas of Kenya, settlement which may date to the sixteenth century but which was not completed until the end of the nineteenth century. By Kikuyu tradition, the original settlers acquired individual rights to the land they occupied after some form of purchase or lease had been made with the primitive people who then controlled these areas. On the death of each original Kikuyu settler, his rights in the land descended equally to all his sons, but one, usually the eldest, became the head of the family, with authority over the distribution of the land between branches and individuals of the group. Individual ownership was thus converted into collective ownership by families of varying size; within each family group, there were individual rights of occupation over the allotted land.

In order to protect land farmed by Africans from alienation, two ordinances in 1915 and 1921 declared that the Crown was the ultimate

owner of all land in Kenya, with its powers later vested in the Trust Lands Board set up in 1930. As a result, the Kikuyu found that neither families nor individuals could obtain written titles which they came to consider essential for protection against possible dispossession in favour of European settlers, and desirable for settling their own disputes over rights to land. As population increased in the Kikuyu area, so disputes increased between expanding and contracting branches of the same families, between inheritors of land let on tenancies and the descendants of the original tenants. By local custom, tenants might borrow land, giving in return a loan of goats; the land owner, or his heirs, regained possession of the land at any time by returning goats equivalent to the original number plus their estimated progeny, a form of lease which might have been designed to promote quarrels.

Although the Kikuyu were pressing for individual titles to their land all through the inter-war years, and although registration was recommended by the Kenya Land Commission in 1934, the Trust Lands Board regarded the preservation of existing customs as more important than economic development. Meanwhile, the increasing population had overflowed the land available for the Kikuyu. Some were working in Nairobi and other towns, leaving their families on their land; some were working on European farms, with small plots of crops and a few livestock of their own; some had taken land among other tribes, again with no security of tenure. After the Second World War, a number of officials suggested that consolidation of plots should be encouraged, with titles given to progressive farmers working upon the advice of the Ministry of Agriculture, but these suggestions and many others were lost in the administration in Nairobi.

Mr Sorrenson attributes much of the bitterness of the Mau-mau fighting to land feuds within the Kikuyu, feuds which might have

originated several generations earlier but which were intensified when the families working on European farms were sent back to their villages, at the beginning of the troubles. Then between June 1954 and October 1955, the major part of the Kikuyu was swept from its land into concentrated villages under military control, thus making a drastic break between families and their farms.

In the autumn of 1955, officers in the local administration decided to push through as rapidly as possible the consolidation of fragmented holdings, before the Kikuyu were returned to their land. Consolidation and registration of title were offered to the chiefs as the reward for loyalty to the administration, and as the first step towards improved farming under the Swynnerton plan. Dairy farming to supply liquid milk to the towns and butter for export, vegetables for local sale, and quotas for coffee production (hitherto reserved for European farms) were to provide various forms of intensive farming; these new enterprises would, it was hoped, absorb many of the half-employed and landless families, whose plight would be made conspicuous by land reform. Local committees of approved chiefs and their advisors were set up to record and register all claims upon land in their areas; staff were hastily trained in surveying the existing plots and in allocating them as consolidated units on to maps hastily drawn from aerial surveys, with certain areas set aside for common use—schools, markets, new roads, and so forth.

While the political and agricultural staff were carrying out these reforms at full speed, the Legal Department in Nairobi was arguing that titles to land could not be given under existing legislation, since African farmers were technically tenants at will of the Crown; the Colonial Office in London delayed any amendment to the legislation, pending firstly the report of the Royal Commission on East Africa, and then of the Arusha conference on land tenure. What was being done was therefore legalized provisionally in July 1956; the allotment of consolidated farms was open to appeal for two consecutive periods of thirty days, after which further legal suits over land titles were forbidden for three years. Consolidation was

virtually complete by the spring of 1959, though few farmers had by then received formal titles, which were recognized by later legislation to convey freeholds. The final process of checking allotments revealed an uncomfortable 'margin of error' both in the recording of rights and in the allotments, whose total sometimes exceeded the land available; some revision became necessary in the Fort Hall area, where such errors were largest (p. 144).

Apart from the speed of the consolidation, and the small size of the resulting farms, few of which exceeded five acres, the process inevitably asks for comparison with the enclosure movement in English history. Mr Sorrenson gives us some fascinating comments upon the by-products both of the procedure and of the final results. The strongest supporters of consolidation had been the larger landholders embarking upon commercial farming and concerned to reduce the innumerable disputes over rights to land. The bitterest opponents of consolidation were the landless families who lost what patches they had previously occupied as informal tenants. Many complaints were put forward from this class, alleging unfairness and corruption among the adjudicating committees, allotting land which might currently be under dispute. Local committees dealt differently with landless families; some gave gardens near villages taken out of the common allotment, while other committees simply ignored them. There were the inevitable difficulties with land of differing qualities, and especially with the re-allotment of the plots containing huts and banana trees. Further, family holdings were sometimes registered in the name of the head man, leaving to him the responsibility for subsequent distribution among grown sons and younger brothers; sometimes each adult man received a separate allotment, or brothers might be given adjacent farms registered in one name.

Given the existing density in the Kikuyu country, it was inevitable that most of the consolidated farms provided only a home and subsistence for the one, two, or more families who had previously shared the land under the authority of the senior man. Mr Sorrenson

refers (p. 202) to the official assumption that consolidation would automatically lead to improved farming, which seems to have occurred only on a small proportion of the larger holdings, themselves a small proportion of the total number of farms. Moreover, few subsequent changes in landholding have been registered, partly to avoid the official fees, partly to conceal the continuing fragmentation of holdings in defiance of the law. Nevertheless, consolidation and enclosure have stimulated some farmers to further improvements and have markedly reduced the incidence of legal disputes over land.

The continuing pressure of population in the Kikuyu country was partially relieved from 1961 onwards, when the new government, dominated by the Kikuyu, was faced with the virtual breakdown of farming on the European estates in the highlands. Many Europeans did not wish to live in Kenya after independence but could not find a buyer for their property at any price; many estates became swamped by squatters seeking to claim land in advance of official action; the supply of food for the towns and for export was threatened by a potential collapse in the most productive sector of Kenyan agriculture. The Kenyan government then took the heroic decision to buy up to one million acres of European-owned estates for conversion into small farms for Africans; it obtained loans from the United Kingdom and other overseas sources to finance the initial purchase.

From the start, this programme was intended to create occupying owners of consolidated farms, buying their land from the government on long-term mortgages. The experience gained in the previous land reform in the Kikuyu country was here most valuable; again at high speed, estates were surveyed, inventories made, new farms plotted on maps and marked upon the ground, local committees set up to select the new farmers from among the many applicants, while legal formalities were pushed aside to be concluded at some future date. Two types of holding were established—mainly subsistence holdings producing one

commodity for sale and repayment of debts, and small commercial farms each occupying one family full-time with occasional paid help, and adopting a combination of crops and livestock chosen according to the physical conditions of each area. These were designed to provide incomes of a hundred pounds or so at current prices and costs, over and above the servicing of the debts to the government. For various reasons, it was not possible to prevent some farms from being taken up by men with full-time jobs elsewhere, who either leave their families on the land or put in hired workers with no security of tenure, and no inducement to invest in improvements and intensified production.

Land reform in the 1950's and resettlement upon European-owned estates in the 1960's were both undertaken primarily for political reasons; the two situations, one before and one after the attainment of political independence, were both potentially explosive for the controlling government. In both cases, the government sided with a fairly small group of 'progressive' opinion among the Kikuyu, favouring small consolidated freeholds as an essential stage in developing commercial agriculture. In both cases, some farmers have taken the opportunity offered and are forging ahead with new crops, new livestock, new inputs of fertilizers, fencing, improved seeds, and the like; they are earning an income which gives a reasonable chance of paying off their debts and of setting up their families at a higher standard of life. In both cases, the change in land tenure has been imposed on numbers of more traditionally-minded people, many of whom will treat their new farms as subject to the customs which they have inherited. The Kenyan government has recently begun to tighten its control over its mortgagees who fail to develop their holdings and to repay their debts, even to the point of evicting a few of the most conspicuous defaulters.¹ But such a policy cannot run far ahead of public opinion, which may still regard a family as permanently attached to the land which it has once occupied, irrespective of such details as unpaid interest.

¹ Annual Reports of the Department of Settlement, Nairobi; J. Maina, *Land Settlement in Kenya*; J. MacArthur, *The Evaluation of Land Reform in Kenya*. F.A.O. World Land Reform, Rome, 1966.

Influenced by the Kikuyu example, farmers in adjacent areas are beginning to realize the advantages of consolidation, among them the fall in the frequency and costs of disputes over land. The Nandi, the Luo, and the Kipsigi are adopting voluntary schemes of consolidation of cultivated plots, which may also include the allocation among individuals of what has hitherto been regarded as common grazing land.¹ Once allocated, such farms may automatically tend to be regarded as freehold possessions, outside the control of any authority except the immediate family. Most areas in Kenya are less densely populated than the Kikuyu country; the consolidated farms are therefore larger and there are few families squeezed out of tenancies and unrecognized occupation of plots into landlessness and destitution.

Official policy in Kenya has therefore favoured the conversion of the variety of local customs over land into the European freeholds, each farmed by a single occupying family, and inherited intact by a single member of each succeeding generation. Customs may also move in this direction, but subdivision of

holdings may be practised for some time to come in the densely populated districts, where the alternative to the family farm is often migration in the hope of paid employment. But co-operative societies are also officially favoured as landholders for groups of workers engaged in farming the estates on which they formerly worked for the European owners; in these cases, the Kenyan government has again provided the capital both for buying the land and for the equipment and stocking. One area of some 130,000 acres of high land near Ol Kalou is now being run as a single unit under a group of technical officers, with the workers organized in about twenty co-operative societies, and a central union regarded as the future owner of the enterprise; it is hoped that the profits of the enterprise and the savings of the workers out of their wages will gradually repay the government loans. It is certainly wise to allow a variety of land tenures in the present circumstances, for physical conditions, existing customs over land, and the current state of development all vary so widely in different parts of these newly independent African countries.

¹ E. Huxley, *A New Earth*, London, 1960.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Eric Evans is lecturer in history at the University of Stirling. He is at present engaged on a history of the tithe system in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

John Hatcher is lecturer in history at the University of Kent at Canterbury. His research interests include the economy of south-west England in the Middle Ages.

Leslie G. Matthews is a barrister-at-law and former director of the Wellcome Foundation. He is president of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy, and the author of books and articles relating to the history of pharmacy.

Richard Perren is lecturer in economic history at Aberdeen University. He completed in

1967 a Ph.D. thesis on the effects of agricultural depression on the English estates of the Dukes of Sutherland, 1870-1900, and is at present engaged in research on the agriculture of the West Midlands between 1870 and 1900.

Dr Olive Robinson is lecturer in economics at Bath University. She is a graduate of The Queen's University, Belfast, and was sometime on the staff of Magee University College, Londonderry.

Edith Whetham was formerly Gilbey Lecturer in the History and Economics of Agriculture and a fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge. She was sometime Visiting Professor in Agricultural Economics at Ahmadu Bello University, Nigeria.

Book Reviews

C. R. ELRINGTON (ed.), *A Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, Vol. VIII. O.U.P., 1968. xxiv+312 pp. £8 8s.

This volume covers twenty-two rural parishes in the north of Gloucestershire, and one town, the borough of Tewkesbury, which fully deserves the 70 pages, 9 plates, and 5 plans devoted to it.

The making of the landscape is dealt with in the opening paragraphs of each parochial history. Then follows the tedious but necessary account of manors and their descents; after which, under the general heading of Economic History, agriculture, mills, industry, and trade each in turn have their distinct sections. This arrangement of the material, now standard in the Victoria County Histories, has been criticized before in this REVIEW (xiv, 1966, p. 74), and there is no need to repeat the criticism here. It is more agreeable to recognize the devoted labour which has gone into the compiling of the volume, and the factual value of the data assembled in it.

An attractive photograph shows newly harvested teasels grown within recent years at Elmstone Hardwicke. In the heart of Tewkesbury an open arable field of some 70 acres called Oldbury, divided evenly between three furlongs and held in common by the burgesses, was not enclosed until 1811. At Prestbury the bishop of Hereford had a number of tenants described as *buchi*; elsewhere we meet with tenants called *enches*. Both terms are of unknown meaning.

It could be wished that the lettering of the maps approached nearer to Ordnance Survey standards. The statement (p. 172) that Pamington, a hamlet in Ashchurch, is recorded in 967 is founded on nothing more than a blunder in Kemble's edition of the Anglo-Saxon charters.

H. P. R. FINBERG

A. H. SMITH, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*. English Place-Name Society, vols. XLII, XLIII. Cambridge University Press, 1967. 2 vols. lxxv+212 pp.; xiv+367 pp. 105s.

These two volumes were the sixteenth and

seventeenth to be edited for the English Place-Name Society by Professor Smith, and fully maintained the high standard which he and his predecessors had established. His death, at a comparatively early age, shortly after the publication of these volumes is a heavy loss to place-name studies. If one criticism may be made it must surely be directed at the maps, which are small and inadequate when compared with the publication as a whole.

Westmorland is notable for the absence of early place-names, the predominant element being Scandinavian, and that Norwegian rather than Danish. The sources for the study of place-names are likewise limited and late. There are few pre-Conquest records of names and Domesday only provides twenty, all for the southern part of the county which was included in the Yorkshire survey. Monastic and private records are few, and the county does not appear in the pipe rolls until after 1170. All this was very largely due to the sparseness of the population, which in turn may be attributed to the unattractive nature of the terrain. The county is divided into two by a mountainous ridge which crosses it from east to west. To the north lay the barony of Westmorland, mainly the valleys of the upper Eden and its tributaries, and to the south the barony of Kendal comprising the valleys of the Kent and the Lune. Only in the later twelfth century did they come to be regarded as forming a single shire. One-third of the county is rough mountain pasture and rocky waste, and a great deal of the remainder consisted of boggy and sour soils, as is amply shown by the frequency with which such elements as *kjarr*, *mos*, *mor*, and *myrr*, all meaning marsh or bog, occur in the place-names. Although sheep-farming was probably the most extensive occupation, names derived from bull, cow, and ox occur more frequently, and amongst crops those which have most commonly lent their names to places are flax, barley, oats, pease, and rye, in that order. The popularity of apples in the early Middle Ages is attested by Applethwaite Common, two Applegarths, and the town of Appleby. Apple-

by was exceptional in being an early borough, with two parishes in the time of Henry I. Other settlements were small and widely scattered, hamlets or single farms. Characteristic were the large ecclesiastical parishes with a church village (*kirkju-býr* in Old Norse) whence such names as (Kirkby) Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kirkby Stephen, and Kirkby Thore; probably four of the best known out of some forty places in the former Danelaw which bear, or formerly bore, the name Kirkby or Kirby.

J. L. KIRBY

JOHN L. FISHER, *A Medieval Farming Glossary of Latin and English words taken mainly from Essex Records*. National Council of Social Service for the Standing Conference for Local History, London, 1968. 42 pp. 7s. 6d.

This glossary has been compiled over many years by Canon Fisher and has been edited by Mr W. R. Powell with the aid of Mr R. E. Latham and Mr F. G. Emmison. It is based mainly on original Essex sources drawn from the records of some two hundred manors. No claim is made that it is comprehensive, nor has it been correlated with other dictionaries or glossaries. Nevertheless, bearing these limitations in mind, it is an excellent production. It includes, as implied in the title, a large number of words used in medieval farming. For most words, the source and the date are given; a large number are middle English or dialect words which, as students of manorial documents know, are frequently used in Latin records. In addition, the glossary includes a lot of words which are not connected essentially with farming, though they often appear in an agricultural context. Most of these are terms used by building craftsmen. Some are connected with the textile industry, as one would expect of medieval Essex. Of course, there are meanings given which one might question, and each user's list of disagreements might differ from others'—*liber bancus* (free bench) is not necessarily the whole holding kept by the widow; 'strip of field or meadow' is not a good translation of *sellio*; 'spring' rather than 'summer' sowing is better for *tremagium*; *operarius* can mean 'workman' as well as 'villein who does week work'; *insethouse* is a difficult word but I

doubt if it means 'the central room of a house'; and so on. Such disagreements do not detract from the glossary's utility. It should be acquired by everybody using manorial records, and will be of interest to anybody concerned with medieval implements, farming practice, and building techniques.

R. H. HILTON

A. ROGERS (ed.), *Bulletin for Local History Tutors and Students: East Midlands Region*. Dept. of Adult Education, Nottingham University, 1966, 1967. 16 pp.; 30 pp. 5s. each.

The region covered by these annual booklets comprises Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire. Dr Rogers is well known for his work on Lincolnshire, and in these pamphlets has compiled useful lists of 'Work in Progress' relating to all five counties. With the rapid expansion of research in local history, it is impossible for either amateurs or academics to keep track of all that is going on in fields akin to their own. Lists like Dr Rogers's facilitate the spread of information as well as preventing vexatious overlapping of effort. It is much to be hoped that other adult education boards will follow his enterprising example, and that he will be able to continue to produce this Bulletin annually. The issue for 1966 was the first in the series. Further information about the work of individuals or students will, he says, be welcome.

Each booklet also contains brief articles of general interest. In that for 1967 Mrs M. A. Welch writes on 'The Manuscripts Department of Nottingham University Library'; Dr Rogers on 'A Possible Group Project in Local History' (nineteenth-century church life); and Miss J. C. Sinar, the county archivist for Derbyshire, on 'The Tutor and the Archivist.' When the historiography of the twentieth century comes to be studied, the foundation of county and regional record offices will undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most constructive developments of our time. The revolution in the study of English provincial society which has begun in the last few years could not have occurred without the gallant work of local archivists up and down the country, often in the face of grave staff-shortages, and sometimes

without adequate consideration or recognition from students and scholars. Miss Sinar describes some of the principal sources of use to extramural classes and likely to be available in county record offices. She also points out, sensibly and moderately, some of the problems archivists face in meeting the needs of history tutors, and how tutors can best help in resolving them, above all by giving adequate notice of their requirements.

ALAN EVERITT

PATELEY BRIDGE TUTORIAL CLASS, ed. Bernard Jennings, *A History of Nidderdale*. The Advertiser Press Ltd, Huddersfield, 1967. 504 pp. 42s.; BRYAN WAITES, *Moorland and Vale-Land Farming in North-East Yorkshire: the Monastic Contribution in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1967. 36 pp. 5s. 6d. incl. postage.

A History of Nidderdale is a substantial book of nearly five hundred pages, a collective work by a tutorial class under the skilled guidance of their tutor, Mr Bernard Jennings. It is a first-class justification (if any were needed) for the activities of serious adult education groups, though one wishes that more would engage in long-term research such as that done by the Pateley Bridge class. The book is comprehensive. It describes, on the basis of a very full documentation, the evolution of a community from earliest times until the twentieth century. The most interesting aspect of this community's evolution is undoubtedly the close relationship between agriculture and industry which has obtained from the Middle Ages and onwards. Especially in recent times, the principal feature of rural life has been pasture farming for wool, meat, and dairy products. The chief industries have been lead mining and textiles, especially linen. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century the lead miners of Greenhow were also small farmers, and even the textile factory workers kept a small plot of land and a cow. In the Middle Ages the northern part of the vale was dominated by religious houses which were the principal landlords. The southern part was in the Honour of Knaresborough and was

governed by Forest law and custom. On the whole farming was for subsistence and consequently there was an important arable component (especially for oats) which only began to disappear in modern times. The writers deal with all the important aspects of agricultural history—techniques, land tenure, field systems, changing land use, the effect of changing market conditions. More is written about the industrial history of the region, but agriculture is dealt with in as much detail as the sources will allow. Furthermore, whether medieval, early or late modern problems are dealt with, the authors show that they are aware of the wider context of economic history. Perhaps because this is a collective work in which equal attention has to be given to all aspects of the region's history one misses a unifying theme, or group of themes, which might have come out of a work by a single author. The book is, therefore, more one of reference than to be read straight through (unless, of course, one happens to live in Nidderdale). This should be taken, however, simply as a comment, not as a criticism. The main criticism is that there is no discussion of the nature and validity of the sources which are used. Another (not directed at the authors) is that paper, print, and illustrations are hardly worthy of the work. An omission would seem to be that movements connected with industrialism and working-class poverty are either non-existent or not mentioned. Were trade unions unable to establish themselves where there were worker-farmers and patriarchal mill owners?

Mr Waites's short pamphlet is less readable and no more scholarly than the long collective work. It deals with a short period in the history of the area centred on the Vale of Pickering, but including the North Yorkshire moors and the coastal plain. As one would expect from a geographer, there is a detailed description of soils and the underlying geographical formations. It is of course the history of the expansion of cultivation on the one hand and of pastoral farming on the other. The areas on the northern and southern fringes of the vale are shown to have been the most rewarding as far as arable farming is concerned, though the coastal areas and the moors were outstanding for their

sheep flocks (as indeed were the wolds south of the vale and the limestone hills to the north). Mr Waites's theme, as the title indicates, is the monastic contribution. But one feels that the evidence does not bear the emphasis on the achievement of the monks which the author stresses. Undoubtedly Rievaulx, Whitby, Malton, Guisborough, and other religious houses were important landowners. Undoubtedly too the system of grange farming was characterized by landlord initiative. But the nature of the evidence inevitably emphasizes the role of the landowner at the expense of that of the tenant. One suspects that these monks got a lot of the credit for peasant assarting. And if the monastic sheep flocks in north-east Yorkshire numbered not less than 50,000 to 60,000, at the end of the thirteenth century the numbers quoted by Mr Waites of non-monastic flocks in the parishes—an incomplete total—already well exceed that number. Mr Waites has a dangerous tendency to throw together evidence from widely separated dates to prove the same point. Some transcriptions from the Latin are a little odd. Presumably the Florentine 'Society of Circulorum' is the Cerchi.

R. H. HILTON

F. G. EMMISON, *Catalogue of Essex Parish Records, 1240-1894*. Essex Record Office Publications, no. 7. Second (revised) edition, 1966. 269 pp. 43s. post free from the Essex Record Office; *Stuart Essex*, Essex Record Office Publications, no. 44, 1966. Unpaginated. 3s. post free from the Essex Record Office.

These two latest of the long list of Essex Record Office Publications illustrate admirably the two extremes of the services which this office provides, and for which all students of local history must be thankful. *Stuart Essex* is a well produced booklet of illustrations, linked by a loose chronological theme. The county in the seventeenth century is depicted in portraits, architectural photographs and drawings, maps and plans of estates, extracts from official and unofficial correspondence, ecclesiastical records, and the like, which will undoubtedly appeal to the historically-minded resident or

tourist, and be of use to the teacher or school-boy seeking for local illustrations of the national theme.

The theme of puritanism, emigration, and civil war leave little room for mention in the booklet of agricultural matters, which were no more typical of this than of any other century or county. The other work noticed here, however, has much to say of such things. It is addressed to a wider, perhaps more serious, public of local historians and genealogists, and was originally published in 1950, with an introduction, reprinted here, by Mr E. J. Erith; exhaustion of the original edition and the finding of much additional material made necessary this second edition.

The catalogue is a model of its kind. It is prefaced by an introduction which describes the main classes of documents found, mentions unusual items, and draws the attention of readers to comparable material to be found elsewhere in the Essex Record Office collections. There is a good general index. The catalogue is arranged alphabetically, by parish; it shows clearly which of the records is deposited in the Essex Record Office; it notes printed editions, transcripts, and articles making use of the records; it includes supplemental lists of records of nonconformity, charities, and miscellaneous societies. The individual entries are necessarily brief, but there is considerable detail when unusual notes are found in registers or where unexpected classes of records have survived.

By careful use of the introduction and index the agricultural historian will find much to interest him. For the most part the information to be extracted thus relates to crops, tithing methods, and tithe disputes. Much of the tithe payment was in kind and such documents as the long and detailed tithing custumal drawn up at Great Parndon in 1595, and the sequences of tithe accounts for Debden and other parishes, which cover much of the seventeenth century, are particularly useful in this context, and should throw much light on the development of the area as a source of supply for the London food markets. In this connection it is not perhaps inappropriate to mention, what the introduction briefly touches on, the great usefulness

of libels and their schedules of evidence in the innumerable tithe causes of the seventeenth century, many of which were concerned with attempts to tithe newly introduced crops. Details of acreage, yield, and marketing arrangements, and even notes on cultivation methods, appear in these documents, which are to be found occasionally in parish chests, but much more frequently among the papers of an episcopal or archidiaconal court. In addition the poor law accounts provide evidence of the mobility of labour within the county, and of the extent to which pauper apprenticeship and gang labour were used in agriculture in the later eighteenth century. These are common-places of parochial records in any county, but Essex has also something which is almost unique: a few sets of the detailed returns made in 1798 and 1803, in response to Acts of Parliament for the Defence of the Realm, of able-bodied men, transport, live and dead stock, and mills, within the parish. Besides this, entries in the index under such heads as 'husbandry', 'crops', 'Lammas', 'weather memoranda', bring out a variety of useful *minutiae*, and detailed study of the index would undoubtedly yield further treasures. All told, the parish records of Essex, and by inference, those of other counties, deserve more attention than the agricultural historian has yet bestowed on them.

DOROTHY M. OWEN

REX C. RUSSELL, *The Enclosures of Barton-on-Humber, 1793-1796*. Barton Branch Workers' Educational Association, 1968. 46 pp. 2 maps. 3s. 6d.; REX C. RUSSELL, *The Enclosures of Searby, 1763-1765; Nettleton, 1791-1795; Caistor, 1796-1798; Caistor Moors, 1811-1814*. Nettleton Branch Workers' Educational Association, 1968. 40 pp. 3 maps. 4s.

Continuing his already extensive evaluation of the impact of parliamentary enclosures in Lindsey, Mr Russell has revised two earlier publications. With the aid of Workers' Educational Association classes additional information has been gathered about the enclosure of Barton, described by Young as "one of the greatest inclosures in England," and new

material has been incorporated on the area adjacent to Caistor. This latter is particularly interesting because six parishes shared common rights on Caistor Moor which was the subject of a separate act and award.

The text follows a regular pattern dealing first with the meaning and importance of enclosure, its local significance, and then considering how the process was managed. The accounts follow a chronological sequence drawing upon newspaper notices, minutes, claim papers, and the awards themselves. The process is illustrated by admirable pre- and post-enclosure maps prepared by Mr Russell.

These publications are excellent examples of the sort of work that can be done by local classes under expert guidance and one looks forward to the time when all these efforts can be brought together to tell the full story of Parliamentary enclosures in North Lincolnshire.

BRIAN LOUGHBROUGH

W. E. TATE, *The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movements*. Victor Gollancz, 1967. 231 pp. 42s.

The lack of a scholarly but popularly-written work embodying the results of recent research on enclosure has long been felt. Since the late W. E. Tate spent a large part of his life carrying on research into the enclosure movement of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is a great relief to historians in general and a boon to the study of agricultural history in particular that just before his death he should have distilled his wide-ranging and microscopic knowledge of the subject into the present book. As Tate points out, the study of the question has suffered from the fact that the most dispassionate study of the enclosure movement, E. C. K. Gonner's *Common Land and Inclosure*, published as long ago as 1912, is "a dull book, ill written, and difficult to read," while the anti-enclosure point of view was put forward in the romantic and heady prose of the Hammonds' *Village Labourer*, also published in 1912. This has been described as "one of the most brilliant works of historical fiction in the English tongue." Quite rightly Tate goes back to the Old

English village community, with its open fields and common pastures, and traces the various enclosure movements from the Middle Ages through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries down to the present. Anyone wishing either to begin the study of a particular enclosure or group of enclosures or to inform himself generally on the great controversies which enliven the subject must from now on first consult this book with, among other aids, its admirable illustrations, its critical bibliography, and useful glossary of technical terms.

Those who fondly cling to the notion that enclosure commissioners were corrupt and tyrannical tools of the landed classes, or that the rights of small proprietors were wantonly disregarded, or that pre-enclosure village commons were idyllic places, should read the relevant passages in Tate's work. Inevitably this book bears the imprint of Tate's highly eccentric style and personality, composed of a curious amalgam of deadly seriousness and homely, humorous asides. Inevitably there are omissions, such as, for example, a tendency to say very little about the advantages of the open field (there is no reference to Dr E. R. R. Green's recent article 'On open-town-fields', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. IX, 1961), and a failure to note the rise in the status of the country clergy in the period 1760-1815, partly as the result of the generous treatment the Church received in the process of enclosure. It is to be hoped that our departed friend's manuscript 'Domesday of English Enclosure Awards' will soon be published.

W. H. CHALONER

J. S. NALSON, *Mobility of Farm Families*. Manchester University Press, 1968. xiv+299 pp. 55s.

Professor Nalson's book makes an interesting contribution to agricultural studies at two levels. At the practical level he provides sociological information for planners who are attempting to overcome the income disparity between farmers and urban workers. His aim is to help "speed up the process of movement of people away from agriculture" as painlessly as possible, and to streamline Britain for competition in the European Economic Com-

munity. On the more theoretical level he attempts "an interdisciplinary approach which combines historical perspective with an analysis dependent upon . . . sociology and agricultural economics."

Basing his study on a questionnaire filled in by 172 families "in an upland area" (unspecified) of England, there are chapters on the structure of farming families, succession to farms, movement from farm to farm, occupational mobility both of farmers and their children, and the influence of demographic and environmental factors on mobility. In perhaps the best chapter in the book he suggests how the State could divert money from direct grants to farmers into local industry, vocational retraining centres, rural housing, and retirement pensions. This would be no more costly and would encourage enterprise and mobility: 108 tables support his careful arguments. His central theme is the way in which these small family farms change at different points of the life-cycle. There will be surpluses and shortages of labour depending on the age and number of children. To overcome the difficulties "farmers move from farm to farm, or acquire and give up land; they prevail on their single sons to remain at home, and they marry off their daughters; they change the intensity of operation of their farms, or go out to work; they quarrel with kin, befriending neighbours." The author shows how the age at marriage and the age at death are correlated, since the son cannot inherit before the parents die. Consequently many sons who inherit the property (usually the youngest sons because of demographic factors) remain unmarried.

The farmhouses are usually too small to contain two adult couples, although there are two instances of the 'West Room' (i.e. old people's room) and the author makes a preliminary analysis of three-generation households. Among many other interesting points is the fact that geographical and social mobility overlap in the concept of moving up or down hill. The higher farmers are poorer: to change one's altitude-level and move higher up the slopes is to move down socially.

Although many fascinating hypotheses are suggested for the historian, the 'historical

perspective' which the author claims consists mainly of cyclical time, changes over the life-cycle. Professor Nalson disarmingly admits that he did not have time to use nineteenth-century census schedules or wills. Although he does make a little use of overall population figures for the last century and of an 1834 gazetteer, there are no references to the deeds, probate inventories, and parish registers which, among other sources, would have enriched this study. We might also have expected, since anthropological hypotheses are advocated, that there would be more reference to anthropological work in the text and bibliography; an obvious omission is *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups*, edited by Jack Goody. The heavy dependence on British rural sociologists, through whom anthropological ideas have been percolated, perhaps explains the almost total omission of beliefs, attitudes, and motives which are usually intensively studied by anthropologists. It would have been fascinating to have had an analysis which combined the impressive statistics of this account with the normal anthropological description of the ideals and norms of the society.

The statistics pose as many problems as they solve; some of these could have been partially solved by personal discussion. The statistics indicate family limitation, yet we do not know how or even whether this was present. The suggestion that "there was evidence of mental strain, some farmers' wives were suffering from mental disorder" is not followed up. Above all, the fact that farms are too small to support more than one pair of adults is taken for granted, yet it is essential to know *why* people built small houses and why farms remained small. There are many societies with a similar economic organization where the extended family operates and where the children may marry young. They do not have to wait for the parents to die. If the general treatment had been more historical we might also have discovered some of the effects of the demographic revolution of the last ninety years—when the expectation of life increased dramatically and the age structure altered fundamentally—on family farming. But all this is perhaps asking for a different book: the

book we do have is nevertheless very useful and stimulating.

A. MACFARLANE

P. GASKELL, *Morvern Transformed. A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1968. xix+274 pp. 65s.

In his study of Morvern, an isolated parish in North Argyll, cut off by Loch Linnhe from the rest of the country, Dr Gaskell has been fortunate in finding a wide range of documentary sources, which he has studied in great detail and with much sympathy. These sources, ranging over census reports, rentals, valuation rolls, estate papers and plans, and personal diaries and memoirs, are reproduced in the Appendices. In addition, the visual remains of the historic period—castles, churches, large buildings, shieling sites, arable land, dykes, woods, kilns, mills, fish-traps, coal mines, quarries, roads, and piers, are also listed in catalogue form. The book, therefore, can be used as a historical guide to the area by the present-day traveller. At the same time, the presentation of the documentary evidence allows the reader to test for himself Dr Gaskell's conclusions, though it must be admitted that a ratio of 129 pages of Appendices to 118 of text is a heavy weighting in terms of overall balance.

The body of the text consists of four chapters that trace the consecutive changes in land ownership in relation to land use, and the numbers, status, and activities of the tenantry from the end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. At each stage the writer tries to look in a fair, straightforward manner at the interactions of landlords and tenants. In an introductory section, he outlines the background history of clan chiefs and clansmen, when the chiefs were of purely highland stock. Then, between 1813 and 1838, every property in Morvern changed hands, some being bought by 'foreigners' from the non-highland parts of Scotland. Under these incoming lairds, the process of clearance of small tenants to make room for sheep was particularly resented. Nevertheless Dr Gaskell tries to show that their actions were signs of the

times rather than purely the impulses of individuals, and part of a widespread contemporary movement that completely changed the character of land use in many parts of Europe.

After 1850, the attempt to make estates in the parish pay by the commercial exploitation of sheep, and to a lesser extent the burning of seaweed for kelp, gradually fizzled out, and a completely new phenomenon appeared—the wealthy English aristocrat, prepared to buy an estate for use as a constructive hobby, for summer enjoyment, even though it was run at a loss. Here Octavius Smith, in many ways the central figure in the book, comes into his own, and the detailed study of his activities brings light to a kind of nineteenth-early twentieth century form of estate occupation and use that has hitherto gone largely unilluminated. Although a capitalist with the right to manipulate his property and tenantry as he saw fit, he nevertheless cared for his employees in the manner of a welfare state, to the extent that they probably never had it better. In fact, a somewhat unreal situation was created, bolstered against agricultural depression, that could not easily survive the removal of the excess capital upon which it was based. Attention should be drawn to the development of estate housing, the shepherds' and gamekeepers' cottages, of strong enduring quality, that still characterize the landscape of Morvern (as of many other parts of the Highlands). These are well illustrated photographically in the book.

The change of emphasis from sheep to grouse and deer (though sheep and cattle continued as an essential part of the economy) produced the 'estate worker', sometimes maintained on a semi-retired basis as little more than an odd-job man, though allowed to occupy a house on the estate. Smith's benevolence in this respect is reflected in the case studies of workers on pages 68–70. The profession of gamekeeper now became one of the most honourable on an estate, and the best paid. In the mid-1860's a gamekeeper had £54 a year as compared with £48 for a head shepherd—a clear reflection of the change of emphasis. The idyllic pastoral life of the proprietor and his family and friends is seen against this kind of background.

The artificial basis of the economy has led to the final change that is going on in this and similar areas, the take-over by the State of units that had become economically no longer viable for individuals. At the present time, the Forestry Commission is the biggest landowner in Morvern, though some large estates there are still privately owned. The movement of people and reorganization of land use in the Highlands in the early nineteenth century seemed inevitable to Gaskell in the light of the wider current issues and ideals of agricultural improvement as a concomitant to industrial progress. So also the present tendency bears the mark of an irresistible, almost impersonal movement—but this is a chapter that will have to be written in the future.

A carefully selected series of maps makes graphic the consecutive changes in land ownership in Morvern. The book is clearly and logically written, with a sense of inevitability overriding the manipulations of landlords. It is the first fully documented, academic study in depth of a nineteenth-century highland parish, where the problems of existence are by no means finally resolved.

ALEXANDER FENTON

H. WIESE and J. BÖLTS, *Rinderhaltung im nordwesteuropäischen Küstengebiet vom 15 bis zum 19 Jahrhundert*. Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1966. xii+272 pp. 64 DM.

This is one of the most exciting studies of the cattle business that has yet come from western Europe. The former neglect of the subject is inexplicably strange, for, as one of the authors points out, it was far more important in parts of north-west Europe than the grain trade. Indeed, for a long time cattle was the largest export, measured by value, from Denmark, and since Holland was Denmark's main customer, the cattle trade was a veritable barometer of the economies of both countries. The book is divided into two parts. The first half by Heinz Wiese examines the organization of the cattle business from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth century in the rearing areas of Jutland, East Friesland, and Schonen, their movement to fattening grounds on Germany's North Sea coast and along its river marshes,

thence to the consumer areas in the Hamburg-Lübeck area, the Netherlands, and the Rhineland. He traces the drove routes across Denmark, the Netherlands, and Germany, describes the provision for animals and men at the drovers' halts, calculates the costs of transport by sea and road, and compares the costs of production at each stage. He arrives at the conclusion that 29 per cent of the cost of meat in the period 1551-1650 was incurred at the rearing stage, 18.6 per cent when the animals were being winter stall-fed before their sale as stores, 25.3 per cent at the feeding stage, and 26.9 per cent during fattening.

The second part of the book is by Johann Bölts and traces the methods and economics of cattle production and dairying in two areas of Denmark, namely East Friesland and Oldenburg. Its special strength lies in its attempt to tell the story not only in the context of the economic stimuli of the period 1500-1900, but against the more enduring background of natural conditions and social structure. These reveal so many parallels in the social basis of the dairying and cattle-fattening industries of the Continent and England that it is to be hoped that someone will take it as a basis for bolder, comparative historical investigations and generalizations.

The main cattle rearing areas of north-west Europe, as Dr Wiese explains, developed their expertise out of practical necessity. They were not near enough to markets to fatten cattle successfully, nor, except in small districts, did they have ready access to ports for the transport of grain. So cattle rearing became the speciality in Jutland and most of East Friesland and the animals, when ready for sale to the graziers, walked to their next destination, or were shipped by boat. As cattle production expanded, the Danish crown intervened to procure for itself and the nobility the main privileges and profits. To the peasantry of Jutland was left the task of breeding and rearing the young stock until they were four or five years old. This they did by starving them in winter and feeding them up on grass in summer. At four to five years the peasants were obliged to sell their beasts to the nobility who stall-fed large numbers for one winter season

before selling them to the graziers. In Schleswig-Holstein cattle production was organized on a somewhat different basis: more grain was grown and the peasantry kept their beasts until they were ready for sale to the graziers. In Oldenburg things were different again, the dukes having the privilege of buying all cattle, and visiting peasant farms yearly to purchase the better stock.

The feeding areas lay near the towns of north-west Germany and the Low Countries. Beef animals intended for the slaughter houses of Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Cologne, and Frankfurt were finished on the North Sea coast, the river marshes, and in East and West Friesland. Stores were also carried from Jutland to Enkhuizen on the west side of the Zuider Zee for fattening further along the Dutch coast, eventually reaching Amsterdam and other towns in the vicinity, or being driven along the Vechte via Münster to the Rhineland. But from East Friesland to the mouth of the Scheldt dairying vied with fattening. The cattle of East Friesland, in particular, were highly valued all over Europe for their large size and heavy milk yields.

Meat markets in the large towns developed varied mercantile conventions. At Cologne, where the autumn cattle sales at the end of the sixteenth century saw dealings in 6,000-8,000 bullocks each year, the trade was mainly in the hands of foreigners, who procured all their beasts from the grazing grounds on the North Sea coast. At Frankfurt, however, the town's butchers organized supplies for themselves, trading in Poland and the Danube basin as well as in the north-west, and offering in exchange wine and cloth. Hamburg and Lübeck in their turn, offer fascinating evidence of the role of meat purchases in the domestic economy of the townsmen. Family purchases of one, two, or three beasts, to supply meat for the whole winter, involved a ritual of slaughter at home that was accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. The live beasts were brought home from the market and put on show outside the house. One peasant in 1697 gilded the horns of his bullock while it stood on public display. In the evening the animal was killed and for the next few days friends came to admire the carcass, often hung

with garlands, and to drink the health of the household. These festivities continued in full swing until the end of the eighteenth century, finally ending with the Napoleonic war.

Dr Wiese's text is generously strewn with tables measuring the traffic in cattle at different ports and markets. For example, he calculates the number of beasts exported from Denmark, Schleswig, and Schonen between 1480 and 1810, giving a total of 20,000 annually between 1480 and 1500, 45,000–50,000 between 1540 and 1580, and reaching a peak for the whole period at 55,000–60,000 p.a. between 1600 and 1620. The fall of population after 1600, coupled with war, caused meat prices to fall in the seventeenth century, reaching their lowest level in 1690. From about 1623 the Danish nobility withdrew from the fattening business, as milk and dairy produce began to pay bigger dividends, and, increasingly towards the end of the seventeenth century, the whole of Denmark turned over entirely to this new speciality.

Johann Böls's section of the book deals with cattle production and dairying in Oldenburg and East Friesland. He has much of interest to say about stock feeding, milk and butter yields, and cattle breeds—a difficult subject this last on which information is hard to come by. But he concludes that improvements in breeds were continuously taking place, through careful selection on the part of the peasant in the interest of higher yields, and sometimes even through cattle plagues, for a local calamity on a large scale forced everyone to buy in fresh stock from elsewhere and this sometimes caused a marked improvement in standards all round.

A careful study of costs and prices leads the writer on to conclusions about the comparative profits of grain, cattle, and dairy products. This is a complex matter for even within these main categories there were marked differences in types and qualities of products, for example between butter and cheese, and between a multitude of different kinds of butter and cheese, all of which changed their relative prices over time. But in the competition for land between dairying and meat production matters were not wholly determined by agricultural or market considerations. The author

notes important differences in the social structure of the marsh and the Geest—the sandy moorland. In the marshes the size of farms steadily increased between 1500 and 1800 until it became a region of medium-sized units of 30–60 hectares, some owner-occupied and inherited by primogeniture, some held by lease. The Geest, in contrast, was a region of small family holdings where dairying was combined with rural industries, further supplemented by wage labour on noble estates. This social structure exerted control on each region's response to market trends. For example, when fat cattle prices rose faster than butter prices around 1600, only the large farmers showed any tendency to expand their enterprise on the fattening side.

It is impossible to do full justice to this far-ranging study. It requires to be closely read, and its price material compared with the evidence from other parts of Europe. It is yet another study by German agrarian historians, carried out under the aegis of Professor Wilhelm Abel at the Institute for Economic and Social History at Göttingen, which ought to be made available to English readers in translation.

JOAN THIRSK

GÜNTHER FRANZ (ed.), *Universität Hohenheim. (Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule), 1818–1968*. Verlag Eugen Ulmer, Stuttgart, 1968. 332 pp. 32 plates. DM 28; ERNST KLEIN (compiler), *Die akademischen Lehrer der Universität Hohenheim (Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule), 1818–1968*. W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1968. 160 pp. DM 17.

The first of these two works is a handsome volume describing the agricultural college of Hohenheim (since 1967 the university of Hohenheim) during the one hundred and fifty years since its foundation, and is a production of Eugen Ulmer Verlag, closely associated with this university, in its own centenary year.

The editor, and main author, is Professor G. Franz, professor of agricultural history, and author of the noted works on the peasant wars of the sixteenth century, but the book also includes accounts of the present, and prognostications for the future, by the present

rector (Professor H. Röhm) and an authoritative account by Doz. Dr W. A. Boelcke of the estate occupied by the university.

Hohenheim, on the outskirts of Stuttgart, belonged to a family nicknamed Bombast, of whom Paracelsus is the best known member, but late in the eighteenth century it passed to a mistress of a king of Württemberg. When she became his wife they converted it into a great mansion, with a rococo English garden. Here in 1818, after being neglected for a while, J. N. H. Schwerz established a school of agriculture, later an academy, a college, and now a university. Schwerz was a romantic who, idealizing the life of the peasant, propagated improved agricultural rotations and the use of the Flemish plough. The school continued to develop from inadequate beginnings: it had to share its premises with an orphanage. At times it was mistaken in its teaching as when it advocated the use of animal dung alone, while Liebig was showing the need for artificial mineral fertilizers, and aimed some acid comments at Hohenheim. Nevertheless, it developed independently of the university of Tübingen and the technical college of Stuttgart though at times it shared professors with them. At all times it was watched by the state parliament and had to prove its worth. It educated practical farmers though with their diplomas many entered the state service. Its emphasis was never on the management of large estates, a task for economists. It was also concerned with the manufacture of beer, sugar, brandy, and starch, and the improvement and manufacture of agricultural implements.

At all times it led other German colleges by the quality of its teaching and number of students, and in national crises, as after great wars, it was active in renewal. Professor Franz describes the personalities of teachers, their expertise, and their future careers. This story epitomizes the history of agricultural education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its difficulties, its jealousies, its changing balance, and emphasis. Nor does it conceal the difficult years of National Socialism, nor the plundering of the college after the Second World War. One would not expect an exciting

book but Professor Franz and his co-authors choose their material so well, make their emphases so tightly, and have so just an appreciation of the turning points in the development of scientific knowledge of agriculture, that their account stirs a certain intellectual excitement.

When the current rector turns to today and the future the rapidity and scale of change become apparent. The first century and a quarter was one of slow change, of retrenchment, veering, and advance. The new university may well have 2,000 students, including pre-medical students using its facilities for pure science, while, in addition to its agricultural functions, it will be a focus of German research in pure biology, with computers, and the most advanced research apparatus, with a care for agricultural history, and a duty to educate students from developing countries. Its interest in the relations between national policy and agriculture and the implications of the Common Market will grow. Planning, applied genetics, and food technology come into its sphere. The university, however, still has a role, like the American agricultural college, in extension work locally in south-west Germany, a land of small farmers who may earn more from their industrial employment than from agriculture. There may be refined ways of advising farmers today, but one of the numerous excellent illustrations shows Director Walz in 1863 talking with the peasants on an experimental plot. The tension between science on a world scale and simple propaganda among small farmers will be great in so large an institution with a current income of about two million pounds.

This fascinating book concludes with a number of lists, the most important being of members of the faculties, an extensive Hohenheim bibliography of 445 items, and the dates of foundation of European agricultural colleges. A list of students' reunions partly compensates for the fact that the students play only a minor role in the book. Yet the most important achievement of the university will remain its success in enabling the farmer to produce efficiently in the changing conditions of the last hundred and fifty years.

The second of these two volumes refers to

the same celebrations. The first forty-two pages describe the careers of the main teachers at the university since its foundation and necessarily refer to much material found in the celebration volume. The remaining pages list the past and present members of the staff, adding salient facts. This list is a useful reference to the careers of a very large fraction of German scholars who have had agriculture or its kindred sciences as their speciality.

D. J. DAVIS

JÜRGEN KLASSEN, *Vergleichende Landschaftskunde der englischen Marschen*. Kölner Geographische Arbeiten, Heft 19. Im Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden: Geographisches Institut der Universität zu Köln, 1967. 332 pp. 88 photographs and maps, 1 page English summary. DM 14. Klassen's dissertation made in the Geographical Institute of the University of Cologne is about the English marshes and is one of several recent, modest German dissertations on English rural subjects. This comparative account of the development of the rural landscape in the marshes of England, with special emphasis on Romney Marsh, the Fens, and the Somerset Levels, does not claim to cover new ground. It is well written, displays a good understanding of what the author saw here, and refers with assurance to over 650 sources. A pruning of this bibliography would have made it more useful for many works are included merely to justify a number of commonplaces. Too long a bibliography gives equal authority to works of unequal importance.

At an early stage (pp. 42-3) Klassen tabulates English, Dutch, German, and French terms about marshes, a very valuable list, and suggests that peaty fens, for which we have no word, be called Sietland as in German. For each fenland he discusses physical origins, early uses, drainage, agricultural use, and historic variations, new economic needs, geography, technical developments, and policy. This is nearly faultless and the resemblances and differences described are the most original part of the book. While the author compares English marshes with continental ones, he should have made even greater reference to

them and have quoted more examples, even though he was not writing primarily for English readers.

The eighty-eight illustrations and maps do not do full justice to the well-written, straightforward, and succinct text, printed as if typed. Some of the maps are rather tiny and hard to read but the remainder are clear especially the detailed ones in the pocket at the end. The illustrations, however (mainly aerial photographs), are well intentioned but too small and lack definition.

We hope that further young German scholars will write this type of dissertation on the English rural landscape, showing a similar understanding, with the freshness of a continental outlook.

D. J. DAVIS

HIRAM M. DRACHE. *The Day of the Bonanza. A History of Bonanza Farming in the Red River Valley of the North*. Illus. x+240 pp. North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, Fargo, 1964. \$5.75.

The activities of the kinema and the writers of "cowboy" stories have created a kind of fictitious history of the development of the Far West of U.S.A. in the minds of most people. This history has several facets mostly bearing on the profession of cowboy, i.e. cowboys and Indians; cowmen and sheepmen; cowmen and nesters—most of whom spent their time shooting each other. Of course in the kaleidoscope of exploration and settlement over a continent there had to be other happenings, and Dr Drache has written the story of one area where these things did not occur. The Red River Valley in North Dakota was settled by capitalist farmers whose intention was to conduct their holdings for profit making and not for subsistence. This was a new thing in the west, and was made possible by the financial difficulties that the projected Northern Pacific Railway ran into. These difficulties appear to have been mainly caused by the over optimistic value placed upon their land grant by the projectors—a common fault of the class. This land grant to the railway was nothing less than colossal by European standards of size. It was 26,000 acres for each mile of railroad built from

the Red River to the Pacific coast. The promoters estimated the selling price of this land at \$5 an acre, but it could not realize this price as unbroken prairie.

Building the railroad, and land settlement to provide demands for transport, were obvious interlocking factors in the development of the area. With the time comes the prophet! James B. Power was the man. In 1871 he was a comparatively minor official of the railway: by 1875 he could almost have been said to be the fulcrum of its prosperity and the prosperity of the area. Unfortunately, the financial crisis of 1873 had happened to delay the success of his work. Financial embarrassment led to the offer by the railroad of advantageous exchange of their interest-carrying bonds (they could not pay the interest) for land. The result of this idea was to attract the attention of large bondholders "because they could trade their bonds for large tracts of land," and engage a manager and the necessary labour to work it.

The railroad land was intermixed with land on the public domain that could be settled in the orthodox way by sections of 640 acres down to quarter sections as elsewhere in the country. Some settlers on homestead land bought railroad land in addition; but the great bonanza farms were formed by financial speculators. The scale of these farms was outside anything that was known to the older countries of Europe, and was only matched in the wastes of Australia, or possibly later in the Argentine. California, too, was a competitor; one farm was over 60,000 acres in area.

The Red River bonanza farms were not each in one block within a ring fence, but were often in large blocks of land separated by others almost equally large. The size of these farms was averaged by various writers at 1,280 acres, 3,000, and 7,000 acres. Whatever the average, there was one farm of 50,000 acres in 1880, owned by the Grandin family. There was a wide range from 10,000 acres upwards, and besides these great farms there were smaller ones whose produce helped to integrate the economy. The saleable produce of these enterprises was wheat, grown on a single crop system. Horse ploughs were used at first to make a seed bed, and furrows a mile long are

spoken of. One undertaking had a horse herd of more than 600. They had to be fed, as did the transitory labour that drove them. Oats were not grown nor any other fodder crop. Food for both men and animals was bought. The smaller farmers went in for a more diversified system, and made money by selling oats, etc., to the bonanzas. Steam threshing first, and soon afterwards steam ploughing were speedily introduced. Huge steam tractors hauling as many as 14 14-inch ploughs by direct traction in the same way as a modern diesel tractor, ploughed 20 acres a day. Regiments of seed drills and of reaping machines moved across the fields at the appropriate seasons, as did horse-drawn manure spreaders in 1904. It was a kind of farming that daunts the imagination, and it had side effects, e.g. in stimulating the milling industry of Minneapolis. But after the First World War this single crop method encountered great difficulties, which could only have been met by diversification. This the farmers opposed. Dr Drache does not tell his readers what happened next, nor what the present-day conditions in the area are; but his study describes yet another romance of the settlement of the prairies and makes fascinating reading.

G. E. FUSSELL

K. D. WHITE, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, 1967. xvi+230 pp., 16 plates, 119 figs. 90s. It is entirely appropriate that the first systematic study of Roman farming tools should have come from the University which beheld the labours of Atkinson, Ure, and Perceval. This happy marriage of the classical and agricultural tradition one suspects to have derived some encouragement from the environment, adorned both by Huntley and Palmers, and the ruins of the Roman town of Silchester.

Mr White has done the job of pinning the tools to the texts and of testing them by reference to the known finds and to their representations on monuments, on mosaics, and in illuminated manuscripts. This is not a simple undertaking, and, as the author remarks, modern classical works of reference and translation are generally unreliable and prone to confusion on the technical terms relating to

ancient agriculture. The author also complains of the lack of modern commentaries on Columella and Palladius, a lack which present scholarship, with its interest in economics and techniques, should endeavour to correct.

Mr White therefore has first attempted to clear up, by the citations from the literary sources, which he prints *verbatim*, what each author did say about each given tool, and what we may deduce therefrom on its form, variations, and function. He then discusses form, technique of operation, representations, and survival of form and name. The material is divided into tools for earth-shifting; for cutting; forks, saws, and shears; and finally machines (e.g. harvesters, ploughs, harrows, threshing drags). The first two categories naturally include far the greater number of the tools, of which he studies over sixty. Each variety of tool is illustrated by a marginal sketch, and plates at the end furnish the information supplied by reliefs, mosaics, and some ancient models and finds.

Here we may comment in parenthesis on the absence of any indication of scale for the figures and for most of the iron objects shown in the plates; it can be confusing to the uninitiated if a pruning hook appears to be the same size as a two-hand scythe blade.

Mr White stresses that the study of tools cannot be divorced from the operations and conditions for which they were made, and he has done important work in defining the uses of each in the light of our information on Roman agriculture. But here we may note one of the deficiencies of his book, for which he is not entirely to blame: Roman imperial agriculture did not live in a vacuum, but as it expanded over the Mediterranean and central and north-western Europe, it partly superseded, partly coalesced with native agricultures in the semi-arid and temperate zones. It also had to readapt itself to non-Mediterranean conditions. No study of Roman tools, therefore, can be complete without consideration of the results of this process, duly divided according to the environment of each province or physical region.

Mr White's material is preponderantly central Mediterranean, with some secondary

utilization of finds from Gaul, the Rhineland, Britain, Spain, Switzerland, North Africa, and Austria. We hear virtually nothing of the provinces east of the last country. The deficiency of the method is made clear by Mr White's treatment of the sickle and its very complex problems. Roman sickles, as he classifies them, are balanced and crescentic, and sharply distinguished from Roman billhooks and pruning hooks, which, whether straight, curved, or beaked, are non-crescentic and non-balanced. If we accept this distinction, then we are forced to conclude that the inhabitants of pre-Roman Britain possessed no iron tools with which to reap their crops, since all the Early Iron Age finds till the end of the Belgic period are those of the small nearly straight implement. Most of them are, of course, reaping hooks, but Mr White, having no space for provincial detail, does not mention this fact, or that the small hook continued in wide use in Roman Britain even in some villas (e.g. Hambleden, Buckinghamshire). Mr White, therefore, has inadvertently distorted the picture of one aspect of Roman provincial agriculture, and the matter is no less grave because he himself correctly emphasizes the importance of harvesting methods in respect of the use of the stooks and stubble as bedding, fodder, and (he might have added) in connection with farmyard manure. In other words, the harvesting tool (including the two-hand scythe) is vital for an understanding of ancient farm management.

In much the same fashion, Mr White could not extend the scope of the present book to distributional studies in relation to the tools of various provinces. But clearly such studies will have to be undertaken; to illustrate the importance of such we may mention the known incidence of Roman iron spades in Britain; these are from predominantly civil sites, and digging at forts and camps appears to have been carried out chiefly with the 'hoe-rake' (*ascia rastrum*) and the *dolabra*. The problematic heavy scythes from several British sites constitute another case in point: similar but smaller types seem to be frequent in the Rhineland, and the precise connection between the two areas invites study.

Nor does it help to form a true perspective

that Mr White's book cannot afford to pay attention to the non-Roman heritage which Roman agriculture overlaid but seldom extinguished. In 1958 the reviewer listed the Roman agricultural tools introduced for the first time by the Romans into Britain (*Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vi, p. 73) and noted the importance for agricultural progress of the balanced sickle, the two-hand scythe, the eyeleted axe, and the iron spade. This is an aspect with which Mr White has been unable to deal. Clearly the book can only serve as the basis for a series of further provincial studies, and numerous provincial tool-finds of Roman date must be known which do not conform with White's classifications because they are not described in the *Scriptores Rustici*.

Precisely the above reservations constitute the most genuine compliment we can pay to this work: it forms the first solid basis for more extensive research.

SHIMON APPLEBAUM

CLAUDIO ROTELLI, *I castasti Imolesi dei secoli XIX e XX*. Ricerche nella distribuzione della proprietà, no. 5, directed by Prof. Luigi dal Pane. Univ. of Bologna, Milan, 1967. viii+50 pp; *L'economia agraria di Chieri attraverso i castasti dei secoli XIV-XVI*, *ibid*, no. 6. Milan, 1967. 76 pp. (no price stated for either); 'Rendimentie produzione agricola nell'Imolese dal XVI al XIX secolo', offprint from *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXIX. iv, no. 1. 1967. 20 pp., 2 graphs.

Unless a complete translation were made, justice to these works of Claudio Rotelli could hardly be done. Indeed, in the course of a brief review, it would be impossible to make a significant analysis of the statistical tables he has been able to compile: so this will not be attempted here. In the first of the above-named publications Rotelli has continued his work on the distribution of landed property in the Imolese down to 1925 with the help of various surveys. He opened the subject in a study noticed in this REVIEW (xv, i, 1967).

There have been marked changes in land-ownership in the Imolese in the past two centuries. Until towards the end of the eighteenth

century there was some consolidation, but during the Napoleonic period some accumulation of landed property in the hands of persons who had become wealthy by trade and industrial undertakings took place. During the nineteenth century there was a change. There was an increase in the number of proprietors owning between 10 and 30 hectares and this was accompanied by some diminution of ecclesiastical property. The proportion of *mezzadria* increased during this century.

As in other countries it was towards the end of the eighteenth century that farming in the Imolese began to show signs of innovation. Before 1773 there had been little change, though some. There was only a minor proportion of bare fallow, pasture, and woods, but a century and a half later vines had been cultivated on lands formerly reserved as bare fallow. The improvement in working is demonstrated by a higher yield of cereals after 1840, and by the introduction of sugar beet into the rotation.

The third paper, dealing with yields, shows significant changes in cropping systems with a consequent rise in output. I find it difficult to deal with large masses of figures even when their meaning is interpreted as it is here, but there is no doubt that Rotelli's researches have clearly defined changes of landownership and land use that have taken place as a result of modern developments in the Imolese.

The second study named above deals with a different area. Rotelli has spread his line of enquiry to Chieri near Turin, a good many miles from Imola. This study deals with the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and it may not unreasonably be anticipated that he will carry it on to modern times as he has done with Imola.

Piedmont has enjoyed a reputation for productive agriculture from the Middle Ages, if not from Roman times. At Chieri there was a fustian weaving industry in the thirteenth century. There is apparently a wealth of documents scattered in different places, but some of the registers of landed property (*castasti*) are illegible because of the vicissitudes of time, and some are missing. The tables of crop distribution at different times show prevailing

arable farming for cereal culture, the crops being various: spelt, rye, oats, barley, and some legumes, e.g. chick peas and beans. The information here presented is derived from documentary evidence, which may be regarded as a primary source as opposed to the generalizations to be found in contemporary textbooks of farming practice. Indeed, it can be said that Rotelli has supplied a more exact description of landownership and in some respects of farming in two areas of north Italy than was formerly to hand.

G. E. FUSSELL

AXEL STEENBERG (ed.), *Atlas over Borup Agre 1000-1200 e. Kr.* (*Atlas of the Fields of Borup 1000-1200 A.D.*). Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters' Commission for Research on the History of Agricultural Implements and Field Structures, Publication no. 1. Copenhagen, 1968. 114 pp. 19 illustrations in the text, 96 plans in the atlas. 100 Danish Crowns.

This truly remarkable atlas is the first product of an equally remarkable archaeological investigation, extending over a fifteen-year period, of the fields and settlements of a village in Zealand, founded about A.D. 1000 and deserted two hundred years later. It is offered as an objective presentation of the evidence rather than as an interpretation of either the specific or the general problems arising from the results of the investigation, which are presented in the 96 plans of the atlas. Each plan is at the scale of 1:400 and covers an area equivalent to one hectare. A general map at the scale of 1:2000 is included in a pocket at the back of the atlas and is useful both in providing an overall picture of the results of the investigation and in locating the large-scale individual plans within the area as a whole. The atlas is accompanied by a text written by Axel Steensberg (the text is in Danish but there are lengthy summaries in English, German, French, and Russian).

The investigation was carried out most meticulously. When preparatory work for making a new road through an area of woods and pastures was undertaken during the winter of 1949-50 it soon became apparent that sub-

surface rows of stones were traces of earlier cultivation. It was assumed that the rows of stones represented debris removed from areas of cultivation and that the farmers would not have bothered to collect stones smaller than 10 cm in diameter. The incredible task was therefore begun of mapping the location of *all* stones of 10 cm or more in diameter and not only those that lay in rows. It was further assumed that the cultivation layer penetrated down to 20 cm and it was decided to locate and map stones down to that depth. It is now thought that the lands of the village of Borup probably covered at least 200 hectares and so far about half of this has been mapped in detail. This area was divided into a grid of 5 metre squares and, when a plan of the stones was to be made, both the sides of square and the diagonals were marked on the ground surface with cords. It was then regarded as a simple matter to locate the stones correctly on a plan, since no point on the ground lay more than 1.25 m from a guide line. Probing for stones was carried out with steel spikes, a minimum of one hundred probes being made per square metre. Located stones were marked on the ground by survey pegs and then plotted on the plan.

Some inaccuracies must have crept into the plotting. The probing was undertaken by otherwise unemployed labour and some of the differing distributions and densities of plotted stones must reflect the differing enthusiasms and efficiencies of the investigators. One expected a more precise assessment of the accuracy of their work than the bland assertion that "after some practice most of the workmen achieved a considerable degree of precision in following the outlines of stones and judging their size." Clearly, too much confidence should not be placed in the plans of the smallest areas but the methods used find their justification in the pattern which has emerged for the area as a whole. We now have a good idea of the general layout of the fields and settlements of a village in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Accurate description of form should precede discussion of function and origin. This atlas and Steensberg's text provide the description. Interpretation of the pattern is delayed for a future publication. Tentatively, Steensberg

believes that there must have been a maximum of 10-15 farms in Borup and that the regularity of the field layout and the lack of terracing on the slopes (where most fields lay across the contours) suggest that Borup and its fields were established in their entirety as a colonial settlement. No doubt when a full interpretation of this remarkable body of evidence is published there will be room for disagreement. For the moment, there is no doubt that this study is an important contribution towards our understanding of the evolution of European fields and rural settlements.

ALAN R. H. BAKER

KAREN MARIE OLSEN, *Sokkelund Herreds Tingbøger 1634-6. Ældre Danske Tingbøger udgivet af Landbohistorisk Selskab (Udvalget for Udgivelse af Kilder til Landbefolkningens Historie)*. Rosenkilde og Bagger's Forlag, København, 1969, 1. Heft, 64 pp.

Since 1952 the Rural History Society, or the Committee for Publication of Source Materials in the History of Rural Population, in Copenhagen has been working with funded assistance to disseminate more widely in an accessible format essential archive materials from 1500 and later. Early on, their labours produced in 1954 the first instalment of what has come to be a series of district court registers or *Tingbøger*. These records derive from the rural sittings of courts and are probably not dissimilar to the British quarter sessions papers. The publication to date of portions of *Tingbøger* from Jutland, Funen, and Zealand, of which this fascicule is one, provides source material for the

study of how rural problems of the seventeenth century were met and of the local peculiarities of judgements. Sokkelund Herred or district lies within the modern limits of Copenhagen county, and its *Tingbøger* reflect in their pages the economic and social consequences of a location so close to the royal seat.

These Danish land court registers, dating particularly from the seventeenth century, provide in diary form the minutes of the deliberations of the court sessions. In order that such records, reproduced here in their contemporary and idiomatic Danish, can be more accessible to the topographer or biographer, some critical apparatus is necessary. For each complete volume three indexes are provided. The first and longest is an alphabetical list of both place and personal names which occur in the text. Two shorter listings of the vernacular or nicknames of both individuals and places complete the individual volumes.

Although these Danish *Tingbøger* are clearly produced, they do not, nor are they meant to, provide compulsive reading for academics. Instead, their availability in a uniform and legible format means that Danish legal historians with an interest in the local life of past times will have at hand part of the record of the dynamism of events at the foundations of the realm. The agricultural historian also can pursue in these publications his patient studies showing how landholding was rationalized, how fines for assorted agrarian misdemeanours were levied, and how the fiscal obligations on farmers who fell upon hard times were alleviated.

ROBERT M. NEWCOMB

Agrarian Change and Economic Development

The Historical Problems

Edited by E. L. Jones and S. J. Woolf

This international symposium is the first of its kind and it has the common purpose to redress the balance of scholarly interest in the historical significance of agriculture, and to illustrate the importance of the western world's escape from an overwhelmingly agrarian condition.

This collection of essays also has especial relevance to the problems of under-developed countries.

40s

Debates in Economic History Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1650–1815

Edited by E. L. Jones

'Mr E. L. Jones is an authority who wears his learning lightly and nicely explodes myths without belittling people.'

—*The Times Educational Supplement*

Hardback 25s University Paperback 15s

The European Peasantry

The Final Phase

S. H. Franklin

'The subject is important and the book itself deserves high praise.'—*Nature*

'It is most informative, and the material is presented in an impressively logical manner . . . No other book does what this one does and it is extremely valuable.'—*New Society*

50s

METHUEN

DAVID & CHARLES are steadily developing a list of both new books and reprints of classics of special interest to the economic and agricultural historian, and our spring catalogue includes many titles of permanent value; please ask to be added to our mailing list. Titles of special interest to agricultural historians are:

THE EARLY HORTICULTURISTS, by Ronald Webber. 40s

ESSAYS IN AGRARIAN HISTORY, Volumes 1 and 2, edited by W. E. Minchinton. 63s each

FOREST SERVICE, by George Ryle. 63s

David & Charles Reprints

ENGLISH LAND AND ENGLISH LANDLORDS (1881), by George C. Brodrick. 75s

NEVE'S CITY AND COUNTRY PURCHASER AND BUILDER'S DICTIONARY (1726). 84s

THE REVIEW AND ABSTRACT OF THE COUNTY REPORTS TO THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE FROM THE SEVERAL DEPARTMENTS OF ENGLAND, by William Marshall. Five volumes: Vol 1 Northern Department; Vol 2 Western Department; Vol 3 Eastern Department; Vol 4 Midlands Department; Vol 5 Southern and Peninsular Departments. 95s each

GENERAL VIEW OF THE AGRICULTURE OF THE COUNTY OF . . .

Devon (1808), by Charles Vancouver. 105s

Lancaster (1795), by John Holt. 84s

Norfolk (1804), by Arthur Young. 105s

Oxfordshire (1813), by Arthur Young. 105s

Suffolk (1813), by Arthur Young. 105s

Worcester (1813), by W. Pitt. 105s

Volumes covering Hertfordshire (1804), Kent (1805), Lincolnshire (1813), and Sussex (1813) are in active preparation and will be published later this year. A prospectus giving details of these reprints is available on request.

DAVID & CHARLES

NEWTON ABBOT . DEVON

The Agricultural Revolution

ERIC KERRIDGE

'A real contribution to our knowledge of the period and particularly of the diversities of practice existing in the different farming countries, as he chooses to call them, of England and Wales.'—*The Times Educational Supplement*.

'A work of immense learning.'—*The Economist*.

'Kerridge's book displays an extraordinary erudition which will doubtless do much to establish permanently a new chronology and description of the agricultural revolution.'
—*Agricultural History*. 84s

Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After

ERIC KERRIDGE

A penetrating criticism of R. H. Tawney's picture of early capitalism as cruel and greedy, destructive alike of social welfare and true spiritual value. Dr Kerridge's first work *The Agricultural Revolution* stated the case for a complete reassessment of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century agrarian history. This study continues his analysis into the eviction of copyholders, the extent of depopulation, and enclosures. It questions Tawney's conclusions in their entirety.

Historical Problems: Studies and Documents No. 6.

Cloth 35s Paper 22s

English Rural Society 1200–1350

J. Z. TITOW

Medieval economic history is meaningless without a clear understanding of the source material and its limitations. Dr Titow concentrates on the major problems arising from the documents, in particular on the discussion of the standard of living among the peasantry. With its emphasis on the controversial and debatable and the polemical character of much of the writing, the book is admirable proof that a study of medieval history, like any other historical study, is not merely a matter of memorizing 'accepted' facts.

Historical Problems: Studies and Documents No. 4.

Cloth 40s Paper 22s

Soviet Agriculture in Perspective

A Study of its Successes and Failures

ERICH STRAUSS

Gives an analytical account of the course of events: a concise history of Soviet agricultural policy. The first part outlines the framework within which Soviet agriculture had to operate from the start: the dilemma of a revolutionary regime in a backward peasant country, the strait-jacket of a bureaucratic system inherited from Tsarism, made even more rigid by the internal tensions of the new society, and the imperative needs of economic developments. 55s

Allen & Unwin

SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XLVIII

No. 146

OCTOBER 1969

CONTENTS

Articles

- The source of the Roman-canonical part of the Regiam Maiestatem PETER STEIN
Scottish Trade with Sweden, 1580-1622 JAMES DOW
Political economy, whiggism and the education of working-class
adults in Scotland, 1817-1840 A. TYRRELL

Notes and comments

- The origins of the medieval diocese of Glasgow N. F. SHEAD
Scottish Record Office notes SIR JAMES FERGUSON
The Vatican Archives: a report on pre-Reformation Scottish
material I. B. COWAN
A list of articles on Scottish history published during the year 1968

Reviews

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

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

Annual subscription to *Agricultural History* is \$5.00, including membership in the Agricultural History Society. The journal publishes the results of research pertaining to the history of agriculture in all countries, and in all of its ramifications: social, economic, political, scientific, and technological. *Agricultural History* has been on the frontiers of historical scholarship since 1927. Recent articles include:

- Alan G. Bogue, "Foreclosure Tenancy on the Northern Plains"
David B. Grigg, "A Note on Agricultural Rent and Expenditure in 19th Century England"
Jerzy F. Karcz, "Khrushchev's Impact on Soviet Agriculture"
Morton Rothstein, "Antebellum Wheat and Cotton Exports"
Lewis Atherton, "The Farm Novel and Agricultural History"
G. E. Fussell, "Ploughs and Ploughing Before 1800"
Theodore Saloutos, "The Professors and the Populists"
Leonard J. Arrington, Paul S. Taylor, Gerald D. Nash, Wayne D. Rasmussen, "Science, Government, and Enterprise in Economic Development: The Western Sugar Beet Industry"
Harry N. Scheiber, "On the New Economic History—And Its Limitations"
Eugene Genovese, David Potter, Kenneth Stampp, Stanley Elkins, "Class and Race in Southern History, Papers on the Work of Ulrich B. Phillips"

Publications Office: Periodicals Department, University of California Press, Fulton Street, Berkeley, California.

Society Office: Room 3869, South Agricultural Building, U.S. Economic Research Service, Washington 25, D.C.

Editorial Office: Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis, California 95616.

JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Vol. XX, No. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1969

CONTENTS

Reciprocity in International Trade

TRUMAN PHILLIPS and

CHRISTOPHER RITSON

The Problem of Agriculture in a European Economic Union

GRAHAM HALLETT

Economic Analysis and Livestock Feeding

C. S. BARNARD

Operations and Costs of Egg Packing Stations

ALAN E. WILKINSON

Marketing Boards and Price Funds in Uganda

JOSEPH E. HARING,

SUSAN CHRISTY, JOSEPH F. HUMPHREY

Optimal Rations for Pigs Fed Separated Milk
and Grain

ROBERT TOWNSLEY; G. E. BATTESE

The Valuation of Tree Crops

P. L. LEONARD; M. UPTON

With Reviews, 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, EH1, 3DA, Scotland.

SECRETARY: Dr T. W. Gardner, Department of Agricultural Economics, The University, Manchester, M13 9PL.

ETUDES RURALES

REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE D'HISTOIRE, GEOGRAPHIE,
SOCIOLOGIE ET ECONOMIE DES CAMPAGNES

Sommaire du no 34

avril-juin 1969

J. MEYER. L'enquête de l'Académie de Médecine sur les épidémies, 1774-1794.

D. WEINTRAUB et Z. BEN-ZIMRA. Choix professionnel des jeunes ruraux en Israël.

P. PONSOT. En Andalousie occidentale: les fluctuations de la production du blé sous l'Ancien Régime.

Notes et Commentaires. Comptes rendus.

Sommaire du no 35

juillet-septembre 1969

F. LOUX et M. DE VIRVILLE. Le système social d'une région rurale: le Châtillonnais.

P. GUICHONNET. Les biens communaux et les partages révolutionnaires dans l'ancien département du Léman.

M. AYMARD. En Sicile: dîmes et compatibilités agricoles.

Abonnements—4 numéros

France: 50,00 F Etranger: 60,00 F Vente au numéro France: 15,00 F Etranger: 18,00 F

Les abonnements peuvent être souscrits auprès de la rédaction:

ETUDES RURALES,
LABORATOIRE D'ANTHROPOLOGIE SOCIALE, COLLEGE DE FRANCE,
11 PLACE MARCELIN-BERTHELOT, PARIS 5e

THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL

No. 316

DECEMBER 1969

VOL. LXXIX

I. ARTICLES

Surveys of Applied Economics: Regional Economics with Special
Reference to the United Kingdom

A. J. BROWN

Economic Forecasting

ALEC CAIRNCROSS

The Income Terms of Trade of Developed and Developing Countries

T. WILSON,

R. P. SINHA, and STEPHEN H. HYMER

ALEC NOVE

Internal Economics

Estimating Military Aircraft Production Outlays: The British
Experience

KEITH HARTLEY

An Experiment in the Integration of Equity and Efficiency Criteria
in Public Project Selection

MARTIN C. MCGUIRE

and HARVEY A. GARN

H. D. DICKINSON

Von Thünen's Economics

II. REVIEWS

III. NOTES AND MEMORANDA

IV. RECENT PERIODICALS AND NEW BOOKS

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

Applications for Membership:

ROYAL ECONOMIC SOCIETY

The Marshall Library, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge CB3 9DB (England)

WORLD AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY ABSTRACTS (WAERSA)

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

Agricultural Policy

Education and Training

Trade, Marketing, and Prices

Rural Sociology

Finance and Credit

Research Methods and Techniques

Production Economics

and related topics

Co-operation

Each quarterly number includes over 1,000 classified and indexed abstracts. Review articles which include comprehensive bibliographies have so far dealt with: Production 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; The Evaluation of Extra-Market Benefits; The Growth of Work Study and Allied Techniques in Agriculture.

Heavy subsidies contributed by Governments of the British Commonwealth and the Republic of Ireland reduce the annual subscriptions well below cost.

Contributing Countries: £4 10s.

Non-contributing Countries: £7 10s. (\$19.50)

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

CONTENTS *continued*

<i>Universität Hohenheim, 1818-1968</i> , ed. by Günther Franz; <i>Die akademischen Lehrer der Universität Hohenheim</i>	<i>D. J. Davis</i>	85
<i>Vergleichende Landschaftskunde der englischen Marschen</i> , by Jürgen Klasen	<i>D. J. Davis</i>	87
<i>The Day of the Bonanza</i> , by Hiram M. Drache	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	87
<i>Agricultural Implements of the Roman World</i> , by K. D. White	<i>Shimon Applebaum</i>	88
<i>I castasti Imolesi dei secoli XIX e XX; L'economia agraria di Chieri attraverso i castasti dei secoli XIV-XVI; 'Rendimentie produzione agricola nell'Imolese dal XVI al XIX secolo'</i> , by Claudio Rotelli	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	90
<i>Atlas over Borup Agre, 1000-1200 e. Kr.</i> , ed. by Axel Steensberg	<i>Alan R. H. Baker</i>	91
<i>Sokkelund Herreds Tingbøger, 1634-6</i> , by Karen Marie Olsen	<i>Robert M. Newcomb</i>	92
Letter to the Editor		51
Notes and Comments		16
Notes on Contributors		75

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 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. Dorman, A. M. Everitt, H. P. R. Finberg, George Houston, W. Harwood Long, G. F. Mingay, George Ordish, W. J. Rowe, 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 2 5s. 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 **AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW**



VOLUME 18 1970

PART II

*

The Disposal of Crown Lands and the Devon Land Market, 1536-58

JOHN KEW

*

The Three-Field System of Sixteenth-Century Lithuania

R. A. FRENCH

*

The Marketing of Corn in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century:
North-East Kent

DENNIS BAKER

*

Arthur Clephane, Edinburgh Merchant and Seedsman, 1706-30

TOM DONNELLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW

VOLUME 18 PART II • 1970

CONTENTS

The Disposal of Crown Lands and the Devon Land Market, 1536-58	<i>John Kew</i>	page 93
The Three-Field System of Sixteenth-Century Lithuania	<i>R. A. French</i>	106
The Marketing of Corn in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century: North-East Kent	<i>Dennis Baker</i>	126
Arthur Clephane, Edinburgh Merchant and Seedsman, 1706-30	<i>Tom Donnelly</i>	151
Work in Progress	<i>David Hey</i>	161
Reviews:		
<i>Captain Swing</i> , by E. J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé	<i>Rex C. Russell</i>	173
<i>Blundell's Diary</i> , ed. by Frank Tyrer	<i>R. C. Richardson</i>	175
<i>Ninety Years of Family Farming</i> , by Sir William Gavin	<i>F. G. Emmison</i>	176
<i>The Social Framework of Agriculture</i> , by Harold Mann	<i>Iris Macfarlane</i>	177
<i>The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia</i> , by W. S. Vucinich	<i>R. Munting</i>	178
<i>Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft des Mittelalters</i> , by Georg von Below	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	179
<i>Faktoren der Preisbildung für Getreide und Wein in der Zeit von 800 bis 1350</i> , by Hans-Jürgen Schmitz	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	179
<i>Die Maas als Schifffahrtsweg</i> , by Helmut Breuer	<i>D. J. Davis</i>	180
<i>The Rise of the Entrepreneur</i> , by J. W. Gough	<i>E. L. Jones</i>	180
Shorter Notices (<i>See list on p. iii of cover</i>)		181
Letter to the Editor		182
Notes and Comments		125, 160, 172
Notes on Contributors		105

(continued on page iii of cover)

The Disposal of Crown Lands and the Devon Land Market, 1536-58

By JOHN KEW

THE "storm over the gentry" at last seems to have abated, and it is no intention of the present paper to revive it.¹ However, few historians would deny that the controversy has had a great catalytic effect. In particular, it has drawn attention to the crucial influence of the property market on the changing social structure of Tudor and Stuart England. Detailed local studies of land transactions have pursued two main lines of inquiry: on the one hand, studies of the disposal of monastic lands in particular counties,² and, on the other, economic biographies, dealing with the land transactions of particular families.³ Both approaches have shed much light on the structure of early modern society, but each has certain weaknesses. The biographical approach has provided much evidence of the problems facing individual landowners and the opportunities open to them, but there are considerable risks involved in extending such an analysis from the particular to the general. The 'monastic' approach has avoided this danger, but it has tended to lead to the assumption that other types of land transaction could safely be ignored.

The aim of the present paper is to attempt a new approach, namely the consideration of the total land market in a single county during the period of maximum social upheaval which immediately followed the dissolution of the monasteries. It will attempt to put the market for monastic and other Crown lands into perspective, and to suggest that this was only a part, albeit a very important part, of a much wider land market.

I

One result of the preoccupation of historians with the disposal of monastic lands has been a tendency to minimize the size of the land market before 1536. They have had to explain how it was that the market was able to absorb very large amounts of land, particularly during the mid-1540's, and a plausible explanation seemed to be that the market was starved of land before 1536. An

¹ See the judicious summary of the controversy by J. H. Hexter, in 'Storm over the gentry', *Encounter*, 1958, and the detailed references cited therein.

² The pioneer study, of Devon, was made by Dr J. A. Youings. See in particular her *Devon Monastic Lands: Particulars for Grants, 1536-1558*, Devon & Cornwall Record Society, 1, n.s., 1955. Similar studies have subsequently been made of a number of English and Welsh counties.

³ See M. E. Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640*, Northants. Record Society, xix, 1956. Once again, this pioneer work has stimulated a number of similar studies.

unsatisfied demand for land was building up as farmers grew fat on the profits from rising food prices. Hence the Crown was able to insist on the full customary price of twenty years' purchase of the yearly value when it sold monastic property. Professor Habakkuk has written of the "small and imperfect land market of the early sixteenth century," and of "some frustrated demand for land" before 1540.¹ However, these assumptions seem to have been based more on *a priori* reasoning than on empirical evidence.² A detailed examination of the land market in Devon before the Dissolution suggests that the accepted theory contains a large element of truth, but that it is an oversimplification.

At first sight the evidence in support of the assertion that the market was starved of land before the Dissolution seems overwhelming. The most accessible records for the study of the land market are the Feet of Fines preserved at the Public Record Office.³ These documents do indeed suggest an inactive land market before the 1540's, followed by a period of rapid expansion under the stimulus of heavy selling of monastic land by the Crown. For Devon the mean number of fines levied per annum in the decade 1511-20 was 7.6. By 1541-50 this had increased more than sevenfold, to 57.7 per annum.

Unfortunately this evidence is of very limited value, as the nature of the documents changed during the period. Prior to 1527 the courts held that a final concord could not be used to bar an entail. For this reason purchasers of entailed property preferred to use the more cumbersome and expensive, but legally acceptable, common recovery.⁴ During the 1520's recoveries were used more than fines. In 1527 the courts decided that fines could be employed to bar entails, and this was confirmed by statute in 1536.⁵ Thereafter the use of fines increased rapidly, while recoveries entered upon a slow decline. For this reason it seems more reasonable to consider a combination of fines and recoveries rather than fines alone when assessing the growth in the size of the land market. While five times as many Devon fines were levied in 1541-50 as in 1521-30, the combined total of fines and recoveries only trebled.

Fines and particularly recoveries are also extremely difficult records to interpret. Many did not record a genuine sale of land, but merely a settlement or an entail, and it is frequently not possible to ascertain this merely from the form of the document. It is also possible that a type of conveyance which required attendance in London may not have been typical. Fortunately an alternative approach is possible—the analysis of original title deeds. These have survived

¹ H. J. Habakkuk, 'The market for monastic property, 1539-1603', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., x, 1958, p. 372.

² However, there is some evidence to suggest that very little manorial property was sold in Surrey before 1536. See L. Stone, 'Social mobility in England 1500-1700', *Past & Present*, 33, 1966, p. 33.

³ P.R.O., CP25(2).

⁴ A. W. B. Simpson, *An Introduction to the History of the Land Law*, Oxford, 1961, pp. 118-29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129; 28 Henry VIII, c. 36.

in great numbers in the county repositories, and many Devon title deeds are also preserved in collections outside the county.¹ Over a period of only half a century there is unlikely to be any serious chronological bias in these deeds. There is no preponderance of deeds from any single collection, and there is no reason why deeds dated in a particular year should have had a better chance of survival than any other. Of course, only a minority of deeds have survived, but sufficient have done so for the purposes of analysis. Between 1521 and 1530 and 1541 and 1550, the number of surviving original Devon deeds per annum slightly more than doubled, from 7.9 to 16.8 transactions per annum. All three series—fines, fines and recoveries, and original deeds—are listed in TABLE I.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF CONVEYANCES PER ANNUM, 1516-50*
(Base: 1516-20=100)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Fines</i>		<i>Fines and recoveries</i>		<i>Original deeds</i>	
	<i>no.</i>	<i>index</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>index</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>index</i>
1516-20	10.0	100	22.0	100	7.4	100
1521-5	10.2	102	27.2	124	7.4	100
1526-30	13.6	136	30.4	138	8.4	114
1531-5	26.2	262	41.0	186	7.0	94
1536-40	28.8	288	37.2	169	10.6	143
1541-5	54.8	548	71.6	325	14.4	194
1546-50	60.6	606	68.2	310	19.2	259

* There is no surviving index of recoveries before 1516. For recoveries dated between 1516 and 1558, see P.R.O., IND 17180, 17181.

All three series point to a land market in the 1540's between 50 and 100 per cent bigger than that of the 1530's. However, it is also clear that the market had started to grow in the 1530's, before a significant amount of monastic land had been sold, although the amount of growth is disputable.² The expansion of the land market cannot be solely explained by the stimulus provided by monastic property, even if the market expanded greatly in size when sales of monastic

¹ An examination has been made of all Devon conveyances dated between 1509 and 1558 in the following repositories: the Public Record Office; the British Museum; the Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall Record Offices; Exeter City Library; various private collections, notably the Earl of Devon's MSS. at Powderham Castle, the Carew-Pole MSS. at Torpoint, and the Cary MSS. at Torquay.

² The size of the market seems to have increased by between 10 per cent (original deeds) and 125 per cent (fines). The figure for fines is inflated by the legal changes of 1527-36, and the new attraction of the fine may have accounted for the temporary fall in the number of original deeds between 1531 and 1535. Probably the increase in the combined fine-recovery index, about 35 per cent, is nearer the true figure.

land became heavy. Although the land market was expanding slowly before 1540, and was far from inactive, this in no way disproves Professor Habakkuk's hypothesis of frustrated demand.

However, a closer examination of the early sixteenth-century land market suggests that in Devon this was true of particular sectors of the market, rather than of the market as a whole. Sales of very small properties were not uncommon before 1536, and they did not greatly increase in number after that date. If one takes the original deeds as the most representative sample, the median purchase price of property before 1536 was £11. Between 1536 and 1558, the median purchase price rose to £26, and only 22 per cent of properties sold for £11 or less. Nor were purchasers of such small properties greatly affected by monastic land. The legal and administrative costs involved in direct purchase from the Crown were prohibitive, although occasionally, as with the ex-Courtenay manor of Colyton, a large number of villagers grouped together to purchase their holdings from the Crown. A certain number of small Crown properties also filtered down at second hand, through speculators like the Devon lawyer, George Rolle, and some of the big purchasers of chantry property in the 1550's may have been buying on behalf of small local purchasers.¹ On the whole, however, this sector of the market was not starved of land before 1536, nor was it greatly stimulated thereafter. Probably the demand of most small farmers was satisfied, particularly if, as has been suggested, it was only the gentlemen farmers who really benefited from the rise in food prices.²

The market for manorial property was much more restricted before 1536. Only 7 per cent of sales in the original deeds before 1536 concerned manors, compared with 21 per cent between 1536 and 1558. However, it was relatively easy to purchase large manors, as long as one was in a position to know when important absentee landlords wanted to sell. Thus in 1518 Sir Lewis Pollard purchased the manor of Kingsnympton from Sir Thomas Cornwallis for 1214 marks, while in 1531 the Marquess of Exeter purchased the reversion of the manors of Charleton, Langdon, and Iddesleigh from Sir John Dudley for £1,465 13s. 4d.³ The main unsatisfied demand in the Devon land market before 1536 was for medium-sized properties, worth between £5 and £15 a year. Such properties, which could be either large farms or small manors, had a selling price of between £100 and £300. They rarely appeared on the market, although they were well within the capacity of many merchants, or of one of the multi-

¹ For Colyton, see J. E. Kew, *The Land Market in Devon, 1536-1558*, unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter, 1967, pp. 227-9; for Rolle see Youings, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 68; for the so-called 'speculators', see Habakkuk, *op. cit.*

² J. D. Gould, 'The price revolution reconsidered', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xvii, 1964, pp. 263-4.

³ P.R.O., Common Pleas, Plea Roll (CP40), Roll 1022, m. 2; Ancient Deeds (E210), 9778.

tude of successful Devon lawyers. Only 7 per cent of purchase prices were in this range before 1536, compared with 18 per cent between 1536 and 1558. Such a state of affairs was hardly surprising. Devon was a county of small land-owners, and most of the small manors in the county outside the great institutional estates were owned by gentlemen or esquires. The majority of these men owned only one or two manors, and naturally they were extremely reluctant to sell their patrimony.¹ There is some evidence to suggest that this situation may have been broadly similar in other parts of the country. In Hertfordshire, for example, the average value of sales was somewhat higher than in Devon, but here, too, the proportion of land sales with a price in the £100-£300 range increased after 1536 from 16 to 23 per cent.² This lack of medium-sized properties before 1536 represented the main form of frustrated demand, and it was a demand which could very well be met by monastic property, much of which consisted of small manors with a purchase price within this range.

II

Sales of Crown land seem to have complemented the existing land market, rather than to have competed with it. Crown land filled gaps in the existing market. This is confirmed by an analysis of the chronology of the land market between 1536 and 1558. Crown sales of property did not depress the private land market, and the level of activity in the two sectors of the market fluctuated in unison. To make this analysis one must consider not only monastic land but all property sold by the Crown in the period. This included a large amount of attainted property as well as chantry land. The large Courtenay estate, worth more than any monastic estate in the county, came to the Crown after the attainder of the Marquess of Exeter in 1538, and much of this was sold in the 1540's. More land was confiscated after the Prayer-Book rebellion in 1549, and so was the Bonville estate after the Duke of Suffolk's rebellion in 1554. Altogether 234 Crown grants of land were made between 1536 and 1558. In the 1540's grants of monastic property predominated, but attainted and chantry property was more important in the 1550's. Crown grants and private sales of land followed the same chronological pattern. In both cases a peak was reached in the 1540's, followed by a decline in the 1550's (TABLE II).

Indeed, the connection was even closer than these quinquennial figures suggest. More than a quarter of all grants of Crown lands in the period were made between 1544 and 1546, and these were also the years of peak activity in the private land market. Another peak was reached between 1548 and 1550, with

¹ Only 40 per cent of a sample of thirty Devon gentlemen who died in the early sixteenth century owned any manors at all, and the median number of manors owned by a sample of sixty Devon esquires who died in the same period was only two. (Based on an analysis of Devon Inquisitions *post mortem* in the P.R.O.).

² Based on an analysis of original title deeds preserved in the Hertfordshire Record Office.

TABLE II
CROWN GRANTS AND LAND SALES
(average per annum)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Grants</i>	<i>Original deeds</i>	<i>Enrolments*</i>
1536-40	4.2	10.6	33.8
1541-5	13.8	14.4	49.6
1546-50	14.0	19.2	36.0
1551-5	10.6	16.2	40.0
1556-8	7.3	15.7	32.3

* These were deeds enrolled either at a London Court of Record or before the county J.P.s, under the Statute of Enrolments of 1536 (27 Henry VIII, c. 16). They are now either in the P.R.O. (C54, CP40, KB27, E159) or in the Devon Record Office. The Act came into force on 31 July 1536, and the figure for enrolments in 1536-40 takes account of this.

both Crown grants and original deed sales running at a high level. This boom was not reflected in the enrolled deeds, but this is probably to be explained by the understandable preoccupation of the Devon justices with the Prayer-Book rebellion in 1549. The land market was at its slackest between 1554 and 1556. The number of deeds enrolled in 1554 was the fourth lowest annual total in the period, and no sales of Crown land were made in 1556.¹

TABLE III
CROWN GRANTS AND SALES FOR SELECTED PERIODS
(average per annum)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Grants</i>	<i>Original deeds</i>	<i>Enrolments</i>
1544-6	22.7	20.0	55.0
1548-50	14.7	19.7	(35.3)
1554-6	4.3	14.3	38.3

To some extent the extreme inactivity of the Crown market in the early years of Mary's reign was probably due to supply factors. Most of the best monastic land had already been sold, and Mary had scruples about selling chantry property. However, the Crown did have available the large Bonville estates which had belonged to the Duke of Suffolk, but few buyers could be found for these before 1557. It is more likely that demand had slackened by the mid-1550's. This may have accounted for the decision of the Crown to ask an average price of only twenty-four years' purchase in the mid 1550's, compared with an aver-

¹ One free grant of property was made in 1556, to the Hospital of the Savoy.—*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Philip & Mary*, III, p. 545.

age price on the private market of around twenty-seven years' purchase. However, it is equally possible that this was caused by mere inertia.¹

It is possible that sales of Crown land had saturated the market by the mid-1550's, although this does not seem to have happened after the much greater sales of the mid-1540's. However, any saturation must have been short-lived, as the market revived rapidly in the early 1560's.² The explanation of the widespread reluctance to purchase land in the 1550's is more likely to lie in external factors than in the supply of Crown land.

Devon had a booming economy in the 1540's. The county's main industry, cloth, was prosperous throughout the decade, as Devon must have shared in the national cloth booms of 1541, 1544-6, and 1550-1. A booming market for cloth led to general prosperity in the county. Merchants made large profits, and so did the farmers, every one of whom, as John Hooker observed later in the century, had his own flock of sheep.³ The period was also one of unusually good harvests. An unbroken series of good harvests marked the years between 1536 and 1543, and the effect of the very bad harvest of 1545 was softened by the three abundant harvests which followed.⁴ When one adds the inflationary effects of heavy war spending and the consequent debasement of the currency, it is hardly surprising to find a considerable demand for land in the county.

The situation in the 1550's was quite different. The revaluation of 1551 ended the cloth boom, and no real recovery occurred during the decade. The harvest of 1551 was bad, and worse was to follow with two years of dearth in 1555 and 1556, and a serious influenza epidemic in 1557-8.⁵ Sheep farmers were particularly badly hit. The demand for their product was falling, and at the same time fodder prices were reaching unprecedented levels. When one remembers that the county's only other major industry, tin-mining, was also in decline,⁶ it is not surprising that demand for land was slackening. This is particularly true of those classes who were most seriously affected by the depression. The proportion of enrolled purchases made by merchants fell from 24 per cent in 1541-50 to 19 per cent in 1551-8. Those dependent on traditional broadcloth, like the Totnes merchants, were badly hit, and the only merchants able to make large land purchases were east Devon clothiers like John Willoughby of Shobrooke, near Crediton, who dealt in lighter and more popular

¹ This confirms Professor Habakkuk's suggestion that the price charged by the Crown may have lagged behind the private market price. See Habakkuk, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

² More Devon deeds were enrolled during the 1560's than during the 1540's. This argues against the assertion of G. E. Aylmer, *Past & Present*, 35, 1965, p. 117, that the market was still saturated in the early 1560's.

³ J. Hooker, *Synopsis Chorographical of Devonshire*, c. 1599, B.M., Harl. MS. 5827, f. 10.

⁴ W. G. Hoskins, 'Harvest fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480-1619', *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, xii, 1964, App. II.

⁵ Hoskins, *op. cit.*

⁶ G. R. Lewis, *The Stannaries*, Harvard, 1907, App. J.

cloth.¹ The share of small farmers, craftsmen, and traders also fell, from 21 per cent to 17 per cent. The gainers were the lawyers, whose share of the market rose from 15 to 20 per cent, and the gentlemen, who often farmed on a large enough scale to be able to ride out or even profit from the bad harvests. Their share of the purchases rose from 11 to 19 per cent.

III

There were few compelling reasons why purchasers should have chosen Crown rather than private land, or vice versa, although Crown land did differ in some important respects from other property. A wider choice was usually available, and it included manors, which were popular for social as well as purely financial reasons. And at least in the 1550's Crown land could sometimes be obtained at a slightly lower price than that prevailing on the open market. On the other hand, the negotiations leading to the grant of Crown property were often onerous and expensive and the Crown also attempted to insist that the more valuable properties should be held by the potentially onerous tenure of knight service.

Probably most purchasers were influenced more by the position of a property than by the identity of its seller. If one wished to build up a compact estate, one purchased suitable property as it became available. Typical was the lawyer John Southcott, Devon Clerk of the Peace from 1527 until his death in 1556. The younger son of a minor gentry family, he had settled in Bovey Tracey, on the edge of Dartmoor, by the early 1520's, and he purchased a mansion there in 1531. Between 1538 and 1553 he purchased eleven manors in the county, all within ten miles of his home. Three manors were purchased directly from the Crown, one was a second-hand monastic manor, and seven had been privately owned. His ex-Crown property was worth £48 a year, out of his total estate of £144 a year.²

Although sales of Crown land did not take priority over the existing private land market, within twenty years between a fifth and a quarter of all land in the county that became available for purchase was put on the market by the Crown. The disposal of this Crown property directly stimulated the general land market in at least three main ways. Firstly, monastic property was often resold fairly quickly. Whether or not this represented speculation has been the subject of much debate, and the general consensus is that if the property was resold immediately it did not.³ Whether or not this is correct, resales were common, both in the short and medium terms. In a few cases property was clearly pur-

¹ In 1557-8 he invested more than £1,800 in land.—P.R.O. C54, Roll 537, m. 37d; Roll 550, mm. 36d, 40; Devon Record Office, Deeds Enrolled, Roll 10, m. 2.

² P.R.O., Inquisition *post mortem*, C142/107/14. For a detailed discussion of Southcott's career, see Kew, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-312.

³ Habakkuk, *op. cit.*

chased as a speculation, and then split up and resold at a profit in small lots to local inhabitants. A typical case in Devon concerned the resale of property in and near Pilton in north Devon by the lawyers, George Rolle and Nicholas Adams.¹

Secondly, it was often necessary to raise capital for land purchase by selling other property. Ready cash was always in short supply in Tudor England. It might not be possible to raise cash by the levy of entry fines on existing estates, and borrowing, whether on mortgage or on bond, was expensive. The best solution was to sell land, particularly if one sold small isolated properties which were expensive to administer, and purchased a compact property like a manor. Thus a single purchase of land from the Crown could often lead directly to several land sales on the open market. A typical case in 1544 concerned Sir John Fulford, the head of one of the leading Devon families. He owned an estate of about £200 a year, centred on his ancestral home of Fulford, in the Teign valley parish of Dunsford, but apart from some small interests in tin and shipping he had no non-landed income. The larger of the two manors in his home parish, the manor of Dunsford, had been owned by Canonsleigh Priory. It was obviously in Fulford's interests to purchase this manor, worth £30 a year, from the Crown. This he did in June 1544. The purchase price, paid in cash, was £540, or nearly three times his annual income.² Between March 1543 and July 1544 Fulford made eleven sales of land for a total price of £407. Six of these sales were made between February and April 1544 for £278.³ As Fulford had not previously been a heavy seller of land, it seems reasonable to suppose that these sales were made to finance the purchase of Dunsford. Nor was this an isolated case. In 1540 the lawyer, Sir Thomas Denys, was selling large amounts of land at the same time as he was purchasing considerable amounts of monastic land.⁴

Thirdly, the effect of the growth of the land market was cumulative. In the early sixteenth century there had been a very strong prejudice against selling land. As late as 1543 a landowner was described in a law case as "Not only being a comen landseller but also a very lewde and unruly person."⁵ As sales of land became more common, this prejudice lessened, and popular criticism concentrated on purchasers of land.⁶ No doubt envy was easier to endure than contempt. Also more landowners were owning land which had been recently pur-

¹ For the details of these transactions, see Youings, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 68.

² Youings, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³ Devon Record Office, Deeds Enrolled, Roll 1, mm. 34d, 38, 41-3, 44d-45, 46; Fortescue MSS. (1262M), WD9.

⁴ Youings, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 9, 14; Devon Record Office, Deeds Enrolled, Roll 1, mm. 14d, 16-16d, 18; P.R.O., CP40, Roll 1105, mm. 4d-5, 8.

⁵ P.R.O., Req. 2, 4/394.

⁶ See in particular R. Crowley, *Voyce of the Last Trumpet*, ed. J. M. Cowper, Early English Text Society, 1872, p. 65, and the ballad 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei' in *Ballads from Manuscript Sources*, 1, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Ballad Society, 1868-72, p. 133.

chased, and there was always much less opposition to the sale of such land. It was regarded as belonging to the purchaser in his own right rather than to the family, and he thus had a much stronger moral right to dispose of it as he wished.¹

IV

The final problem to be explored is the relative size of the Crown and private land markets. We know that 234 grants of Crown land were made between 1536 and 1558. We do not know how many transactions there were in the private market, as we cannot know what proportion of deeds has survived. However, it is possible to make a rough estimate of the total size of the private land market, through a comparison of the original and enrolled deeds. These series refer to 340 and 798 transactions respectively, after obvious settlements and other non-sales have been eliminated. If we also discount mortgages for the time being, these figures are reduced to 318 and 676. The original deeds, although not a scientifically selected random sample, are the nearest to one which it is possible to get. Of the original deeds, 62 also appear among the enrolled deeds, or 19.5 per cent. According to probability theory, there is a 95 per cent chance that the enrolled deeds make up between 15.1 per cent and 23.9 per cent of the total number of sales, and this gives us a minimum of 2,800 sales and a maximum of 4,500.² Allowance then has to be made for mortgages. About 7 per cent of the transactions in the original deeds were mortgages, and about 15 per cent of those in the enrolled deeds. Examination of inquisitions *post mortem* suggests that about half of all mortgages were redeemed, so it seems reasonable to assume that only deeds relating to forfeited mortgages have survived among the original deeds.³ We must thus add about 7 per cent, or between 200 and 300 transactions, to the figures given above, which gives us minimum and maximum figures for the total private land market of 3,000 and 4,800 transactions respectively.

Even the minimum figure of 3,000 transactions might seem at first sight impossibly high, but we already have details of nearly 2,000 separate transactions preserved in the original or enrolled deeds or the feet of fines, after all entails, settlements, leases, etc. have been eliminated. Set alongside this the 234 direct

¹ It was the admittedly prejudiced opinion of Thomas Wilson that land could only be given to younger sons if it had been purchased rather than inherited. Although this had no legal basis, it may well be representative of then current social attitudes.—T. Wilson, *The State of England anno dom. 1600*, ed. F. J. Fisher, Camden Miscellany, xvi, 1936, p. 24.

² The standard error of the proportion is 2.2 per cent. There is a 95 per cent probability that the proportion is correct within plus or minus two standard errors, i.e. 15.1 per cent to 23.9 per cent. For a parallel, let us assume that the original deeds represent a random sample of the population, and that the enrolled deeds represent people with red hair. If we know the proportion of people with red hair in the random sample, and the total number of people with red hair, it is possible to calculate the size of the total population.

³ J. E. Kew, 'Mortgages in mid-Tudor Devonshire', *Trans. Devonshire Association*, xcix, 1967, p. 177.

Crown grants of land dwindle almost into insignificance, and it becomes clear why even the very heavy Crown selling of the mid-1540's did not swamp the land market.

However, Crown sales had a significance out of all proportion to their numbers, as the average value of each grant was very much greater than the average value of sales on the private market. The total monastic estate in Devon was worth £6,800 a year, and about three-quarters of this had been granted by 1558.¹ If one adds the other lands granted by the Crown, a rough estimate of the value of Crown lands granted by 1558 would be between £6,000 and £6,500 a year. The mean price per transaction recorded in the original deeds was £98.3 and this mean is subject to a standard error of £14.9. This means that there is a 95 per cent probability that the mean price for all private land transactions was between £68.5 and £128.1. Thus we have a minimum number of transactions, and a minimum price for each transaction. If we multiply the two, this should give us a probable figure for the least amount of money that actually changed hands. This is about £190,000. If we add about 10 per cent for the value of forfeited mortgages, this gives us a total of around £200,000 or a little more. The mean price paid for land during this period was about twenty-five years' purchase of the nominal (non rack-rented) value. In other words, we can say with reasonable certainty that land worth about £8,000 a year, at a minimum, changed hands through the private land market between 1536 and 1558. More land changed hands privately than was granted by the Crown.² If one accepts Professor Hoskins's hypothesis that the value of land in the early sixteenth century was approximately 7.7d. an acre,³ the 1.6 million odd acres of Devon (excluding Dartmoor) were worth about £50,000 a year. This suggests that a minimum of between 25 and 30 per cent by value of the land in the county changed hands between 1536 and 1558 as a result of transactions on either the Crown or the private land markets, although many properties changed hands more than once.

Another way of quantifying the land market is to consider the number of manors which changed hands. The manor was of course a unit of jurisdiction rather than of value, but the statistical dangers involved in using it as the basis of analysis are much reduced when one is dealing with a large number of manors.⁴ The sale of 162 manors is recorded in the enrolled deeds, and many sales of manors are also recorded in original deeds or in feet of fines. In the

¹ For the Devon monastic estate, see Youings, *op. cit.*, p. ix. Some monastic land was given away rather than sold, but this still represented a change of ownership.

² Theoretically, the maximum value of land which changed hands was about £23,000 a year.

³ J. Cornwall, 'The people of Rutland in 1522', *Trans. Leicestershire Archaeolog. Soc.*, xxxvii, 1961-2, p. 26, n. 9.

⁴ See J. P. Cooper, 'The counting of manors', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., viii, 1955, p. 377, and L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 151-2.

latter case great care must be exercised, as in many cases a fine recorded merely a settlement, which did not alter the *de facto* ownership of the property. It is not always possible to detect this from the form of the document. In such cases, and also with mortgages, a sale has only been accepted as conclusive when the manor concerned has later appeared in the Inquisition *post mortem* of the purchaser or a near relative. This method errs on the side of caution, as not all Inquisitions have survived. A final source consists of the licences to alienate which had to be purchased from the Crown before property held in chief could be sold. From these sources evidence has been obtained for the sale of a further 102 manors, making a total of 264. It is not possible to estimate how many manorial sales have left no records, and it is probably best to regard 264 as the minimum number of manors which changed hands in the private land market. To this must be added 203 manors granted by the Crown. Again, Crown transactions made up less than half the total market. The total number of manors in the county cannot be exactly calculated, but was probably between 1,300 and 1,600.¹ Thus at a minimum between 30 and 35 per cent of the manors in the county changed hands between 1536 and 1558,² providing confirmation of the figures obtained earlier for the land market as a whole, particularly when one bears in mind that the estates granted by the Crown contained a disproportionate number of manors.

V

What general conclusions can be drawn? Firstly, it is clear that the market for monastic and other Crown property should not be considered in isolation. Sales of Crown property were important, but they formed less than half of a much bigger land market. This helps to explain why the market was able to absorb so much monastic land in such a short time. It also means that conclusions as to the nature and extent of social mobility based solely on the disposal of monastic land are quite inadequate, as this can give a totally false impression. For example, the 'élite' class in Devon (all those of the rank of esquire and above), received 102 manors from the Crown between 1536 and 1558. However, they also made net sales of at least 97 manors on the private land market. Far from prospering, they did no more than break even, and as the total numbers of manors in lay ownership increased considerably, their relative position declined.³

Secondly, the disposal of Crown property did serve as a stimulus to the

¹ This figure has been obtained from the list of medieval manors given in O. J. Reichel, 'The Hundreds of Devon', *Trans. Devonshire Association*, 1928-36, supplemented by the parochial histories in D. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, VI, 1822, but it can only be approximate, as it is often doubtful whether a particular manor was recognized as such in the sixteenth century.

² Many manors changed hands more than once. There is evidence for a change of ownership on at least 338 manors, or a minimum of about 25 per cent of the total.

³ It is hoped to examine the whole question of the social effects of the land market in a future article.

growth of the private land market, which had suffered from a selective frustration of demand before 1540. The purchase of Crown land led directly to the sale of other properties on the private market, as landowners sold off their outlying properties to raise capital, and as more and more men came to own land to which they had no sentimental attachment. However, to a large extent both sectors of the market fluctuated in response to external factors. It is also clear that the private land market was growing in size during the 1530's, before large amounts of Crown land were available.¹ The reasons for this growth require further study, but a tentative explanation might be the increased circulation of money in the early sixteenth century. Entry fines for new leases were growing, and as most landowners held some land on lease as well as freehold, this meant an increase in outgoings as well as in income. Marriage portions were also increasing in size. This meant that at various times a landowner might be left with spare cash to invest in land. Alternatively, he might have an urgent need of ready cash, which he would be tempted to raise by the sale of land.²

Finally, one must be careful to keep a sense of perspective. Property had always changed hands on a large scale outside the land market, due to demographic failure. Up to 20 per cent of Devon landowning families failed in the male line in each generation, leading to a descent through females and a consequent change in ownership.³ As about 1,000 Devon manors were in lay ownership in the 1530's, this suggests that something approaching 200 manors may have changed hands through heiresses in the generation between 1536 and 1558, as many as were granted by the Crown. Marriage was the normal channel of social mobility before 1536, and it should not be ignored after that date.

¹ This growth was not confined to Devon. Analysis of the property market in Hertfordshire and the City of London shows a similar growth in the 1530's, in the latter case after a marked depression during the 1520's.

² In 1533 John Crudge left instructions in his will that his property in Cornwall was to be sold to raise capital for a marriage portion of 100 marks for each of his daughters.—Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Wills, 12 Hogen.

³ Based on 100 Devon Inquisitions *post mortem* dated between 1510 and 1540.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Dennis Baker is senior lecturer in economic history at The Polytechnic of Central London. His present research concerns agricultural production and marketing in Kent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

R. A. French is lecturer in the geography of the U.S.S.R. jointly at University College London and the School of Slavonic and East European Studies. His research interest is the historical geography of western European Russia.

Tom Donnelly graduated from Strathclyde University in 1968, and is now at the University of Aberdeen preparing a Ph.D. thesis on 'The Granite Industry of Aberdeen, 1750-1939.'

John Kew is lecturer in economic and social history at Harlow Technical College. He is at present engaged on a study of landownership in Tudor England.

The Three-Field System of Sixteenth-Century Lithuania

By R. A. FRENCH

OF the various forms of open and common field agriculture, the three-field system was probably the most widespread over the plains and lowlands of Europe.¹ There can be little doubt then that the introduction of the three-field system was one of the major developments in agrarian history. But for all its importance there is no great abundance of documentary evidence for its establishment. In England, and in most parts of continental Europe, its spread was gradual and largely unrecorded. A special interest therefore attaches to the appearance of three-field agriculture in Lithuania. There it came comparatively late, as the result of a royal decree in 1557, which made the system mandatory on crown estates. The majority of church and noble landowners followed the royal example, with the consequence that the new regime was introduced over a wide region in a very brief period of time. Although Lithuania was in all likelihood unique in the speed of transformation to the new system, the event was part of a wider movement in the same direction throughout eastern Europe. It followed, and was derived from, similar if less dramatic processes in central and western Europe.

As part and parcel of the reform, cadastres and estate inventories were drawn up to record land, its use, tenants, and taxation. Although most such documents have been lost, those which survive form a historical source of remarkable richness and detail. They provide much information on the agrarian history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and on the three-field system in particular. That system has points of comparison and contrast with three-field agriculture elsewhere, points not without relevance for those interested in English agrarian history.

Agriculture in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania before the reorganization was characterized by a very high degree of intermixing of land. Holdings of individual peasants were widely scattered among holdings of other peasants from the same village, from other villages of the same estate, and from other estates. The peasant tenement was usually known as a 'service' (*sluzhba*) or as a *dvorishche*, and was worked by a family or group of families. "*Dvorishche* (in the personal sense) is the name given to a group of persons in the main linked by family unity, but allowing participation of outsiders, having a single head (who

¹ The author would like to thank Dr J. Thirsk and Mr H. C. Prince for their helpful advice in preparing this paper and Miss C. Hill, who drew the maps.

usually gives his name to the *dvorishche*) and members called *potuzhniki*. *Dvorishche* in the concrete sense was the name given to a parcel of land—house-plot, arable, or other property—in the possession of one group of persons.”¹ A large *dvorishche* might be operated by as many as two dozen families, although tax dues were assessed on it as a single unit. Thus one *dvorishche* in Konchichi village near Pinsk was worked by two named persons “with all their brothers and with their helpers from 23 households.”² Most commonly this form of holding was cultivated on a type of infield-outfield system. Beside the house or houses was the infield, known as *navoz* or *pognoy* and consisting of one or several small plots receiving manure. Further away was the outfield, or ‘simple’ (*prostoy*) field, which was not manured.³ The simple or outfield usually consisted of a number of widely scattered parcels of limited size, either intermixed with parcels of other tenements or isolated in forests and swamps. Ten to twenty such parcels were commonplace; indeed, fewer than ten were rare. In the less favourable regions of forest and swamp there were frequently twenty to forty geographically separate parcels and on occasion over sixty.⁴ Demesne lands, where they existed, were also fragmented and even where a three-year rotation of winter grain, spring grain, and fallow was practised, as it was on certain manors, it was not on three fields but on three groups of scattered arable parcels.⁵

The high degree of intermixing and dispersal of arable, the generally small size of each parcel, and the limited application of manure could hardly have been very productive. Grand Duke Sigismund I in 1514 complained that Crown manors paid nothing into the Treasury.⁶ Up to the sixteenth century, Lithuanian agriculture was primarily for home consumption, and foreign trade rested on the export of furs, honey, and beeswax from the ubiquitous forests; “the storerooms of the Treasury were filled with furs and partly with cloth from abroad, which had been exchanged for those furs; the quantity of metal coin was insignificant.”⁷ During the sixteenth century, however, there was great

¹ Vladimir-Budanov, quoted by M. O. Kosven, *Semeynaya obshchina i patronimiya*, Moscow, 1963, p. 175. Kosven himself terms the *dvorishche* “the patronymic settlement.”—*Ibid.*, p. 184.

² *Pistovaya kniga byvshogo Pinskogo starostva, sostavlenaya po povelениyu korolya Sigizmunda Avgusta v 1561–1566 godakh Pinski i Kobrinski starostoyu Lavrinom Voynoyu*. (Subsequently referred to as P), Vil’na, 1874, pt II, p. 468.

³ The division of the ‘service’ into manured and simple fields is well exemplified by the inventory of Myadel’ Bailiwick in 1545.—*Dokumenty Moskovskogo arkhiva Ministerstva Yustitsii* (subsequently referred to as DMA), I, Moscow, 1897, pp. 75–85.

⁴ Okhrimoviche *dvorishche* of Svarichevichi village near Pinsk had 64 parcels.—P, pt II, pp. 380–2.

⁵ At Radoshkovichi Castle, inventoried in 1549, nine physically separate plots entered into the three-year rotation.—DMA, I, pp. 93–4.

⁶ V. I. Picheta, *Agrarnaya reforma Sigizmunda-Avgusta v Litovsko-Russkom gosudarstve*, Moscow, 1958, p. 85.

⁷ M. V. Dovnar-Zapol’skiy, *Gosudarstvennoye khozyaystvo Velikogo Knyazhestva Litovskogo pri Yagellonakh*, Kiev, 1901, p. 318.

pressure to increase the agricultural productivity of Lithuania and of Crown estates in particular. On the one hand there was a constant drain on the Treasury to support a series of military campaigns against Russia, the Crimean Tatars, and the German knightly orders of Prussia and Livonia, and on the other hand there was a steadily growing export market for grain through Danzig, Königsberg, and Riga. Doroshenko has computed from the Oresund toll returns that between 1562 and 1620, 129,200 vessels sailed to the west from the Baltic and that 70 per cent of them came from these three ports. Their cargoes included more than 3 million *lashti*, or some 5½ million tons of grain.¹ Various decrees to crown bailiffs, exhorting them to establish demesne arable and requiring them to remit an ever larger share of manorial produce to the Treasury (or better still, cash for produce sold), did something to increase Crown income from its estates, but more drastic and thoroughgoing reform was needed.

Open-field agriculture, particularly in its three-field variety with a regular, common three-year rotation and common pasture on the fallow, was widely established in Poland proper in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.² This 'German Law' system in Poland derived from Brandenburg and the German lands to the west through the medium of German colonists.³ It is true that the classic form of three-field system had been introduced into Lithuania about the middle of the fifteenth century, but only in the western and largely Polish province of Podlasia, and there only in newly founded villages. In the first half of the sixteenth century Sigismund I extended the three-field system throughout Crown lands in Podlasia,⁴ but its establishment in Lithuania proper was pioneered by his widow, Queen Bona. In 1552 she had her extensive estates completely reorganized on a very regular three-field system.⁵ Each peasant holding was of standard size and consisted of a parcel of 10 *morgi*⁶ in each of the three fields; such a holding was known as a *voloka*, or in Polish *włoka*,⁷ and the new system was and still is referred to as the *voloka* system. No doubt her reform

¹ V. V. Doroshenko, 'Eksport sel'skokhozyaystvennoy produktsii Vostochnoy Pribaltiki v 1562-1620 gg.', *Yezhegodnik po agrarnoy istorii Vostochnoy Yevropy* 1963 g., Vil'nyus, 1964, pp. 179-90.

² See, for example, M. Kielczewska-Zaleska, 'L'ancien morcellement des champs avant la séparation au XIXe siècle dans la Poméranie de Gdansk', *Géographie et Histoire Agraires*, Nancy, 1959, pp. 343-52.

³ J. Burszta, *Od osady słowiańskiej do wsi współczesnej*, Wrocław, 1958, pp. 46-7.

⁴ M. K. Lyubavskiy, *Ocherk istorii Litovsko-russkogo gosudarstva do Lyublińskiej Unii vklyuchitel'no*, Moscow, 1910, p. 226.

⁵ A cadastre has survived, detailing the reorganization on Queen Bona's Pinsk and Kletsk estates: *Pistovaya kniga Pinskogo i Kletskogo knyazhestva, sostavlenaya Pinskiim starostoyu Stanislavom Khval'chevskim v 1552-1555 g.*, Vil'na, 1884 (subsequently referred to as PK).

⁶ A *morg* was an areal measure of approximately 1.8 acres.

⁷ Contemporary documents were compiled in either Belorussian or Polish; for the sake of uniformity all terms and proper names are here given in their Belorussian forms, transcribed into Latin alphabet.

proved successful, for five years later her son, Sigismund August, issued his *Voloka Decree* (*Ustava na Volok*) extending the reorganization to all crown estates.¹

The first step was to consolidate the intermixed estates and this was achieved by compulsory exchange of land. Those who yielded land to the crown were recompensed by equal areas elsewhere. If poorer land was given in compensation, extra had to be added, in the ratio of 1 good land to 1½ medium land to 3 bad land, or alternatively 1 arable to 2 hayland. Estates were thus converted into compact blocks of territory. Within the new boundaries of each estate the scattered parcels of arable were thrown together into three fields, normally all of the same size. This often meant the inclusion within the new fields of intervening tracts of woodland, which had to be cleared—"Since in the simplification of the boundaries of the territory of Zaborovtsy much still unploughed oakwood and pinewood was included, therefore in order to plough that oakwood, to them all (i.e. the peasants) is remitted one third of the tax payment."² Each field was subdivided into parallel strips;³ the boundaries between the strips apparently consisted of deep furrows, as the fields were described as "measured out by plough."⁴ Each peasant holding was allocated one strip in each field, in marked contrast to the usual open-field systems of western Europe, where one holding generally consisted of a number of scattered parcels in each field. The decree fixed the size of the strip at 11 *morgi* (as against the ten of Queen Bona's reform), giving tenements of 33 *morgi* or some 60 acres.⁵ If however the soil was of low quality, swampy, sandy, or stony, the overseers of the reform were permitted to enlarge the holding, without any increase in the dues for which it was liable. These tax-free additions were usually made by enlarging the size of the strips or alternatively by granting extra plots of arable in outlying fields, beyond the fences of the three main fields.

Up to the reform the bulk of agricultural produce acquired by the Treasury came from peasant lands under the jurisdiction of the Crown manors.⁶ Despite official exhortation to extend demesne arable such lands were limited in size and many manors had none at all. As part of the reorganization the amount of demesne was greatly increased and a number of new manors were set up. Again in contrast to general west European practice, demesne and villenagium were usually separate, although there were occasional exceptions where peasant and

¹ The decree is transcribed in full in *Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka* (subsequently referred to as RIB), xxx, Moscow, 1914, cols. 542-85.

² P, pt 1, p. 326.

³ The Lithuanian 'strip' (*rez*), although undoubtedly strip-shaped, was of a vastly different order of magnitude from the English open-field strip.

⁴ PK, *passim*. ⁵ *Ustava na Volok*, Article 29, RIB, xxx, col. 570.

⁶ The word 'manor' is used here as a translation of *dvor*; its nature is described subsequently, but it should be stressed at this point that the Lithuanian 'manor' is not a precise equivalent of an English medieval manor.

manorial arable lay together in the same three fields.¹ Generally the manorial demesne had its own three fields, and for them the best land was chosen. Before the reform, according to Picheta, "the dimensions of manorial arable were extremely small."² In fact there are few surviving inventories from the pre-reform period and it is impossible to determine an average size. The 1549 inventory of Radoshkovichi Castle gave a total of 290 *bochki*³ of demesne, or about 522 acres.⁴ Dovgialishki Castle in its 1553 inventory had some 412 acres, excluding fallow,⁵ but these two castles may well have been larger than the average manor. Their four subsidiary manors were much smaller, with 295, 317, 277, and 175 acres. Vornenskiy Manor, inventoried in 1547, had about one *bochka* of kitchen garden, 34 *bochki* of manured field for spring grains, and sowed 17 *bochki* of winter rye each year, presumably on unmanured 'outfield';⁶ this represented about 94 acres cropped annually, with an unknown quantity of fallow 'outfield'.

Compared with these figures, the post-reform demesne was considerably larger. The surviving cadastres of Crown estates covered twenty-four manors with demesne attached and their average size was 563½ *morgi*, or 1,014 acres. The largest, Cherevachichi Manor in Kobrin District, was almost 2,000 acres.⁷ However, even under the reform, not every manor had demesne fields allotted to it. Those located in towns served only as the residences of the Crown representatives, the 'holders' (*derzhavets*) or bailiffs (*uryad*). Some of these urban manors had subsidiary farms outside the towns, where demesne could be established.⁸ Other manors lost their previously held demesne in the process of reorganization, because the quality of the land was poor. Thus Druzhilovich Manor in Pinsk District "from ancient times had arable of his Majesty, but since there was no use whatsoever to be had from it, it was left for the use of the neighbouring subjects."⁹ But if a number of unproductive manorial farms were weeded out in this way, far more new ones were set up on lands graded 'medium' and 'good'. For example, Krasnik Manor in Grodno District was "measured out from the lands of the lesser nobility and various subjects of Skidel

¹ Out of twenty-four royal manors with demesne, described in surviving cadastres, only four were in the same fields as the peasant holdings.

² Picheta, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

³ A *bochka* (or *solyanka*) was a capacity measure and a *bochka* of land the area on which that amount of rye could be sown. The preamble to the document PK stated it to be equal to one *morg*, or 1·8 acres.—PK, p. 3.

⁴ DMA, I, pp. 93-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 121.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 86.

⁷ *Reviziya Kobrinskoy ekonomii, sostavlennaya v 1563 godu korolevskim revizorem Dmitriyem Sapegoyu* (subsequently referred to as K), Vil'na, 1876, pp. 105-6.

⁸ For example, Dobuchin Manor in Kobrin District.—K, pp. 206-8; Mosty and Novyy Dvor Manors in Grodno District.—*Pistovaya kniga Grodnenskoy ekonomii, izdannaya Vilenskoyu komissiyeyu dlya razbora drevnikh aktov* (subsequently referred to as G), Vil'na, pt I, 1881, pp. 187-91 and 252-7.

⁹ P, pt II, p. 2.

and Kotra bailiwicks."¹ Polovets Manor of Berest'ye (modern Brest) District was so new that at the time of the survey its buildings were still to be put up.²

In addition to the demesne, the manors had 'kitchen gardens' (*ogorody*), which were usually located around the manor house and its outbuildings. These plots ranged in size from about one-sixth of an acre to about 15 acres. The documents frequently distinguished them as vegetable gardens, where cabbages, turnips, onions, beets, parsnips, and parsley were grown, and 'spring' gardens. The latter were generally much the larger; they were manured and were no doubt sown to the more valuable spring crops, wheat, barley, and flax. Many manors had in addition small orchards of apples, pears, cherries, and plums. One at least had a small vineyard.³ The manors usually had mills attached to them, although not infrequently these were rented out. The mills were always water-driven and were most numerous on the smaller streams, not used for navigation. As a result, some were only spring mills. In Poles'ye bailiwick of Berest'ye District the mills "grind not unceasingly, but only in spring and autumn at times of flood water."⁴ More commonly there were a dam and mill-pond. The millers were given *voloka* holdings for their work, but since the mills usually stood on their own, away from manor or village, these holdings were for the most part in separate outlying fields near the mill.

To operate the new demesne, the manors needed a greatly increased labour force. Up to 1557, the principal work-force of the manor consisted of its slaves (*batraki* or *parobki*), who lived at the manor and received subsistence rations. These *servi* were now given free status as *ogorodniki*, or 'gardeners',⁵ and received small land-holdings of 6 *morgi* each. These tenements were either arranged in three fields on their own, or attached to the three demesne fields. The work obligation for the 'gardeners' was two days per week; their wives owed twelve days a year to help with the weeding and harvesting. The wives were also under obligation to produce linen from flax grown on the farm. On some farms these tied servants were required to work three days a week and their wives eighteen days a year, but in such cases they were given larger plots of 9 *morgi*. The *ogorodniki* looked after the kitchen gardens and livestock and did day to day work about the manor, but they were too few in number to cope with the major operations of working the demesne and hay-cutting. Even the largest manors had fewer than 30 *ogorodniki*, some had only half a dozen. Belousovskiy manorial farm in Kobrin District had over 1,600 acres of demesne, but only ten tenements were set aside for *ogorodniki* and none of them, apparently, was occupied.⁶

¹ G, pt I, p. 514.

² DMA, I, p. 441.

³ G, pt I, pp. 390-1.

⁴ DMA, I, p. 328.

⁵ There is a close parallel here with the 'gardeners' of fourteenth-century Brandenburg manors, with plots of three *morgen* each. The word used in Lithuania for a manorial farm or subsidiary farm, *fol'vark*, derived from the German *Vorwerke*.

⁶ K, p. 208.

Inevitably the bulk of manorial labour requirements was met by peasants from the villages within the manor's jurisdiction, in return for which they received their new *voloka* holdings. This system of land-holding in return for labour, known as *tyaglo*, had existed in Lithuania from the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was now greatly extended. Seven peasant tenements were allocated for every *voloka* or 30 *morgi* of demesne.¹ The amount of labour was fixed by the decree at two days per week, being remitted for three weeks of the year at Mid-Lent, Easter, and Christmas.² The decree also fixed the hours of work as sunrise to sunset, with three hours rest for those working with draught animals, "before dinner," "at midday," and "before evening." Those not working with livestock had three half-hour rest periods. The peasants themselves had to provide the necessary horses and oxen. To see that the peasants presented themselves for work and fulfilled their obligations, the bailiff appointed petty officials or reeves, called *voyty*, from among the peasants. Each *voyt* had several villages under his supervision and was assisted by other peasants, known as *lavniki*.

Tenements surplus to the needs of the demesne, or located inconveniently far from the manor, were given out in return for money payments, the *osada* system. *Osada* peasants owed four days a year boon-work (*toloka*) on the demesne, but this could be commuted for 12 *groshi* in cash. The royal decree laid down precisely the dues in money and kind from every holding, the amounts varying with the quality of the soil (TABLE I). Four land categories were recognized—good, medium, bad, and very bad. Dues of rye, oats, and hay could be commuted for cash at fixed rates and the duty of carting these products for the Crown could similarly be commuted. *Statsiya* was a special levy in kind or money equivalent for the sustenance of the King or his officers, when in the district. In kind it consisted of a hen and ten eggs from every holding, a goose from every five holdings, a ram from every fifteen holdings, and a cow from every thirty holdings.

The great majority of holdings were *tyaglo* or *osada*, on labour or payment, but there was also a third class, tenements held in return for special services and activities. They were usually free of other dues, or carried greatly reduced taxes. Such tenants included priests, the *voyty*, smiths, carpenters, and other craftsmen, woodwards, hunt servants, and the *boyare putnyye* (a kind of yeomanry, higher in status than the peasant, owing military service in time of war). In general about 10 per cent of holdings were allotted for services of this kind, but in Grodno District the presence of a royal palace and extensive Crown hunting forests raised the proportion to 15 per cent. Some villages were in-

¹ The *voloka* as a unit of peasant holding was 33 *morgi* in area; the *voloka* as a unit of areal measurement was always 30 *morgi*.

² DMA, I, p. 242.

habited solely by people on some special service, palace cooks, huntsmen, kennel-men, or the like.

TABLE I
DUES IN GROSZ FROM EACH HOLDING

(A) HOLDINGS FOR LABOUR—TWO DAYS WORK PER WEEK, PLUS:				
	<i>Quality of land</i>			
	<i>Good</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Bad</i>	<i>Very bad</i>
<i>Chinsh</i> (land tax)	21	12	8	6
<i>Statsiya</i> , in kind or	6	6	6	6
Right to fish	2	2	2	2
Hay, 1 cartload or	3	3	3	—
Cartage of hay or	2	2	2	—
Oats, 2 <i>bochki</i> or	10	10	(1 <i>bochka</i> or) 5	—
Cartage of oats or	10	10	5	—
<i>Total</i>	54	45	31	14
(B) HOLDINGS FOR MONEY—AS ABOVE, PLUS:				
<i>Osada</i>	30	30	30	30
<i>Gvalt</i> , 1 <i>bochka</i> of rye or	10	10	10	10
Boon-work, 4 days or	12	12	12	12
<i>Total</i>	106	97	83	66

To carry out the terms of the *Voloka* Decree, nobles were appointed as overseers or commissioners. To assist them in the task they had surveyors, who measured the arable, and clerks, who recorded in detail the layout and dimensions of the new fields, the names of tenants, and assessments of taxation, with all other relevant information.¹ The precision of these cadastral descriptions is such that from them one may reconstruct the patterns of fields, parcels, and settlements. The overseers aimed at achieving a completely standard layout. The three fields were to lie side by side, all of the same size, all with the same number of parallel strips; every strip was to be of identical length, breadth, and area. The village was to be resited in a single line of houses, one house at the end

¹ Of the cadastres so compiled for every district, only four have survived, covering Crown estates in the districts of Grodno, Pinsk, Kobrin, and Berest'ye. Transcripts of these have been published in references G, P, K, and DMA, I, pp. 205-448. In addition, there is a cadastre for the towns of Bryansk and Sarazh with a small group of villages (G, pt II, pp. 317-528). There is also the earlier cadastre of Queen Bona, transcribed in PK.

of each middle field strip, with a street in front of the houses and a threshing barn opposite each house (FIG. I).

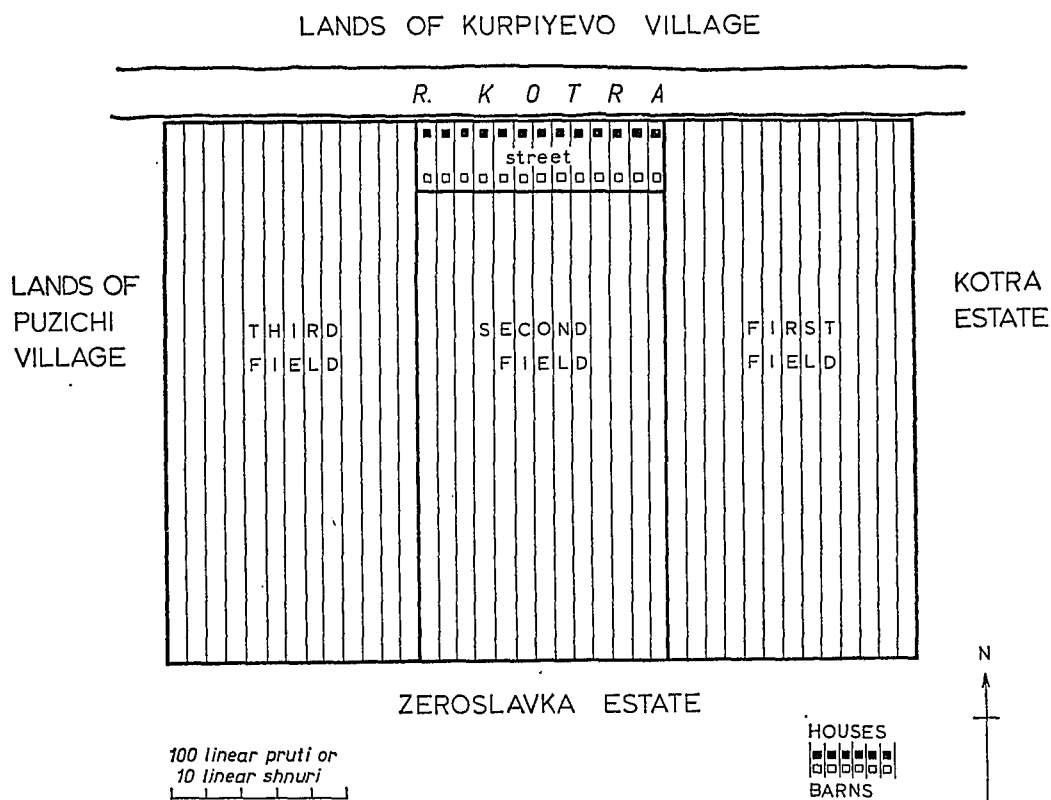


FIG. I

STANDARD PATTERN OF THE VILLAGE AND ITS FIELDS—PLAYSKOYE VILLAGE OF GRODNO DISTRICT

In most cases the overseers achieved exactly this pattern. Altogether the surviving cadastres covered 535 villages; 28 of these lack a full description, usually through damage to the manuscripts, and a further 71 were not reorganized on the *voloka* system. Of the remaining 436 villages, no fewer than 292 (67 per cent) conformed precisely to the standard blueprint. The only variations between the villages were in the number of holdings and in the length-width ratios and areas of the strips. Most other villages displayed only minor variations from the desired layout. Fourteen had the strips of one field at right angles to those of the other two, instead of being parallel. In a few cases the new settlement could not be placed at the end of middle field strips and was put at the end of one of the other fields, or even of two fields; this was usually for better access to water supply. Another 18 villages operated a 'twin' form of the usual pattern, with six fields arranged and worked in two sets of three; such villages had their

houses in two facing lines across the street. Yet other villages had their fields laid out side by side, but they were not rectangular, as the fences had to be accommodated to physical impediments, such as a river or swamp. These fields were "measured in *morgi*," that is to say the strip parcels were all of different lengths and widths (FIG. II). Sometimes all three fields were "measured in

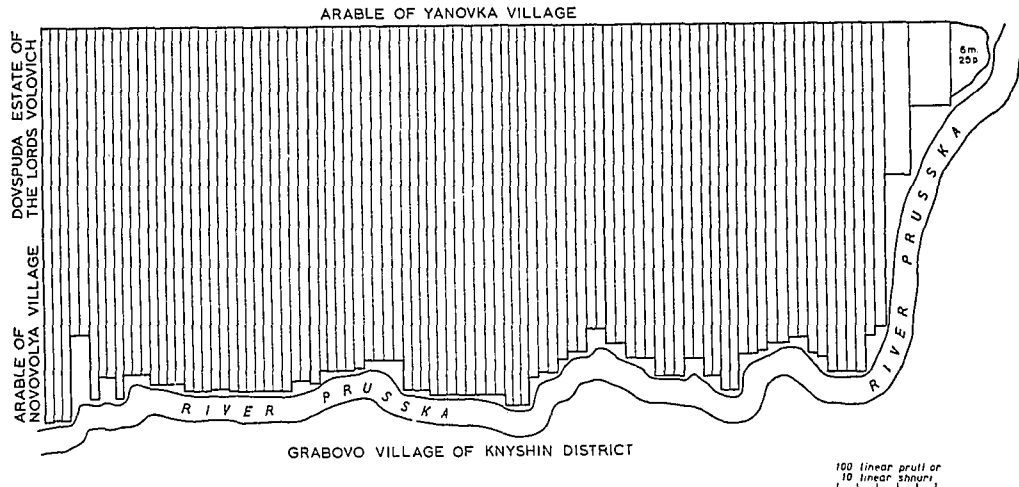


FIG. II

FIELDS "MEASURED IN *morgi*"—PRUSSKA VILLAGE OF GRODNO DISTRICT

morgi," at others only one or two fields; sometimes only a few strips of one field were affected, due to some boundary irregularity.

In villages where the three fields could not be established side by side, a "2 × 1" layout was adopted, with two fields side by side and the third at the ends of the first two (FIG. III). Strips in the third field might be parallel to, or more rarely at right angles to, those of the other fields. This pattern occurred in 47 villages (10·8 per cent). Only a tiny minority of villages were not laid out on either of these two basic patterns. Almost always the reason was a physical difficulty of the terrain. In a dozen villages one field had to be detached from its fellows across a river; just occasionally the presence of swamp enforced a wholly irregular field layout. Swamps were extremely extensive in the area of the Grand Duchy, particularly in the south in the basin of the River Pripyat. There they covered many hundreds of square miles and the only dry sites for settlements and fields were tiny 'islets' of sand. Such hostile conditions completely frustrated the overseers; in these great swamps lay the 71 unreorganized villages, with their arable scattered about as of old in dozens of minute plots, perched on higher 'islets' of dry ground. In these villages the *dvorishche* remained as the unit of land-holding and the pre-reform scale of tax assessment

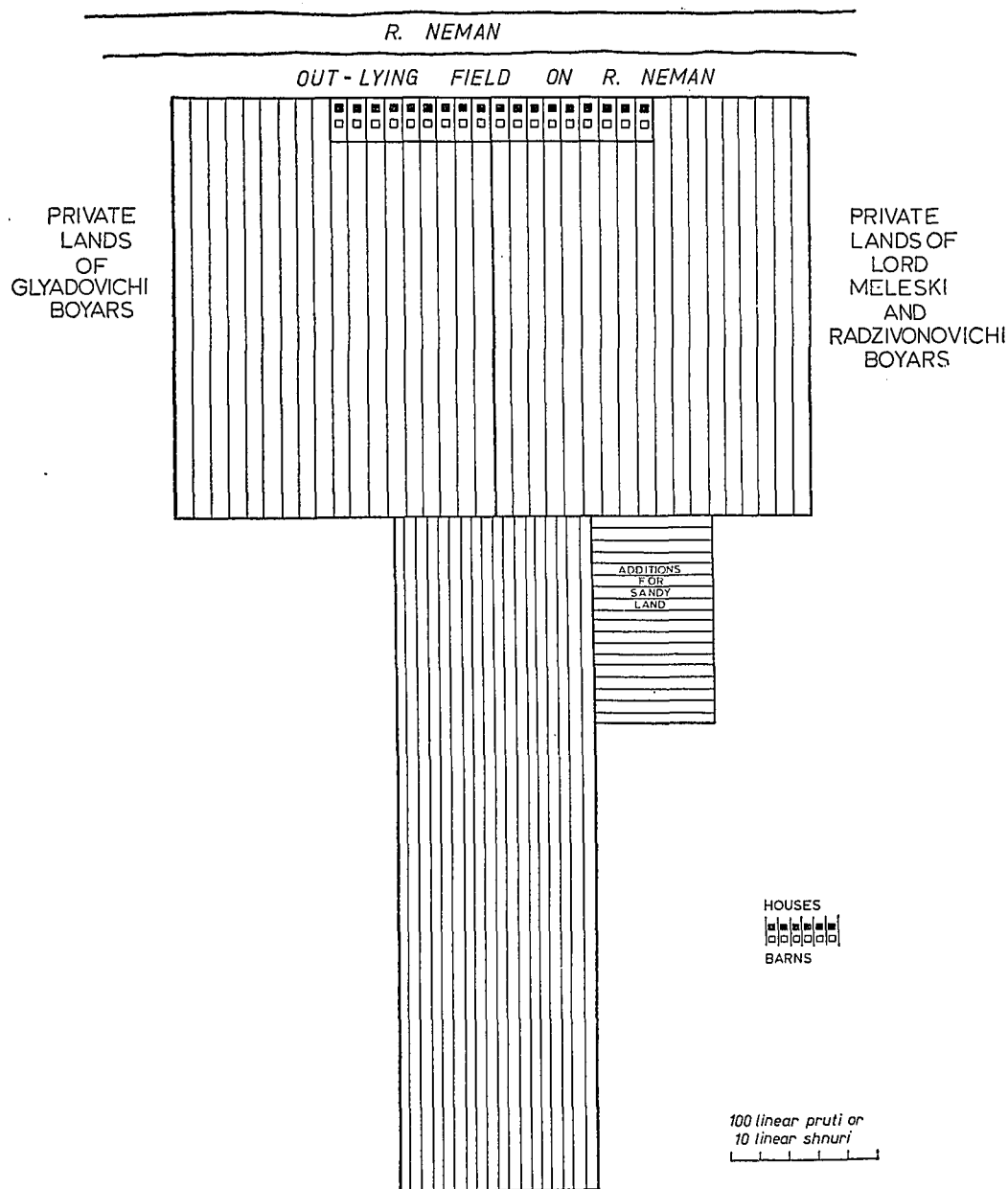


FIG. III

FIELDS ARRANGED ON A "2×1" PATTERN—KUZMICH VILLAGE OF GRODNO DISTRICT

was continued. Needless to say, in such conditions no attempt was made to establish demesne.

Although the *Voloka* Decree prescribed the size of one holding at 33 *morgi*, eleven in each field, the discretionary additions for poor quality land could be

very substantial. At Kamenoye village in Kobrin District there were great tracts of swamp within the fields; each strip was therefore enlarged to nearly three times the norm.¹ Where quality varied within a field, the individual strips were compensated with varying amounts of additional land. The tax obligations remained the same, regardless of these additions; it was clearly an attempt to achieve fairness between one holding and another.

The number of persons recorded as tenants of a particular holding varied. Frequently only one holder was named, but holding by a group of persons was also common. Occasionally six or more named holders were recorded, but this was rare; more usually two or three persons worked a holding jointly. Presumably each named person represented a family unit. Often only one man was named as holder, but he was noted as working his holding "with his sons" or "with his brothers" or yet again, "with his helpers (*potuzhniki*)."

The distinction between unnamed 'helpers' and named holders is not clear. Holding in severalty or otherwise varied markedly between districts. In Grodno District only 7 per cent of tenements were in the name of a single person; in Kobrin District the proportion rose to 30 per cent.

As well as the standard *voloka* holdings and the additional lands in compensation, many villages had 'outlying fields (*zastenki*).' These lay beyond the main field fences and represented either plots too distant to be incorporated into the new three fields, or areas newly cleared and cultivated after the reform. In intensively settled regions, such as central Grodno District, one set of main fields usually marched with its neighbours and there was little land in between where outlying fields could be established. In more heavily forested parts most villages had a number of such parcels, scattered deep in the forests and swamps. Dovechorovich village of Pinsk District had no less than 82 outlying fields in addition to its main fields.² These plots were generally small, not over a few acres in extent, and were cultivated by those peasants who wished to do so, in return for a cash payment over and above the normal taxes on the *voloka*. The tax was assessed on the area and quality of arable in the outlying field. In the post-reform period, some villages were very active in carving such new fields out of the forest. Kobrin District was inventoried in 1597, some thirty years after its cadastre was compiled; during that period a majority of the villages had increased their acreages of outlying fields, in one case by twenty times.³

The uniformity with which the three-field system was introduced into Lithuania was remarkable, as was the wholesale nature of the reform. Arable and villages alike were transformed, in what must have been an upheaval of considerable scale. Indeed this uniformity has imprinted itself on the present-

¹ K, p. 36.

² P, pt I, pp. 356-76.

³ *Akty izdavayemyye Vilenskoy arkheograficheskoy komissiyey dlya razbora drevnikh aktov* (subsequently referred to as AVK), Vil'na, xiv, 1888, p. 590.

day landscape, in the regular 'street' village pattern. In some parts, which are now in Poland, the sixteenth-century field patterns survive almost unmodified. No less remarkable was the speed with which the reform was accomplished. By 1569, twelve years after the *Voloka* Decree, the work was apparently complete in the three principal provinces of Lithuania.¹ In the conquered Russian provinces to the east, the system was gradually brought in during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; there, however, the field patterns were far less regular.

The decree applied only to Crown estates, but the landowners of the nobility and clergy were involved willy-nilly in the exchange of land. Often they too ended with consolidated estates and "began, following the government's example, to introduce the *voloka* economy on their lands."² Inventories of private estates from the late sixteenth century show that the *voloka* system was widely practised. The Rusota estate of Yuri Volovich was inventoried in 1556, before the new system came in;³ by 1581, when a new inventory was taken, the estate had been divided into *voloki*.⁴ The Ponevezh estate of Prince Oginskiy was organized on the new system by 1563,⁵ and the Telesnitsa estate of Pavl Kokhanovskiy by 1576, when he sold it to Lavrin Voyna.⁶

On the reorganized fields of manor and village alike, a three-year crop rotation was introduced. The demesne fields were usually referred to as "three-year fields"—"The arable of this manorial farm is established for three years, 12 *voloki*, that is for each year 4 *voloki*."⁷ The first year the field was sown to winter grain; this was always rye, the principal crop in Lithuania, both before and after the reform. The spring grains of the second year were more varied; oats were the most important, but occasionally barley was sown in fair quantity. Wheat, spring rye, buckwheat, and peas were sown in small amounts, if at all. By a decree of 1529, all manors were required to sow an unspecified area to flax,⁸ but the quantities were very small and probably confined to the 'spring gardens'. Sometimes there were small acreages of hemp.⁹ The relative importance of the various crops on a number of manors, for which inventories have survived, is shown in TABLE II. The range of crops grown on the peasant holdings was smaller. Winter rye and spring oats were cultivated everywhere and were required as dues to the Crown. Occasionally very small amounts of

¹ Picheta, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-42.

² M. V. Dovnar-Zapol'skiy and D. Z. Shendrik, 'Istoricheskiye sud'by Verkhnego Podneprov'ya i Belorussii i kul'turnyye ikh uspekhi.' In V. P. Semenov (ed.), *Rossiya: polnoye geograficheskoye opisaniye nashego otechestva*, ix, *Verkhneye Podneprov'ye i Belorussiya*, St Petersburg, 1905, p. 85.

³ AVK, xiv, pp. 20-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-9.

⁷ P, pt 1, p. 112.

⁸ *Akty otnosyashchiyesya k istorii zapadnoy Rossii, sobrannyye i izdannyye Arkheograficheskoyu komissiyeyu*, St Petersburg, II, 1848, p. 196.

⁹ *Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Severo-Zapadnoy Rusi*, Vil'na, IV, 1867, p. 231.

TABLE II
CROPS SOWN ON CROWN MANORS
(Amounts in *bochki*)

Manor	Date of Inventory	Winter Rye	Spring crops					
			Rye	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Buckwheat	Peas
Vornenskiy	1547	70	6½	6	5½	16	—	—
Oshmentsi	1547	30	—	4	5	10	—	½
Kozinets	1547	39½	1½	3	3	11½	—	1
Vidinishki	1547	38	1	3	4	12½	6	—
Dovgyalishki	1553	120	4	5	4½	75	20	—
Seniskiy	1553	65	—	2	4	64	19	—
Teykini	1553	52	2½	—	5	29	9	—
Bryansk	1558	288	3	6	28½	291	38	—
Sarazh	1558	89	—	4	7	89	6	2
Ponevezh	1563	56	—	7	6	40	10	2
Cherevachichi	1596	224½	4	6	15	65	15	6
Vezhetskiy	1596	108	7	2½	10½	49	12	3
Belousovskiy	1596	32	8	1½	8	22	6½	1

buckwheat were sown.¹ The peasants of Myadel Bailiwick had, before the reform, given flax to the bailiff,² but there is no evidence of flax being cultivated on peasant holdings after the reform.

The third year of the rotation was fallow, used on the village lands for common pasture. "On those fields which they do not plough, grass grows and a sufficiency of stock may be kept."³ The documents provide little evidence of the grazing of common pasture, but the practice has continued to the present time in those villages of Białystok province of Poland where the three-field system has persisted unmodified since the sixteenth century.⁴

The yields naturally varied greatly from place to place and from year to year. The 1570's experienced disastrous harvests—"In the time of King August there was so great a famine that people died of hunger and especially in Lithuania and Poles'ye. . . That famine lasted six years in succession and ended in 1576."⁵ Some inventories recorded harvests, giving details of the threshing; where threshing had not yet taken place, the inspectors made an estimate of yield from a test threshing. The numbers of returns (TABLE III) are too few to provide more than an indication, but suggest that yields were much the same as elsewhere in medieval Europe.

¹ AVK, xiv, pp. 28-9.

² DMA, i, p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*, p. III.

⁴ W. Biegajło, 'The Ways of Transition from the Three-field system to modern farming as currently observed in Poland's underdeveloped region of Białystok', *Geographia Polonica*, II, 1964, p. 53.

⁵ I. Ye. Buchinskiy, *O klimате proshlogo russkoy ravniny*, Leningrad, 1957, p. 87.

TABLE III

YIELDS

<i>Crop</i>	<i>Manor</i>	<i>Bochki sown</i>	<i>Bochki yielded</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
Winter rye	Cherevachichi	224½	604	1:2·7
	Vezhetskiy	108	468	1:4·3
	Belousovskiy	32	82½	1:2·6
	Chakhchi	28	54½	1:1·9
	Bryansk	228	1215	1:5·2
	Sarazh	89	303	1:3·4
Oats	Cherevachichi	65	133	1:2·0
	Vezhetskiy	49	125	1:2·6
	Belousovskiy	22	38½	1:1·75
	Chakhchi	8	22	1:2·75
	Bryansk	291	1154½	1:4·0
	Sarazh	89	403	1:4·5
Barley	Cherevachichi	15	75	1:5·0
	Vezhetskiy	10½	39	1:3·7
	Belousovskiy	8	13½	1:1·7
	Chakhchi	2	7½	1:3·75
	Bryansk	28½	230½	1:8·1
	Sarazh	7	40	1:5·7
Spring rye	Cherevachichi	4	15½	1:3·9
	Vezhetskiy	7	8¼	1:1·2
	Belousovskiy	8	4	1:0·5
	Chakhchi	2	3½	1:1·75
	Bryansk	3	6	1:2·0
Wheat	Cherevachichi	6	2¼	1:0·4
	Vezhetskiy	2½	3½	1:1·3
	Belousovskiy	1½	1½	1:1·0
	Bryansk	6	36	1:6·0
	Sarazh	4	21	1:5·25
Buckwheat	Cherevachichi	15	48	1:3·2
	Vezhetskiy	12	37	1:3·1
	Belousovskiy	6½	13½	1:2·1
	Bryansk	38	221	1:5·8
	Sarazh	6	3	1:0·5
Peas	Cherevachichi	6	18	1:3·0
	Vezhetskiy	3	11	1:3·7
	Belousovskiy	1	3	1:3·0
	Chakhchi	4	6	1:1·5
	Bryansk	7	68	1:9·7
	Sarazh	2	10	1:5·0

Bryansk and Sarazh—harvest of 1558; others 1596.

Livestock numbers on the Lithuanian manors were not very great, compared for instance with those of medieval England (TABLE IV).

TABLE IV
NUMBERS OF LIVESTOCK

<i>Manor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Horses*</i>	<i>Cattle*</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Pigs</i>	<i>Goats</i>	<i>Geese</i>	<i>Hens</i>
Radoshkovichi	1549	1	14	16	14	5	9	22
Kostyushkovichi	1549	—	8	3	—	—	7	30
Kamenetskiy	1549	17	9	17	6	3	5	19
Dovgyalishki	1553	24	20	—	13	—	19	—
Seniskiy	1553	—	16	34	30	—	9	—
Teykini	1553	—	16	11	13	7	20	—
Rusota	1556	30	55	39	20	—	36	80
	1581	—	43	24	19	7	10	9
Ponevezh	1563	4	3	—	—	—	35	—
Ros	1569	—	51	13	21	8	34	31
Telesnitsa	1576	5	45	42	24	5	11	—
Cherevachichi	1597	29	54	—	14	—	23	—
Vezhetskiy	1597	—	100	—	26	—	29	12
Belousovskiy	1597	—	58	—	—	—	—	—
Kobrin Castle	1597	—	51	—	—	—	—	—

* including draught animals.

The cadastres did not record stock, but the inventories usually did. In particular there were very few draught horses and oxen for working the demesne. However the peasants who owed labour on the demesne had also to supply animals to pull the ploughs. The cadastres for Grodno and Pinsk Districts enumerated the draught livestock on each holding; numbers varied very greatly, averaging about five per tenement, with oxen outnumbering horses by seven to four. Altogether in the two districts 19,181 animals were recorded, of which 12,229 were oxen, on 3,781 holdings. These figures included holdings on money payment and on service; the 1,800 holdings on labour had over 9,000 draught animals to work nearly 13,000 acres of demesne, in addition of course to the tenements themselves. Ploughs were drawn by teams of two oxen; an inventory of Rechitsa, taken in 1565, enumerated 120 oxen and summarized the total as "60 ploughs of oxen."¹

Other livestock in peasant hands was very seldom recorded; a notable exception was the 1599 inventory of Oreshkovo.² In that village the 28 households held between them 21 horses, 15 mares, 18 foals, 34 plough oxen, 44 cows, 67 young cattle, 72 sheep, 34 goats, and 47 pigs. If this village was at all typical, it

¹ DMA, I, p. 158.

² AVK, XIV, pp. 643-4.

indicated fairly substantial numbers of animals on the peasant holdings. There was, as might be expected, considerable variation from household to household, from the village elder with 24 animals to a poor peasant, who had three goats "and has nothing more."

Both manor and village required a fodder supply for the livestock. The amounts of hayland attached to the manors varied considerably, from about 40 to 700 acres. There was little correlation between the extent of demesne and the quantity of hayland. Some manors with no demesne at all had substantial areas of hayland and it seems probable that these were primarily stock-farms. Thus Stytychevo manorial farm near Pinsk had arable only for the bailiff's sustenance and no demesne, but it was recorded as established "for the keeping of stock in better pastures."¹ The amount of hayland in the use of the peasants similarly bore no relationship to the number of holdings; indeed only a minority of villages had any recorded hayland. However, hayland was assessed for taxation, separately from the arable holdings. The great majority of Crown peasants could meet their hay needs free of charge, by exercising their right of entry to the Crown forests to cut hay and pasture animals. Also the extensive grass marshes, which occurred everywhere, were cut for fodder. As a result, hayland, for which payment had to be made, was usually to be found only in those villages located in densely settled areas, where there was no closely adjacent forest. Similarly, needs for pasture could nearly always be met by the wide expanses of swamp, forest, and scrub, on which no taxation was imposed. Whereas in medieval England meadow was more valuable than arable,² in Lithuania the converse held good; in the compulsory exchange of land, hayland was rated at half the value of arable on soil of comparable quality.

The forests indeed played a major part in the economy of manor and village. Timber exploitation in all forests was a Crown monopoly and hunting was the privilege of King and nobility, but the manors and their peasants enjoying the right of entry to the forest had a number of benefits. In addition to rights of hay-cutting and pasture, dead timber could be collected for fuel, building, fencing, and "domestic needs, but not for sale."³ Live timber was very strictly protected. Women and children were allowed to gather mushrooms and "all forest fruits."⁴ Other valuable perquisites of the right of entry were fishing and the keeping of bee-trees, that is trees with a natural or artificial hollow for bees' nests. The Oreshkovo peasants had between them 950 pine and 94 oak bee-trees, with 99 swarms.⁵ Half the honey collected had to go to the Crown. These rights were of long standing and were confirmed to the inhabitants of Crown estates by the *Voloka* Decree. Sometimes the cadastres specifically recorded

¹ P, pt II, p. 178.

² H. C. Darby (ed.), *An Historical Geography of England before 1800*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 198.

³ K, p. 101.

⁴ RIB, xxx, col. 576.

⁵ AVK, xiv, pp. 644-5.

the continuation of the rights: "And all these inhabitants of the village Gorodishche may enjoy now as they did formerly their rights of entry to the forest, haycutting, fishing, bee-tree, and other rights."¹

The system of three-field agriculture introduced by Sigismund August had obviously many features in common with the system found in other countries. Of the four principal open-field characteristics defined by the Orwins, three were found in Lithuania—large arable fields, fallow every third year, and common grazing in the arable fields.² The fourth feature, holdings scattered in small strips through the fields, was not present, since each holding had only one parcel in each field, even though that parcel was undoubtedly strip-shaped. It would be unrealistic to maintain that the Lithuanian agrarian practice was not therefore open-field agriculture, and one might reasonably argue that division into parcels rather than necessarily into strip bundles was a distinctive characteristic. At the same time the Lithuanian example had a number of important differences from, say, the English midland systems. Above all, its authoritarian origin provides many points of contrast. Its introduction was swift and the new regime was quite remarkably uniform over the country. The pattern of fields and settlements was very regular, the size of holdings and the work norms and dues imposed on them were standardized.

Authoritarianism also characterized the working of the three-field system. If medieval England saw a gradual, but fairly steady decrease in the feudal dependence of the peasant, medieval Lithuania saw the yoke of serfdom firmly fixed on his shoulders. Up to the *Voloka* reform the peasants had rights of land ownership and could buy and sell land. For example, a peasant called Andrey Vakolich was recorded as buying 10 *pruti*³ of land from another peasant for 40 sheaves of rye.⁴ Now, under the new dispensation, land ownership was vested in the Crown and if a peasant left his *voloka* holding, the bailiff could allot it to another. In the words of the historian Yurginis, "The agrarian reform of Sigismund August . . . finally deprived the peasants of rights to landed property, wiped out survivals of allodial rights, and turned the peasant lands into fiefs."⁵ In the eyes of the Crown, "the peasant and all his property is Ours."⁶ The process of enserfment was completed in the Third Lithuanian Statute of 1588, which revoked the peasant's right of transfer from one person's estate to another's, and provided for the return of runaways.⁷

¹ P, pt I, p. 168.

² C. S. and C. S. Orwin, *The Open Fields*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1967, pp. 64-5.

³ An areal *prut* was a thirtieth part of a *morg.*, i.e. about 0.06 acres.

⁴ P, pt II, p. 572.

⁵ Yu. M. Yurginis, 'Krest'yanskoye zemlevladieniye v Litve do sere diny XVI v.', *Yezhegodnik po agrarnoy istorii Vostochnoy Yevropy* 1963 g., Vil'nyus, 1964, p. 156.

⁶ Lyubavskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁷ P. I. Lyashchenko, *History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution*, New York, 1949, p. 260.

The result was a stable system which persisted, first under Poland-Lithuania and later under the Russian Empire, until the Emancipation of the Serfs in 1861. The period following the reform did indeed see the presentation of a large number of 'petitions' from the peasants to the Crown, but the burden of their complaints was the incidence of taxation. Most sought relief on the grounds of war damage or other calamity, or because the peasants thought their land quality had been overrated in the reform. The only protest the peasant could make against his altered status was to "vote with his feet." Four villages of Grodno District, lying right on the Prussian border, were granted specially reduced taxes because their inhabitants, rather than work the holdings, "took flight across the border of Prussia."¹

The remarkable stability of the regime initiated in 1557 is demonstrated in a number of villages of present-day Białystok province of Poland. In these villages not only has the field layout remained unaltered, but the fields are still cultivated in common on the same three-year rotation. Only the strips within the fields have undergone subdivision. If the *voloka* holding was 60 acres, the average size of a holding in Białystok province today is 24 acres. Moreover the normal holding is now a bundle of parcels in each field, as opposed to the one large strip parcel of the reform period.²

If the rigid and close control, the "bureaucratism of the reform,"³ was in contrast to the normal English situation, the documents of Sigismund August throw not unimportant light on the establishment and operation of the three-field system in general. The Lithuanian experience had, not surprisingly, its closest parallels in eastern Europe and in particular in Poland, whence it was derived. Grossman has described a very similar situation in the Leżajsk District of south-east Poland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴ Equally there are similarities with the open-field agriculture of Germany and points in common with the 'solskifte' system of Sweden.⁵ Eastwards, the sixteenth century saw the three-field system becoming widespread in Russia proper.⁶ In essence however the agrarian regime set up by Sigismund August existed in one form or another and at one time or other in most countries of Europe. But as Professor de Planhol has commented, "bien des détails et des processus restent

¹ G, pt 1, p. 423.

² W. Biegajło, 'Borysówka, Grodzisko and Hruskie villages in the north-eastern undeveloped corner of Poland,' *Geographia Polonica*, vol. v, Warsaw, 1965, pp. 29-60.

³ Picheta, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

⁴ Yu. M. Grossman, 'Polozheniye krest'yan Lezhayskogo starostva (vtoraya polovina XVI—nachala XVII v.)', *Materialy po istorii sel'skogo khozyaystva i krest'yanstva SSSR*, v, Moscow, 1962, pp. 21-60.

⁵ D. Hannerberg, 'Solskifte and older methods of partitioning arable land in Central Sweden during the Middle Ages', *Géographie et Histoire Agraires*, Nancy, 1959, pp. 245-59.

⁶ See, for instance, M. N. Tikhomirov, *Rossiya v XVI stoletii*, Moscow, 1962; G. E. Kochin, *Sel'skoye Khozyaystvo na Rusi kontsa XIII—nachala XVIv.*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1965.

obscurs.”¹ Dr Thirsk has pointed out that “discussion has now moved on to the most basic question of all, namely the origin of the common-field system.”² The relatively late date of the Lithuanian reorganization, if reducing its value in this context, has meant however the survival of more documentary evidence for the commencement of the three-field system than is usual in most countries. The detailed information thus available may serve to illuminate the system in such countries, among which we may number Great Britain.

¹ X. de Planhol, ‘La genèse des paysages agraires Européens au symposium de Vadstena’, *Revue Géographique de l’Est*, 1, 1961, p. 236.

² In the Preface to the 3rd edn of C. S. and C. S. Orwin, *The Open Fields*, Oxford, 1967, p. xiii.

Notes and Comments

THE PRESIDENT’S HONORARY DEGREE

The Society wishes to congratulate warmly its President, G. E. Fussell, on the conferment of the degree of D.Litt. upon him at Exeter University in July this year.

DEATH OF T. W. FLETCHER

The Society deeply regrets the death earlier this year of a former member of its Executive Committee, Mr T. W. Fletcher. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the Society, a very gay person, and the author of some important articles on the Great Depression in agriculture, including one on ‘Lancashire Livestock Farming during the Great Depression’ which was published in this REVIEW in volume IX, part 1, 1961.

1970 WINTER CONFERENCE

The Executive Committee has decided to revive on a trial basis the Society’s Winter Conference which was discontinued three years ago for want of support. The Conference will be held on Saturday, 28 November 1970 at the Department of Geography, University College London, and be centred around the theme, ‘Agriculture and the history of the environment’, demonstrating how changes in landscape, farming systems, and methods of pest control have affected wild life populations. Details of the Conference and an application form have already been circulated in the

supplement to this REVIEW (Professor Finberg’s Festschrift), which was issued in September. Further copies of the programme may be had from Mr E. J. T. Collins, Museum of English Rural Life, Reading.

THE 1971 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The 1971 Conference will be held at the University of Leeds from 5 to 7 April. Further details and application forms will be circulated in the next issue (vol. 19, pt. 1) of this REVIEW.

THE 1970 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Annual Conference was held at Hereford College of Education from Monday, 6 April to Wednesday, 8 April 1970. Papers were presented by Mr C. C. Dyer (Demesne leasing on the estates of the bishopric of Worcester in the later Middle Ages), Dr Ross Wordie (English farm sizes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), Miss Meryl Jancey (Archival sources for agricultural history), and Dr George Ramsay (The Merchants of the Staple and the English wool export trade). On the afternoon of 7 April Miss Jancey led an interesting excursion to the Leominster area, visiting the woodlands at Dinmore Hill, the Home Farm of the Hampton Court (Arkwright) Estate, and the field systems and watermeadows of the Lugg Valley.

(Continued on page 160)

The Marketing of Corn in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century: North-East Kent¹

By DENNIS BAKER

I

THE home market was at least six times as valuable as the overseas market during the first half of the eighteenth century. The ratio could have been much higher and one contemporary estimate even puts it at 32 to 1. Throughout the early modern period the vast bulk of this traffic concerned agricultural produce, for in 1750 England was still a predominantly agricultural economy.²

Marketing, nevertheless, remains one of the most neglected aspects of agricultural history.³ There is a dearth of suitable source material. We know much about the management of crops and livestock in the field, little about their journey beyond the farm gate. A thorough exploration of the various outlets leading from farm to consumer is a rare venture. More frequently we seek shelter in some terminological cul-de-sac like 'commercialized agriculture' or 'farming for the market'. Admittedly, in some regions the market outlets were few or fraught with hazards; such, for instance, was the difficult position of those who farmed the Midland clays, ill-drained and intractable. But others, more fortunately placed, could choose from a wide range of marketing possibilities; this held true, for example, over much of the eastern and home counties.

The farmers of north-east Kent possessed a number of competitive advantages, but none more valuable than proximity to the markets both local and in London. This fertile belt of Kent stretches from Rainham in the west to the eastern extremities of Thanet, a distance of about 35 miles; it averages 8 miles or more in width. The region incorporates nearly half of the county's coastline.

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Dr Joan Thirsk, Professor G. E. Mingay, and Professor A. H. John, who kindly read an earlier version of this article and made valuable suggestions.

² R. B. Westerfield, *Middlemen in English Business, particularly between 1660 and 1760*, Transactions Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, xix, Connecticut, 1915, p. 123; T. S. Ashton, *An Economic History of England: The 18th Century*, London, 1955, p. 63; Phyllis Deane, *The First Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 13-14.

³ A noteworthy exception is Professor Alan Everitt's pioneering study, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640*, Cambridge, 1967, iv, pp. 466-592.

Possessed of a rich variety of highly productive cornlands, hop gardens, woodlands, orchards, market gardens, and pastures, the region was the source of an equally rich and varied supply of farm products to the local and metropolitan markets. The sales of wheat, barley—with its derivative malt—hops, and fruit undoubtedly accounted for the largest proportion of the agricultural sector's income, but the markets for vegetables, seeds, flowers, and fruit trees, livestock products, and timber each made some unknown, but in all probability quite substantial, contribution to the wealth of the region. Even oats and hay played a small but essential role in the market economy, at least locally.

Canterbury, Kent's largest town, was the regional 'capital', with a population which grew from 7,000 in 1670 to 9,000 in 1770. Besides the usual trade groups concerned with the provision of food, clothing, and household necessities, its population included foreign textile (silk) weavers, military personnel, clergy, and hop-planters. Among the wealthier citizens were many "gentlemen of fortune" and "genteel families." Prosperity rested primarily on the city's dual role as a centre of conspicuous consumption and the chief commercial and marketing centre for the eastern half of Kent.¹

The Canterbury food market was the most important of a number of local markets in the region: Sittingbourne, Milton, Faversham, Whitstable, Herne, Margate, Ramsgate, and Sandwich put together, consumed perhaps twice as much as Canterbury. Each of these smaller towns competed with each other and with Canterbury for the local farm products. On, or just beyond, the periphery, burgeoning naval stations at Sheerness, Chatham, Dover, and Deal were dependent on the region for at least some of their victuals. But beyond them all and, in a real sense, competing with them all, lay the London food market, so important in the early commercialization of agriculture in north-east Kent.² The population of London had risen from 400,000 in 1650 to 575,000 by the end of the century and to 675,000 in 1750, representing a notable increased demand for foodstuffs. The steady expansion of the metropolitan market "necessarily caused great changes in the methods used on farms over a wider and wider area, in the commercial organization of the food market, and in the transport of food."³

¹ C. W. Chalklin, *Seventeenth Century Kent: A Social and Economic History*, London, 1965, p. 31; E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 2nd edn, Canterbury, 1798, XI, p. 101.

² See F. J. Fisher, 'The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, v, 1935, p. 56, and Chalklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3 and ch. xi *passim*. For some cautionary words on the dangers of overstating London's role, see A. Everitt, *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, pt I, 1966, p. 67, and 'The Peers and the Provinces', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, XVI, pt I, 1968, p. 66.

³ E. A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650-1750', *Past and Present*, 37, July 1967, pp. 44, 58.

II

The north-east region of Kent, comprising some eighty or ninety parishes, was primarily arable, wheat, beans, and barley being the leading crops.¹ Wheat accounted for two-fifths of the growing crop acreage. The average (median) sown area of wheat per farm was 35 acres. The predominant position of this crop in Kent was established at least as early as the thirteenth century when it was a major crop on most of the Kentish manors of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, an importance which reflected both its commercial value and its adaptability to a variety of soils. Beans occupied one-fifth of the cropped areas, the average sown area being over 20 acres. In the thirteenth century beans were grown in Kent on the heavier soils—the claylands and marshes. But the extensive cultivation of beans as a row crop on the light calcareous soils of Thanet in the early eighteenth century was something new and revolutionary—“a very late and modern improvement.” Peas and beans taken together accounted for over a quarter of the sown acres, several varieties of each crop being cultivated. Marshall, who was unusually critical of some features of Thanet husbandry, believed that “in the management of pulse, as a fallow crop, the Isle of Thanet farmers may claim great merit.” John Banister, the Horton Kirby farmer, was full of praise for the Kentish method of bean cultivation on the rich loams of the Faversham district.²

Barley occupied rather more than one-tenth of the cropped acreage, but this underestimates its local importance, for the bulk of the crop was concentrated in an area east of Canterbury and especially in the Isle of Thanet. The pattern of distribution differed little from that which obtained in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when “the presence of soils suitable for barley-growing in close proximity to Canterbury was fortunate, since the Priory used large quantities of the grain for brewing and for payment to its servants.” Even today, in contrast to wheat, the growing of barley is very markedly localized on the chalky and sandy loams of east Kent including Thanet. Thanet barley has maintained a high reputation in England.³

Oats were the least important of the cereal crops and were found only on the poor or less tractable soils. On the poorest chalklands the hardy Devonshire Black Oats were commonly sown. In Thanet “Oats is grain of which we have

¹ The following summary of arable production is based on an analysis of probate inventories in the Kent Archives Office (henceforth K.A.O.).

² Ann Smith, ‘Regional Differences in Crop Production in Mediaeval Kent’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, LXXVIII, 1963, pp. 152–3; A. D. Hall and E. J. Russell, *The Agriculture and Soils of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex*, HMSO, 1911, p. 140; J. Lewis, *The History of the Isle of Tenet*, 2nd edn, Margate, 1736, p. 13; W. Marshall, *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, London, 1798, II, p. 37; J. Banister, *A Synopsis of Husbandry*, 1799, pp. 27–8.

³ Ann Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 153; L. D. Stamp, ed., *The Report of the Land Utilization Survey of Britain*, pt 85—Kent, 1943, p. 578; V.C.H. Kent, I, p. 458.

very little, our farmers generally thinking their land too good for them." Tares were "seldom sown on the best land, on account of its running too much to straw." But occasionally tares were sown with oats. Adam Ruck was growing 23 acres of this mixture on his farm at Hartlip in 1749, providing a balanced 'horse-meat' when supplemented with beans.¹

The method of marketing agricultural products, and consequently the organization by which the producer was linked with the consumer, varied according to the product. Perishable goods like milk, eggs, and fresh vegetables were produced in close proximity to the consumers, towns being supplied by the immediate neighbourhood. This direct method of supply involved only a simple organization. Milk, for instance, was rarely transported more than ten miles and the individual producer was normally in direct touch with the individual consumer. There were few opportunities for middlemen.²

In contrast, the methods and organization involved in marketing corn were indirect, complex, and involved a high level of competition and speculation. Corn—a collective term used here in the eighteenth-century sense to include wheat, barley, malt, oats, beans, and peas—can be handled easily in bulk, is durable in storage, and can be graded and standardized. Supply is liable to severe fluctuations while demand tends to be inelastic. These qualities make corn "especially subject to speculation, and occasion a class of specialized, speculative traders in corn." The English corn market was an ideal 'forcing bed' for the growth of the middleman. Wherever market opportunities existed, the farmer—having first reserved sufficient corn for his household's consumption—"turned the surplus into the hands of the middlemen, on its way to consumers who were not producers and who resided principally in the cities and larger towns, or abroad."³

John Boys wrote, in the 1790's, that "the *chief* part of the agricultural commerce of this county is that of exporting corn to the London Markets." [My italics.] This was almost certainly an exaggeration, although the London market was undoubtedly still an important outlet for Kent's produce in the late eighteenth century. It has been estimated that by the end of the seventeenth century the corn trade of London comprised 80 per cent of the total trade of the country. This figure is probably too large, but whatever the *actual* proportion, there seems little doubt that Kent, especially the north-east region, played a prominent part in this activity. From 1 October 1657 to 25 June 1658, London received 786 coastal shipments of corn. Five Kent ports headed the list: Faversham (157), Sandwich (110), Margate (94), Milton (94), and Rochester (58).

¹ John Boys, *A General View of the Agriculture of Kent*, London, 1796, p. 89; Lewis, *op. cit.* p. 15; Boys, *op. cit.*, p. 94; K.A.O., PRC 11/83/63.

² W. Moffit, *England on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution*, London, 1925, pp. 69-70.

³ Westerfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-1.

The four leading English ports sending corn coastwise to London lay along the edge of the north-east region of Kent and between them they accounted for 455 shipments or nearly three-fifths of London's coastwise trade in corn. In 1699–1700 Faversham sent 312 shipments (29,714 qrs.), Sandwich 220 shipments (34,184 qrs.), and Milton 115 shipments (10,571 qrs.) of corn to London. However, not all 647 shipments originated in the four places actually stated in the Port Books. The Customs port of Faversham, as defined by an Exchequer Commission of 1676, included a considerable portion of the north-east coast: not only Faversham itself but Whitstable, Herne, and Reculver were included. Of these, Reculver was insignificant. Unfortunately, the Faversham port books rarely distinguish between the trade of these various places. However, despite all the documentary difficulties, "it is at least certain that the port of Faversham, in the technical sense of the word, was by no means identical with the town and harbour of the same name; it included three ports in the topographical sense of the term—Faversham, Whitstable and Herne." The Sandwich port books similarly related not merely to the port of Sandwich but also to Margate, Broadstairs, and Ramsgate, which were not recognized as fully fledged ports by the Customs Commissioners. Milton continued to keep its own set of port books, recording the trade of Conyer, Upchurch, Rainham, and Otterham in addition to its own. Finally, the port books have a serious limitation in the eighteenth century. From 1702, Customs officers were no longer required to record the coastwise trade from north Kent to London, except in coal and wool.¹

Kentish corn bound for the capital, to supply the London food market or the fast-growing export market, was carried up the Thames in the coastal craft of Faversham, Milton, Whitstable, Herne, and the Thanet ports. It was in these estuary ports, particularly at Faversham, that the Kentish hoy was born. Hoys—"among the most interesting of all coastal craft"—had to be "sturdy enough to weather the oft-times foul weathers of Sea-Reach" and "shallow enough to creep up above Queenhithe;" they also had to be "fast enough to make regular passages." The cutter-rigged Faversham hoys were "the race-horses of the port." The slower brigs and other square-riggers operated in the coal trade from Wales and the north and the Baltic timber and iron trades but were unsuitable for the scheduled London runs. In the 1580's Faversham already possessed sixteen hoys, six of which sailed regularly to London with corn. By the early seventeenth century there were eight Faversham corn-hoys, 20 to 30 tons apiece, on the London route. The hoys of the early eighteenth century followed the same cutter-rigged design but were 'decked-in'—an obvious improvement

¹ Boys, *op. cit.*, p. 172; N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market*, Cambridge, Mass., 1926, pp. 74, 106; Chalklin, *op. cit.*, p. 183; D. C. Coleman, *The Economy of Kent under the Later Stuarts*, University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1951, p. 129; J. H. Andrews, 'The Trade of the Port of Faversham, 1650–1750', *Arch. Cant.*, LXIX, 1956, pp. 125–6, and 'The Thanet Seaports, 1650–1750', *Arch. Cant.* LXVI, 1954, p. 37; 1 Anne, c. 26; Andrews, 'Trade of Faversham', *loc. cit.*, p. 126.

on the earlier open hold. They were also larger than their predecessors, reaching 60 tons by the 1720's.¹

Until 1750 London's two great corn marts were Bear Key and Queenhithe. The latter was the chief market for the malt of the upper Thames valley. Bear Key was probably the greatest corn market in Europe, to which "comes all the vast quantity of corn that is brought into the city by sea, from the counties which lie commodious for that carriage." It was sold on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. By the 1720's the Kentish hoys were sailing to Bear Key according to an advertised schedule, and they frequently carried passengers as well as corn and other freight. In 1726 the *Richard and Elizabeth* sailed from Whitstable every Saturday bound for London and loaded with goods and passengers. Two years later, Henry Hall of Maidstone moved his hoy business to Faversham in order to carry corn, hops, other goods, and passengers to London on alternate Fridays. Hall remained in Faversham for eight years before moving to Crown Key, Sittingbourne, a wharf which, throughout the eighteenth century, was "of great use to this part of the country for the exporting of corn and wood, and re-landing the several commodities from London and elsewhere." Henry's brother George took over the Faversham branch of the family business with "a very good hoy" providing a reliable service "according to the usual prices." In 1728, Mark Pearce moved from Faversham to Herne and carried "Hops, corn, goods and passengers" to London fortnightly. William Turner sailed a hoy from Herne at this time and when he died in 1736, his brother Francis took over "the hoy and business" which included the carriage of corn to London. The Kentish hoy business consisted of a growing number of small family concerns with sons, brothers, and even widows inheriting vessels and "good will." The hoy was usually the family's most valuable possession. When William Phillpot, a Seasalter hoyman, died in 1742, his total personal wealth was stated to be £305 os. 6d. which included £200 for "the Hoyer." Isaac Jones, a prominent Faversham hoyman, "left off his business" before the corn harvest of 1748. He "assigned his business to Henry Southouse," presumably because he had no close relatives or none willing to take over the business. Jones was anxious that his old clients, including "gentlemen, farmers, hop-planters, and shop-keepers," should transfer their custom to his successor.²

The various corn crops provided the hoymen with their chief bulk cargoes which they transported to London throughout the year, according to the state

¹ Richard Hugh-Perks, 'The Hoys and After', *Faversham Magazine*, 1, no. 4, 1968, pp. 9-10; *Kentish Post* (henceforth KP), 17 September 1729; 22 November 1729; 4 August 1731; 3 November 1736.

² D. Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 2nd edn, London, 1738, II, p. 174; KP, 3 September 1726; 3 April 1728; Hasted, *History of Kent*, VI, p. 151; KP, 8 May 1736; 21 August 1728; 24 January 1736; K.A.O., PRC 11/82/75; KP, 13 July, 20 July 1748.

of the market. John Hopson's 50-ton Faversham-built vessel, carrying "two suits of sails and in good repair," was aptly described as "A Bear-Key hoy" in 1746. The smallest hoys were around 40 tons unladen, with cargo space for 160 or 180 quarters of corn. Such was the vessel which Robert Downe of Faversham offered for sale in 1732. Typical of the larger coastal hoys was the 60-ton *William and Mary* built at Milton in 1728 with a capacity of "400 quarters of corn under deck." Smaller hoys than these were still to be found in English ports. A 20-ton hoy built in the west of England and launched in 1725 was owned by Joseph Wiles of Faversham in 1733 and was berthed at Swan Key along Faversham creek. Hoys larger than 60 tons were employed as sea-going vessels on the cross-channel routes and to Spain and Portugal and were suitably armed for that purpose. The 65-ton Margate hoy, *Ceres*, described as "a prime sailor," was employed "in the corn trade" in 1748. She carried "four swivel guns and some small arms," no doubt essential equipment to ward off attacks by smugglers and pirates. The previous year a similar vessel "laden with corn" for export had been left unattended at Hythe, whereupon it received the attentions of "persons unknown" who, under cover of darkness, made off with the four swivel guns and forced an entry into the holds and a nearby warehouse.¹

A growing intensive spirit of competition among the various family firms characterized the Kentish hoy business in this period. Some hoymen would offer what purported to be a superior service. Others would devote their energies to the spreading of rumours, aimed at discrediting their competitors. There was keen competition for passengers who, more often than not, "were forced to accommodate themselves wherever they could." The newly built *William and Mary* of Sandwich was quite exceptional. She possessed "a spacious cabin, with a stow, and all conveniences more than are common in such vessels, purely for the accommodation of passengers."² Francis Turner conducted a successful carrying business between Herne and London. It was the normal practice for hoymen to use the local inns as information and collecting centres. The Canterbury inns were in the most favoured position to attract the custom of the neighbourhood, not only to their own victualling business but also to the various trades in which some of their customers engaged.³ In 1738,

¹ *KP*, 4 June 1746; 2 December 1732; 22 November 1729; 2 September 1747; 9 May 1733; 3 December 1748; 14 February 1747.

² Hugh-Perks, *op. cit.*, p. 10; *KP*, 22 November 1729.

³ Some of Canterbury's inns can lay claim to a medieval foundation. Until it was destroyed by German bombs in 1942, The Fountain was reckoned to be the oldest hostelry extant in England. "The inns of England," wrote the Holy Roman Emperor's Ambassador in 1299, "are the best in Europe, those of Canterbury are the best in England, and the Fountain, where I am now lodged as handsomely as I were in the King's Palace, the best in Canterbury." In the eighteenth century The Fountain was described as "one of the most commodious Inns in the City."—D. C. Maynard, *The Old Inns of Kent*, London, 1925, pp. 87–9, and *KP*, 6 February 1760.

each Wednesday, Turner or his agent were at The Rose in St George's Street, ready to meet customers wishing to make arrangements for carriage of goods or passenger bookings. The goods to be carried to London were "taken in" at The Rose and road transport arranged from there to the quayside at Herne. A packet-wagon left the inn on alternate Fridays taking the passengers and less bulky commodities. On the intervening Fridays it made the reverse trip with passengers and goods from London. Turner made special arrangements for farmers who lived at a distance and wished to send corn to the London market. It was only necessary for them to bring their sacks of corn as far as Canterbury. For a small charge Turner did the rest. His wagons carried wheat and beans from the warehouses of Canterbury inns to the quayside at Herne for 12d. per quarter and barley and oats for 9d. This was a valuable, though rather expensive, land-sea service. Not surprisingly, his business prospered and the following year he moved his agency to the larger Bull's Head Inn in Burgate Street where he transacted business personally on alternate Wednesdays and Saturdays. Edward West, the landlord of The Bull's Head, represented Turner's interests at all other times. There is no doubt that Turner was a shrewd and successful businessman who aroused envy among his competitors. Some of the more unscrupulous of these began to spread the story around that he was careless and inefficient and Turner was obliged to insert the following notice in the *Kentish Post* on 15 November 1740: "Whereas false and malicious reports have lately been industriously spread about this place and in the country by persons designing their own interest in the ruin of my credit, and hindring me of my bread, I thought proper to publish this advertisement, declaring to all who will be so kind to employ me, that they may depend on my utmost care and faithful discharge in the trust they repose in Their humble servant, Francis Turner, Hoyman at Hearn."¹

Whitstable, the nearest harbour to Canterbury, was the main outlet for the city's trade with London. Although Whitstable was described in 1673 as "the best port town (next to Faversham) for Canterbury," it was not until the eighteenth century that it became really important and, from Canterbury's point of view, of greater consequence than Faversham.² Goods for London were frequently stored at Canterbury or Whitstable inns before being taken to the hoys at the quayside. The farmers of the district scrutinized the Bear Key prices printed regularly in the *Kentish Post* and, when they judged the time propitious, gave instructions for their corn to be moved from store to hoy without delay.³ At Whitstable, the chief waterside depot for farm crops was the inn

¹ *KP*, 15 February 1738; 31 March 1739; 15 November 1740.

² R. Blome, *Britannia or a Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 1673, p. 131; Andrews, 'Trade of Faversham', *loc. cit.*, p. 130.

³ Every week the *Kentish Post* published an *Extract of a Letter from London* which quoted ruling market prices for a number of agricultural products. For example, the current 'corn' prices in late

known as The Sign of the Ship. Not only was it an "old accustomed alehouse" but also it had ample warehouse facilities—"a good yard and stables" together with "a convenient lodge" for the storage of farm produce bound "for the hoys." The Ship, in 1736, was one of the many licensed houses owned by Nicholas Durant, a Canterbury brewer. By 1785 the inn was in the possession of another Canterbury brewer, John Cantis, who had purchased it for £428 and had changed the name from The Ship to The Bear and Key. No doubt the choice of new inn-sign was related to the commercial activities in London of some of its best customers.¹

John Wells of Whitstable purchased a new hoy in 1746. Named appropriately the *Canterbury*, she was specially designed for the London trade "and nothing of the kind will exceed her, in good accommodations for goods and passengers." Sailings to London were scheduled for every other Saturday "if the weather will permit." Two years later the *Canterbury* was sold to Stephen Mathews who informed likely clients that he would "take particular care of such goods as he shall be favour'd with." Wells offered a further service: he stood prepared "to receive and pay money at London himself." In accepting receipts and making disbursements for others, Mathews was acting as a financial intermediary at a time when banking facilities were inadequate to cope with the growing number of business transactions as markets and middlemen proliferated. In Canterbury Mathews arranged to meet customers at his house in St George's or at the Rose Inn just along the street if they preferred to do business over a pot of the local brew. When in London, Mathews put up at the inn which all the merchant seamen from the estuary ports frequented, The Kentish Hoy which stood in Harp Lane, just off Thames Street and near to Bear Key. Richard Jones, the landlord of The Kentish Hoy during the 1730's, said he relied chiefly on the Kentish trade for business. Not far away were two other inns which catered for coastal traders and travellers, The Old Bear and Key in Thames Street, and The Bear and Wheatsheaf which stood "over against the corn-market" and where "gentlemen and passengers may depend upon the best accommodation for lodging, wine, beer, and other necessaries."²

In the case of one notable firm, banking functions eventually gained the ascendancy over trading activities. The Tappendens of Milton and Sittingbourne possessed a well-established hoy business at Crown Key by 1680, carry-

July and early August 1726 were: Wheat 16s. to 25s. per qr.; Brown Malt 12s. to 21s.; Pale Malt 12s. to 22s.; Barley 9s. to 14s.; Oats 8s. to 11s.; Beans 10s. to 14s.; Peas 16s. to 27s.; Rye 12s. to 15s. Farmers were informed at this time that "some fine Wheat" was selling for "28s. per qr." and "very fine" for as much as 30s., and "Very fine brown Malt 23s., very fine pale 24s."—See KP, 30 July, 3 August 1726. These prices will be discussed more fully in a later article.

¹ KP, 22 May 1736; R. H. Goodsall, *Whitstable, Seasalter and Swalecliffe*, Canterbury, 1938, pp. 115, 119, 120.

² KP, 15 November 1746; 8 October 1748; 12 July 1740; 20 June 1741.

ing bulky goods to other parts of Kent (brushwood, for example, was carried to the Isle of Grain to reinforce the sea-wall), grain and hops to London, and imported commodities such as deals and pantiles from London to Crown Key. But besides transporting goods, the Tappendens were transmitting cash to London for well-to-do clients. In November 1679, for instance, Richard Tappenden paid £100 to Mr Knight of London, on behalf of Lord Teynham. In June 1684, when Lord Teynham was staying in London, his steward at Linsted Lodge entrusted Tappenden with the sum of £141 10s. "to carrie to my Lord in money." When his father died in 1694, John Tappenden assumed responsibility for directing the family business. By 1700, a wider range of goods was being carried in the Tappenden hoys, a credit policy operated, loans-at-interest were made, and the earlier service of transmitting cash in settlement of clients' accounts in London and elsewhere continued. Richard Tappenden was known as a 'mariner' at the time of his death in 1694, and his son John was similarly described on the occasion of his marriage the previous year. Yet within a quarter of a century John Tappenden, man of means, became a 'gentleman'. During the 1720's the Tappendens established themselves as hoymen in Faversham. The attractions of Faversham as a growing commercial port with a flourishing "London trade," together with the fact that John had three sons for whom he wished to make provision, are the likely explanations for the geographical shift. The Crown Key side of the business continued to expand; in 1733 it appears to have been taken over by John Page, a substantial Milton hoyman. However, by this time the family was firmly established in the larger, presumably more profitable, Port of Faversham. James Tappenden, "hoyman of Faversham," supervised the firm during the 1730's and 1740's. The commercial and financial standing of the Tappendens enabled this enterprising family, in 1789, to found the Faversham Bank. However, like many other banks which mushroomed in this period, it failed at the end of the Napoleonic Wars: in 1814 "the Bank of Tappenden and Co., stopped payment to the great loss of many inhabitants and others." Nevertheless, the growth of an eighteenth-century country bank out of a seventeenth-century hoyman's business is not without significance. The Bank of the Black Ox at Llandoverly and the Bank of the Black Sheep at Aberystwyth developed out of the activities of Welsh drovers and the herding of stores from the west country.¹ Tappenden's Faversham Bank was their counterpart in south-east England, growing out of the activities of Kentish hoymen and the carriage of grain and hops to London.

The keen competitive spirit evident in the Kentish hoy business brought benefits to the growers. Farmers found it an easy matter to obtain "good usage"

¹ K.A.O., U498/A2, A3; K.A.O., PRC 17/78; K.A.O., PRC 32/59; K.A.O., U593/A2, A3; K.A.O., PRC 17/94; K.A.O., PRC 32/62; F. F. Giraud and C. E. Donne, *Guide to Faversham*, Faversham, 1876, pp. 40-1; T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution*, London, 1948, p. 102.

and to be "faithfully served" in the carriage of their corn to London, particularly if they remained aware of the facilities available by reading the advertisements in the *Kentish Post*. An extraordinary degree of common interest and mutual dependence existed among farmers and hoymen as groups in spite of the competition between individual firms. This is clearly illustrated by an episode in 1732. Kentish corn unloaded at Bear Key was purchased by a galaxy of corn dealers, wholesale and retail, as well as millers, mealmen, flourmen, maltsters, brewers, and distillers, many of whom were engaged in "dealings" or speculative activities alongside their basic trades.¹ These various buyers of corn and corn products at Bear Key had long been responsible for the payment of certain market dues. In 1732 the buyers, flouting authority, attempted to shift these charges on to the sellers. The farmers and hoymen of Kent would have none of it and quickly took steps to clarify and strengthen their position. In Thanet, farmers and hoymen held a joint meeting on 9 February, resolving to petition the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the City of London. They subsequently received the firm support of farmers and hoymen in other districts. Faversham's response was particularly prompt and forthright. This is not surprising. Five years earlier—on 21 June 1727—a number of yeomen in the district had founded a Farmers' Club, the first in England. The organization of the Faversham Farmers' Club would have provided a valuable means of coordinating local opinion. The feeling of the Faversham men carried considerable weight, since club members, hoymen as well as farmers, also tended to be closely involved in borough affairs and, at the time of the dispute, John Law, a founder-member, was Mayor of Faversham. A substantial local hoyman, Isaac Jones, was elected to membership of the Farmers' Club in 1729 and the Mayoralty in 1735. In early March, the men of Milton and Sittingbourne joined the furor, expressing their indignation at "a combination enter'd into by the distillers and others [buyers of corn at Bear-Key]," believing it to be "too great a concern to us by reason of its consequences, not to be opposed."²

We hear no more of this "warm dispute" and must assume that the farmers and hoymen presented their petition and won the day. However, the whole affair is one of great significance for three reasons. In the first place, it shows that no matter how keenly or surreptitiously the hoymen competed with each other, when they faced a common threat they combined speedily and effectively for the benefit of the whole group. We see here an early example of a vigorous confrontation of interests between two organized commercial factions.

Secondly, the Kent participants in this affair were able to demonstrate the measure of their unity and determination through the medium of the local

¹ Westerfield, *Middlemen in English Business*, ch. II, *passim*.

² *KP*, 12, 16, 26 February 1732; P. G. Selby, *The Faversham Farmers' Club and its Members*, Faversham, 1927, pp. 1, 14, 26; *KP*, 4 March 1732.

press. To be effective, instant action was essential. The *Kentish Post* provided the necessary publicity for the cause, whereby others, once aware of the crisis, were able to lend support to the initiators in Thanet.

Finally, it is clear that the hoymen as a group were already powerful and influential in Kent and London. This makes sense only if they are seen as something more than employees whose sole business was transportation. Such a view will also enable us to appreciate why farmers and hoymen were meeting on equal terms and why there was such a large measure of affinity and unity of purpose apparent in their speech and actions. The truth is that the hoymen were *factors*. As corn-factors they accepted commissions from farmers to sell at Bear Key where their status was well established before 1730. The local gentry and tenant-farmers were the principals of the hoymen. The factors were employed on the consignment plan, the corn consigned to them being sold at Bear Key for the most favourable price, which in turn depended on the quality of the product and the state of the market. The hoymen-factors of Kent received their consignments at Canterbury or one of the coastal ports, carried the corn to Bear Key, arranged for its unloading on the quayside, and then sold to the highest bidder.

Freight charges, by coastal hoy on the route from north-east Kent to London, were comparatively low. In the case of wheat, freightage and factorage together amounted to only 5 or 6 per cent of the selling price at Bear Key, and in years of high prices were as little as 3 per cent. For oats, these costs represented around 8 per cent (falling at times to 6 per cent), and for beans, a fairly steady 10 per cent of the selling price. The carriage, handling, and selling of his grain crops on this water route, incurred, for the farmer, the low cost of 1½d. per ton-mile. The comparable figure for road (wagon) costs within the region, under favourable operating conditions, was of the order of 7½d. Water transport possessed a cost-advantage over land transport in the ratio of one to five.¹ Average costs of carriage, for the country as a whole, during the first half of the eighteenth century, were probably 2½d. and 1s. per ton-mile, for 'improved' rivers, and roads respectively.² These figures also suggest that the cost of transporting goods by water was a mere fifth of land-carriage costs. The somewhat lower rates per ton-mile in the calculations for Kent, may indicate greater than usual mechanical/operating efficiency.

Wheat was "chiefly sold to the millers, and at times of exportation to shipping factors; the barley to maltsters and distillers; the oats are chiefly sold to what are called jobbers or dealers; to them also is sold a material part of the beans; the tick beans, a material part of them, are sold to the shipping factors for the West India plantations; the white pease are sold for the use of the Navy, and to per-

¹ K.A.O., U593 A2; *KP*, 15 February 1738.

² H. J. Dyos and D. H. Aldcroft, *British Transport*, Leicester, 1969, p. 40.

sons who make a trade of splitting them, and furnish the corn chandlers with them for general consumption."¹

Some factors were known to deal on their own account, as merchants or jobbers, but on the whole they abstained from such dealings since they considered that "the business of a corn factor is perfectly distinct from that of a corn merchant, because a person who receives consignments, and deals at the same time on his own account, may not always be inclined to serve his employers with that impartiality he otherwise would do."² Although the Kentish hoymen were already combining the functions of "ship-master, super cargo, and factor" there is no evidence that they speculated as jobbers in this period. They seemed content to dispose of their consignments at a good price for ready cash and return promptly to their home ports to make settlement with their principals.³ In 1729, Robert Sharewood of Faversham was sailing to London on alternate Fridays. He set sail for home on the following Thursdays and offered immediate settlement with the farmers. He "proposed pay-day on Saturdays or any other day the week ensuing."⁴

Factors and dealers "carried on their business at Bear Quay, exposed to the weather, and other inconveniences" until 1750 when, seeking improved working conditions, they erected the Corn Exchange on a newly acquired site in Mark Lane.⁵ By this time it was established practice to bring only samples to the market instead of whole loads of corn, leaving the actual deliveries to take place at other times by mutual arrangement. This method of selling rationalized carriage arrangements and led to economies of scale. It also effected a change in the appearance of markets, as Defoe observed in 1738: "Instead of the vast number of horses and wagons of corn on market days there were crowds of farmers, with their samples, and buyers such as mealmen, millers, corn-buyers, brewers, etc., thronging the market; and on the days between the markets the farmers carried their corn to the hoys and received their pay."⁶

The sample-selling vogue was almost certainly the reason why the Corn Exchange in Mark Lane could be "erected in a confined space and on a limited scale." This private property was divided into eighty shares which were held by dealers and factors, including Kentish hoymen. The proprietors elected a management committee of three, entrusting to them "the uncontrolled disposal of all the stands on which the samples of corn are exposed to sale, and

¹ *Reports from the Committees of the House of Commons, 1774-1802*, ix, p. 146.

² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³ One of the advantages enjoyed by Thanet farmers was "the Privilege of sending their Corn by Water to London Market, where they have ready Money for their Commodity."—Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Mr Charles Pratt, a mealman from Tottenham Mills, stated: "Wheat by the Kentish hoymen, is paid for by us in a week in which it is bought" in contrast to wheat from other areas which "is bought at one month's credit."—*Rep. Com. HC.*, ix, p. 158.

⁴ *KP*, 27 August 1729.

⁵ *Rep. Com. HC.*, ix, p. 144.

⁶ D. Defoe, *Complete English Tradesman*, 4th edn, 1738, II, pp. 265-6.

which are limited to the numbers of 72, 64 of them being leased to factors or dealers, and the remaining eight appropriated to the use of the Kentish hoy-men." The proprietors would allow no more stands to be built. When existing stands became vacant they were relet, although "there is some reason to suspect partiality in the manner of transferring and leasing the stands." Sometimes interlopers tried to transact business, using samples they hawked around in their pockets. Occasionally, more desperate measures were attempted as on the occasion when a stand was brought into the building and then turned out "by force" whereupon the stand "was brought in again and chained to the pillars." This led to "a considerable dispute" and ended with the Committee leasing one of the existing stands to the dissidents. Although the Mark Lane Exchange was nominally 'open' it is all too clear that, in practice, control rested with a small influential group. By the end of the century the London corn trade at Mark Lane was the monopoly of fourteen factors. The day of the 'regulated public Corn Market' had long since passed. The hoymen of Kent, trading principally in the corn of the county's north-east region, played a significant role in this transformation.¹

III

Local dealings in corn had reached sizeable proportions. Although it is impossible to establish exactly the size of this trade, the main lines of activity are clear. Private bargaining between individuals characterized the trade; the 'regulated' or 'open' market was insignificant. Wheat and barley were the chief crops featuring in local transactions. Millers and maltsters were the main industrial buyers and they, in turn, sold their processed products to bakers and brewers. Oats, rye, tares, beans, and peas were relatively unimportant as local 'cash' crops, being used mainly on the farms where they were grown. By the early seventeenth century corn was already one of the principal groups of English farm products being handled in the 'private' sector, the others being sheep and wool. At this time "it was gentlemen, yeomen, brewers, maltsters, millers, and the like" who were engaged in such activity, negotiating and reaching agreement in numerous farmhouses, mills, barns, warehouses, corn-chambers, and inns.² This style of trading was rapidly increasing at this time and it seems certain that the metamorphosis was virtually complete by about 1700.

Marshall said that Kentish wheat which was not sent to the London market was sold to country millers. In normal times a miller would expect to hold a stock of wheat sufficient for eight to ten weeks' grinding. A feature of the Dane John Mill at Canterbury was the large granary adjoining the windmill. The work of a windmiller was very irregular, due to the vagaries of the weather. In

¹ *Rep. Com. HC.*, ix, pp. 144, 145, 154.

² Everitt, 'Marketing of Agricultural Produce', *loc. cit.*, pp. 543, 545, 553, 559.

calm periods lack of wind might hold up grinding for several days. Then the breeze would get up and the miller would set his sails for work for "his whole being is attuned to the breezes, and if the wind shifts when he is sleeping, it wakes him up." If the wind stayed favourable he would work through the night and all the next day to reduce the backlog of customers' work as well as grind some of the wheat from his own stock.¹

In 1695 there were 23 working windmills in Kent and 13 of these were situated in the north-east region. By 1736 the county possessed 51 windmills, 16 of them in the north-east with another dozen or so lying just to the south of the region, on the dip-slope of the Downs. By 1769 the number of windmills in Kent stood at 95.² Most of these early structures were post mills.³ A map dated 1719 was specially designed to show the sites of the 10 post mills standing in the Isle of Thanet at that time. A few years later another map showed 12 such mills spread over the same area.⁴ How much wheat could these mills grind in a given period? This is a difficult question to answer accurately. I have been unable to trace any figures relating to early eighteenth-century post mills. One thing is certain—wide variations in 'throughput' would be experienced from day to day and week to week according to weather conditions. In the late nineteenth century, the owner of a smock mill at Petham, near Canterbury, said he could grind as many as 50 quarters of corn in one night if the wind kept up. Friston Mill at Saxmundham was the largest and most powerful post mill still active in 1949. On 17 October that year the miller, Mr Reynold Wright, ground 80 quarters of grist—about 3½ tons! He had set her in full sail running on into the late evening "just to see what she could do when she was set in a good wind." However impressive, these results must be off-set by the calm, non-productive days in summer. Such 'records' are of limited use for our purpose.⁵ In 1798 the owners of 25 windmills in Buckinghamshire estimated—for 'census' purposes—that they could grind between them an average of 400 quarters of wheat per week. Actual figures for each mill would vary from 2 quarters to 30 quarters according to the time of year.⁶ An average *per capita* throughput of 16 quarters per week is probably not too high for the Thanet mills in the first half of the century, especially when we consider that early eighteenth-century *water-mills* claimed a much higher throughput. In 1733 William Lamper

¹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 122; *Rep. Com. HC.*, IX, p. 153; *KP*, 30 August 1729; R. Thurston Hopkins, *Old Watermills and Windmills*, London, 1930, p. 33.

² William Coles Finch, *Watermills and Windmills: A Historical Survey of their Rise, Decline and Fall as Portrayed by those of Kent*, London, 1933, pp. 135-7.

³ "Here the whole upper part of the mill revolves to face the wind on a central post, which rests on, and is braced to, crossed beams of great strength, kept off the ground by low plinths of brick and stone."—Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴ J. Harris, *History of Kent*, 1719, map facing p. 313; Lewis, *op. cit.*, map facing p. 2.

⁵ Finch, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Stanley Freese, *Windmills and Millwrighting*, London, 1957, p. 112.

⁶ I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr P. S. Bagwell; Freese, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11.

claimed that his watermill at Dover "will grind 60 quarters of wheat a week." A mill on the River Len near Maidstone was supposed to have a weekly throughput of 90 quarters of wheat.¹ It seems reasonable to assume that the dozen post mills in Thanet would be able to grind between them half of the estimate for Bucks., viz. 200 quarters per week.

Of course, the windmills in Buckinghamshire at the end of the century may have been larger than the Thanet mills in the first half of the century. But there is no way of being certain about this. On the other hand, there are good reasons for thinking that the Thanet and other coastal windmills in Kent were becoming more efficient during the early part of the century. In the first place, Thanet was "very bleak and open, especially toward the sea-side where there are very few hedges or trees."² It was not uncommon at this time for Kentish windmills to be moved from one part of a village to another or even into an adjoining parish to take fullest advantage of the prevailing sou'westerlies from a more exposed position. A large, new smock mill at Whitstable was offered for sale in 1746 and prospective purchasers were informed that if they "liked the mill and not its situation it shall be removed to any place at a very reasonable charge."³ Secondly, many Kentish windmills were being refitted with high-quality French 'buhr' stones.⁴ A post mill erected at Ringleton in the parish of Woodnesborough in 1735 was "rebuilt with French stones" in 1742. This mill, a particularly fine specimen, possessed "a round house and good conveniences for dressing of flour." In 1818 the mill was moved to a new site, half a mile distant, at Mount Ephraim, where it was still active in the 1930's.⁵

The installation of French millstones together with site adjustments in a situation already generally exposed would have tended to raise the productivity of Thanet windmills before 1750. Also, it seems probable that the maps of this period show only the largest and most important windmills. Possibly, too, there were a few active watermills. Taking all these factors into account, if we say that Thanet millers were processing 200 quarters of wheat into flour each week we are almost certainly underestimating the true milling capacity of the district. Even at this (low) rate of throughput the Thanet mills would have been able to grind, in 18 weeks, a volume of wheat equivalent to the total *annual* exports from Thanet to London.⁶ In other words the wheat which left the Thanet ports for the capital each year would, if marketed locally, have kept the local millers

¹ KP, 10 March 1733; 21 March 1747.

² Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³ KP, 6 September 1746.

⁴ The 'buhr', a very hard silicate found in the Seine Valley, produced the finest millstone for grinding wheat.—Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 48.

⁵ KP, 15 January 1743; Finch *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 307.

⁶ In the period for which records survive (1650–1701) the average annual export of wheat from Thanet ports was 3,500 quarters. This volume was probably maintained in the first half of the eighteenth century.—Andrews, 'Thanet Seaports', *loc. cit.*, p. 41.

employed for little more than four months. The value of local markets in relation to the London market was, therefore, in the ratio of 3 to 1, in a district where we might least expect it. If this is a reasonable estimate for the north-east corner of the county, we can be certain that the ratio would have been higher in most of the other regions of Kent.

The chief function of the miller was the processing of corn (mainly wheat) into meal and flour. He was "essentially a manufacturer who served the corn owners by grinding their corn when brought to his mill." However, during the early eighteenth century, millers frequently engaged in the occupations of mealman, flourman, and corn merchant. This may have represented a large-scale revival of old practices which had been successfully prohibited by seventeenth-century governments. By regular purchases of grain from local sources a miller could avoid the worst excesses of underemployment which he would experience if he relied solely on grinding for corn-owners on a commission basis. After grinding, he would seek out the best markets for his meal and flour. The integration of several related activities—corn buying, grinding, dealing in meal and flour wholesale and retail—gave the miller "a much better control of the flour and meal market and consequently of prices."

Millers, said Defoe, "have cut out the mealmen in the country; and whereas they formerly only ground the corn for the mealmen, they now scorn that trade, buy the corn and grind it for themselves; so the baker goes to the miller for his meal, and the miller goes to the market for the corn."¹

William Colley owned at least two mills in 1751, one at Tonge and the other at Herne. The post mill at Herne was situated on Beacon Hill and was described as "a very good windmill" which was "convenient for carriage to London." A mill had stood on this site since the early sixteenth century. By 1750 it was equipped with French stones and horse-driven "flour tackle" and produced high-quality flour "fit for the London trade." William Colley purchased his grain locally from farmers and dealers. Neighbouring yeomen like Mathew Stephens of Chislet, growing 35 acres of wheat in 1753, would welcome the opportunity for a 'farm-gate' sale or at least a deal which involved minimal transport costs. George Schooler who kept The Mermaid in Canterbury was a friend of Colley's. He was in a good position to arrange deals between local growers and the miller at Herne. Trading in corn was an important by-employment of some Canterbury innkeepers, providing for them an additional source of income. Ralph Claringbole who kept The Castle in Butchery Lane during the late 1720's, and Edward Howland who came from Dover to take over The Bull's Head in Burgate Street in 1728, were both active in the corn trade. Claringbole was a local agent for Whitstable hoymen. These two innkeepers probably knew as much about corn-dealing as the drink business. The Castle

¹ Westerfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-9; Defoe, *Com. Eng. Tr.*, II, pp. 178-9.

and The Bull's Head both possessed ample facilities for "stowage of corn." Some of this corn was still sold in the 'open' market at the end of Butchery Lane but the greater part was privately dealt in. Inns such as the Mermaid, Castle, and Bull's Head in Canterbury, The Ship at Whitstable, The George at Sittingbourne and The Bear at Faversham became well known locally as 'exchanges' where farmers, millers, and other dealers could meet and transact their business.¹

We cannot possibly say how much meal and flour was being sent to London from Kentish mills. Those mills on coastal sites, such as Herne, were probably heavily involved in this trade. There is some evidence that London middlemen were investing in mill properties in Kent. Mr Thomas Shelmaridine, the owner of a Maidstone waterside mill and granary in 1747, was described as a "meal-factor and baker in East Smithfield London." It seems likely that sacks of flour were dispatched from this mill to London regularly through the year. Shelmaridine's business activities probably involved, in one way or another, corn-buying, grinding, wholesale and retail dealing in flour and meal, and the baking and retailing to the consumer of the final product. Altogether this would have been a complex and tightly integrated business organization.²

Not all coastal mills marketed their products in London. Local markets might offer comparative cost advantages. The output of the large smock mill at Whitstable was probably sold locally; the windmill was owned by a Canterbury tradesman, John Philpot, who was described as a "mealman and grocer." He would have retailed flour and meal in his grocer's shop in Burgate Street but, in addition, he probably did a wholesale business with local bakers. When he decided to sell the Whitstable mill in 1746 he envisaged that "a miller or a baker" would purchase it. This clearly suggests that local bakers were reaching back along the distribution chain and, like millers and other middlemen, were engaged in the complex business of integrating their enterprises. "It was quite common," says Westerfield, "for bakers in country places to buy corn and have it ground on hire or at mills of their own, thus combining the functions of corn miller, mealman, and baker." Their activities illustrated a feature common to all middlemen in the early eighteenth-century corn business—"to function in several capacities and break down the ordinary demarcations that in public estimation and policy were supposed to put and keep each man in one trade only."³

A London baker who moved to Canterbury, in the winter of 1736, was clearly aiming to break into the local aristocratic market: "Eustace Amos (from Mr. Tomlin's His Majesty's Baker, near St. James, London) gives notice, that he shall open a baker's shop next Friday near the Two Bells in St. George's

¹ KP, 26 January 1751; Finch, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-2; K.A.O., PRC 11/83/142; KP, 26 January 1751; 3 September 1726; 3 April 1738; 11, 15 March 1732.

² KP, 21 March 1747. ³ Westerfield, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

Canterbury, where he will make and sell all sorts of bread, after the London manner, as household bread, second bread, French rolls, halfpenny rolls, and halfpenny loaves, and will bake all necessary things for dinners, as well as all sorts of cakes or pastry." He concludes on a challenging note: "He will also sell the best Hertfordshire white flower from London."

Around Ware was a great milling district in Hertfordshire, which produced very high-quality flour. Much of this was sent by barge to London. Amos, with his metropolitan connections, would not find it difficult to arrange a supply of this white flour to be sent from London to Canterbury, by hoy and road carrier. We know his policy aroused the ire of the old-established Canterbury bakers who had long used the locally milled product. Four of these bakers—John Talphitt, William Reynolds, Valentine Cantis, and Hercules Hills—put out a smart rejoinder in the local paper, announcing that they too would sell "the very best Hertfordshire Whites at 1s. 2d the Gallon or 2d the Pound." We are left to speculate how much alum found its way into their Kentish flour that year!¹

The market for Kentish barley, according to Marshall, lay "chiefly or wholly within the neighbourhood of its growth." The main buyers were local maltsters. During the period for which records of Kent's coastal trade are available, the second half of the seventeenth century, Thanet exported annually to other English ports only 500 quarters of barley compared with 7,000 quarters of malt. This clearly suggests that the bulk of the barley crop was malted locally and not in London. It is impossible to say how much of the total malt product was used by the local brewing industry but in a growing city like Canterbury and in ports such as Faversham, Sandwich, Dover, Deal, and Margate there were expanding local markets for beer as well as opportunities for supplying beer for victualling ships.²

Malt is an intermediate product standing between barley and beer. It also happens that malting was the most profitable use to which barley could be put. It was natural therefore that farmers "encouraged by brewers anxious to maximise the efficiency of their raw materials" should turn their attention to barley's malting qualities. It was just as certain that some barley-growers would become maltsters. Of course many farmers dabbled in domestic brewing and hence malting. A "malt-mill" is commonly found in farmers' inventories alongside brewing utensils. But some farmers went further and not only malted their home-grown barley but also purchased malting barley from neighbouring farmers and marketed the industrial product, locally or in London. Some of

¹ *KP*, 24 January, 28 February 1736; the most conclusive evidence about food adulteration in the mid-eighteenth century is that there was "a widespread and reckless use of alum in flour to make bread white."—D. Davies, *A History of Shopping*, London, 1966, p. 207.

² Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124; Andrews, 'Thanet Seaports', *loc. cit.*, p. 41; E. Melling, 'Aspects of Agriculture and Industry', *Kentish Sources III*, Maidstone, 1961, p. 120.

these maltster-farmers gave up farming and became pure maltsters, but I believe the evidence points largely to the continuance of the two employments side by side. In any event, malting would not occupy a man fully throughout the year since, for technical reasons, the best season for malting was during the cooler months from October to May. In 1760 Austen Pain of Nonington was described as a 'maltster', but it is clear that he was still engaged in arable farming and pig-keeping. John Collard, a yeoman in the parish of Herne, was working three farms until his death in 1758. In spite of his large-scale and varied farming activities—he was one of the wealthiest farmers in the district—Collard engaged in the malting business. He possessed a "malthouse," the contents of which included two malt-mills, three malt-shovels and a store of malt "dry'd and undry'd" valued at £162 15s. od. He also owned an "oust" and a "grinding house." Ultimately it may have been the milling business which proved the most profitable part of the enterprise for by the early nineteenth century the Collard family were owners of Chislet windmill.¹

Sometimes we find a malting business being undertaken alongside apparently unrelated occupations. Westerfield mentions three maltsters of Thame who were also a bricklayer, a shoemaker, and a butcher respectively. Solomon Ferrier of Strand Street, Sandwich, described himself as a "maltster and draper" in 1741. He advertised the fact that he "buyeth wooll" but perhaps it was too obvious for remark that he also bought barley.²

Sandwich, in close proximity to the Thanet barley grounds, possessed the largest concentration of maltsters in the county. In the sixteenth century most of the malt shipped from Kent to London came from Sandwich and its environs. In the late seventeenth century Baskerville observed that the main industrial activity of the port was "the trade of malting," while Dr Richard Pococke, who visited Sandwich in 1754, believed that the main supports of the town's economy were "an export of malt and an import of wine and other foreign commodities for the use of Canterbury and other neighbouring towns." Vessels from Milford Haven regularly brought "fine Welch coals" to Sandwich for the use of the local maltsters. The collier masters sold their consignments within eight or ten days of berthing.³

In Canterbury and Faversham there appear to have been few 'pure' maltsters. It was the local brewers and hop-planters who bought the local barleys for conversion into malt. It is hardly surprising to find the malting business combined with brewing since this gave the brewer greater control over the supply

¹ P. Mathias, *The Brewing Industry in England, 1700-1830*, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 403, 406; K.A.O., PRC 11/84/91, 11/84/56; Finch, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

² Westerfield, *op. cit.*, p. 172; KP, 1 July 1741.

³ Fisher, 'London Food Market', p. 56; 'Thomas Baskerville's Journeys in England', HMC, XIII, ii, p. 279; J. J. Cartwright, ed., 'The Travels Through England of Dr Richard Pococke', *Camden Soc. Pubs.*, XLIV, 1888-9, p. 89; KP, 26 June, 7 August 1745.

and price of one of his raw materials and is a simple example of integration backwards.¹ In 1733 Samuel Shepherd, a leading Faversham brewer, manufactured "superfine Pale Malt" and "Brown Malt" which he sold wholesale and retail.² Nicholas Durant was one of several Common Brewers in Canterbury in the 1730's. In addition to his Castle Street brewery he owned several oast houses, a malthouse, and a number of public houses in the city of Canterbury and neighbouring towns. Such a business involved an investment of four to five thousand pounds. Rev. Samuel Fremoult of St Mildred's parish possessed oast houses and accepted hops for contract-drying. He was also a brewer and for a while was in partnership with a Mr Hubbard. Messrs Fremoult and Hubbard possessed a brewery, two malthouses, and several public houses including The Mitre in the High Street and The Half Moon in the Butter Market. Rev. Samuel Fremoult appears to have been active in Canterbury as a hop-dryer, maltster, and brewer from the 1730's until 1760. The provision of such bodily comfort might seem an unusual by-employment for one concerned in spiritual welfare!³

Frequently, malting was combined with hop-drying. Sometimes, of course, a brewer would undertake both these activities alongside his main enterprise in order to gain greater control over his raw materials and enjoy the economies of scale. Samuel Fremoult's business was in this category and it was true of other Common Brewers in Canterbury and Faversham. Nevertheless there were hop-growers like Joseph Greenland who were maltsters but not brewers. Greenland described himself as a "maltster and hop-planter." He lived in the Riding-gate suburb of Canterbury during the 1730's. He owned hop-gardens and ten "cockle and charcoal" oast houses. Besides drying his own hops he undertook contract-drying for other growers—a common feature of the industry at this time, at least in Canterbury. Greenland even offered his customers a choice of oast! On the malting side he claimed to manufacture brown and pale malt "in the same manner as at Hertfordshire." He sold the product wholesale and retail along with dried hops. There is no indication that he was growing his own barley. Farmers in the district would find Greenland a good customer for their best malting barley.⁴

Many local inns performed a vital 'exchange' function for buyers and sellers

¹ "Of those who were engaged in private marketing, none held a more powerful position than maltsters and brewers. As manufacturers, they were concerned to obtain regular supplies of grain at fixed and certain prices. . . . As local capitalists, moreover, brewers and maltsters often became the moneylenders of the rural community, and sometimes obtained a powerful hold over feckless tradesmen or husbandmen."—Everitt, 'Marketing of Agricultural Produce', *loc. cit.*, p. 556.

² Samuel Shepherd, of the famous Faversham brewing family, was a member of Faversham Farmers' Club. He was also Mayor of the Borough in 1733, an office which he held again in 1755.—Selby, *Faversham Farmers' Club*, p. 26.

³ KP, 17 January 1733; 23 June 1739; 18 March 1738; 1 August 1744; 30 January, 16 August 1760.

⁴ KP, 4 December 1731; 15 July 1732; 22 June 1736; 28 June 1740. In the first half of the eighteenth century there was a premium on top-grade Hertfordshire barleys and malts. There are good reasons for thinking that charcoal-fired hop oasts in Canterbury could dry malt as successfully as the

of barley and malt as for other farm products. William Friend, a maltster of Deal, had business relationships with innkeepers in five different towns: at The Butcher's Arms in Canterbury, The Saracen's Head in Dover, The Bell in Sandwich, The Rose in Elham, and The King's Arms in Deal. Each of these inns had a local reputation as a mart for corn and corn products.¹

Our knowledge of local trade in beans, peas, oats, rye, and tares is very limited but such evidence as there is seems to indicate that the farmers regarded these crops as mainly 'consumption' crops for their livestock rather than as 'cash' crops to be marketed. Most of the beans grown were 'Common Ticks' and used as fodder for horses and pigs. Various strains of grey peas were used for fattening hogs. Oats were regarded almost exclusively as horse-feed. Tares and rye were fed to work horses as 'soiling' or 'green forage' in the stables during the summer months. This view needs to be qualified slightly for peas and beans grown in the Sittingbourne and Faversham districts, where exports to London were of some significance. In the second half of the seventeenth century average annual exports of corn and corn products from Faversham amounted to 15,000 quarters of which peas and beans accounted for 2,000 quarters. 'Garden beans' were always at a premium in the London market; they were grown on Kent farms.²

John Prall, a yeoman of Murston, was a wealthy arable farmer. In 1748 he was growing 72 acres of wheat and 46 acres of barley as 'cash' crops. His 6 acres of oats were obviously intended as fodder for his twelve horses which also received clover hay and possibly some beans. But since he grew the same acreage of beans as barley (46) he clearly intended to market much of the crop. Prall bred and fattened pigs and possessed two hog pounds. There were, on the farm, three in-pig sows and twenty-seven stores in various stages of growth. His six brine tubs and 64 score pounds of pork valued at £37 indicate clearly the purpose of the pig enterprise. The 'tail' barley and much of the yield of his 17 acres of peas would no doubt go to fatten the stores.³

malt kilns of Hertfordshire. Cf. "The tapering flues of the malt kilns at the end of the maltings gave as characteristic an appearance to the little Hertfordshire malting towns as did the oasts to a Kentish hop-village. Their general similarity reflected a similarity of function."—Mathias, *Brewing Industry*, p. 411. Whether the pale and brown malts of Canterbury were as good as Hertfordshire malts is another matter. It would depend not only on the methods and skill used in drying but also on the malting quality of the barley used. When the best Thanet barleys were malted in Canterbury, there was probably little difference between the Hertfordshire and Kent products.

¹ KP, 19 February 1729; 18 February 1730. Cf. "By James I's reign such inns were acquiring a reputation as marts for particular kinds of product, and were visited year after year by the same clientèle. The George at Milton Regis in Kent was a barley-mart, where merchants, maltmen, and yeomen from Faversham, Ospringe, Margate, Borden, Sittingbourne, and other places sold their goods."—Everitt, 'Marketing of Agricultural Produce', *loc. cit.*, p. 560.

² Boys, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 90; Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 126, 138; Andrews, 'Trade of Faversham', *loc. cit.*, p. 128.

³ K.A.O., PRC 27/43/150.

Thomas Bax, a yeoman of Eastchurch on the Isle of Sheppey, grew mainly wheat on his heavy clayland farm. In December 1757, 52 acres had been sown down to winter wheat. That autumn he had sent $12\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of wheat and $7\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of beans to London for which he had received £32 10s. There remained in his barns 80 quarters of wheat and 40 quarters of beans, presumably to be marketed later in the winter or in the opening months of 1758. There is no suggestion that he intended marketing the oats (24 qrs.) or peas (18 qrs.). Since he possessed nine working horses the oats would not leave the farm premises, except in small quantities to local farmer-purchasers. The presence of hog troughs and brine tubs on the farm suggests hand-feeding of pigs for pork production for the household. Since he appeared to grow no barley, this left him with only peas as a suitable concentrate for the pigs.¹

In so far as they entered the markets at all, the buying and selling of these crops were characterized by numerous, local, small-scale transactions. The larger shipments of beans to London were a noticeable exception but these did not affect the whole region. Innkeepers probably handled most of the local trade in peas, beans, and oats. In the first place they would need a regular and adequate supply of hay, oats, and beans for the succession of horses stabled on their premises. This would be particularly true of the larger coaching inns like The Ship at Faversham and The Fountain in Canterbury.

But the smaller inns played their part too. As early as 1686, the inns of Sittingbourne and Milton, astride the Old Dover Road, could accommodate altogether 135 travellers and 200 horses: those of Faversham, some seven miles distant and nine miles from Canterbury, 81 men and 131 horses. In Canterbury itself, as many as 236 guests could be accommodated in the numerous inns, whose stables at the same time, provided shelter, bedding, and fodder for some 467 horses.² Innkeepers were somewhat reluctant to furnish full details of the capacities of their establishments in the inquiries of 1756. Nevertheless, "A List of the *Spare Beds & Stable Room*" [my italics] for the Sittingbourne, Milton, Faversham, and Canterbury areas, returned to the Excise Commissioners by the local Supervisor, shows as many as 810 beds and stabling for 804 horses. In Sandwich and its rural environs, in the same year, 43 inns and alehouses were recorded, in Margate 28, and in Ramsgate 21. The Sandwich inns possessed between them spare accommodation for at least 68 men and stabling for an additional 133 horses, Margate accommodated 65 men and 62 horses, and Ramsgate 34 men and 56 horses.³ Wayfarers boosted the local food markets: their horses, the sales of straw and feed. Through inevitable contacts with local farmers some of the innkeepers would build up

¹ K.A.O., PRC 11/84/71.

² I am indebted to John Chartres of Leeds University for the reference to P.R.O., WO 30/48.

³ P.R.O., WO 30/49.

stocks surplus to their requirements. These surpluses were then offered for sale in small lots, the innkeeper assuming the role of corn chandler. The following advertisement appeared in the *Kentish Post* on 26 November 1729: "This is to give notice to gentlemen and others, that Philip Driver at The Two Bells in St. George's Canterbury, sells, by retail, all sorts of oats, beans, peas, barley, and clover seed, at reasonable rates." This may help to explain an apparent absence of corn chandlers among Canterbury shopkeepers.

William Friend, the Deal maltster, imported "seed" oats, and peas from Wales into Sandwich. In the early spring of 1730 he offered for sale 100 quarters of "Black Oats" and 50 quarters of "Gray Pease." He left "samples of the said corn" with various innkeepers in Sandwich, Elham, Dover, Deal, and Canterbury.

A Dover merchant, who, in the 1730's, imported Spanish and Portuguese wines and "Norwegian goods" and exported corn, also handled imports of "Black Oats," "Small Gray Pease," and "Poor-land Gray Pease" all "for seed."¹

IV

A broad conclusion emerges from this regional marketing survey. In the local markets and in London, strict lines of demarcation in the marketing system were being eroded. The marketing organization grew in complexity with the proliferation of middlemen who were integrating successive (or parallel) manufacturing and distributive processes under one management. Integration was taking place throughout the chain of distribution as forward, backward, and horizontal linkages were fashioned. Mealmen and flourmen reached backwards into processing and became mill owners and millers. Similarly, the millers, no longer content to grind corn for others, also looked backwards; they sought out the wheat farms and bought in their own supplies. In droves brewers moved into the malting business. Farmers with sufficient capital moved forward into commercial milling and malting. Millers, moving in the same direction, entered the meal and flour trades and the baking business. Coastal and inland carriers became merchants and factors. Factors moved across into jobbing and hop-planters into malting. On every side, local and metropolitan commercial permutations were growing. With each move greater control of the product brought lower unit handling costs. This encouraged or forced others to integrate for the first time or more extensively as competition became increasingly severe. In a developing economy, it is not unusual for "the diversification of business activities" to reflect to some extent "the endeavour of the established firms to limit the prospects of new competing firms."² Against

¹ KP, 18 February 1730; 1 May 1736.

² P. T. Bauer and B. S. Yamey, *The Economics of Under-developed Countries*, Cambridge, 1957, pp. 36-7.

a background of generally low prices, middlemen proliferated their activities in an effort to maintain or maximize incomes. These cost-reducing integrations can be seen as the commercial counterpart of farmers' cost-reducing innovations on the light and medium soils. The closer integration of arable and livestock husbandry was matched by the closer integration of processing and marketing functions. Farmers appear as the co-beneficiaries of changes taking place in the distributive sector (via lower marketing costs) in the same way that middlemen were sharing in the profitable changes taking place in the farming sector (via larger outputs handled in the markets). Cost-conscious light-land farmers could not have taken a larger share of the market without a corresponding growth in the efficiency of the marketing sector. This dual-sectoral advance which is apparent in north-east Kent exemplifies the changes taking place in the whole of the light-land, market-oriented sector.¹

'Access to the market' takes on new meaning as we become aware of the wide range of marketing possibilities confronting the farmer. Much more significant than trying to establish the relative importance of the London and local markets is knowledge that they were *both* essential to the prosperity of farming districts lying within the metropolitan market area. Farmers would avail themselves of all the marketing outlets at one time or another, throughout the year. Weather and price situations would be matters for earnest discussion in the local inns; products would be dispatched according to individual and group assessments. Thus, the strong winds which kept the hoys in port would turn the sails of the post mills with a fury. At times when the malthouses of the London brewers overflowed with prime Hertfordshire barley the victualling brewers of Canterbury were secure in the knowledge that the malt from the oasts of local hop-growers was of similar high quality. Wagon loads of Thanet barley would move over the little bridge at Sarre on their way to the buyers in Canterbury, as favourable market news spread from brewery to inns and from innkeepers to farmers. But once the "letter from London" in the *Kentish Post* gave a hint of a shortage of barley in the capital, some of the crop would move coastwards to the waiting hoys and then to Bear Key "if the weather will permit."

¹ For a discussion of the agricultural adjustments, see E. L. Jones, 'Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1660-1750: Agricultural Change', *Jnl Econ. Hist.*, xxv, 1965.

Arthur Clephane, Edinburgh Merchant and Seedsman, 1706-30

By TOM DONNELLY

THE union of the Parliaments in 1707 was of doubtful benefit to the Scottish economy in its initial stages.¹ However, it opened the way for fuller and more mutually advantageous economic and social intercourse between two countries, whose political relationships through the centuries had fluctuated between open hostility and dubious friendship. In the easier environment created by the union Scots lairds, such as John Cockburn of Ormiston and Grant of Monymusk, began to see the possibilities of applying some of the more advanced English agricultural techniques in Scotland.²

Although during the last decade of the seventeenth century a period of famine caused it to be described as "King William's ill years,"³ in fact during the half-century following the Civil Wars and the Interregnum bad harvests were rare, and according to Smout and Fenton "contemporary complaints were almost all of glut and inability to sell."⁴ Broadly therefore the union, coinciding with a phase of economic recovery after the so-called "seven ill years" provides a convenient starting-point for any study of the agrarian revolution in Scotland. Traditional accounts in the textbooks treat the topic in terms of implements, crops and cropping, tenures, and field systems, and no attempt has been made to investigate either the organization or the importance of the trade in seeds. This is a serious gap in our knowledge, for the seed tradesman was an essential link between the agricultural improver and practical farmers. Through him experiments in improved agriculture were facilitated and advertised.

For this reason the papers of Captain Arthur Clephane, an Edinburgh merchant and seedsman, are of great interest. They show where Clephane obtained his seeds, how he paid for them, the varying types of customers he served, and from which strata of society and which areas of the country they were drawn. They reinforce the view already held that agricultural improvement started among the landlords in the best farming lands of East Scotland, Fife, the

¹ R. H. Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, Edinburgh, 1965, pp. 18-63; T. C. Smout, 'The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. I. The Economic Background', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, xvi, no. 3, 1964, pp. 455-67; Campbell, 'The Economic Consequences of the Union of 1707', *Ibid.*, pp. 468-77.

² Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, pp. 24-34.

³ J. Symon, *Scottish Farming, Past and Present*, Edinburgh, 1959, pp. 89-102.

⁴ T. C. Smout and A. Fenton, 'Scottish Agriculture before the Improvers—An Exploration', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, xiii, 1965, pp. 73-93.

Lothians, and the Carse of Gowrie, as they were regular purchasers of the leguminous crops associated with farming improvements at this time.

Captain Arthur Clephane was a younger son of James Clephane, Laird of Carslogie, a small estate in Fife, which had been granted to the Clephane family in 1392 by King Robert III. Arthur's elder brother David became laird on the death of his father in 1702, but following the fashion of many Scots he spent much of his time in London until his death in 1716. James Clephane, junior, became a sea captain and master of the *David* of Boness, which he sailed round Europe as a general freighter. After his retirement from the sea he set himself up as a general merchant in Edinburgh. The fourth of the Clephane brothers, George, became a minister of the kirk. Arthur Clephane, then, came from a well-established Scots family, closely connected with the land, the sea, the kirk, and mercantile life.

Arthur Clephane like his brother went to sea, became a ship's master, and on his retirement started business as a merchant in Edinburgh. In 1706 he borrowed 1,000 marks from his brother David, bought a shop from Richard Kello, an Edinburgh timber merchant, and began his mercantile career. As Mark Anderson has pointed out, prior to 1707 several commercial seedsmen and nurserymen had already become established in Edinburgh.¹ Two of these are mentioned in Clephane's papers, namely David Dowie and William Miller.² The latter was a Quaker who had set up business "near the Abbey" and who succeeded in cornering some of Clephane's trade. Clephane naturally was very bitter about this and wrote to one of his London suppliers, John Turner, complaining that as Miller was siphoning off his trade he would have to cut his orders.³

In 1712 Clephane moved to new premises, renting two shops from Patrick Hepburn, an Edinburgh apothecary, situated on the north side of the High Street, near the Ships Tavern Close. The conditions of his lease provided for a rent of £180 Scots and a tack duty of £300 Scots, and prohibited Clephane from subletting either of the shops without Hepburn's permission. The Captain stayed in these premises until 1720 when he moved to a new shop near the Foulis Close, and since the tack duty was now £500 Scots, it is a fair assumption that his business was expanding.

Two years later, in 1722, Clephane married Sybil Jeffrey, the daughter of Captain William Jeffrey, a bailie and merchant in Kirkcaldy.⁴ They set up house in Conn's Close. The following year a son was born to the Clephanes, and the proud father purchased a cradle with blue hangings for £1 2s. Scots. Unfortunately, the marriage was short lived. Sybil Clephane died in 1724 and was

¹ Mark Anderson, *History of Scottish Forestry*, Edinburgh, 1967, I, p. 599.

² *Ibid.*, p. 598.

³ Scottish Records Office (henceforth S.R.O.), Miscellaneous papers, RH/15, no. 53/54.

⁴ S.R.O., *Register of Marriages in Edinburgh*, 1700-50.

buried at Greyfriars Churchyard.¹ Clephane paid £4 for a coffin and £2 10s. for two mourning coaches and four ordinary coaches. He also paid 7s. 6d. to James McEwan for printing three quires of burial letters for his wife.

Clephane's business was of moderate size; he employed one full-time assistant, William Lithgow, and took on apprentices from time to time. The apprenticeship indenture of one states that Captain Arthur Clephane was "to entertain and give board and lodgings to, and washing to, Mr. Andrew Bruce's son in accordance with his station." He was to train him as a merchant for two years and the apprentice, for his part, "is to learn to keep shop for the said Mr. Arthur Clephane." It was also agreed that young Bruce should attend school in Edinburgh to learn arithmetic and that Clephane should receive £25 per annum for the boy's keep.

Although his business was of moderate size Clephane had financial problems which came to a head in 1728, when he found it impossible to obtain credit. His main creditor, Wishart, wrote to him disparagingly, refusing to grant him further credit or even to help him to raise it. Clephane had a bad financial record and had even embezzled £150 belonging to his father-in-law, William Jeffrey. Eventually, in 1730 Clephane was imprisoned in the Tollbooth of Edinburgh for failing to pay a debt of 8s sterling. This seems from his papers to have been the end of his career as a seedsman.

* * *

On setting up business, Clephane sought a source of supply for his seeds in letters that begin in September 1705. A modest beginner in the trade, he wrote to William Crombie of London thus:

Sir,

I make bold to write to you not being acquainted, but I presume upon my cousin Ballairdie's recommendation, hoping you will furnish me with the following goods I stand in need of at present, which are for the most part garden seeds and I expect you to get them good and fresh otherwise it will ruin my trade, who am but a beginner, and whatever your accounts remits to let me know and I will send you a bill for one half, as for the other you must allow me four months credit until I get my money from the country, which if you be satisfied therewith be pleased to let me know for I have occasion for a great many more goods afterwards and if you can get me served as good and cheap as others are, I shall be most willing to employ you for the same. Your answer I expect as soon as this letter comes to your hands.

Your Humble Servant
Arthur Clephane.

A few weeks later Clephane contacted another London merchant, John Turner, sending him an identical letter, except that this time he asked for five months' credit instead of four. True to his word, on the delivery of the seeds

¹ S.R.O., *Register of Interments in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, 1700-50.*

Clephane paid up as promised. He sent £12 sterling to Turner and £9 to Crombie as half payment of their respective accounts. This association between Clephane and the two London merchants lasted throughout his career. However, as time went on he received supplies from other London seedsmen, Sheathfield and Barker, and from Joseph Carpenter and M. Smith, seedsmen in Brompton. Here is a typical bill he received from London.

		£	s.	d.
Flanders Onion	150 lb.	13	2	6
London Leek	30 lb.	3	—	—
Parsnip	10 lb.		5	—
Best Turnip	40 lb.		13	4
Yellow Turnip	3 lb.		6	—
London Radish	10 lb.		5	—
College Lettuce	10 lb.		15	—
Imperial Lettuce	8 oz.		3	—
Silesia Lettuce	8 oz.		4	—
Beetroot Seed	10 lb.		13	4
Savoy Cabbage	4 lb.		8	—
Best Cucumber	1 lb.		3	—
Winter Savoy	8 oz.		1	4
Sweet Marjoram	8 oz.		3	—
French Leek	20 lb.		10	—
African and French Marygolds	4 oz.		1	—
French Honeysuckle	1 oz.			6
Convolvulus—all sorts	4 oz.		4	—
1000 horse chestnuts			15	—
Large Egg pease	2 pecks		5	—
Large Sugar pease	2 pecks		6	—
Rose pease	1 peck		3	—
Rope seed	2 pecks		2	6
24 spades		4	14	—
12 garden shears		1	6	—
12 largest pruners		1	—	—
4 casks, 15 bags, 2 sacks		1	2	8
Shipping Charges			5	—
White Kidney pease			10	—
		£31	7	2

Holland was another source of Clephane's supply of seeds. Here he used two methods of purchase. The first involved a series of ships' captains, such as Alexander Naughton or George Vaughan, who bought seeds on his behalf. The second method was similar to that used to obtain seeds from England. He dealt directly with Dutch seedsmen, his four main contacts being Hoot Brunner in Rotterdam, and Wilhelm Cogg, Isaac Brunner, and John Simpson in Amsterdam.

What may perhaps be regarded as a standard range of seeds was set out by Clephane in an undated paper thus:

Seeds of Trees

Acord Bean seed
Myrtle Berries
Pinaster
Muzerain Berries
Spanish Brown Seed
Hibbert Nuts
Silver Fir
Yew Berries
Great Pine
Scots Pine
Lime Tree Seed

Flower Seed

Sweet Sealions
Double July Flowers
Lovets
Double Larkspur
Candy Tuft
Sweet Williams
Double Hollyoak
Convolubulous major
Convolubulous minors
Double Columbine
African Marygold
French Marygold
Princess Feather
Sweet July Flower
Swedish Juniper

Pease and Beans

Hotspur pease
Sugar pease
Egg pease
White Rouncevals
Dwarf pease
Kidney beans
Half White Kidney beans
Stickle pease
Four Part Rose pease
Green Rouncevals
Crown pease

Seeds to Improve Land

French and Irish Furze
French Mustard

Salad Seeds

Purslane
Parsley
Curled Striped Lettuce
Common Lettuce
Cresses
Russian Cabbage
Italian Celery
Curled Endive
Early Dutch Cabbage
Pompian
Small Indian Cresses
Radish
Cabbage Lettuce

Lamb Lettuce

Imperial Lettuce
Roman Lettuce
Spanish Radish White
English Cauliflower
French Lousie
Sweet Chervil
Rouchet
Gourd
Cucumber
White Dutch Cabbage
English Melon
French Leek
Large Indian Cresses
French Melon
Red Dutch Cabbage
Dutch Asparagus

Pot Herb Seeds

Double Marygold
Summer Savoy
Pot Marygold

Sweet Herb Seeds

Sweet Marjoran
Hysop
Lavender
Thyme Seed
Rosemary
Winter Savoy

This general list can be supplemented from Clephane's accounts to his customers, and his agents. He also bought and sold red Dutch clover, white clover, great clover, pitch fir, yew berries, cypress, lentil seed, rhubarb seed, carrot seed, turkey beans, Spanish radish, and onion seed. Similarly, references to flower seeds other than those on the list include harts hornes, carnations, Venus looking-glasses, Cumberland majors, sweet sultanes, Canterbury Bells, yellow, blue, and scarlet lupins, belvideres, queen's July flowers, and anemones.

Among the seeds for improving land French furze is worthy of note, for according to contemporary books on husbandry it was reckoned to be a great improver of sandy and gravelly soil. It also provided fuel, and was useful for preventing low-lying land from being covered with sand sliding down from

nearby hills.¹ It is perhaps strange that rye grass is omitted from the standard list, but in company with clover it was purchased by some of Clephane's customers. Nevertheless, his papers list only about a dozen orders for rye grass and a few more for clover. The largest order was for 650 boxes of rye grass from a gardener called Hamilton in 1723. The more typical requests were those from a gardener called Carmichael ordering three lots of clover seed in quantities of 20 lb., 6 lb., and 2 lb. George Smollet, a gardener from Ingleston, doubled an order for four bushels of rye grass in 1722 to eight bushels in 1724, and trebled his order of 5 lb. of great clover to 16 lb. He was obviously a reasonably satisfied customer. The mere fact that these references are few and far between bears out the general impression that the Scots were relatively slow to adopt these two crops as field crops to improve their land.

Attention to the improvement of woodlands is revealed in the number of bills Clephane received from Holland and London in payment for seeds and seedling trees. In 1724 he received at least four consignments of 10,000 tr. seedling trees from his agents in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. He even purchased supplies from a Mr Liddle, a fellow seedsman in Leith, viz.

February	2,000	alder trees
4th March	500	" "
5th March	500	" "
7th March	400	" "
11th March	500	" "
14th March	500	" "

The problems of paying for imports into Scotland, owing to the shortage of liquid funds, emerge clearly from the Clephane papers. Clephane's business was based mostly on credit. His bills show that he normally paid at least some part of his accounts in cash, but for the rest used bills of exchange. When buying seeds in Holland, however, he frequently paid in cash through the ship's captain acting on his behalf. When paying by English bills, he either paid agents in Edinburgh at the Laigh Coffee House, or else sent the money to the Red Lyon Coffee House in London. Although Clephane normally asked his London agents to grant him five or six months' grace before meeting their accounts, even then he often failed to pay up as promised. On one occasion a supplier from Swaledale rebuked the captain for not paying his bills for two years, telling him bluntly that his credit could not be extended any further.

One can appreciate Clephane's difficulties only when one realizes how difficult it was for him to induce his customers to pay their debts. Often he had to resort to litigation to get his money. On one occasion he had to pay John

¹ John Houghton, *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, revised by Richard Bradley, London, 1727, III, p. 29; John Mortimer, *The Whole Art of Husbandry*, 1707, p. 196.

Marshall, an advocate, £58 9s. for sundry items necessary for summoning debtors, and legal fees such as regret bills, horning and poyning dues, protests, libels, and payments to the Clerk of the Bills. On another occasion in 1719 he summoned James Kinnear, David Mitchell, Thomas Borthwick, James Bernie, and James Birnie, all for failing to meet their accounts.

Transportation of seeds was always hazardous. Normally they were sent by sea from Holland, London, or Harwich. His letters from Crombie and Turner show that the seeds were normally placed in a cask marked (A) and were entrusted to the care of a ship's captain. Clephane received his seeds regularly from the shippers of the following ships sailing between Leith and London: *Christina*, *Argyle*, *Isabella*, *Catherine*, *Elizabeth*, *Thomas*, *Bon Accord*, and *St Andrew*, all of Leith and the *Sophia* of Pittenweem. Nevertheless, quite often the seeds were damaged by sea-water during the voyage. As a matter of routine Clephane refused to pay for damaged seeds, and the London agents normally wrote these off the account, but at times the correspondence between them became acrimonious, ending with a compromise usually in favour of Clephane.

Unless the seeds were collected from his warehouse, distribution was normally by carrier or occasionally by sea. Clephane sent goods regularly with the Haddington carriers, Alex. Thompson, the Dunblane carrier, the Newcastle carriers, James Fairbairn and James Thompson, and the Kinross carrier, James Meldrum.

In the days before the Seeds Act of 1820 the acceptable rate of germination was a matter of opinion, and not surprisingly Clephane received many letters from his customers about the poor quality of seeds, some failing to come up altogether. These, together with his own complaints to Turner and Crombie reinforce Marjorie Plant's statement that "imported seeds were not always as satisfactory as they were expected to be."¹

In October 1710 Clephane refused to pay for seeds because the quality was so poor. In another letter, he informed Turner that he was prepared to pay for good quality seeds, but not for bad, as they had an adverse effect on his trade; local gardeners, he maintained, were threatening to take their trade elsewhere. He went on to warn Turner that if the quality of the seeds did not improve, and if he was going to be charged more than his colleagues in the trade, he would be forced to seek a new source of supply. In reply to a similar letter Carpenter apologized and admitted the poor quality of the seeds, saying that his customers in Dublin had made similar complaints. Nevertheless, he reminded Clephane that he normally sent him best quality seeds. Whether there were any significant differences between the quality of English and Dutch seed it is impossible to judge; all one can say is that some of Clephane's customers expressed a preference for Dutch.

¹ Marjorie Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1952, p. 73.

From the late seventeenth century the scythe began to replace the sickle in Scotland and Clephane bought and sold them regularly to customers such as the Earl of Rothes and Advocate Gillan of Edinburgh, who wanted one "to cut the weeds in the walks of my garden." Spades and hoes too were always in demand; for example, in 1723 William Setoun wrote to Clephane asking him to send him a ditching spade. Clephane normally imported these implements as well as others, such as pruning knives, from Newcastle or London. In 1722 he imported forty-eight pruning knives from Benjamin Atkinson, a Newcastle cutler, and sold them to William Steedman, a cutler in Kinross; on another occasion he purchased six dozen scythes from Edward Bunkell also of Newcastle. In addition to implements and seeds Clephane's customers often requested gunpowder to blow up obstacles barring the way to improvement. Half a keg or a keg of "white powder" was a frequent order. Thus, in 1718 Clephane sent 216 lb. of gunpowder to John Blair, along with a bill for £55 for nine previous consignments of 28 lb. of "white powder."

As might be expected the improving lairds stand out among Clephane's customers. Within this group, Cockburn of Ormiston and the Earl of Rothes occupied a special place as customers of his business and as pioneers of advanced agricultural techniques in Scotland. Examples of accounts rendered to them by Clephane indicate the range and scale of their seed purchases from this one merchant.

<i>Cockburn of Ormiston, 1724</i>			<i>Earl of Rothes</i>		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
2 oz. onion seed	6	—	4 scythes	9	—
1 oz. leek „	4	—	1 garden spade	5	8
2 oz. carrot „	8	—	1 pair of garden shears	3	—
½ oz. turkey beans	3	—	1 lb. orange carrot	2	8
4 oz. cabbage lettuce	1	6	4 drop pompion	1	4
1 oz. radish	1	6	1 lb. smooth spinach	1	4
1 drop Silesia lettuce	2	—	½ oz. savoys		3
½ oz. parsley	1	—	6 oz. asparagus	3	—
2 drop cauliflower	10	—	1 lb. London leek	4	—
A cloth brush	18	—	1 peck garden peas	2	8
	£2	13 0	1 oz. White turnip	1	3
			3 lb. hotspur peas	1	1
			8 lb. Windsor beans		4
				£10	11 0

Other gentry whose orders were similar to these include the Earl of Wemyss, the Earl of Loudoun, the Marquis of Annandale, the Earl of Leven, Lord Colville, the lairds of Balgowan, Kinaldy, Blair, Balfroon, Borland, Blackhall, Dunnichen, Kirkhouse, Kinfauns, and Lanrick. He also dealt with Sir Edward

Gibson, Sir George Sinclair, Sir James Holburn of Menistry, Sir David Dalrymple, Sir John Henderson, Sir Philip Anstruther, Sir Alexander Anstruther, Lady Eccles, Lady Newark, Lady Ethelstane, and Lady Innergillie.

Apart from dealing directly with the gentry, Clephane also dealt with them through their gardeners. James Birnie was Lord Colville's gardener, John Rainey was gardener to the Earl of Wemyss. Many other gardeners crop up in Clephane's accounts, but until more Scottish estate papers have been sorted and edited it is impossible to say who their employers were. Clephane sold seeds to men from every strata of society, to merchants such as John Ramsey and John Moncrieff of Edinburgh, to professional gentlemen, such as Dr Hay and Advocate Gillan, and to ordinary townsmen, such as Baillie Grierson and Mr Gill of Edinburgh and Leith.

It is disappointing, however, that the captain's papers do not reveal who were his customers for flower seed. There must have been a market for them otherwise he would never have ordered them. Presumably, he sold them to the proprietors of the various flower gardens, which existed in and around Edinburgh at this time.¹

Clephane's seeds were distributed to areas whose communications systems were reasonably good, and which were traditionally amongst the best farming regions of Scotland, namely the Lothians, Fife, and the Carse of Gowrie. Seeds were dispatched with regularity to such towns and areas as Newbiggin, Annandale, Kelso, St Ninians near Stirling, Cupar, Kinross, Haddington, St Andrews, Leven, Leuchars, Craigiehall, Jordanstown, Markinch, Trail, Crail, Dalkeith, Pinkerton, Largo, Falkirk, and Dunblane. The area of Clephane's influence was considerable, but the maximum distance of his clients was about fifty to sixty miles from Edinburgh. One can only suppose that other places, such as Angus and Ayrshire, had parallel sources of supply in Glasgow and Dundee. Certainly in 1728 one of Clephane's customers informed him that he could get supplies in Perth.

Although he drew his clients from every class of society over a moderate sized area, Clephane never received regular orders for great amounts of seeds. The orders were in general normally small except for trees, and the vegetable and flower seeds were clearly intended for domestic garden use rather than for field crops. A typical example of such an order is that of McGill of Leith.

4 lb. Strasbourg onion	2 oz. spinach	3 drop Silesian lettuce
1 oz. onion	1 oz. carrot	2 drop Yellow cabbage
$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. leek	3 drop lettuce	2 oz. Yellow turnip

However, Clephane like most other contemporary Edinburgh merchants was also a general trader. He supplemented his seed trade by importing and

¹ Plant, *op. cit.*, ch. 3.

selling wine from France, and pens, brushes, writing-paper, clover, mace, fruit, and vinegar from Holland; he also sold oil, coal, and cloth. This makes it difficult to place a value on his seed trade, but normally he seems to have received about ten to twelve shipments of seeds from England and Holland every year, averaging usually from £35 to £45 sterling, giving a total of £420 to £540 sterling for the year, but figures of his total trade in seeds are bedevilled by figures for his trade in general goods, and therefore one has to treat these figures with great caution.

NOTES AND COMMENTS *continued from page 125.*

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Society's eighteenth AGM was held at the Hereford College of Education on 7 April 1970 with Professor W. E. Minchinton, who had been re-elected chairman of the Executive Committee, in the chair. Mr G. E. Fussell, Mr C. A. Jewell, and Mr M. A. Havinden were re-elected President, Treasurer, and Secretary respectively, and Dr E. J. T. Collins, Professor W. E. Minchinton, and Professor G. E. Mingay were re-elected to the Executive Committee.

In his report Professor Minchinton noted a further small increase in membership from 683 to 687 and observed that the greatest scope for expansion appeared to be the larger libraries and places of higher education, most of which did not at present take the REVIEW.

He announced that the Society had decided to hold a Winter Conference at University College London on 28 November 1970 and that the 1971 Annual Conference would be held at the University of Southampton from 5 to 7 April. Congratulations were extended to the Society's President, Mr G. E. Fussell on the news of his honorary D.Litt. to be conferred by the University of Exeter in July. He expressed regret at the death of Mr T. W. Fletcher, member and one-time Secretary of the Society.

The Treasurer reported on the healthy condition of the Society's finances, which would provide a sound basis for the expansion of publishing and other activities. The Editor reported that the size of the REVIEW had gradu-

ally been increased from 64 to 84 pages and that in future it would include more articles and reviews of European, tropical, and plantation agricultures.

THE SUPPLEMENT TO THE REVIEW

In September this year the Society issued an extra number of the REVIEW as a Supplement to volume 18. It is a *Festschrift* in honour of Professor H. P. R. Finberg in his seventieth year, and places on record the gratitude of the Society for his skilful and scholarly editorship of the REVIEW for over ten years from the time when it was first launched in 1953. Bound copies of this issue have been prepared and are available from the Treasurer, Museum of English Rural Life, Reading, Berks., price 60s. or, if ordered before 31 March 1971, 45s. to members of the Society.

BANKERS' ORDERS

The Treasurer of the Society urges members to pay their subscriptions if they possibly can by bankers' order. It greatly reduces the labour of collecting subscriptions.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

A new list of addresses of members of the B.A.H.S. is to be printed in the REVIEW in the near future. The last list appeared in 1963 in volume XI, part 2. Will members please notify the Treasurer, Museum of English Rural Life, Reading, of any recent change of address?

(Continued on page 172)

Work in Progress

Compiled by DAVID HEY

The following list does not lay claim to completeness. It has been largely compiled from the particulars given in response to a letter circulated to universities and local record offices. It is hoped to publish similar lists from time to time, and the compiler will therefore be glad to receive any information concerning changes of subject and additions to this list.

- ADAMS, I. H., *Department of Geography, High School Yards, The University, Edinburgh.*
Terminology of the agrarian landscape.
Diffusion of the concepts of the agricultural revolution in Scotland.
History of land surveying in Scotland.
- AIRS, M. R., *The Toll House, Brookhampton, Oxfordshire.*
The country house building industry in England, 1500-1640.
- AMOS, S. W., *7 Patching Hall Lane, Chelmsford, Essex.*
Poverty and distress in Essex in the first half of the nineteenth century.
- BAINES, Miss D. J., *Agricultural Economics Research Institute, Parks Road, Oxford.*
British agricultural developments, 1919-39, with special reference to the contribution of interest groups.
- BAKER, A. R. H., *Department of Geography, Downing Place, Cambridge.*
Rural settlement patterns and agriculture in medieval south-east England and in nineteenth-century Beauce and Provence.
- BAKER, D. A., *Moorhurst, 66 Fernleigh Rise, Ditton, near Maidstone, Kent.*
Agricultural production, prices, and marketing in north-east Kent, 1660-1760.
The farm accounts of Richard Tilden of Milstead, 1708-62.
- BALDOCK, S. F., *5 Southend Road, Leckhampton, Cheltenham.*
History of cider making.
- BATE, P. V., *Department of Geography, The University, Hull.*
Settlement and land-use changes in Staffordshire, with particular reference to the problem of deserted villages.
- BECKWITH, I., *13 Thorsby Close, Hollywell Gardens, Brant Road, Lincoln.*
Aspects of agrarian history in the West Riding of Lindsey before 1800.
The agricultural history of Gainsborough, 1066-1914.
History of Roxby (Lincs.).
- BEIER, A. L., *Department of History, Lancaster University.*
Forest economies of the West Midlands, 1640-1760.
- BLACKMAN, H., *Centre for the Study of Social History, Warwick University, Coventry.*
Social conditions and dissident actions of the lower orders in Wiltshire, 1610-80.
- BLACKMAN, Miss J., *Department of Economic History, The University, Hull.*
The food supply of an industrial town: the marketing of food stuffs in Sheffield and the surrounding area, c. 1750-1900.
- BLACKWOOD, B. G., *27 Ryder Crescent, Southport, Lancashire.*
The Lancashire gentry, 1625-60.
- BOND, C. J., *Worcester County Museum, Hartlebury Castle, near Kidderminster.*
A geographical analysis of the changes and incidence of medieval rural depopulation in Warwickshire.

- BOXALL, J. P., *University College, Oxford*.
Agriculture and rural society in Sussex, 1830-1900.
- BRANDON, P. F., *8 St Julian's Lane, Shoreham-by-Sea, Sussex*.
Historical geography of the later middle ages, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, especially colonization and settlement, agricultural techniques and productivity.
- BRASSLEY, P., *Brasenose College, Oxford*.
Agrarian history of Northumberland and Durham, 1640-1750.
- BRENT, C. E., *The University of Sussex*.
Demographic and economic change in east Sussex during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
- BRITNELL, R. H., *Department of Economic History, The University, Durham*.
The relationship between town and country, with special reference to the Colchester area, 1150-1400.
- BUTCHER, L. H., *23 Laird Avenue, Wadsley, Sheffield, 6*.
Atlas and gazetteer of historical topography for the Peak District and the western fringes of south Yorkshire.
- BUTLIN, R., *Department of Geography, University College, Dublin, 2*.
Field systems of north-eastern England.
Irish agriculture and settlement, c. 1600-1800.
- CAIRD, J. B., *Department of Geography, The University of Glasgow*.
Evolution of the agrarian landscape in Scotland.
- CARLIN, Miss M. N., *109 Croyland Road, London, N.9*.
The lands of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1391-1540.
- CASSELL, A. J., *The University, Canterbury, Kent*.
The 1834 Poor Law in Kent.
- CHAPMAN, Mrs V., *12 Edinburgh Drive, Darlington, Co. Durham*.
Commons, enclosure, and landscape in County Durham and parts of the North Riding.
Guisborough Hospital papers for the manor of Bolam.
Peat and turf-getting.
- CHARMAN, D., *Archivist, British Steel Corporation*.
The commons and open-field systems of East Suffolk.
- CHARTRES, J. A., *The University of Leeds*.
Inns and commerce in western England, 1660-1760.
Agricultural marketing, 1640-1750.
- CHESHER, Mrs V. M., *Angrouse, Mullion, South Cornwall*.
Cornish landownership in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.
- CLARKSON, L. A., *Department of Economic and Social History, The Queen's University, Belfast, 7*.
The English leather industry, 1500-1830.
The bark trade in England during the eighteenth century.
- CLAY, C. G. A., *Department of Economic and Social History, 67 Woodland Road, Bristol, 8*.
The growth of large estates between 1660 and 1815, and the workings of the land market in the same period.
The estate records of the families of Hoare of Stourhead, Wiltshire; Fox-Strangeways, Earls of Ilchester; and Dundas, subsequently Marquesses of Zetland.
- COATES, B. E., *Department of Geography, The University, Sheffield, 10*.
The changing pattern of market towns in England and Wales, 1200 to the present day.

- COLLINS, E. J., *Institute of Agricultural History, The University of Reading*.
Technological change in Western European agriculture, 1700-1940.
- CRAWFORD, Dr DOROTHY, *Girton College, Cambridge*.
Ptolomaic Agriculture.
- CROMPTON, G. W., *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
The operation of the English Poor Law, 1834-71.
- CULLIS, H. R., *Gipsy Hill College, Kingston upon Thames, Surrey*.
The agricultural geography of the Medway Basin in the nineteenth century.
- CURRIE, C. R. J., *Balliol College, Oxford*.
Housing in north Berkshire, 1350-1650, with special reference to Steventon.
- DARBY, Professor H. C., *King's College, Cambridge*.
Domesday Geography.
- DAVIES, R. R., *Department of History, University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1*.
The social and economic history of Wales, especially the March of Wales in the fourteenth century.
- DAWSON, I. A., *Department of Geography, The University of Liverpool*.
The evolution of the grouse moor as a landscape element in England and Wales.
- DICKENSON, M. J., *32 Collington Street, Beeston, Nottingham*.
The relationships between agricultural progress and textile development, 1690-1750, with special reference to south Nottinghamshire and Gloucestershire.
- DILLEY, R. S., *Department of Geography, Lakeland University, Port Arthur, Ontario, Canada*.
The use of the common lands in Cumberland.
- DIXON, P. W., *New College, Oxford*.
Fortified houses on the Anglo-Scottish border: a study of the domestic architecture in its social and economic context, 1485-1625.
- DODD, J. P., *21 Townfield Lane, Frodsham, Cheshire*.
The 1854 Crop Returns.
Agriculture during the Napoleonic Wars.
- DODGSHON, R. A., *Institute of Agricultural History, The University, Reading*.
Agrarian change in Roxburghshire and Berwickshire, 1700-1820.
The nature and development of the infield and outfield system in Scotland.
- DUERDEN, B., *Department of Geography, The University of Liverpool*.
Changing population and settlement in northern Argyll in the nineteenth century.
- DYER, C. C., *School of History, The University, Birmingham, 15*.
The estates of the bishopric of Worcester.
- DYMOND, D. P., *Grundle House, Stanton, Suffolk*.
Settlement and field patterns of High Suffolk.
- ELLIS, J., *67 Woodland Road, Clifton, Bristol*.
Parliamentary enclosure in Wiltshire, with particular reference to the sources of finance.
- EMERY, FRANK, *School of Geography, Mansfield Road, Oxford*.
Innovation in Welsh agriculture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
The making of the Oxfordshire landscape.
- ENGLISH LOCAL HISTORY DEPARTMENT, *The University, Leicester*.
A dictionary of surveyors: an index of those engaged in map-making to 1850. (Enquiries may be addressed to Dr P. M. G. Eden.)

ERSKINE, I. M. B., *Christ Church College, University of Oxford.*

Economic and social developments on some East Anglian manors in the fourteenth century.

EVANS, Professor B. M., *Department of Geography, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg 2, Canada.*

Transhumance and the use of the summer pastures in central Wales in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Agriculture in seventeenth-century Anglesey.

Historical demography of Wales before 1801 (with S. R. J. Jones and others).

EVANS, J. A., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London, W.C.1.*

The historical geography of woodlands since 1800.

EVERITT, Professor A. M., *Department of English Local History, The University, Leicester.*

Northampton: market and county town, 1500-1760.

Rural Nonconformity, 1660-1860.

The history of the Kentish landscape.

EYRE, S. R., *Department of Geography, The University, Leeds, 2.*

The disposition of open field and common grazing land within the parishes of north Derbyshire.

FAITHORNE, R. M., *Margaret Macmillan College, Bradford.*

Nonconformity in Yorkshire in the late seventeenth century.

FIELDHOUSE, R. T., *The W.E.A., 7 Maple Road, Richmond, Yorkshire.*

Richmond (Yorks.) as a market town and centre of a large Pennine-fringe agrarian hinterland.

FINBERG, Professor H. P. R., *151 Park Road, Chiswick, London, W.4.*

The agrarian history of England from the end of the Roman period to A.D. 1042.

FORD, W., *Uporchard, Grove End, Upper Brailes, Banbury, Oxon.*

The pattern of settlement between the Thames and the Warwickshire Avon.

FOWKES, D. V., *32 Main Road, Jacksdale, Nottinghamshire.*

The progress of agrarian change in Nottinghamshire, 1700-1830.

FOWLER, P. J., and NEALE, F. A., *Department of Extra-Mural Studies, 20A Berkeley Square, Bristol, 8.*

The Vale of Wrington, Somerset.

Studies in combined archaeology and documentary evidence of settlement, development, and land-usage, Iron Age—post-medieval, with special emphasis on the identification of successive field patterns, from 'Celtic' and Romano-British to post-enclosure.

FOX, H. S. A., *Department of Geography, Downing Place, Cambridge.*

The field systems of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.

FRANCIS, D. M., *Department of Welsh History, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.*

Social and economic development of Dewisland, Pembrokeshire, c. 1660-c. 1870.

FREY, J., *Department of Extra-Mural Studies, The Queen's University, Belfast, 7.*

The agrarian history of north-east Antrim, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

GENTLEMAN, H., *8 Kirkstall Drive, Alt Road, Formby, Lancashire.*

Some aspects of the agricultural geography of a transect across Warwickshire in the mid-nineteenth century.

GHIRELLI, M. J., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London, W.C.1.*

The agricultural geography of west Hertfordshire, 1600-1870.

GRACE, D. R., *Nuffield College, Oxford.*

Development of the agricultural implement and machinery industry in Britain, 1800-1914.

- GRANT, A., *Faculty of Modern History, Oxford University*.
The higher nobility of Scotland and their estates, c. 1371-1424.
- GURNEY, Miss C., *Somerville College, Oxford*.
The effect of the wars of William's and Anne's reigns on sales of land by the English gentry.
- GURNEY, Miss R., *Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, The University of London*.
Population trends in the Peak district of Derbyshire in the nineteenth century.
- HALLAM, Professor H. E., *Department of History, The University of Western Australia*.
Agrarian history of England and Wales before 1350.
- HARE, J., *Bedford College, London, N.W.1*.
Aspects of the rural economy of fifteenth-century Wiltshire.
- HARLEY, J. B., *Department of Geography, The University of Exeter*.
The evaluation of early maps as sources for agrarian history.
- HARRIS, A., *Department of Geography, The University, Hull*.
Field systems in east Yorkshire.
Rabbit warrens in east Yorkshire.
- HARRIS, Miss R. J., *Girton College, Cambridge*.
Game laws in the nineteenth century, with special reference to East Anglia.
- HARRISON, B. J. D., *Department of Adult Education, The University, Leeds*.
Settlement and field systems in the North Riding of Yorkshire.
- HARRISON, C. J., *Department of History, The University, Keele, Staffordshire*.
The Paget estates of Cannock and Rugeley in the sixteenth century.
- HARVEY, J. C., *32 Western Avenue, Brigg, Lincolnshire*.
Field systems in the West Riding of Yorkshire.
- HARVEY, P. D. A., *Department of History, The University, Southampton*.
The form and development of manorial accounts.
The heaping of medieval corn measures.
Aspects of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and Oxfordshire agrarian history, 1350-1500 (for *The Agrarian History of England*).
- HARVEY, Miss S. P. J., *Girton College, Cambridge*.
The economic and tenurial position of various classes in the late eleventh century, chiefly in Domesday Book.
The Domesday ploughland.
- HATCHER, M. J., *Eliot College, The University, Canterbury, Kent*.
The agrarian history of south-west England, c. 900-1500.
- HAY, J. R. (See under R. G. WILSON.)
- HEATON, D. A., *The University, Canterbury, Kent*.
The administration of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury's estates in the seventeenth century.
- HELLIER, Miss R., *23 South Grange Road, Ripon, Yorkshire*.
The agricultural history of the liberty of Ripon.
Parliamentary enclosures in the Ripon area.
The agricultural activities of Fountains Abbey, with particular reference to the granges and other holdings in the Ripon area.
- HENSTOCK, A. J. M., *Nottinghamshire Record Office, High Pavement, Nottingham*.
The cheese-factory movement in Derbyshire and North Staffordshire, 1870-1900.

- HEY, D. G., *Department of English Local History, The University, Leicester.*
 Myddle (Shropshire) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
 South Yorkshire rural communities, especially 1660-1900.
 The craftsman-farmer.
- HIGGS, J. W. Y., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 Joint-editor (with G. E. Mingay), *The Agrarian History of England*, VI, 1750-1850.
- HIGHAM, Mrs M. C., *148 Victoria Road, Padiham, Burnley, Lancashire.*
 The historical geography of the Bowland area of the West Riding of Yorkshire, with particular emphasis on early agriculture and settlement patterns.
- HILTON, Professor R. H., *School of History, The University, Birmingham, 15.*
 Peasant movements in medieval Europe.
 Agrarian history of the west Midlands before 1500.
- HOLDERNESS, B. A., *Department of Economic History, The University, Sheffield.*
 Fixed capital formation in British agriculture, c. 1750-1870.
 The northern agricultural labourer, 1730-1900.
 The agricultural development of the Lincolnshire Wolds and neighbourhood, 1700-1850.
 The wealth of agricultural communities in England as evinced by probate inventories.
- HOLLAND, D., *4 Laburnum Road, Balby, Doncaster.*
 The replanning and rebuilding of estate villages during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with special reference to northern and eastern England.
 The history of the south Yorkshire landscape.
- HOOPER, M. D., *Monkswood Experimental Station, Abbots Ripton, Huntingdonshire.*
 Historical ecology, especially of hedgerows.
 Effects of land drainage.
- HORN, Mrs P. L. R., *Grey Roofs, 11 Harwell Road, Sutton Courtenay, Abingdon, Buckinghamshire.*
 Biography of Joseph Arch.
 Agricultural labourers' trade unionism in four Midland counties, 1860-1900.
- HOSKINS, Professor W. G., *2 Lyndhurst Road, Exeter, Devon.*
 English harvests, 1086-1800.
 Economic and social history of England in the sixteenth century.
- HOWELLS, B. E., *Department of Welsh History, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.*
 The agrarian development of south-west Wales since the Act of Union.
- HUGHES, Miss M., *Department of Geography, The University, Liverpool.*
 English local cartographers in the sixteenth century.
- HULL, P. L., *County Archivist, Cornwall County Record Office, County Hall, Truro.*
 An edition of the Caption of Seisin of the Duchy of Cornwall, 1337.
- HUNT, E. H., *Department of Economic and Social History, The Queen's University, Belfast, 7.*
 Agricultural labour, 1700-1914.
- HUZEL, J. P., *The University, Canterbury, Kent.*
 Poverty and population under the Old Poor Law.
- JENNINGS, B., *Department of Adult Education, The University, Leeds, 2.*
 History of the Upper Calder Valley (West Riding).
- JOHN, Professor A. H., *London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.*
The Agrarian History of England, VI: ch. II. The Market for Agricultural Output; ch. III. International Trade, and methods of distribution; Statistical appendix.
- JONES, A., *Department of Geography, The University, Southampton.*
 Peasant holdings and rents in Bedfordshire in the later Middle Ages.

- JONES, E. L., *Dept. of Economics, North-Western University, 1922 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60201, U.S.A.*
The Agrarian History of England, vi: (with E. J. T. Collins)—Agricultural servicing and processing industries, 1750–1850; the contribution of agriculture to economic development, 1750–1850.
- JONES, G. R. J., *Department of Geography, University of Leeds.*
Rural settlement in Wales and the parallel implications for early settlement in England.
- JONES, Miss N. C., *The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.*
Cardiganshire Society, 1600–1858, as depicted in the county's probate records.
- KAIN, R. J. P., *Department of Geography, University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.*
The tithe surveys of Kent.
- KENNEDY, Miss M. J. O., *5 Golden Yard, London, N.W.3.*
The Ministers' Accounts for Burstwick in Holderness in the fourteenth century.
- KERNTHALER, E. A., *82 Pine Hill, Epsom, Surrey.*
Agriculture and landownership in Surrey, 1750–1850.
- KERSHAW, I., *Department of History, The University, Manchester.*
The economy of Bolton Priory (Yorkshire) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
Agrarian history of the North of England, 1350–1500 (for *The Agrarian History of England*, III).
- KEW, J. E., *Harlow Technical College, Essex.*
The land market and its social and economic effects in Devon, the Home Counties, and Yorkshire, 1509–1558.
- KING, E. J., *Department of History, The University, Sheffield, 10.*
Agrarian history of the East Midlands, c. 1350–1500 (for *The Agrarian History of England*, III).
Landholding families in Northamptonshire during the Middle Ages.
- KLEMEN, J. K., *11 Gay Street, Bath, Somerset.*
Kentish agriculture in the nineteenth century.
- LAWS, J. H., *The University, Canterbury, Kent.*
Aspects of agricultural labour in Kent, 1850–96.
- LAWTON, R., *Department of Geography, The University, 12 Abercromby Square, Liverpool, 7.*
Rural population changes and mobility in nineteenth-century Britain.
The changing landscape of Britain, 1700–1914.
- LAXTON, P., *Department of Geography, The University, 12 Abercromby Square, Liverpool, 7.*
The rural landscape of Berkshire in the eighteenth century.
The rural landscape of Lancashire before 1850.
- LINDSAY, J. M., *Department of Geography, The University, High School Yards, Edinburgh.*
Forest land use in Argyll and Perthshire, 1700–1800.
- LUKEHURST, Miss C. T., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London, W.C.1.*
The Stour marshes: their changing land use since 1750.
- McKINLEY, R. A., *Department of English Local History, The University, Leicester.*
The distribution and origins of surnames in medieval Norfolk and Suffolk.
- MARSHALL, J. D., *Department of History, The University of Lancaster.*
The decline of the yeomanry in the Lake Counties.
The social structure of rural Lakeland, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century.
Social effects of farm service.
Migration from the countryside in the north-west, using demographic data and surnames.

- MASON, Mrs K. M., *Reynard Ing, Ilkley, Yorkshire*.
The history of Lancashire cheeses.
The history of Lothersdale (Craven) (with K. Wilson).
- MEAD, Professor W. R., *University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.*
A ridge and furrow map of south-east England.
A new translation of Peter Kalm's *Journey in England on his way to America, 1748*.
- MEREDITH, Miss R., *67 Kingfield Road, Sheffield*.
Hathersage (Derbyshire): landholding, fields, and rural life, post 1500.
- MILLET, D. T., *University College, Oxford*.
Little Domesday recast; a geographical rearrangement and social analysis with the use of a computer.
- MINCHINTON, Professor W., *Department of Economic History, The University, Exeter*.
The 1801 crop returns for Devon and Cornwall.
- MINGAY, Professor G. E., *The University, Canterbury, Kent*.
The gentry, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.
Rural social structure in the nineteenth century.
- MORGAN, D. H., *Centre for the Study of Social History, Warwick University, Coventry*.
Harvesters in nineteenth-century England, with particular reference to Oxford, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire, 1840-1900.
- MORRIS, B. E., *The University, Canterbury, Kent*.
Late medieval agrarian history.
- MORRISSEY, M. J., *Department of Economic History, The University, Exeter*.
Agricultural legislation, 1918-39.
Agricultural marketing, 1931-39.
- MORTON-THORPE, A. M., *9 Little Wood Drive, Gleadless, Sheffield, 12*.
Derbyshire families, 1640-60.
- MOXON, C. J. W., *Balliol College, Oxford*.
Ashby de la Zouch: a social and economic survey of a market town.
- MUNBY, L. M., *26 Carisbrooke Road, Cambridge*.
The history of the Hertfordshire landscape.
- MURRAY, J. L., *Keble College, Oxford*.
The changing social geography of rural Cheshire and adjacent parts of north Shropshire and Flintshire.
- NEALE, F. A., *The Knoll, Winscombe Hill, Winscombe, Somerset*.
Topography of the Mendip Hills.
The Isle of Wedmore, Somerset; field systems and farming, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century.
See also FOWLER, P. J.
- NEESON, Miss J., *Centre for the Study of Social History, Warwick University, Coventry*.
Custom, common right, and copyhold in Northamptonshire.
- NEWMAN, M. D., *Department of History, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania 17837*.
Poverty and poor relief in rural Berkshire, 1780-1834.
- NICHOLS, H., *7 Church Lane, Costock, Loughborough, Leicestershire*.
Early maps of Derbyshire.
- NUNN, P., *The Polytechnic, Sheffield, 1*.
Estate management on some south Yorkshire estates in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

- OLSON, Professor D. J., *History Department, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.*
The development of the Norfolk estate in Sheffield.
- OWEN, A. E. B., 79 *Whitwell Way, Coton, Cambridge.*
Land drainage and coastal reclamation in Lincolnshire and the Marshland district of Norfolk.
- PALLISER, D. M., *Department of History, Keele University, Staffordshire.*
The history of the Staffordshire landscape.
Staffordshire markets and fairs before 1700.
- PALLISTER, J., 364 *Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.*
The distribution of settlement in the West Riding, 1066-1377.
- PARRY, M. L., *Department of Geography, The University, High School Yards, Edinburgh.*
The fluctuating cultivation fringe of the Lammermuirs, 1750-1950.
- PATTEN, JOHN, *School of Geography, Mansfield Road, Oxford.*
Rural-urban relationships in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.
- PELHAM, E. C., *Hertfordshire College of Agriculture and Horticulture, St Albans.*
The growing of field beans in Essex, and its relationship to farming developments in the county, especially since 1800.
- PERREN, R., *Department of Economic History, King's College, Old Aberdeen.*
Agricultural change in the West Midlands, 1870-1914.
- PETERKEN, G. F., *Monkswood Experimental Station, Abbots Ripton, Huntingdonshire.*
Woodland management history and its effects on the ecology of woodland plants, with special reference to woods in Lincolnshire and Norfolk.
- PHILLIPS, A. D. M., *Department of Geography, Keele University, Staffordshire.*
The underdrainage of farmland in England during the nineteenth century.
Agricultural change in Shropshire and Staffordshire in the nineteenth century.
- PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, C. V., *Department of English Local History, The University, Leicester.*
The making of Warwickshire.
The early agrarian history of Claybrooke (Leicestershire).
The nineteenth-century historiography of 'the village community.'
- PINNOCK, A. C., *Department of Geography, Keele University, Staffordshire.*
Population and wealth in Staffordshire from the eleventh to the sixteenth century.
- POTTS, R. A. J., 78 *Barbara Avenue, Humberstone, Leicester.*
Cornish glebe terriers, 1601-1821.
- PRINCE, H. C., *Department of Geography, University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.*
Richard Woods of Essex, eighteenth-century landscape gardener and surveyor.
English attitudes towards landscape.
- PURDY, J. D., *Victoria County History, County Hall, Beverley, East Yorkshire.*
The hearth-tax returns for Yorkshire.
- RAVENSDALE, J. R., *Homerton College, Cambridge.*
The north Cambridgeshire landscape.
- RAYBOULD, T. J., *The University, Canterbury, Kent.*
The estates of the Lords Dudley: their development and organization, 1774-1850.
- REDMONDS, G., *Oak Cottage, 5 Knotty Lane, Lepton, Huddersfield.*
The origin and distribution of West Riding surnames.
- RICHARDSON, T. L., *The University, Canterbury, Kent.*
The standard of living of agricultural labourers, 1790-1840.

RIDGARD, J. M., *'Pelistry', Mill Green, Worlingworth, Woodbridge, Suffolk.*

The social and economic history of Flixton (Suffolk), 1300-1600.

ROBERTS, B. K., *Department of Geography, South Road, Durham.*

Village morphology within County Durham in the wider context of the historical geography of rural settlement in Britain.

Upland settlement in the Durham dales.

ROGERS, A., *Department of Adult Education, The University, Nottingham.*

Lincolnshire gentry in the fifteenth century.

ROWLEY, R. T., *Rowley House, Wellington Square, Oxford.*

The making of the Shropshire landscape.

RUSSELL, C., *Department of History, Bedford College, St John's Hall, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.*

The management of John Pym's estates in Somerset during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

RUSSELL, R. C., *11 Priestgate, Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire.*

The farmworker and his family in nineteenth-century Lindsey.

Parliamentary enclosure in Lindsey, with an atlas of field systems.

RYDER, M. L., *Animal Breeding Research Organization, Dryden Field Laboratory, Roslin, Midlothian.*

The evolution of different breeds of sheep, with particular reference to changes in the fleece.

SCHOVE, D. J., *St David's College, 29 South Eden Park Road, Beckenham, Kent.*

Weather history, with special reference to manorial accounts.

SELL, Miss M. R., *Mowbray Farm, The Dale, Bonsall, near Matlock, Derbyshire.*

Vernacular architecture in mid-Derbyshire, 1550-1820.

SHARP, H. B., *Mile End, Easton-on-the-Hill, Stamford, Lincolnshire.*

Colly Weston slate.

SHEAIL, J., *Monkswood Experimental Station, Abbots Ripton, Huntingdonshire.*

Historical ecology of the rabbit since 1500.

Alluvial grasslands, especially water-meadows.

The fenlands of Huntingdonshire.

SHEPPARD, Miss J. A., *Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, London, E.1.*

Rural settlement in Yorkshire, with special reference to village plans.

SHORT, B. M., *North-Western Polytechnic, Prince of Wales Road, London, N.W.5.*

Agriculture in the High Weald, 1750-1966.

SLATER, T., *Department of Geography, University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.*

Parks and their impact on urban development.

SMEE, Miss D. K., *Gate Cottage, Haselbech, Northampton.*

A soil map of the parish of Haselbech—part of an inquiry into the origins of ridge and furrow.

SMITH, R. M., *Department of Geography, Downing Place, Cambridge.*

The social and economic characteristics of the Essex and Suffolk cloth-producing areas, 1300-1500.

SPUFFORD, Mrs M., *73 Cambridge Road, Girton, Cambridge.*

Land distribution and inheritance customs amongst the Cambridgeshire peasantry.

Literacy and religious opinions amongst the Cambridgeshire peasants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

- STANLEY, M. J., *Department of Geography, The University, High School Yards, Edinburgh.*
Land-capability in the Middle Ages, and its relationship to the distribution of population.
Settlement and agrarian organization in the Scottish Lowlands.
- STORRIE, Miss M. C., *Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, London, E.1.*
The islands of Islay and Jura since the eighteenth century.
- STURGESS, R. W., *Sunderland College of Education, Langham Tower, Ryhope Road, Sunderland.*
Agricultural investment in England, 1790-1914.
- SYLVESTER, Miss D., *High Beach, 15 Park Drive, Wistaston, near Crewe, Cheshire.*
Field systems in the Welsh Borderland and neighbouring English counties.
- TAYLOR, D., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
English dairy farming, 1860-1930, with special reference to Wiltshire.
- THIRSK, Mrs J., *St Hilda's College, Oxford.*
The social and economic organization of the forest areas in England and on the Continent of Europe.
Customs of inheritance and their influence on the occupation of land.
Agrarian change, 1640-1750.
- THOMAS, Professor C., *Department of Archaeology, The University, Leicester.*
Neolithic and Bronze Age agriculture in south-west Britain, with special reference to early cross-ploughing and lynchet formation.
Contemporary use and meanings of field- and settlement-type names in the Cornish language, from about the twelfth century to the eighteenth century, A.D.
- THOMPSON, E., *Centre for the Study of Social History, Warwick University, Coventry.*
Common rights in the eighteenth century.
The food riot and problems of marketing in the eighteenth century.
- THOMPSON, Professor F. M. L., *Department of History, Bedford College, London, N.W.1.*
The Agrarian History of England, vi; two chapters on 'Ownership; Land;' and 'the Rural Community.'
- TIDSWELL, W. V., *College of Education, College Road, Hereford.*
The changing pattern of cider-apple-growing in Herefordshire.
- TIERNEY, D., *Department of History, University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.*
The cattle trade between Ireland and Great Britain during the latter half of the nineteenth century.
- TIMPERLEY, Miss L. R., *Department of Geography, The University, High School Yards, Edinburgh.*
Landownership in Scotland, c. 1770.
- TRUEMAN, B. E. S., *History Department, College of Education, Hereford.*
The management of the Guy's Hospital estates, 1725-1900, with particular reference to Herefordshire.
- TYLER, Miss M. J., *The University, Canterbury, Kent.*
Agriculture and rural society in East Kent, 1840-51.
- TYZACK, G. C., *St John's College, Oxford.*
Country house building in Warwickshire, 1500-1914.
- VOSE, E. K., *8 Westward Road, Malvern Link, Worcestershire.*
The estates of Worcester Priory, 1240-1540.
- WARD, Miss S. B., *Institute of Agricultural History, University of Reading.*
Land reform in England and Wales, 1880-1940.

- WHETHAM, Miss E. H., *31 Owlstone Road, Cambridge.*
 History of British agriculture, 1914-64.
 Agriculture in Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire, from 1650.
- WILLIAMS, D. E., *The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.*
 The social aspects of Nonconformity and Methodism in north Carmarthenshire in the eighteenth century.
- WILLIAMS, M. I., *The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.*
 The changing landscape of the southern regions of Wales.
- WILLS, J. W. G., *Department of Geography, The University, High School Yards, Edinburgh.*
 Agriculture in the Shetlands during the eighteenth century.
- WILSON, R. G. and HAY, J. R., *School of Social Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich.*
 Agricultural change in East Anglia, 1815-1965.
- WISE, Professor M. J., *Department of Geography, London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.*
 The history of the smallholdings movement in the nineteenth century.
 Land use in industrial areas of Britain in the nineteenth century.
- WOODWARD, D. M., *Department of Economics and Commerce, The University, Hull.*
 The combination of agricultural and non-agricultural occupations in the Wirral, 1558-1625.
 Anglo-Irish trade during the seventeenth century, with particular reference to the trade in livestock and other agricultural produce.
- YELLING, J. A., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London, W.C.1.*
 Worcester agriculture, 1500-1870.
 Piecemeal enclosure.
- YOUNGS, Miss J. A., *Department of History, The University, Exeter.*
 The dispersal of monastic lands in England and Wales.
- YOUNGSON, Professor A. J., *Department of Economics, 31 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, 8.*
 The reconstruction of the Highlands, 1770-1830.

NOTES AND COMMENTS *continued from page 160.*

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AGRICULTURAL MUSEUMS

The third International Congress of Agricultural Museums is to be held in Budapest, 19-23 April 1971. The last one was held at Stuttgart-Hohenheim in 1969. Further details of the programme can be had from Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum, Budapest, XIV Vajdahunyadvár, Hungary.

LINCOLNSHIRE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

The current report of the Lincolnshire Archives Office lists a number of recently deposited collections that will be of interest to

agricultural historians. These include the records of the firm of Ruston and Hornsby, manufacturers of agricultural machinery; records of the firm of William Foster and Company of Lincoln, agricultural engineers, whose papers include specifications for threshing machines, chaff cutters, and straw elevators from 1869 onwards; and the archives of Tinsley and Laverack, auctioneers and valuers, which include valuations of farms for tenant right. The Report is available from the Archivist, The Castle, Lincoln, price 4s. post free.

Book Reviews

E. J. HOBBSBAWM and GEORGE RUDÉ, *Captain Swing*. Lawrence and Wishart, 1969. 384 pp. 70s.

The aims of this book are clearly stated in the Introduction. "We have tried to describe and analyse the most impressive episode in the English farm-labourers' long and doomed struggle against poverty and degradation" (p. 15); "... to describe and analyse an entire epoch of the English farm-labourers' history, that of the rise and fall of their improvised, archaic, spontaneous movements of resistance to the full triumph of rural capitalism, in the light of the greatest movement of this kind" (pp. 18-19). "The task of this book is ... the difficult one ... of reconstructing the mental world of an anonymous and undocumented body of people in order to understand their movements" (p. 12). This description and analysis are concerned with the period in which "a rural society which was in some senses traditional, hierarchical, paternalist, and in many respects resistant to the full logic of the market, was transformed under the impetus of the extraordinary agricultural boom (and subsequent, though temporary, recessions) into one in which the cash-nexus prevailed, at least between farmer and labourer" (p. 15).

The book is logically divided into four parts, followed by valuable appendices. Part I, 'Before Swing' (by Hobsbawm), Part II, 'The Rising' (by Rudé, apart from ch. 9), Part III, 'The Anatomy of Swing' (by Rudé), and Part IV, 'Repression and Aftermath' (chapters 13 and 14 by Rudé, 15 by Hobsbawm). Throughout it is a thought-provoking and a challenging book to read: it is a most difficult book to review. One finishes reading it and remains unsatisfied by it. This is an excellent recommendation of it; it has done its job precisely because it should provoke further work and result in more detailed regional studies.

Part I could be expanded into a complete short book. As it stands it forms an essential introduction to the description and analysis of the labourers' revolt of 1830-1 which follows; it helps to make clear why it was that "... the

labourers and their sympathisers did not normally want a disruption of the old society, but a restoration of their rights within it, modest, subaltern, but *rights*" (p. 61). It reveals, equally clearly, why this demand was doomed to failure.

Part II could have been improved by the addition of several maps of the areas in which the risings took place. The accounts are clear and vivid but the geographical spread of the movement would have been easier to follow with the aid of county or regional maps. More comment on, and a greater tying in of, the maps on pp. 26, 28, and 179 with the text would also have been useful. Hobsbawm's chapter which sums up this part is fine. The riots were essentially a *rural* and a local phenomenon; they were concentrated essentially in the region in which cereal farming was combined with low wages; the poorer counties were the rioting ones; the larger village, containing a higher proportion of village craftsmen than the rest, was more likely to riot than the smaller; "... we are not entitled to assume that religious dissenters initiated, inspired, or led the movement" (p. 186). Difficulties of drawing firm conclusions are made perfectly clear and the need for further research by local historians is indicated.

Part III deals with the pattern of the revolt and discusses the labourers' victims and allies. It establishes these facts: (1) "the basic aims of the labourers were singularly consistent: to attain a minimum living wage and to end rural unemployment" (p. 195); (2) "the distinctive hall-mark of 'Swing'—even more than arson or the threatening letter that gave the riots their name—was the breaking of agricultural machinery" (p. 197); (3) "this was essentially a labourers' movement with essentially economic ends" (p. 220); (4) prison and judicial records, relating to nearly 2,000 persons who were tried in some thirty counties, fully confirm that the rioters were predominantly country labourers (p. 242); (5) the records suggest that the rioters as a whole were respectable and responsible people: "... one is struck by

the frequent reference to the good characters and high moral qualities of these labourers and craftsmen (p. 247).

Part IV gives an account of the fate of the 1,976 prisoners who were tried by ninety courts sitting in thirty-four counties. "From no other protest movement of the kind—from neither Luddites nor Chartists, nor trade unionists—was such a bitter price exacted" (p. 263). The Australian records reveal that "... these men stood out from their fellow-convicts both by the nature of their crime and by their general respectability and high moral characters. But there is nothing in their later careers to suggest that they brought with them from England any particular ideology, or political opinions or outlook, that mark them off from other settlers, whether free or bond, in the Australian colonies. The tradition of 'Captain Swing' appears to have died with their conviction and transportation" (p. 279).

One wishes that the final chapter, 'Aftermath' (by Hobsbawm), could have been doubled in length. Its main purpose is to ask relevant questions and to indicate the urgency and necessity of further work on the farm-labourer and his world in the period 1830-70. "... of all the many gaps in our knowledge of the farm-labourers' world in the nineteenth century none is more shocking than our total ignorance of the forms of agrarian discontent between the rising of 1830 and the emergence of agricultural trade unionism in the early 1870s" (p. 282). Incendiarism became the characteristic form of rural unrest after 1830. Hobsbawm calls this terrorism the "active response to defeat" and asks whether religion (dissent) became the passive form: he suggests that dissenters represented the forces of internal modernization within rural society and that chapel members, together with members of the Friendly Societies, created potential rather than actual activists. To suggest that the growth of village dissent represents a *passive* form of response to the defeat is unhelpful and misleading. The creation, expansion, and maintenance of dissenting chapels demanded activity, organizing ability, and courage: to call this religious and social revival "an escape from, rather than a mobili-

sation for, social agitation" (p. 291) is an unhelpful approach to further work on this period. Hobsbawm asks why so long a period separated the revolt of 1830 from the rural unionism of the 1870's and calls the first an 'archaic' and the second a 'modern' movement. The forms of the two movements were certainly different; were the aims (at village level) really so different? The labourers in 1830 did not want to disrupt the society of 1830 but to restore their rights within it. The labourers of the 1870's (at village level) did not want much more: as in 1830, their aims too were essentially economic. They wanted better pay within the society of the 1870's—a society which they had already helped to make sufficiently different from that of 1830 by the spread of their self-help organizations (chapels, friendly societies, temperance movements) to be a tolerable society for men with very modest expectations. One can regret that their expectations were so modest, that those who remained in the villages (those who had not migrated to towns or emigrated overseas) could be content with so little, but we should recognize both that labourers had done something to create societies of their own within the wider society, and also that their local rulers had taken effective steps to buttress up the deferential society through the creation of village schools. The village schools, provided by their 'betters', had been amazingly successful by 1870 in helping to stabilize rural society by reinforcing deference: their important influence is not mentioned in this excellent chapter, but the very fact that their educational aims were so narrow made their achievement relatively easy; pupils learned attitudes and modest expectations rather than the three Rs; these lessons did affect their future behaviour as adults.

The only errors I have found concern Lincolnshire. The authors underestimate the extent of arson here: between mid-November 1830 and mid-March 1831 they counted twenty-eight fires (p. 167); over this same period forty-three are in fact reported in the *Stamford Mercury*. (Others are mentioned, but not located, in the Reward notice issued by the Magistrates for the Parts of Lindsey on 1 December 1830 (*Stamford Mercury*, 3.xii.

1830.) Nor is it true that no threshing machines were destroyed. In the same period four such destructions are reported—one at Barrow on Humber (where a farmer destroyed his own machines whilst his stacks were still ablaze), others near Grantham, at Moulton, and at Kirton Meers. At this time some landowners advised their tenants to discontinue the use of machines. ("Sir Gilbert Heathcote . . . has . . . expressed his wish that his tenants shall not any longer use thrashing-machines."—*Stamford Mercury*, 26.xi.1830.) Such advice was apparently acted upon: the *Stamford Mercury* reports the markets scantily supplied with wheat with the consequence of very high prices—"approaching a famine price"—with the comment that the price "... would not have advanced so early but for the general disuse of the machine, owing to the alarm that has been produced by tumultuous assemblages, and the spread of incendiaryism through the county. This has induced some landlords to interdict the use of them upon their estates"—(*Stamford Mercury*, 7.i.1831). Of "tumultuous assemblages" there is little evidence. Three labourers of Heckington were convicted of an unlawful assembly "... in having met together with several others and demanded an increase of wages. They had previously sent the crier round the town, proclaiming the object of the meeting by the following handbill: 'Notice is hereby given to all labourers, to meet upon the Green at the hour of seven, for to state the wages here, or else at Sleaford they must appear; and if no justice there be done, elsewhere then they must run'"—(*Stamford Mercury*, 14.i.1831).

These are small corrections to suggest; they make the maps on pp. 199 and 202, and Appendix III, inaccurate as regards Lincolnshire. There are some mistakes in place names. On p. 168 read *Muckton* for Monckton, *Bourne* for Bowen (and, I suspect, *Woolsthorpe* for Wothorpe; but Wothorpe appears as in Northants on p. 344). Muckton and Bourne are mis-spelt again on pages 340 and 350 respectively. One other minor point: I am unconvinced that the labourers had no concern with, no wish for *land* for their own use (p. 16). Land should have been mentioned in chapter 15;

it was certainly not a demand of the rioters in 1830-1, but some rural labourers did wish for land in the form of large allotments—it was vital for cow-keeping and very helpful with pig-keeping. In Lincolnshire some moves were made in the period of revolt (and more between 1830 and 1870) to provide some allotments for labourers.

The authors of this excellent and challenging book will expect and hope that historians will add to their findings and perhaps modify some of their statements. The best way of repaying our debt to Hobsbawm and Rudé will be to attempt to follow up their work.

REX C. RUSSELL

FRANK TYRER (ed.), *Blundell's Diary. The Great Diurnall of Nicholas Blundell of Crosby, 1702-1728. Vol. I, 1702-1711*. Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1968. vii+350 pp. 63s. to non-members.

Blundell's Diary has long been known to historians through the printed selections edited by the Rev. T. E. Gibson in 1895 and more recently by Margaret Blundell in 1952. Only with the appearance of the present volume, however, have we received the promise of the complete text and a fully annotated edition.

There is much in this diary of the south-west Lancashire squire Nicholas Blundell, (1669-1737), of Little Crosby which is of especial interest to agricultural historians. Blundell, after all, was a practising farmer, and his diary—methodically kept for twenty-six years—accurately reflects this central concern of its author. Abundant details, then, are to be found here, for example, of Blundell's interest in cattle-rearing and fattening, of the payments he received for pasturing the animals of others, and of the purchases and sales he made at market towns such as Liverpool, Ormskirk, Preston, and Haslingden.

But Blundell's farming was varied and often of an improving kind. Coleseed—useful for cattle cake as well as for oil—was grown on his estates, as were clover and turnips. Barley, oats, and wheat, however, were Blundell's principal crops, but on a much more limited scale peas, asparagus, and artichokes were also grown in his well-marled ground. Blundell is known to

have read books on husbandry, (see pp. 204 and 214), and to have been willing to experiment with methods recommended there. But although he tried out new crops and methods, Blundell clearly kept an eye firmly fixed on the market. "Wheat being now at a good rate," he wrote, for example, in May 1709, "I set threshers at work to thresh all I had" (p. 214).

Much in this diary is of more than local and passing interest. Valuable information, for instance, can be gleaned here about agricultural prices and wage-rates, and about the weather, reports on which Blundell regularly included in his diary from March 1709 onwards. The present well-indexed volume takes the diary up to the end of 1711. The second and third instalments—which will complete the project—are to appear within the next four years, and it is to be hoped that the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire will receive full support for embarking on this ambitious and costly venture in publishing.

R. C. RICHARDSON

SIR WILLIAM GAVIN, *Ninety Years of Family Farming: The Story of Lord Rayleigh's and Strutt & Parker Farms*. Hutchinson & Co., 1967. xi+246 pp. 50s.

The author's association with the Strutts' highly successful farming enterprises in Essex began in 1910, and this sober, factual account is a welcome addition to agricultural histories covering the past century. After two or more generations as watermillers at Chelmsford, John Strutt settled seriously to farming at Terling, a few miles away, about 1720. It was another John (1727-1816), Tory M.P. for Maldon, who built Terling Place, still the family mansion. The net rental of his Essex estates in 1781 was £3,443 (5,257 acres) and in 1816 was £6,619 (5,835 acres). It was yet another John (1796-1873), second Lord Rayleigh, evangelically convinced at twenty-six, who left behind some remarkable letters of 1831-2. One of these records his having persuaded the parish vestry to pass five resolutions encouraging labourers' thrift, eschewing wages

subsidised from the rates, and binding himself to give every man "who brings up all his children to the age of 14 without parish relief, except in case of sickness, a reward"—three children £5, four £7, five £10, six £15, and seven children £20! He actively supported labourers' allotments, and by 1832 twelve acres had been allocated in holdings of from 8 rods to 1 acre. Their tenancy agreement—an early one—is given in full. Of the nine conditions the first and last read: "That the allotments be cultivated by spade husbandry, and no horses used, without leave, but for the purposes of carrying on manure and taking off the crops," and "That those Occupiers who manure most and cultivate best their Allotments be entitled to an increased quantity of land when opportunity offers."

The outstanding figure, however, is the Hon. Edward Strutt (brother of the third Lord Rayleigh), who died in 1930. As manager of the estate, he attacked the acute depression of the 1880's with phenomenally realistic energy, personally taking over the farms from the bankrupt tenants, and succeeded, among other methods, by applying day-to-day costing of both farming and dairying, and by creating the internationally renowned Terling herd which contributed largely to financial recovery. Precise statistics are afforded for 1882-96, without a break, in a number of tables. The chapter on the expansion of 1896-1914, with further detailed tables, includes the dramatic decision of 1900 to enter the London milk market, trading as Lord Rayleigh's Dairies Ltd, until its sale in 1929 to the Express Dairy Co., after which retail dairying was continued locally. The author is on very firm ground in describing the effect of the disastrous 1920's, and it is noteworthy that Strutt and Gavin were the experts whom the Government selected as their Chief Agricultural Advisers in the First and Second World Wars respectively. An earlier chapter gives a balanced account of the two Fellows of the Royal Society, whose scientific achievements added so much lustre to this remarkable family.¹

¹ For the partnership in the land-agency side, see review of J. Oxley Parker, *The Oxley Parker Papers, from the Letters and Diaries of an Essex Family of Land Agents in the Nineteenth Century*, 1964, in *A.H.R.*, XIII, 1965, p. 67.

This is a change from doctoral theses revised for publishers, and Sir William's experienced and practical narrative, often enlivened with personal reminiscences, fills an important gap in modern agricultural history.

F. G. EMMISON

HAROLD H. MANN, *The Social Framework of Agriculture: India, Middle East, England*, ed. Daniel Thorner. Frank Cass, 1968. xxx+502 pp.

A book which consists of a collection of essays on scientific subjects, written for the most part in the early years of the century, and with such titles as 'Note on the Diet of Tea Garden Coolies', 'Calcutta Drink Shops, 1903-4', and 'Millets in the Middle East' must be taken up with a slightly sinking feeling. Apart from the fact that it is difficult for one reader to be interested in such a diverse range of topics, the question arises as to how relevant are views expressed in a totally different climate of opinion, in a sphere of science (agriculture and animal husbandry chiefly) where vast changes have since been made, and a great deal of what the author advocated has been taken in hand. The material might be thought dated, and with some justification.

However, there are good reasons why this book is both valuable and valid for our time. The first is that Dr Harold Mann was a personality rare enough to be worth encountering, even posthumously and through his prose. He was a man of deep compassion whose scientific mind worked for one end only—the betterment of the poor and undernourished. Every sentence he writes shows his unremitting commitment to the peasant, the outcast, the underdog, and underprivileged. The questions he set out to answer through his long dedicated life, mostly in India, were "How far is the condition of the rural population improving, or the reverse? How far are changing economic conditions in India affecting rural life, both in its economic and rural aspects?" In the present world of Peace Corps and the like, this does not seem so strange: in the days of the British Raj for a European to concern himself with every detail of the life of an Indian outcaste, not to save an untouchable soul but

to recognize its dignity, is a marvel worth preserving.

The second reason why the book satisfies is that it is written in a good, strong, and entirely jargon-free prose. Sociology like any other science must have its special phrases to convey concisely a large body of thought, but sociological jargon can be tedious. In Dr Mann's day little of it had been invented, and this, for the general reader, is a relief. To better the lot of the agriculturist Harold Mann needed to know the total structure of his life—village economics, family structure, inheritance and work patterns, population trends, life expectancy—and without fuss this he set out to learn, and sets the results before us as unfussily. He offended a great many people with the results he obtained. His discovery of acute rural poverty in India was predictable, but his announcement that "necessary, irreclaimable poverty" was the lot of one third of a typical English village in 1905 was an uncomfortable conclusion for both government and landlord.

His village and urban studies were a pioneering venture, and in my opinion form the most interesting part of the book. His house-to-house study of a Bedford village in 1905 would make most people think twice about casting a nostalgic eye back to a cosy, rural past. A couple with eight children could not be called poor if they had 33s. a week to live on, but of the wage-earning community only 35.5 per cent were able to maintain themselves above this pitiful level of primary or secondary poverty. As the author puts it "during life it is a weary and continual round of poverty. During childhood, poverty conditions are almost inevitable. As a boy grows up there are a few years intermission, till as a young man he has two children: then poverty again till these children grow up, and finally at best, a penurious old age." His studies of Deccan villages, and of groups of outcastes living on the fringe of towns, are fascinating, for close statistical surveys of communities, in depth and over a period of time, are not abundant even now. Always he complains of having to "nibble" at a subject, and asks us to consider his work as a "starting point" and one could wish for less

"range and diversity" of a brilliant mind; and the book itself could have some of the bittier chapters pruned without loss; the chapters on the Tea Industry for instance are repetitive and not very enlightening.

Dr Mann's early chapters are filled with hope and enthusiasm—irrigation, artificial manure, careful capital investment, co-operative techniques, an identification with the peasant community and the working outwards from such an understanding—these would revolutionize the village economy of India, "break the vicious circle of listlessness, low production, and squalor, leading to further listlessness, low production, and squalor." The later essays, however, show a growing despondency. In spite of schemes like 'The Servants of Rural India', Local Development Associations, co-operative farming projects, and Gandhi, India's peasants stayed poor and sickly. And this is the strange, sad part of the book; that a man of such perception could write that "an excess of population" could be "of great advantage in the rehabilitation of the country." All his work in increasing food supplies, improving sanitation, and generally raising the standard of living, was to be cancelled out by the appearance of millions of extra mouths to feed. Dr Mann was one of many who ignored the threat which has become a present, appalling catastrophe. But his book remains a source of a great deal of information, and an inspiring example of a lifetime's work for others. It cannot help but interest anyone concerned with people—how they live, how they till, apportion, and pass on their land—and in a great part of the world, starve.

IRIS MACFARLANE

W. S. VUCINICH, *The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Stanford U.P. and Oxford U.P., 1968. xx+314 pp. 81s.

This is a collection of papers given at a conference held at Stanford in December 1966. It covers a wide, though not exhaustive, range of subjects, the common theme, running through all the papers, being that of the 'separateness' of peasant society within the broader society. This point is excellently made by Professor Riazanovsky in his concluding

comments. Papers by Professors Petrovich and Fanger on 'The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Hystography' and 'The Peasant and Literature', respectively—reviewing the attitudes to the peasantry from the 'outside' so to speak—emphasize how the Russian intelligentsia never really understood the peasants themselves. The lack of adequate sources, mentioned by more than one contributor, makes the task of the modern scholar doubly difficult. In view of this the book as a whole makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Russian Peasant and how the Soviet State has inherited the 'Peasant Problem'.

Other papers examine the peasant as soldier and factory worker, and his attitude to religion. There is also a detailed study of the emancipation. To the agricultural historian, however, perhaps two papers are of particular interest. They are Miss Matossian's 'The Peasant Way of Life', and Professor Watters's discussion of 'The Peasant and the Village Commune'.

Miss Matossian discusses peasant life on the eve of emancipation: examining settlement patterns, housing, economic organization, dress, diet, and the family. Despite her rather narrow range of sources, she presents the material in a detailed and imaginative way. She closes with a description of her idea of a 'typical peasant family', their everyday life, birth, marriage, death. In doing so she appears at times to be idealizing the peasant—a mistake she professes to avoid. One or two points of fact are also in question. She suggests that bear meat, like hare, was taboo. This was not the case. Bear meat was eaten even though it was discouraged by the church. She claims also that the term *promysel* referred exclusively to the manufacture of goods for the market, whereas in fact it was used much more widely than that, embracing almost all forms of off-farm occupations. Despite such minor disagreements, hers is a most informative paper, managing to bring the peasant to life.

Professor Watters, tackling that most difficult of subjects—the commune, presents a thorough and informative paper. He describes the characteristics of the commune, its history,

land purchase, and land tenure classifications. At times, however, he is apparently unclear over points he is trying to explain. For instance, he uses the words 'mir' and 'obshchina' independently implying that they refer to different phenomena. If they were different this should be explained and justified. If they were the same why use two words? And why retain the Russian? To the non-specialist or reader who does not know Russian this only serves to confuse. There is reason to believe that 'mir' and 'obshchina' were two words for the same thing, the former used by peasants and the latter by outsiders. As such they reflect different points of view. Professor Watters makes no mention of this.

The habit of avoiding English terms and using Russian ones is common to all the contributors. This is all very well at a specialist conference but in a work intended for a more general audience the practice is merely confusing. Another practical criticism is that all the footnotes are placed together at the end of the book. This makes reference awkward and appears to serve no useful purpose. It is unfortunate that these points should detract from a work of a generally high standard of scholarship.

R. MUNTING

GEORG VON BELOW, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft des Mittelalters, in ihren Grundzügen, aus dem hinterlassenen Manuskript, herausgegeben von Friedrich Lütge*. 2nd edn. Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1966. viii+114 pp. DM.24.

This incomplete manuscript of Professor Below, who died in 1927, was found among his papers and first published by Professor Lütge in 1937. Below wrote it some years before his death, intending it as the first part of a general textbook on the German economy. But his main interests did not really lie in the writing of summary outlines and the work was set aside. Nevertheless, this fragment covering the Middle Ages was sufficiently complete in itself to be worth publication. It was printed without alteration beyond a few additions in footnotes to make the references clear, and to bring them up to date. This second edition is a photo-

graphic copy of that of 1937 and no attempt has been made to add to the bibliography beyond that date.

It is instructive and chastening to read the considered judgments of an earlier generation of historians, for we still work over the same problems. There are many arguments in this book—e.g. that German society originated in free communities; that the first German settlers began life in villages—which do not find support among historians at present. But every now and then Below draws attention to a fact or a relationship, which has been forgotten in the interim, and which lights up the scene afresh. Professor Lütge's footnotes pointed out some of the matters on which he and his contemporaries disagreed with Below in 1937, and it is remarkable to see how little viewpoints have changed since then. Historians of the last three decades maintain a surprising unity on the principal issues; recent research has added to our knowledge of local eccentricity but has only served to underline the continuing validity of their first conclusions.

JOAN THIRSK

HANS-JÜRGEN SCHMITZ, *Faktoren der Preisbildung für Getreide und Wein in der Zeit von 800 bis 1350*. Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1968. 134 pp. DM.38.

This slim monograph originated in the work of a seminar which analysed the economic information in the chronicles of a monk, Reiner of Lüttich, for the years 1194–1230. It led on to a wider search for similar information in other early writings printed in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The results presented here include all references to grain and wine production, starting in 800 and continuing to 1350. They include not only exact statements about prices and the quality of the harvests, but also contemporary evidence on other factors affecting prices, such as weather, war, the overseas trade in grain in years of shortage, the speculative activities of merchants, and municipal and governmental attempts at controlling prices. The chronicle of Reiner of Lüttich gives the only continuous series of comments on prices and harvests and these are tabulated and presented in graphs on pages 80–91; the detail

taken from the chronicle of another ecclesiastic, possibly an abbot, called Mankon, and relating to Friesland is set out on pages 91-3. In view of the paucity of information on food prices before the thirteenth century, this is an instructive exercise though the information that it yields is necessarily fragmentary.

JOAN THIRSK

HELMUT BREUER, *Die Maas als Schiffahrtsweg*. Aachener Geographische Arbeiten, Heft 1, 1969. Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH: Wiesbaden. 315 pp, 23 diagrams, 4 illustrations, 57 tables. DM.16.

Dr H. Breuer's brilliant exposition of the history and geography of the Meuse navigation begins with an account of this strange river, with its long, narrow, meridional basin, rising in the Plateau de Langres and reaching the North Sea at the mouths of the Rhine. It continues with an estimate of its importance at all periods of history and a prognostic. Because it runs north and south and because it can be linked by canals to the Paris Basin and the Rhine, individual sections have played a local role in trade. Dr Breuer's account shows in detail its importance in mineral and bulk trade but he has paid little attention to the trade in agricultural materials and fertilizers. It is a pity that they figure mainly as 'other items' in the statistics quoted, though proper emphasis is given to artificial fertilizers in recent times. A student of agricultural history would, however, find much essential background material in this finely constructed book with its many maps, diagrams, and tables.

D. J. DAVIS

J. W. GOUGH, *The Rise of the Entrepreneur*. Batsford, 1969. 326 pp. 50s.

Although Mr Gough feels that Professor J. U. Nef's description of industrial expansion between 1540 and 1640 as more 'revolutionary' than that of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is an exaggeration, he does perceive a very broad advance in business organization and technology during the earlier period. Many of the developments took place in the extractive industries, for at the start of the period Britain lagged in industrial technique behind ancient mining and metal-working areas of Flanders and southern Germany. From these areas entrepreneurs and technologists came to exploit the Wealden iron and glass or the Cumberland copper of the frontier land of Britain, just as a little later Dutch entrepreneurs spread to even newer frontiers within Europe from the Pontine marshes to the Swedish metal mines. Strictly agricultural enterprises about which Mr Gough has something to say are Vermuyden's fen drainage, and, to a lesser extent, Britain's large-scale sheep farming. He also examines the cloth industry, the one major agricultural processing industry then organized in large units. Mr Gough treats only a few entrepreneurs biographically. More commonly he sets their activities within his accounts of the industries which engaged their attention—the book is indeed divided into industry-by-industry chapters. The sources used on Tudor and early Stuart enterprises are numerous and up to date, and altogether the book represents a detailed source of reference on industry at that period.

E. L. JONES

Shorter Notices

Marshall's Rural Economy of the West of England (1796). *A Reprint of the Rural Economy of the West of England including Devonshire and parts of Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall*, by William Marshall. 2 vols. David and Charles, 1970. 332+388 pp. £8 8s.

William Marshall's survey of the west of England was published not long after the Board of Agriculture had taken a decision to commission its own general views of agriculture on a county basis. It was fortunate that William Marshall's plan was then so far advanced that he did not contemplate abandoning it. His *Rural Economies* of different regions of England are deemed in many ways superior to those of the writers for the Board of Agriculture. They certainly adopt a system of analysis which is more congenial to present-day historians. He had a strong sense of the distinctive qualities of natural regions, and considered it an absurdity that a farming survey should be divided by counties. The wisdom of this has become ever more apparent, even though, for reasons of practical expediency, the county boundary still has to be used frequently to delimit research. The reprinting of these volumes on the west of England will be warmly welcomed by historians, though they will blench at the price.

W. PITT, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Worcester* (1813). David and Charles, 1969. 428 pp. £5 5s.; CHARLES VANCOUVER, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Devon* (1808). 1969. 480 pp. £5 5s.; JOHN HOLT, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster* (1795). 1969. 240 pp. £4 4s.; ARTHUR YOUNG, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk* (1804). 1969. 532 pp. £5 5s.; ARTHUR YOUNG, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincolnshire* (1813). 1970. 490 pp. £5 5s.; ARTHUR YOUNG, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Suffolk* (1813). 1969. 432 pp. £5 5s.; ARTHUR YOUNG, *General View of the Agri-*

culture of Oxfordshire (1813). David and Charles, 1969. 362 pp. £5 5s.

Every local agricultural study takes as its starting point the *General View of the Agriculture* of the county concerned. David and Charles's decision to reprint them all is of the greatest importance to agrarian historians. The volumes are too familiar to readers of this REVIEW to call for further description. Suffice it to say that the reprints reproduce the originals, including the valuable maps and engravings (though the order of these has been slightly rearranged), and we are promised at the end a new work that will offer critical comments on the whole series.

EDWARD MOOR, *Suffolk Words and Phrases* (1823). David and Charles, 1970. 526 pp. £5 5s.

Despite the fact that Moor's work was a quarry for Joseph Wright when compiling his *English Dialect Dictionary*, it still has value in its own right, for its explanations of words are discursive and anecdotal. This consideration has prompted the printing of a new edition. It is, of course, full of agricultural dialect words, with information on the same or similar terms used in other counties. Stanley Ellis adds an appreciative introduction.

J. M. STRATTON, *Agricultural Records, A.D. 220-1968*. John Baker, 1969. 204 pp. 50s. Mr Stratton has set out the material presented by Thomas Baker in *Records of the Seasons, Prices of Agricultural Produce, and Phenomena observed in the British Isles* in a summarized form, and added further material including some long-ish surveys from *The Times* to bring the record after 1912 up to date.

G. C. BRODRICK, *English Land and English Landlords. An Enquiry into the Origin and Character of the English Landed System, with Proposals for its Reform* (1881). David and Charles, 1968. 604 pp. 75s.

This is a welcome addition to the library of nineteenth-century reprints. At a time of great heart-searching by politicians and agri-

culturalists, Brodrick attempted to explain the state of the English landed system by means of a historical survey going back to the Anglo-Saxon period. As the author of earlier essays on 'The Law and Custom of Primogeniture' and 'Local Government in England' he set the problem in a wide context. His book therefore

contains a number of useful analyses, including a chapter on foreign systems of land tenure, based on the foreign office reports of 1869-70, a summary table dividing landowners into classes, completed for him by Bateman, and an appendix of tables on agricultural exports and prices.

Letter to the Editor

MADAM,—Your illustrated article 'Harvesting by the Gauls' was most interesting. The machine appears to be neither a combine harvester nor even a binder but simply an ear remover. It had no moving parts except the wheels. The principle of the thing appears to have been that the machine was pivoted on the axle, and the man behind the machine kept the pointers at such a level that they entered the crop just below the level of the ears. These pointers separated the crop and guided the heads on the straw down the openings until they reached a knife, probably a fixed 'v' shaped one at the end. To cut these heads off the machine depended on its forward action and the holding power of the roots in the ground. This is where the thing would fail. If it was a wet season the roots would pull out of the ground before the heads were cut off. Some assistance was given by the pressure of other heads coming down the channels, but as is seen in the drawing, a man had to walk backwards, in front, pushing the heads against and over the knives, with a wide ended tool.

The heads I suppose were collected on the larger sheet and every so often put off on to the ground or put into a cart. Perhaps the divider in front of the wheel on the right was lifted off and the heads raked to the right clear of the uncut crop.

Obviously it was a wealthy man's tool and when it did work was very labour saving in the field. But it shows how poor the crops must have been in those days compared with ours today for in our sort of crops it would not have moved a yard, blocking up straight away; it only could have worked in a very thin crop. Was the curious thing beneath the horses mouth a spare sickle hung on the machine in case it broke down, or was it something to stop the horse lowering its head to eat the crop?

The comment by E. Esperandiu about the man "guiding two animals," does not seem to apply unless he thought each shaft went to a separate animal.

E. A. POCKOCK

WINDMILL FARM,
CLANFIELD, OXON.

Cambridge University Press Library Edition

The History and Social Influence of the Potato

R. N. SALAMAN

'It is not the least astonishing that Dr Salaman should have written a great and erudite volume on the potato. What is astonishing is that a factor of such importance in the diet and experience of Western man should not have been the subject of such a volume long ago. The history of this root, apart from its overwhelming significance in problems of population and economics and its bearing upon the future of this island race, is romantic, surprising and even mystical. From the green terrors of a Bolivian forest to the stern realities of life in Ireland . . . the story of the potato is to be traced through a diversity of cultures, rituals, tragedies and historical events . . . this work has three of those qualities which make any book readable—enthusiasm, the gift of presenting history with a firm yet lively touch, and an orderly deployment of knowledge.' *Spectator*

£8 net

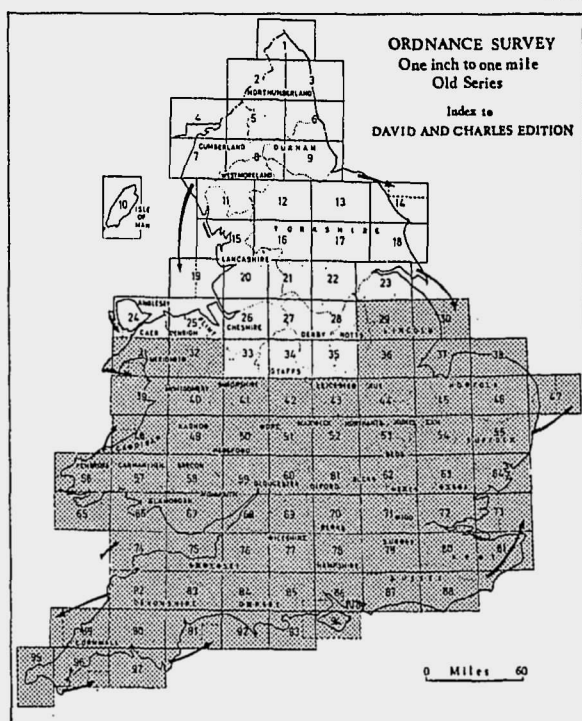
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Reprint of The First Edition of the One Inch Ordnance Survey

In collaboration with the Ordnance Survey, David & Charles are producing a facsimile reprint in 97 sheets, edited by Dr J. B. Harley, who has provided introductory notes for each sheet. The maps are available in two forms: flat or folded, at 15s. each. Sheets already published are shown by the shading on the map opposite, and publication of the remaining sheets will be completed early in 1971. A prospectus is available.

David & Charles

NEWTON ABBOT · DEVON



The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe

ESSAYS ON CULTIVATING, PARING-AND-BURNING
AND PEAT-CUTTING SPADES

Contributions range in time from prehistoric to modern.

Edited by ALAN GAILEY and ALEXANDER FENTON

Published by Ulster Folk Museum, and Institute of Irish Studies,
Queen's University, Belfast.

Available (£1.80 incl. postage) from Ulster Folk Museum, Cultra Manor,
Holywood, County Down, Northern Ireland.

257 pp. 85 line drawings 33 plates

The museum also publishes **ULSTER FOLKLIFE** annually; it regularly contains articles of direct concern to agricultural historians. Volume 15-16 (1969 and 1970) contains articles on common fields and enclosures in county Down, Irish corn-drying kilns, corn mills, historical notes on the use of turf (peat) for fuel in Ireland, and vernacular architecture in Ireland and Scotland. Annual subscription £0.75. Vol. 15-16 (double size) £1.50.

CATALOGUE 145

Farming in Great Britain from 1700 to 1970

David Low, Booksellers Ltd

EMMINGTON, CHINNOR, OXFORD

Available on request

ETUDES RURALES

REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE D'HISTOIRE, GÉOGRAPHIE,
SOCIOLOGIE ET ÉCONOMIE DES CAMPAGNES

No. 37-38-39

janvier-septembre 1970

"TERROIRS AFRICAINS ET MALGACHES"

Ce numéro spécial présente un ensemble de 23 études géographiques et sociologiques sur des systèmes agraires d'Afrique occidentale (Cameroun, Congo-Brazzaville, Côte-d'Ivoire, Haute-Volta, Niger, Rwanda, Sénégal, Tchad) et de Madagascar, précédées d'une introduction générale de MM. P. Pélissier et G. Sautter et suivies de notes bibliographiques.

550 pages, 150 cartes, 48 planches photographiques.

Prix: 45 F.

Abonnements—4 numéros

France: 50,00 F Etranger: 60,00 F Vente au numéro France: 15,00 F Etranger: 18,00 F

Les abonnements peuvent être souscrits auprès de la rédaction:

ETUDES RURALES,
LABORATOIRE D'ANTHROPOLOGIE SOCIALE, COLLÈGE DE FRANCE,
11 PLACE MARCELIN-BERTHELOT, PARIS 5e

JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Vol. XXI, No. 2

MAY 1970

CONTENTS

Land Use Studies in Britain: A Review of the Literature with Special Reference to
Applications of Cost-Benefit Analysis

G. H. PETERS

Agriculture and Economic Growth

S. A. ROBSON

The Demand for Inputs and the Aggregate Supply Function for Agriculture

A. J. RAYNER

Game Theory—An Extension of its Application to Farm Planning Under Uncertainty

P. B. R. HAZELL

A Forecast of Milk Supply in England and Wales

DAVID COLMAN and DENNIS LRECH

The Location of Maincrop Potato Production in Britain—An Application of Linear Programming

J. R. SHAW

Rent Determination with Share-cropping in Underdeveloped Countries

ANTONY BOTTOMLY and
COLIN B. BAXTER

Reciprocity in International Trade

DONALD MACLAREN

A Comment

TRUMAN PHILLIPS and CHRISTOPHER RITSON

A Reply

Some Characteristics of Investment Criteria

R. A. BISHOP

A Comment

R. C. JENSEN

A Reply

With Reviews, 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,
EH1 3DA, Scotland.

TREASURER: Ian G. Reid, Department of Agricultural Economics, Wye College, Ashford, Kent, to whom all
enquiries regarding membership of the Society and orders for Journals should be sent.

UNIVERSITY OF READING

Institute of Agricultural History

1. Agrarian changes in nineteenth-century Italy: the enterprise of a Tuscan landlord, Bettino Ricasoli, by GIULIANA BIAGIOLI. 3s.
2. The blacksmith's ledgers of the Hedges family of Bucklebury, Berkshire, 1736-1773, by FELICITY A. PALMER. 3s.
3. The London milk trade, 1900-1930, by E. H. WHETHAM 3s.

Museum of English Rural Life

Sickle to Combine: a review of changes in harvesting techniques from 1800 to the present day, with introduction and text by E. J. T. COLLINS and 197 illustrations. 14s.

G. E. Fussell: a bibliography of his writings on agricultural history with an introduction by NIGEL HARVEY. 8s.

Mary Wedlake's Priced List of Modern Farm Implements. A facsimile of a catalogue of farm equipment originally printed in 1851. 4s. 6d.

Obtainable from the Museum of English Rural Life, The University, Whiteknights, Reading RG6 2AG. Prices include postage.

THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL

No. 318

JUNE 1970

VOL. LXXX

I. ARTICLES

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|-----|
| A Neo-Austrian Growth Theory | J. R. HICKS | 257 |
| Advertising and the Nature of Competition in Oligopoly Over Time:
a Case Study | M. A. ALEMSON | 282 |
| Airport Planning in the Context of the Third London Airport | R. C. FORDHAM | 307 |
| Marginal-cost Pricings with Joint Costs | S. C. LITTLECHILD | 323 |

II. REVIEWS 336

III. NOTES AND MEMORANDA 418

IV. RECENT PERIODICALS AND NEW BOOKS 443

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

Applications for Membership:

ROYAL ECONOMIC SOCIETY

The Marshall Library, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge CB3 9DB (England)

CONTENTS *continued*

Shorter Notices:

<i>Marshall's Rural Economy of the West of England</i> (1796). <i>A Reprint</i>	181
<i>General Views of the Agriculture of the Counties of Worcester, Devon, Lancaster, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Suffolk, Oxfordshire.</i> Reprints	181
<i>Suffolk Words and Phrases</i> , by Edward Moor	181
<i>Agricultural Records, A.D. 220-1968</i> , by J. M. Stratton	181
<i>English Land and English Landlords</i> , by G. C. Brodrick	181

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, EX4 4PU, 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 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. T. Collins, D. R. Denman, A. M. Everitt, H. P. R. Finberg, George Houston, W. Harwood Long, G. E. Mingay, George Ordish, W. J. Rowe, 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.