

**ECO 2210Y**

**Topics in the Economic and Social History of Late-Medieval  
and Early Modern Europe**

**Topics Nos. 23 - 25**

**Agrarian Change and Modernization in the Netherlands and England,  
1400-1750: The 'New Husbandry' and Tudor-Stuart Enclosures**

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.

**A. Agrarian Change in Western Europe, 14th to 18th Centuries (General)**

- \* 1. B.H. Slicher-Van Bath, The Agrarian History of Western Europe, 500-1850 A.D. (1963), section D, pp. 195-324.
- 2. Fernand Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800 (1967), chapter 2, 'Daily Bread,' pp. 66-120.
- 3. G.B. Masfield, 'Crops and Livestock,' in E. E. Rich and Charles Wilson, eds., Cambridge Economic History, Vol. IV: The Economy of Expanding Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 276-307.
- \* 4. Ralph Davis, The Rise of the Atlantic Economics (London, 1973), chapter 7, 'Agriculture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' pp. 108-24.
- 5. Jan De Vries, The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600-1750 (Cambridge, 1976), chapter 2, 'Agrarian Economies,' pp. 69-83.
- 6. Harry Miskimin, The Economy of Later Renaissance Europe, 1460-1600 (Cambridge, 1977), chapter 3, 'Agriculture,' pp. 47-82.
- \* 7. Wilhelm Abel, Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries, trans. Olive Ordish (London, 1980), Part II: chapters 4-6, pp. 90-193.
- 8. Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism, 15th - 18th Centuries, Vol. I: The Structures of Everyday Life (1979; English trans. New York, 1981), chapters 2 and 3.
- \* 9. David B. Grigg, Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective

(Cambridge, 1980), chapters 6-9, and 11-12.

- \* 10. Esther Boserup, Population and Technological Change: A Study of Long-Term Trends (Chicago, 1981), Part III: 'The Role of Demographic Factors in European Development,' pp. 93-125.
11. G. Patrick H. Chorley, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Northern Europe, 1750-1880: Nitrogen, Legumes, and Crop Productivity,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 34 (1981), 71-93.
12. T. Kjaergaard, 'Origins of Economic Growth in European Societies Since the XVth Century: The Case of Agriculture,' Journal of European Economic History, 15 (1986), 591-98.
13. Gregory Clark, 'Productivity Growth without Technical Change in European Agriculture Before 1850,' Journal of Economic History, 47 (June 1987), 419-32.
14. John Komlos, 'Agricultural Productivity in America and Eastern Europe: A Comment,' Journal of Economic History, 48 (Sept. 1988), 655-64.
15. Gregory Clark, 'Productivity Growth Without Technical Change in European Agriculture: Reply to Komlos,' Journal of Economic History, 49 (December 1989), 979 - 91.
16. David Grigg, The Transformation of Agriculture in the West (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992).
17. Catherine Geissler and Derek Oddy, eds., Food, Diet, and Economic Change: Past and Present (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).
18. Thomas W. Robisheaux, 'The World of the Village,' in Thomas A. Brady, jr., Heiko O. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, Vol. I: Structures and Assertions (Leiden/New York/Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 79-112.
19. Del Sweeney, ed., Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation (Philadelphia and London: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).
20. Walter Bauernfeind and Ulrich Woitek, 'Agrarian Cycles in Germany, 1339 - 1670: A Spectral Analysis of Grain Prices and Output in Nuremberg,' Explorations in Economic History, 33:4 (Oct. 1996), 459-78.
21. Mauro Ambrosoli, The Wild and the Sown: Agriculture and Botany in Western Europe, 1350 - 1850 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
22. Joan Thirsk, Alternative Agriculture: A History from the Black Death to the Present Day (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
23. Grenville Astil and John Langdon, eds., Medieval Farming and Technology: the Impact of

Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1997):

24. Karl Gunnar Persson, Grain Markets in Europe, 1500 - 1900: Integration and Deregulation (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

**B. The Netherlands: Crop Rotations and Convertible Husbandry**

- \* 1. Sir Richard Weston, A Discourse of Husbandrie Used in Brabant and Flanders (London, 2nd ed. 1652).
- \* 2. B.H. Slicher-Van Bath, 'Agriculture in the Low Countries,' Relazioni del X congresso internazionale di scienze storiche, 4 (1955), 169-203.
- \*\* 3. B.H. Slicher-Van Bath, 'The Rise of Intensive Husbandry in the Low Countries,' in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossman, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, Vol. I (London, 1960), pp. 130-53.
4. Herman Van der Wee, The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy, 14th to 16th Centuries, 3 vols. (1963), II, 289-308 ('Agricultural Trends in Brabant').
5. B.H. Slicher-Van Bath, 'The Yields of Different Crops (Mainly Cereals) in Relation to the Seed, ca. 810-1820,' Acta Historiae Neerlandica, 2 (1967), 26-106.
- \* 6. Jan de Vries, The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700 (New Haven, 1974), chapters 3, 4, 6, and 7, especially pp. 119-73 (in chapter 4, 'Transformation of the Rural Economy').
7. Marie-Jeanne Tits-Dieuaide, La formation des prix céréaliers en Brabant et en Flandre au XVe siècle (Brussels, 1975), chapters 2 and 3 of Part I, pp. 51-132.
- \* 8. Herman Van der Wee and Eddy Van Cauwenberghe, eds., Productivity of Land and Agricultural Innovation in the Low Countries (1250-1800), Leuven: University Press, 1978.
- (a) Herman Van der Wee, 'The Agricultural Development of the Low Countries as Revealed by the Tithe and Rent Statistics, 1250-1800,' pp. 1-24.
- (b) E. Van Cauwenberghe and H. Van der Wee, 'Productivity, Evolution of Rents, and Farm Size in the Southern Netherlands Agriculture from the 14th to the 17th Century,' pp. 125-62.
- (c) C. Vandenbroeke and W. Vanderpijpen, 'The Problem of 'Agricultural Revolution' in Flanders and Belgium: Myth or Reality?' pp. 163-70.
9. David B. Grigg, Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective

(Cambridge, 1980), chapter 12: 'Holland in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' pp. 147-62.

10. J. Bieleman, 'Rural Change in the Dutch Province of Drenthe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' The Agricultural History Review, 33 (1985), 105-17.
11. Leo Nordgraaf, ed., Agrarische geschiedenis van Nederland van prehistorie te heden (The Hague, 1986).
12. H. K. Roessingh, 'Tobacco Growing in Holland in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Innovative Spirit of Dutch Peasants,' The Low Countries History Yearbook, 11 (1978), 18-54.
13. Adrian Verhulst, Précis d'histoire rurale de la Belgique (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1990).
14. Grenville Astil and John Langdon, eds., Medieval Farming and Technology: the Impact of Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1997):
  - John Langdon, Grenville Astil, and Janken Myrdal, 'Introduction'
  - Georges Comet, 'Technology and Agricultural Expansion in the Middle Ages: the Example of France North of the Loire',
  - Georges Raepsaet, 'The Development of Farming Implements between the Seine and the Rhine from the Second to Twelfth Centuries',
  - \*\* Erik Thoen, 'The Birth of "The Flemish Husbandry": Agricultural Technology in Medieval Flanders',
  - Peter Hoppenbrouwers, 'Agricultural Production and Technology in the Netherlands, c. 1000-1500',

C. **Agrarian Technology and Agrarian Change in Medieval England, to ca. 1500: the General Background**

1. James E. Thorold Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1866-192), I: 1259-1400 (1867), and IV: 1401-1582 (1882).
2. Elizabeth Levitt, The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester (London, 1916). A classic.
3. R.A. Pelham, 'Fourteenth Century England,' in H.C. Darby, ed., An Historical Geography of England Before A.D. 1800 (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 230-65.
4. William Beveridge, 'Wages in the Winchester manors,' Economic History Review, 1st ser.

7 (1936-37), 22-43.

5. W.G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480-1619,' Agricultural History Review, 2 (1953-54), 28-46; reprinted in W. E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agrarian History, Vol. I (Newton Abbot, 1968), pp. 93-116.
6. E.M. Halcrow, 'The Decline of Demesne Farming on the Estates of Durham Cathedral Priory,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 7 (1954-55), 345-56.
7. William Beveridge, 'Westminster wages in the Manorial Era,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 8 (1955-56), 18-35.
- \* 8. G.A. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 85-120.
9. F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'Who Were Farming the English Demesnes at the End of the Middle Ages?' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 17 (1964-65), 443-55.
- \*\* 10. Michael Postan, 'Medieval Agrarian Society: England,' in Michael Postan, ed., Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 2nd rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 577-632.
11. R.H. Britnell, 'Production for the Market on a Small Fourteenth Century Estate,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 19 (Aug. 1966), 380-87.
12. A.R.H. Baker, 'Evidence in the 'Nonarum Inquisitiones' of Contracting Arable Lands in England During the Early Fourteenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 19 (1966), 518-32.
13. D.G. Watts, 'A Model for the Early Fourteenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 20 (1967), 543-47.
14. R.R. Davies, 'Baronial Accounts, Incomes, and Arrears in the Later Middle Ages,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 21 (1968), 211-29.
15. Christopher Dyer, 'A Redistribution of Incomes in Fifteenth-Century England,' Past and Present, no. 39 (April 1968), 11-33.
16. Douglass North and Robert Thomas, 'The Rise and Fall of the Manorial System: A Theoretical Model,' Journal of Economic History, 31 (Dec. 1971), 777-803.
17. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'The Rise and Fall of a Theoretical Model: The Manorial System,' Journal of Economic History, 35 (June 1975), 386-409. An attack on North and Thomas (1971).
18. J.Z. Titow, Winchester Yields: A Study in Agricultural Productivity (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 1-33.

- \* 19. Edwin DeWindt, Land and People in Holywell-cum-Needingworth, 1252-1457 (Toronto, 1972), chapter II: 'Structures and Patterns of Tenure, 1370-1457,' pp. 107-61.
20. P. F. Brandon, 'Cereal Yields on the Sussex Estates of Battle Abbey during the Later Middle Ages,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 25 (1972)
21. Ian Kershaw, 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England, 1315-1322,' Past and Present, no. 59 (May 1973), 3-50.
- \* 22. A.R. Bridbury, 'The Black Death,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 557-92.
23. Rodney Hilton, Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381 (London, 1973), chapter 1: 'The Nature of Medieval Peasant Economy,' pp. 25-62. The rest of this book is considered under the topic on 'Serfdom'.
24. J.R. Maddicott, The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341 (Past and Present Supplement no. 1, Oxford, 1975), 75 pp. Reprinted in T. H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 285-359.
25. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'Authority, Efficiency, and Agricultural Organization in Medieval England and Beyond: A Hypothesis,' Journal of Economic History, 35 (December 1975), 693-718.
26. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'Risk, Transactions Costs, and the Organization of Medieval Agriculture,' Explorations in Economic History, 13 (April 1976), 129-51.
27. Cicely Howell, 'Peasant Inheritance Customs in the Midlands, 1280-1700,' in Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, E.P. Thompson, eds., Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800 (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 112-55.
28. Richard H. Britnell, 'Agricultural Technology and the Margin of Cultivation in the Fourteenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 53-66.
29. D.L. Farmer, 'Grain Yields on the Winchester Manors in the Later Middle Ages,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 555-66.
30. A. R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 393-410.
31. R. A. Donkin, The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales (Toronto, 1978), chapters 2 - 4, especially 3, 'Animal Husbandry,' pp. 68-102.
32. W. Harwood Long, 'The Low Yields of Corn in Medieval England,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 32 (1979), 459-69.
- \*\* 33. J.L. Bolton, The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500 (London, 1980), chapter 7, 'Crisis

and Change in the Agrarian Economy,' pp. 207-45.

34. R.H. Britnell, 'Minor Landlords in England and Medieval Agrarian Capitalism,' Past and Present, no. 89 (Nov. 1980), 3-22. Reprinted in T. H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 227-46.
35. Zvi Razi, Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society, and Demography in Halesowen, 1270 - 1400, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 99-153 (chapters 3-4).
- \* 36. Zvi Razi, 'Family, Land, and the Village Community in Later Medieval England,' Past and Present, no. 93 (Nov. 1981), 3-36. Reprinted in T. H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 360-93.
- \* 37. John Hatcher, 'English Serfdom and Villeinage: Towards a Reassessment,' Past and Present, no. 90 (Feb. 1981), 3-39. Reprinted in T. H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 247-84.
38. Christopher Dyer, 'Warwickshire Farming, 1349 - 1520: Preparations for Agricultural Revolution,' Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, 27 (1981), 1 - 41.
39. J. Hare, 'Change and Continuity in Wiltshire Agriculture in the Later Middle Ages,' in W. E. Minchinton, ed., Agricultural Improvement: Medieval and Modern (Exeter, 1981).
40. Peter Gatrell, 'Historians and Peasants: Studies of Medieval English Society in a Russian Context,' Past and Present, no. 96 (August 1982), 22-50. Reprinted in T. H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 394-422.
- \*\* 41. Christopher Dyer, 'Deserted Villages in the West Midlands,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 35 (Feb. 1982), 19-34.
42. Christopher Dyer, Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540 (Past and Present Publications, Cambridge, 1982).
43. John Langdon, 'The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England,' Agricultural History Review, 30 (1982), 31-40.
- \* 44. Bruce M. Campbell, 'Agricultural Progress in Medieval England: Some Evidence from Eastern Norfolk,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 36 (Feb. 1983), 26-47. See also the following:
- \* 45. Bruce M. Campbell, 'Arable Productivity in Medieval England: 'Some Evidence from Norfolk,' Journal of Economic History, 43 (June 1983), 379-404.

46. Mavis Mate, 'The Farming Out of Manors: A New Look at the Evidence from Canterbury Cathedral Priory,' Journal of Medieval History, 9 (1983), 331-43.
47. M. Silver, 'A Non Neo-Malthusian Model of English Land Values, Wages, and Grain Yields Before the Black Death,' Journal of European Economic History, 12 (1983), 631-50.
48. David Farmer, 'Crop Yields, Prices, and Wages in Medieval England,' Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, new ser., 6 (1983), 115-55.
49. T. H. Aston, P. R. Coss, C. Dyer, Joan Thirsk, eds., Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton (Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- a) M. M. Postan, 'Feudalism and its Decline: A Semantic Exercise,' pp. 73 - 87.
  - b) Zvi Razi, 'The Struggles between the Abbots of Halesowen and their Tenants in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,' pp. 151 - 67.
  - c) Geoffrey Shepherd, 'Poverty in Piers Plowman,' pp. 169 - 89.
  - d) Christopher Dyer, 'English Diet in the Later Middle Ages,' pp. 191 - 216.
  - e) G. G. Astill, 'Economic Change in Later Medieval England: An Archaeological Review,' pp. 217 - 47.
50. H. E. Hallam, 'The Climate of Eastern England, 1250-1350,' The Agricultural History Review, 32 (1984), 124-32.
51. Christopher Dyer, 'Social and Economic Background to the Rural Revolt of 1381,' in R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston, eds., The English Rising of 1381 (Cambridge, 1984).
52. Richard M. Smith, Land, Kinship and Life-cycle (Cambridge, 1984). Collected essays; see in particular:
- a) Bruce Campbell, 'Population Pressure, Inheritance, and the Land Market in a Fourteenth Century Peasant Community,' pp. 87-134.
  - b) Jack Ravensdale, 'Population Changes and the Transfer of Customary Land on a Cambridgeshire Manor in the Fourteenth Century,' pp. 197 - 226.
  - c) Ian Blanchard, 'Industrial Employment and the Rural Land Market, 1380 - 1520,' pp. 227 - 76.
  - d) Christopher Dyer, 'Changes in the Size of Peasant Holdings in Some West Midland Villages, 1400 - 1540,' pp. 277 - 94.
  - e) Zvi Razi, 'The Erosion of the Family-land Bond in the late Fourteenth and



Fifteenth Centuries: A Methodological Note,' pp. 295 - 304.

f) Christopher Dyer, 'Changes in the Link Between Families and Land in the West Midlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,' pp. 305 - 12.

53. Judith M. Bennett, 'The Tie That Binds: Peasant Marriages and Families in Late Medieval England,' The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 15 (Summer 1984), 111-30.
54. John Langdon, 'Horse Hauling: A Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England?', Past and Present, no. 103 (May 1984), 37 - 66. Reprinted in T. H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 33-64.
55. Mavis Mate, 'Agrarian Economy After the Black Death: The Manors of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1348-91,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 37 (Aug. 1984), 341-54.
- \* 56. Mavis Mate, 'Medieval Agrarian Practices: The Determining Factors?' The Agricultural History Review, 33 (1985), 22-32.
57. Mavis Mate, 'Labour and Labour Services on the Estates of Canterbury Cathedral Priory in the Fourteenth Century,' Southern History, 7 (1985), 55 - 67.
58. Kathleen Biddick, 'Medieval English Peasants and Market Involvement,' The Journal of Economic History, 45 (December 1985), 823 - 32.
59. R. H. Hilton, Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History (London, 1985). See in particular the following (reprints):
- a) 'Old Enclosure in the West Midlands: A Hypothesis about Late-Medieval Development,' pp. 36-47.
  - b) 'Medieval Peasants: Any Lessons?' pp. 114-21.
  - c) 'Reasons for Inequality Among Medieval Peasants,' pp. 139-51.
  - d) 'Feudalism or Féodalité and Seigneurie in France and England,' pp. 227-38.
  - e) 'Was There a General Crisis of Feudalism?' pp. 239-45.
  - f) 'Ideology and Social Order in Late Medieval England,' pp. 246-53.
  - g) 'Some Social and Economic Evidence in Late Medieval English Tax Returns,' pp. 253-67.
60. John Langdon, Horses, Oxen, and Technological Innovation, 1066 to 1500 (Cambridge, 1986).

61. H. S. A. Fox, 'The Alleged Transformation from Two-field to Three-field Systems in Medieval England,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 39 (November 1986), 526-48.
62. David Postles, 'The Perception of Profit Before the Leasing of Demesnes,' Agricultural History Review, 34 (1986), 12-28.
63. Simon Penn, 'Female Wage-earners in Late Fourteenth-century England,' Agricultural History Review, 35 (1987), 1 - 14.
64. Mavis Mate, 'Pastoral Farming in South-East England in the Fifteenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 40 (Nov. 1987), 523-36.
65. T. H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1987). Essays reprinted from Past & Present. The following are relevant to this topic:
- a) Robert A. Dodgshon, 'The Landholding Foundations of the Open-Field System,' pp. 6-32.
  - b) John Langdon, 'Horse Hauling: A Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth- and Thirteenth Century England,' pp. 33-64.
  - c) Edmund King, 'Large and Small Landowners in Thirteenth-Century England: The Case of Peterborough Abbey,' pp. 141-65.
  - d) R. H. Britnell, 'Minor Landlords in England and Medieval Agrarian Capitalism,' pp. 227-46.
  - e) John Hatcher, 'English Serfdom and Villeinage: Towards Reassessment,' pp. 247-84.
  - f) J.R. Maddicott, 'The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341,' pp. 285-359.
  - g) Zvi Razi, 'Family, Land and the Village Community in Later Medieval England,' pp. 360-93.
66. H. E. Hallam, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. II: 1042 - 1350 (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- a) H.E. Hallam, P.F. Brandon, J.A. Raftis, Christopher Dyer, John Hatcher, Edward Miller, R. Ian Jack, 'Farming Techniques,' pp. 272 - 496.
  - b) H.E. Hallam, 'Population Movements in England, 1086-1350,' pp. 508-93.
  - c) H.E. Hallam, J.A. Raftis, Christopher Dyer, John Hatcher, Edward Miller, and R. Ian Jack, 'Social Structure,' pp. 594 - 715.

- d) David L. Farmer, 'Prices and Wages,' pp. 716-817.
- e) H.E. Hallam, 'The Life of the People,' pp. 818-53.
- f) H.E. Hallam, 'Rural England and Wales, 1042 - 1350,' pp. 966-1008.
67. C. R. J. Currie, 'Early Vetches in Medieval England,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 41 (Feb. 1988), 114-16.
68. Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'The Diffusion of Vetches in Medieval England,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 41 (May 1988), 193 - 208.
69. M. J. Stephenson, 'Wool Yields in the Medieval Economy,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 41 (August 1988), 368-91.
70. M. Patricia Hogan, 'Clays, *Culturae*, and the Cultivator's Wisdom: Management Efficiency at Fourteenth-Century Wistow,' Agricultural History Review, 36:2 (1988), 117-31.
71. Richard H. Britnell, 'The Pastons and Their Norfolk,' Agricultural History Review, 36:2 (1988), 132-44.
72. Gregory Clark, 'The Cost of Capital and Medieval Agricultural Technique,' Explorations in Economic History, 25 (July 1988), 265-94. Econometric analysis. See Jones (1990).
73. Christopher Dyer, 'Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of Harvest Workers,' The Agricultural History Review, 36 (1988), 21 - 38.
74. Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, eds., The Countryside of Medieval England (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988):
- a) Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, 'The Medieval Countryside: Approaches and Perceptions,' pp. 1-11.
- b) Christopher Dyer, 'Documentary Evidence: Problems and Enquiries,' pp. 12-35.
- c) Grenville Astill, 'Rural Settlement: the Toft and the Croft,' pp. 36-61.
- d) Grenville Astill, 'Fields,' pp. 62-85.
- e) John Langdon, 'Agricultural Equipment,' pp. 86-107.
- f) James Greig, 'Plant Resources,' pp. 108-27.
- g) Paul Stamper, 'Woods and Parks,' pp. 128-48.
- h) Annie Grant, 'Animal Resources,' pp. 149-87.

- i) Richard Smith, 'Human Resources,' pp. 188-212.
- j) Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, 'The Medieval Countryside: Efficiency, Progress and Change,' pp. 213-34.
75. Christopher Dyer, 'The Retreat from Marginal Land': The Growth and Decline of Medieval Rural Settlements,' in M. Aston, D. Austin, and C. Dyer, eds. The Rural Settlements of Medieval England (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 45 - 57.
76. Christopher Dyer, Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200 - 1520 (Cambridge, 1989).
77. John Langdon, 'A Quiet Revolution: the Horse in Agriculture, 1100-1500,' History Today, 39 (1989), 32-7.
78. Kathleen Biddick, The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate (Berkeley, 1989).
79. David Postles, 'Cleaning the Medieval Arable,' The Agricultural History Review, 37 (1989), 130 - 43.
80. Nils Hybel, Crisis or Change: The Concept of Crisis in the Light of Agrarian Structural Reorganization in Late-Medieval England, trans. James Manley (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1989).
81. A. J. Pollard, 'The North-Eastern Agrarian Economy and the Agrarian Crisis of 1438-1440,' Northern History, 25 (1989), 88-105.
82. Bruce Campbell and John Power, 'Mapping the Agricultural Geography of Medieval England,' Journal of Historical Geography, 15 (1989), 24-39.
- \* 83. Mark Bailey, 'The Concept of the Margin in the Medieval English Economy,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 42 (Feb. 1989), 1 - 17.
84. Mark Bailey, A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser. 12 (Cambridge University Press, 1990.)
85. E. L. Jones, 'Enclosure, Land Improvement, and the Price of Capital: A Comment,' Explorations in Economic History, 27 (July 1990), 350-55. A reply to Clark (1988).
86. Jules N. Pretty, 'Sustainable Agriculture in the Middle Ages: the English Manor,' The Agricultural History Review, 38 (1990), 1 - 19.
87. Mark Bailey, 'Sand into Gold: The Evolution of the Foldcourse System in West Suffolk, 1200 - 1600,' The Agricultural History Review, 38 (1990), 40 - 57.
88. Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in 'Crisis' of the Early

Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1991).

- a) Barbara Harvey, 'Introduction: the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century,' pp. 1 - 24.
- b) Richard M. Smith, 'Demographic developments in rural England, 1300-48: a survey,' pp. 25 - 78.
- c) Mavis Mate, 'The agrarian economy of south-east England before the Black Death: depressed or buoyant?', pp. 79 - 109.

89. Edward Miller, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. III: 1348 - 1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991):

- a) Edward Miller, 'Introduction: Land and People,' pp. 1-33.
- b) J.A. Tuck, Edward Miller, R.H. Britnell, Edmund King, C.C. Dyer, D.H. Owen, P.D.A. Harvey, Mavis Mate, H.S.A. Fox, 'The Occupation of the Land,' pp. 34-174.
- c) J.A. Tuck, Edward Miller, R.H. Britnell, Edmund King, C.C. Dyer, D. H. Owen, P.D. A. Harvey, Mavis Mate, H.S.A. Fox, 'Farming Practice and Techniques,' pp. 175-323.
- d) David Farmer, 'Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200-1500,' pp. 324-430.
- e) David Farmer, 'Prices and Wages, 1350-1500,' pp. 431-525.
- f) J.M.W. Bean, 'Landlords,' pp. 526-86.
- g) J.A. Tuck, Edward Miller, R.H. Britnell, Edmund King, C.C. Dyer, D.H. Owen, P.D.A. Harvey, Mavis Mate, H.S.A. Fox, 'Tenant Farming and Tenant Farmers,' pp. 587 - 743.
- h) E.B. Fryde, 'Peasant Rebellion and Peasant Discontents,' pp. 744-819.
- i) H.E.J. Le Patourel and L.A.S. Butler, 'Rural Building in England and Wales,' pp. 820 - 919.

\*\* 90. Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, eds., Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991).

- (a) Mark Overton and Bruce Campbell, 'Productivity Change in European Agricultural Development,' pp. 1 - 50.

- (b) Robert S. Shiel, 'Improving Soil Productivity in the Pre-Fertiliser Era,' pp. 51 - 77.
  - (c) Martin K. Jones, 'Agricultural Productivity in the Pre-Documentary Past,' pp. 78 - 94.
  - (d) Kathleen Biddick and Catrien Bijleveld, 'Agrarian Productivity on the Estates of the Bishopric of Winchester in the Early Thirteenth Century: a Managerial Perspective,' pp. 95 - 123.
  - (e) K. Gunnar Persson, 'Labour Productivity in Medieval Agriculture: Tuscany and the 'Low Countries',' pp. 124 - 43.
  - (f) Bruce M.S. Campbell, 'Land, Labour, Livestock, and Productivity Trends in English Seignorial Agriculture, 1208 - 1450,' pp. 144 - 82.
  - (g) Christopher Thornton, 'The Determinants of Land Productivity on the Bishop of Winchester's Demesne of Rimpton, 1208 to 1403,' pp. 183 - 210.
  - (h) Gregory Clark, 'Labour Productivity in English Agriculture, 1300 - 1860,' pp. 211 - 35.
91. John Langdon, 'Water-mills and Windmills in the West Midlands, 1086-1500,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 44 (August 1991), 424 - 44.
  92. C. E. Moreton, 'A Social Gulf? The Upper and Lesser Gentry of Medieval England,' The Journal of Medieval History, 17 (1991), 255 - 62.
  93. Larry R. Poos, A Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex, 1350 - 1525 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
  94. J. A. Galloway, and Margaret Murphy, 'Feeding the City: Medieval London and Its Agrarian Hinterland,' London Journal, 16 (1991), 3 - 14.
  95. Bruce M.S. Campbell, James A. Galloway, and Margaret Murphy, 'Rural Land-Use in the Metropolitan Hinterland, 1270 - 1339: the Evidence of *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*,' Agricultural History Review, 40:i (1992), 1-22.
  96. Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Commercial Dairy Production on Medieval English Demesnes: The Case of Norfolk,' Anthropozoologica, no. 16 (1992), pp. 107 - 18.
  97. Mark Overton and Bruce M.S. Campbell, 'Norfolk Livestock Farming 1250-1740: A Comparative Study of Manorial Accounts and Probate Inventories,' Journal of Historical Geography, 18:4 (1992), 377-396.
  98. Gregory Clark, 'The Economics of Exhaustion, the Postan Thesis, and the Agricultural Revolution,' The Journal of Economic History, 52 (March 1992), 61 - 84.
  99. Bruce M.S. Campbell, James A. Galloway, Derek Keene, and Margaret Murphy, A

Medieval Capital and Its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c. 1300, Historical Geography Research Series no. 30 (London: Institute of British Geographers, 1993).

100. Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'A Fair Field Once Full of Folk: Agrarian Change in an Era of Population Decline, 1348 - 1500,' Agricultural History Review, 41:1 (1993), 60 - 70. A review article of Edward Miller, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. III: 1348-1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
101. Mavis E. Mate, 'The East Sussex Land Market and Agrarian Class Structure in the Late Middle Ages,' Past & Present, no. 139 (May 1993), pp. 46-65.
- \*\* 102. Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming, c.1250 - c.1850,' Past & Present, no. 141 (November 1993), 38 - 105.
103. Robert M. Townshend, The Medieval Village Economy: A Study of the Pareto Mapping in General Equilibrium Models (Princeton University Press, 1993).
104. John Langdon, 'City and Countryside in Medieval England,' Agricultural History Review, no. 43:i (1995), 67-72. A review article of Bruce M.A. Campell, James A. Galloway, Derek Keene, and Margaret Murphy, A Medieval Capital and Its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region c. 1300 (Edinburgh, 1993).
- \* 105. John Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death,' Past & Present, no. 144 (August 1994), pp. 3 - 35.
106. Christine Carpenter, 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England,' in Maryanne Kowaleski, ed., Vill, Guild, and Gentry: Forces of Community in Later Medieval England, special issue of Journal of British Studies, 33:4 (October 1994), pp. 340-80.
107. Elaine Clark, 'Social Welfare and Mutual Aid in the Medieval Countryside,' in Maryanne Kowaleski, ed., Vill, Guild, and Gentry: Forces of Community in Later Medieval England, special issue of Journal of British Studies, 33:4 (October 1994), pp. 381-406.
108. Christopher Dyer, 'The English Medieval Village Community and its Decline,' in Maryanne Kowaleski, ed., Vill, Guild, and Gentry: Forces of Community in Later Medieval England, special issue of Journal of British Studies, 33:4 (October 1994), pp.407-29.
- \* 109. Jan Titow, 'Lost Rents, Vacant Holdings and the Contraction of Peasant Cultivation after the Black Death,' Agricultural History Review, 42:ii (1994), 97-114.
110. Del Sweeney, ed., Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation (Philadelphia and London: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

111. Bruce M.S. Campbell, Kenneth Bartley, and John Power, 'The Demesne-Farming Systems of Post-Black Death England: A Classification,' Agricultural History Review, 44:2 (1996), 131-79.
112. G. Astill and John Langdon, eds., Medieval Farming and Technology: The Impact of Technological Change in Northern Europe (Leiden, 1997).

**D. Agrarian Change in Early-Modern England, ca. 1500 - ca. 1750: General Surveys**

- \* 1. Peter Ramsey, Tudor Economic Problems (London, 1965), chapter 1: 'Agrarian Problems,' pp. 19-46.
2. Charles Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763 (1965), chapters 2, 7, and 12.
3. L.A. Clarkson, The Pre-Industrial Economy in England, 1500-1750 (London, 1971), chapter 3, 'Agriculture,' pp. 45-74.
4. Donald C. Coleman, The Economy of England, 1450-1750 (Oxford, 1977) chapters 3 and 7, pp. 31-47, 111-30.
- \* 5. David B. Grigg, Population Growth and Agrarian Change: An Historical Perspective (Cambridge, 1980), chapter 13: 'England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' pp. 147-62.
- \*\* 6. 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.
7. Richard Lachmann, From Manor to Market: Structural Change in England, 1536 - 1640 (Madison, 1987).
8. Leonard Cantor, The Changing English Countryside, 1400 - 1700, in the series: History of the British Landscape, ed., Michael Reed (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987).
9. George E. Mingay, A Social History of the English Countryside (London: Routledge, 1990).
10. Andrew McRae, God Speed the Plough: the Representation of Agrarian England, 1500 - 1660 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- \*\* 11. 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 1, 'The Agricultural Revolution,' pp. 1-9; chapter 2, 'Farming in the Sixteenth Century,' pp. 10-62; chapter 3, 'Agricultural Output and Productivity, 1500 - 1800,' pp. 63-132; chapter



4, 'Institutional Change, 1500 - 1850,' pp. 133-92; chapter 5, 'The Agricultural Revolution Reconsidered,' pp. 193-207.

**E. Agrarian Change and Agrarian Technology in Early-Modern England, ca. 1500 - 1750: Mongraphs, Essays, and Articles on the Origins of the 'Agricultural Revolution'**

1. Lord Ernle, English Farming Past and Present (1st edn., London, 1912; 6th edn. London, 1961, ed. G.E. Fussell and O.R. McGregor).
2. Lord Ernle, 'Obstacles to Progress,' in his The Land and its People (London: Hutchinson, 1925), chapter III. Reprinted in E.L. Jones, ed., Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815, Debates in Economic History series (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 49-65.
3. R. V. Lennard, 'English Agriculture under Charles II,' Economic History Review, 1st ser., 4 (1932), 23-45. Reprinted in Walter E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agrarian History, 2 vols. (Newton Abbott, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 161-86.
4. George E. Fussell, 'Farming Methods in the Early Stuart Period,' Journal of Modern History, 7 (1935).
5. G.E. Fussell, ed., The Old English Farming Books, 1523-1730 (London, 1947).
6. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Leicestershire Farmer in the Sixteenth Century,' in W.G. Hoskins, ed., Essays in Leicestershire History (University of Liverpool Press, 1950).
7. R. Trow-Smith, English Husbandry (London, 1951).
8. G.E. Fussell, The Farmers' Tools, 1500-1900 (London, 1952).
9. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640,' Past and Present, no. 4 (1953).
10. Eric Kerridge, 'Turnip Husbandry in High Suffolk,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 6 (1954), 390-6. Reprinted in Walter E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agrarian History, 2 vols. (Newton Abbott, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 141-46.
11. G.E. Mingay, 'The Agricultural Depression, 1730-1750,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 8 (1956); reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. II (London, 1962), pp. 309-26.
12. R. Trow-Smith, A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700 (1957).
13. F.J. Fisher, 'The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Dark Ages of English Economic History?' Economica, new series, 24 (1957). Also important for agrarian change.

14. K. J. Allison, 'Flock Management in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 11 (1958), 98-112.
15. A.H. John, 'The Course of Agricultural Change, 1660 - 1760,' in L.S. Presnell, ed., Studies in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1960), pp. 125-55. Reprinted in Walter E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agrarian History, 2 vols. (Newton Abbott, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 221-53.
- \* 16. Michael A. Havinden, 'Agricultural Progress in Open-Field Oxfordshire,' Agricultural History Review, 9 (1961), 73-83; reprinted in:
  - (a) W.E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agricultural History (1968), Vol. I, pp. 147-60.
  - (b) E.L. Jones, ed., Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815 (1967), pp. 66-79.
17. Peter Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1962), chapter 1, 'Sheep Farming and Wool Production'.
18. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Leicestershire Farmer in the Seventeenth Century,' in W.G. Hoskins, ed., Provincial England (London: MacMillan, 1963), pp. 149-69.
- \* 19. G.E. Mingay, 'The Agricultural Revolution in English History: A Reconsideration,' Agricultural History, 26 (1963), 123-33. Reprinted in W.E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agrarian History, Vol. II (1968), pp. 9-28.
20. W.G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480 - 1619,' Agricultural History Review, 12 (1964), 28-46.
21. G.E. Fussell, English Agriculture: Collected Papers, ed. W.E. Minchinton (London, 1965).
- \* 22. E.L. Jones, 'Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1660-1750: Agricultural Change,' Journal of Economic History, 25 (1965), 1-18. Reprinted in:
  - (a) E.L. Jones, ed., Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815, Debates in Economic History series (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 152-71.
  - (b) Walter E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agrarian History, 2 vols. (Newton Abbott, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 203-20.
- \* 23. A.H. John, 'Agricultural Productivity and Economic Growth in England, 1700-1760,' Journal of Economic History, 25 (1965), 19-34. Reprinted in E.L. Jones, ed., Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815, Debates in Economic History series (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 172-93. With a postscript (pp. 189-93) added in 1967 for this volume.
24. D. B. Grigg, The Agricultural Revolution in South Lincolnshire (London, 1966).

25. George E. Fussell, The English Dairy Farmer, 1500 - 1900 (London: Frank Cass, 1966).
- \* 26. Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV: 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967).
- (a) Joan Thirsk, 'The Farming Regions of England,' 1-112. (Chapter 1)
- \* (b) Joan Thirsk, 'Farming Techniques,' pp. 161-99. (Chapter 3)
- \* (c) Joan Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing,' pp. 200-56. (Chapter 4)
- (d) Gordon Batho, 'Landlords in England,' pp. 256 - 75. (Chapter 5)
- (e) Gordon Batho, 'Nobleman, Gentlemen, and Yeomen,' pp. 276 - 305. (Chapter 5)
- (f) Joyce Youngs, 'The Church,' pp. 306 - 56. (Chapter 5).
- (g) Alan Everitt, 'Farm Labourers,' pp. 396-467. (Chapter 7)
- (h) Alan Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce,' pp. 466 - 592. (Chapter 8).
- (i) Peter Bowden, 'Agricultural Prices, Farm Profits, and Rents,' pp. 593-695 (Chapter 9); and also his Statistical Appendix, pp. 814 - 870. See also Bowden (1990).
- \* 27. E.L. Jones, ed., Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815 (London, 1967):
- (a) E.L. Jones, 'Editor's Introduction,' pp. 1-48.
- (b) Lord Ernle (E.R. Prothero), 'Obstacles to Progress,' pp. 49-65. Reprinted from E.R. Prothero, The Land and its People (London, 1925), chapter 3.
- (c) M.A. Havinden, 'Agricultural Progress in Open-Field Oxfordshire,' pp. 66-79. Reprinted from Agricultural History Review, 9 (1961).
- (d) Peter Mathias, 'Agriculture and the Brewing and Distilling Industries in the Eighteenth Century,' pp. 80 - 93. Reprinted from Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 5 (1952).
- (e) E.L. Jones, 'Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1660-1750: Agricultural Change,' pp. 152-71. Reprinted from The Journal of Economic History, 25 (1965).
- (f) A.H. John, 'Agricultural Productivity and Economic Growth in England, 1700 - 1760,' pp. 172 - 93. Reprinted from The Journal of Economic History, 25 (1965), with a postscript added in March 1967.
- \* 28. Eric Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution (London, 1967). He places it in the 16th -- not

the 18th century.

- \* 29. A. H. John, 'The Agricultural Origins of Industry,' Past and Present, no. 40 (1968), 58 - 71.
30. W.G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620 - 1759,' Agricultural History Review, 16 (1968), 15-31.
31. W.E. Minchinton, Essays in Agrarian History, 2 vols. (1968). In Vol. I, which covers this period, see:
- (a) M.K. Bennett, 'British Wheat Yield per Acre for Seven Centuries,' pp. 53 - 72. Reprinted from Economic History, 3 (February 1934), 12-29.
  - (b) W.G. Hoskin, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480 - 1619,' pp. 93 - 116. Reprinted from Agricultural History Review, 2 (1953-54), 28-46.
  - (c) Eric Kerridge, 'Turnip Husbandry in High Suffolk,' pp. 141-46. Reprinted from Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 6 (1954), 390-6.
  - (d) M.A. Havinden, 'Agricultural Progress in Open-Field Oxfordshire,' pp. 147-60. Reprinted from Agricultural History Review, 9 (1961), 73-83.
  - (e) R.V. Leonard, 'English Agriculture Under Charles II,' pp. 161-86. Reprinted from Economic History Review, 1st ser. 4 (1932), 23-45.
  - (f) H. J. Habakkuk, 'Economic Functions of English Landowners in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' pp. 187- 202. Reprinted from Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, 6 (1953), 92-102.
  - (g) E.L. Jones, 'Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1660-1750: Agricultural Change,' pp. 203-20. Reprinted from Journal of Economic History, 25 (1965), 1-18.
  - (h) A.H. John, 'The Course of Agricultural Change, 1660-1760,' pp. 221-53. Reprinted from L.S. Pressnell, ed., Studies in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1960), pp. 125-55.
32. Joan Thirsk, 'Seventeenth-Century Agriculture and Social Change,' Agricultural History Review, 18 (1970), Supplement.
33. V.H.T. Skipp, 'Economic and Social Change in the Forest of Arden, 1530 - 1649,' Agricultural History Review, 18 (1970), Supplement.
34. C.J. Harrison, 'Grain Price Analysis and Harvest Qualities, 1465 - 1634,' Agricultural History Review, 19 (1971), 135-55.
35. Eric Kerridge, The Farmers of Old England (London, 1973). A more popular version of

- Kerridge (1967). See in particular chapter 4, 'The Great Inventions,' pp. 103-29.
36. J. A. Yelling, 'Changes in Crop Production in East Worcestershire, 1540 - 1867,' Agricultural History Review, 21 (1973).
  37. H. C. Darby, 'The Age of the Improver: 1600-1800,' in H. C. Darby, ed., A New Historical Geography of England (London, 1973).
  - \* 38. Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).
  - \* 39. A.R. Bridbury, 'Sixteenth Century Farming,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 27 (1974), 538-56. Typically controversial, sometimes opaque, generally fascinating.
  40. R.A. Ippolito, 'The Effect of the 'Agricultural Depression' on Industrial Demand in England: 1730-1750,' Economica, 42 (1975), 298-311.
  41. A. H. John, 'English Agricultural Improvement and Grain Exports, 1660 - 1765,' in D. C. Coleman and A. H. John, eds., Trade, Government, and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F. J. Fisher (London, 1976), pp. 45 - 67.
  42. George E. Mingay, ed., The Agricultural Revolution: Changes in Agriculture, 1650 - 1880 (London, 1977).
  43. H.S.A. Fox and R.A. Butlin, eds., Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500 - 1900, IBG Special Publication X (London, 1979).
  44. Mark Overton, 'Estimating Crop Yields from Probate Inventories: An Example from East Anglia, 1585 - 1735,' The Journal of Economic History, 39 (June 1979), 363 - 78.
  - \*\* 45. Andrew Appleby, 'Grain Prices and Subsistence Crises in England and France, 1590-1740,' Journal of Economic History, 39 (1979), 865-88.
  46. John Broad, 'Alternate Husbandry and Permanent Pasture in the Midlands, 1650 - 1800,' Agricultural History Review, 28 (1980), 77 - 89.
  47. Mark Overton, 'English Probate Inventories and the Measurement of Agricultural Change,' Afdeling agrarische geschiedenis bijdragen (Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen), 23 (1980), 205-15.
  48. R.B. Outhwaite, 'Dearth and Government Intervention in English Grain Markets, 1590 - 1700,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 33 (1981).
  49. G. Patrick H. Chorley, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Northern Europe, 1750-1880: Nitrogen, Legumes, and Crop Productivity,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 34 (1981), 71-93. Has considerable relevance for the earlier period in England, as well.

50. J.V. Beckett, 'Regional Variation and the Agricultural Depression, 1730-50,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 35 (Feb. 1982), 35-51.
- \*\* 51. Michael Turner, 'Agricultural Productivity in England in the Eighteenth Century: Evidence from Crop Yields,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 35 (1982), 389-510.
52. R. A. Butlin, The Transformation of Rural England, ca. 1580 - 1800 (Oxford, 1982).
53. Joan Thirsk, 'Plough and Pen: Agricultural Writers in the Seventeenth Century,' in T. H. Aston, P. R. Coss, C. Dyer, Joan Thirsk, eds., Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 295 - 318.
54. Mark Overton, 'An Agricultural Revolution, 1650 - 1750,' in Mark Overton, et al, eds., Agricultural History: Papers Presented to the Economic History Society Conference (Canterbury, 1983).
55. Joan Thirsk, The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays (London, 1984).
56. Mark Overton, 'Agricultural Revolution? Development of the Agrarian Economy in Early-Modern England,' in A. R. H. Baker and D. J. Gregory, eds., Explorations in Historical Geography: Interpretative Essays (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 118-39.
57. Mark Overton, 'Probate Inventories and the Reconstruction of Agricultural Landscapes,' in M. Reed, ed., Discovering Past Landscapes (London, 1984), pp. 167-94.
- \* 58. Mark Overton, 'Agricultural Productivity in Eighteenth-Century England: Some Further Speculations,' and Michael Turner, 'Agricultural Productivity in Eighteenth-Century England: Further Strains of Speculation', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 37 (May 1984), 244-51, 252-57.
59. Richard J. Sullivan, 'Measurement of English Farming Technological Change, 1523-1900,' Explorations in Economic History, 21 (July 1984), 270-89.
- \*\* 60. Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. V: 1640-1750, Part i: Regional Farming Systems (Cambridge, 1984) ; and Part ii: Agrarian Change (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 533-89.
- Part I: 1640 - 1750, Regional Farming Systems (Cambridge, 1984):
- (a) Eric Evans and J.V. Beckett, 'Cumberland, Westmorland, and Furness,' pp. 3 - 29.
- (b) Paul Brassley, 'Northumberland and Durham,' pp. 30 - 58.
- (c) David Hey, 'Yorkshire and Lancashire,' pp. 59 - 88.
- (d) G. E. Mingay, 'The East Midlands: Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutalnd, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire,' pp. 89 - 128.

- (e) Day Hey, 'The North-West Midlands: Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Shropshire,' pp. 129 - 58.
- (f) Joan Thirsk, 'The South-West Midlands: Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire,' pp. 159 - 97.
- (g) B.A. Holderness, 'East Anglia and the Fens: Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Ely, Huntingdonshire, Essex, and the Lincolnshire Fens,' pp. 197 - 238.
- (h) R.C. Richardson, 'Metropolitan Counties: Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex,' pp. 239 - 69.
- (i) Brian Short, 'The South-East: Kent, Surrey, and Sussex,' pp. 270 - 316.
- (j) J.R. Wordie, 'The South: Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire,' pp. 317 - 57.
- (k) Gile Harrison, 'The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall,' pp. 358 - 92.
- (l) Frank Emery, 'Wales,' pp. 393 - 428.

**Part II: 1640 - 1750, Agrarian Change (Cambridge, 1985).**

- (a) Peter Bowden, 'Agricultural Prices, Wages, Farm Profits, and Rents,' pp. 1 - 118.
- (b) Christopher Clay, 'Landlords and Estate Management in England,' pp. 119 - 251.
- (c) David Howell, 'Landlords and Estate Management in Wales,' pp. 252 - 97.
- (d) Joan Thirsk, 'Agricultural Policy: Public Debate and Legislation,' pp. 298 - 388.
- (e) Eric Evans, 'Tithes,' pp. 389 - 405.
- (f) J.A. Chartres, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce,' pp. 406 - 502.
- (g) Malcolm Thick, 'Market Gardening in England and Wales,' pp. 503 - 32.
- (h) Joan Thirsk, 'Agricultural Innovations and Their Diffusion,' pp. 533 - 89.
- (i) M.W. Barley, 'Rural Building in England,' pp. 590 - 685.
- (j) Peter Bowden, 'Statistics,' pp. 827 - 902.

\* 61. Ann Kussmaul, 'Agrarian Change in Seventeenth-Century England: The Economic Historian as Paleontologist,' Journal of Economic History, 45 (March 1985), 1 - 30.

62. Ann Kussmaul, 'Time and Space, Hoofs and Grain: The Seasonality of Marriage in England,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 15 (Spring 1985), 755 - 79.
- \* 63. E. Anthony Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 15 (Spring 1985), 683-728.
64. Richard L. Sullivan, 'The Timing and Pattern of Technological Development in English Agriculture, 1611 - 1850,' Journal of Economic History, 45 (June 1985), 305-14.
65. Patrick K. O'Brien, 'Agriculture and the Home Market for English Industry, 1660 - 1820,' English Historical Review, 100 (1985), 773-800.
- \* 66. R.V. Jackson, 'Growth and Deceleration in English Agriculture, 1660 - 1790,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 38 (August 1985), 333-351.
67. Mark Overton, 'The Diffusion of Agricultural Innovations in Early-Modern England: Turnips and Clover in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1580 - 1740,' Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, new series, 10 (1985), 205-21.
68. David Ormrod, English Grain Exports and the Structure of Agrarian Capitalism, 1700 - 1760 (Hull, 1985).
- \* 69. R. B. Outhwaite, 'Progress and Backwardness in English Agriculture, 1500-1650,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 39 (Feb. 1986), 1-18.
70. Michael Turner, 'English Open Fields and Enclosures: Retardation or Productivity Improvements,' Journal of Economic History, 46 (Sept. 1986), 669 - 92.
- This article refers to later 18th and early 19th century enclosures; but it is technologically very relevant for this topic. And well worth reading.
71. John Langdon, Horses, Oxen, and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming From 1066 to 1500 (Cambridge, 1986).
72. Mark Overton, 'Agricultural Revolution? England, 1540 - 1850,' Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History, 3 (1986), 1-4.
73. Michael Havinden, 'Evolution or Revolution? Agriculture's Critical Period, 1640-1750,' Journal of Historical Geography, 12 (1986), 204-10. Review of Thirsk (1984-5).
74. Mark Overton, 'Depression or Revolution? English Agriculture, 1640-1750,' Journal of British Studies, 25 (1986), 344-52. Review of Thirsk (1984-5).
75. R. B. Outhwaite, 'English Agricultural Efficiency from the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Causes and Costs,' Historical Journal, 30 (1987), 201-09. Review of Thirsk (1984-5).



76. H. J. Habakkuk, 'The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Regional Farming Systems and Agrarian Change, 1640 - 1750,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 40 (May 1987), 281-95. Review of Thirsk (1984-5).
77. E. A. Wrigley, 'Early Modern Agriculture: A New Harvest Gathered In,' Agricultural History Review, 35 (1987), 65-71. Review of Thirsk (1984-5).
- \* 78. Joan Thirsk, England's Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History, 1500 - 1750, Studies in Economic and Social History series (London, 1987).
79. G. G. Bowie, 'Watermeadows in Wessex: A Re-evaluation for the Period 1640 - 1850,' Agricultural History Review, 35 (1987), 151-58. On 'floating-meadows,' or artificial irrigation.
80. E. A. Wrigley, 'Some Reflections on Corn Yields and Prices in Pre-Industrial Economies,' in E.A. Wrigley, ed., Peoples, Cities, and Wealth (Oxford, 1987), pp. 92-130.
81. Paul Glennie, 'Continuity and Change in Hertfordshire Agriculture, 1550-1700: I- Patterns of Agricultural Production,' Agricultural History Review, 36 (1988), 55-75.
82. Paul Glennie, 'Continuity and Change in Hertfordshire Agriculture, 1550 - 1700, II: Trends in Crop Yields and their Determinants,' The Agricultural History Review, 36 (1988), 145 - 61.
83. Robert C. Allen and Cormac O Grada, 'On the Road Again with Arthur Young: English, Irish, and French Agriculture during the Industrial Revolution,' Journal of Economic History, 48 (March 1988), 93 - 116. Has some relevance to the early-modern period as well.
84. Robert C. Allen, 'Inferring Yields from Probate Inventories,' Journal of Economic History, 48 (March 1988), 117-25.
- \* 85. Robert C. Allen, 'The Growth of Labor Productivity in Early Modern English Agriculture,' Explorations in Economic History, 25 (April 1988), 117-46.
86. Julian L. Simon and Richard J. Sullivan, 'Population Size, Knowledge Stock, and Other Determinants of Agricultural Publication and Patenting: England, 1541 - 1850,' Explorations in Economic History, 26 (January 1989), 21 - 44.
87. Mark Overton, 'Weather and Agricultural Change in England, 1660 - 1739,' Agricultural History, 63 (Spring 1989), 77 - 88. [Special symposium issue on Climate, Agriculture, and History, ed. by David C. Smith.]
88. Mary Delorme, 'A Watery Paradise: Roland Vaughan and Hereford's 'Golden Vale',' History Today, 39 (1989), 38-43.
89. Ann Kussmaul, A General View of the Rural Economy of England, 1538 - 1840 (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

90. John Chartres and David Hey, eds., English Rural History, 1500 - 1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
91. Mark Bailey, 'Sand into Gold: The Evolution of the Foldcourse System in West Suffolk, 1200 - 1600,' The Agricultural History Review, 38 (1990), 40 - 57.
92. Peter J. Bowden, ed., Economic Change: Wages, Profits, and Rents, 1500 - 1750, in the series Chapters from the Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500 - 1750, Vol. I, edited by Joan Thirsk (Cambridge University Press, 1990).
93. Peter A. Gunn, 'Productive Cycles and the Season of Marriage: A Critical Test,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 21 (Autumn 1990), 217 - 243. See Kussmaul (1985, 1990).
94. J.V. Beckett, The Agricultural Revolution, Historical Association pamphlets (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).
95. Gregory Clark, 'Labor Productivity and Farm Size in English Agriculture before Mechanization: A Note,' Explorations in Economic History, 28 (April 1991), 248 - 57.
96. Gregory Clark, 'Yields per Acre in English Agriculture, 1250 - 1860: Evidence from Labour Inputs,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 44 (August 1991), 445 - 60.
97. Robert C. Allen, 'Labor Productivity and Farm Size in English Agriculture before Mechanization: Reply to Clark,' Explorations in Economic History, 28 (October 1991), 478-92.
98. Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, eds., Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991).
  - (a) Mark Overton and Bruce Campbell, 'Productivity Change in European Agricultural Development,' pp. 1 - 50.
  - (b) Robert S. Shiel, 'Improving Soil Productivity in the Pre-Fertiliser Era,' pp. 51 - 77.
  - (c) Gregory Clark, 'Labour Productivity in English Agriculture, 1300 - 1860,' pp. 211 - 35.
  - (d) Robert C. Allen, 'The Two English Agricultural Revolutions, 1450 - 1850,' pp. 236 - 54.
  - (e) Paul Glennie, 'Measuring Crop Yields in Early Modern England,' pp. 255 - 83.
  - (f) The Determinants of Crop Yields in Early Modern England,' pp. 284 - 322.

- (g) E. A. Wrigley, 'Energy Availability and Agricultural Productivity,' pp. 323 - 39.
99. Larry Poos, A Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex, 1350 - 1525, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time no. 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
100. Gregory Clark, 'The Economics of Exhaustion, the Postan Thesis, and the Agricultural Revolution,' The Journal of Economic History, 52 (March 1992), 61 - 84.
101. Robert C. Allen, Enclosure and the Yeoman: the Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450 -1850 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
102. Joshua Lerner, 'Science and Agricultural Progress: Quantitative Evidence from England, 1660 - 1780,' Agricultural History, 66:4 (Fall 1992), 11 - 27.
103. Mark Overton and Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Norfolk Livestock Farming, 1250 - 1740: A Comparative Study of Manorial Accounts and Probate Inventories,' Journal of Historical Geography, 18:4 (1992), 377-96.
- \*\* 104. Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming, c.1250 - c.1850,' Past & Present, no. 141 (November 1993), 38 - 105.
105. Susanna Wade Martins, 'From 'Black-Face' to 'White-Face' - An Aspect of the 'Agricultural Revolution' in Norfolk,' Agricultural History Review, 41:1 (1993), 20 - 30.
106. W. M. Mathew, 'Marling in British Agriculture: A Case of Partial Identity,' Agricultural History Review, 41:2 (1993), 97 - 110.
107. Susanna Wade Martins and Tom Williamson, 'Floated Water-Meadows in Norfolk: A Misplaced Innovation,' Agricultural History Review, 42:1 (1994), 20 - 37.
- \* 108. Mark Overton, 'Re-establishing the English Agricultural Revolution,' Agricultural History Review, 44:1 (1996), 1-20.
- \*\* 109. 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 1, 'The Agricultural Revolution,' pp. 1-9; chapter 2, 'Farming in the Sixteenth Century,' pp. 10-62; chapter 3, 'Agricultural Output and Productivity, 1500 - 1800,' pp. 63-132; chapter 4, 'Institutional Change, 1500 - 1850,' pp. 133-92; chapter 5, 'The Agricultural Revolution Reconsidered,' pp. 193-207.
110. Susanna Wade Martins and Tom Williamson, 'The Development of the Lease and its Role in the Agricultural Improvement in East Anglia, 1660 - 1870,' Agricultural History Review, 46:ii (1998), 127-41.

111. Malcolm Thick, The Neat House Gardens: Early Market Gardening Around London (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1998).
112. Susan Scott, S.R. Duncan, and C.J. Duncan, 'The Origins, Interactions and Causes of the Cycles in Grain Prices in England, 1450 - 1812,' Agricultural History Review, 46:1 (1998), 1 - 14.
- \*\* 113. Robert Allen, 'Tracking the Agricultural Revolution in England,' The Economic History Review, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 52:2 (May 1999): 209-35. A dispute with Mark Overton, in which he places the crucial stages of the 'revolution' much earlier, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.
114. Robert Liddiard, 'The Distribution of Ridge and Furrow in East Anglia: Ploughing Practice and Subsequent Land Use', Agricultural History Review, 47:i (1999), 1-6.

**F. 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: 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 (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 (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. 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.
53. Gregory Clark, 'Commons Sense: Common Property Rights, Efficiency, and Institutional Change,' Journal of Economic History, 58:1 (March 1998), 73-102.
54. John Chapman, 'Charities, Rents, and Enclosure: A Comment on Clark,' Journal of Economic History, 59:2 (June 1999), 447-50.
55. Gregory Clark, 'In Defense of 'Commons Sense': Reply to Chapman,' Journal of Economic History, 59:2 (June 1999), 451-55.

**G. The Open or Common Fields: 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. 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.

**G. Other Studies on the Structure of Landholding and Related Topics**

- \* 1. H.J. Habakkuk, 'English Landownership, 1680-1740,' Economic History Review, 1st ser. 10 (1940), 2-17. Should be read in conjunction with Tawney (1941, 1954) and Trevor Roper (1953) below.
- \* 2. R.H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640,' Economic History Review, 1st ser. 11 (1941), reprinted with a postscript (1954) in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. I (1954), pp. 173-214.
- \* 3. Lawrence Stone, 'The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy,' Economic History Review, 1st ser. 18 (1948). 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 (1952).
6. H.J. Habakkuk, 'Economic Functions of Landowners in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth

- Centuries,' Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, 6 (1952).
7. H. J. Habakkuk, 'The Long Term Rate of Interest and the Price of Land in the Seventeenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 5 (1952), 26-
  - \*\* 8. Hugh R. Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre), The Gentry, 1540-1640: Economic History Review Supplement no. 1, (Cambridge University Press, 1953). Excerpt in Stone (1965).
  9. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640, Past and Present, no. 4 (1953).
  10. Joan Thirsk, 'The Sales of Royalist Land During the Interregnum,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 5 (1954).
  11. Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1956). Excerpts in Stone (1965).
  12. J. P. Cooper, 'The Counting of Manors,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 8 (1956).
  - \* 13. Jack Hexter, 'Storm Over the Gentry,' Encounter, 10 (1958). Reprinted in J.H. Hexter, Reappraisals in History (London, 1961); and in Stone (1965).
  14. H.J. Habakkuk, 'The Market for Monastic Property, 1539-1603,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 10 (1958).
  15. H.J. Habakkuk, 'The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century,' in J.S. Bromley and E. Kossman, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, I (London, 1960), 155-80.
  16. Alan Simpson, The Wealth of the Gentry, 1540 - 1640: East Anglian Studies (Cambridge, 1963).
  17. George Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1963), chapters 1-4.
  18. Julian Cornwall, 'The Early Tudor Gentry,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 17 (1965).
  19. 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.
  20. H.J. Habakkuk, 'La disparition du paysan anglais,' Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations, 20 (1965), 649-63.
  21. Charles Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763 (1965), Part II (1660-1700), chapter 7; Part II (1700-63), chapter 11, 16.
  22. Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (1965), chapters 1 and 2.

23. Lawrence Stone, ed., Social Change and Revolution in England, 1540-1640 (London, 1965). Excerpts from various contributions on the 'Rise of the Gentry' debate.
24. 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.
25. F. M. L. Thompson, 'The Social Distribution of Landed Property in England Since the Sixteenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 19 (1966), 505-17.
26. J.P. Cooper, 'The Social Distribution of Land and Men in England, 1435-1700,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 20 (1967). Reprinted in Roderick Floud, ed., Essays in Quantitative Economic History (Oxford, 1974), pp. 79-132.
27. Gordon Batho, 'Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Yeomen,' in Joan Thirsk, ed., Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV: 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 276-305.
28. Christopher Clay, 'Marriage, Inheritance, and the Rise of Large Estates in England, 1660-1815,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 21 (1968), 503-18.
- \* 29. George Mingay, Enclosure and the Small Farmer in the Age of the Industrial Revolution (London, 1968).
30. Joyce Youngs, The Dissolution of the Monasteries (Historical Problems series no. 14, London, 1971). Introduction, and pp. 25-90, 117-34.
31. Ian Gentles, 'The Sales of Crown Lands during the English Revolution,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 614-32.
32. M.E. James, 'The Concept of Order and the Northern Rising of 1569,' Past and Present, no. 60 (Aug. 1973), pp. 49-83.
- \* 33. B.A. Holderness, 'The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century: The Case of Lincolnshire,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 27 (1974), 557-76. (An attack on Habbakuk).
34. Christopher Clay, 'The Price of Freehold Land in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 27 (1974).
35. Andrew Appleby, 'Agrarian Capitalism or Seigneurial Reaction? The North West of England, 1500 - 1700,' American Historical Review, 80 (June 1975), 574-94.
- \* 36. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,' Past and Present, no. 70 (Feb. 1976), 30-75. Republished in Aston and Philipin (1987).



37. George Mingay, The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class (1976).
38. D. Thomas, 'Leases in Reversion on the Crown's Lands, 1558-1603,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 67-72.
- \* 39. J. V. Beckett, 'English Landownership in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Debate and its Problems,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 567-81.
- \* 40. J.P. Cooper, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism,' Past and Present, no. 80 (Aug. 1978), 20-65. An attack on Brenner (1976). Republished in Aston and Philipin (1987).
41. Lloyd Bonfield, 'Marriage Settlements and the 'Rise of Great Estates': the Demographic Aspect,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 32 (1979), 483-93.
42. H.J. Habakkuk, 'The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600 - 1800,' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 29-31 (1979-81).
43. G.E. Aylmer, ' 'Property' in Seventeenth-Century England,' Past and Present, no. 86 (Feb. 1980), 87-97.
44. Robert Brenner, 'The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism,' Past and Present, no. 97 (Nov. 1982), 16-113. Brenner's rather lengthy reply to all his many critics. Republished in Aston and Philipin (1987).
45. J. T. Cliffe, The Puritan Gentry (London, 1984).
- \* 46. Christopher Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500-1700, Vol. I: People, Lands, and Towns (1985), chapter 5, 'The Landlords,' pp. 142-64.
47. Christopher Clay, 'Landlords and Estate Management in England,' in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. V: 1640-1750, part ii: Agrarian Change (1985), pp. 119-251.
48. C. E. Searle, 'Custom, Class Conflict, and Agrarian Capitalism: the Cumbrian Customary Economy in the Eighteenth Century,' Past and Present, no. 110 (Feb. 1986), 106-33.
49. 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).
50. J. T. Cliffe, Puritans in Conflict: The Puritan Gentry during and after the Civil Wars (London: Routledge, 1988).
51. Julian C. K. Cornwall, Wealth and Society in Early Sixteenth-Century England (London, 1988).
52. R. C. Allen, 'The Price of Freehold Land and the Interest Rate in the Seventeenth and

- Eighteenth Centuries,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. XLI (Feb. 1988), 33-50.
53. J. T. Cliffe, Puritans in Conflict: The Puritan Gentry during and after the Civil Wars (London: Routledge, 1988).
  54. S. J. Gunn, 'Peers, Commons, and Gentry in the Lincolnshire Revolt of 1536,' Past & Present, no. 123 (May 1989), pp. 52 - 79.
  55. 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.
  56. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, A Community Transformed: The Manor and Liberty of Havering, 1500 - 1620 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
  56. Govind Sreenivasan, 'The Land-Family Bond at Earls Colne (Essex), 1550 - 1650,' Past & Present, no. 131 (May 1991), 3 - 37.
  57. Christine Carpenter, Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401 - 1499 (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
  57. Ian Ward, 'Rental Policy on the Estates of the English Peerage, 1649 - 1660,' Agricultural History Review, 40:i (1992), 23 - 37.
  58. 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.
  59. R. W. Hoyle, ed., The Estates of the English Crown, 1558 - 1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
  60. Ian Ward, 'The Humble Response of the Hired Lackey: A Reply to Hoyle,' Agricultural History Review, 41:ii (1993), 176-78.
  61. 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.
  62. Eric Acheson, A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422-c.1485 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
  62. Daniel C. Quinlan and Jean A. Shackelford, 'Economy and English Families, 1500 - 1850,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 24:3 (Winter 1994), 431-63.
  63. John Habakkuk, Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System: English Landownership, 1650 - 1950 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
  64. F.M.L. Thompson, ed., Landowners, Capitalists, and Entrepreneurs: Essays for Sir John Habakkuk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

65. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500 - 1700 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
65. Govind Sreenivasan, 'The Land-Family Bond in England: Reply,' Past & Present, no. 146 (February 1995), pp. 174-87.
66. Andrew Watkins, 'Landowners and their Estates in the Forest of Arden in the Fifteenth Century,' Agricultural History Review, 45:1 (1997), 18-33.

**H. 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.
8. Andrew Appleby, 'Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1580-1640,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 403-32.
9. Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).
10. Paul Slack, 'Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 27 (1974), 360-79.
11. A.L. Beier, 'Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England,' Past and Present, No. 64 (1974), 3-29.
12. Andrew Appleby, 'Agrarian Capitalism or Seigneurial Reaction? The North West of England, 1500 - 1700,' American Historical Review, 80 (June 1975), 574-94.

13. Andrew Appleby, 'Common Land and Peasant Unrest in Sixteenth-Century England,' Peasant Studies Newsletter, 4 (July 1975), 20-23.
14. J. F. Pound, 'Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England: Comment'; and:  
A. L. Beier, 'Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England: A Rejoinder,' both in:  
Past and Present, No. 71 (1976), 126-29; 130.
15. Peter Clark, 'Popular Protest and Disturbances in Kent, 1558-1640,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 29 (1976), 365-82.
16. Peter Clark and Paul Slack, English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700 (Oxford, 1976),  
Chapters 6-8, pp. 54-96.
17. Andrew Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England (Stanford, 1978).
18. Victor H. Skipp, Crisis and Development: An Ecological Case Study of the Forest of Arden, 1570 - 1674 (Cambridge, 1978).
19. Catherina Lis and Hugo Soly, Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-Industrial Europe (1979),  
Chapter 3 (1450-1630). A neo-Marxian analysis, devoted principally to England  
and the Low Countries.
20. Andrew Appleby, 'Grain Prices and Subsistence Crises in England and France, 1590-1740,'  
Journal of Economic History, 39 (Dec. 1979), 865-88.
21. Buchanan Sharp, In Contempt of All Authority: Rural Artisans and Riot in the West of  
England, 1586-1600 (Berkeley, 1980).
22. Donald Woodward, 'Wage Rates and Living Standards in Pre-Industrial England,' Past and  
Present, No. 91 (May 1981), 28-46.
23. Christopher Hill, 'Parliament and People in Seventeenth-Century England,' Past and  
Present, No. 92 (Aug. 1981), 100-24.
24. Ann Kussmaul, 'The Ambiguous Mobility of Farm Servants,' Economic History Review,  
2nd ser. 34 (1981), 222-35.
25. Ann Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1981).
26. C.G.A. Clay, Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700, 2  
vols. (Cambridge, 1984), Vol. I: People, Land and Towns, Chapter 7, 'Society and  
the Poor,' pp. 214-36.
27. A. L. Beier, Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560 - 1640 (New York,  
1985).

28. K. D. M. Snell, Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England (Cambridge, 1985). Refers chiefly to the later era, but still relevant.
29. R. W. Hoyle, 'An Ancient and Laudable Custom: The Definition and Development of Tenant Right in North-Western England in the Sixteenth Century,' Past and Present, no. 116 (August 1987), 24-55.
- \* 30. Paul Slack, Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1988).
31. Paul Slack, The English Poor Law, 1531 - 1782, Studies in Economic and Social History (London: Macmillan Press, 1990).
32. 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.
33. Alan Dyer, Decline and Growth in British Towns, 1400 - 1600, Studies in Economic and Social History (London: Macmillan Press, 1991).
34. J. Goodacre, The Transformation of a Peasant Economy: Townspeople and Villagers in the Lutterworth Area, 1500-1700 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994).
35. Margaret Spufford, ed., The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520 - 1725 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
36. Edwin DeWindt, ed., The Salt of Common Life: Individuality and Choice in the Medieval Town, Countryside, and Church: Essays Presented to J. Ambrose Raftis, Medieval Institute Publications SMC XXXVI (Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute, 1995). See in particular:
- a) Anne Reiber DeWindt, 'The Town of Ramsey: The Question of Economic Development, 1290 - 1523,' pp. 53-116.
- b) Ellen Wedemeyer Moore, 'Aspects of Poverty in a Small Medieval Town,' pp. 117-56.
- c) Ian Blanchard, 'Social Structure and Social Organization in an English Village at the Close of the Middle Ages: Chewton 1526,' pp. 307-40.
- d) David N. Hall, 'Hemington and Barnwell, Northamptonshire: A Study of Two Manors,' pp. 341 - 70.
- e) Sherri Olson, ' 'Families Have their Fate and Periods': Varieties of Family Experience in the Pre-Industrial Village,' pp. 409-48.
- f) Kathleen A. Biddick, 'The Historiographic Unconscious and the Return of Robin Hood,' pp. 449-84.
- g) Denis Brearley, 'The Social, Economic, and Intellectual Life of Richard Depyng, Vicar

of Fillongley (1487-1529),’ pp. 485-512.

h) F. Donald Logan, ‘Ramsey Abbey: The Last Days and After,’ pp. 513-45.

37. Kenneth L. Sokoloff and David Dollar, ‘Agricultural Seasonality and the Organization of Manufacturing in Early Industrial Economies: The Contrasts Between England and the United States,’ Journal of Economic History, 57:2 (June 1997), 288-321.
38. Tim Hitchcock, Peter King, and Pamela Sharpe, eds., Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640 - 1840 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997).
39. Donald Woodward, ‘Straw, Bracken and the Wicklow Whale: the Exploitation of Natural Resources in England Since 1500,’ Past & Present, no. 159 (May 1998), 43-76.
40. 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.
41. Tom Scott, ed., The Peasantries of Europe: from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries (London and New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998).
42. Margaret Yates, ‘Change and Continuities in Rural Society from the Later Middle Ages to the Sixteenth Century: the Contribution of West Berkshire,’ The Economic History Review, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 52:4 (November 1999), 617-37.

**I. English Overseas Trade in the 15th and 16th Centuries:  
Wool, Cloth, and the Antwerp Market**

1. Georg Schanz, Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1881). A classic Study, chiefly on the reign of Henry VIII. Vol. II has excellent documents and statistics.
2. George Unwin, ‘The Merchants Adventurers’ Company in the Reign of Elizabeth,’ in R.H. Tawney, ed., Studies in Economic History: The Collected Papers of George Unwin (London, 1927), pp. 133-220.
3. Ephraim Lipson, Economic History of England, Vol. II: Age of Mercantilism, 1st ed. 1931; 6th ed. (London, 1961), chapter 2, pp. 184-268 (on the Merchants Adventurers).
4. J.A. Williamson, A Short History of British Expansion: The Old Colonial Empire, 2nd ed. (London, 1931). Part I, chapter 3 (1399-1485); Part II, chapters 1-9 (1485-1603). Not a bad survey, though mainly narrative history, and out of date in many respects.
- \* 5. Eileen Power and Michael Postan, eds., Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1933):

- (a) H.L. Gray, 'English Foreign Trade from 1446 to 1482,' pp. 1-38.
- (b) Eileen Power, 'The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century,' pp. 39-90.
- \* (c) Michael Postan, 'The Economic and Political Relations of England and the Hanse from 1400 to 1475,' pp. 91-153, esp. pp. 138-53.
- (d) E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol,' pp. 183-246.
- \*\* 6. F.J. Fisher, 'Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth-Century England,' Economic History Review, 1st ser. 10 (1940); reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History (London, 1954), Vol. I, pp. 152-72.
7. J.A. Van Houtte, 'La genèse du grande marché international d'Anvers à la fin du moyen âge,' Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 19 (1940), 87-126.
- \* 8. Lawrence Stone, 'State Control in Sixteenth-Century England,' Economic History Review, 1st ser. 17 (1947), 103-20: a reply to Fisher.
9. Lawrence Stone, 'Elizabethan Foreign Trade,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1949).
10. A.A. Ruddock, 'London Capitalists and the Decline of Southampton in the Early Tudor Period,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1949).
11. Oskar De Smedt, De engelse natie te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw (1950), in 2 vols. On the English trade at Antwerp, 1496-1572.
12. Gordon Connell-Smith, Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period (London, 1954).
13. T.S. Willan, 'Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Sixteenth Century,' English Historical Review, 70 (1955).
14. J.D. Gould, 'The Trade Crisis of the 1620s and English Economic Thought,' Journal of Economic History, 15 (1955). Republished in Mark Blaug, ed., Pioneers in Economics, Section One: The Forerunners of Classical Economics, Vol. IV: The Early Mercantilists (Brookfield, Vt., 1991).
15. J.D. Gould, 'The Crisis in the Export Trade, 1586-1587,' English Historical Review, 71 (1956).
16. T.S. Willan, The Early History of the Russia Company, 1555-1603 (London, 1956).
- \* 17. G.D. Ramsay, English Overseas Trade during the Centuries of Emergence (London, 1957), especially chapters 1-4: and chapter 1 is a must. An excellent study.
- \* 18. S.T. Bindoff, 'The Greatness of Antwerp,' in G. R. Elton, ed., The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II: The Reformation (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 50-69.

19. T.S. Willan, Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade (1959). Chapter 1 is worth reading on 'The Factor or Agent in Foreign Trade.' The bulk of the book is, however, on the North African trades.
20. Barry Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642 (Cambridge, 1959), Chapters 9 and 10.
21. Charles Wilson, 'Cloth Production and International Competition in the Seventeenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 12 (1960); reprinted in Charles Wilson, ed., Economic History and the Historian: Collected Essays (London, 1969), pp. 94-113.
22. J.A. Van Houte, 'Anvers aux XVe et XVIe siècle,' Annales: E.S.C., 16 (1961), 248-78.
- \*\* 23. Ralph Davis, 'England and the Mediterranean, 1570-1670,' in F.J. Fisher, ed., Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1961), pp. 117-37.
24. G.D. Ramsay, ed., John Isham, Mercer and Merchant Adventurer (1962).
- \* 25. Herman Van der Wee, The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy, Fourteenth to Sixteenth centuries, 3 vols., Vol. II (The Hague, 1963), Part I, chapters 2-5.
- \* 26. Peter Ramsey, Tudor Economic Problems (London, 1965), chapter 2, 'Overseas Trade,' pp. 47-81. Very good to excellent survey.
- \* 27. J.H. Munro, 'Bruges and the Abortive Staple in English Cloth: An Incident in the Shift of Commerce from Bruges to Antwerp in the Late Fifteenth Century,' Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 44 (1966), 1137-59.
28. Wilfred Brulez, 'Le Commerce international des Pays-Bas au XVIe siècle,' Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, 46 (1968), 1205-21. Reprinted as 'The International Trade of the Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century,' in Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, 4 (1970).
29. J.H. Munro, 'An Economic Aspect of the Collapse of the Anglo-Burgundian Alliance, 1428-1442,' English Historical Review, 85 (1970), 225-44.
- \* 30. J.D. Gould, The Great Debasement: Currency and the Economy in Mid-Tudor England (Oxford, 1970), chapter 6, 'Exports and the Debasement,' pp. 114-60.
31. B. Dietz, ed., The Port and Trade of Elizabethan London (London, 1971). A transcription of the 1567-68 Port Book, with commentary.
- \* 32. Robert Brenner, 'The Social Basis of English Commercial Expansion, 1550-1650,' Journal of Economic History, 32 (1972), 361-84. See comments by Arcadius Kahan, pp. 391-92.



33. Henryk Zins, England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era, trans. H. C. Stevens, Manchester University Press, 1972.
34. J.H. Munro, Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340-1478 (Brussels and Toronto, 1973).
35. Wilfred Brulez, 'Bruges and Antwerp in the 15th and 16th Centuries: An Antithesis?' Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, 6 (1973), 1-26.
- \* 36. Ralph Davis, English Overseas Trade, 1500-1700, Studies in Economic History series (London, 1973), pp. 7-49. A good survey.
- \* 37. Ralph Davis, 'The Rise of Antwerp and its English Connection,' in D.C. Coleman and A.H. John, eds., Trade, Government, and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F.J. Fisher (London, 1976), pp. 2-20.
38. T.H. Lloyd, The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages (London, 1977).
39. James D. Tracy, ed., The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350 - 1750 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- a) Herman Van der Wee, 'Structural Changes in European Long-Distance Trade, and Particularly in the Re-export Trade from South to North, 1350 - 1750,' pp. 14 - 33.
- b) Carla Rahn Phillips, 'The Growth and Composition of Trade in the Iberian Empires, 1450 - 1750,' pp. 34 - 101.
- c) Niels Steensgaard, 'The Growth and Composition of the Long-Distance Trade of England and the Dutch Republic before 1750,' pp. 102 - 52.
40. John H. Munro, 'Die Anfänge der Übertragbarkeit: einige Kreditinnovationen im englisch-flämischen Handel des Spätmittelalters (1360 - 1540),' in Michael North, ed., Kredit im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Europa, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte, Hansische Geschichtsverein, new series, vol. 37 (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1991). pp. 39 - 70.
41. John H. Munro, 'The International Law Merchant and the Evolution of Negotiable Credit in Late-Medieval England and the Low Countries,' in Dino Puncuh and Giuseppe Felloni, eds., Banchi pubblici, banchi privati e monti di pietà nell'Europa preindustriale: Amministrazione, tecniche operative e ruoli economici, Atti della società Ligure di storia patria, new series, vol. 31, 2 vols. (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1991), pp. 47 - 80.
42. David Harris Sacks, The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450 - 1700 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991).

43. Terence H. Lloyd, England and the German Hanse, 1157 - 1611: A Study of Their Trade and Commercial Diplomacy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
44. Stuart Jenks, England, die Hanse und Preussen: Handel und Diplomatie, 1377 - 1474, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte, Hansischen Geschichtsverein, neue Folge, no. XXXVIII, 3 vols. (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1992). Vol. I: Handel; Vol. II: Diplomatie; Vol. III: Anhänge.
45. John Munro, 'Anglo-Flemish Competition in the International Cloth Trade, 1340 - 1520,' in Jean-Marie Cauchies, ed., L'Angleterre et les pays bas bourguignons: relations et comparaisons, XVe - XVIe siècle [Rencontres d'Oxford (septembre 1994), annual issue of Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes, 35 (1995)], pp. 37-60.
46. John Munro, 'English 'Backwardness' and Financial Innovations in Commerce with the Low Countries, 14th to 16th centuries,' in Internationale Handel in de Nederlanden (14de-16de eeuw): Kooplieden, Organisatie en Infrastructuur/International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th centuries): Merchants, Organisation, and Infrastructure, ed. Peter Stabel, Colloque Universiteit Gent - Universiteit Antwerpen, IUAP-Stedelijke Samenlevingen in de Laatmiddeleeuwse Nederlanden (Ghent, 2000), pp. 105-67.

**J. The Wool-Based Textile Industries in England: the Old and New Draperies**

1. George Unwin, 'The History of the Cloth Industry in Suffolk: (i) The Old Draperies; (ii) The New Draperies,' in William Page, ed., The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Suffolk, Vol. II (London, 1907), pp. 254 - 71; reprinted in Studies in Economic History: Collected Papers, ed. R.H. Tawney (London, 1927), pp. 262-301.
2. Maud Sellers, 'The Textile Industries,' in William Page, ed., The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of York, 3 vols. (London: Constable, 1907 - 1913), Vol. II (1912), pp. 406 - 29.
3. A.P. Usher, The Industrial History of England (Boston, 1920), Chapter VIII: 'Woollen Industries, 1450-1750,' pp. 195-224.
4. Eileen Power, The Paycockes of Coggeshale (London, 1920).
5. Ephraim Lipson, The History of the English Woollen and Worsted Industries (London, 1921).
6. B. McClenaghan, The Springs of Laveham and the Suffolk Cloth Trade in the XV and XVI Centuries (Ipswich, 1924).
7. Astrid Friis, Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade (Copenhagen, 1927).
- \* 8. Julia de Lacy Mann and Alfred P. Wadsworth, The Cotton Trade and Industrial

Lancashire, 1600-1780 (Manchester University Press, 1931; reprinted 1965).  
A classic study.

9. Ephraim Lipson, The Economic History of England, Vol. II: The Age of Mercantilism (London, 1931; 6th edn. 1956), Chapter 1, 'Industry,' pp. 10 - 112 (on textiles).
10. F. Consitt, The London Weavers' Company, Vol. I: From the Twelfth Century to the Close of the Sixteenth Century (1933).
11. George D. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1943; 2nd ed. 1965).
12. N.J. Williams, 'Two Documents Concerning the New Draperies,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 4 (1951-52), 353-58.
13. Ephraim Lipson, A Short History of Wool and its Manufacture (London, 1953), Chapters 1-3.
14. T.C. Mendenhall, The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh Wool Trade in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries (Oxford, 1953).
15. Peter J. Bowden, 'The Home Market in Wool, 1500-1700,' Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, 8 (1956).
16. Peter Bowden, 'The Wool Supply and the Woollen Industry,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 9 (1956-57), 44-58.
17. Kenneth G. Ponting, A History of the West of England Cloth Industry (1957).
18. W.B. Stephens, Seventeenth-Century Exeter (London, 1958). Has a considerable amount on the textile industry.
19. Kevin H. Burley, 'An Essex Clothier of the Eighteenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 11 (1958), 289 - 301.
20. Elizabeth Critall, ed., The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Wiltshire, Vol. IV (London, 1959):
  - (a) Eleanora Carus-Wilson, 'The Woollen Industry Before 1500,' pp. 115-47.
  - (b) Julia de Lacy Mann, 'Textile Industries since 1550,' pp. 148-82.
- \* 21. John E. Pilgrim, 'The Rise of the "New Draperies" in Essex,' University of Birmingham Historical Journal, 7 (1959-60), 36 - 59.
- \* 22. Charles Wilson, 'Cloth Production and International Competition in the Seventeenth Century,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 12 (1960), reprinted in Charles

- Wilson, Economic History and the Historian: Collected Essays (London, 1969), pp. 94-113.
23. Julia de Lacy Mann, 'Clothiers and Weavers in Wiltshire during the Eighteenth Century,' in L.S. Pressnell, ed., Studies in the Industrial Revolution Presented to T. S. Ashton (London, 1960).
  24. K.J. Allison, 'The Norfolk Worsted Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, I: The Traditional Industry,' Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, 12 (1960), 73-83.
  25. K.J. Allison, 'The Norfolk Worsted Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, II: The New Draperies,' Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, 13 (1961), 61-77.
  - \* 26. Peter Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1962), pp. 1-76.
  27. Pierre Deyon, 'Variations de la production textile au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,' Annales: E.S.C., 18 (1963), 39-55.
  - \* 28. Barry Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change: England, 1600-1642 (Cambridge, 1964), Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 7: on the cloth trades, the Old and New Draperies.
  - \* 29. Herbert Heaton, The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from the Earliest Times to the Industrial Revolution, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1965), Chapters 1-3. [The first edition was published in 1920; but this edition has so substantially revised the original that there is no point citing it.]
  30. Jennifer Tann, Gloucestershire Woollen Mills (London, 1967).
  31. Michael M. Edwards, The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1780 - 1815 (Manchester and New York, 1967).
  - \* 32. Donald C. Coleman, 'An Innovation and its Diffusion: The 'New Draperies',' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 12 (1969), 417-29. An important, provocative, interesting, but rather misleading article in many places.
  33. Duncan Bythell, The Handloom Weavers: A Study in the English Cotton Industry during the Industrial Revolution (Cambridge, 1969).
  34. Julia de Lacy Mann, The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880 (Oxford, 1971).
  35. Kenneth G. Ponting, The Woollen Industry of South-West England (Bath, 1971).
  36. D.W. Jones, 'The 'Hallage' Receipts of the London Cloth Markets, 1562 - ca. 1720,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 25 (1972), 567-87.

37. Stanley D. Chapman, 'The Genesis of the British Hosiery Industry, 1600-1750,' Textile History, 3 (1972), 7-50.
38. Penny Corfield, 'A Provincial Capital in the Late Seventeenth Century: the Case of Norwich,' in P. Clark and P. Slack, eds., Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500 - 1700 (London, 1972). Concerns worsted textile-manufacturing.
39. N. Lowe, The Lancashire Textile Industry in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1972).
- 40. J. Geraint Jenkins, ed., The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain (London, 1972). See in particular:
    - \* (a) Eric Kerridge, 'Wool Growing and Wool Textiles in Medieval and Early Modern Times,' pp. 19 - 33.
    - (b) David Seward, 'The Wool Textile Industry, 1750 - 1960,' pp. 34 - 50.
    - (c) M. T. Wild, 'The Yorkshire Wool Textile Industry,' pp. 185-234.
    - (d) K. G. Ponting, 'The West of England Cloth Industry,' pp. 252 - 68.
    - \* (e) John E. Pilgrim, 'The Cloth Industry in East Anglia,' pp. 269 - 80.
41. N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting, eds., Textile History and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann (Manchester University Press, 1973). In particular:
  - (a) D.C. Coleman, 'Textile Growth,' pp. 1-21.
  - (b) Joan Thirsk, 'The Fantastical Folly of Fashion: The English Stocking Knitting Industry, 1500-1700,' pp. 50-73.
  - \* (c) R.M. Hartwell, 'A Revolution in the Character and Destiny of English Wool,' pp. 320-38.
42. Walter Endrei, 'English Kerseys in Eastern Europe with Special Reference to Hungary,' Textile History, 5 (1974), 90-99.
43. Jennifer Tann, 'The Textile Millwright in the Early Industrial Revolution,' Textile History, 5 (1974), 80 - 89.
44. Kenneth G. Ponting, Wool and Water: Bradford-on-Avon and the River Frame (London, 1975).
45. A.J. Durie, 'The Fine Linen Industry in Scotland, 1707-1822,' Textile History, 7 (1976), 173-85.

46. Joan Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects (Oxford, 1978). Contains a discussion of the New Draperies and of the relationship of textiles to agriculture in the seventeenth century.
47. Paul Richards, 'The State and Early Industrial Capitalism: The Case of the Handloom Weavers,' Past and Present, no. 83 (May 1979), 91 - 115.
48. D.J. Dickerson, 'Fulling in the West Riding Woollen Cloth Industry, 1689-1770,' Textile History, 10 (1979), 127-41.
49. T.S. Willan, 'Manchester Clothiers in the Early Seventeenth Century,' Textile History, 10 (1979), 175-83.
50. Alan Rogers, 'Rural Industries and Social Structure: the Framework Knitting Industry of South Nottinghamshire, 1670-1840,' Textile History, 12 (1981), 7-36.
51. Dennis R. Mills, 'Rural Industries and Social Structure: Framework Knitters in Leicestershire, 1670-1851,' Textile History, 13 (Autumn 1982), 183-204.
52. A. R. Bridbury, Medieval English Clothmaking: An Economic Survey (London, 1982). Provides a good, concise up to date background.
- \*\* 53. George D. Ramsay, The English Woollen Industry, 1500 - 1750, Studies in Economic and Social History (London, 1982).
54. C. Gulvin, 'The Origins of Framework Knitting in Scotland,' Textile History, 14 (Spring 1983), 57-66.
55. Margaret Spufford, The Great Reclathing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and Their Wares in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1984).
- \* 56. Eric Kerridge, Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England (Manchester, 1985).
57. Trevor Fawcett, 'Argonauts and Commercial Travellers: The Foreign Marketing of Norwich Stuffs in the Later Eighteenth Century,' Textile History, 16:2 (Autumn 1985), 151 - 82.
58. Ursula Priestley, 'The Fabric of Stuffs: the Norwich Textile Industry, c. 1650 - 1750,' Textile History, 16:2 (Autumn 1985), 183 - 210.
59. Clark Nardinelli, 'Technology and Unemployment: The Case of the Handloom Weavers,' Southern Economic Journal, 53 (July 1986), 87 - 94.
- \* 60. John Munro, 'Textile Technology,' and 'Textile Workers,' in Joseph R. Strayer, et al, eds., Dictionary of the Middle Ages, Vol. XI (New York: MacMillan, 1988), pp. 693 -

715.

61. John S. Lyons, 'Family Response to Economic Decline: Handloom Weavers in Early Nineteenth-Century Lancashire,' Research in Economic History, 12 (1989), 45-91.
62. Anne F. Sutton, 'The Early Linen and Worsted Industry of Norfolk and the Evolution of the London Mercers' Company,' Norfolk Archaeology: A Journal of Archaeology and Local History, 40 (1989), 201 - 225.
63. Audrey Douglas, 'Midsummer in Salisbury: The Tailors' Guild and Confraternity, 1444 - 1642,' Renaissance and Reformation, new ser. 13 (1989), 35 - 51.
64. Adrienne Hood, 'Material Culture and Textiles: An Overview,' Material History Bulletin, 31 (Spring 1990), 5 - 10.
65. Stanley Chapman, 'Industrialization and Production: A Bibliographic Survey,' Material History Bulletin, 31 (Spring 1990), 15 - 22.
66. Joan Thirsk, 'Popular Consumption and the Mass Market in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,' Material History Bulletin, 31 (Spring 1990), 51 - 58.
67. Grant McCracken, 'Textile History and the Consumer Epidemic: An Anthropological Approach to Popular Consumption and the Mass Market,' Material History Bulletin, 31 (Spring 1990), 59 - 64.
68. Beverly Lemire, 'Reflections on the Character of Consumerism, Popular Fashion and the English Market in the Eighteenth Century,' Material History Bulletin, 31 (Spring 1990), 65 - 70.
69. Christine Hallas, 'Cottage and Mill: The Textile Industry in Wensleydale and Swaledale in the Nineteenth Century,' Textile History, 21 (Autumn 1990), 203 - 22.
70. Ursula Priestley, The Fabric of Stuffs: The Norwich Textile Industry from 1565, Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia (Norwich, 1990).
71. Penelope Walton, 'Textiles,' in John Blair and Nigel Ramsay, eds., English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products (London: The Hambleton Press, 1991), pp. 319 - 54.
72. Pamela Sharpe, 'Literally Spinsters: A New Interpretation of Local Economy and Demography in Colyton in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 44 (February 1991), 46 - 65.
73. Patrick O'Brien, Trevor Griffiths, and Philip Hunt, 'Political Components of the Industrial

Revolution: Parliament and the English Cotton Industry, 1660 - 1774,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 44 (August 1991), 395-423.

74. John Munro, 'Patterns of Trade, Money, and Credit,' in Handbook of European History in the Later Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, 1400 - 1600, Vol. I: Structures and Assertions, ed. James Tracy, Thomas Brady Jr., and Heiko Oberman (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 147-95.
75. John Munro, 'Anglo-Flemish Competition in the International Cloth Trade, 1340 - 1520,' in Rencontres d'Oxford (septembre 1994): L'Angleterre et les pays bas bourguignonnes: relations et comparaisons, XVe - XVIe siècle, ed. Jean- Marie Cauchies, Publication du centre européen d'études bourguignonnes, 35 (1995), 37-60.
76. John Munro, 'Varieties of Medieval Latinity, Section FJ: Textiles,' in Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide, ed. Frank A. C. Mantello and A. George Rigg (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 474-84.
77. Michael Zell, 'Credit in the Pre-Industrial English Woollen Industry,' The Economic History Review, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 49:4 (Nov. 1996), 667-91.
78. Mary Rose, ed., The Lancashire Cotton Industry: A History Since 1700 (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1996).
- \* 79. Negley B. Harte, ed., The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England, 1300 - 1800, Pasold Studies in Textile History Vol. 10 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- a) Patrick Chorley, 'The Evolution of the Woollen, 1300 - 1700,' pp. 7-34
  - b) John Munro, 'The Origin of the English 'New Draperies': The Resurrection of an Old Flemish Industry, 1270 - 1570,' pp. 35-127.
  - c) Robert S. Duplessis, 'One Theory, Two Draperies, Three Provinces, and a Multitude of Fabrics: the New Drapery of French Flanders, Hainaut, and the Tournaisis, c.1500 - c.1800,' pp. 129-72.
  - d) Leo Noordegraaf, 'The New Draperies in the Northern Netherlands, 1500 - 1800,' pp. 173-196.
  - e) Martha C. Howell, 'Woman's Work in the New and Light Draperies of the Low Countries,' pp. 197-216.
  - f) B. A. Holderness, 'The Reception and Distribution of the New Draperies in England,' pp. 217-44.
  - g) Luc Martin, 'The Rise of the New Draperies in Norwich, 1550 - 1622,' pp. 245-74.
  - h) Ursula Priestley, 'Norwich Stuffs, 1600 - 1700,' pp. 275-88.



80. Beverly Lemire, Dress, Culture, and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade Before the Factory, 1660 - 1800 (London: Macmillan, 1997).
81. Marilyn Cohen, ed., The Warp of Ulster's Past: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Irish Linen Industry, 1700 - 1920 (London: Macmillan, 1997).
82. John Munro, 'Cloth Manufacture and Trade,' in Medieval England: An Encyclopedia, ed. Paul Sarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel Rosenthal (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1998), pp. 194-97.
83. John Munro, 'Textiles as Articles of Consumption in Flemish Towns, 1330 - 1575,' Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis, 81:1-3 (1998), 275-88. With a Dutch summary. Special issue on: 'Proeve 't al, 't is prysselyck': Verbruik in Europese steden (13de - 18de eeuw)/Consumption in the West European City (13<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> Century): Liber Amicorum Raymond Van Uytven, ed. Bruno Blondé.
- \* 84. John Munro, 'The Symbiosis of Towns and Textiles: Urban Institutions and the Changing Fortunes of Cloth Manufacturing in the Low Countries and England, 1270 - 1570,' The Journal of Early Modern History: Contacts, Comparisons, Contrasts, 3:1 (February: 1999): 1-74.
85. John Munro, 'The 'Industrial Crisis' of the English Textile Towns, 1290 - 1330,' Thirteenth-Century England, VII, ed. Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell, and Robin Frame (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 103-41.
86. J.N. Hare, 'Growth and Recession in the Fifteenth-Century Economy: the Wiltshire Textile Industry and the Countryside,' The Economic History Review, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 52:1 (February 1999), 1-26.
87. Dominique Cardon, La draperie au moyen âge: essor d'une grande industrie européenne (Paris: CNRSS, 1999).

## **K. Documents**

1. Sir Richard Weston, A Discourse of Husbandrie Used in Brabant and Flanders (London, 2nd ed., 1652).
2. W.W. Skeat, ed., The Book of Husbandry by Master Fitzherbert (1882).
3. I.S. Leadam, ed., The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517-1518, 2 vols. (London, 1897; reissued New York, 1971).
4. A.E. Bland and P.A. Brown, R.H. Tawney, eds., English Economic History: Select Documents (London, 1914), pp. 231-81.

- \*\* 5. R.H. Tawney and Eileen Power, eds., Tudor Economic Documents, 3 vols. (London, 1924).  
Vol. I: 'Agriculture and Rural Society,' pp. 1-90.  
Vol. II: 'High Prices and the Coinage,' pp. 176-203;  
          'Vagrancy and Poor Relief,' pp. 296-369.  
Vol. III: 'Enclosures and the Countryside,' pp. 12-81;  
          'Poverty and Vagabonds,' pp. 405-58.
6. G.E. Fussell, ed., The Old English Farming Books, 1523-1730 (London, 1947).
7. Eric Kerridge, ed., Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After (London, 1969),  
pp. 137-292.
- \* 8. Joan Thirsk and J.P. Cooper, eds., Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents (Oxford,  
1972), Part II: 'Agriculture', pp. 106-87.

## 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.

---

<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.

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:  $Y = P_w/P_g (1450-99) = a + b \text{ but} = 0.9327 + 0.0049$  (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, 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>(intercept)</b>	<b>b</b> <b>(slope)</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

**Table 1. THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND (AND WALES)**

<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

<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>
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
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>
<b>Total</b>		<b>100.0%</b>

**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>	<b>£mill</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>237.50</b>

**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.

<b>Table 15. Exports of English Broadcloths of Assise</b>									
<b>in quinquennial means, 1346-50 to 1551-55</b>									
<b>Year</b>	<b>Denizen</b>	<b>Hansard</b>	<b>Other Aliens</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>London</b>	<b>London</b>	<b>London</b>	<b>London</b>	<b>London:</b>
<b>Michaelmas</b>	<b>Exports</b>	<b>Exports</b>	<b>Exports</b>	<b>EXPORTS</b>	<b>Denizens</b>	<b>Hansards</b>	<b>Other Aliens</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>% of Total</b>
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%



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**

	<u>1436</u>	<u>1690</u>
<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>

\*\*\*\*\*

**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)

6. Baronet (from 1611 only): Sir

2. Marquess (Marquise) (Lord)

7. Knight (Sir)

3. Viscount (Lord)

8. Esquire (Mr.)

4. Baron (Lord)

9. Gentleman (Mr.)



