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**Economics 301Y1:**

**The Economic History of Later-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe, 1250 - 1750**

**Topic No. 9 [16]:**

**The Social Costs of Agricultural Modernization:**

**The Tudor-Stuart Enclosures and the 'New Husbandry' in England**

**ca. 1480 - ca. 1700**

Within each section, all publications are listed in chronological order by the date of original publication (when that can be ascertained), except for some collections of essays.

**Part I:**

**The Enclosures of Common Fields: the Economic and Social Aspects of Early-Modern English Rural Society (Landlords and Peasants)**

**A. The Enclosure Movement and Agrarian Change in Early-Modern England:**

1. Karl Marx, Capital, (English edition of 1887, edited by Frederick Engels), Vol. I, part viii: 'The So-Called Primitive Accumulation', in the following chapters:
  - (a) Chapter 26: 'The Secret of Primitive Accumulation', pp. 713-16.
  - (b) Chapter 27: 'Expropriation of the Agricultural Population from the Land', pp. 717-33.
  - (c) Chapter 28: 'Bloody Legislation Against the Expropriated, From the End of the 15th Century', pp. 734-41.
- \* 2. I. S. Leadam, ed., The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517-1518 (London, 1897: reissued by Kennikat Press, New York, 1971), 2 vols. See especially Vol. I, 'Introduction', pp. 1-87.

Documents, with commentary and analysis, of royal commissions investigating enclosures in this period (reign of Henry VIII).
- \* 3. E.M. Leonard, 'The Inclosure of the Common Fields in the Seventeenth Century', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, new series, 19 (1905), reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. II (1962), pp. 227-56.
- \*\* 4. Richard H. Tawney, The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century (1912: re-issued with an introduction by Lawrence Stone, 1967).

This is the classic study on the problem of enclosures, combining traditional trade models (now in disfavour) with his own thesis on 'emergent agrarian capitalism.' Read at least Stone's introduction, Tawney's own introduction in Part I, chapter 1; and Part II, chapter 1; and Part III, chapter 2 (General Conclusions).

5. E.C.K. Gonner, Common Land and Inclosure (1912: reissued with an introduction by G. Mingay, London, 1966).
6. W.H.R. Curtler, The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land (Oxford, 1922). Another classic, and still useful survey, if obviously also outdated.
7. F. J. Fisher, 'The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640', Economic History Review, 1st ser. 5 (1935), reprinted in E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. I (London, 1954), pp. 135-51. Provides a somewhat different market model for enclosures. See also Kerridge (1953).
8. Eric Kerridge, 'The Movement of Rent, 1540-1640', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 6 (1953), reprinted in E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. II (London, 1962), pp. 208-26.
9. W. G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640', Past and Present, No. 4 (1953).
- \* 10. M.W. Beresford, The Lost Villages of England (London, 1954). His studies on 15th century enclosures support Blanchard (1970).
- \*\* 11. Joan Thirsk, Tudor Enclosures, Historical Association Pamphlet G.41 (London, 1958; reissued 1967), in just 21 pages Demographically oriented.
12. H. J. Habakkuk, 'The Market for Monastic Property, 1539-1603', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 10 (1958).
13. K. J. Allison, 'Flock Management in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 11 (1958), 98-112.
14. M.W. Beresford, 'Habitation vs. Improvement: The Debate on Enclosure by Agreement', in F.J. Fisher, ed., Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 40-69.
15. R. R. H. Duboulay, 'Who Were Farming the English Demesnes at the End of the Middle Ages', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 17 (1964-65), 443-55. See Beresford (1954) and Blanchard (1970).
- \* 16. Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV: 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967).
  - \* (a) Joan Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing', (chapter 4), pp. 200-56.
  - (b) Joan Thirsk, 'The Farming Regions of England', (chapter 1), 1-112.
  - (c) Joan Thirsk, 'Farming Techniques', (chapter 3), pp. 161-99.
  - (d) Alan Everitt, 'Farm Labourers', (chapter 7), pp. 396-467.
  - (e) Peter Bowden, 'Agricultural Prices, Farm Profits, and Rents', (chapter 9), pp. 593-695.
17. George Mingay, Enclosure and the Small Farmer in the Age of the Industrial Revolution (Studies in Economic History series, London, 1968), pp. 9-32.

Partly relevant for the period under discussion, in that he shows that the the later

17th and early 18th centuries was the era marking the greatest diminution in the holdings of the small farmer.

- \* 18. Eric Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After, Historical Problems: Studies and Documents no. 6 (London, 1969).
- A trenchant rebuttal of Tawney (1912). By no means easy reading, with its emphasis on legal questions. But read at least pp. 17-31, 94-136.
- \*\* 19. Ian Blanchard, 'Population Change, Enclosure, and the Early Tudor Economy', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 23:3 (December 1970), 427-45.
- An important article. He places the beginnings and major phase of Enclosures, i.e. of the Tudor era, well before any demographic upswing; and explicitly or sometimes more implicitly attributes enclosure to the economic consequences of the late-medieval demographic decline and stagnation.
20. Joyce Youngs, The Dissolution of the Monasteries (Historical Problems series No. 14, London, 1971). Introduction, pp. 25-90; 117-34.
21. Ian Gentles, 'The Sales of Crown Lands during the English Revolution', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 614-32.
- \* 22. A. R. Bridbury, 'Sixteenth Century Farming', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 27 (1974), 538-56.
23. William Lazonick, 'Karl Marx and Enclosures in England', Review of Radical Political Economics, 6 (1974), 1-32.
24. Jon S. Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'A Mathematical Model of Enclosure', in J. and W. Los, ed., Mathematical Models in Economics (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 419-31.
- \* 25. Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'A Marxian Model of Enclosures', Journal of Development Economics, 1 (1975), 287-336.
- Note:** Their attack on the older, traditional views linking enclosures with the cloth export trade is seriously undermined by two critical faults: (1) an unrepresentative series of wool prices (from the bishopric of Durham, quite unrelated to the areas enclosed, which were chiefly in the Midlands); and (2) by a faulty econometric model.
- \* 26. Jon S. Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'Enclosure and Depopulation: A Marxian Analysis', in W.M. Parker and E.L. Jones, ed., European Peasants and Their Markets (Princeton, 1975), pp. 161-76.
- \* 27. Donald N. McCloskey, 'The Economics of Enclosure: A Market Analysis', and also his 'The Persistence of English Common Fields', in W.N. Parker and E.L. Jones, ed., European Peasants and Their Markets: Essays in Agrarian Economic History (Princeton, 1975), pp. 123-60 and 92-120, respectively. This chiefly pertains to the later enclosures, of the 18th century, but the analysis is important for this period as well.
28. H.S.A. Fox, 'The Chronology of Enclosure and Economic Development in Medieval Devon', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 18 (1975), 181-202.
- \* 29. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'On a Marxian Model of Enclosures', Journal of Development Economics, 3 (1976), 195-98: followed by Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman,

'Reply to Fenoaltea', 199-200. See Cohen and Weitzman (1974, 1975).

- \* 30. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', Past and Present, no. 70 (Feb. 1976), 30-75.
- 31. D. Thomas, 'Leases in Reversion on the Crown's Lands, 1558-1603', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 67-72.
- 32. J.A. Yelling, Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850 (London, 1977), chapters 4, 8-10.  
  
Unfortunately, this book, written by a geographer, is less useful to the historian than it would appear, since it treats various aspects of common field systems, enclosures, and land use by various regions of England over the entire four century period, chapter by chapter.
- \* 33. J. P. Cooper, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', Past and Present, No. 80 (August 1978), 20-65. One of many attacks on Brenner's article (see the preceding).
- 34. Christopher Dyer, 'Deserted Medieval Villages in the West Midlands', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 35 (Feb. 1982), 19-34. Relevant to the Beresford-Blanchard thesis on depopulation as a cause of early Tudor enclosures.
- 35. Robert Brenner, 'The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism', Past and Present, No. 97 (Nov. 1982), 16-113. A rather lengthy reply to all of his critics.
- \* 36. J.R. Wordie, 'The Chronology of English Enclosure, 1500-1914', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 36:4 (November 1983), 483-505.  
  
The latest and most provocative thesis on English enclosures, contending that the major period of English enclosures was not the 16th or the 18th centuries, but the in between period of the 17th century. Note, however, that the first half of the 17th century (or up to the 1640s) encompasses the latter part of the 'traditional' Tudor-Stuart era of enclosures; but the later 17th and early 18th centuries have also traditionally been viewed as an 'in between' period of few enclosures. Wordie would agree that there was some diminution in the rate of enclosures ca. 1700-1740s.
- 37. John Chapman, 'The Chronology of English Enclosure' and,  
J.R. Wordie, 'The Chronology of English Enclosures: A Reply', both in:  
The Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 37 (Nov. 1984), 557-62.
- 38. Mavis Mate, 'Pastoral Farming in South-East England in the Fifteenth Century', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 40 (Nov. 1987), 523-36.
- 39. Joan Thirsk, England's Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History, 1500 - 1750, Studies in Economic and Social History series (London, 1987).
- 40. T. H. Aston and C.H.E. Philipin, eds., The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe (Cambridge, 1987). Collected essays.
- 41. John Martin, 'Sheep and Enclosure in Sixteenth-Century Northamptonshire', Agricultural History Review, 36 (1988), 39-54.

42. Gregory Clark, 'The Cost of Capital and Medieval Agricultural Technique', Explorations in Economic History, 25 (July 1988), 265-94. (Econometric analysis.) See the critique by Jones (19).
43. R. W. Hoyle, 'Tenure and the Land Market in Early-Modern England: Or a Late Contribution to the Brenner Debate', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 43 (Feb. 1990), 1 - 20.
44. Ann Kussmaul, A General View of the Rural Economy of England, 1538 - 1840, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time no. 11 (Cambridge University Press, 1990).
45. E. L. Jones, 'Enclosure, Land Improvement, and the Price of Capital: A Comment', Explorations in Economic History, 27 (July 1990), 350-55.
46. Gregory Clark, 'Enclosure, Land Improvement, and the Price of Capital: A Reply to Jones', Explorations in Economic History, 27 (July 1990), 356-62.
47. Robert C. Allen, Enclosure and the Yeoman: The Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450 - 1850 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
48. Susan Neave, 'Rural Settlement Contraction in the East Riding of Yorkshire Between the Mid-Seventeenth and Mid-Eighteenth Centuries', Agricultural History Review, 41:2 (1993), 124-36.
49. Graham Rogers, 'Custom and Common Right: Waste Land Enclosure and Social Change in West Lancashire', Agricultural History Review, 41:2 (1993), 137-54.
50. John A. Chartres, 'Market Integration and Agricultural Output in Seventeenth- Eighteenth- and early Nineteenth-Century England', Agricultural History Review, 43:ii (1995), 117-38.
51. Philipp R. Schofield, 'Tenurial Developments and the Availability of Customary Land Tenure in a Later Medieval Economy', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 49:2 (May 1996), 250-67.
52. Sara Birtles, 'Common Land, Poor Relief and Enclosure: The Use of Manorial Resources in Fulfilling Parish Obligations, 1601-1834', Past & Present, no. 165 (November 1999), 74-106.
53. Gregory Clark, 'Land Hunger: Land as a Commodity and as a Status Good, England, 1500 - 1910', Explorations in Economic History, 35:1 (January 1998), 59-82.
54. Gregory Clark, 'Commons Sense: Common Property Rights, Efficiency, and Institutional Change', Journal of Economic History, 58:1 (March 1998), 73-102.
55. John Chapman, 'Charities, Rents, and Enclosure: A Comment on Clark', Journal of Economic History, 59:2 (June 1999), 447-50.
56. Gregory Clark, 'In Defense of "Commons Sense": Reply to Chapman', Journal of Economic History, 59:2 (June 1999), 451-55.
57. Ross Wordie, ed., Enclosure in Berkshire, 1485 - 1885, Berkshire Record Society no. 5 (Berkshire, 2000).
58. Harriet Bradley, The Enclosures in England: an Economic Reconstruction (Kitchener:

Batoche Books, 2001).

58. Phillipp R. Schofield, 'Extranei and the Market for Customary Land on a Westminster Abbey in the Fifteenth Century', Agricultural History Review, 49:i (2001), 1-16.
- \* 59. Gregory Clark, 'Land Rental Values and the Agrarian Economy: England and Wales, 1500 - 1914', European Review of Economic History, 6:3 (December 2002), 281-308.
- \* 60. Roger J. P. Kain, John Chapman and Richard Oliver, The Enclosure Maps of England and Wales, 1595 - 1918: A Cartographic Analysis and Electronic Catalogue (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
61. Margaret Yates, 'Between Fact and Fiction: Henry Brinklow's *Complaynt* Against Rapacious Landlords', Agricultural History Review, 54:i (2006), 24-44. Concerning Tudor enclosures.
62. John Hare, 'The Bishop and the Prior: Demesne Agriculture in Medieval Hampshire', Agricultural History Review, 54:ii (2006), 187-212.
63. D. W. Jones, 'The Workings and Measurement of Pre-Industrial "Organic" Economies: Conjectures on English Agrarian Growth, 1660 - 1820', The Journal of European Economic History, 35:1 (Spring 2006), 177-218.
- \* 64. E. Anthony Wrigley, 'The Transition to an Advanced Economy: Half a Millenium of English Agriculture', The Economic History Review, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 59:3 (August 2006), 425-480.
65. Edward Martin and Max Satchell, 'Where most inclosures be': East Anglian Fields: History, Morphology and Management (Ipswich: East Anglian Archaeology, 2008).

## **B. The Open or Common Fields under Manorialism: Historical and Economic Analyses**

1. Paul Vinogradoff, The Growth of the Manor (London, 1905).
2. Frederic Seebohm, The English Village Community Examined in its Relations to the Manorial and Tribal Systems and to the Common or Open Field System of Husbandry, 4th edn. (London, 1905).
3. H. L. Gray, English Field Systems (Cambridge, Mass. 1915).
4. E.C.K. Gonner, Common Land and Inclosure (1921; reissued with an introduction by E.L. Jones, London, 1968).
- \* 5. Paul Vinogradoff, Villainage in England (London, 1923), part ii: 'The Manor and the Village Community', chapter I; 'The Open Field System and the Holdings', pp. 223-58; chapter II, 'Rights of Common', pp. 259-77. See also chapters V and VI.
- \*\* 6. Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française, 2 vols. (Oslo, 1931; reissued Paris, 1952 and 1964); in English translation as French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics, trans. by Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley, Calif. 1966), chapter 2, pp. 35-64.
7. T.A.M. Bishop, 'Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields', Economic History Review, 1st ser. 6 (1935-36), 13-29; reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in

Economic History (London, 1954), Vol. I, pp. 26-40.

8. C. S. Orwin, 'Observations on the Open Fields', Economic History Review, 1st ser. 8 (1937-38), 125 - 35.
- \* 9. C. S. and C. S. Orwin, The Open Fields, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1954). A classic study: see especially chapters 3, 5, and 11.
- \* 10. Joan Thirsk, Tudor Enclosures (Historical Assoc. pamphlet No. G. 41, London, 1958; reissued 1967).
- \* 11. M.A. Havinden, 'Agricultural Progress in Open-Field Oxfordshire', Agricultural History Review, 9 (1961), 73-83. An important article for demonstrating that open fields did not necessarily prove to be a barrier to change, at least in early-modern England. Reprinted in: W.E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agricultural History, Vol. I (1968), pp. 147-60; and E.L. Jones, ed., Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815 (1967), pp. 66-79.
- \* 12. Lynn White, Medieval Technology and Social Change (Oxford, 1962), chapter II, 'The Agricultural Revolution of the Early Middle Ages', pp. 39-78, esp. pp. 41-57. Rather simplistic and outdated, but still interesting.
13. W. G. Hoskins and L. Dudley Stamp, The Common Lands of England and Wales (London, 1963). Chapters 1 - 4; especially chapter 1, 'Common Land and Its Origin', pp. 3-13; and chapter 3, 'Common Land and the Peasant Economy', pp. 44-52.
- \* 14. Joan Thirsk, 'The Common Fields', Past and Present, No. 29 (1964), 3-25. Challenged by Titow (1965).
15. W.O. Ault, Open-Field Husbandry and the Village Community: A Study of Agrarian By-Laws in Medieval England (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new series, vol. 55, Philadelphia, 1965).
16. Jan Z. Titow, 'Medieval England and the Open-Field System', Past and Present, No. 32 (1965), 86-101.
17. Joan Thirsk, 'The Origin of the Common Fields', Past and Present, No. 33 (1966), 142-47: a reply to Titow (1965).
18. P.D.A. Harvey, A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1240-1400 (London, 1965).
18. Joan Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing', in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV: 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 200-56.
19. George C. Homans, 'The Explanation of English Regional Differences', Past and Present, No. 42 (1969), 18-34. Continues the Thirsk-Titow debate.
20. A. R. H. Baker, 'Some Terminological Problems in Studies of British Field Systems', Agricultural History Review, 17 (1969).
21. Jerome Blum, 'The European Village as Community: Origins and Functions', Agricultural History, 45 (1971), 158- .
22. Donald McCloskey, 'The Enclosure of Open Fields: Preface to a Study of its Impact on the Efficiency of English Agriculture in the Eighteenth Century', Journal of Economic History, 32 (1972), 15-35. Though chiefly pertaining to a later period, still relevant

to the question of medieval common fields, particularly since McCloskey subsequently became a very major participant in this debate. See below nos.

- \* 23. Michael Postan, The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages (1972), chapter 4: 'Land Use and Technology', pp. 41-72.
- 23. W. O. Ault, Open-Field Farming in England (London, 1972).
- 24. B.A. Holderness, 'Open' and 'Close' Parishes in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', Agricultural History Review, 20 (1972). For a modern perspective.
- 25. A. R. H. Baker and R. A. Butlin, eds., Studies of the Field Systems in the British Isles (Cambridge, 1973). Various authors.
- 26. Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'A Mathematical Model of Enclosure', in J. and W. Los, eds., Mathematical Models in Economics (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 419-31. Relevant to the subject of common fields and their economic rationale.
- 27. Edmund King, Peterborough Abbey, 1086-1310: A Study in the Land Market (London, 1975). Though not on the origins of the common fields, this study shows how peasant holdings could be re-arranged through purchase, sale, and transfers.
- 28. Robert A. Dodgshon, 'The Landholding Foundations of the Open-Field System', Past and Present, No. 67 (May 1975), 3-29.
- \*\* 29. William N. Parker and Eric L. Jones, eds., European Peasants and Their Markets: Essays in Agrarian Economic History (Princeton, 1975). See the following essays:
  - \* (a) Richard C. Hoffmann, 'Medieval Origins of the Common Fields', pp. 23-71.
  - \*\*\* (b) Donald McCloskey, 'The Persistence of English Common Fields', pp. 93-120.
  - (c) D.N. McCloskey, 'The Economics of Enclosure: A Market Analysis', pp. 123-60.
  - \* (d) Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'Enclosure and Depopulation: a Marxian Analysis', pp. 161-76.
- 30. Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'A Marxian Model of Enclosures', Journal of Development Economics, 1 (1975), 287-336. Also relevant to the economics of common fields.
- 31. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'The Rise and Fall of a Theoretical Model: the Manorial System;' and also, 'Authority, Efficiency, and Agriculture Organization in Medieval England and Beyond', both in Journal of Economic History, 25 (1975), 386-409, and 693-718, respectively.
- \*\* 32. Donald N. McCloskey, 'English Open Fields as Behavior Towards Risk', Research in Economic History, 1 (1976), 124-71.
- 33. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'On a Marxian Model of Enclosures', Journal of Development Economics, 3 (1976), 195-98. An attack on Cohen and Weitzmann, with their reply:  
Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'Reply to Fenoaltea', pp. 199-200.
- 34. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'Risk, Transactions Costs, and the Organization of Medieval Agriculture', Explorations in Economic History, 13 (April 1976), 129-51.



Challenges McCloskey's thesis in nos. 27 and 30.

- \* 35. Donald McCloskey, 'Fenoaltea on Open Fields: A Reply', Explorations in Economic History, 14 (Oct. 1977), 405-10.
- 36. J.A. Yelling, Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850 (London, 1977). Important survey; but arranged geographically rather than chronologically.
- 37. Michael Mazur, 'The Dispersion of Holdings in the Open Fields: An Interpretation in Terms of Property Rights', Journal of European Economic History, 6 (1977), 461-71.
- 38. Donald McCloskey, 'Scattering in Open Fields: A Comment', and Michael Mazur, 'Scattering in Open Fields: A Reply', both in: Journal of European Economic History, 9 (1980), 209-14, 215-18.
- 39. Bruce M. Campbell, 'Population Change and the Genesis of Common Fields on a Norfolk Manor', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 33 (1980), 174-92.
- 40. Bruce M. Campbell, 'The Regional Uniqueness of English Field-Systems: Some Evidence from Eastern Norfolk', Agricultural History Review, 9 (1980).
- \* 41. Carl H. Dahlman, The Open Field System and Beyond: A Property Rights Analysis of an Economic Institution (Cambridge, 1980).
- 42. T. Rowley, ed., The Origins of Open Field Agriculture (Totawa, N.J., 1981). Collection of essays.
  - (a) David Hall, 'The Origins of Open-field Agriculture: The Archaeological Fieldwork Evidence', pp. 22-38.
  - \* (b) H. S. A. Fox, 'Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System', pp. 64 - 111.
  - \* (c) Bruce Campbell, 'Commonfield Origins: The Regional Dimension', pp. 112-29.
  - (d) Robert Dodgshon, 'The Interpretation of Subdivided Fields: A Study in Private or Communal Interests?' pp. 130-44.
  - (e) Victor Skipp, 'The Evolution of Settlement and Open-field Topography in North Arden down to 1300', pp. 162-83.
- \* 43. J. A. Yelling, 'Rationality in Common Fields', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 35 (1982), 409-15.
- 44. Donald McCloskey, 'Corn at Interest: The Extent and Cost of Grain Storage in Medieval England', American Economic Review, 74 (1984), 174 - 87.
- 45. Richard M. Smith, 'Families and Their Land in an Area of Partible Inheritance: Redgrave, Suffolk, 1260-1320', in R. M. Smith, Land, Kinship and Life-cycle (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 135-96.
- 46. Alan Nash, 'The Size of Open Field Strips: A Reinterpretation', The Agricultural History Review, 33 (1985), 32-40.
- 47. H. S. A. Fox, 'The Alleged Transformation from Two-field to Three-field Systems in

- Medieval England', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 39 (Nov. 1986), 526-48.
48. Grenville Astill, 'Fields', in Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, eds., The Countryside of Medieval England (Oxford and New York, 1988), pp. 62-85.
  - \* 49. Donald McCloskey, 'Open Fields of England: Rent, Risk, and the Rate of Interest, 1300 - 1815', in David W. Galenson, ed., Markets in History: Economic Studies of the Past (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 5 - 51. A further refinement of the McCloskey model.
  - \* 50. Mark Bailey, 'Sand into Gold: The Evolution of the Foldcourse System in West Suffolk, 1200 - 1600', The Agricultural History Review, 38 (1990), 40 - 57.
  51. John Komlos and Richard Landes, 'Anachronistic Economics: Grain Storage in Medieval England', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 44 (February 1991), 36 - 45. An attack on McCloskey. See the following reply and rejoinder.
  52. Donald N. McCloskey, 'Conditional Economic History: A Reply to Komlos and Landes;' and John Komlos and Richard Landes, 'Alice to the Red Queen: Imperious Econometrics', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 44 (February 1991), 128 - 136.
  - \* 53. Donald N. McCloskey, 'The Prudent Peasant: New Findings on Open Fields', Journal of Economic History, 51 (June 1991), 343-55. McCloskey again!
  54. M. M. Cosgel, 'Risk Sharing in Medieval Agriculture', Journal of European Economic History, 21: (Spring 1992), 99 - 110.
  55. Eric Kerridge, The Common Fields of England (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).
  56. Michael Turner, 'Common Property and Property in Common', Agricultural History Review, 42:ii (1994), 158-62.
  - \* 57. Rosemary L. Hopcroft, 'The Origins of Regular Open-Field Systems in Pre-Industrial Europe', Journal of European Economic History, 23:3 (Winter 1994), 563-80.
  58. Barry Harrison, 'Field Systems and Demesne Farming on the Wiltshire Estates of Saint Swithun's Priory, Winchester, 1248 - 1340', Agricultural History Review, 43:i (1995), 1-18.
  59. Gregory Clark, 'Commons Sense: Common Property Rights, Efficiency, and Institutional Change', Journal of Economic History, 58:1 (March 1998), 73-102.
  60. Jane Whittle, 'Individualism and the Family-Land Bond: A Reassessment of Land Transfer Patterns Among the English Peasantry', Past & Present, no. 160 (August 1998), 25-63.
  61. Randall Nielsen, 'Storage and English Government Intervention in Early Modern Grain Markets', Journal of Economic History, 57:1 (March 1997), 1-33.
  62. Mett Erjnæs and Karl Gunnar Persson, 'Grain Storage in Early Modern Europe', Journal of Economic History, 59:3 (Sept. 1999), 762-72. See McCloskey no. 44 above.
  63. Gregory Clark and Anthony Clark, 'Common Rights to Land in England, 1475 - 1839', Journal of Economic History, 61:4 (December 2001), 1009-36.

64. Martina De Moor, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, and Paul Warde, eds., The Management of Common Land in North-West Europe, c. 1500 - 1850 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2002).
- \* 65. Cliff T. Bekar and Clyde G. Reed, 'Open Fields, Risk, and Land Divisibility', Explorations in Economic History, 40:3 (July 2003), 308-25.
66. Rosa Congost, 'Property Rights and Historical Analysis: What Rights?', Past & Present, no. 181 (November 2003), pp. 73-106.

**C. Enclosure, Peasants, and the Lower Classes: Problems of Rural Poverty and Vagrancy**

1. George E. Fussell, The English Rural Labourer (London, 1949).
2. Donald C. Coleman, 'Labour in the English Economy of the Seventeenth Century', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 8 (1956), reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. II (London, 1962), pp. 291-308.
- \* 3. Joan Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside', in F.J. Fisher, ed., Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1961), pp. 70-88. On partible inheritance, demographic growth, and rural industrialization with cheap labour.
- \* 4. Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London, 1965), Chapters 2, 3, and 5.
- \* 5. John Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England (1971), Chapters 1 and 2.
6. Peter Clark and Paul Slack, eds., Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700 (London, 1972), especially P. Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns, 1580-1640.'
7. W.E. Minchinton, ed., Wage Regulation in Pre-Industrial England (New York, 1972). Essays by Tawney, Minchinton, and Kelsall, especially.
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## Part II:

### 'The New Husbandry': Technological and Organizational Changes in Early-Modern English Agriculture:

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How was medieval farming organized and conducted in northern Europe:
  - (a) How did the Common and/or Open Field system operate?
  - (b) How did the two- and three-field systems operate?
  - (c) What were the relationships between arable and pastoral (livestock) farming; how did such relationships involve the Open Field system?
  - (d) What barriers to progress were inherent in these systems?
2. How, when, where, and why were new farming techniques of multiple crop rotation or intensive husbandry introduced into late-medieval and early-modern regions of the Low Countries?
3. What changes in farming techniques and in crops were introduced into England in this era, 1450-1650. Were they introduced because of enclosure? Was enclosure necessary for such new techniques? What was the significance of the following innovations:
  - (a) Convertible husbandry? What are its advantages over open-fields?
  - (b) Multiple crop rotations? How did they work; and how in particular did they lead to the elimination of the fallow? How were they related to convertible husbandry? How did the combination of the two resolve the traditional conflicts between arable and pasture?
  - (c) Floating Meadows: when, where, and how were they introduced?
  - (d) Chalking and marling: what are the differences?
  - (e) What new crops were introduced in early-modern England?
4. What factors do you believe were more powerful in promoting the adoption of new techniques, apart from Enclosures: price-cost changes, demographic factors, growth of urban markets? Did changes come more during periods of agrarian boom or agrarian recession? During periods of falling or of rising grain prices in particular?
5. Did some or all of the new farming techniques require enclosed large-scale farms: in the Low Countries; in England?
6. What were the social benefits and costs of the traditional open-field or common-field system of farming for the peasant tenants of a manorial village in the Tudor-Stuart era?
7. Where did enclosure take place in Tudor-Stuart England? In what types of counties? Was enclosure chiefly for pastoral (livestock) or arable farming? What counties were more likely to be enclosed for pasture? For arable farming?
8. What brought about Enclosures in Tudor England? Consider the following sets of factors:
  - a) demographic factors: population increases, or earlier population decline. Responses to over or under-population? If the latter, then why didn't enclosures occur earlier?
  - b) commercial factors: the expansion of the woollen cloth industry and trade; increased urban demands for foodstuffs, etc.
  - c) the inflationary consequences of the 'Price Revolution' in the 16th century: but see also demographic factors in a, above.
  - d) The 'Rise of the Gentry': according to the Tawney-Trevor Roper debates.
  - e) Changes in economic and social attitudes.
  - f) Other factors affecting land-tenures and land-ownership?
9. Were enclosures undertaken in Tudor-Stuart England more for arable (i.e. wheat), or for pasture (i.e. wool and livestock for meat), or for some mixture of the two? In what periods? Why?

10. Who undertook enclosures -- and who directed, operated, and operated engrossed and enclosed farms? Did tenants themselves undertake enclosures: peasants, 'yeomen', or gentry tenants? Did gentry and noble landholders who undertook enclosures operate the farms directly, or did they lease them to tenants who farmed them?
11. Who gained and who lost by enclosure? What are the chief differences in the social consequences that you would expect to find between enclosure of the commons and wastes, and engrossing and enclosure of the tenancy strips in the arable fields?
12. What is the difference between enclosing and engrossing; what are the differences in the economic and social consequences? Under what circumstances and in what type of agriculture would you expect engrossing and/or enclosure: (a) to displace labour, (b) to require additional labour.
13. Was 'depopulation' a serious consequence of Tudor-Stuart enclosures? In what periods? In what counties or areas of England in particular? How many appear to have been affected? Were there any rural revolts?
14. What types of peasants or farmers were most likely to be dispossessed by engrossing and enclosures, or to suffer significant losses of land and rights to the use of the commons: freeholders, copyholders by inheritance, copyholders for 'lives' [three 'lives' or generations], copyholders for life, copyholders at will, cottagers. Answer this question also in terms of: tenants-in-chief and those large tenants who hired servants and labourers; those tenants who hired a few 'servants' to supplement family labour; those tenants who relied just on the labour of the family; those who hired themselves or members of their family out as servants and labourers to other farmers; those who had industrial by-employment (e.g. in textiles).
15. Who were the cottagers? What were their economic functions and social status? What rights did they have under traditional manorialism? What happened to them during the Tudor-Stuart enclosure movement?
16. What happened to those who were dispossessed by engrossing and enclosure in this era? Consider the following possibilities: hired agricultural labourers; part-time or full time employment in rural industries (textile, mining, metallurgy, etc.); emigration to the towns for employment in industry or commerce, etc.; vagabondage.
17. In what ways did enclosure increase agricultural productivity, apart from direct gains from the new techniques? In what ways, directly and indirectly, did enclosure contribute to the economic development of Tudor-Stuart England?
18. Who 'captured the rent' (economic rent) on common or open-field lands, within manorial jurisdiction? Who 'captured the rent' on enclosed land? To the extent that economic rents increased on enclosed lands, how were those gains in fact shared between landlord and tenants? Did the latter benefit at all from enclosure, in this respect?
19. Which provided more efficient farming: open-field or enclosed lands? Were enclosures 'necessary' for agrarian improvements and economic advancement?
20. In particular, were enclosures either necessary or desirable for the diffusion/implementation of technological changes, more advanced crop rotations, convertible husbandry, floating meadows, etc. For the application of greater amounts of capital?
21. Why did common or open field farming persist for so long in England? What advantages did it retain (economically and socially) into the early-modern period? Why did this system give way to enclosures? Did such conversions involve coercion, force, or willing agreement by tenants? Or did it involve all three, according to the type of land subject to enclosure, the region, and the time period?



**APPENDIX A: LANDLORDS, PEASANTS, AND TENANTS  
in English Agriculture, 15th to 18th Centuries**

**A. THE YEOMANRY: PEASANT FREEHOLDERS**

- The wealthier peasants (with their own plough-teams) who either owned their lands outright, or, more commonly, rented them, with unconditional rights of inheritance, for nominal cash 'quitrents' -- so that they were free of any other obligations to the landlord. By statute law, from the 1440s, those freeholders holding land worth 40s. or more a year were entitled to sit on royal Common Law juries and to elect members of Parliament (House of Commons).
- According to Mingay, their share of English agricultural land rose from 20% of the total in 1436 to 27% in 1690; and many of them managed to rise into the Gentry.

**B. YEOMEN AND PEASANT LEASEHOLDERS:**

- Generally not a separate or distinct social class, but a group including yeomen, other free peasants, and peasants of servile ancestry, all of whom rented or leased manorial **domain** (demesne) lands by a written lease or mutually agreed upon rental contract, specifying the money rent and other conditions of rental for a fixed number of years.
- For most though not all of these leaseholders, the lands so held were in addition to their other lands. Leasehold lands could revert to the landlord at the expiry of the lease, especially if a new rental could not be negotiated.
- Increasingly the leaseholders comprised those who rented lands that had been enclosed by landlords, and withdrawn from the manorial open/common field systems.

**C. COPYHOLDERS OR CUSTOMARY TENANTS**

- **Copyholders** or **customary tenants** were those peasants within the manorial system whose 'tenure was by copy of the manorial court roll according to the custom of the manor.'
- These were peasant tenants who held lands that were once considered servile, lands that had owed servile obligations; and most of these peasants probably had servile ancestries.
- Their tenancies were normally in the form of scattered, intermingled strips in the open arable fields, with rights to use the village Commons and meadowlands.
- While their servile ancestors had virtually guaranteed rights of inheritance that accompanied their bondage ('bond men'), either to the lord or to his estate, the property rights of their sons, though normally only the eldest son, had always been conditional upon the payment of inheritance taxes: entry fines and heriots, paid by the heir on succeeding to the father's tenancy.
- With the gradual decay of English serfdom, many peasants gained more and more personal freedom at the expense of their implicit inheritance and property rights, so that we find the following

categories of customary tenants in early-modern England:

- **Customary tenants with unconditional inheritance rights:** these were very few in number, but with property rights almost as secure as those of freeholders; and it was virtually impossible to evict them (though they could be 'bought out'). They generally owned their own plough teams; and frequently they were amongst those actively engrossing and enclosing.

- **Customary Tenants for 'three lives':** their inheritance rights (still conditional upon paying entry fines) were customarily guaranteed only for three generations: from father to son to grandson. But in many counties, a 'customary life' came to be defined as seven years, so that a tenant holding copyhold for three lives had secure property rights for only 21 years.

- **Customary Tenants for 'two lives' and those 'for life':** with tenancies and inheritance rights defined as above. For some that meant a full lifetime of secure property -- for themselves and their eldest son, if for 'two lives'. But for others, secure tenure was guaranteed for only 14 or 7 years.

- **Customary Tenants 'at will':** those smallholders descended from the lower servile strata, with almost no security of property rights and inheritance, though inheritance rights would normally be granted, subject of course to entry fines, which were generally much more arbitrary than those imposed on other copyholders. They generally lacked ploughs and plough teams. Of the copyholders, these were the easiest to evict with enclosures, both in Tudor times and in the 18th century.

#### D. **COTTAGERS OR 'COTTARS'**

- these were small peasants, without ploughs, who derived a good part of their income from wages: as hired agricultural labourers or as industrial workers, especially in textiles.

- Of both servile and free origin, many of them descendent from landless labourers, they accounted for perhaps 30% of population of the Midlands, from the 13th to 18th centuries. They generally held only a few tenancy strips in Open Fields, but had enjoyed free access to Village Commons.

- They were generally the first to be squeezed out by enclosure of the village Commons; and they were certainly by far the easiest to dispossess in all subsequent enclosures. Their fate was to become a true agricultural proletariat.

## APPENDIX B: ON WOOL PRICES, CLOTH EXPORTS, AND ENCLOSURES:

### A Reply to Cohen and Weitzman's 'Refutation' of the Wool-Based Theories on Tudor Enclosures:

In two articles published in 1975, Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman attack the thesis that 'Tudor enclosures were a response to a rise in the demand for wool' [as argued by Tawney, Bowden, Ramsay, etc.], by stating that:<sup>1</sup>

A major problem with the wool trade explanation is that the price data simply do not support the argument. If the analysis were correct, we would expect the price of wool to rise relative to the price of grain. On close inspection of the available data we can find no systematic difference in the trend of wool and grain prices between 1450 and 1550. If anything, the price of wool declines relative to the price of grain. The data so blatantly contradict the standard analysis that it is difficult to understand how it has managed to maintain such general acceptance.

And in their footnote (n. 62, p. 318) that state that: 'a regression was run of the form  $P_w/P_g = a + bt$  but for the 101 years from 1450 to 1550 where  $P_w$  is the price of wool,  $P_g$  is the price of grain, and  $t$  is time. The coefficient  $b$  was negative with a  $t$ -statistic greater than three.' Their data were based on tables I and V in Bowden's statistical appendix in Thirsk (1967).

**My Response:** Apart from their failure to distinguish between the earlier (1460-1530) and later enclosures (1580-1615), they have adopted a method that, in my view, is deficient both in approach and its argument, explicit and implicit. In ascending order of importance:

- i) **their use of time-series regression analysis was invalid:** in trying to interpret the behaviour of those engaging in enclosure in the later 15th century on the basis of a times series half of whose data came from the subsequent period, i.e. the first half of the sixteenth century. In any event, it is absurd to regress price changes against time for a full century and then expect to find a statistically significant trend line.
- ii) had they regressed the price data for the period 1450-99, i.e. just for the second half of the 15th century when the major enclosures evidently took place, they would have found an entirely different result:

$$Y = P_w/P_g (1450-99) = a + bt = 0.9327 + 0.0049t \text{ (with } R = 0.1211)$$

And even more favourable results can be obtained for shorter periods, before 1500, as in the accompanying table.

- iii) **The price data are, in any event, not really relevant to the issue of Tudor Enclosures in the Midlands district:** i.e. concerning the issue of converting arable to pasture in this region, because they are not from the Midlands: the grain data are heavily weighted by Exeter wheat prices (i.e. from Devonshire, in the South-West); and the wool prices are entirely from the Bishopric of Durham in the North-East. Obviously for any such regression to have validity it must involve grain and wool prices in the specific districts of the Midlands that underwent enclosure primarily to provide more pasture land for wool production: i.e. Leicestershire,

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<sup>1</sup>Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'A Marxian Model of Enclosures', *Journal of Development Economics*, 1 (1975), 287-336; and also their 'Enclosure and Depopulation: A Marxian Analysis', in W.M. Parker and E.L. Jones, eds., *European Peasants and Their Markets* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 161-76.

Northants., Warwick, Worcester, Hunts., Bedfordshire, etc

iv) **Their wool-price data are even less relevant, furthermore, because:**

(1) Durham wools were amongst the very worst produced in England -- only Cornish wools were worse: Durham wools, exempted from the Staple, were normally not exported (except occasionally to Zealand, to be made into cheap cloths for the poorer classes); and

(2) they were certainly never used to make the medium to fine quality woollens that constituted the bulk of English cloth exports in this era.

v) Otherwise, I would make the following observations to respond to the Cohen-Weitzman challenges to the traditional market model:

(1) That price changes over time reflect more and more the consequences of such changes (i.e. the evident shift from arable to pasture).

(2) Production decisions and decisions on land utilization are based just as much on changes in factor costs, and relative factor costs, as in changes in relative prices of alternative products being produced.

vi) Subsequently, of course, from the later 16th century we find the slow diffusion of convertible husbandry, which expanded both livestock production (including wool) and grains -- so that they were more and more joint products, i.e. less and less alternative products in enclosures.

vii) But again, in analysing enclosures, one must be very careful to distinguish between the periods and regions of enclosures.

viii) Finally, the suggestion that enclosures caused the woollen cloth trade boom is absurd: that export boom was largely produced by external trading factors, involving South Germany and the Low Countries especially (as I have tried to outline briefly above: more on foreign trade below).

**Regressions of Bowden's Grain and Wool Price Data**

Linear Regression Wool Prices/Grain Prices against time:

$$Y = P_w/P_g = a + Bt$$

**P<sub>w</sub>** = Price of Wools (in the Bishopric of Durham)

**P<sub>g</sub>** = Price of Grains (Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats) dominated by Exeter wheat

**T** = time in years, from 1450 to 1519 (1450-99 = price index base 100)

<b>Decade</b>	<b>a</b> <b><u>(intercept)</u></b>	<b>b</b> <b><u>(slope)</u></b>	<b>R</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>
1450-59	0.7149	0.0307	0.5414	0.2931
1460-69	1.1563	0.0005	0.0034	0.00001
1470-79	1.0970	-0.0052	-0.1020	0.0104
1480-89	0.9151	0.0250	0.3415	0.1166
1490-99	0.9314	0.0166	0.2608	0.0680
1500-09	0.6066	0.0556	0.7623	0.5811
1510-19	1.0986	-0.0110	-0.2766	0.0765
.....				
1450-69	0.7510	0.0268	0.4413	0.1221
1450-79	0.8724	0.0108	0.3103	0.0963
1450-89	0.9327	0.0049	0.2017	0.0407
1450-99	0.9695	0.0022	0.1211	0.0147
.....				
1450-1509	1.0191	-0.0008	-0.0518	0.0027
1450-1519	1.0025	0.0000	0.0024	0.0000



<b>Table 1. THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND (AND WALES)</b>						
	<b>Quinquennial Demographic Data from Generalised Inverse Projection</b>					
<b>Year</b>	<b>England</b>	<b>with Wales</b>	<b>England: Life</b>	<b>Intrinsic</b>	<b>Crude Birth</b>	<b>Crude Death</b>
	<b>Population</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Expectancy</b>	<b>Growth</b>	<b>Rate/1000</b>	<b>Rate/1000</b>
	<b>in millions</b>	<b>in millions</b>	<b>at Birth</b>	<b>Rate</b>	<b>England only</b>	<b>England only</b>
1541	2.830	3.031	33.94	0.92	37.17	30.34
1546	2.908	3.115	38.82	1.42	37.88	25.98
1551	3.065	3.282	39.59	1.31	35.62	24.82
1556	3.213	3.440	22.38	-1.17	30.24	40.16
1561	3.036	3.251	36.66	0.97	37.06	26.70
1566	3.174	3.398	39.67	0.91	34.16	24.21
1571	3.310	3.545	41.06	0.77	32.37	22.73
1576	3.448	3.692	41.56	1.02	34.20	22.43
1581	3.631	3.889	42.70	1.27	34.12	21.56
1586	3.841	4.113	37.05	0.75	32.09	25.70
1591	3.938	4.217	38.05	0.81	32.12	24.75
1596	4.057	4.344	37.82	0.63	31.50	24.95
1601	4.162	4.457	38.53	0.75	33.24	24.77
1606	4.310	4.616	39.59	0.76	33.05	24.07
1611	4.476	4.793	36.79	0.41	31.60	26.14
1616	4.568	4.892	40.31	0.81	32.30	23.37
1621	4.745	5.081	33.39	0.11	30.91	28.85
1626	4.762	5.099	39.69	0.74	31.81	23.68
1631	4.926	5.275	39.72	0.71	31.66	23.80
1636	5.090	5.450	34.03	0.18	31.47	28.59
1641	5.130	5.494	36.32	0.43	31.97	26.79
1646	5.231	5.602	39.74	0.29	27.79	23.63
1651	5.308	5.684	39.14	0.31	28.55	24.22
1656	5.391	5.773	33.04	-0.60	25.74	28.68
1661	5.280	5.654	33.27	-0.38	28.22	28.92
1666	5.229	5.600	32.48	-0.47	28.53	30.03
1671	5.159	5.524	37.41	-0.04	28.40	26.25
1676	5.185	5.552	32.40	-0.39	28.91	30.75
1681	5.109	5.471	31.27	-0.26	30.32	32.14
1686	5.036	5.393	35.93	0.47	31.87	28.56
1691	5.094	5.455	36.35	0.42	30.05	28.06
1696	5.118	5.481	38.06	0.71	31.25	26.67
1701	5.211	5.580	38.47	0.83	32.06	26.39
1706	5.334	5.712	38.50	0.45	28.48	25.67
1711	5.382	5.764	36.89	0.34	29.47	26.77
1716	5.428	5.813	35.75	0.38	31.65	27.91
1721	5.503	5.893	35.49	0.39	32.80	28.21
1726	5.602	5.999	25.34	-0.95	31.16	36.99

Year	England	with Wales	England: Life	Intrinsic	Crude Birth	Crude Death
	Population	Population	Expectancy	Growth	Rate/1000	Rate/1000
	in millions	in millions	at Birth	Rate	England only	England only
1731	5.414	5.798	36.34	0.58	35.13	27.46
1736	5.599	5.996	35.26	0.46	33.79	28.47
1741	5.723	6.129	34.27	0.24	31.71	28.78
1746	5.782	6.191	36.47	0.62	32.68	27.02
1751	5.922	6.342	39.77	0.99	32.97	24.61
1756	6.149	6.584	38.12	0.75	31.87	25.82
1761	6.310	6.757	35.37	0.61	33.48	28.29
1766	6.449	6.906	36.19	0.68	33.88	27.69
1771	6.623	7.093	39.09	1.01	34.90	25.47
1776	6.913	7.403	37.74	0.99	35.76	26.57
1781	7.206	7.717	35.81	0.76	34.86	27.81
1786	7.434	7.960	38.97	1.25	36.89	25.23
1791	7.846	8.402	37.92	1.22	37.17	26.07
1796	8.256	8.841	38.93	1.15	35.51	24.82
1801	8.671	9.286	40.02	1.43	37.60	24.08
1806	9.232	9.887	40.58	1.52	37.90	23.68
1811	9.864	10.563	41.25	1.69	39.18	23.25
1816	10.628	11.381	40.84	1.70	39.48	23.54

**Source:** E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen, and R.S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580- 1837* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Appendix 9, pp. 613-6. See also E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541 - 1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 528-29.

For the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, ever since the first official census of 1801, British statistics usually present the population for England and Wales combined together. I have myself estimated the probable combined population of England and Wales by dividing their data for England alone (which omits the county of Monmouthshire, now part of Wales) by the constant: 0.93383. This ratio is indicated in the latter Wrigley-Schofield (1980), on p. 557, as a note to their Table A5.3. All of the other data necessarily pertain to England alone; and you may prefer therefore to use just the English population data, omitting Wales.

**Table 2.****Price Levels and Price Trends in England, 1450-1749 Mean Price Indices\* and Mean Annual Rates of Price Changes, for 25-Year Periods.****Mean of Price Indices for 1451-1475 = 100 (Base)\***

<b>Quarter Century</b>	<b>Mean Price Index:* 1451-75=100</b>	<b>Mean Annual Percentage Change in Price Index</b>	<b>Standard Deviation (s.d.)</b>	<b>Coefficient of Variation (s.d./Mean)</b>
<b>1450-74</b>	101.4	+0.08%	7.68	7.6
<b>1475-99</b>	104.6	+0.06%	18.52	17.7
<b>1500-24</b>	115.5	+1.47%	19.21	16.6
<b>1525-49</b>	168.8	+1.56%	29.57	17.5
<b>1550-74</b>	287.2	+0.20%	41.45	14.4
<b>1575-99</b>	401.6	+2.26%	94.71	23.6
<b>1600-24</b>	505.3	+0.69%	47.94	9.5
<b>1625-49</b>	595.6	+0.95%	81.48	13.7
<b>1650-74</b>	631.6	-0.42%	72.26	11.4
<b>1675-99</b>	616.7	+0.48%	74.01	12.0
<b>1700-24</b>	617.8	-0.09%	81.03	13.1
<b>1725-49</b>	587.6	-0.17%	51.00	8.7

\* The Phelps Brown and Hopkins Price Index. See Sources for Table 2.

Table 3.

**Price-Relatives of Charcoal, Timber, Industrial Products, Grains, and the  
Phelps-Brown & Hopkins 'Basket of Consumables' Index in Decennial  
Averages, 1530-9 to 1640-9**

Average of 1530-9 = base 100

<b>Decade</b>	<b>Charcoal (Cambridge)</b>	<b>Timber (National)</b>	<b>Industrial Products</b>	<b>Grains: Rye, Wheat, Oats, Barley</b>	<b>Basket of Cons- umables</b>
<b>1530-9</b>	100	100	100	100	100
<b>1540-9</b>	122	115	115	116	124
<b>1550-9</b>	203	174	169	216	186
<b>1560-9</b>	217	178	198	196	180
<b>1570-9</b>	230	206	203	230	203
<b>1580-9</b>	270	247	209	282	230
<b>1590-9</b>	287	289	216	366	305
<b>1600-9</b>	320	335	233	348	306
<b>1610-9</b>	359	397	249	407	341
<b>1620-9</b>	345	450	240	399	333
<b>1630-9</b>	378	475	255	491	397
<b>1640-9</b>	535	524	278	488	398

**Weighting of the Phelps Brown and Hopkins Price Index:**

Farinaceous Foods (Grains)	20.0%	
Meat and Fish	25.0%	
Butter and Cheese	12.5%	
Drink (Malt, Hops, etc.)	22.5%	
<b>Subtotal: Food</b>		<b>80.0%</b>
Fuel and Light	7.5%	
Textiles	12.5%	
<b>Subtotal: Industrial Goods</b>		<b>20.0%</b>

**Total**

**100.0%**

**Sources:**

(a) Charcoal: J.E. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, IV: (1401-1582), 383-7; V (1583-1702), 398-402.

(b) Timber, industrial products, grains:

Peter Bowden, 'Agricultural Prices: Statistical Appendix', in Joan Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, IV: 1500-1640 (1967), Table XIII, 862.

(c) 'Basket of Consumables':

E.H. Phelps Brown and Sheila Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables', in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., *Essays in Economic History*, Vol. II (1962), pp. 194-95; and E.H. Phelps Brown and Sheila Hopkins, *A Perspective of Wages and Prices* (London, 1981).

**Table 4.**

**THE EFFECTS OF CHANGING RELATIVE AREAS OF GRASS (LIVESTOCK-PASTURE) AND ARABLE (GRAIN CROPS) ON THE OUTPUT OF A 100-ACRE FARM: IN BUSHEL PER ACRE (WITH LIVESTOCK OUTPUT EQUIVALENTS)**

**Assumption:** Farm Operating on a Three-Field System with 2/3 in Crops and 1/3 Fallow (Uncultivated, Land at Rest) each Year

<b>Grass Area in Acres</b>	<b>Grain Area in Acres</b>	<b>Fallow Area (at Rest): Acres</b>	<b>Manure Tons per Acre Arable</b>	<b>Grain Yield: Bu. per Acre</b>	<b>Total Grain Output Bu.</b>	<b>Stock Output in Equiv Bu.*</b>	<b>TOTAL OUTPUT IN BU.</b>
100	0.0	0.0				1,000	1,000
80	13.3	6.7	>10.0	27.5	366	800	1,166
<b>77</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>27.5</b>	<b>421</b>	<b>770</b>	<b>1,191</b>
60	26.7	13.3	4.5	16.5	441	600	1,041
40	40.0	20.0	2.0	11.5	460	400	860
20	53.3	26.7	0.7	8.9	474	200	674
0	66.7	33.3	0.0	7.5	500	0	500

\* **Assumption:** That the output of livestock products is equivalent to 10 bushels of grain per acre.

**Source:** Robert Shiel, 'Improving Soil Fertility in the Pre-Fertiliser Era', in Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, eds., *Land, Labour, and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity* (Manchester and New York, 1991), p. 71.

Table 5

**THE BALTIC AND ENGLISH GRAIN EXPORT TRADES**  
**AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPORTS IN QUARTERS (OF 8 BUSHEL)\***  
**1600-49 TO 1700-49**

PERIOD	BALTIC**	ENGLAND	TOTAL
1600-59	719,250	?	?
1650-99	585,900	26,250	612,150
1700-49	325,500	453,600	779,100

\* 1 Quarter = 8 bushels = 64 gallons of grain = 480 lb. (1 bu. = 60 lb.; 6 x 80 = 480 lb.)

\* about 80% on the seaborne Baltic grain exports, on average, was carried in Dutch ships (a higher proportion in the earlier than in the later periods).

Table 6.

**AVERAGE ANNUAL ENGLISH GRAIN EXPORTS**  
**IN QUARTERS (OF 8 BUSHEL), 1700-09 TO 1760-64**

DECADE	GRAIN EXPORTS IN QUARTERS
1700-09	283,000
1710-19	369,000
1720-29	426,000
1730-39	531,000
1740-49	661,000
1750-59	655,000
1760-64	746,000

**Table 7.**

**MODEL OF A THREE-FIELD CROP ROTATION SYSTEM: ARABLE LANDS**

<b>Year</b>	<b>FIELDS: A</b>	<b>FIELDS: B</b>	<b>FIELDS: C</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>FALL</b> <b>(Winter)</b>  Wheat and/or Rye	<b>SPRING</b> <b>(Summer)</b>  Oats, Barley Legumes (Peas and Beans)	<b>FALLOW</b>  Resting Uncultivated  (Double Ploughed) Livestock graze on natural grasses
<b>II</b>	<b>SPRING</b>	<b>FALLOW</b>	<b>FALL</b>
<b>III</b>	<b>FALLOW</b>	<b>FALL</b>	<b>SPRING</b>



**Table 8.**

**CONVERTIBLE HUSBANDRY ('UP AND DOWN' FARMING)**

<b>SECTION I: PASTURE LANDS FOR GRAZING LIVESTOCK</b>	
<p>1) These lands, comprising about half of the farm holdings, are 'laid down to grass' for about five years, for pasturing livestock (sheep and/or cattle), allowing these lands to regain their fertility and store up large stocks of nitrogen. If the livestock are also 'stall-fed' -- i.e. from fodder crops outside the pasture -- their manure will add net amounts of nitrogen compounds to the soil</p> <p>2) After five or so years, these pasture lands are 'ploughed up for arable', to follow the five-course crop system indicated below for Section II (the other half of the farm holdings). After another five years, these lands, now arable, are again 'laid down to grass' to serve as pasture lands for the following five years.</p>	
<b>SECTION II: THE ARABLE FIELDS (with no fallow)</b>	
<b>ARABLE FIELD A:</b>	WINTER GRAINS: Wheat and/or Rye grains
<b>ARABLE FIELD B:</b>	THE NEW LEGUMES: Clover, Alfalfa (Lucerne), and Sainfoin grasses (high nitrogen-fixing properties), as animal fodder crops
<b>ARABLE FIELD C:</b>	PULSES: Beans and Peas (low in nitrogen-fixing properties, for human consumption)
<b>ARABLE FIELD D:</b>	SUMMER GRAINS: Barley (for beer) and Oats (to feed both humans and horses)
<b>ARABLE FIELD E:</b>	OTHER NEW CROPS: Coleseed and Rapeseed (for both industrial oils and animal fodder); or Turnips (chiefly for animal fodder)

**'New' Crops Grown Under Multiple Crop Rotations in Convertible Husbandry (or in 'Norfolk Farming')**: not new, but much more widely diffused in the 17th & 18th centuries.

Clover, Alfalfa (Lucerne), Sainfoin, Coleseed, Rapeseed, Flax, Buckwheat, Hops, Turnips

**Nitrogen Fixing Properties of Various Legumes in kg per hectare (2.47 acres)**

Beans and Peas (Pulses)	30 kg per hectare
Clover	100 kg per hectare
Sainfoin	170 kg per hectare
Alfalfa (Lucerne)	225 kg per hectare

**Table 9.****OUTPUTS OF PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES, 1700 - 1850****in Millions of Units (Bushels and Pounds)**

<b>COMMODITIES</b>	<b>Units</b>	<b>1700</b>	<b>1750</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>% Rise</b>
Grains and pulses	bushel	65	88	131	181	178.46
Meat	lb.	370	665	888	1356	266.48
Wool	lb.	40	60	90	120	200.00
Cheese	lb.	61	84	1122	157	157.38
<b>Volume in 1815 Prices (£ million)</b>						
Grains/potatoes	£mill	19	25	37	56	194.74
Livestock products	£mill	21	34	512	79	276.19
<b>TOTAL</b>	£mill	40	59	88	135	237.50

**Source:** Robert Allen, 'Agriculture During the Industrial Revolution', in Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, eds., *Economic History of Britain Since 1700*, Vol. I: 1700 - 1860, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1994), Table 5.1, p. 102.

**Table 10.****UTILIZATION OF ENGLISH-WELSH LANDS, 1700 - 1850****in millions of acres**

<b>Land Type</b>	<b>in 1700</b>	<b>in 1800</b>	<b>in 1850</b>	<b>Percent Change</b>
<b>Arable</b>	11.00	11.60	14.60	32.72
<b>Pasture/Meadow</b>	10.00	17.50	16.00	14.40
<b>Woodlands</b>	3.00	1.60	1.50	-50.00
<b>Wastelands/forests</b>	13.00	6.50	3.00	-76.92
<b>TOTAL</b>	38.00	38.50	37.30	-1.84
<b>TOTAL AGRICULTURAL</b>	34.00	35.60	33.60	-1.18
<b>INDEX OF LAND INPUT</b>	1.00	1.35	1.37	37.00

**Source:** Robert Allen, 'Agriculture During the Industrial Revolution', in Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, eds., *Economic History of Britain Since 1700*, Vol. I: 1700 - 1860, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1994), Table 5.2, p. 104.

**Table 11.**

**EMPLOYMENT IN ENGLISH/WELSH AGRICULTURE, 1700 - 1851, in thousands**

<b>Category</b>	<b>1700</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>% Change</b>
<b>Men</b>	595	628	971	63.19
<b>Women</b>	505	426	409	-19.00
<b>Boys</b>	433	351	144	-66.74
<b>TOTAL</b>	1533	1405	1524	0.59
<b>WEIGHTED INDEX OF LABOUR INPUT</b>	100	95	116	16.00

**Source:** Robert Allen, 'Agriculture During the Industrial Revolution', in Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, eds., *Economic History of Britain Since 1700*, Vol. I: 1700 - 1860, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1994), Table 5.3, P. 107.

**Table 12.**

**CAPITAL INVESTED IN ENGLISH/WELSH AGRICULTURE**

**in millions of £ at 1851/60 values**

<b>INVESTORS</b>	<b>1700</b>	<b>1750</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>% Change</b>
<b>Landlords</b>	112	114	143	232	107.14
<b>Tenants</b>	71	81	99	121	240.85
<b>TOTAL INVESTED</b>	183	195	242	353	92.90

**Source:** Robert Allen, 'Agriculture During the Industrial Revolution', in Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, eds., *Economic History of Britain Since 1700*, Vol. I: 1700 - 1860, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1994), Table 5.4, p. 109.

**Table 13.****UTILIZATION OF THE ARABLE LANDS: CROPS AND FALLOW, 1700 - 1850****in millions of acres**

<b>Crops</b>	<b>1700</b>	<b>1750</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>% Change</b>
<b>Wheat</b>	1.4	1.8	2.5	3.6	157.1
<b>Rye</b>	0.9	0.5	0.3	0.1	-88.9
<b>Barley</b>	1.9	1.4	1.3	1.5	-21.1
<b>Oats</b>	1.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	66.7
<b>Beans/Peas</b>	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.0	-23.1
<b>Turnips</b>	0.4	1.0	1.3	2.0	400.0
<b>Potatoes</b>	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	300.0
<b>Clover</b>	0.5	1.0	1.2	2.2	340.0
<b>Fallow</b>	3.3	2.5	1.5	1.8	-45.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	11.0	11.4	11.6	14.6	32.7

**Source:** Robert Allen, 'Agriculture During the Industrial Revolution', in Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, eds., *Economic History of Britain Since 1700*, Vol. I: 1700 - 1860, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1994), Table 5.6, p. 112.

**Table 14.**

**CROP YIELDS IN BUSHELS PER ACRE, 1700 TO 1850**

<b>CROPS</b>	<b>1700</b>	<b>1750</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>% Change</b>
<b>Wheat</b>	16.0	18.0	21.5	28.0	78.1
<b>Rye</b>	17.0	18.0	26.0	28.0	64.7
<b>Barley</b>	23.0	25.0	30.0	36.5	58.9
<b>Oats</b>	24.0	28.0	35.0	40.0	66.7
<b>Beans/Peas</b>	20.0	28.0	28.0	30.0	50.0

**Source:** Robert Allen, 'Agriculture During the Industrial Revolution', in Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, eds., *Economic History of Britain Since 1700*, Vol. I: 1700 - 1860, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1994), Table 5.7, p. 112.

Table 15. Exports of English Broadcloths of Assise									
in quinquennial means, 1346-50 to 1551-55									
Year	Denizen	Hansard	Other Aliens	TOTAL	London	London	London	London	London:
Michaelmas	Exports	Exports	Exports	EXPORTS	Denizens	Hansards	Other Aliens	Total	% of Total
1346-50	2,246		310	2,556					
1351-55	1,586		335	1,921					
1356-60	7,376	174	1,511	9,061					
1361-65	9,099	1,020	1,598	11,717					
1366-70	10,978	1,310	2,240	14,527					
1371-75	9,102	1,240	1,869	12,211					
1376-80	9,673	1,383	2,586	13,643					
1381-85	13,949	2,800	5,493	22,242					
1386-90	17,192	3,125	5,293	25,610					
1391-95	22,974	6,346	10,205	39,525					
1396-00	23,318	5,646	9,811	38,775					
1401-05	19,450	6,548	8,571	34,570					
1406-10	12,997	6,568	12,181	31,746	4,889	3,406	5,956	14,251	44.89%
1411-15	12,284	4,980	9,919	27,183	4,295	2,426	7,771	14,493	53.31%
1416-20	14,051	5,722	8,205	27,977	3,869	2,862	5,967	12,698	45.39%
1421-25	21,180	6,935	12,160	40,275	6,076	3,857	6,879	16,812	41.74%
1426-30	20,334	5,304	14,768	40,406	4,975	3,995	8,528	17,498	43.30%
1431-35	25,474	4,062	10,492	40,027	11,034	2,958	3,077	17,069	42.64%
1436-40	22,864	9,145	15,063	47,072	6,485	5,036	6,603	18,124	38.50%
1441-45	28,163	11,336	16,957	56,456	10,071	7,831	6,035	23,938	42.40%
1446-50	25,286	9,301	11,259	45,847	6,356	5,721	2,152	14,229	31.04%
1451-55	20,785	8,214	7,701	36,700	8,484	6,749	1,186	16,419	44.74%
1456-60	18,911	10,017	7,562	36,489	7,829	7,643	690	16,162	44.29%
1460-65	16,046	8,584	4,371	29,002	8,965	6,407	668	16,041	55.31%
1466-70	21,255	5,807	10,386	37,447	13,789	4,357	2,642	20,788	55.51%
1471-75	20,705	3,415	12,417	36,537	13,727	3,061	6,540	23,328	63.85%
1476-80	32,185	8,226	10,030	50,441	19,283	7,033	8,128	34,444	68.29%
1481-85	29,191	13,439	11,568	54,198	16,160	12,434	7,700	36,293	66.96%





Table 16.

**LONDON CLOTH EXPORTS**

**Exports of English Woollen Broadcloths\* ('Short cloths') from  
London, in decennial means, from 1460-69 to 1630-39  
Index: Mean of 1500-09 = 100**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Exports</b>	<b>Index</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Exports</b>	<b>Index</b>
<b>1460-9</b>	17,717	36.00	<b>1553-9<sup>b</sup></b>	?	?
<b>1470-9</b>	26,707	54.20	<b>1560-9</b>	85,952	174.50
<b>1480-9</b>	35,533	72.20	<b>1570-9</b>	90,319	183.40
<b>1490-9</b>	39,409	80.00	<b>1580-9</b>	98,101	199.20
<b>1500-9</b>	49,247	<b>100.00</b>	<b>1590-9</b>	101,172	205.40
<b>1510-9</b>	61,036	123.90	<b>1601-9<sup>c</sup></b>	108,464	220.20
<b>1520-9</b>	66,673	135.40	<b>1610-9<sup>d</sup></b>	105,906	215.10
<b>1530-9</b>	80,736	163.90	<b>1620-9<sup>e</sup></b>	89,637	182.00
<b>1540-9<sup>a</sup></b>	110,135	223.60	<b>1630-9<sup>f</sup></b>	88,066	178.80
<b>1550-2<sup>b</sup></b>	110,148	223.70	<b>1640<sup>g</sup></b>	86,924	176.50

\* 1 short broadcloth = 24 yards by 1.75 yards fulled.

**Notes:**

- a. 1540-47 only
- b. 1550-52 only; 1553-9 missing data
- c. 1601-04 and 1606 only: mean of five years
- d. 1614, 1616, and 1618 only: mean of three years
- e. 1620, 1622, 1626-28 only
- f. 1631-33 only: mean of four years
- g. 1640 only

**Table 17.****ENGLISH LANDHOLDING IN 1436 AND 1690****Percentage of Total Lands Held by Leading Social Classes**

	<b>1436</b>	<b>1690</b>
<b>Church and Crown</b>	35%	10%
<b>Peerage (aristocracy)</b>	20%	18%
<b>Gentry</b>	25%	45%
<b>Yeoman Freeholders</b>	20%	27%
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** George E. Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (London, 1976), Table 3.1, p. 59, based on J.P. Cooper, 'The Social Distribution of Land and Men in England, 1436 - 1700', *Economic History Review*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 20:3 (December 1967), 419-40; F.M.L. Thompson, 'The Social Distribution of Landed Property in England Since the Sixteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 19:3 (December 1966), 505-17.

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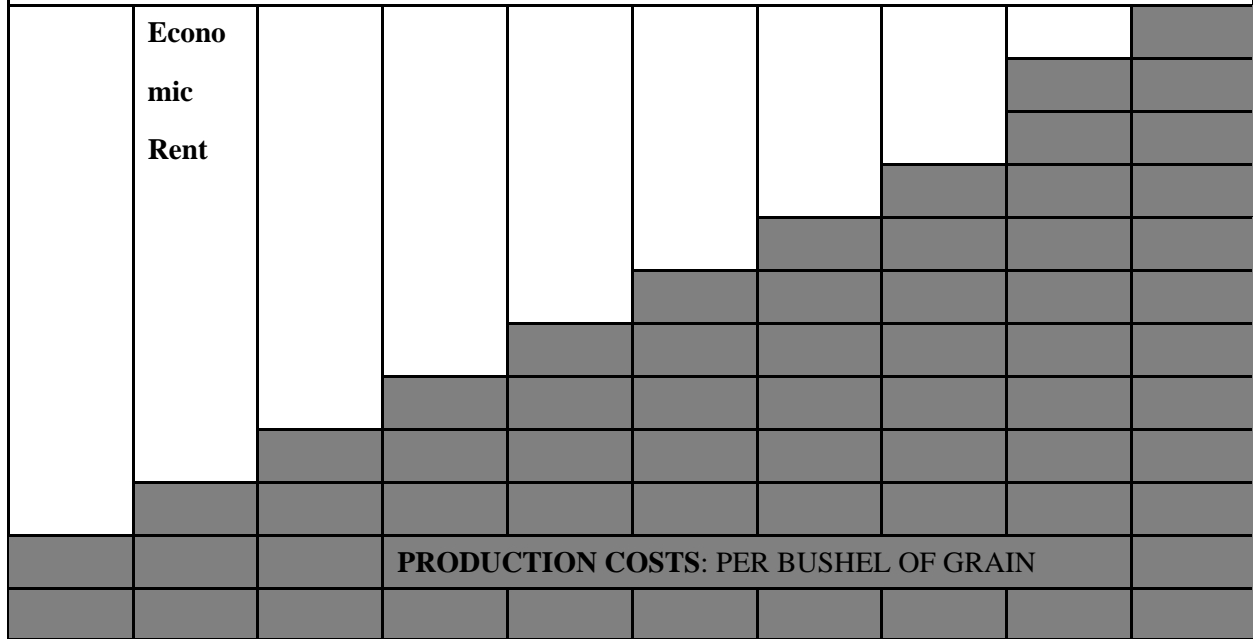
**Social Rank and Status in Tudor-Stuart England****THE PEERAGE****THE GENTRY****THE HOUSE OF LORDS****THE HOUSE OF COMMONS****The Greater Nobility: Lords and Ladies****The Lesser Nobility: Gentlemen**

1. Duke, Archbishop (Lord)
2. Marquess (Marquise) (Lord)
3. Viscount (Lord)
4. Baron (Lord)

6. Baronet (from 1611 only): Sir
7. Knight (Sir)
8. Esquire (Mr.)
9. Gentleman (Mr.)

## THE RICARDO MODEL OF ECONOMIC RENT

Prices and Costs (Y axis)



UNITS OF LAND ADDED TO PRODUCTION (X axis)