

The AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW



VOLUME VII 1959

PART I

*

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

The Animal Remains found at Kirkstall Abbey

by M. L. RYDER

*

Some Agricultural History Salvaged

by H. CECIL PAWSON

*

The Tithe Surveys of the Mid-Nineteenth Century

by H. C. PRINCE

*

Plough Rituals in England and Scotland

by THOMAS DAVIDSON

PUBLISHED BY
THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW

VOLUME VII PART 1 · 1959

CONTENTS

The Animal Remains found at Kirkstall Abbey	<i>M. L. Ryder</i>	page 1
Some Agricultural History Salvaged	<i>H. Cecil Pawson</i>	6
The Tithe Surveys of the Mid-Nineteenth Century	<i>H. C. Prince</i>	14
Plough Rituals in England and Scotland	<i>Thomas Davidson</i>	27
List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since September 1957	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	38
Reviews:		
<i>L'Homme et La Charrue à travers le Monde,</i> by A. G. Haudricourt and M. J-B. Delamarre	<i>T. H. Aston</i>	48
<i>Farm Crisis, 1919-23,</i> by James H. Shideler	<i>Harwood Long</i>	51
<i>British Friesians: a History of the Breed,</i> by J. K. Stanford	<i>R. Trow-Smith</i>	53
<i>The Fruit Year Book, 1958</i>	<i>Winifred M. Dullforce</i>	54
<i>The Agricultural Register. Changes in the Economic Pattern, 1956-7</i>	<i>Edith H. Whetham</i>	55
<i>The Old Norwegian Peasant Community,</i> by A. Holmsen and others	<i>Margaret Davies</i>	56
<i>Origins of Ownership,</i> by D. R. Denman	<i>G. D. G. Hall</i>	56
<i>De Landbouw in Brabants Westhoek in hed midden van de achttiende eeuw,</i> by Ir. W. J. Dewez	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	57
<i>Een Fries Landbouwbedrijf in de tweede helfte van de zestiende eeuw,</i> by B. H. Slicher van Bath	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	57
<i>Een Samenleving onder Spanning,</i> by B. H. Slicher van Bath	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	58
<i>Report of the Royal Commission on Common Land</i>	<i>Dorothy Sylvester</i>	59
<i>The Historical Atlas of Cheshire</i>	<i>H. P. R. Finberg</i>	60
<i>Where London Ends,</i> by E. W. Martin	<i>W. E. Minchinton</i>	61
<i>A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect,</i> by W. D. Parish and Helena Hall	<i>L. F. Salzman</i>	61
<i>Suffolk Farming in the Nineteenth Century</i>	<i>J. W. Y. Higgs</i>	62
<i>Robert Bakewell,</i> by H. C. Pawson	<i>George Houston</i>	63
<i>Evolution of the Veterinary Art,</i> by J. F. Smithcors	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	63
Notes and Comments		26, 37
Letters to the Editor		47, 64
Notes on Contributors		13

The Animal Remains found at Kirkstall Abbey

By M. L. RYDER

THE use of archaeology as an approach to the medieval period is fairly recent: where records and ruins existed it was not considered possible to add to our knowledge by excavation. The falseness of this assumption has been amply proved by the yearly excavations at Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds, led by Dr D. E. Owen when he was director of Leeds City Museums. There are no descriptions of Cistercian farm animals; and a study of the animal remains found at Kirkstall has been particularly illuminating in that it has yielded evidence of long-woolled as well as short-woolled sheep.

There were incidental animal finds in most years from 1950 when the excavation started, bones of rat, dog, ox, sheep, pig, and horse being found.¹ The discovery of the skeleton of a horse beneath the refectory floor seemed to indicate animal burial.² In addition, shells of oyster (*Ostrea edulis*) and of mussel (*Mytilus edulis*) were found, often in great profusion, and there were cockles (*Cardium edule*) and whelks (*Buccinum undatum*) in smaller numbers. These are all marine and must have come from the coast. The shells were on the whole smaller than those of the present day, the oysters being markedly smaller and lighter, the major axis being only about half as long as that of a modern oyster.

But it was not until 1956 and 1957 that a large dump of bones was found associated with the meat kitchen.³ This was not built until about the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Cistercians were first allowed to eat meat. During these two excavations the dump has been shown to extend over an area at least 25 yards wide by 40 yards long, and to vary from 18 inches to one yard in thickness. This volume has been estimated to contain bones from about five thousand animals. A small pocket of the bones was sealed under a fifteenth-century drain leading from the meat kitchen annexe. This shows that the dump began to accumulate before the drain was made, probably as soon as the monks began eating meat, and its size suggests that the dump could have been in use until the dissolution in 1540. The majority of the bones were from animals apparently used to provide food. But the fact that

¹ *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1905-54* (Publications of the Thoresby Society, XLIII, 1955).

² *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, Sixth Report, 1956.*

³ M. L. Ryder, 'Report on the Animal Bones, Kirkstall Abbey Excavations', Seventh Report (1957), and Eighth Report (1958).

they were not all sealed means that intrusion of a few bones of a later date is possible. Shells were less common in this dump than in previous years.

Fowler discusses the lack of slaughter-houses in abbey plans, and suggests that animals were killed in a yard near the kitchen.¹ The meat kitchen annexe at Kirkstall, with its flagged floor and drain, seems a likely place for the killing, and one half of the annexe could have been used to store meat.

Nearly all the larger bones had been chopped, so that with limb bones it was usually the ends that were found. There were hardly any complete bones, and so few measurements of length could be made. The ends of the bones had frequently been chopped a second time; this suggests that they had been stewed and not roasted as a joint. The Cistercians originally ate vegetable stew, and it seems that when they began to eat meat they ate it stewed rather than roasted. With the ox, at any rate, nearly every bone in the body was represented, and so there appears to have been no preference for any particular joint or cut of meat.

Most of the bones were from domestic animals, and counts showed that 90 per cent were from ox, 5 per cent from sheep, 3 per cent from pig, and 2 per cent from deer. Bones from Red, Fallow, and Roe deer were found, but there were too few to estimate the relative numbers of the different species. The lack of antlers suggests either that the whole carcass did not reach Kirkstall, or that the antlers were used for such articles as knife handles.

The monks apparently bought or were given meat from wild animals to supplement that from their farm stock. Bones of rabbit and hare were found (the latter predominating), and in addition to bones of domestic fowl there were bones of duck and goose (which could have been either wild or domestic), and also raven, jackdaw, heron, woodcock, and blackcock (black grouse).

There were about as many fish bones as bird bones, and most of these seemed to be too large to have come from freshwater fish. The records of Fountains mention salmon, and that dried and salted fish (probably cod and ling), as well as oysters, were bought at Hull, Scarborough, and York. There was a skull of a goat, one rat bone, a few dog bones, and one horse bone.

The results of the counts show the proportions in which the different animals were eaten and cannot of course indicate the numbers of animals kept. It seems therefore that the monks ate more beef than any other meat. Sheep would be kept mainly for their wool; Eileen Power has said that in the Middle Ages "meat was only a use to which sheep not good enough to keep for wool could be put."² An idea of the actual numbers can be obtained from

¹ J. T. Fowler (ed.), *Memorials of Fountains*, 111 (Surtees Soc., 130), 1918.

² *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History*, 1941, p. 20.

a record of 1301, which states that the monks then had 618 head of cattle and 4,500 sheep.¹

The majority of ox and sheep bones were from at least mature animals (two to three years old), and the greater proportion of ox bones were from fairly old animals (between five and ten years old). This suggests that the monks were able to keep much of their stock over the winter; had a large number of animals been killed each year through lack of winter feed, one would have expected to find a high proportion of bones from young animals.

Three fragments of bone showing pathological changes were found. The first was a portion of a sheep tibia showing an area of local periostitis. The lesion probably underlay an inflammatory condition, such as an abscess, in the superficial tissue, and the fragment appeared to have been chopped from the rest of the bone because of the lesion. The distal end of an ox metatarsal exhibited a growth of new bone around the edge of the articular surfaces. This arthritis may have affected the articular cartilage, but the underlying bone was unchanged. The new growth was well developed on both posterior and anterior aspects of the bone, and in the latter had changed the arterial groove into a tube. The third find was a vertebral body, probably bovine, showing a spondylitis in which the new growth had resulted in bone extending over the intervertebral disc to produce the effect of 'lipping'.

The cattle were almost certainly hornless: not a single ox horn core was found among the immense amount of ox material. This is of interest because the chronicles of Meaux Abbey mention horned cattle.² Some of the ox bones were from animals as big as those of today, whereas others were from smaller animals. Many measurements were made of the widths of the proximal and distal ends of the cannon bones (only three were found complete). There was a very wide range in these measurements, but when plotted in the form of frequency diagrams three peaks could be discerned. The peak among the larger widths probably indicated bones from bulls, that among the smaller widths bones from cows, and the middle one (of greatest frequency) was probably from bullocks (castrated males).

One would expect more males than females to be eaten, but the bullocks probably were not just beef cattle. The great age of the animals, coupled with the large size of many of the cannon bones, suggests draught oxen, and it seems that these were killed for meat when they were too old to work. Many of the larger cannon bones had exceptionally wide distal ends. The cause of this broadening at the ankle is unknown; no previous record of the phenomenon in cattle has been found, but Dr J. Wilfrid Jackson has told me that

¹ *Fundacio Abbatie de Kyrkestall* (Thoresby Society, IV, 1895), p. 203.

² *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, III (Rolls Series 43, 1868), p. xvii.

cannon bones with broad distal ends are common in Iron Age and Romano-British sheep. Ox cannon bones that were extremely narrow may have remained permanently stunted because of poor nutrition during early life.

Most of the pig bones, unlike those of cattle and sheep, had lost their epiphyses and were therefore from young animals; in most of the lower jaws the sixth molar was erupting, showing them to be from animals about eighteen months old. The pigs were apparently therefore killed young, as they are today. The limb bones had the characteristic slenderness of unimproved animals,¹ and were on the whole smaller than those from present-day pigs. There were tusks of three sizes, and it is thought that the largest and the intermediate ones were from boars and sows respectively. But the smallest tusks were of a different character and it is suggested that these might possibly be from wild pigs.

The sheep bones were all smaller than those of present-day sheep, and the long bones had the characteristic slenderness of unimproved animals. The Cistercians at Kirkstall seem to have had both horned and hornless sheep. This provides interesting confirmation of the generally held belief² that they had two kinds, viz. horned short-woolled sheep and hornless, long-woolled 'valley' sheep. The horned and hornless skulls found showed a good resemblance to skulls from modern hill and long-woolled sheep respectively. I have been unable to find any contemporary descriptions of the sheep that the Cistercians kept in Yorkshire. Wroot seems to have got his evidence mainly from eighteenth-century writers such as William Marshall who said that the two main stocks of Yorkshire sheep had not changed for centuries. The hill or moorland sheep were then described as having black faces and coarse fleeces, and the valley sheep as being tall and clumsy, hornless, white-faced animals which produced the long, fine wool used in worsteds. In fact the two main stocks can still be recognized today, although there has been much cross-breeding, and each has given rise to several modern breeds.

Dr Bowden has questioned the classical belief in the existence of long- and short-woolled sheep in the Middle Ages on the grounds that an increase in the supply of long wool could be associated with the later improvement of pasture.³ It is more likely that this was associated with an increase in the number of long-woolled sheep and was not a direct effect of better nutrition on wool growth as he implies. In view of what is known of the inheritance of fleece types it is inconceivable that a small (most likely horned) short-woolled sheep could give rise to a large (most likely hornless) long-wool entirely as the

¹ J. Hammond, *The Growth and Development of Mutton Qualities in Sheep*, 1932.

² H. E. Wroot, *Yorkshire Abbeys and the Wool Trade* (Thoresby Society, xxxiii, 1935), p. 5.

³ *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, ix, 1956, pp. 44-58.

result of better nutrition. Such a change would require selective breeding. This article is not the place for a detailed discussion of the possible origin of the long-wool, which owing to lack of knowledge would involve much speculation.

Mr Trow-Smith, too, has recently discussed the tantalizing question of the origin of long-woolled sheep and suggests that the Romans might have introduced them.¹ That the long-wools form a stock quite distinct from the hill sheep is strongly suggested by recent work on blood types.² J. V. Evans found that whereas in the Swaledale (hill breed) 85 per cent of the sheep were of a certain blood type, the Leicester (long-wool) had no sheep of this blood type.

I have inspected some representations of sheep in medieval illuminated manuscripts at the British Museum. One of these showed polled sheep, a twelfth-century manuscript showed horned sheep, and a thirteenth-century one showed horned and polled sheep together.³ Although it would be unwise to place too much reliance on the appearance of these sheep, it is doubtful whether artists' licence would allow the omission of horns. And it is interesting that a sheep skull of date about 1300 which I examined from the 1957 excavation at the deserted village of Wharram Percy (Yorks.), led by Mr Maurice Beresford, was in fact polled. The inheritance of horns is complicated,⁴ but at Kirkstall one can almost certainly rule out breeds in which the rams are horned and the ewes polled, e.g. Welsh Mountain and Merino. In addition, castration of males in a horned breed is unlikely to cause loss of horns, only the reduction of horn size to that of the ewe.⁵ Evidence is therefore accumulating for the existence in the Middle Ages of polled sheep that were probably long-wools, although it is quite likely that they were outnumbered by horned short-wools.⁶

¹ R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700*, 1957, p. 165.

² J. V. Evans, *The Advancement of Science*, XIII, 1956, pp. 198–200.

³ Harley 603, fo. 69b; Royal XIX, fo. 19; Adv. 20787, fo. 112b.

⁴ A. L. Rae, *Advances in Genetics*, VIII, 1956, p. 189.

⁵ A. S. Fraser, *Aust. J. Agric. Res.*, VI, 1955, pp. 770–5.

⁶ Since this article was written a new approach to the history of sheep has been started. This is the study of (particularly the grouping of) wool fibres remaining in ancient material such as parchment. Fibres in some of the parchment from the Dead Sea Scrolls showed characteristics of long-woolled sheep.—M. L. Ryder, *Nature*, 182, 1958, pp. 781–3.

Some Agricultural History Salvaged

By H. CECIL PAWSON

A CHANCE remark, made almost casually by my friend the late Major J. G. G. Rea (for many years Chairman of the Northumberland Agricultural Executive Committee), led to the exciting discovery of a number of letters written by Robert Bakewell to his pupil and friend George Culley in the closing years of the eighteenth century. These letters were in the possession of the late Mrs Leather-Culley at Callaly Castle, near Alnwick, among a large accumulation of correspondence destined for destruction. Mrs Leather-Culley was most co-operative and I soon found myself in a large store room on the top floor, surrounded by dusty cardboard boxes so crammed with bundles of papers as to daunt even the most enthusiastic researcher. For an hour I worked with no success, and then I picked up a four-page foolscap handwritten letter signed "Robert Bakewell," dated "Dishley, 28th April," and addressed to "Mr. George Culley, Fenton, Wooler, Northumberland." This moment of discovery remains vivid in my memory. Stimulated by this exciting find, my search was redoubled until ultimately I had retrieved thirty-two such foolscap letters, all written in Bakewell's own hand, together with a copy of his financial appeal, containing the list of many subscribers.

Visiting London shortly afterwards, I called at the British Museum and elicited the information that six shorter (quarto size) letters written by Bakewell were all that were available there. A call at Rothamsted revealed that the only Bakewell document preserved in the fine library at that Station was a copy of his financial appeal, which on examination I found was less complete than that now in my possession. So far as I have been able to ascertain after many enquiries, these are the only surviving original Bakewell documents. They are reproduced in full in my recent book, *Robert Bakewell*, Part II, *The Bakewell Letters—Culley and British Museum Collections*. The former collection has been presented to the School of Agriculture, King's College, University of Durham.

Looking back, I cannot but feel a sense of satisfaction that I made use of this almost fortuitous happening at a time when, like most agriculturists, I was already heavily burdened with other duties. I should like to record my gratitude to Mrs Leather-Culley for her gift of the letters and other papers and for her permission to "do with them just what you think is best."

"Other papers" included a variety of printed and handwritten documents on matters which can rightly be described as agricultural history. For ex-

ample, a lengthy printed document of considerable size sets out the full scheme and costs of equipment for the establishment of an experimental farm in Northumberland. This is dated just one hundred years before the famous Cockle Park Experimental Station came into being in 1897. Included are farming tenancy agreements of the Culley Brothers, who farmed so extensively in Northumberland. George Culley, said to be Bakewell's favourite pupil, was the author of *Observations on Live Stock*, 1786, a publication much praised by Bakewell. There were also sale catalogues of the eighteenth century of farms and livestock, with the prices realized marked in the margins, and other advertisements setting forth the merits of particular stallions and bulls.

One fears that much local history of this kind must have been destroyed as waste paper and in other unconsidered disposals in more recent times, and we may wonder how much material may still be lying about, undiscovered.

As an example of interesting correspondence—until now part of the hitherto unpublished “other papers”—the following selection is made which illustrates the leadership of Bakewell and the range of influence of his Dishley Society. It also provides an interesting revelation of the opposition in Northumberland and elsewhere to those who rightly or wrongly were suspected of desiring for personal reasons a “closed shop” in livestock breeding.

Fenton 23^d March 1792

Dear Sir,

We now have it [at last *erased*] in Contemplation to enter into an Association on the Tup Business, and indeed a few of us Viz: Messrs. Thompsons, Nisbet, Self &c. had a private meeting yesterday at Wooler & were very unanimous, yet we are all of an opinion, that we have some Gent^m. Tup Breeders in this Neighborhood who will not Join us. And should that be the Case, as they are Men of some influence they will be enabled to defeat our best Intentions, without your Association will take us by the hand. And on this Occasion I am very happy in having it in my power to refer to a Paragraph in your letter to me of the 16th Decem^r. 91 as follows “I believe few if any of our Company will shew any Rams before the next meeting, & it is intended to shew from the 8th of June to the 8th of July, and after that day untill the 8th of Sep^r: and from that day while the Season Continues. And in order to prevent going to Market, I hope it will be agreed on not to let a Ram to any Person (Live where he will) but who will engage not to sell any Rams but what he shall see killed before they go out of his hands. Or take any to Market, but what are already disposed of for the season, with such other regulations as shall be thought proper” Now Sir this is what we in particular request to know from you immediately on receipt of this That is, if you have

entered into the above resolution "Not to let a Ram to any Person, live where he will, but who will engage neither to sell Rams without seeing them killed, nor shew any at Market with a view to let." Then we hope we can go on upon sure grounds, & shall immediately proceed on the receipt of your Anser. But, & if, your Association have not entered into the above resolution, & will let Tups to who ever come, without any Questions being asket, we must entirely drop all thoughts of the above Business. Because, if the above resolution is not determindly gone into, the above Gent^m. or any other who have got pretty deep into the Dishley Blood, will be enabled to benefit themselves to the very great injury of this Association. And indeed ultimately it must injure the whole set of Breeders of that valuable Kind. That we may have as little Delay as possible in this important Business, you will Excuse me if I again request your immediate Answer. And after that if you think proper to shew this letter to the Society at your next meeting, and if approved of will favor us with a Correspondence, I am sure it will be very agreeable to our young Association and in particular to your

Obt^d. & Hble Serv^t
G.C.

P.S.

Our present Resolutions are

- 1 Not to market any Tups whatever
- 2 To shew only at a time (suppose 20 or 30)
- 3^d Not to sell Tups even to a Butcher, except killed before taken way.
- 4th To return only 1 again, except an Evident defect has been in the mode
- 5th Not to let a Tup below 5 . 5
- 6th To sell no Ewes under phead except to a Butcher who you can depend upon to Slaughter them

NB. If it is not inconsistent with, or contrary to the rules of your Society we will be glad of your advice and assistance respecting our mode of procedure, and thankfull for such regulations, as you will please to recomend to us.—In a future letter, should these gent^m. prove refractory, I shall not think it wrong to give their Names to your Association, if approved by ours. That you Gent^m. may be the more particularly on your guard against them.—Will it not also be necessary to get the two Mr. Collings into our Association?

G.C. Copy of Let^r. to Mr. Bakewell

Sir

Fenton 23^d March 92.

Messrs. Thompson, Nisbet, Self & some other Breeders happening to fall in together yesterday at Wooler, & the Conversation turning upon Breeding. We considered, that a meeting of the Principal Breeders on both sides Tweed

might benefit the Cause. Have accordingly fixed upon Thursday the 5th of April next to meet at the Angel Inn, in Wooler, at 10 of Clock, in the forenoon, and not later. The above Gent^m. desired to Join in requesting the favor of your attendance along with Sir your &c.

G.C.

NB. I will also thank you if you will name the meeting to Mr. Harriot, & that the Gent^m. & myself will be glad to see him along with you at Wooler on the above day. Copy of let^r. to Wm Robison Esq^r.

1792 March 23 Copy of let^r. to Mr. Bakewell on Association Business also one of same date to Wm. Robertson Esq^r.

Fenton, 19 May 1792.

Well Sir,

A little while ago I told you that I should by and bye have occasion to write to you on the Tuptrade, or words to that Effect. Now you must know that the Tup Breeders in this corner, at least most of them, have for some-time had it in Contemplation to enter into a Society.—And in consequence of a letter I had yesterday, from Mr. Honeyburn Secretary to the Leicestershire Association. We have fixed upon Whitsun-Monday to meet upon this business, a very bad day for you to attend, however I hope either you or Bro. Charles will contrive to come, as I flatter myself it will be for all our mutual Benefits. And the members of this association earnestly request your attendance & concurrence, as well as your Bro^{rs} I am sure you can have no objection I hope to join Mess^{rs}—Robertson, Ladykirk—Alder, Horncliff—Nisbet—Potts—Thompsons—Culleys &ca &ca.

The foundation of the business is to take no Tups to Fairs or markets. To sell no Tups or Ewes of the Dishley Blood to Breed from. To shew only a certain number at once say 30. &ca &ca &ca with such other resolutions as may from time to time be agreed upon by a majority of the Society at any one meeting. The meeting will be at Joe Gibsons, Milfield ten oClock forenoon, on monday, the 28th Inst. where we will be very happy to see you or Bro^r. but if you cant come this time do say by letter before that day whether you incline to join us or not. And as I am much hurried, must request the favor of your reading this letter to Mr. Cha^s. Colling with the Compliments of the above Gentlemen requesting his attendance or at all events Sentiments on the occasion. I am for the above Gent^m. & Self your

ever obed^t Humb^e. Serv^t

(Sgd) Geo. Culley.

Mr. Colling

Copy of Letter to Mr. Colling

P.S. I had almost forgot to tell you that our reason for meeting on the 28 is

because an answer must be with the Leicestershire Society on or before the 4th of June their next meeting—& the parties could not meet sooner conveniently. Sg. G.C.

19 May 1792. Copy of a Letter to Mr. Colling on Association Business.

Fenton 19 May 1792.

Dear Sir,

The Gent^m Tup Breeders in this vicinity having for some time past been inclined to enter into an association for the mutual Benefit of the Parties so associated; and having entered into a Correspondence with the Leicestershire Society of Ram Breeders, a proper understanding has taken place. And in consequence of a letter from the Secretary of that association we have fixed upon Monday the 28 Inst. to meet at Joe Gibsons at Milfield by ten o'clock forenoon, where I am requested in the name of the Association to beg your attendance, as we believe it will be for your interest to Join us. And I hope you can have no objection to join Mess^{rs} Robertson Ladykirk—Alder, Horncliff—Nisbet—Potts—Atkinson—Thompsons & Culleys &c&c &c. It is right to acquaint you that the principal matters we propose are not to take any Tups to Fairs or Markets—not to sell Tups or Ewes to breed from. Not to shew above a certain number of Tups upon any one day—with such other resolutions as may from time to time be agreed on at future meetings—If it should so happen either f^m Illness particular Business &c&c. that you cannot attend on the above day. Be so kind as say by letter whether you approve & will join us at our next meeting of which notice shall be given you, in case you approve.

I am for the Above Gent^m & Self

Dr. Sir your Ever Obt. Servt.

(Signed) Geo: Culley.

Mr. Bates.

Copy of a Letter to Mr. Bates.

[erased P.S. I had almost forgot to tell you that our reason for meeting on the 28 is because an answer must be with the Leicestershire Society on or before the 4th of June their next meeting and the Parties could not meet sooner conveniently. Sg^d G.C.]

19 May 1792

Copy of a Letter

to

Mr. Bates on

Association Business.

Milfield 28 May 1792.

Sir

I was duly favored with yours of the 14th Inst. which was read before our Association this Day. And the Gent^m assembled beg their Respectfull thanks for the attention paid them by the Leicestershire Society of Tup Breeders And think that the Line would be best from the Mouth of the Humber up that River & the River Air by Leeds & Skipton, & so across Lancashire by the Town of Lancaster to the Irish Sea. If you approve of this, & will at your next meeting on the 4th of June extend your Resolution made to the 8th of June. "That no Member of the Leicestershire Society shall let or sell a Ram Share or part beyond the above Line Northwards so long as these Societies exist, except to the North^d. Society." "We will on our part engage not to Let or sell a Tup Share or part beyond the above Line Southward except to the Leicestershire Society" (An Honour we can scarce flatter ourselves ever to attain) Now we repeat that when we have your Answer & concurrence to the above resolution we will then go on with Spirit & firmness and are determined as soon as we hear from you again (which we hope will be immediately at or soon after your meeting on the 4th of June), provided it meet our wishes according to the above request, that we shall immediately depute 2 or more of our Members, to go South to reconoitre, and hire, if approved of some of your best Tups which we propose to do every year so long as we continue associated. I am for the Society & Self Sir

your obt^d. & Hble Ser.

Geo Culley.

P.S. We are now Ten & have reason to believe that Mr. Colling & 2 or 3 more will Join if we chuse, and shall be glad of the advice of your Society whether we shall admit them.

Copy of let^r. to
Leicester Society

11 June 1792.

Sir/

Wooler 11 June 1792

Yours of the 5th has just been read to this Society, who were disappointed that yours should not agree to the Line proposed by this in my letter of the 28th May. And I am desired to say that we will give up Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland & the West riding of Yorkshire. provided you will allow us the East & North ridings, with Durham this County & Scotland, because the Society think that a clear Line is best to be understood.—After saying this much we agree to your resolution in the meantime, untill our

deputies see you Gentlemen, which will in all probabillity be about the latter end of next Week. When if you could convene a meeting we could discuss this matter more fully, & settle many matters which cannot be so well done by Letter. Allow us to say that one great objection to the North & East ridings of Yorkshire being at Liberty for both Societys, is, that those parts are so near some of our opponents, that Ewes may easily be sent by them to Tups hired from your Society into Yorkshire, a matter we must recomend to you, to guard against in the strictist manner I am Sir for the Society, & Self your Obt. Servt. Geo Culley.

P.S. Shall thank you to let Mr. Bettison & Stubbins know that the two Deputies appointed by this Society will most likely be at the Blackmoores Head in Nottingham on Thursday Eve the 21st Inst & shall wait upon these Gent^m. on the Friday morning. Copy of let^r. to Leicester Society 28 May 1792.

The Association was duly formed, but the opposition continued, as is shown first by the meeting which was held in Berwick as advertised, under the presidency of the Earl of Home, and secondly by a further meeting held on 2 July 1792 at Coldstream. In the printed description of the business conducted at this latter meeting occur the following paragraphs:

"Several of the Farmers present having informed the Meeting, that they had attended the Meeting of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Farmers, held at the Red Lion in Berwick, on Saturday the 23d Day of June last, and having delivered in the Resolutions entered into at that Meeting, which being openly read.

"Resolved unanimously, that a monopoly of any Trade, or any Association, entered into by any set of Men, (especially of those whose Resolutions enjoin secrecy) are highly injurious to the Public; and that the Members of this Meeting will pursue every measure to counteract such Associations.

"Resolved by the Farmers, who were not present at the said Meeting, held in Berwick, That in case the breeders of Stock, or Members of the Association formed at Milfield in May last, do not on or before the 12th of August next, publicly dissolve the said Association, and advertise their intention to furnish the Public with Tups, or other Stock, as formerly, and on the same liberal Terms as other breeders in this County, that they will, on the 20th of August next, enter into Resolutions, nearly similar to those entered into by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Farmers, at Berwick, on the 23d of June last; and they will, at all times, give a preference to those breeders who will sell Tups as well as let them to hire."

These 'growing pains' in the movement towards livestock improvement

and the establishment of breed societies and standards illustrate the conflict between mixed motives of pride, prejudice, personal interest, and genuine desire for progress. They also indicate why Bakewell and his devotees were often under the fire of criticism for their secrecy and exclusiveness, with a measure of jealousy at times accounting for the intense opposition.

BERWICK June 9th, 1792.

JUNE 16th, 1792.

WHEREAS, several Persons, Breeders of Stock, in the County of Northumberland and Durham, who are in the practice of letting TUPS, have entered into an Association, or Combination; the Resolutions of which are generally believed to be inimical to the Public.

A Meeting is therefore to be held at the Red Lion, in BERWICK, on Saturday the 23d Instant, at 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon, to concert Measures for the purpose of counter-acting any such intentions.

W. PHORSON PRINTER BERWICK.

THE Association formed for improving the Breed of Sheep in Northumberland, &c. have Associated for the purpose of going to an expence in pursuit of their object, which it would not be prudent individually to attempt.

That they have entered into a Combination inimical to the Country; (as an Hand-bill now in Circulation seems to assert) they beg leave to deny.

There can be no Combination in a Business, a participation whereof was offered to the Principal Tup Breeders in the Neighbourhood, nor can it be deemed inimical to the Country to improve its Breed, of so useful and profitable an Animal by the only means which appear to them adequate to the purpose.

W. PHORSON PRINTER BERWICK.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

M. L. Ryder, M.Sc., Ph.D., graduated in zoology at Leeds and is now engaged in research on wool growth for The Wool Industries Research Association.

H. Cecil Pawson, M.B.E., M.Sc., sometime professor and assistant director of the department of agriculture, King's College, Newcastle, is the author of a life of Robert Bakewell.

H. C. Prince, M.A., is a lecturer in geography at University College, London. He has contributed to *The Geographic Review*, *The Amateur Historian*, and other periodicals.

T. D. Davidson, F.S.A.(Scot.), is a research physicist. He has published a study in Scottish witchcraft entitled *Rowan Tree and Red Thread*, and many papers on folk-lore.

The Tithe Surveys of the Mid-Nineteenth Century

By H. C. PRINCE

THE rural landscape of England and Wales in the 1840's is depicted exactly in the field-by-field surveys carried out by the Tithe Commissioners. Their enquiries covered about three-quarters of the country. The maps drawn for each parish show the boundaries of fields, woods, roads, and streams, and the position of buildings, while the accompanying schedules give the names of their owners and occupiers, their state of cultivation, and their area. The amount of detailed information they provide about land tenure, field systems, and land use is unequalled by any other series of documents. Their accuracy is sufficient to warrant their continued use as evidence in courts of law on matters not directly connected with the payment of tithe. Their uniformity and comprehensiveness are surpassed only by the Land Utilisation Survey of the 1930's. Indeed, they rank as the most complete record of the agrarian landscape at any period.

The objects of the present enquiry are to examine the nature of tithe payments, to describe the purpose for which the surveys were made under the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, and to discuss their value for reconstructing the agrarian landscape of 1840.

THE NATURE OF TITHES

Tithes customarily represented a tenth of the annual increase of the produce of the soil and were of three kinds: predial tithes, payable on the fruits of the earth, such as corn, hay, wood, fruit, and other crops; mixed or agistment tithes, payable on animal products, such as colts, lambs, calves, wool, milk, eggs, and honey; and personal tithes, payable on the clear gains of a man's labour and industry, generally levied only on the profits of milling and fishing.¹ By common law, tithes were not payable on minerals or anything that formed part of the freehold. Deer, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, wild-fowl, and fish were titheable by special custom only.

In the first instance, tithes were paid to the rector of a parish, who might be a resident incumbent or a bishop, prior, prioress, monastery, nunnery, or college. An absentee rector normally appointed a vicar to perform his parochial services and allotted to him a portion of the revenues of the benefice,

¹ P. W. Millard, *The Law Relating to Tithes and Payments in Lieu Thereof*, 3rd ed., 1938, contains a concise account of the nature of tithes.

usually the small tithes. These included all tithes except those of grain, hay, and wood, which constituted the great tithes. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, rectories and tithes belonging to the dissolved houses were vested in the Crown, and most were subsequently sold to laymen. Lay impropriators still held nearly a quarter of the net annual value of all tithes at the time of commutation.¹

The payment of tithes in kind was a cause of endless disputes between farmers and tithe-owners. Very costly proceedings were entered upon to determine which courts should hear such suits, who was liable to pay, how payments should be assessed, and how they should be paid.² Frequent disputes arose concerning the nature of tithable produce. It was once decided that partridges were *ferae naturae* and therefore exempt from tithe, as were turkeys. On another occasion, wild cherries and fallen apples were adjudged to be subject to tithe. On yet another occasion, wild ducks were declared exempt, but the eggs laid by tame ducks used to decoy them were tithable. But the most difficult cases of all were those involving the produce of woodland. In some areas, all woodlands were exempt; in others, only certain trees; in yet others, the trunks and branches were exempt, but acorns, mast, and even charcoal were tithable. When tithes were allotted to more than one owner further litigation began. It was asked what constituted the vicar's tithe and how much belonged to the rector or lay impropriator. Should the tithe be collected by the owner, and if so, when; or should it be delivered by the farmer, and if so, to what place?

Tithes were an imposition which bore most heavily on progressive farmers whose yields were great but whose expenditure was also large. In areas where the profit to be gained by improvement was likely to be small, potential investors were undoubtedly deterred from venturing their capital because of the incidence of tithes. In Hertfordshire it was reported in 1795 that those parts subject to a reasonable annual money payment in lieu of tithes were generally farmed on improved methods, whereas lands liable to pay tithes in kind were often abandoned to almost total neglect.³ After the passing

¹ Out of a total of £4,054,405 8s. 7½d. tithe rent-charge, lay impropriators, schools, and colleges held £962,262 13s. 3¼d. according to House of Commons Accounts and Papers (16), Session 1887, Volume 64, Return 214, Return of all Tithes commuted and apportioned under the Acts for the Commutation of Tithes . . . up to 30th June 1887. A comprehensive list of individual lay tithe-owners appears in Henry Grove, *Alienated Tithes*, 1896.

² J. A. Venn, *The Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1933, pp. 154-65, traces the history of the collection of tithe in kind during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. R. E. Prothero (Lord Ernle), *English Farming Past and Present*, 1912, devotes Chapter XVI, pp. 332-45, to the history of tithes and their effect on farming practice before and after commutation.

³ D. Walker, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hertford*, 1795, pp. 73-82.

of the act for the commutation of tithes, James Caird reported that extensive tracts of Salisbury Plain were reclaimed and brought under the plough for the first time.¹

The Board of Agriculture reports at the beginning of the nineteenth century unanimously condemned the payment of tithes in kind, but they noted that other forms of payment were common in most counties. Tithes were converted to other forms of payment by two different methods: either by a formal agreement between the tithe-owners and farmers, or alternatively under the terms of a parliamentary enclosure award. The first method often resulted in tithes being converted to a fixed annual money payment known as a *modus* or composition. But a fixed sum of money was not strictly equivalent to a tithe payment which varied from year to year according to the amount and value of farm produce. For this reason some agreements stipulated that a fixed sum be paid for an agreed number of years, some provided for a periodic revision of the payment, while others specified that the sum should fluctuate from year to year with the price of some commodity, usually wheat, sometimes other cereals, in a few cases jointly with wheat. An agreement to alter the method of paying tithes would be accompanied by a full valuation of the tithes, together with a large-scale plan and schedule of the tithable lands. A survey such as that carried out at Hatfield in Hertfordshire in 1824 is as comprehensive and detailed as any of the later tithe commutation surveys.

When tithes were dealt with under a parliamentary enclosure act, they were generally extinguished in exchange for allotments of land. In a study of the results of this procedure, based on an examination of twenty enclosure awards, covering the period from 1793 to 1815, Vladimir Lavrovsky concludes that almost without exception, "tithe commutation led to a diminution in the area owned by the peasantry."² Some lost as much as a fifth of their former holdings, and the majority lost more than one-ninth. But as Gonner pointed out there were marked regional as well as social differences in the manner of commuting tithes under parliamentary acts.³ In some areas they were invariably extinguished; in others, *moduses* and compositions prevailed. About 2,230 such acts passed before 1835 provided for the abolition of the payment of tithe in kind.⁴ In 1,510 of these all tithes were extinguished by allotments of land made to the tithe-owners; in 550 tithes were

¹ J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51*, 1852, p. 80.

² 'Tithe Commutation as a factor in the gradual decrease of landownership by the English peasantry', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, IV, 1933, p. 280.

³ E. C. K. Gonner, *Common Land and Inclosure*, 1912, pp. 316-8.

⁴ P. W. Millard, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

partly extinguished by allotments of land, and partly converted into annual money payments; in only 170 acts were tithes entirely converted into annual money payments.¹

THE TITHE COMMUTATION ACT OF 1836

In 1836 an act was passed to commute all tithes in kind and substitute a fluctuating money payment known as a corn rent adjusted each year on the basis of the seven-year average price of wheat, barley, and oats.² The amount of the corn rent-charge was to be obtained by dividing £100 of tithe into three equal portions of £33 6s. 8d., calculating how much wheat, barley, and oats could be bought with each portion, and multiplying these quantities by the average price in succeeding years. In 1836 the septennial average price of wheat was 7s. 0½d. per bushel, of barley 3s. 11½d. per bushel, of oats 2s. 9d. per bushel. At these prices £33 6s. 8d. bought 94·96 bushels of wheat, or 168·42 bushels of barley, or 242·42 bushels of oats. Each succeeding year the corn rent-charge on £100 of tithe was to be the sum of the septennial average prices of these quantities of grain. In this way the purchasing power of the money payment for which tithes were to be commuted was preserved.

The first task was to establish the boundaries of every district in which tithes were paid separately.³ This was known as a tithe district to distinguish it from a parish. In the meaning of the act, a parish included every place for which an overseer of the poor was appointed. The Commissioners first enquired into all the places listed as parishes in the census returns, but they could, if necessary, form separate districts. What was frequently disputed, however, was not the existence of a parish, but the exact extent of its boundaries. This was particularly important for some one who was a tithe-owner in one parish and a tithe-payer elsewhere. Again, the tithe payments themselves differed from parish to parish both in their nature and amount, so that a particular piece of land might carry a higher rent-charge if it were included

¹ Millard cites as examples of these: Brinklow Inclosure Act, 1741, 14 Geo. II, Cap. 14; Vicar's Rate in Halifax Act, 1830, 10 Geo. IV, Cap. 14; Kendal Corn Rent Act, 1834, 4 & 5 Will. IV, Cap. 16.

² An Act for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales, 13th August 1836, 6 & 7 Will. IV, Cap. 71. Its provisions were not to extend except in special circumstances to be decided by the Commissioners to: (1) Easter offerings, mortuaries, or surplice fees; (2) tithes of fish or fishing; (3) personal tithes other than those of milling; (4) mineral tithes; (5) payments in lieu of tithes in the City of London; (6) fixed annual rent-charges in a city or town; (7) lands whose tithes had previously been commuted or extinguished by Act of Parliament.

³ The best account of the procedure followed by the Commissioners in carrying out their enquiries is to be found in contemporary legal manuals such as Leonard Shelford, *The Acts for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales*, 3rd ed., 1842.

in one parish than in another. Land subject to tithe on one side of a boundary might even be exempt on the other.

The next step was to determine the total value of the tithes payable in each parish for the previous seven years from the actual receipts of the tithe-owners. The act enabled the tithe-owners and farmers to agree upon a valuation before 1 October 1838. When such an agreement was drawn up, it was submitted to the patron and the bishop for their approval, and then to the Commissioners for confirmation. If an agreement were not reached, the Commissioners were empowered to hold a local enquiry, to frame a draft award, hear objections, make amendments where necessary, and finally confirm their award, which then became binding on the tithe-owners and tithe-payers.

Once an agreement or award had been confirmed by the Commissioners, the rent-charge had to be apportioned among the lands of the parish. This was done according to principles agreed upon by the landowners, or if no principles were agreed upon, according to the average tithable produce and productive quality of the lands. It was inevitably difficult to apportion the rent-charge equitably among lands of differing quality and differing utilization, not because the actual use of the land was difficult to determine, but because its tithable produce was likely to change from time to time. Previously, it had been possible to reduce the amount of tithes by converting arable or meadow to pasture, thereby substituting a mixed tithe for a predial tithe of corn or hay; or to avoid the payment altogether by fallowing arable land, by allowing it to revert to uncultivated waste, by converting it into park or warren, or by planting it with trees. On the other hand, the tithe-owner was entitled to benefit from an increase in productivity resulting from land reclamation, artificial drainage, or other improvement. In fixing the apportionment of an area of marsh pasture capable of producing normal crops with the aid of artificial drainage, it was decided in an early test case that "regard was to be had to the probability of the lands being converted from one species of culture to another."¹ But in practice there was no way of assessing the probability of lands being converted to other uses, and the only alternative to rating all lands alike at the same value was to differentiate them on the basis of their observed state of cultivation.

Apart from making provision for the change of culture of hop grounds and market gardens, the act did nothing to prevent the temporary value of land being made the basis of a permanent charge.² Indeed, the method of appor-

¹ Cited by Leonard Shelford, *The Tithe Amendment Acts*, 1848, p. 39.

² William Eagle, *The Acts for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales*, 3rd ed., 1840, p. 58, comments on Sections XL, XLI, XLII of the Act of 1836, which outlines these provisions.

tionment authorized by the act was that based on an accurate field survey. The sternly practical instructions issued to surveyors in November 1836 appear to have been followed closely, except that the estimated costs for carrying out the surveys were not always strictly adhered to.¹ The essential purpose of the survey was to provide an accurate measurement of the acreage of each parcel of land, or tithe area, and to record its observed state of cultivation. For the purpose of valuation, the state of cultivation was entered as 'arable', 'grass', 'meadow' or 'pasture', 'common', 'wood', 'coppice', 'plantation', 'orchard', 'hop ground', or 'market garden'. There were, of course, different interpretations of these categories and additional categories inserted in some localities. In general, the most important distinction was between arable land, regularly ploughed and cropped, whose tithes amounted to about one-fifth of the value of the rent, and permanent grassland, whose tithes represented less than one-eighth of the rent. In the west of England and probably in Wales the arable appears to have included all ley grasses. In many parishes no distinction was drawn between meadow that was mown for hay once a year or more, and pasture that was normally used exclusively for grazing, yet the assessment of an acre of meadowland might be as much as eight times that of pasture. Woods, coppices, and plantations were not always separately distinguished and were omitted in many parishes where they were tithe-free. Lands devoted to orchards, hop grounds, or market gardens were usually classified according to their actual state of cultivation, but they might be rated as arable or grass and charged with a supplementary or extraordinary rent-charge.

A special problem confronted the Commissioners in apportioning the rent-charge of Lammas lands and commons. These were owned in severalty for only a part of the year; from Lammas to Candlemas they lay open to common grazing. At High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire the rent-charge was apportioned among two or more owners of the same plot of land in such circumstances. Similar considerations affected the apportionment on gated or stinted pastures.

A further difficulty arose in apportioning the rent-charge where part of the lands of a parish were exempt from tithe. Apart from lands for which tithes had already been commuted or extinguished by parliamentary enclosure, there were nine categories of land which were exempt from tithe:

¹ "Instructions for the Preparation of the Plans required by the Act 6 & 7 Will. 4, c. 71 for the Commutation of Tithes, approved by the Tithe Commissioners, and adopted by the Poor Law Commissioners for the Plans to be made under the Parochial Assessment Act 6 & 7 Will. 4, c. 96 (a)," 29 November 1836, quoted in full, with comments on its implementation by Shelford (1842), *op. cit.*, p. 482.

- (1) Lands naturally barren;
- (2) Barren heath or waste improved or converted into arable or meadow was exempt for a period of seven years after improvement;
- (3) Forest lands while in the occupation of the Crown or its lessee or tenant, but not if granted by the Crown in fee;
- (4) Glebe lands in the occupation of the parson;
- (5) Lands owned before 1215 by the Cistercians, Templars, or Hospitalers;
- (6) Lands which formerly belonged to one of the greater monasteries, and which had not paid tithes at the time of the dissolution;
- (7) Lands which had paid no tithes from time immemorial;
- (8) Lands in respect of which tithes were barred under the Tithe Act of 1832, which specified some lands which had not paid tithes for a very long time, the original cause of exemption being unknown;
- (9) Lands in respect of which a modus or composition was payable.

Even where an entire parish was exempt from tithes, much of the so-called tithe-free land carried a contingent rent-charge. When forest land passed out of the hands of the Crown, or glebe land out of the possession of the parson, it ceased to be exempt and became subject to a rent-charge. Even lands that were permanently exempt had to be precisely delimited by the surveyor, although it occasionally happened that land previously exempt was apportioned to an area subject to a rent-charge. Thus the rent-charge of the parish of Wye in Kent was apportioned among farms, and parcels of woodland, formerly exempt, came to be charged jointly with other lands in the farms of which they formed parts.

THE TITHE MAPS AND APPORTIONMENTS

The Tithe Commissioners succeeded in resolving many of the complex problems which had previously embittered relations between tithe-payers and tithe-owners. In a majority of parishes they were able to secure an agreement; in the remainder they imposed an award. Throughout the country they carried out their task with speed and thoroughness.

Almost all the 11,800 surveys in England and Wales were made before 1851; the majority before 1841.¹ In Norfolk, for example, 497 out of 660 were

¹ I am indebted to the Secretary of the Tithe Redemption Commission for permission to make use of his authoritative account of the tithe documents which appears under the title of 'The Records of the Tithe Redemption Commission' in the *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 1, 1957, pp. 132-9. There are different opinions as to the exact number of tithe surveys, Gilbert Slater in *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, 1907, p. 188, states that there are 11,783; W. E. Tate in *The Parish Chest*, Cambridge, 1946, p. 139, gives the figure of 11,787.

made before 1841; in Essex 272 out of 389. In spite of the additional work involved in valuation and apportionment, most of the survey was completed in about one-tenth of the time taken by the Ordnance Survey to complete its 25-inch plans. Yet speed was achieved without sacrificing accuracy. The Reports submitted to the Commissioners, the surviving minutes of local enquiries, and the correspondence in the Tithe Files held by the Commission testify to the thoroughness of the surveyors' work as well as to the vigilance of tithe-payers and tithe-owners, each jealously guarding their rights, or pretended rights, against infringement by the other party.

Many counties were almost completely covered by the surveys, the major exceptions, as Gilbert Slater demonstrated, being those which had dealt with their tithes at the time of parliamentary enclosure. The results of Slater's calculations are set out below.¹

Counties with a high proportion of tithe surveys:

	% of area covered by Tithe survey	% of area covered by Enclosure Acts
Cornwall	98·6	nil
Kent	97·8	nil
Devon	97·4	nil
Shropshire	93·4	0·3
Cheshire	91·3	0·5
Monmouth	89·0	0·4

Counties with a small proportion of tithe surveys:

Oxford	44·4	45·6
Rutland	39·3	46·5
Huntingdon	36·5	46·5
Bedford	35·4	46·0
East Riding, Yorks	35·1	40·1
Leicester	31·0	38·2
Northampton	23·5	51·8

The details of the survey for most parishes are set down in two documents: a map and an apportionment. The map or plan is usually drawn at a scale of three chains to an inch, approximately 26·7 inches to a mile, or at six chains to an inch, approximately 13·3 inches to a mile. Maps representing large parishes with detached portions and small fields, such as Dagenham or North Ben-

¹ Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

fleet in Essex, may cover as much as a hundred square feet.¹ Many plans are drawn from original surveys, carried out specifically for this purpose by local surveyors, but an earlier map of sufficient accuracy, such as an enclosure map, might be used instead. All maps show the boundaries of the tithe areas within a parish. The tithe areas usually correspond with fields, but in a few instances, such as Rhosbeirio in Anglesey, they constitute whole farms. On most maps the boundaries of enclosed fields are represented by continuous lines and those of unenclosed fields by dotted lines. Occasionally hedges and fences and gates are also represented. The amount of detail shown on the maps varies considerably. Most maps mark the course of streams, canals, ditches, drains, the outlines of fields, lakes, ponds, and the line of roads and footpaths. Many of them use distinctive tree symbols to show coniferous and deciduous woodland. On some, inhabited buildings are tinted red, the remainder shaded in grey. A few maps are rendered in full colour, to distinguish tithe-free land or various properties or farms or occasionally to show the categories of land use.

The apportionment is a roll of parchment sheets, $21\frac{1}{2}$ by $18\frac{3}{4}$ inches, consisting of three sections. The first section contains the articles of agreement or statement of award, giving the names of the Commissioners, surveyors, and tithe-owners, and the date of confirmation, and also stating the area of the parish, the area subject to tithes, a summary of the area of arable, grass, and other kinds of land subject to tithe, notes on the lands exempt from tithes, and a list of landowners and occupiers. The second and most important section is the schedule of apportionment in which each tithe area, numbered on the accompanying plan, is listed under the name of both its owner and occupier. In a parish which still lay in open fields, as many as three thousand tithe areas may be enumerated; in the majority there are several hundred; in some the rent-charge is apportioned by farms, occasionally without a survey being made of each field; in a few no apportionment is made, so that the whole of the tithable area of a parish constitutes a single tithe area. Where, as in the majority of cases, a tithe area is a field, the field name is recorded; where it is not a field, it is described, for example, as a "house and garden," a "piece of water," a "chalk pit," or an "ice house." Its state of cultivation is entered for the purpose of valuation according to the local practice. There are a few examples of the actual crops being noted, as at Narford in Norfolk and Erbistock in Denbighshire. The statute acreage and the value of the rent-charge apportioned to it are stated, and a final column is

¹ F. G. Emmison, *Catalogue of Maps in the Essex Record Office 1566-1855*, Chelmsford, 1947, contains a detailed list of Tithe Award Maps, pp. 53-63. Later acquisitions are listed in the *First Supplement*, 1952, pp. 34-5.

left for remarks. The third section contains the altered apportionments made after the original award was confirmed. These record major changes in the shape, size, and status of the original tithe areas resulting from subdivision or severance by public works. The building of railways, the construction of new roads, the re-allocation of land under an enclosure award, all necessitated altered apportionments. When the changes affected a large part of the parish a separate new apportionment might be made.

Three statutory copies of these documents were prepared. The original is now in the custody of the Tithe Redemption Commission in Finsbury Square, London, E.C.2; a second copy was deposited with the incumbent and churchwardens to be kept in the parish chest; a third copy was deposited in the diocesan registry. The second and third copies have sometimes been lost or damaged or transferred to a county record office.

THE ACCURACY OF THE TITHE SURVEYS

The accuracy of the surveys may be assessed in three ways: first, by their status as legal documents; secondly, by collating the information shown on the map with that recorded in the apportionment; thirdly, by comparing them with other sources of information.

Tithe maps bearing the seal of the Commissioners may, under certain circumstances, be produced as legal documents in deciding questions of title, general and public rights in a township, rights of way, and the existence of common rights in unenclosed parishes. Although only one-sixth of all the maps are sealed, the others have been considered sufficiently accurate for the purpose of several administrative enquiries. They have been consulted, for instance, by the Ordnance Survey when drawing the parish boundaries on the first 25-inch plans,¹ by the County Councils in preparing a survey of foot-paths in 1949, and by the Royal Commission on Common Lands, 1955-8. In disputes between tithe-owners and tithe-payers the evidence of the map and award is always conclusive.

A few clerical errors might be revealed by checking the original tithe maps and apportionments against the surviving parish and diocesan copies, but as these are certified true copies, the total number of errors and omissions is likely to be very small. On the other hand, the differences between the information shown on the map and that recorded in the apportionment are worth investigating. In a number of parishes the map and apportionment were compiled at different dates, so that some discrepancies are due to changes in the intervening period. Such changes are occasionally noted in the apportion-

¹ *Account of the Field Surveying and the Preparation of the Manuscript Plans of the Ordnance Survey*, Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1873.

ment. References are made, for example, to the felling and grubbing up of tree stumps, to the reclamation of waste and heath, to the enclosure of commons, and to tree planting. In some parishes where the state of cultivation is not recorded or only partly recorded in the apportionment, the map may indicate the extent of certain types of land such as orchards, woods, and commons. In a few parishes, where the valuation was clearly not based on the land use observed on the ground, the state of cultivation entered in the apportionment does not correspond with the actual land use shown on the map. In such parishes, land shown as woodland on the map might be classified as "grass," and marsh or heath might be returned as "arable."

The accuracy of the measurements on the tithe maps can be readily ascertained by comparing them with the large-scale plans of the Ordnance Survey. The site of churches and the course of streams are easily identified, and most other features, including former field boundaries, can be traced with the help of air photographs. The amount of error revealed by such comparisons would almost certainly be negligible. It is more important to know to what extent a tithe district corresponded to a parish, to what extent a tithe area corresponded to a field, and to what extent the state of cultivation corresponded with the actual land use at the time of the survey.

The preamble to a tithe award usually states whether an entire parish is included in the survey or what portions are excluded, but these statements may be verified in a few parishes by reference to contemporary assessments for parish rates or poor rates, or compared with the enumerators' books compiled for the Registrar General, which record house by house the names of every one living in a parish or enumeration district at the time of the census. The names of the householders should appear as occupiers in the tithe apportionment, and the houses should be marked on the accompanying map.

Most tithe maps mark the boundaries of unenclosed parcels of land by dotted lines. Such lines may represent property divisions, separating holdings in an open arable field or common meadow, or they may represent either permanent or temporary divisions between lands of differing utilization in a field belonging to a single farmer. It is generally possible to confirm this distinction by referring to the apportionment, but contemporary private estate maps may be of some help in making a decision. Private estate maps of this period are, however, of only limited value in testing the accuracy of the tithe surveys, because most of them were either consulted by the tithe surveyors or are themselves copied from the tithe maps. Some of them were drawn by the same surveyor. Estate maps and sales catalogues may be of most use in checking the state of cultivation.

A few late altered apportionments may be compared with the Ordnance

Survey 25-inch plans. In a few exceptional instances, the land use information in the area books compiled in connection with the 25-inch plans drawn before 1880, and also the acreages of arable, grass, and orchard in the Agricultural Statistics, may be compared with the tithe surveys. But no valid conclusions as to the accuracy of the original tithe surveys can be drawn from such comparisons because an altered apportionment was only required for a whole parish when the land use and field pattern were completely transformed by an incident such as enclosure. Moreover, some information in the Ordnance Survey area books and the Agricultural Statistics which appears to be equivalent is not strictly comparable with that in the tithe surveys.¹

THE SURVEYS AS A SOURCE FOR THE GEOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND AND WALES

If the geography of England and Wales in 1840 is to be written, full use will have to be made of the tithe surveys. They provide a record of parish boundaries before major changes took place; of estates at a time when many of them had reached their greatest extent; of farms, representing every type of holding from fragmented open-field tenements to compact ring-fence units; of fields, both enclosed and unenclosed, in every variety of shape and size. They provide a record of the use of the land: whether cultivated or uncultivated, arable or grass, orchard or hop ground, heath or marsh, wood or agriculturally unproductive. They also provide a record of the names of land-owners and occupiers, and of the fields belonging to them. They can tell us how much tithable land belonged to estates of various sizes, and how much was owned by the Church or the universities or the railway companies. They can tell us how much arable land remained unenclosed in 1840, where it was situated, and who owned it. They can tell us what land was farmed by owner-occupiers or by tenant farmers, how much woodland or cottage property was occupied by owners or by tenants, and how much land was occupied by commons and highways. They can tell us whether farmsteads were situated in the midst of their own fields, or if not, whether they were attached to villages or hamlets. They can tell us what size and shape farms were in different parts of the country, and what proportion of a farm was arable or grass. These are but a few of the many questions that have yet been only partially answered.

The tithe surveys fully exploited, in conjunction with the 1841 census returns and enumerators' books, private estate accounts, surveys, farm leases,

¹ J. T. Coppock, 'The Statistical Assessment of British Agriculture', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, iv, 1956, pp. 66-79, compares and comments on the data for Edlesborough in Buckinghamshire, p. 78.

and the county reports published in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* between 1845 and 1869, would present a vivid picture of rural England in the mid-nineteenth century.

Notes and Comments

THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

A joint winter conference with the Association of Agriculture was once again held at the University of London Institute of Education; it took place on Saturday 6 December, and was very well attended. The chair was taken by the President, Sir James Scott Watson.

In the morning a paper was read by Dr F. N. L. Poynter of the Wellcome Historical Medical Library on The Place of Gervase Markham in English Veterinary Literature. In the afternoon session the conference heard a paper from Dr J. K. S. St Joseph, Curator in Aerial Photography, Cambridge University, on the use of aerial photographs in the interpretation of agricultural history. The conference concluded with the showing of a film illustrating the work of excavation at the deserted village of Wharram Percy in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The film, which was made by Ian and Betty Lauder, was introduced by M. W. Beresford.

INCOME TAX RELIEF

The secretary has been informed by the Chief Inspector of Taxes that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue have approved the British Agricultural History Society for the purpose of Section 16 of the Finance Act 1958, and that the whole of the annual subscription paid by a member who qualifies for relief under that Section will be allowable as a deduction from his emoluments assessable to income tax under Schedule E. This becomes operative as from the year ending 5 April 1959. It applies only to members whose office or employment is directly related to the subjects with which the Society is concerned.

EARLY BREEDS OF SHEEP

Captain Sir Hugh Rhys Rankin writes: "There is in Byton church, on the Radnorshire border of Herefordshire, a lamb carved in stone on the wall. In this lamb all the characteristics of the present Border Leicester sheep are quite apparent: a very level back, great depth of body, long legs, narrow neck and long face, and long and erect ears. The carving is dated c. 1350. It seems to me that this suggests the development of the Border Leicester breed of sheep from a medieval native breed of West Herefordshire."

Upon this, Mr R. Trow-Smith comments: "There were in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries two distinct breeds of sheep in Herefordshire. The ordinance of 1342 fixing minimum wool prices lists Hereford wool at £8 and a lower grade from the county at £6 13s. 4d. The minimum prices laid down in 1454 included £13 for Leominster wool and £5 for Herefordshire wool other than Leominster."

Robert Bakewell, in his trials, experimented with rams of "Durham, Wilts, Norfolk, Dishley, Charnwood Forest, and Herefordshire breeds." George Culley, Bakewell's Northumberland disciple, bought rams of Bakewell's New Leicester breed to improve his flock out of which, among others, the Border Leicester breed evolved. Culley was critical of Bakewell's prices, however: "I . . . have little expectation of you as a Customer as . . . others . . . are willing to give more money without thinking they are overcharged," Bakewell wrote to him. Other letters make it clear that Culley had previously (1791) bought rams which were not

(continued on page 37)

Plough Rituals in England and Scotland

By THOMAS DAVIDSON

UNTIL late into the eighteenth century Clydesdale ploughmen chanted the following rhyme three times on turning their horses at the end of ridges, in the belief that the fare asked for would be ready for them at the end of the fourth furrow:

“Fairy, fairy, bake me a bannock and roast me a collop
And I’ll gie ye a spirtle aff my gad-end.”¹

This nonsense rhyme takes on a different complexion when it is compared with what must be the earliest account of ritual ploughing amongst the Greeks. The agricultural significance of this account was first pointed out by Armstrong,² and it is to be found in the description of Achilles’ shield in the *Iliad*. “Further he set in the shield a soft ploughed field, rich tilth and wide, the third time he ploughed; and many ploughers therein drave their yokes to and fro as they wheeled about. Whensoever they came to the boundary of the field and turned, then would a man come to each and give into his hands a goblet of sweet wine, while others would be turning back along the furrows fain to reach the boundary of the deep tilth.”³

In both we note the ploughmen expected or were given refreshment on the completion of a certain number of furrows. Now in many parts of Scotland there was an observance with regard to the first ploughing or the first furrow drawn by the plough after the fields had been cleared of the grain crops. The ploughman engaged on the work was given refreshment in the form of food and drink and a portion was given symbolically to the plough: that is, food was tied or laid on the beam of the plough and drink was poured over it. This ceremony, known as ‘streeking the plough’, was an event of very considerable importance and is a survival of perhaps one of the oldest and most elaborate rituals carried out to ensure a prosperous ploughing and sowing.

At Hallgreen in the parish of Cairney about the year 1843 when one furrow had been ploughed, bread, cheese—a kebback (cheese) was broken for the occasion—and milk porridge made of oatmeal and sweet milk were given to the ploughman. The first slice of the kebback, however, was reserved for

¹ R. Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1841, p. 323. Spirtle=porridge stick; gad=ploughman’s goad.

² E. A. Armstrong, *Folk-Lore*, LIV, 1943, p. 254.

³ A. Lang, *et al.*, *The Iliad of Homer*, London, 1893, pp. 382–3.

the 'herd-boy' and was called the culter wedge, a practice which immediately dates the custom back to the time of the 'twal owsen plough'. It was of the utmost importance that the porridge should be of the right consistency; if too thin, it was an omen of a poor crop of cereals the following season. The details of the ceremony varied from one district to another. In some parts the first offering of bread and cheese was laid on the plough-beam "as a sort of oblation to Ceres, the protectress of agriculture."¹

The following account from a farmer in Cateside, Strachan, shows that the day on which the plough was put to the soil for the first time was no ordinary day. On this particular farm the ploughman, wishing to start his ploughing early in the week, was put off by the farmer each day till Saturday came. On Saturday he was told he need be in no hurry to begin, and by the time he got to the field, the farmer was there carrying bread, cheese, and a bottle of whisky. The ploughman drank a glass himself, and refilling the glass poured it over the bridle of the plough, repeating as he did so the words, "Weel fah the labour." A piece of bread and cheese was then carefully wrapped up in a piece of paper and firmly tied to the beam of the plough by the farmer, who at the same time gave strict instructions to the ploughman that it was not to be removed. "It may fah off o't sell, or the dogs may eht it. Nae maitter, but dinna ye touch it." When all this had been carried out and agreed, he added, "Noo jist tak ye anither fur and syne louse. ["Now just plough another furrow and stop work."] Ye'll be ready for yir wark on Mun-inday's mornin'."²

The interesting point here is that the farmer put off the operation until the Saturday, because this Saturday ploughing, he considered, was a ceremony quite apart from the ploughman's "wark" which would start on the following Monday. Although there is little or no evidence to show which was considered the most propitious day to start ploughing operations, there is abundant evidence from all parts of the Highlands of Scotland on which was the unluckiest day. This was Good Friday. Indeed the belief held by the Highlanders that no iron should be put into the ground on this day was so strong that the more superstitious extended the ban to every Friday. The reason for this may well rest on the traditional belief that the nails of our Saviour's cross were made on this day.

In Buchan after the first furrow was ploughed the 'guid wife' proceeded to the field with bread, cheese, and a jar of home-brewed ale, or whisky. The cakes were specially prepared, being rubbed with cream before they were

¹ J. M. McPherson, *Primitive Beliefs in the North East of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1929, pp. 86-7; J. Pirie, *The Parish of Cairney, Banff*, 1906, p. 143.

² J. M. McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 87; quoting W. Gregor, *Folk-Lore Journal*, II, 1884, p. 330.

placed on the girdle over the fire to be cooked. The ploughman was usually the 'guidman' himself or his son, for in most parishes each family tilled its own holding. "The salutation to the man between the stilts was in the well-known form, 'Guid speed the wark', to which he replied, 'May Guid speed it'. He then seated himself on the beam of the plough, and after various forms of good wishes for the health and prosperity of the family during the year for which he had just begun the labour, cut the cheese and partook of the dainties carried to the field. A piece of the oat-cakes was given to each horse. The whole household partook at supper of the bread and cheese."¹ In upper Banffshire the bread was first blessed and a portion carefully placed under the first furrow.² In all cases, however, we find a portion of the food offering was kept until the evening, when the whole family gathered together at a supper feast, or *Pleuch Fehst* as it was called in Strathdon.³

Refusal to participate in the ceremony or to partake of the offering, even by the animals, had its dangers. This is well illustrated in the following tale from the north of Scotland. One evening "atween the sin an the sky," a man was ploughing with his "twal-ousen plew" when a woman came to him and offered him bread, cheese, and ale. The ploughman accepted, and the woman went on to offer each of the oxen a piece of cake. One by one the oxen took what was given, except the 'wyner'. The woman left and the ploughman resumed his work, but on the turn at the end of the furrow, the 'wyner' fell down and broke his neck.⁴

Now this Scottish custom of 'streeking the plough' has a close parallel in the Plough plays and costumed processions held in England on Plough Monday, the first Monday after Twelfth Day. In England Plough Monday has always been considered the date for starting ploughing operations. More than three centuries ago it was said that the ploughing of the soil should commence with the beginning of the year, which "with husbandmen is at Plow-day, being ever the first Monday after Twelfth day, at which time you shall gow forth with your draught and begin to plough."⁵ Or, as Tusser records it:

"Plough Monday, next after that Twelfth tide is past,
Bids out with the plough, the worst husband is last,
If ploughman gets hatchet, or whip to the screen,
Maids loseth their cock, if no water be seen."⁶

¹ J. B. Pratt, *Buchan*, Aberdeen, 1858, p. 21.

² J. M. McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

³ *Transactions Buchan Field Club*, IV, p. 148.

⁴ W. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*, London, 1881, p. 64.

⁵ Gervase Markham, *The English Husbandman*, 1613, Pt 1, chap. 5, lines 24-8.

⁶ T. Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, ed. W. Mavor, London, 1812, p. 270.

Mavor, commenting on this, says the ploughmen and farm maids vied with each other in early rising on Plough Monday. If the ploughman could get his implements placed by the fireside before the maid could put on the kettle, she forfeited her Shrovetide cock.

The Plough plays seem to be confined to or characteristic of the counties grouped together in the centre of England, i.e. Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire. The Willoughton (Lincolnshire) version called the Plough Jack's Play was performed by a band of farmworkers parading the streets and calling at each house. The procession took the form of two plough lines kept parallel by means of short sticks spaced at intervals between them, one man at each stick representing a horse. Then came the waggoner driving them with a long whip and an inflated pig's bladder on the end of a lash. Next came the plough which they trailed. The plough was without wheels and ready for ploughing. Having arrived at the house they demanded entrance civilly. If allowed in, they performed their play and were rewarded with food and drink. If they were not admitted, then they ploughed up a furrow or two in front of the house.¹ A curious detail comes to light here; the mummers arrogated to themselves an over-riding authority and sanction for this action. When remonstrated with for driving the ploughshare into the ground, they replied simply, "There's no law in the world could touch them because it's an old charter."²

In Wakefield, where the play was last performed in 1865, the two youngest farm lads acted as drivers of the plough, the oldest as collectors and the rest as horses.³ In the Alkborough version known as the *Plough Jags*, the play ended in a song, one version of which goes as follows:

"Good master and good mistress,
As you sit around the fire,
Remember us poor plough boys,
Who plod through mud and mire,
The mud is so very deep,
The water is not clear,
We'll thank you for a Christmas box,
And drop of your best beer."⁴

The play itself followed the standard pattern of mummer plays, except that

¹ *Journal English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 1, 1939, p. 291.

² L. Spence, *Myth and Ritual in Dance, Game and Rhyme*, London, 1947, p. 158.

³ W. S. Banks, *A List of Provincial Words in Use in Wakefield*, London, 1865, p. 52.

⁴ *British Calendar Customs: England*, London, 1938, II, pp. 96-8.

one of the central characters, usually St George or a king, was replaced by a scapegoat character in the guise of an old woman.

The Plough Monday processions were very similar to the Plough plays, and they had a wider distribution. In these the performers danced either a sword dance or a form of Morris dance through the streets, dragging behind them a plough brightly decorated and dubbed the Fool Plough. The plough was dragged from door to door, where the ploughmen asked for bread, cheese, and ale, or a contribution in money. Hutchinson gives us one picture of the Northumberland ceremony. "Men in gay attire draw about a plough, called the *stot plough*, to obtain contributions and when they receive a gift from a house visited by them they exclaim *Largess*, but when they do not receive a gift from the House they plough up the ground in front of it. I have seen twenty men in the yoke of one plough."¹ Pegge, writing in 1672, describes how "on this day the young men yoke themselves and draw a plough about with musick, and one or two persons in antic dresses, like jack-puddings, go from house to house, to gather money to drink. If you refuse them, they plough up your dunghill."²

In Northamptonshire the performers were called plough-witches, in Huntingdonshire plough-witchers, and the ceremony plough-witching; while in Holderness 'ploo-lads'—fantastically dressed farm lads—dragged round a 'fond-pleeaf', a plough from which the share has been removed. One of the chief characters was a man disguised as an old woman. Occasionally, if the winter was severe, the procession was joined by threshers carrying their flails, reapers bearing their sickles, and carters with their long whips; even the smith and miller were among the number, for the one sharpened the ploughshares and the other ground the corn.³ On all such occasions, we are told, "the peasants wished themselves a plentiful harvest from the great corn sown (as they called wheat and rye) and also to wish God speed to the plough as soon as they begin to break the ground."⁴ Here, as in late Scottish rural celebrations, particularly 'Burns' night' suppers, appears the familiar toast or blessing "God speed the plough."

Coming down to the present day, Plough Sunday is kept in many churches throughout the agricultural areas of England. A plough is brought into church and blessed that the year's labour may prosper. For example, the ceremony carried out in a Sussex church in 1956 is recorded as follows: "In our Sussex church the plough that will be taken into church is over a hundred

¹ W. Hutchinson, *History of Northumberland*, 1798, II, App., p. 18.

² C. Hole, *English Custom and Usage*, London, 1950, pp. 31-2.

³ J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., London, 1914, II, p. 329.

⁴ *The British Apollo*, II, 1710, p. 92.

years old, and was no doubt one of those made by a local ironmonger who was the inventor and manufacturer of an improved iron plough, for light and heavy soils, shown at the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851.

"Following the choir and clergy a farmer, who is also a churchwarden, will lead the procession of the plough up the aisle—on either side will walk a couple of stalwarts from two other farms while another holds the handles and, rather nervously, 'drives' the plough. Reaching the chancel step the farmer will formally state to the Vicar his reason for bringing the plough to church, offering the work of the countryside to the service of God. So the service will proceed, the farm workers taking their part. . . The old iron plough rests on the soft carpet of the chancel."¹ And in London the Plough Monday ritual, stripped of all its ancient ceremonial, is still observed each year by the Lord Mayor. In the old days the Mayor and Aldermen visited farms belonging to the City to witness ploughing matches, for the day marked, as it does to the present time, the occasion on which the Lord Mayor officially resumes office at the Guildhall. Now he performs the ceremony by journeying to the Guildhall to preside over a Grand Court of Wardmote, a court convened annually to receive returns from the wardmotes held on St Thomas's day, and to hear petitions against the elections should there be any.²

Though the Scottish 'streeking' and the English Plough play ceremonies differ in many respects, they have a common incident. The ceremony clearly is one of propitiation, and a survival of an old fertility rite associated with the cultivation of the soil, and whose observance was governed by the desire to secure a good harvest. In this connection Frazer records a custom from Whittlesey in Cambridgeshire, which may have been originally an integral part of the same ceremony. There on the day after Plough Monday a 'straw-bear'—a man completely swathed in straw—is led on a string and made to dance in front of each house, in return for which a money contribution was expected. The 'straw-bear' represents the corn spirit bestowing his favours on every homestead after the ploughing and sowing ceremonial had been performed to quicken the growth of corn or reanimate the corn spirit.³ Indeed, in the Hallgreen observance, the slice of cheese laid on the plough-beam is specifically stated as being a sort of oblation to Ceres, the protectress of agriculture. The plough, dressed up in highly decorative ribbons, represented the central figure of the mime; the choicest fruits of the soil were sacrificed in the hope that nature would return this gift in the form of an abundant harvest, and the ceremony ended with a feast and a prayer offered to the god or spirit who controlled the crops and harvest.

¹ *The Times*, 7 Jan. 1956.

² *Ibid.*, 8 Jan. 1952.

³ Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 329.

In the Plough plays the usual character of St George or king is replaced by an old woman, a change in cast which points to the old belief that the corn spirit was generally thought to be feminine. The ritual here represents a piece of symbolism in which no detail may be omitted, so that, by going through a mimetic ceremony, it sets an example as it were which nature is expected to follow. The old woman is 'thrashed' to death and brought to life again. In the same way as threshers using their flails to beat out the live seed from the chaff, so is the ageing spirit of the corn beaten out of the scape-goat old woman to allow of the rebirth of the new and rejuvenated corn spirit. The gestural elements in the crude acrobatic dances were mimetic in character so that the ensuing crops, it was hoped, would grow as high and vigorously as the dancers leaped and danced.

Our remarks so far have been confined to the remnants of the plough ritual as they are still to be found in Scotland and England. The ritual, however, is as old as the plough itself. The origin of the traction plough, that is, a man- or ox-drawn plough, has been traced to the ancient near East, and, as far as we know, a ploughing ritual was evolved at the same time.¹ The plough with its associated ritual appeared in this country by diffusion or a culture-borrowing process, not by independent invention or evolution. This is readily apparent when we compare the ancient ritual with the Scottish ceremony. The active elements in the earliest known forms of the ritual differ in points of detail only from the Scottish 'streeking'. In Homeric Greece the ploughman found a cup of wine awaiting him at the end of the furrow; in ancient China the emperor was refreshed with wine after he had guided the plough along several furrows "in a sacred field, or field of God as it was called."² In Morocco the ploughman was offered bread made without yeast, ordinary bread, and dried fruits, and in the Rif country bread was broken over the plough-beam.³ We know too that the appropriate gods, Osiris in Egypt and Demeter in Greece, were invoked by the ploughman at the inauguration of the ploughing. Demeter was propitiated with an offering of the first fruits at a feast called the *Procrosia*, that is 'Before the Ploughing'.⁴ In Strathdon the feast was called the *Pleuch Fehst* or 'Plough Feast'.

Bishop poses the question "whether it [the plough] was not itself actually of priestly origin, and first employed in the production of sacred crops destined for ceremonial uses." Examples of areas set aside for this purpose are the Rharian Plain near Eleusis dedicated to Jupiter, and the Sacred Field ceremonially tilled every spring by the Chinese emperor.

¹ C. E. Bishop, *Antiquity*, x, 1936, pp. 280-1; Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

² Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 14.

³ E. Westermarck, *Folk-Lore*, xvi, 1905, pp. 38-9.

⁴ Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 45, 48, 50.

Now the 'Halieman's ley' or 'Guidmans Croft' in Scotland, a plot of land set aside and untilled, was dedicated to the devil, and in Ireland similar plots in cornfields were set aside and dedicated to the fairy.¹ The devil here is without doubt the christianized form of the witch-god, and in an interesting hypothesis Miss Murray has bracketed together the witch and fairy beliefs and identified them as the relics of a pre-Christian religious cult.² Nutt, commenting on the origin and meaning of the fairy cult, suggests that it was "based on an agricultural ritualism . . . of a particularly rigid and inflexible nature."³ It may be that we have, in the Scottish and Irish sacred plots, surviving remnants of the same ancient sacred field system in which the tilling and sowing was ritualistic in character and the succeeding crops were set aside for ceremonial purposes.

These customs were so closely associated with heathen idolatry that the early church could not sanction them; but, recognizing their reality and undoubted power, she endeavoured to wean the people from the practices by absorbing them into her own ritual. Thus Plough Monday became an occasion for blessing the tilling of the soil. The ceremonial or church plough used was kept in the church, probably, although on this specific point we have no precise information, in front of the altar of the Ploughmen's Guild. The following entry is to be found in the old church account of Holbeach; it occurs in a list of church goods disposed of by the warden in 1549. "Item to Wm. Davy the sygne whereon the plowghe did stand . . . xvj."⁴ In Nottinghamshire in 1638 ploughs were still kept in Hawton and North and South Collingham,⁵ and a correspondent writing in 1852 says, "Less than ten years ago, in the belfry of Castor church, Northamptonshire, was an old town plough, roughly made, decayed and worm-eaten . . . about three times as large as an ordinary plough."⁶

Plough lights or tapers of the rush or wax type were kept burning before the Guild altar. They were placed there and paid for by the local husbandmen, in order to ensure success to their ploughing and subsequent labours throughout the remainder of the year. Payment or contributions were made in the form of money or barley: for example, at Sutterton, in the year 1490, a sum of ten shillings was paid by "Thomas Raffyn of ye plowlyth" and in Northborough, Nicholas Tighe in 1533 donated "to the plow light . . . ijd."

¹ T. D. Davidson, *Agricultural History Review*, III, 1955, pp. 20-5.

² M. A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*, London, 1921, p. 14; App., pp. 238-48.

³ L. Spence, *The Fairy Tradition in Britain*, London, 1948, p. 308, quoting A. Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, London, II, p. 233.

⁴ W. Marrat, *The History of Lincolnshire*, Boston, 1814, II, p. 104.

⁵ M. W. Barley, *Journal English Folk Dance and Song Society*, VII, 1953, p. 72.

⁶ *Notes and Queries*, VII, 1853, p. 339.

When the donation was in barley, it was recorded as follows: Luton, 1511, "To the plough light . . . ij stryke of barley;" in Warmington, 1532, "To the plowe lyzth . . . ij stryke of barley."¹

It would appear that one of the main duties of selected members of the guild called plough-masters or wardens was to maintain in good order the plough and plough-lights, and to keep the accounts of the plough-light fund. They are mentioned in the following Leverton accounts, together with particulars concerning the amounts paid in to the plough-light fund and the amount paid out to the Plough Monday celebrations.

Plough Light:

- 1498 Resseuyd of ye plowth lyth of Leuton xls.
- 1526 Of Thomas Sledman of benyngton for debt of
Robert warner of ye plough lyght xxd.
- 1531 Of Thomas burton for debt of ye plowlyght xxd.
- 1559 Resaued of willyam Wastlare jun. & John
pullw'tofte of the plowygh lyght mone xvijd.

Plough Monday:

- 1577 Recd. of the Plowe maysters xxijs. viijd.
- 1611 For ayle on plowmunday xijd.²

Information on the duties of these Plough masters is given in the old churchwardens' book of Waddington.³ Under the date 1642, four persons were appointed as "Plowmeisters," and from the accounts, it would appear that these appointments were made annually. They had in their hands certain money called plough money, which they undertook to produce on Plough day. The form of this undertaking is as follows:

- 1642. "Andrew Newcome hath in his hands the sum xxs. and hath promised to bringe the Stocke upon plow-daye next, and hath hereto set his hande."
- 1738. "Memorandum that John Foxe hath in his hands £2 10. 0. of the Plow-money which sum I acknowledge myself indebted to the town of Waddington."

¹ *County Folk-Lore*, vi, 1912, pp. 172-3; *Archaeological Journal*, 2nd Series, xx, 1913, pp. 382, 363, 425.

² E. Peacock, *Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of Leverton*, 1868, pp. 6, 17, 21, 29-30, 33, 36.

³ *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, 1, 1888, pp. 86-7.

From the plough money fund the 'plow-wardens' of Cratfield in 1547 bought a new plough for 8d.¹

As the Reformation dealt the death blow to all religious guilds, the Plough Play did not escape, and most if not all ceremonial was abolished. The churchwardens' accounts for Holme Pierrepont in Nottinghamshire show clearly the effect of this step. In 1552 the parishioners had to pay an assessment tax annually to the church stock because the usual collections "with hobby horse and light" were now prohibited.² The residue or outstanding balance of the plough-light money was confiscated by the church or parish. And in Leverington, near Wisbech, for example, we find the plough-light money was added to the town stock, that is, the fund from which villagers could borrow capital. Those who had borrowed during the year had to attend and settle their score "at ye settinge forthe of ye plowghe every yeare."³ This misuse of plough-light funds is also apparent from the Waddington accounts, where, under the year 1706, there is an entry:

"On plow-day ye 7 January paid to the Ringers and Minstrels 1-4.
Spent at the same time..... 1-9."⁴

We have now passed in review some of the variant elements in a ploughing ritual known in Scotland as 'streeking the plough', and in England appearing as the central theme of Plough Monday processions and plays. Although the ritual is the same they appear, however, at different levels of survival. In England the ritual is represented by remnants only, which have been taken up into rural festivities, costumed processions, and folk plays. As a result of Christian influence and toleration towards avowedly pagan customs, the ritual became more sophisticated and assumed a certain stability and sanctity, as evidenced by the many church-ploughmen and plough-light guilds. Two factors contributed to the decline of the ceremony. The first, as we have already noted, was the Reformation, which abolished, or at any rate purged, the guilds of much of their ceremonials. The second cause was the changing pattern of farming from arable to pastoral which took place, particularly around the central midland areas where plough-play activities were mostly concentrated. This gradual change-over to pastoral farming meant the inevitable displacement of the ploughman from his position of first importance on the farm. In Scotland late into the nineteenth century the ritual

¹ *British Calendar Customs*, II, 1938, p. 102, quoting J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts 1400-1700*, 1913, pp. 248-9.

² Barley, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72, quoting *Fenland Notes and Queries*, VII, pp. 184-90.

⁴ *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, I, 1888, p. 87.

persisted in a form closely resembling the ancient ceremony carried out in the near East. The authority of the Church and influence of the Reformation, which was no less intemperate or hasty in action than in England, was not felt to the same extent in the country areas where the ceremonies were most commonly observed. The absence of Plough Plays from Scotland may also be attributed to the prevailing system of small-scale farming and, therefore, the absence of sufficient numbers of young farmworkers to make up the play teams. The result has been that the ritual, the 'streeking of the plough', continued in the same form until eventually, with the passage of time and the enlightenment that came with education and agricultural progress, the ceremony has fallen into desuetude.

NOTES AND COMMENTS (*continued from page 26*)

among Bakewell's best and that three years earlier Bakewell had been putting "a Dishley Ram" on "a Hereford Ewe."

It is probable that what Culley bought from Bakewell was not one of the true New Leicesters but rams which were bred from, and bore some of the character of, the old Hereford breed whose wool was the lower priced in the medieval lists: and that this blood carried on the ancient West Herefordshire type into the modern Border Leicester.

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY
IN THE NETHERLANDS

We have recently received details of the following organizations concerned with agricultural history in the Netherlands.

Nederlands Landbouw-Museum (Netherlands Agricultural Museum), Stationsstraat 1, Wageningen. Director: Dr J. M. G. van der Poel.

Founded in 1936, this museum contains rooms which exhibit the salient features of agriculture and rural life and also the history of the town of Wageningen. The museum collections will ultimately be combined with the

collection of old agricultural tools gathered together by the Department of Rural History (see below).

Studiekring voor de Geschiedenis van de Landbouw (Agricultural History Society). Secretary-Treasurer: H. K. Roessingh, Bosrandweg 7, Wageningen.

Founded in 1939, it has 180 members both Dutch and Belgian. Its main functions are to publish a yearbook and papers and to hold annual conferences and excursions.

Nederlands Agronomisch-Historisch Instituut (Institute for Agricultural History). Grote Markt 26, Groningen. Director: Dr. L. S. Meihuizen.

Founded in 1950, it acts as a centre for the collection of information and bibliographical material. It has published since 1953 *Historia Agriculturae*, a yearbook which contains an international bibliography of works on agricultural history.

Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis van de Landbouwhogeschool (Department of Rural History). Herenstraat 21, Wageningen. Founded 1952.

List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since September 1957¹

Compiled by JOAN THIRSK

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

- BARRACLOUGH, GEOFFREY (ed.). *Facsimile of early Cheshire Charters*. Lancs. & Cheshire Record Soc. Publications.
- BAYLIS, C. F. *A short History of Edgware and the Stanmores in the Middle Ages*. Stanmore, Edgware and Harrow Hist. Soc., 5 Elmgate Gardens, Edgware.
- BAYNE, C. G., and DUNHAM, W. H. *Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII*. Selden Soc., vol. LXXV.
- BERESFORD, M. W., and ST. JOSEPH, J. K. S. *Medieval England: an aerial survey*. C.U.P.
- BONHAM-CARTER, VICTOR. *Dartington Hall: the History of an Experiment*. Phoenix House.
- BRADFORD, JOHN. *Ancient Landscapes: Studies in Field Archaeology*. Bell, 1957.
- BRINKWORTH, E. R. C. *Old Banbury*. Banbury Hist. Soc., c/o Henry Stone & Son, Printers, Banbury.
- BUCHANAN, R. T. *Some Economic Problems of Livestock Marketing with particular Reference to Scotland*. Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture, Edinburgh, 1957.
- COPLEY, GORDON J. *An Archaeology of South-East England: a Study in Continuity*. Phoenix House.
- CORDEAUX, E. H., and MERRY, D. H. *A Bibliography of Printed Works relating to Oxfordshire (excluding the University and City of Oxford)*. Oxford Hist. Soc., n.s., vol. XI.
- CORNWALL, JULIAN (ed.). *The Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex, 1524-5*. Sussex Rec. Soc., vol. LVI.
- DARLINGTON, REGINALD R. (ed.). *The Glapwell Charters*. Derbyshire Archaeolog. and Nat. Hist. Soc., Supplement to vol. LXXVI.
- DE GRUCHY, G. F. B. *Medieval Land Tenures in Jersey*. Bigwoods Ltd, Broad Street, Jersey, 1957.
- DENMAN, D. R. *Estate Capital: the Contribution of Landownership to Agricultural Finance*. Allen and Unwin, 1957.
- DENMAN, D. R. *Origins of Ownership: a brief History of Landownership and Tenure in England from the Earliest Times to the Modern Era*. Allen and Unwin.
- DORLING, M. J., and FOLLEY, R. R. W. *East Kent Horticulture*. University of London, Wye College, Dept. of Agricultural Economics, 1957.
- EDLIN, H. L. *England's Forests: a Survey of the Woodlands old and new in the English and Welsh Counties*. Faber.
- EDWARDS, A. C. *A History of Essex*. Darwen Finlayson.
- ESSEX COUNTY COUNCIL. COUNTY RECORD OFFICE. *Essex Homes, 1066-1850*, County Record Office, Chelmsford.
- FARROW, M. A., and BARTON, T. F. (Compilers). *Index of Wills proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich and now preserved in the District Probate Registry at Norwich, 1604-1686*. Norfolk Rec. Soc., vol. XXVIII.
- FINBERG, JOSCELYNE. *Exploring Villages*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- FREEMAN, T. W. *Pre-famine Ireland: a Study in Historical Geography*. Manchester U.P. 1957.
- GLOUCESTERSHIRE COUNTY RECORDS OFFICE. *The Gloucestershire Landscape, 1577-1957*:

¹The date of publication is 1958 unless otherwise stated. The compiler wishes again to thank Mr George Green for help with this bibliography.

- an Exhibition arranged by the County Records Office in the Council Chamber, Shire Hall, Gloucester.* Glos. Co. Records Office.
- GREAT BRITAIN. ROYAL COMMISSION ON COMMON LAND, 1955-58. *Report.* H.M.S.O.
- GREAT BRITAIN. MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES, AND FOOD. LIBRARY. *A Selected and Classified List of Books relating to Agriculture, Horticulture, etc., in the Library of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food.* H.M.S.O.
- GREAT BRITAIN. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery), preserved in the Public Record Office.* H.M.S.O.
- HALL, HELENA. *A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect.* R. J. Acford Ltd, Industrial Estate, Chichester, Sussex.
- HAMMOND, J. *Livestock Changes in Norfolk since the year 1780.* Norfolk Agricultural Station, Sprowston, Norfolk. 1957.
- HARTING, J. E. *A Perfect Booke for Keping of Sparhawkes or Goshawkes; written about 1575, now first printed from the original MS. on vellum, with Introduction and Glossary.* Bailey and Swinfen. 1957.
- HASWELL, M. R. *Economic Aspects of the Production and Distribution of Potatoes.* [History of potato prices and marketing over more than thirty years.] Metal Box Co. Ltd, Information and Statistics Dept., London, W.1.
- HERTFORDSHIRE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE. *Catalogue of Records, Maps, etc., relating to Hertfordshire [presented by] British Records Association, 1932-57.* 1957.
- HORN, D. B., and RANSOME, MARY. *English Historical Documents, vol. X, 1714-83.* Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1957.
- JESSUP, FRANK W. *A History of Kent.* Darwin Finlayson. 1957.
- JOHNSTON, FRANCIS R. (ed.). *Eccles and Swinton: the Past speaks for itself; a Selection of Documents.* Eccles and Dist. Hist. Soc. Central Library, Eccles, Lancs.
- JOHNSTONE, FRANCIS R. *Lancashire Sketch Maps.* Eccles and Dist. Hist. Soc., Central Library, Eccles, Lancs.
- KENT COUNTY ARCHIVES OFFICE. *Guide to the Kent County Archives Office; prepared by Felix Hull.* Kent County Council.
- LE PATOUREL, JOHN. *Documents relating to the Manor and Borough of Leeds, 1066-1400.* Thoresby Society Publications, vol. XLV.
- LINDSAY, J. O. (ed.). *The New Cambridge Modern History. Vol. VII. The Old Regime, 1713-63.* C.U.P. 1957.
- LOBEL, MARY D. (ed.). *Victoria History of the County of Oxford. Vol. v. Bullingdon Hundred.* O.U.P. 1957.
- MACMAHON, K. A. *Beverley Corporation Minute Books (1707-1835).* Yorks. Archaeolog. Soc., Rec. Series, vol. CXXII.
- MAJOR, KATHLEEN (ed.). *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, Vol. VIII.* Lincoln Rec. Soc., vol. LI.
- MARGARY, IVAN D. *Roman Roads in Britain, vol. ii. North of the Foss Way—Bristol Channel.* Phoenix House. 1957.
- MARTIN, ERNEST W. *Dartmoor.* Hale.
- MORITZ, L. A. *Grain Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity.* O.U.P.
- NATIONAL BOOK LEAGUE. *Mirror of Britain, or, The History of British Topography: Catalogue of an Exhibition held at 7 Albemarle Street, London, W.1. May-July 1957. Introd. and notes by W. G. Hoskins.* 1957.
- NEWMAN, L. F. *Some Notes on the History and Folklore of Veterinary Science: a Paper read to the Royal Society of Medicine.* Royal Society of Medicine.
- O'LEARY, J. C. *Dagenham Place Names.* Valence House, Dagenham.
- POTTER, G. R. (ed.). *The New Cambridge Modern History, vol. I. The Renaissance, 1493-1520.* C.U.P. 1957.
- ROBERTS, HAROLD A. *Chesfield near Stevenage.* H. A. Roberts, The Chantry, Sish Lane, Stevenage, Herts.
- SAYLES, G. O. (ed.). *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward II, vol. IV.* Selden Soc., vol. LXXIV.
- SHAW, R. C. CUNLIFFE. *The Royal Forest of Lancaster.* 127 Fishergate, Preston, Lancs. 1957.
- SHEPPARD, JUNE A. *The Draining of the Hull*

- Valley. East Yorks. Local History Soc.
 SHEPPARD, RONALD, and NEWTON, EDWARD.
The Story of Bread. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1957.
 SYLVESTER, DOROTHY, and NULTY, GEOFFREY.
The Historical Atlas of Cheshire. Cheshire Community Council, 53 Watergate Row, Chester.
 THIRSK, JOAN, and IMRAY, JEAN. *Suffolk Farming in the Nineteenth Century*. Suffolk Rec. Soc., vol. 1.
 TICEHURST, N. F. *The Mute Swan in England: its History and the Ancient Custom of Swan Keeping*. Cleaver-Hume Press. 1957.
 UNITED STATES. DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE.
Major Statistical Series of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture. How they are constructed and used. Vols. 1-9. [Also known as Agriculture Handbook, no. 118.] U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington.
 WALKER, MARGARET (ed.). *Hearth Tax Returns*. Warwick County Records, Records and Museum Committee, Shire Hall, Warwick. 1957.
 WEAVER, J. R. H., and BEARDWOOD, A. (eds.). *Some Oxfordshire Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1393-1510*. Oxfordshire Rec. Soc., vol. XXXIX.
 WHATLEY, C. W. *A Short Review of British Farming over the Centuries*. Whatley, Burderop, Swindon, Wilts.

ARTICLES

- ABBOTT, W. S. *Farming since the First World War*. Jnl Agric. Economics, vol. XII, no. 4. 1957.
 ABERG, F. A. *Introduction to Ancient Ploughs. A Summary of the Evidence in Europe*. The Advancement of Science, vol. XIV, no. 56.
 ABERG, F. A. *The Early Plough in Europe*. Gwerin, vol. 1, no. 4. 1957.
 ALLEN, A. F. *The Lost Village of Merston*. Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. LXXI. 1957.
 ALLISON, K. J. *Flock Management in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. XI, no. 1.
 ANDREAE, S. J. FOCKEMA. *A Dutchman looks at Romney Marsh*. Tijdschrift Van Het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, vol. LXXV, no. 3.
 ANON. *The Story of a Distributor—Philadelphia Jeyes*. [History of an agricultural chemicals business.] Land. Spring, 1958.
 ANON. *Radio-carbon Dating and Archaeology*. Antiquity, vol. XXXII, no. 127.
 APPLEBAUM, SHIMON. *Agriculture in Roman Britain*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. VI.
 ARMYTAGE, W. H. G. *The Chartist Land Colonies, 1846-1848*. Agricultural History, vol. XXXII.
 ARTHUR, J. R. B. *Cereal growing in Early Britain*. Land. Spring, 1958.
 ARTHUR, J. R. B. *British Grain in Roman Times*. Agriculture, vol. LXIV, no. 1.
 BAGSHAWE, T. W. *Rake and Scythe-Handle Making in Bedfordshire and Suffolk*. Gwerin, vol. 1, no. 1. 1956.
 BARLEY, M. W. *Another Scrimshaw Ballad*. Lincs. Historian, vol. II, no. 5.
 BARNES, F., and HOBBS, J. L. *Some early Furness Records*. Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Archaeolog. Soc., N.S., vol. LVII.
 BASTIAN, F. *Daniel Defoe and the Dorking District*. Surrey Archaeolog. Coll., vol. LV. 1957.
 BATHO, G. R. *The Percies and Alnwick Castle, 1557-1632*. Archaeologia Aeliana, vol. XXXV. 1957.
 BEAUMONT, OLGA, and JENKINS, J. GERAINT. *History of Technology, vol. III. Farm-tools, Vehicles, and Harness, 1500-1750*. Clarendon Press. 1957.
 BELLERBY, J. R. *Distribution of Manpower in Agriculture and Industry*. Farm Economist, vol. IX, no. 1.
 BERESFORD, M. W. *The Common Informer, the Penal Statutes and Economic Regulation*. Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. X. 1957.
 BERESFORD, M. W. *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, 1381*. Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 7.
 BERESFORD, M. W. *The Lay Subsidies, part 1, 1290-1334*. Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 8.

- BLACKWELL, ALFRED E. *Some Critical Notes on the Bibliography of Lundy*. Rep. and Trans. Devon Assoc., vol. LXXXIX. 1957.
- BOWDEN, P. J. *Movements in Wool Prices—a Reply*. Yorks. Bull. Econ. and Social Research, vol. IX, no. 2. 1957.
- BOWEN, H. C. *The Study of Ancient Fields (with special reference to England)*. The Advancement of Science, vol. XIV, no. 56.
- BRETTON, R. *Hipperholme and Lightcliffe*. Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc., October 12, 1957.
- BRETTON, R. *Skircoat Township Minute Book*. Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc., June 22, 1957.
- BROOKES, PAULINE F. *The Pattern of Settlement in East Cheshire*. Cheshire Historian, no. 8.
- BROWN, THEO. *Holy and Notable Wells of Devon*. Rep. and Trans. Devon Assoc., vol. LXXXIX. 1957.
- BRUNSKILL, R. W. *The Development of the Large House in the Eden Valley, 1350-1840*. Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Archaeolog. Soc., N.S., vol. LVII.
- BUCHANAN, R. H. *Thatch and Thatching in E. Ireland*. Gwerin, vol. I, no. 3. 1957.
- BULL, G. B. G. *Elizabethan Maps of the Lower Lea Valley*. Geographical Jnl, vol. CXXIV.
- BURSTOW, G. P., and HOLLEYMAN, G. A. *Late Bronze Age Settlement on Itford Hill, Sussex, with a Note on Carbonized Cereals by Hans Helbaek*. Proc. Prehist. Soc., N.S., vol. XXIII.
- CALDER, CHARLES S. T. *Report on the Discovery of Numerous Stone Age House-Sites in Shetland*. Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scotland, vol. LXXXIX.
- CARUS-WILSON, ELEANORA. *The Significance of the Secular Sculptures in the Lane Chapel, Cullompton*. Medieval Archaeology, vol. I. 1957.
- CHEW, HILARY C. *Fifteen Years of Agricultural Change. A Study of Sample Counties in England and Wales, 1934-54*. Geography, vol. XLIII.
- CLARKE, R. RAINBIRD. *Archaeological Discoveries in Norfolk, 1949-54*. Norfolk Archaeology, vol. XXXI. 1957.
- COATS, A. W. *Changing Attitudes to Labour in the mid-eighteenth Century*. Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. XI.
- CONNELL, K. H. *The Land Legislation and Irish Social Life*. Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. XI.
- COPPOCK, J. T. *Changes in Farm and Field Boundaries*. Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 7.
- COPPOCK, J. T. *The Changing Arable in the Chilterns, 1875-1951*. Geography, vol. XLII. 1957.
- CROWLEY, JEANIE. *Sundials in North Devon*. Rep. and Trans. Devon Assoc., vol. LXXXIX. 1957.
- DARLINGTON, IDA. *The Registration of Land in England and Wales and its Effect on Conveyancing Records*. Jnl Soc. of Archivists, vol. I, no. 8.
- DAVIDSON, THOMAS. *Early Farming Transfer Charm Cures*. Agriculture, vol. LXIV, no. 9. 1957.
- DAVIDSON, THOMAS. *Cattle-milking Charms and Amulets*. Gwerin, vol. II, no. I.
- DAVIDSON, THOMAS. *The Horesman's Word: a Rural Initiation Ceremony*. Gwerin, vol. I, no. 2. 1956.
- DAVIDSON, THOMAS. *Animal Charm Cures and Amulets*. Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 6.
- DAVIES, MARGARET. *Common Lands in South-East Monmouthshire*. Trans. Cardiff Naturalists' Soc., vol. LXXXV.
- DENT, G. *Reminiscences of Sowerby*. Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc. April 10, 1956.
- DODD, E. E. *Two Bingley Postscripts*. Bradford Antiquary, N.S., vol. XXXIX.
- DONKIN, R. A. *Bercaria and Lanaria*. Yorks. Archaeolog. Jnl, vol. XXXIX, parts 155 and 156.
- DONKIN, R. A. *Cistercian Sheep-farming and Wool-sales in the thirteenth Century*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. VI.
- DOUCH, ROBERT. *Geography and the Local Historian*. Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 7.
- DUDLEY, DOROTHY. *An Excavation at Bodrifty, Mulfra Hill, near Penzance, Cornwall*. Archaeolog. Jnl, vol. CXIII.
- DUDLEY, DOROTHY. *Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Settlements in Sperris Croft and*

- Wicca Round, Zennor*. Roy. Inst. of Cornwall, N.S., vol. III. 1957.
- DUNCAN, R. *Sheep on Romney Marsh* [including agricultural statistics for the parishes from 1866 onwards]. N.A.A.S. Quarterly Review, no. 40.
- DURNO, S. E. *Pollen Analysis of Peat Deposits in Eastern Sutherland and Caithness*. Scottish Geographical Mag., vol. LXXIV.
- EAST, F. W. *Welbourn in the Sixteenth Century*. Lincolnshire Historian, vol. II, no. 5.
- EASTERBROOK, L. AND OTHERS. *Fifty Fighting years: a History of the National Farmers' Union* [including history of marketing boards]. British Farmer, February, 1958.
- EDLIN, H. L. *Farm Woodlands: Past and Present*. Agriculture, vol. LXV, no. 2.
- EMERY, F. V. *A New Reply to Lhwyd's Parochial Queries (1696): Puncteston, Pembrokeshire*. Nat. Library of Wales Jnl, vol. x, no. 4.
- EMERY, F. V. *English Regional Studies from Aubrey to Defoe*. Geographical Jnl, vol. CXXIV, part 3.
- EMERY, F. V. *The Geography of Robert Gordon, 1580-1661, and Sir Robert Sibbald, 1641-1722*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXIV.
- FARMER, D. L. *Some Grain Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England*. Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. x. 1957.
- FINN, R. WELLDON. *The Making of the Devonshire Domesdays*. Rep. and Trans. Devon Assoc., vol. LXXXIX. 1957.
- FLATRÈS, PIERRE. *Rural Patterns in Celtic Countries. A Comparative Study*. The Advancement of Science, vol. XIV, no. 56.
- FOX, AILEEN. *Excavations on Dean Moor, in the Avon Valley, 1954-6*. Rep. and Trans. Devon Assoc., vol. LXXXIX. 1957.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *George Gayford, 1800-188? A Farmer of the Old School*. Suffolk Review, vol. I, no. 5. 1957.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Farm Stock Portraits and James Ward*. Agriculture, vol. LXV, no. 1.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Glamorgan Farming: an Outline of its Modern History*. Morganniog. Trans. Glam. Local Hist. Soc., vol. I. 1957.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *History of Technology, vol. V. Growth of Food Production*. Clarendon Press.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Digging the Old Fen Drains*. Jnl Land Agents' Soc. July, 1958.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Farming Changes in the past Hundred Years*. M. and B. Veterinary Review, vol. IX, no. 4.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *History of Technology, vol. IV. Agriculture: Technique of Farming*. Clarendon Press.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *The Countryside a Century Ago*. Estates Gazette Centenary Supplement. May 3, 1958.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *New Crops in Norfolk*. Amateur Historian, vol. v, no. 1.
- FUSSELL, G. E. *Farm Machinery a Century Ago*. The Engineer. June 28, 1957.
- GELLING, MARGARET. *The Hill of Abingdon*. Oxoniensia, vol. XXII. 1957.
- GLEDHILL, BARBER. *King's Farm or the White Lion at Hebden Bridge*. Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc. September 15, 1956.
- GOODSALL, ROBERT H. *Watermills on the River Len*. Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. LXXI. 1957.
- GRAY, ELIZABETH G. *Potatoes in the Eighteenth Century*. Scottish Agriculture. Spring, 1958.
- GRESHAM, C. A., and HEMP, W. J. *Lasynys* [a farmhouse near Harlech]. Jnl Merioneth Hist. and Rec. Soc., vol. III. 1957.
- GRIFFITHS, W. A. *Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Lords of the Manor of Broniarth*. Montgomeryshire Coll., vol. LIV, part 2. 1957.
- HABAKKUK, H. J. *The Market for Monastic Property, 1539-1603*. Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. x.
- HALLAM, H. E. *Some Thirteenth-Century Censuses*. Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. x.
- HARDEN, D. B. *Air-photography and Archaeology*. Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc., vol. LXVI. 1957.
- HARLEY, J. B. *Population Trends and Agricultural Developments from the Warwickshire Hundred Rolls of 1279*. Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. XI.
- HARRIS, ALAN. *The Lost Village and the Landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. VI.

- HARVEY, JOHN. *A Short History of Bookham, Surrey. Part III.* Proc. Leatherhead and District Local Hist. Soc., vol. I, no. 10.
- HARVEY, NIGEL. *Low on Drainage.* Jnl Land Agents' Soc., vol. LVII, no. 2.
- HEXTER, J. H. *Storm over the Gentry.* Encounter, May, 1958.
- HILTON, R. H. *The Origins of Robin Hood.* Past and Present, no. 14.
- HOLLAND, T. R. *The Yeakell and Gardner Maps of Sussex.* Sussex Archaeolog. Coll., vol. XCV, 1957.
- HOMANS, G. C. *The Frisians in East Anglia.* Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. X, 1957.
- HOSKINS, W. G. *The Population of an English Village, 1086-1801. A Study of Wigston Magna.* Trans. Leics. Archaeolog. and Hist. Soc., vol. XXXIII, 1957.
- HOUSTON, GEORGE. *Labour Relations in Scottish Agriculture before 1870.* Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. VI.
- HOWSE, W. H. *A Harley Miscellany* [farming indentures and farming memoranda]. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club Papers, 1957.
- HUDLESTON, C. ROY. *An Eighteenth-Century Squire's Possessions* [Henry Curwen, squire of Workington]. Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Archaeolog. Soc., N.S., vol. LVII.
- HUGHES, IEVAN T. *The Background of Llandysul.* Ceredigion, vol. III, no. 2, 1957.
- HUGHES, MAIRWEN. *The Marram Grass Industry of Newborough, Anglesey.* Trans. Anglesey Antiq. Soc. and Field Club, 1956.
- HUNT, H. G. *The Chronology of Parliamentary Enclosure in Leicestershire.* Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. X, 1957.
- JACOBS, H. N. *The Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester.* Agriculture, vol. LXV, no. 4.
- JENKINS, J. G. *The Dish of Wheels.* Gwerin, vol. I, no. 2, 1956.
- JOHNSON, W. BRANCH. *Behind a County History.* Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 6.
- JOHNSTON, G. D. *Legal Terms and Phrases.* Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 6.
- JONES, F. P. *A Welsh Court of Estrays.* Gwerin, vol. I, no. 2, 1956.
- JONES, M. U. *Excavations at Stanton Low, in the Upper Ouse Valley, during March, 1957.* Records of Bucks., vol. XVI, part 3, 1957.
- JONES, M. U. *Note on an old Land Drain.* Records of Bucks., vol. XVI, part 3, 1957.
- KAY, S. O. *A Romano-British Building in Stubbin Wood, Langwith Junction, near Shirebrook.* Derby. Archaeolog. and Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. LXXVI.
- KENDALL, H. P. *Sowerby Workhouse.* Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc. August 4, 1956.
- KERRIDGE, ERIC. *The Revolts in Wiltshire against Charles I.* Wilts. Archaeolog. and Nat. Hist. Mag., vol. LVII, no. 206.
- LAWTON, R. *Population Movements in the West Midlands, 1841-1861.* Geography, vol. XLIII, no. 201.
- LEA, JOHN. *A Great Agriculturist, Rowland Prothero. Agent-in-Chief of the Bedford Estates.* Beds. Mag., vol. VI, no. 44.
- LEE, J. R. *Blenheim Estate.* Agriculture, vol. LXV, no. 5.
- LEMAISTRE, F. *The Jersey Hay-Cart (L'Éclon, ou Hérnais à Éclon).* Société Jersiaise Annual Bull., vol. XVII, part 2.
- LINDLEY, E. S. *Kingswood Abbey, its Lands and Mills.* Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeolog. Soc., vol. LXXV.
- LINDLEY S. E., *A Short Study in Valor Ecclesiasticus.* Bristol and Glos. Archaeolog. Soc. Trans., vol. LXXVI, 1957.
- LOYD, JOHN. *Llanfihangel y Traethau.* Jnl Merioneth Hist. and Rec. Soc., vol. III, part 2.
- LOWTHER, A. W. G. *Ashtead and its History. Part VIII. The Early Stuart Period (1603-1660) and John Lawrence's Map of Ashtead (1638).* Proc. Leatherhead and District Local Hist. Soc., vol. I, no. 10.
- LUCAS, A. T. *An Fhóir, A straw rope granary.* Gwerin, vol. I, no. 1, 1956.
- LYON, BRYCE. *Medieval Real Estate Developments and Freedom.* Amer. Hist. Rev., vol. LXIII, 1957.
- MACLEAN, C. I. *Hebridean Traditions.* Gwerin, vol. I, no. 1, 1956.
- MADELEY, C. STANBURY. *Chapelfields Farm and the Rancher Earl.* Birmingham Archaeolog. Soc. Trans. and Proc., vol. LXXIV.
- MARSHALL, J. D. *The People who left the Land.* Amateur Historian, vol. IV, no. 1.

- MASON, R. T. *Fourteenth-Century Halls in Sussex*. Sussex Archaeolog. Coll., vol. xcv. 1957.
- MATHIAS, PETER. *The Brewing Industry, Temperance, and Politics*. Hist. Jnl, vol. I, no. 2.
- MAYNE, L. BRUCE. *The Growth of British Folk Museums*. Amateur Historian, vol. IV, no. 1.
- MILES, HELEN. *A Select Bibliography of Property Law and Conveyancing*. Amateur Historian, vol. V, no. 1.
- MILLS, DENNIS R. *A Bibliography of Post-war Work relating to the Geography of Lincolnshire*. Lincs. Archit. and Archaeolog. Soc. Rep. and Papers, N.S. vol. VII.
- MILLS, DENNIS R. *Lincolnshire Farming Regions*. East Midland Geographer, no. 9.
- MINGAY, G. E. *Thrumpton: a Nottinghamshire Estate in the Eighteenth Century*. Trans. Thoroton Soc. of Notts., vol. LXI.
- MONTEITH, D. *Elizabethan Manorial Surveys*. Geography, vol. XLIII, no. 199.
- MOORHOUSE, SYDNEY. *The Ancient Cattle of England*. Agriculture, vol. LXIV, no. 8. 1957.
- MOULLIN, E. B. and PRIAULX, T. F. *Domestic Architecture in Guernsey before 1750*. La Société Guernesiaise Rep. and Trans., vol. XVI, part 1.
- MYATT-PRICE, E. M. *The Tattershall Household Book, 1475-76*. Lincs. Archit. and Archaeolog. Soc. Rep. and Papers, N.S., vol. VII.
- OLIVER, MRS BRUCE. *Notes on Brushford*. Devon Assoc. Rep. and Trans., vol. LXXXIX. 1957.
- OLIVER, J. *The Weather and Farming in the Mid-eighteenth Century in Anglesey*. Nat. Library of Wales Jnl, vol. x, no. 3.
- O'NEIL, HELEN E. *Prestbury Moat, a Manor House of the Bishops of Hereford in Gloucestershire*. Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeolog. Soc., vol. LXXV.
- OWEN, DOROTHY M. *Thornton Abbey and the Lost Vill of Audleby*. Lincs. Archit. and Archaeolog. Soc. Rep. and Papers, N.S., vol. VII.
- PAYNE, F. G. *A Scottish Ploughshare Type*. Gwerin, vol. I, no. 4. 1957.
- POCOCK, D. C. D. *Hop-growing in Nottinghamshire*. Trans. Thoroton Soc. of Notts., vol. LXI.
- PORTER, ENID M. *Butter by the Yard*. Gwerin, vol. I, no. 4.
- PORTER, ENID M. *The Cambridgeshire Fens*. Gwerin, vol. II, no. 1.
- PORTMAN, DEREK. *Cruck Houses in Long Wittenham*. Berks. Archaeolog. Jnl, vol. LVI.
- POSNANSKY, MERRICK. *The Bronze Age Round Barrow at Swarkeston*. Jnl. Derby. Archaeolog. and Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. LXXVI.
- POSNANSKY, MERRICK. *Note on the Presence of Prehistoric Field Systems in Derbyshire*. Jnl Derby. Archaeolog. and Nat. Hist. Soc., vol. LXXVI.
- POWELL, W. R. *Local History in Theory and Practice*. Bulletin of the Inst. Hist. Research, vol. XXXI, no. 83.
- PRIESTLEY, J. H. *The Township of Rishworth*. Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc. March 6, 1956.
- PRINCE, H. C. *Historical Geography in France*. Geographical Jnl, vol. CXXIV, part 1.
- PRINCE, H. C. *Parkland in the English Landscape. With reference section on Places improved by Lancelot Brown, 1748-83; places improved by Humphrey Repton, 1789-1817; places illustrated by Johannes Kip, 1707-15*. Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 8.
- PROUDFOOT, V. B. *Ancient Irish Field Systems*. The Advancement of Science, vol. XIV, no. 56.
- PUGH, L. P. *Thomas Burgess, D.D., F.R.S. (1756-1837)* Bishop of Salisbury [concerning the formation of the Veterinary College, London]. Veterinary Record, vol. LXX.
- PUGH, T. B. *The Sessions in Eyre in the Lordships of Gower and Kilvey: a Dispute between the Earl of Worcester and his Tenants*. S. Wales and Mon. Rec. Soc. Publications, no. 4. 1957.
- QUAYLE, GEORGE E. *Our Deserted Uplands*. Isle of Man Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc., vol. V, no. 5.
- QUAYLE, THOMAS. *Cows, Dairymaids, and Baron Beef*. Milk Producer, vol. VI, no. 2.
- QUAYLE, THOMAS. *Tusser: Farmer-Poet*. Agriculture, vol. LXIV, no. 10.
- RADFORD, C. A. RALEGH. *The Saxon House: a Review and some Parallels*. Medieval Archaeology, vol. I. 1957.
- RAGLAN, LORD. *The House—Shelter or*

- Temple*. Archaeologia Cambrensis, vol. CVI. 1957.
- RANGER, WOOD. *Life at Sheeplane*. Beds. Mag., vol. VI, no. 42. 1957.
- RANKIN, R. G. *The Eltonhead Family*. Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire, vol. CVIII. 1957.
- REES, WILLIAM. *Records relating to the Lordship of Senghenydd with Caerphilly, from Edward I to Henry VIII. Part I*. S. Wales and Mon. Rec. Soc. Publications, no. 4. 1957.
- REVILL, PHILIPPA. *An old Name for the Caburn*. Sussex N. & Q., vol. XV, no. 2.
- ROBBINS, R. MICHAEL. *Edgware in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeolog. Soc., vol. XIX, part 3.
- ROBERTS, MARGERY. *Bedford Market*. Beds. Mag., vol. VI, no. 42. 1957.
- ROBERTSHAW, WILFRID. *The Horton Collection of Manuscripts*. Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc., June 9, 1956.
- RODERICK, A. J., and REES, WILLIAM (eds.). *The Lordships of Abergavenny, Grosmont, Skenfrith, White Castle, and Monmouth. Accounts of the Ministers for the Year 1256-57, Part III. The Lordship of Monmouth*. S. Wales and Mon. Rec. Soc. Publications, no. 4. 1957.
- RUBY, A. T. *The Manor of Pachenesham, Leatherhead*. Surrey Archaeolog. Coll., vol. LV. 1957.
- RYDER, MICHAEL. *Report on the Animal Bones. Kirkstall Abbey Excavation. Eighth Report*. Thoresby Soc. Publications. 1957.
- RYDER, M. L. *Follicle Arrangement in Skin from Wild Sheep, Primitive Domestic Sheep, and in Parchment*. Nature, vol. CLXXXII.
- SALTER, R. G. *A Glimpse of Two Ancient Land Agents*. Jnl Land Agents' Soc., vol. LVI, no. 10. 1957.
- SAWYER, P. H. *The Density of the Danish Settlement in England*. Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Jnl, vol. VI, no. 1. 1957.
- SAYCE, R. U. *The Celtic Iron Age*. Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc., vol. LXVI. 1957.
- SAYCE, R. U. *The Old Summer Pastures. A Comparative Study*. Montgomeryshire Collections, vol. LIV, part 2. 1957.
- SCHMIDT, HUBERT G. *Some Post-revolutionary Views of American Agriculture in the English Midlands*. Agric. Hist., vol. XXXII, no. 3.
- SCHOVE, D. JUSTIN, and LOWTHER, A. W. G. *Tree-rings and Medieval Archaeology*. Medieval Archaeology, vol. 1. 1957.
- SIMPSON, ALAN. *The East Anglian Fold-course: some Queries*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. VI.
- SIMPSON, D. E. *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Fertilisers*. Farming Rev. Summer, 1957.
- SLICHER VAN BATH, B. H. *Robert Loder en Rienck Hemmema*. It Beaken, vol. XX, nos. 1, 2, 3.
- SMITH, A. H. *Place Names and the Anglo-Saxon Settlement*. British Academy Proc., vol. XLII.
- SMITH, C. S. *Story of a Great Fruit and Vegetable Processing Concern* [one hundred and fifty years of Chivers of Cambridge]. Farmers' Weekly. September 5, 1957.
- SOONS, JANE M. *Landscape Evolution in the Ochil Hills*. Scottish Geogr. Mag., vol. LXXIV.
- SPALDING, K. *A German Account of Life in Wales in 1856*. Gwerin, vol. II, no. 1.
- STANFORD, S. C. *A Medieval Settlement at Hampton Wafer*. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club Papers. 1957.
- STEER, F. W. *Bishop Montague's Personal Accounts, 1636-8*. Sussex Archaeolog. Coll., vol. XCV. 1957.
- STEER, K. A. *An Early Iron Age Homestead at West Plean, Stirlingshire*. Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scotland, vol. LXXXIX.
- STEVENS, C. E. *African Cornfields: a Review*. Antiquity, vol. XXXII, no. 125.
- STEVENS, F. BENTHAM. *John Dudeney*. Sussex N. and Q., vol. XV, no. 1.
- STEVENS, F. BENTHAM. *Manors of Meeching and Plompton-Piddinghoe*. Sussex N. & Q., vol. XV, no. 2.
- SYLVESTER, DOROTHY. *The Common Fields of the Coastlands of Gwent*. Agric. Hist. Rev., vol. VI.
- SYLVESTER, DOROTHY. *The Open Fields of*

- Cheshire. Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire, vol. CVIII. 1957.
- THOMAS, NICHOLAS. *Excavations at Callow Hill, Glympton, and Stonesfield, Oxon.* Oxoniensia, vol. XXII. 1957.
- THOMAS, SPENCER. *Land Occupation, Ownership, and Utilization in the Parish of Llan-santffraid.* Ceredigion, vol. III. 1957.
- THOMPSON, F. M. L. *Land Market in the Nineteenth Century.* Oxford Economic Papers, vol. IX, no. 3. 1957.
- THOMPSON, F. M. L. *English Landownership: the Ailesbury Trust, 1832-56.* Econ. Hist. Rev., N.S., vol. XI.
- THOMSON, T. R. *Notes on Eisey and Water Eaton.* Wilts. Archaeolog. and Nat. Hist. Mag., vol. LVII, no. 206.
- TODHUNTER, J. F. *Thomas Smith of Waddington, 1765-1823.* Lincs. Historian, vol. II, no. 5.
- UTTERSTRÖM, G. *Climatic Fluctuations and Population Problems in early modern History.* Scandinavian Econ. Hist. Rev., vol. III. 1955.
- W., J. *The Rent of a Pepper-corn.* Northants. Past and Present, vol. II, no. 4. 1957.
- WAKE, JOAN. *Northamptonshire Records.* Speculum, vol. XXXIII, no. 2.
- WALKER, JAMES. *Cruck-framed Buildings in Scotland.* Gwerin, vol. I, no. 3. 1957.
- WARD, GORDON. *Forged Anglo-Saxon Charters.* Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. LXXI. 1957.
- WARD, J. D. U. *Tithe Barns of the South West.* Agriculture, vol. LXV, no. 4.
- WARD, JOHN T. *Changes in Land Tenure (1911-1950).* Jnl Land Agents' Soc. May, 1958.
- WARD, JOHN T. *Farm Sale Prices over a Hundred Years.* The Estates Gazette Centenary Supplement. May, 1958.
- WATSON, R. *A Traditional Fylde Home.* Gwerin, vol. II, no. 1.
- WELCH, C. E. *Shotford Manor.* Sussex N. and Q., vol. XV, no. 1.
- WHARFE, LEONARD. *Norse Settlements in Wirral.* Cheshire Historian, no. 8.
- WHETHAM, EDITH. *Rent and the Agricultural Price Review.* Econ. Jnl, vol. LXVIII, no. 271.
- WHITAKER, I. R. *Two Hebridean Corn-Kilns.* Gwerin, vol. I, no. 4. 1957.
- WHITWORTH, MARGARET. *Original Document—Inventory of the Nunnery of Legbourne.* Lincs. Historian, vol. II, no. 5.
- WILLIAMS, D. ELWYN. *Rumney Parish (1744-1854) as seen in the Parish Registers and Accounts Books.* S. Wales and Mon. Rec. Soc. Publications, no. 4. 1957.
- WILLIAMS, G. J. *Glamorgan Customs in the Eighteenth Century.* Gwerin, vol. I, no. 3. 1957.
- WILLIAMS, Rev. H. FULFORD. *Sampford Courtney and Honeychurch.* Rep. and Trans. Devon Assoc., vol. LXXXIX. 1957.
- WILLIAMS, J. G. *The Cooper's Craft.* Gwerin, vol. I, no. 4. 1957.
- WILLIAMS, MOELWYN I. *Seasonal Migrations of Cardiganshire Harvest Gangs to the Vale of Glamorgan in the Nineteenth Century.* Ceredigion, vol. III. 1957.
- WILLIAMS, NEVILLE. *Sessions of the Clerk of the Market of the Household in Middlesex.* Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeolog. Soc., vol. XIX. 1957.
- WILLIAMS-JONES, KEITH. *Llywelyn's Charter to Cymer Abbey in 1209.* Jnl Merioneth Hist. and Rec. Soc., vol. III. 1957.
- WILLIS, ARTHUR J. *Church and Layman in the Eighteenth Century. A Study of some Archives of the Ecclesiastical Courts.* Amateur Historian, vol. V, no. 1.
- WILMOT, GRAHAM F. A. *The Changing Scene in the Township of Higher Bebington, Wirral. Part II.* Cheshire Historian, no. 8.
- WILSON, DAVID M., and HURST, JOHN G. *Medieval Britain in 1956.* Medieval Archaeology, vol. I. 1957.
- WILSON, JOHN. *Lower Wat Ing in Norland.* Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc., March 30, 1957.
- WILSON, KENNETH. *Forest Law.* Amateur Historian, vol. III, no. 7.
- WINNINGTON-INGRAM, A. J. *Notes on the Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Volume in Hereford Cathedral Archives recording various Events and Customs relating to the Diocese of Hereford.* Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club Papers. 1957.

- WINNINGTON-INGRAM, A. J. *Thomas Thorn(e)-ton* [probate inventory of the Master of the Hospital at Ledbury]. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club Papers. 1957.
- WOOD, PETER. *Second Excavation of the Strip Lynchets at Bishopstone, near Swindon, Wilts. June 1955*. Wilts. Archaeolog. and Nat. Hist. Mag., vol. LVII, no. 206.
- WOODMAN, A. VERE. *The Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising of 1549*. Oxoniensia, vol. XXII. 1957.
- WOODMAN, A. VERE. *A Note on Sir Walter de Hanle*. Records of Bucks., vol. XVI, part 3.
- WRIGHT, C. E. *Topographical Drawings in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum*. Archives, vol. III, no. 18. 1957.
- WRIGHT, PHILLIP A. *Centenary of Traction Engine Pioneer*. East Anglian Daily Times. September 13, 1958.
- WRIGHT, PHILLIP A. *Pioneers of Mechanised Reaping*. East Anglian Daily Times. September 30, 1958.
- YOUNG, ALISON. *Excavations at Dun Cuier, Isle of Barra, Outer Hebrides*. Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland, vol. LXXXIX.

Letter to the Editor

AGRICULTURE IN ROMAN TIMES

SIR,—Dr Applebaum writes: "While previous cultivation was mainly confined to chalk and limestone soils, Belgic settlement began to invade the medium loams."

I believe this may be true of certain areas which came under their influence. The Belgae, however, are not supposed to have arrived before 100 B.C. We have grain deposits from the coastal strip of West Sussex dating back to 350–250 B.C., showing that earlier immigrants had realized the value of this flat country.

Concerning the writer's summing up of the crops introduced by the Romans, namely club wheat and flax, the probability is that these two plants were reintroduced, as club wheat has been recognized in deposits from several Iron Age sites. Flax impressions in pottery come from Windmill Hill, Wilts (Neolithic),

and Westwood, Fife (Middle Bronze Age).

Dr Applebaum considers that "the level and productivity of Roman agriculture in Britain involved advances over the pre-Roman system." This no doubt applies to growing crops, but to what extent? Wheat was certainly the predominant crop, and in Roman days was grown more extensively than in former days, although the average cereal deposit on inspection portrays a very mixed one, wheat being the biggest constituent although other useful plants had evidently crept in such as *Bromus*. Little if anything was done to separate these seeds from the true cereals, and one must assume that plant breeding, or at any rate selection, had advanced very little.

Yours faithfully,

J. R. B. ARTHUR

'Cydweli', Court Wick, Littlehampton.

Book Reviews

A. G. HAUDRICOURT and M. J-B. DELAMARRE,
L'Homme et La Charrue à travers le Monde.
Paris, 1955. 506 pp.

No single instrument has so affected the history of the last 5,000 years as the plough. Like Pliny's ploughman, with back bent to his task, this history has been bent, even on occasion yoked, to the plough. We may—for some time yet, we must—dispute the finer points of the relationship; the precise effects of plough type on field shape, village site, community, and so on. But no one is likely now to question its broad and impressive proportions, or willingly to put the plough (as does the Bayeux Tapestry) in the margins of the story. By implication, indeed, English medieval historians at least have, in a sense, often erred the other way, by concentrating too much on arable fields, too little on pasture, rather as if, in the line of some sixteenth-century writers, they felt the plough's advance alone represented solid and typical agrarian achievement; an emphasis which has not, unfortunately, prevented us being very mistaken about the history of the plough in England, and consequently probably wrong about much of the history of settlement. As these recently corrected errors show,¹ it is too soon to hope to write a definitive history of the plough, even in a single country, let alone "à travers le monde." But so much valuable work has been done recently that some preliminary attempt at synthesis was desirable, if only to suggest lines of future enquiry. This book, the twenty-fifth volume in the important series of *Géographie Humaine* directed by M. Pierre Defontaines, attempts to do two main things. First, and more important, to reconstruct the typology of the plough throughout the world's

history, basing this typology on detailed regional evidence; and secondly, to suggest ways in which this typology has been related to the needs and environments of men. The result is the most important general contribution to our knowledge of plough types that has yet appeared, rivalling Leser² in learning (though not, unfortunately, in clarity of type³), and excelling him in, so to say, human understanding.

The human emphasis is fundamental and gives the work distinctiveness. Even when some general proposition of typology is presented a shade too enthusiastically, we seldom stray far from the men who made and used the tools. Their mental and physical habits of work, the living basis for their abiding conservatism; their inherited craftsmanship; the changing needs of climate and soil; these and kindred points will ultimately be much more fully understood, but the *importance* of understanding them is here firmly and decisively accepted.

This general approach is carried through with a great breadth of knowledge and an impressive bibliography. The familiar types of evidence are all used: cylinder seals from the ancient middle east; representations of many kinds from ancient Egypt, Greece, and later periods; the literary records, Pliny being discussed in considerable detail; the early Scandinavian instruments on which Glob has recently written a study of fundamental importance;⁴ regional plough types in use in the past two centuries or so, this information being summarized in several valuable, if small-scale, distribution maps. Some of the archaeological material is used less than is normal, for example the details of finds of coulter (there is

¹ See especially F. G. Payne, 'The Plough in Ancient Britain', *Archaeological Journal*, CIV, 1947, pp. 82-111; 'The British Plough', *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, v, 1957, pp. 74-84.

² P. Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, 1931.

³ The paper is wretched, and the stitching spasmodic and inadequate. Books of this importance deserve better presentation. They also demand an index; it passes understanding why it should have been issued without one.

⁴ P. V. Glob, *Ard and Plough in Prehistoric Scandinavia*, 1951, which the authors have, I believe, overlooked.

a special reason for this) and shares. Again, as an examination of wheeled carts and harness shows, further comparison of ploughs with other tools, especially harrows, hoes, and spades, would (as the authors point out) be valuable. On the other hand, the authors adduce less well-worn evidence: ideograms from the middle east and China; detailed consideration of variations in the nomenclature of the plough and its parts which, despite obvious pitfalls,¹ can give important indications of date and distribution. One striking limitation in the evidence is its sparseness for the period between the ancient worlds and fairly modern times. A great deal of work needs to be done here. In this country, for instance, medieval accounts need closer investigation; and more discussion will surely clarify the vexed question of the size and composition of the medieval plough-team.²

The diversity of recorded plough types is, of course, enormous; and the nature of the evidence—inadequate dating, the forced reliance on survivals in backward areas, for instance—makes the task of discerning the different stages of development incredibly difficult. The typology here presented is, in many respects, novel; and, on the whole, it rings true. Its basic division is between the (early) symmetrical instrument, the *aratrum* or ard, and the asymmetrical *carruca* or plough properly speaking. And, although the book's title implies concentration on the latter, in fact it is the ard which takes up more space. Whether

or not the ard originated elsewhere—and the authors toy with the idea that it came from an area of 'dry farming'—the first for which we have evidence are in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, the oldest going back to about 3000 B.C., and implying, by their already advanced development, a considerable past. These ards are of very distinctive construction; two handles meet together at the lower end to form a pointed, symmetrical share beam and share combined, the 'depth' of which, in the Egyptian examples, is regulated by what we know as a sheath.³ Their use is also distinctive, for, according to the authors (as against the view of Leser), they were primarily associated with sowing, either by a central drill fixed between the handles, or broadcast. It is from these already diverse ancient middle eastern ards that—it is assumed—all the ards and ploughs of the world derive. It is here suggested that the later development of the ard took three main lines, more or less distinct. First, the type called here the *araire chambige*, in which the handle (usually single) and share beam (whether combined in one piece or not) pass through a mortise in the plough beam; in most cases, the share, if separate, is of the tanged type (with the bar share as the limiting type), here referred to as the *reille* (L. *regula*). The well-known Døstrup and Donneruplund ards⁴ and the votive bronze model from Cologne are of this kind; and the Virgilian *aratrum* is generally (and surely rightly) interpreted as such

¹ e.g. though a *carruca* was extensively used in Anglo-Saxon England, the O.E. verb 'to plough' is *erian*, cognate with L. *arare*. For the word 'coultter' see Payne's remarks, *Arch. Jl.*, CIV, 1947, p. 92n.

² Two important recent contributions on English ploughs are overlooked by the authors: H. M. Colvin, 'A Medieval Drawing of a Plough', *Antiquity*, xxvii, 1953, pp. 165-7; M. Nightingale, 'Ploughing and Field Shape', *ibid.*, pp. 20-6. Col. Drew's work, deposited in the Public Record Office, shows the value of medieval accounts.

³ Not, however, in all Egyptian examples; e.g. W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 1958, pl. 58B (Dynasty XI, 2134-1991 B.C.).

⁴ The description of these instruments (pp. 78 ff.) is not altogether accurate; each has a pointed share (separate or made out of the foot of the handle or ard head) and what Glob calls a fore-share (here *reille*). Payne also seems to be wrong (*Agric. Hist. Rev.*, v, 1957) when he writes (p. 75) that the Donneruplund ard "proves that the well-known specimen found at Døstrup in 1884 was incomplete, that it had lost a very important part, the ploughshare. . . The size of the mortise in the beam foot itself should have raised doubts about its completeness." On the contrary, as Glob's plan of the mortise shows (Glob, *op. cit.*, fig. 57), there is no room for such an additional piece; nor need for it, since the ard head is fashioned into a share, being altogether more massive than the ard head of the Donneruplund ard which had a separate wooden share. There were clearly at least two varieties of 'bow ard' (*araire chambige*); equally efficient (there is no question of the Døstrup ard being merely a "thin pointed stick" as Payne

(though not here).¹ Secondly, the *araire manche-sep*, in which the plough beam passes through a mortise in the combined handle-share beam; in modern times, at least, this has been the most widely distributed type. Thirdly, the *araire dental*, which has a (usually narrow, straight, and 'shallow') share beam into which the plough beam and the handle are separately tenoned. This is familiar as the instrument of ancient Greece, and the authors argue (not, in my view, convincingly) that Virgil's *aratrum* was also of this type; the 'crook ards' of ancient Scandinavia are a slightly developed variety. In each of these three types, the handle is most often single, but the lower portions of the primitive double handles survive, it is suggested, in the ears or projections often found on each side of the share beam.

These three main types, and numerous variants (including the corresponding rectangular types, which Leser made into one of his two basic plough types!) had clearly emerged long before the beginning of our era, which is the approximate date to which the authors assign the appearance (in the west) of the *carruca*, an instrument which is constructed and operated asymmetrically, and which turns rather than merely pulverizes the soil. There was clearly an intermediate stage during which the *aratrum* was employed similarly, by leaning it to one side and using the ears (or equivalent) to turn the soil. This adaptation of the *aratrum* led easily to the addition of a coulter, of wheels to facilitate control (noted by Pliny as a recent innovation), and of a better device to guide the soil over (of which the mould-board is the final example). As future development showed (see e.g. the modern English swing plough) the wheels were the least important addition. By contrast, coulter and better turning device were fundamental, and the differences in their arrange-

ment and design divide *carrucae* into two basic types: those in which the ploughman can choose which way he turns the soil (the so-called "one-way plough"); and those in which he cannot.

Broadly persuasive though this typology is, not all its stages carry equal conviction. Since so much depends on the precise point at which an instrument was introduced into an area, it is not surprising, given the present uncertainty over much of the dating, that there are gaps in our knowledge where a rather theoretical typology must do service for sound historical evidence. On occasion, the authors hardly seem to have allowed sufficiently for the variety of skills and therefore the adaptability possessed by users of the plough in some primitive communities; for instance, the late Bronze Age rock engravings at Finntorp show two very different types of ard presumably in use in the same area; Pliny points to similar variety, and in this country British coulters may indicate differences between instruments. Again, the transitional stage between the *aratrum* and the *carruca* is hardly stressed adequately. As Payne's articles have shown, this is one of the really crucial moments in the history of the plough, symmetrical construction (or nearly so) and asymmetrical use, allowing the soil to be deeply cultivated and properly turned as demanded in well-watered land. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the authors have no very clear place in their typology for this kind of bastard employment. But they also minimize the use of coulters with ards. They admit that coulters were occasionally so used, but (I suspect) almost feel that they ought not to have been. They explain most of the early iron coulters as belonging to a separate instrument, a *coutrier*, consisting merely of a coulter attached to the end of a beam, with a handle for control, for whose existence they cite one or two modern

says), though the Døstrup ard must have been more difficult to make and more expensive to maintain because the combined share-handle demanded much working and might need complete replacement if the share part was damaged.

¹ See the very important article by R. Aitken on 'Virgil's Plough', *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLVI, 1956, pp. 97-106. Perhaps we should take more seriously Seneca's comment that Virgil "aimed not to teach farmers, but to please readers" (*Epistula*, 86.15).

examples and the evidence of Pliny. Neither kind of evidence seems to do their case much good. Pliny, if read in a good text,¹ seems, more probably, to say what most people have always supposed him to say; that, for the first ploughing (the verb is *proscindere*, on the technical meaning of which see Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, I. XXIX. 2) of very thick or dense land (*praedensa terra*) there was a special type of share used in conjunction with (and, literally, preceded by) a coulter on the same instrument.

If plough types are difficult to arrange in historical sequence, the factors which determined their evolution can, as yet, only be glimpsed in broadest outline; climate, soil, field shapes, resources of the users, and so on. But it is at least clear that simple generalizations will not suffice. We are now much more cautious than historians once were about the relationship between ploughs and fields. Consider also the effects of race and political domination. If the authors are right, the political influence of China and of the Hindoo civilization were vital in the spread and evolution of the plough in the east; in the west, while they agree that the Roman Empire brought no fundamental change in plough types, they suggest (not very plausibly) that it may have helped to spread the *araire dental*. By contrast, the barbarian invasions no longer seem the great determinant they did, and like (apparently) the Arab conquests, probably had little effect on plough types. On these and similar points, the authors have contributed a great deal. But they would be the first to agree that the task of explaining the history of the plough is only in its infancy. "Nous ne présentons pas notre ouvrage," they conclude (p. 464), "comme une 'conclusion' mais comme un 'point de départ'." If there is injustice in this, it is at least as unjust to them as to their predecessors in the field. One hopes, however, that this remark will not be used as a general invitation to speculate on

world-wide plough history. A synthesis of this kind was certainly needed. But, between the lines, its most insistent lesson really is this: the present need for close study of all types of evidence on a less ambitious scale.

T. H. ASTON

JAMES H. SHIDELER, *Farm Crisis 1919-1923*. Cambridge University Press for University of California Press, 1958. x+345 pp. 37s. 6d.

It is a sobering experience to find the events of the early 'twenties already being described by a historian and the result selected for review in a historical journal. The historian is James H. Shideler of the University of California and he deals with the farm crisis in the U.S.A.

His book is based on a most painstaking study of records of public agencies, private manuscript collections, federal documents and official publications, newspapers and correspondence, farm journals, memoirs, and in fact of wellnigh all the records, published and unpublished, on the subject. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that it reads more like a documentary than a commentary, although the reasons Mr Shideler gives for the Crisis, and its significance in America's agricultural history, are easily the most interesting features.

Agriculture in the U.S.A., as in most other countries, underwent a period of extreme depression between 1920 and 1923 in the process of readjustment from the inflated conditions that arose during the first World War. Mr Shideler thinks the period marks a "gulf between two worlds of American agriculture, an old world of soaring ambition resting upon expansion and land value increment" and a "new world of uncertainty distinguished by diversity, inequality, and contraction," and this, presumably, is the reason why he has concentrated his attention on the events of this relatively short period of time. Cer-

¹ The text the authors use is not the best. They omit the word *infelix* (?*inflexus*) which qualifies *culter*, and, later on, give the name for the wheeled ploughs as *planarati* without mentioning the more probable *plauamorati*. There are at least eight other mistakes, one of which makes complete nonsense of the Latin.

tainly there were things that the first World War changed for ever, and an important one in the U.S.A. was its metamorphosis from a debtor to a creditor nation. But fundamentally there was nothing new in the position, for prices had "tobogganed" before 1920, and *The Grapes of Wrath* described conditions in the 'thirties.

Even the attempt which the farmers made to influence government policy in the early 'twenties had its prototype in the Populist Party which achieved such success that in 1890 it was swept into power in a dozen southern and western States and inspired William Jennings Bryan to urge the Democrat Party to fuse with it. And if the troubles in the 'twenties were the result of overproduction, they only reflected the misfortunes of an earlier generation of farmers whom a Kansas virago implored to "raise less corn and more Hell." Mr Shideler seems to think his historical model is a linear one, when in fact it is cyclical.

The emphasis which he puts on overproduction is another feature of Mr Shideler's thesis with which not everyone will agree. No one will question his facts: some crops suffered from overproduction, others were left on the shelf by temporary market dislocations, while the railroads chose this of all times to impose big increases on their rates for agricultural goods. Moreover Europe, although still desperately in need of food, was in a position to pay only much lower prices than previously. But are these facts of themselves sufficient to describe the catastrophic price falls that occurred with such suddenness in the middle of 1920 and continued for eighteen months? Mr Shideler does not ignore credit shortage and the policy of the Federal Reserve Board during this period. Indeed he devotes six pages to examining the interpretation which farmers put on monetary policy. But he gives no indication that monetary causes were very close indeed to the heart of the trouble. Rather he blames farmers' organizations for concentrating their attention on a credit "plot," and seeking relief through emergency credit expansion when

they should have been "searching for the causes of the agricultural crisis." The fact that the decision of the Federal Reserve Board to increase the re-discount rate to 7 per cent coincided with the beginning of the fall in prices receives much less attention than its importance deserves. Yet most students of the subject would agree that the tightening of credit had an overriding effect on the course of prices in this period, just as the demonetizing of silver was responsible for the suddenness of the recession in the middle eighteen-seventies.

This is not an exciting book: Steinbeck is much more readable. But there are some interesting features in it. It shows, for instance, that the idea of the 'soil bank' is not so novel as may be thought from the publicity it now receives. As early as 1921 *Wallace's Farmer* was trying to persuade farmers to 'bank' the fertility in the soil by raising less corn and more legumes.

Mr Shideler gives interesting sidelights on some of the chief actors who occupied the agricultural stage at this time. Henry C. Wallace was described by one of his friends as "a natural born gamecock . . . redheaded on his head and in his soul." As Secretary for Agriculture he "lived close to his job and kept farmer hours. He was tautly nervous; the strain of responsibility to farmers during their crisis and exhausting battles within the administration to protect his department were physically wearing." His death in 1924 suggests how near to the truth was this assessment of Wallace.

The quotation which gives Liberty Hyde Bailey's conception of farming, too, is too rare to be lost: "it is the farmer's rare privilege to raise crops and rear animals. The sheer joy of the thing is itself a reward. . . It will be a calamity if we sacrifice this vast reward by insisting so exclusively on a financial or business view of agriculture. By such insistence we shall make the occupation sordid." There was wisdom in erecting one or two other buildings between Bailey Hall and the Farm Management Building on the campus at Cornell!

These pictures stand out from a mass of

rather wearying detail which is unlikely to interest many British historians or agriculturists. But for any one who wishes to refer to the sources of the history of the period, this book is first-rate.

HARWOOD LONG

J. K. STANFORD, *British Friesians: a History of the Breed*. Max Parrish, 1956. 216 pp., illus. 18s. 6d.

Breed histories have a Betjemanesque air about them: they tend to be of a period, with Ampthill lamp posts, the Imperial Institute, and *The Times*. They delight the connoisseur; but have no great significance to the man in the street. They are full of pedigrees of farm livestock which never had practical value; and they are the collected biographies of men who chose dairy bulls only by their shape and stood their beeves hock deep in straw immediately a photographer hove in sight.

Mr Stanford's history of the Friesian breed in Britain has none of this nonsense about it. He approaches the black-and-white cow with a pail in his hand, and judges his stock by yield of milk and not horn shape, by butterfat percentage and not set-on of tail, by calving index and not colouring. His book is, therefore, about the first chronicle of any one breed of stock which is worth its place on the book-shelf, and not in the attic, of the agricultural historian.

The antecedents of the Friesian breed are one of the most tantalizing mysteries in farm history. From what European stock did it evolve; how closely is it related to the dairy cow which was the foundation of the great medieval dairy industry of the Low Countries; when did this type first come into Britain—was it to the monastic farms, or in the sixteenth century, or not until the 'Dutch cow' began to catch the attention of the English farming writers of the late seventeenth century? These, and a dozen more, questions come to mind. Netherlands research has not yet found the answers, nor yet Mr Fussell's work from the British side; and Mr Stanford may therefore be excused for his failure to take these matters any further.

It is certain that Dutch cattle carrying factors of size, high milk yield, and colour marking were in England from at least the time of the Restoration. They had soon afterwards established the prototypical Shorthorn of the north-east coast and a short-lived southern Shorthorn breed in Kent. They moved out from these centres, strengthened by new direct imports, to modify British local stock into the Hereford beef breed, the dual-purpose Longhorn, and the dairy Gloucesters and Ayrshires; and the Low Countries blood also probably influenced indirectly the present Channel Island, Red Poll, and South Devon breeds. There are, therefore, no modern milch breeds in Britain, except the Kerry, which do not stem in greater or lesser degree from Low Countries stock; and only the whole-coloured black and red breeds and the Highlander among beef types have been kept free from any recognizable Low Countries cross.

All this great inpouring into the melting-pot of British bovine stock Mr Stanford only touches upon lightly. The history of the British Friesian as such is his prime concern. This had its first beginnings in Britain about half way through the nineteenth century—rather earlier than Mr Stanford suggests—when a proportion of Dutch cattle imported on the hoof for meat began to be retained on farms. From about 1870 Friesian herds begin to appear, of which the Terling herd of Lord Rayleigh, started about 1890, is the earliest still to survive.

The British Friesian Cattle Society was founded in 1909. It took the Society's first honorary inspectors three years to sort out about 7,000 acceptable animals from the tens of thousands of commercial black-and-whites as foundation stock for the first herd book. The breed was first scheduled at the Royal Show in 1911, and drew a dozen entries; and at the first Terling sale in the same year an average of only £25 8s. a head was returned. The Friesian in Britain was then very much of a cow-keeper's cow. Its present eminence is due mainly to the work of the Breed Society under a succession of shrewd leaders. The

founder of the H.M.V. gramophone business, Mr Trevor Williams, was one of the first of these. In 1912 he was in negotiation with the Ministry of Agriculture for the import of selected new blood from Holland, so that the hotch-potch of black-and-whites could be made into a homogeneous breed. Members of the Society's council themselves financed the first importation of 60 animals, in 1914, from milk-recorded stock in Holland. They cost less than £2,500 and were sold for £15,000—and the handsome windfall was the foundation of the Society's financial stability.

Four years later the first 2,000-galloner appeared—Eske Hetty, bred by Lord Rayleigh from an ancestry which was “shrouded in mystery.” Performances of this calibre, and the post-war boom, caused prices to rise to fantastic heights; in 1919 four animals from the Rayleigh stud made £14,385. The excitements of these days are brought out well in this book, with vivid anecdote and a judicious selection of detail. Mr Stanford, unlike earlier historians of other breeds, is also candid about the Society's failures and the breed's shortcomings.

Despite a few setbacks, the Friesians could by 1925 boast six 3,000-galloners; and by then over 160 animals in the breed had passed the 2,000-gallon yield mark, against only sixteen in all the other breeds in Britain put together. The supremacy of the British Friesian as a milk producer was now unchallenged; and it had been achieved in less than two decades of work by the breed Society and in little more than a generation's work by breeders. With such a subject Mr Stanford could hardly have failed to do justice to a piece of rural history as impelling as any in the long story of British agriculture.

R. TROW-SMITH

P. M. SYNGE and Miss G. E. PETERSON, eds., *The Fruit Year Book, 1958*. Royal Horticultural Society, 1957. 176 pp., illus. 10s. The 1958 edition of *The Fruit Year Book* maintains the high standard of production of previous numbers at the same very reasonable price. In addition to covering topics of

interest to amateur and commercial fruit-growers this edition contains several articles of a historical nature.

In ‘John Laurence and his pears’ Professor H. W. Miles describes the fruit-growing activities in the early eighteenth century of this enthusiastic clergyman, who, like many of the same calling since, did much by his example and writings to encourage the art of gardening. He published *The Clergyman's Recreation* in 1714 and *The Gentleman's Recreation* in 1716, and the charming frontispiece of the latter book is reproduced here. Professor Miles points out that Laurence's list of varieties of pears contains a few still occasionally to be found today.

The Rev. C. L. Dunkerley writing on ‘Some notable nineteenth-century English fruit books’ places Ronald's *Pyrus Malus Brentfordiensis*, published in 1831, as marking “the end of an age of great and glorious fruit books”—those lavishly illustrated “pomona” costing at the time anything from thirty to fifty guineas each. Books produced in the period from 1831 to 1865 were written for a less exclusive and more technically minded public, but, nevertheless, writers like Charles McIntosh and Benjamin Maund, whose works are described here, also illustrated their books with beautiful engravings coloured by hand. Three of these are reproduced in the *Year Book*. Mr Dunkerley expresses some surprise that McIntosh should refer so freely to Latin and Greek authors, and attributes this to the fact that Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* had been published only a few years previously. The practice of reproducing classical advice on gardening, however, was indulged in by only too many writers of horticultural books from Thomas Hyll (1563) onwards.

The Gardener's and Forester's Record, a monthly publication of the 1830's, is the subject of a short note by H. H. Crane. We are told that this periodical, also illustrated with hand-coloured engravings was originally published at 6d. per copy!

Many horticultural crops suffer from the dictates of fashion and wax and wane in

popularity in an unpredictable way. Miss B. A. Rake in 'The history of gooseberries in England' describes how this fruit, not very popular today, was the subject of tremendous enthusiasm in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when members of Gooseberry Clubs were actively engaged in breeding more and more new varieties. By 1831 there were 722 varieties in existence.

The history of such a popular domestic fruit as the apple, which, as stated by C. S. Gundry in 'The evolution of apple growing in England', can be traced for at least 2,000 years, must inevitably have social implications of a much wider nature. Mr Gundry compresses a great deal of information into his essay which covers the whole of this period, and it is to be hoped that he will have the opportunity of continuing and expanding this work. Apple growing represents a highly developed skill, particularly in the propagation of the trees by grafting, a practice which was certainly known to the Romans. Mr Gundry is perhaps over cautious in stating in reference to the fifteenth century that "it can be assumed that this operation was commonly used *even* in those days." Grafting was practised by Brithnod, first Abbot of Ely, towards the end of the tenth century, and it is a matter of speculation whether or not such skills were really lost for any length of time during the period following the departure of the Romans from this country. One would like to know much more about the standard of horticultural practices during pre-Norman and early medieval times.

R. R. Williams contributes some historical notes on perry pears, those ancient, great pear trees which are such a feature of Herefordshire and other west midland counties even at the present day. Mr Williams recounts some of the delightful names of these old varieties; Merrylegs, Mumblehead, Lumberskull, and others with a flavour evocative of the eighteenth century, when indeed some of the existing trees were planted. He makes a plea for the revival of interest in this fruit and its end-product.

All of these articles make enjoyable reading, and it is to be regretted that *The Fruit Year Book* is now emulating the biennial habit of some of our well-known apple varieties.

WINIFRED M. DULLFORCE

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS RESEARCH INSTITUTE. *The Agricultural Register*. New Series, *Changes in the Economic Pattern*, 1956-7. Oxford University Press. 234 pp. 21s.

Twenty years ago the Agricultural Economics Research Institute under Dr Orwin published six annual volumes of the *Agricultural Register* which provided in a compact form all the facts that any one was likely to need on the output, prices, legislation, and administration of British farming. In 1953 and 1954 a series of supplements to the *Farm Economist* contained similar information for the major products (excluding milk) over the intervening years of war and post-war planning. Under Mr Colin Clark the Institute has now resumed the pre-war pattern with a volume dealing roughly with the two price reviews of 1956 and 1957 and the year between. Separate chapters deal with the development of agricultural policy; the changes in output of the principal commodities, the activities of the various marketing boards and imports of competing supplies; the negotiations over the European free trade area, the common market and G.A.T.T.; agricultural workers and wages; rents, land values, and credit; the prices and supplies of other inputs, and the various grants in aid of production. The text is mainly a commentary on the ninety-two statistical tables, supplemented by summaries of current legislation. The authors are to be congratulated on their clear and concise exposition and the price is remarkably moderate for a book containing so much tabular matter. The absence of references no doubt helped to make possible this low price but nevertheless detracts rather from the usefulness of this undoubtedly useful work of reference.

EDITH H. WHETHAM

ANDREAS HOLMSEN, HALVARD BJÖRKVIK, and RIGMOR FRIMANNSLUND, *The Old Norwegian Peasant Community*. Reprint from *The Scandinavian Economic History Review*, Uppsala, 1956. 82 pp.

The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, founded in Oslo in 1922, here makes available the first fruits of a part of its work in three very readable papers in English. They are a general survey and historical introduction by Professor Andreas Holmsen; an account of farmsteads, villages, field systems, and ownership by Halvard Björkvik, and a paper on farm community and neighbourhood community by Rigmor Frimannslund. The two latter papers are largely based on material from western Norway where older social and farming patterns linger in communities isolated by difficult physical conditions. The Oslo institute is accumulating by questionnaire and field study a wealth of material which is the envy of less well-endowed institutions in western Europe. These papers indicate its scope and progress and summarize and analyse a portion of it. The papers describe and explain the lay-out of fjord-side farms and fields. They provide interesting contrasts with farming communities in less harsh European environments and are a pattern for local study everywhere. The excellent text figures include line drawings by Arne Berg in which settlements of 1880 are reconstructed in elevation. Line drawings of this type, a feature of Irish folk-life studies, could be more widely used to illuminate, and replace, some of the detail now used to describe farms and fields and folk.

MARGARET DAVIES

D. R. DENMAN, *Origins of Ownership*. Allen and Unwin, 1958. 190 pp. 22s. 6d.

The subtitle of this book describes its content. It is a "brief history of landownership and tenure from earliest times to the modern era," that is from Prehistory (Cap. I) through Roman Britain, Old England, and the Norman Kings (II-IV) to the Middle Ages (V-VI). There is a separate chapter on Land

in the Boroughs (VII). The book is a synthesis of considerable reading over a very wide field, and its peculiar virtue is that it brings together conclusions of social, economic, and legal historians, and is written for none or for all of them. Thus the medieval (and modern) lawyer's strict division of tenures and his insistence on uncertainty as the true test of villeinage are exposed as not fitting the facts of medieval life; at all times an attempt is made to get at the reasons for change and development in the law. So much has been compressed into a small book that there is some obscurity. *Alodiarii*, *bordarii*, and *cotarii* make sudden entrances and exits—who were they? The assizes of novel disseisin and mort d'ancestor occur without explanation. The definitions of primer seisin, escheat, and forfeiture are very odd. Complex issues are presented fairly, yet with such metaphoric brevity that the reader may be better informed but cannot be wiser. Exceptionally, the reasons for making Domesday and the development of sales of works to bond tenants are discussed at sufficient length to arouse interest and send the beginner to the bibliographies.

This is, in short, an interesting and a puzzling book. The aim of the author, as stated in his preface, is "by dealing with the historical development of fundamental principles of proprietorship, to review briefly the stories" about "the origins of land ownership in England;" and to "draw them together in a single narrative." There is vagueness in this. What are "the fundamental principles of proprietorship;" what is meant by "ownership"? These basic questions are nowhere discussed; there is no general introduction and no conclusion. There are, rarely, broad statements: "the lord's interest, his *seignory*, is not absolute ownership. It is not ownership under the omniscient will of the lord, within the grace of which the tenant is granted sanction of occupation. The tenant's interest, his *feudum*, is truly ownership" (p. 80). The meaning is not wholly clear, but certainly the bald assertion that the *feudum* is truly ownership must sound strange to any one acquainted

ted with jurisprudence and the *dominium* of Roman Law. To a lawyer the truth of this contention depends on the nature of the claim, or the result of success, in a real action brought by the tenant of such a *feudum*. It is, of course, important to know what were the social and economic facts as well as what were the legal rights of those who had interests in land, but these legal rights have to be considered, and it is not enough to say that the early common law "is not judge-made law; it is revealed law" (p. 107). The substantive common law of land depended on the writ system and the judges who enforced the writs. Without a writ to defend his possession or assert his claim to land, a man was powerless at law. Many writs were based on a seisin by the claimant or his ancestor. To exclude the writs and to give half a page to seisin is to make impossible any analysis of ownership in early English law.

There remains a stimulating survey of landholding in town and country for which beginners will be grateful and in which those who are further advanced will find much of interest. To lawyers in particular the wide sweep of the work should be a salutary reminder of the narrowness of conventional legal history.

G. D. G. HALL

AGRONOMISCH-HISTORISCHE BIJDRAGEN, published by the Studiekring voor Geschiedenis van de Landbouw. Vol. IV containing (1) Ir. W. J. Dewez, *De Landbouw in Brabant's Westhoek in het midden van de achttiende eeuw*; (2) Prof. B. H. Slicher van Bath, *Een Fries Landbouwbedrijf in de tweede helfte van de zestiende eeuw*. H. Veenman & Zonen, Wageningen, 1958. viii+208 pp. (No price stated.)

These two studies, combined with that of J. A. Kuperus, *Resultaten van een Groninger Landbouwbedrijf (1832-1876)* published in vol. III of *Historia Agriculturae*, provide a general outline of the work done and the results obtained in three areas of Holland during three centuries. All are based on original documents.

The sixteenth-century material used by

Prof. Slicher is an account book kept by Rienck Hemmema from 1 May 1569 to 31 December 1573, which is very completely analysed in a careful introduction, followed by a transcript of the text. It is a detailed document that compares favourably with Robert Loder's *Farm Accounts* and with the *Account Book of a Kentish Estate*, both relating to English farming in the seventeenth century. The methods of working the arable land are discussed, the general routine being a rotation of cereals and pulse, either alternately or two crops of grain followed by pulse, as dictated by the fluctuations of price. The animal husbandry, which included dairy work, is equally clear. The economics of the holding disclose the labour employed and wages paid, and the domestic conditions. Since the work was done in time of war the document is quite remarkable.

The basis of Ir. Dewez's essay is a report on the leaseholds of a number of tenants in Brabant's Westhoek made by Johan Dingemans in 1740. The tenants were heavily in debt to their landlord, and the report provides material showing the size of holdings, the use of the land as between arable and grassland, the crops grown on the arable, the maintenance of the grassland, and the purposes for which the cattle were kept, e.g., for milk or beef and manure production, and the kinds of livestock, horses, pigs, sheep, and poultry carried. One interesting point that emerges is that there has been comparatively little change in the number and size of holdings in the area from the date of this report until modern times. The cereal crops grown were mainly wheat, barley, and oats, and there was some clover and artificial grass. Fodder crops were beans, peas, and buckwheat. A few potatoes were grown. Industrial crops were madder, coleseed, and flax, but these do not seem to have been grown on a large scale. The fallow still came round regularly in the rotation, but clover and artificial grass had already taken the place of a proportion of it. Possibly the farmers had changed the old three-course for a six-course by using the second fallow to grow clover, artificial grass, and buckwheat.

Horses were bred in some numbers. The maintenance of cows was calculated at 1.3 per hectare, not very different from the English standard of that date. Little information can be gathered about pigs, which were probably mainly used for domestic consumption. The results show that the net income was very small. Prices were low, and rents high.

These two studies are a welcome addition to our knowledge of the history of Dutch farming.

G. E. FUSSELL

B. H. SLICHER VAN BATH, *Een Samenleving onder Spanning* (A society in tension). *Geschiedenis van het platteland in Overijssel*. Vol. 1. *Historische Sociografieën van het Platteland*. Van Gorcum & Co., N.V., Assen, Holland, 1957. x+768 pp., illus. Hfl. 25.

Holland is a small country, and Overijssel is one of its provinces. As the title of the series indicates, this study is devoted mainly to the social and economic history of this province from the early middle ages to the present day. Careful studies of such localities are important in their bearing upon wider areas of social history. It could not, of course, neglect the development of agriculture, which is a fundamental; but the tension arose when the population increased more rapidly than the area of cultivable land could be expanded with the contemporary means available.

Different parts of the country were affected differently at different dates. Already in Carolingian times and the following centuries there was some urban settlement in Deventer, Oldenzaal, Ootmarsum, and Goor, but this characteristic development became more marked in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The large-scale peasant farmers formed the oldest kernel of population, for it is clear that the Salland district to the west of Zwollerkerispel, the High Shrievalty of Hasselt, and the whole of Vollenhove were very thinly populated in the early middle ages. The oldest settlements were on the Salland and Twente sand land and the river clay along the banks of the river IJssel. The pre-con-

quest population here was not, however, so dense as that in England, but was about double that of the Mosel between Coblenz and Trier. Professor Slicher shows that right down to A.D. 1250 Overijssel was in fact rather underpopulated.

He points out that the thirteenth century was a time of prosperity all over Western Europe, coupled with a large increase of population. Overijssel followed the same pattern. It was during this period that a class of *keuters* (crofters), people with no hereditary or semi-hereditary rights to land occupation, appeared. It was in this century that the moorland of Vollenhove was settled. The population here were cattle breeders, fishers, and barge crews. These occupations were so different from arable farming that the settlers came from Friesland and elsewhere. Though there was probably little or no over-population in the sand land by 1475, there was a density of 16.06 persons per square kilometre as against 5.1 before 1200 over all Overijssel. During the following two centuries this figure rose to 21.30. The appearance of the *keuters* and the beginnings of the textile and turf-cutting industries are perhaps sufficiently explained by this large increase in population.

Professor Slicher has tabulated the further developments as heavy over-population and the growth of industry between 1650 and 1815: a reversion to farming with progressive methods from 1815 to 1890, with no over-population; and from 1890 to the present day the rise of farming to greater importance in the economy of the province than industry, with a consequent agrarian over-population. It seems that the term over-population is used in the sense of a number of people greater than could be provided with food from the available land surface.

Between 1675 and 1755 the possibilities of expanding the cultivated area were slight, and the arable farmers suffered through low grain prices. The area cultivated was also restricted by the scarcity of manure, the supplies of *plaggenbemesting* (turf manure), and other factors such as the decline in cattle numbers through losses by disease. The result was that

the expansion of the arable area did not keep pace with the population. Insufficient food was produced and the weavers in Almelo, for example, reduced to poverty, became slack and spineless. But the outbreaks of cattle disease resulted in an extension of grain-growing. The wars of the eighteenth century brought a temporarily renewed prosperity to the textile industry, but an industrial crisis after 1760 affected both that occupation and the turf-digging of Vollenhove. Other industries there were none, and poverty increased very largely. A desperate population took refuge in a large consumption of alcohol, in Holland brandy as in England it had used gin. After 1760, however, grain prices rose again, but not wages. The only bright spot in the general gloom of poverty was the agricultural improvement that took place after 1760.

The potato was introduced in the second half of the eighteenth century, and was used both as food for the poor, and for cattle feed. Buckwheat was another important new crop. It had been known in the fifteenth century, but its great expansion took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was grown for cattle feed on burned-over heath land. Most important of all was the better type of cattle bred as the ravages of disease were being restored, and these gave larger supplies of animal manure to supplement the turf, and added nitrogen to the soil. Both cows and pigs increased in number in the early nineteenth century. The improvement of the cultivated land included better grassland so that grazing cows on the commons became less necessary, and controlled breeding simple.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of prosperity. There was less potato disease in Overijssel than in other parts of Europe, and this meant good fortune for the growers. By 1850 Overijssel was less industrial than in 1795. Then came the agricultural crisis of the later years. The spirit of reclamation declined. After 1889 urbanization took pride of place, especially in Twente. The introduction of steam power to the textile industry about 1860 was an important factor

here, and a second industrial period began. It was the fourth phase in the course of development: first agriculture, then domestic industry, next renewed and improved farming, and finally factory industry.

This book is a pioneer work, and all that it is possible to do is to give some indication of its contents. Professor Slicher has been fortunate in the wealth of new sources he has been able to consult, and he has made ample use of them. The study is very detailed and deserves to be read with attention. It has a good deal to tell us, by implication if not by specific statement, of how men met the consequences of their own increase in one small area of the earth's surface. It however presents some difficulties for English readers unless a large-scale map of the province is used; at least that is what I have found.

G. E. FUSSELL

Report of the Royal Commission on Common Land, 1955-1958, Cmnd. 462, H.M.S.O., 1958. viii+284 pp., illus. 14s.

Authoritative accounts of the common land of England and Wales are all too rare, and much of the available information is difficult of access. Hence the publication of this Royal Commission Report will be widely welcomed. An official report, it nevertheless makes absorbing reading. It deals with such common land as remains today, that is, largely unenclosed commons or open pasture, and some common meadows. In the first six chapters, status, ownership, management and use, and the necessary safeguards are among the matters reviewed, and these are followed by two chapters setting out the recommendations. The second half of the volume consists of Appendices of great interest.

In Appendix II, 'History of Common Land and Common Rights', Dr W. G. Hoskins deals with the subject historically from the earliest times, and his division of the history of commons into six main periods is illuminating, and provides a masterly key to their story. He looks briefly at the open arable fields only in so far as their history is linked with the expansion or contraction of the commons. The

agricultural historian will turn to this succinct account with gratitude.

Appendix III, 'Some Legal Problems', by Sir Ivor Jennings, traces these problems back to numerous Commons Acts and to other Acts dealing with inclosure and property, as well as to custom and common law. In doing so, he underlines the extraordinary complexity of the legal position today.

Several tables and two maps summarize the distribution of common land in 1873 and 1956-8 by counties. The information is amplified by Professor L. Dudley Stamp in Appendix IV, 'The Geographical Distribution of Common Land'. In eighty-three pages he brings together largely unpublished material, the fruits of extensive enquiries in every county in England and Wales. The treatment is by counties grouped in five regional blocks, and many features of interest are brought out: for example, the geological basis of the distribution of the surviving commons, which are, after all, largely residual; the difficulties of management; the variations in utilization; the differences between English and Welsh commons; and, most striking, the discrepancies between the returns for commons acreage in 1873 and 1956-8, and between these and the area of rough grazing at both dates.

As the Report makes amply clear, the one and a half million acres of common land which survive today are fraught with problems of every kind: problems of ownership, of forgotten or disputed rights, of ancient claims and customs, and of the incompatibility of time-honoured rights and new demands. Historic uses like grazing, estovers, and turbary, are frequently at variance with the present need to expand our home timber supplies, to erect electric pylons, to develop water catchment areas, and to provide space for the recreation of large urban populations. Thus drainage, quarrying, and mining, housing programmes, increasing food production, green belts, and many other familiar matters are associated with the question of what we are to do with the remaining commons and whether they are, in fact, to be regarded as outmoded remnants of a vanishing system of

communal farming or to be valued as "unique as a reservoir of land which has not been fully exploited."

It is, significantly, to the latter view that the Commission leans. As is rightly pointed out, the value of the commons and the needs of the public today are utterly different from those of a century ago, so a century and more hence they are likely to be different again. Hence the need to regard the commons as both a heritage from the past enshrining much of ancient custom and historic interest, and as a trust to be wisely administered both for today and tomorrow. The recommendations stress the need for registering and mapping all common land, for safeguarding existing rights, ensuring public access, and at the same time allowing for development or improvement schemes for projects of national or regional importance.

There is no doubt as to the timeliness of this volume. The need for a clarification of the position and the formulation of a realistic policy was urgent. In conducting these enquiries, the Commission has weighed a vast amount of evidence, pondered innumerable problems, and made valuable recommendations. It has also produced a Report which is likely to remain a standard work on the subject for many years to come, and at the same time to act as a stimulus for the further research which our common lands still merit.

DOROTHY SYLVESTER

DOROTHY SYLVESTER and GEOFFREY NULTY (eds.), *The Historical Atlas of Cheshire*. Cheshire Community Council, 53 Watergate Row, Chester; 1958. viii+64 pp. 10s. 6d.

It will be a thousand pities if the circulation of this atlas is limited to the county of origin, for it contains material of great interest to all students of English local history. Readers of this REVIEW, in particular, should be grateful for the maps illustrating the distribution of open arable and common meadow, the selection of rural plans, and the three Domesday maps of (a) wastes and woodlands, (b) manorial population, (c) agriculture and industry.

It has taken nearly six years to collect the information embodied in the atlas, and the result constitutes an example which other counties will do well to follow. The editors hint at the possibility of a second volume. If this is forthcoming, one may hope that the lettering of the maps will be brought into closer conformity with Ordnance Survey standards. In all other respects the atlas is extremely well presented. The Cheshire Community Council deserves the gratitude of students for making it available at so modest a price.

H. P. R. FINBERG

E. W. MARTIN, *Where London Ends: English Provincial Life after 1750*. Phoenix House, 1958. 312 pp., illus. 30s.

This is a polemical, nostalgic, pretentious book. It is polemical because the purpose of the material that Mr Martin has collected on local government, religion, education, medicine, and the press is to point his argument that the country town has something valuable to contribute to English life as a counterbalance to the 'metropolitanism' of London and the big industrial cities, and not just to give an account of English provincial life since 1750. It is nostalgic because Mr Martin looks back to a time when towns were small and agriculture and industry "blended." He wants what he calls his two divisions of England to draw nearer together in amity and understanding till they achieve Charles Kingsley's ideal of "a complete interpenetration of city and country, a complete fusion of their different modes of life, and a confirmation of the advantages of both, such as no country in the world has ever seen." Or is ever likely to see, might well be the comment. For such a view is unhistorical. We certainly need to know more about the history—and sociology—of towns. Nevertheless there is no denying the stagnation or shrinkage of most of the small market towns which find favour in Mr Martin's eyes. And of recent years the criticism of the 'garden city' idea, which might provide one practical expression of them, has been growing. At the same time he does less than justice to the contribution the

large industrial cities make to cultural life. Nasty as they seem to Mr Martin living in his Devon village, the large industrial towns, and particularly London, continue to expand because of what they positively have to offer. They offer different attractions from the small market town but not necessarily inferior ones. Privacy may be preferred to neighbourliness. Mr Martin's case is pretentiously presented in inelegant prose with an ostentatious parade of authorities and a misleading series of references. For the general reader this may not matter, but it should not pass without comment in a scholarly journal. It is impossible to trace quotations, because no page references are given, and *op. cit.*'s and *ibid.*'s abound. For example, "Smailes, *op. cit.*" appears on p. 117, but the title of the book is given more than sixty pages earlier on p. 41. In any competition for titles which best obscure the contents of the books they adorn, Mr Martin, with *Where London Ends* to follow *The Secret People*, must be well in the lead. The serious student of agrarian history will find little in Mr Martin's book to repay his effort in reading it, but it will lend confidence to those who already share the author's views.

W. E. MINCHINTON

W. D. PARISH and HELENA HALL, *A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect and Collection of Provincialisms in use in the County of Sussex*.

R. J. Acford, Industrial Estate, Chichester, 1957. xxii+186 pp., illus. 35s.

The Rev. W. D. Parish, vicar of Selmeston (pronounced 'Simpson'), published *A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect* in 1875; it has long been out of print, and Miss Helena Hall, who with her brother had for many years collected additional material, has now incorporated the whole of Parish's work, including the delightful anecdotes with which he illustrated the Sussex use of words, in this much extended *Dictionary*, adding to its value with numerous thumb-nail sketches, mostly of agricultural implements. It is a remarkable achievement for one now in her eighties—an age the more noteworthy when we read the item—"Snotty-gog. A yew berry or fruit. As

children we used to eat them, expelling the pips." Possibly the poison of the yew is confined to the pips and foliage; but few people would have commended its berries as food for children.

Both Parish and Miss Hall have realized the impossibility of completely segregating 'Sussex' words; many of the words here given are found not only in neighbouring counties but in distant parts of the country. They are, however, all non-dictionary words which have been noted in use in Sussex. In one instance, however, Miss Hall leans over the other way. After describing 'Rides'—the doorband part of a hinge, which rides on the 'hook'—she adds, "Really a technical term and not provincial." But it is both; for, at any rate down to the seventeenth century, 'hooks and rides' was a term confined to Sussex and Kent. The local names for birds and flowers, and for the typically Sussex product of mud (gawm, gubber, slub, stuggy, clodgy, etc.) are fascinating; and if 'rebellious' for bilious and 'collapse of the sun' for eclipse are idiosyncratic rather than provincial, they show the countryman's determination to be the master and not the servant of words. A delightful appendix of Sussex Sayings and Crafts completes this remarkable book and includes recipes for various Sussex dishes, such as 'Plumeavies'—though personally I maintain that they should be cut square and not round.

L. F. SALZMAN

JOAN THIRSK and JEAN IMRAY (eds.), *Suffolk Farming in the Nineteenth Century*. Suffolk Records Society, Vol. 1. County Hall, Ipswich. 178 pp. 30s.

This first publication of the Suffolk Records Society consists of a memoir of V. B. Redstone and Miss L. J. Redstone, who played a large part in the establishment of the record offices in Bury and Ipswich; an essay of some twenty pages on Suffolk Farming in the Nineteenth Century; and a hundred and thirty-three pages of extracts from record material, mainly from the East or West Suffolk County Record Offices and private owners.

Mrs Thirsk's essay, in extremely readable

style, is adequate, but tends to perpetuate the conventional outline of nineteenth-century agricultural history interlarded with Suffolk examples. It does not, and probably in the space and time available could not, set out to be a penetrating study of the agriculture of the county within the period.

One must, however, question the value of devoting so much space to the reproduction of extracts from record material. Some are entertaining, some by themselves of interest, but, simply because they are extracts, few can be of use to the serious student. There cannot really be much justification at a time when publication costs are so high for devoting a complete volume to a kind of pot-pourri reflecting on the general fortunes of agriculture in the county. Indeed, at the best the documents are expanded footnotes to the essay.

If there had been available one kind of material as extensive, say, as Robert Loder's *Farm Accounts* (Camden Society, Third Series, LIII), then there might have been justification for editing and publishing a substantial part of it. Much of the material in the extracts is of the kind we should expect to find in county record offices or among estate papers (letters about rent reduction, specifications of cottages, negotiations for a lease or the premiums offered by the East Suffolk Agricultural Association in 1849). Others, such as extracts from a Select Committee of Evidence or Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, come from published sources.

From the material which Mrs Thirsk and Miss Imray have gathered together it is clear that there exists in the county a wealth of material for a really comprehensive study of Suffolk Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century. The present volume cannot be described as more than a well-produced appetite whetter, or, to borrow a term from the cinema, a 'trailer'.

It is sad not to speak better of it, for the Suffolk Records Society is the first to be founded by voluntary subscription since the war and sets in this first volume a high and worthy standard of book-production.

J. W. Y. HIGGS

H. C. PAWSON, *Robert Bakewell*. Crosby Lockwood, 1957. viii+200 pp., illus. 25s.

Robert Bakewell is accepted as one of the great pioneers of livestock farming, and would appear to provide an ideal subject for a biography. Professor Pawson has obviously had a keen interest in the Leicestershire breeder for many years and it is largely thanks to his efforts that a collection of letters from Bakewell to George Culley was discovered and is now lodged at King's College, Newcastle. The second half of this book consists of a transcript of these and other letters, a valuable primary source for agricultural historians. They contain conclusive proof of Bakewell's bankruptcy and reveal many interesting aspects of his character, breeding methods, and business outlook. The prices he got for hiring his rams were notoriously high, but he certainly would not have agreed with modern breeders who publicize high prices as a good advertisement; he believed that "talking of prices rather harms the cause, for if some People can not have the Best they will not have another . . . therefore I think the less said of it the better."

The first part of the book is a long essay giving the main details of Bakewell's life and some account of his breeding methods. Professor Cooper contributes a present-day valuation of his work, suggesting that its major feature was the development of the progeny test as the basis of a selection programme.

Although this book is a useful addition to our knowledge of Bakewell, it is not a complete or definitive biography—and was not probably intended to be. It is to be hoped, however, that it will encourage the publication of authoritative biographies of other outstanding agriculturalists, for these can provide invaluable contributions to our understanding of agrarian history and usually have a wider reading appeal than general histories. An essential feature of such biographies, however, should be to help us to understand, not only how a particular individual succeeded in solving certain problems, but why such problems had become of universal importance at the relevant time. A little more historic per-

spective would have made this book on Bakewell even more useful.

GEORGE HOUSTON

J. F. SMITHCORS, *Evolution of the Veterinary Art. A narrative account to 1850*. Veterinary Medicine Publishing Co., Kansas City, Miss., 1957. \$6.50.

This is the first comprehensive study of the history of veterinary medicine to appear since the vast work of Major-General Sir Frederick Smith, the final volume of which was published in 1933. (His name is rather oddly given in the bibliography as Smith, F.) It is by so much the more welcome. Naturally it owes a great deal to Sir Frederick, and unfortunately it accepts some of his dogma rather uncritically.

It is easy to do so. Perhaps the most difficult thing for a writer of technical or scientific history is to project himself into the mental atmosphere of an earlier time. Sir Frederick was certainly not able to do this. Markham and Mascall, writing in the early seventeenth century, were obviously ignorant compared with their twentieth-century successors, but Smith condemns them out of hand as ignorant quacks, and Mr Smithcors follows suit. No doubt they were when judged by the measure of modern knowledge, and truly some of their suggested cures were barbarous and disgusting, but they were men of their own time, and they, like the rest of us, were confined within the restricted boundaries of contemporary science. It is insufficient to dismiss them for this reason.

On the other hand, Mr Smithcors is inclined to attribute modern knowledge to much more ancient writers. For example, on p. 124 he infers that the Welsh knew before the Norman Conquest that liver fluke infestation was caused by grazing wet herbage where the snail host had its habitat. In his discussion of ancient Egyptian, Vedic, and Chinese writings he has taken a similar line. He believes that these ancients possessed elements of modern knowledge, and this may, in fact, be due to his interpretation of their writings in the light of modern science rather than

their actual content. Similar conclusions have been reached by writers in other fields, and must be received with equal reserve.

The literature of the more modern period is more accessible, and possibly more generally known, and, despite his frequent reliance upon and acceptance of Sir Frederick Smith's judgements, Mr Smithcours easily unravels the tangled skein of development. Many ancient errors were perpetuated until the nineteenth century, and much of the treatment of animal disease was left in the hands of ignorant farriers, horse leeches, and cow doctors who relied upon traditional methods, which seem to us blatantly ill-judged, even cruel, and often much worse than the disease.

The modern science of veterinary medicine may perhaps be said to have been founded by the horse anatomy of Ruini, and it developed slowly during the eighteenth century, though practice lagged far behind theory. The elementary job of shoeing was often badly done,

and the horse's hooves mutilated before the shoe was nailed on. Most of the writers on the subject, too, were shameless plagiarists. With the founding of the French veterinary schools improvements began to be made. The establishment of the London and Edinburgh colleges followed nearly half a century later, and from that time progress has continued, though at first it was not all that had been expected.

The book, like others of its type, is a useful summary of the subject, and has the merit of being written by a modern scientist, but here and there it is marred by a lamentable facetiousness, which seems inappropriate in a serious treatise. This should be eliminated in any future edition. It would also be improved by the expression of a more personal judgement, and less reliance upon authority. Nevertheless it is convenient to have such a work at hand, and, if used with discretion, it forms a useful work of reference.

G. E. FUSSELL

Letter to the Editor

SIR,—Thanks to the kindness of Lord Spencer in making me free of the Muniment Room at Althorp, I have for some time past been studying the farming activities of the third Earl Spencer, founder of the Royal Agricultural Society. In one of his Cattle Books under date 19 October 1834 is the entry:

"I find that out of 232 calves bred from alloy cows 138 were breeding heifers. But that out of 224 calves bred from cows not having my alloy 101 were breeding heifers. It seems therefore that it is rather more than 6 to 5

in favour of a bull calf from a cow not having alloy, but 23 to 19 in favour of a heifer from a cow having alloy."

Nowhere else in his papers is this alloy mentioned and it is not the subject of any of his articles published in the Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society.

Can any of your readers suggest what it was or tell me of any source where further information about it might be found?

Yours faithfully,

E. H. WYNDHAM

Caversfield, Bicester.

*Photo-reprint by The Broadwater Press Limited, Welwyn Garden City,
Hertfordshire, England.*

The **AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW**



VOLUME VII 1959

PART II

*

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Livestock in the Brehon Laws

by J. O'LOAN

*

Statistics of Sheep in Medieval England

by REGINALD LENNARD

*

Enclosure in Kesteven

by DENNIS R. MILLS

*

Agricultural Rent in South-East England, 1788-1825

by H. G. HUNT

PUBLISHED BY
THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW

VOLUME VII PART 2 • 1959

CONTENTS

Livestock in the Brehon Laws	J. O'Loan	page 65
Statistics of Sheep in Medieval England	Reginald Lennard	75
Enclosure in Kesteven	Dennis R. Mills	82
Agricultural Rent in South-East England, 1788-1825	H. G. Hunt	98
Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Devon	Duncan Mitchell	108
Work in Progress	Joan Thirsk	110
Reviews:		
<i>Peasant Society and Culture</i> , by Robert Redfield	E. E. Evans	121
<i>Medieval England</i> , ed. A. L. Poole	H. P. R. Finberg	121
<i>The New Cambridge Modern History</i> . Vol. II: The Reformation, ed. G. R. Elton	E. A. L. Moir	122
<i>The Royal Forest of Lancaster</i> , by R. Cunliffe Shaw	Joan Thirsk	123
<i>Valley on the March. A History of a Group of Manors on the Herefordshire March of Wales</i> , by Lord Rennell of Rodd	R. H. Hilton	124
<i>Customs of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson	F. R. H. Du Boulay	125
<i>The Country Craftsman: A Study of some Rural Crafts and the Rural Industries Organization in England</i> , by W. M. Williams	W. G. Hoskins	127
<i>Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise and the Formal Garden</i> , by David Green	J. W. Y. Higgs	128
Notes and Comments		74, 97
Notes on Contributors		81

THE
Agricultural History Review

Volumes VI & VII
1958-9



PUBLISHED BY
THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY
SOCIETY

*Printed at The Broadwater Press
Welwyn Garden City, Herts.*

CONTENTS

Volume VI

Cistercian Sheep-Farming and Wool-Sales in the Thirteenth Century	<i>R. A. Donkin</i>	page 2
The Common Fields of the Coastlands of Gwent	<i>Dorothy Sylvester</i>	9
Labour Relations in Scottish Agriculture before 1870	<i>George Houston</i>	27
List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since September 1956	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	42
Agriculture in Roman Britain	<i>Shimon Applebaum</i>	66
The East Anglian Foldcourse: Some Queries	<i>Alan Simpson</i>	87
The Lost Village and the Landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds	<i>Alan Harris</i>	97
Work in Progress	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	101
Book Reviews:		
<i>A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700</i> , by Robert Trow-Smith	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	54
<i>English Peasant Farming: the Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times</i> , by Joan Thirsk	<i>R. Trow-Smith</i>	55
<i>Oats: their Cultivation and Use from Ancient Times to the Present Day</i> , by William M. Findlay	<i>R. Trow-Smith</i>	58
<i>The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England</i> , by G. A. Holmes	<i>R. H. Hilton</i>	59
<i>The Common Lands of Hampshire</i> , by L. Ellis Tavener	<i>J. D. Chambers</i>	59
<i>The Midland Peasant</i> , by W. G. Hoskins	<i>F. R. H. Du Boulay</i>	60
<i>Rural Depopulation in England and Wales</i> , by John Saville	<i>Edith H. Whetham</i>	61
<i>The Carrington Diary</i> , by W. Branch-Johnson	<i>J. W. Y. Higgs</i>	62
<i>Irish Folk Ways</i> , by E. Estyn Evans	<i>John Moge</i>	63
<i>Ocherki kolonizatsii zapadnogo Urala v XVII-nachale XVIII v</i> , by A. A. Preobrazhenskii	<i>R. E. F. Smith</i>	114
<i>Ocherki po istorii zemledelii Sibiri, XVII vek</i> , by V. I. Shunkov	<i>R. E. F. Smith</i>	114
<i>Changing Patterns in Israel Agriculture</i> , by Haim Halperin	<i>G. P. Hirsch</i>	115
<i>Medieval England, an Aerial Survey</i> , by M. W. Beresford and J. K. S. St Joseph	<i>H. P. R. Finberg</i>	116
<i>History of the County of Oxford</i> , Vol. v, ed. Mary D. Lobel	<i>Geoffrey Martin</i>	117
<i>Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française</i> , ed. Robert Dauvergne	<i>Margaret Davies</i>	118
<i>History of Dairy Journalism in the United States</i> , by John T. Schlebecker and Andrew W. Hopkins	<i>A. W. Marsden</i>	119
Notes and Comments	26, 41, 51, 86, 96	
Notes on Contributors	8, 128	
Letters to the Editor	52, 53, 111	
Members of the British Agricultural History Society	120	

CONTENTS
Volume VII

The Animal Remains found at Kirkstall Abbey	<i>M. L. Ryder</i>	page 1
Some Agricultural History Salvaged	<i>H. Cecil Pawson</i>	6
The Tithe Surveys of the Mid-Nineteenth Century	<i>H. C. Prince</i>	14
Plough Rituals in England and Scotland	<i>Thomas Davidson</i>	27
List of Books and Articles on Agrarian History issued since September 1957	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	38
Livestock in the Brehon Laws	<i>J. O'Loan</i>	65
Statistics of Sheep in Medieval England	<i>Reginald Lennard</i>	75
Enclosure in Kesteven	<i>Dennis R. Mills</i>	82
Agricultural Rent in South-East England, 1788-1825	<i>H. G. Hunt</i>	98
Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Devon	<i>Duncan Mitchell</i>	108
Work in Progress	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	110
Book Reviews:		
<i>L'Homme et La Charrue à travers le Monde</i> , by A. G. Haudri- court and M. J-B. Delamarre	<i>T. H. Aston</i>	48
<i>Farm Crisis, 1919-23</i> , by James H. Shideler	<i>Harwood Long</i>	51
<i>British Friesians: a History of the Breed</i> , by J. K. Stanford	<i>R. Trow-Smith</i>	53
<i>The Fruit Year Book, 1958</i>	<i>Winifred M. Dullforce</i>	54
<i>The Agricultural Register. Changes in the Economic Pattern,</i> 1956-7	<i>Edith H. Whetham</i>	55
<i>The Old Norwegian Peasant Community</i> , by A. Holmsen and others	<i>Margaret Davies</i>	56
<i>Origins of Ownership</i> , by D. R. Denman	<i>G. D. G. Hall</i>	56
<i>De Landbouw in Brabants Westhoek in hed midden van de acht-</i> <i>tiende eeuw</i> , by Ir. W. J. Dewez	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	57
<i>Een Fries Landbouwbedrijf in de tweede helfte van de zestiende</i> <i>eeuw</i> , by B. H. Slicher van Bath	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	57
<i>Een Samenleving onder Spanning</i> , by B. H. Slicher van Bath	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	58
<i>Report of the Royal Commission on Common Land</i>	<i>Dorothy Sylvester</i>	59
<i>The Historical Atlas of Cheshire</i>	<i>H. P. R. Finberg</i>	60
<i>Where London Ends</i> , by E. W. Martin	<i>W. E. Minchinton</i>	61
<i>A Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect</i> , by W. D. Parish and Helena Hall	<i>L. F. Salzman</i>	61
<i>Suffolk Farming in the Nineteenth Century</i>	<i>J. W. Y. Higgs</i>	62
<i>Robert Bakewell</i> , by H. C. Pawson	<i>George Houston</i>	63
<i>Evolution of the Veterinary Art</i> , by J. F. Smithcors	<i>G. E. Fussell</i>	63
<i>Peasant Society and Culture</i> , by Robert Redfield	<i>E. E. Evans</i>	121
<i>Medieval England</i> , ed. A. L. Poole	<i>H. P. R. Finberg</i>	121
<i>The New Cambridge Modern History. Vol. II: The Reforma-</i> <i>tion</i> , ed. G. R. Elton	<i>E. A. L. Moir</i>	122
<i>The Royal Forest of Lancaster</i> , by R. Cunliffe Shaw	<i>Joan Thirsk</i>	123
<i>Valley on the March. A History of a Group of Manors on the</i> <i>Herefordshire March of Wales</i> , by Lord Rennell of Rodd	<i>R. H. Hilton</i>	124
<i>Customs of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson	<i>F. R. H. Du Boulay</i>	125
<i>The Country Craftsman: A Study of some Rural Crafts and the</i> <i>Rural Industries Organization in England</i> , by W. M. Wil- liams	<i>W. G. Hoskins</i>	127
<i>Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise and the Formal Garden</i> , by David Green	<i>J. W. Y. Higgs</i>	128
Notes and Comments		26, 37, 74, 97
Notes on Contributors		13, 81
Letters to the Editor		47, 64

Livestock in the Brehon Laws

By J. O'LOAN

IN his conquest of Gaul (58-50 B.C.) Caesar liquidated most of the Celtic civilizations of western Europe, apart from those in Britain and Ireland. If the Celtic kingdoms of the continental mainland had any literature at the time of their downfall it perished then, and so the literary history of Celtic western Europe is almost exclusively dependent on surviving Irish documents. Considering the vicissitudes through which the majority of these passed, it is amazing that so many have survived. As a source of historical information, the most important, and in fact in its original source the earliest, body of this literature to survive is the Brehon Law tracts. A concise explanation of what these tracts are in nature and origin is given as follows by our best known authority, Dr D. A. Binchy.—

“For centuries this ancient lore (Old Irish Law Tracts) was preserved orally in the native professional schools. Then in the seventh century—or perhaps even in the sixth—doubtless under the influence of the Christian monastic schools, it was committed to writing, and finally about the beginning of the eighth century it was embodied in a series of canonical texts which were henceforward regarded as sacrosanct and immutable, capable of being interpreted by later jurists but not of being altered. The pattern of society outlined in these ancient tracts goes back far beyond the eighth century—indeed to pre-Christian times, for though the Irish Laws . . . have a Christian façade their basic structure is pagan.”¹

The content of Brehon Law is as varied as the life of the people, and ranges from law of the person to the regulation of almost trivial details of farming. In this latter context Brehon Law constitutes an agricultural literature which is almost, if not quite, unique so far as western Europe is concerned, and nothing comparable with it in descriptive detail was produced in this country until the mid-eighteenth century. While some parts of the Laws may be regarded as theorizing or fanciful, the material which follows here indicates that far from being abstract, much of it is practical, down-to-earth farming detail, the accuracy of which is becoming more apparent with the development of scientific farming knowledge. That the period which produced the Laws was also one of enlightened farming is therefore an obvious inference.

In arriving at these conclusions one is tempted to speculate on such questions as whether a contemporary, comparable period did not exist in

¹ D. A. Binchy, *Early Irish Society*, ed. Dillon, Dublin, 1954, p. 53.

Celtic Gaul or Celtic Britain. Was Caesar attracted to those countries by the existence of a rude populace or by a people proficient in the production of wealth from the soil, but not his equals in the art of war? Did he create such havoc as to prevent the development there of a body of social and farming literature comparable to the Brehon Laws? Do the Laws of Ine tend to confirm this speculation? Must it not be accepted that the attraction for Caesar, as for the Norse and Normans centuries later, was farming wealth being produced by a people whose military defences were vulnerable?

The style and manner in which much of the Laws are expressed is primitive in that the scribe presumes in his reader an acquaintance with the circumstances and matters he treats of almost equal to his own. Unfortunately our acquaintance with the circumstances is no longer close, nor is there much analogous contemporary material to assist in elucidating the picture. After the collapse of the Celtic political system (1603), the old manuscript copies of the Brehon Laws were hawked around for nearly two centuries, but eventually found their way into safe keeping. A little over a century ago (1852) a commission was set up to undertake the work of transcription and translation. This task devolved mainly on two Celtic scholars, John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, neither of whom lived to see the work completed; but completed it was eventually, though, in consequence of the undeveloped state of Celtic philology at the time, imperfectly. None the less, a great work was performed which has preserved for future generations a literary basis for Irish history of which other countries would possibly have made better use. The entire work is included in five volumes, with a sixth for glossary. Text and glosses and translations cover a total of over 2,000 quarto pages. Since the first publication, corrected transcriptions and translations have been prepared of some sections, mainly by Dr Binchy and the late Professors McNeill and Thurneysen. (The latter's translations are into German.) This work is still in progress.

The material in the Laws is composed of two sections, the text, or original immutable part, which may be dated as seventh-century or earlier, and the glosses, which may be roughly eighth- to fifteenth-century though most are eleventh- to twelfth-century. The extracts quoted here are from the text except where otherwise indicated, and consequently reflect data and facts as at a period perhaps little less than two thousand years ago. The matters dealt with in this paper are merely a sample of the wealth of farming history which the laws contain.

In the physical characters of livestock mentioned in Brehon Law or deducible from the details given we are provided with textual descriptions of animals for a period for which agricultural historians in neighbouring

countries have to depend on the evidence of skeletal specimens discovered by archaeological excavation.

COWS

Under the law of distress or distraint (Athgabail), "three white cows were taken by Asal from Mogh son of Nuadhat by an immediate seizure; and they lay down a night at Ferta [=Slane, Co. Meath] on the Boyne; they escaped from him; they had left their calves and their white milk flowed upon the ground. He went in pursuit of them and seized six milch cows at the house at day-break. . . .

"The cow land (Tir-ba) of Conn Cedorach from which these horned cows were taken had been given to Fergus. . . ."¹

Two physical features of these cows are mentioned, the colour and the horns. The specification of colour indicates by inference that cattle colours other than white existed and presumably were so common that they might as readily have been seized as the three white cows. The mention of the fact that the cows were horned implies that polled cattle were known: such physical features as are possessed by all cattle, e.g. tails and ears, are not mentioned. It is probably significant also that the colour of the six cows is not mentioned.

The particular reference to the white milk flowing on to the ground suggests, though it does not conclusively prove, a plentiful supply of milk, in contrast perhaps with the generally held belief that milking quality in cattle is of modern origin.

This seizure was by no means a marauding expedition, but, as indicated, a legal seizure under the law of distraint. Under this law it was not permissible to seize goods in excess of the value of the damage claimed. This may possibly suggest a premium on the value of white cows, as three of them evidently equalled six milch cows of unspecified colour. Premium value may account for the specific mention of the colour, and if this inference is correct it suggests specialized breeding. That this kind of specialization did in fact prevail in the eighth or early ninth century is indicated by the first recension about that period of the *Tain Bo*, the prose saga describing the Great Cattle Raid of Cooley.

The evidence contained in the seizure recorded here would lend support to the belief that the *Tain Bo*, as well as being a great literary epic, has its foundation in fact which antedates recorded history.

The gloss to this quotation makes Mogh Nuadhat a contemporary of Conn of the Hundred Battles. In legend Mogh Nuadhat was Conn's rival for high kingship. Their period is placed in the second century A.D.²

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I, Dublin, 1861, p. 65.

² Hayden & Moonan, *A Short History of the Irish People*, London, 1927, p. 14.

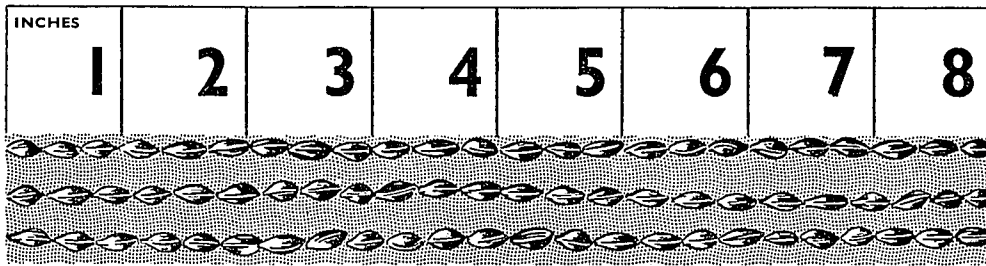
A system of livestock farming (Cain Aigillne) in which the farmer or stockman borrowed livestock from the Chief of the tuath (district) and repaid the loan at or before the end of three years in the form of similar or comparable animals is treated of in the Laws. (A practice still operated in the south-western dairying district before the last war; the dairy herd was leased to an operator who got the calves for his work, the owner of the herd and land getting the value of the milk delivered to the creamery. This, if not a survival of Cain Aigillne, is much akin to it.)

Under Cain Aigillne various animals are specified as suitable for repayment, and to prevent dispute as to quality, the type of animal is described in some detail. A cow is to be "twenty fists in girth whose fat is one third of it."¹ This dimension can be translated with sufficient accuracy for comparison with present-day cattle. Considerable effort was evidently made under the Laws to standardize measurement. The length of three barley grains was an inch or finger breadth. Four inches or finger breadths were a hand or fist, and three hands or fists a foot.² Also two hands or fists with the thumbs extended were a foot. As hands, fists, and feet would admit of considerable variations, depending on the individual, "the legitimate hand which is used for estimating and measuring" is prescribed and the term "lawful measure" is so emphasized as to leave no doubt of the care taken (II, p. 247). It is not apparent how the "legitimate hand" was determined, but it is not taxing credulity to assume that in case of doubt or serious dispute the barley grains were referred to.

It may be contended that barley grains of the period under discussion had only a tenuous connection with grain of modern times and that no justifiable conclusions can be based on present-day grain. It has been found instructive, if not something of a revelation, to place barley grains end to end in a row and measure their lengths. The first feature to note is the almost uncanny uniformity in grain length in an ordinary sample, and the second is the accuracy of three grains to the inch. Fig. I shows the first 72 barley grains poured from a completely random sample and placed in random order in three lines of 24 grains each. The total length of eight inches per line and the uniformity of three grains to an inch are remarkable. The available evidence indicates little or no change in the stature of our people over the past two thousand years, and a normal hand is still four inches. Inferentially, therefore, barley grain has altered little or nothing in this period. Nor is it rash to assume that in choosing barley grains to determine length, grains of normal size would have been selected.

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, II, Dublin, 1869, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, III, Dublin, 1873, p. 335.

FIG. I (*reduced*).

The hand was of course the standard of measure in many ancient civilizations, and in the present period of change from equine to mechanical traction it may not be out of place to record that most farmers in the past (and many still) could estimate the height of horses in hands with commendable accuracy. Having regard therefore to the emphasis laid on measurements in Brehon Law and to the history of measures generally, it would probably be very wrong to assume that the Brehon measurements were haphazard or only approximate.

It is to be presumed that the 20-hand measurement specified was the minimum cow ordinarily acceptable as repayment, and therefore a good cow rather than one of such unusual quality as would constitute difficulty in payment. It would seem a reasonable inference that cattle size at the period in question differed little from present-day stock. This deduction may be in some contrast to general opinion about livestock for the period in question. It is not improbable that the 20-hand girth stipulation applied particularly to cattle of the central plain and other fertile pasture lands, and that in the hill areas smaller cattle prevailed as at present, and were acceptable as rent.

A cow's girth is not of course a reliable guide to her weight even within particular breeds. The relationship of girth to weight or size would also be influenced by the condition of the animal at any particular time. A considerable number of measurements of Ayrshires in full milk and in average farm condition suggests that relatively few cows of this breed reach a girth of twenty hands.

The following measurements and particulars of cows exhibited at the Royal Dublin Society's Spring Show in May 1958 may be taken as a fair indication of the girth-weight relationship:

- | | |
|--|------------|
| (1) Friesian 1st calf heifer <i>c.</i> 7½ cwt, 72 inches girth | = 18 hands |
| (2) Friesian cow <i>c.</i> 11 cwt, 80 inches girth | = 20 hands |
| (3) Friesian cow <i>c.</i> 12 cwt, 76 inches girth | = 19 hands |

(4) Friesian cow c. 13 cwt, 80½ inches girth	= 20½ hands
(5) Hereford big aged cow, 88 inches girth	= 22 hands
(6) Aberdeen Angus young cow c. 10 cwt, 73½ inches girth	= 18¾ hands
(7) Aberdeen Angus young cow c. 8 cwt, 71 inches girth	= 17¾ hands
(8) Kerry big cow, 76 inches girth	= 19 hands
(9) Dairy Shorthorn cow c. 13 cwt, 84 inches girth	= 21 hands

All these beasts were in show condition. No. 8 was the biggest Kerry in the Show, and her girth suggests that few animals of this breed would make 20 hands' girth. No. 9 won the first prize in her class.

The general inference therefore is that a cow of twenty hands' girth is a bigish animal in any of our modern breeds.

Part of the fee of fosterage was a cow "which on being milked into a twelve-inch vessel fills it" (gloss, II, p. 177). Unfortunately only one dimension, probably the diameter, of this vessel is given, but the text continues: "It takes the materials for three cakes of man's baking or six of woman's baking to fill the vessel." A cake of woman's baking was two fists broad and a fist thick (II, p. 255). The dough for six such cakes baked from whole wheat meal would have a volume of c. 9 quarts, while a vessel 12 inches diameter, 6 inches deep, and slightly tub-shaped, would give the same volume. A cow in full milk giving nine quarts at a milking would under modern conditions yield about 800 gallons per lactation. The basis for this estimate is unfortunately anything but exact, but the desire has been to depress rather than magnify the figure. This, together with the fact that while they contain many obvious mistakes due usually to transcription, the laws generally indicate little or no tendency to magnify unduly, suggests that cows were flush of milk, and is in keeping with the observation of the white milk flowing from Mogh's cows when seized and driven a distance. In this context may also be mentioned that under Brehon Law the highest unit of value was "the great milch cow" worth 24 screpals of silver.

The stipulation of one-third fat in the cow is of considerable interest. This can obviously apply only to the carcase of the beast after slaughter.

In a detailed investigation conducted at Cambridge University School of Agriculture with cattle of varying degrees of fatness, to assess, *inter alia*, the palatability of the meat, the highest award given by a panel of trained meat tasters was to an animal in which the fat was 28 per cent of the carcase and 33½ per cent of the particular joint cooked for tasting. The report says, "Tasting tests revealed that there is a close connection between the fatness of a joint and its palatability when roasted. Up to the point at which rather more than one-third of the joint is fatty tissue the palatability is en-

hanced as fatness increases. Beyond this point the palatability diminishes.”¹

The result of this investigation into a matter hitherto but poorly understood, but of considerable practical importance, renders the Brehon Law stipulation, to say the least of it, remarkable. It is also convincing evidence that the ancient system of measurement was anything but haphazard. It suggests also a knowledge of livestock generally associated only with modern times.

YOUNG STOCK

Repayment under Cain Aigillne could also be made in the form of young stock. “A calf value a sack (of wheat), eight hands in girth, healthy after castration, grazed with the milking cows (or with the milch cows on grass), with only the space of three fingers between his two loins and his kidneys, not killed by ‘fairy-plague’ (kidney disease, gloss) but slaughtered as it was intended to be by the breeder . . .” (II, p. 239).

“A calf value two sacks, sound after castration, also grazed with the milch cows from the beginning of the summer till it is exhibited to the chief (to whom the merit is due); ten hands its girth, its loins cover its kidneys as before, sound, of good body, well formed, well grazed . . .” (II, p. 245).

“A calf of the value of three sacks, twelve hands its girth, sound equally as before, grazed with the milking cows from the beginning of the summer until it is presented to the chief in the winter time, to be presented lawfully together with its measurements and estimations and with proper assurances . . .” (II, p. 249).

“A calf of the value of four sacks, a male stirk, 14 hands the lawful measurement of its girth, which has remained healthy till it became a yearling bull (*do erna slan ina Dartadas*), its two loins cover its kidneys, grazed with the milch cows till exhibited, free from injury or disease . . .” (II, p. 253).

“A calf of the value of a sack to be roasted in summer and a calf value four sacks to be boiled in summer.”

The first three girth measurements of eight, ten, and twelve hands obviously apply to calves in their first season. The calf of the value of a sack to be roasted in summer would be little more than a veal calf, as calving was presumably timed to coincide with spring grass. The twelve-hand-girth animal was shown in winter and so presumably between six and nine months old.

The fourteen-hand-girth is of a young bull in his second summer and presumably towards the end of summer (he is to be boiled in summer), when he had grazed the season with the milch cows, and therefore approaching eighteen months old.

The space of three fingers behind the ribs is interesting. This is the

¹ E. H. Callow in *Journal of Agricultural Science*, xxxiv, 1944, p. 177.

measure still applied by the ordinary cattle jobber buying on the hoof—evidently a time-honoured test.

These measurements refer to cattle of substantial size and definitely not to smaller dairy breeds such as present-day Kerrys or Jerseys. As already mentioned, the dimensions quoted are all from the text and therefore relate to the early centuries of the Christian era or perhaps even earlier.

PIGS

Pigs were also legal tender. "A (pig's) belly worth a sack, nine fists its length, a fist with the thumb extended is the width (between the fore legs) of the front fork, and a fist the width of its hind fork, three fists its breadth in the middle, and three fingers its average thickness." (II, p. 239.)

"A flitch the fat and lean measuring two fingers each . . . two fingers from the lean to the cut in back, two fists of thin and two fists of thick, eight fists its length and four fists its width, from a two- to a three-year-old pig." (II, p. 247.)

The gloss refers to a two-year-old pig as a pig of two litters and a three-year-old pig as a pig of three litters. This might suggest that hogs were slaughtered at a moderately early age. Although forest pannage was evidently important if not the main food, there is reference to fattening on corn and milk (II, p. 367). The two fists each of thin and thick obviously refer to equal widths of 'streaky' and 'back'.

"A flitch three fingers between its fat and lean, eight fists its length and four fists its breadth, from a two-year-old to a three-year-old." In this case the gloss refers simply to a two-year-old pig as a pig of two years and a three-year-old as a pig of three years (II, p. 249).

"And a flitch three fingers at the base of the hand, for this is the average of all the measurements mentioned hitherto; of the fat and lean, eight fists its length and four fists its breadth." (II, p. 251.)

"And a flitch the thickness of a hand at the base of the fingers—of the hand of the lawful measure—between the fat and lean, eight fists its length and four fists its width." (II, p. 255.)

Apart from the interesting detail of a fist with the thumb extended between the fore legs and a fist between the hind legs, we have thus the following picture:

- (1) A belly 9 hands long 3 hands wide and 3 fingers thick
- (2) A flitch 8 hands long 4 hands wide and 2 fingers fat and 2 lean
- (3) A flitch 8 hands long 4 hands wide and 3 fingers thick
- (4) A flitch 8 hands long 4 hands wide and 3 fingers thick
- (5) A flitch 8 hands long 4 hands wide and 4 fingers thick

The reference to the width of a fist between the hind legs and of a fist with the thumb extended between the fore legs is an interesting anatomical observation. Presumably this measurement was made with the pig on its back at the time of slaughter. We may have succeeded in breeding the fore-end a little narrower but as an approximation it is still not far wrong for a fat pig of 2 cwt live weight.

Unfortunately we cannot know between what points the length of the flitch was measured. In carcase grading as at present operated the measurement is from the indentation of the first rib to the anterior edge of the aitch bone. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the length of side for the highest grade (AA+) in the English grading system for bacon pigs is 800 mm. (31½ inches) as compared with 8 hands (32 inches) required in Brehon Law.¹ The fact that the belly was a hand longer than the side is some guide on this point.

The four hands' breadth is normal for a high-grade pig of about two cwt live weight.

In the rather complicated code of compensation dealt with in the Book of Aicle (one of the oldest sections of Brehon Law) the amounts payable are specified for the young pigs of a litter up to nine pigs with the proviso "if it be certain the sow would have had milk for them." (III, p. 373.) This suggests that while the sow might produce more at farrowing, nine was the maximum number normally expected to be reared. An average of nine per litter is still good farming. On the same page there is reference to "the litter of the year" (*al na bliadhna*) suggesting that normally one litter was expected. This agrees with the purport of the gloss referred to above regarding two- and three-year-old pigs.

HORSES

It is much to be regretted that the one measurement of a farm animal still reckoned in hands is not mentioned in Brehon Law. Practically all that is indicated in the various references to horses is that there were working horses, regarded as of only moderate value, and valuable animals, presumably saddle horses, which if borrowed might not be worked under penalty.

While it would appear reasonable to conclude from the material quoted that farm stock in Ireland in the early centuries of the Christian era resembled that of modern times much more closely than is generally assumed, what is also clear and equally interesting is the ancient stockman's awareness of quality and what constituted it in a beast. A pig was not just a pig, it was a pig with length and depth and a proper proportion of fat and lean. A young

¹ Fatstock Guarantee Scheme 1958-59 (HMSO), p. 25 (Scot. & N.I.).

beast had to be sound, of good body, and well formed; a beef-cow carcass should be one-third fat.

Thurneysen's translation of "Cain Aigillne" and notes thereon in *Zeitschrift für Keltische Philologie*, Vols. 14, 15, and 16, and Binchy's vocabulary and legal glossary to *Crith Gablach* have been used for any necessary corrections of the original translations.

I am indebted to Dr Binchy for reading this article and discussing various points.

Notes and Comments

THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Annual Conference this year took the form of a Joint Conference with the Economic History Society at Wye College in Kent on the subject of Agriculture and Rural Life. One hundred and four members of the two societies attended the Conference, which lasted from Friday, 10 April, until Monday, 13 April 1959. The proceedings opened on the Friday evening with a paper by Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson on English Industrial Villages in the Later Middle Ages. On Saturday morning papers were read by Dr Joan Thirsk on Tudor Enclosures and Mr G. P. Askew on The Development of the Romney Marsh Landscape. In the afternoon there were alternative excursions to Romney Marsh and Canterbury. In the evening the Vice-Principal of Wye College entertained the Conference to sherry and this was followed by Mr Colin Clark speaking on The Growth of the World's Agricultural Productivity. The two papers on Sunday morning were by Dr G. E. Mingay on The Changing Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century and Mr Edwin Attwood on The Development of State Support for Agriculture. In the afternoon members of the Conference took part in a tour of the Wye College farms. In the evening the formal business of the Conference was concluded with a paper by Mr T. W. Fletcher

on The Great Depression of English Agriculture, 1873-96.

The chair at the Annual General Meeting on the Sunday morning was taken by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr George Ordish. Sir Keith Murray was elected President in place of Sir James Scott Watson, who retired after holding the office since the foundation of the Society. Mr G. E. Fussell paid tribute to Sir James's work for the Society and expressed the Society's pleasure at obtaining so distinguished a successor. The other officers were re-elected and Mr G. B. Bisset, Dr W. H. Chaloner, and Dr W. G. Hoskins were elected to fill the places on the Executive Committee vacated by Mr Victor Bonham-Carter, Mr George Houston, and Mr W. Harwood Long.

Mr George Ordish in presenting the report of the Executive Committee explained that membership had risen from 516 at the last Annual General Meeting to 559. He also expressed the Society's satisfaction at the success of the Joint Conference.

In presenting the Treasurer's Report, Professor Thomas expressed himself satisfied with the financial situation. The balance brought forward was £229 as opposed to £224 the previous year, despite the fact that printing, stationery, and postage costs had all risen.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee

(continued on page 97)

Statistics of Sheep in Medieval England

A QUESTION OF INTERPRETATION

By REGINALD LENNARD

IT has recently been maintained that computation by the 'great' or 'long' hundred of six score was "the prevailing usage in sheep-farming accounts" in medieval England and that even the numbers of sheep in the early twelfth-century surveys of the Gloucestershire manors of the Abbaye-aux-Dames ought to be interpreted in that sense.¹ Since this contention, if correct, would profoundly affect the statistics of medieval sheep-farming, an examination of evidence bearing upon the matter may be of some use.

Direct evidence from manorial accounts is not very abundant, for the method of computation they employ in this particular can only be determined with certainty if the numbers involved amount to a hundred or more, if they are expressed in 'hundreds' and not merely in scores, and if the arithmetic of addition or subtraction is both accurate and such as to show what a 'hundred' means. Thus in the well-known series of Wellingborough accounts, none of the seventeen thirteenth-century accounts provides data of the required nature for sheep and it is only when we come to the account of 1304 that we find sure proof of the sheep being reckoned by the long hundred.² There are however other sources of information—specific references to the type of hundred employed in lists of stock or grants of pasturage, the re-stocking accounts in the Pipe Rolls, and some valuations in the *Rotuli de Dominabus*—and these sources are available for the twelfth century, whereas the earliest surviving manorial accounts are those preserved in the Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester for the year 1208-9.

The sources are scattered and in many cases unpublished, and my researches among them have not gone very far; but the facts I have been able to collect seem none the less to justify some fairly definite conclusions.

1. In the first place, eastern England north of the Thames provides undoubted examples of sheep enumerated by the great hundred. In Yorkshire its use is specifically indicated in twelfth- or early thirteenth-century grants of pasturage at Raskelfe and East Bolton in the North Riding and at Bramley,

¹ See the letter from Prof. Postan in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 Feb. 1959.

² *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts*, ed. F. M. Page, Northants Record Soc., p. 93 (5 score and 10+45+7 score=CCLV, i.e. 295). Some of the earlier accounts show a use of the great hundred in the enumeration of pigeons and, in spite of a slight arithmetical inaccuracy, it is evident it was used for lambs in that of 1298-9.

West Bretton, and Marton in the West Riding.¹ From Lincolnshire there are similar grants relating to Snelland and Wickenby, and an account of the Crowland Abbey grange at Monklode for the year 1258-9 which demonstrably employs the six-score hundred in the enumeration of ewes and lambs.² At Ringstead in Norfolk there were, according to a twelfth-century survey, *ducentae oves per sexcies viginti* in the time of Henry I, and the same method of reckoning was apparently employed for the sheep at Brancaster in that county.³ Perhaps this was also the case at Elsworth in Cambridgeshire, where the puzzling entry *centum oves id est decies viginti* seems to require emendation by reading *sexcies* in place of *decies*.⁴ In Huntingdonshire the valuation *centum oves vel sexaginta solidi* at Hemingford strongly suggests the same conclusion, and at Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, as we have seen, the sheep were numbered in this way in 1304.⁵ At Sandon in Hertfordshire and at *Tidwoldintun* (now Heybridge) in Essex we have clear examples in the so-called Domesday of St Paul's which was compiled in 1222.⁶ There is also some reason for thinking that in the *Rotuli de Dominabus* of 1185 the great hundred was employed for the enumeration of sheep at Aynho (Northants), Hockliffe and Chalgrave (Bedfordshire), Moulsoe and Easington (Bucks.), and Tunstead and Cockley Cley (Norfolk), for at each of these places an addition or deficit of one or more 'hundred' sheep is reckoned to affect the valuation at the rate of £1 per 'hundred', and at Wiveton (Norfolk) and Staverton (Suffolk) the addition of 60 sheep is estimated to increase the value by ten shillings.⁷

2. In the part of England to which the foregoing examples belong usage was certainly not uniform. This might indeed be inferred from the very fact that it was sometimes thought necessary to indicate that a six-score hundred

¹ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer and Clay, II, No. 790; IV, No. 92; III, Nos. 1289 and 1791; VII, No. 151.

² Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, No. 229; *ibid.*, p. xlv, note 1, citing Cott. Vesp. E. xviii, fo. 124b; F. M. Page, *Estates of Crowland Abbey*, pp. 189-90 (where, in the case of lambs, 8 'hundred' + 4 score = (3 'hundred' + 72 + 8 score + 3 + 20 + 6) = 3 'hundred' and 59).

³ *Ramsey Abbey Cart.*, Rolls Series, III, pp. 266 and 261 (where *decem* must surely be an error for *centum* in the text *decem et viginti octo matres oves per sexcies viginti*).

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 248.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 241 *et supra*.

⁶ *op. cit.*, Camden Soc., pp. 13, 53 (*cc oves per sexcies viginti and duodecies xxx oves q' faciunt cc*).

⁷ *op. cit.*, Pipe Roll Soc., pp. 30, 33, 34, 41, 44, 48, 58, and, for Wiveton and Staverton, pp. 55, 64. The 'value' is clearly the value per annum: of Tunstead we read that the custodians *additis c ovis accreverunt firmam ville de xxx*; cp. Chalgrave, p. 34. Some doubt, however, must be felt about the applicability of the Wiveton-Staverton ratio to the other cases, because the rate in the latter is ostensibly the same as that allowed in *defalta ovium* in Pipe Rolls of the same period, as to which see below.

must be understood.¹ But positive evidence is not lacking. Apart from that of the Pipe Rolls, which will be considered later, we find that at Snainton in the North Riding of Yorkshire pasture is granted *ducentis ovibus scilicet decies viginti*, that the stock at South Walsham in Norfolk includes *ter centum oves ad minus centum*, that the five-score hundred is unmistakably used for the enumeration of the sheep in an agreement about *Edolwesnasa* in Essex.² These three examples are of twelfth-century date; and in the next century one notes that the ordinary hundred was used for four classes of sheep in an account of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire and for the *multones* (wethers) in the already cited account of Monklode in Lincolnshire, although that employs the six-score hundred for ewes and lambs.³ Later again, arithmetic reveals the ordinary hundred in accounts of Oakington and Dry Drayton in Cambridgeshire for the year 1322-3, in an account of the East Fen in Lincolnshire for 1350-1, and in one of Forncett in Norfolk for 1378.⁴

3. Outside the east of England I have not come across a single case of sheep computed by the great hundred, and, though the limited extent of my researches prevents one from attaching much weight to this fact, it has some significance in view of the evidence that I have encountered for the alternative usage. The ordinary hundred was evidently employed throughout the Winchester Pipe Roll of 1208-9, which provides arithmetical proof of this for seventeen manors in Hampshire and for Downton and Knoyle in Wiltshire, Taunton in Somerset, Harwell in Berkshire, Witney and Adderbury in Oxfordshire, Farnham in Surrey, and Wycombe in Buckinghamshire.⁵ Other thirteenth-century accounts are similarly informing in regard to Mere in Wiltshire and Banstead in Surrey, while for Acton in Middlesex proof is furnished by two charters of 1229-30, since, in describing the same *instauramentum*, one of them speaks of a hundred sheep and the other of five

¹ Note the emphatic language of the East Bolton charter: *Early Yorkshire Charters*, IV, No. 92. (*Sciendum est autem quod predictae quadringente oves per magnum centum numberabuntur.*)

² *ibid.*, I, No. 616 (1180-90); *Register of St Benet of Holme*, Norfolk Record Soc., No. 148 (1141-9); *Domesday of St Paul's*, p. 131 (apparently last half of 12th century). In the last case 13 score + 1 + 9 + 80 + 46 = *cccc quatuor minus*.

³ *Earldom of Cornwall Accounts*, 1296-7, Camden Soc., p. 25; *Estates of Crowland*, p. 190. In the Monklode case 4 'hundred' and 84 *multones* + 3 + 80 = 5 'hundred' and 67; and a deduction of 48 + 46 + 15 from this total leaves 4 'hundred' and 58. Perhaps in the manuscript a large C = 120 and a small c = 100 as Miss Page suggests in *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts*, p. xxxvii; but no distinction is shown in the printed text.

⁴ *Estates of Crowland*, pp. 251 (ewes), 258 (*multones*); *A Terrier of Fleet*, ed. N. Neilson, p. 182; F. G. Davenport, *Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor*, Appendix IX, p. lix, note.

⁵ *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1208-9* (ed. under supervision of Hubert Hall), *passim*, and, for the places named, pp. 22, 75-6, 71, 16, 19, 59, 40, 34.

score.¹ In the early part of the next century the same story is told by accounts of Combe in Hampshire and Maldon in Surrey.² And, far away from these southern examples, a mid-fourteenth-century bailiff's roll of Coundon in Durham clearly employs the ordinary hundred in its statistics of *multones* and *hoggastri*; but the county of Durham should probably be regarded as belonging to the eastern region of ambiguous usage, for, though I have not seen anything which proves the use of the great hundred for sheep within its bounds, an account of Bishop Middleham (made in the same year as that of Coundon) gives the number of pigeons as CCIX *per minus centum*, which suggests that the five-score hundred could not here be taken for granted.³

4. The most comprehensive evidence comes from the Pipe Rolls. But these contain a trap for the unwary. In some of them there are numerous entries recording sums of money allowed for deficiencies in the stocking of manors. I take these to be deductions made from the *firma* or rent because the full complement of stock was lacking. But however that may be, the point which concerns the problem before us is that again and again the sum allowed in the case of sheep works out at exactly twopence a head for a whole year, if we assume that the great hundred was employed in their enumeration. It would be easy to jump to the conclusion that that was in fact the mode of reckoning. But then side by side with entries of this kind we find others for the purchase of sheep which clearly imply the use of a five-score hundred. For example the Pipe Roll of 1195 records that at Melbourne in Derbyshire 20s. was allowed for a default of a 'hundred' sheep (*pro c ovibus*) which would be twopence a head if $c=120$; but, in its account of stock purchased for the manor of Wirksworth in the same county, it tells us that 105s. 6d. was paid *pro cc et xi ovibus*, which is just sixpence a head if $c=100$, and this was the regular price allowed for the purchase of sheep at that time.⁴ The con-

¹ *Earldom of Cornwall Accounts*, p. 67; H. C. M. Lambert, *History of Banstead*, p. 315; *Early Charters of St Paul's*, Camden Soc., Nos. 299 and 300. For Banstead an account for the year 1363-4 also provides proof: *ibid.*, p. 346 (ccciixv + lvi + xxiii = ccclxxiii).

² *Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Camden Soc.), pp. 155, 167-8; *Surrey Manorial Accounts* (Surrey Record Soc.), pp. 72-3.

³ *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, Surtees Soc., pp. 223, 241.

⁴ Pipe Roll 7 R.I., p. 15. Some instructions issued to the itinerant justices in 1194 regarding the restocking of manors provide that the price of a coarse-woolled sheep (*ovis lanæ grossioris*) shall be sixpence, that of a fine-woolled sheep (*ovis crispæ*) ten pence.—Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 9th edition, p. 255. Dr Poole has pointed out that the Pipe Rolls of the next two years show that these prices were closely adhered to and that *oves crispæ* were only introduced on one manor.—*English Hist. Rev.*, April 1940, p. 285. Curiously enough the price in that case works out at 4d. a head, but no doubt this represents the excess over the coarse-woolled sheep they replaced.—Chancellor's Roll 8 R.I., p. 190. Some of the inferred prices are quite independent of the disputed 'hundred': e.g. 34 sheep bought for 17s. at Bledlow, Bucks.—Pipe Roll 7 R.I., p. 35.

tradition proves, however, to be only apparent. The allowances for 'defaults' were not calculated at twopence a head, but at the rate of two shillings for ten sheep or half that for a half-year. Thus in the same roll we find four shillings for a default of 20 sheep at Kirton in Lincolnshire and 30s. *pro c et l ovibus* at Bampton in Oxfordshire, and, in that of the preceding year, 42s. *pro cc et x ovibus* at Wirksworth, and at Somerton in Somerset a sum of 22s. 6d. for half a year *de cc et xxxv ovibus*.¹ It appears indeed that the 'hundred' of the entries about defaults, like that of purchase entries, was the ordinary hundred of five score. But the witness of the latter has still to be considered.

In a few cases the price per head is specifically stated. In the Pipe Roll of 1184-5 it is recorded that £19 10s. was paid in respect of the lands of Guy de Rochford in Essex *pro D et quater xx et v ovibus precium cuiusque viii*^{d.2} In that of 1197 we read that at Meon in Hampshire, where 2½ marks (i.e. £1 13s. 4d.) were paid *pro c ovibus*, the price was fourpence a head (*ove computata iiiid.*); and in that of 1199 a statement that 500 sheep were obtained for two Cumberland manors at a cost of £25 is followed by the words *scilicet pro ove xii d.*³ These were unusual prices for their dates, and perhaps that is why the explanatory note was added. Without such aids, however, the use of the ordinary hundred is clearly revealed in an overwhelming majority of cases by the fact that the total sum, divided by the number of sheep, yields a definite and acceptable quotient if they are so reckoned and does not do so if the figures are interpreted by the long hundred. The evidence is conveniently assembled in Dr A. L. Poole's article on Live Stock Prices in the Twelfth Century, which was published in 1940 and tabulates for the chief classes of stock all the prices that can be inferred from the Pipe Rolls from 1163 to 1199.⁴ For sheep, Dr Poole gives 168 examples and only in seven of them did he judge that the long hundred was employed. These were in Northumberland (at Ellingham and on the land of William de Vesci), in Nottinghamshire (at Worksop and Gringley), in Suffolk (at Orford), in Cambridgeshire (at Balsham), and on some lands of Ralph de Caugi, the location of which is not clear.⁵ Apart from the uncertainty attaching to the last case, these examples conform to the pattern of usage suggested by the evidence previously examined and only increase the area in which

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28; Pipe Roll 6 R.I., pp. 80, 184. The Wirksworth deficit corresponds almost exactly with the purchase noted above as made the next year.

² Pipe Roll 31 H.II., p. 43. Round pointed out in 1913 that this entry shows that these sheep "were reckoned by the short hundred."—*Rotuli de Dominabus*, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

³ Pipe Roll 9 R.I., p. 17; 1 John, p. 120. ⁴ *op. cit.*, pp. 286-94.

⁵ Pipe Rolls 17 H.II., pp. 4, 116; 30 H.II., pp. 100, 155; 31 H.II., p. 10; 34 H.II., p. 5.

that showed that the long hundred was sometimes employed by adding instances from Northumberland and Nottinghamshire. Moreover the fact that local usage was thus followed in the Pipe Rolls enhances the value of their evidence, for it makes it impossible to argue that they only reflect the practice of the Exchequer. And the range of their witness is remarkable. The roll for the year 1195 especially deserves examination as it contains an exceptional amount of relevant material, and for the purpose of the present inquiry it is necessary to go into some matters of detail that are not dealt with in Dr Poole's article. Of the 60 purchases of sheep which it records, 42 were for numbers expressed in figures that include either the numeral C or, in two cases, D. On the assumption that $C=100$ and $D=500$ all the 60 cases work out at exactly sixpence a head. It is true that 24 of them would also yield a quotient in whole pence if interpreted by the long hundred. But the price would then be fivepence a head and that cannot be regarded as an admissible figure. The roll supplies no unequivocal example of it, whereas a price of sixpence is unequivocally revealed in 38 cases and is moreover the price named for coarse-woolled sheep in the instructions to the justices.¹ It seems indeed certain that the ordinary hundred was employed throughout this roll. And its witness takes us into nineteen counties—those of Derby, Nottingham, Warwick, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Norfolk, Essex, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. Moreover this list can be extended on the evidence of other twelfth-century rolls which contain indisputable examples of sheep reckoned by the short hundred in Northumberland, Cumberland, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Sussex, and others that should probably be interpreted as such from Yorkshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire.²

5. I have failed to find any evidence at all for seven western counties—those of Westmorland, Lancaster, Chester, Shropshire, Stafford, Worcester, and Hereford. But for the rest of England it is possible to summarize the results of the foregoing inquiry. It has shown that the six-score hundred was

¹ In all the twelfth-century Pipe Rolls there appear to be only three clear cases of sheep bought at fivepence a head. These were at Eaton Bray (Bedfordshire) in 1185, Edlesborough (Bucks.) in 1186, and Gomshall (Surrey) in 1193.

² The cases here classed as probable are among those which work out at sixpence a head if $C=100$ and at fivepence if $C=120$, but one can hardly regard them as certainly employing the five-score hundred because they are anterior to the instructions of 1194, and, in the years to which they belong, the sixpenny price was not so well established as it had become by 1195. Dr Poole, however, interpreted them by the ordinary hundred, and probably he was right. Only three cases are involved—Tickhill, Yorkshire; Frisby on the Wreak, Leicestershire; and Sulby, Northants: see Pipe Rolls 12 H.II., p. 50; 32 H.II., p. 134; 6 R.I., p. 27.

sometimes used for the enumeration of sheep in thirteen counties, while a warning that the ordinary hundred could not be taken for granted in the county of Durham may perhaps justify its addition to the list. If Durham is included, a clear geographical pattern is revealed. The fourteen counties form a single block, each being contiguous to one or more of the others. They include every eastern seaboard county from the Tweed to the Thames, and, of those that lie inland, Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire are the most western. On the other hand, a use of the ordinary hundred in sheep statistics has been discerned in 25 counties, or, if the 'probable' examples are admitted, in 28.¹ These include all the counties south of Thames and they also include every one of the above-mentioned fourteen counties with the exception of Suffolk. There is thus no justification whatever for the view that the long hundred was "the prevailing usage in sheep-farming accounts." In eastern England north of Thames both modes of reckoning were employed and the statistician may well feel some doubt which to assume when he is faced by a bare statement about 'hundreds'. But in the rest of the country (apart from those seven western counties for which I can offer no evidence) he ought to regard a 'hundred' as meaning five score 'unless the contrary appears'. And, so far as my investigations have gone, it does not appear.

¹ Besides the 24 (or 27) counties mentioned in paragraph 4, these figures include Lincolnshire (East Fen and the Monklode *multones*) cited in paragraph 2 above.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

J. O'Loan, B.Agr.Sc., is an Associate of the Royal College of Science, Ireland, and a Senior Inspector in the Department of Agriculture, Dublin.

Reginald Lennard, M.A., sometime Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford, has made many contributions to agrarian history, the most recent being his *Rural England, 1086-1135*, published this year by the Clarendon Press.

Dennis R. Mills, M.A., F.R.G.S., author of several articles on the historical geography of Lincolnshire, is an assistant master and

librarian at Heathfield High School, Earl Shilton, Leicestershire.

H. G. Hunt, B.Sc. (Econ.), Ph.D., is Lecturer in Modern Economic History at the Woolwich Polytechnic. He has published articles in the *Economic History Review* and elsewhere.

G. Duncan Mitchell, M.B.E., B.Sc. (Econ.), Senior Lecturer-in-Charge, Sociology, University of Exeter, has contributed articles to *Human Relations*, *The Sociological Review*, and *Public Administration*. A book of his, entitled *Sociology: the Study of Social Systems*, is now in the press.

Enclosure in Kesteven

By DENNIS R. MILLS

INTRODUCTION

GENERALLY speaking, the enclosure movements of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries assumed their greatest importance in the areas where the open-field system had been most firmly established, that is, in the 'Midland Triangle' and scarpland England, with the exception of parts of the south-east. Although it has long been recognized that there were local and regional contrasts within these areas, many of them still remain to be studied in detail. Detailed studies are essential to a fuller understanding of the variations in the pace of enclosure from one period to another and from one place to another. The present paper has therefore been prepared in an attempt to summarize some of the source material for Kesteven and to put forward some tentative conclusions based upon it. Particular attention has been paid to the mapping of enclosure evidence and to relating it to what is known of soil conditions, land utilization, and differences in land tenure and ownership. Some consideration is also given to the economic effects of enclosures, since they provide a very important clue to the original motives for enclosure.

The subject was approached in the first place by means of the Parliamentary awards, data from which were mapped wherever possible.¹ This method not only revealed the extent of private enclosure in parishes where there was also an award, but also helped to throw into sharper relief the distribution of those parishes wholly enclosed by private agreement. Enclosure of this type was then investigated by reference to glebe and town terriers, estate papers, and other documentary and printed sources.

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF KESTEVEN AND THE SELECTION OF SAMPLE AREAS

Although it is not the largest of the three Divisions of Lincolnshire, Kesteven embraces within its bounds a relatively large part of the English scarpland and is comparable in size with Oxfordshire and modern Surrey. It is approximately elliptical in shape and contains three major landscape divisions, each of them elongated from north to south. In the west there is a section of the Lias Clay vale; in the centre is an upland, generally known in

¹ The awards are in the custody of the Kesteven County Council. The writer wishes to thank the Council and Mr J. E. Holman for placing these documents at his disposal. Dates quoted are those of award maps, unless otherwise stated.

the north as the Heath and in the south as the Kesteven Plateau, which consists of Middle Jurassic rocks, principally limestones, marlstones, and clays; and in the east this upland is succeeded by a strip of largely peaty fenland contiguous with the Fens of Holland and Lindsey. But within these broad divisions there are many local variations in geology, soil, slope, natural drainage, and water supply which are reflected to a very great extent in the patterns of early settlement and township boundaries.

A close study of these patterns has made possible the division of the 215 townships into seventeen groups, each group containing townships of similar physical geography.¹ The present discussion is concerned with only three of these groups, or Regions, which have been selected in such a way that all three major landscape divisions are represented.

THE GRAFFOE TERRACES (Fig. I)

This Region is situated within the Liassic Clay Vale which sweeps across northern Leicestershire, eastern Nottinghamshire, and western Lincolnshire in a curving strip about ten miles wide. In the area to the west of Lincoln, however, the 'solid' clay is overlain by extensive spreads of fluvio-glacial gravels, forming a series of terraces at heights of 40–110 feet. Although most of the Region is now drained by streams of the Witham system, the watershed between that river and the Trent has remained relatively unstable even in recent historic time.² The physical keynotes of the area are therefore threefold: a remarkable lack of steep gradients, a mixture of clay and sandy soils, and a liability to flooding in the northern and eastern parts.

The gridiron pattern of township boundaries, so characteristic of clay vales, is absent from the Graffoe Terraces, for although the townships are roughly oblong in shape, their overall pattern is as irregular as that of the terraces on which they are laid out. Each of the early settlements was established on a gravel site located, with the exception of North Scarle, near the junction of gravels and clay. It is probable therefore that the township fields generally lay on either side of the village, some on clay soils, some on the sandy soils of the gravels, as at Swinderby and Thorpe.³ In addition to normal agricultural townships there were four areas which retained the status of extra-parochial land well into the nineteenth century: these were

¹ See D. R. Mills, 'Regions of Kesteven devised for the purposes of agricultural history', *Reports and Papers of the Lincs. Architectural and Archaeological Soc.*, VII (2), 1957, pp. 60–82. Readers would find useful the Quarter-Inch Geological Map.

² See J. S. Padley, *Fens and Floods of Mid-Lincolnshire*, Lincoln, 1885, Plan 1.

³ Thorpe Enclosure Award; a Swinderby glebe terrier refers to North and Middle Clay Fields and South Sand Field.—Lincs. Archives Office (=LAO), Ter. 6/522, 1613.

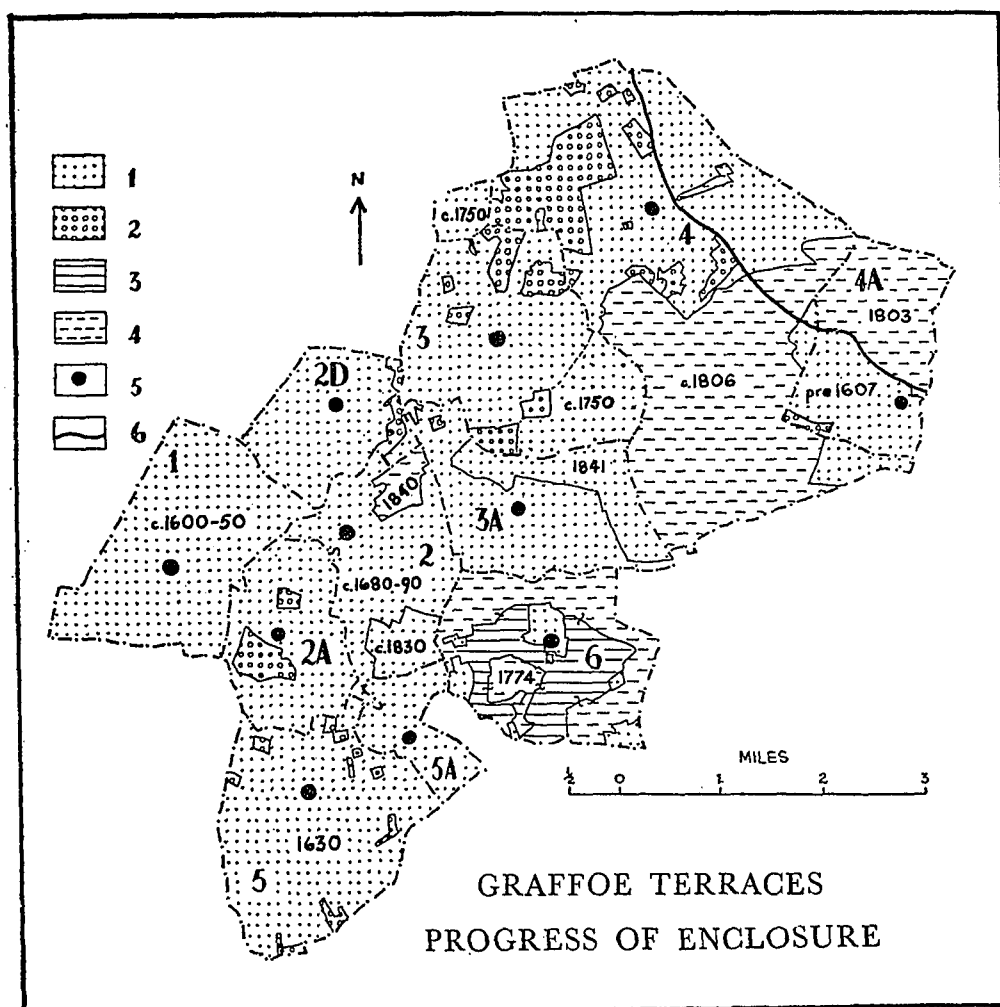


FIG. I

KEY: 1, Privately enclosed; 2, Woodland; 3, Enclosed by Act from open arable field; 4, Enclosed from common waste; 5, Grouped settlements; 6, Western limit of Fen.

TOWNSHIPS: 1, N. Scarle; 2, Eagle; 2A, Eagle Hall; 2D, Swinethorpe; 3, Doddington; 3A, Whisby; 4, Skellingthorpe; 4A, Boultham; 5, Swinderby; 5A, Morton; 6, Thorpe.

Eagle Hall, the site of a preceptory of the Knights Templars, and the three attached granges of Morton, Swinethorpe, and Eagle Woodhouse.¹

In terms of enclosure history, the distinctive feature of this Region is the fact that only approximately 24 per cent of the total area was enclosed by

¹ *White's History and Directory of Lincs.*, 1872, sub Eagle, Swinethorpe, and Morton. Since Eagle Woodhouse contained only 110 acres, it has been included with Eagle for present purposes.

Parliamentary awards. Belonging to a similar period was a small but significant area of private enclosure (about 5.6 per cent of the total); its significance lies in the fact that there is so far little evidence of private enclosure in the other selected Regions after about 1740 (see Table, p. 96). With the exception of those in Thorpe, the open fields of this Region had been enclosed privately before 1700; Parliamentary enclosure was therefore largely concerned here with the areas of moorland and meadow which had survived earlier action. It is interesting to notice that even in North Scarle, where enclosure was complete by 1664, the field land was affected earlier than the wastes. Thus an episcopal letter of that year records that about 1614 the East Field was enclosed, followed about thirty years later by two more fields, and finally after another fourteen years by "the common waste and other desert grounds."¹ Thus an attempt must be made to explain, not only the early incidence of enclosure in this Region, but also why the open fields were the first areas to be affected.

It is now a familiar idea that where lords were in possession of the greater part of the land in a manor, they were able to press enclosure at an early date. Of this type of enclosure there appear to be certainly two, and possibly four, examples in the Graffoe Terraces (see Appendix). The case of Boultham was recorded by the inquisition of depopulation of 1607. "Wm. Broxholme, esq., being owner of all the houses and lands in Boultham (except 2 houses) hath decayed all of them by taking the Lands, Meadows, and Pastures from them and hath converted the arable into pasture and enclosed the same."² Likewise at Doddington the greater part of the estate, excluding the moors, had been enclosed by the Burghs before the survey of 1585.³

A second category of old-enclosed land lay in the extra-parochial areas of former monastic ownership, while yet a third category belonged very largely to free- or copy-holders at the time of its enclosure. This last category includes the whole of North Scarle and Swinderby and the greater part of Eagle. The Swinderby enclosure, which took place in 1630, was succeeded by virtually thirty years of litigation between the Disney family (as lords of the manor) and the copyholders, who numbered 23 in 1628. In this year an agreement was reached between the parties to carry out the enclosure of 929 acres of common field and 1,180 acres of moor and waste. The final

¹ LAO, Ter. 10/88, 1664.

² BM, Julius Caesar Papers, Add. MS. 11574, fo. 66. From the evidence of the enclosure act in Boultham Church the fen grounds appear not to have been enclosed, although they may have been removed from common usage. I am much indebted to Dr Joan Thirsk for the loan of her transcript of these Papers and for considerable patient advice in the preparation of this article.

³ R. E. G. Cole, *History of Doddington*, 1897, pp. 54-5.

agreement of 1658-9 can be counted at least a partial victory for the copyholders, since by that agreement they became freeholders.¹ It is important to inquire, however, why they and their neighbours in Eagle and North Scarle were apparently willing parties to enclosure.

The one circumstance common to freeholder, copyholder, tenant, and lord in the Graffoe Terraces was the nature of the soil. It is not difficult to imagine that by the sixteenth century the sandy soil areas of the open fields had become exhausted by constant cropping, while on the other hand it was felt that the clay areas would be more profitable under grass.² Peasant farmers were not averse to extensions of pasture farming,³ and while they could have resorted to a type of ley farming as elsewhere, enclosure was clearly a better solution to their difficulties. It is perhaps instructive to recall that Thorpe was the only parish in this Region in which open fields remained until the eighteenth century, and that it is in this parish only that a calcareous sandstone gives rise to an area of rather better sandy loams. Did landowners in Thorpe hesitate to follow the local fashion of enclosing because they did not suffer such a crying need to improve the fertility of their soil?

So much for early enclosure. The later phase, beginning about 1740 and lasting for a little over a century, was concerned (except in Thorpe) solely with the enclosure of common moorland and meadow. There appear to be three major reasons why this enclosure did not occur earlier.

First, the soil was very poor; and secondly, the northern parts of Skellingthorpe and Boultham were liable to flooding.⁴ A third reason may lie in the fact that although they were the least valuable part of the parish, the enclosure of commons could often occasion the most trouble. The division of the commons had been much debated, for example, at Swinderby in the previous century, and collections of eighteenth-century estate papers frequently contain correspondence about claims to common rights in parishes

¹ Cole, 'Swinderby Inclosure, A.D. 1629-1658', *Deanery of Graffoe Magazine*, June 1896-Aug. 1897. I wish to thank Mrs J. Varley and Mrs D. M. Owen for helping me to trace this reference and for a considerable amount of assistance with other documentary material.

² BM, Julius Caesar Papers, *loc. cit.*, ff. 66, 68, 69. Conversion of arable to pasture is specifically mentioned at Boultham and Skellingthorpe, while the conversion of houses of husbandry into cottages is reported at Eagle and Whisby. At Eagle in 1656 the tenants and copyholders, petitioning for enclosure, stated that "most of the land now tilled is more proper for grass, and that moor ground now eaten as common is fitter for corn, as is proved by experience amongst our next neighbours . . ." (W. O. Massingberd, 'Enclosures and Depopulations in Lincolnshire', *Lincs. N. and Q.*, x, 1908-9, p. 76).

³ Joan Thirsk, *Fenland Farming in the Sixteenth Century*, University of Leicester, Occasional Papers, No. 3, 1953, p. 41.

⁴ LAO, LD 71/4.

about to be enclosed.¹ Perhaps no better example could be found than Skellingthorpe itself, where, although the Act was passed in the session 1803-4 and the enclosure carried out in 1806, the award was not finally enrolled until 1830. Much of the delay was due to disputes over drainage, disagreements between commissioners, and other matters; but not a little confusion appears to have been caused by the claims to common rights made by the lord of the manor of Boultham and by large numbers of freeholders and tenants in North Hykeham.²

On the other hand, the enclosure of moor in Doddington, Whisby, and Eagle Barnsdale by private agreement was made possible by the fact that in each case only one lay owner was involved. Here there was no need to invoke the new method of enclosure, a circumstance which only serves to emphasize how the new legal machinery facilitated the solution of disputes almost invariably attendant upon the enclosure of a whole parish.

THE NORTHERN FEN MARGIN (Fig. II)

Although the western extremity of the Northern Fen Margin lies only a mile or so from the easternmost part of the Graffoe Terraces, there are marked differences of physical build between the two Regions. Eastwards of the clay vale one encounters the steep scarp of the Cliff, capped by the relatively resistant Lincolnshire Limestone. This is succeeded by the gentle dip slope some six to ten miles long which may be divided into two parts. The western part is the Heath proper, about five to six miles wide, with heights ranging between 100 and 200 feet above sea level. Here the limestone outcrops, but in the eastern part it is replaced by a strip, one to four miles wide, in which there is a mixture of soils derived from both solid rocks and drift at heights of 30-100 feet. This area may be termed the central zone of the Region, for on its eastern flank are the peat Fens stretching away eastwards for a distance of three or four miles to the River Witham at heights barely above sea level. The townships of this Region are characteristically long and narrow, and include within their boundaries portions of each of the three physical zones. Towards the Lincoln Gap, in the north, the central zone narrows considerably and the townships become less elongated.

With one exception the early settlements of this Region were made at the junction of the limestone and the central zone, generally in a shallow valley which afforded some shelter and a supply of water. A further advantage of these sites was their proximity to the areas of soil most suitable for the

¹ E.g., LAO, Aswarby, 5/14 *re* fen in Timberland in east Kesteven.

² LAO, LD 71/20-22 and TLE 37WD, especially 3/IX.

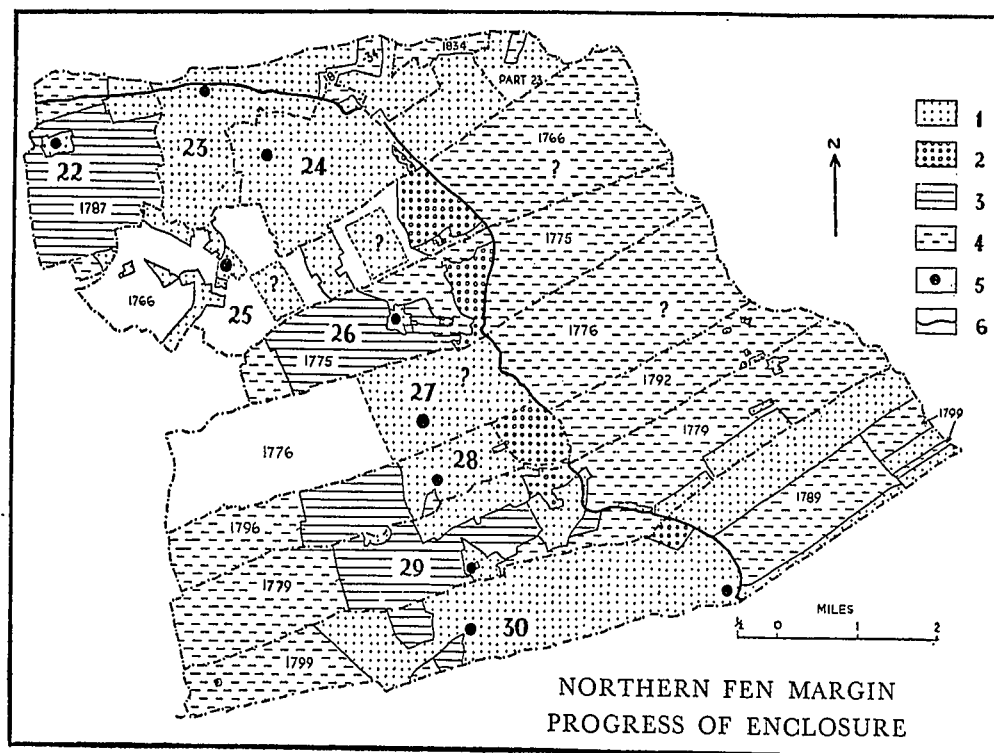


FIG. II

KEY as for Fig. I

TOWNSHIPS: 22, Canwick; 23, Washingborough; 24, Heighington; 25, Branston; 26, Potterhanworth; 27, Nocton; 28, Dunston; 29, Metherringham; 30, Blankney. In 30, Linwood is marked on the edge of the Fen.

establishment of open fields; at least, that is the impression to be gained from the evidence of the eighteenth century.¹

The remarkable feature of this Region's history is that 23,000 acres were enclosed by Parliamentary awards, representing about 62 per cent of the total area; except for 349 acres of fenland enclosed in 1834, the whole of this work was carried out in the brief period between 1766 and the end of the century (see Table). Between about 1700 and the beginning of this period there appears to have been a lull in enclosing activity, as there probably was in the Graffoe Terraces, for only in the case of Blankney is there evidence of private enclosure after 1700.²

¹ The exception was Linwood in Blankney, a monastic settlement overlooking the Fens (C. W. Foster and T. Longley, *The Lincolnshire Domesday*, Lincoln Record Society, xix, 1924, p. liv).

² It must be remembered, however, that the main source of evidence is glebe terriers, which became less reliable and less numerous in the eighteenth century.

Within the old enclosed lands of this Region three types of enclosure may be identified:

(1) Former monastic land—at Linwood in Blankney, Sheepwash in Canwick, and Nocton Park.

(2) Almost the whole of the parish of Washingborough, which included the township of Heighington, had been enclosed by 1700.

(3) In the other townships there was little early enclosure on the Heath, rather more in the Fens, but most of all in the central zone of mixed soils where the open fields were to be found. The latter area also contained large patches of woodland in the townships of Nocton and Potterhanworth.¹

The experience of the Northern Fen Margin, in regard to monastic land, was therefore similar to that of the Graffoe Terraces. This type of enclosure probably belongs to a period much earlier than the sixteenth century and may be partly explained by the fact that monastic foundations were often granted blocks of demesne land, for the Statute of Merton (1235-6) recognized the lord's power to enclose his own demesne, whereas in the case of waste he had to leave a 'sufficiency' for the tenants.²

Turning to Washingborough, it is impossible to cite any particular reason for early enclosure; it was clearly not a case of a single dominating lord, for both townships contained substantial numbers of freeholders. Such was the case also at neighbouring Branston where 500 acres were enclosed in 1682, apparently at the instigation of the freeholders; but this enclosure was an instance of the third category listed above, for which a partial explanation can be put forward.

In that part of the central zone which overlooks the Fens large areas were occupied in the eighteenth century by common pasture or woodland. These areas marked the spreads of heavy Boulder Clay soil and the very light soils of gravel terraces. However the predominant soils in this zone are medium and heavy loams which undoubtedly were the most fertile soils in the Northern Fen Margin before the effective drainage of the Fens. The key to progress was therefore to enclose some of this fertile area, leaving aside the common pastures and meadows of Heath and Fen, the enclosure of which might in any case have presented unwelcome problems as at Swinderby. Thus the 500 acres at Branston, which represented a quarter of the arable,

¹ Woodland was generally not enclosed in the normal sense, but gradually absorbed in the lord's demesne.—W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land*, Oxford, 1920, p. 22.

² Curtler, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Demesne land was granted at Vaudey in Edenham, Nocton Park, Kyme, and Eagle Hall.—VCH *Lincs.*, II, pp. 144, 169, 173, 211. For details of Linwood see D. M. Williamson, 'Kesteven Villages in the Middle Ages', *Lincs. Historian*, II (2), Spr. 1955, pp. 16-17.

were enclosed for conversion to pasture; it was said to be much needed for the cattle in wet years when the Fens were flooded, the arable having been left untilled because draught cattle could not be properly maintained.¹ The presence of very large common pastures on the Heath and in the Fens did not necessarily imply, therefore, that there was sufficient pasture of good quality for the feeding of draught beasts.

The manner in which the better soil areas were enclosed first is well illustrated by Blankney, where a succession of informative glebe terriers shows that enclosure was taking place to the east of the village in the early seventeenth century. Only in the eighteenth century were the less attractive areas to the west enclosed, and enclosure was still incomplete there at the time of the award of 1799. Enclosure had also been taking place in the Fen in the early seventeenth century, for in 1633 an agreement was signed between the lord of the manor and a yeoman concerning the rearrangement of Fen closes to their mutual convenience.² The lord was Sir William Widrington whose family resided in Blankney in the early eighteenth century (if not before) and was replaced by the Chaplins. The latter family owned about ninety per cent of the township at the time of the award. It is therefore tempting to ascribe to the influence of these families the advanced stage of private enclosure in Blankney; on the other hand, Nocton was similarly owned, yet less than a quarter of the parish had been enclosed when the award was carried out.

The sudden and extensive impact of the Parliamentary enclosure movement in this Region has already been touched upon. Although the Northern Fen Margin was not alone in this respect,³ it is possible to detect an additional reason for hurrying on the enclosure of Fen districts. The first serious attempt made in the eighteenth century to improve the drainage of these Witham or northern Fens took place in the 1760's, and since it was concentrated wholly on the river itself it was not sufficiently successful to make the Fens suitable for arable farming.⁴ This could only be achieved by considerably improving and extending the small drainage dykes in the Fen itself and by erecting windmills to pump water off the land into the river and the dykes. Schemes were devised whereby owners of land in the Fens paid for drainage by means of an 'acre tax', i.e. on a *pro rata* basis. These schemes were first operated under the Act of 1761, enclosed, common, and half-year's land all being assessed on different scales; but when the need for

¹ LAO, Benefice Papers, 2/30. ² LAO, Cragg 5/1/19.

³ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, 1957, pp. 212, 238-9, 262-3, and 292.

⁴ S. H. Wheeler, *The History of the Fens of South Lincolnshire*, London, 2nd ed., 1895, pp. 153-4.

further work arose, enclosure was obviously an expedient course of action. In the first place, it increased the revenue from the drainage rate; in the second, it facilitated the purchase of land for dykes and embankments; and in the third place, it enabled the owners to get a bigger return from the land. Thus in all the parishes of this Region Fen enclosure either preceded local drainage or was carried out by means of a joint drainage and enclosure Act.¹

The optimism of those who pressed for enclosure and drainage was clearly justified, for contemporary commentaries speak of heavy crops, particularly of oats and coleseed, being grown on the newly turned soil of the Fens. In the same period the open Heaths were enclosed, one Act usually sufficing for the whole of each township. The Heaths had been renowned for their bleakness and loneliness, for their rabbit warrens, and for poor sheep pasture which was apt to burn up in the summer, but all this was changed by the adoption of the Norfolk system of farming.²

THE SOUTHERN LIMESTONE HEATH (Fig. III)

Persons travelling southwards along the Jurassic upland from Lincoln are conscious of subtle yet appreciable changes in the appearance of the landscape. The summit levels rise from around 200–250 feet to about 350–400. With the increase in height is associated a deeper dissection of the plateau surface by both dry and occupied valleys. To the south of the Ancaster Gap, the upland is often known as the ‘Kesteven Plateau’, a name which recognizes the prevalence of very low angles of dip and the conspicuous similarity in summit heights. A further difference between north and south lies in the fact that large patches of Boulder Clay, mostly derived from Jurassic clays, are found on the plateau south of Ancaster, whereas the limestone to the north is almost completely free of drift.

The Southern Limestone Heath contains fourteen small townships, several of which are members of multi-township parishes. The characteristic township shape is that of a broad oblong, stretching from west to east from crest to crest across the valley of a southward-flowing stream (e.g. Little Bytham), or, more occasionally, half-way, from crest to stream (e.g. Couthorpe). Thus in each township there was land by the river suitable for meadow; while on the hilltops and hillsides the mixture of crech (limestone) and clay soils appears to have been largely occupied by the open arable fields, with the exception of woodland and very small areas of common pasture.

During the period 1767–1818 about 40 per cent of the Southern Lime-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 182–9; Thirsk, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 and 214.

² Thirsk, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–8, 257–62, 276–82.

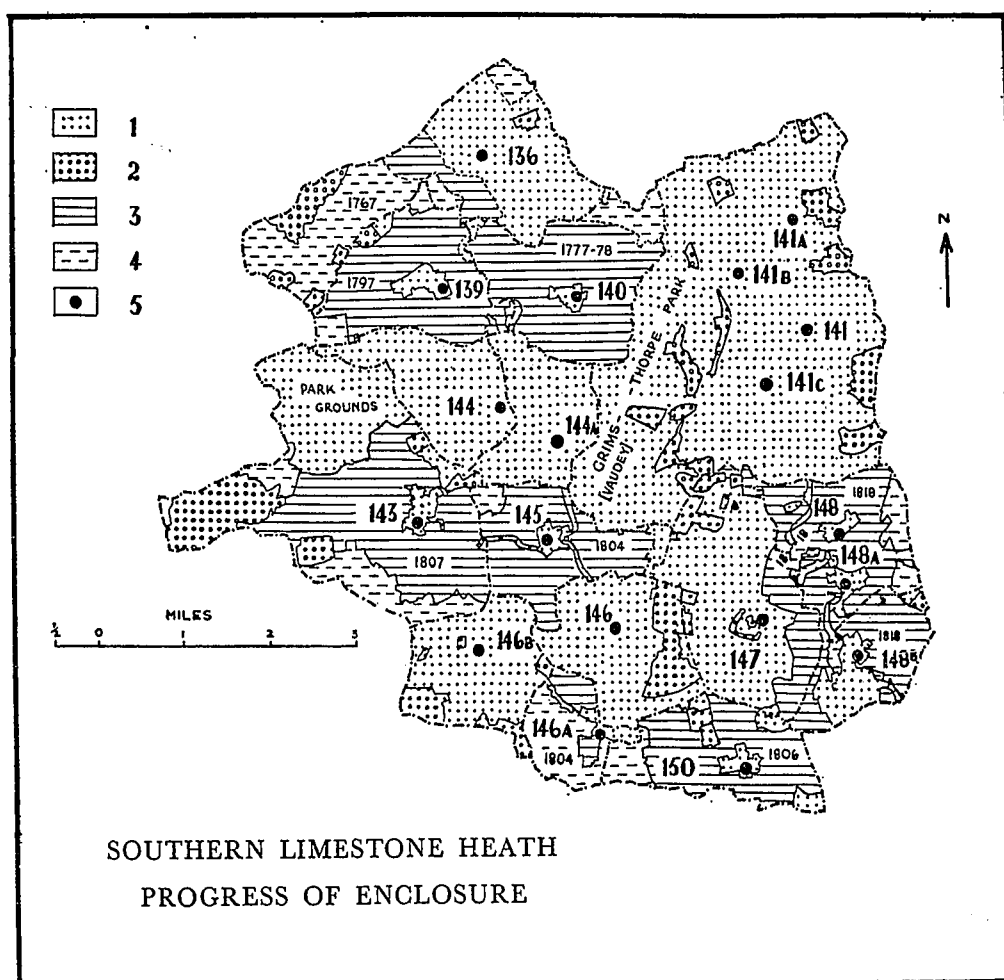


FIG. III

KEY as for Fig. I

TOWNSHIPS: 136, Corby; 139, Swayfield; 140, Swinstead; 141, Edenham, with 141A, Elsthorpe, 141B, Grimsthorpe, 141C, Scottlethorpe; 143, Castle Bytham; 144, Counthorpe; 144A, Creeton; 145, Little Bytham; 146, Careby; 146A, Aunby; 146B, Holywell; 147, Witham; 148, Toft; 148A, Lound; 148B, Manthorpe; 150, Carlby.

stone Heath was enclosed by various Acts (see Table). This Region therefore bears some comparison with the Graffoe Terraces, where Parliamentary enclosure was a long drawn-out process affecting an area which, by the standards of north-east Kesteven, was relatively small. An immediate distinction must be made between the five townships that were wholly enclosed before 1700, and the eight in which well over two-thirds of the land was enclosed by award. Only Witham-on-the-Hill is left aside; in this township 476 acres were enclosed by award, out of a total of 2,167.

A combination of three circumstances appears to have brought about the enclosures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. First, there was a shortage of pasture, not only for the more commercially-minded farmer, but probably also for those who practised the normal husbandry of an open-field township. A comparison of a typical award map for this Region (e.g. Little Bytham) with one for the Northern Fen Margin (e.g. Metherringham) immediately reveals how small were the common meadows and pastures of the Southern Limestone Heath in the eighteenth century. Moreover it is well known that in the previous century farmers of this locality were in the habit of hiring pastures in the fenland to the east.¹ Furthermore, there are frequent references in glebe terriers to 'lands' in the open fields which were either partially or entirely grassed down. Some of these lea lands remained in that state for upwards of a century and probably reflect both a shortage of pasture and difficulties of cultivation.

Secondly, it is important to notice that several powerful landed families were resident in this neighbourhood in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries. Thus the presence of the Bertie family (dukes of Ancaster) at Grimsby Castle in Edenham, the Hatchers at Careby, the Goodalls and Reynardsons at Holywell, and the Hackets at Creeton (where whole townships were enclosed without an award), and the Harringtons and Johnsons at Witham (where early enclosure was very extensive) serves to emphasize, in this Region at least, the importance of the gentry in relation to the early enclosure movement. These families were not only manorial lords, but also the principal, if not the sole, lay landowners.

On the other hand, it is clear that the same or similar families owned considerable areas of land in the townships which were enclosed by award. Although such townships generally contained a sprinkling of small freeholders, the gentry were in a powerful position and could probably have enclosed if they had pressed the matter sufficiently. The third circumstance which led to early enclosure therefore appears to be that the gentry had some particular reason for enclosing townships in which they resided. There is little evidence that 'landscaping' was important before the late seventeenth century. A more plausible reason is that the gentry were themselves farming considerable parts of their home manors and were thus led to a policy of selective enclosure.

The price revolution of the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods was a hard time for the gentry; their expenses rose, yet they had little chance of raising their rents quickly owing to the system of long leases and copyholds for life or other long periods which then obtained. Amongst four possible

¹ Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, p. 176.

solutions open to them, which Professor Tawney has listed, is the following: "... He could expand his own business activities, run his home farm, not to supply his household, but as a commercial concern, enlarge his demesnes, and enclose for the purpose of carrying more stock or increasing the output of grain."¹ It is clear that the Hatchers pursued this kind of policy at Careby, while there is a strong suggestion that Grimsthorpe was the scene of extensive sheep farming at least as early as 1584.²

In contrast with the progress made by the early enclosure movement, enclosure by award was relatively slow, and in 1800, when the movement had virtually finished in north-east Kesteven, there were still several townships unenclosed. The way in which this Region lagged behind is perplexing, especially in view of the residence of so many landed gentry, but a partial explanation may be put forward. While enclosure in north-east Kesteven paved the way to the extension of grain acreages to meet the demands of an expanding industrial market, it could have had only limited effects in that direction in the Southern Limestone Heath. There the unenclosed land was already very largely under cultivation, and although enclosure could have led to improved yields it could have made possible no appreciable increases in grain acreages (apart from the elimination of fallow). In fact, Arthur Young observed that in south Kesteven "upon soils clay and mould, which do for grazing, inclosure changes arable to grass; but upon creech continued arable."³

On the other hand, it is important to consider whether enclosure in this period was the effect of a progressive attitude to farming rather than the cause. In the middle of the nineteenth century south Kesteven was the one part of Lincolnshire which was picked out by Clarke to receive his stinging criticism.⁴ What a similar observer might have said in 1800 is not clear; nevertheless, the suspicion lingers that poor farmers and a conservative tradition failed to help, if they did not positively hold back, Parliamentary enclosure in this Region.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that within the relatively small compass of the areas studied there occurred wide differences in the timing and pace of enclosure. Never-

¹ R. H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640', in *Essays in Economic History*, ed. E. M. Carus-Wilson, London, 1954, pp. 184-5.

² Thirsk, *Fenland Farming*, p. 51; and *English Peasant Farming*, p. 176; LAO, ANC 1/3/19.

³ A. Young, *A General View of the Agriculture of the Co. of Lincoln*, London, 1799, p. 468.

⁴ J. A. Clarke, *The Agriculture of the County of Lincoln in 1851*, London, 1852, pp. 124-5 and 151.

theless it is possible to make several general observations at two levels, the regional and the parochial.

Each of the three regions appears to have been strongly affected by national changes in the prosperity of agriculture. Only in this manner is it possible to account for the two great waves of enclosing activity which occurred approximately between 1500 and 1640 and between 1750 and 1840. These were periods of farming prosperity, a fact which establishes the importance of the economic factor in relation to enclosure.

The form of the enclosure, however, varied from one region to another, for the economic benefits to be gained from enclosure depended partly on the physical circumstances of the region. Thus, for instance, early enclosure proceeded rapidly in the Graffoe Terraces, where soil exhaustion was most keenly felt. Within each region, too, there were variations in the pace of enclosure. In the Northern Fen Margin early enclosure was most apparent in the central zone, for it was in this zone that enclosure could bring the greatest benefits. Of the two remaining zones, the limestone Heath was less affected by early enclosure than the Fens, a fact which suggests that land improvements on the Heath were virtually impossible until the value of turnip cultivation was recognized in the second half of the eighteenth century.

At the parochial level the pattern of events is less easy to interpret, since so much depended upon local personalities and balances of power. Nevertheless there is evidence in all three regions that resident lords and monastic foundations were generally associated with early enclosure. Enclosure by manorial lords was not merely a result of their social dominance, but also, as Professor Tawney has pointed out, a result of the peculiar way in which they were open to economic pressures. At the opposite extreme, townships which contained a large number of freeholders were enclosed later, unless exceptional difficulties of farming forced unanimity upon them, as in the Graffoe Terraces and at Branston. The case of Branston is outstanding, since it occurred in 1682, during a general lull in enclosing activity.

Finally, some points of comparison may be made with two neighbouring counties where enclosure history has been studied. In Leicestershire Parliamentary enclosure was marked by an extension of permanent pasture, and not of arable farming, as was generally the case in Kesteven.¹ In both Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, as in Kesteven, the factor of landownership is one of many factors which must be considered in explaining the course of enclosure history. On the other hand, an interesting point of contrast

¹ H. G. Hunt, *The Parliamentary Enclosure Movement in Leicestershire, 1730-1842*, unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1955 (1956), p. 240.

occurs between Nottinghamshire and Kesteven in the eighteenth century: while private enclosure was of little importance in Kesteven during that century, in Nottinghamshire over forty per cent of the total land was enclosed by this method, in contrast to the twelve per cent enclosed before 1700.¹ Such a big difference between neighbouring counties in both the timing and the method of enclosure serves to emphasize that many more local studies of enclosure must be made before a full understanding can be reached.

TABLE TO SUMMARIZE ENCLOSURE IN SELECTED REGIONS OF KESTEVEN

PERIOD AND TYPE OF ENCLOSURE	GRAFFOE TERRACES	NORTHERN FEN MARGIN	SOUTHERN LIMESTONE HEATH
Enclosed privately by 1700	72.0% 15,743 acs.	36.2% 13,827 acs.	60.0% 18,020 acs.
Enclosed privately 1700-1800	2.08% 450 acs.	0.7% c. 300 acs.	Nil? Nil?
Enclosed by Act 1700-1800	7.09% 1,530 acs.	61.1% 23,355 acs.	15.1% 4,528 acs.
Open in 1800	18.83% 3,854 acs.	0.9% 349 acs.	24.3% 7,172 acs.
	21,577 acs.	37,831 acs.	29,720 acs.
Enclosed by both methods 1700-1870	28.8% 5,834 acs.	62.7% 24,453 acs.	39.4% 11,809 acs.

APPENDIX ON SOURCES

Most of the sources upon which this paper is based are quoted in detail in Appendices 4, 9, and 16 of my M.A. thesis: D. R. Mills, *Population and Settlement in Kesteven, c. 1775-c. 1885*, University of Nottingham, 1957 (1958). The following is a list of additional sources, mostly relating to land-ownership, which are quoted neither in my thesis, nor in the footnotes above:

(a) DOCUMENTARY

Kesteven Land Tax Duplicates, 1808 (LAO).

Whisby Tithe Award, LAO F32.

Branston Tithe Award, LAO E541.

¹ J. D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1932, p. 149.

(b) PRINTED

Burke's Peerage, 1898, *sub* Chaplin.

R. E. G. Cole, *Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolnensis, A.D. 1705-1723*, Lincoln Record Society, IV, 1913, pp. 22, 29, and 43.

LAO, Archivists' Report, 1948-50.

A. R. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Peerages*, Harleian Society, 1903-6, II, pp. 40, 437, and 461; III, p. 1041.

NOTES AND COMMENTS (*continued from page 74*)

held later in the day, Mr George Ordish was re-elected Chairman.

FUTURE CONFERENCES

A Joint Conference on Scottish Agricultural History will be held with the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University, on Saturday, 26 September 1959. Further details may be obtained from Mr George Houston, Department of Political Economy, University of Glasgow.

The One-Day Joint Conference with the Association of Agriculture will be held in the Institute of Education, University of London, on Saturday, 5 December 1959.

The Annual General Meeting and Conference for 1960 will be held at Harper Adams Agricultural College, near Newport, Shropshire, from the evening of Thursday, 7 April, till breakfast-time on Saturday, 9 April.

SCOTTISH STUDIES

Scottish Studies, Volume 3, i, 1959 (the Journal of the School of Scottish Studies of the University of Edinburgh) contains three articles bearing on the Statistical Accounts of Scotland. F. V. Emery of the Oxford University School of Geography gives a geographical description of Scotland prior to the Statistical Accounts. Arthur Geddes of the Edinburgh University Department of Geography writes about the Statistical Accounts of 1790-1825 and 1835-45. Finally, A. M.

Struthers of the Scottish Council of Social Service discusses the progress of a pilot scheme for a third Statistical Account after the Second World War. In the same number Ian Whitaker records the types of wooden harrows used in North Uist.

The Scottish Historical Review, Volume 38 (1), 1959, contains two articles of interest to readers of the AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW. The first is a description of the custom of taking the cattle to summer shielings or upland pastures, which was once a common feature of Highland farming; it is by Victor Gaffney, a former research student at Edinburgh University. The other is by Asgaut Steinnes of Oslo and deals with the existence of the Scandinavian 'Huseby' (technical name for a royal administrative farm of military character) land system in Orkney in the ninth and tenth centuries.

FORTY YEARS OF DANISH FARM RECORDS

Det landøkonomiske Driftsbureau (The Danish Institute of Farm Management and Agricultural Economics) has recently published a survey entitled *Technical and Economic Changes in Danish Farming*. The Institute was established in 1916 and between 1916 and 1957 analysed no less than 32,402 sets of farm accounts. The present publication summarizes the trends in Danish farming, which these accounts reveal, between 1917 and 1957.

Agricultural Rent in South-East England, 1788-1825

By H. G. HUNT

MOST of our knowledge concerning the development of agriculture and the fortunes of landowners and farmers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is derived from the commentary of contemporary witnesses. The county reports to the Board of Agriculture, the correspondence published in the *Annals of Agriculture*, and the numerous pamphlets on the plight of the poor contain many references to the inflation of farmers' profits and landlords' rents during the Napoleonic Wars. The Reports of the Select Committees in 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1833 leave no doubt about the widespread distress among farmers and the difficulties of estate stewards during the period of adjustment that followed, particularly in the early 1820's. But if the general trends are clear, much of the evidence suffers from a lack of precision. To take just one example, John Boys, writing on the agriculture of Kent in 1805, states that "Since the former edition of this work [1796], rents have much increased, and in some instances have experienced an enormous advance; particularly in rich soils, and in the neighbourhood of market towns. The late extravagantly high prices of corn operated as a bounty upon its production, by encouraging an enlarged cultivation."¹ This observation shows quite clearly some of the changes that were taking place at the turn of the century; nevertheless one would like to know a great deal more about them. What was the extent of the increase in rent? For how long did it continue, and how quickly was the landlord able to tap the increased prosperity of the farmers? Similarly, the minutes of evidence taken by the Select Committee in 1821, although voluminous, leave a number of important questions unanswered.² It is evident that by that date prosperity was at an end. But it is necessary to discover how quickly and in what ways rents were adjusted to the changes in the fortunes of the tenants, and when the actual turning-points came. Fresh advances in this field of study are now to be made mainly by the detailed examination of estate papers and other material which throw light on these questions. A contribution is made in this article by the analysis of changes in agricultural rent in one area of south-east England.

The Kent Archives Office contains a fine series of account books pertain-

¹ *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent*, 1805, p. 39.

² *British Parl. Papers*, 1821, Vol. ix.

ing to the estate of Lord Darnley of Cobham.¹ In addition to his extensive estate in Ireland and smaller properties in other parts of England, Darnley owned a good deal of land in north-west Kent, particularly in the parishes of Cobham, Gravesend, Cliffe, Chalk, and Cuxton. The account books compiled by his steward, William Stevenson, contain details of the income and expenses of Darnley's Kentish property in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and are of great value to the historian in providing complete and continuous data concerning rents, sizes of farms, leases, and capital improvements on the estate. In order to trace the course of agricultural rents it is necessary to distinguish the income from Darnley's farms from that of his other property. The latter included a large number of houses and gardens, shops, a rope yard, a shipwright's yard, a boatbuilder's yard, a corn mill, and a public house. Darnley was the impropiator of tithes in a number of parishes and also owned land used for digging chalk.² In 1788 Darnley owned ten farms in north-west Kent varying in size from 250 acres to 700 acres, the aggregate area being approximately 3,800 acres.³ By 1820 he had considerably enlarged his estate to 7,500 acres by the purchase of a further twenty-five farms. The following table summarizes the changes in his income from farm rents between 1788 and 1820, including the rent from the farms he purchased between these dates.

<i>Date</i> ⁴	<i>Aggregate Rent</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Aggregate Rent</i>
1788-89	£2,229	1807-08	£5,243
1791-92	£3,098	1810-11	£6,525
1794-95	£3,269	1813-14	£7,260
1797-98	£3,349	1816-17	£7,477
1801-02	£3,486	1819-20	£8,149
1804-05	£4,022		

Darnley's total farm rents rose from £2,229 in 1788 to £8,149 in 1820, an increase of 266 per cent in thirty-two years. While this large rise can partly be accounted for by the increase in land values between these two dates, his purchases of land also helped to swell his income from farm rents. Thus it

¹ K.A.O. U565.

² Some of his land was leased by a group of men who proposed to construct a tunnel under the Thames at Gravesend. For the plan of the project, which was never carried out, see K.A.O. Q/RUM 89.

³ It is not possible to ascertain the exact size of Darnley's estate in 1788 since there was no survey of his farms at that time and acreages are not mentioned in the account books. Later surveys, although providing a guide, do not contain references to recent increases or reductions in the size of the farms.

⁴ Darnley's financial year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

is clearly necessary to consider separately (a) the rent from those farms he possessed in 1788 and (b) the rent from those farms subsequently purchased.

First let us trace the rents paid by the occupiers of the former group of farms. The aggregate rent from these farms rose from £2,229 in 1788 to £4,404 in 1820, i.e. a rise of about 100 per cent. This rise did not take place evenly. A close analysis of the rent changes shows that five distinct periods can be distinguished:

	<i>Average increase in rent per annum</i>
1788-99	1.6%
1800-04	1.8%
1805-11	5.0%
1812-15	nil
1816-20	3.3%

If we compare these changes with the price of corn in Kent (Fig. I) an interesting correlation emerges. Corn prices fluctuated considerably from year to year, but apart from one or two years of good harvest, prices were on average creeping upwards between 1788 and 1804. Rents also underwent a



FIG. I

Kent Corn Prices (first week in October), from the *London Gazette*. After 1820 prices are the average from Canterbury.

modest rise in this period. The most rapid advances in rent took place between 1805 and 1811 when wheat prices were increasing rapidly. On the other hand, rents were almost stagnant between 1812 and 1815 when wheat prices fell by more than 50 per cent. Between the end of the war and 1820 rents began to rise again. This at first sight seems puzzling in view of the uncertainty among farmers and landowners and of the sharp fall of corn prices in 1819 and 1820. The estate account books show, however, that Darnley enlarged a number of his farms each by a small acreage from his purchases of land in this period, and that this rather than any change in land values accounts for the increase in rent.

The additions to Darnley's Kentish property between 1788 and 1820 were made in four main stages: eleven farms were purchased between 1790 and 1793, two in 1803-4, three in 1808-9, and nine between 1817 and 1820. The

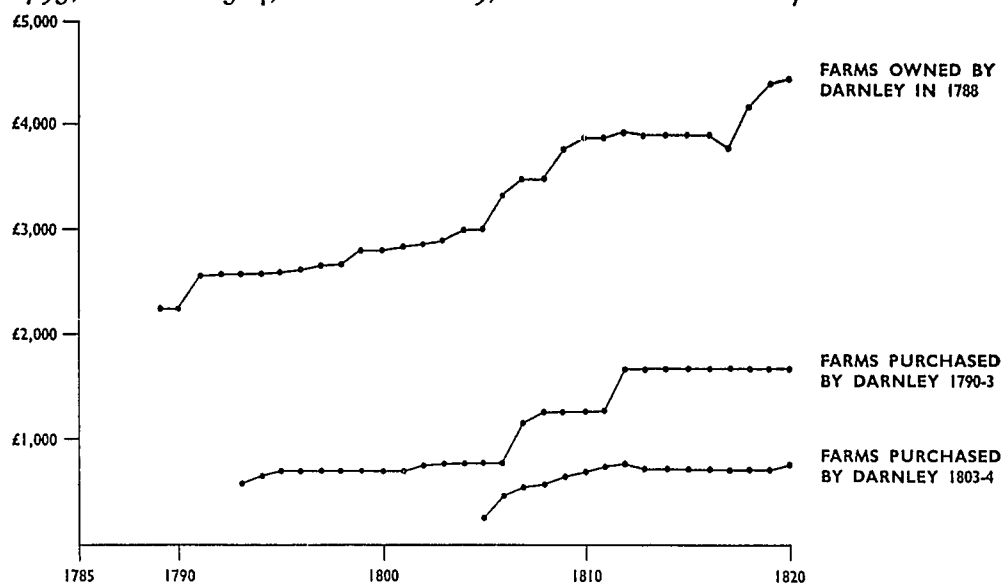


FIG. II
Lord Darnley's agricultural rent.

rents from the farms purchased up to 1804 have been traced in Fig. II and the annual average rate of increase shown in the following table.

	<i>Average annual rate of increase in rent</i>	
	<i>Farms purchased 1790-3</i>	<i>Farms purchased 1803-4</i>
1793-99	1.5%	—
1800-04	2.0%	—
1805-11	13.5%	6.6%
1812-15	nil	nil
1816-20	nil	1.4%

The course of rents on the newly acquired farms is similar to that on the farms already in Darnley's possession in 1788. The period of most rapid increase appears to have been 1805-11, while rents were generally stable after 1812.

Rents could be changed most quickly on farms held by tenants-at-will. Before 1815 many of Darnley's farms were, however, occupied by farmers holding leases of between seven and twelve years' duration,¹ and this tended to reduce the sensitivity of rents to prices. Nevertheless when the time came to renew a lease the enlarged income of the farmer was at least partly absorbed by an increase in rent. Two examples will show how the fortunes of farming changed and how Darnley's steward took every opportunity of seeing that the rent was at an economic level. In 1788 the tenant of Knight's Place Farm in Cobham paid £80 p.a. for some 200 acres. At the expiry of the lease in 1790 the rent was raised to £100 p.a. with a new lease for twelve years. In 1802 the rent was raised to £160 and the farmer was forced to accept a tenancy-at-will in place of his lease. Further rises in rent took place in rapid succession, to £180 p.a. in 1803 and to £230 p.a. in 1809 when a lease for twelve years was granted. By 1814 and 1815 the falling prices had forced the tenant to run up arrears on his high rent which had been contracted at the height of the boom, and he was forced to quit the farm. His successor contracted a lease in 1816 for twelve years at the same rent and was able to pay his way for three years during the partial recovery of prices. But in 1819 depression set in and the farmer found himself in difficulties. His arrears rose from £119 in 1819 to £461 in 1822, and Darnley was forced to give him a rebate of 25 per cent of his rent in 1823 to prevent him from sinking further into debt. A similar case was that of Ranscombe Farm (some 250 acres) in the parish of Cuxton where the changes of rent were as follows:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Rent</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Rent</i>
1788	£120	1808	£300
1790	£145	1812	£288 ²
1798	£180	1820	£200
1801	£200		

The reduction in rent at Michaelmas 1820 came after the tenant had piled up £657 in arrears, and Darnley was also compelled to grant a rebate in order to keep the farm occupied. The conversion of leaseholds to tenancies-

¹ It was normal for Kentish tenants to hold leases of from seven to fourteen years' duration.

² A reduction in rent took place in this year when the tenant agreed to pay the tithe which had previously been paid by the landlord.

at-will between 1795 and 1812 was evidently a move by Darnley to tap more quickly the increases in his tenants' incomes due to rising prices. Leases were only granted on terms which anticipated future rises in prices. Thus Darnley granted a twelve-year lease on Green Farm, some 400 acres in the parish of Shorne, in 1803, but the new tenant was forced to accept an enormous increase in rent from £194 to £350 p.a.¹

The height of prosperity in farming in north-west Kent appears, from the changes in agricultural rents, to have been in the years between 1805 and 1812. After 1812 corn prices began to fall sharply, and the uncertainty of the future at the end of the war is reflected in the terms of new agreements that were reached between landlord and tenants. After 1814 it was exceptional for a rent to be increased at the expiry of a lease.² In a number of cases leases were converted to tenancies-at-will, perhaps a precautionary measure in view of the varying forecasts of the future of corn prices. The fortunes of farmers varied according to the dates when their leases expired. Those farmers who contracted new terms for a lease, say, of twelve years or longer when prices were still rising rapidly, found themselves in serious difficulties by 1820; whereas those whose leases expired immediately after the war managed to escape an increase in rent and were thus less burdened during the ensuing depression. The state of anxiety amongst farmers even as early as 1813 is shown by the fact that Darnley agreed that the tenant of Wickham Farm, 266 acres in the parish of Wickham, should receive a rebate of £50 on his annual rent of £400 whenever the average price of wheat fell below £4 per quarter.³

The general apprehension at the end of the war was somewhat allayed during 1816, 1817, and 1818, when prices showed a mild recovery, but towards the end of 1819 corn prices began to fall (owing partly to a sudden importation of corn but mainly to good harvests) and continued to do so until they reached their nadir in 1822. The worst fears of depression were realized and petitions of distress poured into the Commons from farmers throughout the country. What was the reaction on the Darnley estate? Darnley's aggregate agricultural rent after 1820 has not been traced in Fig. II because the figures obtained would not be comparable with those at earlier dates. Darnley's steward was engaged in a considerable readjustment of the

¹ K.A.O. U565 A22a.

² Except where the size of the farm was increased as in the cases discussed above.

³ K.A.O. U565 A32a. It is interesting to note that according to a clause in a lease granted to another farmer ten years later the landlord agreed to give a rebate of £50 on a rent of £300 when the price of wheat fell below 52 shillings a quarter. The difference in the price of wheat to qualify the farmer for a rebate in 1813 compared to 1823 is indicative of the changed expectations of farmers and landlords.

estate: some farms were being split up and let off in small acreages, sometimes for non-agricultural purposes, other farms were being increased in size and much land was being bought and sold. Where, however, his original farms were left intact it is possible to trace the course of rents into the late 1820's and after. One inevitable development was that Darnley was forced to reduce rents on a number of farms in order to keep them in occupation during the depression. The following examples illustrate this.

<i>Farm</i>	<i>Size (acres)</i>	<i>Old rent</i>	<i>New rent</i>	<i>Year of reduction</i>
Cheney's Farm (Cuxton)	219	£286	£230	1823
High Birch Farm (Cuxton)	209	£180	£140	1823
Court Lodge & Whorne's Place Farms (Cuxton)	457	£430	£390	1823

Those farms on which reductions in rent were allowed were held by tenants-at-will. Rents paid by leaseholders could not be so quickly adjusted to the changed market prices. Darnley's steward was wise enough to realize, however, that if he held his tenants to their original bargain many of them would have to quit. Thus while nominal rents paid on unexpired leases remained constant throughout the depression, rebates were allowed to those farmers in severe distress. For example, the tenant of East Court Farm (Manor of East Chalk) was allowed a £60 rebate on his rent of £646 in 1820. In the following year a number of tenants were allowed rebates ranging from 15 per cent to 25 per cent "in consequence of all agricultural produce selling at prices below the expence of growing it."¹ Similar allowances were made in 1822 and 1823, some of the rebates rising to 30 per cent. This timely financial assistance by the landlord undoubtedly had the effect of saving his leasehold tenants from insolvency and enabling them to continue farming in the face of the depression. One tenant, the occupier of West Cliffe Court Farm (700 acres), had fallen behind on his rent to the extent of £650 in 1822, and a rebate of £725 enabled him to start with a clean slate in the following year. By 1824 the worst of the immediate depression had passed,² and Darnley no longer found it necessary to allow rebates on his rents. Many of the tenancies-at-will were converted to leaseholds once more, and leaseholders were being charged more realistic rents on the renewal of their contracts.

¹ K.A.O. U565 A40a.

² The recovery in prices in 1824 and 1825 was followed by another depression in the later 1820's. See G. E. Fussell and M. Compton, 'Agricultural adjustments after the Napoleonic Wars', *Economic History* (Supplement to the *Economic Journal*), III, No. 14, 1939, pp. 186 *et seq.*

We have seen how unpaid rent had to be written off by the landlord in the early 1820's. It is interesting to establish how far changes in the aggregate arrears of rent on Darnley's estate reflect changes in the prosperity of farming. The graph of arrears on agricultural land in Fig. III shows that, apart

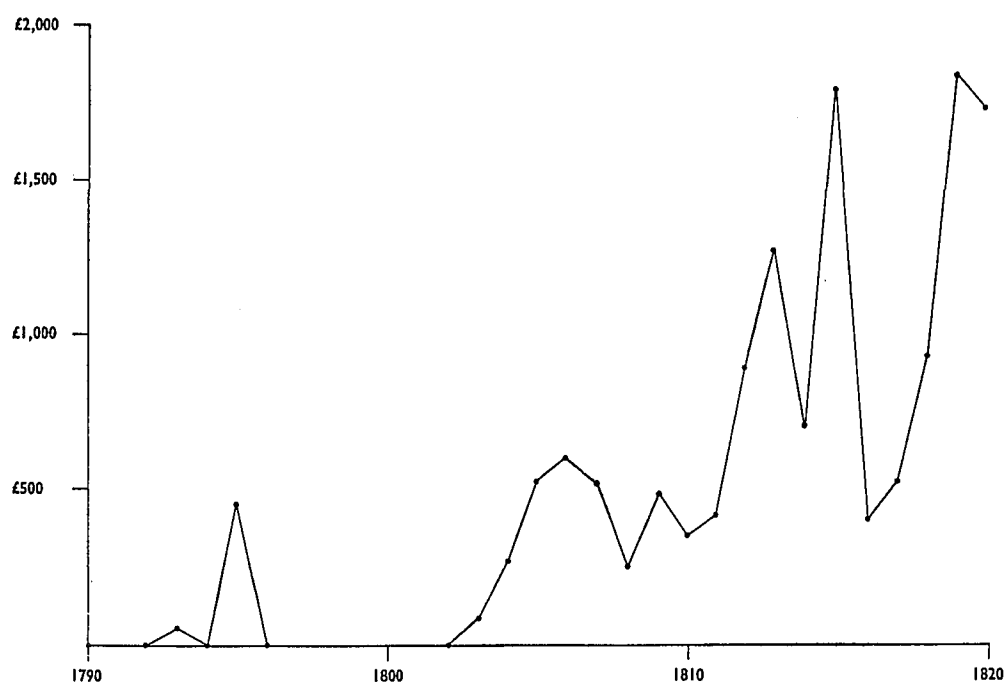


FIG. III

Rent arrears on Darnley's estate.

from the year 1795, arrears on the estate were negligible in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The £445 of farm rent arrears in 1795 can be attributed to the bad weather in the late summer of that year which delayed the harvest and compelled some farmers to be late in paying their rent. The increase in aggregate arrears in the first twelve years of the nineteenth century took place in a period of prosperity, and was mainly due to the inability of farmers to pay, in the first year or two, rents which had been scaled up in anticipation of further rises in agricultural prices. The arrears after 1812 are, however, of a more serious nature and are a truer reflection of the vicissitudes of that period. Farmers found it difficult to pay their rents when prices were falling; thus the level of arrears soared to over £1,700 in 1815 after three years of rapidly falling corn prices. Arrears rose again to a record height in 1819 after a sharp downward turn in corn prices. But the level of arrears did not always vary inversely with the price of corn even in the post-war years, since a late payment by a farmer, not always the result of an unfavourable

market for his produce, was entered as an arrear in the account book. Moreover, in the years between 1819 and 1823 arrears were kept down, and in some cases cleared up, by the rent rebate that Darnley allowed his tenants. Thus the level of arrears in each year is not always a reliable guide to the prosperity of farming.

Corn prices during the agricultural depression in the early 1820's were on average no lower than they had been in the 1780's and early 1790's; it was the difference in the farmers' costs between the two periods which largely explains the severity of the distress. We have seen how leaseholders were burdened with high rents contracted during the height of the boom ten years previously. John Lake, the Kentish witness before the Committee of 1821, mentions the failure of certain tradesmen such as blacksmiths and wheelwrights to reduce their charges.¹ The malt tax also bore heavily on the farmers since it was still the widespread practice to supply a quantity of beer free of charge to agricultural labourers.² One item of farmers' expenses, that of labourers' wages, can be traced in detail. Darnley's home farm, 378 acres in Cobham, was managed by the steward, and we may consider the wages paid by him at Cobham to reflect the general level paid by the farmers in the surrounding parishes. The following table shows the wages paid to day labourers employed on the farm at Cobham up to 1814. After 1815 wages of agricultural labourers paid by the day no longer appear in the estate books. But the wages of day labourers employed in the grounds of Cobham Hall are still recorded, and these may be taken as a guide to the wages of agricultural labourers since the two sets of wages were identical before 1815.

Day Wages of Male Agricultural Labourers on Darnley's Home Farm³

	<i>Winter</i>	<i>Summer</i>	<i>Harvest Period</i>
1790	1s. 6d.	1s. 8d.	2s. 0d.
1794	1s. 6d.	1s. 8d.	2s. 0d.
1797	2s. 0d.	2s. 0d.	2s. 4d.
1800	2s. 0d.	2s. 0d.	2s. 6d.
1803	2s. 0d.	2s. 0d.	2s. 6d.
1806	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.
1809	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.	3s. 0d.
1812	3s. 0d.	3s. 0d.	3s. 0d.
1814	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.

¹ British Parl. Papers, 1821, IX, p. 74.

² Poor rates were of course very much heavier in the 1820's compared with thirty years earlier, and this burden appears to have been shouldered by the tenants.

³ These figures do not include a daily allowance of beer received by the labourers.

*Day Wages of Male Labourers employed by the Month in the Grounds of
Cobham Hall¹*

1815	2s. 6d. & 2s. od. ²	1821	2s. od. & 1s. 8d.
1817	2s. 6d. & 2s. od.	1823	1s. 8d. & 1s. 6d.
1819	2s. 3d.	1825	2s. 6d. & 2s. od.

The daily wages of labourers responded fairly swiftly to changes in the fortunes of farming. Money wages on Darnley's home farm rose between 4d. and 6d. per day in the middle of the 1790's and further rises of 6d. per day took place between 1803 and 1806 and between 1809 and 1812, the maximum rate of three shillings per day being reached in the latter year. By 1814 the diminishing prosperity of agriculture had its effect on labourers' wages which fell to 2s. 6d. per day. This rate was maintained during the next three years of uncertainty, but in 1819 the onset of depression resulted in another fall in wages, this time to 2s. 3d. per day. As the agricultural depression developed, wages were forced down until by 1823 they reached the level obtaining in 1790, although a recovery in corn prices in 1824 and 1825 enabled labourers to gain a higher rate once more. Thus, while the wages of day labourers rose by 100 per cent in the period of prosperity up to 1812,³ farmers were able to reduce them by the same extent in almost half the time during the harder times that followed.

The general conclusions drawn from the statistics presented in this article may be briefly summarized. We have seen that agricultural rent increased between 1788 and 1812, first at a fairly modest rate, but later, after 1805, very rapidly. The close correlation between rents and corn prices shows that the landlord was quick to participate in the 'unearned' increase in farmers' incomes. During the period of rapidly rising prices the landlord ensured his share in the growing prosperity of agriculture in two ways. Some farmers were required to pay high rents when their leases were renewed in anticipation of further price rises; others were forced to accept tenancies-at-will which were subject to frequent changes in rent. The good harvests between 1813 and 1815 called a halt to rising farming profits, and rents consequently ceased their upward trend. The comparative stability in rents continued in 1816, 1817, and 1818 (allowing for the increase in size of some farms) despite a mild recovery in prices and the Corn Law. In 1819 prices began to fall again and a severe depression set in lasting till 1824. Worst hit were those

¹ The figures do not include a daily allowance of beer received by the labourers.

² The lower rate was usually paid in the winter months after Christmas.

³ The rise in the wages of agricultural labourers between 1794 and 1812 was spectacular in view of the fact that they had scarcely changed during the previous ninety years.

tenants with leases dating from 1812 and earlier who could continue to farm their land only by eating into reserves or by piling up arrears of rent. Tenants with one-year contracts received immediate relief by a reduction in rent. Leaseholders were, however, less fortunately placed, but were relieved by abatements in their rent, up to thirty per cent in some cases, until their leases ran out or until the worst of the immediate depression was over. Thus while the landlord had been quick to profit by the scarcity of foodstuffs during the war and had been somewhat reluctant to reduce his rents after the peak of 1812, he had accepted the fact of lower land values by 1820. Re-adjustment to the changed circumstances was not achieved without considerable financial loss by the farmers. But tenants in difficulty between 1819 and 1823 were not evicted, since the landlord preferred to adopt a realistic attitude rather than see his land withdrawn from cultivation.¹

¹ This was usually the case. See, for example, Joan Thirsk and Jean Imray, *Suffolk Farming in the Nineteenth Century*, Suffolk Record Society, 1, 1958, pp. 96 *et seq.*

Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Devon

By DUNCAN MITCHELL

DEVON is an area of small farms. The tradition is not a new one, for Robert Fraser, writing toward the end of the eighteenth century, noted it. "Farms in general are small, from twenty to forty acres being the common run of the holdings in this county." But he observed that there were some changes. "Of late, the farmers are beginning to increase, and one farmer is sometimes found to occupy two, three, or more of these tenements; but I found very few farmers exceed two, or at most three hundred acres." There was, in his words, a "respectable class of yeomanry."¹ This tradition of independent small-holdings was, and still remains, strong. The question arises, however, how this class of small-holder was recruited. Some evidence is available to show

that it was not altogether a self-perpetuating class, but that it drew some of its members from the labourers.

To appreciate this factor of social mobility we have to note two things. First, during the nineteenth century farmers quite often changed their holdings. In the years following the Napoleonic wars the return on farm produce was small; but although rentals were repeatedly lowered by from 25 to 30 per cent, such reductions did not prevent a considerable movement among farmers from one holding to another and cheaper one.² In the later times of relative prosperity the movement was reversed. This geographical mobility in fact persisted down to 1939. Men did not always feel obliged to farm the same land as their forbears, although they seldom left

¹ Robert Fraser, *General View of the County of Devon*, 1794, p. 17.

² *Agricultural State of the Kingdom in February, March, and April 1816.*

the same district, unless it was to emigrate overseas.

Secondly, labourers' wages during the last quarter of the nineteenth century varied between eleven and twelve shillings per week. They had been tending to increase since the 1850's; thus in 1858 they were between seven and eight shillings in north Devon, and between eight and nine shillings in south Devon. Perquisites such as four pints of cider per week and eight quarts during the harvest time were included. By 1880 a good man might earn fifteen shillings per week, rather higher than for some other parts of southern England.

The combination of improving wages and available small-holdings for rental provided opportunities for social advancement. But just how was it accomplished? Two examples will be given by way of illustration; both are drawn from the South Hams area.

In 1880 a stonebreaker, whose father was a farm labourer earning fifteen shillings per week, was employed on the roads at an average wage of seventeen shillings. On this wage he saved enough to buy a horse and cart and so offer his services to the local authority as a carter of stones for road repairs. This enabled him to increase his income. He had all along kept a few fowls by his cottage for his own use and as an additional source of income, and to these he now added a cow, which he grazed in a small field he rented. By dint of frugal living and saving he was able to invest in some more livestock until he was in a position to rent a thirty-acre holding. Soon after this he gave up carting stones, and eventually after some years he moved to a fifty-acre holding. He had two sons who helped him on the farm. They were unpaid but received pocket money. In late middle-age he moved again to a farm of a hundred and fifty acres. He died just before the 1914 war, but both sons were set up as farmers, one taking over from his father, the other farming near by.

The second case is particularly interesting because of an apparently little-known practice. In 1880 a hind (or foreman) to a gentle-

man-farmer besides keeping some fowls and a few pigs of his own also hired several milking cows. This hiring of cattle was not uncommon in south Devon. Usually the farmer provided the use of a building as well as the cattle, and charged a rent, but the sale of the milk and butter, with skimmed milk being fed to pigs, provided a profit. As a hind this man earned four shillings above the normal labourer's wage, and this together with his profit from the cows enabled him in 1900 to rent a fifty-acre holding. At that time he had two sons aged fifteen and twelve years, and both helped him on the farm. Nine years later the younger son emigrated to Canada, where he became owner of a large ranch. On his departure the elder brother suggested to his father that he be made a partner, but this was refused. Instead he was given five shillings per week and his board. Later the elder son married, left home, and rented a small-holding of fourteen acres; his father gave him a calf and a pig. He was employed as a labourer on a nearby farm for fifteen shillings per week and farmed his own land in his spare time. By 1914 he possessed two cows, several pigs, and some fowls. He succeeded in raising a strain of pig for which there was a good local demand. Later he moved to a thirty-acre holding. His father continued to manage his own holding with the help of a daughter for a further twenty years after his son left him.

Thus rising real wages, new forms of employment both full-time and part-time offering chances of an improved income, and geographical mobility among small-holders, combined to provide opportunities for labourers during the latter part of the last century and the beginning of the present one. It may be noted in addition that the small-holder class, relying on family labour and used to frugality, was able to withstand economic depression much better than the larger farmer. Hence this alteration in social standing was very frequently maintained throughout the period between the wars.

Work in Progress

Compiled by JOAN THIRSK

The following list does not lay claim to completeness. It has been compiled from the particulars given in response to a letter circulated to universities, local history societies, and local record offices. It is hoped to publish similar lists from time to time, and the compiler will therefore be glad to receive any information concerning changes of subject and additions to this list.

ABERG, F. A., *Ipswich Museum, High Street, Ipswich.*

Roman agriculture and settlement in Hampshire.

Ancient fields in Hampshire.

ADAMS, ROBERT H., *c/o Isle of Wight River Board, County Hall Annexe, Newport, Isle of Wight.*

Bibliography of land drainage, irrigation, reclamation of fen and tidal lands, and warping, in Great Britain and Ireland.

AGATE, R. G., *12 Wilton Grove, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.*

The Surrey evidence bearing on the causes, nature, and consequences of the disturbances in certain agricultural areas in 1830-1.

ALLISON, KEITH, *57 Huntington Road, York.*

York common lands and strays.

ALLISON, R., *71 Shirley Avenue, Sutton, Surrey.*

The changing landscape of S.W. Essex, 1600-1850.

ANSTEE, J. W., *Museum of English Rural Life, 7 Shinfield Road, Reading.*

The construction and use of hand tools.

ATKINSON, FRANK, *Bankfield Museum, Halifax.*

The horse as a source of rotary power.

Material objects relating to the Pennine way of life from the seventeenth century.

ATTWOOD, E. A., *Department of Agricultural Economics, University Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth.*

The rate of change in the structure of British agriculture, 1870-1914.

AULT, WARREN O., *Boston University, U.S.A.*

Medieval agrarian bye-laws.

BARLEY, M. W., *Department of Extra-mural Studies, Nottingham University.*

Rural housing.

BARNES, F. A., *Department of Geography, Nottingham University.*

The Anglesey region: a study in regional and historical geography.

BATHO, G. R., *Department of Education, Sheffield University.*

The management of Crown and lay estates in the period 1500-1640.

Estate maps and plans, 1590-1640.

BATLEY, Mrs L., *Department of Latin, Sheffield University.*

The manor of Tinsley in the seventeenth century (from the Wentworth-Woodhouse Papers).

BEAVINGTON, F., *39 Snow Hill, Maulden, Bedford.*

A geographical study of market gardening in eastern and central Bedfordshire.

BELLERBY, J. R., *Agricultural Economics Research Institute, Parks Road, Oxford.*

Historical economic statistics bearing on agriculture and its relationship to the rest of the economy.

- BERESFORD, MAURICE W., *Department of Economics and Commerce, Leeds University*.
Pre-Parliamentary enclosure, 1597-1750.
- BEST, R. H., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Wye College, near Ashford, Kent*.
A study of the major uses of land, with special regard to the changes in land use that have occurred since the nineteenth century, and the possible future trends in Great Britain and other highly urbanized countries.
- BIRCH, J. W., *Department of Geography, Bristol University*.
The geography and recent history of agriculture in England, Wales, and the Isle of Man.
- BOAL, F. W., *Department of Conservation, School of Natural Resources, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.*
Land use and rural settlement in co. Down.
- BONHAM-CARTER, VICTOR, *Broomhall, East Anstey, Tiverton, Devon*.
Bonham-Carter family records, 1700-1950.
- BOUCH, Canon C. M. L., *Clifton Rectory, near Penrith, Cumberland (in collaboration with JONES, Professor G. P.)*.
A general social and economic history of the Lake counties from Tudor times to the nineteenth century.
- BOWDEN, P. J., *Department of Economics, Sheffield University*.
Rents, agricultural prices, and profits, 1450-1640.
- BUCHANAN, R. H., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast*.
The 1801 crop returns in Northern Ireland.
Changes in agriculture and settlement in co. Down during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
- BUCHANAN, R. H., and PROUDFOOT, V. B., *The Queen's University, Belfast, and JOHNSON, J. H., University College, London*.
An archaeological investigation into the development of the pattern of Irish settlement from the first millennium A.D. to the nineteenth century.
- BURKE, T., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University*.
Aspects of the population geography of county Cork since c. 1750.
- BURNETT, JOHN, *Clarence Lodge, Hampton Court, Surrey*.
Food and its adulteration in the nineteenth century.
- BURRELL, Miss E. D. R., *54 Church Crescent, Muswell Hill, London, N.10*.
The reclamation of the Suffolk Sandlings from 1750 to the present day.
- CAIRD, J. B., and MOISLEY, H. A., *Department of Geography, Glasgow University, and SMITH, Miss C. B., Carnegie Research Assistant*.
Crofting survey. A survey of land use and population, by individual townships, of selected areas. 1956-7: South Uist; 1957: Barra; 1958: Harris, Park (Lewis), Waternish (Skye); 1959: Uig, North Lochs, Ness (Lewis), North Uist; 1960: remainder of Lewis.
- CHALKLIN, C. W., *Oriel College, Oxford*.
A Kentish market town, Tonbridge, 1550-1840.
- CLAYTON, K. M., *London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2*.
Land use and farming patterns in Essex.
- COLE, Mrs GLADYS M., *Department of History, Liverpool University*.
Ministers' Accounts of a group of Yorkshire estates in the Yorkist period (Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick).

COLLINS, Miss JOAN, *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*

Some aspects of rural settlement in Berkshire.

COPPOCK, J. T., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*

The agricultural geography of the Chilterns from 1866 to the present day.

Farm size in Buckinghamshire, 1866-1941.

COSSEY, F., 32 *West Parade, Peterborough.*

Farm workers' trade unions in the fenland area of South Lincolnshire, Hunts., the Isle of Ely, and the soke of Peterborough, 1871-82.

COULL, JAMES, *Department of Geography, Aberdeen University.*

Crofting problems in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

COUSENS, S. H., *Department of Geography, University College of Swansea.*

Ireland, 1845-1950.

South Wales agriculture, 1850-1950.

CUNNINGHAM, GRIFFITHS L., 49 *Huddleston Road, London, N.7.*

The changing landscape of the Dorset heathlands, 1600 to the present day (London Ph.D. thesis).

CUTTING, D. J., *Department of Geography, Leeds University.*

The adaptation of pre-enclosure field patterns to their environment in the Spofforth and Tadcaster areas of Yorkshire.

DAVIES, Mrs C. S., *Durness, Robin Lane, Sutton, Macclesfield, Cheshire.*

The history of the manor of Withington, Manchester. Enclosure of the open fields and common.

DODD, J. PHILIP, *Hampton Loade, Alveley, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.*

Agriculture of the West Midlands in the nineteenth century.

Agriculture during the Napoleonic Wars in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Midlands.

DONKIN, R. A., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*

Cistercian settlement and English royal forests.

Monastic colonization in medieval Europe.

DOUCH, ROBERT, *Institute of Education, Southampton University.*

Some aspects of the history of agriculture in the Isle of Portland.

Bibliography of the local history of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight.

DUNN, J. M., *St Catherine's College, Oxford.*

The economic implications of the current trend in agricultural rents.

DURY, G., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*

Agriculture and land use in the Channel Islands in the eighteenth century.

ELLIOTT, G. G., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*

Changes in Cumberland agricultural field systems.

EMERY, FRANK, *School of Geography, Oxford.*

West Glamorgan farming, c. 1580-1620.

Agrarian change in Gower, 1500 onwards.

"Georgical work" in Wales, 1650-1750.

EVANS, Professor E. ESTYN, *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast.*

Survival of primitive agricultural techniques.

The import of improved agricultural implements and techniques from England to Ireland.

EVERITT, ALAN, *Department of English Local History, Leicester University.*

The agricultural labourer, 1500-1640.

The marketing of agricultural produce, 1500-1640.

EYRE, S. R., *Department of Geography, Leeds University.*

The limits of improved land and common pasture in N. Derbyshire from medieval times.

FAITH, Mrs ROSAMOND, *Department of English Local History, Leicester University.*

The peasant land-market in Berkshire in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

FARMER, D. L., *Exeter College, Oxford.*

An examination of price fluctuations in certain articles in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries.

The Duchy of Cornwall estates in 1337.

Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries.

FARR, M. W., *School of History, Birmingham University.*

Ministers' accounts of the lands of Adam de Stratton in the reign of Edward I (Birmingham M.A. thesis).

FARRA, Miss MARGARET, 85 *South Croxsted Road, West Dulwich, S.E.21.*

Changes in land utilization in the North Yorkshire Moors.

FLETCHER, T. W., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Manchester University.*

The agriculture of Lancashire, 1750-1850.

The nineteenth century.

FORBES, J., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast.*

Changes in crop acreages from 1851 to 1953 in Northern Ireland.

FORSTER, GORDON C. F., *School of History, Leeds University.*

County administration in Yorkshire in the seventeenth century.

FOUNTAIN, K. E., *Department of Geography, Leeds University.*

The effects of enclosure upon the cultural landscape and rural population structure in parts of Cambridgeshire.

FRASER, A. STEWART, *Department of Geography, Aberdeen University.*

Geographical and pedological problems affecting crofting in the Shetland Islands.

FULLER, Miss G. J., *Department of Geography, Nottingham University.*

Development of settlement and agriculture in the Wirksworth Hundred between Domesday and the Black Death.

FULLER, Miss MARGARET D. *See under JEWELL, C. A.*

FUSSELL, G. E., 55 *York Road, Sudbury, Suffolk.*

Theories of crop nutrition before 1840.

GAILEY, R. A., *Department of Geography, Glasgow University.*

Rural settlement in the South-West Highlands from 1750.

GENTLEMAN, H., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*

Studies in the agricultural geography of Warwickshire during the first half of the nineteenth century.

GLASSCOCK, R. E., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*

The mapping and interpretation of the lay subsidy return of 1334.

- GRAMOLT, D. W., 17 *Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.3.*
The reclamation of the Essex marshes.
- GRANT, Mrs B. F., 78 *Twyford Avenue, London, W.3.*
History of Wensleydale, Yorkshire.
- GREEN, GEORGE, *School of Agriculture, Nottingham University, Sutton Bonington, near Loughborough, Leicestershire.*
Leicestershire villages in settlement, expansion, and decay.
- GULLEY, J. L. M., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*
The economy of the Weald during the Middle Ages.
The medieval reclamation of Romney Marsh.
- HABAKKUK, Professor H. J., *All Souls College, Oxford.*
English aristocracy and gentry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- HALLAM, H. E., 41 *Arthur Street, Loughborough, Leicestershire.*
The medieval fenland.
- HALLAM, Mrs SYLVIA J., 41 *Arthur Street, Loughborough, Leicestershire.*
The Romano-British fenland.
- HARLEY, J. B., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
The historical geography of Warwickshire as revealed by the Hundred Rolls of 1279.
- HARRIS, A., *Department of Geography, Hull University.*
The agriculture of the East, and adjacent parts of the North, Ridings of Yorkshire, 1688-1870.
- HARRISON, B. J. D., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
The estates of St Swithun's Priory, Winchester, 1066-c. 1340.
- HARVEY, D. W., *St John's College, Cambridge.*
Studies in the historical geography of Kent.
- HARVEY, P. D. A., *St John's College, Cambridge.*
The history of Cuxham, co. Oxon., with special reference to social and economic conditions during the Middle Ages.
- HAVINDEN, MICHAEL E., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
The rural economy of Oxfordshire, 1580-1730.
- HENDERSON, H. C. K., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*
The 1801 crop returns.
- HILTON, RODNEY, *School of History, Birmingham University.*
Agrarian development in the West Midlands, 1280-1535.
- HOCKEY, Rev. S. F., *Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight.*
Medieval Quarr Abbey and its estates, mainly I.W.
- HOPKINS, E., 81 *Berengrave Lane, Rainham, Gillingham, Kent.*
The Bridgewater estates in North Shropshire in the first half of the seventeenth century.
- HOPKINS, M. W., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*
The Lea valley glasshouse industry.
- HOPKINS, P. G. H., *Joint Committee for Adult Education, Southampton University.*
The rise and fall of water-meadow irrigation in Britain.
- HOUSTON, GEORGE, *Department of Political Economy, Glasgow University.*
The history of the Scottish farm worker.

- HOWELLS, B. E., *St John's College, Cambridge*.
The medieval colonization of South Wales.
- HUNT, H. G., *Department of Commerce, Woolwich Polytechnic, S.E.18*.
Landownership, rents, and wages in south-east England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- HUNT, T. J., *Orchard End, Pyrland, Taunton, Somerset*.
History of the manor of Taunton in the thirteenth century, chiefly from the Pipe Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester.
- JAMES, J. M., *St Catherine's College, Oxford*.
The small farm in a changing economy. A study of the small farm in England and Wales in its relationship to the agricultural policy of the United Kingdom.
- JENKINS, J. G., *Museum of English Rural Life, 7 Shinfield Road, Reading*.
The evolution and regional characteristics of farm transport.
A study of rural crafts.
See also under JEWELL, C. A.
- JENNINGS, BERNARD, *2 Conan Gardens, Richmond, Yorks*.
Economic history of Swaledale.
- JEWELL, C. A., and JENKINS, J. G., and FULLER, MARGARET, *Museum of English Rural Life, 7 Shinfield Road, Reading, Berks*.
A survey of economic, social, and cultural developments in a Berkshire parish.
- JOHN, ARTHUR, *London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2*.
The prices of animal products in England, 1700-1850.
- JOHNSON, J. H., *Department of Geography, University College, London*.
The historical geography of co. Londonderry in the nineteenth century.
See also under BUCHANAN, R. H.
- JONES, Miss E. I. M., *Monkswood, Kingsley, Bordon, Hants*.
The reclamation of the Bagshot heaths.
- JONES, E. L., *Department of Agriculture, Parks Road, Oxford*.
Evolution of high farming in Herefordshire, 1815-65 (Oxford B.Litt. thesis).
Agriculture in the Wessex chalklands, 1660-1860.
- JONES, G. E., *Lincoln College, Oxford*.
Changes in Welsh agriculture and some current problems of agricultural progress (with particular reference to Central Wales).
- JONES, Professor G. P., *c/o Department of Economics, Sheffield University*.
The population of Cumberland and Westmorland in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.
See also under BOUCH, Canon C. M. L.
- JONES, GLANVILLE R. J., *Department of Geography, Leeds University*.
Land settlement, tenure, and colonization in the Colwyn-Clwyd district of north Wales.
- JONES, I. E., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University*.
Rural settlement studies in Brittany.
- JONES, PETER E., *Department of Geography, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth*.
Changes in land utilization in Uwchgwyrfai (1750-1956).
- JONES, T. I. JEFFREYS, *Coleg Harlech, Llys Branwen, Harlech, Merioneth*.
Welsh agriculture, 1700-1900, with special reference to the enclosure movement.

- KAY, G., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University*.
Agrarian development in the Banff district.
- KERR, Miss BARBARA, *West Cottage, Hethfelton, Wareham, Dorset*.
Dorset field names and the agricultural revolution.
- KERRIDGE, ERIC, *Acre End, Tilsworth, Leighton Buzzard, Beds.*
English agrarian history in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.
- KIDDLE, D. F. A., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London*.
The changing landscape of north-west Middlesex.
- KINVIG, Professor R. H., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University*.
Agricultural geography of the West Midlands.
- LAMBERT, A. M., *Department of Geography, London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.*
Changes in settlement patterns following land reclamation in the Netherlands and Denmark.
- LAWTON, R., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University*.
Population distribution, structure, and movement in nineteenth-century England.
- LINTON, A. E., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast*.
Traditional forms of rural settlement in Ireland and Western Britain.
- LONDON, Miss VERA, *Department of History, Liverpool University*.
The cartulary and extents of Canonsleigh Priory.
- LONG, W. HARWOOD, *Department of Agriculture, Leeds University*.
Yorkshire farming in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.
- LONGMAN, J. FORD, *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London*.
Studies in the settlement geography of Hertfordshire.
- MACKAY, DONALD, C. H., *Department of Geography, Queen's College, Dundee*.
The population of the parishes of Tongue and Farr with special reference to the changes in distribution resulting from the Clearances (Ph.D. thesis).
- MACKENZIE, H. R., *Department of Geography, Aberdeen University*.
Geographical aspects of transport in northern Scotland.
- MACPHERSON, ARCHIBALD, *Department of Geography, Edinburgh University*.
Land utilization in the Dee valley.
- MACZAK, A., *St John's College, Cambridge*.
Studies in the social and economic structure of the English peasantry in the fifteenth century.
- MARTIN, J. M., *Faculty of Commerce, Birmingham University*.
Changes in landownership, land utilization, and agricultural income in the West Midlands, 1785-1825 (M.Comm. thesis).
- MASON, Mrs KATE M., *Reynard Ing, Ilkley, Yorks.*
History of cheesemaking in Britain.
- MCCORD, NORMAN, *Department of Modern History, King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne*.
The activities and organization of the Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-46.
- McHUGH, B. J., *Department of Geography, St Patrick's Training College, Drumcondra, Dublin*.
Land use and rural settlement in co. Tyrone and co. Fermanagh.

- MEAD, W., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*
The hedgerow in Buckinghamshire.
Rural survey in Finland, 1750-1850.
- MILLS, DENNIS R., *6 Byron Street, Barwell, near Leicester.*
Land use and settlement in Kesteven, c. 1700-c. 1850.
- MILLS, F. D., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Reading University.*
National Union of Agricultural Workers: a study of trade union organization in British agriculture.
- MINGAY, GORDON, *London School of Economics, London, W.C.2.*
Landownership and agrarian trends in the eighteenth century, based on the Duke of Kingston's estates.
- MITCHELL, PETER K., *Geography Department, Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
History of land use from c. 1600 to date in the West Cleveland area of the North Riding.
- MOISLEY, H. A. *See under CAIRD, J. B.*
- MONTEITH, Miss DOROTHY, *8 Maddox Road, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.*
The estates of Walden Abbey.
- MOORE, D. C., *Brentwood Place, R.D., Vestal, New York, U.S.A.*
The relation between high farming and the anti-corn law movement.
- MORGAN, COLIN, *Department of Geography, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.*
Study of enclosure patterns in Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire.
- NAISH, M. C., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*
The reclamation of the Hampshire chalklands.
- NEWLYN, Miss ANNE C., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Reading University.*
The village and manor of Coleshill, Berkshire, 1500-1700.
- NEWTON, K. C., *Essex Record Office, Chelmsford.*
Thaxted in the fourteenth century.
- OLDFIELD, F., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
Physical evolution and reclamation of Mossland.
- OLIVER, J., *Department of Geography, University College of Swansea.*
Climate and farming in Anglesey in the first part of the eighteenth century.
- OSCHINSKY, Miss DOROTHEA, *Department of History, Liverpool University.*
Treatises on estate management and farming in the Middle Ages.
- OWEN, ARTHUR E., *Flat 4, 24 East Heath Road, London, N.W.3.*
Land drainage and reclamation in the marsh district of Lindsey.
- PARKER, R. A. C., *Queen's College, Oxford.*
Agricultural history of East Anglia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
Income and estates of Coke, Townshend, Walpole, and other East Anglian noble families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
The eighteenth-century lease.
The incidence of the land tax in the eighteenth century.
- PAWSON, Professor H. C., *University School of Agriculture, King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*
The agriculture of Northumberland (for the R.A.S.E. series).

- PEERS, R. N. R., *Dorset County Museum, Dorchester*.
Dorset agricultural history.
- PELHAM, R. A., *The Court House, West Meon, Hampshire*.
Agricultural geography of the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.
- PERKIN, H. J., *Department of History, Manchester University*.
Land reform movements in nineteenth-century Britain.
- PLUMMER, B. A. G., *Department of Geography, University College of Swansea*.
An investigation into human influences on marsh development in the Burry estuary, South Wales.
- PORTMAN, DEREK, *Exeter University*.
The smaller domestic architecture in the Oxford region, fifteenth to early eighteenth centuries.
- POSTAN, Professor MICHAEL, *Peterhouse, Cambridge*.
The agrarian economy in the Middle Ages.
- POSTGATE, M. R., *17 Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, London, N.W.3*.
The historical geography of the East Anglian breckland prior to 1850.
- PRINCE, HUGH, *Department of Geography, University College, London*.
Parkland in England.
A life of Richard Woods of Essex, a late eighteenth-century landscape gardener.
- PROUDFOOT, V. B., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast*.
Soils and early agriculture.
See also under BUCHANAN, R. H.
- RAEBURN, JOHN R., *London School of Economics, London, W.C.2*.
Responses of British agriculture to price and cost changes since 1870.
- RAWSON, R. R., *London School of Economics, London, W.C.2*.
The interpretation of rural land use from air photographs.
- REVILL, S., *85 Bedale Road, Nottingham*.
Fourteenth-century court roll of Mansfield, Notts.
- REYNOLDS, B., *Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, London*.
Late medieval Dorset.
- RHYS-RANKIN, Capt. Sir HUGH, *Green Lane, Bryngwyn, via Kington, Herefordshire*.
Welsh cattle droving during the turnpike era from west and central Wales to England.
- ROTHWELL, Professor H., *Southampton University*.
The estates of St Swithun's Priory, Winchester.
- ROWE, JOHN, *Department of Modern History, Liverpool University*.
Cornish agricultural history in the nineteenth century.
- RUSSELL, REX, *11 Priestgate, Barton-on-Humber, Lincs*.
Agricultural unionism and the agricultural labourer in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire.
- RYDER, M. L., *Wool Industries Research Association, Leeds 6*.
The history of sheep from an examination of wool fibres remaining in ancient parchment.
A study of the medieval animal remains from St John's Priory, Pontefract, Wharham Percy, and a site in Petergate, York.

- SCHOVE, D. JUSTIN, *St David's College, 29 South Eden Park Road, Beckenham, Kent.*
The weather and climatic fluctuations in England and Europe in relation to economic activity, A.D. 800-1700.
- SENIOR, M. W., *Department of Geography, Leeds University.*
The development of the land utilization pattern in Assynt parish and in Barra.
- SHAW, DAVID H., 28 *Brantwood Road, Luton, Bedfordshire.*
Surviving dialect in six villages in south Bedfordshire.
- SHEPPARD, Miss JUNE A., *Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, London.*
Rural settlement in East Yorkshire.
- SHORTER, A. H., *Department of Geography, Exeter University.*
Field patterns in England.
- SHRIMPTON, C., *Trinity Hall, Cambridge.*
A regional study into the decline of the smaller owner-occupier during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in East Anglia.
- SIMPSON, E. S., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
The nineteenth-century agrarian history of the Cheshire dairying region.
Agrarian development in the Wem district of North Shropshire.
- SINCLAIR, J. D., *London School of Economics, London, W.C.2.*
Economic and social factors bearing upon changing patterns of land use.
- SMEE, Miss D. K., *Department of Geography, Bedford College, London.*
Soil and slope, and ridge and furrow in a Northamptonshire parish.
- SMITH, Miss C. B. *See under CAIRD, J. B.*
- SPRING, DAVID, *Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, U.S.A.*
The English landed estate, 1790-1850.
- STANLEY, M. J., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*
Studies in the historical geography of Warwickshire for the period c. 1300 to 1500.
- STEDMAN, M. B., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*
Studies of land use and settlement in the Forest of Feckenham, Worcestershire.
- STITT, F. B., *Staffordshire County Record Office, County Offices, Stafford.*
Some medieval accounts of Lenton Priory.
- STURMAN, Mother MARY WINIFRIDE, *Ursuline Convent, Chester.*
Barking Abbey: A study of its internal and external administration from the Conquest to the Dissolution.
- SWALES, T. H., *The Jolly Farmers, Yaxham Road, East Dereham, Norfolk.*
The distribution of the monastic estates in Norfolk, c. 1520-40.
The position of the Norfolk gentry, c. 1530-80.
- SYLVESTER, Miss DOROTHY, *Department of Geography, Manchester University.*
The rural landscape of the Welsh borderland.
The manor and the Cheshire landscape.
- THIRSK, Mrs JOAN, *Department of English Local History, Leicester University.*
The agrarian history of England in the sixteenth century.
- THOMAS, DAVID, *Department of Geography, University College, London.*
The agriculture of Wales at the turn of the eighteenth century.

- THOMAS, E. G., 46 *Washington Road, Maldon, Essex.*
The operation of the Poor Law in Essex, Berks., and Oxon., with special reference to labour migration, apprenticeship, and medical treatment.
- THOMPSON, F. M. L., *Department of History, University College, London.*
Nineteenth-century English landed estates.
Wiltshire agriculture, 1870-1955.
- THORPE, H., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*
Comparative studies of forms and patterns of rural settlement in the British Isles and Europe.
The evolution of settlement and land use in the West Midlands generally, and in Warwickshire in particular.
- THORPE, Miss SYBIL, *St Hilda's College, Oxford.*
Monastic lands in Leicestershire at the Dissolution.
- TITOW, J. Z., *Fitzwilliam House, Cambridge.*
The estates of the Bishops of Winchester in the thirteenth century.
- TURNER, DEREK, *Oriel College, Oxford.*
The population of England in the sixteenth century.
- VASS, J. G., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*
Agricultural geography of the western part of the High Weald.
- VICKERY, ALAN V., *Agricultural Economics Research Institute, Parks Road, Oxford.*
Agricultural policies and programmes in England and Wales, 1900-21.
- VOLLANS, Miss ELEANOR C., *Department of Geography, Bedford College, London.*
Agriculture in the Chilterns in the late Middle Ages.
- VOSE, E. K., *Court House Flat, Upton-on-Severn, Worcs.*
The administration and economic development of the estates of Worcester priory.
- WALKER, Miss F. R., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Manchester University.*
Home-produced and imported supplies of food since 1820.
- WHITTINGTON, G., and WOOD, P. D., *Department of Geography, Reading University.*
Strip lynchets at Horton, near Devizes, Wilts.
- WILDING, J. R., 1 *Highgate Drive, Dronfield, near Sheffield.*
East Anglian agriculture from 1793-1914 (Sheffield Ph.D. thesis).
- WILLIAMS, MICHAEL, 2 *Garden Cottages, Framilode, Saul, Glos.*
The draining of the Somerset Levels.
- WILSON, C. P. H., *Peddar's Way, East Wretham, Thetford, Norfolk.*
A short history of the peach, and a treatise on its cultivation as a bush tree in the orchard and garden, together with an anthology.
- WILSON, M. J., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast.*
History and present status of Conacre.
- WITNEY, D., *Department of Economics, The Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture, Edinburgh.*
The Scottish agricultural economy, 1850-1950.
- WOOD, P. D., *Department of Geography, Reading University.*
Strip lynchets and other ancient fields.
See also under WHITTINGTON, G.
- YOUND, G., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
Common land and enclosure in Lancashire.

Book Reviews

ROBERT REDFIELD, *Peasant Society and Culture*. University of Chicago Press, 1956.

viii+164 pp. 21s.

We in Britain readily apply the word peasantry to the cultivators of Monsoon Asia and parts of Europe, but would exclude, for the most part, those of the New World. It may cause surprise, therefore, to find an analysis of peasant society appearing from the capital city of the Corn Belt. But it must be remembered that American anthropologists have long turned to Central America to study rural communities, that it was there that "anthropology moved from tribe to peasantry," and that Robert Redfield was one of the most distinguished social anthropologists in the New World.

He points out that anthropology, having begun by studying culture in the abstract, went on to pile up analyses of specific cultures ranging from primitive isolates to urban minorities and peasant communities in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, and is now ready to return to levels of abstraction remote from the terrain of particular research. His definition of a peasantry will be generally accepted: subsistence cultivators, deeply attached to the land by sentiment as well as use, for whom agriculture is a way of life, not a business for profit. Peasant values include a reverent disposition towards ancestral ways, a restraint on individual self-seeking as against family and community, a suspicion of urban life. He goes on to define a peasantry as a part-society, necessarily associated with an élite—gentry and townfolk—with whom its relations are of three kinds. First there are territorial links composed of units of area building up to a region or nation; secondly there are economic links working through markets and fairs; thirdly there is the network of kinship and friendship linking village with village. In these three ways the primitive isolate is transformed into a peasantry. But we need to know also what causes the transformation. Does it always follow the use of manure or fallowing

and the fixity of agricultural settlement?

It is implied that villages are the characteristic form of peasant settlement, and it is not clear whether a peasantry can survive dispersion. Nor is there discussion of the small joint-family settlement-unit of Celtic lands, though I imagine Redfield would include it in his definition. Essentially, "the peasant has given his heritage to the fortunes of a society and mode of life that is both like his and yet alien to it." The Old World peasantries, he thinks, arose as towns spread into tribal territories, but this is to deny the status of peasant to the pre-Roman population of France or to the pre-medieval population of Ireland. Presumably Redfield would allow a pre-urban élite to act in the same way. He is cautious of generalizations and wisely concludes that the relations with 'a great tradition' take different forms in different times and places. It is useful to have this thoughtful survey of peasant society to which the local student of rural life can turn for stimulating ideas.

E. E. EVANS

A. L. POOLE (ed.), *Medieval England*. Oxford University Press, 1958. xxviii+xiv+662 pp. in 2 volumes, illustrated. 70s.

These two handsome volumes are the third and newest embodiment of a work which appeared first in 1902 under the title *Companion to English History*. Re-edited in 1924, it has now again been almost completely rewritten. Dr A. L. Poole has assembled a team of eighteen experts to deal with as many different subjects, and himself rounds off the performance with a fascinating chapter on Recreations.

As Professor Carus-Wilson remarks in her fine paper on Towns and Trade, England throughout the centuries covered by these volumes seemed to foreign visitors "incorrigibly rural." And although London claimed the respect even of those who knew Venice and Florence, there was justification for this view. Hence one might reasonably expect to

find at least as much space devoted to rural economy as has been allotted to Military Architecture, for example, or Heraldry. Crops and field systems are surely of more fundamental importance than either of these themes. Yet arable and pastoral husbandry are, if not totally neglected, at any rate dismissed with only incidental references. What little is said about them will be found mostly in the opening chapter, entitled *The English Landscape*. This is contributed by Dr W. G. Hoskins, who in thirty-four masterly pages distils the essence of what he and others have written elsewhere on the changing aspects of our countryside. But even Dr Hoskins has not altogether shaken off the habit—a convenient one, admittedly, for the historian—of implying that the Anglo-Saxons colonized an empty land. We are left with the impression that there was a period of roughly a hundred years before their coming, during which the inhabitants of Britain, if there were any, subsisted mainly on grass and acorns. Dr Hoskins is prepared to admit that the English settlers may sometimes have laid out their open fields on the derelict ploughland of Roman-British villa estates, but he concludes: "It yet remains to be proved that any English village has had a continuous existence since Romano-British times." How, one may ask, would he himself *prove* the continuous existence of a village which appears for the first time in a Saxon charter of the eighth century, reappears in Domesday Book three hundred years later, and is then again lost to view until the thirteenth century?

H. P. R. FINBERG

G. R. ELTON (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. II: *The Reformation*. Cambridge University Press, 1958. 686 pp. 37s. 6d.

In the general introduction to the first volume of the *New Cambridge Modern History* Sir G. N. Clark said that the series had been planned not as "an abstract or scale-reduction of all our knowledge of the period, but as a coherent body of judgement true to the facts." Since space is so extremely cramped that in-

terpretation is given precedence over facts if there is not room for both, most of these volumes will be consulted as guides to the present state of various historical questions rather than as repositories of historical facts clearly organized and indexed, which made the old *Cambridge Modern* so invaluable. The usefulness of the present series has been further lessened by the decision to omit bibliographies, references, and footnotes. Readers of the AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW should therefore be warned that they may expect to be told that peasant clearances in Devon and Lincolnshire have been studied, but not by whom, or be given the latest report on the change-over to agricultural production for the market in the words: "Ashley already pointed out—and the more recent researches of Hoskins, Hallam, Beresford, Finberg, Rawson, Chapman, and others have developed more firmly."

Each volume of the new series has been entrusted to an independent editor who is responsible for an introductory chapter. Here Dr Elton has given a masterly opening survey, asking whether the "Age of the Reformation" can be said to represent any coherent period, and coming to the conclusion that the years 1520–60 may still be regarded as a time of decisive significance in European history. With this established, the volume moves on to its more specialized chapters, and it is a sign of the importance now attached to economic history that the first should deal with economic change, before coming to studies of Luther and the Swiss reformers, sections on doctrinal controversy, the rise of the new religious orders, the empire of Charles V, the Habsburg-Valois struggle. These are followed by the less central, but by no means less enthralling, themes: intellectual tendencies, changes in political thought, developments in armies and the art of war, and finally short surveys of the Ottoman Empire, Russia, the New World, and the Orient.

The 46 pages which have been allocated to the chapter entitled 'Economic Change' have been divided between Friedrich Lutge, Professor of Economic History and Economics

in the University of Munich, who deals with agriculture, and Professor S. T. Bindoff of London who writes on the greatness of Antwerp. Since nothing appeared on agriculture in the first volume it was thought advisable to make this a general introductory survey of changes in agrarian structure, and the greater part of the space is therefore taken up with extremely general discussion (which at times devolves into such clichés as "the soil is not only an economic medium, it is also man's living space") or with a survey of the emancipation of serfs or the development of a money economy from Carolingian times to the fifteenth century. The seven pages devoted to English agriculture suffer like deprivation, for about half the space available is spent discussing commutation, the Black Death, "the dissolution of the feudal system which of course stood in the way of a rational economy." Since the price rise was dealt with in the previous volume, the growing importance of market production or the investment of merchants and industrialists in land are considered without reference to it. Nothing of importance is said concerning such burning topics as the disposal of monastic property, or the rising or declining fortunes of the gentry. We can only hope, as Dr Elton promises us in one of those rare footnotes to which he alone as editor is entitled, that social and economic changes will receive more adequate treatment in the appropriate sections of the *Cambridge Economic History*.

E. A. L. MOIR

R. CUNLIFFE SHAW, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster*. The Guardian Press, 127 Fishergate, Preston, 1956. 550 pp. £6 6s. "The forests and chases of Lancashire and Bowland have been depicted as a barren and inhospitable waste occupied by a few herdsmen and foresters; a wilderness over which the deer roamed at large, a region remote from organized medieval society. This impression is soon dispelled when we consider the complex system of instauration with its precise methods of accountancy to include the smallest items of revenue and expenditure. . . From

the twelfth century onwards there emerges the pattern of a well-organized and competent agricultural community." These sentences from the concluding paragraphs of Dr Shaw's book indicate the theme of his work. It is concerned with every aspect of the history of the Lancashire forest from late Saxon times to the end of the nineteenth century, the last two centuries being dealt with more briefly. But its most valuable contribution to agrarian history is to put the beasts of the forest in their proper place, to define the relatively small areas in which they were preserved for the pleasures of the chase, and to examine the economy of the other larger areas over which forest law prevailed, but where the ordinary business of farming was carried on despite it.

The Norman concept of the forest as a jealously guarded preserve for the recreation of the court is a concept so alien to our own experience that it is difficult to grasp all its implications. Was it not equally alien to the communities already inhabiting the forest region, and if so, by what methods was the law, in its simple early form, imposed upon them? These are not just idle speculations, for as Dr Shaw shows in one of the most thought-provoking chapters in the book ("The Pre-Conquest Origins of Husbandry in the Forest Zone of Lancashire") there were communities in the forest area with their village fields and meadows long before the Norman Conquest. Did the law as it was enforced in the early years of Norman rule encroach but little on existing rights? Was it only later, as population grew, and the law was more effectively enforced, that the restrictions proved so irksome?

Dr Shaw accepts as a fact without question that the Celtic communities of Lancashire survived the Roman occupation and the Anglo-Saxon and Norse invasions, and he attempts to trace the way in which Celtic forms of land allotment gradually took on their medieval pattern of selions and furlongs. Much of this account, of course, is guesswork; not all of it is crystal clear; some of it is definitely wrong (Dr Shaw seems to think

that in the open fields of the Anglo-Saxons the strips were re-allotted annually. I do not think there is any certain proof of this); some of it is hotly debatable. But there are some fascinating comparisons between Welsh, Irish, Manx, and Scottish arrangements and those of Lancashire which make as good a starting-point as any for fresh reflections on the origin of English field systems. In certain elementary particulars, Lancashire field arrangements in the Middle Ages were reminiscent of the Midland open-field system. But they were also subtly different. There were scattered strips but they lay in many smallish fields, not in two or three large ones. There were closes, but they too were often divided into strips and held by different tenants. These two peculiarities are found in other counties besides Lancashire. Do they perhaps suggest that the custom of partible inheritance has worked its effects on formerly consolidated farms, and has produced a collection of small pieces of land (or strips) lying in former fields (or furlongs)? The nomenclature may well have submitted itself finally to Anglo-Saxon influence. The crucial test, which would differentiate the Lancashire from the Midland field system, is whether the tenants had common rights over all the arable land. Dr Shaw does not pursue the problem far enough to settle this question. He seems to take for granted a custom of partible inheritance but without considering its practical consequences. And the full extent of common rights is not discussed, perhaps for lack of definite evidence. What is quite certain is that the existence of selions and furlongs in the medieval fields of Lancashire is not alone enough to prove that a Midland-type open-field system was practised here. Indeed, if Dr Shaw is right, and the land allotment derives from Celtic origins, then it would be surprising if the medieval pattern were not much more complicated than the Midland one.

The remainder of the book, which is concerned with gradual changes in the use of forest land, reveals interesting regional differences in the farming of the county: vaccaries

or cattle stations in the uplands, sheep-keeping on the marshes, corn-growing in the south-east of the county. The administration of the forest is also explained in detail.

This is a mammoth book with over five hundred large pages of text. Some may criticize its great length, for the sharpness of its conclusions are blurred by excessive detail. On the other hand, there will be others who will find the abundance of documents mentioned in the text of great value, provided they can interpret correctly the very brief and often very carelessly constructed footnote references. But no one will begrudge Dr Shaw—one of a small but distinguished group of medical men who take their leisure in archive offices—thanks and praise for a thorough and in many ways stimulating piece of local history.

JOAN THIRSK

LORD RENNELL OF RODD, *Valley on the March.*

A History of a Group of Manors on the Herefordshire March of Wales. Oxford University Press, 1958. xvi+298 pp., illus. 42s.

Lord Rennell, who is a geographer and a farmer, writes in this book that "the study of geography and topography can . . . contribute a great deal to history" but that "without detailed local knowledge of fields, hedges, paths, even trees and soil, a great deal of historical information may be missed by students who have not the opportunities which a farmer in the course of his daily work can glean." Those of us who try to be agrarian historians without being farmers are only too acutely aware of our inadequacies, and that is why we eagerly read what the practitioners have to say.

The valley about which Lord Rennell writes is that of the Hindwell, a tributary of the Lugg, and the manors comprise a group of small valley settlements, one of which is his own home of Rodd. He considers the development of the manors, the settlements, and the principal landowners from pre-Conquest times until the seventeenth century, with a separate disquisition on some aspects of the ecclesiastical history of the valley. There is an immense amount of detailed information

about persons and places, and the photographic illustrations, most of them taken from the air, are excellent, apt, and give the reader a good impression of the country.

It must be said, however, that the book is disappointing to the agrarian historian, and this is because Lord Rennell does not follow up the promise that he makes at the beginning. The earlier part of the book consists of a detailed study of the pre-Conquest and Domesday topography. This is something that is worth doing for any area and can best be done by historians with Lord Rennell's local knowledge. Apart from the necessary identification of places and estates, this part contains an interesting discussion of Offa's Dyke in relation to the problem of early Anglo-Welsh relations. The greater part of the book however deals very little with agrarian matters, and very much with genealogies and manorial descents. While recognizing the large place that such studies have traditionally had in local histories, it must all the same be said that one had hoped that an author whose real interests are so obviously in the land and the people at work would have spent less space on this type of family history, whose appeal is bound to be very narrow.

The most interesting chapter in the book is that entitled 'Of Tracks and Fields', and this (about one-seventh of the whole) is really the only part in which the author does what we hope he can do better than the document-bound professional historian. In it he strips off the modern additions to the Hindwell landscape and reconstructs the medieval, even pre-medieval, road and field lay-out. Using his practical knowledge of the soil-pattern and land-use of the valley, he shows which pairs of fields were those which must have been the original nucleus of arable cultivation in all the old settlements, and which were the subsequent extensions. A comparison of the dimensions of these original fields is most suggestive, and Lord Rennell's method here might very profitably be used elsewhere.

In this important section the author puts many problems. It is to be regretted that he is unable, probably by the limitation of the evi-

dence, to relate agrarian practice to local social structure. The relation of demesne land to tenant land is hardly dealt with, still less agrarian custom, which in an area so close to Wales must surely have been worth studying. And with all respect to Lord Rennell's own expert knowledge, one wonders if the geographical characteristics of an area place quite such rigid and permanent restrictions on possible land-use as he suggests.

R. H. HILTON

B. C. REDWOOD and A. E. WILSON (eds.), *Custumals of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury*. Sussex Record Society, Vol. LVII, 1958. xl+162 pp.

The manuscript of which a translated portion fills most of this volume is a good, late-medieval copy of a now-lost custumal and rental covering the greater part of the lands belonging to the medieval archbishopric of Canterbury. The inquisitions through which the rental was made were held on the estates between 1283 and 1285. Although most of the archbishopric lands were in Kent, numbers of the manors lay in Sussex. Of these there were two main groups: those in the west, near Bognor, included Pagham, Lavant, Tangmere, and Slindon; in the east, near Lewes, was the vast manor of South Malling with its members "within and without the wood." The portion of the document dealing with Pagham was privately printed in 1949 by Mr Lindsay Fleming in his *History of Pagham* (I, xxxi-lx). The remainder of the Sussex folios are published here, together with two Appendices, containing a rental of South Malling for 1305-6, and a sixteenth-century custumal of South Malling purporting to be derived from one confirmed in 1330.

Students of rural history, especially those interested in the south-east of England, will be grateful for the work which has here been done by the editors and their team of transcribers and translators from the Local History Seminar of Brighton Technical College. It is an important text, and the work has been on the whole well done. There are a few inconsistencies and slips in the text which

suggest a not quite perfect co-ordination between the translators: e.g., the translation of *tradita* on p. 117 departs from the norm, *aperto* is misread on p. 13, *metere* is translated as 'to sow' on p. 78, the translation of *caruca iuncta* as 'joint plough' on p. 26 is misleading, for it means a completely yoked plough in the possession of one tenant in distinction to the tenant who owned part of a team only. These small matters are mentioned to remind future scholars that the manuscript itself is accessible for consultation.

This deeply interesting document will repay the further work on it which is contemplated by more than one person. Tenurial analysis of the complete manuscript, and comparison with extant accounts and 'charter' material like the Lambeth MS. 1212, should help towards a much-needed understanding of south-eastern England in the middle ages. At the moment, three topics which the document illuminates will be singled out for the brief attention of present readers: demesne structure, tenurial structure, and forest customs.

The demesnes of the West Sussex manors are described in their parcels, and in the case of Tangmere and Lavant with the number of *londes* in each field of a given number of acres. (The Pagham demesne fields are described according to the number of acres and *sellones* in each.) Demesnes are not given on the East Sussex manors, but an account of the oxherds of Malling, who were in effect full-time *famuli* and used the lord's plough on their own pieces, says that the tenements of some of them "lay in the middle of the demesne." The productivity of this demesne could be reckoned from the Vacancy Rolls and ministers' accounts such as the fine archbishopric 'pipe roll' of 1273-4 (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 29,794) where very many correspondences and amplifications of the present document are to be found.

The rental lists holders of knightly and free land, of unfree land, of cotland, and of various other kinds of holding, including fulling mills, together with their areal holdings, rents, and services. The continuance of assarting, es-

pecially in the woodlands, right up to the moment of the inquisition is notable. The classes of free and neif (*nativus* or *villanus*) seem in theory clear enough (pp. 90, 101), but their holdings are much confused. Numbers of those described in Mayfield as free tenants are a few pages further on called neifs; one of them, Robert le Rede, is called *liber natus*, which gives the clue to a third category or possibility. Neifs are also found in considerable numbers leasing land to freemen, and sometimes raising a mortgage upon their land, so that we look for the regular passage of money from free to unfree. Yet legal bondage on the Sussex manors continued far into the fifteenth century according to the acts of manumission found in archiepiscopal registers.

The woodlands of South Malling, and of Slindon away in the west, supported freemen and bondmen who alike were busy assarting, building on their portions, and commoning in a *boscagium* through which only the local inhabitants were certain of finding the way (p. 31). The custom of *danger* was paid at Slindon and Tarring and not only in Kent, and is correctly annotated by the editors, as against the interpretation of the late Professor Neilson. Some of the agrarian customs described as due from forest tenants appear commuted in the accounts of the time, but bond and free owed a variety of other services, not least to the organization of the archbishop's hunting.

The Introduction could only allude to a scattering of topics, but contains a few omissions and mis-statements which might have been remedied. Attention was called in print to the present document by Mary Holgate in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* LXVIII (1927). This Introduction is an improvement upon previous work in the field, but is markedly economical of acknowledgements. The Hayes alluded to on p. xxv is in Middlesex, where the archbishop had property, not in Kent. The inquisition of 1283-5 was based upon the written rolls, then extant, of a previous one conducted by Elias of Dereham, steward of the archbishop's lands in the second decade of

the thirteenth century, as is quite clear from certain portions of the Kentish text. It is questionable whether the estates of the See were grouped into bailiwicks until a few years after the date of the present rental, so it is not surprising that the West Sussex manors were treated as separate units, as the editors remark (p. xxxii). Of course, the *Ballive* headings could have been written in by the later copyist. Nor do I find receivers in existence on the estates until the very beginning of the fifteenth century (p. xxix); the most usual thirteenth-century recipient of the cash liveries was the treasurer of the archbishop, direct from local ministers.

A random check on the index revealed the omission of Daniel, William, p. 10; Sweyne, William, p. 10, and page errors against Megwyk and Osselin. This unfortunately saps confidence in what should be an important part of such an edition. Used with care, however, this volume will be of great use to investigators, and deserves their thanks.

F. R. H. DU BOULAY

W. M. WILLIAMS, *The Country Craftsman: A Study of some Rural Crafts and the Rural Industries Organisation in England*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. xviii + 214 pp. 25s.

Mr Williams's book appears as one of the Dartington Hall Studies in Rural Sociology. It is largely concerned with the small rural industries of Devon, with some comparative material from the west midlands. Devon has between 1,300 and 1,500 rural workshops, probably more than any other county in England, and about thirty different rural crafts. The "decline of the rural crafts" is a well-worn lament, but little is known even about the basic facts. How many rural craftsmen are there? How quickly are they decreasing in numbers? How many young men are entering rural industries annually?

Mr Williams begins by studying the work of the rural industries organization in general, and then proceeds to an analysis of the problems of a wide range of crafts in Devon and

three midland counties. The business problems of the craftsmen are examined, with much detailed reportage which the historian finds rather tedious and too long-drawn out; but it appears to be a fundamental part of modern sociology. Nevertheless, despite their present tedium, these conversations will have the same value and flavour in a hundred years' time, as a picture of rural life in the mid-twentieth century, as the minutes of evidence before the assistant poor law commissioners have for village life in the early 1830's. There are many remarkable potted biographies, illustrating the strength of the family and above all of the father in the family business, for which the historian several generations hence will be grateful.

The Country Craftsman is a valuable study as far as it goes, but again one misses the historical approach to the problem. The craftsman-farmer was an extremely interesting social type in England between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, quite misunderstood by modern academic historians and regarded as "ekeing out a living" at two or three different trades because he could not make a success of one. This is pure nonsense. An economy which allowed a man to be proficient in several different trades is well worth serious study. Mr Williams evidently feels that the historical approach has something to offer, as he discusses some of his difficulties in this respect in an appendix; but a limited use of Kelly's *Directories* is not the way to set about it. No wonder he regarded his results as "disappointing." The census schedules of 1851 would have given him a complete picture of the rural craftsmen in the villages and parishes a hundred years ago, and enabled him to make some fruitful comparisons with the position today, and to answer some of the questions he asks on page 205. He would have had some very interesting distribution maps for saddlers, thatchers, and farriers in 1851 to put beside those for the 1950's in his book. One does not ask the sociologist to carry his historical researches far back—a hundred years or so is sufficient for most of his problems—but some historical depth is absolutely

necessary for a great range of sociological inquiry.

W. G. HOSKINS

DAVID GREEN, *Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise and the Formal Garden*. Oxford University Press, 1956. xx+232 pp., illus. 70s.

This is a slightly ponderous book which sets out to tell the story of Henry Wise's career as gardener to Queen Anne and the gentry of the period. In fact, it goes further and gives a sketch of the rise and decline of the grand formal garden in England. True it is that Wise and his partner George London and their nurseries at Brompton Park (now the site of the South Kensington Museums) played no small part in this movement. But far from being a clear-cut biography it dashes all over the formal garden from parterre to *potager* and on to the great landscapes of William Kent and Capability Brown, stopping to digress on the way on the influence of Le Nôtre, John Evelyn, Pope, and Addison.

In other words, it is more than it sets out to be and as a result rather falls into the ha-ha. It is the work of an enthusiast, and, more than that, a green-fingered one who knows his subject well, but Mr Green is so bound up in his task that he often loses perspective and the narrative becomes more important than the subject. It is none the less a fascinating work.

Once the reader has become immersed in the mammoth activities of the partners at Brompton Park—of the continual stream of "Espalliers of Elms, jessamines, flaming maple of Virginia, Powdred Holly, Pyramid Sweedish junipers, cedars of Libanus, Quinces, Ffillbeards and Barberrys," that poured out of Brompton to destinations all over the kingdom, or absorbed in Wise's removal of 403 thirty-year-old lime-trees for ten shillings each at Hampton Court or his "making ye Bason"—the four-hundred-foot pool for the fountain of Diana, which yielded Wise's diggers twenty-one thousand and five solid yards of earth, he will not readily put it down.

A considerable section of the book is concerned with Wise's great work for the Marlboroughs at Blenheim, and it is a salutary reminder of the transitoriness of the works of man that within a few years of Wise's death Lancelot Brown would obliterate most of Wise's works for ever.

Despite its faults the book is an enjoyable one which tells for the first time much of the story of the brief period of formal glory that our gardens enjoyed between the influence of Le Nôtre and the coming of the landscapers. It is difficult to know why the publishers have chosen to present it in so lavish and sumptuous a format and at a price which will be beyond the reach of most would-be readers.

J. W. Y. HIGGS

Local History in England

W. G. HOSKINS

Contents

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| I The Local Historian Today | VII Towns: Social and Economic History |
| II English Local Historians | VIII Fieldwork: The Landscape |
| III The Old Community | IX Fieldwork: Buildings |
| IV Parish, Manor, and Land | X Health, Disease, and Population |
| V Church, Chapel, and School | XI Some Special Tasks |
| VI Towns: Topography | XII Writing and Publishing |
| Appendix | Additional References |

208 pages 21s. net

With plates, maps, and plans

LONGMANS

SCOTTISH FARMING

PAST AND PRESENT

J. A. Symon

J. A. Symon, former Chief Inspector in the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, has provided the most complete account of this subject yet to appear. Extensive references cited in the text and a chronological list of books relating to Scottish agriculture published down to 1850 bear witness to the scholarly value of the work.

Price 42s. net

OLIVER AND BOYD

Tweeddale Court, High Street, Edinburgh 1

THE ECONOMIC JOURNAL

No. 275

SEPTEMBER 1959

VOL. LXIX

I. ARTICLES

Accumulation and the Production Function

JOAN ROBINSON

Income Originating in the Models of Domar and Harrod

H. T. OSHIMA

Domar and Dynamic Economics

SIR ROY HARROD

Some Econometrics of the Determination of Absolute Prices
and Wages

L. R. KLEIN and R. J. BALL

The Expenditure Tax and Saving

A. R. PREST

Export Prospects and Economic Growth: India

S. J. PATEL

The Terms of Trade of Manufactures

F. V. MEYER

The Economic Position of British Agriculture

G. HALLETT

II. REVIEWS

III. NOTES AND MEMORANDA

VI. RECENT PERIODICALS AND NEW BOOKS

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

Application for Fellowship to

ROYAL ECONOMIC SOCIETY

21 Bentinck Street, London, W.1

SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXXVIII, 2 OCTOBER 1959 NUMBER 126

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Dingwall Burgh Politics and the Parliamentary Franchise
in the Eighteenth Century

By W. FERGUSON

La Piere D'Escoce

By DOMINICA M. LEGGE

The Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian Treaties of
1295

By RANALD NICHOLSON

REVIEWS

King James IV of Scotland

SHORT NOTICES

PERIODICAL NOTES

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Accessions to the Register House, 1958; A Volume Associated with John Knox; Scottish
Cartularies; Allusion to the Black Rood of Scotland in 1346.

The Scottish Historical Review is published twice yearly (in April and October) by Messrs
Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, Parkside Works, Edinburgh 9; it may be obtained from any
bookseller or direct from the publisher. The annual subscription is 21s. post free; single
issues 10s. 6d. (postage 6d.).

The British Agricultural History Society

PRESIDENT: SIR KEITH MURRAY

TREASURER: PROFESSOR EDGAR THOMAS, C.B.E.

SECRETARY: J. W. Y. HIGGS

EDITOR: H. P. R. FINBERG

Executive Committee : George Ordish (*Chairman*), Miss H. A. Beecham, M. W. Beresford, G. B. Bisset, W. H. Chaloner, G. E. Fussell, Alexander Hay, R. H. Hilton, W. G. Hoskins, W. E. Minchinton, F. G. Payne, Mrs Joan Thirsk.

The Society aims at encouraging the study of the history of every aspect of the countryside by holding conferences and courses and by publishing *The Agricultural History Review*. Its constitution is printed in Vol. I of this *Review*, p. 53.

Membership is open to all who are interested in the subject and the subscription is ONE GUINEA due on 1 February in each year.

Details may be obtained from the Secretary at The Oxford University Department of Agriculture, Parks Road, Oxford.

The Agricultural History Review

Editorial Board

H. P. R. FINBERG W. E. MINCHINTON

G. E. FUSSELL JOAN THIRSK

J. W. Y. HIGGS R. TROW-SMITH

The Review is published twice yearly by the British Agricultural History Society and issued to all members. Single copies may be purchased from the Secretary for 12s. 6d. Articles and letters offered for publication should be sent to the Editor, 34 Sheffield Terrace, London, W.8, accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope for return if necessary. The Society does not accept responsibility for the opinions expressed by contributors, or for the accidental loss of manuscripts.

Printed at The Broadwater Press, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.