

Revised: 22 December 2009

**Economics 301Y1: Economic History of Europe of Later-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe**

**Topic No. 9 [16]: The Social Costs of Agrarian Change: The Enclosure Movements in Tudor-Stuart England, c.1485 - c.1700**

**A. Introductory Surveys:**

- \* 1. Peter Ramsey, Tudor Economic Problems (London, 1965), pp. 19-46.
2. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the Atlantic Economies (1973), chapter 7: 'Agriculture in the 16th and 17th Centuries', pp. 108-24.
3. Donald C. Coleman, The Economy of England, 1450-1750 (Oxford, 1977), pp. 31-47, 111-30.
- \* 4. Christopher Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500-1700, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1984), Vol.I: People, Land, and Towns, chapter 3, 'Rural Society', pp. 53-101; and chapter 4, 'The Progress of Agriculture', pp. 102-41.
5. Richard Lachmann, From Manor to Market: Structural Change in England, 1536 - 1640 (Madison, 1987).
6. Leonard Cantor, The Changing English Countryside, 1400 - 1700 (London, 1987), especially chapters 2 & 3, pp. 23-64.
7. 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).
- \* 8. Mark Overton, Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500 - 1800, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), chapter 2: 'Farming in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century' (pp. 10-62); chapter 3: 'Agricultural Output and Productivity' (pp. 63-132); chapter 4: 'Institutional Change' (pp. 133-92.)
- \* 9. Robert C. Allen, 'Economic Structure and Agricultural Productivity in Europe, 1300 - 1800', European Review of Economic History, 4:1 (April 2000), 1-26.
- \* 10. 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.

**B. Demography and Tudor-Stuart Enclosures**

- \* 1. Joan Thirsk, Tudor Enclosures (London, 1958; reissued 1967). A conservative view of enclosures, in just 26 pp. See also: Joan Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing', in J. Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV: 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), chapter 4, pp. 200 - 56.

- \* 2. Ian Blanchard, 'Population Change, Enclosure, and the Early Tudor Economy', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 23:3 (1970), 427-45. On the demographic origins of enclosures.
- 3. Julian Cornwall, 'English Population in the Early Sixteenth Century', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 23:1 (April 1970), 32-44.
- 4. Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'The Population of Early Tudor England: A Re-evaluation of the 1522 Muster Returns and the 1524 and 1525 Lay Subsidies', Journal of Historical Geography, 7 (1981), 145-54.
- 5. J. R. Wordie, 'The Chronology of English Enclosure, 1500-1914', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1983), 483-505. A strong challenge to the traditional chronology of enclosures.
- 6. Jane Whittle, The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labor in Norfolk, 1440 - 1580 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

**C. 'Depopulation' and Rent-Seeking Landlords: the Social Consequences and the Marxian Debate**

- \*1. R.H. Tawney, The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century (1912; reissued New York, 1967). Read Lawrence Stone's Introduction, pp. 1-18; and Part II, chapter 2, pp. 231-65. Also written from the left-wing (socialist) though not really Marxian point of view.
- \*2. Eric Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After (Historical Problems: Studies and Documents no. 6; London, 1969). A trenchant rebuttal of Tawney. Read pp. 17-31, 94-136.
- \*3. Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'A Marxian Model of Enclosures', Journal of Development Economics, 1 (1975), 287-336; or Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'Enclosures and Depopulation: A Marxian Analysis', in W.N. Parker and E.L. Jones, eds., European Peasants and Their Markets (1975), pp. 161-76. Since this is reputedly a 'Marxian model', you should read Marx himself on enclosures, in: Karl Marx, Capital (ed. Frederick Engels, 1887 edition), Vol. I, chapters 26-29.
- \*4. 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.
- \*5. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', Past and Present, no. 70 (February 1976), pp. 61-75. Another but rather different 'Marxian' analysis of enclosures.
- \* 6. Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, eds., Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity (Manchester and New York, 1991):
  - (e) Robert Allen, 'The Two English Agricultural Revolutions, 1450-1850', pp. 236-54.
  - (f) Paul Glennie, 'Measuring Crop Yields in Early Modern England', pp. 255-83.

Robert Allen provides a new viewpoint on enclosures and agrarian change, opposing both traditional Marxist and traditional Conservative viewpoints, from a neo-Marxist or left-leaning analysis. The Glennie essay is important for challenging Allen's methodology and use of data.

7. Donald McCloskey, 'The Economics of Enclosure', in Parker and Jones, ed., European Peasants and Their Markets (1975), pp. 123-60. More concerned with 18<sup>th</sup> century enclosures; but the economics are clearly relevant for the Tudor-Stuart period as well.
8. Robert C. Allen, Enclosure and the Yeoman: The Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450 - 1850 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). Another neo-Marxian interpretation.
9. 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.
- \*10. Gregory Clark, 'Commons Sense: Common Property Rights, Efficiency, and Institutional Change', Journal of Economic History, 58:1 (March 1998), 73-102; John Chapman, 'Charities, Rents, and Enclosure: A Comment on Clark', and Gregory Clark, 'In Defense of 'Commons Sense': Reply to Chapman', Journal of Economic History, 59:2 (June 1999), 447-50, 451-55..
- \*11. Gregory Clark and Anthony Clark, 'Common Rights to Land in England, 1475 - 1839', Journal of Economic History, 61:4 (December 2001), 1009-36.

### **QUESTIONS:**

1. What is meant by 'enclosure', and what forms did it take in Tudor-Stuart England? Discuss enclosing, engrossing, land reclamation.
2. What were the basic causes of enclosure and engrossing: and how did such causes vary over time from the mid-15th to the late-17th centuries? How did the causes and forms of enclosure vary by regions in England?
3. Did enclosure/engrossing necessarily mean 'depopulation': in what types of enclosure, in what regions, in what periods? Could enclosures and agrarian change subsequently lead to increased population? Differentiate the economic consequences by region and period.
4. Who 'captured the economic rent on land' as a result of enclosure? Who gained and who lost by enclosures, economically and socially? Differentiate by type of landholder, region, and period; and discuss the differences in the economic and social consequences of these enclosures.