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ECO 2210Y

**Topics in the Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1260 - 1600**

**Topics Nos. 6 and 7: The Problem of Serfdom in European Economic Development, 14th to 17th Centuries: West and East**

**READINGS:** all readings are given in chronological order of original publication.

**A. Serfdom West and East:**

**Theoretical Models of Change and Historical Background**

- \* 1. Marc Bloch, La société féodale, 2 vols. 1940. Published in English translation as: Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon (London, 1961), chapters 18-21, 24.
- \*\* 2. Marc Bloch, 'The Rise of Dependent Cultivation and Seigneurial Institutions,' in J.H. Clapham and Eileen Power, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 1st edn. (Cambridge University Press, 1941), pp. 224-77. See no. 5, below.
- 3. Georges Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West (trans. C.M. Postan, London, 1962), pp. 197 - 360.
- 4. B.H. Slicher-Van Bath, The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850 (trans. Olive Ordish, London, 1963), pp. 29-53, 137-50, 160-94.
- \*\* 5. Michael M. Postan, ed., Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 2nd rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1966):
  - \*\* (a) Marc Bloch, 'The Rise of Dependent Cultivation and Seigneurial Institutions,' pp. 235-89 (esp. 283-9).
  - (b) François Ganshof and Adriaan Verhulst, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: France, the Low Countries, Western Germany,' pp. 305-39.
  - \* (c) Leopold Genicot, 'Crisis: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times,' pp. 660-742, especially pp. 725-38.
- \* 6. Evsey D. Domar, 'The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis,' Journal of Economic History, 30 (Mar. 1970), 18-32.

7. Douglass C. North and R.P. Thomas, 'An Economic Theory of the Growth of the Western World,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 23 (Apr. 1970), 1-18.
  - \* 8. Douglass C. North and Robert P. Thomas, 'The Rise and Fall of the Manorial System: A Theoretical Model,' Journal of Economic History, 31 (Dec. 1971), 777-803.
  9. J.C. Russell, 'Population in Europe, 500-1500,' in C.M. Cipolla, ed., Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: The Middle Ages (1972), pp. 25-70;
  10. D.C. North and R.P. Thomas, The Rise of the Western World (Cambridge, 1973), especially chapters 3 (pp. 19-24), 7 (pp. 71-90), and 8 (pp. 91-101).
  11. Roger Mols, 'Population in Europe, 1500-1700,' in Carlo Cipolla, ed., Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1974), pp. 15-82.
  - \* 12. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'The Rise and Fall of a Theoretical Model: the Manorial System,' Journal of Economic History, 25 (June 1975), 386-409. An attack on the North-Thomas model.
  13. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'Authority, Efficiency, and Agricultural Organization in Medieval England and Beyond: A Hypothesis,' Journal of Economic History, 25 (Dec. 1975), 693-718. Continuing from his previous article, attacking the North-Thomas model.
  14. Marc Bloch, Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages: Selected Papers, trans. William R. Beer (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).
  - \*\* 15. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,' Past and Present, no. 70 (February 1976), pp. 30-74, reprinted in T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin, eds. The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 10 - 63. See section B, below.
- This seminal article by a young American Marxist historian attacked the use of traditional demographic and market (commercial) models to explain the rise and decline of serfdom in various parts of Europe. Brenner's provocative, wide-ranging, sometimes complex and certainly imperfect (and very long) article sparked a fierce controversy, still raging, chiefly in the form of vigorous attacks by other Marxists and non-Marxists alike, as detailed in section B: 'The Brenner Debate'.
- \* 16. Jerome Blum, The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe (Princeton, 1978).
  17. Georges Duby, Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1978), republished in English trans. as The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, with a forward by Thomas Bisson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
  18. Wilhelm Abel, Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries, trans. Olive Ordish (London, 1980), pp. 35-98.

19. Peter Gust and Tamas Hoffmann, eds., Large Estates and Small Holdings in the Middle Ages and Modern Times: National Reports (8th International Economic History Congress 1982, Budapest: Adademiai Kiado, 1982). Not readily available.
- \* 20. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'Slavery and Supervision in Comparative Perspective: A Model,' Journal of Economic History, 44 (September 1984), 635 - 68.
- \* 21. Robert Millward, 'The Early Stages of European Industrialization: Economic Organization Under Serfdom,' Explorations in Economic History, 21 (1984), 406 - 28.
22. K. G. Person, Pre-Industrial Economic Growth: Social Organization and Technological Progress in Europe (Oxford, 1988).
23. Evsey D. Domar, Capitalism, Socialism, and Serfdom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Collected essays.
24. Léopold Genicot, Rural Communities in the Medieval West (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1990).
25. Adriaan Verhulst, 'The Decline of Slavery and the Economic Expansion of the Early Middle Ages,' Past & Present, no. 133 (November 1991), 195-203.
26. Pierre Bonnassie, From Slavery to Feudalism, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
27. Stanley Engerman, 'Coerced and Free Labor: Property Rights and the Development of the Labor Force,' Explorations in Economic History, 29 (January 1992), 1-29.
28. Werner Rösener, Peasants in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1992).
29. Robert M. Townsend, The Medieval Village Economy: A Study of the Pareto Mappings in General Equilibrium Models (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
30. 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.
31. Werner Rösener, The Peasantry of Europe, trans by Thomas M. Barker (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994).
32. Thomas N. Bisson, 'Medieval Lordship,' Speculum, 70:4 (October 1995), 743-59.
33. Susan Mosher Stuard, 'Ancillary Evidence for the Decline of Medieval Slavery,' Past & Present, no. 149 (November 1995), 3-28. A related topic, on the earlier Middle Ages, that may provide some additional perspectives on the decline of serfdom.

34. J.-M. Duvosquel and Eric Thoen, eds., Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honorem Adriaan Verhulst (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducajn & Zoon, 1995).
35. Gerhard Jaritz, 'The Material Culture of the Peasantry in the Late Middle Ages: 'Image' and 'Reality', in Del Sweeney, Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 163-88.

## **B. The Brenner Debate:**

'Few historical issues have occasioned such discussion since the time of Marx as the transition from feudalism to capitalism in western Europe.' (From a review of no. 8, below.)

- \*\* 1. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,' Past and Present, no. 70 (Feb. 1976), 30-74.
2. 'Symposium: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,' Past and Present, no. 78 (Feb. 1978):
- \* (a) M.M. Postan and John Hatcher, 'Population and Class Relations in Feudal Society,' pp. 24-36.
- (b) Patricia Croot and David Parker, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development,' pp. 37-46.
- \*\* (c) Heide Wunder, 'Peasant Organization and Class Conflict in East and West Germany,' pp. 47-55.
3. 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe: A Symposium,' Past and Present, no. 79 (May 1978):
- (a) Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, 'A Reply to Professor Brenner,' pp. 55-59.
- (b) Guy Blois, 'Against the Neo-Malthusian Orthodoxy,' pp. 60-69.
4. 'Symposium: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,' Past and Present, no. 80 (August 1980):
- (a) Rodney H. Hilton, 'A Crisis of Feudalism,' pp. 3-20.
- \* (b) J.P. Cooper, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism,' pp. 20-65.
5. Arnost Klima, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Bohemia,' Past and Present, no. 85 (Nov. 1979), 49-67.
6. 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, 1987), pp. 227-46.

- \* 7. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe: The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism,' Past and Present, no. 97 (Nov. 1982), 16-113. A very lengthy reply to all of his critics.
- \*\* 8. T.H. Aston and C.H.E. Philpin, eds., The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe (Past and Present Publications: Cambridge, 1985). Introduction by R. H. Hilton, pp. 1 - 9 (well worth reading).

This collection contains all of the above essays from Past and Present except for no. 6, by Britnell.

- 9. Robert Brenner, 'Economic Backwardness in Eastern Europe in Light of Developments in the West,' in Daniel Chirot, ed., The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
- 10. 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.

## C. The Decline of Serfdom in Western Europe

### Part I: England

- 1. Paul Vinogradoff, Villainage in England (Oxford, 1892). A classic study.
- 2. A. Réville and Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Le soulèvement des travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381 (Paris, 1898).
- 3. Frances Davenport, 'The Decay of Villeinage in East Anglia,' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, new ser. 14 (1900), reprinted in E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History (London, 1954-62), Vol. II, pp. 112-24.
- 4. E.P. Cheyney, 'The Disappearance of English Serfdom,' The English Historical Review, 15 (1900).
- 5. A. Savine, 'Bondmen Under the Tudors,' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, new ser. 17 (1903).
- 6. A. Savine, 'English Customary Tenure in the Tudor Period,' Quarterly Journal of Economics, 19 (1905).
- 7. Charles Oman, The Great Revolt of 1381 (Oxford, 1906).

8. Barbara Putnam, The Enforcement of the Statute of Labourers during the First Decade after the Black Death (New York, 1908).
- \* 9. R.H. Tawney, The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1912; reissued with an introduction by Lawrence Stone, New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1967), Part I, chapters 1-3; Part II, chapter 3. A great classic, still well worth reading today (despite Kerridge's criticisms in no. below).
10. H.L. Gray, 'The Commutation of Villain Services in England Before the Black Death,' English Historical Review, 29 (1914).
11. Nora Ritchie, 'Labour Conditions in Essex in the Reign of Richard II,' Economic History Review, 1st ser. 4 (1934), reprinted in E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History (London, 1954-62), Vol. II, pp. 91-111.
12. E.A. Kosminsky, 'Services and Money Rents in the Thirteenth Century,' Economic History Review, 1st ser. 5 (1935), reprinted in E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History (London, 1954-62), Vol. II, pp. 31-48.
- \*\* 13. Michael Postan, 'The Chronology of Labour Services,' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th ser. 20 (1937), 169-93; subsequently, a revised version was published in W. E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agrarian History, Vol. I (Newton Abbot, 1968), pp. 73 - 91, which in turn was reprinted in Michael Postan, Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 89-106.
- \* 14. Rodney Hilton, 'Peasant Movements in England Before 1381,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1949), reprinted in E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History (London, 1954-62), Vol. II, pp. 73-90; and in Rodney H. Hilton, Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History (London, 1985), pp. 122-38.
15. Rodney H. Hilton and H. Fagan, The English Rising of 1381 (London, 1950). See also no. 43 below.
16. Rodney H. Hilton, 'Feudalism and the Origins of Capitalism,' Past and Present, no. 1 (1952), pp. 32-42. Reprinted in Rodney H. Hilton, Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History (London, 1985), pp. 278-94.
17. Michael Postan, The Famulus: The Estate Labourer in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries, Economic History Review Supplement no. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1954.
- \* 18. E.A. Kosminsky, 'Feudal Rent in England,' Past and Present, no. 7 (1955), pp. 12-36.
19. E.A. Kosminsky, Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century, ed. R.H. Hilton and trans. R. Kisch (Oxford, 1956).
20. Joan Thirsk, Tudor Enclosures (London, 1957). A classic pamphlet of 21 pp.

21. J. Ambrose Raftis, The Estates of Ramsey Abbey (Toronto, 1957).
22. J. Ambrose Raftis, Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social History of the Medieval English Village (Toronto, 1964).
- \* 23. R. H. Hilton, 'Freedom and Villeinage in England,' Past and Present, no. 31 (1965), pp. 3-19.
24. R. H. Hilton, A Medieval Society: The West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century (London, 1966), chapters 4 - 6.
25. Michael Postan, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in Its Prime: England,' in Cambridge Economic History, Vol. I: Agrarian Life in the Middle Ages, 2nd rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1966), section V: 'The Villagers,' pp. 600-32.
26. J.M.W. Bean, The Decline of English Feudalism, 1215-1540 (Manchester and New York, 1968). Not as helpful as it sounds.
- \* 27. Christopher Dyer, 'A Redistribution of Incomes in Fifteenth- Century England,' Past and Present, no. 39 (1968), pp. 11-33. An important article on peasant resistance to rent exactions from manorial lords.
28. J. A. Wooldridge (Mrs. Brent), 'Alciston Manor,' Sussex Archeological Collections, 106 (1968). An analysis of peasant conditions on one of the manors of Battle Abbey. [Her M.A. thesis for Bristol, 1965]
29. Eric Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After (London, 1969). A trenchant critique of Tawney (1912).
- \*\* 30. Rodney H. Hilton, The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England Studies in Economic History series, 1st edn. (London, 1969); 2nd rev. edn. (London, 1983).
31. J. Ambrose Raftis, 'The Structure of Commutation on a Fourteenth-Century Village,' in T. A. Sandquist and Michael Powicke, eds., Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson (Toronto, 1969), pp. 282-300.
- \* 32. R.A. Dobson, ed., The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 (London, 1970).
- \* 33. Michael Postan, The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages (London, 1972), chapter 9, 'The Villagers: Serfdom and Freedom,' pp. 143-55.
- \* 34. Michael Postan, Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973):
  - (a) no. 1: 'The Economic Foundations of Medieval Society,' pp. 3-27. [originally published in Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie, 161 (1951).]

- (b) no. 7: 'The Chronology of Labour Services,' pp. 89-106. [Original version published in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th series, 20 (1937), 169-93; revised version published in W.E. Minchinton, ed., Essays in Agrarian History, I (Newton Abbot, 1968), 73-92.]
- (c) no. 8: 'The Charters of the Villeins,' pp. 107-50. [Originally published as the Introduction to C.N.L. Brooke and M.M. Postan, eds., 'Carta Nativorum', a Peterborough Abbey Cartulary of the Fourteenth Century (Northamptonshire Record Society, 1960).]
- (d) no. 13: 'Legal Status and Economic Conditions in Medieval Villages,' pp. 278-90. [Originally published in Modernization and Industrialization: Essays Presented to Yoshitaka Komatsu (Tokyo, 1968).]
- \* 35. A.R. Bridbury, 'The Black Death,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 557-92.
36. Rodney H. Hilton, Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381 (London, 1973).
- \* 37. J.R. Maddicott, The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341, Past and Present Supplement no. 1 (Oxford, 1974), 75 pp. Reprinted in T.H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants, and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1987).
38. Jean Scammel, 'Freedom and Marriage in Medieval England,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 27 (1974), 523-37.
39. Rodney H. Hilton, The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages: The Ford Lectures for 1973 and Related Studies (Oxford, 1975):
- (a) 'The Peasantry as a Class,' pp. 3-19.
- (b) 'The Social Structure of the Village,' pp. 20-36.
- (c) 'The Peasants' Economy,' pp. 37-53.
- (d) 'Conflict and Collaboration,' pp. 54-75.
- (e) 'The Small Town as Part of Peasant Society,' pp. 76-94.
- (f) 'Women in the Village,' pp. 95-112.
- (g) 'Social Structure of Rural Warwickshire in the Middle Ages,' pp. 113-39.
- (h) 'Gloucester Abbey Leases of the Late Thirteenth Century,' pp. 139-60.
- (i) 'A Study in the Pre-History of English Enclosure in the Fifteenth Century,' pp. 161-73.



- (j) 'Rent and Capital Formation in Feudal Society,' pp. 174-214.
- (k) 'Lord and Peasant in Staffordshire in the Middle Ages,' pp. 215-46.
40. A.R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 393-410.
41. J.A. Yelling, Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850 (London, 1977), chapter 11, 'The Local Community.'
42. Edward Miller and John Hatcher, Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348 (London, 1978), chapters 5 and 6 on 'Villagers', pp. 111-164.
43. Eleanor Searle, 'Merchet in Medieval England,' Past and Present, no. 82 (Feb. 1979), 3-43.
44. 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, 1987), pp. 227-46.
45. J.L. Bolton, The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500 (London, 1980), chapter 7 ('Crisis and Change in the Agrarian Economy'), pp. 207-45.
46. Paul Hyams, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England: The Common Law of Villeinage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (Oxford, 1980).
47. Zvi Razi, Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society, and Demography in Halesowen, 1270 - 1400 (Cambridge, 1980).
- \* 48. Zvi Razi, 'Family, Land and the Village Community in Later Medieval England,' Past and Present, no. 93 (Nov. 1981).
- \* 49. 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.
- \* 50. James Ambrose Raftis, ed., Pathways to Medieval Peasants (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981).
51. Christopher Dyer, 'Deserted Medieval Villages in the West Midlands,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 35 (Feb. 1982), 19-34.
52. Zvi Razi, 'The Struggles between the Abbots of Halesowen and their Tenants in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,' 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. 151 - 67.
53. R.H. Hilton and T.H. Aston, eds., The English Rising of 1381, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge, 1984.) With essays by Hilton, Dyer, Faith, Cazelles, Butcher, Dobson,

Cohn, Harding, and Tuck. See in particular:

- (a) Christopher Dyer, 'The Social and Economic Background to the Rural Revolt of 1381,' pp. 9 - 42.
- (b) Rosamond Faith, 'The 'Great Rumour' of 1377 and Peasant Ideology,' pp. 43 - 73.
- (c) A. F. Butcher, 'English Urban Society and the Revolt of 1381,' pp. 84 - 111.
- (d) J. A. Tuck, 'Nobles, Commons and the Great Revolt of 1381,' pp. 194 - 212.

\* 54. Rodney H. Hilton, Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History (London, 1985), especially:

- (a) 'Peasant Movements in England Before 1381,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1949) [No. 9, pp. 122-38]. Also reprinted in E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History (London, 1954-62), Vol. II, pp. 73-90.]
- (b) 'Medieval Peasants: Any Lessons?' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1949), 117-36 [No. 8, pp. 114-21].
- (c) 'Reasons for Inequality Among Medieval Peasants,' Journal of Peasant Studies, 5 (1978), 271-83 [No. 10, pp. 139-51.]
- (d) 'Popular Movements in England at the End of the Fourteenth Century,' in Il tumulto dei Ciompi (Florence, 1981), pp. 223-40 [No. 11, pp. 152-64.]
- (e) 'Social Concepts in the English Rising of 1381,' in P. Blickle, ed., Revolte und Revolution in Europa (Munich, 1975), pp. 31-46 [No. 17, pp. 216-26.]
- (f) 'Was There a General Crisis of Feudalism?' translation of 'Y-eut-il une crise générale de la féodalité?' Annales: E.S.C. (1951), 23-30. [No. 19, pp. 239 - 45.]
- (g) 'Ideology and Social Order in Late Medieval England,' translation of 'Idéologie et Ordre Social,' in L'Arc, 72 (1978), 32-7 [No. 20, pp. 246-53.]
- (h) 'Feudalism and the Origins of Capitalism,' Past and Present, no. 1 (1952), pp. 32-42 [No. 23, pp. 278-94.]

55. Francis X. Newman, ed., Social Unrest in the Late Middle Ages, Medieval and Renaissance

Texts and Studies vol. 39 (Binghampton, New York, 1986):

- (a) J. Ambrose Raftis, 'Social Change versus Revolution: New Interpretations of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381,' pp. 3-22.
  - (b) Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Peasant Resistance to Royal and Seignorial Impositions,' pp. 23-47.
  - (c) D. W. Robertson, Jr., 'Chaucer and the Economic and Social Consequences of the Plague,' pp. 49-74.
  - (d) John B. Friedman, ' 'He Hath a Thousand Slayn This Pestilence': Iconography of the Plague in the late Middle Ages,' pp. 75-112.
  - (e) Russell A. Peck, 'Social Conscience and the Poets,' pp. 113-48.
56. 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).
57. W. M. Ormrod, 'The Peasants' Revolt and the Government of England,' Journal of British Studies, 29 (January 1990), 1 - 30.
58. 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.
59. Jules N. Pretty, 'Sustainable Agriculture in the Middle Ages: the English Manor,' The Agricultural History Review, 38 (1990), 1 - 19.
60. Simon A. Penn and Christopher Dyer, 'Wages and Earnings in Late-Medieval England: Evidence from the Enforcement of the Labour Laws,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 43 (August 1990), 356-76.
61. Richard H. Britnell, 'Feudal Reaction after the Black Death in the Palatinate of Durham,' Past & Present, no. 128 (August 1990), pp. 28-47.
62. Margaret Bonney, Lordship and the Urban Community: Durham and Its Overlords, 1250 - 1540 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- \* 63. Edward Miller, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. III: 1348 - 1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See the following chapters (or essays):
- a) David Farmer, 'Prices and Wages, 1350-1500,' pp. 431-525.
  - b) J.M.W. Bean, 'Landlords,' pp. 526-86.

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, 'Tenant Farming and Tenant Farmers,' pp. 587 - 743.

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d) E.B. Fryde, 'Peasant Rebellion and Peasant Discontents,' pp. 744-819.

64. Michael A. Barg, 'The Social Structure of Manorial Freeholders: an Analysis of the Hundred Rolls of 1279,' Agricultural History Review, 39:ii (1991), 108-15.
65. 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).
66. S.J. Payling, 'Social Mobility, Demographic Change, and Landed Society in Late Medieval England,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 45 (February 1992), 51-73.
67. Philippa C. Maddern, Violence and Social Order: East Anglia, 1422 - 1442 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
68. 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.
69. John Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death,' Past & Present, no. 144 (August 1994), pp. 3 - 35.
70. 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.
71. 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.
72. J. Goodacre, The Transformation of a Peasant Economy: Townspeople and Villagers in the Lutterworth Area, 1500-1700 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994).
73. Jan Titow, 'Lost Rents, Vacant Holdings and the Contraction of Peasant Cultivation after the Black Death,' Agricultural History Review, 42:ii (1994), 97-114.
74. Allen J. Frantzen and Douglas Moffat, The Work of Work: Servitude, Slavery, and Labour in Medieval England (Glasgow, 1994).
75. 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.

76. 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)
- 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.
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- g) 'Abgaben und Dienste in der ostdeutschen Landwirtschaft von Spätmittelalter bis zur Bauernbefreiung: Bestimmungsgründe für die langfristigen Substitutionprozesse,' from E. Schremmer, ed., Steuern, Abgaben und Dienste vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), pp. 77-89. With an English summary.
- h) 'Ducal Prussia: An Internal Periphery? (16th-18th centuries),' from H.-H. Nolte, ed., Internal Peripheries in European History (Göttingen, 1991), pp. 185-96.
76. Robert Scribner, ed., Germany: A New Social and Economic History, Vol. 1: 1450 - 1630 (London and New York: Arnold, 1996).
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### **QUESTIONS for Discussion**

1. What is meant by the term 'serfdom'; and what relationship does the term have with the terms 'feudalism' and 'manorialism' or 'seigniorialism'?
2. What economic, social, institutional, and legal conditions denoted or indicated servile status, the status of serfdom? What gradations of 'bondage' or of 'servitude' were there between slavery and freedom in European serfdom, in late medieval and early modern times? How did conditions of serfdom vary across Europe, from England to Russia, from late medieval to modern times?
3. How have western and eastern historians, Marxist and non-Marxist historians, differed in their analysis of 'feudalism' and 'serfdom'?
4. Discuss the validity and usefulness of various theoretical models in explaining the expansion and decline of serfdom, in eastern and western Europe: (a) demographic models, (b) market or trade-oriented models, (c) political-institutional-legal models, (d) Marxian models of class structures.
5. To what extent did serfdom constitute a barrier or impediment to economic development, in western and eastern Europe, from late-medieval to early-modern times? To what extent were servile institutions compatible with agrarian change, rising agricultural productivity, economic expansion?
6. In your own view, what are the chief factors explaining the decline of serfdom in western Europe from the late Middle Ages? What differences can you see between the declines of serfdom in England and in France?
7. In your view, what factors explain the extension and expansion or intensification of serfdom in eastern Europe, east of the Elbe River, from late-medieval or early-modern times? When was the crucial period of change, the rise of the 'New Serfdom'? the 14th, the 15th, the 16th, or the 17th century?
8. Explain the apparent paradox of a decline of serfdom in the West and its expansion in the East. What were the differences between Eastern and Western serfdom?
9. When, how, and why did serfdom come to an end in eastern Europe: in Prussia, Poland, Hungary, and Russia?
10. What was the heritage of eastern European serfdom: how long did it continue to impede industrialization in this region?

**Official Money Wages for Building Craftsmen for the Kingdom of England and the City of London: by Parliamentary Statute or Ordinance, for the Summer and Winter Seasons, in pence sterling, 1290 - 1495**

**Summer Season:** Easter to Michaelmas (29 September), ‘without meat and drink’

**Winter Season:** Michaelmas to Easter, ‘without meat and drink’

Year	LONDON Summer	LONDON Winter	NATIONAL Summer	NATIONAL Winter
<b>c.1290</b>	5d <sup>a</sup> 4d <sup>b</sup>	3d <sup>a</sup> 4d <sup>b</sup>		
<b>1349-51</b>	6d	5d	3d 4d <sup>c</sup>	<sup>c</sup>
<b>1360</b>			4d <sup>d</sup>	[not stated]
<b>1362</b>	6d	5d		
<b>1372</b>	6d	5d		
<b>1378</b>	6d	5d		
<b>1382</b>	6d	5d		
<b>1444</b>			5½d <sup>e</sup>	4½d <sup>e</sup>
<b>1495</b>			6d <sup>f</sup> 7d <sup>g</sup>	5d <sup>f</sup> 7d <sup>g</sup>

- a. 1290: 2d daily in the summer with food in drink; 1d daily in the winter with food and drink
- b. 1290: 4d daily or 1.5d with food and drink, from Michaelmas (29 September) to Martinmas (12 November), and from Candlemas (Purificatio: 2 February) to Easter
- c. 1350-51: 25 Ed III stat. 2 c. 3: rates of 4d for master free-masons; 3d for other master masons and carpenters; for all, from Michaelmas ‘less according to the rate and discretion of the justices’.
- d. For the chief master masons and carpenters; but 3d or 2d for the others ‘according as they be worth’
- e. 1444-45: 23 Henry VI c. 12: 4d daily with food and drink in the summer and 3d daily with food and drink in the winter.
- f. 1495: 11 Henry VII c. 22: 4d daily with food and drink.
- g. 7d daily, summer and winter, for those master masons and master carpenters having charge of six or more men; and 5d daily with food and drink.

*Sources:* *Statutes of the Realm*, I, 311-12; II, 337-39, 585-87; H. T. Riley, ed., *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*: Vol. II: *Liber Custumarum* (London, 1860), I, 99-100; ii, 541-43; H. T. Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life, in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries: From the Archives of the City of London, A.D. 1276-1419* (London, 1868), pp. 253-55; R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved Among the Archives of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter-Book G., c.A.D. 1352-1374* (London, 1905), pp. 148, 301; *Letter Book H., c.A.D. 1375-1399* (London, 1907), p. 184.

**The Blum-Brenner Model to Explain the Differences between Western and Eastern Feudal-Manorial Power Structures and the Changing Fortunes of Serfdom**

<b>FEATURES</b>	<b>Western Europe</b>	<b>Eastern Europe</b>
<b>Villages</b>	divided lordships; thickly settled; peasant charters; and manorial court rolls	single lordships; thinly settled; no, few, or weak peasant charters
<b>Field Systems</b>	Common/Open Fields with scattered interspersed strips and communal village regulations	Common fields with more consolidated family holdings; weak village authority, subject to feudal-manorial lords
<b>Village governments</b>	peasant villager councils and manorial reeves from the villages govern the village economy.	village government by <i>schultz/schultheiss</i> mayors appointed by feudal lords
<b>Central governments</b>	strong, more centralized national monarchies; or strong territorial princes.	weak monarchical governments; elected monarchies
<b>Aristocracies</b>	weak nobilities, especially at the baronial & knight levels	powerful and increasingly stronger feudal nobilities
<b>Courts</b>	Royal courts expanding their powers at the expense of manorial/seigniorial courts; manorial courts that entrench customary rights of the peasant tenants, fixing rents & entry fines	weak or non existent royal courts; powerful and independent feudal/manorial courts that do not recognize peasant tenancy rights, or conditions of tenures
<b>Rents</b>	customary, fixed rents, increasingly in fixed nominal cash payments	more arbitrary rents, more in labour services and kind
<b>Towns</b>	Strong, independent towns, with vibrant urban economies	Weak and small towns, with dependent economies