

Updated: 29 December 2011

ECO 301Y1

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

Topic No. 9 [17]:

The 'Rise of the Gentry' Debate:

Landlords, Social Change, and the Rise of Agrarian Capitalism in
Tudor-Stuart England, 1540 - 1640

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

A. PRIMARY READINGS: on the Tawney-Stone-Trevor Roper Debate

- * 1. Richard H. Tawney, The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1912; reissued London and New York, 1967). Introduction to the 1967 edn. by Lawrence Stone. See Part I, chapter 1; Part II, chapter 1.
- ** 2. Richard H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640', Economic History Review, 1st ser., 11:1 (1941), 1 - 38 . Reprinted with a postscript (1954) in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. I (London: Edward Arnold, 1954), pp. 173-214; and excerpts in Stone (1965).
- * 3. Lawrence Stone, 'The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy', Economic History Review, 1st ser., 18: 1/2 (1948), 1-53. Excerpts in Stone (1965).
4. H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'The Elizabethan Aristocracy: An Anatomy Anatomized', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 3 (1951), 279-98. A vigorous (indeed heartless) attack on Stone, reprinted in part in Stone (1965).
5. Lawrence Stone, 'The Elizabethan Aristocracy: A Restatement', Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 4: 3 (1952), 302-21.
- ** 6. Hugh R. Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre), The Gentry, 1540-1640: Economic History Review Supplement no. 1, (Cambridge University Press, 1953). Excerpt in Stone (1965).
7. P. Zagorin, 'The English Revolution, 1640-1660', Cahiers d'histoire mondiale, 2 (1955).
8. Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1956). Excerpts in Stone (1965).
- * 9. J.P. Cooper, 'The Counting of Manors', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 8 (1956), 377 - 86.
- * 10. Jack Hexter, 'Storm Over the Gentry', Encounter, 10 (1958). Reprinted in J.H. Hexter, Reappraisals in History (London, 1961); and in Stone (1965).

11. P. Zagorin, 'The Social Interpretations of the English Revolution', Journal of Economic History, 19 (1959). Excerpt in Stone (1965).
- * 12. Alan Simpson, The Wealth of the Gentry, 1540-1660 (Chicago, 1961).
- * 13. Julian Cornwall, 'The Early Tudor Gentry', Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 17:3 (1965), 456 - 75.
- ** 14. Lawrence Stone, ed., Social Change and Revolution in England, 1540-1640, Problems & Perspectives Series (London, 1965):
 - (a) Part I: Excerpts of articles, essays etc. by Engels, Tawney, Trevor-Roper, Hexter, Zagorin, Hill, and Stone himself.
 - (b) Part II: Selected documents on Tudor-Stuart England relevant to the debate.
- * 15. Gordon Batho, 'Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Yeomen', as chapter V, Part B, in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV: 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 276-305.
- ** 16. George E. Mingay, The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class (London, 1976), especially chapters 1 and 3.
- * 17. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', Past & Present, no. 70 (Feb. 1976), 30-75. Republished in Aston and Philipin (1987).
- * 18. J. P. Cooper, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', Past and Present, No. 80 (August 1978), 20-65. One of many attacks on Brenner (1976). Republished in Aston and Philipin (1987).
- * 19. 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, republished in Aston and Philipin (1987).
20. J. T. Cliffe, The Puritan Gentry (London, 1984).
- * 21. Christopher Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700, Vol. I: People, Land, and Towns (1985), chapter 5, 'The Landlords', pp. 142 - 64.
22. 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 on this debate, beginning and ending with Brenner's articles (1976-82).
23. J. T. Cliffe, Puritans in Conflict: The Puritan Gentry during and after the Civil Wars (London: Routledge, 1988).
24. Julian C. K. Cornwall, Wealth and Society in Early Sixteenth-Century England (London, 1988).
- * 25. Peter R. Coss, 'The Formation of the English Gentry', Past & Present, no. 147 (May 1995), pp. 38-64.

- ** 25. Peter R. Coss, The Origins of the English Gentry (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
26. Elizabeth Noble, The World of the Stonors: a Gentry Society (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009).
- * 27. Peter Coss, The Foundations of Gentry Life: the Multons of Frampton and Their World, 127- 1370 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- * 28. John Munro, 'Tawney's Century, 1540 - 1640: The Roots of Modern Capitalist Entrepreneurship', in David S. Landes, Joel Mokyr, and William J. Baumol, eds, The Invention of Enterprise: Entrepreneurship from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Times, Kauffman Foundation Series on Innovation and Entrepreneurship (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 107-55.

B. Other Studies on the Structure of Landholding and Related Topics in Tudor-Stuart England: up to the Restoration (1485 - 1660)

1. Sir Thomas Smith, De Republica Anglorum, ed. L. Alston (London, 1906).
2. J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (London, 1949).
- * 3. 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.
4. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640', Past & Present, no. 4 (1953).
5. Joan Thirsk, 'The Sales of Royalist Land During the Interregnum', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 5 (1954).
6. F.J. Fisher, 'The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Dark Ages in English Economic History?' Economica, new series, 24 (1957).
7. H.J. Habakkuk, 'The Market for Monastic Property, 1539-1603', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 10: (1958), 362-80.
8. R.H. Tawney, Business and Politics Under James I (Cambridge, 1958).
9. Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714 (1961).
10. Roger Schofield, 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334-1649', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 18 (1965). Reprinted in Roderick Floud, ed., Essays in Quantitative Economic History (Oxford, 1974), pp. 79-132.
11. Charles Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763 (London, 1965): Part I (1603-1660), chapters 1, 2, and 6.
- * 12. Peter Ramsey, Tudor Economic Problems (London, 1965), chapter I: 'Agrarian Problems', pp. 19-46.

13. Christopher Hill, The Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford, 1965).
14. Lawrence Stone, 'Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700', and Alan Everitt, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England', both in: Past and Present, No. 33 (April 1966), pp. 16-55 and 56-73.
15. J.P. Cooper, 'The Social Distribution of Land and Men in England, 1436-1700', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 20 (1967). Reprinted in Roderick Floud, ed., Essays in Quantitative Economic History (Oxford, 1974), pp. 79-132.
16. Christopher Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution: Pelican Economic History of Britain, Vol. II: 1530-1780 (London, 1967), Part II, chapter 3; Part III, chapter 3.
17. Eric Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After (London, 1969). A rebuttal of Tawney's The Agrarian Problem of the Sixteenth Century, more concerned with the question of enclosure than with the gentry debate per se.
18. Joyce Youings, The Dissolution of the Monasteries, Historical Problems series no. 14 (London, 1971). Introduction, and pp. 25-90, 117-34.
19. M.E. James, 'The Concept of Order and the Northern Rising of 1569', Past and Present, no. 60 (Aug. 1973), pp. 49-83.
20. Ian Gentles, 'The Sales of Crown Lands during the English Revolution', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 614-32.
- * 21. A.R. Bridbury, 'Sixteenth-Century Farming', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 27 (1974), 538-56.
22. Andrew Sharp, 'Edward Waterhouse's View of Social change in Seventeenth-Century England', Past and Present, no. 62 (Feb. 1974), pp. 27-46.

On this topic see: Edward Waterhouse, The Gentlemen's Monitor: Or a Sober Inspection into the Virtues, Vices, and Ordinary Means of the Rise and Decay of Men and Families (1665).
23. Andrew Appleby, 'Agrarian Capitalism or Seigneurial Reaction? The North West of England, 1500 - 1700', American Historical Review, 80 (June 1975), 574-94.
24. D. Thomas, 'Leases in Reversion on the Crown's Lands, 1558-1603', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 67-72.
- * 25. Donald Coleman, The Economy of England, 1450-1750 (Oxford, 1977): chapter 1 ('Economy and Social Order') and 3 ('Agriculture and Rural Society, 450-1650').
26. G.E. Aylmer, 'Property' in Seventeenth-Century England', Past and Present, no. 86 (Feb. 1980), 87-97.
- * 27. Christopher Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500-1700,

Vol. I: People, Lands, and Towns (London, 1985): chapter 5, 'The Landlords', pp. 142-64.

28. Julian C. K. Cornwall, Wealth and Society in Early Sixteenth-Century England (London, 1988).
29. S. J. Gunn, 'Peers, Commons, and Gentry in the Lincolnshire Revolt of 1536', Past & Present, no. 123 (May 1989), pp. 52 - 79.
30. 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.
31. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, A Community Transformed: The Manor and Liberty of Havering, 1500 - 1620 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
32. Govind Sreenivasan, 'The Land-Family Bond at Earls Colne (Essex), 1550 - 1650', Past & Present, no. 131 (May 1991), 3 - 37.
33. Christine Carpenter, Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401 - 1499 (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
34. Ian Ward, 'Rental Policy on the Estates of the English Peerage, 1649 - 1660', Agricultural History Review, 40:i (1992), 23 - 37.
35. R. W. Hoyle, 'Some Reservations on Dr. Ward on the 'Rental Policy of the English Peerage, 1649-60'', Agricultural History Review, 40:ii (1992), 156-59.
36. R. W. Hoyle, ed., The Estates of the English Crown, 1558 - 1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
37. Ian Ward, 'The Humble Response of the Hired Lackey: A Reply to Hoyle', Agricultural History Review, 41:ii (1993), 176-78.
38. R. W. Hoyle, 'Further Comments on Dr Ward and the 'Rental Policy of the English Peerage, 1649-60'', Agricultural History Review, 41:ii (1993), 178-80.
39. Eric Acheson, A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422-c.1485 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
40. Daniel C. Quinlan and Jean A. Shackelford, 'Economy and English Families, 1500 - 1850', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 24:3 (Winter 1994), 431-63.
41. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500 - 1700 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
42. Jennifer Ward, ed., Women of the English Nobility and Gentry, 1066-1500 (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- * 43. P. R. Coss, 'The Formation of the English Gentry', Past & Present, no. 147 (May 1995), pp. 38-64.
44. Govind Sreenivasan, 'The Land-Family Bond in England: Reply', Past & Present,

no. 146 (February 1995), pp. 174-87.

45. Mary Wolfe, Gentry Leaders in Peace and War: The Gentry Governors of Devon in the Early Seventeenth Century (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997).
46. Malcolm Wanklyn, ed., Inventories of Worcestershire Landed Gentry, 1537 - 1786, Worcestershire Historical Society, new series 16 (Worcester, 1998).
47. Craig Muldrew, The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England (London: Macmillan, 1998).
48. Catherine Patterson, Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, the Landed Elite and the Crown, 1580 - 1640 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
49. Pamela Nightingale, 'Knights and Merchants: Trade, Politics and the Gentry in Late Medieval England', Past & Present, no. 169 (November 2000), 36-62.
50. Margaret Spufford, Figures in the Landscape: Rural Society in England, 1500 - 1700 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
51. Jane Whittle, The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk, 1440 - 1580 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
51. Michael Turner, John V. Beckett, and Bethanie Afton, Farm Production in England, 1700 - 1914 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
52. Harriet Bradley, The Enclosures in England: an Economic Reconstruction (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001).
52. 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.
53. 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).
54. Keith Wrightson, English Society, 1580 - 1680 (London: Routledge, 2002).
- * 53. Stephen Hipkin, 'The Structure of Landownership and Land Occupation in the Romney Marsh Region, 1646 - 1834', Agricultural History Review, 51:i (2003), 69-94.
- * 54. Peter R. Coss, The Origins of the English Gentry (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
55. Richard W. Hoyle, ed., People, Landscape and Alternative Agriculture: Essays for Joan Thirsk, British Agricultural History Society, Agricultural History Review, Supplement Series no. 3, 2004.
 - a. David Hey, 'Joan Thirsk: An Appreciation', pp. vii-xi.
 - b. David Hey, 'Barlow: the Landscape History of a Peak District Township', pp. 1-19.

- c. Christopher Dyer, 'Alternative Agriculture: Goats in Medieval England', pp. 20-38.
 - d. Peter Edwards, 'Competition for Land, Common Rights and Drainage in the Weald Moors (Shropshire): the Cherrington and Meeson Disputes, 1576-1612', pp. 39-55.
 - e. Richard Hoyle, 'Woad in the 1580s: Alternative Agriculture in England and Ireland', pp. 56-73.
 - f. Elizabeth Griffiths, 'Responses to Adversity: the Changing Strategies of Two Norfolk Landowning Families, c. 1665-1700', pp. 74-92
 - g. Joan Broad, 'Regional Perspectives and Variations in English Dairying, 1650 - 1850', pp. 93-112.
 - h. John Chartres, 'A Special Crop and Its Markets in the Eighteenth Century: the Case of Pontefract's Liquorice', pp. 113-32.
 - i. Paul Brassley, 'Industries in the Early Twentieth-Century Countryside: the Oxford Rural Histories Survey of 1926/7', pp. 133-48.
56. Richard Hoyle, 'Estate Management, Tenurial Change and Capitalist Farming in Sixteenth-Century England', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., Il mercato della terra, secoli XIII - XVIII, Istituto internazionale di storia economica "F. Datini" Prato, Serie II: Atti delle 'Settimane di Studi' et altri convegno no. 35 (Florence: Le Monnier, 2004), pp. 353-82.
57. 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).
58. A. J. Gritt, 'The Operation of Lifeleasehold in South-west Lancashire, 1649 - 1697', Agricultural History Review, 53:1 (2005), 1- 23.
60. Margaret Yates, 'Between Fact and Fiction: Henry Brinklow's *Complaynt* Against Rapacious Landlords', Agricultural History Review, 54:i (2006), 24-44. Concerning Tudor enclosures.
61. E. Anthony Wrigley, 'The Transition to an Advanced Organic Economy: Half a Millenium of English Agriculture', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 59:3 (August 2006), 425-480.
62. Andy Wood, 'Subordination, Solidarity and the Limits of Popular Agency in a Yorkshire Valley, c. 1596 - 1615', Past & Present, no. 193 (November 2006), pp. 41-72.
63. John Hare, 'The Bishop and the Prior: Demesne Agriculture in Medieval Hampshire', Agricultural History Review, 54:ii (2006), 187-212.
64. 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.
65. Jane Whittle, 'Peasant Politics and Class Consciousness: The Norfolk Rebellions of 1381 and 1549 Compared', Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages: An Exploration of Historical Themes, Past & Present, no. 195: Supplement no. 2 (2007), pp. 234-47.
66. Hadrian Cook and Tom Williamson, eds., Water Meadows: History, Ecology, and Conservation (London: Windgather Press, 2007).

67. Robert C. Allen, 'Agricultural Productivity and Rural Incomes in England and the Yangtze Delta, ca. 1620 - ca. 1820', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 62:3 (August 2009), 525-550.

C. The Enclosure Movement and Agrarian Change in 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: reissued 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 Youings, 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).
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SOCIAL RANK AND STATUS IN TUDOR-STUART ENGLAND

PEERAGE

Greater Nobility: Lords, Ladies

Who Sit in the HOUSE OF LORDS

1. Duke, Archbishop
2. Marquess, Marquise
3. Earl
4. Viscount
5. Baron, Bishop

GENTRY

Lesser Nobility: Gentleman

Who May be elected to the HOUSE OF COMMONS

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

.....

Percentage of Lands Held by English Social Groupings

	1436	1690	1790
Church and Crown:	35%	10%	10%
Peerage (Aristocracy):	20%	18%	25%
Gentry:	25%	45%	50%
Yeomen Freeholders:	20%	27%	15%

Sources:

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*, 2nd 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*, 2nd ser., 19:3 (December 1966), 505-17. Table 3.1 (figures adjusted, to add up to 100%).

QUESTIONS

1. Who were the English 'gentry'? In what senses are they a unique social class or social grouping in Europe: in particular, a non-noble 'lesser nobility'? In what respects do they resemble the French *seigneurs*; in what critical respects do they differ? How are they related to, and how do they differ from, the English aristocracy? In what House of Parliament do the representatives of the English gentry sit?

N.B. Do not let this debate mislead you into thinking that the gentry are a 'new' social class in Tudor England. For the medieval gentry, see: Michael Postan, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: England', in Cambridge Economic History, Vol. I: Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 2nd edition revised by M.M. Postan (1966), pp. 592-599.

For a contemporary definition of the English gentry, see Sir Thomas Smith, De Republica Anglorum (ed. L. Alston, London, 1906).

2. Review and discuss the Tawney-Trevor Roper debate. Were the English gentry of Tudor-Stuart England 'rising' or 'falling'? Are Tawney and Trevor-Roper speaking in fact about the same groups of gentry, in the same areas of England, and in the same time periods? Can their views be at least partially reconciled? How do Stone's and Hexter's views (and those of Zagorin, Hill, etc.) fit into this debate: and with what success?
3. What relationship is there between Trevor-Roper's views in this debate about the English gentry and his thesis about the 'General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century'? See his article, with that title, in Trevor Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660: Essays from Past and Present, pp. 59-96.
4. In more general terms, what relevance does the debate about the gentry have with the following?:
 - (a) The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century.
 - (b) The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century.
 - (c) The Tudor-Stuart Enclosure Movement.
 - (d) The 'Rise of Capitalism'.
5. In particular, what was the economic significance (if any) of the English gentry for the economic development of Tudor-Stuart England? How do they compare with other English social classes/groupings (aristocracy, yeomanry, merchants, & other bourgeoisie, etc.) in: (a) enclosure of land for arable and/or pasture; (b) investments in rural and/or urban industries and trades. Did the gentry have 'a social predisposition to invest productively'--or a more marked predisposition to do so than the aristocracy?
6. What changes occurred in England landholding between 1500 and 1700 in terms of the following: aristocracy, the Church, the Crown, the gentry, the 'yeomanry' (and other peasant freeholders), the 'bourgeoisie' (merchants, lawyers, etc.)?
7. Did the English titled, landed aristocracy make a 'comeback' in the later 17th and 18th centuries (1660-1740)? Read Habbakuk, in particular, on this question: Part C, no. 1, et seq. In what respects was the post-Restoration aristocracy a different social class from that of the pre-Civil War era? How many of Tawney's 'gentry' had, by or after 1660, been elevated to the peerage? How does Habbakuk's thesis relate to the Tawney-Trevor Roper debate (and to the views of Lawrence Stone). And to the '17th-Century Crisis'?