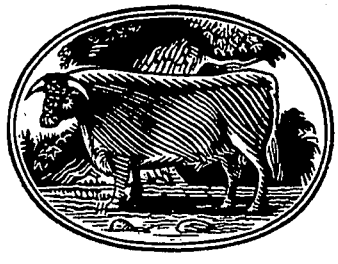
THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW



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The British Agricultural History Society

2001–2

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The Society aims to promote the study of agricultural history and the history of rural economy and society, amongst other ways, through (a) the publication of *Agricultural History Review* together with supplements and other apppropriate items; (b) the holding of conferences in its own right and in conjunction with other organizations; (c) the promotion of the conservation of historically significant landscapes and the rural environment; (d) the promotion of the teaching of the history of agriculture, the rural economy and society, and the environment, at all levels of education; (e) the promotion of links with societies and institutions in Europe and world-wide which have similar aims and objectives.

The society holds two conferences each year: a residential Easter conference (to be held at the University of Sussex) and a London winter conference on the first Saturday in December. Details of these will be found in the *Review* and on the society's web pages. The society's conferences are open to non-members of the society.

Membership is open to all those who support the aims of the society. The annual subscription is £15 for individual subscribers and £35 for libraries and institutions. Subscriptions are due on the 1 February annually. A standing order form is available from the Treasurer. There is a reduced rate for students not in full time employment and those registered unemployed of £5. Full details can be obtained from the Treasurer, BAHS, c/o Department of History, The University of Exeter, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, Exeter, EX4 4RJ (e.mail BAHS@Exeter.ac.uk) to whom all applications for and correspondence concerning membership (including changes of address) should be directed.

Correspondence concerning all other aspects of the society's activities, including its conferences, should be directed to the Secretary, BAHS, Department of History, Royal Holloway, Egham, Surrey, TW20 0EX. Advance details of the society's meetings and other information concerning the society can be found on our web pages, http://www.bahs.org.uk/.

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Volume 49 Part I 2001

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British Agricultural History Society Forthcoming Conferences, 2001–2

'A man outstanding in his field'? The social history of farmers

A conference at the Rural History Centre, University of Reading, 18 September 2001

This conference aims to supply a major deficiency in the literature of the British countryside, the lack of any systematic consideration of farmers as a social group. Whilst agricultural labourers and aristocracy have been the subject of numerous monographs, we are still remarkably ignorant about the individuals who played the central role in agricultural production – the farmers themselves. Although we know a great deal about the processes of production, prices, yields and output, there have been few studies of farmers from a social as opposed to an economic point of view. The papers in this conference will attempt to clarify our understanding of who farmers actually were, how they were represented and the complex and often painful relationship between the experience of farming and the way in which farmers have been perceived by other social groups.

Speakers include:
Andy Gritt and Richard Hoyle, 'The eighteenth-century farmer as individual: Richard Latham and Peter Walkden' * Karen Sayer, 'William Howitt and the representation of the farmer' * Paul Brassley, 'The professionalization of farmers?' * Clare Griffiths, 'Farmers and the Labour Party' * Matthew Cragoe, 'The farmer in Wales' * Lynne Thompson, 'The Young Farmers Clubs' * John Martin, 'Farmers and the Second World War'

For further details and a booking form, please contact Dr Jermy Burchardt, Rural History Centre, University of Reading, RG6 6AG, J. F. Burchardt@reading.ac.uk or Dr Matthew Cragoe, University of Hertfordshire, Aldenham, Herts, WD2 8AT, m.cragoe@herts.ac.uk

British Agricultural History Society

The Winter Conference will be held at the Institute of Historical Research on Saturday 1 December on 'Greater Landowners and their estates'. Fuller details and a programme will appear in the Society's summer newsletter or may be obtained from the Society's web site, www.bahs.org.uk.

The Spring Conference of the British Agricultural History Society will be held at the University of Sussex, 8–10 April 2002. Offers of papers should be directed to Dr Peter Dewey, the Society's secretary, to arrive before 31 July 2001.

Announcement
Golden Jubilee prize essay competition, 2003

To mark the celebration, in 2003, of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the British Agricultural History Society, the Society invites submissions for its Golden Jubilee prize essay competition.

The author of the winning essay will be awarded a prize of £500 and the author of the essay judged to be *proxime accessit* £250. It is intended that the prize winning essays will be read at the Society's Spring Conference in 2003 and published in *Agricultural History Review.*

There is no restriction on the subject matter of the essays save that they fall within the remit of the *Review.* The competition is open to all, with no restrictions on age, but essays from younger authors, and those employing new methodologies or exploring new areas of interest will be especially welcomed. Essays should be no longer than 10,000 words including footnotes and any appendices. They should be submitted in the house style of the *Review* and intending authors are asked to obtain a copy of the *Review's* 'Guidelines for contributors' from the editors or direct from the Society's web site at http://www.bahs.org.uk.

The essays will be judged by a panel appointed by the Executive Committee of the Society.

Three copies of each essay should be sent to the Secretary of the Society, Dr P. E. Dewey, Department of History, Royal Holloway, Egham, Surrey, TW20 0EX. The author's names should not be on the title page but on a separate detachable cover sheet. The latest date for the submission of essays is 30 September 2002.

Extranei and the market for customary land on a Westminster Abbey manor in the fifteenth century*

by Phillipp R. Schofield

Abstract

This article attempts, through a case study of a fifteenth-century Essex manor, to explore both the extent of and reasons for outside investment in customary land. The article identifies certain sectors of society and economy from which such outside investment may have issued and discusses developments within the manor which may have encouraged such investment. It is a contention of the article that a softening of seigneurial policy was a significant stimulus to the incursion of outsiders, *extranei*, into the market for customary land. In turn, the long-cherished policies of landlords were, by the close of the period, challenged by the expectations of the new wealthy and high status tenants.

It is a familiar theme of much of the work on the late medieval peasant land market that, throughout the fifteenth century, it was local men who dominated the land market and that movement in that market was the product of local supply and demand. An early articulation and, perhaps, the genesis of this thesis lies with Tawney, whose study of *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* includes a brilliant survey of rural conditions before the sixteenth century. In discussing the growth of a land market in customary land in the later middle ages and the consequent process of consolidation and accumulation of holdings, Tawney remarks that 'the growth of large customary tenancies ... can hardly be explained except as a result of enterprise among the tenants themselves'.[1] For Tawney, as for others writing subsequently, it was the opportunities presented to sections of the peasantry by, above all, growing commercialization, a process of commutation, and the leasing of demesnes, which generated sufficient surpluses of capital to encourage a peasant land market. In so far as 'commerce and industry' had a part to play in this, Tawney suggests that local industry encouraged the use of money and limited speculation in land. But the sense is that before the sixteenth century, such speculation in customary land was confined to the peasantry.[2] It was not, Tawney argues, until the last decade of the fifteenth century that the demands of larger scale industry began to conflict with the small-scale endeavours of the peasantry.[3]

Many of the features of Tawney's argument reappear in the work of later historians. In

* A version of this paper was presented at the British Agricultural History Society's autumn conference, Preston, September 1998. I am grateful to the participants at that conference for their comments. In particular, I would like to thank Professor Richard Hoyle, both for encouraging the writing of this paper and for his subsequent perceptive readings of it. He, along with anonymous referees, has offered valuable commentary.

[1] R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian problem in the sixteenth century* (1912), p. 72.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–5.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 112–15.

particular, the conviction abounds that the land market was intensely local and made up of customary tenants drawn from the peasantry. Rodney Hilton's discussion of the land market on the Leicester Abbey estates in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is couched very much in terms of a local market in which certain members of the peasantry emerged successful at the end of the fifteenth century.[4] The implication of the writings of M. M. Postan on the peasant land market is also that, even by the end of the middle ages, it was predominantly a means by which peasants redistributed resources amongst each other.[5] Postan, in an early statement of his ideas on the peasant land market, argued that the fifteenth century provided fewer opportunities for the wealthier peasantry than it did for the smallholders. With lowering rents and entry fines but rising wages, it was the poorer villagers who were best placed to take on more land and climb into the society of the village 'kulaks'.[6] On the Westminster Abbey estates, also, accumulation of holdings in the fifteenth century has been characterized as a fairly slow process and, most importantly, a local one. It was, further, the expectation of the monks of Westminster Abbey that tenants of large virgated holdings *should* be local.[7] On the estates of the Bishop of Worcester, most dealing in customary land before the sixteenth century also looks to have been between customary tenants. Stability of large but recently accumulated holdings is not evident in the manorial records until the early sixteenth century; before that, transfer of land has been portrayed as a response to the needs of the peasant life-cycle.[8] Most recently, P. D. A. Harvey has made one of the more categorical statements concerning the nature of the fifteenth-century peasant land market, arguing that 'on the whole it was clearly still unusual for lands to be held in copyhold by members of the gentry, or even by the moderately well-to-do ... Nearly all copyholders were local tenants whose estates were not only small but transitory'.[9]

Explanations for this localism vary but historians have identified, directly or indirectly, a number of influences which, as separate or composite causes, militated against the emergence of outsiders, *extranei*, amongst the major tenants of customary land on some manors whilst explaining their emergence elsewhere. Amongst these key influences are to be counted the distance of particular estates or manors from urban centres and capital markets, the willingness or unwillingness of outsiders to purchase customary land, especially in the face of the base tenure of the land and the lack of protection at Common Law, and the attitude of landlords to such outside investment.

Where one or other of these constraints against external investment in the customary land market could be removed or reduced in some way – as, for example, where customary land was or came to be situated close to areas of proto-industry or to urban centres – then it was possible

[4] R. H. Hilton, *The economic development of some Leicestershire estates in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* (1947), pp. 94–105.

[5] C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan (eds), *Carte Nativorum. A Peterborough Abbey cartulary of the fourteenth century* (Northamptonshire Record Soc. 20, 1960), p. lx. Postan did acknowledge that the land market in the late middle ages was 'capable of achieving a permanent reshuffle in the social structure of the countryside' but did not elaborate this point and it is unclear exactly what he had in mind, *ibid.*, p. liv.

[6] M. M. Postan, 'England', in Postan (ed.), *The Cambridge economic history of Europe*, I, *The agrarian life of the middle ages* (2nd edn, 1966), pp. 630–1.

[7] B. F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates in the middle ages* (1977), pp. 288–90. See also below, pp. 10–11.

[8] C. C. Dyer, *Lords and peasants in a changing society: the estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680–1540* (1980) pp. 293, 312–13.

[9] P. D. A. Harvey, 'Conclusion' in *idem* (ed.), *The peasant land market in medieval England* (1984), pp. 328–9.

for that market to become other than local.[10] Similarly, dilution of the force of lordship or familial commitments to land or an increased confidence amongst outsider purchasers could all facilitate the incursion of external capital into the local land market.[11] The following article will attempt, through a manorial case study, to explore some of the factors which combined to encourage those who were not local peasants to enter into customary tenure in the fifteenth century. In particular, the role of tenurial change in facilitating the entry of outsiders will be given close consideration. In order to examine these issues, the article will concentrate upon a single manor of the Abbey of Westminster, the manor of Birdbrook in north Essex.

I

Birdbrook, a demesne manor of the prior and convent of the Abbey of Westminster from the late thirteenth century until the Reformation, is situated in northern Essex a few miles south of the river Stour. Land at Birdbrook in the late middle ages was divided between the demesne (*c.* 560 acres), free land (*c.* 325 acres), unfree land other than customary standard holdings (approximately 40 acres), and the customary standard holdings (216 acres).[12] It is the

[10] See, for instance, Harvey, 'Conclusion', pp. 338ff., with reference to Faith, 'Berkshire: fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', in Harvey (ed.), *The peasant land market*, pp. 142–5. Also D. Moss, 'The economic development of a Middlesex village', *AgHR* 28 (1980), pp. 108ff. P. Glennie, 'In search of agrarian capitalism: manorial land markets and the acquisition of land in the Lea valley, *c.* 1450–*c.* 1560', *Continuity and Change* 3 (1988), pp. 20–30; E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'Evidences of industrial growth on some fifteenth-century manors', *EcHR* sec. ser., 12 (1959), p. 204; J. Hatcher, *English tin production and trade* (1973), pp. 57, 80; *idem*, *Rural economy and society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300–1500* (1970), pp. 238–40, 243–5; I. Blanchard, 'The miner and the agricultural community in late medieval England', *AgHR* 20 (1972), pp. 96–8; *idem*, 'Industrial employment and the rural land market 1380–1520', in R. M. Smith (ed.), *Land, kinship and life-cycle* (1984), pp. 241–54; J. N. Hare, 'Growth and recession in the fifteenth-century economy: the Wiltshire textile industry and the countryside', *EcHR* 52 (1999), pp. 10, 20–1.

[11] On lordship and its restrictions, see Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates*, ch. 10; R. H. Hilton, *The English peasantry in the later middle ages* (1975), p. 69, where the entry of members of the gentry and lawyers into copyhold tenures in the mid-fifteenth century is explained in terms of confrontation with the lord and the amelioration of conditions of tenure. Discussion of the family-land bond and its persistence into the late middle ages can be found in, *inter alia*, Faith, 'Berkshire, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', pp. 106–77; and A. Jones, 'Bedfordshire: fifteenth century', pp. 178–251 both in Harvey (ed.), *The peasant land market*; C. Howell, *Land, family and inheritance in transition: Kibworth Harcourt, 1280–1700* (1983); Z. Razi, 'Family, land and the village community in later medieval England', *Past and Present* 93 (1981), 3–36; *idem*, 'The erosion of the family-land bond in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: a methodological note' in Smith (ed.), *Land, kinship and life-cycle*, pp. 295–304. For an important, if partial, recent discussion of this material, see Razi, 'The myth of the immutable English family', *Past and Present* 140 (1993), pp. 3–44, esp. pp. 22–36. For outside purchasers, see, for example, Harvey, 'Conclusion', pp. 328–9.

[12] Court and account rolls survive for Birdbrook from the thirteenth century until the sixteenth but not in an unbroken series. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, courts tended to be held just twice a year, typically around the feasts of St. Margaret the Virgin (20 July) and St. Matthew the Apostle (21 Sept.). Court rolls survive from most years between 1412 and 1516; the series of richly detailed manorial accounts of the bailiff or serjeant ends with the leasing of the demesne in 1405 but thereafter, the farmer's annual account of rents and farms continues in broken series until 1516 (court rolls: Essex Record Office [hereafter ERO] D/DU 267/28–35, Westminster Abbey Muniments [hereafter WAM] 25567–25570; manorial accounts: WAM 25395–25566). For the first half of the fifteenth century, the accounts, which include within moneys received a detailed and regularly updated section for farms (*firme*), are instructive as to changes in the size of annual farms and the turnover of lessees. From the mid-1440s the format of the farms section was altered. Instead of the detailed farms section, there is a single entry which records 'the farms of

customary standard holdings with which we shall be concerned here. In 1292, when the monks of Westminster Abbey became the lord of the manor, they discovered that there were 6¾ virgates at Birdbrook; these virgates provided, apart from boon works, all of the labour services on the manorial demesne and were most probably the same units as the seven holdings of the *villani* listed in Domesday.[13] It was soon apparent to the monks that no tenant held as much as a virgate, which from calculations based on information in the accounts and court rolls was made up of 32 acres, but instead holdings tended to be one-eighth, one quarter or, less usually, half of this size. Most often, the standard holding was a quarter virgate of eight acres, the acres referred to as ware acres (*acra wara*), a reference to geldable land of pre-conquest origin. Attached to each of these holdings were a couple of acres of pasture and meadow, and it is probably for this reason that in the fifteenth century standard holdings are sometimes described as being composed of ten acres rather than eight.[14]

There were at Birdbrook in the later middle ages, 25 quarter-virgates, each of eight acres, and four 'eighth' virgates, each of four acres. Each of these holdings was referred to by the name(s) of previous tenants and it is possible, with a greater degree of certainty in some cases than in others, to chart the progress of the bulk of these holdings from the fourteenth century through to the early sixteenth century. The vast majority of holdings were not fragmented into smaller units but appear to have retained their integrity throughout the period and, most importantly, their identification as separate holdings persisted long after they became part of larger accumulated holdings.

In the early fourteenth century and for a number of decades after the arrival of plague in the mid-fourteenth century, transfer of customary land at Birdbrook was wholly local and, for the most part, the point of transfer was at death and the incoming tenant was the rightful heir (Table 1). However, from the late fourteenth century, the transfer of customary land at Birdbrook appears, usually, not to have been between kin and, further, does not appear to have been part of an exclusively, or even typically, local land market. By the end of the fourteenth century, there was little or no *post-mortem* transfer of customary standard holdings and little to suggest *inter-vivos* transfer between kin. Despite the apparent efforts of some villagers to

the lord's holdings to diverse tenants this year' whilst on the dorse of the account a list of tenants and lessees is presented but with the minimum information (WAM 25519, 1446–7, and after). A similar and near contemporaneous (1448) development is noted by Carus-Wilson at Bisley (Gloucs.), Carus-Wilson, 'Evidences of industrial growth', p. 197. This same format was used throughout the remaining accounts, the names and details on the list altering little over decades, until the list was abandoned completely. For a few years the list of allowances at the foot of the face of the account became the place to record changes from one year to the next, as it did elsewhere at this time, but this practice also soon ended and the annual accounts ossified into near perfect copies of each other; see P. D. A. Harvey (ed.), *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire* (Oxfordshire Record Soc., 50, 1976), pp. 70–1. Unlike the account rolls, the court rolls retained their integrity into the sixteenth century; although woefully lacking in much other detail throughout much of the fifteenth century, they were clearly maintained as careful records of land transfers, and were searched and vouched as such; for the second half of the fifteenth century we are largely reliant upon them.

[13] P. R. Schofield, 'Land, family and inheritance in a later medieval community: Birdbrook, 1292–1412' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), p. 95.

[14] By the fifteenth century, terminology had also begun to loosen and quarter-virgates (eight ware acre holdings) were often referred to as 'virgates' or 'half virgates'. In the fifteenth century also the description of acres as ware acres, an indication at the beginning of the fourteenth century that the land owed weekly labour service to the lord and was tainted with servility, disappeared.

TABLE 1. Birdbrook: Transfers of customary standard holdings, 1292–1509

Decade	*Number of courts*	*Grant from lord*	*Post-mortem*	*Inter-vivos*
1290–99	35		2	
1300–09	0			
1310–19	0			
1320–29	5			
1330–39	16	4	3	4
1340–49	9	5	16	
1350–59	0			
1360–69	9	3	1	1
1370–79	12	1		2
1380–89	32	6	1	1
1390–99	22	6	2	
1400–09	20	5	1	
1410–19	13	9		1
1420–29	15	11		1
1430–39	12	3		
1440–49	13	2		
1450–59	12	3		1
1460–69	12	3		1
1470–79	18	2	1	2
1480–89	16			9
1490–99	20	2		5
1500–09	12	1		5

Source: ERO D/DU 267/28–35; WAM 25567–70

keep their name on the land by renewing terms of years more than once, and the occasional appearance of a lessee with the same name as the tenement he was holding, surname evidence and other biographical evidence gleaned from the court rolls indicates that by the first decade of the fifteenth century the majority of lessees of standard holdings were new to the manor and that any long-standing family links to these holdings had probably been eroded during the last decades of the fourteenth century.[15] There is little or no indication that these outsiders were distant lateral kin who had descended on Birdbrook in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries to claim their birth rights, as Razi finds they did at Halesowen. Instead, a significant proportion of lessees *c.* 1400 would appear to have been adventurers who had first entered the manor as servants.[16]

[15] P. R. Schofield, 'Tenurial developments and the availability of customary land in a later medieval community', *EcHR* 49 (1996), p. 260, Table 3.

[16] Razi, 'Family, land and the village community', p. 27; Schofield, 'Tenurial developments', pp. 260–4.

This influx of outsiders continued into the fifteenth century. Between 1412 and 1426, the first year of the next surviving account, all but one of the standard holdings had changed hands; although some of the new lessees are familiar from earlier years, others, almost 75 per cent, are not. Undoubtedly, some of these new lessees of customary standard holdings were individuals of fairly limited means, a possibility supported by their inability to maintain their lease during a period of declining rents and the consequent rapid turnover of lessees for certain holdings. There was also the constant procession of those who took a lease for a few years and then vacated it, perhaps abandoned it; the court and account rolls of the second quarter of the fifteenth century are punctuated with these brief visitors, with their unfamiliar surnames: Robert Sadde, Roger Mower, Robert Pung, John Bottwyhgt, John Cornyssh'. If these lessees were similar to those who speculated in the lease market at Birdbrook in the late fourteenth century, they were the last of a dying breed. Increasingly, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the tenure of standard holdings appears to have been dominated by wealthy entrepreneurs and, less typically, minor gentry.

The provenance and status of purchasers of customary standard holdings is especially evident by the last decades of the fifteenth century. It is clear that the buyers of customary land in this period, and notably from the 1470s, were frequently from beyond the manor (their surnames typically new to the manor), that a significant proportion were not peasants, and that a process of accumulation was funded by outside capital. It was also increasingly the case that a significant number of these purchasers were not resident on the manor.

Although occasional references and the identification of certain individuals permit some estimate of the proportions of customary standard holdings in the hands of 'non-peasants' over the fifteenth century, it is only possible to give minimum figures from both the first and the second half of the fifteenth century. The minimum proportion of those holding customary standard holdings who were not peasants in the early fifteenth century is likely to have been one in ten; by the close of the fifteenth century, it was closer to one in three.[17] The transfer of six customary holdings (accounting for almost a quarter of all such holdings on the manor) which remained as a single holding from mid-century illustrates the potential lack of rusticity in the late fifteenth century land market at Birdbrook. One William Southey inherited these holdings on the death of Robert Southey in 1479; three years later William sold his land to Sir Robert Tyrell (a member of the Essex gentry family, which included, amongst their number, a speaker of the Commons, and a confidante of Richard III).[18] Tyrell eventually sold his land, in 1502, to the most important figure of the early Tudor cloth industry, Thomas Spring of Lavenham, the 'rich clothier', whose daughter and niece were to marry, respectively, William Ernely, son of the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Aubrey De Vere, second son of the 15th Earl of Oxford. On his death in 1523, his eldest son, John Spring (later to be

[17] Based upon identification of fullers holding customary holdings in the early fifteenth century, for example, 1404–5 (WAM 25500) and below p. 8 and of tenants of the accumulated block of six customary holdings in the late fifteenth century, e.g. ERO, D/DU 267/34, court of 17 July 1482; ERO, D/DU 267/35, court of 16 Sept. 1506.

[18] For the Tyrell family, see H. W. King, 'Ancient wills (no. 3)', *Trans. Essex Archaeological Society* 3 (1863), pp. 75–94; *idem*, 'Ancient wills (no. 4)', *Trans. Essex Archaeological Society* 3 (1863), pp. 175–8; also, P. Morant, *The history and antiquities of the County of Essex* (2 vols, 1768), II, p. 344.

knighted on the accession of Edward VI) inherited the holding but soon surrendered it to his brother, Robert.[19]

It is clear, therefore, that by the end of the fifteenth century, outsiders had long been involved in the purchase of customary land at Birdbrook. Most importantly, from the mid-fifteenth century, gentry and merchants were prepared to take holdings in customary land. What were the conditions that may have prompted them to do so?

II

In this section, we need to return to the list of constraints which are perceived as discouraging non-peasants from taking customary land in this period. To what extent did these prevail at Birdbrook in the fifteenth century and why were they overcome, as they seem to have been? We will dwell, in particular, on issues of lordship and tenure. However, before we turn to questions of tenure, we need to establish that there was a potential 'market' and an external clientele for customary land at Birdbrook. Although Birdbrook does not occupy an urban hinterland, there were two significant sources of external capital which may have fuelled the market in customary land. The first of these was the local rural cloth industry, the second was the local gentry.

In the later middle ages, Birdbrook was situated in one of the three primary 'non-urban' centres of the cloth industry.[20] The economy of the Stour valley, as a result of the local cloth industry, was recognisably distinctive in the later middle ages. Notably, the population of the region was relatively large, the industry and its offshoots attracting immigrants. The towns of northern Essex and southern Suffolk were noted for their cloth production and provided a vital nexus with their rural hinterlands. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Hadleigh, Melford, Sudbury, Clare, Colchester, Halstead, and Haverhill all ministered to and provided outlets for the rural cloth industry. In the fifteenth century, Lavenham rose to particular prominence as a centre of cloth production.[21] From at least the mid-fourteenth century, merchants and traders visited the surrounding countryside, buying up wool and, increasingly, organising the local production of cloth. According to a petition to parliament in 1393, the greater part of the people of Essex, Suffolk and part of Norfolk had no other employment than that supplied by the cloth industry.[22] Although self-evidently an exaggeration, the petition is

[19] ERO, D/DU 267/35, court of 16 Sept. 1506; ERO D/DU 267/36, court of 16 July 1523. For biographical details for Thomas Spring III, see B. McClenaghan, *The Springs of Lavenham* (1924), esp. pp. 76–7 and App. D., pp. 86–8; also, D. P. Dymond and A. Betterton, *Lavenham: 700 years of textile making* (1982).

[20] H. L. Gray, 'The production and exportation of English woollens in the fourteenth century', *EHR* 39 (1924), pp. 30–1. As well as the small area either side of the river Stour in the counties of Essex and Suffolk, Gray identified two other non-urban regions of the cloth industry in rural Somerset and rural Berkshire. For particular details, see Schofield, 'Land, family and inheritance', pp. 19–21, 394–7. See also, for discussion of Birdbrook and its market nexus in the middle ages, D. Farmer, 'Marketing the produce of the countryside, 1200–1500' in E. Miller (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* III, *1348–1500* (1991), pp. 352, 363–5, 384, 391.

[21] For studies of local cloth towns, see G. A. Thornton, *A history of Clare, Suffolk* (1928); R. H. Britnell, *Growth and decline in Colchester, 1300–1525* (1986); Dymond and Betterton, *Lavenham.*

[22] *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (6 vols, 1783), III, p. 320, quoted VCH *Essex*, II, p. 381 and L. R. Poos, *A rural society after the Black Death: Essex, 1350–1525* (1991), p. 59.

testimony to the perceived ubiquity of elements of the industry by the close of the fourteenth century. By the last decade of the century, the region was responsible for nearly six per cent of the production of woollens nationally.[23]

There is clear evidence from the mid-fourteenth century onwards of Birdbrook's involvement in the cloth industry, a relationship which drew both rich and poor to the vill. As early as 1349, a Roger of Lavenham was reported as having fled Birdbrook after a night-time attempt to steal cloth from the fulling mill there; by the early 1370s, regular visits by merchants from the neighbouring cloth towns were systematically recorded in the manorial accounts, a practice that continued into the early fifteenth century.[24] The growth of the cloth industry from the mid-fourteenth century also saw investment in the demesne fulling mills, a process that drew outside capital into the manor and came to impact upon customary landholding. In the 1350s and 1360s the mill stood idle but, by the end of the fourteenth century, as cloth exports began their dramatic increase, the mill was rebuilt and leased to fullers. In 1385–6, the rebuilder of the mill leased the fulling mill as well as the demesne's watermill and windmill for three years for the sizeable farm of £8 for the first year and £9 6*s.* 8*d.* each year thereafter. In 1390–1, a John Fuller of Haverhill leased the fulling mill and pasture for £4.[25] Lessees of the demesne mill, by the early fifteenth centuries, also took to leasing customary standard holdings. In 1403, the fulling mill was leased to John Aspelon, fuller, for a term of 20 years, John also leasing a customary standard holding known as Withelards at the same time and for the same term.[26] A process of accumulation by demesne lessees and lessees of the lord's mills accelerated in the fifteenth century.[27] Finally, in the second half of the fifteenth century, customary land became the target of individual clothiers, as the example of Thomas Spring of Lavenham, quoted above, shows.[28]

Throughout the period, in addition to the presence of proto-industrial wealth, there was also landed wealth.[29] A recent county study of the Essex gentry for the fourteenth century indicates that 'county' and 'parish' gentry were present in sufficient numbers to impact upon any

[23] Gray, 'Production and exportation', p. 34, App. II.

[24] Roger of Lavenham: ERO, D/DU 267/29, court of 20 July 1349. Purchasers of wool and hides are recorded in fourteen of the manorial accounts for Birdbrook between 1372–3 and 1403–4. (The accounts run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.) 1372–3, John Borel de Sudbury (WAM 25469); 1376–7, John atte Rothe and John Borel (WAM 25472); 1377–8, William Fykewyne de Haverhill (WAM 25473); 1378–9, Robert Yne de Sudbury (WAM 25474); 1381–2, John Deighstere de Halstead (WAM 25477); 1382–3, John Deighstere de Halstead (WAM 25478); 1383–4, William Turnour (WAM 25479); 1384–5, John Goodyng (WAM 25480); 1387–8, William Toppesfeld (WAM 25484); 1392–3, John Breggeman and Thomas Goldynge de Sudbury (WAM 25488); 1393–4, John Skilful and John Trewe de Halstead (WAM 25489); 1394–5, William Marion (WAM 25490); 1395–6, William Reede de Brancaster (WAM 25491); 1403–4, John Coldham (WAM 25499).

[25] 1385–6 (WAM 25481); 1390–1 (WAM 25486).

[26] ERO, D/DU 267/31, court of 24 Sept. 1403. See also, Poos, *Rural society*, pp. 68–9.

[27] For example, in September 1436, Robert Laurence, otherwise called the Meller or Miller, was admitted to 'one messuage with one bond tenement and a half bond tenement called Boylonds, Wythelards and Cotemans'. Robert can be identified as lessee of at least two of these holdings in earlier accounts, ERO, D/DU 267/33, court of 18 Sept. 1436; 1426–7 (WAM 25508); 1434–5 (WAM 25508); 1435–6 (WAM 25509).

[28] See above, pp. 6–7.

[29] For discussion of the gentry and their wealth in the fifteenth century, see H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from land in England in 1436', *EHR* 49 (1934), pp. 607–39; T. B. Pugh, 'The magnates, knights and gentry' in S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross and R. A. Griffiths, *Fifteenth century England, 1399–1509. Studies in politics and society* (2nd edn, 1995), pp. 86–128. For a more general discussion of gentry, see C. Given-Wilson, *The English nobility in the late middle ages. the fourteenth century political community* (1996), ch. 3.

market in customary land should they have chosen to do so.[30] There were resident lords and substantial tenants in a number of manors and vills adjacent to Birdbrook whilst wealthy freeholders had for long held land in the manor.[31] In the late fourteenth century, for example, Henry Engleys or Englyssh, at various times sheriff of the counties of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire as well as of Essex and Hertfordshire, held substantial tracts of free land at Birdbrook.[32] He also held small parcels of land 'by roll of court'.[33] However, the appearance of Sir Robert Tyrell, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, amongst the tenants of customary standard holdings, is the first clear indication that the gentry were prepared to make substantial investment in such holdings.[34]

It seems clear, therefore, that the prevailing economic conditions are likely to have ensured a supply of potential wealthy tenants capable of buying and accumulating customary standard holdings. Furthermore, given that, as we have already seen, extremely wealthy individuals were, in the second half of the fifteenth century, prepared to take customary standard holdings, it is evident that outsiders felt, by that time, sufficiently confident to enter customary land and that, even before the mid-fifteenth century, it seems that there was an appetite for customary land amongst buyers from beyond the manor. That confidence may have increased in the last decades of the fifteenth century as land held in villeinage cast off taints of servility, principal amongst which was the lack of protection against lordship and its more onerous demands, a point to which we shall return.[35]

The behaviour of farms and rents certainly suggests that demand for land remained reasonably high throughout the period but that it might have shown renewed vigour in the late fifteenth century. All but five of twenty-one observable farms of standard holdings suffered some decay of rent between the 1420s, a decade from which only one account, for 1426–7, survives, and the 1430s and 1440s, with the majority suffering a dramatic drop in 1438, which would be consistent with the very poor harvest and near famine conditions of that year.[36] However, few holdings

[30] Jennifer C. Ward, *The Essex gentry and the county community in the fourteenth century* (1991), p. 16. For other investigations of county gentry in the late middle ages, see K. S. Naughton, *The gentry of Bedfordshire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries* (Department of English Local History, occasional papers, third ser., 2, 1973); N. E. Saul, *Knights and esquires. The Gloucestershire gentry in the fourteenth century* (1981); M. J. Bennett, *Community, class and careerism: Cheshire and Lancashire society in the age of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1982); B. Webster, 'The community of Kent in the reign of Richard II', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 100 (1984); C. Carpenter, *Locality and polity: a study of Warwickshire landed society, 1401–1499* (1991).

[31] For the proximity of neighbouring gentry in the fifteenth century, see, for example, Morant, *County of Essex*, II, pp. 307, 311, 345, 349–50, 356–7, 361, 363, 365–7, 380.

[32] For Englyssh's office-holding, see VCH *Cambridgeshire*, II, p. 400 n. 99 and A. Steele, 'Sheriffs of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in the reign of Richard II', *Proc. Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society*, 36 (1934–5), pp. 13–14; also, Ward, *Essex gentry and the county community*, p. 4. Englyssh was also escheator, *ibid.*, p. 5. He was certainly actively engaged in the acquisition of land in the late fourteenth century in Cambridgeshire, VCH *Cambridgeshire*, II, p. 317.

[33] ERO, D/DU 267/61; also 267/30, courts of 14 Dec. 1387 and 23 Sept. 1391.

[34] Members of the Tyrell family were investing in customary land elsewhere in Essex in the late fifteenth century. The will of John Tyrell (d. 1494) includes mention of a tenement and 10 acres of land 'holdeth jointly with me by copes of court roll of "Moch Wakering" ...', King, 'Ancient wills (no. 3)', p. 89

[35] For an indication of the real threats that may have faced the free tenant taking up unfree land, see P. R. Hyams, *Kings, lords and peasants in medieval England. The common law of villeinage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (1980), ch. 5.

[36] For 1438, 1438–9 (WAM 25511); entries in the court rolls look to indicate an increased dislocation in the early 1430s, ERO D/DU 267/33, court of 20 Sept. 1431.

needed to be let to more than a single farmer at any one time. There was also a degree of stability: by comparison with the account for 1426, four farms of standard holdings had increased by the mid-1440s, seven had stayed the same, and six had fallen (a further four had no farm separately recorded because the lessee paid a lump sum for all of his leasehold land); the total receipts from farms in 1426 was not dramatically different, in fact slightly lower than that in 1445. From the mid-fifteenth century customary standard holdings returned a money rent rather than an annual farm and the farms listed in 1445 appear to have become fixed as rents for the remainder of the period.[37] By the early 1460s, all transfers *inter-vivos* were accompanied by the payment of an entry fine. Fines appear to have increased over the late fifteenth century, and fines of between 10*s.* and 20*s.* were not uncommon in the last years of the century, features reflective of an increasingly buoyant market in customary standard holdings. However, it also clear that, before the mid-fifteenth century, those entering customary tenements were not from amongst the ranks of gentry and the wealthier merchants. That such individuals can be counted amongst tenants in the late fifteenth century may be explicable in terms of developments in seigneurial policy and customary tenure, both of which may have encouraged this new clientele, and perhaps were intended to do so. Consequently, we now need to consider in what ways the conditions within the manor became sufficiently conducive to entice outside buyers.

III

Contemporary statements describing developments in seigneurial policy are not easily unearthed. However, consistency of developments across the estates of Westminster Abbey indicates that the monks attempted to implement what was largely a blanket policy in response to the developments of the late middle ages.[38] A long fifteenth century (from *c.* 1380–*c.* 1520) saw, on Westminster Abbey's estates, tenure in bondage give way first to contractual tenancies and then to hereditable and saleable interests in customary land of a kind which foreshadowed copyhold by inheritance. Standard holdings which, at the beginning of this period might still owe labour services and were described, even into the mid-fifteenth century, as held in villeinage or in bondage, owed a true money rent by the end of the fifteenth century and were held by customary tenure of a kind that made no little or no reference to the servile condition of the land.[39] Throughout the period the monks attempted to insist on certain conditions of tenure. In particular, restrictions on the accumulation and fragmentation of customary standard holdings, as well as requirements of maintenance and residence, are evident throughout the estate. The monks were generally reluctant to move from their preferred policies, even in the face of economic realities: among the western manors of the estate, situated in wool-producing regions, the monks were prepared to resist the attempts of 'outsiders' who had begun 'to cast covetous eyes on the pastures of these manors and the tenancies having the right of access to them'.[40] Restrictions on non-residential possession of customary standard holdings at Todenham, for example, were explicit and persisted into the late fifteenth century.[41] Many of the tenants of standard holdings were local

[37] See below, pp. 14–15.

[38] Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates*, ch. 10, *passim*.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 269–75.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 275–6.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 254 (tenure), 229–231, 261, 270 (labour services), 288–90 (accumulation), 276, n. 1 (residence).

men.[42] The monks also resisted any attempts to lay waste to holdings or to exploit them in ways that were deemed inappropriate.[43] It was only in particular circumstances, essentially of semi-urbanity, that the monks appear to have allowed any deviation from such policies.[44]

Developments at Birdbrook were largely consistent with the developments observed elsewhere on the estate. The two centuries between 1300 and 1500 witnessed a transformation of customary tenure at Birdbrook, the essential feature of which was a growing security of tenure as villeinage was transformed into copyhold. Before the Black Death at Birdbrook, the only form of tenure recorded in the court rolls for the unfree standard holdings was tenure in bondage (*in bondagio*). The term 'in villeinage' (*in villenagio*) appeared at mid-century but both had given way by the close of the fourteenth century to the more complex tenurial phrase 'at the lord's will in bondage by roll of court' (*ad voluntatem domini in bondagio per rotulum curie*). However, customary tenure was in retreat at Birdbrook by this date: in the second half of the fourteenth century there was a gradual and all but universal replacement of customary tenure by leasehold, or what we might term contractual tenancies, a process that has been described in detail elsewhere.[45] By the end of the first decade of the fifteenth century all but one of the standard holdings was held by one or other form of contractual tenure, that is, by term of lives, term of years, or for a single year (*hoc anno*). With the mid-fifteenth century came a further change in the tenure of standard holdings. As early as 1411 one individual had leased land on terms similar to copyhold by inheritance: a grant of a customary standard holding to John Gagryme in that year was made 'at the will of the lord in bondage by roll of court' to the lessee and his heirs.[46] This was a premature glimpse of Maitland's 'modern times' when the first object of the court roll was 'to afford the *villani* and *custumarii* written evidence of their title' and it was not until 1436 that similar entries are to be found. In that year Robert Laurence, otherwise known as Meller, was admitted to hold three tenements, at least two of which were customary standard holdings, to himself, his heirs, and assigns 'at the will of the lord in bondage by roll of court'.[47] This formula was soon replaced with what was to become the standard tenurial form for the remainder of the period: the admittance of Thomas Wynter, in 1438, to hold 'at the will of the lord by roll of court', presaged the shape of things to come. Thomas Wynter was admitted solely to himself and his assigns; there was no hereditable interest.[48] Increasingly, however, from the 1450s, new tenants of standard holdings were admitted to hold to themselves, their heirs and assigns 'at the will of the lord by roll of court', and by the mid-1460s this form of entry was universally applied, with fixed money rents, seemingly based on levels attained in mid-century. This formula was again modified at the very beginning of the sixteenth century: in the last years of Henry VII's reign and the first of Henry VIII's, tenants were admitted to hold 'from the lord at the lord's will' (*de domino ad voluntatem domini*) whilst the outgoing tenant

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 275–6.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 273–4.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 285–90.

[45] Schofield, 'Tenurial developments', pp. 255–60; for a full discussion, see Schofield, 'Land, family and inheritance', ch. 1.

[46] ERO, D/DU 267/31, court of 21 Sept. 1411. The same holding was granted in 1423 for a term of 10 years, 267/33, court of 21 Sept. 1423.

[47] F. W. Maitland (ed.), *Select pleas in manorial and other seigneurial courts* (Selden Society, II, 1889), p. xiv. The same holdings were granted without the hereditable interest in 1453, when they were granted to John Tynford and others in 1453, ERO, D/DU 267/33, court of 20 July 1453.

[48] ERO, D/DU 267/33, court of 20 July 1438.

was described as holding 'by roll of court' (*per rotulum curie*) and, occasionally, 'by roll of court and by better security' (*per rotulum curie et per maiorem securitatem*). This last element, the mention of better security is, presumably, an oblique reference to copies. By the early 1490s, reference to copies as evidence of right to surrender was a standard feature of surrenders *ad opus* (to use).[49]

There were also marked developments in the form and flexibility of transfer and admittance recorded in the court rolls over the fifteenth century. Until the mid-century, the vast majority of admittances (1413–1449, 23 out of 27; 85 per cent) were in the form of grants by the lord for a term of years, typically with a right to assign but seldom with a right to inherit; on one occasion, an individual was admitted to hold for the life of another (*pur autre vie*), another was admitted to the residue of a term of years, and two lessees entered 'at the will of the lord'. The admittances for the remainders of the terms of life and of years are the only surviving examples of explicit assignment of terms; however, the numerous admittances to standard holdings for single years, which, as we have seen, are well-evidenced in the accounts for the first half of the fifteenth century, may indicate that residues of terms were assigned extra-curially with some frequency, a suggestion supported by the observation that the names of lessees changed in the manorial accounts. The pattern was very different in the second half of the fifteenth century. There were three grants of leaseholds by the lord for terms of years in 1450 and 1451 but, as already noted, these were the last. Thereafter, tenants, who, as we have seen, had come, by this time, to receive their holdings 'at the will of the lord to themselves, their heirs, and assigns', also tended to transfer their holdings by surrender and admittance *ad opus*, to the use of the buyer, a feature that stands in marked contrast to the situation a century earlier. Between 1450 and 1500, there were twenty-nine identifiable transfers of standard holdings, of which three were admittances for terms of years; there were also seven admittances at the will of the lord, one transfer *post-mortem* and twenty-one transfers *inter-vivos* by surrender and admittance *ad opus*.

These developments permitted and encouraged the development of the conditions of tenure and transfer which would have been inconceivable in the early fourteenth century. Notably, there was an increased freedom in the transfer of customary land which prompted a 'real' market in that land. A market in customary land introduced further novelties. As customary standard holdings became marketable assets rather than family holdings – the *terra unius familie* of an earlier period – their tenants looked to exploit them differently. By the end of the fifteenth century, the monks were prepared to tolerate certain excesses which they would once have condemned. In particular, the accumulation of holdings, the absenteeism of tenants

[49] It is only in the last two decades of the fifteenth century that the copy starts to make regular appearance in the court rolls at all but by the early 1480s, unlike perhaps earlier, the copy of the roll was clear ly presented as evidence of secure title on sale of standard holdings; thus, in July 1482, William Southey's surrende r of six standard holdings *en bloc* was supported by copy of the court roll entry of his admittance three years previously (ERO, D/ DU 267/34, court of 17 July 1482). This use of the 'copy' of the court roll as security of title comes late on the Westminster Abbey estates: Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates*, pp. 284–5; also Schofield, 'Land, family and inheritance', pp. 106–7. Although some, if not all, late fourteenth-century leaseholders possessed copies of their leas es, detailing, *inter alia*, the condition of the tenement on admittance, reference to copies are few and nowhere in the late medieval muniments for Birdbrook do we meet tenure 'by copy'. Throughout most of this earlier period, the copy was, in fact, used as much or more to regulate and prove relations between lord and tenant/lessee as to show good t itle to a prospective buyer.

and the failure to maintain holdings were increasingly accepted. We will deal with each of these developments in turn, beginning with the rise of a market in customary standard holdings.

At Birdbrook, in the fourteenth century, particularly before the introduction of contractual tenancies after the Black Death, the majority of customary standard holdings, as Table 1 shows, were transferred on the death of the tenant. The *inter-vivos* transfer of customary standard holdings was, seemingly, the product of lordly intervention, as the monks of Westminster Abbey redistributed holdings to those capable of working them.[50] Any *inter-vivos* market in unfree land, at least in the first half of the fourteenth century, was confined to the small plots of land which existed outside of the virgated structure. Discussion of a market in customary standard holdings in the fourteenth century is therefore something of a *non-sequitur*: the customary virgate and its fractions at Birdbrook were units so closely administered by the monks that it is difficult to see the timing and nature of their transfer as being determined by any other party.[51]

The transfer of customary standard holdings increased significantly in the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth. With the introduction of contractual tenancies, or leasehold, and the total disappearance of hereditable interests in customary land, holdings now changed hands at the expiration of one lease and the creation of another or, less evidently, on the assignment of leases. While the larger leases were recorded in the court rolls, it is the manorial accounts which provide the most important evidence for the frequency of turnover for this period. Between 1390 and 1412 there were only twelve transfers of standard holdings recorded in the court rolls; however, examination of turnover of named lessees in the farms section of the manorial accounts shows that there were an additional thirty-eight entries of leases.[52] Importantly, not all holdings changed hands as frequently as did others: between 1400 and 1412, thirteen holdings changed hands with relative frequency whilst nine remained in the hands of the same lessee throughout.

This general pattern of occupancy and relative stability of farms, with dramatic turnover for certain holdings and single occupancy for others, persisted into the fifteenth century. As already mentioned, only one account roll, that for 1426–7, survives from the twenty years between 1413 and 1433; comparison of names of lessees in this roll with its surviving predecessor, the account roll for 1412–13, shows that all but one of the lessees of standard holdings had changed. Although we cannot therefore discover for this period the proportion of lessees who, through the brevity or insecurity of their terms, did not have their entries recorded in the court rolls, we do find that 21 transfers of holdings were recorded there.[53] For the period covered by manorial accounts between 1434 and 1445, when the detailed recording of farms ended, there were relatively few admittances to standard holdings recorded in the court rolls (five in all); this contrasts markedly with the 51 admittances revealed by turnover of lessees recorded in the account rolls. As earlier,

[50] ERO, D/DU 267/29, courts of 17 Mar., 25 June, 20 July 1338; also Schofield, 'Land, family and inheritance', pp. 124–9.

[51] Cf. Poos, *A rural society*, pp. 12–3. The landmarket at Birdbrook does not appear to have been typical of the region.

[52] Schofield, 'Tenurial developments', p. 258.

[53] This is a number significantly greater than in the earlier period. All but one of those admitted in the manor court continued to hold his farm by the time of the next account, in 1426, and in the one case, by 1426, where a lessee other than the one admitted in the court rolls held, the new lessee was referred to as the assignee of the original lessee. In other words, in the second and third decades of the fifteenth century, possibly in response to an initiative on the part of the administrators of the estate, the court rolls may have become, albeit briefly, truly representative of the frequency of transfers of customary standard holdings.

not all holdings changed hands frequently in these years: three holdings were not transferred at all, whilst a further seven were transferred only once.

Between 1445, when the farms section of the manorial accounts ossified, and 1464, there were eight admittances recorded in the court rolls. There were at least – and changes in the names of holdings in this period makes close identification difficult – a further eight transfers of standard holdings between 1465 and 1484. Between 1485 and 1504, a similar number of transfers of standard holdings, ten, took place but as in the previous 40 years, these included large accumulated holdings. Thus, if, instead of counting single transfers (as in Table 1), we count the number of holdings transferred, we can produce a more realistic comparison of the state of the land market in the late fifteenth century compared with earlier periods. Thus, we find in 1450–9, seven transfers; 1460–9, nine transfers; 1470–9, nine transfers; 1480–9, nineteen transfers; 1490–9, nine transfers; 1500–9, thirteen transfers. The apparent development of an active market in standard holdings from the 1480s was reflected in the increased number and size of entry fines.[54] Although the number of transfers recorded in the court rolls had clearly increased by the close of the fifteenth century, the frequent turnover of certain holdings, evident in the first half of the century, is less apparent. Instead, most holdings now remained in the hands of tenants for fairly long periods, as in the case of the six customary standard holdings which, as a block, were transferred on only three occasions in the sixty years between 1446 and 1506. Although the possibility remains that sub-tenancies of these holdings were traded as frequently as ever, repeated orders levelled against the named tenants for waste and the destruction of buildings on these holdings suggests that the land was farmed directly, often as pasture.[55]

The development and increasing ease of *inter-vivos* transfer of customary standard holdings encouraged the accumulation of holdings. In the first half of the fourteenth century, when frankpledge listings offer a first indication of the number of holdings per tenant, the majority of holdings were held separately and very few tenants held more than a single eight- or four-acre tenement. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, this situation was generally maintained, although two holdings fell permanently vacant in the aftermath of the Black Death. By the close of the fourteenth century, there is evidence that a process of accumulation had begun: by the first decade of the fifteenth century, ten out of 25 observable holdings were held by individual tenants but a growing proportion (60 per cent), were held as part of a larger accumulation.[56] This process gathered pace during the fifteenth century. By the second half of the century, of the sixteen customary standard identifiable in the court rolls from these years, only one appears to have been held singly, the rest held as parcels of larger accumulations. All in all, these sixteen holdings were in the hands of just six tenants. Interestingly, at Birdbrook once engrossment of this kind occurred, the new composite holdings appear to have retained their form throughout the remainder of the period. For instance, six holdings which appear to have been vacant when the detailed farms section of the accounts was abandoned in 1445 and were described as 'in the lord's hands' in the list on the dorse of the next account were clearly soon let or sold *en bloc*. Throughout the rest of the century and into the sixteenth, they, and an additional holding, were transferred together but every effort was made to ensure that they remained identifiable as

[54] See above, p. 10.

[55] See below, pp. 15–16.

[56] P. R. Schofield, 'The late medieval view of frankpledge and the tithing system: an Essex case study', in Z. Razi and R. M. Smith (eds), *Medieval society and the manor court* (1996), p. 435.

TABLE 2: Decennial average numbers of chief pledges at Birdbrook in the fifteenth century

Decade	*Average no. of chief pledges per annum*
1400–09	21.4
1410–19	23.6
1420–29	23.9
1430–39	23.4
1440–49	18.4
1450–59	21.4
1460–69	16.3
1470–79	14.1
1480–89	12.6
1490–99	13.0

Source: ERO D/DU 267/31–35; WAM 25570.

separate holdings; not only each of their names but also their rents were recorded in each of the transfers.[57]

Along with the increased tendency for holdings to accumulate, there was a growing probability that their tenants would be absentees. Thomas Spring of Lavenham was, of course, not a resident tenant, and neither, clearly, were others of his fellow customary tenants. By cross-referring lists of chief pledges, an office that was dependent for its function upon residency, recorded in the annual view of frankpledge, with the names of tenants of customary standard holdings, it is possible to glean a rough sense of the proportion of customary tenants who were resident in the vill.[58] In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, where comparison can be made between the chief pledge lists in the views of frankpledge and the names of lessees of customary holdings recorded in the manorial accounts, it seems that over 50 per cent of chief pledges held customary standard holdings; the proportion declined to approximately 33 per cent by the mid-century, and this is where it remained, with some degree of fluctuation, for the rest of the period. Perhaps as importantly, the actual numbers of chief pledges decreased by almost half over the century, so that there were, on average, only thirteen such officers by 1500, of whom only four were tenants of customary standard holdings. This contrasts considerably with the ten or so lessees of customary standard holdings who made up more than 50 per cent of the complement in the early fifteenth century and is a far cry from the early fourteenth century when villein tenants of such holdings provided over three-quarters of the chief pledges for the vill (Table 2).[59]

Consistent with the trends in accumulation and absenteeism, both of which illustrate the dilution of seigneurial policy regarding customary standard holdings at Birdbrook, was the failure of tenants to maintain each of their holdings as viable units. In particular, the buildings on customary standard holdings were allowed to decay. The monks continued to resist waste of

[57] 1446–7 (WAM 25519); ERO, D/DU 267/34, courts of 17 July 1479, 17 July 1482; 267/35, court of 16 Sept. 1506.

[58] See also Schofield, 'View of frankpledge'.

[59] Schofield, 'View of frankpledge', p. 431, table 12.3. Of course, part of the reason for a declining number of chief pledges holding customary standard holdings, was the concentration of such holdings in the hands of single tenants, a process that has been described earlier, above, p. 14.

tenements into the late fifteenth century, as repeated but intermittent orders in the court rolls for distraint for failure to maintain testify.[60] However, by the end of the period, these attempts were abandoned and this policy was defeated. In September 1506, when Sir Robert Tyrell sold a block of six customary holdings to Thomas Spring of Lavenham, John Stevenson, the under-steward of the manor, by special mandate of the Abbot of Westminster and of the extrinsic treasurer, Brother Robert Humfrey, admitted Thomas to hold 'free of any punishment, penalty, or forfeiture for waste done or to be done in any home, homes, or buildings upon these premises ...'.[61]

IV

The discussion of tenurial developments suggests that the conditions under which customary land was held were considerably relaxed by the close of the period. A combination of improvements in tenure can be highlighted in this respect. Customary tenure itself lost its most immediate associations with servility over the period. By the middle years of the fifteenth century reference to bondage disappeared from the tenurial formula. At the same time, rights of inheritance and of alienation were included in grants to tenants. By the close of the fifteenth century oblique references to 'better security' also indicate that tenants enjoyed written evidence of their tenures. The apparent greater security of tenants was matched by the abandonment of some cherished aspects of seigneurial policy. During the course of the fifteenth century the monks of Westminster conceded that tenants sought to accumulate holdings. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, in what may be an extreme case, the monks recognized the right of their tenant to lay waste to his tenements.

Whether these tenurial developments were led by the demands of purchasers is less than clear. While, undoubtedly, Thomas Spring may have bullied and bribed the monks into their favourable position on maintenance of holdings in 1506, for the most part, we cannot be sure if monastic attitudes to servile tenure and the retention of discrete standard holdings relented in the face of market pressures. Paul Harvey has suggested that, rather than think of the peasant land market in medieval England as a weak institution capable of prospering only where lordship or custom stood aside, historians should be prepared to recognize its force.[62] For Harvey, the peasant land market had the potential to subvert pre-existing institutions. At Birdbrook, certainly, the market in customary land in the fifteenth century would seem to have responded to external capital and, possibly, to have given direction to tenurial change. The encouragement which this gave to the leading merchants and gentry may have also had a significant impact upon the development of a common law of copyhold, especially in promoting its protection for a new generation of tenants. In 1506, when Spring was wringing new concessions from the monks of Westminster Abbey, Chief Justice Frowyck, in Common Pleas, was finding for the copyholder in an action of trespass, a case which, according to C. M. Gray, has 'a good claim to be the first holding in the copyholder's favor [*sic*]'.[63]

[60] ERO D/DU 267/33, courts of 21 Sept. 1426, 20 July 1428, 21 Sept. 1427, 21 Sept. 1431; 267/34, courts of 20 July 1463; 17 Sept. 1482; 17 July 1493.

[61] ERO D/DU 267/35, court of 16 Sept. 1506.

[62] Harvey, 'Conclusion', pp. 349ff.

[63] C. M. Gray, *Copyhold, equity and the common law* (1963), pp. 58–9.

Lotted lands and planned villages in north-east Scotland*

by Douglas G. Lockhart

Abstract

Between 1720 and the 1850s some 490 planned villages, characterized by a regular layout of streets, building plots and adjacent fields (or Lotted Lands) were founded on estates throughout Scotland including 100 or so in north-east Scotland. Lotted lands were fields, typically subdivided into one- or two-acre lots, which were leased to villagers to grow crops such as oats and turnips and for grazing cattle and horses. Agricultural activities were particularly important where labouring and domestic industries provided insufficient employment. Working lotted lands gradually became less popular during the first half of the twentieth century though they continued to exist in a few places until the 1970s.

Planned villages founded by landowners on their estates during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are one of the most distinctive settlement types in Scotland and Ireland. Their founding in such large numbers in this period is a feature which distinguishes the Scottish and Irish rural landscape from that of England. Typically, the ground plan and provision of the basic infrastructure of streets, drainage and water supply, and the construction of a few public buildings was undertaken by the landowner. Incoming families normally built their own homes or contracted with tradesmen to build for them. In all, some 490 villages were founded on landed estates throughout the Scottish mainland and in the Hebrides and Orkney Islands, while it has been estimated that about 500 villages were planned or re-planned in Ireland.[1] A system of small and medium-sized villages was created in Scotland where previously only hamlets such as kirktowns at parish churches and burghs had existed. Beyond the built area

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[1] L. M. Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland, 1600–1900* (1981), p. 61.

were field lots (lotted lands), commonties and peat diggings which, taken together, represented a considerable commitment to agricultural activities.[2]

This paper examines lotted lands in the planned villages of north-east Scotland. The study region, which comprises the former counties of Morayshire, Banffshire, Aberdeenshire, Kincardineshire, Angus and Perthshire east of the River Tay, was one of the most important areas of planned village development in Scotland. Within this region some 100 villages were founded between 1750 and 1850 (Fig. 1): it also has the highest proportion of settlements with lotted lands.

By the late 1760s, the advantages of planned villages were well appreciated. Archiestown (Morayshire) was founded in 1760 (see Fig. 2). A few years later it was described as 'no project ... [the] only mean to improve land without expense and with certain profit ...'.[3] By this time the process of establishing a planned village had become familiar. When a village was first projected, a land surveyor was employed to divide out the village building plots and lotted lands while the estate factor and his lawyer drew up a list of regulations to be observed by householders and tenants of the lotted lands. While some householders negotiated directly with the landowner or his factor, others were attracted to villages by newspaper advertisements. In some places, (New Aberdour and New Leeds, Aberdeenshire for instance) the newspaper notice invited interested persons to a roup (auction) on the site of the new village.[4] The first year was given over to removing to the village and house building, which was the responsibility of the householder. Although gardens were large, typically extending to one-eighth of an acre, some land that had previously been cultivated was lotted to each household to enable them to grow crops in the first few seasons. Thereafter the improvable ground would be expected to begin to yield crops of potatoes and eventually grass or oats could be sown. Similarly the lands of planned villages became standardized. They consisted of some previously cultivated land, new land that was capable of being improved, and peat moss. Rights to quarry stone for house building purposes were often granted and some communities were also given a commonty where turf could be dug and stones gathered. The spatial structure of the lotted lands also took shape in this period. The better lands lay adjacent to the village while previously uncultivated land lay at a greater distance. An inner series of lots was followed by one or more series of lots of improvable ground in the moor, each serviced by lanes that led out from the village. Small byres and tool sheds were built in the large gardens, known as yards, at the rear of the main dwellings.

In the north-east, lotted lands were a particularly common feature in villages in the counties north of Angus (Table 1). The remoteness of areas such as upper Speyside and Buchan from large manufacturing centres, the fluctuating fortunes of local textile industries and uncertain employment opportunities were offset by the security of home ownership and access to land and peat fuel that were offered in planned villages. The lotted lands were a very important aspect of life in planned villages and were farmed by people from a wide range of occupations. Dairymen and carters rented several lots to feed their animals, tradesmen always had some land

[2] Sir J. Sinclair (ed.), *The statistical account of Scotland* (21 vols, 1791–9), (hereafter *OSA*) VI, pp. 128–30.

[3] National Archives of Scotland (hereafter NAS), Grant of Monymusk Papers, GD 345, uniform box H, bundle 15, letter, Sir Archibald Grant to Archibald Grant, Edinburgh 29 Dec. 1762.

[4] *Aberdeen J.*, 26 Sept. 1797; 20 Mar. 1798.



1	Cummingstown	10	Mill of Links	19	Burnhaven
2	Hopeman	11	Strichen	20	Maryton
3	(New) Duffus	12	Fetterangus	21	Padanaram
4	Covesea	13	St Fergus	22	Kirkton
5	Porttannachy	14	Old Deer	23	Hunter's Town
6	Portgordon	15	Mintlaw	24	Burrelton
7	Longmanhill	16	Stuartfield	25	Strelitz
8	Gardenstown	17	Longside	26	Baledgarno
9	Sandhaven	18	Buchanhaven	27	Caroline Place

FIGURE 1. Distribution of planned villages in north-east Scotland

TABLE 1. Lotted lands in planned villages

County and period of founding	*Moray, Banff, Aberdeen and Kincardineshire*		*Angus and East Perthshire*	
	1750–99	*1800–50*	*1750–99*	*1800–50*
With lotted lands				
inland	24	15	5	5
fishing/small ports	4	3	-	-
Without lotted lands				
inland	2	6	2	20
fishing/small ports	4	8	1	1

and labourers, widowed women and the poor relied heavily on their lots. Moreover, rent concessions on cultivated land and new land free of rent for periods up to seven years were available in many villages when these were founded. It was not surprising that living in villages was preferred to renting a cottage and some land from a farm tenant.[5]

Lotted lands were also present in a number of fishing villages. Fishermen in maritime communities that were established before 1700 had a tradition of cultivating small plots of ground, a practice that continued into the nineteenth century when potatoes were grown on hillside plots in communities such as Pennan (Aberdeenshire).[6] However, the occupational structure of planned fishing villages was more diverse than these earlier settlements. As a consequence, tradesmen, labourers and merchants had an active interest in the lotted lands, though these covered smaller acreages than inland villages with comparable populations. Two kinds of village in the northern part of the region lack lotted lands. Small specialized fishing communities such as Covesea (Morayshire), ports (Kingston, Morayshire) and villages developed in the nineteenth century in suburban locations (New Elgin, Morayshire) were not involved in part-time farming.

There are striking differences between the distribution of lotted lands in the northern counties and in Angus and east Perthshire. They were never numerous in the latter area, a reflection of village functions and the later period of founding. The mill and single-row settlements that were developed along the roads that linked the main towns in the 1810s and 1820s housed weavers who were employed in the textile industries of Arbroath, Forfar and Kirriemuir. Other villages were also developed in conjunction with the earliest railways in the region. Better employment opportunities and access to urban markets appears to have reduced the need to produce food for family consumption and so the demand for lotted lands.

The sources available to study lotted lands are detailed and extensive. A large number of collections of estate papers have survived in public archives and private ownership and of particular value in the present context are memoranda, rentals and plans. These provide information on the evolution of lotted field systems as well as individual holdings. In addition, important documents were often registered to preserve them for future reference in the Register

[5] NAS, Seafield Papers, GD 248/25/2/16, notes on the scheme propos'd for erecting the village of Grantstown [1765].

[6] NAS, British Fisheries Society Papers, GD 9/366/2, hints and observations regarding fishers and fishing villages ... Mar. 1808; for a photograph of potato plots at Pennan, Aberdeenshire see *Buchan Illustrated* (The Aberdeen Daily Journal and Evening Express, Aberdeen, *c.* 1905), p. 30.

of Deeds kept by the Sheriff Clerk of each administrative county.[7] Newspaper advertisements which announce the founding of planned villages, frequently describe the advantages of the site and give details of the availability of land, pasture and fuel from the moss.[8] Advertisements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries intimated the sale of growing crops on lotted lands and local news sections of the press reported on the acreage sold and the price obtained. The progress of individual villages can be monitored in a number of printed sources. The *Old* and the *New Statistical Accounts*, prepared in the 1790s and the 1830s–40s, contain descriptions of each parish and comment on significant economic and social developments while several Board of Agriculture county surveys also highlight agricultural activities in villages.[9]

Changing conditions on the lotted lands of particular communities in the second half of the nineteenth century were described in evidence given to a number of Parliamentary Commissions. Individual tenants gave statements to the Napier Commission (1884), the Deer Commission (1892) and the Select Committee on Feus and Leases (Scotland) (1894).[10] In the context of the present study, these are largely of comparative interest as they deal with conditions in villages in the Highlands and the Borders. Of greater significance were several cases involving disputes between landowners and tenants concerning lotted lands heard before the Court of Session in Edinburgh.[11] Parliamentary Papers and Session Papers also print historical estate records such as rentals and correspondence as well as contemporary evidence. The early decades of the twentieth century are richly documented. The enactment of The Small Landholders (Scotland) Act in 1911 led to the creation in the following year of the Scottish Land Court. The Land Court met, usually in the county town, to hear evidence from individual tenants seeking statutory small tenant status and from landowners. The records of the Land Court which have been deposited in the National Archives of Scotland and the evidence put before it, which was reported in local newspapers, provide information on cropping, animal husbandry, agricultural practices and rents. Finally, Valuation Rolls are available between 1855 and 1960; these list individual holdings and the names and occupations of tenants. They are particularly useful in pinpointing the sale of landed estates which can then be followed up in the Particular Register of Sasines held in the National Archives, which records all changes in the ownership of property, and in local newspaper reports. Valuation Rolls are also invaluable in tracing changes in the structure of lotted lands within particular villages. However, from 1961–2, a different format was introduced in which individual lots were not separately recorded. The resultant gap in information is unfortunate coming at a time when the practice of renting lotted lands was about to end on a number of estates.

I

Lotted lands have attracted surprisingly little research. In fact their existence has been overlooked in books written about Scottish agriculture such as that by Symon, in Leneman's study

[7] For a discussion of this and other sources see D. G. Lockhart, 'Planned villages – a review of sources', *Scottish Local History* 39 (1997), pp. 34–9.

[8] *Aberdeen J.*, 31 May 1796 (New Pitsligo); 26 Sept. 1797 (New Aberdour).

[9] Lockhart, 'Planned villages – a review of source s', p. 31.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[11] Signet Library, Edinburgh, Session Papers, vol. 597, no 117, Campbell *v* Mackinnon and others 1862 (Tobermory); vol. 651, no. 177, Clinton *v* Brown (New Pitsligo).

of smallholdings and land settlement and, most crucially, in Carter's wide ranging survey of agriculture in north-east Scotland between 1840 and 1914.[12] Research on field systems in Scotland has focussed largely on three topics: the characteristics of the infield-outfield system that predates enclosure and which was common throughout Lowland Scotland; processes of enclosure, and the evolution of crofting landscapes in the nineteenth century.[13] In comparison, research on the field systems of towns and villages has been limited and mostly relates to regions of Scotland other than the north-east.

The earliest sustained discussion of agriculture in towns and villages was an account of the land system of the royal burgh of Lauder (Berwickshire). The land system of the burgh was described in a parliamentary report on borough common lands in 1870, in Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities in the East and West* and in a monograph of 1903 based on the notes of the town clerk, Robert Romanes.[14] These publications showed that the burgh lands consisted of arable acres, hill areas that were occasionally cultivated, and common grazing.[15]

With the exception of Murray, writing on burghal organisation in 1924 and who devoted several chapters to the structure of landholdings in Glasgow and burghs in Ayrshire, references to fields in other Scottish burghs are generally less detailed.[16] Many local histories only summarize the charter of erection of burghs of barony that were established between the fifteenth and seventeenth century.[17] Unfortunately, more recent interpretations of Scottish urban development also contain limited coverage of agricultural pursuits. In Michael Lynch's collection of essays on *The Early Modern Town in Scotland*, an essay on the merchants of Dumfries usefully distinguishes between small-scale activities in the town's yards and more extensive agriculture on the outskirts of the burgh but this is very much the exception.[18]

Research on Scottish planned villages dates from the 1940s. Again the agricultural land lying around the village has not been given a great deal of priority by researchers. In a pioneering study, Houston identified villages associated with agricultural and estate interests as one of the major types of planned village and noted that the cultivation of lots was an important employment activity.[19] However, later surveys of planned village development, such as those by Smout and Turnock, make only fleeting reference to lotted lands, while the latter tantalizes the reader by emphasising the importance of smallholdings without actually providing examples of village

[12] J. A. Symon, *Scottish farming past and present* (1959); L. Leneman, *Fit for heroes? Land settlement in Scotland after World War I* (1989); I. Carter, *Farm life in northeast Scotland, 1840–1914* (1979).

[13] See, for example, R. A. Dodgshon, *The origin of British field systems: an interpretation* (1979); and the publications of J. B. Caird listed in A. H. Dawson *et al.* (eds), *Scottish geographical studies* (1993), pp. 12–14.

[14] BPP, 1870, LV, 'Return of all boroughs and cities in the United Kingdom possessing common or other lands ...', pp. 40–8; Sir H. Maine, *Village communities in the East and West* (sec. edn, 1870), pp. 94–7; R. Romanes, *A series of papers written by the late Robert Romanes* (priv. printed, 1903).

[15] J. H. Romanes, 'The village economy of Lauder', *English Historical Rev.* 29 (1914), pp. 532–7; *Ibid*, 'The land system of the Scottish burgh', *Juridical Rev.* 47 (2), (1935), pp. 101–19.

[16] D. Murray, *Early burgh organization in Scotland* (2 vols, 1924).

[17] For example, D. McNaught, *Kilmaurs Parish and Burgh* (1912), pp. 223–2.

[18] W. Coutts, 'Provincial merchants and society: a study of Dumfries based on the registers of testaments, 1600–1665', in M. Lynch (ed.), *The early modern town in Scotland* (1987), pp. 147–66.

[19] J. M. Houston, 'Village planning in Scotland, 1745–1845', *Advancement of Science*, 5 (1948), pp. 129–32; *Idem*, 'An historical background of village development in Scotland', *J. Town Planning Institute* 35 (1949), pp. 87–95.

field systems.[20] Case studies of lotted lands are also comparatively rare with most attention paid to Highland areas. Gaffney's account of the founding of Tomintoul (Banffshire), describes in detail the pattern of lotted lands when the village was established in 1775 and after the lots were reorganized in the mid-1820s.[21] Research by Storrie on Islay (Argyllshire) and by Dunlop on the coastal settlements founded by the British Fisheries Society have also demonstrated the importance of lotting.[22] Finally, the present author has reviewed planned village development in Scotland drawing attention to the significance of lotted lands in the life of village communities and to their role in land improvement. In addition, an introductory analysis of the lotted lands of the north-east has outlined their distribution and broad characteristics.[23] However, many issues have not been studied in detail and deserve greater attention, particularly the origins and structure of lotted lands, the role of part-time farming in village communities, livestock and cropping patterns, and the processes of expansion and eventual contraction of field areas that occurred between the founding of planned villages in the late eighteenth century and the demise of lotting in the mid-twentieth century.

As we will see in the next section, lotted lands were an integral part of the layout and economy of the new planned villages created from the 1750s onwards. Their subsequent history is shown in Table 2 and is explored in the remainder of this paper. The demand for lotted lands may have increased in the early nineteenth century and was met by the reclamation of new land or the incorporation of additional land taken from farms or crofts. Whilst the middle years of the nineteenth century may be seen as the heyday of the lotted lands, progressive depopulation after 1870 resulted in a process of concentration, and, in the twentieth century, lots progressively disappeared, sometimes to be built over, sometimes to be made into sporting facilites but often to be incorporated into farms. Virtually none remained at the beginning of the new century. A handful of photographs, such as that of Dufftown seen from the west *c.* 1880, serve as a reminder of how this landscape once appeared (Plate 1).

II

Tracing the origins of lotted lands poses a number of problems for researchers largely because plans and detailed rentals only survive for most estates from the early 1760s. Consequently it is not easy to determine whether the burghs of barony founded in the region in the seventeenth century had field systems that provided a model for the lotted lands of planned villages when

[20] T. C. Smout, 'The landowner and the planned village in Scotland, 1730–1830', in N. T. Phillipson and R. Mitchison (eds), *Scotland in the age of improvement* (1970), pp. 73–106; D. Turnock, *The historical geography of Scotland since 1707* (1982), pp. 82–96.

[21] V. Gaffrey, *The Lordship of Stathavon* (Third Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1960), pp. 34–61.

[22] M. C. Storrie, 'Landholdings and settlement evolution in west highland Scotland', *Geografiska Annaler* 47B (1965), pp. 138–61; *Idem, Islay: Biography of an island*, (sec. edn, 1997), pp. 128–35; J. Dunlop, *The British Fisheries Society, 1786–1893* (1978).

[23] D. G. Lockhart, 'The planned villages', in M. L. Parry and T. R. Slater (eds), *The making of the Scottish countryside* (1980), pp. 249–70; 'Planned village development in Scotland and Ireland, 1700–1850', in T. M. Devine and D. Dickson (eds), *Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1850* (1983), pp. 132–45; 'The construction and planning of new urban settlements in Scotland in the eighteenth century', in A. Maczak and C. Smout (eds), *Grundung und bedeutung kleinerer stadte im nördlichen Europa der frühen neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1991), pp. 31–66; 'Lotted lands in the planned villages of North-East Scotland', in Dawson *et al.* (eds), *Scottish geographical studies*, pp. 164–75.

TABLE 2. The changing nature of lotted lands

	Stage	Period	Characteristics
I	Village founding	1750–1825	Plan prepared by land surveyor – village advertised in newspaper – building plots and field lots auctioned on village site – field lots sometimes drawn by lottery method
II	Expansion and reclamation	Late eighteenth century–1830	Reclamation of previously uncultivated land – growth of village may result in additional land being acquired from neighbouring crofts or farms and lotted out to villagers
III	Maturity	1830–1870	Most village households rent land – variations in landholdings present but not substantial
IV	Consolidation	1870–1920	Depopulation – smaller number of households – greater variation in size of holdings – some lots tenanted by neighbouring farmers and non-residents
V	Erosion	1920–1950	Estate sales result in lotted lands being separated from parent estate – sale of individual lots to sitting tenants – changes in land use become evident eg. Council housing, public utilities, sports such as tennis, bowling and golf. Village dairy proprieters acquire larger holdings
VI	Decline and extinction	1950–present	Decisions by estate management to end lotting and further estate sales – much land acquired by neighbouring farmers; after 1970, only a small number of tenants remain in a few villages

these were founded from 1750 onwards. The charter founding Rosehearty (Aberdeenshire) in 1684 for example granted grazing rights on the Links of Pitsligo which were bounded by the 'laboured Corn ground of the riggs of the Links'. Access was also granted to commonties for casting fail and divots for the building of their houses and tenants, and to various peat mosses.[24] Similar privileges were granted in neighbouring burghs of barony; however, the crofts and arable lands which are mentioned in the charters that define burgh territories are not described in detail.

While some of the elements of burghal land use that existed in the pre-improver period, such as commonties and peat mosses, were adopted in planned villages, the lotted land system appears to have been created as part of the wider transformation of agrarian landscapes that occurred after 1750. Certainly, this view of the origins of lotted lands was widely held among estate factors when they gave evidence to Parliamentary Commissions and the Land Court between 1890 and 1914.[25] Lotted lands were, however, not confined to new planned villages because at older burghs of barony (Portsoy and Fordyce, Banffshire), they replaced the rigs into which the former open fields were subdivided.

The earliest evidence for lotted lands can be seen in newspaper advertisements placed to

[24] W. and J. Cook, W. S., Edinburgh, Brucklay Chartulary, Charter, The lord and master of Pitsligo to the feuars and burgesses of Rosehearty, 28 Sept. 1684 (copied 1835).

[25] BPP, 1894 (238), XI, *Report from the select committeee on feus and leases (Scotland)*, pp. 11–13; Banff Sheriff Court, Scottish Land Court, Landholders Holdings Book part 1 (1913), p. 18; 'Countess of Seafield's Trustees *v* McCurrach', *The Scottish Law Reporter* LVI (1913–14), pp. 141–4.



PLATE 1. Dufftown, Banffshire from the west, *c.* 1880
Source: George Washington Wilson Collection, University of Aberdeen, C3418.

attract settlers. The first notice in the north-east is for a proposed village at Slioch, 2½ miles east of Huntly (Aberdeenshire) in 1755. This offered 'every feuar ... a nineteen years lease of some acres of Ground adjacent to their feu, which they are to inclose by hedge and ditch as shall be directed ... They are to receive quicksetts or French whins with forest trees, to plant round their possessions, all which they are carefully to preserve and winter-herd, and to clean the ditches and to prune the trees ...'.[26] The lotted lands at Slioch had a number of characteristics that would become typical in planned villages, notably land situated at the rear of the building plots and nineteen-year leases of ground that could be improved. In the 1760s, land became a widely publicized inducement to settle in planned villages. During this decade, the *Aberdeen Journal* carried notices for thirteen villages, of which nine specifically mentioned lotted land and eleven indicated that access to peat moss and other land resources would be granted.

At both New Byth (Aberdeenshire) and Aberchirder (Banffshire) grass and corn ground was offered 'hard by the village', while the site of Rothes (Morayshire) was said to adjoin 'a fruitful

[26] *Aberdeen J.*, 3 June 1755.

field'. More details were given for Grantown-on-Spey (Morayshire) where some fifty acres of good land and 200 acres of grass to accommodate cattle, horses and sheep were reserved for the villagers.[27] Rentals which survive for this period indicate that village populations began to use their allocation of lands within one or two seasons of agreeing to build their houses.[28] Since the overwhelming majority of the population lived only short distances from new villages, it is likely that many tradesmen and labourers would have spent a final year at their previous address while their houses were being built. Thereafter progress in land reclamation and farming seems to have been rapid. In Archiestown, tenants were required immediately to drain the barren ground around the village and Sir Archibald Grant when on a visit in the summer 1764, four years after its founding, noted that 'some crops of everything from heather' had been harvested in the previous season.[29] Equally rapid progress was being made at Macduff (Banffshire) where 25 tenants had taken possession of lotted lands in 1764, a year after moving into the new town.[30] Changes to the landscape around New Keith were even more dramatic and within fifteen years of its founding, 490 acres had been lotted out to its inhabitants.[31] The characteristic rectangular shape of individual lots within the lotted lands (as at New Pitsligo, Fig. 2) also seems to have become the norm at an early stage. A plan of Macduff in 1764, shows 45 lots of 1½ acres each, laid out in regular sequence and served by access lanes.[32] In comparison to those highly regular plans, the lotted lands in some villages appear to have developed in a more *ad hoc* fashion reflecting the limitations of surveying techniques and perhaps the experimental nature of early village planning. This can be seen in the different alignments of lots at Archiestown which were laid out by the estate's gardener (Fig. 3), while the inhabitants of Strichen (Aberdeenshire), cultivated outfields on the adjacent Burnshangie farm before these were enclosed.[33]

It became widely recognized by estate managements that planned villages and especially lotted lands could add significantly to the rentals of landed estates. The role of the village in agricultural improvement can be seen at Monquhitter parish (Aberdeenshire) where the *Old Statistical Account* explains how the founding of Cuminestown raised the rent of part of a moorland area from £11 to between £120 and £150.[34] The impact on rentals often occurred over a short period of time, for example at Hopeman (Morayshire) where:

> Mr. Young in four years has settled nearly 300 souls on a spot at Inverugie; which, when he began, was perfectly barren; and a considerable tract of ground near the village, is, in consequence of their industry (in a great measure) risen in rent from something like 2*s.* 6*d.* to nearly £3 per acre.[35]

[27] *Ibid.*, 23 May 1763 (New Byth); 26 Mar. 1764 (Aberchirder); 12 Dec. 1763 (Rothes); 15 Apr. 1765 (Grantown-on-Spey).

[28] See, for example, University of Aberdeen, Duff House (Montcoffer) Papers, Ms 3175, vol. 234, Ledger Feuars of Fife Keith beginning with land rents crop 1817; Blairmore Estate, Glass (NRA(S) 1326), vol. V, Ledger commencing crop 1806 (Dufftown).

[29] NAS, Grant of Monymusk Papers, GD 345, uniform box A, bundle 18, letter, Sir Archibald Grant to Archibald Grant, Archiestown, 24 July 1764.

[30] University of Aberdeen, Duff House (Montcoffer) Papers, Ms 3175, M series, bundle XVI C41, abstract rental of the lands set to the feuars of Down, 1764.

[31] NAS, Seafield Papers, GD 48/2663, rental of the Keith collection, crop, 1761.

[32] *Ibid.*, Sketch of the lotted land of Down ... and to whom sett, 1764.

[33] Aberdeenshire Library Service, Strichen Estate Papers, A plan of the farm Burnshangie and Mormond village, 1768.

[34] *OSA* VI, p. 129.

[35] R. J. Adam, 'Papers on Sutherland estate management, 1802–1816', *Scottish Hist. Soc.*, fourth ser., 9 (1972), p. 98.



FIGURE 2. Lotted lands at New Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire, 1803.

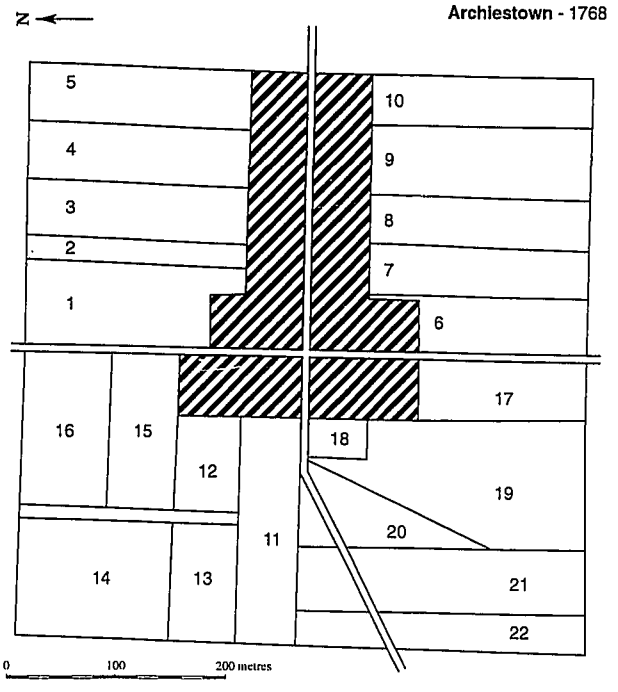


FIGURE 3. Lotted lands at Archiestown, Morayshire, 1768.

In addition to higher rentals being achieved after improvement, tenants of lotted lands were asked to pay a greater rent per acre than crofters and farmers. The lotted lands always attracted higher rents because of their proximity to villages and due to competition for land among householders.

As a consequence, a progressive and substantial increase in rent could be expected after the founding of planned villages. The lotted lands of New Keith (founded 1750) yielded £212 in 1761, £332 in 1800 and £1278 in 1856.[36] In 1886, some 2000 acres of lotted land rented to 350 tenants in villages on the Banff section of the Earl of Fife's estates brought £2600 in rent. Farm rents (per acre) on the same estates were typically 50–60 per cent of lotted land rents.[37]

In comparison, the costs of founding planned villages varied considerably ranging from £130 for Cummingstown (Morayshire), a small roadside village, to £3000–4000 for larger developments such as Grantown-on-Spey and New Pitsligo.[38] Larger villages had a more elaborate infrastructure, and public buildings such as the inn and school were built by landowners who may also have invested in textile industries.[39]

When comparing income and expenditure for planned villages, estate accounts demonstrate that the planning costs could be recovered fairly quickly. Moreover, there were other financial

[36] NAS, Seafield Papers, GD 248/2663, rental of the Keith collection, cropt 1761; GD 248/2700, rental of the Keith and Mulben collection, crop 1800; GD 248/2729, rental of the Keith collection, crop 1855 and lotted lands crop 1856.

[37] *Aberdeen Herald and Weekly Free Press*, 15 May 1886.

[38] D. G. Lockhart, 'The evolution of the planned villages of north-east Scotland', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols, University of Dundee, 1974), I, p. 258.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 266–8.

TABLE 3. The extent of lotted lands in selected villages

Village	*Type*	*Year*	*Lotted Lands*		*Acres*
			arable	*pasture*	
Aberchirder	tradesman-agricultural	1771	99.9	16.7	116.6
Archiestown	tradesman-agricultural	1768	–	–	68.9
Caroline Place	tradesman-agricultural	1835	49.6	49.7	99.3
Cummingstown	fishing	1829	–	–	103.8
Fife Keith	tradesman-agricultural	1817	–	–	119.5[a]
Guildtown	tradesman-agricultural	1835	35.3	2.3	37.6
Hopeman	fishing-tradesmen	1833	207.2	81.5[b]	288.7
Macduff	fishing-tradesman	1764	–	–	67.6
New Leeds	tradesman-agricultural	1854	93.3	8.8	102.1
Newmill	tradesman-agricultural	1812	–	–	331.9
Portgordon	fishing	1823	–	–	34.9
Rothes	tradesman-agricultural	1790	–	–	103.4[c]
Stuartfield	tradesman-agricultural	1780	–	–	182.3
Tomintoul	tradesman-agricultural	1825	138.2	190.2	328.4
Urquhart	tradesman-agricultural	1792	–	–	78.2[d]

Notes:
[a] Moor ground was available.
[b] Includes roads in measurement.
[c] The lotted lands at Rothes increased to 233.6 acres in 1798 after a new street had been completed.
[d] The lotted lands at Urquhart increased to 105.3 acres in 1794 when the Mill Land was lotted.

benefits. The village acted as a market for farm produce which in turn raised the rent level of farms in the vicinity while the lotted land system helped to support a pool of labourers who could work on neighbouring farms but without requiring accommodation to be provided by farmers.[40]

III

The acreage of lotted lands attached to individual villages varied greatly (Table 3). During the early nineteenth century, acreages in lotted lands in Banffshire ranged from 35 acres (Portgordon) to 631.5 acres (New Keith).[41] Size of population was the most important factor explaining such variations; however, village functions, occupational structure and the type and quality of the land itself also appear to have been influences.

The most extensive areas of village fields were found in plateau areas such as Buchan and the upland margins of Speyside where large acreages were reclaimed from moorland. In these

[40] *Aberdeen Herald and Weekly Free Press*, 15 May 1886.

[41] NAS, Records of the Crown Estates Commissioners. CR8/180, Contents of that part of the Parish of Rathven belonging to His Grace the Duke of Gordon from a survey in 1810 by John J. Roy; NAS, Seafield Papers, GD 248/2700, Rental of the Keith and Mulben collection crop 1800.

TABLE 4. Lotted lands of New Pitsligo, 1794–1996

	Tenements (number)	*Lotted lands*				*Annual rent (£)*
		arable	*moor*	*pasture*	*total*	
1794	20	25	–	–	25	6.0
1802	94	69	110	–	179	–
1807	166	215	234	–	449	295.0
1870	250	1139	–	–	1139	942.1
1892	250	1125	–	–	1125	1130.0
1913	250	1100	–	–	1100	1079.0
1950	234	1028	–	29	1057	650.0
1975	–	140	–	–	140	403.7[a]
1996[b]						

Notes:
[a] One tenant received a rebate of £80 for taking down fences and levelling old lot boundaries.
[b] The last village tenant relinquished his land in 1996.
Sources: NLS, Fettercairn Papers, Acc. 4796, rentals; Middlemuir Farm Office, Strichen, rentals; *Aberdeen Daily J.*, 20 Mar. 1913, p. 3.

districts, villages were allocated some previously cultivated arable land and allotments of ill-drained moorland which they were expected to improve. For example, in 1807, 234 out of 449 acres at New Pitsligo were classed as improvable. By 1871, 265 acres of arable and almost 900 acres of moor, most of which had been improved, helped to support a population of almost 2100 (Table 4 and Fig. 2).[42] The scale of farming activity in smaller villages was no less impressive; for example at Cuminestown (Aberdeenshire – population 477 in 1841) 160 acres were under cultivation in 1827, and about the same time the inhabitants of Tomintoul in the uplands of Banffshire (population – 819 in 1841) rented almost 330 acres.[43] There is also evidence to suggest that occupational structure was important in determining the area under cultivation in individual villages. Strichen and New Leeds (Aberdeenshire) are a case in point. Although the former had a population three and a half times greater than New Leeds in 1841, the difference in the extent of their lotted lands was less pronounced. These amounted to 200 and 102 acres respectively in 1854. While Strichen had a diverse occupational structure with almost 90 per cent of its household heads employed in crafts or retailing, in New Leeds only 25 per cent can be assigned to these categories. Instead 41 per cent of its household heads were crofters or agricultural labourers and a further 22 per cent stated they were retired or paupers at the 1851 Census. These disparities were almost certainly reinforced by the poorly

[42] NLS, Fettercairn Papers, Acc. 4796, box 31, Draft Notes for a memorial regarding the land rights of the feuars of New Pitsligo, 30 Nov. 1870.

[43] University of Aberdeen, Duff House (Montcoffer) Papers, Ms 3175, F series, 31/2 Plan of the Lands of Auchry ... 1827 by G Campbell Smith; NAS, RHP 1819, Plan of the village and lands of Tomintoul belonging to His Grace the Duke of Gordon 1825 by George McWilliam.

drained and boggy character of the lands at New Leeds compared with those at Strichen which had been farmed prior to the creation of the village in the mid-1760s.[44]

The clearest indication of the influence of occupational structure upon part-time farming activities can be found in maritime villages. Lotted lands are usually associated with the larger communities such as Macduff (Banffshire) and Hopeman (Morayshire) which had diversified occupational structures and where fishing provided employment for only a minority of the inhabitants. Among the specialized fishing villages, small acreages were farmed, for example at Porttannachy (Banffshire) where 40 acres were lotted out in 1815.[45] Cummingstown (Morayshire), where two-acre lots were rented by each household, was exceptional and it is interesting to note that this village lacked harbour facilities and consequently failed to attract a significant fishing population. Moreover, contemporary writers emphasized that it was unwise to provide lotted lands for fishermen. They stressed that these could become a distraction from the business of fishing.[46]

Individual holdings within the lotted lands also show considerable variation. The evidence from rentals points to three principal differences. Firstly, where villages were situated on estates held under strict entail, the landowner was restricted to leasing lots no greater than half an acre per house built and as a consequence holdings in such villages are characterized by a higher degree of uniformity.[47] Secondly, holdings on land that had previously been farmed also are fairly uniform. In these, a land surveyor was employed to divide up each field. Almost all lots were made virtually equal in size, the exceptions being those at the extremity of each field. Early rentals for Newmill and Aberchirder (Banffshire) and the prospectus for Fife Keith (Banffshire) show that almost all households enjoyed access to lotted lands and that the variation in individual holdings was relatively small. At Aberchirder in 1771, seven years after the village was founded, only one household did not rent lotted lands. In Fife Keith, every building plot was auctioned together with a lot of land and the purchasers of only eleven out of 113 plots declined to rent land.[48] Thirdly, in a few places inequality in holdings was a feature from a very early date. Additional land could be acquired by purchasing two building plots and although regulations required houses to be built on both plots, the second dwelling was either occupied by another member of the family or was sub-let. On the moorland fringe, variations in the quality of the land seems to have been fundamental in contributing to significant differences in the size of holdings. At Stuartfield (Aberdeenshire), while the mean

[44] D. G. Lockhart, 'The founding of villages on Strichen estate, Aberdeenshire' *Scottish Local History* 41 (1997), pp. 12–13.

[45] *Aberdeen J.*, 1 Feb. 1815; NLS, Gordon Cumming Papers deposit 175, box 123. Sir Wm G. Cumming Gordon Bt to the Fishermen inclined to settle at the village of Cummingstown, 1 Oct. 1808; box 61, folder 3. Sketch plans of Cummingstown [*c.* 1808].

[46] Sir G. S. Mackenzie, *A general view of the agriculture of the counties of Ross and Cromarty* (1810), p. 243; NAS, British Fisheries Society Papers, GD 9/132/5, Report Charles Robertson ... Lochbay, 31 Dec. 1797; 196/5, letter, Donald Grant to Gilbert Salton, Ulinish, 14 Nov. 1808. Occasionally allotments for tradesmen were regarded in a negative light where there were prospects for full-time employment, for instance in R. Rennie, 'Plan of an inland village', *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society* 2 (1803), pp. 261–3.

[47] Act 10 Geo. 3 c. 51 The Entail Improvement Act, 1770.

[48] Scottish Catholic Archives, Gordon of Auchintoul Papers, FA 2/21, abstract rental of the feu duty and land rent of the town of Aberchinder ... 1771; University of Aberdeen, Duff House (Montcoffer) Papers, Ms 3175, M series, bundle LXVI, K43 New Village ... to be ... named Fife Keith; *Ibid.*, vol. 234, Ledger feuars of Fife Keith beginning with land rents crop 1817.

size of holding about 1780 was 7.1 acres, individual tenancies ranged from 0.37 to 21.5 acres.[49] The incentive of financial rewards for the greatest amount of land brought in from the waste and for the best crops of grain, sown grass, potatoes and turnips grown on the lotted lands of New Pitsligo led to dramatic changes. Premiums were widely advertised in the *Aberdeen Journal* and in handbills which led to a rapid increase in population. A number of households took advantage of large plots of moorland which were rent free until improved.[50]

Over time, fundamental changes occurred in the tenancy of lotted lands. While reclamation of moorland and moss could meet demand for more land from growing village populations, such as around New Pitsligo (Table 4) and at the Moss of Keith east of New Keith, it was more common to subdivide the fields of an adjacent croft or farm into lots. Macduff (Banffshire) is a good illustration of this process. Until 1761 it was a small seatown. It then underwent significant expansion in the 1760s and 1780s (when it became a burgh). This growth was accompanied by lotted lands being laid out at Tarlair, Myrehouse and Newburn of Morehouse.[51] Similarly, the construction of a new street in the 1790s in Rothes (Morayshire) was also accompanied by the creation of additional lotted lands.[52]

Demand for land was not only linked to rapid population growth. The failure of small-scale textile industries, limited employment opportunities and the tendency for villages to attract labourers and the rural poor meant that land was a valuable asset to the poorer households in such communities. This was certainly true of the smaller planned villages that lacked markets and diversified employment structures such as Urquhart (Morayshire). This village had been founded in 1783–4 to replace the old kirktown and to provide land to landless labourers at a time of widespread famine.[53] Nine years later 27 acres were added to the village lotted lands following a petition by the inhabitants to the landowner, the Earl of Fife.[54]

Conversely, it was progressive depopulation which undermined the system of lotted lands. Depopulation was first recorded throughout the region in the 1860s. In the Buchan District of Aberdeenshire, losses of between 6 per cent (Fetterangus) and 42 per cent (New Byth) occurred between 1871 and 1901.[55] Of New Leeds it was noted in 1912 that 'many of the houses are unoccupied and in a ruinous condition. The village is in a very isolated position and there appears to be little demand for the houses and it would not pay to spend money to maintain the old buildings'.[56] The impact of outward migration on landholdings was less noticeable in

[49] Burnett-Stuart Papers (Crichie House), deed box 'Village of Stuartfield', Notes – Measures and rents *c.* 1770–*c.* 1820.

[50] *Aberdeen J.*, 4 Aug. 1795; 31 May 1796; NLS, Fettercairn Papers, Acc. 4796, second deposit, box 75, handbill, village of New Pitsligo, May 1796.

[51] University of Aberdeen, Duff House (Montcoffer) Papers, Ms 3175, M series, bundle LXVI, K55, Plan of the quarries crofts of Newburn of Morehouse 1786 and 1787; A plan of the Farm of Myrehouse ... 1785; A plan of the farm of Tarlair surveyed Oct. 1783.

[52] *Aberdeen J.*, 22 Feb. 1790; NAS, Seafield Papers, GD 248/2238, rental of the Moray collection, cropt 1780; GD 248/2250, rental of the Moray collection, cropt 1790; GD 248/2258, rental of the Moray collection cropt 1798.

[53] *Northern Scot*, 23 June 1984; NAS, RHP 31339, Plan of the lands of Urquhart lying in the shire of Moray, 1783, by William Urquhart.

[54] University of Aberdeen, Duff House (Montcoffer) Papers, Ms 3175, B series, B2(13)3 2, sketch ... the Lands of Urquhart formerly possessed by John Mantach ... 1793, by James Chapman; *Ibid.*, Articles and conditions to be observed by and binding on those who shall obtain lots of the land ... Urquhart 1794.

[55] BCP 1871 (380) LIX, *Census of Population, Scotland, 1871*, Section III, pp. 127–8; BCP 1901 Cd 1257, *Census of Population, Scotland, 1901*, Section XI, pp. 267–8.

[56] University of Aberdeen, Macdonald Collection, Ms 2626, box 87, letter, Edward Millard & Co. to Messrs Lumley & Lumley: London, 17 Dec. 1912.

the larger communities. In these villages, there were still significant numbers of households able to rent lots that had been given up; however in small villages this was not always so. Writing in 1913 about Mintlaw, the estate factor noted that 'the tendency for some time past has been for the smaller holders to give up their lots which are generally acquired by some of the larger holders'. In this village, six of the twenty-seven landholders farmed 112 out of 199 acres.[57] The pattern was similar in neighbouring villages such as Old Deer and Longside.[58] It is also likely that the consolidation of holdings was linked to the needs of particular occupations such as carriers, innkeepers and dairy owners who wished to expand their businesses. In this period too, neighbouring farmers began to rent lots. When demand from village households for land was buoyant, farmers would have been unwilling to pay the higher rent of individual lots. However, by the turn of the century landowners were prepared to rent unoccupied lots to farmers seeking additional land at agricultural rents. For example William Fyfe of Markethill rented 35 acres at Longside at an average rent of £0.83 per acre, less than half the rent paid by village tenants.[59]

After the First World War, a wider range of pressures on lotted lands became evident, such as competition for land on the village fringe and the sale of landed estates. Two new uses of land emerged in this period that contributed to the erosion of the lotted lands, namely council housing and sports clubs. A number of planned villages had acquired municipal administrations following acts of 1850 and 1862 that permitted places with a population of over 700 to become police burghs. The councils in these burghs enthusiastically embraced their legislative powers to build council housing adjacent the existing built-up area and often on lotted lands purchased from the estate. Such negotiations usually involved the landowner making alternative land available though at a greater distance as at Callander, Perthshire.[60] The creation of sports facilities was also concentrated in the larger settlements. Some sports facilities such as cricket (New Pitsligo), tennis and bowls (Strichen) required only part of a lot. However the creation of golf courses such as the Royal Tarlair Golf Club at Macduff in the mid-1920s and Keith Golf Club at Fife Keith in the early 1960s utilized larger acreages.[61]

While changes in land use affected only parts of the village lands, changes to estate ownership and the sale of individual lots had a profound effect upon the future pattern of holdings and contributed immensely to the demise of lotted lands in many villages. Three variants of this process can be identified. Firstly, landowners might chose to sell some holdings on an estate and offer sitting tenants the opportunity to purchase the land held by them. An example was the sale of lots at New Deer (Brucklay estate) in 1921 by the proprietor, Alexander Dingwall-Fordyce, which resulted in the majority of tenants purchasing their land. Lots which were not taken up in this way were auctioned. Subsequently, individuals could purchase and sell their

[57] *Ibid.*, box 78, letter, Geo. Snowie to Messrs Walker & Duncan: Pitfour Estates Office, 6 Mar. 1913.

[58] *Ibid.*, letter, Robert B. Fyffe to Messrs Walker & Duncan: Aden Estates Office, 6 Mar. 1913; box 74, Statement for Vincent Connell Bruce of Inverquhomery and Longside ... Mar. 1913.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] Stirling Council Archives, Callander Town Council Minutes, CA1/1/6, 20 Mar. 1919–20 Sept. 1920, *passim.*

[61] University of Aberdeen, Duff House (Montcoffer) Papers, Ms 3175, vol. 815, rental of the estates of the trustees ... in the Duff House District, 1924–25 – 1928–29; Keith Town Council Minutes, vols 28–29, 4 May 1962 – 9 Mar. 1964, *passim*; *Banffshire Herald*, 24 Feb., 12 May, 26 May 1962; *Banffshire J.*, 27 Feb. 1962.

lots and after 1960 these were gradually consolidated into larger holdings.[62] Secondly, entire estates were sold, often to a speculator who subsequently broke-up the property into individual holdings which tenants could purchase. This occurred on the Strichen and Pitfour estates in Aberdeenshire in the 1920s after they were secured by Edgar Fairweather, a London-based speculator, who was active in purchasing estates managed by trustees throughout Scotland.[63] While many tenants of lotted lands purchased their holdings, others continued to rent, and the residual estates were managed by the Property Realisation Company based in Inverness which attempted further sales when leases expired. By contrast, the transition from tenancy to owner-occupation of lots was spread over a period of fifteen years at New Aberdour. The sale of the lands of Aberdour and Rosehearty (Brucklay estate) in 1934 by Alexander Dingwall-Fordyce to Thomas Place of Northallerton had only a limited impact on tenancy arrangements on the lotted lands. However in 1947, Lord Brocket purchased the unsold part of the estate and in the course of the next three years the village lots were sold to the sitting tenants.[64]

Thirdly, the sale of an estate also could lead to the end of lotting within a very short period. The years immediately after the Second World War witnessed further changes in estate ownership and management of the remaining lotted lands. At Charlestown of Aberlour (1950) the Aberlour Orphanage purchased Allochy estate and did not renew tenancies.[65] At New Pitsligo, the lotted lands changed little during the ownership of the 21st Lord Clinton (1904–57). The sale of the Pitsligo estate two years after Clinton's death to George Watson, a local farmer, led to the rationalization of holdings in favour of a simpler management strategy of larger fields with the lotted lands being amalgamated into adjacent farms. By 1975, only 142 acres remained, of which about 60 per cent was let to three local farmers, while only ten villagers still had holdings.[66] Recalling these changes in 1997, the laird noted that: 'The last feuar ... to have any village land, relinquished his tenancy last year. My family, separately, farm most of the land. All the "rigs" are into big fields now'.[67]

The most extensive changes impacted on Macduff, Fife Keith and Dufftown in the early 1960s when the estates of the late Duke of Fife were sold by his trustee to pay the death duties of Princess Arthur of Connaught.[68] Most of the lotted lands were purchased by dairy farmers and calf breeders, though some land at Fife Keith and Dufftown was acquired by the town councils for house building and amenity purposes. These changes were not always popular among holders of lotted land. The population of Fife Keith had maintained a tradition of part-time cultivation and on the portion of lotted lands that had been purchased by Keith Town Council, several

[62] Brucklay Estates Office, Shevado, Maud, Brucklay Letter Book no. 18 *passim*; *Buchan Observer*, 18 Jan. 1921.

[63] *Buchan Observer*, 15 Sept. – 3 Nov. 1925 *passim* (Strichen); 30 Mar. 1926–30 Nov. 1926, *passim* (Pitfour); 29 Nov. 1932 (obituary of E. C. Fairweather); J. M. Bulloch, *The last Baird laird of Auchmeddan and Strichen: The case of Mr Abington* (1934), pp. 13–14; NAS, Inverness Sasines, 7 July 1925; Renfrew Sasines 25 June 1927; Kirkcudbright Sasines 19 Aug. 1927.

[64] Brucklay Estates Office, Brucklay Letter Book no. 21, p. 578, 4 June 1934; *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 30 May 1934; NAS, Aberdeen Sasines, 18 Oct. 1935–11 Mar. 1953 *passim*; Valuation Roll, County of Aberdeen, 1935–6 and 1948–9.

[65] *Northern Scot*, 2 Sept. 1950; Valuation Roll, County of Banff, 1951–2 and 1955–6.

[66] *Banffshire J.*, 1 Dec. 1959; *Buchan Observer*, 1 Dec. 1959; Valuation Roll, County of Aberdeen, 1960–1; Middlemuir Farm Office, Pitsligo Estate, Village land rents payable to Martinmas 1975.

[67] Personal communication from Mr. George Watson, Fraserburgh, 19 Dec. 1997.

[68] *Banffshire J.*, 18 July, 29 Sept., 7 Nov. 1961; 27 Feb., 22 May 1962; *Banffshire Herald*, 4 Nov. 1961.

tenants objected to their lots being incorporated in the proposed golf course. They contended that they had held their lots over a long period, they enjoyed farming activities and that satisfactory alternative land was not offered to them, though eventually they succumbed to pressure from the community to give-up their tenancies.[69] At Macduff, most of the lands were purchased by four dairies, from which cows continued to graze on pasture, thus maintaining a tenuous link with the past. By the early 1980s, only one of these remained.[70]

On those estates that did not change hands, the lotted land system slowly waned. Neighbouring farmers have acquired most of the pendicles at Guildtown (Perthshire) and when the decision not to renew leases on the Drummond Estate was taken in 1950 it brought to a close a long period of gradual decline in village farming. In Burrelton and Wolfhill, there had been more than fifty landholders in the early 1870s; by 1920 this had declined to twenty-seven and in 1950, just twelve holdings remained.[71]

By 1965, lotted lands managed by estates survived in only a few places such as Tomintoul (Banffshire). This upland village was still surrounded by a large acreage of lots where some individual boundaries had not changed since they were re-organized in 1825. The village lands were part of the Glenlivet estate owned by the Crown Estate which provided continuity of ownership. Nevertheless, amalgamation of tenancies proceeded steadily. About sixty tenants remained in 1960, but their numbers had been halved by 1973 and in 1999 only eight remained. Here too it has been management policy to allow neighbouring farmers to acquire lots that had been given up by the smaller tenants in order to make their farms more commercially viable with the result that four of the eight rented 91 per cent of the lots.[72]

IV

The evidence for animal husbandry and cropping patterns on lotted lands is more fragmented and is largely confined to the period after 1860. The chief purpose of lotted lands was to provide households with sufficient land to keep one or possibly two cows to produce milk for domestic use and for general sale. Animal fodder requirements strongly influenced land use and holdings were worked in small shifts with about half in grass and the remainder cropped. The crop rotation that evolved to support them was usually a five or six course rotation, the six-year rotation comprising three years of grass, then oats, turnips and oats. Animals were housed in byres that were situated in the yards (gardens) of villages and were accessible to the lanes that linked the streets and the lotted lands, the animals being driven out each day to pasture. A few people kept small herds of cows, the forerunners of village dairies that flourished until about 1970, while horses were essential for tradesmen such as masons and carters. Additional grazing

[69] *Banffshire Herald*, 26 May 1962.

[70] Macduff Town Council, *Macduff and its harbour* (1966), p. 13; *ibid.*, (sec. edn, 1983), p. 14.

[71] Guildry Incorporation of Perth, Minutes of meeting of Committee of Management 1913–84; Tenant's Accounts, vols 4 and 5; Drummond Estates Office, Muthill rentals of the Estates, nos 2–9; *ibid.*, Abstract of rentals, year to 31 Mar. 1951.

[72] NAS, Records of the Crown Estates Commissioners, CR6/31, Glenlivet Estate rental, 1960–1; CR6/35, Glenlivet Estate rental, 1973–4; Crown Estate Office, Edinburgh, The Crown Estate Valuation 31 Mar. 1999; Lotted Lands Tomintoul spreadsheet [1999].

for these animals could be obtained from households who sub-let their lots, while in larger villages fields known as grass parks were let by the landowner on annual leases.[73]

Part-time farming was therefore an essential component in the life of planned village communities. Moreover, working land continued a tradition present in the pre-improver period when tradesmen in fermtouns, kirktowns and burghs of barony had an interest in agriculture. The importance of the lotted lands in planned villages can be seen in the parish descriptions in the *Old Statistical Account* (1790s) and the *New Statistical Account* (1830s).[74] Collectively these point to achievements in reclaiming wasteland, a strong commitment to the land and the important contribution made by lotted lands to the rent rolls of estates. The typical pattern of landholdings in a medium-size village such as Newmill (population – 499 in 1841) was 176 lots divided among eighty households.[75] Each household tenanted two or three lots which were widely scattered in several former farmlands. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, there was a heavy dependency upon these lots. The 1851 Census recorded that 24 per cent of household heads were in agricultural employment while a further 37 per cent were not employed. Most of the latter group would have relied on the produce of their lots.[76] Support for this view can be found in a detailed letter written by George Laing to Sir John Stuart Forbes, owner of the Pitsligo estate in Aberdeenshire in 1830. Laing emphasizes the attachment of the villagers to their land because 'there is little or no manufacturing or trade and the people all depending entirely on the produce of their lots of land'.[77]

Writers have generally agreed that the lotted lands contributed significantly to the prosperity of communities in the nineteenth century and for some time afterwards. These enabled tenants to eke out their income and occupy their spare time. Estimating the proportion of family income that was derived from working lotted lands is quite complex. While rent payments and income from crops that were auctioned are well documented, information on the cost of tools and equipment, outbuildings and inputs such as manure, and investment in drainage and fencing is very patchy. Moreover income would have varied from one year to the next depending on crop productivity and prices obtained at auction while many transactions, such as sales to other villagers, are not recorded. Taking as an example, a typical holding of 5 acres (two acres in oats, one acre in turnips and two acres in grass), in the early 1880s, rent averaged £1.60 per acre and the crop would have fetched about £35 at auction.[78] However, it is likely that only some of these crops would have been sold. The price of fertilizers was between 5 and 10 per cent of rent paid while the cost of drainage and fencing was usually shared, with the estate contributing materials such as tile drains and the tenant providing the labour. The costs of ploughing and sowing are difficult to assess. Many villagers took great pride in their ploughing skills and competed regularly in local ploughing matches, others employed carters and occasionally farmers provided

[73] *Buchan Observer*, 12 Mar. 1929, p. 2.

[74] For example *OSA* V, p. 421; Rev. J. Gordon (ed.), *The statistical account of Scotland by the ministers of the respective parishes* (15 vols, 1845), hereafter *NSA*, XII, p. 281; XIII, pp. 390, 230.

[75] University of Aberdeen, Duff House (Montcoffer) Papers, Ms 3175, A219(1)1, Rental of the lands possessed by feuars of Newmill crop 1812.

[76] Census Enumerators' Books 1851, Keith Parish, Banffshire (seen on microfilm at the Local Heritage Centre, Grant Lodge, Elgin).

[77] NLS, Fettercairn Papers, acc. 4796, box 37, letter, Philanthropus (George Laing) to Sir John S. Forbes: New Pitsligo, 8 Feb. 1830.

[78] These calculations are based on reports on the sale of growing crops and wages paid at feeing markets in the *Banffshire J.* and the *Buchan Observer*; *Aberdeen Herald and Weekly Free Press*, 15 May 1886.

this service, sometimes as a favour, more often for payment in the form of a few day's labour at turnip hoeing or at harvest time. In addition, holdings of this size would have supported a cow, making the household independent for dairy produce and providing surplus milk that could be sold. In short, working five acres of lotted land could contribute the equivalent of an additional 50 per cent of income for a tradesman. Earnings of this magnitude from part-time farming also had a wider appeal that ranged from a subsistence income for the unskilled and the elderly to a rewarding hobby for those in professional employment. Moreover, the large village gardens were used to produce potatoes and other vegetables and fruit and some of this produce was displayed at the annual village shows organized by its horticultural society which had become an established feature of village social life by mid-Victorian times.

By the late-nineteenth century, depopulation had enabled a number of tenants to increase their holdings from two or three acres to 15–20 acres. Larger holdings typically comprized lots that had been acquired from tenants who had chosen to give up farming. As a consequence, specialization in livestock enterprizes, particularly cattle and pigs, became the norm among the larger land holders while the smaller tenants, like their predecessors, usually only possessed a cow. In addition, some villagers owned two or three houses in order to acquire the land that was attached to them to support more animals. The extra houses were sub-let to people in full-time employment such as railwaymen or servicemen.[79]

The records of the Scottish Land Court provide information on the acreage of land rented and ownership of animals of those applying for the legal status of statutory small tenant which enabled the Court to fix rent levels. Taking New Pitsligo as an example, records during 1913–14 show that 24 per cent of tenants owned horses and 47 per cent had cattle.[80] In 1959, a questionnaire was conducted among tenants in this village that provides particularly detailed information on the ownership of livestock. A sixty-three per cent response rate from the 109 tenants showed that about 37 per cent owned cattle and almost as many owned sheep. Poultry (26 per cent) were also common, while three respondents specialized in pig farming.[81] Although the survey is the only one of its kind known to exist, it is likely that the pattern of livestock farming was fairly typical of other villages that still retained lotted lands at this time, and apart from the demise of horses for transport and ploughing, of livestock ownership in the early part of the century as well.

Evidence given at the hearings of the Scottish Land Court suggests that oats, turnips, barley and grass were the most common crops on lotted lands, though potatoes were also cultivated, especially on lots improved from moorland. With the exception of Strichen in 1912, where oats accounted for 40 per cent of the acreage and turnips and hay accounted for a further 45 per cent, there is little evidence in these reports of the acreage given over to each crop in a particular season.[82] In large and comparatively prosperous villages such as Keith, Macduff and Aberchirder (Banffshire) and Turriff and New Deer (Aberdeenshire) much of the crop was auctioned on the ground a few weeks before harvesting. Crop sale advertisements were therefore searched in an effort to provide more information on cropping patterns. A number of local newspapers were examined. Some, such as *The Banffshire Herald* and *The Moray and Nairn Express* [*The*

[79] *Aberdeen Herald and Weekly Free Press*, 15 May 1886.

[80] Aberdeen Sheriff Court, Landholder's Holdings Book, part one, applications to the Scottish Land Court.

[81] Middlemuir Farm Office, New Pitsligo village lands, particulars of applicants, Nov. 1959.

[82] Aberdeen Sheriff Court, Scottish Land Court, Lotted lands Strichen, notes on behalf of proprietors, Strichen Estates Office, 31 Mar. 1913.

TABLE 5. Village crop sale advertisements in the *Banffshire Journal* and the *Buchan Observer*, 1847–1930

	Annual Sales		*Individual Sales*	
	Banffshire J.	*Buchan Observer*	*Banffshire J.*	*Buchan Observer*
Oats	58	14	37	14
Barley (including bear)	19	3	4	1
Corn (unspecified)	23	18	15	1
Turnips	41	22	18	6
Potatoes	18	16	10	–
Grass (and temporary grazing)	4	2	1	–
Hay	16	23	13	8
Straw	5	2	–	1

Note: Most corn sales would have been oats.
Sources: *Banffshire J.* 1847–1930; *Buchan Observer* 1863–1930 (known as *East Aberdeenshire Observer* between 1875 and 1893).

Northern Scot] which were published at Keith and Elgin only contained advertisements for sales in a few villages close to these towns. However, it was found that two in particular, *The Banffshire Journal* and *The Buchan Observer*, which had wider circulations, carried a large number of sale notices for crops grown on lotted lands between the mid-nineteenth century and about 1930. Such notices fall into two broad categories, first, the sale of crops belonging to one person, and second, auctions of the crops from a number of holdings. In addition, local correspondents reported on a large number of these sales and sometimes gave details of the crops sold from particular holdings, the price per acre or drill and the names and addresses of purchasers. The pattern of crop sales is summarized in Table 5. This highlights the dominance of oats throughout Aberdeenshire, Banffshire and Morayshire. Turnips, although grown on smaller acreages, were almost as common, reflecting their importance as winter fodder for cattle. Barley sales were less frequent, due to purchases by whisky distilleries in lowland areas of Moray and Banffshire, while the altitude of individual villages such as Dufftown and Archiestown prevented barley reaching an adequate standard.[83] Finally, sales of hay and potatoes were generally sporadic and small-scale, suggesting that much production was for family use.

V

In addition to lotted lands, households in planned villages had access to two further land resources: commonties and moss. Commonties were areas of uncultivated land whose use was shared among the population of the village. These were most frequently areas of rough pasture where cattle and horses from the village were turned out to graze. A secondary function was the opportunity to gather building materials such as stone, clay and divot. Exceptions to this pattern were fairly rare, however the commonty of the Haugh of Letham (Angus) was used for

[83] H. Hamilton (ed.), *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Banff* (1960), p. 367.

bleaching cloth and washing linen, and not surprisingly pasturing was discouraged, though the Feuars of Letham were compensated with rights to dig clay in a second commonty.[84]

Village commonties covered relatively small areas; Stuartfield, for example, had two commonties, one of five acres at the northern edge of the village and another more extensive area south of the settlement. Commonties were often criticized for their untidy appearance. In 1841, the north commonty of Stuartfield was described by the estate factor as an unimproved waste 'and a most complete eye sore'. About twenty years later, James Beattie of Aberdeen was employed to survey the village lands, and his report was equally unfavourable: 'the ground is very wet and broken up by the digging out of clay and such like; is both unseemly and injurious from its wetness to the health of the villagers'.[85] The number of villages with formally established commonties is not known, but virtually every settlement had specific areas where the feuars could acquire building materials and periodically graze their cattle. In Angus and east Perthshire, where it has already been noted lotted lands were less common, landed proprietors made available quarries to furnish building materials and these may be regarded as a substitute for the privileges that commonties offered.[86]

The importance of village commonties began to diminish in the late nineteenth century. Houses built with finished stone and slate roofs replaced those with rough stone or clay walls and thatched roofs whilst grazing needs could be accommodated on the lotted lands. As a result, rights in commonties lapsed into disuse and the lands returned, by agreement with the feuars, into the proprietor's possession.

Peat mosses were a further resource that were highly valued and helped attract population to villages.[87] When a village was founded, part of the unimproved lands were selected as a source of peat fuel for the village. Moss lands were carefully regulated by agreements, known as moss tolerances, that were drawn up to define the quantity of peat each household was allowed to dig each year for which a payment, known as moss mail, was made. Feuars were not permitted to sell peats or graze their cattle and horses on the moss and a moss grieve was appointed to enforce these regulations and settle disputes.

When a moss was nearly exhausted, the proprietor would open another area for exploitation. In Strichen, the first tolerance was issued for the Little Moss of Mormond, but within three years, part of the larger Borrowhill Moss was opened for digging and a further 11½ acres was allocated in 1792.[88] As a consequence of digging peat and reclamation for lotted lands the areas of moss were greatly reduced. Between 1845 and 1875, 230 acres were reclaimed at New Pitsligo, while the mosses near New Leeds contracted from 120 to 40 acres.[89]

[84] NAS, Forfar Sheriff Court, Register of Deeds, Deed of privileges to the inhabitants of Letham of Dunnichen, 17 Dec. 1789, registered 22 Dec. 1789

[85] Burnett-Stuart Papers (Crichie House), deed box 'Village of Stuartfield', memo for Mr. Burnett Stuart of Dens, 1841; report and valuation of farms and crofts etc on the lands of Crichie and Dens ... by James Forbes Beattie, Aberdeen, 21 Jan. 1865.

[86] Sheffield City Libraries, Wharncliffe muniments, Wh.M. 277, General conditions under which the lots of ground in the new village of Newtyle are to be disposed of, 30 Sept. 1833.

[87] See, for example, Auchenblae, Kincardineshire in G. Robertson, *General view of the agriculture of the County of Kincardine or The Mearns* (1813), p. 204.

[88] NAS, Aberdeen Sheriff Court, Register of Deeds, Contract and agreement betwixt Alexander Fraser Esq. and the feuars of Mormond village, 17 Apr. 1792, registered 17 May 1792; Innes and Mackay, Solicitors, Inverness, Fraser of Strichen Papers, agreement, the villagers for firing from the Moss of Borrowhill, 1769.

[89] J. Peter, *The peat mosses of Buchan* (Aberdeen, 1875).

VI

Lotted lands played an important role in the economic life of planned villages between the mid-eighteenth century and the mid-twentieth century. This is reflected in the drainage and improvement of moorland where part-time farmers pushed cultivation into previously neglected areas. Village lands at various times provided subsistence for the poor, a supplementary source of income for tradesmen, a significant opportunity for village entrepreneurs, a recreational interest and additional land for farmers.

Although lotted lands had such an important role in the life of village communities, they have tended to be overshadowed by other land-related issues such as the Highland Clearances, the land question in the late-nineteenth century and land resettlement during the inter-war period. Lotted lands were rarely discussed in local newspapers or in the weekly farming newspaper, *The North British Agriculturist.* They were also overlooked by writers in periodicals such as the *Farmer's Magazine,* the *Journal of Scottish Agriculture* and *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.* Although writers in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* frequently commented on allotments they (unfortunately) ignored parallel practices on lotted lands in Scotland. Finally, when Victorian and early twentieth-century photographers visited planned villages, they appear to have been more interested in street scenes and public buildings. Only two photographs that clearly show cropping on lotted lands, one of harvesting operations at Dufftown (plate 1) and the other of livestock on lotted lands at Aberchirder, have been located.[90] In addition, a small number of general views of places such as Keith and Rothes were published in the Christmas supplements of local newspapers in the post-1950 period and some of these picture part of the adjoining lotted lands.[91]

Fortunately, sources such as estate plans and estate papers, Ordnance Survey large-scale maps and Valuation Rolls contain detailed evidence of the structure, tenancies and, to a lesser extent, the farming activities which characterized this field system. Present-day landscapes occasionally provide clues to past farming activities on the lotted lands. A few rectangular lots survive east of Gordon Lane in New Aberdour, out buildings that once served as byres can be found in rear gardens in many places and access lanes still link villages with distant fields. Today only Tomintoul has retained its lotted lands: the lots between the village and the A693 to Corgarff remain excellent examples of this field system.

The lotted lands of New Pitsligo, New Keith, Tomintoul and Strichen have figured prominently in the discussion. Although these are among the best documented, it is clear that from the area under cultivation, and their widespread occurrence, that lotted lands deserve recognition as a significant element in the changing Scottish rural landscape of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the economy of its inhabitants.

[90] University of Aberdeen, George Washington Wilson Collection, C3418, Dufftown from west *c.* 1880; *Aul'Turra* (Turriff, 1997), p. 36 (New Byth from the foot of Bridge Street); *Buchan Observer,* 14 Oct. 1924, p. 2 [Fetterangus]; University of St Andrews, Valentine Collection A8357, Aberchirder.

[91] *Banffshire Herald,* 17 Dec. 1955, p. 6; *Northern Scot* [Christmas Number], 25 Dec. 1961, p. 53.

The employment of women and children in agriculture: a reassessment of agricultural gangs in nineteenth-century Norfolk

by Nicola Verdon

Abstract

This article examines one of the most infamous forms of rural labour in nineteenth-century Norfolk: the agricultural gang. Using Parliamentary Papers as its source, the paper argues that some previous interpretations of this form of organized labour have both exaggerated the scale of ganging in the county, and misrepresented the composition of agricultural gangs. It will be shown that, far from exploiting the cheap labour of young children and adult women across Norfolk, by the 1860s, agricultural gangs mainly consisted of a youthful workforce and were regionally concentrated in the west of the county. It calls for a more considered approach to using Parliamentary Papers to prevent the perpetuation of generalizations concerning female and child labour in the nineteenth-century countryside.

In recent years research on the employment of female and child labourers in British agriculture in the period after 1750 has expanded significantly. The potentially substantial, even vital role women's and children's earnings played in family subsistence is now generally recognized. Despite this, our knowledge of the position of women and children in rural society is still far from complete: in too many instances consideration of female or childhood issues is still subject to generalization and marginalization. The current state of research on women's farm labour in the early industrial period from 1700 to 1850 has been highlighted by Pamela Sharpe in a recent article for this *Review*. She argues that historians' knowledge of female employment in this period is still sketchy, a situation that can only be rectified by 'exploration of the regional context of women's work' to 'provide a fuller and more nuanced picture'.[1] Recent detailed research on a number of English counties has begun to reveal the complex regional diversity of rural women's work in agriculture. Judy Gielgud has shown that in Northumberland, women remained a vital component of the agricultural workforce into the twentieth century, whilst Celia Miller and Helen Speechley demonstrate that even in parts of the south-west, substantial numbers of women (and children) were employed as part of the agricultural day labour force well into the nineteenth century.[2] Joyce Burnette on the other hand argues work

[1] Pamela Sharpe, 'The female labour market in English agriculture during the Industrial Revolution: expansion or contraction?', *AgHR* 47 (1999), p. 162.

[2] Judy Gielgud, 'Nineteenth-century farm women in Northumberland and Cumbria: the neglected workforce' (D.Phil thesis, University of Sussex, 1992); Celia Miller, 'The hidden workforce. Female fieldworkers in Gloucestershire, 1870–1901', *Southern Hist.*, 6 (1984), pp. 139–161; Helen V. Speechley, 'Female and child agricultural day labourers in Somerset, *c.* 1685–1870' (University of Exeter Ph.D thesis, 1999).

opportunities for women in south Yorkshire fell over the period between 1770 and 1830.[3] This article seeks to contribute to the growing historiography on the employment patterns of rural women and children by presenting a regional case study of one of the most notorious aspects of farm labour in nineteenth-century Norfolk – the agricultural gang – and reassessing the importance historians have hitherto accorded this form of labour.

As the quintessential corn growing arable region of nineteenth-century England, the county of Norfolk is by no means underrepresented in the literature on agricultural change, agrarian conditions and the rural workforce. However, wherever female and child labour is discussed to any extent, it is largely in relation to the gang system. Contemporary observers and official investigators were fascinated and mostly scandalized by this type of organized labour. The Rector of South Acre echoed the opinion of many when he commented in 1843: 'I have been resident in this parish forty years, and can, from my own personal knowledge, affirm that the gang-system has produced, and is still producing, on the rising generation, morally, physically and intellectually, immense evil.'[4] Later historians, reliant on the parliamentary reports of the nineteenth century for the bulk of their evidence, have also focussed on the existence of ganging in Norfolk. Some writers have suggested that the system of organized labour in the form of gangs of women and child workers was widespread in Norfolk in the period after 1830. In many respects Ivy Pinchbeck's account of ganging, published in 1930, remains the most substantial and influential piece of analysis. She argues that although gangs existed before 1834, 'it was not until after the New Poor Law and the new economic situation that gang-work really developed, especially in connection with the work of women and children'.[5] Pinchbeck is assertive in her claim that gangs were widespread across the county of Norfolk, as well as on the Lincolnshire Wolds and Fens. In these areas, she contends, 'where a great deal of weeding and light labour was required, almost all the work was done by the gangs which grew up naturally in the open villages'.[6] This view of Norfolk ganging has been adopted by other historians and is well established as the orthodox account. Alun Howkins for example, implies that women's work in agricultural gangs was widespread. 'It was in eastern England, in the great wheatlands, especially Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire that the casual employment of women seems to have been both most widespread and organised'.[7] Most recently, Katrina Honeyman, echoing Pinchbeck, has argued that women joined gangs in search of casual employment to avoid the workhouse, and that this form of labour 'became more prevalent after 1834, especially in the eastern counties, in order to meet irregular demands for labour on large farms'.[8]

However, although the gang system has been represented by many as a widespread system

[3] Joyce Burnette, 'Laborers at the Oakes. Changes in the demand for female day-laborers at a farm near Sheffield during the Agricultural Revolution', *JEcH* 39 (1999), pp. 41–67. See also Pamela Sharpe, *Adapting to capitalism. Working women in the English economy, 1700–1850* (1996); Nicola Verdon, 'Changing patterns of female employment in rural England, *c.* 1790–1890 (University of Leicester Ph.D. thesis, 1999).

[4] BPP, 1843, XII, *Reports of Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioner on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture*, Report by Mr Stephen Denison on Suffolk, Norfolk and Lincolnshire, p. 277.

[5] Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (1930, 1981 edn), p. 86.

[6] Pinchbeck, *Women workers*, p. 87.

[7] Alun Howkins, *Reshaping rural England: a social history, 1850–1925* (1991), p. 106.

[8] Katrina Honeyman, *Women, gender and industrialisation in England, 1700–1870* (2000), p. 79.

of organized labour which drew heavily on a surplus of cheap child and female labour across Norfolk (as well as other eastern counties), some writers have sounded a note of caution. In particular it has been suggested that the system in Norfolk was, in fact, largely concentrated in the west of the county. Jennie Kitteringham, for example, argues that the system 'was most firmly established in the Fen districts of East Anglia ...', whilst G. E. Mingay points out it was in 'districts where large acreages had recently been enclosed from waste ...' that gangs predominated.[9] Another point of debate has surrounded the role of the 'open' and 'close' parish system in generating and perpetuating the gang system in Norfolk. It is therefore surprising that there has been no attempt to resolve these issues through a detailed study looking specifically at the incidence and composition of agricultural gangs in nineteenth-century Norfolk. Indeed it would seem that the presence of much accessible contemporary published material has given the impression of a more consummate understanding of this topic than is actually the case. Reassessing the available evidence, this article will argue that some previous writers on nineteenth-century Norfolk may have distorted and exaggerated the role played by agricultural gangs by an over simplistic reading of contemporary evidence. The first section will present an overview of ganging in nineteenth-century Norfolk and review explanations for the evolution and growth of the system in the county. The next section will go on to present a close reading of all the evidence presented in two nineteenth-century reports: the *Sixth Report of the Children's Employment Commission* (1867) and the *First Report from the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture* (1867–8). As already suggested, these are sources familiar to all historians of women's labour in nineteenth-century agriculture and are often quoted. However, the information contained in these reports is often taken at face-value and incorporated into analyses without critical assessment. Although much of the evidence presented in these official sources is impressionistic, it will be shown that they contain a great deal of untapped material which can throw some fresh light onto the subject of agricultural gangs. Through the unravelling of such evidence, this article will reveal that by the mid-nineteenth century, gangs in Norfolk were largely located in the western part of the county and that they employed mainly children and unmarried teenagers between the ages of seven and eighteen. That gangs offered employment opportunities to only a small proportion of adult women and very young children in the county has important implications for arguments which suggest the widespread exploitation of cheap child and female labour to feed the demands of an increasingly capitalist farming system in Norfolk in the mid-nineteenth century.

I

According to contemporary accounts agricultural gangs in nineteenth-century Norfolk fell into two categories: public and private. The public gang system originated in the Norfolk parish of Castle Acre in the mid-1820s.[10] J. H. Bloom, writing in the early 1840s, was one of the first authors

[9] Jennie Kitteringham, 'Country work girls in nineteenth-century England', in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *Village life and labour* (1975), p. 98; G. E. Mingay, *A social history of the English countryside* (1990), p. 102.

[10] John Todd, overseer of a gang, told the 1843 Royal Commission that the system had been running for seventeen years. BPP, 1843, XII, report by Denison, p. 276. That date – 1826 – is the one Pinchbeck uses in her analysis. Pinchbeck, *Women workers*, p. 87.

to make detailed reference to the existence of the system in the parish of Castle Acre. 'A custom has for many years prevailed in the place, and been encouraged by the occupiers in adjacent parishes, to farm out the work necessary to be done on their respective lands to one or two individuals, who shall provide hands to accomplish it in the best manner and on the most reasonable terms'.[11] Thus the gangs operated essentially as a system of subcontracting between farmers and gangmasters. Farmers with a particular piece of work to be done which demanded a large number of labourers, would contract a gangmaster to carry out the work for an agreed sum of money. The gangmaster would then employ sufficient numbers of women and children to perform the task, working in gangs and paid at a daily rate. Private gangs, which were defined in the 1860s as 'a group of children, young persons and women in a farmer's own employ, and superintended by one of his own labourers', existed alongside the public gang system in Norfolk.[12] It was the public gangs which aroused most contention in the mid-nineteenth century and against which legislation was directed. Numbers employed in public gangs typically totalled around twenty, whilst private companies tended to be smaller.[13] Standard jobs performed by both public and private gangs varied according to the season but consisted principally of three main tasks: the cleaning of land by weeding and stonepicking, the planting and then the harvesting of root crops such as turnips, potatoes and mangolds. Hours of work were generally 8 am until 5 pm, with an hour break in the middle of the day, although working days were shorter in winter. Bands of workers travelled to their work on foot, often covering distances of up to eight miles each way. Occasionally the farmer would provide a cart for excessive distances or gangs would stay overnight in a barn, although both were exceptional practices. Remuneration for women gang members was typically 8*d.* or 9*d.* a day in the mid-nineteenth century. Children usually received 3*d.* or 4*d.* a day. Labourers employed in the Norfolk gang system thus obtained day wages on piecework tasks, foregoing the increased profits usually associated with the latter.[14] Moreover, if bad weather curtailed the day's work, labourers were not paid for their time.

The public gang system in particular was usually considered an exploitative one, with farmers and gangmasters benefiting at the expense of workers. Employers benefited from the system by getting work completed quickly and cheaply, paying female and child day rates for piecework. Gang labour could be used if and when needed, and could be easily dispensed with at the end of a task. The gangmaster was responsible for the work and behaviour of the gang, freeing the farmer – or any of the farmer's regular labourers – from supervisory tasks. The gangmaster profited from the system by being elevated to the position of overseer and received remuneration relative to this role. They were often depicted by contemporaries as brutal and tyrannical men of little refinement. Bloom wrote, 'These parties are termed *gang* masters, and a very significant term it is, for surely no gang of wretched slaves beneath the sweltering sun of the tropics, could materially fall beneath the generality of persons thus assembled in intellectual debasement and moral depravity'.[15] Similarly, Joseph Arch argued that the gangmaster was 'a

[11] Rev. J. H. Bloom, *Notices, historical and antiquarian, of the castle and priory at Castleacre in the county of Norfolk* (1843), p. 307.

[12] BPP, 1867–8, XVII, *First Report from the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture*, report by Rev. James Fraser, on Norfolk, Essex, Sussex, Gloucester and parts of Suffolk, p. 11.

[13] The term 'company' was used interchangeably with 'gang' by contemporaries.

[14] BPP, 1843, XII, report by Denison, p. 276.

[15] Bloom, *Castleacre*, p. 307.

rough bullying fellow, who could bluster and swear and threaten and knock the youngsters about and brow-beat the women, but who was nothing of a workman himself ...'.[16] Gangmasters took as much as a third of the wages of those in his gang. According to the Diocesan Inspector of Schools for Norwich, this could total as much as *15s.* to *20s.* a week on a gang of 15 to 20 people in the 1860s.[17] They also made profits by selling provisions to gang members. One witness, who gave evidence to the 1843 Royal Commission on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture, argued that the gangmaster in her parish kept 'a flour shop', forcing 'all his gang to deal with him'.[18] Although the gang system was seen as being particularly disadvantageous to those who laboured under it, it was often argued that this was the only form of employment available to many rural women and children in Norfolk. In the region surrounding Castle Acre in the 1840s, for example, it was suggested that 'were it not for the gang-system many persons would be out of work altogether, who are now enabled by great toil to earn some sort of livelihood'.[19]

Attention was first drawn to the existence of the gang system in 1843 by the report of the Royal Commission on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture. As Pinchbeck points out, although at that time the system was still in its infancy, the Commissioner who reported on Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire, Stephen Denison, 'found it almost universally condemned in consequence of its injurious influences, both moral and physical'.[20] Denison focussed his report on the case of Castle Acre. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, as already shown, this was the parish in which the system had been functioning the longest and could therefore be seen as the place most familiar with the operation of the gangs. Secondly, Castle Acre could be highlighted as the most extreme example of a parish labouring under a system which was seen to be damaging to the local population. In many ways Castle Acre was a unique Norfolk parish, but the condemnation of the gang system and those who laboured under it was used to draw attention to the wider social and moral issues arising out of the operation of the gangs in other Norfolk villages. Denison attributed most of the problems associated with Castle Acre '*in the first instance* to the peculiar circumstances of that parish'.[21] Castle Acre, he argued, was an 'open' parish, in the hands of a considerable number of proprietors, while surrounding parishes were dominated by one or two landowners who restricted cottage building in their villages to control settlements and keep the poor rates low. People were forced to reside in Castle Acre in poor quality housing charged at exorbitant rents by speculative landlords and, as a consequence, the village became 'overstocked with inhabitants that do not properly belong to it', whilst adjoining parishes did not accommodate enough residents to cultivate the soil.[22] He quoted supporting evidence from local landowners, farmers and overseers, one of whom famously described the parish as 'the coop of all the scrapings in the county'.[23] Denison contended that the solution to the evils existing in Castle Acre would not be resolved by simply abolishing the gang system. Instead the solution lay in the hands of neighbouring landowners who should be made responsible for their employees' well-being. Karen Sayer has analysed the ideological

[16] John Gerard O'Leary (ed.), *The autobiography of Joseph Arch* (1966), pp. 92–3.

[17] BPP, 1867–8, XVII, Evidence to Fraser's report, pp. 83–5.

[18] BPP, 1843, XII, Report by Denison, p. 275.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 223–4.

[20] Pinchbeck, *Women workers*, pp. 87–8.

[21] BPP, 1843, XII, Report by Denison, p. 221.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

constructs which underpinned the nineteenth-century Parliamentary Papers and points out that the Commissioner's opinions in 1843 were informed by the middle-class construction of the rural idyll. In this vision the closed village, with its paternalistic landowner and deferential social relations, was seen to form the ideal model of an organic community.[24] Denison's attitudes were summed up when he wrote:

> If those 103 stranger families, who now swell the amount of crime and misery at Castle Acre, were living in their own parishes, subject to the control of their landlords, aided by their care and kindness, guided by their example benefited by that chance contact with persons of birth, education, and station, which directly tends to civilise ... Castle Acre would not be reproached ... its own native population would be uncontaminated by the refuge of other parishes; the gang system would necessarily cease and Castle Acre would no longer by what it now is, the most miserable rural parish I ever saw.[25]

The contention that the 'open' and 'close' parish system created and perpetuated the gang system in Norfolk pervades later nineteenth-century Royal Commissions. The summary section of the *Sixth Report of the Children's Employment Commission* argued that the gang system was a 'direct result ... of the pulling down of cottages in what are termed "close" parishes to avoid poor rates, and thereby driving the agricultural population off the land and into distant villages and towns ...'.[26] James Fraser, who reported on Norfolk for the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, used the categories as a model of analysis throughout his writing. He contends, 'It is impossible to exaggerate the ill-effects of such a state of things in every aspect – physical, social, economical, moral, intellectual ... Socially nothing can be more wretched than the condition of "open" parishes like Docking in Norfolk, and South Cerney in Gloucestershire'.[27] This is an argument which historians such as Pinchbeck and Kitteringham have utilized.[28] More recently, however, Sarah Banks has questioned this model for understanding nineteenth-century rural society. Banks contends that the 'open' and 'close' parish issue should 'properly be regarded as a scandal exaggerated by advocates of settlement law reform'.[29] She shows, using the 1851 census return, that the rapid growth in Castle Acre's population in the first half of the nineteenth century was caused less by an influx of people from neighbouring parishes, and more by the low levels of out-migration from the parish.[30] This was because people living in Castle Acre had opportunities to work in local trades and crafts, as well as in agriculture. Furthermore, in none of the surrounding parishes did the population decline in the first decades of the century, but as husbandry tasks became more intensive – coupled with a ready supply of cheap labour – farmers were encouraged to employ more labourers generally, whether from their own or other parishes. Castle

[24] Karen Sayer, *Women of the fields. Representations of rural women in the nineteenth century* (1995), p. 38.

[25] BPP, 1843, XII, Report by Denison, p. 226.

[26] BPP, 1867, XVI, *Sixth Report of the Children's Employment Commission.* Summary report by H. S. Tremenheere and E. C. Tufnell, p. xxi.

[27] BPP, 1867–8, XVII, report by Fraser, p. 95.

[28] Pinchbeck, *Women workers*, p. 87; Kitteringham, 'Country work girls', p. 98.

[29] Sarah Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model? A new look at "open" and "close" parishes', *EcHR* 41 (1988), p. 51.

[30] Banks' analysis of the Castle Acre census returns for 1851 shows that the proportion of migrants – or non-native inhabitants – aged 15 and over living in the parish was actually smaller than the percentage of migrants residi ng in other neighbouring parishes. Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model?', p. 69.

Acre, even in times of greatest demand, did have an excess of labour power which neighbouring parishes relied and drew upon.[31]

Thus another explanation often used to account for the rise of ganging in Norfolk lay in local farming patterns. Farmers, landowners and other experts interviewed by Denison in 1843 highlighted the role improved agricultural techniques played in encouraging the growth of the gang system in Norfolk. John Hudson, a farmer of some 1300 acres in Castle Acre and one of the most celebrated farmers in the county, illustrates this process:

> When I first resided here, the gang-system was not known; the work now done by them was performed by women, or rather it was left undone. But from one or two farmers cultivating their lands in a superior manner, getting their farms perfectly clean and free from weeds; many others have been induced to follow their example and employ more hands; and where there used to be £1 expended in the cultivation of the land 20 years since, there are now £5 expended for the same.[32]

Turnip cultivation was mentioned most often as a causal link.[33] Over the next twenty years, as more land was brought under cultivation during the mid-Victorian agricultural boom, seasonal demands for extra labour rose. This, it is argued, fuelled the persistence of ganging in Norfolk. For example, one witness from Stow Bardolph told the Children's Employment Commission, 'Gangs are commonly employed about here, and have been more or less for the last 30 years, but more of late, owing probably to improvements in the system of farming, which have been very great: tidy farmers will not be seen to grow weeds now'.[34] So, although the gang system was condemned in the 1843 Report, it continued unrestricted, proving economically attractive to both Norfolk farmers and labouring families: the former needed the hands to cultivate the land and for the latter it afforded the opportunity to acquire extra income to enable them to live above subsistence levels. This was recognized by Thomas Hudson, son of John Hudson, who gave evidence in the 1860s:

> The work done by them is of great importance, both to the support of their families, and to the land. There are no manufactories here, and consequently a poor man with barely sufficient earnings for himself and wife could not possibly maintain a family of four or five grown-up daughters, and the work performed by the women and girls could not, or at any rate would not in fact, ever be done by men. I do not see any other way in which their work, e.g., weeding etc., could be done.[35]

This statement is interesting not least because Hudson resolutely dismisses the claim often levelled at agricultural gangs, that male labour was displaced in favour of cheap female and child workers. The summary report of the Children's Employment Commission held this opinion and contended that 'under the present system, by which the labour of children and women is so largely employed, the price of many kinds of work which is ordinarily done by

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 68–70.

[32] BPP, 1843, XII, report by Denison, p. 274.

[33] See for example *ibid.*, p. 277. Turnips were by far the most dominant root crop grown in the Freebridge Union where Castle Acre was situated. In 1854 they made up 87% of all root crops grown in the region. S. Wade Martins, *A great estate at work. The Holkham estate and its inhabitants in the nineteenth century* (1980), p. 265.

[34] BPP, 1867, XVI, evidence on agricultural gangs collected by Mr J. E. White, pp. 95–6.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

adult male labourers is much reduced, and such labourers are out of employment for several weeks, or even months, while their wives and children are doing their work'.[36] However as Anne Digby has shown in her analysis of parishes surrounding Castle Acre, the displacement of resident male labour engaged in regular employment would have been prohibitively expensive in poor relief and did not occur.[37] Moreover, much of the agricultural work performed by gangs – weeding, stone picking, planting and harvesting root crops – was traditionally carried out by women and children. This rigid sex-typing of agricultural labour whereby female and child labourers were utilized for a number of operations associated with cleaning the land and tending crops such as potatoes and turnips is reinforced by analysis of farm labour books from across the county.[38] Moreover the sexual division of labour was long-standing on Norfolk farms, as A. Hassall Smith showed in his analysis of the late sixteenth-century accounts of Nathaniel Bacon at Stiffkey. He found that women were principally employed on weeding, haymaking and harvesting whilst men ploughed, harrowed, threshed, carted hay and corn, dug ditches and cut hedges.[39] Thus it is unlikely that gang labour undermined the position of male agricultural labourers in nineteenth-century Norfolk: tasks performed by gangs were those traditionally sex-typed as women's and children's work and Norfolk farmers drew upon the surplus pool of cheap casual female and child labourers to carry out additional work created by intensified cultivation of the land.

It is clear that by the mid-nineteenth century the rural woman worker had emerged as a distinct social problem in the eyes of many contemporary commentators. It was women who participated in gang labour in the eastern counties who were most often vilified. According to Sayer, by the mid-1860s 'public concern about ganging had grown so great' that Lord Shaftesbury directed the existing Children's Employment Commission to investigate the work of children in organized public gangs within the eastern counties.[40] It is, however, hard to find evidence for large-scale public disquiet over ganging prior to the mid-1860s. Sayer quotes evidence from the *Sixth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council* (1863), which focussed on women's labour in ganging districts as a cause of infant death. Yet few of the agricultural writers who visited and commented on Norfolk farming in the mid-nineteenth century, such as Bacon, Almack and Sewell Read mentioned ganging in their accounts, and the existence of gangs did not seem to induce any sort of debate between farmers and agriculturists in the pages of contemporary journals and pamphlets.[41] However, the publication of the *Sixth Report of the Children's Employment Commission* in 1867 was a watershed in the perception of ganging and certainly fuelled sensational reporting. The parliamentary investigators in 1867 were clearly shocked that exploitative systems of labour were not restricted to urban-based manufacture.

[36] *Ibid.*, summary report, p. xx.

[37] Anne Digby, *Pauper palaces* (1978) p. 121.

[38] Verdon, 'Changing patterns of female employment', ch. 4.

[39] A. Hassall Smith, 'Labourers in late sixteenth-century England. A case study from North Norfolk', *Continuity and Change* 4 (1989), pp. 11–52. See also Sharpe, 'Female labour market', pp. 167–172.

[40] Sayer, *Women of the fields*, p. 72. Again Pinchbeck's analysis seems to be influential here. Pinchbeck writes, 'Although the gang system was condemned in the Report of 1843, it persisted and increased for another quarter of a century until public opinion, roused by its worst features, demanded an inquiry which resulted in the regulation of gangs after 1868.' Pinchbeck, *Women workers*, p. 89.

[41] R. N. Bacon, *The report on the agriculture of Norfolk* (1844); B. Almack, 'On the agriculture of Norfolk', *JRASE* 5 (1845), pp. 305–57; C. Sewell Read, 'Recent improvements in Norfolk farming', *JRASE* 19 (1858), pp. 265–311.

They were especially struck by the similarities between the operation of the gang system and other forms of subcontracting in urban trades. This attitude is most poignantly expressed by an anonymous correspondent to the *Quarterly Review*, who wrote:

> The report is one of the most painful which it has been our duty to pursue, for it proves to distraction that the social evils which were long supposed to be peculiar to manufactures exist in an even more aggravated form in connection with the cultivation of the soil. Great numbers of children, young persons and women are, it appears, employed in companies or 'gangs' in certain counties which have acquired an odious notoriety for one of the most flagrant abuses which has ever disgraced a civilised land.[42]

The summary report of the Sixth Report set down recommendations regarding the regulation of gangs, most of which were enacted in the Gangs Act of 1867. This was the only government legislation which was aimed specifically at curtailing the agricultural employment of women and children in the nineteenth century. This act, according to Sayer, 'had a concrete effect on many women and children employed in agriculture'.[43] However it must be remembered that it was only public gangs which were addressed under the legislation. Four aspects of ganging were targeted specifically by the act: after 1867 the employment of children under eight years of age in gangs was prohibited, a system of licensing for gang masters was instigated, female gangs now had to be overseen by a woman licensed to act as a gangmaster, and distances children were allowed to travel were regulated. Recommendations which were not taken up by the legislators in 1867 were the exclusion of females (partial or entire), regulating hours that could be worked, restricting females working in wet corn, instigating a register of those employed and setting up some schooling of children by the gangmaster.[44] In addition to the 1867 act, the government appointed the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, which was instigated to investigate the issue on a nationwide footing. It is from these two reports of the late 1860s that the most complete evidence on the nature and extent of ganging in nineteenth-century Norfolk is found. Whilst these are by no means unworked sources, they still contain a good deal of material which has yet to be fully exploited by historians. The next two sections will discuss in more detail the contents of these reports.

II

Mr. White and Mr. Longe, instructed to investigate the incidence of ganging in the eastern counties by the Children's Employment Commission in 1867, found the total number of labourers employed in public gangs across the whole district to be somewhere in the region of 6000 to 7000.[45] In Mr. White's district – covering Norfolk, Suffolk, Nottinghamshire and parts of Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire – it was estimated the total number engaged in the public gang system was 3017.[46] Whilst the authors contended that it was not in their 'power to give accurate statistics of the number of persons employed in these public gangs in the counties

[42] Anon, 'Agricultural gangs', *Quarterly Rev.*, 123 (1867), p. 174.
[43] Sayer, *Women of the fields*, p. 68.
[44] BPP, 1867, XVI, summary report, pp. xv–xviii.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. x.

where they exist ...', some estimates of the extent of public gangs in Norfolk were printed in the summary report.[47] The number of parishes that returned circulars from Norfolk was 26, indicating the total number employed in public gangs was 956.[48] Most of these parishes were situated in the west of the county, with the addition of some gangs operating in the villages surrounding Wymondham and Diss. A circular was distributed by commissioners 'to all classes of persons likely to be able to afford useful and trustworthy information', but at best this figure is only an estimate of the number employed in public gangs in those parishes which returned the questionnaire.[49] Indeed the summary report recognized that the figures would be 'subject to considerable variations at different periods of the year'.[50] Thus White's figure of 956 gang workers in Norfolk in 1867 is not an estimate of the total number employed throughout the county. However the returns do begin to indicate the regional distribution of the phenomenon. More detailed returns from a good number of these 26 parishes offered information on the age and sex of those employed and places the composition of public gangs in an interesting perspective. Sixty one per cent of workers were female. Of these, 32 per cent were aged between seven and thirteen years, 30 per cent were between the ages of thirteen and eighteen, and just under 40 per cent were eighteen years old and above. Of the women over eighteen, the majority – 71 per cent – were married. The bulk of males employed – 87 per cent – were boys and lads aged between seven and eighteen, with only 37 men over eighteen working in gangs. Only two children under seven years of age – one male and one female – were recorded.[51] Obviously this data is not ideal. In particular we have to question the typicality of the parishes from which this information is derived. The replies may potentially be distorted in a number of ways and we have to question the underlying motives of those returning the questionnaire. Respondents driven by a desire to disguise the workings of the system in their locality, may have been unwilling to admit for example, that very young children were being employed. Conversely, those who held strong opinions on the 'proper' place of women and children in mid-Victorian society, could have seized the opportunity to deliberately exaggerate the extent of ganging in an attempt to undermine the scheme. Yet this is still an important source in that it represents the most detailed information available on mid-nineteenth-century Norfolk gangs and can serve as a useful indicator of labour trends.

Whilst bearing in mind that we have no reliable data on the total numbers of women and children employed in public gangs across the whole of Norfolk in the 1860s, it seems possible to suggest some tentative conclusions which emerge from White's inquiry. Firstly, very young children were rarely employed in Norfolk gangs. The notion that children aged seven and under were being exploited by farmers, gangmasters and parents is a common one. The authors of the summary report argued that there were some instances 'recorded in the evidence of children as young as six being or having been employed in these gangs ...'.[52] Pinchbeck sees that ganging had the worst effect 'on the lives of children, some of whom worked in gangs at four, five and six years of age', whilst Kitteringham similarly considers that children in particular 'were very much at the gangmaster's mercy' and 'his interest was to extract as much work as possible from

[47] *Ibid.*, p. x.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. ix.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. viii.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. ix.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. x–xi. These percentages have been calculated using the highest estimates of the numbers employed.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. xii.

them'.[53] But any large-scale exploitation of very young children in Norfolk gangs is not borne out by White's investigation for the Children's Employment Commission. The legislators in 1867 were blind to the true extent of child labour in public gangs however, and, as already shown, children under eight years of age were barred from this type of work by the Gangs Act.

The second point that emerges from White's figures concerns women's labour. Although contemporaries and historians have concentrated on women's agricultural work in gangs, it is likely that gang labour actually accounted for only a small percentage of female agricultural workers in Norfolk in the mid-nineteenth century. White's figures indicate that fewer than 40 per cent of the members of public gangs in Norfolk in the second half of the nineteenth century were women aged eighteen and over: the majority of those employed – 70 per cent – were children aged seven years and over and unmarried teenagers.[54] Once again, the legislators were insensitive to this trend, insisting that female gangs had to be overseen by a woman gangmaster. However because very few all-female gangs existed in the late 1860s, there is little evidence that more women were licensed as gangmasters after 1867. The lack of adult women in Norfolk gangs could have important implications for the contemporary arguments which linked women going out into gang work – especially married women – to the decline of family life. Rev. Beckett gave evidence to the 1867 Children's Employment Commission and expressed comments that were typical of his contemporaries. He believed that married women who worked a full day in a gang returned home

> tired and wearied, and unwilling to make any further exertion to render the cottage comfortable. When the husband returns he finds everything uncomfortable, the cottage dirty, no meal prepared, the children tiresome and quarrelsome, the wife slatternly and cross, and his home so unpleasant to him that he not rarely betakes himself to the public house, and eventually becomes a drunkard. The wife becomes indifferent about her personal appearance, neglectful of her domestic duties, and careless of her children. Those who visit the cottages of the labouring poor will invariably find misery and discomfort in those homes where the wife is employed in field labour, as compared with those where the wife stays at home and attends to her domestic duties.[55]

Women's own attitudes towards gang work reveals a rather different viewpoint. The evidence of women gang labourers contained in both reports shows, as Sayer points out, 'that the observed differed from the observers in their understandings of women's paid work' and provides the historian with the 'only real documentation of working class ideology at this time'.[56] This evidence shows the extent to which most labouring women viewed working in gangs as an economic necessity, entered into only because there were few alternative opportunities to gain paid employment in the area. Similarly, the sense that it was only absolute necessity which forced labouring families to send their children into gangs prevails and it has been shown that

[53] Pinchbeck, *Women workers*, p. 89; Kitteringham, 'Country work girls', p. 99.

[54] These findings are interesting in comparison to those of Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries on married women's and children's contributions to family incomes. Where the contributions of these two groups could be distinguished, they found children's contributions to low-wage agricultural families exceeded those of their mothers, especially in the period after 1840. Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, 'Women's labour force participation and the transition to the male-breadwinner family, 1790–1865', *EcHR* 48 (1995), pp. 102–3.

[55] BPP, 1867, XVI, evidence on gangs, p. 85.

[56] Sayer, *Women of the fields*, p. 55.

very young children were mostly spared this expedient. Harriet Bell told the Children's Employment Commission that 'I have three girls at gang work, aged 15, 13, and 11 ... I always go out with my girls when I am able, so as to look after them a bit ... I would sooner that they were at anything else, and it went very much against me to put them out, but as my children are all girls bar one I cannot get any other work for them'.[57] Elizabeth Havers spoke in similar terms: 'I call it no better than negro driving or slavery, and can't think it anything better ... Still poor people must work to get a living, and I cannot see how a poor man with children could do if they were not allowed to work too'.[58]

III

It has been possible to establish from the *Sixth Report of the Children's Employment Commission* that the composition of agricultural gangs in mid-nineteenth-century Norfolk consisted mainly of children aged over seven and young unmarried teenagers. Looking at evidence contained in Fraser's report for the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture some further insights into gangs can be ascertained. In particular, it may be possible to argue that the occurrence of public gangs in mid nineteenth-century Norfolk was much smaller than some historians have previously suggested. Fraser collected evidence from four Poor Law Unions in Norfolk which he thought 'might be considered typical'.[59] These were St. Faith's in central Norfolk; Depwade, bordering Suffolk to the east; Docking in north Norfolk and Swaffham, in the western division of the county. In the evidence attached to his report, which in total covered 127 parishes, only nine mention the existence of public gangs within their borders. Only in Swaffham, the most purely agricultural region, was the gang system found to prevail extensively, and was, according to Fraser still the 'most deeply rooted'.[60] In the Swaffham union five parishes mentioned the existence of public gangs: Ashill, Saham Toney, Great Cressingham, Gooderstone and Swaffham. The return from Ashill stated, 'There are three or four public gangs in the parish constantly employed throughout the year'.[61] In Docking union, a district of large farms, sparse population settlements and light lands – factors which perpetuated the existence of gangs in the Swaffham area – Fraser writes, 'The gang system exists, but to a smaller extent than might have been expected under the circumstances'.[62] In the Depwade region the system was reported to be dying out. At Stratton St. Michael, for example, a gang was reported to be occasionally utilized but the witness noted that the system was generally 'dying out in this neighbourhood' and whereas several farmers had used gangs in the 1830s and 1840s, 'at present only one farmer employs a gang'.[63] The gang reported at Pulham Magdalene in this region was said to consist entirely of boys.[64] On a number of occasions, replies insisted that residents of Depwade union would not understand the meaning of the term gang. At Bunwell and Carleton Rode it was reported that there were 'no gangs employed in either parish' and that 'many people would not know what the system means',

[57] BPP, 1867, XVI, evidence on gangs, p. 92.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[59] BPP, 1867–8, XVII, report by Fraser, p. 4.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[61] BPP, 1867–8, XVII, evidence to Fraser's report, p. 59.
[62] BPP, 1867–8, XVII, report by Fraser, p. 7.
[63] BPP, 1867–8, XVII, evidence to Fraser's report, p. 43.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

whilst the return from Drayton insisted that 'A gang has never been heard of in the parish'.[65] At Haverland and Weston in St. Faith's union, a gang of around twenty was employed due to the deficiency of labourers resident in the villages, but no others were declared.

Thus evidence from this Royal Commission suggests that by the late 1860s the existence of ganging was very regionally based in the western portions of the county around Swaffham. A sense of decline pervades the parochial replies from across the rest of Norfolk. By this time, it seems likely that employment in agricultural gangs was an option open to only a limited number of female and child labourers where the successful cultivation of the land still required some system of organized labour. Once again care has to be taken when using evidence from the Royal Commission and, as with the Children's Employment Commission, the biggest question mark surrounds the pattern of parochial replies. Fraser's investigation of ganging rests on evidence from only a sixth of the total number of parishes in Norfolk in the 1860s. Fraser himself was aware of this and the regionally specific pattern of gangs in Norfolk which emerges from this source seems to be the correct one.

IV

Much of the evidence so far relates specifically to public gangs, but by concentrating on the public gang system are we in danger of underestimating the scale and importance of private gangs on mid-nineteenth-century Norfolk farms? The Children's Employment Commission argued that the number of women and children employed in private gangs in Norfolk was 'greatly in excess' of those employed in public ones: 'Where the numbers of the latter "are", to use a common mode of designating them, "counted by hundreds, those in the former are counted by thousands"'.[66] Moreover the authors drew little distinction between the two types of gang: 'There is no practical difference between the ages and hours of work, the modes of work, the composition of the gang, the state of education and the moral condition, in the case of those employed in the private and the public gangs'.[67] It was reported that one effect of the Gangs Act was to induce farmers substantially to increase the use of private gangs, thereby avoiding the restrictive regulations set out in 1867. Thus although Sayer sees this act as having a significant effect on female labourers, from the evidence contained in the Sixth Report it could be argued that the overall impact of the 1867 statute was debatable. There is, however, an interesting discrepancy between the summary report of the Children's Employment Commission and Fraser's report. Fraser found little evidence for the widespread existence in the county of private gangs. In reference to the Sixth Report he comments dryly, 'I have not been able to discover the foundation of this impression in any part of the district that was assigned to me'.[68] Fraser contends that only seven parochial returns acknowledged the existence of private gangs and these were on a very limited scale, with only the largest farms finding continuous employment for them. In addition these were 'without the accompaniment of any of those circumstances of physical or moral degeneration which startled and shocked the public mind when it first read the revelations of the system of public gangs'.[69] Whilst Fraser was by

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 31.
[66] BPP, 1867, XVI, summary report, p. xxiii.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.
[68] BPP, 1867–8, XVII, report by Fraser, p. 11.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

no means happy to witness women and children performing hard physical labour often under demanding and demoralizing circumstances, he manages to avoid sensationalizing and condemning the situation of those he is observing, a trap which the Children's Employment Commission seems to have fallen into on a number of occasions.

V

Gangs seem to have been entrenched in the local system of agriculture in the Swaffham area right up to the end of the nineteenth century. By the 1890s, gangs of women and children were still reported to exist at Swaffham and surrounding parishes. The system was still economically attractive to both large farmers and labouring families at this time. Mr. Perkins, a gangmaster at Swaffham, told the Royal Commission on Labour in the early 1890s

> I believe if there was not a woman's gang there would be some families here without anything to support them. I mean in such cases where a man has died and left a widow and children, or where the husband is sickly and families are large or where young women are unfit for service.[70]

The scale of these gangs is likely to have been small if the example of Lodge Farm, Castle Acre is representative. Farm accounts from the mid-1890s show the persistence of gang labour on this farm, although by 1897–8 only three per cent of annual labour expenditure went on gangs. This was spread fairly evenly over the agricultural year, although gangs were not employed at harvest.[71] Unfortunately, the accounts do not record the sex (or age) of those employed in gangs, so it is impossible to analyse the composition of the labour force involved by this date any further. The persistence of ganging on this farm into the late nineteenth century was certainly exceptional. Elsewhere the system – where it existed at all – became redundant from the early 1870s as farmers began to abandon cleaning operations such as weeding and stone picking in response to the agricultural depression. It was mainly economic pressures which dictated the final demise of the gang system in Norfolk. We should not overlook the impact that the reluctance of local women to labour in such conditions – and to send their children to work in organized gangs – could also have contributed to the demise of the gang as a system of labour.

VI

A number of interesting points emerge from this investigation of gang labour in mid-nineteenth-century Norfolk, not least in connection to historians' use of Parliamentary Papers as evidence. Whilst these are among the most accessible and widely used sources for historians interested in nineteenth-century rural labour, they are too often incorporated into accounts without critical assessment or thorough examination. This study of the *Sixth Report of the Children's Employment Commission* and the *First Report of the Royal Commission on the Employment*

[70] BPP, 1893–4, XXXV, *Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer.* Report by Mr. A. Wilson Fox on the Poor Law Union of Swaffham, p. 86.

[71] Norfolk RO, BR 111/29, farming records of the Everington family. Farm accounts, Lodge farm, Castle Acre, Oct. 1897–Oct. 1898.

of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture has shown that, whilst they are certainly not free from inconsistencies and biases, they do still contain much useful information which has yet to be fully exploited. These reports do not provide us with a complete account of the scale and composition of gang labour across Norfolk in the nineteenth century, but they do yield enough information to cast doubt on some previous interpretations of agricultural gangs. Rather than being viewed as a widespread system of organized labour which exploited female and child labour, instead it has been posited that the scale of agricultural gangs was relatively small in mid-nineteenth-century Norfolk, that the distribution of gangs was regionally specific within the county, and that the composition of the typical gang workforce was youthful.

Banks has argued that the 'open' and 'close' parish system was a scandal that was exaggerated by those pushing for reform of settlement law in the nineteenth century. In many ways it is possible to categorize the gang system in a similar way. This system of labour aroused so much contention in the mid-nineteenth century as middle-class observers discovered that social and economic relations in the English countryside could be as exploitative and degrading as those in urban areas. The controversy that surrounded the system of gang labour was excessive, but this is not to underestimate the arduous work women and children in Norfolk performed under the system, often simply because there were no alternative opportunities to earn money in the oversupplied and casualized rural Norfolk labour market of the nineteenth century.[72] Clearly gangs did exist in some districts of mid-nineteenth-century Norfolk and were important to the cultivation of large farms in some instances, but the system became a cause célèbre in the 1860s and its scale and character has been misconstrued ever since.

[72] See Alun Howkins, *Poor labouring men. Rural radicalism in Norfolk, 1870–1923* (1985), p. 9.

The ownership, occupation and use of land on the South Downs, 1840–1940: A methodological analysis of record linkage over time

by John Godfrey and Brian Short

Abstract

Three major complexes of documents are now available for the study of agriculture from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. The tithe surveys, already well known, are now joined by the Lloyd George 1910 Valuation Office material, and the National Farm Survey of 1941–3. This paper explores the methodological issues arising from the use, and especially the comparison, of the three sources in the context of a case study from the South Downs in Sussex.

The years between the accession of Queen Victoria and the beginning of the Second World War marked a time of quickening change within English agriculture. If the full impact of modernization within farming had not yet occurred by 1940, the changes associated with the conventional dating of the agricultural revolution were certainly fully in motion from 1840 onwards. To explore changes in the ownership, occupation and use of land during this period, a methodological examination of three primary sources will be undertaken to demonstrate their uses and interrelationships. The sources, relating to cross-sections through time for the years *c.* 1840, 1910 and 1941–3, are brought together for a case study of a part of the South Downs in Sussex. Such a 'regionally focused, multi-source approach' cannot fail to indicate something about the processes of change as well as its structural and mappable manifestations.[1] However, this paper is more explicitly concerned with the methodological implications of integrating the three sources.

I

The area under consideration is approximately 100 square miles of the South Downs in Sussex between the valleys of the Arun and Adur, bounded by the Littlehampton to Lancing built-up area to the south, and to the north by the junction of the Chalk and Upper Greensand formations of the Downs with the clay of the Sussex Weald. Geologically, the area is dominated by the Upper and Middle Chalk dip slope rising from the coastal plain towards the escarpment. North of the escarpment is the Lower Chalk and the lower scarp-foot platform of Upper Greensand, followed in sequence by a narrow Gault Clay, and by Lower Greensand (Sandgate and Folkestone

[1] S. Wade Martins and T. Williamson, *Roots of Change. Farming and the landscape in East Anglia, c. 1700–1870* (British Agricultural History Society, supplement ser. 2, 1999), p. 4.

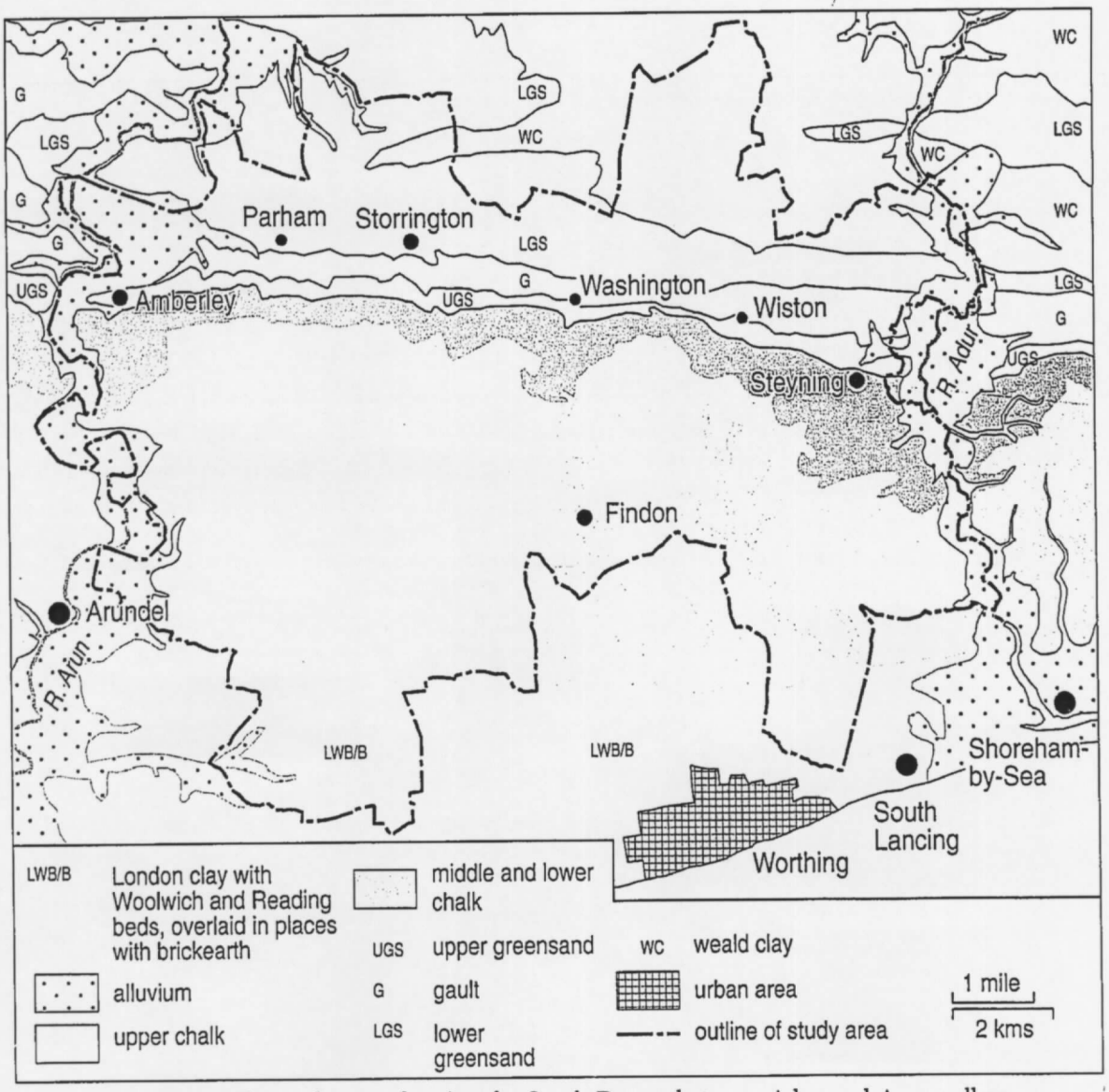


FIGURE 1. The study area showing the South Downs between Adur and Arun valleys

Beds), with patches of Weald Clay and Head. On the western and eastern margins lie the flat, alluvial valleys of the two rivers, where the land is typically only a few feet above sea level (Fig. 1). Very significantly, there is no surface water naturally occurring on the chalk hills, limiting their usefulness for settlement and agriculture. Chalk groundwater emerges at springlines which feed either into the two principal rivers or southwards into smaller rifes flowing directly into the sea. The chalk soils are generally free working and naturally well-drained with good nitrogen content, except where overlain by acidic Clay-with-flint patches. Modern settlement has concentrated on the gap towns and villages, on higher ground in the river valleys, along the spring line to the north of the escarpment and especially in the south, near the coastal towns.[2]

[2] The general character of the downland is captured in P. Brandon, *The South Downs* (1998), esp. pp. 1–19.

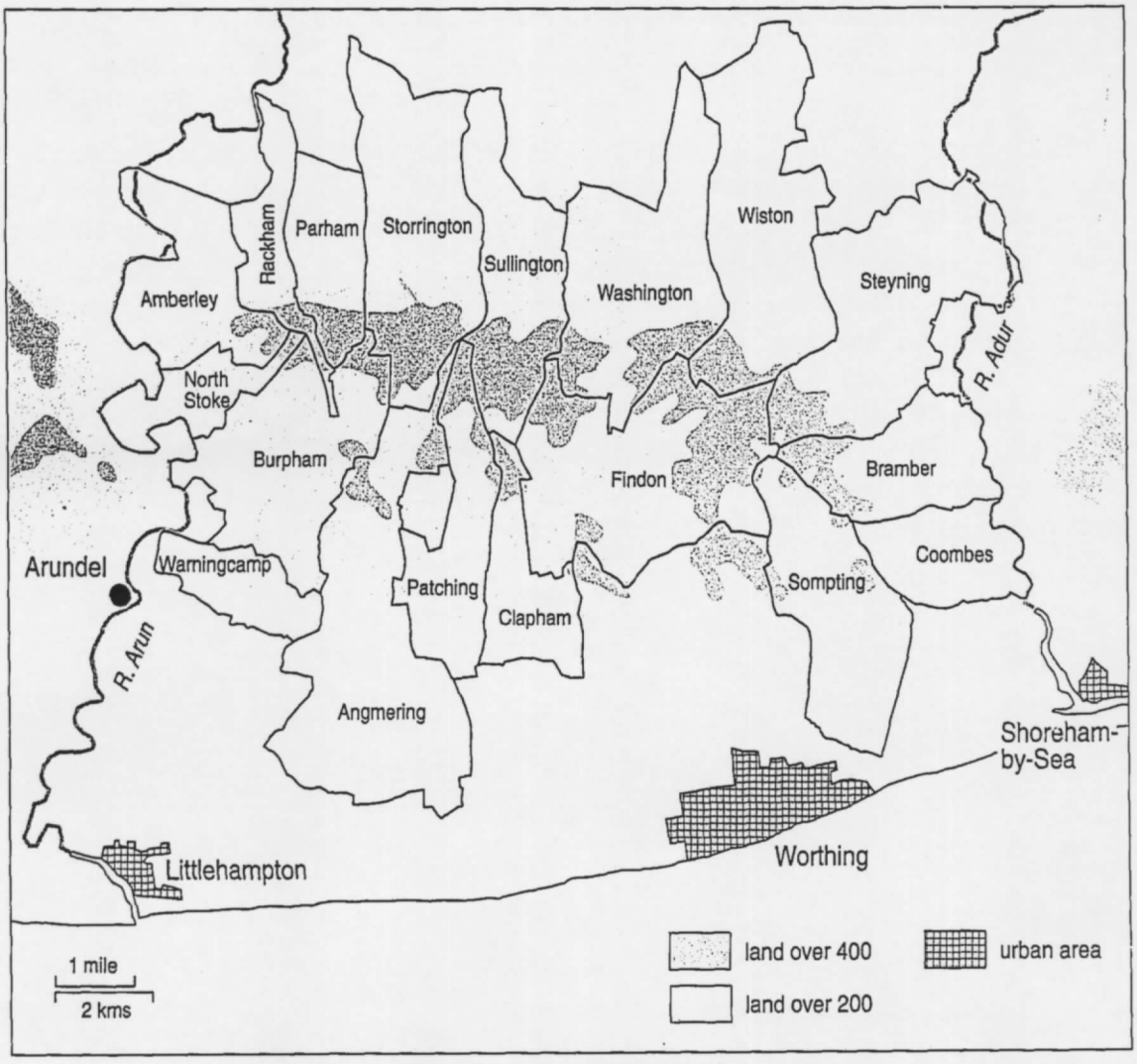


FIGURE 2. The study area showing parish boundaries.

The area comprises 16 modern parishes (Fig. 2). Parish boundaries were rationalized during the study period, with formerly separate parishes being amalgamated and detached parts of parishes transferred to other parishes. Further boundary changes acknowledged urban growth. Such processes of spatial unit transformation were commonplace during this period of urbanization and demographic change. Agriculture was the dominant activity throughout the period, reflecting trends in the national agricultural economy. The 1850s and 1860s saw the firm consolidation of the highly successful integrated system of sheep-corn husbandry for which the South Downs became so well-known. Cattle were grazed in the valley pastures, cereals grown on the lower downland slopes, roots and cereals on the scarp-foot, and sheep grazed on the high Downs. These were Farncombe's 'justly esteemed South Down sheep', which Caird referred to as 'the principal dependence of the Down farmer; and on a farm of 1,000 acres, part sheep

walk and part arable, 800 ewes are considered a fair stock to be kept. They are all of the pure South Down breed, this being the county where that celebrated stock originated'.[3]

The collapse of cereal markets from the 1870s impacted upon downland farmers, and woodland and scrub was allowed to encroach upon former sheepwalks. By 1901 Rider Haggard found 'but little grass and less corn', and although most farmers clung to sheep and corn through inertia, many smaller producers were undoubtedly very hard hit. Writing on the eve of the First World War, Daniel Hall still noted that 'The true South Down farmer lives by his sheep [but] the Downs farms run large, and general report says that the land is in fewer hands nowadays than it was 20 years ago'.[4]

The First World War led to some prosperity for downland farmers as the acreage under the plough increased in line with the national maximum reached in 1918, the highest figure between 1886 and 1942. The inter-war period was generally unprofitable, although the worst effects of the depression were felt in areas characterized more by arable farming on heavy and intractable soils elsewhere in England. But as the Second World War approached, the lessons learnt in 1914–18 were put into practice: with the desire of the West Sussex War Agricultural Executive Committee to 'lead, inspire and assist' and with the £2 per acre ploughing incentive, downland permanent grassland tops were cultivated, producing fine crops wherever the necessary fertilizers could be applied, and sheep flocks were reduced. In 1939 there had been 78,000 acres of arable in West Sussex, but by 1942, when the limit of arable had been attained in proportion to labour and fertilizer supplies, the area was 125,000 acres. Rough grazings had been reduced from over 40,000 acres to 32,000 acres, and permanent grass from 151,000 acres to 112,000 acres. Further, but less spectacular, increases were achieved in 1943 and 1944.[5]

Land ownership in the study area was concentrated in few hands and the Norfolk, Parham and Wiston Estates remained dominant throughout the period, with most of the land farmed in reasonably large units by wealthy owner-occupiers and tenant farmers who supported the local markets and fairs, but who also enjoyed high status in the wider county community and beyond. This, then, is part of Champion England, with predominantly closed communities, the rural population respectful of parson and squire, and with the rebuilt Arundel Castle a constant icon of the power and prestige of the Duke of Norfolk, premier Duke and Earl Marshal of England.[6]

II

Patterns of land ownership, occupation and land use within this area of the South Downs will be investigated through the three primary sets of records. When taken together, the tithe, Valuation Office and National Farm Surveys

[3] J. Farncombe, 'On the farming of Sussex', *JRASE* 11 (1850), p. 76; J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850–51* (1852), p. 129.

[4] Brandon, *South Downs*, pp. 157–8; A. D. Hall, *A pilgrimage of British Farming* (1913), pp. 35–9.

[5] M. R. Burrell, 'War-time food production: the work of War Agricultural Executive Committees (West Sussex)' *JRASE* 108 (1947), pp. 70–5. Further information on downland wartime farming is available at West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), WDC/AG4/1/1, papers of J. A. Hunt, West Sussex War Agricultural Executive Committee 1938–43; and photographs of downland ploughing under the £2 acre scheme in the Garland Photographic Collection (e.g. N18212).

[6] B. Short, 'Landownership in Victorian Sussex', in K. Leslie and B. Short (eds), *An historical atlas of Sussex* (1999), pp. 98–9.

> provide detailed snapshots of rural and urban landscapes during a hundred year period of great change in social and economic conditions ... The historical geographer is presented with three massive databases of land and property ownership and of land usage during a period of critical agrarian revolution ... The potential, in fact, for comparative work with the three different groups of records is enormous.[7]

The tithe maps, apportionments and files have, of course, been available to researchers for many years; numerous analyses of land ownership, occupation and land use have been undertaken for single parishes or larger areas. A series of authoritative studies have been published since 1985 and the source is well-known as a result.[8] For most of rural Sussex, the tithe maps and apportionments provide, at a scale of 3 chains to an inch, detailed information on land use, farm boundaries, land ownership and occupancy. In the case of the study area, tithe maps and apportionments are available for each parish except North Stoke where no map or apportionment exists because the landowner in 1840, Col. Wyndham of Petworth, owned the tithes as lay impropriator. He also owned the living, and a single tenant occupied all the land in the parish.[9]

The tithe maps of Sussex are 'above average both in terms of planimetric accuracy and completeness of content. Almost exactly one-third are sealed as first-class, a proportion exceeded only in Kent and Monmouthshire ... Agricultural land use in Sussex is rather more thoroughly mapped than in most other counties'.[10] The maps are typical in showing field boundaries, water features, roads and paths, woodland, parks and inhabited buildings, barns and other structures. The colours used, mainly brown for arable, light-green for meadow and pasture and dark-green for woodland, differentiate land use. The accompanying apportionments contain the schedules in which each tithe area is listed under the name of its owner and occupier and with a record of its land use. The schedule is then summarized, with the names of all landowners in the tithe district listed alphabetically, together with the names of the occupiers of the various holdings.

The tithe files, recording the consultation process, include 188 reports on tithe agreements in 323 tithe districts in Sussex, with 84 per cent of the reports being the work of John Farncombe, a local tithe agent, and author of the Royal Agricultural Society's 1850 Sussex Prize Essay. Using this material, it is possible, for example, to assess arable, pasture and woodland as a percentage of tithe district area and to make cross-references between tithe districts (normally parishes) and subjects referred to in the files. Thus the files for Burpham note land liable to flood, heavy (clay) soil, chalk, water carriage, market prices, turnips, high farming, good quality pastures,

[7] W. Foot, *Maps for family history. A guide to the records of the Tithe, Valuation Office and National Farm Surveys of England and Wales* (1994), pp. 4–5.

[8] See, for example, R. J. P. Kain and H. C. Prince, *The tithe surveys of England and Wales* (1985); R. J. P. Kain, R. E. J. Fry and H. M. E. Holt, *An atlas and index of the tithe files of mid-nineteenth-century England and Wales* (1986); R. J. P Kain and R. R. Oliver, *The tithe maps of England and Wales* (1995); R. J. P. Kain and H. C. Prince, *Tithe surveys for historians* (2000). Copies of the tithe maps and apportionments are in both the PRO and county record offices. The tithe files are in the PRO as IR 18.

[9] North Stoke is now incorporated within the parish of Amberley. We are grateful to the WSRO County Archivist and the Duke of Norfolk's Librarian for information on North Stoke.

[10] Kain and Oliver, *Tithe maps*, pp. 514–5. Tithe maps and apportionments also are available at both the WSRO and the PRO.

poor quality pastures and sheep breeding. There are such comments as: '[In Burpham] breeding of sheep is the general system on the Downs which are not very productive of grass'.[11]

Methodologies have been developed for dealing with data from the tithe surveys. Boundaries of farm units *c.* 1840 may be reconstructed, and it is possible to relate the information to other contemporary records, and in particular to the 1841 Census enumerators' schedules, enabling repopulation and reconstruction studies of local communities. Recent application of GIS techniques amplifies the possible correlative data.[12]

Turning secondly to the Valuation Office survey of 1910–15, the archive was created by the implementation of Lloyd George's Finance (1909–10) Act 1910, which provided for the levying of various duties on land, the principal one being Increment Value Duty. This necessitated a comprehensive survey of land values throughout the United Kingdom as at 30 April 1909, carried out by the Board of Inland Revenue's newly instituted Valuation Office. The valuation process was substantially completed by the autumn of 1915. The records of the survey, held by the Public Record Office, are the Field Books (IR 58) and the related Working Sheet Maps and Record Sheet Maps (IR 124). The two generally need to be used together to identify particular buildings and pieces of land. The Field Books contain the information on each hereditament, including the names of owners and occupiers, the valuation figures, descriptions and (in the earlier surveys) detailed plans of farm buildings. A third component of the records, the Valuation Books – abstracts of information which was later transcribed into the Field Books – were offered to county record offices by the Local Valuation Offices via the PRO, and in nearly all cases they accepted them. Those relating to the study area are in the West Sussex Record Office (WSRO, class IR 1–68), together with any extant related working maps for West Sussex (IR 71). The Valuation Books give, for each hereditament, information on owner, occupier, usage and extent, and identification numbers and map references.

For the study area, nearly all the relevant 1910 material is available. Crucially, none was affected by the loss of the Chichester Valuation Office material due to enemy action in the Second World War. Future researchers interested in using the Sussex 1910 material should check availability at an early stage, since the records for areas west of Arundel may be incomplete. The Valuation Books are in WSRO and the relevant Field Books and Record Maps are in the PRO. None of the relevant Working Maps appear to be in WSRO and not all the relevant Field Books and Record Maps are available at the PRO, possibly because some of them are missing or not yet catalogued.

The potential value of this material has also been explored since the mid-1980s. The work illustrates the use of the material to provide information on land ownership and tenure, land occupation, occasional land use on a field-by-field basis, farm layout and the extent of fragmentation.[13] Comparisons with the earlier tithe surveys should thus allow assessments to

[11] Kain *et al.*, *Atlas and index to the tithe files*, p. 103; Burpham files are in PRO, IR 18/10268.

[12] See, for example, A. Henstock, 'House repopulation from the CEBs of 1841 and 1851', in D. Mills and K. Schurer (eds), *Local communities in the Victorian census enumerators' books* (1996), pp. 363–82; A. Pearson and P. Collier, 'The integration and analysis of historical and environmental data using a Geographical Information System: landownership and agricultural productivity in Pembrokeshire, *c.* 1850', *AgHR* 46 (1998), pp. 162–76.

[13] Much of the work is summarised in B. Short, *Land and society in Edwardian Britain* (1997). Sussex material is more specifically addressed in B. Short, M. Reed and W. Caudwell, 'The county of Sussex in 1910: sources for a new analysis', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 125 (1987), pp. 199–224.

be made of changes in ownership and occupation, land-use patterns and farm fragmentation or consolidation from the beginning of Victoria's reign to the First World War. It is a source of fundamental importance, possibly even superior to the earlier tithe materials in its near-universal coverage of England, Wales, Scotland and the whole of Ireland, and of urban as well as rural hereditaments.

The third great corpus of material to be examined is the National Farm Survey of England and Wales, 1941–3. These records, originating in the urgent need to increase food production identified even before the commencement of wartime hostilities, and to provide the foundations for post-war agricultural planning, offer an unparalleled picture of landownership, agriculture and farming conditions. Contemporaries described the survey as 'a permanent and comprehensive record of the conditions on the farms of England and Wales' and 'a Second Domesday Book' (a title also unfortunately and misleadingly given to the 1910 Valuation Office Survey).

The records of the survey, begun in the spring of 1941 and largely completed by the end of 1943, consist of three distinct elements. The first and perhaps the most important is the Primary Farm Record for every farm over five acres. This provides information on tenure and occupation, the condition of equipment, the ploughing-up of grassland in 1940 and 1941 and, controversially, the management condition of the farm. The surveyors, themselves mostly practical farmers and neighbours, were asked to award an A, B or C classification and to justify lower classifications, including reasons of personal failings – physical incapacity, mental imperfections or weaknesses of the flesh, such as drunkenness. It is hardly surprising that it has taken some time for these records to be released to the public.

The second element is the complete 4 June 1941 agricultural census return for each individual farm, including crop acreages and livestock numbers, rent and length of occupancy. These individual farm returns, unavailable for other years, offer an exceptional quality and depth of information. This census also included two special supplementary returns, one relating to small fruit, vegetables and stocks of hay and straw; and the other dealing with labour, motive power, tractors, rent payable and length of occupancy.[14] The third element is an Ordnance Survey sheet, at either 25 inches to the mile reduced photographically to 12½ inches to the mile, or at the six inch scale, showing farm boundaries. The individual farm records and the maps are classified in the PRO as MAF 32 and MAF 73 respectively, where they are arranged by county and then by parish.[15] Material is available for all the parishes in the study area.

The value of this material is enormous. In its detail and coverage the National Farm Survey has no precise equal in Britain. Although less comprehensive in its spatial coverage than the 'Domesday' of 1910, the quality of the data is incomparably greater. It is more widespread and has more information than the tithe surveys of the 1840s.

Where the information is extant for all three dates, we have benchmarks for the 1840s, 1910 and 1940s against which to measure many aspects of farming change, not the least of which will be detailed studies of landownership and farming structure. However, the material available in the sources was collected for quite different purposes. What is essentially important in the

[14] The background to the survey, and an evaluation of the records is contained in B. Short, C. Watkins, W. Foot and P. Kinsman, *The National Farm Survey, 1941–1943. State surveillance and the countryside in England and Wales in the Second World War* (2000).

[15] Foot, *Maps for family history*, pp. 54–63.

case of the tithe and 1910 material is the ownership and value of interests in land. These were records created for taxation purposes: in the case of the former to reform the manner by which the established church was financed by a tax on agricultural output, and the latter to provide an accurate basis on which taxation could be levied on increases in land values (not just agricultural land). By contrast, the purpose of the National Farm Survey was to provide information to enable wartime agricultural production to be maximized and to lay the basis for effective post-war agricultural planning. The surveys were all expressions of the power of an evolving and progressively egalitarian and interventionist state and were in no sense neutral documents, and these features need to be taken into account in considering their value as historical sources.

III

Every documentary source presents difficulties and challenges. In particular the definitions being used must be understood, the assumptions made by the original collectors of the data must be clarified and the purposes underlying the collection of the information need to be borne in mind. These issues take on even more importance when sifting a mass of data in relating three documentary sources, whose origins are quite different, across a 100 year time span. These central issues, and other related matters, are discussed here.

(i) Selection of holdings

The first major issue was that of reaching a comparable basis for holding sizes derived from the three different sets of records and then deciding whether all land holdings were to be examined, regardless of size, or otherwise what basis for inclusion would be used. To have included all holdings would have produced data, much of which would have related to non-agricultural holdings, but it would be possible to examine all holdings over five acres across the three records, five acres being the minimum size of holding included in the National Farm Survey 1941–3. For the purposes of this study, however, the number of units to be included was further refined by excluding small proprietors and household producers holding under 100 acres, enabling a concentration on the larger scale, more commercial operations characteristic of the traditional sheep-corn economy of the South Downs. In the study area as a whole, the proportion of the land covered by holdings of under 100 acres was 15 per cent *c.* 1840, 13 per cent in 1910 and 20 per cent in 1940. Comparable national figures are 21 per cent in 1851, 31 per cent in 1915 and 31 per cent in 1944, suggesting that the farm structure of the study area differed significantly from the national average, with a considerably smaller proportion of the area being taken up by small farms. A fuller sociological analysis of the area would, of course, include holdings under 100 acres as typifying those more marginal producers most exposed to changing policies and prices.[16]

[16] For further detail on farm size classifications in the study area, and for an acknowledgemen t of the continuing importance of the small household producer, see J. D. Godfrey, 'The ownership, occupation and use of land on the South Downs between the rivers Arun and Adur in West Sussex, *c.* 1840–*c.* 1940' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Sussex, 1999), pp. 28–38. And see also D. B. Grigg, 'Farm size in England and Wales, from early Victorian times to the present', *AgHR* 35 (1987), pp. 179–89.

The picture presented is also confirmed by land ownership in the study area *c.* 1840, 1910 and 1941–3. At those three dates, 88 per cent, 92 per cent and 84 per cent of the land area was in the hands of proprietors who owned more than 100 acres. These average figures conceal local variations, but the role of those farming less than 100 acres is relatively minor, reflecting the fertility of South Downs agriculture, the success of large-scale sheep-corn farming, and its resulting attractions for aristocratic owners and successful tenant farmers and owner-occupiers.

(ii) Selection of territorial basis

A second major methodological issue is the selection of the appropriate spatial basis to be employed. The choice is essentially between the analysis of the study area as a single unit and the individual examination of its constituent parishes. Both approaches have strengths and weaknesses and these require careful attention.

The tithe material was collected on the basis of individual parishes. This has advantages and disadvantages. It certainly allows very straightforward analysis and mapping of data on a parish-by-parish basis. It is immediately clear from the tithe maps what the extent of the parish was *c.* 1840 and how land ownership, occupation and use within it was organized. A major disadvantage, however, is that units of land ownership, occupation, and farms normally overlap parish boundaries, and material relating to adjoining parishes must therefore be examined to construct an accurate picture of each unit of ownership, occupation and farming enterprise.[17] Approaching the material uncritically on a parish-by-parish basis may result in an overestimate of the total number of holdings, and it is necessary to look across parish boundaries to assess properly the extent and number of units in a given area. Analyses based on tithe surveys are likely to understate the size of holdings that cross the parish boundary and the proportion of smaller holdings in the parish is therefore likely to be relatively overstated.

Another persistent difficulty relates to the changes which have occurred over the years in parish boundaries, as described for the study area above, so that the parish boundaries shown on the relevant tithe map may differ from the boundaries of the same parish *c.* 1910 and 1941–3. It is therefore sometimes difficult to make precise comparisons between the same parish at different points in time, although this does not mean that broad but useful generalizations and conclusions cannot be attempted. Coppock commented in 1955 that

> In some parts of England and Wales it is true that both farm and parish boundaries are remarkably persistent, and that farm areas lie wholly within one parish. But in general the considerable changes in farm boundaries which are continually taking place within the broad secular trend of increasing average farm size, and the parish changes which followed the Divided Parishes Act of 1876 and accompanied the urban expansion of the past hundred years, make it unlikely that farm and parish boundaries will show marked accordance.[18]

Coppock concluded from his study of the Chilterns that the limitations of the parish statistics (in his case the annual 4 June returns) would be less severe if the holdings were grouped in broad natural regions, offering an intermediate unit between the parish and the county.[19] Such

[17] J. T. Coppock, 'The relationship of farm and parish boundaries: a study of agricultural statistics', *Geographical Stud.* 2 (1955), pp. 12–26.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

a unit, possibly the pays, is used here. The selected area has many of the characteristics of a pays: its boundaries are clearly defined; there is a single dominant land use, the traditional sheep-corn system of agriculture; the land is in relatively few hands and the farms are normally larger than the national average; the area is relatively self-contained economically, and there is a strong sense of place and local identity.

Conversely, the 1910 material gives details for holdings as whole units, even where their extents overlap parish boundaries. The Record Maps show the boundaries of these holdings and one can measure the amount of land within each parish; indeed, the boundaries need to be demarcated to make sense of the information in the Valuation Books and the Field Books, where the information relating to the whole holding will be included under one parish, usually the one in which the largest portion of the holding lies. Again however, there is a boundary problem, referred to as that of the 'hereditament parish'. Hereditaments (holdings) in any parish that cross parish boundaries may either have a larger area than that actually within the parish boundaries because of the inclusion of land from an adjoining parish or parishes, or else be excluded from the parish entirely because the portion in an adjoining parish is of greater extent so that the whole is included in the adjoining parish. Thus, land may be 'imported' into or 'exported' from a parish for the purposes of valuation, without this being indicated in a precise way in the documents.[20]

Another problem relates to the fact that the basic spatial unit adopted by the Valuation Office was the 'Income Tax Parish', which might comprise a single large parish or some combination of civil or ecclesiastical parishes. Any work which did not recognize this basic fact could therefore draw highly erroneous conclusions.[21] However, in the present study, it was not difficult to distinguish between the Income Tax Parishes and civil parishes, and a combination of the use of the Record Maps and the measurement of the areas of holdings which overlap parish boundaries helps further to reduce the problem. Nine of the parishes give their names to Income Tax Parishes and are therefore easily identified in the relevant Field Books, and in other cases the correct volume was identified by means of the hereditament number obtained from the Record Map. The 1941–3 National Farm Survey was essentially organized along similar lines. Although it did not employ such a strange spatial unit as the Income Tax Parish, it did nevertheless record farm details within the parish where the bulk of the farm lay, or where the farmhouse was located. The Ministry used its own addressograph parish lists to allocate farms to particular parishes.[22] The strong adherence to boundaries in the tithe material therefore contrasts with the more elastic boundaries of the two other surveys.[23]

Examining land ownership, occupation and use in the study area as a whole avoids some of the problems identified above relating to the lack of coincidence between farm and parish

[20] Short, *Land and society*, p. 255.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 252–69. Case studies from the South Hams, Devon and from Cumbria are examined. For a comparison of the tithe material and 1910 material which acknowledges some of the difficulties in comparison see M. E. Shepherd, 'The small owner in Cumbria, *c.* 1840–1910: a case study from the upper Eden Valley', *Northern Hist.* 35 (1999), pp. 161–84.

[22] The parish lists, still closed to the public without specific Ministry permission, are at PRO, MAF 65.

[23] H. Lintott, 'Mapping rural landownership. An evaluation of three national surveys as cartographic databases' (unpublished MA Geography term paper, University of Sussex, 1995), p. 3.

boundaries and enables broad conclusions to be drawn from the study of a reasonably self-contained area which may then be compared with similar work elsewhere. At the same time, however, there is a considerable value in any such study also concerning itself with the most local area – the parish – which constituted the daily living space of rural communities throughout most of the study period. Parish boundaries sometimes did represent the boundaries of land holdings and farms. Their local governance was in the hands of parson and squire. The parishes have distinct physical characteristics, each containing a share of the high downland, but some containing river valley, others coastal plain and yet others the rich soil of the scarp foot zone and the sandy heaths of the Lower Greensand. Thus, the parish remained a real focus for community life and economic activity.

For these reasons, the decision was taken to combine the benefits of both approaches. The material was initially analysed on a parish-by-parish basis, giving the advantage of local focus and intimacy, and the material was thereafter summarized and analysed on a study area basis, providing the opportunity for the required overview, and minimising any problems which may arise from the lack of coincidence of farm and parish boundaries. This approach has the methodological advantage of enabling the process of inter-relating the three documentary sources 16 times at parish level and once at study area level. The value of a locality study based on the pays is thereby also enhanced by the sense of local history and identity arising from an initial parish-by-parish analysis.

(iii) Comparisons in terminology between the three data sets: land ownership

Just as it was necessary to ensure valid comparisons of holding size and spatial unit over the three types of document, so it is necessary to establish to what extent the key terms encountered in the material are used consistently. To enable meaningful comparisons, we must ensure that like is being compared with like. The first relevant issue is landownership; we then move on to examine land tenure, and then agricultural land use.

Because the purpose of the tithe apportionments was to identify landowners' individual liabilities, the recording of ownership was a central feature. Owners were defined as freeholders or very long leaseholders, and the records for the study area reveal few difficulties in this respect. In the 1840s, most of the land was contained within large agricultural estates owned by resident elites, with land in some parishes – for example, Parham, Coombes and Clapham – largely in the hands of a single owner. There were also absentee landowners, but some ownerships were more complicated, and some land was in the hands of executors. Glebe land was attributed to rectors in most parishes, and sometimes the owner of the living also owned the rectorial glebe land.

Landownership was also central to the purposes of the 1910 survey. The valuers were specifically concerned to identify owners of land for the purposes of assessment for possible taxation and this ensured the compilation of very full data. Each hereditament should have its area given and some precision as to landownership ought to be possible. Since the addresses of owners should also be given, it would normally be possible to ascertain the extent of absentee ownership and owner-occupation of land and housing. Similar information on ownership can therefore be extracted from the 1910 records and be used to provide comparisons with the tithe data. During the period 1840–1910, such a comparison demonstrates a consolidation of aristocratic

landownership in the study area, and by 1910 Lord Zouche, for example, owned the whole of the parish of Parham.

By contrast, the National Farm Survey was not designed as a register of landownership. The farm holding and its management were the objects of interest. However, the name of the owner(s) of the farm was to be given if different from the name of the holder, and so, theoretically, it is possible to find details of the owner of every agricultural holding in England and Wales over five acres in size. But as with the 1910 records, the name of the estate agent is sometimes given. Generally, if the name of the landowner of an estate is known, its extent and nature can be worked out from these records and can usually be mapped. But one practical difficulty with mapping this material relates to holdings in multiple ownership, or subject to mixed tenure, where the records may not make it clear how the ownership is divided. While it is possible to calculate how much land was owned by each person, this information cannot be mapped for those holdings which are made up of parcels of land separately owned, but whose boundaries are not given in the records.

In general, the picture presented by the National Farm Survey for the study area continued to be one of large privately-owned estates, with an increasing number of smaller, owner-occupied holdings, including hobby farms. In addition, some land in the study area was owned by local authorities and the National Trust, but ownership by clergymen and church/educational bodies had virtually disappeared by 1941–3.

(iv) Comparisons in terminology: occupation and farms

The tithe apportionments and maps yield information on the occupation of land in the study area *c.* 1840. The apportionment includes names in a column headed 'occupiers', together with the address and description of the property, its use and area. If the property is owner-occupied, the description 'himself' or 'herself' appears. The precise nature of the legal interest of the occupier is not apparent from the records, neither do they provide information on lengths of tenancies. Some complex arrangements were to be found, and as with landownership, occupied land also commonly extended across parish boundaries.

The 1910 material also allows studies to be made of occupancy. The boundaries of farms and other properties are precisely located on the OS sheets, allowing an examination of the dispersal or concentration of individual farming units, and the degree of fragmentation in any one locality. The manner in which a rented property was held can also be assessed, with information normally available as to whether a property was held by the week, month, year etc., rents, responsibility for rates, repairs and insurance. The 1910 material is therefore richer than the tithe material in the information on land occupation, but, if the purpose of collecting the information is to enable comparisons to be made between the three sets of data, it is not worthwhile abstracting from the manuscripts any more than the minimum information available for 1910, there being no point of comparison on more detailed issues with the 1840 material.

The importance of the National Farm Survey for providing information about occupancy and holdings resides in the Primary Farm Record, which was largely identified by the name of the holder, whether tenant or owner-occupier, as opposed to landowner. Ownership of land is specifically addressed in Section A, 'Tenure', of the Primary Return where two boxes

could be marked indicating whether the holder was an owner-occupier, tenant, or both owned and rented portions of the farm. Following this, the owner or owners of the farm were to be named if the details were different from the name of the holder.[24] This allows the identification of units of land occupation, and a distinction to be made from units of land ownership. It may also enable farms to be identified. Farms may be coterminous with units of occupation, but the farm is essentially an economic or commercial concept and not a unit of landownership or occupation. In some cases certain key farm boundaries were omitted from some of the maps, leaving no option but to either omit information for the areas concerned or make some assumptions based on known farm boundaries at other periods and the direction indicated by relevant farm boundaries on adjoining maps. Another potential problem is that information relating to areas of the country where land was taken over by the military during the Second World War may be limited or missing altogether. In the case of the present study area, only relatively small amounts of land were involved and, where there is military use, an indication was often given of pre-war ownership and of the farm to which it belonged.

Because the earlier records do not illuminate the working farm as opposed to the hereditament very clearly, it has to be assumed in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that units of occupation and farms are spatially co-variant. This is the only sensible way to proceed, given the shortcomings of the material, but the use of the unit of land occupation as a surrogate for farm should always be made clear. The 1941–3 material relating to occupation and farm size reveals the existence of large tenant farmers whose families had arrived in Sussex earlier in the twentieth century from further afield. Occupation of agricultural land by clergymen had more or less disappeared, but the War Department now occupied land in the adjoining parishes of Sullington, Washington and Wiston.

(v) Comparisons in terminology: land use

The terms used in the tithe material relating to the study area to describe land usage include arable, pasture, grass, meadow, down, 'variable' land, wood, plantation, coppice, park, heath, common, furze, water, chalk pit, and land occupied by railway companies. Kain and Oliver define 'variable' to mean 'convertible', i.e. land ploughed up from time to time.[25] The Tithe Commutation Act provided that land which the Assistant Tithe Commissioners considered to have been ploughed within the previous three years for crops, rotation grasses or fallow was to be regarded as 'arable' and that grasslands and leys which had not been under the plough for three years were to be regarded as 'grass', although a misleading picture resulted from the classification of long ley pastures as arable by the tithe surveyors in certain parts of the country, particularly where, as in south-western England and in Wales, ambiguity arose from the practice of laying down ploughland to long leys of three or more years duration.[26] By implication, in other parts of the country (including the study area), only ley grassland of less than three years standing is classified as arable, and longer-term grassland as pasture or meadow. This is

[24] Short *et al.*, *The National Farm Survey*, pp. 114–23.

[25] Kain and Oliver, *Tithe maps*, p. 519, entry for Coombes parish 1841. Such land is shown in brown with green edging.

[26] R. J. P. Kain, 'The land of Kent in the middle of the nineteenth century' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1973), p. 35; Kain and Prince, *Tithe surveys*, p. 193; Pearson and Collier, 'Integration and analysis', p. 165; Kain and Prince, *Tithe surveys for historians*, pp. 80–1.

confirmed by Henderson's work on land use in the Adur basin in Sussex.[27] As will be discussed below, the definition of arable land used in the tithe material relating to the study area is consistent with that adopted in the relevant 1941–3 material, enabling meaningful comparisons to be made.

For grassland, the basic distinctions are between 'meadow' (land used mainly for haymaking, typically low-lying), 'pasture' (land used mainly for grazing, typically on the lower slopes of the hills) and 'down', 'upland pasture' or 'rough pasture' (land used from time to time for grazing, typically on the upper slopes). Sometimes, descriptions such as 'pasture and meadow', 'meadow and pasture', 'pasture and down' and 'grass' are used in the records relating to the study area. Where this occurs, the acreages have been divided equally between the three basic categories of pasture, meadow and, where applicable, down. 'Copse', 'plantation' and 'furze' (which together cover only 410 acres in the study area) have been added to the 2303 acres described as 'wood', although these uses can also be recorded separately, providing added richness of local detail.

Land use was not an essential component of the 1910 survey and any such information was coincidental to its main purpose. It is normally possible to determine general land use such as agriculture, woodland and so on, but sometimes possible to examine use on a field-by-field basis, though this cannot be predicted for any one area without consulting the relevant documents.[28] But very typically, the study area has no evidence available in map form relating to land use, and only small amounts of written information. And where relevant information does occur, it is often in a format that cannot easily be analysed (for example, '455 acres of meadow and arable', '2455 acres of down and arable'). The 1910 records for the study area do not provide a basis for meaningful land use comparisons to be made with other periods. For this reason, no further exploration is justified into the definitions of categories of agricultural land use adopted for the purposes of the 1910 survey.

The 1941–3 material includes data on acreages of agricultural land use on individual holdings and on the extent and location of land ploughed up for the 1940 and 1941 harvests. It does not, however, include information on other uses – woodland, industry, residential development and so on – nor does it show information on land use in map form. How then, can the categories of agricultural land use appearing in these records be interpreted to provide a sustainable basis for comparisons with the tithe material? Discussing the definition of arable land for the purposes of the Land Utilization Survey, Stamp observed that:

> The difficult question in mapping land use is whether ... long-ley grass should be classed as arable or permanent grassland. The decision reached coincides approximately with the practice in Agricultural Statistics – that where the land has been down to grass for more than three years it is recorded as permanent grass ... Thus, in reading the maps of the Land Utilization Survey ... it should be remembered that the land coloured brown is that which

[27] H. C. K. Henderson, 'The agricultural geography of the Adur basin in its regional setting' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1935); *id.*, 'Our changing agriculture: the distribution of arable land in the Adur basin, Sussex, from 1780 to 1931', *J. Ministry of Agriculture* 43 (1936), pp. 625–33.

[28] Short, *Land and society*, p. 115. At Ashley Walk (Hampshire) valuers made extensive notes in the field books concerning land use, noting plots as orchard, pasture, rough land, arable, heath etc., whilst on the working copy maps for Hertfordshire, arable and pasture, timber valuations and even numbers and species of trees can be found.

at the time of the survey was actually under crops or had been down to grass for not more than three years.[29]

Following this approach, one consistent with that adopted in the tithe material, the following categories of land use included in the 4th June 1941 returns for crops and grass for the study area can be treated as coming within the definition of 'arable': corn and legumes, root vegetables, fodder, rape, lucerne, flax, vegetables for human consumption, all other crops, bare fallow, clover, sainfoin and temporary grasses for mowing or grazing. The category of permanent grass for mowing has been regarded as equivalent to 'meadow' in the tithe material; permanent grass for grazing, but excluding rough grazings, has been regarded as the equivalent of 'pasture'; and the rough grazings category has been regarded as the equivalent of 'down' or the other terms used in the tithe records, such as 'rough pasture' and 'upland pasture'. On this basis, the information on land use in the 1840s and 1940s can be assembled for the purposes of the current study and comparisons made between the two.

IV

In this section, the potential use of the three records for studies of the ownership, occupation and use of land will be considered in turn, and interwoven with well-known sources at both national and local levels.

(i) Landownership

Using John Bateman's figures from the 1873 Return of Owners of Land, Rubinstein named 29 individuals whose gross landed incomes exceeded £75,000 in 1883 and whom he describes as 'those super-rich landowners'. The table includes, at 23rd and 29th places respectively, Lord Leconfield and the Duke of Norfolk, both owning substantial amounts of land in the study area. Such families increased their incomes, the value of their estates and their non-landed property during the nineteenth century, widening the wealth gap between themselves and the minor aristocracy and gentry.[30]

These comments provide a useful frame of reference and set of points of comparison for an examination of the data relating to the study area. In the 1840s, in 1910 and in 1941–3, landownership was characterized by substantial estates. Forty per cent of the land was in the hands of the three largest owners *c.* 1840, 53 per cent in 1910 and 46 per cent in 1941–3. And 84 per cent of the land was in the hands of owners of at least 1000 acres, compared with 74 per cent in Sussex as a whole and 68 per cent in England and Wales in 1873, confirming that the position in the study area was different from that in the county and the country generally.[31] More land in the study area was in the hands of large owners in 1910 than in 1840. The big estates grew, but in contrast, the smaller ones shrank. Between 1910 and 1941–3, there was some reduction in the amount of land in the hands of large owners, but their position was still stronger than it had been *c.* 1840.

[29] L. D. Stamp, *The land of Britain: its use and misuse* (3rd edn, 1962), pp. 83–6.

[30] W. D. Rubinstein, *Men of property. The very wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution* (1981), pp. 194–6.

[31] J. Bateman, *The great landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (repr. 1971), pp. 510, 515.

Similar comparison between the tithe material and the 1873 Return of Owners of Land for the county of Essex also suggests continuity, with 140 owners of estates of more than 1000 acres in 1840, compared with 144 in 1873, although, as will be discussed below, this appearance of stability concealed significant changes in the identities of the families involved. In Kent, estates were both contracting and expanding between 1840 and 1873, with the net result being an increase from 42 per cent to 50 per cent in the proportion of the county contained in estates of more than 1,000 acres. The territorial expansion of gentry estates seems to have taken place more at the expense of small proprietors and lesser yeomen than of greater yeomen.[32]

But the scale of enquiry mattered. Although in Sussex landownership at the local level, as at the national, was still relatively concentrated, as exemplified by the fairly static pattern of landownership in the lower Ouse valley, south of Lewes, between 1840 and 1930, the country around the London-Brighton commuter axis experienced fragmentation of estates from sales. Elsewhere, as in South Devon, comparisons relating to landownership between the tithe material and 1910 reveal different patterns in four adjacent parishes. In two, landownership was very diffused at both dates and little change is revealed. In the third, there was no significant change in the proportion of the land in the parish (about 70 per cent) owned by the three largest owners *c.* 1840 and 1910, but in the fourth parish, the share of the dominant owner increased from 40 per cent to 64 per cent of the land. Work undertaken on changes in landownership in Cumbria between *c.* 1840 and the 1910 valuation concluded that small owners declined in number in the proportion of land owned, although aspects of the methodology used have subsequently been criticized.[33]

The evidence from studies undertaken elsewhere in Sussex and in the country as a whole therefore suggests some consolidation of larger estates between *c.* 1840 and 1910, and a reduced amount owned by small proprietors. The evidence suggests that these trends were strongest in areas dominated by a small number of owners. Such evidence is supported by the present study, which demonstrates from the documents studied that, in an area dominated by three large estates, the proportion of the area occupied by estates of over 1,000 acres increased from 51 per cent to 77 per cent between *c.* 1840 and 1910, while the proportion of the area owned by proprietors of less than 100 acres fell from 12 per cent to eight per cent. Here then, are similar trends to those identified in Kent, Devon and Cumbria, but in a more pronounced form, due probably to the presence in the study area of three particularly dominant estate owners.

Comparative information on changes in landownership between 1910 and 1941–3 is difficult to find. There is evidence that the introduction of more onerous taxes on landownership and succession, and the effects of the wartime deaths of heirs contributed to the break up of large estates in the years immediately after the First World War: Thompson, for example, quotes the estimate of the *Estates Gazette* that, nationally, 800,000 acres changed hands in the five years

[32] F. M. L. Thompson, *English landed society in the nineteenth century* (1963), p. 125; Kain and Prince, *Tithe surveys*, p. 242.

[33] S. P. Farrant, 'The role of landowners and tenants in changing agricultural practice in the valley of the River Ouse south of Lewes (Sussex), 1780 to 1930, and the consequences for the landscape' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1977), p. 286; P. Corrigan, 'Changing farm structure in Surrey and Sussex. Some considerations of farm structure with special reference to the influence of urbanisation on the tenure and enterprise structure of agricultural holdings in a selected area of Surrey and Sussex adjacent to the London–Brighton commuter axis' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Sussex, 1974); Short, *Land and society*, pp. 264–5, and Shepherd, 'Small owner in Cumbria'.

between 1915 and 1920, although he attributes this more to profound, long-term changes in the nature of British society and the economy than to the effects of radical measures taken by government. In the course of the twentieth century, the landed gentry suffered more severely from economic adversity than the landed aristocracy, who survived with far fewer casualties, though with much reduced estates.[34]

The proportion of land in the area in estates of over 1,000 acres decreased significantly from 77 per cent in 1910 to 59 per cent in 1941–3, but the amount of land owned by large estates remained high – it cannot be argued that these figures on their own provide evidence for the breaking up of large estates – and the proportion of land owned by the large estates in 1941–3 is still considerably higher than it was *c.* 1840. However, much depended on the character and stature of the individual landowners as well as on the structural circumstances within which they operated.

At each of the three dates the largest estate in the study area was owned by the Dukes of Norfolk who, throughout the 100 years, owned about one-quarter of the land in the area as part of their substantial Arundel estate. In 1873 the Duke owned 50,000 acres in England, including 19,440 acres in Yorkshire and 21,446 acres in Sussex.[35] In 120 years (from 1860 to 1975) there was but one change in the head of the family, in 1917, when the fifteenth Duke died and was succeeded by his under-age heir. This immense continuity minimized the impact of death duties, although they still involved the sale of the town of Littlehampton on the death of the fifteenth Duke.[36] The Wiston estate, the second largest in the study area, remained with the Goring family, their ownership ranging from 11 per cent *c.* 1840 to 19 per cent in 1910 and 15 per cent in 1941–3. In 1873 they owned 18,500 acres, almost all in Sussex.[37] Four members of the family in succession owned the estate during the period, with the Rev. John Goring the owner from 1849 to 1905, a period of 56 years. However, the estate had to accommodate the effects of three deaths during the twentieth century, leading to heavy sales of, for example, 713 acres in 1944 and the eventual leasing of the family mansion to the Foreign Office for use as a conference centre.

If these two estates demonstrate continuity in landownership, change is illustrated by the fortunes of the next two largest estates, that of the Wyndham/Leconfield family at Petworth *c.* 1840 and 1910, and the Parham estate. The Leconfield land amounted to eight per cent of the study area in 1910, but was all sold off, mainly to sitting tenants, in the 1920s. This land was peripheral to the estate and much of it downland, with limited appeal in the depressed conditions following the general price fall of 1921. Typically, land was sold to sitting tenants, sometimes with the aid of a mortgage granted by the former landowner. The Parham estate, 6,654 acres in 1873, was owned by the Bishop family for 11 generations, but changed hands eight times in the period, being sold by Lord Zouche in 1922 to the Hon. Clive Pearson, second son of the first Viscount Cowdray. Pearson represented the new gentry, his ennobled father being the successful financier and industrialist, Weetman Pearson, and such a change echoes trends elsewhere.[38]

[34] Thompson, *English landed society*, p. 343.

[35] Bateman, *Great landowners*, p. 334.

[36] *VCH Sussex* V (i), p. 3; and see also T. Hudson, *A History of Arundel* (2000).

[37] Bateman, *Great landowners*, p. 188.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 494; Thompson, *English landed society*, p. 342; Rubinstein, *Men of property*, pp. 217, 244. Rubinstein notes that Lord Cowdray was one of three 'new men' (the others being Lords Leverhulme and Iveagh) whose families owned no agricultural land whatever in 1876 but who were by 1976 among England's largest landowners.

It was the very wealthiest landowners who were best placed to bear the strains of the agricultural depression and rising taxation, with income from non-agricultural sources, such as mineral deposits or urban property. Both the Gorings and the Dukes of Norfolk benefited from the fact that their estates contained elements of both these valuable categories of land. The number of successions to ownership was limited, and both the fifteenth and sixteenth Dukes of Norfolk were major figures on the national and international stage, open to new ideas and with the confidence and resources to carry through programmes of major reform, while maintaining the traditional values of the English landowning aristocracy. Elsewhere in the Downs, the success of the Glynde estate, owned by H. B. W. Brand, Speaker of the House of Commons, was attributed to the fact that his involvement in parliamentary work and regular residence in London gave him a wider perspective on the development of his own estate. Additionally, the wealth of the Dukes of Norfolk did not solely depend on their ownership of agricultural land in Sussex, but included land in Yorkshire, Surrey, Norfolk and London as well, and with a great deal of urban property in Arundel, Littlehampton, Dorking, the Strand estate in London and, above all, substantial portions of Sheffield. This significant urban, wealth-producing property explains the apparent ease with which they not only weathered the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century, but also invested in the agricultural estate in Sussex and in the reconstruction of the family seat at Arundel Castle.[39]

Therefore, the findings from a comparison of the three sources generally support conclusions on landownership reached from studies elsewhere, and suggest that, in an area dominated by large estates, aristocratic owners generally fared better than landed gentry in retaining their position during this period, but that the performance of individual families and estates is also of crucial importance.[40]

(ii) Land occupation

Nationally, by the middle of the nineteenth century, a great majority of farmers were tenants and most of the agricultural land was tenanted. By the late 1880s 82 per cent of occupiers were solely tenants, 14 per cent owned the whole of their land and the remaining 4 per cent owned part of their holdings. About 85 per cent of the total area of crops and grass was tenanted and 15 per cent owned by the occupiers. By 1914 the latter had fallen to 11 per cent. During the 'Silent Revolution' of 1919–21 many agricultural estates were broken up, resulting in a rise in the proportion owned by occupiers to 20 per cent. The National Farm Survey of 1941–3 gave the corresponding figure as 33 per cent.[41]

During the period, there was some increase in the amount of owner-occupied land in the

[39] S. Farrant, 'The management of four estates in the lower Ouse valley (Sussex) and agricultural change, 1840–1920', *Southern Hist.* 1 (1979), p. 166; J. M. Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk* (1995), p. 212; R. Perren, 'The landlord and agricultural transformation, 1870–1900', in P. J. Perry (ed.), *British Agriculture, 1875–1914* (1973), p. 118. Perren cites the Dukes of Bedford and Sutherland as similarly able to transfer wealth from urban/industrial sources to their estates. For more detail on the Arundel and other landed estates at this period see Godfrey, 'The ownership, occupation and use of land', pp. 451–62.

[40] For a comparison of the rate of survival of estates into the twentieth century, see J. Waymark, 'Landed estates in Dorset since 1870: their survival and influence', (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1995).

[41] Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, *A century of agricultural statistics, 1866–1966* (1968), pp. 24–5; H. F. Marks (ed. D. K. Britton), *A hundred years of British food and farming: a statistical survey* (1989), p. 13.

study area, compared with the amount which was tenanted. The proportion of owner-occupied land as revealed in the three sources increased from 18 per cent *c.* 1840 to 27 per cent in 1910, but then fell to 24 per cent in 1941–3. Nationally, 15 per cent of farmland was owned by its occupiers in the late 1880s and thus rather more land was owner-occupied in the study area than in the nation as a whole, although this position had been reversed by 1941–3.[42]

The change taking place in the study area between 1840 and 1910 is largely attributable to the decrease in the amount of land occupied by the larger landowners. Between 1910 and 1941–3, there was an increase in the amount of land owned by former tenants who had bought their farms from their landlords. In doing so, purchasers exchanged a low rent for a mortgage, often resulting in increased outgoings. When the Leconfield farms were sold off in the 1920s, some of the new owner-occupiers were immigrants to the area, attracted by the low price of land in Sussex during the inter-war depression. Migration, often from Scotland and the West Country, and often of dairy farmers, occurred also in Essex and East Anglia during this period.[43] However, at the same time, more land was being let elsewhere in the study area, producing the net reduction in the amount of owner-occupied land referred to above. Significantly, it was these new owner-occupiers who took over from some of the aristocratic proprietors the leadership roles in the rural economy and society. Between 1900 and 1950, the proportion of the national cultivated area farmed by its owners increased from 13.5 per cent to 37.5 per cent.[44] But this trend was not reflected in the study area, mainly because of the relatively high proportion of land remaining in the ownership of large estates and let to substantial tenants, the old nineteenth-century system being perpetuated into the modern era.

Turning secondly to the question of farm size, Stamp's analysis of national changes in farm size based on an examination of the Ministry of Agriculture's annual returns from 1885 to 1945, concluded that the average farm size in England and Wales increased by about 10 per cent between the two dates, and that the proportion of holdings of 100 or more acres increased from 18 to 21 per cent during the same period. However, he remarks on the decrease in the number of large farms over the period and the fact that really large farms are surprisingly few: in 1938, there were only 334 farms of over 1,000 acres in England and none in Wales.[45] The comparative position in the study area is illustrated in Table 1, demonstrating that, while the number of farms over 100 acres fell from 81 *c.* 1840 to 68 in 1910 and 64 in 1941–3, the land area occupied by farms over 700 acres increased significantly from 33 to 51 per cent, and the area occupied by farms of under 100 acres increased from 15 to 20 per cent of the area. The decline was in the number and total extent of holdings within the 100–300 and 300–700 acre categories.

Nationally, the proportion of agricultural land in England and Wales occupied by farms of over 300 acres was 28 per cent in 1875, falling to 24 per cent in 1915 and remaining at the same figure in 1944.[46] However, within the study area, comparative figures are 62 per cent *c.* 1840, 74 per cent in 1910 and 67 per cent in 1941–3, confirming that larger farms were relatively much

[42] Godfrey, 'The ownership, occupation and use of land', p. 425; Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, *A century of agricultural statistics*, p. 24.

[43] G. E. Mingay, *Land and society in England, 1750–1980* (1994), pp. 147, 207.

[44] S. G. Sturmey, 'Owner-farming in England and Wales, 1900–1950', in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *Essays in Agrarian History* (2 vols, 1968), II, p. 283.

[45] Stamp, *The Land of Britain*, pp. 339, 342.

[46] Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, *Century of agricultural statistics*, p. 8.

TABLE 1. Land occupation in the study area

Holdings (acres)	1840			1910			1941–3		
	No.	*Acres*	*%*	*No.*	*Acres*	*%*	*No.*	*Acres*	*%*
700+	12	13,286	33	12	15,995	39	18	20,443	51
300–700	32	11,776	29	29	14,384	35	16	6,663	16
100–299	37	9,412	23	27	5,290	13	30	5,213	13
<100	*	6,251	15	*	5,078	13	*	8,092	20
Total		40,725	100		40,747	100		40,411	100

Note: * Not calculated for the purposes of this study.

more important, and there were fewer small farms. The average size of farms over 100 acres in the study area was 425 acres *c.* 1840, 525 acres in 1910 and 505 acres in 1941–3. The national dominance of the medium-sized farm of between 100 and 300 acres was certainly not reflected in the study area, where such farms occupied only between 23 per cent of the land area *c.* 1840 and 13 per cent in 1910. The largest farms expanded in contrast to the national trend, again illustrating an important difference between the situation in the study area and in the country as a whole.

A comparison with land occupation in Kent *c.* 1840 is also interesting, with nearly two-thirds of Kent farmed in units of less than 500 acres, compared with the study area with 51.5 per cent. The study area contained more large farms and fewer small farms than were to be found in Kent. This finding is supported 100 years later by the summary results of the National Farm Survey which again confirm that the amount of land occupied by larger farms in the study area was greater than elsewhere.[47]

(iii) Land use

As stated above, the tithe records and the National Farm Survey provide good and comparable information on land use, while the 1910 material provides only sketchy information. The value of the tithe material for this purpose has long been recognized and the compilers of the Land Utilisation Survey of the 1930s were well aware of the opportunities presented by the two sets of data for comparative studies over time. The present study therefore adds to such comparative work by drawing on material from the National Farm Survey.[48]

The land use issue which has preoccupied researchers working on the tithe manuscripts is the information which the material reveals about the extent and distribution of arable land in the 1840s. Henderson's early study of the Adur basin, including land in the study area, compared the extent of arable in the 1840s, in 1875 and in the 1930s. It demonstrated that there was more arable around 1845 than in the 1930s but not as much as in 1875. Work on Derbyshire also

[47] Kain and Prince, *Tithe surveys*, p. 238; Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, *National Farm Survey of England and Wales: a summary report* (1946), p. 89; E. W. H. Briault, *Sussex: East and West*, in L. D. Stamp (ed.), *The land utilisation survey of Britain*, VIII, *South-Eastern England*, parts 83–4 (1942), p. 497.

[48] Briault, *Sussex: East and West*, p. 12.

indicates that the extent of the arable land nationally in 1875 was slightly greater than in 1840. That there was a peak in arable cultivation in many areas between 1840 and 1875 seems incontrovertible. In the 1840s the high chalk was largely grazing land, and the lower dip slopes had much arable distributed similarly to that of the end of the eighteenth century. But by 1875 there is evidence for the ploughing of considerable areas of the high dip-slopes, in places up to 700 feet or on comparatively steep slopes. This increase in arable was not uniformly spread throughout the Downs but 'depended greatly upon the enterprise of the farmer as well as upon economic and geographical factors. The most extensive areas of arable were still in less exposed situations on the lower slopes'.[49]

After 1875, one effect of the agricultural depression was to reduce the amount of land under the plough, and by 1910 much of the high arable of 1875 had returned to grass and, although the amount of ploughed land in Sussex continued to decline until the middle of the First World War, the figure rose again from 1916 to a peak in 1920. Thereafter, the amount of arable land nationally and in Sussex declined sharply until the circumstances of the Second World War produced an increase in the 1940s. Up until at least 1938, the picture was one of consistent decline, the amount of ploughed land in Sussex falling from 257,683 acres in 1920 to 132,425 acres in 1938. And with this 'falling-down' of arable to poor pasture also went the gradual disappearance of the sheep, 'so long the pride and mainstay of South Downs farming'.[50]

Later changes in the study area between the dates of the Land Utilisation Survey and the National Farm Survey are of continuing decline of the proportion of arable through the 1930s and then an upturn in the 1940 and 1941 harvests as the effects of the Government's plough-up campaign began to be felt, albeit slowly and modestly. The campaign resulted in some 2,000 acres in the study area being returned to crop production for the 1940 and 1941 harvests, as calculated from the Primary Farm Records, which, in percentage terms, represented only about half the government's national target.

The overall figures for the changes in the proportion of arable land in the study area conceal considerable variations between parishes, which may be primarily attributable to differences in land quality as well as management. This suggestion is supported by Stamp in his conclusions drawn nationally from the Land Utilisation Survey:

> Another great lesson is that of the remarkable stability of land use ... contrary to public belief. More correctly there has been outstanding stability of land use on the best land and on the poorest lands and a maximum of change, dictated by economic vicissitudes, on land use of intermediate quality ... land which, as Cobbett said long ago, it pays to plough in 'dear-corn' times but which at other times is abandoned to rough grazing or allowed to tumble into grass.[51]

The most striking feature of the history of land use in the study area revealed here, is the prominence of arable farming *c.* 1840 and its relative decline by 1941–3. In the 1840s, farmers

[49] Kain and Prince, *Tithe surveys*, pp. 172–206; Henderson, 'The agricultural geography of the Adur basin'; Briault, *Sussex: East and West*, pp. 409, 498, 502.

[50] Briault, *Sussex: East and West*, p. 508. Note that Briault's figures are for Sussex (East and West) whereas the data quoted by Burrell (see footnote 5) related to the county of West Sussex only.

[51] Stamp, *The land of Britain*, p. 64.

such as Hugh Penfold at Botolphs and Francis Gell at Coombes were growing arable crops on the downland tops, the soil enriched by liming of the heavy acidic clay-with-flints, and much of the lower land was given over to crop production.[52] By 1941–3, despite the Government's plough-up campaign, the amount of land under the plough was two-thirds of the total *c.* 1840, and farmers were organising rough shooting on scrubland on the Downs above Sompting where corn had been growing a century before.[53]

This steady decline in arable production on the South Downs from its mid-nineteenth century peak is well-documented, but this has not prevented the emergence and continuation of a commonly held belief that the Downs were one continuous grassy sheep-walk for hundreds of years until the land was ploughed up during and after the Second World War. Thus Hilaire Belloc writes:

> Sussex is Sussex on account of the South Downs. Their peculiar landscape, their soil, their uniformity, give the county its meaning ... Cultivation is rare upon them. They are covered with a short, dense and very sweet turf suited to the famous breed of sheep which browse upon them, and of little value for any other agricultural purpose than this pasturage.[54]

Belloc, Arthur Beckett and S. P. B. Mais, who did so much to create the myth of the landscape of the South Downs in the popular imagination, were celebrating a landscape of the early part of the twentieth century which was affected by agricultural depression and which was arguably atypical in the broader historical context.[55]

V

The potential value of a study which examines a defined area in the light of the three principal sets of records discussed above, supplemented where appropriate by other material, is clear. It should provide fresh insight into the structure of land ownership, occupation and use, the fortunes of the landowning families, the balance between owner-occupation and tenant farming, farm size, the balance between pasture and arable, agricultural improvement and the progress and efficiency of measures such as the wartime plough-up campaigns.[56]

Such a study is now feasible with the emergence into the public domain of the 1910 and 1941–3 records. At least for the three dates analysed here we have for both England and Wales relatively accurate information for the benefit of both private and public sectors, fiscal and legal records comparable to the French cadastres, yielding a systematic description of holdings within given areas.[57] This paper has therefore addressed the methodology of dealing both with the potential of such a longitudinal survey and the problems which can arise, demonstrating this in a case study which, for the first time, draws together these sources in the context of a specific

[52] Brandon, *South Downs*, p. 110.

[53] Personal communication from Mr Chris Passmore, Applesham Farm, Coombes.

[54] H. Belloc, *The county of Sussex* (1936), p. 24.

[55] A. Beckett, *The spirit of the Downs* (1909); S. P. B. Mais, *See England first* (1927).

[56] For more detailed information on the findings for the study area, see Godfrey, 'The ownership, occupation and use of land'.

[57] For fiscal and legal cadastral surveys see G. Larsson, *Land registration and cadastral systems. Tools for land information and management* (1991).

locality. While the tithe material and the 1910 Valuation Office material have been compared previously, as have the 1910 and 1941–3 surveys, this study relates all three sources.[58]

In a study such as this, there is a great deal more detail that could be gleaned from additional material, and this has been done in part. But the exercise of relating the three principal sources discussed here on their own provides valuable methodological insights into patterns of land-ownership, occupation and use. Supplementary sources which may prove useful include local directories, Ordnance Survey material, census material, annual agricultural returns and the Land Utilization Survey of the 1930s. Directories will help to identify the names of farms and farmers, the record books which accompany the first edition 25 inch OS maps include parish listings of land use, census material may provide information on size of holdings and numbers of labourers employed, and the Land Utilization Survey yields valuable spatial information on the 1930s situation.[59] There may also be a wealth of social and cultural information on each of the three dates, setting the role and relations of the large farms discussed here within their pays: after all, the place of the large farm within the local society of 1840 would (arguably) have differed greatly from the situation in 1940.

In most respects, the study undertaken here could be replicated elsewhere, and could indeed be extended through to the present day.[60] For all the reasons discussed above, it would be unwise to rely on the findings of a comparative study of this nature which related solely to a single parish. A better project would be an area study covering several parishes, so that ownership patterns, farm size and extent and land use, which normally fail to respect parish boundaries, may be observed more fully. Finally, such a study should not pretend to a degree of precision which lies beyond the scope of the data and methodology. An area study, built on the foundation of detailed parish surveys, can allow useful conclusions to be drawn about broad patterns and trends, but it cannot claim to produce precise results.

[58] For comparisons of the tithe and 1910 material see Short, *Land and society*, pp. 252–69; for a comparison of the 1910 and 1941–3 material see Short *et al.*, *The National Farm Survey*, pp. 178–80; and for a full comparison of all three sources see Godfrey, 'The ownership, occupation and use of land'.

[59] But for a cautionary note on the use of the census to yield information on farming, see D. Mills, 'Trouble with farms at the Census Office: an evaluation of farm statistics from the censuses of 1851–81 in England and Wales', *AgHR* 47 (1999), pp. 58–77.

[60] For a study which compares large farms in South East England between the National Farm Survey, and 1978 and 1998 see N. Walford and R. Burton, *The development of large-scale commercial farming in south-east England* (School of Geography, University of Kingston, 2000).

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WHITEHOUSE, NICKI J., BOSWIJK, GRETEL and BUCKLAND, PAUL C., 'Peatlands, past, present and future: some comments from the fossil record', in Parkyn, Stoneman and Ingram (eds), *Conserving peatlands* (1997), pp. 54–64.

WHYTE, IAN, 'The historical geography of Britain from AD 1500: landscape and townscape', in Hunter and Ralston (eds), *The archaeology of Britain*, pp. 264–79.

WILBY, R. L., 'Hydrological impacts of the National Forest', *East Midland Geog.*, 21, (1998), pp. 71–7.

WILCOX, SCOTT, 'Looking backward: Victorian perspectives on the romantic landscape watercolor', in Rosenthal *et al.* (eds), *Prospects for the Nation* (1997), pp. 307–25.

WILLIAMSON, TOM, 'Questions of preservation and destruction', in Everson and Williamson (eds), *The Archaeology of Landscape* (1998), pp. 1–24.

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WOODHOUSE, ADRIAN, 'A newly-identified estate plan by John Smithson, 1608', *Trans. of the Thoroton Soc.*, 103, pp. 125–9.

WOODS, MICHAEL, 'Performing power: local politics and the Taunton pageant of 1928', *J. Hist. Geog.*, 25, pp. 57–74.

WOODWARD, COLIN, 'Early enclosures in Stratfield Mortimer', *Berks. Old and New*, 16, pp. 3–18.

WOOLLARD, MATTHEW, 'Local history and computing: the case of the Bristol Historical Database project', *Local Hist.*, 29, pp. 43–51.

YATES, MARGARET, 'Change and continuities in rural society from the later middle ages to the sixteenth century: the contribution of West Berkshire', *EcHR*, 52, pp. 617–37.

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BOOKS CITED

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Work in progress on Agrarian and Rural History, 2000

Compiled by Bethanie Afton

AFTON, Dr Bethanie, University of Hull
Sustainable agriculture on the Hampshire chalks, 1700–1914; sheep-corn husbandry – a systems approach to agriculture on the light lands of England, 1837–1914; farm production in English agriculture, 1700–1914 (with M. E. Turner and J. V. Beckett); land tenure in England, *c.* 1700–1925 (with M. E. Turner and J. V. Beckett); sustainability in English agriculture, 1500–2000 (with M. E. Turner and J. V. Beckett); landownership in the late nineteenth-century United Kingdom (with J. V. Beckett).

ALLEN, Prof. Robert C., Nuffield College, Oxford
Decision making in the open fields; cross-European comparisons of agricultural productivity.

ARCHER, Dr John E., Edge Hill College of Higher Education, Ormskirk
The origins and impact of the 1862 Night Poaching Prevention Act.

ATKINS, Dr Peter, University of Durham
Nineteenth- and twentieth-century food systems; food and health, with particular reference to milk and bovine tuberculosis.

BADCOCK, Matthew, post-graduate, University of Leicester
The geopolitics of rural landownership, 1800–1870.

BAGSHAW, Mr Peter, University of Sussex
The value of the answers to rural enquiries in reconstructing past rural communities.

BAILEY, Dr Mark, University of Leeds
Late medieval monastic estate management; source-based introduction to medieval manorial records.

BAKER, Ms C. M. Ann
Evolution and genetics of domestic animals.

BANGOR-JONES, Dr Malcolm
Social and economic history of the northern Highlands of Scotland.

BANHAM, Debby, Wolfson College Oxford
Anglo-Saxon farms and farmers (with Rosamond Faith).

BEAUROY, Dr Jacques, University of Paris I, Panthon-Sorbonne
Lordship and landscape in Norfolk 1350–1610 – terriers, accounts and deeds associated with the Holkham manors.

BECKETT, Prof. J. V., University of Nottingham
Farm production in English agriculture, 1700–1914 (with M. E. Turner and B. Afton); land tenure in England, *c.* 1700–1925 (with M. E. Turner and B. Afton); sustainability in English agriculture, 1500–2000 (with M. E. Turner and B. Afton); landownership in the late nineteenth century United Kingdom (with B. Afton).

BENDALL, Dr Sarah, Merton College, Oxford
Large scale local maps and map-makers of Great Britain and Ireland, 1530–1850.

BIGMORE, Dr Peter, University of Middlesex
Conflict resolution and the removal of woodland in seventeenth-century Hertfordshire; financing the country estate: Panshanger, Hertfordshire in the late nineteenth century.

BIRRELL, Ms Jean, University of Birmingham
The use of forests and parks in medieval England, in particular for hunting.

BRASSLEY, Mr Paul, Seale-Hayne, University of Plymouth
Technical change in UK agriculture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; animal diseases in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the history of the pig.

BRIGDEN, Dr R. D., Rural History Centre, University of Reading
Farming and the countryside between the two World Wars; farming in partnership: The Leckford Estate and the pursuit of profit in inter-war agriculture.

BRITNELL, Prof. Richard, University of Durham
Settlement, rural society, field, moors, and agricultural practices in the Palatinate of Durham 1100–1550; economic history of Britain, 1000–1530; north-eastern landscape history, 1000–1530.

BROAD, Dr John, University of North London
London's rural hinterland; rural poverty and housing 1600–1850; agriculture and society in wood-pasture regions; geography of rural dissent.

BROOK, Mrs Shirley, post-graduate, University of Hull
The buildings of high farming in Lincolnshire.

BROOKENY, Ass. Prof. Tom, University of Otago, New Zealand
Land settlements and special Scottish contributions; rural New Zealand society and environmental history – comparing New Zealand and English farmers' unions 1900–1929.

BROWN, Dr David, City College, Norwich
New men of wealth and the purchase of land; peddling and industrialization; squatter colonies; management of landed estates; motives for parliamentary enclosure.

BROWN, Dr Jonathan, University of Reading
British agriculture from 1850; marketing and market towns.

BURCHARDT, Dr Jeremy, Rural History Centre, University of Reading
Rural leisure in the early twentieth century; village halls in England; allotments in England; English rural society in the interwar period; attitudes to the countryside since the industrial revolution.

BURNETTE, Dr Joyce, Wabash College, Crawfordsvillle, U.S.A.
Wage and employment patterns of day-labourers in the early nineteenth century.

CAMERON, Dr Ewen A., University of Edinburgh
Scottish agriculture since 1918; the Scottish highlands nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

CAMPBELL, Prof. Bruce M. S., Queen's University, Belfast
Lordship, land-use, and agriculture in late medieval England with particular reference to the early fourteenth century: a comparative agrarian history of the North Sea region.

CARTER, Dr Paul, Public Record Office
Waged labour and material benefits from customary rights in the countryside; opposition to enclosure in England and Wales, *c.* 1500–1900.

CAUNCE, Dr Stephen, University of Central Lancashire
The contribution of northern English agriculture to industrialization, 1700–1900, and especially the relationship between agriculture and industry in Pennine West Yorkshire; farm mechanisation in north-eastern England, 1850–1914; farm service in the north of England, 1850–1950, and its contribution to agricultural progress there.

CHALKLIN, Dr C. W.
Rural society and economy of Tonbridge and neighbouring parishes in Kent and Sussex Weald, 1550–1750.

CHAPMAN, Dr John, University of Portsmouth
Impact of Queen Anne's Bounty on landownership; enclosure in England and Wales, 1700–1900.

CHARTRES, Prof. J. A., University of Leeds
The English distilling industry, its system of supply, and its markets, *c.* 1600–*c.* 1840; markets and domestic trade in seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century England; distributive and urban system of eighteenth century England.

CLARK, Prof. Gregory, University of California, Davis, U.S.A.
Agricultural productivity in England, 1200–1913; rural living standards in England, 1200–1860; effects of institutional reform – enclosure, tithes, poor law; medieval grain markets.

CLUTTON-BROCH (Jewell), Dr Juliet, Natural History Museum, London
Archaeozoology and the early history of domesticated mammals.

COLLINS, Prof. E. J. T., University of Reading
Farming techniques and labour productivity, 1800–1950; rural industries in England and Wales, post 1945; landownership in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, 1500–1914 (with M. Havinden).

CONWAY, Prof. Gordon, Rockefeller Foundation, New York, U.S.A.
Ecology of Roman Agriculture.

COOPER, Dr Janet, Victoria County History, Essex
Agrarian and other history of Essex parishes – Lexden Hundred (with C. C. Thornton and S. Dargan).

COX, Dr David, Shropshire Records and Research Centre; Victoria County History, Shropshire
The economic, institutional, and social history of several parishes in and around the Weald Moors in north-east Shropshire, a wetland landscape.

CRAGOE, Dr Matthew, University of Hertfordshire
The farmer in Britain; politics and religion in the Welsh countryside.

CROWLEY, Dr Douglas, Victoria County History, Wiltshire
Agrarian and other history of Wiltshire, Calne, Highworth, Cricklade and Staple Hundreds (with C. Smith).

CUNNINGHAM, Prof. Griffiths L., York University, Toronto, Canada
Allotment garden history of England.

DALTON, Dr Roger T., University of Derby
Agricultural change in Derbyshire and the adjacent counties since the late eighteenth century – with particular reference to dairying.

DARGAN, Mrs Shirley, Victoria County History, Essex
Agrarian and other history of Essex parishes – Lexden Hundred (with J. Cooper and C. C. Thornton).

DEWEY, Dr Peter, Royal Holloway
The history of the United Kingdom agricultural engineering industry, 1800–2000

DILLEY, Dr Robert, Lakehead University, Thunderbay, Ontario, Canada
The uses, significance and enclosure of common lands in Cumberland.

DODDS, Mr Benjamin, University of Durham
Agricultural output on Durham Priory Estates, 1350–1450.

DUNCAN, Dr Colin A. M., McGill University, Canada
Customs of the county that specified rotations and soil treatment, including legal cases of landlord/tenant dispute for every county and any period.

DUNNING, Robert, Victoria County History, Somerset
Victoria County History of Somerset – Parishes of Bruton, Charlton Horethorne and Norton Ferris, and parishes of Glastonbury and Whitley Hundreds, Mid-Somerset (with M. Siraut).

DYER, Prof. Christopher, University of Birmingham
Rural settlement – prehistoric to modern; transitions in late medieval society/economy; material culture; town and country in the late Middle Ages.

DYMOND, Dr David P., Board of Continuing Education, University of Cambridge
Glebe terriers in the seventeenth century, including tithe customs, management of the glebe, and agrarian history in general; late medieval enclosure in East Anglia.

EDGAR, Mr Michael, University of Southampton
Social and economic history of rural England in the nineteenth century, especially Dorset; demography of nineteenth-century Dorset.

EDWARDS, Dr Peter, Roehampton Institute, London
The role of the horse in early modern British society.

ELLIOTT, Mr Gordon
Agricultural history of the lake counties with special reference to field systems and the progress of enclosures.

ENGLISH, Judie, Surrey Archaeological Society
Saxon and early medieval settlement in the Weald of west Surrey.

EVERITT, Prof. A . M., University of Leicester
History, extent, and land usage of common land in England, *c.* 1000–1960 – including place-names, topography and occupations of commoners; heathlands, woodlands, and other wastes. Wild England: aspects of agrarian society.

EWBANK, Mr Roger, Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons
A history of the New Edinburgh Veterinary College (the Williams Veterinary College) 1873–1904 and its move to Liverpool University in 1904.

FAITH, Rosamond, Asnac, Cambridge
Anglo-Saxon farms and farmers (with Debby Banham).

FISHER, Dr John, University of Newcastle, Australia
Veterinary history: control of contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia through inoculation; farmers and rural sport.

FLANAGAN, Mr James
Assessment of the value of traditional field boundaries in South Yorkshire as an historical archive and their potential to enhance public perception of local landscape history.

FORSTER, Mr G. C. F., University of Leeds
County government in Tudor and Stuart Yorkshire.

FOSTER, Joan, post-graduate, University of Newcastle
An inquiry into the lives of working children in rural Northumberland, 1834–1882.

FOX, Mr Alan W., post-graduate, University of Leicester
Patterns of belonging around part of the border between Leicestershire and Lincolnshire from 1700 to 1810.

FOX, Dr H. S. A., University of Leicester
Origins of fishing villages; the social history of settlement in medieval Devon; transhumance in Dartmoor; medieval demography of west-country manors.

FOX, Mr Norman
"Berkshire to Botany Bay", the causes and consequences of the threshing machine riots of 1830.

FRANKLIN, Dr Peter
Economic, social and demographic history of the peasant community of Thornbury Manor, Gloucestershire, in the later Middle Ages.

GALLOWAY, Dr James A., Institute of Historical Research, London
Trade in agrarian produce, *c.* 1300–1600; town and country relations, *c.* 1300–1600; prices and market structures *c.* 1300–1600.

GLASS, Mr Richard, post-graduate, Anglia Polytechnic University
High hopes and high farming: Suffolk agriculture 1830–1914.

GOOCH, Ms Jayne, Museum of East Anglian Life
Ransomes Heritage Project – research on the agricultural engineering company in Ipswich and how their products effected the community.

GRACE, Mr David, Beaufort School, Gloucester
The origins and development of the agricultural engineering industry in England and Wales.

GRIGG, Dr D. B., University of Sheffield
Geography and history of food consumption.

GRITT, Dr Andrew J., University of Central Lancashire
The memoranda books of Basil Thomas Eccleston, 1757–1789; agricultural labour force in Britain, 1770–1851; aspects of agrarian change in south-west Lancashire, *c.* 1650–1850.

HAGEN, Ms Ann, University of Cambridge
Anglo-Saxon food and drink – the agricultural background.

HAGGERTY, Mr Martin
English landscapes and identities (contested heritage), with special reference to twentieth-century literature and topographical writing.

HALLAS, Dr C. S., Trinity and All Saints, University of Leeds
Poverty and self-help in upland regions of England and Wales; study of friendly societies in upland regions – initially the Yorkshire Dales.

HARE, Dr J. N., Peter Symonds' College, Winchester
Social and economic history, especially agrarian history of southern England (particularly Hampshire and Wiltshire), *c.* 1350–1520.

HARRIS, Dr Simon J., University of Durham
Settlement and waste in the Palatinate of Durham, 1150–1550.

HARRISON, B. J. D., University of Leeds
The estates of St Swithun's Priory, Winchester, 1248–1340; medieval field systems in Yorkshire; rural vernacular buildings in Yorkshire before *c.* 1750.

HARVEY, Prof. P. D. A., University of Durham
Rural and agrarian history of England, eleventh – fifteenth centuries.

HATHAWAY, Mr Mark, post-graduate, Kellogg College, University Of Oxford
Aspects of leisure in West Oxfordshire, 1850–1914.

HAVINDEN, Mr Michael, University of Reading
Landownership in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, 1500–1914 (with E. J. T. Collins).

HAY, Prof. David, University of Sheffield
Social and economic history of south Yorkshire and north Derbyshire; English surnames.

HAYFIELD, Dr Colin
The archaeology and history of rural settlement and land use on the high wolds of east Yorkshire and in north Warwickshire.

HENWOOD, Mr Christopher, post-graduate, University of Plymouth
The role and status of eighteenth-century overseers of the poor in Cornwall.

HERBERT, Dr Nicholas, Victoria County History, Gloucestershire
Victoria County History of Gloucestershire, the Northleach Area; Highmeadow in Newland and Staunton, Gloucestershire: study of a deserted hamlet – medieval to eighteenth century; Woolridge, Hartpury, Gloucestershire: study of a squatter settlement, 1700–1850.

HINDE, Dr P. R. A., University of Southampton
Poor law and rural depopulation in Southern England, 1800–1900; social and demographic history of Dorset; migration and the nineteenth-century rural community.

HINDLE, Dr Steve, University of Warwick
Death, alms and the crisis of the 1590s.

HIPKIN, Dr Stephen, Canterbury Christ Church University College
Landownership, land occupation and social structure in the Romney Marsh region, *c.* 1580–1800; Custom and popular protest in early modern Kent.

HIRAMATSU, Prof. Hiroshi, University of Aoyama Gakuin, Tokyo, Japan
A comparative study of the history of commons – England, Northern Europe and Japan.

HODGES, Mr C., University of Glamorgan
A study of the dry stone building technique – looking at derelict farmhouses in a south Wales valley.

HOLLAND, Mr Michael, University of Essex
Rural survival and social crime in Essex, 1783–1851.

HOLMES, Dr Heather, Napier University, Edinburgh
Scottish lowland agricultural history, nineteenth and twentieth centuries; social history of Irish migratory potato workers; housing of seasonal agricultural workers; social and economic history of the potato harvest in the Lothians.

HOLT, Jennifer, University of Lancaster
The Diaries of Thomas Wilson Fenwick: landowner in Burrow in Lonsdale, Nunriding (Northumberland); Economic diversity and decline, Roeburndale, an upland case study, 1550–1850.

HOWKINS, Prof. Alun J., University of Sussex
Social history of rural England and Wales, 1900–2000; the small peasant farmer in Britain after 1850; regional cultures of labouring life; resistance to enclosure after 1850.

HOYLE, Prof. R. W., Rural History Centre, University of Reading
Social change in Pennine communities, the transition from peasant to capitalist agricultural systems; British rural history, 1350–1750; Tenurial systems 1350–2000 in the British Isles .

HUDSON, Dr Tim, Victoria County History, Sussex
Agrarian and other history of West Sussex parishes north of a line from Bognor Regis to Worthing.

HUMPHRIES, Mr Andrew, post-graduate, University of Lancaster
The development of agricultural education from 1840 – national and international context with a north of England case study; common lands in northern England – historical and contemporary links.

HUNT, Dr E. H., London School of Economics
Essex agriculture *c.* 1850–1914 (with S. J. Pam); agricultural performance in Great Britain, 1873–1914.

HUNTER, Mr Alan
Change and inter-relationship of people and agriculture in rural Bedfordshire with especial reference to the Wrest estate, *c.* 1700 to *c.* 1950.

HURREN, Dr Elizabeth, University College, Northampton
Poor law politics and the crusade against outrelief in England 1870–1900.

JENNINGS, Prof. Bernard, University of Hull
Farming and the rural landscape (series on Exploring Historic Yorkshire).

JONES, Dr Anthea
A thousand years of the English parish.

JONES, Mrs Judith
Gelligaer and Merthyr Common, South Wales, use

and administration from the Middle Ages to the present day.

JONES, Prof. Melvyn, Sheffield Hallam University
Landscape change on the Watson-Wentworth County Wicklow Estate, Ireland; woodland history in South Yorkshire and the North Midlands; the making of the South Yorkshire landscape.

KAIN, Prof. Roger J. P., University of Exeter
History of English maps and mapping (focusing at present on enclosure maps of England and Wales).

KENNEDY, Prof. Liam, Queen's University, Belfast
Marriage in rural Ireland, nineteenth Century; cost of living index: Ireland 1750–1914; pre-famine Irish economy.

KIRK, Mrs Jayne, University of Sussex
The supply and utilisation of vernacular building timber in the Sussex Weald, 1500–1800.

LANE, Barry, Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society
Origins of the 'Old Auster' tenements; historical geography of Westbury-sub-Mendip, Somerset.

LANGLEY, Miss Celia, University of Exeter
Family farming in the twentieth Century: a study of the Camelford rural district in north Cornwall.

LANGTON, Dr John, St John's College and School of Geography, University of Oxford
English forests, *c.* 1600–1850; rural poor relief in eighteenth and nineteenth century Oxfordshire.

LEE, Mr Robert J., University of Leicester
The Anglian clergy and rural society – Norfolk 1815–1914.

LOCKHART, Dr D. G., University of Keele
Lotted lands and part-time farming in villages in north-east Scotland and the Scottish Highlands.

MARSTON, Mrs Lynn, postgraduate, University of Leicester
The town and manor of Glastonbury in the middle ages – including rural landholding, farming and marketing.

MARTIN, Dr J. M.
Micro-studies of living standards and demographic patterns 1700–1870: family reconstruction case-studies of parish groups in Cirencester, Tetbury, Stow, Dean Forest and Bedworth.

MARTIN, Dr John, De Montfort University, Leicester
The development of British agriculture and the rural economy in the twentieth century with particular reference to the role of government policies.

MASTERS, Mr Philip, University of Leicester
The Saxon and Norman church in West Sussex: relationship between form, siting, and status of churches and effects of the Norman Conquest on church organisation.

MEREDITH, Anne, University of Sussex
Middle-class women and agriculture 1890–1939, including agricultural education, and women's participation in horticulture, dairying, and poultry-keeping.

MILLS, Dr Dennis
Landownership in eighteenth through twentieth centuries – especially the Sibthorpe estates in Lincolnshire, Hertfordshire, Devon and Oxfordshire; dispersal of farmsteads.

MOISA, Dr M. A., Yorkshire Archaeological Society
The Wakefield court rolls 1274–1352: roads to impoverishment.

MOORE-COLYER, Prof. R. J., University of Wales, Aberystwyth
The agricultural and social history of rural Northamptonshire; rural society in Wales *c.* 1800–1945; H. J. Massingham, Rolf Gardiner and the 'Kinship in Husbandry'; Inter-War Britain

MORRIS, Mr Bernard, The Gower Society
Gabriel Powell's Survey of Gower, 1764; Duke of Beaufort's manorial rights, holdings and tenants – detailed compilation by steward of Duke's Gower Lordship.

MÜLLER, Miriam, University of Birmingham
A comparative study of peasant mentalities, cultures and lord-tenant relationships in two rural communities in the fourteenth century; Brandon, Suffolk and Badbury, Wiltshire.

OVERTON, Prof. Mark, University of Exeter
Production and consumption in English households, 1600–1750; agrarian history of England, 1250–1939.

OWEN, Mr Arthur E. B., Cambridge University Library
History of land drainage and coastal erosion to *c.* 1650, especially in Lincolnshire and eastern England.

PAGE, Dr Mark, University of Birmingham
Medieval settlement and landscape in the Whittlewood area; the peasant land market in Medieval England; the estate of the Bishopric of Winchester; medieval Cornwall

PAM, Mr S. J., London School of Economics
Essex agriculture, *c.* 1850–1914 (with E. H. Hunt).

PERREN, Dr Richard, University of Aberdeen
History of the international meat trade since 1800; agricultural servicing and processing trade since 1800.

PHILLIPS, Dr A. D. M., University of Keele
Provision of farm buildings in England, 1850–1900; capital investments in British agriculture in the nineteenth century; cropping and agricultural land use in England, 1815–75.

PHILLIPS, Mr Paul
Transport of agricultural products by rail.

PINCHES, Mrs Sylvia Margaret, post-graduate, University of Leicester
Law, structure and meaning: voluntary and endowed charities in Warwickshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

PITCAIRN, Mr Ian, undergraduate, Open University
Farm histories of farms in Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire.

POPHAM, Mr John, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk
Sir Christopher Sykes Bt, 1749–1801: improving landowner in East Yorkshire.

POWELL, Mr Bob, Highland Folk Museum, Kingussie, Inverness-shire
The breeds, history and use of heavy horses, including associated lore, horsemen's societies, and trades, particularly regional harness making, *c.* 1800–2000.

PRATT, Mr D.
Abbey property at dissolution; Wrexham, 1388–91; Valle Crucis Abbey charters, 1200–54.

PRINCE, Dr Hugh, University College, London
Landscape gardens in England; tithe surveys and local history; H. C. Darby and English historical geography.

PURCHON, Mrs Jenny
Parliamentary enclosure in Bedfordshire, 1780–1832 with particular reference to commutation of tithes and extinction of common rights.

ROBERTS, Dr I. D., University of Durham
Life and works of A. B. Freeman Mitford, Lord Redesdale, Northumbrian landowner; journal of James Hedley of Bewshaugh, Northumbrian farmer; social and economic history of rural Northumberland and the Borders.

ROBERTS, Mr Peter
Minstead a New Forest village in the seventeenth century: a social and economic history.

ROTHERHAM, Dr Ian D., Sheffield Hallam University
The cultural history and environmental impact of the use of peatlands (heaths, commons, moors, bogs and fens) with particular reference to fuel; the landscape and environmental history of South Yorkshire (part of the South Yorkshire Biodiversity Research Programme); landscape ecology and archaeology of peatlands and of woodlands in the United Kingdom; the history of the utilisation of woodlands for charcoal other products, including social and environmental consequences.

SHAW-TAYLOR, Dr Leigh M. W., Jesus College, University of Cambridge
Common rights, enclosure and rural proletarianization 1600–1850.

SHEAIL, Dr John, Centre for Ecology and Hydrology, Monks Wood & University of Loughborough
Environmental history of the United Kingdom in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with special reference to the management of watercourses, emergence of policies for managing the natural environment, and the interface between public policy and the environmental sciences.

SHEPPARD, Dr David, postgraduate, University of Leicester
Medieval and early modern landscapes of Allesley, Coundon and Stoneleigh parishes in the Warwickshire Arden.

SHORT, Prof. Brian, University of Sussex
Agrarian change in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Sussex; state intervention in wartime farming: surveillance in the English countryside in World War II.

SIRAUT, Mary, Victoria County History, Somerset
Victoria County History of Somerset – parishes of Bruton, Charlton Horethorne and Norton Ferris, and Parishes of Glastonbury and Whitley Hundreds, Mid-Somerset (with R. Dunning).

SMITH, Carrie, Victoria County History, Wiltshire
Agrarian and other history of Wiltshire, Calne, Highworth, Cricklade and Staple Hundreds (with D. Crowley).

SMITH, Dr Richard M., University of Cambridge
The manor court and economic and social relations in rural England; the Old Poor Law and rural demographic change, 1600–1834.

SPUFFORD, Prof. Margaret, University of Surrey
The Hearth Taxes of the 1660s and '70s (series of county volumes including maps which will build up to map the density of households, etc., country-wide); seventeenth-century clothing below the gentry level.

STANES, R.
Braunton Great Field – a question of survival.

STEAD, Mr D. R., Nuffield College, University of Oxford
The business of farming, *c.* 1700–1850, with particular reference to land tenure, rent, parliamentary enclosure and agricultural productivity.

STEVENS, Mrs Sheila
Non-parliamentary enclosure, 1500–1750.

STEWART, Mr Philip C.
The Foster Papers: a synopsis of environmental information, 1879–1893 (based on the daily activities of the head game keeper of a large upland estate in North Wales).

TALL, Mrs Janet, University of Lancaster
The development of agricultural education in Somerset, *c.* 1865–1914.

TANN, Prof. Jennifer, University of Birmingham
Corn milling; water powered, steam powered and co-operative.

THEOBALD, Dr J. A., University of East Anglia
The changing landscape and economy of woodland High Suffolk, 1600–1850.

THICK, Mr Malcolm
Life and work of Sir Hugh Platt (including his writings on agriculture, gardening and food); market gardening in England, 1500–1800.

THIRSK, Dr Joan, St Hilda's College, University of Oxford
Food history and dietary change, 1500–1750; Gervase Markham's works and farming; horticulture and poultry keeping, 1500–1750; regional farming systems, 1500–1750.

THOMPSON, Mr David, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust
Landscape history and characterisation of Northwest Wales, particularly the Llyn Peninsula.

THORNTON, Dr Christopher C., University of Essex; Victoria County History, Essex
Manorial domestic and farm buildings; agriculture 1200–1400, especially productivity, profitability, technology, and standards of living; rural society and farming in Essex and Somerset; agrarian and other history of Essex parishes – Lexden Hundred (with J. Cooper and S. Dargan).

TURNER, Prof. Michael E., University of Hull
Farm production in English agriculture, 1700–1914 (with J. V. Beckett and B. Afton); sustainability in English agriculture, 1500–2000 (with J. V. Beckett and B. Afton); land tenure in England, *c.* 1700–1925 (with J. V. Beckett and B. Afton); Escrick Park – the evolution of an estate.

UPTON, Mrs Penelope, postgraduate, University of Leicester
Rural depopulation in late medieval Warwickshire by means of a social and economic exploration of the manors in that county belonging to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.

VERDON, Dr Nicola, Rural History Centre, University of Reading
Changing patterns of women's employment in the English countryside from *c.* 1790 to 1900, with special reference to eastern England and different regional patterns across England.

VIRGOE, Mr John M., postgraduate, University of Liverpool
Eighteenth-century change and its impact on the communities and landscape of southwest Lancashire.

WADE-MARTINS, Dr S., University of East Anglia
Study of the farming landscape, particularly farm buildings; landscapes of improvement and model farms of the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

WALTON, Dr John R., University of Wales, Aberystwyth
Absentee interests, title disputes and parliamentary enclosure; provisioning Britain, 1750–1950.

WATKINS, Dr Andrew, University of Birmingham
Social and agrarian history of the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire, *c.* 1300–1600; Production and management of medieval cattle.

WATKINS, Dr Charles, University of Nottingham
National Farm Survey 1941–3; forest history, 1600–2000.

WELLS, Prof. Roger, Christ Church University College, Canterbury
South-eastern English rural communities, with particular emphasis on social protest, poverty and policing – early eighteenth to early twentieth century.

WHITTLE, Dr Jane, University of Exeter
Rural economy and society in England from the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries, especially labour and landholding, the role of women, and the transition to capitalism.

WHYTE, Prof. Ian, University of Lancaster
Parliamentary enclosure and related agricultural, social, and landscape change in Cumbria.

WILKYN, Mr Neil R.
Aspects of a pre-enclosure farm at Barrow upon Humber, 1714–41 – evidence from the farming account book of Laurence Wilkin of Barrow.

WILSON, Avice R.
The history of the Wiltshire agricultural worker from prehistory to 1950.

WINCHESTER, Dr Angus J. L., University of Lancaster
Pastoral farming in upland Northern England, 1400–1700; domestic fuel supply, medieval to modern; manor courts and management of common land in upland environments.

WINSTANLEY, Dr Michael, University of Lancaster
The changing structure of the agricultural workforce in England, *c.* 1851–1911 (a census-based, comparative regional study of the changing composition of the workforce with particular reference to family members); the geography and decline of poaching in late Victorian England – an exploration of the spatial diffusion and declining incidence of poaching offences *c.* 1860–1910 (with Harvey Osborne).

WOOD, Ms Gill, postgraduate, University of Leeds
Field arrangements in the West Riding of Yorkshire in the High Middle Ages.

WOOD, Dr Andy, University of East Anglia
Rebellion and popular political culture, *c.* 1500–1800 – custom and identity; authority, power and resistance; popular senses of the past.

WOODWARD, Prof. Donald M., University of Hull
Servants in husbandry in early modern England – a reconsideration.

YATES, Dr Margaret, Rural History Centre, University of Reading
Town and countryside in West Berkshire, *c.* 1400–1600.

Book Reviews

The British Isles

ROSAMOND FAITH, *The English peasantry and the growth of lordship* (Leicester UP, 1997, pb edn 1999). xi + 304 pp. 31 figs. £19.99.

This important work on English rural society from the fall of Roman Britain to the end of the twelfth century was strangely neglected by a number of academic journals on its first appearance in 1997. The welcome publication of a paperback edition (with minor corrections) provides an opportunity to remind readers of the relevance of Faith's study to the work of a wide range of medieval historians. The book seeks to describe, date and explain the emergence of the classic manorialism which existed in England by the thirteenth century. Earlier historians have been divided on whether to see the peasantry of Anglo-Saxon England as enjoying a free status and relative freedom from seigniorial burdens or whether, as in more recent studies, to emphasize the manorial nature of Anglo-Saxon society with the distinction between the lord's demesne and the land of the peasants being in place perhaps as early as the seventh century. In a sense Faith manages to combine both approaches by distinguishing between the geld-free 'inland', characterized by a dependent and relatively heavily burdened population of smallholders and slaves, and the geldable 'warland' with larger farms of free tenants owing fixed and unalterable services and renders who were the precursors of those later described as holding land 'in socage'. In general, however, Faith's emphasis is on the relatively late spread of manorialism. She thus rejects the statement of tenant obligations in the famous, tenth-century *Rectitudines singularum personarum* as representative of English society as a whole at this date. Indeed, she lays particular stress on the importance of the developments that followed the Norman conquest, with an expansion of manorial demesnes and a decline in the numbers of freemen and sokemen, a process which continued in the twelfth century when the emergence of the new common law conception of villeinage was developed in relation to the appearance of new obligations (merchet, tallage etc.) to which peasants were liable.

Covering a period of almost a thousand years, Faith demonstrates a mastery of a wide range of types of evidence, from place-names, topography and archaeology to formidably technical and difficult documentary sources. As its focus is mainly on rural social relations, her book has little to say on agricultural production or techniques although it does touch on matters such as the origins of the common fields, the rise of the nucleated village and the nature of household structure. At times, the actual social and economic reality underlying some of the legalistic terms used to describe social groups before 1100 is not always clear. Who, for instance, were the 'slaves' who made up nearly twenty per cent of the recorded population in some Domesday counties: surely not all of these people were specialist demesne workers? Furthermore, this is a densely-argued book which students will not always find an easy read. The non-expert reader would certainly have benefitted from greater historiographical guidance and from clearer contrasts with the more familiar manorial arrangements of later centuries in order to understand the technicalities of earlier social relations. Nevertheless, Faith's reassessment of pre-Conquest history and its re-evaluation of the traditional view of the twelfth century as a period of manorial 'dissolution' deserves to be widely-read by both teachers and students.

S. H. RIGBY

BRUCE M. S. CAMPBELL, *English seigniorial agriculture, 1250–1450* (CUP, 2000). xxvi + 517 pp. 51 tables; 82 figs. £60.

This is not a book for the faint-hearted, but it repays the reader's perseverance because it is presenting important ideas on the basis of high quality data that has been analyzed using novel techniques. The less resolute readers may be fearful of the dozens of maps and tables, the frequent use of technical terms, and the pages peppered with unfamiliar initials, such as WAGY (weighted aggregate grain yield). The book could have made more concessions to the less expert reader, because although in general the results are presented clearly, formulations such as 'work intensity was handicapped by a sub-optimal ratio of labour to land' could have been expressed in more accessible language. The book also deserves a more inviting title.

The basis for this study is the remarkable quantity of

reliable and detailed evidence assembled for lords and the state in the later middle ages. Campbell has transcribed every manorial account for Norfolk. As a leading figure in the 'Feeding the city' project, he has been able to add evidence for the counties around London. Professor John Langdon and a research project based at Belfast provided a nationwide set of data from accounts and the Inquisitions Post Mortem. The sample has obvious imbalances, particularly the heavy emphasis on East Anglia and the south-east, but there is a good deal of evidence from the midlands, west and north, making this the largest and most comprehensive collection of material on which any individual scholar has worked in this period.

The book begins with a helpful chronological orientation, a survey of the sources and an examination of lords' demesnes and their importance. Then successive chapters deal with demesne livestock, arable production, the choice of crops, productivity, and then after a brief excursus into the size of the population, a survey of changes within the period.

Campbell is frank in his acceptance that the demesnes which he is studying represent only a fraction, perhaps a quarter, of the productive land in medieval England, but they are the only holdings with plentiful information. It is difficult in a short review to do justice to the wealth of material and insights that are presented here. We see regional differences in a new light thanks to dozens of maps generated by the use of Geographical Information Systems, and by the use of cluster analysis to identify different types of demesne economies. The maps indicate a broad tendency for land values and the intensity in the use of land to diminish from east to west, but there is a patchwork of shading which immediately attracts interest. Why, for example, are meadow values as high in south Derbyshire as in Suffolk and Essex? We can see that a type of demesne economy, while most frequently encountered in one region, also appears in different parts of the country. For example, Campbell identifies extensive cultivation of oats as one type of demesne cropping, which is found, as we would expect, in West Yorkshire and Cumberland. There is also a group of such demesnes around London, where some manors were geared to supply London's demand for horse fodder. But one or two demesnes practising extensive oats cultivation are scattered over a dozen counties, from Cornwall to Suffolk. Differences in soil, climate and markets, combined with decisions by estate managers created an even more complicated and varied picture than we had realized.

We are presented throughout this book with ideas and generalizations which make us see the period in a new light. The main approaches are familiar from Campbell's earlier articles, but it is very useful to see them presented together, and there is much fresh material. The themes include the rationale behind demesne production, the interconnections between arable and livestock husbandry, and the differences between regions. Problems to which he constantly returns are the advanced nature of the Norfolk farming system, and the technological and economic gap between Norfolk and much of the rest of the country. Another major concern is the economic character of the period around 1300, and the contrast with the period after the Black Death. He recognizes the high pressure around 1300, but cannot accept a Malthusian explanation of the fourteenth-century crisis. He prefers to see the Great Famine of 1315–17 as an accident of nature.

Many readers will find the chapter on population most challenging, because Campbell calculates the amount of food that could have been produced in England in *c.* 1300, and finds that it cannot have been sufficient to support more than 4.25 million mouths. This is a remarkable turnabout, because this suggestion is near to the figure of 3.7 million calculated by J. C. Russell in the 1940s, and universally regarded as too low by successive researchers, who have preferred an estimate in the range of five to six million, even as high as seven million. Perhaps it would have been preferable to have opened this debate elsewhere, because Campbell lacks the space here to consider the demographic details, and the chapter distracts the reader from the main themes of the book. His calculations are based on estimates of sown areas, yields and calories with inevitable margins of error. The calculation of over six million, most recently made by Smith, using back projection from the Poll Tax, must carry great weight. Campbell's calculations deserve discussion, but the problem is surely that the evidence is too imprecise. To take a single example, the assumption that the very large barley and dredge crops were used primarily for brewing ale takes too little account of the evidence for the consumption of barley bread before the Black Death. If it is assumed that a third of the barley crop was consumed in solid form, thereby giving the consumers many more calories than they would gain from ale, the estimate of the number of people who could be fed in 1300 would rise significantly.

Campbell has done more than anyone to open up a subject which was in danger of being confined within a rather determinist framework in the 1960s and 1970s. His picture of a flexible and adaptable system of grain production, based on his Norfolk researches, came in the 1980s as a breath of fresh air. In this book he still celebrates the achievements of Norfolk cultivators, but takes perhaps too negative a view of other parts of the country. For him (in a tone of real disappointment) the rest of England failed to follow the Norfolk example.

He uses pessimistic images, writing of a 'shadow' that lay across the land, referring to the constraints that prevented further 'progress'. The less Whiggish view that could be based on Campbell's pioneering work is that Norfolk developed its system of husbandry because it needed to, given the region's population density, urban population and commercial vigour. Norfolk agriculture achieved its results through sheer hard work, performed by ill-paid labour, and no blame should be attached to the inhabitants of other regions who could cultivate profitably with more extensive systems, without so much drudgery. The benefit of Campbell's approach, which is perhaps not as prominently and consistently displayed in this book as in his earlier work, is that it celebrates the ingenuity of cultivators. This could be observed throughout the country and at all periods. He, together with Brandon and Roden and other historians of regions with distinctive farming methods, taught us that medieval people were not trapped in mindless routines and rigid 'systems'. Researchers on the midlands, for example, do not find the same levels of productivity as in Norfolk, but can still see intelligent medieval managers of agriculture finding solutions to practical problems, within restricting circumstances of course, but also making choices and seizing opportunities.

CHRISTOPHER DYER

H. S. A. FOX AND O. J. PADEL (eds), *The Cornish lands of the Arundells of Lanherne, fourteenth to sixteenth centuries* (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new ser., 41, 2000 for 1998). clvi + 279 pp. 1 fig; 3 maps. £18 incl p&p from Assistant Secretary, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 7 The Close, Exeter EX1 1EZ.

Most of the documents printed in this volume derive from the extensive archive of the Arundell family, now preserved at Cornwall Record Office. Until 1991 this important collection – consisting of some 28,000 documents dating from the twelfth century to the twentieth – was housed at Wardour Castle in Wiltshire, largely inaccessible to historians. After lengthy negotiations and considerable fund-raising, however, the archive was sold by private treaty to the county record offices of Cornwall and Wiltshire. The two branches of the Arundell family – of Lanherne and Wardour – were joined by marriage in 1739; but their respective estates continued to be administered separately. It was, therefore, a relatively straightforward undertaking to divide the papers between the record offices in Truro and Trowbridge.

The documents printed here in English translation constitute a small but significant portion of the Cornish archive of the Arundell family, which has been subject to a full and detailed cataloguing programme at Cornwall Record Office. They consist entirely of rentals, surveys and extents, ranging in date from 1343 to *c.* 1586, and encompassing the whole of the Arundell estate which lay scattered throughout mid- and western Cornwall. The documents provide evidence of the rents and services owed by the free and conventionary tenants of the Arundell manors for their tenements, the bulk of which have been identified and located by Padel. This is, in itself, a significant achievement, revealing the extent to which the tenements of a single manor were spread across a number of different parishes.

The editors deserve praise both for their clear presentation of the texts and for their comprehensive introduction to them. Padel outlines the history of the various branches of the Arundell family, the growth of their Cornish estate between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and explains the operation of the manorial system in the county. The complexities of the different types of tenure and the geographical spread of tenements, often at some distance from the manorial centre, are described with exemplary clarity. He also discusses the nature of the documents printed and examines the different types of surname found in the texts. Meanwhile, Fox provides a masterly analysis of the sixteenth-century Cornish landscape as revealed by these surveys. He demonstrates how the small closes of the county, surrounded by their characteristically 'mighty great hedges', were well adapted both to arable and pastoral farming practices. Furthermore, he establishes the very considerable extent of strip-field farming in the west of the county, which has been underestimated by historians in the past, and explains that the small size of strips enabled a more equitable distribution of land and rent among the tenants. Finally, he contrasts manors on which tenements were prone to decline and decay with those on which they were more resilient, concluding that this was largely the result of varying demand for foodstuffs by tinners and cloth workers. He also demonstrates the weak state of hereditary succession among the Arundells' tenants.

This volume contains much to recommend it to the agricultural historian. It provides a considerable amount of information about the late medieval and early modern rural economy and society in a part of the country that is too often overlooked, and offers a context and framework for the further exploration of an archive that is only now beginning to yield up its treasures.

MARK PAGE

TERRY BARRY (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (Routledge, 2000). xv + 296 pp. 6 plates; 37 figs. £40.

This short collection of essays reviews the work that has been carried out on Irish settlement during the past fifty years or so. The study of Irish settlement was effectively pioneered by Estyn Evans and T. Jones Hughes. Evans'

work was especially influential, offering a view of the Irish countryside that stressed its deep-rooted continuities, with the origin of key institutional forms like the clachan being extended back into prehistory. Inevitably, such an assumption strips away much potential theme, leaving the study of both prehistory and history with seemingly the same problem, a point well made in the chapter by Kevin Whelan when he quotes a typical phrase by Evans to the effect that in the far west, 'history and prehistory seem to co-exist and all time is foreshortened into a living present'. Encouraged by the work of groups like the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement (GSIHS), and drawing on the interdisciplinary approaches and diverse methodologies being applied to settlement studies elsewhere, scholars have now built a more informed and critical understanding of how settlement in Ireland has evolved in the very long term. In the process, simplistic assumptions about the deep-rooted continuities of the Irish countryside have been abandoned and replaced by new themes that stress its continual flux and adjustment.

After a short foreword by Robin Glasscock, one of the organizing figures behind GSIHS, the book opens with a chapter on prehistoric settlement by Gabriel Cooney that is easily one of the best in the book. It skilfully summarizes a great deal of new data in a masterly way, being especially successful in the way it draws out broad shifts in the pattern of settlement and in the way it emphasizes what may have been different about Irish prehistoric settlement. Early medieval Irish settlement has long been a much debated issue. On the one hand, there is the abundant field evidence for ringforts (*c.* 60,000 sites), a type of settlement now known to have been mainly if not exclusively occupied *c.* 600–900 AD. On the other, there has been vigorous debate over how the supposed gaps in the pattern of ringforts might be filled, with Evans' notion of the timeless clachan being imaginatively drawn on by a range of scholars to fill out the early medieval landscape, albeit in a form that seemingly left little durable trace. These issues are dealt with in two chapters that tend to overlap in coverage. That by Charles Doherty is a particularly lively review. It firmly rejects the idea that the clachan had prehistoric roots but, mindful of how the wider European debate has run, does allow for what he terms 'pre-village nucleations', traces of which may lie buried beneath settlements that continued to thrive. Mathew Stout's essay examines the different sources of evidence for the period and, as one would expect, includes a substantial and well-illustrated section on ringforts. After a short essay by the book's editor, Terry Barry, that reviews the extensive survey work carried out on the different types of Anglo-Norman settlement, including castles, mottes, moated farmsteads and tower houses, there is a thoughtful discussion of medieval urbanism by Brian Graham, one that is particularly good at setting the feudal context in which urban centres developed. Given how much recent work has addressed the matter, it is not surprizing that the effect of the plantations on the Irish landscape is covered by two chapters. One by John Andrews deals with the thinking that lay behind the plantations as regards settlement, the other by Willie Smyth dealing with how changes in administrative and ecclesiastical structures affected settlement. These are both well-written, insightful essays. The chapter on eighteenth-century Ireland by Kevin Whelan is equally successful, presenting a well-framed contrast between the areas of population accumulation and the areas where the spread of stock farming led to clearances and settlement abandonment. Patrick Duffy's task of summarizing settlement changes since 1800 was particularly challenging, but he adopts the right balance between generalization and detail to make it an effective essay, with interesting comment on the destruction of settlement sites and buildings that took place across the twentieth century, either through population contraction and settlement abandonment, the Troubles or through recent farm improvement. Finally, rounding off the book is a wide-ranging and critical bibliographic essay by Anngret Simms, one that guides the reader through the changing viewpoints on Irish settlement and the published work that sustained them.

Whilst there is a degree of overlap between some essays that could have been edited out, the various essays in this volume come together very effectively as a coherent and well-judged text. Almost without exception, they review a great deal of material and debate and do so with a degree of style. Indeed, some essays are extremely well-written. When combined with the excellent maps and bibliographical support for the text, it makes for a very successful book, one that serves its purpose very well indeed.

ROBERT A. DODGSHON

ROBERT DUNNING (ed.), *The Victoria history of the counties of England. A history of Somerset*, VII, *Wincanton and neighbouring parishes* (OUP for the Institute of Historical Research, 2000). xii + 276 pp. 34 illus; 33 maps. £70.

The latest volume of Somerset VCH surveys the parochial history of the south-eastern corner of the county, bordering upon Wiltshire and Dorset. The area extends from the edge of Salisbury Plain along the fringe of the Blackmoor Vale to the heavy clays of south Somerset. Although it is crossed by the busy road and rail routes from London to the west country, this remains a little-known district of small villages and isolated farms,

linked by a network of narrow, winding roads and lanes. The royal forest of Selwood occupied the eastern fringe of the district, and large areas of woodland survive on the steep hillsides. It contains only three small market towns at Wincanton, Bruton and Milborne Port, although the historically important markets of Shaftesbury, Sherborne, Yeovil and Frome are nearby. Industrial activity has included long-established textile trades, supplying woollen cloth for export from Bristol and the Dorset ports. The manufacture of gloves occupied many people as 'out-workers' in the villages, and silk-weaving became an important trade during the eighteenth century. The district has always depended mainly upon agriculture, especially on livestock farming and dairying, and this volume contains much of interest for agricultural historians. The large number of medieval mills suggests that arable cultivation was widespread, but cheese production was a major activity throughout the Middle Ages and became increasingly important from the sixteenth century. Cheese remained a major feature of all the local markets and fairs, with factors sending butter, cheese and pork to London and Bristol. With the coming of the railways, the sale of liquid milk became the mainstay of most farms, and large milk collecting and processing factories were established at Bruton, Temple Combe, Wincanton, Marston Magna and elsewhere. Milk production continues to be crucial, and many farms in the district are entirely given over to grassland and fodder crops. This volume was written before the recent collapse in the price of milk which is so badly affecting farmers throughout the region.

In the usual tradition of VCH volumes, we are provided with excellent information on the sources for each parish, as well as on manors, landowners, churches, population and social life. In particular, the meticulous accounts of manorial history, estates and tenures provide an invaluable and authoritative resource for local history. The sober presentation masks the skill and industry required to compile these useful summaries. The division into parishes inevitably means that some important aspects of agricultural history can merit only a brief mention or have to be searched for within each section. Information on marketing is restricted because many of the major markets and fairs were just outside the area. Likewise topics such as the long-established trade in young cattle and sheep from Wales, the effects of the disafforestation of the royal forest during the 1620s, and the major change produced by the railways which revolutionized life on the farms by the demand for a daily supply of liquid milk for the towns do not easily lend themselves to a parochial treatment. One general and depressing feature of life in the district which emerges very clearly from the parish histories is the decay and cessation of local fairs, festivities and revels, and the closure of so many small public houses, shops, post offices, village schools and nonconformist chapels during the past century.

During the middle ages there was a major Augustinian monastery at Bruton, a preceptory of the Templars and later of the Hospitallers at Temple Combe and a small Augustinian priory at Stavordale, near Wincanton. The wealthy Benedictine nunnery at nearby Shaftesbury and several other local monasteries also possessed lands in the district. From the sixteenth century major landowners included the Berkeleys at Bruton, the Fox-Strangways family at Redlynch, the Medlycotts at Ven, near Milborne Port and the Hoares at Stourhead just over the Wiltshire border. The volume includes details of estate management, farming, tenures and improvements on these estates, as well as on the mansions, deer-parks, gardens, orchards, follies and farmsteads which they created. The well-documented information about eighteenth- and nineteenth-century leases and improved farming methods encouraged by the landowners, notably the introduction of new fodder crops, is particularly useful.

As with all recent VCH volumes, excellent maps of the hundreds and of each parish are included and there is a large selection of illustrations with many early views of churches, mansions and landscapes. This well-produced volume with the usual comprehensive references to documentary sources, maintains the customary high scholarly standard of the VCH.

J. H. BETTEY

JAMES A. GALLOWAY (ed.), *Trade, urban hinterlands and market integration, c. 1300–1600* (Centre for Metropolitan History, Working Papers Series 3, 2000). x + 109 pp. 7 tables; 18 figs. £10.

This collection of papers stems from a symposium held in July 1999. Making current research and ideas more widely available in under a year is an impressive feat, though the need for speed (perhaps due in part to the pressure of exogenously imposed deadlines?) has not enhanced reader-friendliness. Most notably, the collection lacks an effective introduction. In some respects, this role is performed by the opening paragraphs of Dyer's useful 'summing up', but this by itself – naturally tucked away at the back of the volume – is no substitute for an initial discussion of the historiographical context. Essentially, the papers assess the degree of maturity exhibited by the (chiefly English) economy in *c.* 1300 and the extent to which this situation was subsequently transformed (the bulk of the volume concerns the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). In particular, the authors respond to Masschaele's recent work on inland trade, in which he argues that England's marketing system was

highly sophisticated by *c.* 1300 and characterized by a hierarchy of closely integrated town and country markets that were driven by urban demand.

Britnell kicks off by arguing that Masschaele's model significantly underestimates both the weight of rural demand in England at the turn of the fourteenth century and the extent to which marketing patterns were restructured in the later middle ages. In Britnell's view, the market environment that Masschaele envisages for 1300 was more in evidence at the close of the middle ages, an argument which neatly deflects the debate about late medieval urban decline more towards the 'changing relationships both between towns and between townsmen and their rural suppliers'. In this sense, this stimulating survey paves the way for the empirical contributions that follow. Galloway uses wheat price data derived from a handful of Winchester demesnes and from the London and Exeter assizes to argue that an integrated market for grain had to some extent emerged in southern England by the early fourteenth century. However, he notes that price volatility suggests that the grain market was only partially integrated at this time, and that it was also prone to periods of significant disruption in the longer term, especially in the two decades after the Black Death. Nightingale and Keene both exploit records of debt to depict changing patterns of economic integration over time. Nightingale's analysis of the cyclical expansion and contraction of credit in commercially precocious Norfolk in the first half of the fourteenth century suggests that Norwich's influence over the regional economy at that time was actually fairly limited, fluctuated considerably, and was generally in decline. Keene, meanwhile, investigates changes in London's hinterland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries using snapshots provided by debt cases from 1424 and 1570 and concludes that London was becoming increasingly dominant during this period, not least as a distributor of imported and manufactured goods, although the precise relationship between the metropolis and the provinces varied markedly.

Although, as Dyer notes, there are some notable continuities in the urban hierarchy from 1300 onwards, these papers nevertheless indicate that the marketing system of late medieval England was less well integrated and subject to more change than Masschaele's conception of economic development allows. This perhaps stands out most starkly in the comparative context offered by Eiden and Irsigler's lucid study of the development of Cologne and Nuremberg, which details the intensification of the already close economic and administrative interconnections between these cities and their hinterlands in the later middle ages. However, any conclusions drawn from this volume about the extent and progress of market integration should remain tentative: some of the essays are very much, as labelled, 'working papers', containing new but provisional data and fresh but exploratory ideas. Another role that an introduction could usefully have fulfilled would therefore have been to assess the potential and the limitations of the various approaches and sources used. For example, given the significance of consumer demand, the behaviour of prices of cheaper bread grains and malting grains in the pre- and post-Black Death periods respectively may well be revealing. Moreover, the interpretation and use of debt records requires further consideration, not least because short-term fluctuations in credit appear to cast considerable doubt on the typicality of snapshots.

DAVID STONE

KATHERINE L. FRENCH, GARY G. GIBBS and BEAT A. KUMIN (eds), *The parish in English life, 1400–1600* (Manchester UP, 1997). xii + 276 pp. 16 illus; 6 figs; 7 tables. £45.

This valuable collection brings together fourteen essays, the majority of them by younger scholars, on the late medieval parish as a cultural and financial institution. The editors' concise introduction, especially valuable for its erudite summary of a surprisingly complex historiography, calls for more comparative approaches to local institutional cultures, both between medievalists and early modernists, and between practitioners of English and continental history. While Kumin's own analysis of the English parish in a European perspective is a significant (if tentative) step in this latter direction, the remainder of the contributors, although confining themselves to English materials, cumulatively provide a draft prospectus for the history of evolving communal identities. The collection is divided into three parts: parochial sources; community action and expectation; and groups within the parish. Against all the odds, the treasures of the book lie in the rather unpromising section on the variety, potential and limitations of the sources for the history of the parish.

The highlight of the collection is undoubtedly Andrew Foster's characteristically modest analysis of the geographical, jurisdictional and chronological distribution of the approximately 800 sets of churchwardens' accounts that have survived from the early modern period. Although Foster emphasizes the overrepresentation of urban (especially metropolitan) parishes in the sample, he is at pains to demonstrate not only the quite remarkable survival rates of rural accounts, but also the preponderance of parishes in the dioceses of the south and southeast, 'a fact that may have some significance for those historians who like to argue about the survival of catholic traditions nationally' (p. 82). This essay will be indispensable reading for any student exploiting

these sources in the future, and stands comparison with Margaret Spufford's formidable critique of the limitations of the probate inventory. Foster also, incidentally, provides some extremely suggestive evidence of the scale of church repairs and extensions in the years before 1625, findings which imply that the better known Laudian campaign of the 1630s aroused such hostility because they interfered with recently completed schemes for refurnishing and restoration.

Will Coster is only slightly less illuminating on the unexpected evidence of popular religion to be found in that other great parochial source, the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, providing along the way a marvellous case study of Much Wenlock (Shropshire) where the vicar Sir Thomas Butler recorded his own attitudes to changes in ecclesiastical policy (pp. 106–8). John Schofield, meanwhile, presents fascinating and tantalising archaeological evidence for the internal furnishing and embellishment of the parish churches in the City of London in the period to 1550. Margaret Clark collects and juxtaposes the similarly fragmentary records of religious life in Tudor Cumbria, and concludes that the relations between the Celto-Norse people of the borders and Elizabeth I had less in common with those of the English south of the Humber than those of their distant Norwegian kinsmen who similarly resented a reformation imposed on them by Christian of Denmark (p. 72).

By contrast, there is rather less originality in the two subsequent sections, partly because several of the contributions are distilled from larger projects already in print. Nonetheless, Johnston and MacLean on the pattern of survival of summer festivals in the parishes of the Thames valley and Duffy on the rood screens of East Anglia, are invaluable in crystallising the evidence for the vitality of traditional religious culture in England well into the sixteenth century. The strongest of the remaining essays is Katherine French's study of the diversity of fund-raising practices in the parishes of rural Somerset, which she suggests reflect the various roles of the parish – religious, liturgical, social and economic – in the associational culture of its inhabitants. There is much of interest elsewhere, not least on the fate of town lands at the Reformation in Ken Farnhill's analysis of the Suffolk parish of Cratfield.

Although the chronology of the essays in this collection has much to commend it, crossing as it does the traditional divide between medievalists and early modernists, one cannot help but feel that an opportunity to trace the impact of the evolution of the civil parish in its longer run context has been lost here. Although Gary Gibbs emphasizes the novelty of many of the duties devolved upon churchwardens in Tudor London, there is no explicit treatment of either the institutionalization of the Elizabethan poor laws or the reformation of manners on parish identities. Kumin himself has written very persuasively on these themes elsewhere and a similar contribution would be welcome here. Stretching the chronology to 1640 would also have chimed with recent emphasis on the 'long reformation'. One might also question the wisdom of MUP in restricting this volume (a collection of essays which would be extremely student-friendly) to hardback only. Nonetheless, the subtitle of Andrew Foster's essay serves admirably as an epigraph for the collection as a whole: 'some problems to note, but much to be gained'.

STEVE HINDLE

F. G. EMMISON (ed.), *Essex wills: the commissary court, 1587–1599* (Essex Record Office, 1998). xiv + 341 pp. £14.95

This, the eleventh volume of abstracts of Essex wills, deals with the records of the bishop's commissary court. Although the jurisdiction extended in theory to about only a quarter of the county, in practice the court was used for the probate of wills from almost every parish. Thus the almost 1500 wills included here provide evidence of agricultural practice over the whole of the county. While much of early modern Essex agriculture was mixed in form (and became more so into the seventeenth century), thus defying the (sometimes overly schematic) ecological divisions, the wills still provide plenty of contrasts in regional emphasis, from the open field arable of the north-west of the county to the cattle and sheep economy of the marshlands. Where they include, as they sometimes do, the size and nature of landholdings, then they provide helpful evidence of the scale of agricultural enterprise that informed contemporary divisions between yeoman, husbandman and labourer, as well as the continuing importance, and sometimes surprising scale of dual economies for those otherwise labelled artisan. There is also evidence, especially from the lists of debts, of the nature of economic relationships, with, for example, servants being given the right to run their own livestock or take part of their pay in the form of grain. Beyond this there is evidence to be gleaned of the social and cultural practices that underwrote economic activity, from the important role played by widows as executrices and inheritors of land to the nicknaming of livestock. And, of course, the wills provide evidence aplenty for a broader range of topics within early modern society. Having been required for the purposes of this review to read the wills serially, I realise how much a systematic analysis of the evidence within these volumes could be made to provide. As this series draws to its conclusion, it is possible to appreciate the magnitude of the ambition of the late Dr Emmison and

the collective thanks owed to him and those (notably the Essex Record Office and Friends of Historic Essex) without whose backing such a project could not have been sustained.

JOHN WALTER

STEVE HINDLE, *The birthpangs of welfare: poor relief and parish governance in seventeenth-century Warwickshire* (Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, 40, 2000). 74 pp. 4 figs. £7.75 incl p&p, from The Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon, CV37 6QW.

The history of early modern poor relief has come a long way since Sidney and Beatrice Webb published in 1927 their classic *English poor law history, I, the Old Poor Law.* Whereas the Webbs tended to see the poor laws from a 'top-down' perspective, later generations of social historians have examined the local contexts of poverty and poor relief.

Dr. Hindle's booklet definitely belongs to the second historiographical tradition. Based upon archival research, the author raises a number of questions about early modern poor relief, including the impact of the government's Book of Orders campaign to enforce relief in the 1630s; how the system worked in practice in matters of who paid and who received; and, how it affected social relations and vice-versa at the parish level.

The study is based upon a discovery of overseers' accounts of 39 parishes in Kineton hundred for 1638–9, all but three of which were located in the mainly arable Felden region in the southeast of the county, and which are in the family papers of the county JP and antiquary, Sir Simon Archer. The author's transcribed accounts are published in an appendix that is 37 pages in length. In another appendix he provides quantitative information for the 39 parishes, including population figures, numbers of pensioners, totals of relief expenditure (absolute and per capita), and the proportion of the population receiving doles.

The study concludes that poor relief was more widely enforced in the 1630s than was previously thought. Although no overseers' accounts survive for any of the 39 parishes outside the Archer archive, their apparent enforcement of the Elizabethan relief laws represents 75 per cent of the 52 parishes in the hundred. Hindle found that women, many of them widows, formed 51 per cent of dole recipients. But another one third were adult males, many of whom were probably able bodied, while only one in 10 parishes mentioned putting the poor to work, all of which tends to confirm that the 1630s was a time of exceptional hardship in which unemployment was widespread. Where it is possible to learn about ratepayers, they represented between 31 and 38 per cent of the population, but even smaller proportions paid over three quarters of the total. The hundred contained many closed parishes, which tended to have far fewer paupers than the open villages such as Brailes.

As to social relations and poor relief, Hindle found the system worked as a means of control for the gentry and parish elites over the poor, but also as an entitlement for paupers. Conflicts arose between disappointed claimants, who sometimes occupied the parish church, and hard-nosed overseers intent upon easing tax burdens. At this point JPs such as Archer were called to intervene and settle disputes.

The author might have shed more light on the economic and social contexts of poor relief by examining similar evidence from pastoral and manufacturing parishes in the Arden region north of the Avon, which was very different from the Felden. Moreover, the author's claim to have discovered a 'calculus of entitlement' in the enforcement of relief may be overstated and too dismissive of other, 'top-down' forces. Local conflicts resulted from the different interests of the parties, but they also arose from legislation that drew simplistic distinctions between deserving and undeserving paupers. No doubt, disputes over entitlements involved fairly ritualized 'negotiations' among the parties, but again the entire process was set rolling by legislation and orders from above and was often resolved by intervention from above through quarter sessions. So perhaps the Webbs' perspective needs to be reconsidered.

All told, this is a valuable contribution to the history of early modern poor relief, which it is to be hoped will stimulate more such research. The Dugdale Society did an outstanding job of producing the study.

LEE BEIER

The Pennard manor court book, 1673–1701 (transcribed by MICHAEL J. EDMUNDS with an introduction by JOANNA MARTIN)(South Wales Record Society, 2000). xxxvi + 109 pp. £19.50 incl p&p from The Treasurer, SWRS, 12 The Green, Radyr, Cardiff CF15 8BR.

Most readers of this *Review* will be acquainted with the immense importance of manor court rolls as sources for the study of the agrarian economy from medieval times to the seventeenth century and beyond. The manor itself was long the focal point of local government and law enforcement, while the Courts Baron and Courts Leet governed daily life, promoted good agricultural practice, upheld local customs, regulated markets, dealt with petty felons and occasionally enforced national laws. The present book, based upon Michael Edmunds' diploma thesis from the University of Swansea, offers a transcription of the late seventeenth-century court book of the manor of Pennard on the Gower peninsula in South Wales. The original document, acquired by Glamorgan

Record Office in 1951, is a vellum-covered paper volume of one hundred and thirty pages and is of particular interest since it records the full gamut of court activity at a time when most English courts were falling into abeyance as Quarter and Petty Sessions usurped many of their functions. Preceded by an admirable essay by Joanna Martin covering the evolution and function of the manor court, the activities of its multitude of officials and the introduction of the manorial system in South Wales, Edmunds' transcription gives us the full text with all its eccentricities of spelling. Editorial insertions are kept to a minimum and only allowed to affect the flow of the narrative where obscure terms and place-names require explanation, while a valuable glossary of English and Latin terms and a comprehensive index of personal and place names will greatly assist local historians.

By the late seventeenth century this part of the Gower was essentially a cattle-rearing and dairying area with arable products accounting for no more than twenty per cent of the wealth of the farming population. As presentments to the courts reveal, moreover, the open fields had all but disappeared to be replaced by a network of hedged and ditched enclosures – a network which tenants were keen to expand by encroachment. The courts, however, presided over by a succession of stewards from the local gentry, were often obliged to turn aside from their concerns with the conveyancing of copyhold and customary land and various other duties to deal with the serious issue of illegal encroachment upon jealously-guarded common lands. Indeed, the ample evidence of disputes within this court book strongly suggests that the Gower commons had been gradually eroded by encroachment from medieval times.

Michael Edmunds is to be richly commended for this finely transcribed and handsomely produced volume which is a worthy edition to the expanding corpus of printed manorial records.

R. J. MOORE-COLYER

HADRIAN COOK and TOM WILLIAMSON (eds), *Water management in the English landscape, field, marsh and meadow* (Edinburgh UP, 1999). xi + 273 pp. £18.95.

Although the authors may not be aware of it, this book is a third or fourth generation descendant of the seminal work of H. C. Darby on *The draining of the Fens* and *The medieval Fenland* which appeared in 1940. Those two books firmly positioned the British lowlands as a focus of study, a crucial interface of human action with the physical environment, steeped in a long history of struggle and effort – longer and more complex then even Darby himself realized. There followed a number of historical geographical studies on other lowland zones, June Sheppard on the Hull valley, Michael Williams on the Somerset Levels, Hugh Prince on the wet prairie of the Midwest. At the same time historians such as H. E. and Sylvia Hallam threw new light on the antiquity of the Fenland reclamation, and Joan Thirsk revealed the complexities of the Lincolnshire coastal marshlands. This lineage is not irrelevant as all these past authors have provided a rich deposit of material, which in turn has spawned further studies, a number of which appear from the hands of contributors to this volume.

But to the present work. Its great value is to bring together lowland draining, underdraining and water-meadow creation and treat them for what they are – aspects of the greater whole – water management in a basically waterlogged countryside. As such these topics require more knowledge of hydrology, water management principles, soils and draining technology than has hitherto been common, and the chapters by H. Cook and D. Dent on these topics are welcome.

But the bulk of this book is a not unfamiliar 'history' of wetland conversion and management. The chapters on 'Draining of arable land in medieval England' by D. Hall, 'Post-medieval field draining' by Tom Williamson, 'Medieval reclamation of marsh and fen' by Robert Silvester, and 'Post-medieval drainage of marsh and fen' by Christopher Taylor cover much familiar ground, but nonetheless are necessary and valuable. Perhaps more exciting, for this reviewer at least, was Stephen Rippon's 'Romano-British reclamation of coastal lands' (much new material here), the two excellent chapters on the operation and ecology of water meadows, and their development in southern England by Roger Cutting and Ian Cummings, and Joseph Bettey respectively, and the history of 'floating' (i.e. irrigation) in the rest of the country by Susanna Wade Martins and Tom Williamson. A. D. M. Phillips' work on the unseen, unsuspected and unsung triumph of the sub-surface draining of arable land – the sheer extent, effort and importance of which is rarely appreciated – is a timely antidote to the romance of the massive walls, complex sluices, new cuts and pumping stations that characterize the water management of the true lowlands.

Hadrian Cook and Tom Williamson's opening chapter on 'Landscape, environment and history' goes some way to bring these many themes together, stressing that the book is, among other things, an avowed 'attempt to bridge an interdisciplinary gap' (p. 1), which it does successfully. The section on the relationship between draining activity and economic activity (pp. 7–12) is good. But the other aim of providing a 'green history' does not seem to succeed as well. All human manipulation of the landscape is a piece of environmental history of a kind, but a 'green history' whets the appetite for more than that; for a discussion of ideas, attitudes and political

activism, as well as the politics of 'heritage' of archaeological and scientific special places. In the wider context there is passing reference to the importance of water resources and wetlands against a background of growing world population, but that is all. But who can doubt that in the developing world wetlands are considered 'wastelands' until cultivated, while in the developed world there is a constant conflict between preservation and conversion, which the work of E. Maltby and M. Williams, (*Waterlogged wealth: Why waste the world's wet places?* (1986) and *Wetlands: A threatened landscape* (1990), more than substantiates. Wetlands in the UK have not yet reached the status of near 'sanctity' that they have in the United States, but the passions are higher than this book would suggest. The 'Amberley Brooks' case study (pp. 237–9) is only one of a number that have erupted in the country. And although this reviewer is speaking from a position of current (late 2000) knowledge in the wettest autumn in the UK since reliable rainfall records were established over 225 years ago, who can doubt that water management of the lowlands is an even wider topic than this book suggests. It is an integral part of a wider hydrology that encompasses main drainage channels, urban sprawl, uncontrolled building, and the environmental perception of flood hazards. Water is all too near the doors of hundreds of thousands of homes, both literally and metaphorically.

These caveats aside, this is a useful, timely and informative book that summarizes a vast range of knowledge. For anyone interested in the history and workings of these very special and fascinating parts of the English landscape, it is a 'must'.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS

PAUL T. HARDING and TOM WALL (eds), *Moccas: an English deer park. The history, wildlife and management of the first parkland National Nature Reserve* (English Nature, 2000). 348 pp. 27 tables; 140 figs. £20.

England has a tradition of parks going back 950 years. Originally deer farms, they developed into the hunting parks, landscape parks, and public parks of later centuries. Moccas Park, on the Welsh border, looks like a classic survival of the earliest type of park. Deer and sheep, confined within a cleft-oak pale, browse among pollard oaks of bizarre shape and improbable bulk. The strange beauty of extremely aged trees inspired a famous passage by Francis Kilvert, literary diarist of the 1870s. The timeless atmosphere is fully confirmed by lack of change in successive photographs of the ancient trees. (But the ground vegetation, alas, is reduced to either bracken or improved grassland, as in so many wood-pastures).

Moccas has another claim to fame. It is one of the best localities in Europe for the rare creatures and plants, especially beetles and lichens, which live in or on specific parts of ancient trees. Trees scattered in grassland, a kind of northern savanna, are traditionally neglected by ecologists as not being proper forest and by agronomists as not proper grassland. As one contribution puts it, 'Deer parks are amongst the most artificial of our wildlife habitats'. (Even English Heritage's *Register of Historic Parks and Gardens* used to contain few if any examples earlier than 1700). However, increasing knowledge of wood-pastures, their history and equivalents in other countries and continents, calls this into question: places like Moccas are ecosystems in their own right. They, not forests, are the usual habitat of old trees and of all that depends on old trees. Veteran Trees Initiative, co-producer of this book, results from the revival of interest in the functioning and significance of ancient trees.

The book has 29 chapters on aspects of the history, trees, wildlife, land-use, and conservation of Moccas Park. The authors include such renowned specialists as John Phibbs on park design and Colin Welch on beetles. Another is Francis Chester-Master, latest in a long line of owners who have understood and appreciated what makes Moccas special.

The beauty and ecological significance of Moccas Park depend on its history. Phibbs shows that (contrary to appearances) it went through a phase of formal landscape design in the eighteenth century. But its earlier, more significant history is still mysterious. Where did the ancient oaks – and some yet older, known from paintings but no longer extant – come from? When were they last pollarded? Why is most of 'Moccas Park' in Dorstone parish, not Moccas?

One piece of evidence of which more might have been made is that on the map the park overlaps a rectangular enclosure with rounded corners, the characteristic shape of a medieval deer-park. It displaced a parish boundary, which would date it to the twelfth century. Is this the origin of the present park, later enlarged by taking in more land? Many of the ancient trees, however, stand outside this medieval boundary; there is ridge and furrow of medieval cultivation, both inside and outside; and some of the ancient trees sit on cultivation ridges. Mystery deepens.

The book brings together studies from many different disciplines, as all historical ecology must. The editors are to be congratulated in persuading 23 authors to produce generally excellent work. But the contributions are not fully linked together. For instance, by exceptional good fortune, a pollen deposit exists within the park itself, going back some 10,000 years. It is a pity that this was not especially studied in the part from 1000 to 300 years ago, when independent evidence for the site's history is badly needed.

Recommendations for the future are somewhat generic, perhaps because they compromise between divergent interests and objectives. The uniqueness of Moccas centres on its ancient (pre-landscaping) trees, and the conservation proposals centre on planting new trees, but the links between these are not set out. The Beetle Oak is a pollard famous for its size, age, and rugged beauty, and because it is the unique habitat of a certain beetle. Oaks of the next younger generation show no sign of replicating these values: they differ in genetics and history as well as in age. The seventeenth-century Club Oak is a magnificent tree but in a different way: another 300 years will not turn it into a Beetle Oak. As a minimum, any future Beetle Oak will have to be (1) propagated from the Beetle Oak itself, and (2) made into a pollard. How planted trees are expected to reproduce the values associated with existing trees needs to be spelt out. The details are what matters.

This is a well-produced, very readable book, which should provoke thoughts among readers interested in wood-pastures anywhere from Texas to Japan.

OLIVER RACKHAM

PHILIP MORGAN and A. D. M. PHILLIPS (eds), *Staffordshire histories: essays in honour of Michael Greenslade* (Staffordshire Record Society and Keele University, 1999). xi + 304 pp. 10 tables; 23 plates; 8 figs. £15 from Centre for Local History, Keele University ST5 5BG.

Michael Greenslade's pivotal role in Staffordshire historical studies, as editor both of the VCH and of the Staffordshire Record Society, is honoured appropriately in the long-running series known as Collections for a History of Staffordshire. After a personal appreciation by Christopher Elrington, colleagues and friends have offered in tribute twelve essays that reflect his wide range of interests in the county's history. Some of the best – including that on the architecture and Romanesque sculpture of Tutbury Priory – are not direct concerns of this journal. Three chapters are of particular interest. In the first, it is refreshing to find a VCH man who has the opportunity, and the inclination, to speculate. Nigel Tringham, a prominent contributor to the VCH volume on the Staffordshire Moorlands, tackles the tantalising, but slender evidence that the Earl of Chester's fee of Leek was based on a pre-Conquest estate. The parish was the largest in Staffordshire and contained three chapelries and several townships; the area is well-defined geographically by rivers and ridges; Anglo-Saxon tun names surround Leek and minor place-names indicate late clearances on the edges of the parish. A group of at least four pre-Conquest crosses stand in Leek church or churchyard. On the other hand, signs of minster status are lacking and the Domesday Book evidence is unhelpful. The late Anglo-Saxon estate that was probably centred on Leek was already greatly reduced in size by 1086.

Christopher Harrison writes about a series of enclosure riots that took place on Cannock Chase between 1580 and 1582. Hedges and fences enclosing hundreds of acres of woodland were burnt down, but this was not simply because of anger at the loss of pasture rights. Dr Harrison tells a much more complicated, detailed and convincing story centred on the rivalry between local magnates, the Astons and Pagets. He produces extensive archival evidence to prove that the violence was directed and controlled. The conclusions that he draws from this local study are of wide general interest. In particular, he notes that of the five main riots, four included or were centred on a holy day. He dryly observes that one rioted in one's spare time. Mortal conflict was rare in what was an accepted form of direct action. 'Fire on the Chase' was not a community revolt against injustice, but the exploitation of tension within the community by a criminal sub-group.

In a final chapter, Tony Phillips revisits Lord Ernle's 'golden age of farming' to question the current view that Staffordshire farmers moved in 'a straight line progression from tillage to grassland' between 1840 and 1870. He starts by plotting the evidence of agricultural land use and cropping obtained from tithe files and preambles of *c.* 1840 for each parish and compares his findings with similar evidence obtained from agricultural returns of *c.* 1870. Having discussed the reliability of this evidence, he turns to a detailed examination of the cropping books of the Trentham estates of the dukes of Sutherland. These provide a general endorsement of his conclusion that historians have overestimated the 'greening' of Staffordshire in this period. By 1840 Staffordshire had more grassland than Caird claimed. During the next thirty years the overall balance of grassland and tillage remained broadly uniform, with if anything a slight shift to tillage. Many farmers were unprepared to abandon their mixed farming systems. Dr Phillips concludes that changes in agricultural land use were more complicated than present studies allow and that further research is needed to establish the patterns of agricultural land use in the immediate post-Napoleonic War period. His findings are clearly of interest to agricultural historians beyond Staffordshire.

DAVID HEY

STEVEN HOLLOWELL, *Enclosure records for historians* (Phillimore, 2000). xiii + 175 pp. 8 tables; 43 figs. £15.99.

This book has a number of aims. Firstly, it is primarily intended as an introduction to the records which the historian can use to study enclosure. Secondly, it

provides an overview of the processes of enclosure which generated many of the documents discussed. Thirdly it introduces some of the major historiographical debates around enclosure.

An introductory chapter contains a brief overview of enclosure from the fifteenth century through to the nineteenth. The author notes that nationally, non-parliamentary enclosure affected more land than parliamentary enclosure. However, although the book is nominally about enclosures of all kinds, the treatment of non-parliamentary enclosure and its documents is rather brief, being confined to ten pages of text in Chapter One. The remaining five chapters, which constitute the real substance of the book, are devoted to a consideration of parliamentary enclosure. This the author is well placed to do, having researched the subject for ten years and written a Ph.D on parliamentary enclosure in Northamptonshire.

Chapter Two elucidates the early stages of an enclosure. Documents discussed include: proposals to enclose; notices of the intent to enclose, notices of meetings of proprietors; petitions to the House of Commons to submit a bill; counter-petitions, consents; the House of Commons *Journal*. The third chapter completes the treatment of the parliamentary process with discussions of enclosure correspondence; enclosure bills; committee meeting minutes; and finally the act itself. A very thorough and helpful discussion of the characteristic provisions of the enclosure acts takes up much of the chapter. As should now be obvious the range of documents discussed is fairly exhaustive.

Chapter Four discusses the work of the commissioners and the surviving documentation. Chapter Five does the same for the surveyors and quality men and ends with a discussion of enclosure maps and awards. The sixth chapter considers some of the broader historiographical debates, such as the decline of the small landholder and the relationship between parliamentary enclosure and agricultural improvement. In the process Hollowell introduces further documents not produced by the process of enclosure but nevertheless considered useful for the study of parliamentary enclosure, including land tax assessments, tithe files and the 1801 crop returns.

The author has gone to considerable lengths to help the novice historian get underway. This extends from recommending that new researchers arrive at the record office with a number of sharp HB pencils to explaining how to produce an enclosure map where none exists. One very helpful feature of the book for first-time researchers is the facsimile reproduction of sample documents followed by the author's transcription. The context in which enclosure documents were produced is also set out very thoroughly. In fact at least as much of the book is taken up with a detailed account of the processes of parliamentary enclosure as with a discussion of the records.

Perhaps in consequence of this, the treatment of some of the records is too brief. For instance, the discussion of the work of quality men (who supplemented the work of surveyors by assessing the quality of the land) gives no information as to the content of the quality books they compiled. Enclosure awards, the most voluminous and complex of enclosure documents, are treated in under two pages, the same space as is devoted to a discussion (albeit illuminating) of the use of surveyors' chains in the same chapter.

However, the real weakness of the book is in the inadequacy of the account of the secondary literature. For example, we are told that, since the early twentieth century, the origins of the three field system have been largely neglected. While the bibliography lists David Hall's *The open fields of Northamptonshire* (1995) the existence of chapters therein on the origins of the open fields and the development of field systems in Hollowell's own county seem to have escaped notice. The statement on page three that population began to rise steadily within a hundred years of the Black Death does little to instil confidence. The discussion of parliamentary enclosure and agricultural improvements does not refer to Robert Allen's *Enclosure and the yeoman* (1992), though again this is in the bibliography. Donald Ginter's *A measure of wealth* (1992) is cited but the discussion of the pitfalls of using the land tax neither makes clear the importance of this book for those who wish to use the land tax assessments nor provides a comprehensive summary of Ginter's work in its place.

This book provides a thorough introduction to the processes of parliamentary enclosure and, with the exception of the record formed by the landscape itself, which is omitted, a comprehensive listing of the relevant records. As such it will be useful to its intended audience of local historians. Unfortunately, the account of the substantive and methodological secondary literature is less than authoritative and needs to be treated with caution.

LEIGH SHAW-TAYLOR

DAVID W. HOWELL, *The rural poor in eighteenth-century Wales* (University of Wales Press, 2000). xv + 317 pp. 11 tables; 2 figs; 1 map. £35.

A great deal of the material assembled in this workmanlike and solidly-researched book has appeared in one guise or another in chapters and articles published both by Dr Howell and others. Indeed, much of the first half of the volume, dealing with settlement patterns, the farming community and craftsmen and artisans, is essentially a summary of existing knowledge and offers

little in the way of new material. The overture complete, the curtain rises on the first act in Chapter 4 when Howell comes to grips with the rural poor whose relative prosperity declined as the eighteenth century wore on. To some extent, this too is standard fare (wretched housing, poor diet, loss of common rights, growing indebtedness, escalating poor rates etc) but it is deeply felt, levelheaded, authoritative and packed with detail. David Howell's judgements are always tempered with common sense. After all, as with the farming population where, for every recalcitrant, dog-in-the-manger tenant there was a good husbandman, so for every poor man whose poverty was no fault of his own there was a light-fingered and idle villain. Forget the comfortable image (created by nineteenth-century political polemicists) of the tenant farmer living in a state of equality with his labourers and sharing a common distaste for the landowning classes; labourers and servants stole with impunity from their employers, disappeared from service before their time was due and occasionally resorted to poisoning their masters. Meanwhile employers beat, tortured and raped their servants, like the Rhosili farmer hanged in 1799 for starving to death his nine-year-old employee. Rural Wales, like rural England, was a raunchy, violent and dangerous place in the eighteenth century. Despite the growth of Methodism among the middle-classes, church attendance was minimal, few marriages were sanctified by religion, and superstition was rife, with folk beliefs co-existing alongside nominal Christianity. If a belief in supernatural forces helped people to cope with the crises of life, so did gambling, football, church-wakes, cock fighting and fornication all of which (apart, perhaps, from the latter) were associated with notions of parish solidarity and a sense of community. This applied particularly to the booze-fuelled and violent inter-parochial football games which, despised by nonconformity, declined in the nineteenth century throughout Britain as a whole with the abandonment of the Old Poor Law and the belief that in any case people's energies might better be channelled into commercialism and wealth creation.

In subsequent chapters Howell delineates an underclass with its own standards of right and wrong and its customary methods of dealing with malefactors which were often at odds with statutory law. The poor were hostile to strangers, defiant of authority, resentful of demands for militia service and jealously protective of customary usages when manorial lords attempted to enforce their legal rights. Within the moral economy of the poor of rural Wales, poaching, smuggling and wrecking (often accompanied by great violence) were viewed as legitimate customary activities, in a sense symbolic of resistance to the laws of an anglicized ruling class. Again, when the notion of a fair and just price for bread was threatened by the illegitimate activity of traders in or exporters of corn, food riots inevitably followed. As the moral economy of the lower orders was challenged, so the labourers, artisans, craftsmen, lead miners and colliers (both male and female) took to the streets, their collective solidarity normally encouraging the 'authorities' to take appropriate action. In his detailed, and wholly admirable study of crime and criminality, Howell takes as his primary source the Great Sessions court records between 1730 and 1800. Not surprisingly he finds a violent and unsqueamish society in which trivial disputes were normally settled by fighting (sometimes involving manslaughter) and where murder and domestic violence were commonplace. Men were murdered for money and within the throes of a family vendetta; girls were murdered for being pregnant, and unwanted infants destroyed by their mothers. However, larceny and assault in their various forms (attacks on persons, arson, livestock maiming and breaking fences and enclosures) predominated among indictable offences. People pilfered and purloined out of poverty, for drink, to procure the means of escape from drudgery and many other reasons besides. Indeed, so serious was endemic thieving in Wales that the propertied classes in a district frequently came together to bear the cost of prosecuting felons and of paying the multitude of informants and spies who thronged the watchful and intrusive rural society. Punishment, of course, was harsh, although despite the whippings, imprisonment, brandings, and transportation, death sentences were relatively rare. In contrast to the situation in England, late eighteenth-century Welsh justices commuted to transportation some 80 per cent of indictments for capital offences so that sheep stealers, horse thieves and highway robbers rarely encountered the hangman's noose. Murderers, however, could expect short shrift and while juries out of common humanity rarely returned guilty verdicts against girls convicted for infanticide, the knotted rope awaited others who took life.

David Howell shows throughout his text that riot, popular resistance and crimes against property were primarily the responses of a hungry and impoverished people. Men may have reacted violently against authority, but before the 1790s, when a palpable disaffection with the gentry and social institutions may be detected, there was little real evidence of Jacobinism. Howell's scenario was enacted against a social background of tacit deference which did not begin to break down before the Rebecca Riots of the 1830s. He is careful to remind us that the responses of the poor to their lot probably differed very little between Wales and England and I am inclined to wonder whether too much recent historical writing has tended to over-emphasize alleged differences

between the two communities rather than to underscore essential similarities. I suspect that language apart, the world views of the eighteenth-century Welsh labourer, weaver, blacksmith, wheelwright, shepherd, or cowman was little different from that of his English counterpart. True, things may have changed under the influence of nonconformity by the mid-nineteenth century, but the probability is that for the previous hundred years one could substitute 'Britain' for 'England' or 'Wales' with impunity as far as the rural poor are concerned.

Despite the rather mundane earlier chapters, Dr Howell's book comes fully alive in the second half when he unearths a great deal of new material which is assembled and interpreted with considerable skill and verve. Perhaps I am being pedantic in finding archaisms like 'must needs pay attention', 'meaner sort' or 'poorer sort', and 'want of' irritating, but I do worry for the future prospects of the sub-editor who failed to comment on the observation: 'The people who lived in rural Wales were for the most part country dwellers'! That unfortunate also failed in proof-reading to note some curious juxtapositions (page 189 and pages 123–4) which render the text meaningless. But these are minor criticisms of a highly-detailed book which deserves a place on the shelves of social historians of the eighteenth century, be they from Beccles or Bala.

R. J. MOORE-COLYER

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS, *Principal family and estate collections: family names A-K* (Guides to Sources for British History 10, HMSO, 1996). xviii + 118 pp. £30; ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS, *Principal family and estate collections: family names L-W* (Guides to Sources for British History 11, Stationery Office, 1999). xiii + 182 pp. £39.50. £50 the two volume set.

For anyone starting out on historical research, whether as a young postgraduate or an old trooper embarking on a new topic, it is an immense boon to find a detailed and easily accessible guide to the available sources on the chosen subject. When, as the doyen of scholars in the field, Sir John Habakkuk, points out in the Foreword to these volumes, the chosen subject has any links with the ownership, management, and utilization of land, the surviving records of the major landowners provide the principal key to most aspects of the social and economic history of Britain from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries, and many would claim that the records of landowning families are more important than public records for many aspects of agricultural history, for example in recapturing medieval farming systems, investigating the effects of enclosures, or compiling data on rent movements. With a team under the leadership of R. J. Olney, himself well-known for his works on Lincolnshire landowners and agriculture, the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts has now provided this splendid guide to the records of upwards of 120 families, some still in private hands but many deposited in county record offices, university libraries, or the British Library.

For each of the chosen 'principal families' the guide gives an excellent account of the history of the family and its estates, detailing the grants, purchases, marriages, inheritances, and the disposals through forfeitures, inheritances, and sales, an account that goes far to explain the dispersal of records among different repositories, the contents and locations of which are carefully described. Thus, for the first time, it is possible to discover virtually at a glance what the several components of any one family's records are, and where they are to be found. These components, moreover, are fully analyzed, so that one can tell which repository contains deeds, leases, estate accounts, building plans, colliery records, farm accounts, school records, church material, political papers, family diaries, and for what dates, and so on. All this is treasure almost without price for the researcher – which is just as well at £50 the set; a public service to encourage scholarship would have made these volumes available at a price which impoverished graduate students could afford.

It is excellent to be given the key to unlock the riches of 120 families, and ungracious to look a gift horse in the mouth. Euphoria should, however, be tempered by some appreciation of the limitations of the 120. The Lambton earls of Durham are not here, and they might be considered a 'principal family' and certainly have left many records; the Grimston earls of Verulam were perhaps less than 'principal', but it is curious that the one reference to Gorhambury is under the Townshend family, the building accounts having descended through a Townshend marriage to a co-heir of the Bacon family. Even more curious, these Gorhambury building accounts are to be found in the Huntington Library, and although the Huntington is mentioned elsewhere, particularly in the entry for the Grenville dukes of Buckingham, it is not clear how consistently collections outside the UK have been included. The Preface promises that the guide 'will describe the most extensive and important family and estate collections of the United Kingdom', and while prominent Scottish and Welsh families are included, alongside the inevitably English majority, principal Irish landed families appear to be limited to the Hills, marquesses of Downshire, and Shirley of Ettington (Warwickshire) whose main estates were in Co. Monaghan, though the Vane-Tempest marquesses of Londonderry might be ranked among the greatest of Anglo-Irish landowners who, with the Wentworth earls

Fitzwilliam, have a secure place in the guide. It is also probably inevitable that the great bulk of the landed families in the guide belong to the titled aristocracy; only ten per cent of the entries are for untitled families, and half of those were, like the Wyndhams of Orchard Wyndham, untitled only because of the extinction of the Egremont peerage and other former peerages, leaving seven families which never entered the titled aristocracy, Williams Wynn of Wynnstay towering above them as the largest landowner in Wales. There were a few other commoners among the great landowners with important collections of records who one might have expected to see here, such as the Chaplins of Blankney and the Sykes of Sledmere, but only a few.

These gaps are mentioned simply as a warning to users that the guide is not completely exhaustive, and that it should not become the sole recourse of those intent on finding out about the nature and whereabouts of the records of landed families. It will surely instantly and deservedly become their first resort.

F. M. L. THOMPSON

WILLIAM LINNARD, *Welsh woods and forests: a history* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 2000). v + 247 pp. 23 tables; 97 figs. £19.95.

Welsh woods are, with few honourable exceptions, in a poor state. In metaphor and reality they cling to the steep hillsides and rough places. Their past is complex, their future perilous. There are few highly-trained foresters in Wales and they have little influence in woodland restoration. Commercial pressures, political indifference and insensitive owners determine matters. The broad-leaved woodland is mainly coppice oak on ancient enfeebled stumps – no younger seedling trees, the ubiquitous sheep sees to that. The grazed woods are aesthetically pleasing to an untutored eye, but quite wretchedly poor to forester and knowledgeable naturalist. The statistical majority of the near 12 per cent of Wales nominally forested comprises the uplands planted with conifers during the post-war dash for timber reserves by a state frightened at the dearth of pitwood and timber, 90 per cent of which had been imports in 1914.

A thorough understanding of how Welsh woodland has come to its present state is an absolute pre-requisite to any sensible programme for its restoration. William Linnard received high praise in 1982 for the scholarly, readable version of his Ph.D thesis published by the National Museum of Wales as the first edition of this book. It was soon out of print. This new edition by Gomer brings the history up to date with chapters covering the period of Forestry Commission activity since 1919. It also benefits by new research on earlier periods and much improved illustrations.

The woodland history is told straight with little comment as to the consequences of the exploitative misuse of woods as they dwindled from 90 per cent land cover in prehistory to 4 per cent in 1914. History, however, is Linnard's purpose and he is a splendid tutor to the growing audience who wish to back their conservation impulses with a solid background of woodland history. He offers plenteous detail from primary documents whilst maintaining a clear sweep to the story.

Linnard charts the re-foresting of postglacial Wales from pollen evidence. Pine comes and goes. Oak starts its long struggle to survive depredation by people and stock. The Romans clear and use forest, the Normans far more, breaking up the near universal lowland forest. The process of selecting fine trees is under way, impoverishing the genetic base for successor woods. The Cistercians assart great areas for their flocks. Underwood and small wood is cut on increasingly short rotations to char for smelting and lime burning. Forest laws, the key to any structured long-term management of woodland, are largely ignored in Wales. There is a first wave of tree planting vigour a century after John Evelyn gave the wake-up call. Thomas Johnes around 1800 spearheaded the activity, planting vast numbers of larch and oak at Hafod.

In 1919, the infant Forestry Commission faced a situation where almost half the remnant woodland area was classified as 'devastated scrub'. The conifer-clad hill land which causes such widespread present day anguish was largely planted in two decades after 1945. These plantations comprise low quality trees and in their present roughly managed state are wind prone and near to stagnation until mechanically clear-felled, a far cry from the silviculture envisaged when they were optimistically planted. To convert these to mixed, productive and conservation-rich continuous forest cover will be a truly daunting task.

In a rare aside, Linnard chides today's foresters for rediscovering the 'multiple use' concept. In early times this was 'multiple exploitation' of an overwhelming forest cover by a tiny population. The new attempt at 'multiple use' must battle to create a modern ethos and technology of woodland management in the face of a large, heavy-handed population that seems to know little and care less. The hope is that this erudite, stylish history can urge those who do have a say in the fate of Welsh woodland to follow paths of enlightenment.

HOWARD OVENS

JOHN BURNETT, *Liquid pleasures: a social history of drinks in modern Britain* (Routledge, 1999). viii + 254 pp. 39 tables; 2 figs. £14.99.

There are several reasons why the history of food and drink is an area of growing scholarly interest. First, the

'cultural turn' of the social sciences in the last ten years has encouraged work, both theoretical and empirical, on consumption. Food and drink have played their part, as the commodities most frequently in demand, and the more recent 'material turn' seems likely to re-emphasize this. Second, food and drink have become front page news, with a seemingly endless stream of health and risk-related stories about BSE and GM foods. This has encouraged a delving into the history of food scares and moral panics. Third, the feature sections and colour supplements of the same newspapers, along with the best seller shelves of high street book shops and the schedules of prime time television, are increasingly dominated by cookery and the output of celebrity chefs. The popular enthusiasms that lie behind these trends have persuaded academics to reconsider their neglect of the foodways part of the taken-for-granted world. In short, the fuller potential of food and drink is now being exploited by historians, as both fuel and fun, and also as commodities that bear meanings ranging from those associated with market forces, and the 'risk society', to the creation of bodily identity.

John Burnett has written a book that contributes much to the history of drink. He defines his subject widely, including water and milk in addition to alcohol, hot beverages and soft drinks. Essentially it is a chronological story divided into commodity themes. This is an effective approach, which gives the author scope to explore in detail the contingent histories of each drink in turn. It is easy to criticize such a 'vertical' method because, in the wrong hands, it can lead to the neglect of those 'horizontal' factors such as social class, which give analytical coherence and a basis for a comparative understanding. Professor Burnett does not lose sight of the broader issues and the various chapters, while not sharing much in terms of a theoretical underpinning or citations to the general literature on consumption, do provide a satisfying and balanced set of stories. The final chapter, a Conspectus, draws the disparate threads together. The row hoed by the author is on the same side of the vineyard tilled by those in the 'developmentalist' tradition, such as Stephen Mennell and Sidney Mintz. Ideally one would have preferred the choice of approach to have been discussed in greater depth, informed perhaps by the controversy surrounding Ben Fine's 'systems of provision', but epistemological ingredients are not part of the recipe.

Starting in the seventeenth century, Burnett brings his story up to date, for instance discussing the quality of drinking water in 1995 and the effectiveness of milk pasteurization in 1998. Consistent with his other, influential work, he situates drink in its economic and social context and we can see how trends in consumption emerged from a complex web of structures and processes that include cultural and political forces, technology and purchasing power. He sees drink as a cause as well as an effect of social change.

Professor Burnett shows a good awareness of regional variations of both production and consumption of the drinks under scrutiny. The study is resolutely one of Britain, however, a focus that is difficult to maintain when discussing that most global of commodities, Coca Cola, or the supply chain of tea and coffee. A little more by way of international comparison would have helped the reader to appreciate why Britain has at times been eccentric in terms of the organization of its food system and the quality of its products. An example is milk, in which the government and the industry lagged years, sometimes decades, behind the regulatory regimes of North American and Continental countries with regard to the spread of disease.

Put the kettle on. It is time for a good, strong cuppa, which, by the way, John Burnett informs us can be classified as either a mild excitant or a psychoactive drug. Or maybe we should try to emulate the eighteenth-century foundrymen who he claims slaked their thirst with 8–24 pints of beer in a shift. On second thoughts, let us keep a clear head and leave such levels of consumption to the present leader of the Conservative Party.

P. J. ATKINS

DAVID HANCOCK, *Old farm dogs* (Shire, 1999). 32 pp. £2.95; MARTIN WATTS, *Working oxen* (Shire, 1999). 32 pp. £2.95; FRED HAMS, *Domestic ducks and geese* (Shire, 2000). 40 pp. £4.50.

How delightful it is to receive three more volumes in the Shire series, which now amounts to over four hundred non-fiction paperback titles! Watts' Hancock's, and Hams' efforts live up to the Shire traditions of utility and readability, and in all carry about them that flavour of beguiling charm which one has come to associate with the series. The texts are amply and clearly illustrated, in Colonel Hancock's case with nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs wherein the depicted homespun rustics (usually stricken in years) are every bit as interesting as their canine servants.

Martin Watts considers the evolution of the domestic ox, its subsequent function in medieval agriculture, and more especially the role played by ox-cultivation in the determination of systems of land measurement. The standard story of the decline of the ox in favour of the quicker and more flexible horse in the eighteenth century is rehearsed, and we read that apart from a few cases (usually involving Devon, Sussex, or Hereford animals) ox-cultivation became a rarity by the middle of the following century. Nevertheless, oxen continued to

be valued as beasts of burden in wartime, although such was the British army's lamentable ignorance of animal husbandry that they managed to lose eleven per cent monthly of the 40,000 oxen employed in the Boer War. The ox, of course, develops his powers by pushing against a withers yoke which, in England had replaced the head yoke by the fourteenth century. This, as Watts explains, led to a quantum increase in efficiency and as housing and shoeing methods improved so did work outputs expand. Despite the apparent simplicity of the equipment required for ox-draught as opposed to horse-draught work, great skill and patience was demanded in training oxen, as experienced by those involved with Dexter cattle at the Iron Age reconstruction site at Butser in Hampshire.

Unlike the horse, which needs to be broken (by a variety of means and gradations of severity), the ox has to be induced to cooperate with man. Dogs come somewhere in between and can be persuaded to do as bid by a carefully-balanced regime of reward and punishment. David Hancock shows just how enormous is the international range of farm dog types, 'the unglamorous, unsung heroes of the canine world'. Whether he writes of 'driving', 'herding', 'pinning', 'heeling', and 'gripping' breeds, of 'header-stalkers', of 'Turnspit Tykes', or grotesque 'holding dogs' like the Neapolitan Mastiff or the Majorcan Perro de Presa Mallorquin, Hancock does so with the enthusiasm of a lifetime devotee. As he describes how the pastoral dog throughout Europe evolved according to climate conditions, he laments the dangerously narrow genetic base of many contemporary breeds. All Bearded Collies, for example, currently registered with the Kennel Club can be traced back to one of twelve dogs, which inevitably means that breeders of the future will need to be extremely vigilant if they are to maintain the robustness and vigour of the breed. Worrying too is the general decline in the demand for working farm dogs as the fortunes of farming continue their downward progress. Meanwhile as the various breeds are required less for their ability and prosperity to work, they are now tending to be bred for showing purposes which, in some cases, is altering the very nature of the creature. Whether or not one takes the view that to breed an animal for aesthetics rather than utility is to demean that animal, contemporary breeders are charged with the responsibility of ensuring that characteristics essential to a working breed are not lost in the pursuit of trivial and usually irrelevant show points.

Can one demean a duck? As a hapless child who was obliged to forage for duck eggs in muddy and malodorous farmyards unattractive even to the most extreme green primitive, I rather doubt it. Ducks, in my view, take stupidity to the point of genius, although I am sure that Fred Hams, who writes with eloquence and affection of Buff Orpingtons, White Campbells, Appleyards, Saxongs, and Dutch Hook-Bills, would violently disagree. Hams describes the origins of domestic ducks and geese, descended (with the exception of the Muscovy) from the wild mallard and Grey Lag and Asiatic Swan Goose respectively, and shows how the various meat and egg-producing breeds came into being. Pivotal to these developments were importations of the Pekin and Indian Runner breeds in the nineteenth century, so providing genetic material for the evolution of the English table-breeds and that layer par excellence, the Khaki Campbell. Although the large flocks of laying ducks common to generations ago have disappeared, and table-ducks are now produced from specialist cross-bred strains, a surprisingly wide range of earlier breeds continue to be maintained by enthusiasts under the watchful eye of the British Waterfowl Association and the Poultry Club. Hams, like Colonel Hancock, rightly appeals to these bodies to ensure that in the drawing up of breed standards characteristics of utility are not sacrificed to mere aesthetic considerations. After all, modern mass-produced duck meat is to all intents and purposes flavourless pabulum and in the future there may be some demand for the more deeply-flavoured flesh of the traditional breeds.

A goose, maintained Dr Johnson, is a silly bird; too big for one, not big enough for two. Perhaps, but the bird has long been a vital component of the agrarian economy, especially in eastern England, as witness the great goose fairs of that region. Indeed, one of the principle objections to the drainage of the Fens in the seventeenth century was grounded in the notion that drainage would interfere with goose breeding. By the early twentieth century most British commercial goose breeds were based upon a cross between the large European goose and the English white goose, although, as Fred Hams observes, many others, including the Buff African, the Pilgrim, the Brecon Buff and the Pomeranian were, and continue to be, kept for fancy. There is at present a trade for large, deep-breasted and well-fleshed geese for the Christmas market. I would like to agree with Hams that if this trade expands we might once again see the autumn stubbles full of Michaelmas geese, but somehow I rather doubt that this will come to pass. The combined and baleful forces of agribusiness and the supermarket, assisted by that handmaiden of standardization, the European directive, will almost invariably stifle any move in that direction.

R. J. MOORE-COLYER

ALAN H. FIELDING and PAUL F. HAWORTH, *Upland habitats* (Routledge, 1999). xvi + 141 pp. 32 tables; 22 plates; 7 figs. £15.99

This is one of a series of Habitat Guides intended to cover the 'ecology, fauna, flora, conservation and management issues' of a range of British habitats. The series would appear to be aimed at sixth-form biology and geography students and the 'intelligent amateur'. The scope is wide, far too wide to be successfully condensed into a slim volume with only 110 pages of text. The main emphasis should surely be on the upland habitats and their associated animal and plant life. Yet this accounts for less than half the book. The major habitats are dismissed in ten pages of which the actual text amounts to only four, being frustratingly disrupted by numerous 'species boxes' (giving illustrated profiles of characteristic animals and plants), tables and figures, some of doubtful value. Is it really necessary to devote a precious page to listing upland Red Data species? And what are we supposed to make of Table 2.9 giving the distribution of 13 National Vegetation Classification communities (referred to by code only) in 13 unspecified regions of Britain? While the species boxes are interesting in themselves they contribute little to a rounded picture of the habitats. Gully, cliff, scree and flush habitats are to all intents ignored and there is no reference to the limestone country of the Peak District and north Pennines, nor to the altitudinal limits of the selected species. Amazingly there is no mention by name of hare's-tail cotton-grass (*Eriophorum vaginatum*), even in the case study of the south Pennines; the least willow (*Salix herbacea*) features only in the birch species box and the rest of the dwarf shrub willows are ignored. In the brief section on the upland climate it should have been emphasized that the rapid reduction in the growing season with altitude is largely attributable to the small temperature range of our oceanic climate, a point well made by Professor Manley, and the zonation diagram, Table 2.2, has no associated comment on the effect on zonation of progressing eastwards away from the highly oceanic climate of the west coast.

The chapters on Management, Conservation and Case Studies are much more satisfactory and readable, the text being far less disrupted. In contrast to the chapter on habitats, grouse moors and golden eagles each benefit from five pages of text. There are short sections on grazing and forestry and a final chapter giving various suggestions for practical work. Incidentally, rhododendron is not just 'a localised problem in parts of Snowdonia'.

The black and white photographs tend to be rather fuzzy and the line drawing in the species boxes could be improved. I would not have recognised that of stiff sedge (*Carex bigelowii*); crowberry looks more like cranberry (*Vaccinium oxycoccus*) and cowberry (*V.vitis-idaea*) is shown having strongly emarginate leaves. Several Latin names are misspelt, as is Manley throughout, and several species are absent from the Index.

All in all I found this a disappointing book.

G. HALLIDAY

Elsewhere and General

KENNETH F. KIPLE AND KRIEMHILD CONEE ORNELAS (eds), *The Cambridge world history of food* (CUP, 2000). xlii + 2153 pp. 204 tables; 120 figs; 19 maps. £95.

This is a remarkable work. It consists of two volumes, both over 1,000 pages long, containing 169 chapters by 158 authors, each article averaging ten pages, about 8,000 words. The two books weigh over 4 kilograms. Over four fifths of the contributors are American. Somewhat strangely, given the title of the work, only a tenth are members of departments of history. This is partly explained by the purpose of the editors, one of whom, Kenneth F. Kiple, edited an earlier Cambridge world history. He writes: 'This work together with its predecessor, *The Cambridge world history of human disease*, represents an effort to encapsulate much of what is known about human health as a new millennium begins'. This perhaps is not what agricultural historians would expect from a volume with the title *The world history of food*. However, it is almost impossible to define and limit food history. Food is so fundamental to human survival that there are few aspects of life that it does not permeate.

This is a reference book; but the reader will be helped by reading the editor's introduction, an overview of the contents. The work is divided into seven parts. Part 1 consists of six chapters on the diets of prehistoric peoples, mainly assessing the methods by which these can be reconstructed. Several writers touch on the possibility of the diet of hunter-gatherers being superior to that of the earliest farmers. Parts II and III will be of more interest to agricultural historians, describing systematically the major sources of food and drink. There are ten chapters on the cereal crops. These do not follow a prescribed format, but most have something on the botanical characteristics of the plant, its domestication and early dispersal; a few chapters have material on the modern distribution and production, such as that on sorghum. In contrast the chapter on wheat discusses only the evidence for domestication and early dispersal. There follow chapters on root crops, vegetables, nuts, spices, sugar and oils and fats. Plants are followed by accounts of animals as a source of food; acquaculture is discussed, but deep sea fishing only in passing. Few animals are omitted as a source of food; horsemeat and dogs receive their due, also insects and llamas. The yak and its products of meat, blood, milk – from which butter is made

to produce tsocha, or butter tea – is well discussed. A following part deals with dietary liquids; this quite rightly includes a chapter on water, for it was the role of water as a carrier of disease that prompted the production by fermentation of wine and beer, a process that like boiling reduces the chance of infection. East Asians produced few alcoholic beverages, so the boiling of water for tea probably served a similar function.

Part IV of volume one deals with nutrients, deficiencies, surfeits and disorders. Chapters cover vitamins, minerals, proteins and fats and then deficiency diseases such as beriberi, pellagra and scurvy, chronic disease and food related disorders including lactose intolerance. Although most of these chapters contain some historical material, they are written for and by nutritionists and other medical scientists. At 381 pages this part would make a substantial book in its own right.

Volume 2 contains the largest part of the book of immediate interest to agricultural historians: 250 pages on food and drink around the world, divided into 23 regional chapters and a final chapter on culinary history. These chapters vary a great deal in length and type of content. Thus the first chapter deals with the origins of agriculture in the Near East; the second, on the Middle East and south Asia is concerned essentially with cooking. The chapter on south east Asia deals systematically with the crops and animals used for food. The section on China discusses the historical roots of Chinese cuisine. In the European section, there is an excellent article on the Mediterranean diet, but with little history, whilst the complementary chapter on southern Europe contains much about the supposed threefold influence on food – Christianity, humoral physiology and the courtly aesthetic – little on changing production and consumption of food. The chapter on the British Isles has a rather strange view of their agricultural history and food consumption. The section on the Americas seems seriously unbalanced with 35 of the 82 pages devoted to the Caribbean and the Arctic; the remarkable expansion of food output in the continent in the modern period hardly gets its due; South America receives six pages only.

There follows a very interesting section entitled History, Nutrition and Health. This includes two chapters examining the arguments of Thomas McKeown about the role of nutrition in the decline of mortality since 1750, a chapter on famine, with some historical material, but more on modern methodology, and a survey of work on height and nutrition. This section also includes a chapter on food fads, largely about the United States, which adds some humour to an otherwise justifiably serious volume. Two views of vegetarianism are included in this Part. A final Part deals with contemporary food related policy issues, ranging from biotechnology to food toxins, and from food subsidies to food additives, all mainly about the United States and concerned only with very recent history.

There will be few who do not find something to interest them in this work. Many of the essays are interesting and informative, and it is an invaluable work of reference. It has an index of 251 pages, and a historical dictionary of the world's plants, sadly unillustrated, covering 173 pages. But for agricultural historians there is a shortage of material on the history of food production and consumption in the last 200 years. Furthermore there are some odd imbalances in the allocation of space: thus a chapter on chicken eggs gets eight pages, a chapter on cattle, surely more important, six only. In the section on dietary liquids, coffee receives 13 interesting pages; but so too does khat, a leaf of an evergreen tree, chewed in east African and south western Arabia to give a mild euphoria. Fungi receive 20 pages, the longest chapter in the book, but surely not the most important food, whilst algae get 18 pages, of which six pages are a list of the names, Latin and local, of the world's edible algae. It is worth recalling that whilst thousands of species of plants and animals are used as food, the great majority of the world's calorific supply comes from very few sources. Even today over half the supply comes from cereals and roots, and before the nineteenth century 70 per cent.

DAVID GRIGG

JACQUES CAUVIN, *The birth of the gods and the origins of agriculture* (CUP, 2000). xviii + 259 pp. 8 plates; 70 figs. £37.50.

The transition of society from a food quest based on hunting and gathering to subsistence forms located in herding and plant husbandry effected a total transformation of virtually all aspects of human life from the most natural to the most symbolic. Since Gordon Childe first postulated the 'Neolithic Revolution' in 1925, developments in archaeological science, themselves of bewildering multi-disciplinarity, have facilitated novel perspectives on this most basic of the problems of prehistory. Jacques Cauvin's book, presented here in a rather lugubrious and heavy-handed translation by Trevor Watkins, sets out to synthesize current thinking on the development of the Neolithic in the Levant and Anatolia and, in presenting a mass of archaeological data for the Natufian culture (*c.* 12,500–10,000 BC), to claim that far from being a response to environmental degradation or population pressure, the evolution of agriculture was rooted in profound cultural change. The book is set within a framework of reaction against the pervasive and narrow perspective of economic determinism, and in advising a cautious approach to conclusions based solely

on scientific positivism, Cauvin argues that observed facts often required to be viewed from a non-materialist standpoint. The Natufians occupied much of the Levant from the Euphrates to Sinai in a benevolent environment rich in wild resources. They were a sedentary people (a necessary precondition for agriculture), who showed a progressive tendency to group themselves into ever-larger communities, who possessed a complete tool kit, and yet, 'only became agricultural by means of a particular adaptation or some specialization of their original functions'. In other words the Natufians were apparently quite satisfied with their ancestral system of survival and their conversion to agriculture awaited an appropriate cultural development.

In proffering suggestions as to why an apparently agreeable subsistence base should be put aside in favour of an agricultural one in the pre-pottery Neolithic of the Levant, Cauvin offers a series of fascinating and controversial views on the development of 'religion' and religious symbolism among these ancient pre-agricultural Levantine communities. By 9500 BC symbolic figures of Woman and the Bull, variously modelled in stone and baked clay, are found among Natufian artefacts and, in the next two millennia, in agricultural contexts in Anatolia where frescoes of enormous bulls surrounded by tiny armed 'stick-men' symbolically signify the relative importance of man and beast. Cauvin believes that the female figure (the proto-Mother Goddess?) and the zoomorphic male, often represented with human figures in an attitude of supplication, indicates an awakening of awareness of the divine, the immanent and the transcendent. Suffering, death, light, reproduction – all are represented symbolically through these figures as men struggled to render the world intelligible, and as cultivation and herding spread through the Levant and eastern Anatolia, so spread the Female Divinity and the Bull. As his imagination evolved, and he became aware of an 'immaterial' world and the belief that he could do things for himself, so man was stimulated to new initiatives. Previously he had been a mere spectator in the natural cycles of reproduction; now with appropriate propitiation of the deities, man could himself become a proactive producer. This Lévi-Straussian view of man's deeply subconscious craving for progress (echoed, of course, in Ian Hodder's thesis which engages with the natural human tendency to push back the wild and extend the domestic) is in itself perfectly logical but, as Cauvin readily admits, a good deal of the speculation as to agrarian origins is yet to be substantiated by archaeological evidence.

Brilliantly ingenious as Cauvin is, many of his arguments call for us to believe absolutely that the figurines, the frescoes, the modelled skulls, masks and 'sanctuaries' have a purely 'religious' meaning. Ultimately, for all the invocation of such disciplines as psychology, social anthropology and linguistics, to say nothing of molecular and palaeobiology, these silent and often enigmatic artefacts are open to a multitude of interpretations. Cauvin asks us to believe that Levantine Neolithic society, unlike the British Neolithic four millennia later, was egalitarian and socially unstratified. This presupposes that some sort of communal discussion preceded decisions over sacrifice, over whose heads were removed for ritual embellishment, who played what part in which particular ritual and so on. I find it extremely difficult to conceive of a situation in either pre-agricultural or farming contexts where some form of social organization (and the inevitable stratification) was not involved in both the physical and psycho-symbolic aspects of the food quest. The shaman, the medicine-man, or the priest-king possessed of arcane knowledge (or able by persuasion or sleight-of-hand to convince others that he enjoyed that knowledge) must have been a prominent figure from the earliest times.

Cauvin proposes a variety of intriguing options to explain the gradual spread of agriculture from the Levant throughout Europe and Asia. Sceptical of the notion of indigenous development among Mesolithic communities, he finds little evidence to link the agricultural diaspora to climatic change and raises serious doubts about the dominant theory of population pressure. Given the convincing archaeological evidence for enormous inundations around the fifth millennium BC (substantiated by folk myths in the ancient world) he hints at the possibility of natural catastrophes drawing people together around their deeply-entrenched cultural values at this time. These cultural values (a new religion and a new economy) together developed self-belief and promoted a sense of purpose and a sense of expansiveness. Like the native peoples of America confronted by the technologically (and to them almost magical) Spanish conquistadores, Mesolithic societies could not fail to be impressed, if not overawed by the dynamic qualities of this new culture. All of which, of course, is based upon a certain logical deduction and carefully-drawn analogy, with hardly a shred of unequivocal archaeological evidence. The case is unproven and is likely to remain unproven for generations. But this is a brilliant, provocative and occasionally wayward book which, if read alongside T. Douglas Price (ed.), *Europe's first farmers* (CUP, 2000), will provide more than ample food for thought for prehistorians and historians of human culture both within and beyond the confines of Europe.

R. J. MOORE-COLYER

DAVID GERVERS (ed.), *Dating undated medieval charters* (Boydell Press, 2000). vii + 237 pp. 2 plates; 34 figs; 1 map. £40.

This is a collection of papers originally prepared for a conference hosted by the Collegium Budapest (Institute for Advanced Study) in Budapest in 1999. To this origin it owes four interesting studies (by Zsolt Hunyadi, Attila Zsldos, László Veszprémy and Ivan Borsa) concerning early Hungarian charters and other records, which in addition to their intrinsic merits, significantly advance the amount of information on this subject currently available in English. The innovative core of the volume, meanwhile, concerns the use of computerized data bases for the dating of the thousands of undated medieval charters surviving either as originals or (in even greater profusion) as copies. The principles set out here develop from dating methods already commonly employed in a more rudimentary way. David Gervers and Rodolfo Fiallos, in separate papers, explain the technique developed at Toronto for the DEEDS project, which depends on the extent to which the formulaic elements in the drafting of charters changed over time. Matching the formulae of any single undated charter with computerized models whose date is known cannot guarantee a close dating, but can frequently provide a much more precise estimate than that to be obtained by alternative methods. It can also – a point emphasized by Georges Declercq – help identify charters whose formulae are sufficiently anachronistic to brand them as forgeries. Interesting parallels between this sort of data-matching and the principles of dendrochronology and geological biochronology are identified in papers by András Grynaeus and Jozsef Pālfy.

Although the DEEDS procedure can demonstrably succeed in cases where charter witness lists offer little help, Maria Hillebrandt and Trevor Chalmers, in two separate papers, demonstrate that data-banking witness lists, and matching witness groups in undated charters with those in dated ones, can work well as an alternative or auxiliary way of using computers in the dating of charters. In some cases, indeed, this procedure may well be more accurate than the DEEDS method. Both authors nevertheless recognize that its efficacy is likely to be greatest in the analysis of large collections from a single institution or restricted geographical region, since repeated witness clusters are not likely to occur in other contexts.

The development of computerized techniques is at an early stage, and the costs of using them is likely to restrict their application. Economic considerations imply that the DEEDS principle would probably be more adaptable than the witness-list principle in allowing existing data bases to be adapted for new collections, provided that the chronology of charter formulae can be shown to be reliably consistent over extensive regions. This sort of possibility is on the agenda for exploration in forthcoming stages of the DEEDS project.

Other papers in the volume explore the chronology of charter formulae without the use of computers, sometimes generally supporting the principles on which the DEEDS project is based (as in Marjorie Chibnall's paper on Suffolk charters), sometimes commenting more sceptically (as in the two papers in French by Véronique Gazeau and Benoit-Michel Toch). Such differences are not surprising. The DEEDS principle is likely to be at its most rewarding in contexts where large numbers of charters were written for parties subject to a single legal system (provided that legal formulae have not become so standardized as to preclude rapid variations over time), and is accordingly more likely to obtain good results in thirteenth-century England, say, than tenth-century Provence. Nicholas Vincent's paper revises the chronology of the development of the English royal inspeximus in the light of his important new compilation of the charters of Henry II and Richard I of England, due to be published in 2003. As these papers show, there will always remain ample space for traditional charter scholarship in the dating of charters and in defining developments in practice and procedure, especially in contexts where particular formulae are rare, or where the construction of standard formulae was inhibited by political fragmentation. However, the case for considering computerized methods in handling some of the largest charter collections is unanswerable, and those writing for this volume are to be congratulated on their contribution to the discussion, backed by experience and results, of how this can best be done.

RICHARD BRITNELL

WERNER RÖSENER, (ed.), *Kommunikation in der ländlichen Gesellschaft vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2000). 412 pp. 11 tables; 20 figs. DM 89.

This volume, entitled, 'Communication in rural society from the middle ages to the modern', arose out of the first conference of the Arbeitskreis für Agrargeschichte, the German equivalent of the BAHS. The weight of the work lies in the early modern period. The authors comprise some of the leading scholars active in German agrarian studies today, and their contributions, whilst generally narrowly focused, provide an excellent introduction to the type of work being undertaken in this field in central Europe.

'Communication' is a concept that has become increasingly important in German historiography in the past two decades, strongly influenced by the work of sociologists such as Niklas Luhmann or Pierre Bourdieu.

It has served to redirect the attention of agrarian history away from identifying the legal parameters of feudal society and landownership, or seeking to quantify social structure, to the meanings, discourses and symbolic actions by which everyday interaction and political culture came to be expressed. However, the conceptual focus on practice, on communication as an act, seeks to avoid the more sterile reaches of the 'linguistic turn' and simply recording standard phrases, gestures and symbols. Several of the pieces betray the influence of Anglophone historians such as E. P. Thompson on social conflict and Roger Schofield on literacy.

In fact, the majority of the contributions deal with well-worked themes in each period. Werner Rösener and Klaus Lorenzen-Schmidt examine the relations of authority and the production of legal documents in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially interactions between lords and peasants in the setting down in writing of local custom. Rudolf Schlögl and Gunter Mahlerwein trace the parameters of intra-village conflict across the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries, demonstrating how social polarization was partly conditioned by what constituted 'public' matters considered suitable for the attention of the village community, and channels of redress beyond the environs of the village open to differing groups. Reiner Prass and Clemens Zimmermann focus more directly on 'media'; the former on the determinants of literacy in two statelets in late eighteenth century northern Germany, and the latter on the reception, and impact of the introduction of the telegraph and telephone in the modern period.

These concerns rest largely within the territory of social history, especially intra-community conflict and the relations of peasants with higher authorities. It is a little disappointing to find very little on transport infrastructure, migration and changes in agriculture, commerce and marketing. Nevertheless, the standard of writing and research is very high, with striking conclusions and suggestions for further research. Any notion of a smooth, linear progression towards ever-denser networks of communication and increasing homogeneity in rural life is confounded by the arguments presented here. Enno Bünz provides a lengthy examination of a late medieval church that appears far more active, if not always effective, in the countryside than historians of the post-Reformation period might suppose. Visitations and attempts at diocesan and parochial level to regulate and alter village culture are not solely a product of the age of 'confessionalization.' Renate Blickle's work on petitioning by Bavarian peasants argues that the 'demonstration' is not just a phenomenon of modernity. Prass's work suggests that historians have underestimated the importance of family circumstances in the transmission of literacy skills, while Andreas Gestrich's study of the worker-village of Botnang during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shows a very high level of use of local libraries and cultural associations bound into the labour movement.

A review such as this cannot hope to do the thirteen contributors justice. However, mention should be made of Werner Troßbach's careful examination of the use and value of memory in sixteenth-century court cases in a period he sees as marking a transition from reliance on 'memory' to an inter-generational 'handing down' of information that increasingly brought regulation into the written record. Similarly, Werner Rösener's study of peasant assemblies in the south-west is a strong articulation of the increasingly accepted argument that 'manifests' (Weistümer) appeared as a result of the gradual dissolution of the manorial economy in the late medieval period, leading to conflicts over rights and an initiative to record that largely came from lords defending their interests against both other lords and peasant subjects, rather than being the expression of autonomous, long-standing village communes. These essays should indeed, as the editor hopes, provide a strong impetus to further research, and it can only be hoped that the future work of the Arbeitskreis will lead to volumes of similar quality.

PAUL WARDE

SUSAN BUCK SUTTON (ed.), *Contingent countryside: settlement, economy and land use in the southern Argolid since 1700* (Stanford UP, 2000). xii + 391 pp. 50 tables. 56 figs. £52.50

Susan Sutton has edited an important book. At almost every point it challenges accepted interpretative wisdom about the Greek countryside and deepens our understanding of the processes actually at work there. *Contingent countryside* is the third unit in the publication programme of the Argolid Exploration Project, an interdisciplinary, multi-period research project in progress in the south-eastern corner of the Peloponnese, Greece, since the 1970s but with antecedents in the 1960s or even 1950s. The first unit (M. J. Jameson, C. N. Runnels and T. H. van Andel, *A Greek countryside*, 1994) is a comprehensive presentation of the results of archaeological, historical and environmental research in the area, though it was heralded by a more popular survey (T. H. van Andel and C. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis*, 1987). The second unit (C. Runnels, D. J. Pullen and S. Langdon, *Artifact and assemblage*, 1995) publishes the pottery and lithics found during site survey. The volume under review contains fourteen papers which set out, to quote the editor, 'an understanding of the material conditions of rural Greek life as mutable and negotiated in ways that complement both archaeological interest in the

fluctuations of the Greek past and recent shifts in anthropological conceptions of modern Greek kinship, religion, gender and identity'. Most of the papers were written in the 1970s and revised in the 1980s when this reviewer was privileged to read several of them. The delay in publication, though regrettable, allowed the authors to reflect on the preconceptions through which they approached their initial research. In her valuable introduction Sutton reveals how rural Greece has often been viewed with the perspective of survivalism, romanticism and 'urban disdain'. Without necessarily realizing it, these standpoints shaped our interpretations of what we saw and experienced. We often disregarded the knowledge of local people in favour of the interpretative insights of universal models. Accordingly, many readers will find the reflections of Sutton and her colleagues on their intellectual development and practice applicable to themselves.

There is much here about the agricultural history of southern Greece. Peter Topping provides an initial chapter linking the Greece of prehistory and antiquity, which is the focus of the first two units in the series, and the emergence of the modern state, the Greece which is the background to most of the book. Hamish Forbes compares censuses and cadastral surveys from *c.* 1700 with ethnographical data to produce an understanding of how the land was exploited under Venetian rule. A similar study using Ottoman material for the period 1715 to 1821 would have been interesting. However, family histories, ships' registers and marriage contracts are employed by Marina Petronoti to show how the development of long-distance shipping affected local land use after Greek independence (1830), while Sutton herself exploits nineteenth- and twentieth-century national census and local demographic records to reveal how the opportunities for securing wealth not only from agriculture but also from other activities interacted with population migration and settlement pattern development. An examination of changes over a hundred and fifty years in house size, form and configuration by Mari Clarke questions the widespread assumption by archaeologists of the close fit between house size and the number of its inhabitants. Clarke complements this with a study of how activities carried out by individuals in the household have changed over the period 1880–1996. Claudia Chang's reflective study of the location, shape and meaning of sheep folds questions the stereotypes of pastoralism which have long remained unexamined, at least in the archaeology of Greece. The forms and functions of other contemporary structures in the countryside are also examined by Priscilla Murray and Nick Kardulias with a view to improving the understanding of the archaeological traces of human activity in the area. The advantages of holding land in scattered parcels, normal today, are stressed in studies by Hamish Forbes and Keith Adams which argue that landownership is a conscious strategy of household economy, adapted to ecological diversity and risk minimalization, rather than a perverse survival of the pre-capitalist social practice of partible inheritance, ill-adapted to modern efficiency requirements. Similarly an examination of mutual aid and reciprocity between intensive pastoralists and cultivators by Harold Koster challenges the accepted notion that all relationships between non-kin families in the Greek countryside are agonistic. Forbes and Koster combine to test the 'tragedy of the commons' hypothesis in the context of the southern Argolid, concluding that sustainable pasture exploitation broke down under the influence of distant market forces. The book ends with a study of how one craft potter has adapted to varying marketing conditions (Kardulias) and an examination of how hand weaving has survived in the area (Joan Koster).

MALCOLM WAGSTAFF

JOHN MAJEWSKI, *A house dividing: economic development in Pennsylvania and Virginia before the Civil War* (CUP, 2000). xx + 214 pp. 23 tables; 3 maps. £30.

To many historians, slavery and the South's defeat in the Civil War together constitute the great tragedy of American history and the great justification for northern industrial and agrarian capitalism. Like any tragic hero, the antebellum South had a fatal flaw – slavery – that brought about its self-destruction. John Majewski is fascinated by this drama, which he examines by comparing the economic stagnation and decline of antebellum Virginia to the dynamic growth of Pennsylvania. He finds that Virginia's commitment to slavery 'shackled the invisible hand of the market' (p. 172) throughout its history. Slavery stunted urban growth because plantations' self-sufficiency lessened demand for domestic manufacturing. Virginia's staple crop, tobacco, grown mostly with slave labour by the early nineteenth century, required little processing and was shipped by British brokers, further minimizing the state's need for an urban commercial centre. Most importantly, the economic incentives of slave agriculture resulted in large farms and a countryside with markedly lower population density, and far fewer customers for manufactured goods, than the densely populated, free, white, consuming hinterland of Philadelphia. Had it not been for slavery, the author implies, Virginia might have rivalled Pennsylvania's explosive growth in the decades leading up to the Civil War. Richmond might have been another Philadelphia, or at least another Baltimore.

This is the big story in *A house dividing*. It is not,

however, the best or most convincing part of the book. What is original and noteworthy in Majewski's research is his careful, critical comparison of 'improvements' in the two states, that is, the construction of canals, turnpikes, and railroads. In reconstructing the investment history of what he calls developmental corporations in two representative counties, he found important similarities and differences in the ways Virginians and Pennsylvanians financed transportation projects. Both Virginia planters and Pennsylvania yeoman farmers were enthusiastic and generous boosters when it came to supporting canals and turnpikes. They reaped sufficient reward from rising land values and long-term local and regional economic development to bear the disappointment of little or no direct return on their investment. Majewski uses this point well to argue that individuals' economic calculation could be based on projections of community well-being, sometimes to the apparent contradiction of personal self-interest. He also shows that the anti-capitalist label often attached to the South did not fit Albemarle County, Virginia, whose rural boosters actually invested more per capita than did farmers in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

Majewski suggests that the most telling differences between the two groups were political. Petty disputes between localities delayed infrastructure construction in Albemarle and so diverted the energies and monies of the Virginia Central Railroad that its intended trunk line never reached the burgeoning markets of the Midwest. Similar problems arose in Pennsylvania, as local demands for branch lines along the Pennsylvania Railroad nearly bankrupted the state. But the mighty PRR was centrally planned and financed by wealthy merchants and industrialists in Philadelphia. Their vision and political clout pushed the trunk line through, connecting Philadelphia and Harrisburg to Pittsburgh and ultimately Chicago.

How does the victory of Philadelphia oligarchs – precursors of the Robber Barons – jibe with Majewski's central argument, that Philadelphia developed a diverse, dynamic industrial economy because of the early concentration of population in its agricultural hinterland? And how does his portrayal of fairly generic American capitalist values at work in rural Virginia mesh with the other half of the argument, that Virginia's economy declined because of slavery? I see no necessary connection between them. The story Majewski tells of slavery vs. northern industry is a skillful, intelligent synthesis of the economic history literature; it includes a number of astute modifications of leading interpretations. But the empirical heart of this book lies elsewhere. The conclusion I draw from Majewski's findings is that making the great leap to heavy industry required a concentration of capital that no group of southern merchants or industrialists achieved. I suspect their lack of cohesion had less to do with slavery and the thinness of southern markets than with the aspect of Majewski's research I wish he had developed further: that slavery, the extreme form of social control, coexisted with a more democratic exercise of power in Virginia than appears to have been the case in the keystone state of Pennsylvania.

Last, I hope that in his next book the author will refrain from melodrama. At the conclusion of an early chapter he compares Albemarle planters and businessmen to 'a shipwrecked crew facing the open ocean on a frail lifeboat. All had to row together to avoid a most unhappy fate' (p. 36). Business is typically 'flourishing' and 'vigorous' or falling toward disaster. Economic history does not need hyperbole to fascinate and convince its readers.

ANNE KELLY KNOWLES

JOHN B. REHDER, *Delta sugar: Louisiana's vanishing plantation landscape* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1999). xv + 355 pp. Illus. £35.

The origins of the sugar industry in Louisiana reach back to the late eighteenth century when refugees from political upheavals in the French Caribbean came ashore looking for new opportunities to apply their knowledge of producing sugar. The wealth this new industry generated permitted a small class of plantation owners to adopt aristocratic airs, savour connections to French culture, and to build along the banks of the bayous the mansions that would become its memorials. The slaves who worked the plantations find little place in nostalgic recollections of this society. The Civil War ended slavery but not exploitation: down to very recent times Louisiana sugar continued to depend on an exploited, largely African-American, work force that on some plantations even as late as the 1960s was paid in scrip accepted only at the company store (pp. 152–3). Over the last two centuries, the sugar industry has accommodated itself to the levees, swamps and waterways of the Mississippi delta to produce a distinctive cultural landscape.

John Rehder brings to the study of this region a cultural geography tradition that is closely associated with the late Fred B. Kniffen with whom he studied at Louisiana State University. Kniffen was interested in settlement patterns and in other built features of the landscape, particularly house types which he used as indices of cultural diffusion. Kniffen was a devotee of fieldwork as a source of data. Rehder began the fieldwork on which this book is based while working on his Ph.D in 1969 when many plantation buildings from the nineteenth and early twentieth century still survived. It is the loss of these landscape features over the past

thirty years, not the loss of the sugar industry which is still very much present, that he chronicles in this book. He regrets these recent disappearances from the plantation landscape and invites us to share his nostalgia.

After a brief introduction to the history of the sugar industry, Rehder settles to two themes. One is the classification of plantation buildings by their cultural origins. Plantation mansions are French Creole, Anglo Tidewater or Upland and Lowland Anglo, each of which has its distinctive exterior appearance and interior floor plan. Likewise he identifies the plantation workers' houses, known as quarter houses, the name coming from slave quarters (p. 100), as small creole, shotgun, and bungalow, and maps their distribution in the state (p. 102). He briefly discusses the other buildings, including churches, company stores and barns, with a far longer section on the sugar factories. This is an authoritative, well-illustrated review of the subject. The second theme is the destruction of many of these buildings in the years down to the writing of this book. His 1969 research provides a base against which to measure the extent of the loss. Technological change has led to fewer but larger factories. Companies buy up plantations, amalgamate operations with the result that the former plantation administrative centres lose their purpose. Mechanization of fieldwork reduces the demand for labour, and the employees who remain prefer to live in nearby towns. The expanding chemical industry takes up plantation land along the Mississippi. So factories, quarter houses, company stores are pulled down. Mansions fall into decay. Rehder writes about these developments in very general terms with no serious attention to the economics of the industry and then examines what has happened on six sample plantations.

Madewood plantation is the exception in his sample because it has experienced minimal landscape change. Why? 'Madewood endures because its owners want it to endure' (p. 292) is his simple answer, on which he briefly elaborates. He likens plantations to that other font of nostalgia, the family farm. The key to maintaining traditions, he claims, is family rather than corporate ownership. Madewood is one of three plantations owned by a local family that has an attachment to place (p. 293) and is preserved 'simply out of family tradition' (p. 303). The Madewood mansion is owned separately from the plantation, by a New Orleans family, who open it to tourists. Here, on the threshold of a discussion of the problems and politics of historical preservation, he ends his book.

Surely, the issue of how the plantation landscape might be preserved is a logical extension of his research. Some mansions have been restored, and are on the tourist route. They are impressive, and feed the romance of gracious antebellum living. But they are only one part of the story. Preserving the material culture of slave life is not so easy to do. Would it be possible to bring together in the grounds of some mansion examples of quarter houses, a plantation store, old milling and manufacturing equipment, to give an impression of what life was once like in the sugar industry? Has this been done in Louisiana? There are such museums in many other sugar-producing regions. Another chapter dealing with this third theme could have made a fitting conclusion.

J. H. GALLOWAY

Conference Report: Winter Conference 2000 'Livestock in the Farming Economy'

by Jean Morrin

The Winter Conference took place on Saturday, 2 December at the Institute for Historical Research in London. Despite the rail chaos, some forty people heard papers about the importance of animals in agrarian history. Bruce Campbell (Queen's Belfast) welcomed the Society putting the horse before the cart and hoped for a genuine research shift from corn to horn. In many respects in 1300 the pastoral economy was more dynamic than the arable: horses supplied draught power, sheep supplied wool for the domestic, Italian and Flemish textile industries. Sheep numbers in 1300 may have reached 20m in comparison with the 11m estimated in *c.* 1690 by Gregory King. Dairy produce was a staple foodstuff and manorial accounts suggest that the pastoral sector was far more commercialised than the arable. By 1400 animals and their products contributed 55 per cent of gross agricultural revenues in the London region. Furthermore, the importance of livestock increased more than corn from 1300–1850: grain yields per acre doubled in this period while fleece weights increased 2.5 times; carcass weights of cattle and sheep increased three-fold; milk yields four-fold. The share of livestock products in English agricultural output is estimated to have increased from about one quarter to one half, 1300–1850. Livestock were the key to food stocks. Prof. Campbell posed a number of questions about management of livestock. How was pastoral husbandry organised and how did it compare in size and value with the arable sector? How specialised was livestock trade?

The main body of Campbell's paper discussed the results of his research using Inquisitions Post Mortem into the extent and value of pasture and its value and size in relation to arable in the first half of the fourteenth century. This work has been partly covered in his recent book *English seigniorial agriculture* and will be further covered in *Lay lordship, land and wealth: a socio-economic atlas of England 1300–49*. Campbell mapped and measured agricultural land use throughout England using IPMs of which 9,300 relating to 1300–49 are preserved in the PRO for 5,500 demesne locations held by tenants in chief of the crown. Campbell's analysis of the IPMs indicates that by 1300 England had crystallized into localities and regions with either a scarcity or abundance of pasturage. England was not as a whole deficient in pasture although particular regions were deficient in quantity, such as land along the chalk ridge extending from north Hampshire to Norfolk. When pasture was measured by value, the highest values were recorded in areas where pasture was scarce. The most developed pastoral regimes with the highest proportion of working horses, non-working animals and milk-producing cattle were concentrated within the areas of greatest grassland scarcity in East Anglia and south east England. Campbell concluded that pastoral components of medieval agricultural systems are still not well understood and much more analysis is needed.

Richard Hoyle (Reading) opened his paper on the cattle trade of north-west England by saying that the enormous trade in cattle in the seventeenth century was an unexplored subject which posed serious research problems. Large herds have been found in inventories, but inventories shed no light on the dynamics of the cattle trade. Animals, including Scottish and Irish cattle, were driven from the west and north of England to the south and east and might move two or three times in their lives before slaughter. Professor Hoyle had analysed several sets of Lancashire gentry accounts from the decades before and after 1600 seeking evidence of the working of the cattle trade but with limited results. In most cases the accounts did not offer information on the total herd size or its composition, nor did they make any allowance for beasts (or butter, or cheese) consumed in the household. The accounts revealed a considerable diversity of practice. Sir Richard Sherburn – with over 300 beasts in 1571 – was running three independent mixed rearing, dairying and beef herds with oxen for traction and was selling significant numbers of animals through the Lancashire autumn fairs. Hoyle thought it most likely that these were entering the droving market but evidence has not been found to confirm this. Other households

proved to be net consumers, selling only a few animals but buying heavily at Spring Fairs, one or two animals at a time from local individuals. This appeared to be a sale of stock from yeomen producers to gentry consumers. The accounts followed the life-cycle of the herds, beginning when the herds were newly established. As the accounts progressed fewer beasts were bought and more sold, normally three or four year olds into the late summer or autumn cycle of fairs. Hoyle thought it likely that these too were sales to drovers but the accounts did not include names of purchasers who bought from the local market or fair. Thus whilst the gentry accounts contributed considerably to understanding of the cattle trade, their insight was both partial and incomplete.

Louise Curth (Royal Holloway, London) presented a paper on the insights into seventeenth-century animal health care in English almanacs. Curth studied 1369 almanacs mainly in the British Library and Bodleian which had originally been published from the mid- to late-seventeenth century, describing them as a treasure chest of unexplored popular literature about animal health care from the pre-veterinary period. Almanacs were small, cheap and offered information and advice to the mainly rural society. Among the weather forecasts, astrological predictions, and lists of market towns and fairs was advice about animal health care often attributed to Gervase Markham or William Dade. Most of this advice was preventive medicine, advocating for example, a proper daily regime; convenient food, in sufficient quantity; reasonable tasks but not overwork. There were instructions to geld in cold weather and to shear sheep in June. If despite the care, animals fell ill remedies were included for treating sick animals. Curth quoted recipes from the *Country-Man's Kalender* for curing a wound by mixing a salve from wax, honey, turpentine, swinesgrease and wheat flour (1688) and a cure for sore eyes in cattle (1699) which involved blowing a powder made from burnt and crushed egg-shells into the infected eyes. Almost one-third of the almanacs addressed animal health care.

John Gall (Beamish Museum) has built up a delightful collection of engravings, paintings and photographs of horses, ponies, oxen, bulls, cattle, sheep and pigs at Beamish Museum, a selection of which brought the subjects of this paper to life. Gall's display culminated with a life size illustration of the Durham Ox, which weighed 272 stone when displayed in first decade of ninteenth century. Gall addressed the importance of livestock breeding in north-east England 1770–1900 where livestock breeders such as George Culley and the Colling brothers used engravings and paintings to market their stock as well as touring agricultural shows with their prize oxen and bulls. Ceramics were used to advertise livestock: one meat dish design depicted the Durham Ox and its owner. Pubs were named after the Durham Ox. Shorthorn cattle, spotted pigs, Teeswater and Swaledale hill sheep and full size Clydesdales working in lead mines appeared in the slides. Shetland ponies, the demand for which was so great that the Londonderry's bought the island of Bressay to extend production, were also featured. Some of the paintings were the work of artists in America depicting horses exported from the north-east. This was a fascinating display to round off the day.

The conference concluded by conveying its thanks to John Broad for organising another successful and enjoyable meeting.

Agricultural History Review

A journal of agricultural and rural history

Editors:
Prof. R. W. HOYLE (articles)
and Dr J. R. WALTON (reviews)

Agricultural History Review is published twice yearly by the British Agricultural History Society and issued to all members. The editors welcome contributions on any aspect of the history of agriculture, rural society and rural economy. Articles are normally expected to be about 8,000 words in length, but the editors are willing to consider longer papers on their merits. The *Review* also publishes occasional supplements. Proposals for supplements, which may be monographs or collections of essays about a common theme, should in the first instance be sent to the editors. All intending contributors are advised to first obtain a copy of the *Review's* 'Notes for Authors and Reviewers' from the editors. (This can also be found on the society's web page, http://www.bahs.org.uk.)

Articles, proposals for supplements or general editorial correspondence should be directed to Professor R. W. Hoyle at the Rural History Centre, University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 229, Reading RG6 6AG, e.mail R.W.Hoyle@Reading.ac.uk.

Books for review and completed reviews should be directed to Dr J. R. Walton, Institute of Geography and Earth Sciences, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, SY23 3DB.

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Current and back copies of the *Review* and its supplements are available for purchase from the Society's Exeter office (for whose address see the inside front cover). Single issues of the *Review* are £7.50 to members and £12.50 to non-members and agencies. The Society's supplement, *Roots of Change*, is £17.50 post free to non-members and institutions: a discount is available to members and booksellers. Enquiries about advertising in the *Review*, or the insertion of fliers into the society's regular mailings to members, should also be addressed to the Exeter office.

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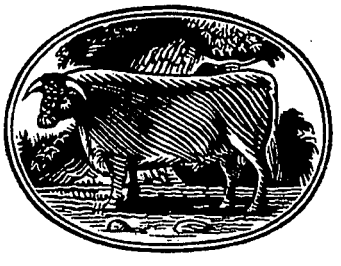
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a journal of agricultural and rural history

Volume 49, Part II
2001

The British Agricultural History Society

2001–2

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The Society aims to promote the study of agricultural history and the history of rural economy and society, amongst other ways, through (a) the publication of *Agricultural History Review* together with supplements and other apppropriate items; (b) the holding of conferences in its own right and in conjunction with other organizations; (c) the promotion of the conservation of historically significant landscapes and the rural environment; (d) the promotion of the teaching of the history of agriculture, the rural economy and society, and the environment, at all levels of education; (e) the promotion of links with societies and institutions in Europe and world-wide which have similar aims and objectives.

The society holds two conferences each year: a residential Easter conference (to be held at the University of Sussex) and a London winter conference on the first Saturday in December. Details of these will be found in the *Review* and on the society's web pages. The society's conferences are open to non-members of the society.

Membership is open to all those who support the aims of the society. The annual subscription is £15 for individual subscribers and £35 for libraries and institutions. Subscriptions are due on the 1 February annually. A standing order form is available from the Treasurer. There is a reduced rate for students not in full time employment and those registered unemployed of £5. Full details can be obtained from the Treasurer, BAHS, c/o Department of History, The University of Exeter, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, Exeter, EX4 4RJ (e.mail BAHS@Exeter.ac.uk) to whom all applications for and correspondence concerning membership (including changes of address) should be directed.

Correspondence concerning all other aspects of the society's activities, including its conferences, should be directed to the Secretary, BAHS, Department of History, Royal Holloway, Egham, Surrey, TW20 0EX. Advance details of the society's meetings and other information concerning the society can be found on our web pages, http://www.bahs.org.uk/.

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Announcements

Golden Jubilee prize essay competition, 2003

To mark the celebration, in 2003, of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the British Agricultural History Society, the Society invites submissions for its Golden Jubilee prize essay competition.

The author of the winning essay will be awarded a prize of £500 and the author of the essay judged to be *proxime accessit* £250. It is intended that the prize winning essays will be read at the Society's Spring Conference in 2003 and published in *Agricultural History Review.*

There is no restriction on the subject matter of the essays save that they fall within the remit of the *Review.* The competition is open to all, with no restrictions on age, but essays from younger authors, and those employing new methodologies or exploring new areas of interest will be especially welcomed. Essays should be no longer than 10,000 words including footnotes and any appendices. They should be submitted in the house style of the *Review* and intending authors are asked to obtain a copy of the *Review's* 'Guidelines for contributors' from the editors or direct from the Society's web site at http://www.bahs.org.uk.

The essays will be judged by a panel appointed by the Executive Committee of the Society.

Three copies of each essay should be sent to the Secretary of the Society, Dr P. E. Dewey, Department of History, Royal Holloway, Egham, Surrey, TW20 0EX. The author's names should not be on the title page but on a separate detachable cover sheet. The latest date for the submission of essays is 30 September 2002.

The Society's Spring Conference, 2002

The Society's Spring Conference will be held at the University of Sussex on 8–10 April 2002.

Speakers will include Professor Robert Allen, Professor John Beckett, Dr Edward Bujak, Professor David Hey, Dr A. D. M. Phillips, Dr David Stead and Dr Margaret Yates.

There will be an excursion to the model estate farm at Petworth.

A full programme and booking form will be circulated to the Society's members in the New Year or may be obtained from the society's website, BAHS.org.uk.

The impact of commercialization in early fourteenth-century England: some evidence from the manors of Glastonbury Abbey*

by Ian Rush

Abstract

This article assesses the impact of grain commercialization on the diet and wages of stipendiary *famuli* on a number of manors held by the abbot of Glastonbury in southern and south-western England at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Using correlation and regression analyses, it shows that grain commercialization had a negative impact on workers' living standards. Specifically, high grain commercialization seems to have caused, or at least contributed to, the distribution of low-value, and thus low-quality, grains to stipendiary *famuli*. Such actions seem to have been an important aspect of an estate policy that emphasized the exploitation of the market and the labourer in search of profit.

The early fourteenth century has often been called a time of crisis. Although the medieval English economy was just beginning to realize its greatest potential, the period was one of intense population pressure, high inflation and environmental disasters.[1] Some historians have argued that the increasing population of the preceding centuries led to increased urbanization, and both in turn stimulated increased commercialization in the form of more trading institutions such as markets and fairs, occupational specialization, the production and use of more coinage and advanced agricultural techniques. These agricultural changes increased the availability of grain and livestock products for the market. Thus, the English economy was quite strong by the early fourteenth century, and seemingly able to support the substantially increased population. One exponent of the optimistic case, Graeme Snooks, has suggested that the increasingly commercial economy of England effected or at least facilitated a rise in real gross domestic product (GDP) during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To Snooks, this rise in GDP indicated a rise in the 'living standards of some, if not all, of the

* I am grateful to Mavis Mate, Bruce Campbell, Richard Britnell, Elizabeth Housworth, David Luebke, Lisa Wolverton and two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions. Previous versions of this paper were read at the Thirty-fourth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan (May 1999) and at the Late Medieval British and European History Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London (October 1999).

[1] This subject remains a controversial one. For a summary of the views on the causes of the early fourteenth-century 'crisis', see B. Harvey, 'Introduction', in B. M. S. Campbell (ed.), *Before the Black Death. Studies in the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century* (1991), pp. 1–24.

population'.[2] Consequently, the economy was capable of recovering from exogenous forces such as the rains and floods that caused the Great Famine and subsequent animal epidemics (1315–22) and would also have recovered from the impact of wartime embargoes and taxation in the 1330s. It was only the Black Death (1348–50) and subsequent outbreaks of plague that brought a significant economic crisis to England during the fourteenth century.[3]

This overly optimistic view has recently been challenged by Richard Britnell, James Masschaele and Mark Bailey. Britnell and Masschaele have argued that although some groups may have benefited from increased commercialization, it was certainly not the case for every group in English society.[4] Likewise, Bailey has argued that most English peasants were smallholders who were unable to supply themselves with sufficient amounts of food, and who only had access to local markets that were volatile and susceptible to disruption. Thus, these smallholders were often exposed to far greater risks than their social superiors who could rely on larger agricultural outputs and incomes.[5] It was not only extraordinary events such as the Great Famine and the Hundred Years' War that brought devastating conditions for these peasants. Rather, numerous seemingly unimportant factors could bring about starvation for them and their families. A broken cart wheel could keep them from getting to market and buying grain. The supply of grain to the market might have been impeded by a lord's decision to ship grain to a different market. Thus, the English economy was strong enough to support lords and wealthy peasants who were fairly secure, but these people were in the minority. The economy was unable to sustain the burgeoning population of smallholders, and thus probably would not have recovered from the shocks of the Great Famine, wartime embargoes and heavy taxation.

How did the increasingly commercialized economy affect smallholding peasants? This question has yet to be answered with any certainty. Britnell, Masschaele and Bailey have suggested that most peasants did not benefit from commercialization. But is it possible that some peasants, especially smallholders, were directly disadvantaged by the booming economy? That is to say, was the new emphasis on profit-seeking that was a manifestation of commercialization detrimental to such peasants? Did lords, in their quest for large profits, seek to exploit not only the market, but also the peasant labourer? As I hope to show below, this certainly seems to have been the case on some of the manors held by the abbot of Glastonbury.

Instead of addressing commercialization and peasants in general, this paper will attempt to demonstrate that a negative relationship existed between grain commercialization and the wages

[2] G. D. Snooks, 'The dynamic role of the market in the Anglo-Norman economy and beyond, 1086–1300', in R. H. Britnell and B. M. S. Campbell (eds), *A commercialising economy: England 1086 to c. 1300* (1995), pp. 49–53. In addition, Richard Smith has shown that prosperous peasants seem to have benefited from the local market at Botesdale in Suffolk by using 'their profits to acquire more land as well as to exert a growing influence on local government within the manorial court'. See R. M. Smith, 'A periodic market and its impact on a manorial community: Botesdale, Suffolk, and the manor of Redgrave, 1280–1300', in Z. Razi and R. M. Smith (eds), *Medieval society and the manor court* (1996), p. 480.

[3] See for example, R. S. Lopez, *The commercial revolution of the middle ages, 950–1350* (1976); K. G. Persson, *Pre-industrial economic growth. Social organization and technical progress in Europe* (1988).

[4] R. H. Britnell, 'Commercialization and economic development in England, 1000–1300', in Britnell and Campbell (eds), *A commercializing economy*, pp. 21–2; idem, *The commercialisation of English society, 1000–1500* (1993), pp. 124–7; J. Masschaele, *Peasants, merchants and markets. Inland trade in medieval England, 1150–1350* (1997), p. 230.

[5] M. Bailey, 'Peasant welfare in England, 1290–1348', *EcHR* 51 (1998), pp. 235–46.

of demesne labourers. Grain commercialization can be defined as the degree to which various types of grain were produced for sale.[6] Medieval people did not usually produce grain strictly for sale or strictly for consumption. Often, grain was produced for consumption and its surplus was sold, but it might also be the case that sizeable surpluses were intentionally produced so that they might be sold. In either case, the selling of surpluses often produced a high degree of market exploitation and profit-seeking, that is, commercialization.

Much of the produce that was sold to medieval English town-dwellers originated either on seignorial demesne lands or on lands held by better-off peasants. On demesne lands, lords employed peasants known as *famuli* to undertake such tasks as crop production, stock raising and collection of various rents and dues. Although such labourers were essential to the medieval market economy, there has, since the publication of Sir Michael Postan's pamphlet in 1954, been a dearth of research on them.[7] Aside from cursory mention in the occasional article, there had been no in-depth study of *famuli* between Postan's paper and Farmer's detailed analysis of 1996.[8] Farmer did discuss the standards of living of *famuli*, but he did not consider the impact of commercialization. Thus, while this paper opens up new pathways of research concerning commercialization, it also seeks to rehabilitate a neglected social group by shedding some new light on aspects of the lives of demesne *famuli*.

This paper does not address the impact of commercialization on managerial *famuli*, such as reeves, beadles, haywards, woodwards and foresters. Such *famuli* possessed supervisory roles and thus received higher wages and more perquisites than their subordinates. Instead, this paper will focus on a certain type of non-managerial *famuli*. In most cases, between one-half and two-thirds of the non-managerial *famuli* employed on Glastonbury manors were remunerated for their work with a reduction of rent on lands they held. These 'service *famuli*', as David Farmer has called them, were often employed as plough-holders on Glastonbury manors, and occasionally employed as plough-drivers, shepherds, cowherds or swineherds.[9] Stipendiary *famuli*, on the other hand, received a money wage and a grain livery for their work. Such labourers were usually village peasants who held very little land.[10] Many Glastonbury manors employed several stipendiary *famuli*, but some employed only one or two, depending on the size of the manor. Each of the 23 manors utilized in this study employed either one, two or three plough-drivers and often at least one carter. Shepherds, cowherds, swineherds and dairy

[6] This is very similar to Campbell's definition of agricultural commercialization. See B. M. S. Campbell, 'Measuring the commercialization of seigneurial agriculture, *c.* 1300', in Britnell and Campbell (eds), *A commercializing economy*, p. 185.

[7] M. M. Postan, *The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (Economic History Review, supplement ser. 2, 1954).

[8] D. Farmer, 'The *famuli* in the later middle ages', in R. H. Britnell and J. Hatcher (eds), *Progress and problems in medieval England. Essays in honour of Edward Miller* (1996), pp. 207–36.

[9] Farmer, 'The *famuli*', p. 208. The use of a plough during this time period required the work of two people: one to hold and guide the plough and one to drive the oxen or horses.

[10] Although it cannot be known for certain how much land stipendiary *famuli* held, the Glastonbury account rolls do sometimes record the amount of land held by service *famuli*. In 1302–3 and 1310–11, non-managerial service *famuli* (ploughmen, carters, and shepherds) usually held between two and seven acres of land. It is not unreasonable to assume that stipendiary *famuli* held similar amounts of land. Because perhaps half of the English peasantry held more than 18 acres of land, it would seem that most *famuli* came from the poorest ranks of society. See H. Kitsikopoulos, 'Standards of living and capital formation in pre-plague England: a peasant budget model', *EcHR* 53 (2000), p. 254.

workers were also occasionally employed as stipendiary *famuli* on these manors. Because they were remunerated for their work with wages rather than reductions in rent, stipendiary *famuli* offer a unique opportunity to assess the impact of commercialization on workers' wages. For this reason, they will be the focus of this paper.[11]

It is important, however, to distinguish the *famulus* from the other prominent type of rural labourer, the customary worker. *Famuli* were mainly responsible for the tasks denoted by the names of their positions. They ploughed the lord's lands, carted his goods and watched after his herds. Customary workers were occasionally responsible for a certain amount of ploughing, but this usually took place during an autumn boonwork. The main tasks undertaken by customary workers were reaping, stacking and carting the grain produced on the lord's lands.

In pre-plague England, demesne *famuli* received a variety of grains and legumes in their liveries, the most important of which were the three main bread grains: wheat, rye and barley. It must be noted, however, that there was tremendous regional variation throughout England regarding the types of crops that were produced, and thus the kinds and amounts of grain and legumes that might be given to *famuli*.[12] In order to avoid problems that might arise from comparing manors with disparate agricultural production schemes, this study will focus on the manors of one lord (the abbot of Glastonbury) that produced similar types of grains and legumes. All of the manors were located in the same general region of England: ten manors were located in the abbey's home county of Somerset, while nine were located in Wiltshire, two in Dorset, one in Devon and one in Berkshire (see map one). In addition, all the manors produced wheat, oats and barley and most produced either peas or beans.[13] Thus, similar grains were available for distribution to stipendiary *famuli*. As one might guess, however, all *famuli* did not receive the same types of grain.

The major source for a study on grain commercialization and its impact on *famuli* are manorial account rolls. These documents are records of the administration of single manors. It was common during much of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for English lords to operate their manors through a local agent for their own profit rather than lease them out to others. The local agent (a reeve or a bailiff) would oversee all aspects of the operation of the manor. His report of the annual expenses, profits and animal and crop produce would be written on a roll of parchment by a hired clerk. For this study, the account rolls of 23 Glastonbury abbey manors for the years 1302–3 and 1311–12 have been analyzed.

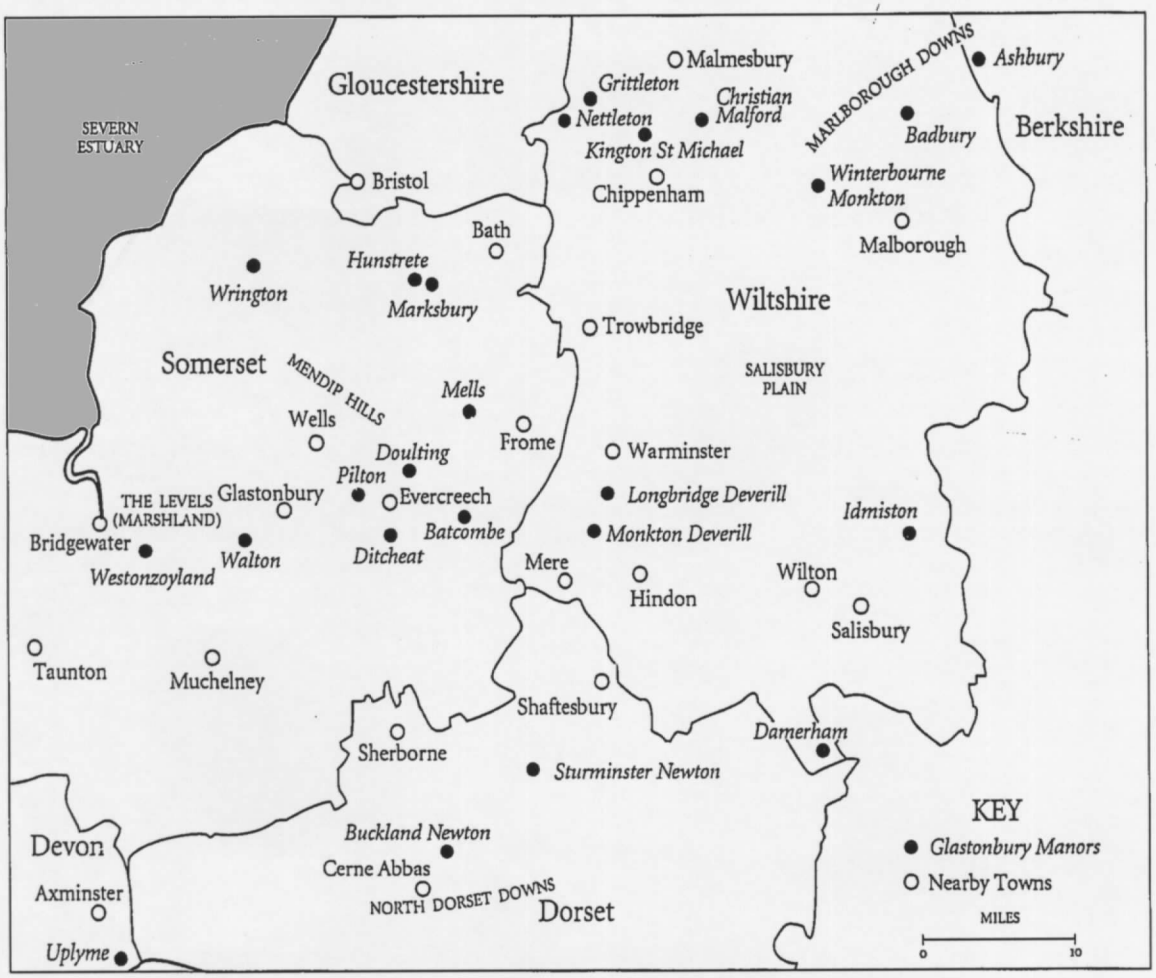
I

In order to assess the relationship between grain commercialization and the wages of stipendiary *famuli*, the degree of grain commercialization achieved on each manor must first be measured.

[11] Specifically, the plough-driver will be the focus of the correlation analyses presented in section I below because he was the only *famulus* employed by each manor utilized in this study. The grain liveries of the group of stipendiary *famuli* as a whole will, however, be utilized in the subsequent regression analyses.

[12] J. Greig, 'Plant resources', in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds), *The countryside of medieval England* (1988), pp. 110–13. See also H. E. Hallam, *et al.*, 'Farming Techniques', in H. E. Hallam (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, II, *1042–1350* (1988), pp. 272–496.

[13] For a list of the various grains and legumes produced on the Glastonbury manors, see Table 3 below. The notes to Table 3 include descriptions and explanations of the various forms and combinations of the major grains, i.e., wheat, oats, barley and rye.



MAP 1. Glastonbury Manors mentioned in this study
This map is largely based on those provided in I. J. E. Keil, 'The Estates of Glastonbury Abbey in the Later Middle Ages' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Bristol, 1964), pp. 35, 74.

Both Bruce Campbell and David Farmer have noted that one of the most important indicators of commercialization is the percentage of a product which is sold.[14] Thus, this study will utilize the percentage of each type of grain sold as an indicator for the commercialization of each type of grain. Likewise, the percentage of all grain sold will be used as an indicator for aggregate grain commercialization on each manor. Because it was usually expected that a certain amount of each grain would be set aside for seed for the following year, all percentages of grain sold have been calculated net of seed. For ease of discussion, the term 'grain' will be used as a catch-all for the crops produced on the Glastonbury manors including both grains and legumes.

The percentages of grain sold on each manor utilized in this study for the years 1302–3 and 1311–12 are listed in Tables 1 and 2. The natural division between Somerset and non-Somerset manors that appears in Tables 1 and 2 is one that might be predicted. Lords usually expected

[14] D. Farmer, 'Woodland and pasture sales on the Winchester manors in the thirteenth century: disposing of a surplus, or producing for the market?' in Britnell and Campbell (eds), *A commercializing economy*, pp. 102–4; Campbell, 'Measuring commercialization', p. 185.

TABLE 1. Comparison of grain commercialization and wages of stipendiary plough-drivers on certain Glastonbury abbey manors, 1302–3.

	Percentage of Grain Sold	*Money Wage (s.)*	*Proxy grain livery value (s.)*	*Total Wage (s.)*
Somerset Manors				
Batcombe	2.19	5.00	10.18	15.18
Ditcheat	12.91	4.33	11.17	15.50
Doulting	5.30	4.00	10.26	14.26
Hunstrete	—	—	—	—
Marksbury	—	—	—	—
Mells	7.53	5.00	10.26	15.26
Pilton	3.34	4.00	10.26	14.26
Walton	—	—	—	—
Westonzoyland	42.12	5.00	10.87	15.87
Wrington	11.04	4.50	9.24	13.74
Somerset Average	12.06	4.56	10.32	14.87
Non-Somerset Manors				
Ashbury	57.29	5.00	9.68	14.68
Badbury	59.38	5.00	9.23	14.23
Buckland Newton	49.79	4.00	9.79	13.79
Christian Malford	69.94	5.00	9.68	14.68
Damerham	64.69	4.00	9.08	13.08
Grittleton	66.37	5.00	10.23	15.23
Idmiston	25.46	4.25	9.72	13.97
Kington St Michael	65.31	5.00	9.85	14.85
Monkton Deverill	—	—	—	—
Nettleton	79.27	5.00	10.15	15.15
Sturminster Newton	39.23	4.00	9.72	13.72
Uplyme	78.42	3.83	9.78	13.70
Winterbourne Monkton	80.05	5.00	8.70	13.70
Non-Somerset Average	61.27	4.59	9.64	14.23

Source: Glastonbury Abbey documents at Longleat: court and compotus rolls (microfilm edition, Bath, 1982), 11246, 11271.

to receive either grain for their household or profits from the sale of grain from their various manors. Such expectations were usually dictated by the distance of a manor from the main household of the lord: it was often more cost efficient to sell grain on manors distant from the main household and consume grain produced on manors near the main household. Barbara Harvey has noted that this was precisely the case with the demesne lands of Westminster Abbey.

TABLE 2. Comparison of grain commercialization and wages of stipendiary plough-drivers on certain Glastonbury abbey manors, 1311–12.

	Percentage of grain sold	*Money Wage (s.)*	*Proxy grain livery value (s.)*	*Total Wage (s.)*
Somerset Manors				
Batcombe	0.00	5.00	14.33	19.33
Ditcheat	0.48	5.00	14.30	19.30
Doulting	3.09	4.00	15.97	19.97
Hunstrete	40.18	5.00	17.83	22.83
Marksbury	2.18	5.00	16.97	21.97
Mells	1.97	5.00	15.54	20.54
Pilton	0.00	4.00	14.29	18.29
Walton	3.76	3.50	14.13	17.63
Westonzoyland	12.35	5.00	16.60	21.60
Wrington	3.15	4.50	15.58	20.08
Somerset Average	6.72	4.60	15.55	20.15
Non-Somerset Manors				
Ashbury	54.83	5.00	14.52	19.52
Badbury	70.66	5.00	13.08	18.08
Buckland Newton	61.50	4.00	13.62	17.62
Christian Malford	72.45	5.00	14.50	19.50
Damerham	55.78	4.00	13.83	17.83
Grittleton	71.58	5.00	14.55	19.55
Idmiston	43.74	4.50	14.55	19.05
Kington St Michael	69.00	5.00	14.08	19.08
Monkton Deverill	35.96	5.00	14.55	19.55
Nettleton	75.14	5.00	14.55	19.55
Sturminster Newton	51.13	4.00	14.13	18.13
Uplyme	49.83	3.83	14.11	17.94
Winterbourne Monkton	76.71	5.00	13.32	18.32
Non-Somerset Average	60.64	4.60	14.11	18.75

Source: *GAD*, 9760, 11216.

The monks expected to receive supplies from their inlying manors and cash from their distant manors.[15] Thus, outlying manors usually sold higher percentages of produce than inlying manors. As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, this was consistently the case on the Glastonbury

[15] B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages* (1977), p. 141. See also, Campbell, 'Measuring commercialization', p. 187; E. Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its banlieu, 1066–1538* (1971), pp. 251–2, 447.

manors. Somerset manors generally sold fairly low percentages of grain and non-Somerset manors generally sold fairly high percentages of grain. I will return to this point in section II below when I speculate about the causes of the relationship between grain commercialization and the wages of stipendiary *famuli*.

In order to compare like with like, I have assigned monetary values to the grain liveries given to plough-drivers and combined these amounts with their money wages to determine their total wages. Problems arise, however, when attempting to determine the value of a plough-driver's grain livery. The Glastonbury account rolls record only the amounts of grains given to the group of stipendiary *famuli* as a whole. They do not record the amounts of grains that were given to each *famulus*. A small number of account rolls for other estates do, however, record the amounts of grains given to each type of *famulus*, and they seem to indicate that all *famuli* received similar amounts of each type of grain.[16] Furthermore, when employed on a particular manor, plough-drivers, carters and shepherds usually received the same or very nearly the same money wages. Thus, there is no reason to assume that they were not given the same or very nearly the same types of grain in their grain liveries. The only stipendiary *famulus* who consistently received a lower money wage than other *famuli* was the dairy worker. Thus, it is possible that this individual also received lower value grains in his or her grain livery.[17] The effects of this possible action, however, were negligible. Only one dairy worker, often part-time, was employed on each manor utilized in this study and so their grain liveries were much smaller than those of other *famuli*. Thus, only a very small percentage of the total amount of grain allotted for *famuli* was given to dairy workers. For all of these reasons, the composition of the grain allotted to all *famuli* on a particular manor was quite possibly analogous to the composition of the grain livery of one plough-driver on that same manor. For example, because barley comprised 60 per cent of the grain allotted for distribution to *famuli* on the Glastonbury manor of Batcombe in 1302–3, it is likely that barley also comprised 60 per cent of the Batcombe plough-driver's grain livery.[18] Such an assumption makes it possible to determine the value of a proxy grain livery for one plough-driver hired on each manor utilized in this study.

To determine the value of each type of grain given to stipendiary plough-drivers on the Glastonbury manors, I have used the weighted average prices of grain sold by all of the Glastonbury manors in 1302–3 and 1311–12 (See Table 3). Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine the actual market value of these grains because the types of grain given to *famuli* on a particular manor were frequently not sold on that same manor.[19] Although it might be argued that average prices are a blunt instrument for assessing the value of grain given to plough-drivers on these manors, these averages do represent close approximates of the actual value of the grain. Manors often sold their grain at town markets a fair distance away from the manors themselves. Thus, because plough-drivers might not have access to these markets (because of time commitments

[16] For example, the full-time stipdendiary *famuli* (two ploughmen, one carter and one dairy worker) hired on Adam de Stratton's manor of Hallingbury (Essex) in 1280–1 all received equal percentages of wheat and rye in their grain liveries. PRO, SC 6/843/20.

[17] The evidence cited in the previous footnote does not, however, support such a hypothesis.

[18] See *Glastonbury Abbey documents at Longleat: court and compotus rolls* (microfilm edition, Bath, 1982, hereafter cited as *GAD*), 11246.

[19] Grains given to *famuli* on the Glastonbury manors were not sold 50 per cent of the time (57 out of 113 instances).

TABLE 3. Weighted average prices of various grains sold by Glastonbury manors in 1302–3 and 1311–12.

	1302–3 Average Price (s.)	*1311–12 Average Price (s.)*
Grain:		
wheat	3.5	5.0
rye	3.0	5.2
mixtil[a]	3.0	4.2
barley	2.4	3.4
currallus[b]	2.3	3.2
drowa[c]	2.0	3.0
chatcorn[d]	—	3.3
bere or *beremancorn*[e]	2.0	2.7
brotcorn[f]	2.0	2.1
roscorn[g]	1.9	—
tolcorn[h]	1.8	3.3
dredge[i]	1.6	2.4
beans	1.8	3.1
peas	2.2	2.3
vetch	1.3	2.7
oats	1.6	2.2

Source: *GAD*, 9760, 11216, 11246, 11271.

[a] *Mixtil* was a mixture of wheat and rye.

[b] *Currallus* was inferior wheat. It probably consisted of one or more of the following: poor quality unthreshed wheat, poor quality threshed wheat or simply the chaff alone. In his thesis on the Glastonbury estates, Ian Keil noted that *currallus* 'seems to have been defective wheat and was separated at harvesting' (I. J. E. Keil, 'The estates of the abbey of Glastonbury in the later middle ages', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Bristol, 1964, p. 236). This implies that *currallus* was poor quality unthreshed wheat. This was, however, not the case in other areas of England. Paul Harvey has noted that at Cuxham in Oxfordshire *currallus* did not consist of the chaff and 'seems to have been separated from what was classed as *frumentum* only after threshing and winnowing' (P. D. A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1240–1400*, 1965, p. 47). Mark Page utilized Harvey's definition of *currallus* in his translation of the 1301–2 Winchester Pipe Roll (M. Page (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1301–2* (Hampshire Record Ser., 14, 1996, p. 371). Thus, it seems that at Cuxham and on the Winchester manors *currallus* was simply poor quality threshed wheat. There is, however, no evidence that this was the case on the Glastonbury manors.

[c] *Drowa* was probably 'a green substandard wheat' (Keil, 'Estates of Glastonbury Abbey', p. 237).

[d] *Chatcorn* might have been a wheaten grain (Keil, 'Estates of Glastonbury Abbey', p. 237). On some occasions, however, it seems to have been a mixture of rye and some other grain, possibly wheat. At other times it was a mixture of *currallus* and some other grain, possibly rye (*GAD*, 11216).

[e] *Bere* or *beremancorn* was probably barley or a mixture of barley and wheat or some other grain. J. S. Drew noted that *bere* was winter-sown barley on the manor of Silkstead in Hampshire (J. S. Drew (ed.), *The manor of Silkstead near Winchester, Hants. An English translation of 66 compotus rolls, 1267–1399*, I, Winchester, 1947, p. 75). Mark Page indicated that on Winchester manors *bere* seems to have referred to both winter barley and the mixture of winter barley and wheat (Page (ed.), *Pipe Roll*, p. 370). On Glastonbury manors, *bere* occasionally seems to have been a mixture of barley and inferior wheat (see, for example, GAD 11272).

[f] *Brotcorn* was 'probably damaged corn because of being laid low or tangled by weather'. It may have been wheat, but there is no concrete evidence of this (Keil, 'Estates of Glastonbury Abbey', p. 236–7).

Continued over

to their employers or lack of transportation), the prices attained by the manor's sales might be different (probably higher) than those which could be attained by a plough-driver selling his grain in the local village. Thus, it was not always the case that the unit price of a certain type of grain sold by a manor was equivalent to the value of that grain when it was given to *famuli*. In addition, there were no great disparities in the prices attained by the manors in each of the years being studied. Nearly all manors sold their grain for prices within one shilling of the prices attained by other manors. This might be expected because the Glastonbury manors were located in the same general region of England. The uniformity of prices in this region (southern and southwestern England) can be shown by a comparison of two Glastonbury manors. In 1302–3, both the manors of Wrington in north-east Somerset and Damerham in south Wiltshire sold their wheat for 3.33*s*. per quarter.[20] Although these manors were located about 50 miles apart, they received exactly the same prices for their wheat.

The most important reason for using weighted average prices, however, is that it allows us to see 'real' differences in the wages paid to stipendiary plough-drivers. For example, suppose there were two plough-drivers living in different counties who both received 4.33 quarters of barley per year as a grain livery. If barley sold for 3*s*. in one county and 4*s*. in the other county, the plough-drivers would receive grain valued at 13.0*s*. and 17.32*s*., respectively. Yet this wage disparity is not 'real' because the cost of living is much higher in the second county, as is evidenced by the higher barley price. That is to say, although the second plough-driver received a higher wage, his money would probably not buy as much as that of the plough-driver on the other manor. Thus, their real wages were very similar and this similarity is clearly shown if one average price is used to calculate both wages. For this reason, I would argue that weighted average prices are fairly indicative of the 'real' value of the grain given to plough-drivers on the Glastonbury manors, and thus very useful for the comparison of wages paid to plough-drivers on different manors.

Using these average prices and the information noted above about grain liveries, I calculated proxy grain livery values for the plough-drivers hired on the Glastonbury manors. In order to do this, I multiplied the size of the grain livery by the grain livery percentage of a certain grain and the price of that same grain. The manor of Batcombe may serve as an example of this procedure. Barley comprised 60 per cent and *currallus* 40 per cent of the grain that was distributed to Batcombe's stipendiary *famuli* in 1302–3. Multiplying the total grain received by a plough-driver (4.33 quarters) by 60 per cent and then multiplying the product by the average price of barley (2.37*s*.) allowed me to determine that the proxy value of barley given to the Batcombe plough-driver is 6.16*s*. Making the same calculation for *currallus*, I determined that the proxy value of *currallus* given to the plough-driver is 4.0*s*. Thus, the proxy grain livery value for the Batcombe plough-driver is 10.2*s*.

Table 3 Continued

[g] *Roscorn* 'was probably over dry or scorched grain, and it, too, may have been wheat since it followed cural in the accounts' (Keil, 'Estates of Glastonbury Abbey', p. 237).

[h] *Tolcorn* was multure, i.e., 'corn retained by [the] miller as payment for grinding' (P. D. A. Harvey, *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, c. 1200–1359* (Historical Manuscripts Commission and Oxfordshire Rec. Soc., 50, 1976), p. 798). On Glastonbury manors, *tolcorn* often contained barley and never contained wheat.

[i] Dredge was a mixture of barley and oats.

[20] *GAD* 11271.

TABLE 4. Spearman rank correlation analyses of the 1302–3 data contained in Table 1.

Variable 1	*Variable 2*	*rho*	*z-statistic*	*p-value*
Percentage of grain sold	Money wage	0.246	1.045	0.2960
Percentage of grain sold	Grain livery	−0.478	−2.030	0.0424
Percentage of grain sold	Total wage	−0.248	−1.051	0.2933

TABLE 5. Spearman rank correlation analyses of the 1311–12 data contained in Table 2.

Variable 1	*Variable 2*	*rho*	*z-statistic*	*p-value*
Percentage of grain sold	Money wage	0.170	0.799	0.4242
Percentage of grain sold	Grain livery	−0.419	−1.966	0.0493
Percentage of grain sold	Total wage	−0.276	−1.292	0.1962

Plough-driver's proxy grain livery values are listed in Tables 1 and 2. In addition, the money wage received by each plough-driver is listed and the total wage is calculated by summing the two. In order to determine whether or not there was a relationship between grain commercialization and the wages paid to plough-drivers, I completed Spearman rank correlation analyses of the data contained in these tables.[21] As can be seen in Tables 4 and 5, there is a significant negative relationship between grain commercialization and the proxy grain livery values in each of the three cases (1302–3: rho = −0.478, p = 0.0424; 1311–12: rho = −0.419, p = 0.0493). The selling of large percentages of grain appears to have led to, or at least contributed to, the distribution of low value grain to plough-drivers. Thus, it seems that profit was one of the guiding forces in policy decisions on certain manors. That is to say, high value grains were not usually given to plough-drivers on manors that sold large percentages of their products because they would bring in the greatest profits when sold at market.

Did the money wage paid to plough-drivers on the Glastonbury manors balance out the disparity in grain livery values? As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, this was clearly not the case. Indeed, plough-drivers who received high value liveries also often received high money wages. For example, a plough-driver on the manor of Westonzoyland in 1302–3 received a high-value grain livery (10.87*s*.) and a high money wage (5*s*.). At the same time, a plough-driver on the manor of Uplyme received a low-value grain livery (9.78*s*.) and a low money wage (3.83*s*.). Thus, money wages do not seem to have balanced out disparities in grain livery values.

Nor does proximity to markets seem to have balanced out the disparity in grain livery values. Inlying manors of low grain commercialization seem to have been just as well-placed for market

[21] Spearman rank correlation analysis measures the strength of the relationship between two ordinal variables. The analysis provides a correlation coefficient, rho, in the form of a number between −1 and +1. The closer rho is to −1 or +1, the stronger the relationship (either negative or positive) between the two variables. A rho equal to zero indicates that no relationship exists. The analysis also tests the likelihood that the observed correlation occurred by chance. It is common statistical practice to set a 95 percent confidence level for this test. That is to say, the correlation coefficient is significant if there is only a 5 per cent chance or less that the coefficient occurred by chance. The result of this test is the z-statistic and its significance is reported as the p-value. Thus, I have considered the correlation coefficients reported below to be significant if the z-test has produced a p-value of 0.05 or less.

access as outlying manors of high grain commercialization. Several sizeable towns and cities were located in relative proximity to the inlying Glastonbury manors (see map one). Likewise, several small markets were located within a day's travel of the abbey's Somerset manors.[22] Thus, the *famuli* who worked on outlying manors of high commercialization had no great advantage concerning market access to balance out the disadvantages that came with their low-value grain liveries.

In order to corroborate these findings, I completed various regression analyses to determine the impact of additional variables, such as the total number of *famuli* hired and the type, price and availability of each kind of grain. In performing these analyses, I did not include data on oats, dredge (a mixture of barley and oats) and legumes. Oats and dredge have been excluded because they were mainly fodder crops and *famuli* on the Glastonbury manors utilized in this study never received these grains in their liveries. Legumes have been excluded because they were often grown as fodder crops (especially peas and vetch) and they seem to have been a non-essential part of the peasant diet.[23] As Dyer and Hallam have shown, the medieval English peasant diet was composed nearly entirely of grain in the form of bread, pottage and ale.[24] Peasants might eat beans or peas in their pottage, but only occasionally. Legumes constituted only four percent of the liveries given to *famuli* on the Glastonbury manors utilized in this study.

Using the 1302–3 Glastonbury data, I found that the following multiple regression equation was best able to predict the amount of each type of grain given to *famuli*.[25]

$$Y = 14.752 + 3.648(B) + 4.658(\log A) - 6.744(P)$$

$$(2.748) \qquad (4.305) \qquad (-5.352)$$

Adjusted $R^2 = 0.44$ $F = 19.547$ $p = 0.0000$
$N = 73$ (t-statistics in parentheses)

[All variables are significant at the 0.05 level.]

Y = amount of grain given to *famuli* (q.)
B = indicator variable denoting barley
A = amount of available grain (q.)
P = price of grain (s.)

Because the type of grain produced is a qualitative variable, I utilized an indicator variable for

[22] See D. Farmer, 'Two Wiltshire manors and their markets', *AgHR* 37 (1989), p. 4.

[23] See for example, C. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later middle ages. Social change in England, c. 1200–1520* (1989), pp. 115–16.

[24] Hallam has shown that 98 per cent of the caloric intake of farm servants on the manor of Kettering (Northampton) came from bread and oatmeal. Between 0.1 and 2 per cent came from legumes. See Hallam, 'The worker's diet', in *Agrarian Hist.* II, p. 829. See also, C. Dyer, 'Changes in diet in the late middle ages. The case of harvest workers', *AgHR* 36 (1988), pp. 21–37; id., *Standards of Living*, p. 113.

[25] Multiple regression analysis allows one to determine which of a set of variables are best able to predict a certain response variable. In this case, the response variable (Y) is the amount of a certain grain given to *famuli*. If certain variables do not help predict the response variable, the analysis will not include them in the regression equation. The regression equation includes only those variables that do predict the response variable and are statistically significant, i.e., there is less than a 5 percent chance that their ability to predict the response variable occurred by chance. The extent to which the regression equation can predict the response variable is reported as the adjusted R^2, a number between zero and one. The closer this statistic is to one, the greater the ability to predict the response variable. The analysis also tests the significance of the predictive ability of the regression equation. The result of this test is the F-statistic and its significance is reported as the p-value.

Within the regression equation, the strength of each variable in relation to the other variables is reported as a coefficient. For example, in the regression equation for the 1302–3 Glastonbury data shown above, the price coefficient (–6.744) is somewhat stronger than the availability coefficient (4.658). These coefficients indicate that the amount of a certain grain given to *famuli* would decrease

each type of grain.[26] The only indicator variable that was statistically significant in the regression equation was barley. This means that whether or not a grain was barley is an important predictor of the amount of grain given to *famuli*. That is to say, when barley was given to *famuli* it was likely to have been given in larger amounts than when wheat, rye or a mixed grain was given. These other types of grain were not significant predictors of the amount of grain given to *famuli*. This probably occurred because barley was the grain most frequently and most abundantly given to *famuli* on the Glastonbury manors.

While the total number of *famuli* hired was not a significant factor, both price and availability were statistically significant in the regression equation. In order to perform the analyses, it was first necessary to transform one of the variables (available grain) using its logarithm. The available grain amounts are not normally distributed because several of them are outliers: while most of the available grain amounts were between one and 100 quarters, a small number of manors produced extremely large amounts of grain. For example, Westonzoyland produced 264 quarters of wheat and 561 quarters of barley (net of seed).[27] Because these outliers decreased the significance of the regression equation it was necessary to use the logarithm of this variable in the analyses.

Although not immediately apparent, the regression equation of the 1302–3 Glastonbury data does seem to corroborate the above-mentioned negative relationship between grain commercialization and grain livery composition. The equation indicates that the amount of a certain type of grain given to *famuli* increased when the availability increased and when that particular grain was barley. The amount decreased, however, when the price of that grain increased. That is to say, higher value grains were less likely to be given to *famuli* in their liveries. This seems to indicate that the commercialization of grain was an important factor in determining the distribution of grain to *famuli*.

Before making this assumption, however, it is necessary to look at the results of the other regression analyses. Using the 1311–12 Glastonbury data, I found that the following multiple regression equation was best able to predict the amount of each type of grain given to *famuli*.

$$Y = 5.588 + 6.527(B) + 2.866(\log A) - 1.797(P)$$

$$(6.719) \qquad (4.238) \qquad (-3.519)$$

Adjusted $R^2 = 0.48$ $F = 33.990$ $p = 0.0000$
$N = 103$ (t-statistics in parentheses)

[All variables are significant at the 0.05 level.]

Y = amount of grain given to *famuli* (q.)
B = indicator variable denoting barley
A = amount of available grain (q.)
P = price of grain (s.)

6.744 quarters for each unit (shillings) that the price increases and that the amount would increase 4.658 quarters for each unit (quarters) that the availability increases.

It is important to emphasize that I am utilizing these regression analyses to try to determine which variables are best able to predict the amount of a certain grain given to the group of *famuli* as a whole. We can infer, however, that the results of the analyses are applicable to individual *famuli*, including plough-drivers. As noted above, we can make this assumption because it is probable that the percentages of grain given to the group of *famuli* as a whole were analogous to the percentages of grain given to individual *famuli*.

[26] An indicator variable is a binary variable, i.e., each indicator variable is assigned a value of zero or one. In this case, each type of grain is assigned a value of zero or one depending on what particular type of grain is being considered in the regression analysis. For example, if barley is the grain under consideration, it receives a value of one while all other types of grain receive a value of zero.

[27] *GAD* 11246.

This equation is very similar to the equation for the 1302–3 data. Aside from adjustments to the coefficients, the equation has remained the same. Again, the indicator variable for barley and the quantitative variables of price and availability of grain were the only variables that were significant predictors of the amount of grain given to *famuli*. In this equation, however, the coefficients indicate that whether or not a grain was barley was a more important factor than with the 1302–3 equation. This seems to indicate that barley was given to *famuli* more often in 1311–12 than in 1302–3. Nonetheless, the fact that the price of grain has remained a significant variable seems to provide further evidence that grain commercialization was a significant factor in determining the composition of the grain liveries of *famuli*.

These correlation and regression analyses have shown that commercialization seems to have influenced the choice of what types of grain the abbot of Glastonbury distributed to his *famuli* (specifically, his stipendiary plough-drivers). These workers received lower value grains on manors of high grain commercialization. In general, the higher the price of a grain, the less likely it would be given to *famuli*. Thus, they received much less wheat than barley. For example, in only four out of 42 cases (10 per cent) did the abbot distribute wheat (the most valuable grain in medieval England) to his *famuli* in their grain liveries when other bread grains were available.[28] The impact of this practice cannot be known for certain. It is probable, however, that those *famuli* who did receive wheat had a better diet than those who did not. As wheat contains about 20 per cent more protein than barley,[29] *famuli* who received wheat in their grain liveries, and thus ate more wheat bread, certainly must have benefited from the higher levels of protein in their diet. Current research shows that protein deficiency will lead to reduced growth in children, loss of muscle mass in adults and susceptibility to disease among all ages.[30] It is possible that such symptoms manifested themselves in the lives of *famuli*, but there is no extant evidence that could prove such a theory.

The spending power of *famuli* might also have been negatively affected by commercialization. They might have chosen to sell some of the grain from their liveries in order to acquire spending money in addition to that offered by their money wage.[31] Plough-drivers on manors of high grain commercialization were, however, often at a disadvantage because they had been given lower value grain. For example, the proxy grain liveries of plough-drivers on Glastonbury manors of high grain commercialization were often one to two shillings less than those of their fellows on manors of low grain commercialization (see Tables 1 and 2.) It is important to note, however, that the disparity was greater during times of high inflation. For example, the price of both wheat and barley sold by Glastonbury manors increased by 42 per cent from 1302–3 to 1311–12. Because wheat was originally more expensive, however, the price disparity increased. Thus, those who continued to receive barley in 1311–12 could acquire about 1*s.* more if they sold one quarter of their barley than in 1302–3. On the other hand, those who continued to receive wheat in 1311–12 could acquire about 1.5*s.* more than in 1302–3 if they sold one quarter of their wheat. (See the grain prices listed in Table 3.) This is precisely what happened in 1311–12. As

[28] As might be expected, the percentage of cases in which wheat was given to *famuli* was much lower on manors of high grain commercialization (4 per cent) and higher on manors of low grain commercialization (18 per cent).

[29] See United States Department of Agriculture, *Composition of Foods: Cereal Grains and Pasta*, Washington, DC (1989), pp. 22, 86.

[30] R. E. C. Wildman and D. M. Medeiros, *Advanced Human Nutrition* (2000), pp. 149–50.

[31] Farmer, 'The *famuli*', pp. 233–4.

can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, the average disparity in grain livery values increased from 0.68*s.* to 1.44*s.* It seems that the negative impact of commercialization was even greater during times of higher prices. Thus, the plough-drivers working on manors of high grain commercialization who received low value grain would have been at an even greater disadvantage in terms of spending power.

II

Having established that there was a negative relationship between grain commercialization and the value of grain given to stipendiary plough-drivers and that this probably detrimentally affected their diet and spending power, I will attempt to determine whether such treatment of plough-drivers might have been the result of estate policy. That is to say, did the abbot of Glastonbury and those who managed his manors consciously exploit the market and the labourer to achieve high profits?

It seems quite likely that the abbot of Glastonbury and his monks did possess such an estate policy. For reasons of cost efficiency, the abbot usually expected to receive grain from his inlying manors and profits from the sale of grain from his outlying manors. Because he expected a supply of cash from his outlying manors, the abbot and his monks emphasized commercialization and a drive for profit manifested itself on these manors. This emphasis can be seen in a marginal note written on an account roll by one of the abbey's auditors. In 1315–16, the reeve of the Wiltshire manor of Longbridge Deverill was warned not to carry grain to various markets unless a better sale could be achieved than on the manor itself.[32] While this example is from a Glastonbury manor not included in this study, it nonetheless indicates that profit was a conscious goal and abbey officials did not want a reeve decreasing his manor's profit by spending money on unnecessary trips to market.[33]

How did this policy of profit-seeking directly affect plough-drivers and their grain liveries? It seems probable that such a policy would dictate that *famuli* would not be given high value grains in their liveries if they could instead be sold at a high price on the open market. The abbey's auditors would have been charged with implementing a policy of acquiring as high a profit as possible from the sale of grain, and of communicating this policy to individual reeves. Most likely, the reeves would then have carried out this policy on their manors. The auditor, however, only had contact with the reeves once a year and was not there to supervise them when they sold grain and when they distributed grain to *famuli* every 12 weeks. The reeves were aware, however, that they would be held accountable for all grain sales at the annual audit. If the reeves had not received what the auditor thought was reasonable profit from the sale of grain, they would be held accountable for the difference. The expectation placed on reeves was that they would maximize profits by selling at the highest price whilst keeping the costs of transporting grain to markets to a minimum. If the auditor thought that a reeve could have acquired a larger profit from the sale of grain, he would amend the account with a 'fictitious sale'. For example, he might add four quarters of barley to the total amount of barley produced

[32] *GAD*, 10688. David Farmer reported on this note in his article 'Two Wiltshire manors', p. 7.

[33] No Longbridge Deverill accounts survive for the years 1302–3 and 1311–12.

and then note that this amount had been 'sold on account' for a certain amount (e.g., 4*s.* per quarter). In this case, the amendment of the account added 16*s.* to the total profits of the manor. The reeve was then responsible for paying this amount to his lord.[34] In addition the frequent participation of manorial officials in the selling of grain on non-Somerset manors probably ensured that reeves followed estate policy. Some grain sales were negotiated by senior officials such as the chamberlain and others were made *per litteras domini*.[35] Although this evidence comes from account rolls of a slightly later date (1332–3) than the time period of this study, it is quite probable that such central management of grain sales also occurred during the years 1302–3 and 1311–12.

Monastic officials were also more regular visitors to outlying manors of high grain commercialization than inlying manors of low grain commercialization. The steward and the cellarer and one or more bailiffs would each make annual or semi-annual official visits to all of the abbey's manors to hold courts and ensure efficient administration of day-to-day tasks. The steward and the cellarer, however, often made additional official visits to outlying manors. For example, in 1302–3, the steward and the cellarer made 18 additional official visits to the 12 outlying manors for which account rolls are extant. On the other hand, these officials made only four additional visits to the seven Somerset manors.[36] Thus, it seems that there was a greater presence of abbey officials on outlying manors than on inlying manors to ensure that the day-to-day operations were running smoothly and that estate policy regarding everything from grain production to cheese sales was being followed. With the emphasis on profit and the large amount of supervision, reeves probably sold as much high value grain as they could for the highest prices they could secure. Under such circumstances, it seems unlikely that *famuli* would receive much high value grain in their liveries.

III

In sum, Spearman rank correlation analyses seem to indicate that there was a significant negative relationship between grain commercialization and the value of grain distributed to plough-drivers on Glastonbury manors. In addition, multiple regression analyses have shown that grain commercialization was a significant factor in determining the amount of each type of grain that was given to stipendiary *famuli*. Glastonbury abbey's profit-seeking estate policy seems to have dictated that grains that could fetch high prices on the market were usually sold rather than given to *famuli*. In general, this policy manifested itself on manors distant from the main household and not on manors within the home county of Somerset which provided the abbey with its major supply of grain.

It would seem that the findings presented in this paper have provided concrete evidence to corroborate the suggestions of Bailey, Britnell and Masschaele discussed earlier. Not everyone,

[34] This auditing procedure was prevalent in England during the time period of this study. See P. D. A. Harvey, *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, c. 1200–1359* (Historical Manuscripts Commission and Oxfordshire Rec. Soc., 50, 1976); Farmer, 'The *famuli*', p. 225. For evidence of the procedure on the Glastonbury manors, see GAD, 11216, 11246, 11271.

[35] *GAD*, 8083, 9730. David Farmer discussed this evidence in 'Marketing the produce of the countryside', in E. Miller (ed.), *Agrarian History of England and Wales, III, 1348–1500* (1991), pp. 366–7.

[36] *GAD*, 11246, 11271.

and certainly not stipendiary *famuli* on these manors benefited from increased commercialization. Indeed, if these small-holding peasants were in as precarious a position as Bailey has suggested, the decrease in spending power created by the distribution of low-value grains might very well have been quite devastating. The task is now to discover whether demesne *famuli* working for lords in other areas of England were affected in similar ways. It seems quite possible that workers on manors located in the much more highly commercialized south-eastern counties were negatively affected by commercialization to an even greater degree than the Glastonbury *famuli*. Only further research will reveal whether or not this was actually the case.

Survival or adaptation? Domestic rural textile production in eastern Canada in the later nineteenth century*

by Béatrice Craig, Judith Rygiel and Elizabeth Turcotte

Abstract

Historians have always assumed that the 'modernization' of North American agriculture necessarily entailed the disappearance of domestic manufacturing, including the production of handmade cloth. The weavers, who were female, gave up weaving in favour of dairy and poultry production as soon as factory-made materials became available. This process fits Jan de Vries's model of an industrious revolution in the countryside. Consequently, lingering domestic cloth production is described as symptomatic of a stagnant agriculture. However, late domestic cloth production may not have been the consequence of poverty, but a rational economic choice. It may also have been part of a North American variant of the 'industrious revolution'. These themes are examined using detailed data mostly drawn from the Canadian census of 1871 for household and farm production in a number of Canadian villages.

Reflecting on the role women played in the economic transformations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Jan de Vries has argued they were key to the 'industrious revolution' which preceded the more famous Industrial Revolution.[1] During the industrious revolution, women shifted their efforts from the production of goods and services for their households to goods and services for the market. At the same time, households replaced the goods women used to make with purchased ones. The process affected rural households in several ways. Women (and children) produced more agricultural commodities destined for the market; they worked longer hours per day and more days per year; and finally they increased their involvement in by-employment during the agricultural slack season. This led to proto-industrialization. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the trend towards market-oriented activities reversed, and women withdrew from paid employment to devote

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[1] Jan de Vries, 'Between purchasing power and the world of goods. Understanding the household economy in early modern Europe', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds) *Consumption and the world of goods* (1993), pp. 85–132; id., 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *JEcH* 54 (1994), pp. 340–61.

more time to providing services for their family; better nutrition, better health and child care, higher standards of hygiene.

Other historians' findings buttress this model. Ivy Pinchbeck argued more than half a century ago that the commercialization of agriculture had created wage-earning opportunities for women and children. Increases in production levels had depended upon more labour-intensive forms of cultivation. Hiring lower paid women and children for seeding, thinning, hoeing, weeding, pruning, picking crops and carrying dung therefore made economic sense.[2] Amongst recent writers, Robert Allen, for instance, claims that agricultural productivity increased on seventeenth-century copyholds in the absence of significant technological changes because copyholders and their families worked harder.[3] Not all findings by English historians fit into this model however. Most work indicates that the commercialization of agriculture spelled the demise of women's wage work in the nineteenth century, except in dairy regions.[4] Allen claims that out-of-work female farm workers did not necessarily find alternative work in proto-industries or in factories.[5] In short, the industrious revolution seems to have applied to some regions of England better than to others.

De Vries claims that his model applies to North America as well as to England and Western Europe.[6] The works of North American historians however qualify the model. The arable regions of the US do not seem to have been more propitious to the 'industrious revolution' than their English counterparts. According to J. Mack Faragher, by the end of the nineteenth century, men were engaged in market production but women in subsistence production to cover the needs of the household. Women's activities had become marginal to the economy of the farm, even if their egg money was important to *them*.[7]

The situation was different in dairy districts, where it was the distaff side of the farm economy that commercialized; nevertheless, historians are not providing us with a uniform picture of this process. The starting point of the commercialization process is usually the same: women gave up textile production and turned to dairying when the availability of cheap factory made material made hand weaving 'unprofitable'. In their oft-cited study of nineteenth century northern agriculture, Atack and Bateman state that the emergence of an industrial-agricultural economy in the US was parallelled by the 'rapid demise of home produced clothing, furniture and similar items in farm and other rural households'.[8] Thomas Weiss calculated that farm gross production increased in all northern states in the nineteenth century. This increase was paralleled by a slow decline in the value of home manufacturing on farms, and its collapse after 1870. He concluded that 'to some extent, the decreased production of these items [home

[2] Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (1931).

[3] R. C. Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman. The agricultural development of the south Midlands, 1450–1850* (1992), pp. 208–9.

[4] Joyce Burnette, 'An investigation of the female-male wage gap during the Industrial Revolution in Britain', *EcHR* 50 (1997), pp. 257–81; K. D. M. Snell, 'Agricultural seasonal employment, the standard of living, and women's work in the south and east, 1690–1860', *EcHR* 34 (1981), pp. 407–39; Pam Sharpe, 'The female labour market in English agriculture during the Industrial Revolution: expansion or contraction?' *AgHR* 47 (1999), pp. 161–81; Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman*, p. 215.

[5] Ibid., pp. 239–62.

[6] de Vries, 'Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', p. 346.

[7] John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (1979), esp. chap. 2.

[8] Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman, *To their own soil: Agriculture in the antebellum North* (1987), p. 205.

manufactures] was a response to increased commercialization; farmers specialized in marketable crops and substituted commercially produced industrial goods for home manufacture'.[9]

Economic historians provide us with overviews; women's historians the details. In the Oneida valley, in upstate New York (between Syracuse and Utica), farmers kept large flocks of sheep until the 1820s, and women spun and wove at home. Textile mills appeared in the area in the 1820s and 1830s, and the production of domestic woollen cloth immediately declined. Women then shifted their labour to the production of cheese, a commercial product, and thus became more involved in market activities.[10] So did women in Chester county, Pennsylvania.[11] Joan Jensen describes the strategy of those farm women in terms that seem almost lifted from De Vries (except that she wrote before him). Women engaged in dairying instead of weaving 'to make their farms more profitable and increase their cash income to purchase commodities from commercialized cities and industrializing river valleys'.[12] Marjorie Cohen describes female cloth making in Ontario (Canada) as an activity geared towards home-consumption and neighbourhood barter, and abandoned as soon as cheap factory cloth became available. Once province-made factory woollen cloth became available, 'expending time on home production became less rational'. More remunerative opportunities for women also led them to abandon home-weaving. By mid-century, urban growth had created a market for the products of women's agricultural activities: dairy, eggs, poultry, fruit and vegetables.[13]

Historians do not agree on the long-term impact commercialization had on women's work in those regions. They depict a wide variety of consequences, ranging from defeminization of production to women shifting from one type of production to another in order to respond to market demand. Cohen claims that men pushed women out of commercial dairy production as soon as its profits became significant: market production was a male prerogative. Women were sent back to their kitchens and poultry yards.[14] Dairy production was also masculinized in Oneida county. McMurry, however, contends that women were the ones who chose not to continue dairying and cheese making. Rural women used contemporary images of women to justify their attitude, and accused the men of exploiting them, making them work beyond their strength, or in unsuitable surroundings. Oneida county young women had alternatives to dairying: they could find factory work, go to school, take white collar jobs, or marry in town and devote themselves to homemaking. They could escape the intensification of labour dairying had entailed for them. Those who married and stayed on the farm switched to egg and poultry production.[15] On the other hand, women in the Nanticoke valley, south-west of Oneida county (near Bighampton) did not withdraw from market production in general, and dairy production in particular.[16] In Pennsylvania, dairy farms even tried to hire dairymaids. However, in 1850,

[9] Thomas Weiss, 'Long term changes in US agricultural output per worker, 1800–1900', *EcHR* 46 (1993), p. 337.

[10] Sally McMurry, *Transforming rural life: Dairying families and agricultural change, 1820–1885* (1997), pp. 70–8; id., 'American rural women and the transformation of dairy processing, 1820–1880', *Rural Hist.* 5 (1994), pp. 143–53.

[11] Joan M. Jensen, *Loosening the bonds: Mid-Atlantic farm women, 1750–1850* (1986), p. 87.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[13] Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's work, markets and economic development in nineteenth-century Ontario* (1988), pp. 75–82.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 75–82.

[15] McMurry, *Transforming rural life*, pp. 203, 207–211.

[16] Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of community. The lives of farm women in nineteenth-century New York* (1991), p. 211.

only a third of the farms in the areas investigated had a female servant. Demand for female labour already exceeded supply; female wages had increased sharply as early as the 1830s.[17] Economic historians, for their part, point towards an intensification of women's work (or at the very least, of work traditionally done by women). For Fred Bateman, the significant increase in milk production per cow that characterized the northern United States between 1850 and 1910 was the result of additional women and children's labour input: women and children exchanged some of their leisure for work in the barn.[18] In an article co-authored with Lee Craig, Thomas Weiss attributes the rising productivity of northern farms during the American Civil War years (1861–66) not to the replacement of men by machines, but to the intensification of work performed by women and children. Dairying, poultry and egg production, pork production and market-gardening, all traditional women/children activities, were being commercialized. They concluded that 'women and children shifted their time from unmeasured household tasks to market activities or reallocated their efforts among farm and non-farm market work'.[19]

The pattern seems relatively straightforward: women remained outside commercial production in arable regions. In Ontario, New York and Pennsylvania, they first switched from household manufacture (weaving) to commercial production of dairy products, and later poultry, eggs, and vegetables. In at least one region, they refused to go along with the intensification of their work. In another, they may have been sent back to their 'proper place' by men desirous to preserve their prerogatives. De Vries' model seems to fit; some of McMurry's Oneidans even went through its two phases in two generations.

When one takes a close look at the historians' evidence however, the applicability of the model becomes less obvious. Lee and Weiss's data, for instance, shows increased labour input by women and children, but also by men.[20] Men became more 'industrious' as well. Weiss's own data tempers his argument that household manufacturing was gradually replaced by commercial production. The relative value of home manufacture dropped by a third between 1800 and 1870, but the absolute value changed much less (13 per cent). This suggests that until 1870, increased production of marketable commodities was not entirely at the expense of home manufacture but in addition to the latter. The industrious revolution then may not have been at the expense of non-market production. This is what Osterud argues occurred in the Nanticoke valley. There, farmers did not abandon subsistence production: commercialization meant reallocating resources and labour from less to more profitable market production. Home weaving could nonetheless have disappeared, as the category 'home manufacture' was a generic one which included cloth and handmade tools, soap, chairs, candles and shoes. Households may have reallocated resources within this category as well, shifting from textile production to other hand-work.

The next difficulty concerns the sex of the weavers. Women's historians and economic historians alike take it for granted that women did the weaving. Jensen's work on Chester county, Pennsylvania (just behind Philadelphia) is a case in point. She found evidence of

[17] Jensen, *Loosening the bonds*, pp. 89–90.

[18] Fred Bateman, 'Improvements in American dairy farming, 1850–1910, a quantitative analysis', *JEcH* 28 (1968), pp. 255–73.

[19] Lee A. Craig and Thomas Weiss, 'Agricultural productivity growth during the decade of the Civil War', *JEcH* 53 (1993), pp. 527–48.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 542–3.

increased textile production on early nineteenth-century farms, and credited women for it. On the other hand, Adrienne Hood, a material historian who has investigated the production of handmade cloth in the same Chester county in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, demonstrates that in that region, as in Europe, women spun and men wove. Only 10 per cent of the estate inventories listed looms – and those were almost always owned by men (female loom owners had inherited them from their husbands). Women learned to spin informally. And although they may have spun for other people, spinning was never considered a trade. It was a household activity, like plucking chickens or making sausages. Men learned to weave from their relatives, or through apprenticeship; they wove for their fathers, for wages, or once established, hired others to assist them.[21] Jensen's own probate data tells exactly the same story.

Rural weaving intensified in Chester county at the beginning of the nineteenth century when carding mills increased the productivity of spinners, and factory-made warp alleviated the shortage of domestic yarn. But rural weaving remained masculine. Some weavers moved away from the production of bespoke material using their client's yarn, and began to weave purchased material for open sale. A few succeeded in running their own spinning mills.[22] If Chester county farm women experienced an industrious revolution, it was one more complex than simply mothballing their looms in order to make butter for the Philadelphia market. Rather, the need for their labour in the production of textiles (as hand carders and spinners) decreased, and they used this freed time to produce something else.

New England followed a different pattern.[23] In the seventeenth century men wove and women spun as in Pennsylvania or Europe. But, in the first half of the eighteenth century, household production was reorganized and weaving became a female activity. Men were no longer interested in learning, or practising the trade, probably because they could employ themselves more profitably in other lines of business. The shift entailed more than the substitution of workers of one sex for workers of another. Women did not become specialized village craft persons. Instead, weaving became a household task. And this meant that women would be willing to weave for a lower return than men who had to support a family with their craft. Ulrich dated the shift by looking at the ratio of looms to wheels in the probate inventories: the higher the ratio, the more widespread weaving was, and the less likely weaving was a specialized task (it took eight to ten spinners to keep a weaver occupied full time; any ratio of looms to wheels higher than one in eight then implies that weaving was a part-time occupation). By the end of the eighteenth century, this ratio could be higher than one in two in some counties. In Pennsylvania on the other hand, the ratio hardly changed and never exceeded 0.16 (six wheels for every loom).[24]

In Canada, Ontario weavers had been assumed to have been male village artisans, and Quebec

[21] Adrienne Hood, 'The gender division of labor in the production of textiles in eighteenth-century rural Pennsylvania (Rethinking the New England Model)', *J. Social History* 27 (1994), pp. 537–61; 'The material world of cloth production and use in eighteenth-century rural Pennsylvania', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., (hereafter *WMQ*) 53 (1996), pp. 43–66.

[22] Adrienne Hood, 'Industrial opportunities: from handweaving to mill production, 1700–1830', in P. Benes (ed.), *Textiles in early New England: design, production and consumption* (1999), pp. 135–52.

[23] Gloria Main, 'Gender, work and wages in colonial New England', *WMQ* 51 (1994), pp. 39–66. Carol Shammas, 'How self-sufficient was early America?', *J. Interdisciplinary History* 13 (1982), pp. 267; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, 'Wheels, looms, and the gender division of labor in eighteenth-century New England,' *WMQ* 55 (1998), pp. 3–36.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

ones to have been farm women.[25] Dorothy and Harold Burnham contend that only one per cent of the weavers in Ontario in 1871 were females. Cohen states that professional weavers in Ontario were frequently recent male immigrants from Ulster, Scotland or Germany. Women, she argued, frequently wove, but did not consider themselves professionals and gave up the activity when they married, but might take it up again if they became widows. Other authors have come to contrary conclusions. Kris Inwood used census data to demonstrate that even in Ontario, weaving was primarily a female occupation.[26] Ruddel makes the same point for Quebec, and Cynthia Wallace Casey for southern New Brunswick.[27] The number of cloth making tools found in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century inventories, examined by Dessureault and Ruddel, also reveal very high ratios of looms to wheels in the province of Quebec from the 1800s onwards (superior to 0.5).[28] Seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century weavers then may have been males in the English colonies and in Quebec. Weaving became a female activity in New England in the eighteenth century, and possibly in Quebec in the early nineteenth century. Domestic weaving increased women's work load, but even where they did not weave themselves, increased cloth production could have occurred only if women spent more time carding and spinning, at least until carding and spinning mills spread in the countryside.

The work of Canadian and American historians supports a modified 'industrious revolution' characterized by intensification of women's work for the household in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century; marginalization of women's work in arable regions in the nineteenth, and increased participation of women in commercial production in the dairy districts. The North American industrious revolution also occured in a significantly different context, which goes a long way to explain why it was different from the European one.

Being a farmer in North America was not the same thing as being a farmer in the Old World. First, there was lots of land. In 1861, the average farm in the northeastern United States comprised 79 improved and 39 unimproved acres.[29] Canadian farms were similar in size. The farmers we shall discuss below owned or rented an average of 100–130 acres. Tenancy was also relatively rare: in 1861, only 15 per cent of the northeastern farmers were tenants, and 20 per cent of the ones in the mid-west.[30] The only region where tenancy was widespread in the

[25] Dorothy Burnham and Harold Burnham, *'Keep Me Warm One Night': Early handweaving in eastern Canada* (1973), p. 11; Cohen, *Women's Work*, p. 81.

[26] Kris Inwood and Janine Grant, 'Gender and organization in the Canadian Cloth Industry, 1870', *Canadian Papers in Business History* 1 (1989), p. 19.

[27] Cynthia Wallace-Casey, 'Providential openings: the women weavers of nineteenth-century Queens County, New Brunswick', *Material History Rev.* 46 (1997), pp. 29–44. Surveyor General Joseph Bouchette, who travelled extensively in the Canadas in the first two decades of the century, noted that in Quebec, weaving and spinning were winter female activities. Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominion in North America* (London, 1832), p. 370; Ruddel's analysis of apprentice contracts similarly failed to uncover male weaving apprentices. David-Thiery Ruddel, 'The domestic textile industry in the region of and city of Quebec, 1792–1835,' *Material History Bulletin/Bulletin d'histoire de la culture matérielle* 17 (1983), pp. 95–126.

[28] Christian Dessureault and John A. Dickinson, 'Farm implements and husbandry in colonial Quebec, 1740–1840', in P. Benes (ed.), *New England-New France, 1600–1850* (1992), pp. 110–21.

[29] Atack and Bateman, *To their own soil*, p. 111.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

nineteenth century was Prince Edward Island, in Canada. There, farmers thought themselves very ill-used indeed paying one shilling a year per acre on 999 year leases.[31]

Second, there was no large, landless rural proletariat in North America. By the nineteenth century the poorer fringe of smallholders and tenant farmers usually had to perform some wage work in addition to farming in order to make ends meet, but they did not represent a large proportion of the rural population. Securing workers had always been a problem for North American farmers. Southerners solved it with slavery; Northerners relied on the labour of their, and other people's children, supplemented by indentured pauper adolescents. Agricultural wage work and domestic service on farms were done mostly by adolescent and young unmarried adults. Marriage was supposed to put an end to dependency, and wage work was a form of dependency. Young couples farmed their own land, or a portion of their future inheritance, or rented a farm.[32]

North Americans also coped with the limited supply of labour by engaging in extensive agriculture, which required few workers, but lots of land. By European standards, North American extensive agriculture was primitive and low yielding; the fields were insufficiently cultivated, manure was reserved for a few demanding crops and for the garden, and fallows were not ploughed. Ten to twelve bushels an acre was a normal yield for wheat. Farmers compensated for those low yields by putting as much of their land under cultivation as their family could harvest, and this in turn made crop specialization impractical. One had to plant a combination of crops with different growing periods.

The rural labour shortage, and abundance of land, also meant that proto-industrialization did not develop in North America. New England merchants put out yarn to weave, shoe lasts to stitch, and straw to plait at the end of the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century. But the workers attended to those tasks when they had no farm chores to do, not when it suited the merchants. The merchants brought the work under factory roofs as soon as feasible. New England female adolescents briefly followed their work into the textile mills until the owners cut their wages in the 1840s.[33] The mill hands wrapped themselves in revolutionary rhetoric, accused the industrialists of being 'British Aristocrats' trying to enslave the Daughters of the Republic, and went back home, often to teach, as the public school system dates from the same period. Irish immigrant women replaced them in the factories.[34]

[31] Ian Ross Robertson, *The Tenant League of Prince Edward Island, 1864–1867. Leasehold tenure in the New World* (1996), p. 8.

[32] Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and fishermen: two centuries of work in Essex County, Mass., 1630–1850* (1994). Clarence Danhof, *Changes in agriculture: the northern United States* (1969), pp. 140–1.

[33] Thomas Dublin, *Transforming woman's work. New England lives in the Industrial Revolution* (1994), esp. pp. 29–76; id., 'Women and outwork in a nineteenth century New England town: Fitzwilliam, NH, 1830–1850,' in Stephen Hahn and Jonathan Prude (eds), *The countryside in the age of capitalist transformation. Essays in the social history of Rural America* (1985), pp. 51–69; Gail Fowler Mohanty, 'Handloom outwork and outwork weaving in rural Rhodes Island,' *American Stud.* 30 (1989), pp. 41–68; Gregory Nobles, 'Commerce and community: a case study of the rural broommaking business in antebellum Massachusetts', *J. of the Early American Republic* 4 (1984), pp. 287–308; Mary H. Blewett, 'Women shoeworkers and domestic ideology: rural outwork in early nineteenth-century Essex county,' *New England Q.*, 60 (1987), pp. 403–28; id., *Men, women and work: class, gender and protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780–1910* (1988), pp. 143–153; Daniel Vickers, 'Competency and competition: economic culture in early America', *WMQ* 47 (1990), pp. 3–29.

[34] Thomas Dublin, *Women at work: The transformation of work and community in Lowell, Mass., 1826–1860* (1976).

Third, farmers were slow to specialize, and especially slow to abandon non-market production. The Nanticoke valley was typical in this respect. The lack of herbicides, pesticides, and artificial fertilizers made narrow specialization impossible: crops had to be rotated. Animals also had to be kept for manure, even if there was no market for their products. Low population density, and rudimentary means of transportation until the advent of the railway, translated into high transportation costs. High price commodities like wheat, flour, salted meat, beer and whisky, and cheese could bear the cost of long distance transportation, and were not likely to spoil in the process. Such was not the case of lesser grains, roots, fresh meat and vegetables and other perishables. The market for most commodities remained regional, and except in the vicinity of cities, limited in size. To serve these relatively small regional markets, farmers produced modest surpluses of a wide range of commodities, rather than large surpluses of a few. Most of these commodities were also the ones farmers consumed, and therefore market production did not eliminate subsistence production. The latter imperceptibly shaded in the former rather than being its opposite. The production of foodstuff was also an insurance against unpredictable distant markets and against the vagaries of the weather: one did not starve if the main crop did not sell or fail.[35] One frequent strategy, for instance, consisted in fattening and selling cattle when meat was dear and grain cheap, and selling the grain and slaughtering underfed cattle for home consumption when grain was dear and meat cheap.[36]

Fourth, households did not necessarily specialize in farming. Adolescents and young adults

[35] The literature on the transformation of North American farming in the nineteenth century is enormous. The following are the most useful. About the self-sufficiency of commercial farms: Bettye Hobbs-Pruitt, 'Self-sufficiency and the agricultural economy of eighteenth-century Massachusetts', *WMQ* 41 (1984), pp. 339–52; Rusty Bitterman, 'Middle River: the social structure of agriculture in a nineteenth-century Cape Breton community', (MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1987); id., 'Farm households and wage labour in the northeastern maritimes in the early nineteeth century', in Daniel Samson (ed.), *Contested countryside: Rural workers and modern society in Atlantic Canada, 1800–1950* (1994), pp. 34–69; Richard L. Bushman, 'Family security in the transition from farm to city, 1750–1850', *J. Family History* 6 (1981), pp. 238–243; Vickers, 'Competency and competition'

For the diversification of farms as they moved away from the pioneer stage, see Richard Lyman Bushman, 'Markets and composite farms in early America', *WMQ* 55 (1998), pp. 351–74; Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's town: Power and persuasion on the frontier of the early American Republic* (1995), pp. 103–105; Robert Ostergren, *A community transplanted. The transatlantic experience of a Swedish immigrant settlement in the upper middle west, 1835–1915* (0000), pp. 197–8; Mary Eschelbach-Gregson, 'Specialization in late-nineteenth century midwestern agriculture: Missouri as a test case', *AgHR* 67 (1993), pp. 16–35; id., 'Rural response to increased demand: crop choice in the Midwest, 1860–1880,' *JEcH* 53 (1993), pp. 332–45.

Discusions of market production as a supplement to, not a substitute for subsistence production, see in addition to the above: Kevin M. Sweeney, 'Gentlemen farmers and inland merchants. The Williams family and commercial agriculture in pre-revolutionary Western Massachusetts', in P. Benes (ed.), *The Farm* (1987), pp. 60–73; Andrew Baker and Holly Izard Paterson, 'Farmers' adaptations to markets in early nineteenth-century Massachusetts', *Ibid.*, pp. 95–108; Marvin McInnis, 'Marketable surplus in Ontario Farms', *Social Science History* 8 (1984), pp. 395–424; Doug McCalla, *Planting the province. The economic history of Upper Canada, 1784–1870* (1993); Thomas Acheson, 'New Brunswick agriculture at the end of the colonial era: a reassessment', in Kris Inwood (ed.), *Farm, factory and fortune. New studies in the economic history of the Maritime Provinces* (1993), pp. 37–60; Serge Courville, 'La crise agricole du Bas Canada, éléments d'une reflexion géographique', *Cahiers de géographie du Quebec* (1980), pp. 193–224, 385–428; Serge Courville, 'Villages and agriculture in the seigneurie of Lower Canada. Conditions of a comprehensive study of rural Quebec in the first half of the ninteenth century,' *Canadian Papers in Rural History* (1986), pp. 121–49.

[36] Christopher Clark, *The roots of rural capitalism in Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (1990), p. 77.

might work at a non-farm occupation for a few weeks or months, when the opportunity arose. In low density population areas, farmers opened custom grist-, saw- and carding-mills where they processed the products of their neighbours for a share of the commodity. They also opened taverns, stores, or operated ferries across rivers, tanned leather, made beer, distilled brandy and butchered animals. Where the population was sparse, those businesses did not generate enough revenue to support a household, and had to be run in addition to another activity. Those business ventures could also be ways of employing young adult sons. When these businesses had served their purpose, they were given up.

In the forested regions of Canada, farmers and their sons worked in the woods in winter, as lumbermen, as subcontractors for lumber-operators, or hired out their horses and oxen. New Brunswick even had men who declared their occupations as farmer-lumberer-fishermen.[37] Individuals who started as rural craftsmen or entrepreneurs frequently acquired a farm as well as insurance against downturns in the economic cycle. The two merchants, who will be mentioned below, are good examples of both strategies. The Dufour brothers were farmers who organized lumbering parties, ran a store and a forwarding business till the economic crisis of 1848 forced them out of all their non-farm activities. They had bought the store from a farmer-store keeper, whose father had been a farmer-miller. John Emmerson, the second merchant, moved to the region as a young man in 1828 to make his fortune. He took up a farm, cut timber, and in the mid-1840s, opened a store and started a forwarding business. He ran the farm himself and still owned it at his death in 1867. He secured some of the necessary labour by letting farmers work for him to pay their store debt. The boundary between the farm and the non-farm population was therefore quite porous. Merchants, professionals and craftsmen farmed for safety and farmers added and shed non-farm businesses as the needs and opportunities arose.

Industriousness may have characterized women and men on north-eastern farms, but it occurred in a distinctly different context – one where the demands on workers' time had always been high, occupational pluralism the norm, and self-sufficiency a complement rather than an obstacle to market involvement. This peculiar aspect of the North American farm economy can help us understand an apparently anomalous phenomenon: the persistence of cloth production on Canadian farms in the nineteenth century. The production of cloth by farm households remained significant in Ontario until the middle of the century, and later in Quebec and the Maritime provinces (Table 1). In 1871, Quebec, with a population of slightly over a million, produced 1.5 million yards of linen and 3.4 million yards of woollen cloth; Ontario (population 1.6 million) produced 25,000 yards of linen and 1.8 million yards of

[37] Clark, *Roots of rural capitalism*, p. 160; McCalla, *Planting the province*, p. 93; Serge Courville, Jean Claude Robert and Normand Seguin, 'The spread of rural industry in Lower Canada, 1831–1851', *J. Canadian Historical Association* (1991), pp. 41–70; Serge Courville, 'Un monde rural en mutation: Le Bas Canada dans la premieré moitié du XIXe siècle', *Histoire sociale-Social History* 40 (1987), pp. 237–58; Serge Courville, 'Croissance villageoise et industrie rurale dans les seigneuries du Québec, 1815–1851', in F. Lebrun and N. Séguin (eds), *Sociétés villageoises et rapports villes-campagnes au Québec et dans la France de l'ouest, XVII-XX siècles* (1987); Normand Séguin (ed.), *Agriculture et colonisation au Québec* (1980); René Hardy et Normand Séguin, *Forêt et société en Mauricie* (1984); Gérard Bouchard, *Quelques arpents d'Amérique* (1994); Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony: a historical geography of early nineteenth century New Brunswick* (1980); Daniel Samson, 'Situating the rural in Atlantic Canada,' in Samson (ed.), *Contested countryside*, pp. 1–33.

TABLE 1. Per capita hand woven fabric production in four Canadian provinces, 1827–91 (yards)

	Ontario	*Quebec*	*New Brunswick*	*Nova Scotia*
1827	nd	6.40	nd	nd
1842	2.73	nd	nd	nd
1844	nd	3.20	nd	nd
1851–2	1.79	2.80	3.21	4.08
1860–1	1.53	2.80	nd	4.00
1870–1	1.13	4.49	3.94	4.09
1880–1	0.75	3.01	2.68	3.17
1890–1	0.25	1.86	1.48	1.69

Note: per capita domestic cloth production = total domestic cloth production reported in the census divided by the population of the province.

Source: *Recensement des Canadas 1851–2* (2 vols, 1853), *Recensement des Canadas, 1860–1861* (2 vols, 1863); *Census of Canada, 1870–71/Resensement du Canada* (4 vols, 1873), IV; *Census of Canada, 1881/Recensement du Canada, 1881* (1883–4); *Census of Canada, 1891/Recensement du Canada 1891* (1893–4).

cloth; New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, with a combined population of 673,000 produced 186,000 yards of linen and 2.5 million yards of woollen cloth.[38] Canadian farming was not significantly different from that of the United States, except that the climate is colder in Canada and the growing season shorter. Domestic cloth production should have disappeared as it did in the United States; but it did not.

Canadian social and economic historians have been only incidentally interested in the reasons why this was so. Their primary focuses have been production for export (staple theory), the commercialization of agriculture, urbanization and industrialization.[39] When they have shown an interest in the issue of domestic production, they have sought to understand why this activity lasted much longer in Quebec than in Ontario. Their explanation was simple: Quebec's domestic cloth production was another symptom of the Quebec 'economic lag'. Quebec rural households made their own cloth because they could not afford factory-made products. Ontario households, which could afford commercial cloth, did not weave. John McCallum's landmark comparative study of Quebec and Ontario economies until 1870 squarely put the blame for the continuation of domestic textile production in Quebec at the feet of the farmers' 'lack of cash'.[40] The persistence of domestic cloth production was therefore an indicator of rural poverty and therefore must be part of a strategy of expense avoidance through self-sufficiency. By contrast, successful commercial farming precluded domestic textile production. Since McCallum, other Canadian scholars have followed this line of argument linking the continuation of domestic cloth production in Quebec and eastern Ontario to poverty stemming from distance to markets, lack of local agricultural potential, declining prices for agricultural commodities and 'low

[38] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1871: Censuses of Canada, 1608 to 1876* (1878).

[39] For instance the two standard Canadian economic history texts do not mention it. W. T. Easterbrook and Hugh G. J. Aitken, *Canadian Economic History* (1988, first edn 1956); Kenneth Norrie and Doug Owram, *History of Canadian Economy* (1991).

[40] John McCallum, *Unequal Beginnings, Agriculture and economic development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870* (1980), p. 88.

productivity'.[41] Kris Inwood, in addition, argues that weaving persisted also because there were few alternative economic opportunities for rural women. Their 'labour opportunity cost' – the amount of money they could earn doing something else – was low. It was therefore profitable for them to weave, even for little money.[42]

Recently, some historians have begun to challenge this interpretation. Adrienne Hood noted that rural cloth production increased in early nineteenth century Pennsylvania, and attributed this to the existence of rural carding and fulling mills, and the availability of industrial yarns.[43] Kris Inwood, Serge Courville and Michel Boisvert make exactly the same argument for Canada: the spread of carding mills and the increased availability of ready-made yarn contributed to the perpetuation of domestic cloth production.[44] We found the same situation in New Brunswick.[45] Inwood and Courville also claim, but with little evidence, there was a market for domestic cloth among lumberers, river drivers and fishermen. Cynthia Wallace-Casey documents women using finely crafted material to settle their accounts at the local general stores, giving the lie to two assumptions: that women had only rudimentary skills and that they produced for use or barter with neighbours.[46]

The persistence of farm cloth production in Canada remains poorly explained. In this paper, we try and shed some light on the question by focussing on three western Canadian communities (Map 1). The first is the seigneurie of Argenteuil, about 50 km north-west of Montreal, on the north shore of the Ottawa river, just above its junction with the St Lawrence.[47] Argenteuil's

[41] David-Thiery Ruddel, 'Domestic textile production in colonial Quebec, 1608–1840', *Material History Bulletin/ Bulletin d'histoire de la culture matérielle* 31 (1990), pp. 39–49; id., 'The domestic textile industry', pp. 95–126; Inwood and Grant, 'Gender and organization', pp. 17–31; Kris Inwood and Janine Roelens, 'Labouring at the loom: a case study of rural manufacturing in Leeds county, Ontario, 1870', *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, 5 (1990), pp. 215–35; Jack E. Little, *Crofter and inhabitants: settlers, society and economy and culture in a Quebec township, 1848–1881* (1991), pp. 145–6; Sophie-Laurence Lamontagne and Fernand Harvey, *La production textile domestique au Québec, 1827–1941, une approche quantitative et regionale* (1998).

[42] Inwood and Roelens, 'Labouring at the loom'.

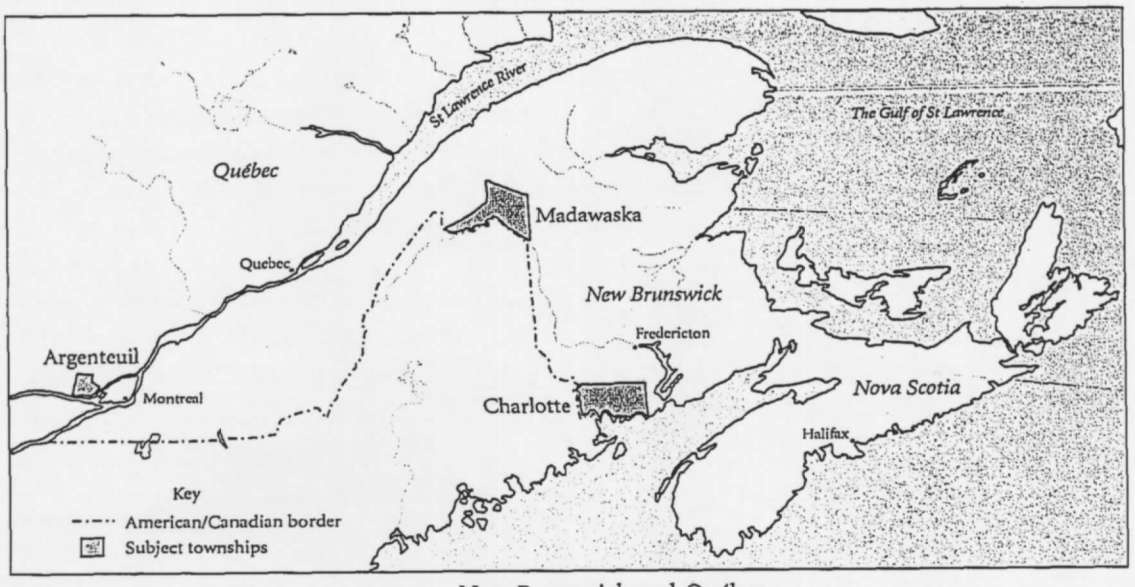
[43] Hood, 'Industrial opportunities'.

[44] Kris Inwood and Phillis Wagg, 'Domestic cloth production in rural Canada *circa* 1870,' *JEcH* 53 (1993), p. 352. Serge Courville, Jean-Claude Robert, Normand Séguin, *Atlas historique du Québec* (1995), pp. 59–60; Michel Boisvert, 'La production textile au Bas Canada: L'exemple Laurentien', *Cahiers de Géographie du Québec* 40 (1996), pp. 421–37.

[45] Béatrice Craig and Judith Rygiel, 'Femmes, marchés et production textile domestique au Nouveau Brunswick au XIXe siecle', *Histoire et mesure*, 15 (2000), pp. 83–112.

[46] Wallace-Casey, 'Providential openings ...', pp. 29–44.

[47] Material on Argenteuil is drawn from Elizabeth Turcotte's MA thesis, 'Balancing the scales: Women's economic contribution through dairy and textiles, Argenteuil, 1831–1861', (Department of History, University of Ottawa, 1996), as well as from a SSRHC supported research project on the socio-economic history of Argenteuil in the nineteenth century directed by B. Craig. For background material on Argenteuil, see S. Laurin, *Histoire des Laurentides* (1989). Material on Charlotte County is taken from Judith Rygiel's MA thesis, 'Women of the cloth: Weavers in Milltown and Moncton, N.B., 1871–1891' (Department of History, Carleton University, 1998). The Madawaska material is taken from Craig's research on this region, 1785–1871: B. Craig, 'Agriculture in a pioneer region: The upper St John Valley in the first half of the nineteenth century', in Kris Inwood (ed.), *Farm, factory and fortune. New studies in the economic history of the Maritime Provinces* (1993), pp. 17–36; id., 'Le développement agricole dans la haute vallée du St Jean en 1860,' *Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 3 (1993), pp. 13–26; id., 'Agriculture and the lumberman's frontier: The Madawaska Settlement, 1800–1870,' *J. Forest History* 12 (1988), 125–37, reprinted under the title 'Occupational pluralism in British North America,' in J. M. Bumsted (ed.), *Interpreting Canada's Past* (2 vols, 1993), I, pp. 366–394; for population figures, see *Recensement des Canadas, 1851–2* (2 vols, 1853); *Recensement des Canadas, 1860–1861* (2 vols, 1863); *Census of Canada, 1870–71/Recensement du Canada* (4 vols, 1873), vol. 4 of which contains aggregate tables of all the previous British North American censuses.



MAP 1. New Brunswick and Québec
Reproduced from nineteenth century plans

population numbered 4450 persons in 1851, 4467 in 1861 and 3892 in 1871, distributed between two civil parishes, St Andrew and St Jerusalem. Argenteuil was settled by Loyalists, late Loyalists and immigrants from the British Isles. It was still predominantly anglophone in 1871. It was an agricultural settlement which benefited from its proximity to Montreal, the existence of a military garrison on its western boundary, the presence of a large labour force canalizing a section of the Ottawa river at Carillon in the 1830s, and the expansion of the lumber industry up the Ottawa River. Unfortunately, its soil was poor. Villages emerged very early at Carillon and St Andrew, and later at St Jerusalem (Lachute). By 1851, half the population of the parish of St Andrew did not live on farms.[48]

The second is the Madawaska territory, which encompasses both sides of the St John River in north-west New Brunswick (Canada) and northern Maine (USA). The river has been the international boundary since 1842 making the residents of the south bank Americans, and those of the north, Canadians. We only investigated the north bank, because the US census, unlike the Canadian one, contains no questions about domestic cloth production. In 1851, Canadian Madawaska had 3464 inhabitants distributed among four civil parishes; in 1861, 4554 and in 1871, 7234, and comprised most of the inhabitants of Victoria county. There were no villages worthy of mention in this period even if the province had laid a town platt at Edmundston. Ninety per cent of the population was French speaking, of French Canadian or Acadian descent. The Madawaska territory was a thriving agricultural settlement, supplying oats and hay to the innumerable lumber camps in its vicinity. Its relatively good soil attracted would-be farmers in such numbers that until the late nineteenth century, pioneers provided established farmers with a significant market for staple food. Madawaska did not grow wheat in 1871, and

[48] As is common in Canada, one of the villages took the name of the civil parish that included it. The censuses identify village residents as such.

had not done so since the 1840s due to an unreliable climate, and various pests and diseases which affected the wheat crops throughout the entire north-east.

The third area under consideration is Charlotte County, on the southern coast of New Brunswick. Charlotte Country had been settled by Loyalists in the late eighteenth century, many of whom abandoned their holdings to Protestant Irish from Ulster at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. It had a population of 19,938 in 1851, 23,663 in 1861 and 25,882, regrouped in seven civil parishes in 1871. There were two urban centres: St Stephen (6500) and St Andrew (2962). Charlotte County's soil is only moderately suitable for agriculture. Many of its residents made their living by fishing and lumbering, in addition to growing crops. Contrary to Madawaska, Charlotte County experienced very limited demographic growth during the nineteenth century; its children moved either to northern Maine, where good farm land was available, or hopped onto one of the many steamers plying the route between New Brunswick and Boston, and never came back. The three regions produced significant amounts of fabric as late as 1871 (see Table 2). As in Quebec, but contrary to Ontario, domestic cloth production increased between 1851 and 1871. As elsewhere, in 1871, people who could be identified as weavers were almost all females.

We have focused mostly on 1871 because of the nature of the sources. Our main sources of information on farm textile production are the provincial censuses, and after Confederation (1867), the Canadian Dominion census.[49] The various Canadian censuses are extremely useful because they offer data at the farm level. They indicate for each farm, the improved and unimproved acreage held, the field crop output, and the number of animals. Additional questions were asked in different years or different jurisdictions. The censuses from Lower Canada (Quebec) reported cloth, flannel and linen production from 1842 onwards. The New Brunswick census of 1851 included a question on fabric and on loom ownership. The 1861 New Brunswick census counted looms and asked information about the value of domestic production but not the yardage produced. In New Brunswick in 1861, the census taker did not always itemize loom ownership; he just added the total number at the bottom of the sheet. The Dominion censuses are identical in all provinces. The one for 1871 included nine separate schedules: nominal, death, buildings and equipment, field products, stock and animal products, manufacture/industrial (schedule six), forestry products, mineral and quarries, and finally fisheries. Schedules three, four, five and seven can be cross-linked with the personal census as the lines in those schedules starts with a page and line reference to the appropriate household in the nominal one. Rented farm units were enumerated under the name of the person cultivating it, not under the name of the owner. The manuscript schedules (what is known in Britain as the Census Enumerators' Books) have survived for Quebec, for New Brunswick (except for the 1851 agricultural schedules)

[49] The returns used in this study are all held at the National Archives of Canada as follows: Parishes of St Francis, Madawaska, St Basile and St Leonard, microfilm reels C10385, C10386, Charlotte county reels, reels C10375, C10376, C10377, Province of New Brunswick, 1871, Census of Canada, Dominion of Canada; Argenteuil 1851, microfilm reel C1147, census of Lower Canada, Province of Lower Canada; Parishes of St Andrew and St Jerusalem, microfilm reels C100029 and C10030, Province of Quebec, 1871, Census of Canada, Dominion of Canada. Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Journal of the Legislative Council of the Province of New Brunswick, 1852, App. 1; population returns and other statistics, Charlotte County, pp. 210–11; Victoria County pp. 228–9.

TABLE 2. Per capita domestic cloth production in three regions (yards)

	Argenteuil	*Charlotte*	*Madawaska*
1851	1.07	1.79	2.47
1871	3.65	1.82	6.63

Note: Regional production divided by regional population.
Source: Manuscript census schedules as in footnote 49.

and for the 1871 Dominion census. All post-1871 schedules, the nominal ones (schedule one) excepted, were destroyed in the 1960s without being copied.

In other words, one also knows for 1871 the age and sex composition of each household, the occupation of the residents, and their relationship to the head. One also knows what every household grew, on how much land, in what quantities, how many animals they owned, how much butter or maple sugar they had made, whether they had produced timber, lumber or cord wood, whether they had trapped animals and if so how many, whether they owned ploughs or harvesters, carts or boats, in addition to a few other pieces of information.

The 1871 Dominion census contains information about domestic cloth production in three different schedules. The nominal schedule (schedule one) reports people's main occupation. According to the instructions, women were to be listed as having an occupation only if they received pay for it. Schedule five (agricultural production) reports wool, flax and cloth production; schedule six (manufacturing) lists 'industrial establishments'. The census instructions described an 'industrial establishment' as 'a place where one or several persons are employed in manufacturing, altering, making up or changing from one shape or another, materials for sale, use, or consumption, quite irrespectively of the amount of capital employed or of the products turned out'. Whether or not the producer made a profit was irrelevant. What mattered was that 'raw material had changed form, and so much value had been added to it; and it is the fact to be recorded'.[50] The key criteria for inclusion in schedule six appears to have been the presence of a hired hand for at least part of the year. In the case of the weavers, women reporting small amounts of cloth, but who had paid help, were listed in schedule six; women who produced large quantities without such paid help were not. Schedule six indicates the nature, quantities and value of input and output, the value of the equipment, the number of months worked, the number of hired hands and their annual wages.

At Madawaska, no weaver is listed in schedule six – not even the young woman, identified as a weaver in the nominal schedule, and whose household reported 1000 yards of cloth in schedule five. There are only seven weavers listed in the schedule six for Argenteuil. In Charlotte County, there are 110 weavers listed in schedule six (almost all women) – but an additional 23 are listed in the nominal census (although only 94 were counted in the published aggregate tables!). The census enumerator for St George parish did not collect any information on the production of the twelve hand loom weavers in his district. He merely mentioned, in the margin

[50] Manual Containing 'The Census Act', and 'Instructions to officers employed in the taking of the first census of Canada, 1871', Sessional papers (no. 56) 34 Victoria, 1871.

of schedule six, that these weavers were included in the agricultural schedule. St George brings the total of schedule six weavers to 122. The agricultural schedule for Charlotte County lists 1101 cloth producing households. The census therefore underestimates commercial cloth production in two ways. It underestimates narrowly defined commercial production (production for sale) by including only weavers with hired help in schedule six. It underestimates broadly defined commercial production (production for non-cash exchanges) by not listing their producers as 'weavers'.

The detailed nature of the census allowed us to isolate a 'farm' population. We defined as farmers not the people reporting this occupation in the nominal census, but the ones operating a farm (people were normally not allowed to report more than one occupation, and they tended to list the most prestigious). We defined as a farm, for the purpose of this study, all units with at least 5 acres of improved land and one field crop. This eliminated villagers with pigs and a cow who grew 300 bushels of potatoes and half a ton of hay on their three-acre patch; this also left out pioneers with 150 acres of timber, 10 chopped acres but no crops. We also eliminated the Madawaska convent, which had its own farm. Weaving off the farms included in our corpus was negligeable: no cloth was produced at Madawaska outside the units we defined as 'farms'; at Argenteuil, only 7.5 per cent of the fabric was produced 'off-farm', despite farmers representing 56 per cent of the population. In Charlotte County, only four Schedule six weavers were not wives, or daughters of men listed as farmers. Three of the 'non-farming' husbands, a 'labourer', a blacksmith and a ship's carpenter, had farms, the blacksmith, for instance, owning 200 acres of land, 75 improved! In addition five weavers were married to farmer-fishermen, who owned an average of 20 acres, almost all of them improved.

In addition to the census, we have also used any surviving general store ledgers and day books. We could not locate any useful ones for Charlotte County for the period under consideration.[51] American authors made extensive uses of probate records. Madawaska settlers almost never used the probate courts: until 1851, the court was too far away, and afterwards, the settlers were slow in developing the habit. A probate court was opened in the heart of the settlement at Edmundston in 1873 but burnt down with all its contents at the beginning of the twentieth century. Analysing post mortem inventories was not in the scope of the work

[51] For Argenteuil, we have used the day books from Dewar and Hopkins for 1831–1842 and 1851–2. Dewar and Hopkins kept a general store in the village of St Andrew. For Madawaska we used the surviving ledger (1844–8) from the Dufour general store, and papers from John Emmerson's store as well as his probate inventory (1867). The Dufour brothers, farmers, store keepers, sometimes lumberers, and small scale forwarders had a store next to the oldest church in the settlement at St Basile. The last of their store ledgers, covering the years 1844–8 has survived. In 1848 however, the Dufour were out of business and merely settling existing accounts. John Emmerson was a wholesale-retailer, who specialized in supplying lumber camps. His store was located in what became Edmundston. In addition, he owned a farm, and town lots which he rented, he cut some lumber, and his store accommodated the Post Office and Telegraph Office ran by his brother-in-law William Hodgson. Emmerson died in 1867, and the store was continued by his sons. Some scattered parts of what must have been an impressive collection of business records have survived: two ledgers (1851–64), which contain the accounts of individuals and firms with whom he did business; some memorandum books (1849–67, and scattered ones afterwards), which contain the accounts of ordinary households; a receiving book, covering the 1849–58 period, where he itemized the merchandise his numerous suppliers sent him, and their value; and some other material not pertinent to this study. Madawaska, Maine: Madawaska public library, Dufour ledger, 1844–8; St John, New Brunswick: New Brunswick Museum, John Emmerson papers, 1848–1901.

undertaken by Rygiel or Turcotte, but a quick foray into the paper of the notaire who resided in Argenteuil shows that inventories were extremely rare. (For instance we could find only six inventories for the years 1823–29, representing barely one per cent of the various documents the notaire drafted).[52]

I

The existing historiography suggests several possible explanations for the persistence of farm cloth production. Did women weave because their households were poor, and could not afford factory-made material? Was the continuation of cloth production part of a widespread strategy of not abandoning production for home use, even when one could afford to? Did women weave because they could not find something more profitable to do? Or because there was a market for their product? We try to answer those questions by focussing on our three communities.

The link between backwardness, poverty and low productivity on the one hand and the continuation of domestic weaving on the other is of such long standing that it must be addressed first. Did farm households weave to save money? Were they poor because their labour was not very productive? Kris Inwood made an explicit link between domestic cloth production and low labour productivity. He measured the latter in terms of farm size, and number of bushels of wheat produced per farm resident. Inwood found that farm size, household size and output and productivity were proportional; the smaller a farm and the less productive its residents, the more likely they were to weave and the greater the quantities of cloth produced.[53]

We can compare some of Inwood's results with similar calculations for Charlotte County schedule six weavers. Farms in Quebec and New Brunswick had ceased to produce wheat in significant quantities by 1871, in the case of New Brunswick because neither climate nor soil was conducive to this culture; in addition, severe pest infestations repeatedly destroyed the crops from the 1840s onwards. Ranking weaving households in terms of their wheat production would be meaningless. On the other hand we can compare Inwood's ranking of Leeds county schedule six weavers in terms of farm size with the ones in Charlotte County (Table 3).[54]

In both counties, the negative correlation between farm size and per capita cloth production is obvious. Large farms produced much less on a per capita basis than small ones. The question remains however whether farm labour productivity was really the cause of this trend. Neither farm size (or wheat production) really measures labour productivity, in the sense of the amount of output one can produce in a fixed unit of time. Rather, it measures underemployment: people with a small acreage have more time on their hands, all things being equal, than people on large ones. Productivity, not in the sense of farm residents being incapable of working efficiently, but in the sense of too many hands chasing too few farm chores, is a plausible factor.

However, labour productivity in the usual sense of the term may not have been a factor.

[52] In Quebec, marriage contracts, deeds, sales, indentures and other contracts between individuals were drawn by a category of lawyers called notaires. The notaires kept a copy of all the acts. The latter did not necessarily have to be publicly registered. A lot of notarial papers (called greffes) have been deposited in public archives.

[53] Inwood and Roelens, 'Labouring at the loom', pp. 215–35.

[54] As mentioned above, there is no schedule six for Madawaska, and the one for Argenteuil enumerates only seven weavers, not enough for statistical purposes.

TABLE 3. Cloth output per farm, person and improved acres by size of farm among weavers, 1870.

Leeds county				*Charlotte county*					
total size of farm in acres	*n*	*yards per person*	*yards per improved acre*	*total size of farm in acres*	*n*	*yards per person*	*yards per improved acre*	*Total value of cloth*[a]	*value of farm production ($)*[b]
1–10		86	173	1–10	12	54	66	221	26
11–25		98	26	11–25	14	49	14	200	156
26–50		50	8	26–50	52	37	7	202	259
51–75		52	5	51–75	16	28	3	167	334
76–100		48	4	76–100	3	26	3	173	360
101–125		33	3	101+	7	13	0.67	64	526
126–150		48	3						
151+		16	1						
TOTAL	103				104				

Notes: [a] From census schedule; [b] Calculated data (see below, n. 43).
Sources: Leeds county, Inwood and Roelens, 'Labouring at the loom' (Inwood does not give the number of instances in each category, but the total number of observations is 103); Charlotte county, manuscript census schedules as in footnote 49.

Lewis and McInnis have estimated (male) farm labour productivity at the county level for the province of Quebec in 1851. We can compare their results with per capita domestic fabric production (calculated from the data in the census aggregate tables). There is absolutely no correlation between the two. In addition, farm labour productivity and farm income are not necessarily correlated. Lewis and McInnis's study also shows that some of the poorest counties (Gaspé and Bonaventure), were among the five most labour productive, and that some prosperous counties, like Yamaska were among the five least productive.[55] Low labour productivity then may not necessarily engender the kind of poverty that forces farm households to seek additional forms of income. (This does not preclude a link between underemployment and weaving however.) The link between low income and cloth production is by no mean obvious either. In 1851, most cloth was produced in the Montreal-Quebec city corridor and Richelieu valley, which have always been the most agriculturally productive regions of Quebec.[56] In none of our three regions does poverty correlate with cloth production. We estimated the value of net farm production using the method devised by Frank Lewis and Marvin McInnis.[57] Average values of farm production explain neither the quantities produced, nor the proportion of

[55] Frank D. Lewis and Marvin McInnis, 'Agricultural output and efficiency in Lower Canada, 1851', *Research in Economic History* 9 (1984), 45–87.

[56] *Recensements du Bas Canada, 1842, 1851, 1861*; *Recensement du Canada, 1871* (published aggregates).

[57] Net farm production is calculated by adding the value of the field crops reported in the census, using regional prices culled from contemporary sources, such as newspapers. Meat and dairy production are estimated on the bases of contemporary animal weights, contemporary slaughtering ratio and contemporary milk yield per cow. This production is then valued in the same manner as the field crops. To this is added the value of surplus draught animals (all animals in excess of a yoke of oxen or one horse per 50 acres is surplus), under the assumption surplus animals are raised for sale; from this aggregate figure is substracted the value of the seeds (quantities based on contemporary

TABLE 4. Per capita fabric production and value of net farm production, 1871

	Argenteuil	*St James and St Patrick, Charlotte county*	*Madawaska*
Value net farm production, in $	207.0	557.0	457.0
Per capita fabric production, in yards	3.65	4.80	6.63

Source: calculated from census schedules (as footnote 49).

weaving households (Table 4). If this was a valid explanation, St James and St Patrick should have produced the least amount of cloth and Argenteuil the highest. Instead, the poorest community produced the least.

More significant is the fact that the value of the production of the average Madawaska farm in 1861 had been similar to that of the average Ontario farm in the same year.[58] For lack of data on Ontario in 1871, we cannot say whether this was still true ten years later. However, there is no reason to believe Madawaska would have fallen much behind the western province, if at all. If a comfortable income level had freed Ontarians from the obligation to weave, it should similarly have freed Madawaskayans. Prosperity did not necessarily incite people to mothball their looms.

There is no negative correlation between value of net farm production and cloth production at farm level either. The higher the value of net farm production, the higher the production of cloth, and the more likely a household was to report cloth to the census taker, as one can see from Table 5. Deficit farms almost never reported cloth (only one at Argenteuil).[59] St James and St Patrick in Charlotte County were the exception. There, production peaked among farms in the $1000–1499 production range and was absent amongst larger farms. However, we are dealing with very tiny numbers. Schedule six weavers, who produced the highest quantities per household, also displayed the highest farm production of all, $628. Schedule six weavers differ on one significant point from schedule five weaving households however. The quantities of fabric reported by schedule five households increase with the value of farm production. There is no linear trend among schedule six weavers. Production went up and down, and significantly declined among the richest farmers. 'Commercial' cloth production was more likely to be a strategy pursued by the middling range of farmers (see Table 6).

For all practical purpose, Madawaska farms with a net farm production of at least $250 were self-sufficient in cloth; at least 80 per cent of them produced cloth, and they produced an

ratio of seeds to crops) and the value of the fodder (quantities based on contemporary feeding practices). The result is the value of the farm net production. Lewis and McInnis, 'Agricultural output and efficiency ...', pp. 45–87; Marvin McInnis, 'Marketable surpluses in Ontario farming, 1861', in Douglas McCalla, *Perspectives on Canadian Economic History*, (1987), pp. 37–57. For Charlotte county, we did the calculations for only two parishes: St Patrick and St James, and on schedule six weavers. St James had a low proportion of schedule five cloth producers; St Patrick, a high one. In other respects, the two parishes are typical of the county's other rural parishes; for more on the application of this method to the St John valley, see n. 47 above.

[58] Craig, 'Le developpement agricole ...', pp. 13–26.

[59] We define a deficit farm as one which did not produce enough to cover its food and feed needs.

TABLE 5. Domestic cloth production at Argenteuil, St James/St Patrick and Madawaska, 1871 by value of farm production

	St James and St Patrick			*Argenteuil*			*Madawaska*		
Value of net farm production, in $	*n*	*% reporting fabric*	*Average number of yards reported*	*n*	*% reporting fabric*	*Average number of yards reported*	*n*	*% reporting fabric*	*Average number of yards reported*
0 or less	3	0	0	15	7	30	21	0	0
1–99	23	13	17	84	49	20	131	34	41
100–249	53	36	35	148	79	61	207	68	43
250–499	143	48	52	100	86	48	249	82	48
500–749	94	52	43	16	87	53	152	89	70
750–999	61	52	51	2	100	62	70	93	82
1000–1499	37	57	65	1	100	130	83	95	101
1500–1999	5	60	55	0	–	–	28	96	133
2000–4999	2	0	0	0	–	–	11	100	143
5000–9999	0	–	–	0	–	–	1	100	1000
Total	421	49	50	366	72	49	953	74	66

Sources: Manuscript census schedules as in footnote 00.

TABLE 6. Textile and agricultural production, weaving households, Schedule six, Charlotte County, 1871.

Value net farm production in $	*n*	*Average quantity of fabric made (yards)*	*Average value of fabric produced ($)*
0	2	350	289
less than 100	6	186	114
100–249	11	324	248
250–499	25	296	204
500–749	32	176	121
750–999	13	306	215
1000–1499	11	218	150
1500–2999	4	76	53
Total	104	241	169

average of 48 yards.[60] In Charlotte County, all farms reporting a net production worth at least $250 and who wove were also self-sufficient. At Argenteuil, the self-sufficiency threshold was

[60] According to Adrienne Hood, a family of four in late eighteenth-century Pennsylvania needed 45 yards of fabric to cover its clothing and household linen needs; Hood, 'The material world of cloth', pp. 43–67.

reached by farms producing at least $100. Producing households may not have performed all the labour required for cloth production however. The better-off a household was, the more able it was to hire women to card, spin and come and weave for them. John Emmerson's household was such a case: Emmerson hired local women to card, spin, weave and sew for him.[61] Emmerson was primarily a merchant, but not a putter-outer. The work he farmed out did not even produce enough cloth and clothing for his household. He merely hired people to produce some of the goods his household needed. One cannot think of a reason why farmers would not have followed a similar strategy.

Farms with a high value of production were not specialized either. The trend was for farms to increase the volume of production of a large number of commodities, and to broaden the range of commodities produced. Cloth production clearly fitted into this pattern. Schedule five weavers were women who wove without the assistance of a paid helper. They may have worked alone, or be helped by their daughters, other female relatives, or by their live-in servant. Their production, for use, barter, or commercial exchange, was part of the farm's diversified production. The more diversified the farm, the more cloth produced and the smaller the overall contribution of cloth production to the total farm revenue. In Charlotte County on the other hand, this pattern applied to poor St Patrick's parish, but not to better off St James, where few households reported cloth in schedule five. St James farmers did not incorporate weaving into their economic strategies, and at most 16 per cent of the farm households in each revenue category wove. Weaving may also have been a strategy followed by poor women who hired themselves out to the likes of Emmerson. But they would have used their skills to generate income, not to avoid expenses, and, unless they also owned a loom, they would have been invisible in the census. Conversely schedule six weavers hired assistants: they invested more than their time in the process of production. Perhaps as a consequence, their average cloth production level was much higher than the average of the schedule five weavers. In many cases, the gross value of their production exceeded the value of the farm production (Table 6).

Schedule five and schedule six weavers, in short, throw some light on two types of economic strategies involving cloth production. One relies on the labour of the household and the other uses a limited amount of hired labour. Neither strategy can be described as attempts at self-sufficiency. Schedule six weavers are certainly not striving merely for self-sufficiently: for them, weaving is a commercial enterprise. Schedule five weavers may have belonged to households which could be self-sufficient in cloth (and other commodities), but it is very doubtful that their self-sufficiency was part of a market-avoidance strategy. Farms with a net production valued at $1500 or more and producing twice as much cloth as they needed were obviously producing to sell. But at the other end of the economic spectrum, poor farm wives lucky enough to have a loom may have had no option but sell most of their cloth, and make do with patched-up clothing for themselves and their families.

Why did the poorer households not weave? The obstacle may not have been the cost of the equipment. Any joiner could make a loom frame; heddles (made of string) and harnesses (made of dowels) could also be home made. Reeds had to be purchased, but were durable (at Madawaska, they sold for $1.50 a piece.[62]) In Charlotte County, weavers owned between $15

[61] St John, New Brunswick, New Brunswick Museum, John Emmerson Papers, Day Books, 1851–67.

and $20 worth of weaving tools: these figures are however flat estimates, as they are usually the same in each parish. Space would, on the other hand, have been a real problem for poor people, as a loom takes up about as much space as a double bed. Poor people usually had very small houses. They could also have been deterred by the need to purchase raw material: they may not have had any spare cash for the purpose. Thomas Dublin, studying rural outwork in early nineteenth-century New England, found the same situation. New England women who wove for merchants did not belong to really poor households, but to the middling sort. Dublin believed the cost of a loom, and the need to have space to house it, prevented the poor from acquiring one.[63]

II

Gloria Main and Laurel Ulrich attributed the demise of male hand weaving in New England to increased male wages. Weaving become a female domestic chore when men deserted the craft because better earning opportunities beckoned. Both Kris Inwood and Marjorie Cohen suggested that the opportunity cost of female labour – the value of whatever other work they could perform instead of weaving – was one of the factors determining the perpetuation of domestic weaving. Women continued weaving because few alternative opportunities were open to them. When opportunities, such as commercial dairying arose, or when factory made cloth lowered the return for their own weaving, they too switched.

Almost all weavers in Charlotte County in 1871 were female. Only four men declared weaving as their occupation in the personal schedule. Three of them, all Irish-born, lived in St Patrick; Scottish-born Peter Smart of Dumbarton was 94, and had produced 30 yards of cloth. Only one schedule six weaver was male. He was Irish born and declared his occupation to be farmer in the personal census. At Madawaska, visitors noted throughout the century that women were very active spinning and weaving; otherwise, we know nothing about them. We can identify the weaving households, but not the weaving individuals. At Argenteuil, one of the seven schedule six weavers was male. He made much more fabric than his female colleagues, but as we shall see below, his craft was not very profitable.

Was it worth a woman's time? Women's labour opportunity cost was indeed very low in most rural areas. At Madawaska, in the 1840s, male workers received 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* a day (50 cents to one dollar), depending on the nature of the task. Female farm servants – the only work available for women – earned 12*s.* 6*d.* a month ($2.50) plus room and board. Wages for men and women do not seem to have increased much during the period under investigation. In 1871, Emmerson's brother-in-law was still paying the hired girls 12*s.* 6*d.* a month plus room and board. In the Nanticoke Valley, at about the same time, female farm servants were earning $2.00 a week, and male farm labourers, $1.00 a day, $2.00 during harvest.[64] New Brunswick labourers were not well paid.

We can estimate the weaver's added value from the data for Charlotte County. The material produced by schedule six weavers was relatively uniform in composition and value, and any parish can be taken as a reasonable example of the whole. The census taker for St James division 1

[62] Public Archive of New Brunswick (hereafter PANB), Inventory of John Costello, merchant, 1864.

[63] Dublin, *Transforming woman's work*, pp. 29–76.

[64] Osterud, *Bonds of community*, p. 215.

TABLE 7. Earnings of schedule six weavers, Charlotte county, 1871

Parish	*Number of weavers*	*Earnings before deducting employees' wages ($)*		*Earnings after deducting employees' wages ($)*	
		Monthly earnings	*Yearly earning*	*Monthly earning*	*Yearly earning*
St James – 1	19	32.0	102.8	24.0	77.0
St James – 2	17	26.7	72.1	8.9	24.0
St David	60	40.0	67.0	28.9	49.0
West Isles	14	15.7	66.2	9.0	39.0
Total, Charlotte county	110	30.0	77.2	19.6	50.5

Source: 1871 census, Charlotte county, schedule six.

broke down inputs into their components (wool and cotton) allowing fairly precise calculations. The 19 enumerated weavers made fabric containing an average of 0.16 lb of cotton at 40 cents a pound and 0.62 lb of wool at 50 cents a pound. It took 38 cents worth of raw material to make one yard of fabric worth 79 cents. Charlotte County schedule six weavers reported fabric worth an average of 70 cents a yard and containing 35 cents of raw materials. The weaver's added value ranged from 35 to 41 cents a yard throughout the county.

Weavers would have equated added value with profit. Modern day accountants and economists factor depreciation of equipment, the use of space for the loom, inventory and marketing costs in the calculation of profit. Nineteenth-century farmers had little concept of those hidden costs – it is not even certain that accountants had developed them yet. Weavers could make an average of 3½ yards a day[65] (this is not full-time weaving), and would have earned $1.22 to $1.30 a day, less the wages of their assistants. Schedule five weavers, who did not have paid assistants, would have kept all the profit. The helpers' wages ranged between $5 and $9 a month, except in St James division 2 where they ranged from $10 to $15 a month.

In Charlotte County, females made much more by weaving, or even hiring themselves to a weaver than they could hope for by going into service. Weavers who could avoid the expense of a paid assistant could earn incomes comparing favourably with the one of male seasonal workers. (The 3½ yard output per day was well within the capabilities of a single worker.) The large saw mills on the St Croix River were the county's largest employers of men. They employed 726 hands in 1878, who averaged $29.22 per month. The axe and tool manufacturers in St Stephen paid $37.20 a month, and the granite quarries, $36 a month.[66] In some parishes, hand weavers could earn as much – and even the ones with the lowest earning made more – than servants (see Table 7).

The quantity produced and the number of months engaged in the business had a direct bearing on monthly net incomes. The majority of schedule six weavers (69 per cent) wove between 50 and 300 yards.[67] Those weaving between 300 and 400 yards, working an average 3½

[65] Yardage reported in the schedule divided by 27 and divided by the number of months worked. This assumes a six day work week.

[66] 'Report of Edward Willis on the manufacturing industries of certain sections of the Maritime Provinces', *Sessional Papers* (no. 37) 48 Victoria, 1885, p. 58.

months per year, could net about $17.50 a month from their labour. Though most schedule six weavers worked part time, their incomes made a difference to the family economy. They earned an average net income of $20 per month worked. At St David, they earned almost $30. Although the majority of St David schedule six weavers worked fewer months than other weavers, they earned higher net incomes through larger outputs. Weavers in St David dedicated only, on average, 1.75 months a year to their weaving.

At Madawaska, cotton warp sold for 40 cents a pound 1871 – the same as in Charlotte county. Store keepers bought homemade cloth for 80 cents a yard, and resold it for $1.00. If we assume Madawaska weavers made the same types of material as the Charlotte county schedule six weavers, and if we assume wool cost the same, they would have added a value of 42 cents a yard if they sold the material for 80 cents, and 62 cents if they sold it for a dollar. If they made 3½ yards a day, their gain would have been $1.40 a day. Women who wove for others were also making more money than hand spinners or seamstresses. John Emmerson was paying spinners 10 to 15 cents a day (25 to 30 cents a pound – a pound takes two days to hand spin), weavers, 25 cents a yard to make cloth and 16 cents a yard to make towelling (which was half the width of cloth), and seamstresses 25 cents for a shirt, 60 cents for trousers, 50 cents for a waistcoats, and up to $1.50 for a coat. Hired weavers were the best paid of all the textile workers.[68]

Weaving was less profitable at Argenteuil. With the exception of a woman making 100 yards at $1.75, the fabric produced averaged 63 cents a yard. Inputs were valued at 42 cents a yard leaving a potential profit of a third (21 cents a yard). Three and a half yards of fabric would have earned the weaver a profit of 68 cents, still a good return, but much less than in New Brunswick. The profits of the schedule six weavers were however less, because they all had hired hands. The weaver's net income was even rather low compared to what other people were earning in the community. The women who worked for the local dressmakers earned $10 and $11 a month; the dress makers themselves earned $30 to $108 a month. George Redpath, the only male in the group, averaged a net income of $10.70 a month. Had he worked for wages at the saw mill, or for a shoemaker, he would have earned $15 a month – and $33 at the potash factory or at the carding mill.

But although potential profits from weaving were lower at Argenteuil, they were not inconsequential for women. If women relied mostly on their own yarn and the help of their children, their profit would have been higher, although the quantities they could have produced would have been limited by the size of their household and by the number of sheep they owned. This may explain why almost as many households wove at Argenteuil as at Madawaska, but the quantities per weaver were smaller; this may also explain why very few people at Argenteuil (compared to other communities) bothered weaving more than 90 yards. The profitability of the activity goes a long way to explain the difference between the two communities. Argenteuil weavers reached the point of diminishing return quicker than their Madawaska counterparts.

The economic position of hand weavers was therefore quite different in New Brunswick and Argenteuil. In New Brunswick, weaving was a very profitable activity which allowed women to

[67] 72 schedule six female weavers wove less than 300 yards, 16 between 400 and 499 and 8 over 500 yards.

[68] The values of raw materials, purchase and resale values of cloth, and wages paid are taken from the Dufour Ledger and John Emmerson papers.

TABLE 8. Butter and cloth production in St Jerusalem 1871

Quantities of butter (lbs)	*N*	*Average quantities of cloth (yards)*
1501 or more	3	39
1001–1500	24	44
751–1000	26	40
501–750	57	43
251–500	45	33
101–250	16	23
0–100	23	12

Source: 1871 census, St Jerusalem, schedule five and six.

earn unusually high incomes. The work was seasonal, and they probably could not have earned this income for each of the twelve months of the year, but almost all the work available for men was also seasonal. Despite weaving being profitable, the men did not try to take it over. Cohen has argued that, in Ontario, men elbowed women out of dairying when it became commercially profitable, but in Ontario, the demise of arable farming had eroded male farmers' economic base. In New Brunswick, there was no shortage of seasonal work for male farmers looking for extra income. They did not need to take over their wives' and daughters' jobs. When women wove and men worked in the mills or in the woods, the household had a greater income than when men worked and women merely kept house.

In Argenteuil, hand weaving was a poorly paid craft for men and women. Men apparently avoided it. Women, on the other hand, did not have alternative forms of employment: all the businesses listed in schedule six, with the exception of the two dressmaking shops, were employers of men (carriage making, saw-, grist-, carding- and shingle mill, potashery, sash and door factory and so on). So they wove, but not as much as the New Brunswick ones. In other regions the introduction of commercial dairying coincided with the disappearance of domestic cloth production. Agricultural production by women was not an alternative in New Brunswick, where dairying did not develop until the twentieth century. But it could have been in Argenteuil, where butter production increased significantly in the parish of St Jerusalem (the northern part of Argenteuil) between 1851 and 1871. A comparison between the quantities of butter reported in the census and the quantities of cloth is interesting: both products increased simultaneously – but then cloth declined as butter increased (see Table 8). Again, above a certain level, one had to choose between producing more of the one, or more of the other.

III

New Brunswick and Argenteuil women seem to have woven when it was profitable for them to do so, and refrained from this activity when it paid poorly. Their behaviour was economically rational. Men did not try to muscle them out: this would have been economically irrational. But why was weaving so much more profitable in New Brunswick than in the Montreal region? The answer is the existence of a sustained market that pushed prices up in one region, and its

absence in the other. The existence of a market for the material in New Brunswick is easy to establish. Cynthia Wallace-Casey mentions that advertisements for cotton warps and offers to buy 'homespun', as handmade fabric was called, appeared in the St John newspapers as early as the 1840s. Much later in the century, the demand was still there. Southern New Brunswick newspapers in the 1880s carried advertisements offering to purchase woollen yarn, homespun, mitts, and socks in large quantities.

For instance, in June 1880, A. A. Miller advertised in the *NB Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser* in these terms:

> Look Sharp
> Buy your cotton warp at
> A. A. Miller and Co.
> and make up
> Homespun cloth, socks, mitts, etc.
> Early in the season, and you can be relieved of all such domestic goods at the store of A. A. Miller and Co, opposite City Hall, in exchange for dry goods. We want about 4000 yards of cloth.[69]

In September of the same year, A. A. Miller and Co. headed their advertisements with the words: 'Woollen goods in great demand'. They wanted 'homespun cloth of all kinds in large quantities, also 2000 pairs of socks and mitts, 1–2 ton woollen yarn, over socks, home knit drawers, shirts, pants etc'.[70] In November, they asked for 'all the homespun cloth, socks, mitts, yarn etc. made in York county' (Fredericton was in York county).[71] In November 1881, after Miller had died, his successors' advertisement ended with a call for socks, homespun, mitts and yarn. They advertised 'camp supplies for lumbermen, camp blanketing, grey blankets, knit shirts and drawers, socks, oversocks and mitts, horse blankets, our own make'.[72] In return, knitters and weavers could select from a bewildering array of goods imported from England, the United States, and the rest of Canada: shawls, silks, velvets, tweeds, and the latest novelty dress material.

Miller and Co. were not the only store in Fredericton purchasing homespun, yarn and knitted goods. Other stores in the city were similarly advertising, asking for equally staggering quantities of goods, and offering in exchange an equally bewildering array of imported goods. Similar advertisements could also be found in the papers of the other major city in southern New Brunswick, St John.[73] Merchants, in short, were encouraging local women to weave and knit and exchange the finished products with imported fabric.

The Madawaska stores, whose ledgers have survived, on the other hand, purchased very little homespun. Although both Dufour and Emmerson supplied lumber camps with food and fodder, and despite the fact Emmerson was supplying one of the major regional lumber operations with whatever it needed, neither sold significant quantities of work clothes. They both carried cotton warp and factory-made fabric. Emmerson, for instance, received an average

[69] *NB Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, 8 June 1880.
[70] Ibid., 8 Sept. 1880.
[71] Ibid., 11 Nov. 1880.
[72] Ibid., 23 Nov. 1881.
[73] *St John Morning News*, 4 Jan. 1861.

of 1000 lb of cotton warp a year from his St John supplier between 1849 and 1858.[74] Those two Madawaska storekeepers' role seem to have been limited to providing weavers with supplies. It is possible that the weavers may have found their own way to reach the customers who operated practically in their backyards and so save the cost of selling through a middleman. Or, another storekeeper or trader, whose books have not survived, specialized in the cloth and clothing trade. But the indications are that the trade in homespun was less formalized.

The production process never seems to have evolved towards a European style putting out system, where merchants gave workers yarn to weave and collected the finished product in exchange for a set payment. Weavers purchased cotton warp from merchants; they took their wool to the local carding mills and spun their own woollen yarn, or possibly purchased yarn from their neighbours; then they sold their product to the merchant of their choice. One should not read too much into the fact they were paid in truck, instead of cash. Although the practice was getting less and less common by the end of the century, truck payment had been widespread in the province; the currency shortage which plagued British North America until the creation of the Dominion of Canada – with the right to mint – left little alternative to truck payments and elaborate multi-party barters. The literature on rural stores also shows clearly that as long as a merchant did not have a monopoly, he was not in a position to impose his conditions on his customers. Potential customers were willing to shop wide and large to find the best deal.[75] Cloth producers, in short, remained independent producers, who had a choice among a large number of buyers.

By 1880–81, there were also textile mills in New Brunswick, and obviously, as the advertisements show, any kind of fabric could be purchased in the town stores. Even country stores, like the ones at Madawaska, carried a wide range of textiles from the 1840s onwards. Why then was there a high demand for homespun material? Contrary to what one may at first think, it was not because homespun was a cheap fabric. At Argenteuil in the 1830s and Madawaska in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, storekeepers paid about 4*s.* (80 cents) a yard for homespun and sold it for about 5*s.* ($1.00). In Charlotte County, it had a reported value of 62 to 84 cents a yard.[76] We can compare this with the price of the yard goods listed in storekeeper John Emmerson's post-mortem inventory in 1867: cotton cloth sold for 8 to 20 cents a yard; flannel for 32 to 57 cents; velvet for 30 cents; black silk and silk velvet for 80 cents; cloaking and pilot cloth (both coating materials) for 60 cents; and blanketing for 145 cents.[77] Homespun was in the price range of coating material and silk! Put in another way, with the profit on one yard of homespun, a farm wife could have purchased half a yard of silk, or a yard of merino wool cloth, or a yard and a half of velvet, or two to 5 yards of cotton. On this account alone, weaving was a worthwhile activity.

And yet, homespun was a coarse, uncomfortable fabric, described by the elderly people who wore it before World War II as 'itchy' and 'scratchy'. Why were nineteenth century people

[74] B. Craig, J. Rygiel and Elizabeth Turcotte, 'The home-spun paradox. Market-orientated production of cloth in eastern Canada in the ninteenth century', *Agricultural History* (forthcoming, 2001).

[75] A good introduction to the relationship between general stores and workers is Rosemary E. Ommer (ed.), *Merchant credit and labour strategies in historical perspective* (1990).

[76] Data from schedule six.

[77] PANB, Victoria County Surrogate Court, John Emmerson inventory, 1867.



PLATE 1. Peter Loggie lumber camp, Northumberland County, New Brunswick, *c.* 1900.
Source: Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, P18/266, Olé Larsen Collection.

willing to spend so much on it when they could have purchased something cheaper and perhaps softer? Here, homespun wearer and nineteenth century accounts agree: homespun was close to indestructible: it was an extremely sturdy material, capable of withstanding the harsh working conditions of the lumbercamps and the log drives, besides being warm.[78] And lumbering was New Brusnwick's main resource, occupying men by the hundreds from late fall till the March thaw. Some stayed on to float the log rafts down river to the ports where they would be shipped to England or sawn into lumber for the American market. Homespun was the denim of the nineteenth century: homespun garments made the season. Factory made cheap cloth somehow did not make the grade. And in New Brunswick, this type of homespun cloth was apparently only available from home weavers. The nature of the material, its suitability for the making of winter work clothes, not its price, protected its market share. Hence, photographs of men working at lumber camps from the turn of the century, like plate one, show them wearing locally-produced homespun cloth.

When manufacturers set up woollen mills in New Brunswick, they strove to produce a material similar in quality to the one made by domestic weavers. In 1861, William Park of St John announced that his mill was manufacturing 'satinets and tweeds on cotton warp, made expressly for strength and durability'.[79] In 1871, James McGill, who owned the only textile mill in Charlotte county, made cloth using the same weight of wool per yard as the home weavers.[80]

[78] Ruddel, 'The domestic textile industry', p. 123; Katherine Brett, 'Country clothing in nineteenth-century Ontario', in Alan Brooks (ed.), *Proc. fourth annual agricultural history of Ontario* (0000) p. 40.

[79] *St John Morning News*, 4 Jan. 1861.

[80] Schedule six – Penfield parish.

The standard obviously was homespun. Manufacturers however did not rush to produce homespun-type fabrics; there were very few woollen mills in New Brunswick in 1871, and the ones that existed were quite small.

One would have to be blind not to find evidence of a demand for homespun in New Brunswick; on the other hand, finding traces of a market for homespun in the Argenteuil region, and even further west, in the Ottawa valley, a lumbering region, was a vain search (Argenteuil was located at the mouth of the Ottawa valley.) There was no clamour for the product in the Montreal and Ottawa Valley newspapers. Did merchants get all they needed without advertising? Did lumber camp outfitters have alternative sources of suitable fabric? By the late 1860s, they did. The Ottawa Valley and eastern Ontario witnessed the proliferation of small textile mills, often annexed to an existing grist-saw and carding mill, which manufactured a coarse cloth using the wool of local sheep. Outfitters needing two gross of shirts, as many pairs of work pants, not to mention other garments, may have preferred to deal with small manufacturers who could guarantee them a given amount of fabric by a given time, rather than be dependent on the domestically made pieces of cloth that trickled and dribbled to the stores when farm women had the time to weave. There was apparently no huge market for homespun in the area then; this does not mean there was none. Argenteuil experienced a rapid growth of its village population between 1830 and 1871, and most villagers were manual workers needing sturdy and warm work clothes. Argenteuil weavers may have sold their goods to them.

IV

Although the connection between market demands, adequate resources to meet them and cloth production was compelling, one should resist the temptation to homogenize weavers. The factors that lead regions to engage in an activity may apply unequally to its residents. We have already noted the different strategies pursued by households listed in schedule five and schedule six. The sources suggest that individual weavers may have followed different strategies and engaged in cloth production for different reasons and under different constraints. Producing cloth did not respond to a single set of factors. Other variables were at play.

The profile of the 54 households reporting 150 yards of fabric or more at Madawaska was quite varied. They had between 4 and 300 improved acres; the value of their farm net production ranged between $99 and $9023, and their farm surplus (that is the net farm production less the cost of feeding the farm household) from $26.57 to $8915. Fourteen made linen (15 to 200 yards).

One of the two largest producing households was Dominique Michaud's which reported production of 1000 yards of flannel worth $780. Michaud's second daughter had married during the year, but still lived at home with her husband. She was the one, and only one, listed as a weaver in the personal census. Michaud's farm production, exclusive of textiles, was worth $603. His household included himself, his wife, nine children, a son in law, and a boarder and two very small children who were neither his, nor the boarder's. Helene Michaud may have woven with the assistance of her 23 and 18 year old sisters. Her production yielded an approximate profit of $350, more than the value of half of the farm's net production.[81]

[81] The fabric and the profits are valued at the same rate as the ones reported in Charlotte county schedule six.

Helene's labour could easily support the second couple in the household. The Michaud had only ten sheep, and obviously were not weaving all their own wool.

The other large textile producer was the household of Isaac Bijeau (800 yards of flannel and 200 of linen). Bijeau, 36, lived with his wife, a 12 year old son and a nine year old daughter. He owned 500 acres of land, 300 improved – more than he could cultivate without outside help. His farm net production was worth over $9000. His household was no more likely to weave 1000 yards of material unaided than it was to cultivate 300 acres (and tend 50 sheep and 63 pigs!). Bijeau was also listed in the industrial census as a grist miller and a commercial baker! Bijeau's sheep could not supply him with enough wool to produce 800 yards of cloth. At best, he could have produced half that amount. His mill might have included a set of cards (but missed by the census taker). He might have kept some of the wool he processed as payment for his services, and put it out to spin – and then hired women to help his wife with the weaving. Or he may have bought fleece, as he was buying flax, to produce fabric (he did not grow any flax). For the Bijeau household, cloth production was merely one of their numerous ventures, and one whose gross value was no more than 5 per cent of the value of farm production. The family were extreme diversifiers.

The third largest producer was altogether different. Louise Landry was a widow aged 34 with nine children aged between 17 and 2, and a small 100 acre farm with only 10 acres improved. It did not cover the household's needs in food and feed (they fell short by 50 bushels of grain), in part because they grew almost no bread grain. Their net farm production was worth $386, and their surplus a modest $151. Louise also reported 400 yards of flannel, worth $312, and 100 yards of linen. She could not have covered her yarn needs from their 10 head flock. The economy of the Landry household was obviously very different from those of the Michaud and Bijeau families. The Landry household, deprived of the labour of an adult male, focused on activities that could be handled by women, adolescent males (her oldest was a boy) and young females: small scale animal husbandry, spinning, weaving, supplemented by a few subsistence crops like peas and potatoes. The strategy paid off: the value of the Landry net farm production and fabric placed them in the middle income range.

The poorest of the group was Elzéar Ouellette, a 39 year old man with a wife and eight children on a 60-acre farm (10 improved). He did not grow enough grain to cover his household's needs, and had half the number of animals of the Landrys. His gross production was worth only $62, and once the cost of feeding his family was deducted, he was left with a deficit of $191. The Ouellette household *had* to find additional sources of income. The 400 yards of flannel and 100 yards of linen reported by his household were probably made by his wife and daughters as part of their strategy to keep the wolf at bay. The flannel was worth $312, and could have brought a profit of about $150. It was not enough to save them from hunger, although the women may have weaved for better off neighbours.

In between the Bijeau family and Elzéar Ouellette were people like Isidore Daigle, a 29 year old farmer, married and father of five children under ten. He had two servants, one male and one female, and his 67 year old widowed mother lived with them. His farm production was worth a little over $1777. It produced 150 yards of flannel. So did the household of 23 year old Vital Albert. He was married, had two small children and two male hired hands. His farm production was worth $1800. More curious was Augustin Daigle. His farm's net production

was worth $1609. He had 120 acres of improved land (half his property) and 30 sheep. He reported 155 yards of flannel. But Daigle was a 67 year old widower living alone. His son's household, next door, on the other hand was overrun with people: son Zephirin, his wife, their four small children and several unrelated individuals, including a 22 year old female reporting the occupation of 'employee'. Did she weave for Augustin, and board at his son's?

There is, in short, no typical economic profile of the large cloth producing household at Madawaska. For some, cloth was an attempt at escaping poverty; for others, a way to keep the family comfortable; for others again, one business among others. In the case of households like the Daigle's, it may have been the way through which an older lady kept busy.

Schedule six weavers were an equally heterogeneous lot in Charlotte County. They had between 0.5 and 150 improved acres, and a net farm production worth nothing to $860. The largest cloth producer was Martha Towle from St David; she was 45 and had 5 children aged 4 to 16. She had made a total of 1388 yards of cloth worth $832 over four months. The Towles had a small 70 acre farm, 40 of which were improved. Its net production was only $139, not even enough to feed the family. The most productive weaver's farm belonged to Emma Leaver and her husband, also from St David. They possessed 300 acres, 110 improved, and had lots of animals: 4 horses, 13 cows, 50 sheep and 12 pigs. Emma's husband was assisted by his 22 year old son and his 74 year old father. Emma could count on the help of her 25 year old daughter. The women wove only for one month a year and made 100 yards of flannel. They also made 1000lb of butter and 100lb of cheese. Emma and her daughter could not be in two places at once and they chose to be in the dairy. The Towle and Leaver families were prosperous, the Towles because Martha worked very hard to compensate for an inadequate farm or an inadequate husband, the Leavers because five adults could take full advantage of a larger than average holding. Like the Bijeau household, the Leavers did not really need to weave, but they probably had lots of wool, so why not?

In the middle range were households like the Smiths of St David and the Burgesses of St James. Forty six year old Mary Smith wove for 3 months and produced 625 yards of fabric (300 reported on schedule five). Her household included three boys aged 7 to 18, four girls aged between 4 and 12, and her 62 year old mother in law. Their farm was small, comprising only 100 acres, but 60 of them were improved. They had 18 sheep, 6 cows, made 300lb of butter and their net farm production was worth $403. Rebecca Burgess, 41 years old, was also married to a farmer but had a smaller household: a nineteen year old son, a 13 year old daughter, and an elderly female whose relationship to the family is not specified. She produced 520 yards of fabric worth $410. Although the Burgesses had fewer improved acres than the Smith's (20), they outproduced them, and their farm net production was worth $572.

Women on the islands along the coast of the county also wove. Most were married to fishermen, like 62 year old Mary Ann Adams. In four months, she made 340 yards of cloth worth only $168. The Adams had two adult sons, also fishermen, and they owned an acre of land on which they kept a cow and four sheep, had grown 20 bushels (1200lb) of potatoes and three-quarters of a ton of hay. The Adams family combined fishing, gardening, cow keeping and cloth making to make a living.

One, in short, can find very few features common to all weaving households. Weavers were

usually middle age and married. At Madawaska, the large cloth producing households were demographically different from the average. They included a large proportion of multi-generation or multi-family households (one third), and slightly more than half included more than one female aged 16 or older. (One had no women at all!) The presence of extra females in the household was likely a factor besides market demand, economic needs, or the desire to turn a profit. In Charlotte County, two-thirds of the schedule six weaving households included more than one female over 14 years of age; only one-third included more than two however. In no New Brunswick parishes were weaving households overrun with females, and one should not carry this explanation too far. Besides, schedule six weavers in Charlotte County had all hired a helper during the year. One did not need an army of daughters to weave, for it was possible to hire substitutes.

V

Charlotte county, Madawaska and Argenteuil bring to light some of the factors which encouraged domestic cloth production. It was not a response to rural poverty. Market demands and female labour opportunity costs are more convincing explanations.

In New Brunswick, where there was a strong demand for domestic cloth, women either wove great quantities of fabric themselves, or hired assistants to increase output. In Argenteuil, where the demand seems to have been less, they wove smaller quantities and rarely had employees. Per capita production also increased in New Brunswick between 1851 and 1871, possibly because demand increased. It is unfortunate that we cannot know what women were doing in the first half of the century, when they may have woven less. Women, then, seem to have been perfectly able to measure their labour in terms of the demand for their products. Cloth production for market, however, did not eliminate production for home use. 'Homespun' was used for everyday work clothes, but purchased material was preferred for summer dresses, shirts, aprons and 'Sunday best'.

Charlotte county and Madawaska exemplify two ways in which homespun could become parts of market-orientated strategies. At Madawaska, weaving was frequently part of a strategy of diversification to multiply potential sources of income, and which was by and large successful as high income farms were the most diversified (the same thing occurred in Argenteuil). But when cloth was one of many commodities produced on a farm, the weavers did not think of themselves as professional; making cloth was one of the innumerable productive activities of farm women. Selling cloth was no different from selling hay or peas and it did not occur to them to identify themselves as 'weavers', nor to the census taker to list them in schedule six. The only woman identified as a professional weaver at Madawaska was not a female head of household, and presumably had little else to do but weave.

In Charlotte county, many farm households produced cloth as part of their various activities. As elsewhere, the more prosperous farm households produced more cloth but without having any of their members fit the official definition of a weaver; they were mentioned only in schedule five. A significant number of women did fit the official definitions, mostly because they had taken the additional entrepreneurial step of hiring some help. They saw themselves or were seen as 'home manufacturers' worthy of inclusion in the industrial schedule. What differed

between the various communities seems to have been the organization of the trade: it was informal where there were no or few schedule six weavers. The contrast between Madawaska (no schedule six weavers) and Charlotte county is revealing in this respect.

Madawaska farmers had two main markets for their products: the lumber camps, which bought their fodder production, and newly established farmers. As late as 1871, one-third of the farms were less than ten years old. A decade was needed to turn a piece of woodland or scrubland into a self-supporting farm. Merchants, like the Dufours and Emmerson, bought oats and hay. The Dufours, however, transported much more fodder than they purchased, suggesting a fair amount of farm gate transactions between producers and lumbermen. Neither the Dufours, nor Emmerson, purchased much foodstuff: and yet established farmers produced large surpluses of those commodities. There was a foodstuff trade obviously, but the local merchants did not mediate it, any more than they mediated the local textile trade. Producers and customers found their own ways to trade. Charlotte county producers, on the other hand, were relatively close to the advertising merchants of St John or Fredericton, and country merchants may have similarly mediated between the producers and the customers. Hiring labour to produce a piece of cloth was a more rational decision when one was reasonably certain of being able to exchange a piece of fabric as soon as it was finished.

Madawaska, Charlotte county and Argenteuil were not dairy districts in the period we have studied. Their examples show that arable farming did not necessarily create an environment inimical to women's production for markets. Two conditions were required for women producing commodities for market: a market and a lack of alternative opportunities (as in Oneida county). These two factors, coupled with the possibility of making good profits, seem to have been important factors behind the persistence of domestic weaving in the parts of Eastern Canada we have investigated. They were not the only factors. The market did not disappear in New Brunswick because entrepreneurs were very slow setting woollen mills in the region (when they did, they made 'homespun' among other fabrics). Market exchanges buoyed the production process until the 1870s by putting factory-made cotton warp at the disposal of the producers. In Argenteuil the incentives to weaving were more limited, and so was production.

New Brunswick and Argenteuil women were industrious, but were they part of an 'industrious revolution'? The answer depends on the definition of 'industrious revolution' which one adopts. They do not fit the European definition as they did not shift from producing goods for the household to producing goods for the market, while their family bought at the store what they had previously made. On the other hand, they can be seen as part of a North American 'industrious revolution' if we describe this as a reallocation of labour and resources from one type of market production to another in response to demand, and if we accept that production for the market did not increase at the expense of production for home use, but was an addition to the latter. Domestic textile production was for self-sufficiency and for the market. Consequently, it responded to market conditions. Women, for their part, were willing to become more industrious, or differently industrious, when it was worth their while.

The agricultural labourer and the 'Hodge' stereotype, *c.* 1850–1914*

by Mark Freeman

Abstract

This article examines the stereotyping of the agricultural labourer as 'Hodge' in the nineteenth century, showing how the changing economic, social and political position of the labourers affected the ways in which they were represented in the social investigations and rural literature of the period. It is argued that the stereotype changed significantly in the 1880s and 1890s, and although it had largely fallen out of use by the 1900s, many of the attributes that made it up did in fact persist into the later period. The label Hodge was rarely used without being subject to contestation from labourers themselves and their spokesmen, and this article shows how it became a potent weapon in the social and political conflicts that characterized rural England in this period.

It was common in the nineteenth century to stereotype the agricultural labourer as 'Hodge', and to describe him and his life in terms which epitomized many of the ideas that the appellation was intended to convey. Like 'Paddy', the Irish immigrant of the famine years, and 'Sambo', the plantation slave in the United States, Hodge became a widely-used and usually derogatory label; and, like Paddy and Sambo, historians have begun to give Hodge some attention.[1] In the only article hitherto devoted to the interrogation of the Hodge epithet, Alun Howkins has traced the 'reconstruction' of the English agricultural labourer, arguing that the activities of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union (NALU) in the 1870s, the panic about urban deterioration in the 1880s, and the concerns over rural depopulation in the 1890s initiated a reappraisal of the labourer, the constructions of whom shifted from those which emphasized his degeneracy and ignorance to those which highlighted his 'timelessness and permanence', revalidated his work, and made him 'the bearer of Englishness'.[2] This model of transition undoubtedly reflects

* I would like to thank Matt Egan and Deborah Nicholson for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

[1] Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian caricature* (1971); R. F. Foster, 'Paddy and Mr Punch', in Foster, *Paddy and Mr Punch. Connections in Irish and English history* (paperback edn, 1995), pp. 171–94; Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A problem in American institutional and intellectual life* (3rd edn, 1976), pp. 82–9, 131–3, 190–1, 307–9; Daniel J. Leab, *From Sambo to Superspade: The Black experience in motion pictures* (1975); Barbara A. Huddleston-Mattai and P. Rudy Mattai, 'The Sambo mentality and the Stockholm Syndrome revisited. Another dimension to an examination of the plight of the African-American', *J. Black Studies* 23 (1993), pp. 344–57; Jan Marsh, *Back to the land. The pastoral impulse in Britain from 1880 to 1914* (1982), ch. 4; Alun Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob. Reconstructing the English farm labourer, 1870–1914', in Malcolm Chase and Ian Dyck (eds), *Living and learning: essays in honour of J. F. C. Harrison* (1996), pp. 218–35; K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the labouring poor: social change and agrarian England, 1660–1900* (1985), pp. 5–14, 381–91.

[2] Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob', p. 226 and *passim.*

a reappraisal of the agricultural labourer among the classes who wrote about him, but it underplays the degree of contestation that the employment of the Hodge stereotype provoked. Howkins suggests that the most important aspect of the 'reconstruction' was a changing attitude 'among an essentially southern, artistic/intellectual, and urban elite';[3] but, although he recognizes the importance of agricultural trade unionism as a contributing factor to the transition, his analysis downgrades the element of conflict in the story of the stereotyping of the labourer. It also overlooks changes in the meanings attached to the label in the 1880s and 1890s, when Hodge was reassessed taking account of new social and political circumstances. Moreover, although by the 1900s the label itself was rarely used in written descriptions of the labourer, many aspects of the stereotype continued in common use, albeit frequently provoking dissension. Indeed, although K. D. M. Snell has argued that the Hodge stereotype is 'the more significant for having been largely unchallenged by contemporaries',[4] this article will show that, at least after the formation of the NALU in 1872, its employment frequently provoked direct contestation. Debates on the status and condition of the rural population often coalesced around the stereotyping of the labourer; and, like many derogatory labels in other contexts, Hodge became a potent weapon in rural social and political conflict.

I

Before going further, it is necessary to review who Hodge was, and what his life was, supposedly, like. As Howkins has pointed out, the epithet, although dating back at least to Chaucerian times, and used in the eighteenth century, only became 'totally synonymous with backwardness and lack of sophistication' from the 1820s onwards;[5] and it was used most regularly and most uncontestedly in the mid-nineteenth century, coinciding with the nadir of the labourers' economic fortunes. Jan Marsh, reminding us of the term's derivation – it was a diminution of 'Roger' – has remarked that Hodge sounds like 'a cross between hedge (where he spent much of his time, especially in bad weather) and clod (the substance on his boots and in his brain)'.[6] Hodge was heir to the 'clown' that was in common usage in the literature of the eighteenth century as a derogatory synonym for the agricultural labourer. Simon Dentith has described the use of this term by the 'peasant poet' John Clare as the result of Clare having 'internalized ... rather too much of the downward glance of his betters'.[7] The use of 'clown' did in fact survive well into the nineteenth century, as for example in William Gardiner's long poem *The Adventure of Hodge and the Monkey* (1852) in which 'Hodge' and 'the clown' are used interchangeably.[8] Nevertheless, Hodge, although never a universally employed stereotype, was entering increasingly common usage by mid-century. Hodge was characterized pithily by one commentator as 'unimaginative, ill-clothed, ill-educated, ill-paid, ignorant of all that is taking place beyond his

[3] Ibid., p. 225.

[4] Snell, *Annals*, p. 6.

[5] Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob', p. 218.

[6] Marsh, *Back to the land*, p. 60.

[7] Simon Dentith, *Society and cultural forms in nineteenth-century England* (1998), p. 81.

[8] William Gardiner, *The adventure of Hodge and the Monkey: a comic tale* (1852), pp. 3, 4, 5, 9, 19. Other poems and songs in the same genre characterised 'Tom Cladpole', including 'Tom Cladpole's Trip to London' and 'Tom Cladpole's Trip to Merricur', collected by Lucy Broadwood from the Horsham singer and bellringer Henry Burstow (Henry Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham, being recollections of Henry Burstow, the celebrated bellringer and songsinger* (Horsham, 1911), pp. 107, 110–11, 119).

own village, dissatisfied with his position and yet without energy or effort to improve it'.[9] Farmers were not immune from such stereotyping – in Benjamin Gough's poem *John Hodge on Ritualism*, farmer Hodge, of Coddling Farm, Slogham-on-the-Wold, Sussex, announced 'I'm no pertickler fist at writing, and my spellin's rather queer'[10] – but it was more common for farmers to follow urban elites in stereotyping the labourer. One farmer thought that '[t]he very fact of [the labourer] having so little to exercise his mental faculties is the secret of their being generally so uncultivated';[11] and another referred to 'the illogical mind of Hodge', whom he characterized memorably as being 'of strong faith and a gross feeder'.[12] The terminology was frequently animalistic: 'They seem scarcely to know any other enjoyments than such as is common to them, and to the brute beasts which have no understanding ... So very far are they below their fellow men in mental culture'.[13] (The labourers' animalism explained their non-communicativeness; it could also explain the irrationality of their occasional outbreaks of violent discontent.[14]) In short, the labourer was usually seen as deferential, dependent and ignorant, even where the label Hodge was not used directly.

Hodge lived and worked in the south of England, where wages were lower, the rural community more fragile and the social separation of employer and employee more complete. The west country, and to a lesser extent East Anglia and southern England, was the region in which he seemed to stand supreme. As Thomas Hardy pointed out in 1883, Dorset was the county 'where Hodge in his most unmitigated form is supposed to reside'.[15] The west was known as the region with the lowest agricultural wages and in many respects the worst conditions of labouring life to be found in the country. In the North – where labourers were likely to be working closer to alternative sources of industrial employment, wages were higher, the 'living-in' system more common and opportunities for recreation (at any rate in the less remote areas) greater – Hodge was not regularly identified. Richard Heath, writing in 1870, found that the labourers in Northumberland, despite poor cottage accommodation, were happy nonetheless, mainly due to the sturdiness of their race, the superiority of their education, and the opportunities they enjoyed for advancement within the hierarchy of the Presbyterian church: the 'noble people' of Northumberland contrasted with the 'depression and hopelessness' of the Devonians and the 'superstition, ignorance, immorality, and poverty which prevails in the Weald of Sussex'.[16] Similarly, the labourer in south Wales ('John Jones' rather than Hodge), according to one observer in the 1880s, was literate, Sunday-school-educated, 'a bit of a politician [and] often, too, a literary character in a small way'.[17] Like the Northumbrians, Welsh labourers enjoyed higher wages and a strong tradition of community-based Non-conformity. However, it was from the south of England that most descriptions – in official inquiries and in country books – of the labourer and his life were derived, and it was the

[9] J. Dent, 'The present condition of the English agricultural labourer', *JRASE*, 2nd ser. 7 (1871), pp. 343–4.

[10] Benjamin Gough, *John Hodge on ritualism* [1874], p. 3.

[11] Anon., *A farmer's views on the agricultural labour question, by one of them* (Norwich, 1873), pp. 21–2.

[12] 'A Wykehamist', *The agricultural labourer* (1873), p. 10.

[13] John Eddowes, *The agricultural labourer as he really is, or village morals in 1854* (Driffield, 1854), pp. 12, 16.

[14] See Foster, 'Paddy and Mr Punch', pp. 171–2 for a similar point about British stereotyping of the Irish.

[15] Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', *Longman's Magazine* 2 (1883), p. 252.

[16] Richard Heath, *The English Peasant: studies historical, local and biographic* (1893), pp. 217, 82, 191–2.

[17] Beriah Gwyne Evans, 'The peasantry of south Wales', *Longman's Magazine* 6 (1885), p. 299.

south of England that generated the dominant images, both positive and negative, of the late nineteenth-century countryside.[18]

Snell has argued that the Hodge label was the result of 'social ignorance and class isolation':[19] a failure on the part of social investigators and other commentators on rural life to overcome or even to acknowledge 'the difficulties of social understanding'.[20] The label emphasized the cultural distance that lay between the reader of books, pamphlets and articles on rural life and the rustics about whom he read. Because Hodge appeared ignorant, it was rare for social investigators in the mid-nineteenth century to allow him space to air his views in their inquiries. Eileen Yeo has made a similar point with regard to urban investigations, such as those carried out by James Kay-Shuttleworth, who characterized the poor as 'loathsome', 'squalid', 'disgusting' and 'revolting': this 'did not come from or lead to mutual respect ... People "rubbished" in this way were not likely to be regarded as having legitimate access to the arena of public speech'.[21] Similarly, the agricultural labourer was given little or no space in inquiries into his own condition; and even where he was consulted at first hand, for example by the *Morning Chronicle* investigators in 1849, he was found to be 'timid and shrinking, his whole manner showing that he feels himself at a distance from you ... often doubtful when you address, and suspicious when you question him; he is seemingly oppressed with the interview whilst it lasts, and obviously relieved when it is over'.[22] The agricultural labouring class threw up few spokesmen to challenge such portrayals: there was no rural equivalent of the 'Journeyman Engineer' (Thomas Wright), who commented lucidly on the condition and outlook of his own class in books and periodicals.[23] As Howkins has pointed out, even those who did emerge, such as Alexander Somerville, 'the Whistler at the Plough', appear to have internalized some aspects of the Hodge stereotype.[24] In any case, by the very act of escaping from the plough, men like Somerville and George Mitchell ('One from the Plough') had distinguished themselves from the body of the labouring population and to this extent shaken off the appellation of Hodge. Those whom they left behind were a target for the contempt of urban radicals: one former London Chartist, describing the rural labourer, believed that 'the squire is his king, the parson his deity and the tap-room his highest conception of earthly bliss'.[25] The labourer before 1872, as Howkins remarks, was 'seen as stupid but contented, the far end of a chain of paternalism';[26] in the words of a near-contemporary commentator, he was 'below the notice of history'.[27]

[18] Alun Howkins, 'The discovery of rural England', in R. Colls and P. Dodd (eds), *Englishness: politics and culture, 1880–1920* (1986); id., 'From Hodge to Lob', p. 230.

[19] Snell, *Annals*, p. 5.

[20] Ibid., p. 7.

[21] Eileen Janes Yeo, *The contest for social science. Relations and representations of gender and class* (1996), p. 73.

[22] Quoted in Snell, *Annals*, pp. 6–7.

[23] For example [Thomas Wright], *Some habits and customs of the working classes* (1867); [Thomas Wright], *The great unwashed* (1868); A. J. Reid, 'Intelligent artisans and aristocrats of labour: the essays of Thomas Wright', in J. Winter (ed.), *The working class in modern British history. Essays in honour of Henry Pelling* (1983), pp. 171–86.

[24] Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob', p. 220.

[25] Quoted in Alun Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: a social history, 1850–1925* (1991), p. 133.

[26] Ibid., p. 186.

[27] D. C. Pedder, *The secret of rural depopulation* (Fabian Tract 118, 1904), p. 4.

II

Although the NALU never counted more than a small minority of the agricultural labour force among its membership, and its long-term effects on the material condition of the labourer were generally unspectacular, it shook the complacency that had made the reiteration of the Hodge stereotype so easy. Howkins argues that 'the assertion of power that the Union represented convinced sections of the elite that the labourer had changed'.[28] It certainly suggested to some that the labourer's position was inconsistent with the stereotyping of earlier years, and provoked a significant, although often indirect, challenge to the old view. T. H. S. Escott, no supporter of agricultural trade unionism, urged in 1879: 'Talk to the average country labourer to-day, and you will find him no longer the dull, despondent being that he was a decade since, the horizon of his views and knowledge being the boundaries of his parish, or the field in which he was plying his task. His senses have been quickened, his moral and mental nature has been breathed upon with the breath of life'.[29] Escott and others linked trade unionism, a more sophisticated and less physically threatening expression of discontent than the rick-burning and rioting of the 1830s and 1840s, to other advances such as the spread of education and newspapers, which tended to broaden the labourer's horizons.[30] Other supporters of the union directly contested the use of the Hodge label, viewing it as indicative of the attitudes of those who sought to keep the labourer in a state of 'serfdom'. Thus Canon Edward Girdlestone, vicar of Halberton in Devon and an early supporter of the NALU, explained:

> As for the labourer, such sort of landowners call him Hodge. They think of him as Hodge. They treat him as Hodge. In their eyes the labourer is a serf, and ought to remain a serf. He must be content with a cottage, in comparison of which a barn or a stable is a palace; wages barely enough when he is at work every day and all day long to keep body and soul together ... with nothing in prospect but parish pay and the union.[31]

Another effect of the 'awakening' of the labourer which the union represented was to encourage the collection by social investigators of more information and opinion directly from labourers: thus Archibald Forbes of the *Daily News*, Francis Heath of the *Morning Advertiser* and even Frederick Clifford of *The Times*, who toured rural England in the wake of the agitation of the early 1870s, all relied heavily on what labourers told them, and generally expressed approval of their communicativeness and veracity.[32] All paid tribute to those who willingly supplied them with information; they rarely if ever used the name Hodge.[33]

Thus a more sympathetic approach to the rural population began to erode the stereotyping of the labourer; but the labourer also had an opportunity to contest such stereotyping himself. As one farmer told the readers of *Fraser's Magazine*, '[t]he newspapers have got hold of the

[28] Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob', p. 222.

[29] T. H. S. Escott, *England: its people, polity and pursuits* (2 vols, 1881 [1st edn 1879]), I, p. 341.

[30] Ibid., p. 388; F. G. Heath, *Peasant life in the West of England* (1880), p. 386.

[31] Edward Girdlestone, 'Landowners, land, and those who till it', *Fraser's Magazine* 78 (1868), p. 735.

[32] F. G. Heath, *The English peasantry* (1874); Frederick Clifford, *The agricultural lock-out of 1874, with notes upon farming and farm-labour in the eastern counties* (1875); Mark Freeman, 'Social investigation in rural England, 1870–1914' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999), pp. 51–77.

[33] Forbes did on one occasion, but only when referring to the pre-NALU subservience of the Warwickshire labourer (*Daily News*, 28 Mar. 1872).

working man ... and ... the working man has got hold of a newspaper': the *Labourers' Union Chronicle*.[34] The Union and its mouthpiece gave the labourers a chance to hit back at some of their detractors. Thus, when the *Daily Telegraph*'s special correspondent travelled around the south of England in the wake of the NALU strike, mocking the crude political opinions he heard in the tap-rooms of public houses, and describing with some relish how the labourers he met did not know the difference between Liberal and Conservative and took no interest in current affairs, the *Chronicle* responded angrily, characterising him as

> 'our own commissioner,' which is another word for 'a reporter' who runs about in search of impressions, which he throws into black and white as quickly as they are made, and sometimes, apparently, before, and which are of the same intrinsic value as thistledown, which is blown about hither and thither, bearing everywhere thistle crops of superficial sentiment and opinion, instead of solid corn and wine of earnest thought and heart-feeling. We need hardly say that our 'commissioner' looks down from a pretty considerable elevation upon 'John Whopstraw,' as he pleases to call the agricultural labourer, in weariness of repeating the more hackneyed name of 'Hodge'.[35]

The terminology was slightly different; the implications the same. The *Chronicle* protested that the *Telegraph* correspondent was judging the labourers 'by superficial standards, and upon the briefest possible acquaintance':[36] a good example of the possible reactions of a rural population to an apparently intrusive investigator whose representations of them did not accord with their own priorities. The labourers' advocates who wrote in the *Chronicle*, much as they might be denounced as 'agitators' by the opponents of agricultural trade unionism, came to represent a class of men previously unknown and, it had appeared, unknowable. The Union threw up men like Joseph Arch, Henry Taylor and Arthur Clayden, who, while not necessarily from a labouring background themselves, became spokesmen for a generation of agricultural workers;[37] and it became harder to exclude the labourer from involvement in representing his own condition.

III

Hodge was by no means killed off by the Union; however, the stereotype took on somewhat different meanings in the 1880s, and it can certainly be argued that the Hodge of this period was a very different character to his predecessor of the 1850s. The beginnings of concern about rural depopulation (which would become widespread panic in the 1890s) caused the stereotype to be allied to the apparent spiritual and cultural poverty of rural England: a consensus

[34] 'A Wykehamist', *The agricultural labourer*, p. 9.

[35] Quoted in Arthur Clayden, *The Revolt of the Field. A sketch of the rise and progress of the movement among the agricultural labourers, known as the 'National Agricultural Labourers' Union', with a reprint of the correspondence to the* Daily News *during a tour through Canada with Mr Arch* (1874), p. 95.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Nevertheless, as Howkins shows elsewhere, the relationship between many of the agricultural trade union leaders and the labourers they represented was an uneasy one: men like Arch and George Rix, schooled in Primitive Methodism and temperance or teetotalism, disapproved of many of the cultural activities that characterised labouring life (Alun Howkins, *Poor labouring men: rural radicalism in Norfolk, 1870–1923* (1985), pp. 65–6, 179–80 and *passim*).

developed around the notion that rural life was dull, and had a dulling effect on the population. Although one reason for migration to the towns was clearly the higher wages obtainable in industrial employment, it was also generally agreed that the real or perceived social attractions of town life were also a significant factor. It was easy to contrast the town, with its colourful markets, music halls and, later, cinemas with the unappealing village whose only social amenity was the public house. By extension, the minds of the urban population were quickened by their better, and rapidly improving, opportunities for social interaction and intellectual advancement, while the country-dweller remained backward and, despite the spread of education to the villages, ignorant. Arguably the two most influential non-fictional writers on the countryside of the 1880s, Richard Jefferies and Augustus Jessopp, vicar of Scarning in Norfolk, both subscribed in some measure to this view. Jefferies, for example, contrasted life in rural Wiltshire with life among the employees of the Great Western Railway in Swindon, whom he found to be generally intelligent, well-travelled, well-read and disinclined to drunkenness and immorality. Even amongst this huge workforce, there was a perceptible *esprit de corps*, and the cream of them, intellectually speaking, were 'full of social life, or, rather, of an interest in the problem of social existence'.[38] By contrast, in the villages, the reading rooms were frequented by the skilled workmen and tradesmen rather than by the labourers, and there was little organized social activity: the labourer did not even enjoy getting drunk. There was 'absolutely no poetry, no colour' in his life.[39]

Jefferies was especially significant because of the unusually wide dissemination of his work, and was more responsible than anyone else for the diffusion of the Hodge stereotype and its associated meanings in the 1880s. From a farming background himself (and an opponent of agricultural trade unionism in the 1870s), he was a prolific contributor to a wide range of metropolitan periodical publications. Jefferies's view of the labourer married the prejudices of the southern English farmer to a broader conception of what the townsman wanted to read about the backward countryman. As Karen Sayer has explained, '[u]sing his own experience as a farmer's son, he wrote in London for a predominantly urban readership and effectively developed *the* dominant descriptive mode of writing on the countryside'.[40] His two-volume book *Hodge and His Masters*, although selling very few copies when published in 1880, was serialized in the *Standard*, with a readership of around 180,000.[41] Perhaps more importantly, much of his output remained widely read into the Edwardian period (although Jefferies himself died in 1887), and thus helped frame the discourses of a later period, a fact which helps to explain the persistence of the Hodge stereotype in many quarters. Although Jefferies's published views of the labourer varied greatly – at other times he dismissed allegations that countrymen (including labourers) were ignorant or backward – his portrayal of country life as exemplified by *Hodge and His Masters*, or his memorable character sketch of 'Roger' ('One of the New Voters'), in many respects defined urban perceptions of rural life in the 1880s.[42] Jessopp, writing on 'Arcady' for the *Nineteenth Century*, tended to avoid using the Hodge label – he did employ the word 'bumpkins',

[38] Richard Jefferies, *The hills and the vale* (1909), p. 129.

[39] Richard Jefferies, *The toilers of the field* (1907 [1st edn 1892]), p. 97.

[40] Karen Sayer, *Women of the fields. Representations of rural women in the nineteenth century* (1995), p. 149, citing Marsh, *Back to the land*, p. 33. Original emphasis.

[41] Samuel J. Looker and Crichton Porteous, *Richard Jefferies, man of the fields: a biography* (1964), p. 136.

[42] Richard Jefferies, *The open air* (1893 [1st edn 1885]), pp. 94–111.

and was immediately criticized for it – but his articles echoed much of what Jefferies had to say.[43] Thus the young men of Scarning, at an age when they had a small margin of income to spend on rational recreation, lounged around displaying no apparent interest or ambition:

> In Arcady one never hears people laugh ... You may see half-a-dozen hulking young men literally sprawling in the ditch smoking their pipes, and sunning themselves on their stomachs in the summer evenings, doing the only thing they have any power of doing – nothing. Do you wonder if these young fellows get tired of it, and vaguely find it dull?[44]

Jessopp's labourers retained some of the animalistic qualities of earlier descriptions: their eating habits, for example, were compared to 'chewing the cud', a phrase also used by Jefferies.[45] These descriptions were followed by other writers. For example, an observer from Hertfordshire thought the labourer 'prefer[red] slouching to any other condition';[46] west country labourers 'appeared to have lost even the desire to better themselves';[47] a Leicestershire commentator summed up much of the problem when he pointed to the labourers' '[i]ncessant work ... the same dully, dreary mode of life, without a chance of bettering their condition';[48] in Wiltshire the 'slow, plodding' labourer lacked 'push and enterprise' and even a 'mental object';[49] and as for the Scarning labourers, '[l]ogic can they no more understand than they can understand the Differential Calculus'.[50]

Although it was easy to contrast the comparatively well-paid and highly-educated townsman with the agricultural labourer, and although many made the most of this comparison in their writing, Hodge in the 1880s was in many respects the product of urban culture, and this is where the term, as used in this period, becomes problematic. Much of the degeneracy of country life as identified by Jessopp could be traced to the pernicious influence of urban cultural patterns in rural communities. Even country speech had been debased. The Scarning labourers spoke with the 'townsman's gabble': 'it is as if their sentences are made by machinery'.[51] Jefferies noted that many of the songs sung in rural communities were the products of music-hall culture, and might be heard sung by London street-arabs. In this context, the emptiness of rural labouring life was a product of the impact of urban mass culture and the demise of the rural culture of the folk. Thus Jefferies thought that the English labourers 'have no myths; no heroes. They look back on no Heroic Age, no Achilles, no Agamemnon, and no Homer. The past is vacant. They have not even a "Wacht am Rhein" or "Marseillaise" to chant in chorus with quickened step and flashing eye'.[52] There was a new generational aspect in this construction of the Hodge character, reflected later in the upsurge of interest in English folklore and the perceived need to collect 'survivals' of decaying cultural forms. Although material conditions had undoubtedly

[43] Augustus Jessopp, *The trials of a country parson* (1890), p. 93; Anon., *Other views on the trials of a country parson* ([1891]), pp. 19–20, 31.

[44] Augustus Jessopp, *Arcady: for better for worse* (1887), pp. 112–13. Original emphases; for other examples see pp. xviii, 27, 74–5.

[45] Ibid., p. 74; Jefferies, *Toilers*, p. 180.

[46] C. Scrivener, *Our fields and cities, or misdirected industry* (1891), p. 80.

[47] Heath, *English peasantry*, p. 45.

[48] Quoted in Liz Bellamy and Tom Williamson, *Life in the Victorian village: the* Daily News *survey of 1891* (2 vols, 1999), I, p. 106.

[49] Richard Jefferies, 'After the county franchise', *Longman's Magazine* 3 (1884), p. 372.

[50] Jessopp, *Arcady*, p. 124.

[51] Ibid., pp. 36, 50.

[52] Richard Jefferies, *Hodge and his masters* (2 vols, 1880), II, p. 204.

improved, it could be argued that the labouring population had become culturally impoverished. Thus for Jessopp, the decline of traditional community events such as the fair, the maypole and the wake, had by now made the life of the labourer a 'dull, uninteresting' one compared with that of the urban artisan.[53] By 1914 Jessopp could claim that while 'England's peasantry' were undoubtedly better fed, better educated, better housed and less overworked than their counterparts a century earlier, their ancestors had nevertheless '*enjoyed* their lives much more than their descendants [and] had incomparably more laughter, more amusement, more real delight in the labour of their hands', which were the true 'constituents of happiness'.[54]

There was an element of guilt behind this realisation. Crucial to the definition of the Hodge of the 1880s was a consciousness of the history of the declining involvement of village elites, notably but by no means exclusively the clergy, in the social life of their communities. Jefferies regretted the destruction of the 'former general goodwill and acquaintanceship' that previously existed between farmer and labourer;[55] while Jessopp thought it a mistake on the part of the clergy to have acquiesced in the decline of fairs, wakes, maypoles and other pagan indulgences. (Even the barbaric practice of cock-fighting had given the labourers *something* in which to take an interest.[56]) This passivity on the part of the rural clergy was identified as one of the causes of the labourer's degradation: the country parson Charles William Stubbs, of the Christian Social Union, partly blamed the clergy for the creation of '[a] class of men, the stolid helplessness of whose ignorance has become proverbial'.[57] Others more explicitly pointed to the complicity of clergymen in the perpetuation of elite governance of village communities, Arnold Taylor, vicar of Churchstanton in Devon, noting that the labourer viewed parsons as having 'a determination at all costs to keep things as they are, to oppose all reform, and especially to oppose all efforts on the part of Hodge himself to obtain a voice in the management of parish affairs'.[58] Stubbs and many of his fellow parsons busied themselves in providing social amenities, educational opportunities and access to the land in the form of allotments, hoping that this would 'fire the imagination' of the labourer.[59] Thus the apparent demoralisation of the labourer was constructed as an effect of the social severance of the past century; and rural elites exhibited a similar 'consciousness of sin' to that identified among urban elites by Beatrice Webb, and which precipitated many of the social changes of the 1880s.[60] Men like Stubbs were becoming conscious of the very class isolation which had long maintained the Hodge stereotype: a stereotype which resulted from the failure of the natural leaders of the community to socialize the labouring population into the kind of village life of which they approved.

The concession of the wider rural franchise in 1884 contributed to the reassessment of Hodge. Stubbs argued that the franchise would be 'the first step in raising him from the condition of an eating, drinking, and toiling *animal* to the true dignity of a working *man*', only a first step but nonetheless helpful in shaking off the animalistic descriptions so frequently applied; and

[53] Jessopp, *Arcady*, pp. 36, 50, 230–2, 241.

[54] Augustus Jessopp, *England's Peasantry, and Other Essays* (1914), pp. 40–1. Original emphasis.

[55] Jefferies, *Hodge*, I, p. 229.

[56] Jessopp, *Arcady*, pp. 230–2.

[57] C. W. Stubbs, *Village politics: addresses and sermons on the labour question* (1878), p. 174.

[58] Arnold D. Taylor, 'Hodge and his parson', *Nineteenth Century* 31 (1892), p. 361.

[59] C. W. Stubbs, *The Land and the labourers: facts and experiments in cottage farming and co-operative agriculture* (1893), p. 29.

[60] Beatrice Webb, *My apprenticeship* (paperback edn, 1971), pp. 191–5.

the degree of independence it conferred built on the activities of the NALU in shaking the conviction that the labourer was incurably deferential and dependent.[61] In 1892 William Bear remembered that observers had been wrong when they suggested that 'the labourers would not be independent voters, but would driven to the poll, like sheep to the fold, by their employers' (the sheep analogy is notable).[62] The constructions of the 1880s and 1890s focused more squarely on Hodge's ignorance, or on his lack of interest in the aspects of country life (especially nature study) which enthused writers like Richard Jefferies and his many imitators. Hodge often remained outwardly sullen, but this sullenness was also seen to disguise an inwardly violent hatred of his 'masters'. This realisation, again, stemmed partly from the upsurge of rural trade unionism in the 1870s and Hodge's electoral behaviour. Henrietta Batson, a Berkshire parson's wife writing in 1892, found that '[w]hen Hodge is sober, his attitude to his superiors is extremely dignified and even sullen; he feels then, acutely, that the parson, the squire and the schoolmaster are provided with good things that he cannot share ... [he] hates his employer, he hates his squire, but, above all, he hates his parson'.[63] Drunkenness could temporarily overcome this hatred; but usually sullenness was a strategy of concealment employed by the labourer 'so that he may still benefit by [the] kindness' of these village elites. Here, then, we have a defiant Hodge – and one capable of manipulation in order to gain access to charity – and yet in Batson's final judgement the labourer remained 'incapable of appreciating anything more refined than the village pot-house'.[64] Indeed, his case in the final analysis was as hopeless as it had been forty years earlier: 'let us leave Hodge and his troubles. We are not likely at present to improve him by advice or rebuke, or by any effort that we may make on his behalf'.[65]

Nevertheless, the labourer and his spokesmen were beginning to make their own cases for reform, and in these crusades the ignorance of the labourer was a powerful political weapon with which to beat the traditional paternalist axis of squire, parson and farmer. Thus the conception of rural social relations advanced by labourers' spokesmen in this period – although usually unencumbered by the specific use of the word Hodge – conceded much of the ignorance ascribed to the labourer in less sympathetic descriptions, and emphasized the historical and contemporary role of rural elites in keeping him in this condition. Supporters of the NALU in the 1870s, disproportionately nonconformist in their religious affiliation, indicted the clergy with failure to prevent the degradation of rural life. Charles and Henry Cox, strong supporters of agricultural trade unionsism, writing in 1872, could not help coming 'to the conclusion that the State clergy are, in the main, responsible for the conversion of our rural population into a servile, time-serving, and man-fearing race – a condition of mind from which they are only now awakening, and which has allowed them for so many years tamely to submit to a degrading life'.[66] This view was expressed even more forcefully in a pamphlet, published in 1885, in which 'An Agricultural Labourer' admitted the ignorance of the bulk of his class, but blamed it squarely on those who wished to ensure their continued subservience:

[61] Stubbs, *Village politics*, p. 191. Original emphasis.

[62] William E. Bear, 'Farm labourers and their friends', *Nineteenth Century* 31 (1892), p. 160.

[63] Henrietta M. Batson, 'Hodge at Home', *Nineteenth Century* 31 (1892), p. 178.

[64] Ibid., p. 180.

[65] Ibid., p. 180.

[66] J. Charles Cox and Henry F. Cox, *The rise of the farm labourer. A series of articles illustrative of certain political aspects of the agricultural labourers' movement* (1874), p. 8. The article cited was first published in 1872.

> What do these rich men tell you my fellowmen, they tell you that you are ignorant, and I am sorry to say that to some extent it is true. But who is it that has kept you ignorant? Why these rich lords and squires and capitalists, they have ever tried to keep you ignorant to serve their own ends, and yet these people will taunt you with being ignorant ... and it is they who are to blame for it, they have ever tried to keep you back in your ignorance, and why? Because they knew that when you had more knowledge, you would not be contented with your miserable condition ...[67]

Accusations of the labourers' ignorance, then, could be turned around and used in the indictment of rural elites; and the usefulness of the stereotype to the arguments of even the most radical advocates of reform helps to explain its persistence.

IV

Howkins has argued that this period witnessed a transition in perceptions of the agricultural labourer, a shift from the dominance of Hodge to that of Lob. Lob – the title of a poem by Edward Thomas – was not used as a label in the way that Hodge was, but an impressive array of evidence bears witness to a three-pronged movement away from the old construction. The labourer's permanence became valued as a counterbalance to the changing industrial and urban social landscape; agricultural work was revalidated and accorded new respect as a skilled employment; and the labourer was made 'the bearer of Englishness', the carrier of a folk tradition that transcended and superseded the ephemeral culture of the towns.[68] The works of the social investigator F. E. Green, the fruit-farmer-turned-labourer 'Christopher Holdenby', the folk-song collector Cecil Sharp, the painter George Clausen and the photographer P. H. Emerson are all cited as representative of the new approach to the labourer.[69] Howkins relates these developments to rural depopulation and the growing unease as to the position of English urban industrial society in a period of undoubted relative economic decline. However, there was no simple transition: although the Hodge label was less frequently used – it had become, to employ an anachronism, 'politically incorrect' by the 1900s – the power of the old stereotype was not broken. Paradoxically perhaps, rural depopulation may have worsened perceptions of the labourer: as the physically, mentally and morally strongest labourers deserted the land, only a residuum of the 'feeble and decrepit' remained.[70] Representations were still often unflattering. Thomas Kebbel, a long-standing investigator of rural life, whose *Agricultural Labourer* had first appeared in 1870, described one group of labourers, in the fourth edition of the book, published in 1907, in dehumanising terms that recalled those employed half a century earlier:

> They grow up mere animals. In their demeanour they are rude, coarse, and insolent ... These knots of loutish lads, who regularly assemble at the same hour under some favourite wall or sheltered corner, never seem engaged in talk. There they stand, like the cows,

[67] 'An Agricultural Labourer', *The position of the agricultural labourer in the past and in the future* ([1885?]), p. 50.

[68] Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob'.

[69] Ibid., pp. 226–33. 'Christopher Holdenby' was a pseudonym.

[70] Alfred Williams, *Life in a railway factory* (1915), p. 86.

> apparently finding pleasure in the company of their fellows, and possibly communicating with each other through some organs which, to ordinary mortals, are unintelligible; but to all appearance they are as dumb as the brute creation ...[71]

Kebbel did not employ the term Hodge, but, like Jessopp, there can be no doubt whom he was describing. Rider Haggard provides another example. In 1899 he defended the labourer against the stereotype and its implications:

> It is the fashion, especially in the comic papers, to talk of the agricultural labourer as Hodge – a term of contempt – and to speak of him as though he had about as much intelligence as a turnip. As a matter of fact, after a somewhat prolonged experience of his class, I say deliberately that, take it all in all, there are few sections of society for which I have so great an admiration.[72]

Nevertheless, this admiration did not stop Haggard remarking in 1901, echoing the complaints of the *Morning Chronicle* investigators half a century earlier, that 'the labourer is a shy bird; also he is suspicious. In any case it is difficult to persuade him to talk, or to be sure when he does talk that he is saying what is really in his mind'.[73] Moreover, the labourer's backwardness could still be used by more sympathetic observers as a stick to beat village elites with: thus the Fabian reformer D. C. Pedder explained in 1904 that labourers yet remained 'individually as submissive and as incapable of assertion of their personal rights as they had been through long generations of practical serfdom'.[74]

By this time, however, such representations were far less likely to go unchallenged than they were half a century earlier. In addition to, and partly because of, the higher social and political profile of the agricultural labourer, many influential writers on country life were coming to issue serious challenges to the validity of the stereotyping of the labourer as ignorant and backward. This was not a wholly new development. In the early 1880s Thomas Hardy had suggested that 'Hodge, the dull, unvarying, joyless one' would cease to exist if the subscriber to the stereotype spent six months in a labourer's cottage.[75] The country parson and publisher Charles Kegan Paul explained in 1899 that the rural poor 'are not stolid and stupid, as is so often assumed. What they lack is book-learning, but for one who can talk their language and understand their thoughts, there is much to repay the attempt to know them better'.[76] However in the 1890s and 1900s these challenges were complemented by a more systematic revalidation of rural working-class cultures, and an insistence on the value of a longer-term and patient association with the labouring classes if a genuine understanding was to be gained of them and their lives. Working-class defensiveness was reasserted, but in a way that carried with it new forms of validation. Stephen Reynolds, who lived with a fisherman's family in Sidmouth for much of the Edwardian period, portrayed the outward manifestations of his friends' behaviour

[71] T. E. Kebbel, *The agricultural labourer* (4th edn, 1907 [1st edn 1870]), pp. 84–5. This was the earliest edition in which this passage appeared.

[72] H. Rider Haggard, *A farmer's year, being his commonplace book for 1898* (1899), p. 67.

[73] *Daily Express*, 30 May 1901; H. Rider Haggard, *Rural England, being an account of agricultural and social researches carried out in 1901 and 1902* (2 vols, 1902), I, pp. 225–6.

[74] Pedder, *Secret*, p. 5.

[75] Hardy, 'Dorsetshire labourer', pp. 253–4.

[76] C. Kegan Paul, *Memories* (1971 [1st edn 1899]), pp. 187–8.

from another point of view, showing that apparent deference was not indicative of feebleness and dependence, but rather of a deliberate defensive strategy. 'Respectfulness is less a tribute to real or fancied superiority, than an armour to defend the poor man's private life'.[77] The fishermen with whom Reynolds associated not only lived in a separate, vibrant and valid cultural world from those who legislated for, inspected and investigated them, but they defined much of their cultural identity in terms of opposition to this dominant culture. Reynolds was not writing about agricultural labourers, but, as other writers of the period argued, many of his conclusions could equally be applied to them.[78] Reynolds, along with George Sturt, R. L. Gales and others, went one step further than those who suggested that Hodge had existed but was now disappearing, and argued that Hodge had never existed except as a convenient construction of the labourer by unsympathetic outsiders.[79]

It was gradually becoming apparent that the Hodge stereotype would not stand up to a closer inspection. Hodge was identified where interaction with the labouring population was superficial, and this was more likely when the writer was one who enjoyed only fleeting contact with the people about whom he wrote. There was plenty of evidence that labourers deliberately misled or simply refused to cooperate with investigators. As A. H. Baverstock explained in 1912,

> Today the townsman reporter will visit some country village ... find it very dull, and only amusing from its very dullness. A superficial article is penned which discourses lightly of 'Slocum-in-the-Marsh', and leaves an impression of 'Hodge' as a gaping booby with little object for his existence save to be laughed at. Meanwhile 'Hodge' – be it said in passing – has had a little enjoyment of his own of which his interviewer knows nothing ... For 'Hodge' is a shrewd judge of character ... and has summed up that young man from the town, who 'did spake zo vast, lookee, and were off agean afore a man mid zay a word', in a way that would astonish him. The townsman comes to the country for his flying visit, and goes away to gibe, no wiser than he came. Ask him about the problems of the village community, the capacities and the needs of the farmer or the labourer, and he can tell you nothing of them. He has only learnt to give them nicknames![80]

The insider had the advantage; the observer from another class who was able to approach the labouring population without the cultural preoccupations of a Jefferies or a Jessopp, and could accept the validity of a culture predicated on different principles from his own – and in addition accept that access to this interior cultural life was likely to be restricted to anyone who was not prepared to earn the confidence of those who lived it – was better placed to represent the internal coherence and meanings of the life of the rural poor rather than merely its observable externalities.

This is not to suggest that the outsider could overcome the cultural distance between himself and the labourers simply by reconstructing them in a nobler light; the lionisation of the labourer

[77] Stephen Reynolds, *A poor man's house* (1909 [1st edn 1908]), p. 80.

[78] Freeman, 'Social investigation', pp. 207–8.

[79] R. L. Gales, *Studies in arcady, and other essays from a country parsonage* (1910); id., *Studies in arcady, and other essays from a country parsonage, Second Series* (1912); id., *The vanishing country folk, and other studies in arcady* (1914); Stephen Reynolds, Bob Woolley and Tom Woolley, *Seems So! A working-class view of politics* (1911); Freeman, 'Social investigation', ch. 8.

[80] A. H. Baverstock, *The English agricultural labourer* (1912), p. 1.

did not reflect an achievement of empathy any more than did the reduction to an unflattering stereotype. Indeed, the new construction retained many of the features that had characterized Hodge. Like Hodge, Lob was silent, although his silence now reflected his awesome timelessness and latent strength rather than empty-mindedness and non-cooperation. Thus for C. F. G. Masterman, writing in 1909, the agricultural labourer had a 'racial distrust of the stranger, and all of another class' and 'a mind which maintains such reticence except in moments of overpowering emotion': a 'perplexing enigmatic figure'.[81] However, it no longer seemed possible to ignore that enigma by constructing the labourer as Hodge: he was now in a position of greater economic and political strength, and was able in some respects to shape his own destiny. Indeed, in this context it was possible to argue that the idea of Hodge was not only inappropriate, but dangerous. In a passage in his poem 'Hodge in the Saddle', a response to the creation of parish councils in 1894, A. G. Butler described the rise of Hodge as a local legislator, and Hodge spelled out his hopes for the future – a future in which he would become the master:

> Yer call me Hodge: my name is Jones: there's Joneses by the score
> In churchyard thare: they ollers were stiddy sort, an' shure;
> But yer've two things we 'avn't got, the money an' the gab;
> Yer see, yer cum before us, Zur, i'the fine old game o'grab.
> It's our turn now. 'Tis well for you to tork o'men as brothers:
> We'll do it too as well as you, when we're atop of others.[82]

The portrayal is ironic and condescending, but epitomizes many features of the Hodge stereotype as it was challenged, and modified, during the late-Victorian period. There are aspects of Lob here – the image of generations of 'Joneses' in the churchyard reflects the permanence ascribed to the labourer in this construction – but there are also indications that the dismissive Hodge label could be turned around and used against those who were the dominant employers of it. Having 'the money an' the gab' were advantages, but only temporary; and Hodge's political assimilation seemed to suggest that he would soon acquire both.

V

This article has examined only some features of the Hodge stereotype; but there are a number of areas in which a closer interrogation of the label and its implications could give a further indication of differences within the complex pattern of perceptions of agricultural labouring life in this period. In particular, a closer examination and comparison of the terminology used by farmers and urban observers may provide a helpful contrast between rural elite and urban views of the labourer; more work on the literature produced by the NALU and other agricultural trade unions could provide further evidence of the contestation of the stereotype; and a comparison between Anglican and Nonconformist views of Hodge might also yield fruitful results, especially given the Methodist background of many of the NALU leaders. In addition, the literature on Hodge might take something from the historiography of Paddy and Sambo:

[81] C. F. G. Masterman, *The condition of England* (1909), pp. 195–6.

[82] A. G. Butler, *Hodge and the land* (1907), pp. 28–9. The poem was first published in the 1890s.

how far, for example, is there evidence that labourers played up to the stereotype, in a similar way to plantation slaves who made the most of the Sambo construction?[83] Hodge implied different things to different observers at different times, and the demise of the label did not necessarily mean the abandonment of all the terminology associated with it; nor did the 'reconstruction' of the labourer entail an effacement of all the characteristics formerly attributed to him. Hodge was the creation of those who shaped the dominant discourses on rural life, and many labourers and their spokesmen saw as one of their most important tasks the elimination of the stereotype as an essential preliminary to reform. Nevertheless, the very existence of Hodge could be employed as an indictment of those members of village elites who conspired (it was argued) to keep the labourer in subjection by denying him access to better education, higher wages, political power and opportunities for personal economic and social advance through the ownership or tenancy of land. Thus the label became a powerful political weapon, wielded by both enemies and supporters of the labourers' cause, and its wide diffusion and variety of implications ensured that it persisted throughout and beyond the 1870s and 1880s when many labourers themselves began to challenge it. Hodge – and, for that matter, Lob – was the outcome of a cultural distance between the agricultural labouring classes and those who described them, a cultural distance that was maintained even after the condition and outlook of the labourer had been widely reassessed in the wake of the economic and social changes of the late nineteenth century. The deeper interrogation of the stereotype could tell us a lot more about rural society in the period during which it was most frequently, and most contestedly, employed.

[83] Elkins, *Slavery*, esp. pp. 131–3.

Rolf Gardiner, English patriot and the Council for the Church and Countryside*

by R. J. Moore-Colyer

Abstract

With the seemingly inexorable advance of organicism from the fringes of 'muck and mystery' towards the core of current agrarian strategy, the career of Rolf Gardiner, one of the most original thinkers among the inter-war ruralists and an early propogandist for the Soil Association, is of considerable significance to modern agricultural and rural history. In reviewing aspects of Gardiner's earlier career, engaging with the difficult issue of his political allegiances, and considering his association with the Council for the Church and Countryside, this article seeks to portray Gardiner as a paternalistic patriot bent upon the regeneration of rural England.

Rolf Gardiner (1902–1971) farmer, forester, folk dancer, poet and visionary, has recently been the subject of considerable attention on the part of agricultural, ecological, political and social historians of the inter-war period. Interest has tended to focus in particular on his close association with the various German youth movements, his attempts to promote rural reconstruction by way of direct engagement with the land through physical labour, dance and music, and his role as an early enthusiast for organic farming and its socio-cultural ramifications. His motives for trying to create a centre for rural regeneration at Gore Farm, near Shaftesbury in Dorset (originally the property of his uncle, the composer Balfour Gardiner) and subsequently at the nearby Springhead estate which he purchased in the early 1930s, have been variously ascribed to eccentricity, an obsession with neo-feudalism, and a dark and devious attempt to subvert rural England and prepare the ground for fascism.[1] He stands accused of naziphilia and anti-Semitism and, together with friends in the Springhead Ring and Kinship in Husbandry,

* The author is especially grateful to Dr K. D. M. Snell and Dr Philip Conford for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article.

[1] See, in particular, R. Griffiths, *Fellow travellers of the Right. British enthusiasts for Nazi Germany, 1933–39* (1983); A. Bramwell, *Ecology in the twentieth century: a history* (1989); M. Chase, 'Rolf Gardiner: an inter-war cross cultural case study', in B. Hake and M. Chase (eds), *Adult Education between Cultures* (1992); D. Matless *Landscape and Englishness* (1998). P. Wright, *The village that died for England* (1995) refers extensively to Gardiner and his activities. Malcolm Chase has explored Gardiner's environmentalist and racialist ideas in 'Heartbreak Hill: environment, unemployment and "back to the land" in inter-war Cleveland', *Oral Hist.* 28 (2000), pp. 33–42. Gardiner himself includes many biographical details in *England herself: ventures in rural restoration* (1943) while Andrew Best includes selections from Gardiner's enormous volume of writing (much of it unpublished) in *Water springing from the ground. An anthology of the writings of Rolf Gardiner* (1972). In addition to various books and chapters quoted below, Gardiner published his thoughts in a variety of works emanating from Springhead including *Wessex: Letters from Springhead*; *North Sea and Baltic*; and the *Springhead Ring Newsheet*, all of which are to be found in the Gardiner archive in Cambridge University Library.

of attempting to formulate an obscurantist and extreme right-wing political and social agenda under the guise of promoting organicism.[2] Rolf Gardiner's achievements as a forester (in which subject he trained at Dartington Hall in the early 1930s), a supporter of the Young Farmers Clubs, a promoter of the Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas, a founder member of the Soil Association, a folk dancer of great skill and understanding, and an ecologist and practical farmer, have hitherto received little attention in the literature.[3]

Similarly, his dedication to the family business in London and his involvement with the family estates in Nyasaland (Malawi), to the social and economic development of which country he made a considerable and recognized contribution, have rarely been acknowledged. Gardiner unquestionably held some extreme views as a younger man. Although he continued to cling to his belief in the rectitude of traditional rural values and the appropriateness of a paternalist approach to rural development, his opinions evolved and mellowed over the years.

While the present article is essentially concerned with his activities in youth and middle age, a future biographer will be able to show that as a thinker and man of action, Rolf Gardiner's achievements in a variety of enterprises, to some degree facilitated by his youthful experience, substantially transcended what some would regard as the political naïvety of his earlier years. Drawing upon a variety of sources, including Gardiner's own writings and the Gardiner archive in Cambridge University Library, this article seeks to redefine the man as a passionate English patriot; an engaging, warm-hearted individual with an abundance of energy who genuinely craved a self-supporting rural England within a northern European confederation. It also examines in some detail just one of his many activities and enthusiasms thereby to illustrate the extent of his concern with the vital business of rural reconstruction.

I

The argument that urban industrial 'modernism' was a chief cause of social ills (which abstract academic intellectualism was incapable of comprehending) was an important political subculture on the British Right in the inter-war period. Rolf Gardiner was among the first anti-urban ruralist writers and activists with a genuine understanding of the practicalities of farming to question the propriety of an economic policy which demanded cheap food for the industrial population at the cost of ecological devastation abroad and profound agricultural depression at home. With the repeal, in 1921, of the Agriculture Act of 1920, Britain had become exposed

[2] For the 'Kinship in Husbandry' see R. J. Moore-Colyer, 'Back to Basics: Rolf Gardiner, H. J. Massingham and the Kinship in Husbandry', *Rural Hist.* 12 (2001), pp. 85–108; M. Reed, '"Fight the Future". How the contemporary campaigns of the UK organic movement have arisen from the composting of the past', *Sociologia Ruralis* 41 (2001), pp. 131–145.

[3] It is worthy of note that in the last year of his life Gardiner was made an Honorary Member of the Institute of Landscape Architects and was awarded (as part of the Europe Prize for Landscape Husbandry) the Peter Joseph Lenné Gold Medal for services to European youth, for his forestry work in Dorset and Malawi and his contribution to the European Working Party for Landscape Husbandry which he had founded in 1963 (Best, *Water springing*, pp. xiii–xiv). For Springhead see R. Gardiner, 'Springhead. A centre for rural restoration in Wessex', *J. Soil Association* 9 (1957), pp. 3–16; 'Seven years at Springhead', *North Sea and Baltic*, new ser. 7, Midwinter, 1940–1. Gardiner and his wife Marabel spent the first year of their marriage in 1932–3 at Dartington Hall where Marabel pursued a secretarial course (personal communication from Mrs. Rosalind Richards).

once again to the realities of world market forces and, as she increasingly became the dumping ground for international food products, home prices began to decline while production costs spiralled inexorably upwards.[4] The inevitable concomitants of agricultural dereliction, the decay of craft skills and rural depopulation, were a matter of indifference to many politicians and most of the public, the former realising that the farming interest represented only 6.7 per cent of the voting workforce, and the latter believing in the indefinite continuity of what appeared to be almost limitless supplies of cheap food. Indeed, serious questions were raised as to whether farming was even a necessary component of the economy of a great industrial power.[5] Agitation for tariff reform and government assistance throughout the 1920s fell largely on deaf ears as successive administrations refused to allow agriculture to become a charge on public funds.[6] However, despite the anti-protectionist polemics of Beveridge and his colleagues, the 1931 National Government, with its powerful Tory membership, embarked upon a policy of subsidized support. As *laissez-faire* was steadily abandoned, a raft of protectionist measures were put into place.[7] Even so, overseas sources still supplied some 65 per cent of British food by 1937 and while some sectors began to recover, the agricultural industry remained generally depressed and the problem of rural depopulation continued unabated.[8]

To ruralist writers and activists like Rolf Gardiner, H. J. Massingham, R. G. Stapledon and others, the betrayal of agriculture and its abandonment to world market forces had been a standing reproach.[9] Gardiner, in particular, wanted to create a vibrant, productive rural England where quality was paramount and where men were taught to understand the basic reality of farming as a sacramental act whereby a closeness to the earth and a holistic understanding would ensure long-term sustainability. He was, above all, a man of action. As an eighteen year old student of modern languages at Cambridge, he wrote (setting out what was to remain his lifetime philosophy), '. . . to live means to live in the body, in the physical, live, tangible world of sense, to be part of the sensual rhythm of life, with its birth, marriage, parenthood and death, with spring, summer, autumn and winter: to try and live in pure thought is to live in death'.[10]

If a single over-arching theme to Rolf Gardiner's lifetime aspirations were to be identified, it would be that of rural regeneration; of the imperative to reverse the progressive deterioration of the fortunes of English agriculture after 1920.[11] In this context it is perhaps hardly surprising that he found some facets of the early rural programmes of German National Socialism highly

[4] E. H. Whetham, 'The Agriculture Act 1920 and its repeal -- the "Great Betrayal"', *AgHR* 22 (1974), p. 48; A. F. Cooper, 'Another look at the "Great Betrayal"', *Agricultural Hist.* 60 (1986), pp. 80–104.

[5] For details see R. J. Moore-Colyer, 'From Great Wen to Toad Hall. Aspects of the urban-rural divide in inter-war Britain', *Rural Hist.* 10 (1999), pp. 105–7.

[6] M. Tracy, 'Fifty years of agricultural policy', *J. Agricultural Economics* 17 (1976), p. 332.

[7] Id., *Government and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1880–1988* (1989), p. 161; W. H. Beveridge (ed.), *Tariff: the case examined* (1931).

[8] T. Rooth, 'Trade agreements and the evolution of British agricultural policy in the 1930s', *AgHR* 32 (1985), p. 190; J. Saville, *Rural depopulation in England and Wales* (1957). For some of the means of adjustment to the new realities see R. J. Moore-Colyer, 'Farming in depression: Wales between the Wars, 1919–1939', *AgHR* 46 (1998), pp. 177–196.

[9] Moore-Colyer, 'Back to Basics'; id., 'Sir George Stapledon (1882–1960) and the landscape of Britain', *Environment and History* 5 (1999), pp. 221–36. For Massingham see id., 'A voice clamouring in the wilderness: H. J. Massingham (1888–1952) and rural England', *Rural Hist.* (forthcoming).

[10] *Youth* 2 (11), Oct. 1923.

[11] See, for example, Moore-Colyer, 'Farming in depression'.

appealing, only to become disenchanted when these were, as H. J. Massingham put it, '. . . sacrificed to the Baal of war'.[12] Suspicious of mechanisation and reductionist science, anti-collective and pro-peasant, Gardiner's complex world view had its roots in the thinking of Ruskin and William Morris, while echoes of the polemics of William Cobbett can readily be detected in his writings. The various Catholic back-to-the-land movements of the inter-war period also attracted his attention, and the views of Hilaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton with their phobia for state power and fascination with the efficacy of the self-contained 'organic'community also struck a common chord.[13]

In March 1920 a group of Cambridge undergraduates launched the journal *Cocoon*, which shortly afterwards changed its name to *Youth* and was in the main engaged with Labour party politics and Guild Socialism. But in the Cambridge of the 1920s, domestic social problems and the shenanigans of politicians of various hues were of less immediate interest than a kind of mystical internationalism which found expression in the German youth movements with their louche fascination with hiking, nudism and other arcane aspects of what Arthur Marwick has termed '. . . the swinging Weimar Republic'.[14] This was meat and drink to the bilingual Gardiner who had belonged to the Social Credit Study Circle which had launched *Cocoon*.[15] When he took over the editorship of the journal early in 1923 he immediately set about the process of re-orientating the 'International Quarterly of Young Enterprise' towards the prime objective of forging closer links between the various youth movements of England and northern Europe.[16] English interest in continental youth activity was focussed primarily upon the Bünde, fellowships of young men which had emerged from the *Wandervögel* and *Pfadfinder* traditions of the years before the Great War. Apolitical, idealisic, and dedicated to work-service (*Arbeitsdeinst*), the essentially bourgeois and *völkisch* Bünde were contemptuous of the libertarianism of Weimar and scathing of its artificiality, insincerity and materialist obsessions. Self-consciously masculine, disciplined and controlled, the Bünde grouped themselves around a variety of charismatic leaders associated with the Deutsche Freischar and in addition to hiking, singing, dancing, and attendance at work camps, they managed to effect a number of solid achievements, including the establishment of the influential *Musikheim* at Frankfurt-an-der-Oder under the direction of Rolf Gardiner's close friend Georg Götsch.[17] By the mid-1920s Gardiner was a regular visitor

[12] H. J. Massingham (ed.), *England and the farmer* (1945), p. 107.

[13] J. M. Corrin, *G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. The battle against modernity* (1981); J. L. Spear, *Dreams of an English Eden: Ruskin and his traditions in social criticism* (1984).

[14] A. Marwick, 'Youth in Britain, 1920–1960; detachment and commitment', *J. Contemporary Hist.*, 5 (1970), p. 39.

[15] Gardiner's father was the distinguished Egyptologist Sir Alan Henderson Gardiner and his mother Hedwig was of Austro-Hungarian and Swedo-Finnish ancestry.

[16] Although *Youth* was published in London, Gardiner had been offered the use of a private press owned by friend and fellow undergraduate C. H. Waddington who was eventually to become a geneticist and embryologist of international renown, to say nothing of holding a CBE in addition to his Fellowship of the Royal Society. Waddington called his press 'The Loft' whence issued, in 1925, a slender volume entitled *Fanfreluche* which contained poems by himself, Gardiner and Vernon Watkins among others (Cambridge University Library (hereafter CUL), Rolf Gardiner MSS, C4/3/3, C4/3/1). In his first editorial Gardiner launched a full-frontal attack on J. M. Keynes and 'the metallist thinkers of Bloomsbury and Kings', only to receive a disarming note from Keynes congratulating him on the excellence of his editorial (Best, *Water springing*, p. 18).

[17] W. Laqueur, *Young Germany. A history of the German youth movements* (1962). As Laqueur points out, when the Bünde were abolished by the Nazis in 1933, many members joined the Hitler Youth, although

to Germany whence he travelled with his folk-dance group and became closely involved with various youth organizations, arranging reciprocal exchanges with English groups, and establishing linkages which were to prove increasingly fruitful over the years as the Springhead venture got underway. He found in the middle and upper middle class youngsters who made up the bulk of the Bünde, an idealism and commitment sadly lacking in England, writing in 1928, 'The new Germans are young, brave, ardent, enthusiastic, alive. The modern British are mature, cautious, over-critical, over-prudent, tired. We are so terribly refined and so overweeningly self-conscious that we can no longer commit ourselves'.[18] As he attended the work camps in Silesia or engaged in work service elsewhere in the Weimar Republic, Gardiner built up a network of close friends who were long to hold a powerful influence over him. These included the Islamicist and Prussian Education Minister, Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), the youth leader Ernst Buske (d. 1930), Director of the Musikheim, Georg Götsch (1895–1956), the academic Eugen Rosenstock (1888–1944) who left Germany in 1933 to teach at Dartmouth in Vermont, and Adolph Reichswein (1898–1944) whose implication in the 1944 plot to kill Hitler led to his execution. To these men, all deeply involved with the education aspects of the youth movements, Gardiner was a vitally important link to kindred movements in England. As Laqueur noted, '. . . his name stood high in the esteem of youth movement circles long after the severance of relations between the two countries'.[19]

Malcolm Chase has admirably described Gardiner's attempts to introduce the work camp to England in the 1930s by way of land reclamation schemes for unemployed ironstone workers in Cleveland. The work camps were seen as vehicles of community training and service, instruments of social and political change and as a sort of platform of reconciliation between different social groups. Through physical labour, music and intellectual exchange, differences would be broken down, bonds formed, and a sense of common purpose attained. Gardiner recorded these activities years later (along with close descriptions of his musical tours of northern Europe), all of which were aimed at establishing mutual understanding which, in the long term, would counteract the tendency to a future war which the conditions of the Versailles agreement had made a distinct possibility. The Cleveland work camps, Springhead harvest camps and other enterprises were entirely voluntary, and Gardiner hoped, would develop countrywide to begin the task of national reconstruction and renovation. As work service camps helped clean up the mess left by industrialisation, engaged in land reclamation and provided

there is no evidence of these movements being precursors of the Nazi youth model. Indeed, in Hitler's mouth, the term 'Wandervögel' was an insult (p. 241). The Musikheim was a college of the social arts founded in 1929 under the auspices of Carl Heinrich Becker. The arts were taught (in a building designed by Otto Bartning) through various rhythmical forms, the idea being that community living could best be learned by way of music, dance and movement, with much emphasis on health and wholeness. The philosophy of the Musikheim (if such a vague set of notions can be so-described) influenced Rolf Gardiner throughout his life. (See R. Gardiner, 'The Story of the Musikheim, Frankfurt/Oder, 1928–1933', in *Wessex: Letters from Springhead*, sec. ser., 3, Harvest 1947.)

[18] R. Gardiner and H. Rocholl (eds), *Britain and Germany. A frank discussion instigated by members of the younger generation* (1928) p. 130.

[19] Laqueur, *Young Germany*, p. 41. Reichswein, a socialist pedagogical expert, was a member of the 'Kreisau Circle' of plotters against Hitler who had rejected Nazism from an early stage. They drew their inspiration from the German youth movements and Christian philosophies, looking forward to a future in which national sovereignty would give way to a federal Europe. (I. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1933–1945, Nemesis* (2000), p. 666.)

labour for numerous farms, so they would become '. . . the university of wholeness and renewal which we need within each nation and between nations essentially akin'.[20] Gardiner's concept of the importance of service had essentially been crystallized in the early 1920s as he grappled with *Youth*. In 1924 he joined John Hargrave's Kibbo Kift Kindred, an organisation of almost impenetrable philosophical outlook which had arisen as a breakaway movement from the Boy Scouts.[21] Beyond the mysticism and woodcraft mumbo-jumbo, the Kibbo Kift was fundamentally internationalist and pacifist, seeking a world of democracy, peace and distributive justice. Concurrently, rather like the Bünde with which it maintained close contacts, the Kibbo Kift emphasized the creation of an élite corps of leaders, setting up a training programme from childhood to adulthood which would recapitulate the primitive phases of human development so to evolve a new élite physically and mentally superior to its predecessors.[22] Gardiner rapidly rose to the position of 'Gleemaster' to the Kibbo Kift although, in common with many others in the movement, he became increasingly disillusioned with Hargrave's cunning deviousness and autocratic and hectoring style of leadership. He soon convinced himself, moreover, that the Kibbo Kift was over-obsessed with theoretical abstraction and had '. . . no living roots in the earth of England, no blood-contact with the living part of English earth'.[23] Shortly before he resigned from the movement in 1925, he produced (in a typically Gardinerian gesture) an anti-Kibbo Kift broadside entitled *Suburbia Defenda Est*. 'The Kibbo Kift is the supreme instance of suburban idealism trying to create order out of the chaos of its own excreta. Behind its whole creation there is a ghastly vacuum and absence of belief, belief of the blood and the soul. Never can man create from the will, save to produce forms which have no meaning, no real content'.[24] From now on he would pursue his own efforts to mobilize English youth.

Throughout this period, and like many others of his generation, Gardiner had been profoundly influenced by D. H. Lawrence whose sensual fascination with nature-worship and the earth and whose fundamental anti-urbanism struck a profound chord. The two men corresponded regularly from 1924, meeting for the first time in London in 1926. In the winter of 1928 Gardiner stayed with the Lawrences at Les Diablerets.[25] It was probably Lawrence, with his

[20] *The Springhead News Sheet*, 54, 1957. He described the work camp principles in detail in 'The triple function of work camps and work service in Europe', (*North Sea and Baltic* 2, Harvest, 1937) and identified distinctions between the German volunteers attending the Springhead harvest camps. 'Among the Germans moulded by the regimentation of National Socialism ... we noticed tendencies towards a certain hard emptiness and mechanical enthusiasm which the Freischar had never shown, it seemed to us a warning against the dangers of the *will* to be this or that, an inevitable weariness resulting from over-insistence and the mechanising of customs'.

[21] Gardiner relinquished the editorship of *Youth* in 1924, after which the periodical was relaunched under the same name as the mouthpiece of the British Federation of Youth, in which guise it managed to struggle on until the autumn of 1929.

[22] J. Springhall, *Youth, empire and society* (1977), p. 113; P. Wilkinson, 'English youth movements, 1908–30', *J. Contemporary Hist.* 4 (1969), pp. 12–24. Long after Gardiner had left the Kibbo Kift, the organisation espoused the anti-mercantilist philosophy of Social Credit pioneered by C. H. Douglas (J. L. Finlay, 'John Hargrave, the Green Shirts and social credit', *J. Contemporary Hist.* 5 (1970), pp. 58–9).

[23] Gardiner to Hargave, 17 June 1925, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, C6/1/15.

[24] CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, C5/2. He was later to dismiss the Kibbo Kift as 'mummery'. Nevertheless he remained in contact with several of its officers throughout the 1930s and despite his acrimonious break with Hargrave, the two men met again many years later at Springhead as they both approached old age. Their relationship will be considered in a future article.

[25] On 12 Feb. 1928, Lawrence wrote to Dorothy Brett from Les Diablerets, 'Rolf Gardiner came up for three days to see us – the young man who does morris dances and all that. He's very nice, but not much in my line!'

acerbic criticism of John Hargrave, who finally persuaded Gardiner that he should abandon the Kibbo Kift. If youth are going to take action, wrote the older man from New Mexico in August 1924, let it be youth on the warpath, free of '. . . wandervogling and piping imitation nature tunes to the taste of a cake of milk chocolate ... all this blasted snivelling of hopelessness and self-pity and stars and wind among the trees and campfires and witanagemotry – shit!'.[26] This was strong meat indeed and typical of the 'brotherly and fortifying concern' which Gardiner divined in Lawrence's letters. Lawrence, it seems, persuaded Gardiner that Gore Farm might become a centre for rural revival, even suggesting that the two men collaborate in the enterprise. Sceptical of Gardiner's work camps, which he regarded as being little better than going to prison for two weeks' hard labour, Lawrence emphasized the need for '. . . a little ark somewhere in a quiet place ... like the oracle at Delphos, where one can always come to'.[27] A decade later Springhead was to become that very centre, supported and sustained by the 'Springhead Ring', comprising the sort of individuals whom Lawrence had proposed in 1928; 'You need to have a few, very few who *are* conscious and willing to be conscious ... a silent, central flame. Keep the core sound and the rest will look after itself'.[28]

In the later 1920s Gardiner was occupied with the refurbishing of Gore Farm (with the assistance of work camp volunteers from England and Germany), although by linking this mundane work with music and dance in such a way that labour, leisure, comradeship and co-operation were somehow conflated, he saw this task as yet another means of developing a sense of purpose for the young. Music, dance, rhythm, and physical labour, as the Musikheim had showed, were also inherently important in the training of élite leadership. In this respect the form of the music was crucially important. For Gardiner, the development of the concert hall and 'the bourgeois opera house' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had detached music from society so that it eventually came to be written for an essentially passive audience, offering opportunities for individual artistic self-expression and egocentric display.[29] This would

(J. T. Boulton *et al.* (eds), *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence* (7 vols, 1979–93), VI, p. 293). Even so, Lawrence wrote at least nineteen letters to Gardiner, some of these of considerable length. The correspondence petered out in 1928, due, as Gardiner readily admitted, to his own busyness and neglect (*Wessex: Letters from Springhead*, 4th ser., 4 (2) (1959)).

[26] Boulton *et al.* (eds), *Letters of Lawrence*, V, p. 93.

[27] *Ibid.*, V, p. 96. The Springhead archive contains a letter written by an elderly Frieda Lawrence to Gardiner's daughter Mrs Rosalind Richards, in which she explains that Rolf Gardiner was one of the few young men who gave Lawrence hope for the future (personal communication from Mrs. Rosalind Richards).

[28] *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 257–8. Gardiner describes the activities of the Springhead Ring in Best, *Water springing*, pp. 143–53 and pp. 204–5. The Ring was a circle of friends from a wide social and cultural spectrum united by the cultivation of music, the development of land service camps and the fostering of cultural relations between England and northern Europe. During the post-war years it became increasingly devoted to music, attracting many national and international figures to its gatherings. Gardiner's son, the distinguished musicologist and conductor Sir John Eliot Gardiner currently lives at Gore Farm while his daughter, the violinist Rosalind Richards, resides at Springhead which is run (via the Rolf and Marabel Gardiner Trust) as an educational centre for ecological, rural and musical courses. In all its facets Springhead continues to foster the ethos of holism and organicism.

[29] Writing of Chopin and Schumann in his diary on 7 Aug. 1927, Gardiner noted that it was '. . . odd how I instinctively reject this romantic music now. It plays with our emotional machinery and stirs up sentiment; but I feel the process to be somehow indecent' (CUL microfilm 9631). Gardiner's friend, the professional musician Christopher Mayson, reckoned that his knowledge and appreciation of music ended with Bach and upbraided him for the dogmatic way in which he dismissed music post-Beethoven. (CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, CS/1/1, Mayson to Gardiner, 30 June 1927).

never do. Music should not be an end in itself, a titillator of sensation or excitement, or an opiate for the masses, but an essential and organic part of the daily workaday world. Thus '... the ritual dances and mumming plays were essential to the tilling of the land and good husbandry; the masques of the Tudor and Stuart courts did veritably ennoble and intensify the power and glory of government'.[30] Before the seventeenth century, Gardiner argued, music demanded individual self-effacement in the interests of group emotional totality. Since polyphonic forms compelled obedience to a rigidly controlled structure, this was essentially 'statebuilding' music. Precisely the same principle applied to folk dancing which offered both 'a liberation of the spirit' but at the same time had a clearly defined hierarchical structure which ultimately required individual display to give way to group harmony. Gardiner had long been suspicious of the 'Folk Revival' spearheaded by the English Folk Dance Society under Cecil Sharp and subsequently Douglas Kennedy. The 'Travelling Morrice' which he founded in 1924 with Arthur Heffer (1900–31) attempted to perform the authentic and potently symbolic forms of morris and sword dancing. This contrasted starkly with the sanitized and stylized offerings of the EFDS who rather disapproved of Gardiner's wild excursions. 'The EFDS don't like my dancing', he lamented to his diary in May 1923, 'bad cess to them. To hell with their fiddly-fuddly blundery bourgeois technique. Of course I'm eccentric in this point, and glad to be ...'.[31] As far as Gardiner was concerned, the *real* traditional dance formed powerful bonds between the male group which, by some indefinable chemistry, would become the vehicle of arcane powers and equipped with the skills to form the nucleus of a new society. Through the association of the dance with the ultimate realities of the earth, they would achieve a profound insight of true organicism which would ultimately refresh and invigorate English culture.[32]

If rural leadership were to emerge in England from among those deeply immersed in the land and rural culture, this would not necessarily be leadership within the traditional aristocratic context. Keen as he was to preserve the aristocratic ethos where there remained some cultural vitality among landowning families, Gardiner did not consider rank, titles and money to be sufficient qualifications in themselves. He looked forward to the day when a new aristocratic leadership would arise from among those of all classes who had contributed to work-camps, involved themselves in exchanges with northern European groups and undergone appropriate apprenticeship on traditional farms and estates. Only through mutual co-operative service would men and women of innately superior character earn affection and allegiance, thence to become an élite – a genuine aristocracy of free, independent spirits unshackled by petty codes and strictures, who would be in a position to co-ordinate the various and sometimes conflicting interests in the countryside. There was, he believed, no room in the countryside for absentee landlords, foxhunting squires, or the *nouveaux riches* townsmen who failed to bear the full burden of rural responsibility. As he developed these thoughts over the years, Gardiner became

[30] 'Reflections on Music and Statecraft', a paper read to the English Mistery by Gardiner in October, 1933, in Best, *Water springing*, pp. 95–100.

[31] CUL, microfilm 9631. Interestingly enough Douglas Kennedy (1893–1988) makes no mention of Gardiner in his *English Folk Dancing* (1954) although as an RAF pilot during the Second World War he became a member of the 'Kinship in Husbandry' of which Gardiner was a prime mover. (For 'The Travelling Morrice' see *North Sea and Baltic*, new ser., 4, High Summer, 1938.)

[32] These issues are explored in some detail in G. Boyes, *The Imagined Village. Culture, identity and the English revival* (1989), pp. 154–60.

sceptical of the value of formal systems of rural education offered at universities and colleges, believing that the landed estate itself should form the focal point of agricultural training and of rural reconstruction. Here a working landownership would offer opportunities for land settlement, co-operation, apprenticeship and profit-sharing, at the same time sponsoring craftsmanship, and contributing to social and cultural life.[33] As he indicated in his memorandum of evidence to the 1942 Scott Committee on Land Utilisation, statutory bodies and salaried administrative officials would never advance the cause of rural regeneration which would be far better left to leader-landowners who would nurture and enliven a local area and its interests. 'Such planning would repose on existing or submerged realities rather than be imposed ruthlessly from above and without; it would cause a redevelopment of English traditions instead of their obliteration; it would protect those two great characteristics of England – local self-reliance and *genius loci*'.[34] His memorandum was studiously ignored.

Since he was a young man Gardiner had distrusted bureaucracy, a distrust which became almost paranoiac over the years. Rows with the Ministry of Agriculture over such diverse issues as the flax industry, mechanization and rural education convinced him of what he perceived as the iniquities of bureaucratic intransigence.[35] So great was the danger of the creation of 'an *ersatz* aristocracy of smooth commissars and bureaucrats', he warned the Country Landowners Association in the summer of 1943, that a post-war conference of estate heirs should be held to consider ways of countering the dead hand of the bureaucrat in devising the future shape of the countryside.[36] There can be little doubting Rolf Gardiner's paternalist and ultra-conservative perspective. He craved order and strong government committed to rural and by implication national, regeneration. He believed, with many others of his contemporaries, that only authoritarian government could properly deliver the sort of reforms required to revitalize a depressed countryside without bolshevik collectivisation. But yet, unlike his friend, the ecologist and plant-breeder R. G. Stapledon, or the ruralist early Welsh Nationalist Ambrose Bebb, Gardiner had little time for fascism as such. Bebb, for example, proclaimed the need for a Welsh Mussolini, a man of strength and power, '. . . the only things that count in the myriad troubles and battles of this iron age'.[37] Stapledon waxed lyrical over the Duce's reclamation schemes, while several of his books carry chilling hints of an eugenically determined future.[38] Others of Gardiner's friends either overtly or covertly espoused the fascist course. A close, and much-valued personal friend Gerald Wallop, Lord Lymington (and subsequently Earl of Portsmouth) published a number of works replete with fascist, pro-German and anti-Semitic elements, while another associate, Jorian Jenks, was agricultural advisor to Mosley's British Union of Fascists

[33] He struggled manfully, but to no avail, to persuade the authorities to provide financial support for the development of Springhead itself as 'a rural University'. (See 'On the functions of a rural university', *North Sea and Baltic*, special issue, 3 Sept. 1933).

[34] R. Gardiner, 'Estates as pivots of regional development'; Memorandum of Evidence submitted to Lord Justice Scott's Committee on Land Utilization in Rural Areas, 1942. (Also 'Estates as centres of rural reconstruction, *North Sea and Baltic*, new ser. 7, Midwinter, 1940–1).

[35] For the saga of the Slape Flax Mill, Fontmell Industries and the argument over quality (Gardiner) versus quantity (the Ministry), see *England herself*, pp. 98–124.

[36] *The Times*, 31 July 1943.

[37] D. H. Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party, 1923–1945: A call to nationhood* (1983), p. 97.

[38] For Stapledon see Moore-Colyer, 'Sir George Stapledon, (1882–1960) and the landscape of Britain'.

and one of the Front's leading propagandists.[39] The best-known Mosleyite ruralist of them all, Henry Williamson (who injudiciously decorated his Norfolk farm with the BUF symbol), was among Gardiner's correspondents and the two men met from time to time.[40] Interestingly, despite Jenks' cajolings, Gardiner was careful *not* to invite Mosley to Springhead after the latter had been released from internment.[41] He was particularly keen to avoid further embarrassment at Springhead where the local gentry were convinced of his Nazi associations and besides, he regarded Mosleyite fascism as '. . . the pathetic attempts of suburbia to re-establish itself in the soil'.[42] Like H. J. Massingham, C. Henry Warren and other contemporaries, Gardiner's writings are anti-urban, anti-industrial and deprecatory of a left-wing policy which viewed agricultural progress in terms of ever-increasing mechanization and expanding production targets. So what was Gardiner, an unreconstructed élitist, trying to achieve? How close were his views, to those of the Freikorps officers who stalked Germany in the 1920s, and of whom many embraced National Socialism?[43]

II

Rolf Gardiner was an unashamed Germanist despite his references to the 'fanatical impatience' of Nazism and 'the paranoia of Hitlerism' once war had broken out.[44] Yet in the early 1930s he divined Hitler's vision in almost mystical terms, and while he had reservations over many aspects of Nazi policy, he saw within the concept of National Socialism the seeds of a united Europe. Thus he strongly urged the reorientation of English geopolitics away from the Empire and in the direction of Europe. This would be an 'organic' Europe where men lived according to natural law, '. . . the subjection of ourselves and our tools to a large organic authority, the authority of the Natural Order, which is based on rhythmic law'.[45] Germany, of course, had

[39] Described by Bramwell, *Ecology in the twentieth century*, p. 122 as 'an extraordinary patriot and adventurer', Portsmouth supported the idea of benevolent dictatorship within a united Europe. He had led the English Array and founded the English Mistery in 1936, the latter being an organization of mainly landowners and ex-officers who opposed war with Germany and were much-concerned with matters of soil fertility and environmental pollution. The issue of a balanced agriculture was uppermost in his maiden speech in the Lords as Earl of Portsmouth in 1943 (*Hansard*, House of Lords, 129, 143). He met Mussolini in 1932 and Hitler in 1939 and by his own admission was lucky to avoid wartime internment. (See his autobiography, *A Knot of Roots* (1965).)

[40] Williamson to Gardiner, April 1941; 31 July 1945; 30 Dec. 1949 (CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5).

[41] Jenks to Gardiner, 14 Aug., 2 Sept. 1945 (CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, 6/5). Jenks, a farmer, had been BUF candidate for Horsham and Worthing in 1936 and was interned in 1940. He wrote a weekly column for Mosley's *Action* from 1937 until the Autumn of 1940 and was an unashamed apologist for fascist land rights policies. Although still serving on Mosley's Union Movement after the war, he became the first editorial secretary of the Soil Association's journal, *Mother Earth*. His numerous books seem to cross the corporatist/organic divide, and by 1950 had become completely committed to the organicist cause, having shifted from a belief in totalitarian teamwork to the idea of the virtues of the small family farm unit.

[42] R. Gardiner, *World without end. British politics and the younger generation* (1932), pp. 33–9. While he deplored war with Germany, Rolf Gardiner immediately applied to join the Home Guard. Such were the suspicions of the authorities, however, he was refused – to his continued chagrin and disappointment (personal communication from Mrs. Rosalind Richards).

[43] Boyes, *Imagined village*, p. 157.

[44] Gardiner, *England herself*, p. 13.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 84. In 1935 Gardiner had become a regular contributor to Lymington's *The New Pioneer* which, among other issues, addressed back-to-the-land ideas. The physical health of the English people was conditioned by a healthy soil, and ultimately the history of civilisation was the history of the soil itself. (Bramwell, *Ecology in the twentieth century*, p. 168).

had a long philosophical tradition of turning to nature for guidance, and while most fascist governments emphasized forward-looking technological planning, the radical agrarian wing of National Socialism sought national salvation in land settlement and the recreation of a strong peasant economy. The Judaeo-Christian tradition, it was obliquely argued, had cut off Germans from the world of nature, while local autonomy and self-sufficiency had been sacrificed on the altar of the production of finished industrial goods. Given that the industrial world, its infrastructure devastated by the events of the Depression, was inherently unsustainable, the solution was ruralization. Thus would the nation be restored to the true peasant roots of her cultural tradition. In 1939 both Gardiner and Lymington met Walther Darré, the Nazi agriculture minister from 1933 to 1942, and were impressed by his organicist, ruralist vision, shared in its essentials by Rudolph Hess, a homeopath, naturist, and enthusiastic follower of Rudolph Steiner.[46] To Gardiner, Darré's inspired concept of 'blood-and-soil' defined an inescapable mystical relationship between race and soil. Since the soil belonged to the 'folk', so could man, living close to the soil, express his own life-force through husbandry, dance, song, and poetry. The return of the community to the land and the restoration of customary performance of song and dance would ultimately rekindle ancient lost values which lay at the very roots of the organic qualities of leadership and community. An arresting vision no doubt, but one which was inevitably subject to the very extremes of Nazi distortion. As the War drew to a close, the scales began to fall from Gardiner's eyes and he came to recognize that Germany had failed to live up to the ideology of restoring '. . . the experience of blood and soil to a rapidly urbanized nation'.[47] Instead, as H. J. Massingham concluded, National Socialism had become the ultimate expression of absolutism, decadence and contempt for the individual; all urban in origin.[48]

Gardiner had had some inkling of the seductive effects of Nazi rhetoric at the 1936 Bauerntag conference to which he had been invited by the Reich Food Ministry. Here Goering made a rabble-rousing speech to the assembled farmers and their associates. After he had finished speaking,

> A current of mass fervour surged through the vast room, overpowering and effacing every individual, swamping all personal thought and reflection. It was for me a terrifying experience. For I felt that blind, irresistible forces were being let loose. There was in this fervour no restraint, no self-criticism, no kindliness, no humanity. History and fate swept over man in this hour like the wings of vast Genii; and they bore with them reckless power but not a trace of patience, nor of forbearance, nor of love.[49]

Nevertheless, there was, or so it seemed to Gardiner, a youthfulness and vibrancy about National Socialism which, in some aspects at least, echoed the philosophy of the Bünde which he believed to represent the bulk of German youth.[50] He had no time for the uniformed and

[46] Goering, Goebbels and Bormann were implacably opposed to the organic vision and following the Deputy Führer's flight to England in 1941, other Nazi officials associated with the organicist outlook became suspect, and the biodynamic movement was banned.

[47] R. Gardiner, 'Rural Reconstruction' in H. J. Massingham (ed.), *England and the Farmer* (1945) pp. 92–165.

[48] H. J. Massingham, *Men of Earth* (1943), p. 76.

[49] *Wessex: Letters from Springhead*, sec. ser. 4/5, Autumn, 1948.

[50] As Malcolm Chase notes, although the Bünde only accounted for a minor proportion of youth in the Weimar Republic. Gardiner failed to get in touch either with the numerous political groups or the large Catholic and Jewish organisations.

jack-booted beerhall crowds with their 'nonsensical racial theory' or for the posturings and music-hall cavortings of many of the leaders once they had achieved power. Yet aspects of the Nazi credo remained attractive. If 'the Fascist solution of authoritarian leadership and fanatical obedience is no solution', Gardiner rather hazily believed that elements of National Socialist philosophy could readily be incorporated into the idea of building families of nations with shared economic, cultural, social, and racial values.[51] Did 'racial' in this context imply 'anti-Semitic'? Perhaps it did. After all D. H. Lawrence had pointed out to him the inevitability of racial differences and the influence of 'spirit of place', and Gardiner himself had expressed remarks in publications of the 1920s which only the most generous of interpretations would deny to be anti-Semitic.[52] While his polemic against the nineteenth century new rich '. . . from the filters of alien races, the courts of the money changers, the halls of luxury trades and industries', might be read as an anti-urban diatribe, it is difficult to ignore anti-Semitic sentiments in several of the writings and pronouncements of this man, whose own mother was partially of Jewish extraction.

Writing in 1948 of his many visits to inter-war Germany to attend cultural events and to lecture at various universities, Gardiner offered a frank *apologia* for some of his views, activities and aspirations. Despite his admiration for National Socialist experiments in land tenure reform and marketing law and his concurrence with Darré's belief in the virtues of blood and soil, Gardiner deplored the centralist tendencies of Nazism, was sickened by the vulgarity of Ribbentrop, the absurd posturings of Goebbels and Goering and the 'demonic shamanism' of Hitler himself. When the Führer first came to power, Gardiner genuinely believed that he had the potential to become the 'Cromwell of the Reich' and to forge within Greater Germany a body which would ultimately foster a permanent European peace.[53] But even in 1935 the 'order and freshness' of the heady atmosphere of the new Germany carried about it a 'sniff of sulphur' and a 'haunting threat of evil', which would ultimately find expression in the excesses of the Gestapo. Nevertheless, Gardiner applauded the Anschluss with Austria in the interests of the creation of a Greater Germany and vigorously rejected the argument that the Anschluss was 'a rape committed *against* the will of the people'. Disillusionment only set in later when he realized that '. . . the abominable hubris of German pride and arrogance vitiated the entire world-picture of the National Socialist philosophy and spelled its inevitable doom'. On his numerous lecture visits to Germany between 1931 and 1935, Gardiner spared little effort in extolling the virtues of the pre-Nazi German youth movements which stood in stark contrast to the pagan Hitler Youth whom he regarded as, '. . . boorish, dogmatic, insensitive, entirely wrapped up in their preconceived Nazi ideas'. Understandably he became *persona non grata* with von Shirach's myrmidons although, ironically, he helped train some of them in folk dance in preparation for the 1936 Olympic Games.

Much of the suspicion of Gardiner as a Nazi sympathizer arose from a letter which he wrote to Goebbels at the behest of Götsch in 1934 commending the work of Götsch's Musikheim. To Gardiner's horror Goebbels promptly arranged for the letter to be published in the German

[51] Gardiner, *England Herself*, pp. 155–7.

[52] Boulton *et al.* (eds), *Letters of Lawrence*, V, pp. 98. See for example, R. Gardiner, 'Die deutsche revolution von England gesehen' in R. Gardiner, A. Arodersen and K. Wyser (eds), *Nationalsozialismus von Ausland gesehen* (1933), pp. 15–18.

[53] 'Hitler's Reich and the real Germany (1929–1939)', *Wessex: Letters from Springhead*, sec ser., 4/5, Autumn 1948.

press as a piece of pro-Nazi propaganda, with the predictable result that Gardiner's English detractors seized upon this basically innocent epistle as evidence of his support for the National Socialist cause. The impulsive Gardiner offered a further hostage to fortune in his riposte to the Berlin correspondent of *The Observer* who had reported on his lecture to Berlin University early in 1934. In this lecture Gardiner (termed by the reporter, the 'English neo-Nazi') had 'burst into a song of praise for the potential fascist D. H. Lawrence'. In rejecting any suggestion that Lawrence had fascist leanings in his reply of 11 February 1934, Gardiner insisted that the root principles of National Socialism were based on the religious experience of the communal unit, and, apparently throwing caution to the wind, continued 'Anyone acquainted with the life of the German work-camps or of the finer contingents of the Storm Troops realize that'.[54] Injudicious perhaps, crass certainly, yet it has to be remembered that this letter was penned in 1934 before the full horror and bestiality of National Socialism became blindingly apparent. Nevertheless, his 1948 *apologia*, perhaps significantly, makes no reference to the Nazi's persecution of the Jews and others whom they regarded as ethnically beyond the pale.

Along with several of his friends, Gardiner attracted official suspicion as a result of his implacable opposition to war with Germany. The German people, he believed, initially seduced and ultimately entrapped by Hitler, would stand by their leader out of a sense of duty, but desperately wanted to avoid war. Men of goodwill had a bounden duty to avoid this catastrophe even if this entailed appeasement. Again, writing in 1948 of his support for the Munich agreement, Gardiner noted that, 'Even now, after the passage of seven terrible years and the criminal madness and death of Hitler and Mussolini, I feel that there was substance in this view, and that the deliverance out of sin and destruction was lost by the frailty of us all ... For there *was* another real Germany, alive even inside the mad-house of power-drunk Nazidom and the treacherous scheming of its pundits'.[55]

The jury should probably for the moment be undecided, but there remain several intriguing and enigmatic hints. 'Why you aren't locked up I can't imagine unless it be by one of the amiable inconsistencies which are so typical of English administration', wrote Colonel John Miller, GC, in the mid-summer of 1943. Yet, Miller went on, 'I still maintain that you were perfectly right before the war to try to establish a bond between the best on either side and I hope that the moment we stop fighting you will be able to take up the job again'.[56] Several years later, in December 1956, the Springhead Ring organized a memorial service for Götsch at the church of Saint Bartholomew-the-Great in Smithfield. Gardiner wrote to Ring members past and present reminding them of the event and received in reply a disturbing letter from his former associate Stephen Bone whose refusal to attend the service arose from his objection to Gardiner's view of Germany. 'In the days before the war you defended certain things that I considered quite indefensible ... even Auschwitz had no effect on your opinion'.[57] Juxtaposed alongside Gardiner's differences with Massingham over the issue of Nazi Germany, Bone's comment cannot be ignored in any assessment of Gardiner's world view. His writings and his friendships with many of the anti-Semitic Right, *despite* his protestations against Nazi racial

[54] E. Dalavenay and W. J. Keith, 'Mr Rolf Gardiner, "The English Neo-Nazi"; an Exchange', *D. H. Lawrence Review* 7 (1974), pp. 292–3.

[55] *Wessex: Letters from Springfield*, sec. ser. 4/5, Autumn 1948.

[56] CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, J1/2. Gardiner does not appear to have responded.

[57] CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, 51/1.

theory, raise serious questions as to his true political, social and racial values which will only be answered after a full examination of his papers at Cambridge and Springhead.[58]

III

The rest of this article seeks to explore Rolf Gardiner's association with a little-known wartime offshoot of ruralist activity, the 'Council for the Church and Countryside'. Unsurprisingly, in view of his youthful adulation of D. H. Lawrence and his flirtation with the Kibbo Kift, Gardiner's religious development was distinctly unorthodox. He soon rejected the standard public school Christian diet (which he later dismissed as 'fusty and academic ecclesiasticism') and gradually evolved a belief system which combined a baffling blend of esoteric Gnosticism and High Anglicanism with a belief in reincarnation and more than a dash of green primitive paganism. Like Massingham, who underwent a tortuous spiritual journey from agnosticism to Anglo-Catholicism, Gardiner believed that the story of Christ taught the virtues of humility before Nature and gave symbolic recognition to the ultimate truth that the roots of civilisation arose from an intimacy between men and earth. Thus, wrote Massingham, 'The pulse of wild Nature beats to the breath of God'.[59] If man was the link between nature and the Divine, then the kingdom of Heaven could be achieved on earth if man worked symbiotically with nature and regarded farming and husbandry as sacramental acts.[60] The human values associated with the Christian tradition, obedience to the laws of organic wholeness, and subordination of the will to that of a Higher Power would ultimately yield spiritual enlightenment. Intellectual speculation was to no avail, individuals were '. . . travellers groping our way on the road towards a new Grail of the Holy Spirit', and sectarian distinctions and definitions were largely meaningless.[61] Writing to a clerical friend in 1944, Gardiner was critical of the over-cerebral, scriptural orthodoxy of the parish priesthood who refused to accept that new realities had to be faced and squared with the eternal realities. Belief, he argued, could take a variety of forms and provided this was directed towards the efficacy of a Higher Power, the organisation of the belief system was irrelevant.[62] A year later Jorian Jenks was reminding him of the renaissance of belief among their mutual friends, '. . . a belief in Christianity in one form or another, in nature, in patriotism, and a profound mistrust of the slick, logical, mechanical, artificial kind of civilization which is being forced upon us in the name of an idealized Humanity'.[63]

Several men known both to Gardiner and Jenks had become members of the Kinship in

[58] Given the assiduousness with which Marabel Gardiner ordered and preserved her husband's archive, the argument that sensitive material may have been suppressed can hardly be sustained. While Gardiner's diaries are preserved on microfiche in CUL, there are no volumes for 1939–1944 and he probably thought it unwise to record his feelings throughout this difficult period.

[59] For Massingham and Gardiner's relationship, see Moore-Colyer, 'Back to Basics'. Since this article went to press Philip Conford's admirable *The origins of the organic movement* (2001) has appeared, and contains extensive reference to the Council for the Church and Countryside in context of the Christian roots of organic husbandry.

[60] Rather as prehistorians are finding to have been the case in Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain where there was little distinction between sacred and secular economic activities. (A. Grant, 'Economic or Symbolic? Animals and Ritual Behaviour', in P. Garside *et al.* (eds), *Sacred and Profane: Archaeology, Ritual and Religion* (1991), pp. 109–14.)

[61] *Springhead Ring Newsheet*, 49, 1950.

[62] Gardiner to George Every, 10 June 1944, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS G/5/1.

[63] Jenks to Gardiner, 8 July 1945, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS G/5/1.

Husbandry, an unofficial, informal grouping from a variety of backgrounds, who shared a common interest in organicism and a distrust of the highly mechanized, chemically-based agriculture perceived by officialdom to delineate the path of progress. I have written elsewhere of Gardiner's role in the founding of the twelve-man Kinship which first met in Edmund Blunden's rooms at Merton College Oxford in September 1941 and subsequently came together four times annually at various venues before its last meeting in August 1947.[64] In essence the Kinship saw itself as an informal working party concerned with influencing the evolution of post-war agricultural and rural policy and, as such, was able to impinge upon the development of such groupings as Montague Fordham's Rural Reconstruction Association, the Biodynamic Association and, most importantly, the Soil Association. The Kinship published the proceedings of the symposia, *Return to Husbandry*, edited by Blunden in 1943, and *The Natural Order*, edited, two years later, by Massingham, while most of its members regularly produced books and articles furthering the cause.

Among the various issues exercising the minds of the Kinship was the contemporary role for the Church as an organ of rural regeneration. For the Kinship, agriculture was a sacramental activity. It had always been so; pagan cultivators had farmed within a ritual context, and in the medieval world the church had blessed the fields, allowed its open nave to be used for the various festivals associated with the land, and been visibly and undeniably the centre of village life. This had all come to an end with the Laudian suppressions and Puritan aggression by pastors '. . . entirely without breeding or social authority' who '. . . preached doctrines which would sound strange in the ears of mild English rustics'.[65] For centuries the Church had ceased to have any intimate association with the cultivation of the soil and ways had to be sought whereby she could be recruited to foster an understanding of country life and to promote the vital rural qualities of '. . . patience, courage, faith, wisdom and manual skill'.[66] This issue was also of concern to a variety of other bodies including the Farmers' Action Council, the Church Union, the Church Social Action Committee, and the Rural Reconstruction Association, and a gathering of representatives met at Abbey House, Westminster towards the end of January 1943. After a great deal of discussion the meeting (co-ordinated by the Rev. Patrick McLaughlin, secretary of the Church Union) agreed that a deputation be despatched to the Church Assembly in March to raise with the assembled bishops the issue of the Church in rural England. Interestingly enough, the delegation comprised almost entirely members of the Kinship in Husbandry and two of its associates. The group was led by Rolf Gardiner, accompanied by the Tory historian Arthur Bryant and the Kentish landowner Lord Northbourne, author of the influential *Look to the Land*, both of whom were prominent Kinsmen. There were joined by Lord Bledisloe and R. G. Stapledon, but the final nominee, Sir Albert Howard refused, for reasons of his own, to be part of the enterprise.[67] The bishops were sufficiently impressed to direct Gardiner's delegation to a further

[64] Malcolm Chase has described the Kinship as an 'organised core' of ruralists whose most original thinkers were Gardiner and Lymington. He incorrectly claims that Howard and Stapledon were members, when in fact they were mere associates of the Kinship ('"This is no claptrap", this is our heritage', in C. Shaw and M. Chase (eds), *The Imagined Past: history and nostalgia* (1989), p. 138.

[65] G. A. Birmingham, in A. Bell (ed.), *The legacy of England* (1947), pp. 186–7. Several Kinship members contributed to this rather wistful volume.

[66] Alexander Penrose to the Bishop of Hereford, 21 Oct. 1943, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/6.

[67] McLaughlin to Gardiner, 12 Feb. 1943, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

meeting with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York at Lambeth Palace the upshot of which was the establishment of an Advisory Council for the Church and Countryside.

In view of the heterogenous makeup of the Advisory Council, which included Gardiner, Portsmouth and other ruralists under the chairmanship of the theologian Maurice Reckitt, there were bound to be conflicts as to aims, objectives and modes of operation.[68] Gardiner himself wanted a priesthood which would speak a new dogma in a living language relating man, earth and Holy Spirit, and he wanted an essentially 'bottom up' approach to reform. Yet, from the very first meeting of the Advisory Council, disillusionment began to bite. Writing to Philip Mairet in October 1943, he noted that the Council had fallen into the fatal error of trying to change the world by *diktat* from the top. Life, after all, '. . . grows from little local roots of creative endeavour and example' and no amount of 'formless, undignified unreligious' intellectual formulation could change that simple fact. But what could one expect, he felt with 'The motherly but uninspired old Bishop of Hereford benevolently opening the proceedings, Reckitt with his harsh crackly voice urging points like a circus-manager out of humour, "Cardinal" McLaughlin flapping his soft white hands and issuing a flow of facile exposition, ironically unaware of the absurdity of his stage-clerics manner'.[69] According to another participant, there was too much theorising about dubious agrarian doctrines, too many grandiloquent generalisations about love of earth, soil erosion and nostalgic emotionalism, and insufficient attention to the job in hand; that of building spiritually-enriched communities in rural England.[70] From the outset, the Advisory Council was confronted with serious and seemingly intractable spiritual difficulties. Gardiner, Portsmouth and their friends, in urging that the Christian approach to the countryside be rooted in the ecology of the natural world, were introducing a disturbingly pagan flavour unacceptable to many ecclesiastics and theologians.[71] This became even more alarming when it was proposed that T. S. Eliot be approached to evolve a 'Rite of Earth' which could be incorporated into Church services devised to commemorate rural festivals.[72] The Kinsmen wanted a dynamic 'revolutionary' Church which would genuinely engage with rural issues, would attempt to influence public opinion about the fundamental importance of farming to the nation, would reintroduce the old ploughing and harvesting services and would ensure that its ordinands undertook genuine farm work so as to understand the needs and aspirations of rural labour. To ecclesiastics sitting in the comfort of Abbey House this last demand would have seemed alarming and churchmen accused Gardiner, in particular, of defending obsolete methods for sentimental reasons and of positively promoting a dangerous pagan doctrine.[73]

[68] Reckitt, heir to the fortunes of Reckitt's of Hull, was co-founder of the Church Socialist League. He was a regular contributor to the *New English Weekly*, and the writer of worthy tomes on the social movement in the Church of England. It was through the Council for the Church and Countryside that Massingham met Reckitt who was to help him greatly with *The Tree of Life* (1943), a strange work which meditates upon the historical role of the Church in the English rural tradition.

[69] Gardiner to Mairet, 19 Oct. 1943, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

[70] Alexander Penrose to the Bishop of Hereford, 21 Oct. 1943, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

[71] David Peck to Gardiner 10 July 1945, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

[72] McLaughlin to Gardiner 4 May 1944, CUL, Rolf Gardiner, MSS, G/5.

[73] Jenks to Gardiner 15 July 1945, CUL, Rolf Gardiner, MSS G/5. Nearly ten years later Reckitt wrote rather sniffily to Gardiner that he was less interested in folkish revivals than in discovering new ways of expressing and preserving the vitality of the local and regional. Reckitt to Gardiner, 28 Dec. 1954, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

Yet, Jenks (who became part-time secretary to the Advisory Council following McLaughlin's breakdown in 1945) thought it might be helpful if the Church attempted '. . . to Christianize this new paganism, and itself be revitalized in the process'.[74]

Towards the end of 1945 the Advisory Council was presiding over the formally-constituted Council for the Church and Countryside, established under the auspices of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York with its headquarters at St Anne's Church House, Dean Street, of which the ailing McLaughlin was warden. The presidency was held by the Bishop of Hereford, assisted by several vice-presidents among whom were Lord Bledisloe, Montague Fordham, Massingham and Sir Albert Howard, while the Advisory Council itself continued to be chaired by Maurice Reckitt. As Secretary, Jorian Jenks carried the burden of the work of the Advisory Council whose essential role was to promote the establishment of Diocesan Associations which would further the work of the Council on a more local basis. Indeed, the hand of Jenks is readily detectable in the Council's briefing documents to Diocesan groups. In essence the Council emphasized the sacred nature of husbandry and underscored the importance of conservation measures, for since the land was a gift from God, sins against the land were sins against Creation. Equally the Council resolved to uphold the rights of the rural community since '. . . the certainty that a robust rural society, with its roots in the earth, is the necessary repository of certain values both cultural and spiritual which an *over*-urbanized and *over*-industrialized society, with its emphases upon the inorganic and the mechanical, is in danger of losing to the great imperilling of its vitality'.[75] Thus, working in concert with other groups the Council would help stem rural decline and the drift from the land. With Rolf Gardiner's prompting they accepted that financial problems, low wages and lack of decent housing and amenities were part of the problem, yet '. . . this problem cannot be solved by importing urban mass-amusements or transporting the countryman to them; but only by building up anew, and with new materials, the organic life of the village'. To achieve this noble objective, Diocesan groups would not merely include the representatives of the usual 'official' bodies and conventional clergymen who subscribed easily to the Thirty-nine Articles, but others like Gardiner who were brimful of heterodox but nonetheless valuable ideas. Indeed, 'it is perhaps the specific Christian task to bring such ideas to a specifically Christian focus', and to this end the Advisory Council drew up appropriate forms of service for Lammastide, Rogationtide and Plough Sunday all of which carry about them a powerful whiff of Gardinerian nature mysticism.[76]

Although an officially-constituted body, the Council was expected by the Church to operate without any specific allocation of funds, so that, as Jenks put it, '. . . our financial position can

[74] Jenks to Gardiner 15 July 1945, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5. Jenks was becoming a very busy man, serving also as part-time secretary for the Rural Reconstruction Association and the Economic Reform Club and becoming involved with the Soil Association towards the end of 1946. Pressure of work and the need to live near London had forced him to move with his family from Barnstaple to Seaford in Sussex in 1945. Here he had lived in McLaughlin's country house which had been occupied by the army during the war. The Jenks's were to be 'improving tenants' of the property (Jenks to Gardiner, 17 July 1945, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS G/5).

[75] British Library WP. 15088 (Miscellaneous Pamphlets, Council and Church in the Countryside).

[76] Details of the services were published by the SPCK and may be found in British Library 3409. GG. 35 and 3409. GG. 24. Gardiner himself was closely involved in the development of the Rogationtide service. The Council also published a series of Occasional Papers including *England, home and beauty* (by Massingham), *British agriculture and industrial trade* (by Jenks), *Earth and heaven* (by David Peck) and *The rural ministry* (by Reckitt).

best be described as incipient insolvency'.[77] This apart, several of the prime movers, including Gardiner, Massingham and the Rev. David Peck, had insufficient time to devote fully to the task. Even the redoubtable Jenks, who consistently bombarded Gardiner with complaints about ecclesiastical intransigence and the irritating nature of the priesthood in general, found his task increasingly burdensome and by midsummer of 1948 was looking forward to the day when the Council would employ a full-time organisational secretary.[78] Until then the enterprise would blunder on in a typically English amateur fashion.

Doctrinal difficulties lay at the heart of the Advisory Council's problems, and these were inevitably visited upon the Diocesan groups who, theoretically, were in the front line of the movement. As a practical man of action Gardiner himself found the Church representatives' obsession with academic abstractions and '. . . endless talk and intellectual analysis' profoundly frustrating, while constant argument made life difficult for the Diocesan groups who had begun to act.[79] Clerics like McLaughlin and Peck were concerned more with argument than fulfilment and Reckitt, for all his intellectual qualities, lacked any real understanding of the deeply spiritual issues involved in engagement with the natural environment and agricultural work and seasonality.[80] Gardiner strenuously argued that only by training its ordinands in the realities of farming could the Church realistically expect to aid the cause of rural regeneration. He had personally helped and encouraged the Rev. Ralph Bowman, vicar of Ashbrittle in Somerset, to farm his own glebe with the result that Bowman was now using his rectory as a base for farm training courses for students of theology.[81] But the Advisory Council regarded as derisory the prospect of ordinands working with their hands, and preferred to take academic counsel from Sir William Gavin who suggested that the way forward might be to 'ruralize' the priesthood by offering lectures in rural economy at the theological colleges. Gardiner dismissed this as farcical and beyond contempt. Since the future of Christendom in an increasingly industrial and secular world depended absolutely on relating faith and worship to the practical realities of working the land in conjunction with the natural environment, he held that academic lectures would be as worthless as they were futile.[82]

Among the few ecclesiastics who genuinely shared Gardiner's views and agonized over the lack of spiritual commitment of the Advisory Council was Neville Lovett (1869–1951), seventy-first Bishop of Salisbury. Lovett a simple, and godly man 'whose intellectual abilities were not of the kind that distinguished many previous holders', had been elevated to the See in 1936 and became widely renowned for his sincerity, common sense and genial character.[83] He was one of the few bishops to bring alive the concept of the Council for the Church and Countryside in his own diocese where he instigated Farm Sunday and Plough Sunday services and led

[77] Jenks to Gardiner 26 Sept. 1946, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS G/5.

[78] Jenks to Gardiner 30 June 1948, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS G/5.

[79] Gardiner to Bishop of Chichester, 4 Mar. 1946, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS G/5.

[80] Gardiner to Peck, 11 Mar. 1946, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS G/5.

[81] Bowman to Gardiner, 23 Sept. 1944; Gardiner to Bishop of Salisbury, 2 Apr. 1946 CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

[82] Gardiner to Bishop of Chichester 4 Mar. 1946; Gardiner to Bishop of Salisbury 2 April, 1946, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5. Gardiner set out his views on the role of the country parson in *Wessex: Letters from Springhead* 3, Spring 1943.

[83] Obituary in *The Times*, 10 Sept. 1951. Gardiner also commemorated Lovett in 'A Wessex bishop', *Wessex: Letters from Springhead* 4th ser., 4 (3), Whitsun, 1954.

Rogationtide processions.[84] Springhead itself was the focal point of the Fontmell Magna Rogation service in 1944 where the physical fact of water springing from the ground was employed as symbolic of divine dispensation, of life, of the spirit. As the bishop processed around the parish, followed by Gardiner, his friends, estate workers and other villagers, prayers were intoned and hymns sung at nine different locations, each representative of some aspect of the farming world. This was a fully participatory service with readings and lessons offered by farmers and their workers at the various halts; in a meadow, a cornfield, on the village green, at a farmyard or elsewhere. Pagan associations apart, the overall tone of what was by all accounts a moving service was undeniably Christian, and in thanking the Bishop several days later Gardiner wrote, 'I felt that under your simple guidance of our thoughts and feelings something in this place and in the hearts of the people was opened to receive a Divine Blessing and Encouragement'.[85]

While doctrinal disagreements, ecclesiastical intransigence and over-indulgence in theological abstractions meant that the Council for the Church and Countryside in reality achieved very little, one event, carried out under its auspices, did enjoy considerable success. Initiated by a suggestion of Gardiner and organized (almost single-handedly) by Jorian Jenks, this was 'An Encounter', a debate between representatives of the organic school of husbandry and those of mainstream agricultural officialdom, including the farmers' and agricultural workers' unions and the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. Gardiner approached the 'Encounter', (scheduled to take place at the Alliance Hall, Caxton Street in London on 16 November 1945) in a state of great excitement. The rapid mechanization of agriculture during the War and the growing influence of external capital over its fortunes had lent to the adherents of organicism a high degree of urgency and coherence. The 'Encounter' would be a defining moment for the organic proselytes and would establish the serious intent of the Kinship in Husbandry. To the Earl of Portsmouth, who was returning from a business visit to the USA for the occasion, Gardiner wrote breathlessly, '. . . We shall face the intellgentsia of the farming world and we must therefore not only stick to our guns, but fire them accurately and with telling ammunition.[86] Lord Justice Scott had enthusiastically agreed to chair the event, so much so that in an unprecedented gesture he adjourned his Court on the day of the 'Encounter'. Gardiner made sure that Scott was well-briefed by both proponents and opponents and in sketching out the organic case he was at pains to emphasize that his side were *not* opposed to technological progress, but merely insistent that technology and automation '. . . should be subordinate to human and social problems of true welfare, health and balance'. The 'Encounter', he continued, would inevitably comprise a clash between faith and insight and practical expediency. 'The danger is always that the self-styled "practical men" oversimplify and thereby ridicule the pleas

[84] Throughout the 1940s and 1950s Gardiner received numerous letters from rural parsons who, under his inspiration, had revived Lammas, Plough Monday, and other services. Some, keen to establish a symbolic link between earth and Church, had contrived to have their bread baked from wheat grown in the parish. Among the ruralists and organicists of the inter-war and wartime periods there was an almost mystical obsession with the locally-baked loaf. Hence Massingham, 'Through the watermill, the bridge between field and home, England can take root again in her own earth; through the watermill, the bread that was once a symbol of communion between the divine and the human will be a mockery no more' (*Where man belongs* (1946), pp. 210–2).

[85] CUL, Gardiner to Bishop of Salisbury, 16 May 1944, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

[86] CUL, Gardiner to Portsmouth 17 May 1945, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

of those concerned with values and long-term effects and dub them "idealists". It is so very easy to generalize and fail to listen to the qualifying arguments of these endeavouring to present profounder views than those in fashion'.[87]

The 'Encounter' took place, according to Jenks who wrote the introduction to the edited proceedings, 'between men of undoubted goodwill and religious sincerity'.[88] After Lord Justice Scott had concluded his rather ponderous opening remarks, Portsmouth launched into a full-frontal attack on the unnatural excesses of modern farming, arguing that the burden of proof '. . . lies with the proud innovators of modern technical progress that what they are inaugurating will not harm unborn generations'.[89] The argument was further developed by Kinship member J. E. Hosking, farmer, seeds merchant, Director of English Flax and President of the National Institute of Agricultural Botany. Hosking advanced the view that mechanization of agriculture should be employed to reduce human drudgery and should invariably be subordinated to human skill. Deploring the economic concept of 'output per man', he strenuously argued that output in terms of quantity and quality per unit of land should be the fundamental criterion of agricultural progress. Gardiner himself took up the theme of manpower on the land. Science, 'abstract agricultural education', an indifference to the 'society of the fields, woods and workshops' and an obsession with bringing urban amenities to the countryside would merely exacerbate rural decline. Only local self-sufficiency, the development of land settlement and the concentration on practical, estate-based rural apprenticeships with prospects of advancement towards yeoman ownership would achieve the desired result. In his patrician manner he flowed towards his peroration;

> Let our talents be applied as human mycorrhiza feeding the very tissues of rural life rather than as spreaders of inorganic intellectual fertilizers! What is needed is a religious vocation, an espousal of the cause of the land for its own sake, a realization that the life of the earth cannot go on unless there are those who feel called and chosen to cultivate the soil. Economic, that is to say cash inducements, plus amenities and a little culture is not enough. Men want duties.

Given the European political situation in 1945, the acute food shortages throughout the continent as a whole, and the compelling need to maintain the thrust of food production at home, it was going to be a sisyphean task indeed to convince the sceptics of the longer-term social and cultural benefits of agro-ecological sustainability. Gardiner was roundly condemned by W. A. Hill, Public Relations Officer of the National Farmers Union (NFU) for his 'Merrie-Englandism'. He had fallen into deep error; 'He hears the music of country life and loves it – for itself; he would sacrifice the purpose of agriculture to his love of its aesthetic delights'. Portsmouth's engagement with humus and the iniquities of the inorganic world were all very well, retorted G. K. Knowles, General Secretary of the NFU, but agriculture had to progress in

[87] CUL, Gardiner to Lord Justice Scott, 28 Aug. 1945, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

[88] *Encounter: Agriculture or Agri-Industry* (a copy at British Library 8288 f. 81), p. 26.

[89] He also descanted on the theme of environmental despoliation of overseas countries to satisfy the demand for food from an industrialized England, echoing his comments in the preface to Carey McWilliams', *Ill fares the land* (1945) p. 11, 'Those of us who sat down to eat our cheap imported food before the war were in fact too often eating ruined homes, ruined lives and ruined soil'.

the interests of the country and, in any case, good farmers always plied their craft with the interests of nature in mind. Man had the sacred duty to produce affordable food in amounts adequate for all, observed the Technical Officer of the NFU, G. D. Stevenson. Moreover, he had a sacred duty to reduce drudgery and fatigue among his fellows thereby to free their minds and bodies for leisure and reflection. Thus Man should '. . . seek the bounteous gifts that Nature has in store through the agency of mechanization and use them to the common good'. A rather different perspective was brought to bear by Frank Rollinson, representing the agricultural workers' union. The workers, he claimed, *demanded* the machine and desired a highly mechanized and efficient agricultural economy. Gently reminding the patrician opposition that the country was about to enter an era of planned economy under a Labour government, Rollinson pulled no punches in declaring that the time was fast approaching when landowners and farmers would no longer be allowed to do as they wished, but would be forced to realize that ownership implied stewardship. Accordingly they would have a bounden duty to produce the best crops and livestock for the community and to ensure that those labouring for them enjoyed the same educational and economic facilities as city workers. As the fundamental principle of the Kinship in Husbandry was to stand four-square against any vision of a planned economy, these words would have struck a hollow note with its members.

Jorian Jenks believed the 'Encounter' to have been a success in the sense of establishing the Kinship and the Church and Countryside movement as serious players in the post-war rural debate, but very little in the way of concrete progress seems to have been achieved.[90] Gardiner, for all his initial enthusiasm as a member of the Advisory Council for the Church and Countryside, resigned from the body in the spring of 1946, although he continued to correspond regularly with its various executives. Together with Philip Mairet (who was shortly to become editor of *The Frontier*, the journal of Sir William Moberley's Christian Frontier Council), he persistently cajoled the Council to co-opt more practical men to its proceedings rather than relying upon the dubious advice of academics. But it was all to little avail. The Council for the Church and Countryside, despite its good intentions, failed to become more than a minor footnote in the history of rural development.[91] Or, so it appears at first glance. During the post-war years a number of Christian organizations, including the Federation for Rural Evangelism and the Rural Theology Association were quietly emphasising the parallels between the rhythm of the seasons and the rhythm of disciplined prayer, alongside the wholesomeness of digging the garden and the theology of work. In the meantime the Rural Studies Department of the Luton Industrial College, a Methodist endowment, was urging its student pastors to give full practical support to those involved with stewardship of the land and with small rural industries.[92] How far the earlier body's activities influenced these later initiatives it is difficult to determine, although it is probably significant that no reference to the work of the wartime

[90] Jenks to Gardiner, 17 Nov. 1945, CUL, Rolf Gardiner MSS, G/5.

[91] Perhaps, as C. S. Orwin observed in 1949, the physical isolation, general demoralization and inadequate stipends of many rural clergy may have limited their enthusiasm for the extra effort demanded by Diocesan groups formed under the Advisory Council. (C. S. Orwin, *Country planning: a study of rural problems* (1949).

[92] R. H. Luke, *The commission of the church in the countryside. The Charles Coulson lecture, Luton Industrial College* (1982). The function of the College was 'To make the Christian Faith relevant in the realms of technology, industry and commerce'. It exists no more, its building sadly relegated to a nightclub.

Council appears in the 1990 Anglican report, *Faith in the Countryside.*[93] This weighty volume, which drew evidence from a very wide range of sources, nonetheless nods a tribute to Rolf Gardiner and his fellow ruralists in all but name. It urges rejection of the view that the environment exists merely for the gratification and delectation of the human species and while recognising their pre-Christian roots, insists that Rogation and Lammas Days, along with well-dressing, bound-beating and other esoteric rural activities be marked by Church services. Such would cement bonds within the rural community and 'offer an enormous evangelistic opportunity'.[94] Gardiner would have been delighted, and even more so by the Report's frank admission of the failure of theological colleges to present the rural ministry to ordinands as challenging and exciting, and its insistence that in the future Dioceses should ensure that their rural clergy were exposed, via formal courses, to the practical realities of the lives of those whose living depended on the land.[95]

IV

In much the same way as the view of Rolf Gardiner and his associates as to the development of the rural economy were out of tune with the times, so was their quasi-mystical Man/Earth/Heaven thinking out of kilter with a Church whose attention was increasingly focussed on the squalid conditions of the inner city, and a declining proportion of whose ministers were themselves from rural backgrounds. But the timbre of the ruralist message today rings very differently, especially in middle-class England where organicism, holism and ecologism (admittedly shorn, for most people, of their transcendental implications) hold centre stage and where the Soil Association is among the most respected of national institutions. Perhaps Gardiner recognized that this would come to pass as he continued to ram home the organicist theme in post-war lectures and lecture tours at home and abroad. Certainly his farming and forestry work at Springhead and Cranborne Chase, for which he was to receive international recognition, attracted a great deal of attention, and over the years many visitors (including, in 1961, a group of African farmers) made their way to Fontmell Magna. Gardiner's personal energy remained undiminished. Besides being closely involved with family business concerns in London and Nyasaland (Malawi), he continued to sit on a variety of bodies concerned with landscape, forestry and rural industries and was engaged in the 1950s with the co-ordination of opposition to atomic research. In parallel with these activities, he took pains to nurture the Springhead Ring whose dancers and singers maintained their contact with Germany during the early post-war years by way of reciprocal exchanges. As dancing had given the younger Gardiner such profound pleasure, so the Springhead Ring music concerts largely organized by himself and his wife Marabel, became of increasing importance as the years went by. Ring concerts, primarily of choral and baroque music, were held at Springhead, London, and other venues in England and Germany, and as they attracted international performers, so they attracted the interest of the broadcasting authorities.[96]

[93] *Faith in the countryside. A report presented to the Archbishops of York and Canterbury* (1990).

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 49–51.

[96] Purcell's 'Dido and Aeneas' and Handel's 'Acis and Galatea' were performed at Springhead in 1961 and 1965 respectively, each with a distinguished cast.

This brief paragraph does little more than hint at the scope and scale of the enterprises with which Rolf Gardiner was involved before his unexpected death in November 1971 following a hip operation. He was a rare and engaging man; a free spirit of high intelligence, profound sensitivity, passionate sincerity and an absolute belief in his own convictions. Whether or not he was 'Mr Rolf Gardiner, the English neo-Nazi' remains open to question and will only be resolved after careful and exhaustive examination of his papers. For the moment, however flawed and even reprehensible some aspects of his world-view may have been, he stands revealed as an enigmatic and complex English paternalist and patriot whose intellectual and practical influence on later generations of organicists has been profound, and whose original thinking on issues of rural development and sustainability are now becoming common currency.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Farming high and low, 1850–1914*

by Cormac Ó Gráda

This imposing volume brings to a close a project stretching back almost half a century. In style and format it replicates its predecessors, but its scope is broader and it easily takes the prize for bulk and weight. The delays besetting the *Agrarian History of England and Wales* enterprise have long been fair game for reviewers.[1] In this respect Volume Seven arrives with more grey hair than most; nearly one chapter in three contains no references at all to works published since 1990, and the citations in a further fourteen stop at 1994 or earlier. Though a pity, this turns out not to matter too much, since little published in the 1990s contradicts what is presented here. A more regrettable result of the nine-year gap between Volume Seven and its predecessor is that half the entire set is now out of print. The *Agrarian History* has few rivals in the procrastination stakes for multi-author, multi-volume projects. The *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (1952–1989) and the *New History of Ireland* (still awaiting completion four decades after its launch) spring to mind, but they are exceptional. Compare the recent five-volume *Oxford History of the British Empire*, which involved more authors than *AHEW* yet managed to produce all volumes almost simultaneously. Or take the innovative and lavishly illustrated four-volume sets of *Histoire de la France rurale* (published in 1975–76), *Histoire de la France urbaine* (1980–83), *Histoire de la vie privée* (1985–87), and *Histoire de la vie réligieuse* (1988–91), all planned and executed within a few years. The same goes for the ambitious three-volume *Histoire de la population européenne* (1997–99), edited with an multinational cast by Jean-Pierre Bardet and Jacques Dupâquier, and both first (1981) and second (1994) editions of Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey's *New Economic History of Britain.*[2]

But back to Volume Seven. It covers a period subjected to a 'great rewriting' (p. 2152) in the 1960s (notably in the work of F. M. L. Thompson, T. W. Fletcher, E. J. T. Collins, and E. L. Jones). That revisionism receives further elaboration and corroboration here. Coverage is ambitious, detailed, definitive, and almost encyclopaedic, and by no means limited to the economic history

* E. J. T. Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, VII, *1850–1914* (CUP, 2000). Two parts continuously paginated, xl + 2277 pp. 140 figs; 279 tables. £195.00. I am grateful to Peter Solar for useful comments on an earlier version of this review.

[1] F. M. L. Thompson mentions 'a meeting chaired by R. H. Tawney in 1956' in his review of vol. VI while Mark Overton refers to the twenty-one year journey between original planning meeting and publication of vol. VI in 1989. See F. M. L. Thompson, *EcHR* 43 (1990), pp. 489–90; M. Overton, *AgHR* 38 (1990), p. 188. See too Paul Ashby, *AgHR* 30 (1982), pp. 80–2 (on vol. I); B. M. S. Campbell, *AgHR* 37 (1989), pp. 188–92 and P. D. A. Harvey, *EcHR* 43 (1990), pp. 739–40 (on vol. II); G. Clark, *JEcH* 52 (1992), p. 709 (on vol. III).

[2] T. W. Moody *et al.* (eds), *A New Economic History of Ireland* (10 vols, 1976–2001); Georges Duby and Armand Wallon (eds), *Histoire de la France rurale* (4 vols, 1975–6); J.-P. Bardet and J. Dupâquier (eds), *Histoire de la population européenne* (3 vols, 1997–9); R. Floud and D. N. McCloskey (eds), *New Economic History of Britain* (2 vols, 1981; 3 vols, 1994); William Roger Louis (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (5 vols, 1998–9).

of the agricultural sector or the landlord-tenant-labourer nexus. Naturally, High Farming and the Great Depression feature strongly, but there is much too on rural trade and industry, on food processing, on farm organizations, and even on what agronomist Daniel Hall in 1913 dubbed 'the residential and holiday making element, that colonizes the countryside'.[3] Richard Perren contributes excellent accounts of veterinary products, milling, and food manufacturing and marketing, and the chapters by Anne Digby on local government, John Fisher on politics, Alun Howkins on socio-cultural history, and Nicholas Goddard on institutions help move the volume beyond agricultural to agrarian and rural history. Occasional obscure words enliven the text – e.g. 'warping' water, 'dredge corn', 'buffum', 'bodging', 'ruderal' (pp. 397, 425, 584, 929, 1665). Though there is very little cross-referencing, the editor has ensured that there is not much duplication either. Most of the contributors will be familiar to readers of this *Review*, since most of them have published here, several more than once. In this review a brief assessment of the agricultural sector in the light of Volume Seven (section I) is followed by an appraisal of its perspectives on farm workers, on land owners, and on farmers (sections II-IV). Sections V and VI raise some methodological issues, and a brief section VII concludes.

I

Where does Volume Seven leave the farming sector? Early in the nineteenth century the growth of English agriculture helped to fashion the first industrial nation. Indeed, recent assessments of productivity gains during the Industrial Revolution have prompted one leading economic historian to ask why Britain specialized in manufacturing rather than farming.[4] Productivity growth continued in the period between Waterloo and mid-century, when labour input in agriculture reached an all time high of about two million. A mark of farming's achievement is that in those decades the drop in the cost of foodstuffs was almost as big as that in the cost of manufactured produce.[5] The agricultural history literature – and in this respect, Volume Seven is no exception (e.g. pp. 75–6, 130–1, 302–4) – focuses much more on the terms of trade within agriculture than on the relative price of food. Perhaps not enough is made of the fact that during the period under review the relative cost of foodstuffs fell, though slowly.[6] In the absence of free trade it would surely have risen substantially.

Rather paradoxically these productivity gains were achieved against a backdrop of doubt and conflict about the competitiveness of British agriculture (pp. 138–40). In the era of High Farming, high transport costs offered a respite and prices continued to be buoyant, prompting one

[3] A. D. Hall, *A pilgrimage of British farming* (1913), p. 100.

[4] N. F. R. Crafts, 'British industrialization in international context', *J. Interdisciplinary Hist.* 19 (1989), pp. 415–28.

[5] A statement based on comparing the Rousseaux indices for 'total agricultural products' and 'principal industrial products' for 1810/19 and 1840/49 (as given in B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, *Abstract of British historical statistics* (1962), pp. 471–2).

[6] The Rousseaux index suggests that between the early 1860s and the Great War the price of manufactured products fell by 12.6 per cent and that of agricultural products by 15.4 per cent (Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract*, pp. 472–3). Alternatively Afton and Turner's estimates (pp. 1888–9) imply a drop of about 16.7 per cent in the cost of agricultural output between 1870/76 and 1911/13, while Charles Feinstein's estimates of GDP at current and constant prices imply a rise in the GDP deflator of about 4.6 per cent over the same period (C. H. Feinstein, *Statistical tables of national income, expenditure and output of the UK, 1855–1965* (1972), T8, T10).

commentator rhetorically to wonder why 'with free trade, almost everything in the shape of food is getting dearer?' (p. 130). But commercial policy, technology, and consumer demand were combining to produce a significant drop in the import price of tillage relative to pastoral products.

Because tillage bulked so large in aggregate output and because tillage farmers were worst hit, both contemporary controversy and, until relatively recently, the historiography concentrated on the fate of that sector. Yet after mid-century United Kingdom imports of pastoral products rose far more than those of tillage products. This holds for both volumes and values, though the distinction between them is important. Wheat imports rose six times in volume and three times in value between 1854 and 1914, while butter imports rose three times in volume and seven times in value. Over the same period, bacon and ham imports rose thirteen times in volume but twenty-three times in value (Table 45.1a). Shifting relative prices explain why, despite the disproportionate rise in meat and dairy imports, breadgrains gave way to livestock in domestic production. The share of crops in the agricultural output of England and Wales fell from over three-fifths in the late 1860s to half in the early 1890s and slightly over two-fifths on the eve of the Great War (pp. 1908–09). The prices of livestock products held their own, as did rents in tillage areas. Fortunately for policy makers, this was one dog that did not bark. How much higher would the price of milk, butter, and meat have been had Britain not opted for free trade?

Britain's annual agricultural census, dating from 1866, has prompted several estimates of the sector's net output or gross value added. Michael Turner (Ch. 3) reviews this work and adds his own important glosses. So how did agriculture fare in terms of productivity? Despite the pessimistic prognoses of classical economists – Malthus and Ricardo had raised the spectre of diminishing returns to a fixed landmass, Marx the slower advances in 'the sciences that directly form the specific basis of agriculture rather than of industry'[7] – the record is a good one. If Turner (pp. 317–20) is correct, total factor productivity (TFP) rose faster on the land than off it in this period. He suggests an annual growth rate of between 0.47 and 0.65 per cent (depending on the output index used) between 1871 and 1911, respectable when compared to the 0.4–0.5 per cent estimated by others for the economy as a whole. How does this growth compare to earlier? A good deal of uncertainty surrounds productivity growth before 1850, but Bob Allen's estimates suggest TFP growth of the same order as that found by Turner – 0.6 per cent in 1700–1800 and by 0.5 per cent in 1800–50.[8] All these results are somewhat sensitive to the weights and deflators used. Note that the productivity estimates refer to Great Britain or the United Kingdom, while the rest of Volume Seven is about England and Wales. Another interesting implication of Turner's numbers is that productivity growth did not slacken during the Great Depression.

II

As noted, employment on English and Welsh farms peaked *c.* 1850. Between then and 1914 the number of male farmers and relatives employed dropped by eight per cent, that of male farm labourers and servants by 31 per cent (pp. 1972–74). English agriculture remained distinctive

[7] Nathan Rosenberg, 'Karl Marx on the economic role of science', in his *Perspectives on technology* (1976), p. 136.

[8] R. Matthews, C. Feinstein, and J. Odling-Smee, *British economic growth, 1856–1973* (1982), p. 208; R. Floud, 'Britain, 1860–1914: a survey', in R. Floud and D. N. McCloskey (eds), *A new economic history of Britain* (2nd edn, 1994), II, p. 5; R. C. Allen, 'Agriculture during the Industrial Revolution', in ibid., I, p. 111.

in its disproportionate reliance on non-family labour. Labourers still accounted for nearly three-quarters of the labour force on the eve of the Great War.

James Caird's wage data imply that the market for farm labour was less integrated in 1850 than in Arthur Young's time.[9] There was still significant regional variation in wages even on the eve of the Great War, though the data reproduced here (pp. 831, 1993–2019) point to some integration between 1850 and 1914. No clear pattern as to the timing of that integration emerges, however. It is curious that inter-county wage gaps failed to narrow more, given the considerable migration from low to high wage areas, here expertly documented by Brian Short (pp. 1271–96); however, those gaps would have been wider still in the absence of that migration.[10]

Over two centuries ago Malthus noted how 'the sons of labourers are very apt be stunted in their growth, and are a long while arriving at maturity'. Here Peter Dewey raises the possibility that 'by about 1850, and for several decades thereafter' farm labourers in the south of England were undernourished to the point of physical impairment. Low wages meant poor food, and poor food meant low productivity (pp. 854–5). Recent anthropometric analysis corroborates this view. Roderick Floud and his colleagues have shown that malnutrition held the adult heights of about one-third of English working-class males to 65 inches or less, while Nobel laureate Robert Fogel's energy accounting implies that the bottom tenth or so of the English population was still seriously malnourished *c.* 1800.[11] Such findings underpin the bleaker picture of living standards in industrializing Britain highlighted in recent studies. They also imply that low wages did not necessarily imply lower labour costs: they could reflect lower work intensity. Over a decade ago Gregory Clark suggested comparing the ratio of piece rates to day rates as an indication of the variation in work intensity across counties.[12] In practice the comparison may not be so easy since, as Peter Dewey reminds us (p. 843), 'a distinction must be made between the piecework done by the regular labour force and that done by casual labour'. Moreover, piecework was more likely on large farms (p. 844).

The substantial increase in real wages after 1850 (pp. 835–36) was thus both due to and responsible for higher productivity. Presumably increasing literacy played a role too, a possibility not addressed here.[13] The rise in the ratio of husbandmen to those working with crops is also likely to have made the stock of farm labour more skilled. Such factors must bias most cross-section and time-series comparisons of agricultural wage data. This may be seen from comparing coefficients of variation (CVs) across English counties in cash wages, in earnings in kind, and in the earnings of two specialist categories of farm labour in 1902–3

[9] J. Caird, *English agriculture in 1850–51* (1852), p. 474.

[10] George R. Boyer, 'Labour migration in southern and eastern England, 1861–1901', *European Rev. Economic History* 1 (1997), pp. 209–12.

[11] R. Floud, K. Wachter and A. Gregory, *Height, health and history: nutritional status in the United Kingdom, 1750–1980* (1990); R. Fogel, 'Second thoughts on the European escape from hunger: famines, chronic malnutrition, and mortality rates', in S. Osmani (ed.), *Nutrition and poverty* (1992), pp. 266–71.

[12] Gregory Clark, 'Productivity growth without technological change in European agriculture: a reply to Komlos', *JEcH* 49 (1989), pp. 979–91; id., 'Labour productivity in British agriculture 1300–1860', in B. M. S. Campbell and M. Overton (eds), *Land, labour and livestock: historical studies in European agricultural productivity* (1991), pp. 211–35. See too C. Ó Gráda, *Ireland: a new economic history 1780–1939* (1994), pp. 337–42.

[13] Compare David Mitch, 'Learning by doing among Victorian farmworkers: a case study in the biological and cognitive foundations of skill acquisition', *London School of Economics Working Papers in Economic History*, 16 (1994).

TABLE 1. The variation in money wages and earnings per week, 1902–3

	Mean (s.)	*Coefficient of Variation*
Cash wages	15.2	0.144
Earnings	17.79	0.108
Horsemen's earnings	19.26	0.086
Shepherds' earnings	19.93	0.092

Source: derived from Collins (ed.) *Agrarian History*, VII, pp. 2007–08, 2010–11.

(see Table 1). Clearly, payments in kind compensated in part for low cash wages, and high wages in part reflected higher proportions of more skilled labour (pp. 828–9). Thus not allowing for the shifting heterogeneity of farm labour exaggerates the extent of regional variation and underestimates the degree of convergence.

III

In *English agriculture in 1850–51* James Caird had a good deal to say about land tenure. Though he extolled landlords for 'fair and generous dealing', he was obsessed by farmers' need for security for their fixed capital. Caird claimed that agriculture was not helped by tenant right, which he deemed subject to abuse and fraud, and called for more improving leases 'with liberal covenants' instead. Agreements that made no allowance for inflation and shifting factor demands were not going to work, however, and by 1914 leases were a dead issue. Relative to Caird, landlords hardly feature in Hall's *Pilgrimage*.[14] The contrast is a measure of the shrinking influence of the landed interest in this period. Volume Seven ably chronicles the legislative measures, including compulsory compensation for tenant improvements, that cut landlord power (pp. 793–99). Though differences between farmer and proprietor were inevitable, English landlordism had a legitimacy lacking in the rest of the United Kingdom. Expressions such as 'eviction', 'ejection', 'absenteeism', and 'rackrent' are absent here.

In the course of a fine account of the decline of the landed aristocracy J. V. Beckett (pp. 716–9) recycles F. M. L. Thompson's findings on the dispersal of landed estates on the eve of the Great War. Thompson's 'flood' of 0.8 million acres sold in 1910–14 attracted comment at the time, but it bears noting that it represented only 0.4 per cent of the land area per annum. Here a little comparative perspective may serve. Continuous data on land sales of five hectares or above in England, available since 1946/7, show that the aggregate acreage of land bought and sold annually has averaged slightly less than two per cent of all farm land since then. In Denmark the proportion on the market was three to four per cent c. 1900, but in the depressed early 1930s it reached eight per cent. England's pre-1914 'flood' also seems less apocalyptic when compared to the transfers that followed the creation of the Incumbered Estates Court in Ireland in 1849.[15] Indeed some purging of the most hard-pressed proprietors may have been overdue.

[14] Caird, *English agriculture*, pp. 504, 506–09; Hall, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 85, 148–9.

[15] Collins (ed.), *Agrarian History*, VII, p. 718; F. M. L. Thompson, *English landed society in the nineteenth century* (1963), p. 322; Andrés Eiríksson and C. Ó Gráda, *Estate records of the famine* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 51–66.

There is some duplication in the treatment of landlord investment (Beckett, pp. 734–41; Holderness, pp. 875–83). Three contributors discuss underdrainage, a key component of landlord investment in these decades (Brassley, pp. 514–521; Beckett, pp. 734–5; Holderness, pp. 888–93). Unresolved issues remain. Was landlord investment a function of the farm size distribution on an estate? What, if any, was the regional variation in the rate of such investment? What was the rate of return? How did owner-occupiers fare relative to tenants both before and after the 1870s? Was England's tenurial system a boon or a burden?

IV

Travelling around England in 1910–12 Daniel Hall had found 'in every district ... good and bad farmers close together'. That sounds plausible: it was (and probably still is) easier for incompetent agents to survive in farming than in most other activities. But how much easier? Hall also asserted that in Scotland the 'general level of farming' was high: 'there not only are the good very good, but those at the bottom of the scale are still respectable farmers'.[16] For some purposes the average is enough. For those interested in total factor productivity or yield per acre or market response it is enough to know the average or representative response. But sometimes it would be nice to know more, and one misses in Volume Seven a less impressionistic measure of the range of performance described by Hall.[17] Gordon Mingay's assessment of farmers in Ch. 11 merely contrasts 'the small working farmers, often untutored and ignorant' and 'the manager of a farm running to a thousand acres or more'. Later he juxtaposes the 'well-informed progressive farmer' and the 'ill-educated rustic', adding that 'the majority, no doubt, fell somewhere between the two extremes' (pp. 762, 804). But that is not telling us much. Nor is the accompanying claim that 'many' relied too heavily on ill-founded ideas of neighbours, seed-merchants or 'even an elderly stockman or shepherd' (p. 804) based on any systematic analysis. Systematic analysis is not easy, because the significant number of surviving farm accounts (see pp. 134–5) are probably as atypical as the farms visited by Caird or Hall. But Mingay's account relies too much on over-familiar sources such as the gloomy Rider Haggard (on whom also see pp. 209–10), whom he invokes no fewer that twenty times.

Mingay argues against placing 'too much' emphasis on the conservatism of farmers (p. 805). But how much is 'too much'? Other contributors are more critical of the farmer. B. A. Holderness deems Rider Haggard's negative verdict on the dairy farmer 'essentially true' (p. 478), and argues that the resistance of pig and poultry farmers to cooperation cost them dear (pp. 478, 489, 490), while Paul Brassley's expert surveys of research, science, and education are also critical of the farmers (pp. 606, 616–20). However, one interpretation of Turner's productivity findings is that farmers' performance did not deteriorate over the period.

V

Comparative insights from agricultural developments elsewhere are few in Volume Seven. There is virtually nothing on agriculture in Germany, France, Denmark, or Ireland. The challenge of

[16] Hall, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 150–1.

[17] Compare B. Short *et al.*, *The National Farm Survey, 1940–3* (1999).

van Zanden's stimulating analysis of comparative performance of European agriculture before the Great War, and its 'surprising' finding that British agriculture stagnated after 1870 relative to everywhere else, are not met.[18] It must be admitted that van Zanden's strategy of estimating output in wheat units biases the outcome against countries such as free trading Britain and Ireland, where the output share of (high value) meat and dairy products grew most in this period. Still, there is a case to be answered. Van Zanden attributes the poor performance of British agriculture to structural and institutional factors: the large average size of farms, the reluctance of farmers to cooperate, and the lack of state-sponsored extension services. New reaping technologies increased the optimal size of the corn farm, but smaller farms were better geared to dairying and animal husbandry. In an era of rising real wages, the farmer who relied mainly on his own labour had the advantage. It is significant how little the farm size distribution in England and Wales changed between 1875 and 1915 (pp. 1836–76). We still don't quite know why. Is it because it is nearly always slow to do so, or because farm size does not matter very much? Starting conditions could generate inefficiencies over a long period: it is said of the French revolution that one of its enduring legacies was 'the survival of countless farms that were too poor to afford to invest or to overhaul their methods of production'.[19]

In terms of methodology Volume Seven is, like the rest of the *Agrarian History*, rather insular and old-fashioned. The citations are preponderantly to English sources. In the bibliography I counted forty-one articles published in this *Review* since 1960, and thirty in the *Economic History Review*, but only nine in *Agricultural History*, five in the *Journal of Economic History*, and one in *Explorations in Economic History*. Nor does Volume Seven yield much to cliometric approaches to the past. There is no systematic sampling and hardly any application of even rudimentary econometric techniques (except on pp. 134–5 and in a footnote on p. 1185). Only John Chartres and Michael Turner show much enthusiasm for sustained quantification. In his lengthy analysis of rural non-agricultural employment, Chartres draws further mileage from a measure of regional concentration devised and dubbed the localization quotient by Belfast's Leslie Clarkson, while Turner is responsible for the output and productivity estimates and, with Bethanie Afton, the extended data section (pp. 1757–2140). Overall, however, the failure of cliometric analysis to make an impact on English agricultural historians is a pity, since it offers insights into several of the issues broached here. For example:

(a) The repeal of the Corn Laws 'mattered'. But while there is no ambiguity about its effect on real wages, its impact on output and distribution depended on how it affected the terms of trade. Since Britain's economic might probably gave it substantial leverage on world markets in mid-century, repeal probably damaged the manufacturing sector a little.[20]

(b) The decline in wheat prices in England between the 1870s and the 1910s was much greater than that warranted by the fall in transport costs alone. It benefited both non-agricultural and

[18] J. L. van Zanden, 'The first green revolution: the growth of production and productivity in European agriculture, 1870–1914', *EcHR* 44 (1991), pp. 215–39.

[19] J.-Ch. Asselain, cited in F. Aftalion, *The French revolution: an economic interpretation* (1990), p. 193.

[20] D. N. McCloskey, 'Magnanimous Albion: free trade and British national income, 1841–1881', *Explorations in Economic Hist.* 17 (1980), pp. 303–20; J. G. Williamson, 'The impact of the corn laws just prior to repeal', *ibid.*, 27 (1990), pp. 123–56; D. A. Irwin, 'Welfare effects of British free trade: debate and evidence from the 1840s', *J. Political Economy* 96 (1988), pp. 1142–64.

agricultural labour. The fall of about 29 per cent in cereal prices reduced the return on tillage land by nearly two-fifths but increased that on pasture land by one-seventh.[21]

(c) Though some farmers may have responded to the grain invasion by growing more corn, the supply elasticities of cereal production in Britain during these decades, though small, were on a level with elasticities elsewhere.[22]

(d) Despite the 'early release' of labour from agriculture during the Industrial Revolution, imperfections in the market for unskilled labour were costing about three per cent of GDP *c.* 1830. High rates of internal migration failed to close interregional wage gaps in the following decades. However, that migration kept the gaps from becoming much wider in the period under review.[23]

(e) The English landscape of small fields and uneven ridge-and-furrow surfaces held back the diffusion of the mechanical reaper in the 1850s and 1860s. The delay made sense, however, since the removal of the obstacles to mechanization would not have paid.[24]

Volume Seven is full of its own qualitative and sometimes subtler and more nuanced insights into these topics. For instance, Collins' discussion of the political economy of post-Repeal protectionism is excellent (pp. 54–68), as are Roy Brigden's on the diffusion of farm machinery and Brian Short's on internal migration (pp. 505–13, 1271–96). But the reluctance to invoke and indeed confront the cliometric findings is regrettable.

VI

Surveys, even careful and wide-ranging ones like this, can never hope to cover all the bases. John Chartres' useful overview of rural trades concentrates too much on the 1861 census, while Gordon Cherry and John Sheail's welcome but overlong (pp. 1515–1754) analysis of the impact of urbanization on rural England pays disproportionate attention to the 1890s and after. The 'absence of a range of detailed local studies' precludes a judgement on the impact of the Great Depression on Welsh farmers (p. 448), and 'the absence of accessible bank records before 1914' one on bank credit (p. 922). Though underdrainage was 'emblematic of Victorian ideas of progress', Paul Brassley remains uncertain about its extent and impact, while B. A. Holderness deems earlier efforts at producing 'a simple total of the acreage actually subject to underdrainage before 1914' flawed (pp. 514–21, 888–93), and his own 'tentative' estimate of acreage drained and

[21] Kevin H. O'Rourke, 'The European grain invasion, 1870–1913', *JEcH* 57 (1997), pp. 785, 792.

[22] J. Thirsk, *Alternative agriculture: a history from the Black Death to the present day* (1997), p. 153; M. Olson and C. C. Harris, 'Free trade in corn: a statistical study of the prices and production of wheat in Great Britain from 1873 to 1914', *Quarterly J. Economics* 73 (1959), pp. 145–68; Ó Gráda, 'British agriculture, 1860–1914', in Floud and McCloskey, *Economic history* (2nd edn), II, pp. 151–2; E. H. Hunt and S. J. Pam, 'Prices and structural response in English agriculture, 1873–1896', *EcHR* 50 (1997), pp. 477–505.

[23] J. G. Williamson, 'Did English factor markets fail during the industrial revolution?', *Oxford Economic Papers* 39 (1987), pp. 641–78; Boyer, 'Labor migration'.

[24] P. A. David, 'The mechanization of reaping in the ante-bellum Midwest', in H. Rosovsky (ed.), *Industrialization in two systems* (1966), pp. 3–39; id., 'The landscape and the machine. Technical interrelatedness, land tenure and the mechanization of the corn harvest in Victorian Britain', in D. N. McCloskey (ed.), *Essays on a mature economy: Britain after 1840* (1971), pp. 145–205, and discussion, pp. 206–14; Alan Olmstead and P. W. Rhode, 'Beyond the threshold: an analysis of the characteristics and behavior of early reaper adopters', *JEcH* 55 (1995), pp. 27–57.

TABLE 2. Cross-county standard deviations, 1875–1915

	1875	*1895*	*1915*
Cows per acre under crops	0.486	0.462	0.449
Sheep per acre under crops	0.523	0.629	0.796
Pigs per acre under crops	0.334	0.402	0.461
Corn as a ratio of all crops	0.412	0.448	0.545

its cost for 1841–1900 is much lower than earlier estimates. Brassley's section on crop varieties set out to assess extent and impact, but prudently concludes that farmers seemed uninterested and largely stuck to home-saved seed (pp. 522, 530).

Geography and climate bulk large in the historiography of English agriculture. Young, Marshall, Caird, Hall, and Haggard all organized their analyses of farming around regional specificities. Volume Seven engages in its own useful and evocative pilgrimage of the regions in chapter 5, noting that the diversity which Caird found 'axiomatic' in 1850 imposed largely the same constraints on farmers in Hall's account of 1910–2.[25] Both the impact of developments such as the grain invasion and the response to them were clearly constrained by geography. For all that, some of the regions are loosely defined here. The south and south-east are defined by their proximity to London, the south-west by its mild climate, and East Anglia by its specialization in corn, but the midlands 'is not a clearly defined area with readily agreed boundaries', and Wales is bounded by politics and culture, while the North's counties 'have defied neat description in terms of geography' (pp. 366, 389, 402, 411). Moreover, these cross-section differences did not prevent increasing regional specialization over time (p. 389). The numbers in Table 2 below, derived from Afton and Turner's Tables 36.8 and 36.9, are one easy way of capturing the shifting regional variation in livestock and corn across England and Wales between 1875 and 1915. The sharp increases in the cross-county standard deviations (n = 54) in sheep and pig densities imply an intensification in regional diversity over these decades in sheep and pig rearing. The same goes for corn, but by this reckoning dairying became less constrained by geography over time.

VII

Daniel Hall ended his pilgrimage of rural Britain on a complacent note, claiming that farmers had little to fear and nothing to learn from others. On the eve of the Great War the sector as a whole was doing well, and even the farmers of Essex were enjoying 'quiet prosperity'.[26] Professor Collins ends his own much longer pilgrimage less ebulliently, brilliantly chronicling the main findings of his team, listing several unresolved issues, and regretting the isolationist character of British agrarian historiography. Some begrudging readers may interpret his 'pathways for future research' as code for issues that should have been tackled in the preceding two thousand pages. But away with the begrudgers! In the end, this landmark survey was worth waiting for and will surely endure.

[25] Hall, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 145–6.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 146, 446.

Book Reviews

The British Isles

D. M. HADLEY, *The northern Danelaw: its social structure, c. 800–1100* (Leicester UP, 2000). x + 374 pp. 52 figs. £55.

Dawn Hadley's aim in this excellent monograph is to examine the key influences that helped to shape the particular society (predominantly populated by free persons) and institutions (such as sokes, scirs and wapentakes) of the northern Danelaw during the early middle ages. In doing so, she seeks to steer a middle course, one which avoids both the more traditional interpretations of Stenton, who saw the distinctive institutions of the Danelaw as ones solely derived from the impact of a large group of Scandinavian settlers, and the revisionist ideas of Sawyer, who saw little sign of Scandinavian influence, either in cultural or institutional contexts, within the Danelaw. Mirroring much recent academic research, therefore, Hadley's approach seeks to destabilize more conventional and polarized ways of understanding the past, and to emphasize the contingency of the regional cultures and institutions of the Danelaw.

Hadley's discussion of these difficult themes deserves much praise, not least for the thematic and geographical breadth that she brings to her study. She develops her argument using a broad range of documentary and archaeological evidence, including placenames, charters, legal texts, medieval surveys and information from archaeological sites. Crucial here is her admirable effort to reconcile the different messages communicated by these various sources, and for this she is to be commended. Equally praiseworthy is her effort to contextualize the historical geography of the northern Danelaw by exploring the nature of society and institutions in other parts of Europe during the same period. Indeed, one of her main arguments is that historians have been too ready to accept the institutional and societal distinctiveness of the northern Danelaw because of their use of Great Britain as a frame of reference. When considered at a European scale, many of the societal features of the northern Danelaw lose some of their uniqueness. This geographically-expanded approach also means that the book should be of interest to more than the limited group of individuals interested in the historical geographies of northern England. It has much to say concerning other regions of Europe during this time and is, therefore, deserving of a wide readership.

I have a few qualms regarding the style of the monograph, though I should admit at the outset that this may be due to my reading of it as an historical geographer rather than a medieval historian. At times, the thread of the argument became a little lost because of the – in my mind – overly empirical emphasis. Although I appreciate the need to base one's arguments on the sometimes difficult and contradictory evidence that exists for the early middle ages, I was left a little lost at times concerning the focus of the argument. This is a minor complaint. Hadley's book demonstrates her admirable grasp of early medieval sources, along with her keen analytical mind. It is also an important contribution to our understanding of the nature of early medieval society, both in the northern Danelaw and further afield. I am confident, therefore, that it will become required reading for anyone interested in understanding this key period in early British history. Moreover, at a time when there is much academic and popular questioning of the interrelationship between regional and more national cultures and institutions within the UK, Hadley's exploration of the distinctive features of the society of the northern Danelaw during the early middle ages is a timely reminder of the deep historical roots of British regional geographies.

RHYS A. JONES

BERNARD JENNINGS, *Yorkshire monasteries: cloister, land and people* (Otley: Smith Settle, 1999). v + 246 pp. 135 illus. £17.95.

This volume is the first of an ambitious local publishing project, *Exploring Historic Yorkshire*, which aims to provide for the interested lay person a scholarly and well-illustrated introduction to the history of the pre-1974 shire which is firmly rooted in the landscape. Thus it differs both in approach and in its intended audience from Janet Burton's magisterial study, *The monastic order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (1999), which appeared too recently for its findings, for example on the narrative histories of Selby, Whitby, and St Mary's, York, to be incorporated here.

In 1066 there were no monasteries in Yorkshire, then, as it remained until 1974, the largest English shire. The

Viking raids of the previous two centuries had had a major impact, and this was exacerbated following the Norman Conquest by the 'harrying of the North'. Yet by the end of the middle ages Yorkshire was home to a large number of religious houses of all kinds: known pre-eminently, perhaps, for the great Cistercian abbeys such as Rievaulx or Fountains, but including other notable foundations such as Selby or St Mary's York; one of the largest of the Gilbertine double houses, Watton; a major Carthusian centre at Mount Grace, to say nothing of poorer and much less prestigious nunneries, and smaller male communities, as well as friaries of all the major mendicant orders in Yorkshire towns, large and small. Jennings provides a lively account of monastic developments and growth in the shire, first establishing a context for the expansion and then discussing the different orders in turn, before a final discussion of the Dissolution. With well-chosen, excellent illustrations and a useful gazetteer of monastic sites listed as an appendix, this is a attractive introduction to the subject for the general reader, and a helpful synthesis, based on a regional study, for the undergraduate. It is of less value for the specialist. There is no discussion of the sources or of their reliability, and surprisingly for a study explicitly 'relating the historical record to what can be seen on the ground' there is relatively little discussion of the impact of the monasteries on the rural economy and landscape, or, more particularly, on Cistercian contributions to clearance and drainage. There are curious omissions in the bibliography. Little or no use has been made of Wardrop's fundamental study of Fountains Abbey, nor is there is explicit reference to Waites' extensive work on the monastic rural economy. A number of other recent works, for example on the Gilbertines and Robert of Knaresborough, have been ignored. Moreover, the explicit omission from discussion of hermits (many of whom were found throughout the medieval period in Yorkshire), hospitals, and the military orders is hard to justify. The eremitical ideal was central to monasticism and provided the inspiration for the 'new' monasticism of the twelfth century; hospitals were usually structured on quasi–monastic models and some were actually formally incorporated in monastic orders; the military orders were, of course, monks with specific military and eleemosynary functions. Inevitably, there are one or two misleading statements or simplifications. Minsters (p. 3) were not parish churches in the modern sense of the word. The description of the statute of mortmain (p. 36) is too vague and there should have been a fuller discussion of Cluniac monasticism. Two niggling points: the map (p. 5) shows Pontefract and Monk Bretton as Augustinian houses, though they are correctly identified as Cluniac in the text; accents are consistently omitted from French names, e.g. Cîteaux, Prémontré.

Nevertheless, this publication is to be welcomed. In providing a thoughtful overview of monastic life in medieval Yorkshire it will stimulate the interest of many readers with an interest in monasticism and the region.

BRIAN GOLDING

JOSEPH A. GRIBBIN, *The Premonstratensian order in late medieval England* (Boydell, 2001). xviii + 283 pp. 5 tables; 10 plates; 4 maps. £45.

It is now fifty years since H. M. Colvin produced the first full-length study of the English Premonstratensians (*The White Canons in England*, Oxford, 1951). Since then interest in the order has been modest, with editions of cartularies, such as those of Dale and Leiston, and articles on individual abbeys and aspects of Premonstratensian culture. Joseph Gribbin's *The Premonstratensian order in late medieval England* is therefore a welcome addition to the historiography of the order. His study is based largely on the visitation returns of Richard Redman, who became a white canon at the Westmorland abbey of Shap, quickly rose to be abbot, and went on to a distinguished career as bishop (St Asaph, Exeter, Ely) and diplomat, as well as commissary-general of the Premonstratensian order, in which capacity he visited the English abbeys between 1458 and 1503. Although these returns were known to David Knowles and to H. M. Colvin, they have not until now received the full attention they merit as the most detailed extant record of the visitations of an entire order. Gribbin analyzes the contents of the returns in Chapters Two and Three, and then uses them as a springboard for further discussion of the liturgy (Chapter Four) and learning, including the evidence for manuscripts, books and libraries (Chapter Five). He concludes with an account of the far from typical Richard Redman and his career.

Gribbin has produced a detailed account of aspects of one of the less well studied religious orders in England, and his discussion of the often neglected liturgy – which was at the heart of the monastic existence – is sensitive. Despite the title, however, the book is less a comprehensive history of the order in late medieval England than an account of the internal life of its abbeys. Thus, apart from where it impinges on the performance of the liturgy, there is no discussion of relations with patrons and benefactors, and apart from the evidence of the visitation returns with regard to the maintenance of properties, the adequacy of livestock and grain, and the financial management by the abbot (pp. 82–8), there is no discussion of their economy.

Despite this, the book is an important addition to the literature on the religious orders in late medieval England.

JANET BURTON

ROBERT BEARMAN, *Compton Verney: a history of the house and its owners* (Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2000). 188 pp. 59 plates; 16 figs. £14.99.

The curious history of the Verney family and their seat is well matched by the curiosities of this interesting book. Generated by the papers given at a conference organized by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust (because the Willoughby de Broke family papers happen to have found their way into that Trust's record office) in the Compton Verney house (now owned by the Moores Foundation established by the Littlewoods Pools family), the chapters devoted to the house and the Verneys are flanked by a splendid piece by Christopher Dyer on the time before there were any Verneys, any house, and any place called Compton Verney, and a tailpiece on the time after the Verneys when the house was saved in the nick of time from becoming an upmarket housing estate with its own opera house. In between there are chapters of specialist interest, on the architectural history of the house, and on its landscape history – in a typically arrogant eighteenth-century aristocratic gesture, the medieval church was swept away at Capability Brown's suggestion because it interfered with the view – while a piece on the detached Chesterton estate is thrown in because it contains an eccentric seventeenth-century windmill and was acquired by the Verneys through marriage in 1746. The chapter on the 19th Lord Willoughby de Broke, the 'Diehard' of resistance to the 1911 Parliament Bill and subsequently to Irish Home Rule and the only Verney known to national history, is of wider interest, and what is more it is a highly enjoyable example of Roland Quinault's polished technique of witty and informative political biography. The passionate foxhunter and defender of the hereditary peerage was, Quinault reveals, also a supporter of women's suffrage and, although an impoverished landowner, the builder of St Martin's theatre, which opened in 1916. The only contribution of more than passing interest for agricultural historians, however, is that by Christopher Dyer, which is the most substantial chapter in the book. It is an absorbing reconstruction, from archaeological, cartographic, and documentary sources of the story of the lords and peasants of Compton Murdak and their impact on the landscape, in the three or four hundred years before the Verneys arrived on the scene in 1435. Although its attention to the *minutiae* of topographical detail will fascinate highly local antiquaries, this is of much more than local significance, not least in bringing the peasantry into the foreground of the action in medieval agriculture. By voting with their feet and moving away from Compton Murdak from the later fourteenth century, they were as responsible as the manorial lords for making it into a deserted village.

F. M. L. THOMPSON

ANGUS J. L. WINCHESTER, *The harvest of the hills. Rural life in northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400–1700* (Edinburgh UP, 2000). xiv + 194 p. 9 tables; 50 figs. £19.95.

Winchester's excellent study of the rural society and economy of highland north-west England and the Borders has a relevance which reaches far outside the limited zone it discusses. It is to be commended as one of the few studies to use series of early modern court rolls to show not only how the court acted as an expression of agrarian self-regulation, but also for the wealth of information they contain on agrarian practices. Winchester shows how the upland 'wastes' were exploited, and this makes his book relevant to historians interested in other areas of low intensity exploitation in 'marginal' areas lying outside purely arable zones, whether heathlands, fenlands or forests. A geographer by training, Winchester has a sharp eye for spatial relationships, for the varying effects of soil types and climate on agriculture and for landscape. The sense of the visual also extends to the photographs: this is a well illustrated and attractive book. It is also affordably priced.

The first chapter introduces the landscapes and ecology of the upland zone. It also makes the useful distinction between 'closed forests and chases', where seigniorial rights predominated and the land was exploited by vaccaries (which developed into hamlets or single farms), and 'open forests' where lords allowed and perhaps encouraged nucleated settlement by peasant communities. Winchester does not relate this to the economic preferences of high medieval landlords, but it may be suggested that property rights and the decisions of landlords lie at the basis of this cleavage. Chapter One also introduces the character of the pastoral economy, but here a little more on the extent of grain growing and its decline would have been helpful: the uplands were not merely pastoral in 1400, although they mostly were by 1700.

The major substance of Chapter Two concerns the working of the manorial courts, an account based on the discussion of thirty surviving sets of records drawn from the Yorkshire Dales, the Lake District and the northern Pennines. The aspect of the activities of the courts discussed is mostly the regulation of the agrarian regime – there is nothing on the transmission of property, making this a partial account – but it is none the less an indispensable addition to the literature. So too is the account of the more informal and local 'by-laws' which met at township level and whose ordinances were ratified by the higher courts. Their purpose was to encourage the keeping of 'good neighbourhood'. Chapter Three is an account of the hill farming year, but there is much here on the physical layout of the

landscape, of the head dyke, the development of field boundaries within the arable of upland communities and the use of upland pastures. Chapter Four, 'Summer pasture on the fells', contains a very helpful discussion of the basis by which access to commons was controlled. Again, this turns out to be a less than simple matter but geographically conditioned, with the law of levancy and couchancy predominating in the Lakes and northern Pennines and stints in the Yorkshire Dales. Shielings were also geographically restricted, surviving only in the Borders and the very northern Pennines in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and probably not even here by 1650. The annual migration to and fro to shielings is shown to have been a highly disciplined activity, regulated by townships. Chapter Five shows how the commons were actually grazed. Again, the regulation of commons by communities of commòners is shown by such issues as the slow extirpation of goats from commons and the common herding of animals; and this is the place to turn for an account of the various methods (including ear mutilation) used to mark sheep. Chapter Six is an account of the other products of the uplands; of wood, peat and turf, heath and bracken, and stone and coal, again showing how access to these resources was communally controlled. As in all of the previous chapters there is an acute eye for rewarding detail.

The conclusion draws all the detail together. Winchester shows (Table 7.1) how the management and utilization of the upland fells never stood still: he is far too good a historian to hold otherwise. He then relates the behaviour of the manor courts to the seven principles elucidated by Ostrom for the sustainability of common resources. Winchester holds that the courts do meet her criteria for the management of a 'common pool resource'. Yet what he cannot know is the degree to which the commons underwent environmental degradation in the early modern period. Obviously peat and turf was removed as fuel. Was grazing really so well regulated? What Winchester does show, although I would give much more weight to the matter, is that the commons were progressively under attack in the century after 1540, certainly in Craven and the upper Eden valley, and I would have thought more generally. The dynamics of this process differed from place to place. In some locations it was driven by lords for their own advantage; in others, and I suspect often as a response to lordly attrition elsewhere, by the commoners themselves. Where manorial courts may well have been capable of regulating the usage of the common, the whole system was unbalanced by lords. Where manorial courts survived as the custodian of the common resource, it may yet be found that their continued existence reflects a low pressure landlord regime. Where lords had the upper hand, there were perhaps no commons except for the very upland fells left for the courts to regulate. Enclosure is dealt with, but rather lightly. A worked account of how a manor court reacted to enclosure would have been helpful. And even where commons survived to 1700, they had mostly gone by 1800. So whilst I accept that the courts could well have satisfied Ostrom's principles, I would be much less sanguine about the survival of commons overall, even before the enclosure movement of the eighteenth century. The strength of this excellent study is in its exploitation of the court roll evidence, but this may also be its weakness.

R. W. HOYLE

CHRISTINE M. NEWMAN, *Late medieval Northallerton: a small market town and its hinterland, c. 1470–1540* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas Publishing, 1999). xviii + 174 pp. 15 tables: 4 illus; 2 maps. £19.95

Studies of small towns at the end of the Middle Ages are not two a penny. Newman's study of late medieval Northallerton promises to be rather more than a study of a town, for this is a study of a town and the seven rural manors which together formed an estate of the Bishop of Durham's in the North Riding. The records of the Bishop's estate jurisdiction and the judicial records of the borough and liberty are the chief sources underpinning the book. When the episcopal records run out in the 1540s, the book ends. Whilst the date range of the book, spanning the arbitrary divide between medieval and early modern is to be welcomed, it is determined by the records. And apart from the episcopal records, there is very little else to call upon: this being Yorkshire, even the subsidy materials are pretty poor. So the book is based on a close and careful reading of the court rolls: in particular the debt pleadings in the borough court and court baron are used to reconstruct the economic life of the town. Overall, one gains the impression that Northallerton is not really as well-documented as it needs to be to support a really first-rate study and Dr Newman is sometimes reduced to making a little out of not very much at all.

As one might expect from the nature of the sources, the book contains full descriptions of the judicial and administrative arrangements for Northallerton and office holding within the episcopal administration of Northallerton and Allertonshire. Chapter Three discusses the systems of land tenancy prevailing on the episcopal estates. This confirms the relative unimportance of the exact terms of tenure in the first years of the sixteenth century. The reason for issuing leases to demesne tenants in 1496 appears to have been to oblige the tenants to do military service for the bishop: this is an anecdote which

could usefully be explored elsewhere. There was also a subterranean struggle over the rate of fines, with an order in the Halmote in 1501 that customary tenants should pay 1*s.* 0*d.* for every bovate or cottage. In fact, some tenants paid more than this and one wonders whether this was an attempt by the tenants to hold down the rate of fines. More could have been made of this, but in general, apart from a burst of energy in the 1490s (when the estate invested in buildings to a degree), the administration of the estate seems lethargic. Newman perhaps explains why in Chapter Four with its stress on the lack of vitality in the local economy. Using pleas of debt, she suggests particular difficulties in the mid-1490s running into the first decade of the sixteenth century. On her assessment, the depression continued past mid-century. Chapter Five considers the retail functions of the town. In 1555 Northallerton secured the grant of a fortnightly cattle and horse market to be held through the summer months, and whilst this seems to have been highly successful by the end of the century, there seems to have been nothing equivalent before 1540: retailing, as described by Newman, was essentially conducted within a local frame. One would like to know which came first, the revival in the town's economy or the cattle market. This chapter ought to be noted by anyone interested in the economic state of England at the end of the fifteenth century. Chapter Six deals with the social problems of Northallerton (where vagrancy, disorderly women and an apparent influx of Scots are shown to have preoccupied the good people of the town). Newman's book presents as full a picture as possible based on a very careful reading of a narrow range of sources. It is a rather telescoped study, operating over a period of no more than half a century, and it is unfortunate that on its own assessment, the crucial period of revival in the urban and rural economies lies outside the range of the available documentation. None of this detracts from Newman's achievement. This is as good a study of a second rank northern town as we are ever likely to have and for this Dr Newman and her sponsors, the ESRC, are to be thanked.

R. W. HOYLE

T. C. SMOUT, *Nature contested. Environmental history in Scotland and northern England since 1600* (Edinburgh UP, 2000). xiii + 210 pp. Illus. £14.99.

Nature contested does not seek to be a comprehensive environmental history of Scotland and the north of England, though some will undoubtedly use it as such, but simply a study in environmental history. It is based on the Ford Lectures that Christopher Smout gave at Oxford in 1999. His argument is based around the suggestion that the countryside was shaped by the twin values of use and delight, the one seeing the countryside as a set of resources that should be exploited to their maximum market potential, Carlyle's 'war on undeveloped nature', and the other seeing it in terms of appreciation and enjoyment. Using key habitats, Smout explores the emergence of these ideas over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, arguing that whilst they sat comfortably enough with each other at the outset, they came into increasing conflict over the nineteenth and especially the twentieth century. Drawing on a range of literary and philosophical writing to do so, he is as concerned with tracing the shifts in attitude and expectation that underpinned the notions of use and delight as with the physical and institutional changes produced by them on the ground.

The habitat-based chapters begin with one on woodland. Smout's views on the mythical basis of a late surviving great wood of Caledon are now well-known. They are worked through here in detail. A significant proportion of the Highland forest cover, perhaps as much as 50 per cent, had probably disappeared in prehistory. A further 30 to 35 per cent disappeared during the medieval period, though more to do with the ordinary needs of farming communities than with the excessive or concentrated demands of the Norse. By 1500, the point at which its pioneer clearance was thought by some to have begun in earnest as both the ironmasters and Cumberland's troops cleared indiscriminately, barely 10 to 15 per cent of the Highlands was actually under forest. Smout adds much that is fresh to the argument here, especially about what happened after 1500. He details, for example, how changes in the farm economy affected woodland, with over-grazing and clearance of wood removing what had been a vital source of extra winter feed. He also emphasizes how those often accused of destroying the great wood, notably the ironmasters and tanners, were actually responsible for managing it in a better, more sustainable way.

One of the strengths of the book is that it treats environment in a rounded way. This is demonstrated by his chapter on soils. Admittedly, Scotland has seen more human impact on its soils than other parts of Britain, and scientists like D. Davidson and I. Simpson have done much to research this impact, but there is still much in Smout's discussion that will be of wider interest. In particular, his finely worked review of changes in key nutrients like nitrogen and phosphorus will be of interest to anyone working on the recent history of farming, as will his discussion of the use of biocides. The chapter on wetlands has much to say about the drainage of specific areas like the Humber valley, though more might have been made of the considerable ecological impact of ordinary field drainage, particularly in areas like the

Merse. As with other chapters, Smout uses changes in resident bird populations to capture the impoverishment of these habitats through improvement. Along with that on woodlands, the chapter on uplands is possibly the most valuable in the book. It succeeds because of the wide range of material that Smout brings together in a sharply-focused way, relating changes in stock husbandry to adjustments or responses in vegetation. As with soils, one is particularly impressed by how well historical data has been blended with modern ecological research.

The final chapter deals with how those who delight in the countryside came to be organized as action groups, from the Nature Conservancy Council and its modern day successors to institutions or organizations like the National Trust and RSPB. Smout uses his discussion to draw out the modern-day tensions between use and delight. His own involvement in the conservation debate does not leave him wholly optimistic about how easy it will be to resolve these tensions. However, he is clear about the direction in which we should seek their better accommodation within the same countryside. Building on ideas that he touches on throughout the book, he argues for two guiding principles. First, he believes that the town has some right of enjoyment to the countryside under what he calls 'the public nature of private property' rights. These rights, of course, have now been advanced by the access afforded under the new Crow Act (2000). Second, he believes that conservation should seek to broaden its vision beyond the site-based approach of the past 50 years and address the countryside at large, reuniting use and delight 'seamlessly and quickly'. Since he finished his text, most would agree that the outbreak of foot and mouth has strengthened the case for this, making it imperative that the modern farmer takes on the wider role of land manager.

ROBERT A. DODGSHON

BERNARD MORRIS (ed.), *Gabriel Powell's survey of Gower, 1764* (The Gower Society, 2000). xxi + 233 pp. Illus. £29 incl. p&p from Dr Margaret Jones, 'Llwyndomen', Craigcefnparc, Swansea, SA6 5RS.

There can be few historians with interests in the Swansea region who have not benefited in some way from the researches of Bernard Morris, the former Swansea city estate agent, whose involvement with local history and archaeology stretches back over 40 years. This is the third in a series of volumes, all written or edited by Morris, and handsomely published by the West Glamorgan County Archive Service or the Gower Society. The earlier volumes cover *The houses of Singleton* (1995) and *Old Gower farmhouses* (1998). The new volume, *Gabriel Powell's survey of Gower 1764*, includes a transcript of a text which has been widely used by Welsh historians, but has hitherto been available only in the original, or as a late-nineteenth-century manuscript copy. In addition to the text itself, Morris has provided a 36-page introduction, together with a glossary of legal and technical terms. The introduction includes a useful summary of the history of the lordship of Gower, which covered both the Gower peninsula and an area of approximately equal size, extending more than thirteen miles to the north of Swansea. Morris also gives the background to the 1764 survey, a brief history of the lordship and its manors and tenants, and an interesting account of the life and work of Gabriel Powell, the steward of the lordship, who compiled the survey on behalf of the lord, the infant Henry, Duke of Beaufort.

Those historians who are accustomed to using English manorial surveys will find that this is a somewhat curious document. Most surveys date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they were compiled from information provided by the tenants of the manor at a special court, the court of survey. The 1764 Survey of Gower was, however, made from 'several antient and authentick papers, and the observations and experience' gained by Gabriel Powell and his late father (also called Gabriel Powell) over a period of 63 years. In fact, as Morris points out, the 1764 survey is very much a product of its own time. It represents both a belated attempt to stem the tide of encroachments on the property and rights of the Dukes of Beaufort and their ancestors, and a response to the changing circumstances of the mid-eighteenth century, when the face of the northern section of the lordship was being transformed as a result of industrial development.

The text of the 1764 survey begins with a chronological list of the history of the lords of Gower, followed by a description of the boundaries of the lordship or seignory, and a list of the manors within the former marcher lordship, with details of their bounds and holders. Information on the officers of the seignory, the manor courts, and the rights claimed by the lord is given, together with several lists of tenants, with descriptions of their holdings. The survey includes much raw material for studies of the landowners of eighteenth-century Wales; of the size of holdings and the conditions on which they were held; and on the use of the enclosed lands and also of the commons which are still today such an important feature of the Gower landscape.

There is potentially much in this volume for students of place names and also for family historians. The lack of indexes to either names or places is therefore particularly to be regretted.

JOANNA MARTIN

JACQUELINE COOPER, *The well-ordered town. A story of Saffron Walden, Essex, 1792–1862* (Cooper Publications, 2000). 288 pp. 5 tables; 38 illus; 3 maps. £14.99 incl. p&p from Cooper Publications, 24 Pelham Road, Clavering, Saffron Walden, Essex CB11 4PQ.

This book is a timely reminder of the darker side of life in the English countryside. In twelve sharply written and well illustrated chapters, Cooper systematically dispels the myth of the rural idyll so vividly sustained by the beguiling images of towns and villages of north-west Essex, of which Saffron Walden is a prime example. Image, she explains, was also a concern of the Walden worthies who vigorously promoted the idea of a 'well-ordered town'. The validity of this claim is the theme of the book. The period starts in 1792 when Tom Paine's *Rights of man* was banned from the local bookshop and ends in 1862 when Solomon Barton, the town missionary, engaged to proselytize the disaffected poor, leaves under a cloud. The extracts from Solomon's journal for 1861–2, included as a postscript, effectively destroy any residual nostalgia for a system which relied on a benevolent landowner and local philanthropy.

Cooper organizes her book in two parts: 'Challenges' and 'Responses'. The first three chapters, assisted by three maps, set the town firmly in its regional and national context. We meet Lord Braybrooke of Audley End, 'improving' his estate, distributing prizes at his agricultural show, yet resisting all attempts to link the town to the transport network, thereby directly contributing to the decline of local businesses and much needed jobs. The next four chapters deal with the fallout: poverty, crime and rural unrest. As ever, the initiatives at Saffron Walden demonstrate the flexibility of the old poor law. The new poor law met with fierce resistance, inmates burning down the old workhouse. By 1838, the abolition of outdoor relief and the breaking up of families ensured that 40 per cent of the inmates were deserted wives and children. Cooper links this policy to the increase in crime, particularly poaching and incendiarism, and the growing alienation of large sections of rural society.

Some of the most original material concerns the 'Responses', particularly those generated by working people, the friendly societies and primitive methodism, mercifully free of elite control and an elite moral agenda. Nevertheless, Braybrooke receives praise for initiating the allotments scheme, an idea well before its time. A major achievement has been the gathering together of local archives housed in different locations, notably the records of the town mission lost for 30 years. The bibliography includes a fully referenced list of sources, citing locations, and suggestions for future lines of research.

ELIZABETH GRIFFITHS

DIAN BLAWER, *John Peck of Parson Drove: an exceptional fenman* (Wisbech and Fenland Museum, 1997). 31 pp. Illus. DIAN BLAWER, *The trade of a farmer: John Peck of Parson Drove* (Wisbech and Fenland Museum, 2000). 41 pp. Illus. £3.00 each incl. p&p, from Wisbech and Fenland Museum, Museum Square, Wisbech, Cambs., PE13 1ES.

These nicely produced A5 booklets, published for the local reader, provide a detailed picture of farming and rural life in the north Cambridgeshire fens during the first half of the nineteenth century. The principal sources are John Peck's diaries for the years 1814–51, which are quoted extensively, especially in the second booklet. Peck was a substantial farmer of about 350–400 acres. Only late in life did he own his land, preferring to lease land on an annual basis in blocks scattered over a six-mile spread. In 1831 there were ten such blocks, belonging to ten different landlords. Not for him the ring-fenced farm, which he could easily walk over. Instead he spent a lot of time in the saddle and had to balance the uncertainties of short-term tenancies against long-term improvements.

The first booklet deals broadly with Peck as a man of many parts. As well as his farming, it covers such roles as constable, surveyor of the highways, census enumerator, land valuer, commissioner of income tax, and his responsibility for (old) poor law accounts. In particular he was the driving force behind considerable improvements in local fen drainage, and this booklet exemplifies the widespread Fenland experience that early attempts usually needed substantial improvements in the nineteenth century.

The second booklet concentrates on a more purely agricultural perspective, having sections devoted to the weather, labour management, equipment, livestock, crops, and marketing. Peck was an outstanding observer of his scene and his times, and relates his local observations to national events and trends. He read widely and drew ideas and information from going frequently to meetings and markets.

Both booklets would have been improved by the inclusion of a map illustrating the unusually scattered nature of Peck's holdings, and the complex changes he brought about in fen drainage. Such a map could also have helped to explain the relationship between Peck's Inham Hall Farm in Parson Drove and the Inham Hall (sic) located by current Ordnance Survey maps three miles away in the village of Wisbech St Mary.

DENNIS MILLS

HEATHER WILLIAMS, *The lure of the land. A century of education at Harper Adams* (Harper Adams University College, 2000). x + 370 pp. Illus. £22.

In comparison with many other European countries, England was slow to provide facilities for full-time agricultural education. France and Germany both had agricultural colleges by the 1820s, and Ireland by the 1840s. In England and Wales there was only the Royal Agricultural College before the last decade of the nineteenth century, and with few students and various disagreements and scandals affecting its principals and staff, it was hardly a roaring success. Then in the 1890s, with the aid of taxpayers' money, came a rapid expansion of university departments of agriculture, beginning with Bangor in 1889, rapidly followed by Newcastle, Nottingham, Reading and Wye. Almost inevitably, a century later, there has recently been a rash of celebratory college histories. The formula is now familiar: an account of the foundation, pictures of a small staff and few students all dressed in what now appear to be amazingly formal clothes, descriptions of hard times between the wars and training land girls in World War II, followed by twenty years of agricultural expansion and then another twenty of educational expansion, and ending with the difficulties of the 1990s and a prospectus of the wide range of courses into which the place has now diversified, perhaps enlivened with some account of the idiosyncrasies, successes and difficulties of the staff, especially the principals, all interspersed with the memories of past students.

This history of what is now Harper Adams University College at Edgmond in Shropshire is no exception. Thomas Harper Adams was born in 1817, the youngest of three brothers, each of whom inherited land. As a result of various family arguments all of this land eventually came into the ownership of Harper Adams, who had no children himself, was known as a miser and misanthropist and whose mental health was further affected by a stroke a few years before his death in 1892. Why he chose to leave his money as he did remains a mystery, except that the desirability of expanding agricultural education was much discussed at the time, and his solicitor, Charles Liddle, was a prominent member of the committee set up to consider agricultural education in the county. Harper Adams's niece, who had been disinherited by her father and continued to make claims upon the estate now owned by her uncle, unsurprisingly believed Liddle to be too influential. When the legal arguments were eventually sorted out, the trustees were left with £45,496 and 178 acres of land on which to establish a college for teaching 'practical and theoretical agriculture'. The college opened in 1901 with a handful of students and six academic staff under the principal, Percy Hedworth Foulkes.

Since there are now over 1600 students at Harper Adams, and the estate extends to 700 acres, the venture must be seen as a success, at least in terms of survival and expansion. The structure of the book implies that the credit for this lies with the principals, for the periods covered in the various chapters are largely coincidental with their periods of office. Among them are three heroes – principals Crowther, Price, and Harris – and three others who, if not quite villains, at least failed to match the achievements of the others. Dr Williams is very frank about the shortcomings of principal Kenney, and much less so (she simply reproduces a governors' press release) about the reasons for the departure of Mr McConnell, who lasted less than two years in the mid-1990s. This raises some interesting questions about the reasons for success in agricultural colleges: does it depend on the production of employable students, or relevant and innovative research; should teaching and outside advisory work be integrated or separated; how important is the influence of government policy; or is success simply determined by the ability of the principal to inspire or frighten staff and students to realize their potential and then make sure that the rest of the world is aware of their achievements? Although the book does not tackle these questions directly, it provides plenty of evidence for anyone thinking about them. The quality of Harper Adams students appears to have been more widely recognized than its research, advisory work was clearly vital to its survival between the Wars, and the hero principals were all good leaders and effective at maintaining the image of the place – Price, indeed, is described as 'a showman'. While former students will probably form the main readership for this well-illustrated book, historians of twentieth-century agriculture too will find it useful, especially as a source of evidence, although they will not be helped by the idiosyncratic referencing system.

PAUL BRASSLEY

Elsewhere and General

DANIEL ZOHARY AND MARIA HOPF, *Domestication of plants in the old world: the origin and spread of cultivated plants in west Asia, Europe and the Nile valley* (OUP, Third edition, 2000). xi + 316 pp. 5 tables; 45 figs; 25 maps. £22.95.

The scientific study of plant domestication can be seen in retrospect to date from the publication in 1882 of Alphonse de Candolle's *Origine des plantes cultivées.* But despite the acquisition in recent decades of much new botanical and archaeological data on the evolution and early cultivation of crops, the evidence available worldwide remains geographically and chronologically sparse and uneven. Botanical investigation has been concerned

largely with the ancestry of the staple crops of modern agriculture, particularly the major cereals, and archaeological investigation of the beginnings of agriculture has concentrated on regions in which early civilizations arose.

Archaeobotanical research on agricultural origins has focused particularly on the south-west Asian 'fertile crescent' which, together with those parts of Europe, central Asia and northern Africa to which the southwest Asian crop assemblage spread in neolithic times, is the only region in the world for which a comprehensive account can be given of the initial domestication and early spread of crops. Fifteen years ago, in the first edition of their book, Zohary and Hopf could already marshal sufficient evidence to write such an account, and the fact that it has reached a third edition reflects both its welcome by the scientific community and the continuing flow of new archaeobotanical data.

At first glance, the reference to the old world in the title appears to be a misnomer, because the book lacks systematic discussion of crops indigenous to India, China and Africa (Egypt excepted), although some plants that were domesticated in southern and eastern Asia are mentioned (on p. 251) as late prehistoric and early historic additions to the southwest Asian/Mediterranean crop assemblage. The book's geographical scope is more accurately stated in the subtitle, and the authors' decision to limit themselves to western Eurasia and north-eastern Africa is justified by the cardinal importance of the region in the emergence of agriculture, by its unique richness in archaeological sites from which crop remains have been recovered, identified and accurately dated, and by Zohary and Hopf's own expertise in the systematics and archaeobotany of, respectively, south-west Asia and Europe.

This edition adheres closely to the structure of its predecessors. After an introductory review of sources of evidence, there are chapters on cereals, pulses, oil and fibre crops, fruit trees and nuts, vegetables and tubers, condiments and dye crops, followed by a country-by-country summary of the plant remains retrieved from representative neolithic and bronze age sites, a concluding chapter, five maps showing site locations, and a chronological chart. The text is some 20 per cent longer than the first edition, owing partly to the addition of new data on some of the main crops and partly to the inclusion of several minor food crops and dye plants previously excluded. The increase is welcome, but it is at the expense of the chapter in the first and second editions on 'fruit collected from the wild'. This omission is regrettable, because archaeobotanists are increasingly turning their attention to the role of wild food-plants in both pre- agrarian mesolithic and early agrarian neolithic subsistence. If in due course there is a fourth edition, it is to be hoped that the authors might persuade OUP to restore – and even expand – this valuable chapter.

In this third edition the authors present systematically and succinctly a mass of information on the ancestry, domestication and spread of the large assemblage of crops that originated in south-west Asia during neolithic, chalcolithic and bronze age times, and spread west through Europe and the Mediterranean and east into central and southern Asia – a latitudinal expansion unmatched in scale and crop diversity by any other prehistoric agricultural system. All those who are interested in the transition from foraging to farming and the consequent rise of urban civilization in western Eurasia are in debt to Zohary and Hopf for once again providing us with an up-to-date and indispensable account of the crops that provided the foundation for this transformation of human society.

DAVID R. HARRIS

T. DOUGLAS PRICE (ed.), *Europe's first farmers* (CUP, 2000). xv + 395 pp. 4 tables; 67 illus. £55 (hbk); £19.95 (pbk).

The question of how agriculture originated and spread has been a *cause célèbre* among archaeologists since the 1930s when the famous prehistorian V. Gordon Childe formulated his concept of the neolithic revolution. In recent decades the question has been addressed at a succession of international conferences, and numerous field projects have yielded new evidence on the transition to agriculture in many parts of the world—in particular south-west Asia where Childe's neolithic revolution took place and from which he envisaged the new way of life spreading westward across Europe by a process of population expansion and agricultural colonization.

Childe's diffusionary hypothesis has exerted a powerful and enduring influence on archaeologists. Although modified by new evidence, it is still championed by many scholars, for example Cavalli-Sforza and Renfrew who have recently found in new genetic and linguistic data support for the idea that expanding neolithic populations introduced both agriculture and Indo-European languages to Europe. But it has also been challenged, particularly by prehistorians studying the mesolithic and early neolithic archaeology of northern and north-western Europe who give greater weight to the 'indigenous adoption' of agriculture by resident mesolithic hunter-gatherers.

The editor of *Europe's first farmers* is a leading proponent of this revisionist position. He believes that the spread of agriculture through Europe was the result more of the piecemeal adoption of elements of the southwest Asian neolithic 'package' (crops, domestic livestock, pottery, ground-stone tools) by mesolithic populations than of colonization by neolithic farmers. More generally, he

argues that socio-economic and ideological factors deserve more, and environmental factors less, emphasis in explanations of the origins and spread of agriculture. He suggests that 'a new synthesis' is now emerging from these 'non-traditional perspectives', which it is the aim of this volume to present. The book grew out of a meeting of specialists in European prehistory held in 1995, but the papers given then were later extensively revised, as is evident from the many more recent publications to which the authors refer. The result is the most up-to-date and comprehensive account of the beginnings of agriculture in Europe currently available.

In his introduction, Price contrasts 'the generally accepted views of the transition to agriculture in Europe' with 'more recent data and perspectives' and provides a valuable region-by-region overview that reflects these new perspectives as well as the results of much recent fieldwork. It is presented in a geographical and chronological sequence from the first appearance of farmers in Greece around 7000 BC to the arrival of agriculture in Britain and Scandinavia after 4000 BC (these are calibrated radiocarbon dates which, most helpfully, are used throughout the volume, thus enabling the spread of agriculture to be tracked in calendar years).

Nine regional chapters follow the introduction. Starting with southeastern Europe – which Ruth Tringham characterizes as a culturally complex mosaic, in contrast to Childe's concept of the Balkans as a bridge between the Near East and Europe – the sequence continues with a chapter by Marek Zvelebil and Malcolm Lillie on eastern Europe, three chapters on Mediterranean Europe by William Barnett, Didier Binder and João Zilhão, two on south-central and north-central Europe by Michael Jochim and Peter Bogucki, one on Ireland and Britain by Peter Woodman, and one on northern Europe by Douglas Price. Justice cannot be done to each of these contributions in a short review, but collectively they contain an abundance of new data and fresh thinking. Readers of the *Agricultural History Review* may be particularly interested in Woodman's up-to-date assessment of the (sparse) evidence for how farming spread through Britain and Ireland and his critical examination of how radiocarbon dates have been, and should be, used to date the transition to agriculture there.

In the final chapter the editor returns to the two overarching questions of how and why agriculture spread. He posits them as 'colonization *v* indigenous adoption', and 'causality and the neolithic', and concludes that whilst the how question has been largely answered, 'why agriculture spread across Europe remains unresolved'. Although the latter question is left open, the emphasis in *Europe's first farmers* is firmly on the role of social and ideological factors 'internal to human society' in the transition to agriculture, with 'climate, environment and population growth' accorded only 'a minor role, if any', in the process. Whether readers will be convinced that a 'new synthesis' has indeed been achieved will depend on where they stand in the debate about causality; but there is no doubt that this volume substantially advances our understanding of the transition to agriculture in Europe. It also contains many ideas that are relevant to the study of early agriculture elsewhere in the world, and is a most welcome addition to the already large literature on the subject.

DAVID R. HARRIS

ROSEMARY L. HOPCROFT, *Regions, institutions and agrarian change in European history* (University of Michigan Press, 1999). xiv + 272 pp. 4 figs; 16 maps; 1 photograph. £36.

Rosemary Hopcroft's book has a simple message. Europe exhibits contrasting institutional geographies. In some regions, local institutions offered clear and exclusive property rights in land. Here enclosed field systems and less-communal open field systems reduced the costs of production and exchange, encouraging development. In other regions, 'local institutions that provided uncertain property rights in land and inhibited individual economic freedom produced communal open field systems' (p. 8). Communal field systems slowed development by increasing the costs of production and exchange.

The argument is laid out in three introductory chapters, the last of which roots the study firmly within the intellectual terrain of the new institutional economics. As the author explains, NIE extends the neoclassical premise that people generally prefer more wealth to less by factoring transaction costs (and hence the institutional structures which give rise to them) into the constraints of the neoclassical model. The five chapters which follow present country by country case studies of rural institutions and agrarian change in England, the Netherlands, France, the German lands and Sweden. In all cases, the message is the same: less communal regions favoured development, other things being equal. If more communal, open-field areas came to the fore (as did the grain lands of the Paris basin) it was only because other things were not equal. In France, the intrinsically-advantaged less communal regions of the south and west suffered relatively unfavourable ecologies and relatively poor market access. A concluding chapter reiterates the argument.

As the author acknowledges, the book is at odds with both Robert Brenner's marxian analysis of agrarian change and the technology-oriented modernization theories propounded by Rostow and others. But it shares with them the propensity to prompt dissent. I found

myself resisting Hopcroft's argument at several points. First, I sense that Hopcroft might be reluctant to accept that a successful capitalism requires that freedom be tempered by a measure of communal constraint. This may be why she says next to nothing about the communal life and institutions of areas she characterizes as non or less communal. The reader will search in vain for any reference to van Zanden on the *marken* of the eastern Netherlands, or to a discussion of the role of commons in the agrarian life of the uplands and of forest and fen margins more generally. Second, her path-dependency argument posits a direct progression from agrarian to industrial 'development' without at any point analyzing the nature of that development. The most 'developed' agricultural regions became industrial. There is no room here for the proto-industrialization notions of Mendels, Medick, Thirsk and others which explicitly root early industrial by-employments in the work regimes and inheritance customs of a not particularly advanced pastoralism. Third, the progressive qualities of open field arable farming are not acknowledged, though demonstrated now by several authors. In the open fields, Hopcroft sees only the burden of higher transaction costs, but without offering much in the way of evidence. Many students of the open fields will be surprised to hear of their propensity to constrain economic inequality and with it the possibility of increased production.

The book has a pleasingly wide geographical range and an impressive bibliography. However, the author's reading seems to have been less than all-embracing. One senses that at no point have her prior preconceptions been challenged. Archival research is lacking, perhaps understandably in a study which ranges across Europe. But as a consequence the reader is often obliged to accept assertion without the support of evidence. It is to be hoped that this interesting but not wholly persuasive book might prompt a serious, archivally-focused exploration of some of the issues it raises.

JOHN R. WALTON

E. C. SPARY, *Utopia's garden. French natural history from old regime to revolution* (Chicago UP, 2000). xv + 321 pp. 19 figs. £44.50 (hbk); £16 (pbk).

Utopia's garden is an absorbing book about the politics of natural history from the middle of the eighteenth century to the French Revolution. It focuses on the *Jardin du roi*, the Parisian botanical garden overseen for nearly half a century, from 1739 until 1788, by Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon. A year after Buffon's death, the Revolution swept away the systems of patronage and authority under which the *Jardin* had operated since its inception as a small physic garden under Louis XIII in 1626. Following complex manoeuvres, the Revolutionary Convention re-organised the *Jardin* in 1793 as a *Muséum d'histoire naturelle* in the anticipation that it would play a central role in the network of self-consciously republican scientific and educational institutions established in the French capital during the 1790s. In five detailed chapters, Emma Spary shows how the naturalists who worked in the *Jardin/Muséum* sought, with considerable success, to protect and enhance their privileged position through the maelstrom of events from the 1740s to the rise of Napoleon. In so doing, she demonstrates how competing constituencies in French political life before, during and after the Revolution sought moral and intellectual legitimacy by appealing to science and the natural world.

The first three chapters focus on different aspects of the *Jardin's* history prior to the 1790s. Chapter One sets the scene by discussing Buffon's organization of the *Jardin*. Here was an institution created by an absolutist monarchy with collections and personnel that reflected the patronage, politesse and social distinctions of the age. Buffon's *Jardin* was a public scientific space that sought to 'naturalize' the social, cultural and political structures of the old regime; 'a site at which disciplining people and disciplining specimens became similar problems' (p. 47). In her second chapter, 'Acting at a distance', Spary considers the correspondence and seed-exchange networks established by André Thouin, the *Jardin's* gardener from 1763 to 1794. As her title suggests, Spary's analysis of Thouin's attempts to maintain the old regime systems of patronage and favour into the early period of the Revolution is a spirited attempt to historicize the otherwise abstract model of actor-network relationships developed by Bruno Latour. Chapter Three, 'Naturalizing the tree of liberty', examines how the naturalists who were to remain at the *Jardin* after Buffon's death (including long-time accomplice Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton and younger scientists such Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu) sought to re-cast Buffon's natural history during the 1780s as a radical commentary on the relationship between human beings and the natural world. The objective was a new science that offered the prospect of transforming both nature and society.

The final two chapters deal with the *Jardin's* fate in the aftermath of the Revolution. The fourth chapter, 'Patronage, community and power', details the attempts by the *Jardin's* naturalists to re-build networks of support during the uncertain years in the early 1790s when older forms of patronage had collapsed and before new ones had emerged. The final (and best) chapter in the book, 'The spectacle of nature', deals with the extraordinary debates about the establishment of the *Muséum d'histoire naturelle* and the complex relationship that developed between the naturalists who worked there and their

new Jacobin patrons. As Spary notes (p. 236), '[n]atural history ... was valuable for Jacobin deputies because it exemplified the invisible mastery of spectacle. In the small area of the *Muséum*, the naturalists were empowered to display the links between the operation of nature's laws within the universe as a whole, and the operation of those same laws within the new republic'. The trick was to achieve this without compromising the 'naturalness' of the *Muséum's* display, for the ultimate objective was to confirm that the Revolution had itself been a natural phenomenon.

Utopia's garden is easily the best study we have of the *Jardin/Muséum*, a fitting tribute to its author's painstaking research in the museum's *Bibliothèque Centrale* and in the *Archives Nationales*. Spary's command of eighteenth century published literature in natural history is commendable, the product of long hours in French, British, German and American libraries. She is no less impressive when it comes to recent scholarly research on the cultural politics of the French Revolution and on the history and sociology of Enlightenment science. Her labours have resulted in a well written and thought provoking book crammed with pleasing illustrations and scholarly footnotes (somewhere between a quarter and a half of most pages), the contents of which are usefully summarized for the serious student in a lengthy bibliography.

MIKE HEFFERNAN

ALLAN KULIKOFF, *From British peasants to colonial American farmers* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000). xiii + 484 pp. 4 maps. £44.95 (hbk); £16.95 (pbk).

Allan Kulikoff traces the history of Thomas Jefferson's late eighteenth-century small farmers back to the peasants of late medieval England in his *From British peasants to colonial American farmers*. Kulikoff begins with English (rather than British) peasants who, after the Black Death, owned land, earned high wages and enjoyed a period of unparalleled prosperity. By the early seventeenth century, these relatively propitious circumstances no longer prevailed. Rising population combined with enclosures and other 'capitalist' improvements in agriculture degraded the situation of working families. These developments explain the social problems often lamented by commentators, such as rising rates of vagabondage, poverty and crime. They also contributed to the availability of both free and unfree migrants who headed to North America in unprecedented numbers. The 'folk memory' (p. 9) of a time of better economic conditions shaped the migrants' goals. The desire to recreate the golden age of late medieval England propelled colonists onto the land and this, in turn, promoted the independent farm families so prevalent in British North America. Kulikoff describes the new United States as sustaining 'an agrarian way of life – based on energetic labour by the entire family, subsistence production, neighbourly exchange, sale of surpluses, and movement to new lands – for more than a century' (p. 292).

The book, 292 pages of text and another 178 of notes and bibliography, is part of a larger study. Kulikoff narrates the history of the project in a rather confusing 'acknowledgements' essay. He states that a book on small farmers from 1600 to 1900 split into multiple volumes, including one on the colonial period. This then divided into two, one on demographic and social aspects and the other on identity. Though he never says so explicitly, the present volume must be the former. Other volumes are forthcoming, although perhaps not immediately. The text itself is richly descriptive of the experiences of agricultural labourers and the small farmers which some of them became. Readers will benefit from the copious documentation, particularly the one hundred page bibliography of published sources (most of them secondary) used in the book.

Kulikoff's argument, that displaced working people flocked to America to acquire land, might be rendered as a celebratory narrative of America as the land of opportunity. Frederick Jackson Turner, many nineteenth-century Whig historians and some twentieth century scholars have all embraced Kulikoff's main premise that the availability of land was of signal importance to the development of American society. Although Kulikoff's Marxist perspective gives his work an edge not present in many of these earlier works, his rapacious land speculators and his government officials unsympathetic to the plight of working families would have been familiar to Charles A. Beard. Unfortunately Kulikoff does not explicitly position his perspective in relation to that of earlier authors. Unlike many of these earlier accounts, Kulikoff's is fully aware that the aspirations of the settlers put them at odds with the just claims of native Americans. He describes in matter-of-fact fashion the expropriation of Indian lands by farmers moving west, but pays little attention to the cultural attitudes that shaped their inability to consider Indian claims on the same level as their own needs. Perhaps this omission is what comes of separating culture from social and demographic history, as Kulikoff's publication plan for the project entailed.

The book's thesis, that land hungry settlers were motivated by folk memory of the period after the Black Death, strikes this reader as unnecessary. In a society where land meant status, prosperity and some control over one's life, did working people require memories of a time when their ancestors lived more comfortably in order to wish to acquire land? If that were so, what

motivated the peasants of the late fifteenth century to seize opportunities they had not previously enjoyed? When the bulk of the population worked the land and the comfortable owned land, the desire for ownership would presumably be widespread. Under unusual conditions – such as after the Black Death or in the centuries of the conquest of North America – many could achieve this usually elusive goal. That they jumped at the chance and paid no heed to the Indians to whom the land belonged does not perhaps require so ambitious an explanation as Kulikoff offers. Most of those who were seizing the opportunities that North America afforded in the late eighteenth century were not descended from late medieval English peasants in any event. This caveat aside, readers will benefit from this wide-ranging and detailed treatment of North American social history. We should eagerly await future instalments in this project.

CARLA GARDINA PESTANA

STEVEN D. RESCHLY, *The Amish on the Iowa prairie, 1840 to 1910* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2000). x + 268 pp. Illus. $51.

Reschly has produced a veritable treasure trove of information about the life of the Iowa Amish in the nineteenth century. Meticulous attention to detail is the great strength of this book. It is also important because it is part of a growing list of scholarly works that attempt to describe the diversity of Amish culture through time and place. The Iowa story is not the same as the more frequently described history of the Amish in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

The writer traces the history of the Iowa Amish from their European origins and immigration across the ocean, to their trek across the North American continent and the development of a thriving community in south-eastern Iowa. As the story unfolds he describes the development of agriculture, including the innovations in farming that were brought from Europe and made the nineteenth-century Amish among the most successful farmers in Iowa, the development of household authority patterns, relations to the state in a time of war, strategies of land acquisition and the enigma of the sleeping preacher phenomenon.

The author has clearly done his archival homework. There is a great deal of information on the day to day lives of nineteenth-century Amish people in Iowa. Using census data he describes, in detail, land values and ownership patterns, crop yields, size of household, and patterns of participation in the military. The degree of detail is both the strength and the weakness of the book. On the one hand any reader who wants to know how much butter Amish farmers produced in Johnson County Iowa in 1870, will find the answer here. On the other hand as Reschly tries to weave these details into a history of social change among the Amish the reader may, at times, feel bogged down in the detail. At the end of an argument the reader is sometimes left wondering whether the evidence warrants the conclusion that is derived. For example, the author describes a dispute, which resulted in a portion of the Amish community refusing to participate in the semi-annual communion service in 1860. It is suggested that this conflict is linked to increasing male dominance in the Amish community. Those who refused to participate produced less butter than the partakers. A decade later the situation reverses and the non-partakers are producing more butter than those who participated in communion. His conclusion is that there is a shift in land tenure and personal wealth from one decade to the next that is directly related to an attempt to establish the slightly younger nonpartakers on farms and thus secure a stronger patriarchal foothold in this community. To reach that conclusion the reader would need to know more about the details of the rift in the community that started the conflict and much more about the actual dynamics of male and female relationships before and after 1860.

The larger problem with the book is the author's use of social theory. Reschly begins his work with a critique of the scholar's preoccupation with boundary maintenance as the key analytic strategy in describing Amish history and culture. As an alternative strategy he introduces the work of Bourdieu including his framework of repertoire of community. Bourdieu's ideas do not reappear after the first chapter and it is never entirely clear how the new framework is really anything other than a new way of describing culture. For example, in a chapter on the Amish penchant for migration as part of the repertoire of community, he suggests that 'migration is common sense, an expected behaviour, essential to what it means to be Amish' (p. 182). How is this common sense idea, that is part of a repertoire of community, a new concept that replaces the more general notion of culture? Furthermore many of the issues that are described in the book involve disputes about what it means to be Amish. Who is in, who is out is at the very heart of the conflict that led to the creation of an Old Order and an Amish-Mennonite distinction. Although the idea of boundary is never introduced, it is surely implicit in this book.

In spite of its shortcomings this book makes an important contribution to the growing literature on Amish history and culture. I recommend it to scholars and others interested in more fully understanding this fascinating subculture.

THOMAS J. MEYERS

MICHAEL BENJAMIN BERGER, *Thoreau's late career and 'The dispersion of seeds': the saunterer's synoptic vision* (Camden House, 2000). xiv + 153 pp. £35.

During the last decade of his life – between completing *Walden* in the early 1850s and dying from tuberculosis at age 44 in 1862 – Henry Thoreau walked the fields and woodlots of Concord, Massachusetts, and made copious records of his observations. He published little. For over a century much of Thoreau's late writing remained unknown except to a few devoted readers of his journal. What Emerson called his 'broken task' was largely dismissed as second-rate botanizing by scientists, and was vexing to literary scholars who felt he had lost his way.

This has changed. Today, Michael Berger can portray the 'overarching project' of Thoreau's late career as 'to describe with scientific precision and to evoke with refined literary sensibility the economy of nature, and the more sympathetic integration of the individual human perceiver – and the whole of society – into the rhythms and patterns of nature, for sane and healthy living as well as for poetic inspiration'. This mission combined rigorous scientific investigation, social improvement, and epistemological mediation. Thoreau's reputation as one of America's earliest ecologists is on the rise, and his ideas of environmental reform reached beyond the call for simplified individual economy and celebration of wildness in *Walden*. Where critics once saw a self-defeating vacillation between science and literature, scholars such as Berger now see a gaining effort to integrate empirical realism and transcendental idealism.

This transformation has been greatly abetted by the publication of Thoreau's last manuscripts, unfinished works in progress that were scattered after he died: 'The dispersion of seeds' and 'Wild fruits'. These rough drafts, whose final form cannot be known, began to give coherence to the mass of raw material accumulating in the journal. In *Thoreau's late career* Berger provides a thoughtful and well-written guide. He argues convincingly that Thoreau's detailed study of seed dispersal by wind, water, and animals placed him among the foremost students of that subject. His work was a refutation of theories of spontaneous generation, and a pointed argument against special creationism and in support of Darwin's just published 'developmental' theory of species. Beyond this, Thoreau's careful analysis of the dynamics by which oak, pine, and other woods succeeded one another looked forward to problems in ecology that are still very much alive. His flexible approach anticipated the 'post-climax' models of forest succession developed in recent decades.

Thoreau was unwilling to convey his findings in the dry language of positivist science emerging in his day. He was aware of the epistemological and rhetorical challenges he faced in writing about nature with both scientific and poetic aims at once. By the 1850s Thoreau had moved away from the idealism of Emerson and toward an empirical realism – Thoreau was too deeply engaged with nature to regard it as the mere symbol of a higher ideal. But he remained sceptical of the ability of science to reveal all the laws of nature, and of the ability of human language to fully represent nature. He agreed with the 'nominalist' position that any human version of reality is inevitably an inadequate construction. Berger argues that Thoreau also kept a kernel of idealism: 'At the heart of Thoreau's late natural history projects is an effort to provide empirical roots for a sublimated idealism'. The higher truth that lay beyond physical nature could not be intuited by a direct leap, but only by a slow upward growth enabled by painstaking study of the secondary causes at work within nature. Here Berger very effectively presents Thoreau's image of a scarlet oak leaf (from the late essay 'Autumnal tints') as a brilliant symbiosis of the ideal deeply interpenetrated with the real.

How well Berger succeeds in placing Thoreau among the competing epistemologies of idealism, realism, and nominalism I leave to others to debate. How well Thoreau himself was succeeding at mediating between science and poetics, giving us a 'synoptic view of a natural world that both fables and mechanizes', I urge readers to decide for themselves. Michael Berger joins those scholars who are finding in the mature Thoreau a man who, far from having gone astray, was deeply engaged in an effort to discover the basis for an enduring practical and spiritual relation between a rapidly industrializing civilization and nature.

BRIAN DONAHUE

LLOYD C. IRLAND, *The Northeast's changing forest* (Harvard UP, 1999). xxiv + 401 pp. 52 tables; 39 figs. £31.50

According to a recent television 'infomercial' aired in Canada, the forested area of North America has increased by twenty per cent – 'a giant leap' – since human feet first trod the surface of the moon. The calculation may well be correct. But it lacks context. The implication of this brief, spectacular, audio-visual 'spot' is that science, human ingenuity, and corporate commitment have produced a happy outcome: more trees, rather than the reduced and ravaged forests reviled by opponents of clear-cuts and the logging of old-growth stands.

Lloyd Irland's book serves as a most useful corrective to such glib and easy inferences. Although he deals only with the northeastern United States – the six states of New England and the three that comprise the "mid-Atlantic" region (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) – Irland shows that the net area of

American forests expanded (albeit with marked regional variations) through much of the twentieth century, and that the processes by which it did so were immensely complicated. In the northeast alone the extent of the forest increased by 22 million acres between 1909 and 1997 (more than the original forested area of Maine) and every state but New Jersey recorded a net increment during this period.

In this century, as in those that preceded it, however, the forests were affected by several waves of change. Between 1880 and 1920 the expanding pulpwood industry exacted its toll on the forests. Yet the 'slow, steady decline of farming' across the northeast meant that much cleared land grew back to trees. Between 1920 and 1960, an expanding population, made newly mobile by the automobile, built cottages and camps in the northwoods, and recreational developments along the seacoasts. Then postwar prosperity and the construction of interstate highways opened far flung rural areas and urban fringes to suburban sprawl and new recreational demands. Vast areas of forest gave way to tract housing and industrial parks as other forested areas were treasured for their amenity values.

Debate, conflict, and very different landscapes were the results of such changes, and Irland does an admirable job of distilling some of the important essences of this story. His is 'a book about forests, by a forester, written for nonforesters' (p. xxii). It is a general essay, but it is full of numbers and detail, and rests on a firm understanding of the technical issues involved in forest management and forest ecology. The key to Irland's successful treatment of his material lies in his identification of five 'forests', each of which has a chapter to itself. These discussions show that the industrial, recreational, suburban, wild, and rural forest are 'defined by distinctive economic and geographic traits' (p. 8), but that they are not entirely discrete units; although broad areas can be assigned to each of them, their boundaries blur, and their characteristics overlap and intermingle. Thus the production of roundwood dominates the industrial forest, but hunters, fishers, and canoeing enthusiasts find recreational value in its wide spaces. Further, by bracketing his core treatments of these five forests with chapters that first outline the basic attributes and dynamics of the northeastern forests, and, later, drawing the story together in discussions of landownership, the 'timber budget', and the role of forests in the northeastern economy, Irland has produced a book that offers new insights into the complex challenges of forest and rural land management in the twenty-first century.

Less successful, to my mind, is his use of seven metaphors to summarize public concerns about and perceptions of the region's forests over time. Irland calls these metaphors the 'intellectual tools with which we think about the forest' (p. xxi), and even suggests that they might be thought of as paradigms. Ranging from the 'town meeting' metaphor – 'shorthand for the various political factors and processes by which policies are shaped for forests' (p. 14) – through the 'worm's eye view' (the perspective of forest ecology or chemical engineering), to the idea of 'economic interdependence' – pointing to the globalizing economy and the interconnections of city, countryside and wildlands – these devices recur at irregular intervals through the text. Intended to enrich and broaden the relevance of the book, they probably diminish it for the serious social scientist or professional historian, because they appear more decorative than integral to its arguments, and are sometimes distracting as a result. In the end, however, these attempts to encapsulate complex matters in too few words undercut neither the scholarly breadth and impressive knowledge exhibited in this work, nor the value of the author's thoughtful (and not uncontroversial) suggestions about what might be done to meet the challenges likely to face the forest, its owners, its users, its managers, and its admirers in the coming half century (pp. 306–19).

GRAEME WYNN

DAVID VAUGHT, *Cultivating California. Growers, speciality crops, and labor, 1875–1920* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1999). x + 280 pp. 10 illus; 5 maps. £29.50.

Two presiding legends dominate the telling of California's agricultural history. In the white legend, California farmers are progressive, highly educated, early adopters of modern machinery, and unusually well organized. Through irrigation, they made a 'desert' bloom. Through cooperation, they prospered as their high-quality products captured markets around the globe. This 'farmers-do-no-wrong' legend is the mainstay of the state's powerful marketing cooperatives, government agencies, and agricultural research establishment. In the opposing black legend, the California agricultural system was founded by land-grabbers who continue to this day to exploit impoverished migrant workers, especially Latin American and Asian immigrants. This legend's classic statement is in Cary McWilliams' 1939 *Factories in the field*. (Even in its mildest form, this view faults California farmers for choosing, unlike their midwestern brethren, to become full-fledged capitalists.) As controversies over the nature of California's farm system have raged for the past century, one key agent, the individual farmer, has dropped out of the picture. In both accounts, a one-dimensional class of heroes/villains has stood in his place.

Going beyond the traditional approaches, Vaught's fascinating new study provides California's specialty crop

growers with a human face. Drawing from farmers' records, rural newspapers, and state reports, Vaught paints a detailed, nuanced picture of the region's horticulturalists in the period between the wheat boom of the 1870s and the rise of cotton in the 1920s. To emphasize the similarities and differences in the rural experience, *Cultivating California* focuses on four distinct clusters of activities: almond raising near Davisville, raisin-making in Fresno, hop growing in Wheatland, and deciduous fruit farming in the Sierra foothills. Each of these locations is in (or near) the state's Central Valley and each became highly specialized in one form of horticulture. Some might argue that in selecting these cases, Vaught neglects subjects of equal or greater importance, such as the rise of citrus culture in southern California, viticulture in the Napa/Sonoma region, or prune and apricot production in Santa Clara (today's Silicon Valley). I do not fault Vaught's narrowed focus because as it is, I found it difficult at times to keep track of all four of the balls the author has in play. To my mind, the book's most original case study is that of George Pierce, the pioneer almond grower whose daily journals Vaught uses with great success.

The book's main thesis is that the actions of the California specialty crop growers must be understood not only in terms of their business interests, but also of their 'culture'. *Cultivating California* argues that the state's horticulturists created a highly idealized vision of their vocation, viewing it as a 'higher order of agriculture' (p. 48) or in George Pierce's choice words, as both 'pleasant and profitable' (p. 39). The cultivation of tree and vine crops required intelligence, patience and care. The final product both improved the diet of consumers and advertized the Golden State's charms. Rural leaders associated horticulture with permanent communities of orderly, family-scale farms, a clear advance on settlement patterns of the bonanza wheat period.

The troubling reality confronting this happy vision was that even a small-scale fruit farm faced harvest labour demands far beyond a typical family's scale. Indeed, the dependence on temporary labour in horticulture was greater than in grain growing. 'This bugbear of labour' prevented the development of midwestern-style agriculture. Transient white labour proved expensive and intractable and the horticulturalists' preferred solution, continued reliance of Chinese workers, was ruled out by the 1882 Exclusion Act. To their lasting regret, the specialty crop growers could bring order to their output markets but not their labour markets.

Vaught offers careful, grounded accounts of the labour process in each of his crops and of the efforts of his farmers to recruit sufficient labor. In contrast to the traditional view, he shows that workers often had significant bargaining power, able to withhold work in the middle of the harvest to secure higher wages. In his single most path-breaking contribution, Vaught provides a reanalysis of the famous 1913 riot on the Durst hop ranch in Wheatland. In rebuttal to McWilliams' interpretation, Vaught argues that hop growing was highly atypical of state's new horticultural activities and that only unusual circumstances (a trade depression and a delayed harvest) led to labour unrest in what was normally a highly sought after job. His retelling includes an interesting examination of the forces, principally the actions of self-promoting reformers and rival hop growers, which made the Wheatland riot the cornerstone of the black legend. Although *Cultivating California* at times sides too close to the farmers-do-no-wrong legend for my taste, it is a must for scholars interested in the Golden State's controversial history.

PAUL RHODE

SHAWN WILLIAM MILLER, *Fruitless trees: Portuguese conservation and Brazil's colonial timber* (Stanford UP, 2000). xiii + 325 pp. 15 tables; 8 illus. £35.

Many contemporary observers of deforestation in the Amazon region have asked the question, why do Brazilians burn the rain forest? Partial answers to that question, according to Shawn William Miller, date to the colonial period. While some blame traditional methods of slash and burn agriculture, Miller argues that Brazil's patterns of deforestation in the colonial period were a direct consequence of Portuguese forest policy and royal monopolization. As a consequence, Brazilians 'neither harvested nor exploited Brazil's high-quality timber trees, but annihilated them' (pp. 8–9).

Chapter One on the colonial landscape describes the types of trees that interested the Portuguese crown. Brazilian woods were then prized in European shipbuilding because planks made of *tapinhoã* wood were resistant to dry rot and shipworm (p. 23). Although intense demand drove up prices of *tapinhoã*, many in Brazil chose to burn the trees down rather than harvest and export them. Why did they do so? Miller finds precedents in medieval royal forest conservation policies, which were transferred to colonial Brazil. In order to obtain the best trees for shipbuilding, royal bureaucrats established lists of *madeiras de lei* (legal woods), which could only be cut by royal contractors and sold via monopoly channels to Lisbon. Although sugar planters had the right to cut the king's woods for their own use, they were forbidden to sell them upon pain of property confiscation. Therefore, many planters set fire to their forests in order to avoid losing their sugar plantations, or they harvested beautiful rosewoods and *tapinhoã* trees for utilitarian plantation structures.

After his critical summary of royal forest policy, Miller analyzes the role of timber and related products in the Atlantic economy. He lists timber exports to Portugal (1796–1819) and concludes that the major port of export was Rio de Janeiro with nearly 40 percent of all timber after 1796 (p. 88). His statistics on timber imports into Portugal reveal that Sweden, the United States, Russia, Britain, and Prussia all shipped more timber to Portugal than did Brazil, which supplied only 9.5 percent of Portugal's imports (p. 91). In spite of having high-quality timbers, Brazil did not dominate the Portuguese market. Instead, as Chapter Three clarifies, 'most timber was consumed in the colony' rather than the metropole (p. 103).

Chapters Four and Five cover labour, cattle, roads, and technologies. Chapter Four illustrates the role of Indians, free people of colour, and enslaved blacks in felling the trees, while the skilled ranks were composed of whites and immigrant Portuguese carpenters. Miller also calls attention to harsh working conditions, including the porterage of heavy logs by teams of Indians or black slaves guarded by soldiers. Chapter Five examines logging technologies, such as the sawmill, as well as the unique difficulties of harvesting tropical timber, including the lack of oxen and worker reluctance to cut trees outside of the waning phase of the moon (p. 135). Miller concludes this chapter with a comparison of North American and Brazilian sawmill technologies and reports that they were the same, although North Americans had a greater number of mills.

The author thinks that Brazil had so few sawmills close to coastal markets because it lacked natural harbours on navigable rivers. The transport of lumber was difficult and costly. Some timber rafting was possible, but tropical woods were often heavier than water and inclined to sink. Brazilians overcame these difficulties by designing rafting canoes to transport heavy woods to the coast. However, this coastal trade added much to freight charges before the lumber was loaded on to transatlantic ships. High import and export duties, which the author details, further hindered exports of Brazil's lumber.

Miller's final chapter studies Brazil's private shipbuilding industry and contrasts it to the royal naval yards, where ships were slowly and inefficiently built. After all the centuries of deforestation, Miller calculates that Brazil's royal yards built fewer than 100 ships for Portugal's marine (p. 193). In contrast, Brazilians constructed many ships for private use in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro for the European, intracoastal, and African trades. Apparently, there was a significant privately-owned and operated shipbuilding industry in colonial Brazil that utilized much of Brazil's high-quality timber.

The author's conclusion summarizes Luso-Brazilian critiques of the king's timber policies and addresses the role of the timber industry in economic development in contrast to North America. Miller reiterates his central theme that the crown's timber policies did not promote economic development or conservation of forests but contributed to the 'profligate waste' of Brazil's forests (pp. 216, 223). Therefore, he argues, few of Brazil's timbers were employed in the accumulation of wealth and capital (p. 231). However, his previous chapter suggests that residents of Brazil were profiting from logging and shipbuilding; only a more intensive examination of wills and inventories will document timber's role in colonial Brazilian wealth accumulation.

Overall, this is a thoughtful study of royal forest policy and its consequences for the economy and environment of colonial Brazil. Miller effectively advances historical explanations for the role of public policy in the burning of the Brazilian Atlantic forests before 1822 but less convincingly blames crown lumber policy for retarding Brazil's economic development and capital accumulation. The author's background in woodworking and forestry in the United States is most helpful in the interpretations of his sources, and the most interesting sections of the book concern all aspects of woods and their uses before 1822. *Fruitless trees* is recommended to those who follow deforestation issues, past and present.

MARY KARASCH

H. T. HUANG, *Science and civilization in China*, VI, *Biology and biological technology: Part 5, Fermentation and food science* (CUP, 2000). xxviii + 741 pp. 61 tables; 136 illus. £95.

The series *Science and civilization in China* was started by Joseph Needham in the 1950s. New sections, each one a comprehensive review of a scientific field, continue to emerge. H. T. Huang's new volume, *Fermentation and food science*, is one of the best. Like the other outstanding sections in the series, it is far more than a definitive and up-to-date review; it is also literate in the best sense of the term, amply illustrated, judicious, and a pleasure to read.

The work begins with a treatise on early agriculture in China; this ground was covered in earlier volumes, but an update was necessary, since dramatic new discoveries (including domestic rice more than 10,000 years old) have changed our understanding of the subject. This segues into an account of early foodways. Next, a valuable chapter thoroughly covers the Chinese literature on food preparation, from earliest times onward.

We then come to the real substance of the book: studies of fermentation technology. The first is a long section on Chinese alcoholic drinks. This is notable for its detailed discussion of the evidence for distillation in

China as early as the second century AD. It now seems virtually certain that distillation of alcohol was a Chinese invention. It probably spread to the western world, though independent invention in the latter is not ruled out. Dr Huang then speculates on the much more ancient and obscure origins of non-distilled alcoholic drinks in China and in the Near East. He concludes – I believe correctly – that Chinese *chiu* (alcoholic beverages) arose from thin grain gruel that had been left to stand, whereas the Near East began with grape wine and went on to produce beer from bread broken up in water and inoculated (at first, presumably, accidentally) with wine yeast. Many species coexist in Chinese ferments; by contrast, the western world uses only one (*Saccharomyces cerevisiae*), rarely supplemented with *Lactobacillus* or other organisms. In China as in the traditional West, every brewery has its own strains of organisms.

The next chapter concerns the versatile soybean. Dr Huang notes that the raw soybean is rich in damaging chemicals, which must be removed if the mature bean is to be taken seriously as a food. An amazing variety of technologies do this, from soy sauce preparation to manufacture of bean curd. The latter now appears to have started much earlier than was thought until very recently. The earliest references to bean curd (*tou fu*) are from the medieval period, but Chinese traditional histories always maintained it was much older. However, archaeological evidence now suggests that bean curd may have been invented about when Chinese tradition said it was: in the Han Dynasty (207 BC–220 AD). Dr Huang then turns to the more complex topic of soybean fermentation – that is, the production of the pastes, soy sauces, and pickled beans that exist in seemingly inexhaustible variety. He provides some data on the microbiology of these processes, but much more would have been welcome. Then follows a chapter on preservation. China has long excelled in the arts of pickling, saucemaking, and the like. Meat pastes seem to have been the forerunners of bean curd. Fish pastes and sauces are made by autolysis as well as fermentation. A thorough review of fish sauces throughout the Old World is provided.

Huang then turns to tea, China's caffeine boost, which includes structural formulae for the catechins that (among other things) make tea a healthy drink. This naturally leads to a chapter on general questions of health and deficiency. Chinese nutritional medicine, based on a system rather different from anything in the west, succeeded at keeping the Chinese from succumbing totally to the chronic famines that beset the land. Many nutritional problems were identified, and effective treatments empirically established (but sometimes forgotten later) for them. They include syndromes comparable to goitre, beriberi, rickets, and other western categories.

Dr Huang concludes with respectful comments on the greatness of Chinese food technology, but ends the book on a thoughtful note: a discussion of leads not followed up. Why did the Chinese not go farther in mycology, in nutritional science, and in diet therapy? Poor scientific communication, a medical system not attuned to analysis, and a general lack of interest in basic science are adduced. Many, if not most, scholars would add the more general point that China's centralized imperial bureaucratic system was not congenial to scientific progress.

The Chinese were unquestionably among the world leaders in food technology and in nutritional medicine up until the twentieth century. They still produce many leading researchers and countless new techniques and discoveries. One might speculate on why China has been such a leader for so long. The irrepressible gourmetship of the Chinese people provides the most obvious answer. A country where even the poorest are connoisseurs is one that will produce great foodstuffs. Also, China's chronic famines, coupled with the demands and extortions of the powerful, forced rich and poor alike to find every means possible for preserving food. It is to China's credit that the traditional government usually provided enough security to make food preservation (by definition, a long-term strategy) worth the effort. The real credit, however, belongs to the brilliant but anonymous women and men who created this technology.

Dr Huang has exhaustively mined Chinese traditional literary and technical sources. In keeping with the best traditions of the Needham series, he includes many beautiful and well-translated poems, and illustrations of many exquisite traditional pictures and utensils. There are minor errors and controversial points, but they do not detract from the work.

E. N. ANDERSON

ROBIN W. DOUGHTY, *The Eucalyptus: a natural and commercial history of the gum tree* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2000). xiv + 237 pp. Illus. £31.

The subtitle of this welcome book signals bold ambition. Puzzling intersections of 'natural' and 'commercial' histories continue to provide compelling challenges for adaptive modern scholarship. It has been relatively well established that nature's independent dynamic is never entirely suppressed and that commercial imperatives have variously preceded, ignored, co-opted, directed and resonated with scientific progress. If interdisciplinary routes appear to hold out the most promise, that does not guarantee the quality of the ride: by definition, seemingly, interdisciplinarity is susceptible to incursions from under-adapted vehicles, and some of the most earnest endeavours succeed as often through provocation as

in the crafting of valuable new insights from a kind of bibliophilic entrepreneurialism. *The Eucalyptus* makes the point well enough: precariously engineered, strewn with haphazard reckonings and untutored landings, it is also agreeably brief and contrives by accretion to encourage fellow travellers.

A prefatory note declares a ruling intention to uncover the antecedents of the current international popularity and notoriety of the Australian eucalyptus. The text proper opens with 'The geography of eucalyptus' and is essentially confined to Australia. Preface notwithstanding, this is presumably designed to underline specificities of ecological context, prodigious environmental range (tropical-temperate), number of species and chronically disputed categorization, together with lesser-known economic and other versatilities (honey, industrial and reputedly medicinal oils) which have significantly complemented orthodox timber values down the centuries. Successive chapters then pick up the dominant themes – early assisted migrations from Australia backed by individual champions ('connoisseurs', 'enthusiasts', specialized and opportunistic scientists) in Australia and the receiving countries; case studies of selective transplantations to the British Isles, California, Brazil, South Africa and India, clumsily interrupted by discourses on the contingent involvement of industrialists and increasing emphases on pulpwood; consolidating annotations on stubborn environmental issues; an outline of the engagement of modern international agencies in the promotion and establishment of eucalyptus plantations and latterly in assessing the mixed consequences; and a recapitulatory conclusion clarifying the gaps between expectations and outcomes, the sustained but changing input of expertise, and an escalating inclination to translate combinations of expanding scales of activity and government-industrial linkages into a contagious hostility towards the invading eucalypt.

The loose framework permits irritating repetitions and tangled overlays. Serendipitous illustrations, inapposite chapter titles and unimaginative subheadings underline the rising need for more recourse to external assessors and a return to reliable technical editing—which would (or should) have noted odd slips: eucalypts are scarcely endangered by falls in temperature down to 22°C (p. 30); Sir William Denison (not 'Dennison') was only nominally Governor-General of Australia in the 1850s, since that term attained its present meaning in the following century (p. 129); and Rutherglen is located in Victoria, not New South Wales (p. 22). Doughty's biogeographical skills might have been allowed more scope, not least to analyze more satisfactorily the complex field trials and the (often startling) range of performance exhibited overseas by the minuscule fraction of Australia's formidable 'gum' family. Furthermore, to the extent that such trees came to be envisaged as 'crops', there are good profits to be gained from closer consultation with the vast literature in agricultural history and the related history of technological transfer.

Though sketchily researched and flawed in its narration, the book does attempt to give due prominence to key actors and institutions. But that returns us, finally, to its innocent subtitle. *The Eucalyptus* disappoints in its grasp of relevant local and global trends in scientific and technical thought, and on those counts there can be no appeal to imperious brevity. For example, in some respects the Australian tussle with the Eucalypt now serves as a reasonably representative entrée to the more inclusive legacy of pure and applied science on the periphery of empire, an understated historiographic ingredient in Doughty's account. And unfortunately it is symptomatic that, while he feels repeatedly drawn to the pervasive role of Victoria's Baron Sir Ferdinand von Mueller, he shows no awareness of many earlier explorations of that role which have been in print for about three decades. The cited key actors for Africa and the Americas may be no better served. In terms of enveloping social and political contexts it could be similarly argued that Doughty locates slightly too much of the process of local and regional rejection in the modern era: the ample evidence of deeper roots in the colonial experience is merely skimmed.

So *The Eucalyptus* calls our attention, once again, to an urgent need to reconnect science and historiography – and to a specific opportunity. Perhaps the quest for antecedents is better conducted from vantage points that demonstrate a more comfortable anchorage in the past.

J. M. POWELL

Conference Report
The Society's Spring Conference 2001

by S. M. Stevens

The Society's Spring Conference was held on the 9–11 April at the Ambleside Campus of St Martin's College, Lancaster. The college was sited on a significant slope that exercised the calf muscles of well over fifty delegates. As might be expected, the cloud was down for most of the conference, but the real work went on indoors.

Dr John Walton (University of Wales, Aberwystwyth), gave the opening paper entitled 'Absentee interests, title disputes and parliamentary enclosure'. Absentee ownership was rife in the eighteenth century. Individual owners tended to have nucleated estates whilst those belonging to corporations or institutions were often widely distributed. Institutions had little incentive to increase rents or enter the arena of capitalist landowners before 1750: frequently they had little idea of the value or composition of their property. Obstructive lessees were common. Walton's investigation of their role in parliamentary enclosure revealed how it did not necessarily redress the balance in their favour. Certainly the switch from beneficial leases to rack renting began with enclosure, but institutions often found it hard to hard to maintain their interests during enclosure against their lessees and other neighbouring landowners.

After dinner, Professor Ted Collins (University of Reading), spoke on 'The farm power economy of England and Wales, 1840–1939'. This explored the relative merits of man, horse and steam power. Two and a half times more food was produced in 1850 than 1700 and this increased further between 1850–1939, but with half the workforce. Steam engines were forty per cent cheaper than horses and horses were ninety per cent cheaper than men. Animal power was under utilised but more enduring and cheaper than inanimate. The importance of the changing technology of power in rural economy was well made.

The first paper on Tuesday was given by Dr Harry Kitsikopoulos (New York University), on 'Convertible husbandry versus common fields: a model on the relative efficiency of medieval field systems'. The productivity of convertible husbandry versus common fields was analysed from 1250–1500. Two models of holdings, based on data from real examples, were outlined. They proved the premise that common field output was higher than convertible husbandry in the pre-plague period. After the Black Death this situation was reversed. However, despite a reduction in tillage, there was an increase in yields. Mistakes in pre-plague managerial practices in, for example, managing leys may be reflected in the low yields. The soils and nitrogen levels were critical in individual manors.

Dr Paul Warde (Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge), then spoke on 'Subsistence, sales and the state: the peasant economy of early seventeenth century Wüerttemberg'. This lecture discussed a survey made in August 1622 that recorded the resources of village households. It received returns from four districts with four hundred settlements representing a population of about 30,000 people and so offered a unique insight into the peasant economy of Central Europe. There was mainly a three course system of open fields with viticulture providing a cash income. The survey showed that more households grew and sold oats than spelt wheat. They stored grain for subsistence while institutions held reserves for time of need and were able to supply loans. The system of poor relief depressed the income of the larger, richer farmers. Sadly, there were no farm sizes to which to relate the survey data, but Warde introduced the conference to a superb source which made many of those present envious.

After coffee, Dr Leigh Shaw-Taylor (Jesus College, Cambridge), described 'Stock keeping and crop growing by the rural poor: the evidence of early eighteenth-century Northamptonshire probate inventories'. A sample of 423 inventories was analysed from 1700–1749 for animals, crops and total value. Occupations like labourer, shepherd, tailor, carpenter, weaver and baker were examined. Butchers and farmers were looked at separately. The results showed that half the labourers kept cows, less than a quarter kept pigs, likewise sheep, whilst one in ten had a horse. These were the labourers wealthy enough to leave probate inventories. Of the artisans, half kept cows, one third kept pigs and one in five kept a

horse. Sixty per cent of the bakers possessed horses. The favoured animal was the cow. Seventeen per cent of the labourers grew crops whilst 84 per cent of farmers grew crops. All those with a cow grew crops. Artisans were often bi-occupational. In the sample, no crops were grown by labourers in enclosed parishes while seventeen per cent grew crops in open field parishes. There appeared to be a disengagement from agriculture over time that may have produced substantial emiseration with a non-voluntary increase in specialisation.

Following lunch, Dr Michael Winstanley and Harvey Osborne (University of Lancaster) presented their paper on 'The strange decline of poaching in Victorian England: a regional analysis'. In the nineteenth century there was a decline in poaching from *c.* 12,000 to *c.* 6,000 cases. The period 1862–1907 was examined for both day and night poaching and its geographical distribution. The decline may have been helped by legislation in 1861 and 1862. There was a general decrease in crime against property and poaching peaks could be linked to depression and bad harvests. Increasing numbers of rural police was a factor, but Winstanley and Osborne also pointed out that from 1871–1911 there was an increase in the number of gamekeepers, especially in Norfolk and Suffolk. Their numbers decreased in the North, except in the areas of the grouse moors of Derbyshire and Northumberland. These regional patterns in the numbers of keepers helped explain the regional patterns of poaching. In the North prosecutions peaked in 1875 in the North, but in the South and East in 1885.

Dr Philip Conford (University of Reading) analysed 'The myth of neglect: responses to the early organic movement, 1925–50'. Far from being ignored in this period, the promoters of organic farming were seen as rivals, especially by the large artificial fertiliser producers like ICI and Fisons. The industrialists used their journals and advertisements to discredit organic farmers. They believed the future lay with the scientist, not with the mystic. The organic school of thought was reviewed in papers of all political shades and, from 1936–1948, it was discussed on the wireless. So whilst Dr Conford was able to demonstrate an awareness of the organic movement and its ideas, it had little money and was unable to influence government policy. The organic movement was not neglected, but it lost the battle against the advocates of large-scale, fertilizer-dependent farming.

The 49th Annual General Meeting was followed by the annual reception and enjoyable conference dinner. On Wednesday morning there was a symposium entitled 'Accumulation and inheritance: Browne of Townend and the Cumbrian Statesman'. Professor Richard Hoyle (University of Reading), introduced 'Troutbeck and the Brownes'. The Browne family lived at Townend from the early sixteenth century to 1943. There existed a rich archive of title deeds, farming accounts and rentals, which was a remarkable survival for a relatively small 'yeoman' family, albeit one with interests in local office-holding, the law and malting as well as farming. They had demographic good fortune in that adult sons generally succeeded to their aged fathers, but longevity led to problems of delayed succession. Professor Hoyle offered an account of how this was handled.

Ms Linda McGhee (Universities of Reading and Central Lancashire), examined 'Age, quality and quantity: the accumulation of household goods by the Brownes' basing her work on the Brownes' accounts and inventories. The inventory analysis proved fascinating. Benjamin Browne (1664–1748) left a total of £97 of which £63 was household goods. His library of 142 books was valued at £2 2*s.* 0*d.* By title, 49 per cent were religious books, 35 per cent legal books with history, biography and works on conduct following. The books were acquired either locally or through his son in London. In all, 91 items of linen were meticulously listed and monogrammed. Four sheets were seventy-five years old. Generally the wooden spoons were replaced by silver in the 1730s. China was acquired but not often used, the pewter and wooden items being more enduring. In comparison with household goods of Midland yeomen farmers, the Brownes' goods were considerably richer, numerous and more valuable.

As all the National Trust's properties in the Lake District were closed as a precaution against Foot and Mouth, Mrs Susan Denyer of the National Trust gave a presentation on 'Townend and the Brownes'. Townend was a fine survival of vernacular architecture of the 'statesman' class in stone and slate. But Mrs Denyer was also able to show how far the house and its furnishings reflected the antiquarian tastes of the Browne's: it was not a typical 'statesmans' house at all.

The conference heard a series of papers of great range and consistently high interest. Professor Richard Hoyle and Dr Peter Dewey are to be congratulated for organising such a successful and enjoyable conference in a beautiful location.

British Agricultural History Society
Annual report to members, 2000–2001

The Officers of the Society are able to report another successful and productive year for the Society.

Publications

Volume 48 (parts one and two) of *Agricultural History Review* appeared in 2000. It contained 256 pages, and contained 10 articles, 57 book reviews, a bibliography and two conference reports.

A notable event at the end of 2000 was the appearance of Volume VII of the *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, covering the period 1850–1914. Edited by the Society's President, Prof. E. J. T. Collins, it completes the near fifty-year publishing programme of the Agrarian History, the series editor of which is Dr. Joan Thirsk, herself a past president of the society (twice over). A review of volume seven may be found in this issue of the *Review*.

Conferences

The Spring Conference 2000, held at Bretton Hall, a college of the University of Leeds, on 10–12 April, was very successful, with 51 participants (43 of them in residence). The society is grateful to Professor John Chartres for organizing this meeting.

The Winter Conference, held on Saturday 2 December 2000 on the theme of 'Livestock in the Farming Economy' at the Institute of Historical Research, London, was also very successful, with some 60 people attending. This was the sixth conference organized by Dr. John Broad, who is now stepping down, his place being assumed by Dr. Jane Whittle of Exeter University. The Executive Committee of the Society has expressed its thanks to Dr. Broad for his work on behalf of the society.

Future conferences

In conjunction with the Association d'Histoire des Societes Rurales, planning is under way for an Anglo-French Conference, to be held at the Universite de Maine, Le Mans, from 12–14 September 2002.

Planning is also under way for the Spring Conference 2003 which will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Society. It will take place on 7–9 April, at King Alfred's College, Winchester. A Golden Jubilee Prize Essay Competition has been announced; details may be found in *Agricultural History Review*.

Membership

The number of members was stable, cancellations being balanced by new subscriptions, the finances of the Society continued to be firm. There was an accumulated surplus of some £70,000. There are no plans to raise subscriptions. The Society's accounts were approved at the 2001 AGM. Copies may be obtained from the Treasurer, Prof. Mark Overton.

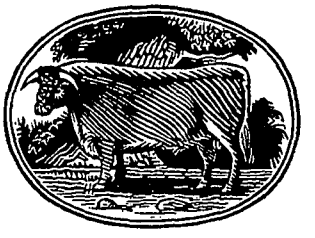
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edited by
R. W. HOYLE *and* J. R. WALTON

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Agricultural History Review

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and Dr J. R. WALTON (reviews)

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