THE RURAL COMMUNITY : A CASE STUDY OF TWO REGIONS OF STAFFORDSHIRE, 1750 - 1900

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CONTENTS

(Note: A list of tables and figures, and appendices will be found at the end of the text of the chapter to which they belong.)

ABSTRACT

In studies of community in the past there is a general absence of conscious, structured theory, invariably resulting in a lack of coherence and comparability. This thesis is, then, an application of the concept using an explicit theory of community. It is conducted through a case-study of two, contrasting regions of rural Staffordshire - the 'Lowlands' and the 'Moorlands' - with a focus on one parish within each region, between the mid-eighteenth century and the later nineteenth century. It tests the hypothesis that the growth of capitalism in the local economies of these two regions led to changes in social relationships and structures within the two principal communities studied, and that these changes were in the direction from 'integrated' communities towards 'class-based' communities. The first part of the thesis shows how the basis for an integrated community in the eighteenth century was undermined by the personal forces of capital's advance, (that is by the actions of the landlords and farmers), though to differing degrees in the two regions, with the Moorlands being altered rather less. The second part focuses on the nineteenth century, and reveals that the community in the Lowlands had moved some way, though not completely, towards becoming a class-based community; the community in the Moorlands, however, had moved even less in this direction, and in many ways remained more in the mode of an integrated (eighteenth century-like) community.

List of Abbreviations used in Footnotes

A.H.R.	Agricultural History Review
Chatsworth	Chatsworth House, Derbyshire - The records of the Duke of Devonshire
D.R.O.	Derbyshire Record Office
E.H.R.	Economic History Review
Jnl. Fam. Hist.	Journal of Family History
Jnl. Interdisciplinary Hist.	The Journal of Interdisciplinary History
Jnl. Peas. Studies	Journal of Peasant Studies
J.R.A.S.E.	Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England
L.J.R.O.	Lichfield Joint Record Office
N.S.J.F.S.	North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies
P.R.O.	Public Records Office
S.R.O.	Staffordshire Record Office
T.I.B.G.	Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers
W.S.L.	William Salt Library (Stafford)

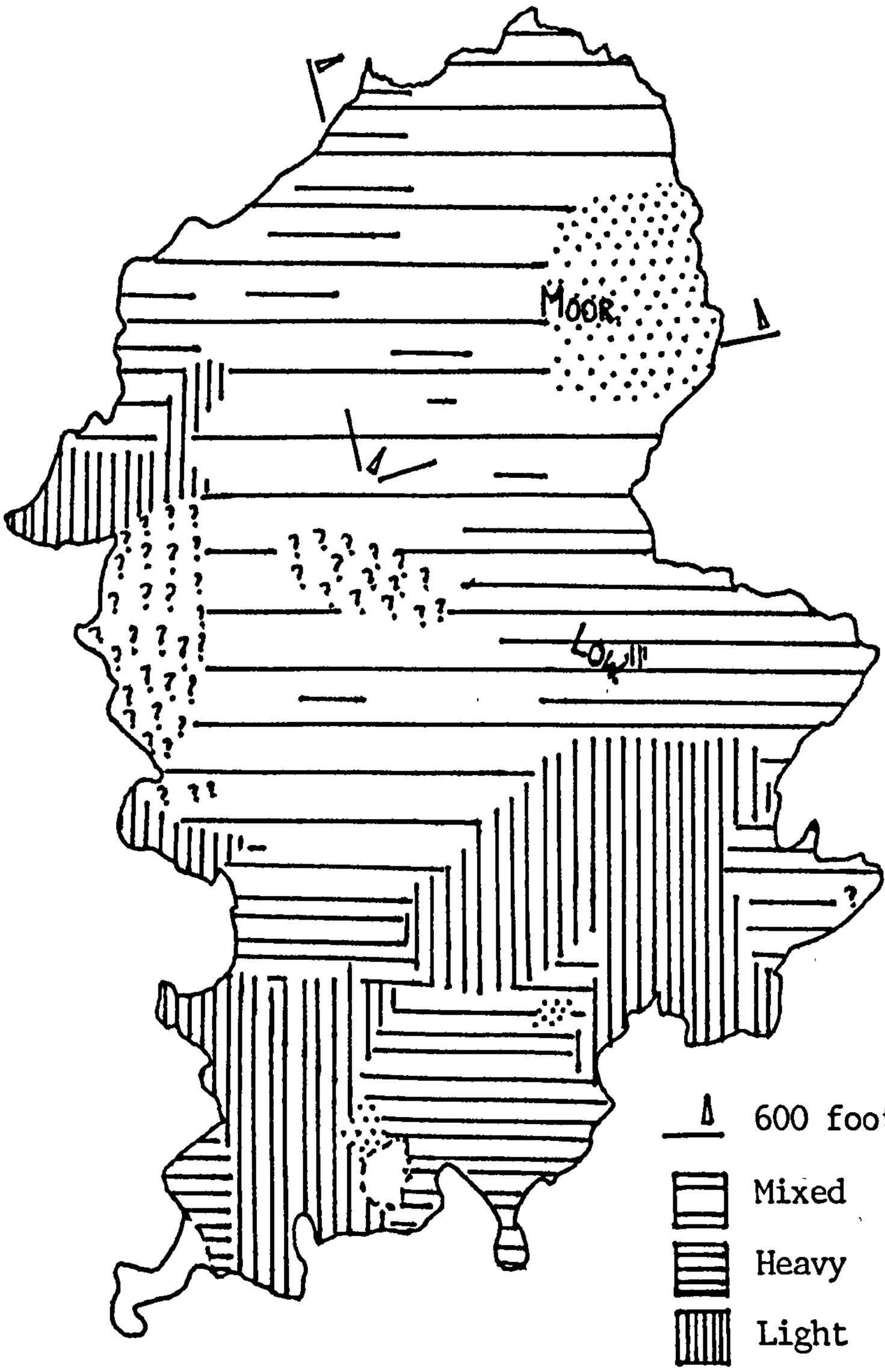
Notes on Spelling, Punctuation, and use of Question Marks

The spelling of extracts from source material has been kept in the original with elucidation in parentheses where necessary. Punctuation, again placed in parentheses, has also been added where the sense of the passage would otherwise have been obscured.

(?) = query of word difficult to read in original

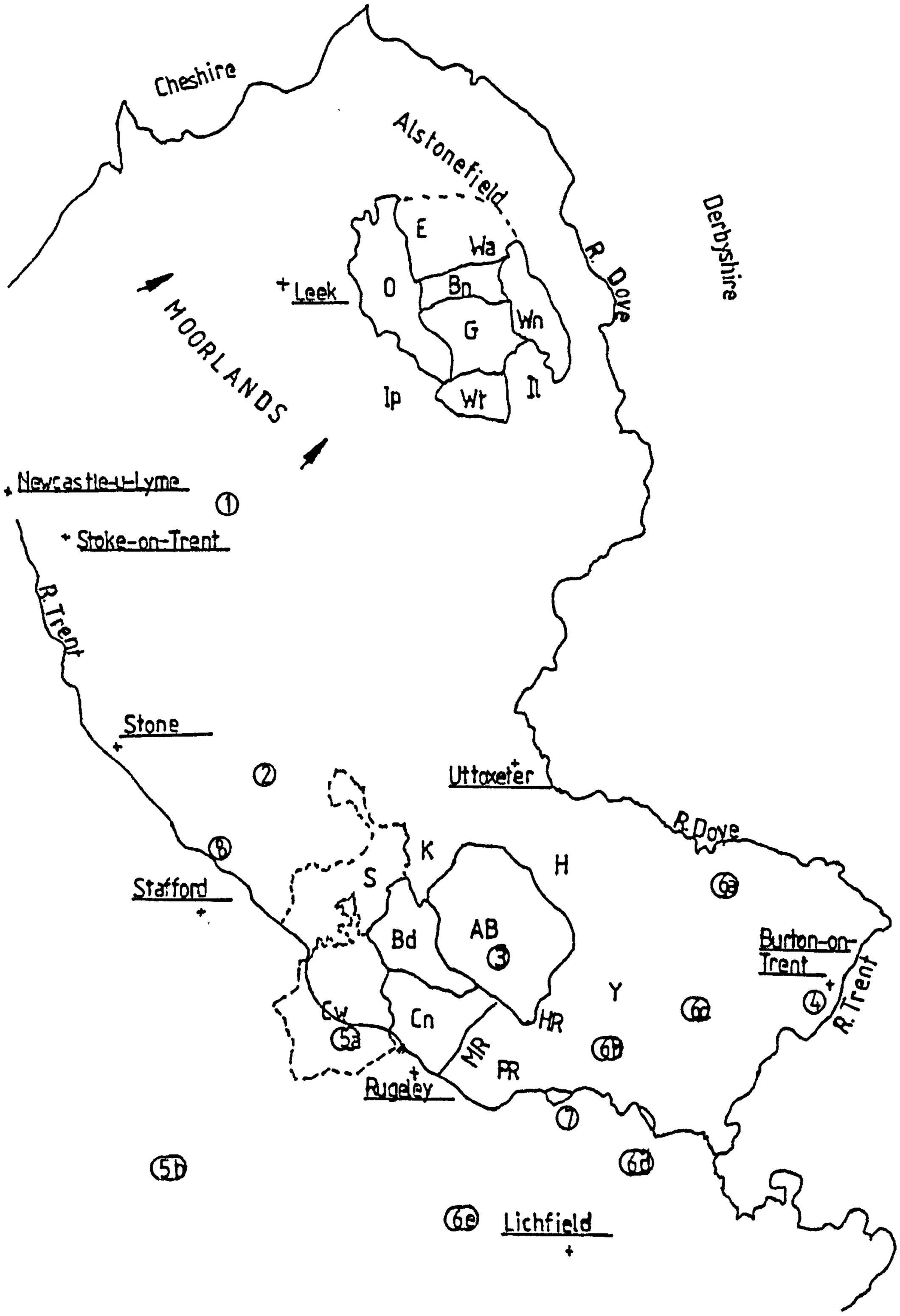
?? = unreadable word(s) in original

Map One : Topography and Soil Structure of Staffordshire



Soil Divisions of Staffordshire from Phillips, A.D.M., 'A Study of Farming Practices and Soil Types in Staffordshire around 1840', N.S.J.F.S., 8 (1973) p.36, combining Map C (William Pitt's Survey) and Map D (Tithe information).

Map Two : The Regions, and Location of Farm Records



Key to Map 2:-

Parishes/townships:

AB = Abbots Bromley
Bd = Blithfield
Bn = Butterton
Cn = Colton
Cw = Colwich
E = Elkstones
G = Grindon
H = Hanbury
HR = Hampstall Ridware
Il = Ilam
Ip = Ipstones
K = Kingstone
MR = Mavesyn Ridware
O = Onecote
PR = Pipe Ridware
S = Stowe
Wa = Warslow
Wn = Wetton
Wt = Waterfall
Y = Yoxall

Farm Records:

1 = Caverswall
2 = Milwich
3 = Abbots Bromley
4 = Horninglow
5a = Colwich (Haywood/Shugborough Park Farm)
5b = Penkridge
6a = Tutbury
6b = Yoxall
6c = Tatenhill
6d = Alrewas
6e = Farewell
7 = Kings Bromley
8 = Sandon

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

> "In the countryside [at the end of the eighteenth century] attachment to the local community played a significant role in day-to-day life."
> "By the middle of the nineteenth century rural society was different, in many respects, from the country communities of eighty years earlier."
> P. Horn, The Rural World, 1780-1850: Social Change in the English Countryside, (London, 1980), pp.14 and 223.

Theme and Focus

This thesis analyses the rural community of the past through a case-study of two, contrasting rural regions of Staffordshire between the mid-eighteenth and the late nineteenth century.

The term 'community' is not used lightly here; but is a central and critical analytical concept. It serves as a framework or tool for interpreting the empirical material of this research. At the same time it is intended that the material brought to light here will reflect back upon the concept and increase our understanding of it.

The term community may actually be in danger of losing all real meaning. It is rarely defined but yet is frequently employed, invariably with intent, and often the popular usage occurs in a great variety of contexts describing societies and situations which appear to be very different from each other. Everybody 'knows' what a community is, but no-one can tell you. This state of affairs stems from the emotive content of the word. Community is seen foremost in terms of sentiment and ideals, heavy with implications of truth, beauty, and yearning human fulfilment. The problems of 'modern man'

are frequently ascribed to an absence of community in our lives, and proposed solutions involve its re-creation.[1]

It is in the rural sphere that community as an "evocative symbol" is found most strongly, especially amongst the English where the countryside and all things of the rural past are a "symbol for stability, continuity and purity".[2] The rural societies of the past are popularly considered to be the most true and authentic embodiments of all that is implied by community.

Such stress on community as a complex of ideas and sentiments has obscured a more objective enquiry into the concept. There has been a general failure, even by many academics, to articulate the relationship between the structural base of social relationships and the sentiment and feelings which arise therefrom. Emphasis on the sentiments and "experiential" aspect is present even in the works of Weber and Tönnies (of whom more in chapter two).[3]

Concentration on the hazy but powerful "evocative symbolism" of community not only feeds simple misconception heavily overprinted with nostalgia, but also from that basis can lead to, or invite, abuse and manipulation.[4] History therefore has a crucial role to play in the study of community. It can place the past in a more objective focus, dispelling myths, and helping us to view and better understand ourselves in time.[5] In so doing it will make a very important contribution to the task of defining the concept for a more informed understanding based upon an appreciation of the relationship between social relationships and the experience of community.

In general, historians using the term have been as or more guilty of idleness as of sentimentality. Many are not particularly circumspect and often employ community as a replacement word for 'society'.[6] This would be acceptable were it not for the fact that the word <u>is</u> so heavy with import : such an indifferent approach only serves to increase the confusion. The failure by most historians to define the term and refer in this aspect of their work to other 'community' historians has led to the continuing disappearance of the rural community at many junctures over the past several centuries! : its existence and demise depend principally on one's chronological starting point.

Medieval village and manorial life was the first community to experience mortality, undermined by the development of capitalist forces and differentiation within the social structure.[7] Other historians, however, have identified communities existing in rural England at dates much later than the time when the medieval community was supposed to have disappeared. Thus, the enclosures particularly of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, so villified by John Clare, have been held to be responsible for the break-up of the parish community because they extinguished the ancient rights and customs associated with the open fields and commons.[8] Followers of W.G. Hoskins, such as Davey, though, have isolated the centrally imposed local reforms of the nineteenth century, particularly the introduction of the New Poor Law in 1834, as the instruments undermining the "old community" - "the traditional rural society of this country in the nineteenth century".[9] For students of culture the mechanisation of agriculture was probably the most significant variable. In this light, G.E. Evans has observed the survival of community amongst the East Anglian farm-workers until the late

nineteenth and even early twentieth century.[10] More recently, the turning point has been ascribed to the appearance of the internal combustion engine - the tractor on the farm, and the motor-car dormitorising the villages.[11]

The confusion is heightened by the realisation that some historians see the community in being just at the time when others claim that it was passing away. For example, Shorter explains the rise in illegitimacy from around the mid-eighteenth century as the result of the breakdown of community and communal sanctions against pre-marital pregnancy, due to the growth of capitalist relations in the countryside.[12] However, just at this time, when illegitimacy ratios in England were peaking in the mid-nineteenth century,[13] many other historians have identified their communities.

Some historians, however, have been more careful with respect to theory and definition. Mills, for example, draws on the work of Tönnies and makes connections relating the socio-economic structure of his parishes to the experience and sentiments of the inhabitants.[14] The most systematic exploration in theoretical terms of the community in history, though, is the work of Craig Calhoun. He has been the most rigorous in articulating the relationship between the structural and the emotive, between the "complex of social relationships" and "the complex of ideas and sentiments". He has achieved this by extensive use of sociological and anthropological theory and findings, employing them to inform (English) history.[15]

Calhoun's work obviously will be prominent in the following chapter when we discuss a definition of community. However, he pays

extensive attention to a particular aspect of his theory, whereas we shall be concerned with many other aspects. He is especially involved with using the concept to inform understanding of "working class" politics in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by consideration of community 'laws' and their enforcement, and thereby to contribute to the debate on class protest and consciousness. Chapters ten and eleven do address the question of class-formation, but this is in order to explain and expand upon the analysis of community rather than using the concept of community to analyse class. Although the results of these two chapters are sufficient for our purposes, there is not enough material here for a fully informed contribution to the wider argument on class-consciousness (see section (1) of Chapter ten). For example, and importantly in this respect, there is nothing on collective protest or communal ritual and ceremony. The material presented here, though, could be utilised with further evidence by other historians for an analysis of class, protest, and consciousness in Staffordshire as part of the wider debate.

The emphasis in this work is more upon the structure of economic and social relationships - the objective analysis of community. The subjective side, of characteristics and actions which give rise to the sentiments and emotions content, receive relatively less attention, though appearing in varying degrees in chapters five to eleven. There are a number of reasons for this. First, there is the limitation of time: the objective analyses involved time-consuming record linkage research. Second, a 'local' study of this sort has limitations as well as advantages. The depth which a local study allows is its principal advantage. Detailed micro-studies employing record linkage of the lives of everyday people in the past can yield

insights and perspectives which a study covering a wider geographic field would have to pass over; the application of new techniques of record exploitation and linkage over the past two to three decades has produced work which has illuminated aspects of the 'ordinary' past previously unknown, thought unknowable or wrongly guessed at.[16] The disadvantage is the loss of material which could only be made good by pursuing a wider (but then necessarily less deep) geographical study. Each parish has an individual, peculiar record survival, so that some documents will be unavailable for any one parish. A particular lacuna in the cases of both Abbots Bromley and Grindon is the shortage of vestry and poor law material - indeed the Moorlands in general are especially weak in this category of documents. Other records are not readily retrievable on a parochial basis; for example, newspaper reports and criminal records. Documents such as these can be used to shed much light on the subjective side. It also follows from this that local history using record linkage techniques will be more quantitative in its content; and this is true of this study: counting is central to many chapters. The relinquishing of some of the more qualitative material may be considered unfortunate, but the quantitative approach is important in itself, standing on its own merits, and this leads us to our final reason of defence. Not only does it yield otherwise unobtainable insights and perspectives, it also fulfils the essential need for a detailed examination of the objective before the subjective can be contextually and therefore fully interpreted. A structural analysis of community goes a long way in itself to putting a definition into sharper empirical focus. Calhoun himself acknowledges the importance of this.[17] And, ironically, he has even been criticised for failing to do this in his work, for failing to translate his concept of community into "some kind of empirical reality".[18] From a firmer

empirical foundation of the objective the way is clearer for other historians to follow to build upon this groundwork.

Structure and Dimensions

The period covered is from the mid-eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century - although a few of the source-materials do fall outside these dates, for example, some of the land-holding and farm records. This period is a crucial one in rural history in that it witnessed a dramatic transformation in the economic and social structure of agrarian life in England. Most English agricultural practice at the beginning of the eighteenth century had more in common with medieval than with modern methods. But within less than two hundred years it was recognisably modern and had laid the basis for the further agricultural revolution(s) of the twentieth century. The extensive practice of fallowing had been eliminated, and new crops incorporated into complex rotations. Until the last third of the nineteenth century most of the food consumed by the burgeoning population - (in 1851 it was over three times the size of 1700) - was homegrown. Science was being applied by the second half of the nineteenth century, for example, to fertilisers and cheese-making; and there was a high capital input by this time into such items as farm-buildings and drainage. Mechanisation was being adopted too, especially in the harvesting and threshing of the cereal crop, and with a concomitant shedding of labour. Instead of numerous farmers of modest acreage and income, by the nineteenth century most areas had rather less farmers but of greater average acreage and with a high standard of living - (although for some farmers this standard suffered a setback during the last quarter of the nineteenth century).[19]

For the greater part of Staffordshire, it was from about the mid-eighteenth century that the most rapid transformation was experienced. In common with other heavy-land areas in the Midlands, the North, and the West, the clayland and upland areas of the county were rather behind the light soil parts before this time. Indeed, more thorough-going improvement of the extensive clayland areas had to await the appearance of cheap, effective sub-soil drains in the mid-nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, farming in Staffordshire was as advanced as other parts of the country - although the natural differences in soil structure meant that the heavy-land regions never would make as much money as their light-land counterparts. In general, the county's farmers had responded to the price changes of the nineteenth century, and were also proceeding with mechanisation.[20]

In terms of source-materials, this period is rich in a number which are of particular importance to a study of this type. Good land-holding records, and the availability of the census returns, which can be linked with the parish registers to form the basis of a Record Linkage File (RLF) - (see below), are especially important in this respect. It is in this period too that farm records become more common: they give useful insights into social relations as well as the usual economic detail for which they are more frequently utilised.

Detailed consideration of the source-materials, especially of their coverage and reliability, is dealt with in the individual chapters in which they appear, with more extended discussions placed in the appendices to each chapter. Nominal Record Linkage to form a RLF on numerous individuals and families was undertaken with the census

returns and land-holding records. Families were reconstituted in the usual way and then linked into the other records - further details on the RLF may be found in appendix 7 of chapter ten. The RLF is central to chapters eight, nine and ten. Once compiled, it can be used to yield information on many different facets of life in the past - from geographical to social mobility, and from kinship to demographic measurements. The land-holding records (especially when accompanied by maps) are particularly useful in the analysis of residential patterns (parts of chapters nine and ten).

The two regions of this study were chosen to satisfy the demands of comparison based upon contrasting agricultural types, but within a generally pastoral, as opposed to arable, local economy. Pastoral areas have on the whole received less attention than arable areas from historians of rural England, especially in terms of a changing social structure and its consequences; but it is important that this gap in the picture should be filled. On a very simplified basis, England, by the mid-nineteenth century, can be dissected into the predominantly arable South and East and the mainly pastoral North and West, and each gave rise to differing economic and social structures. The effects of capitalisation were generally less marked in the pastoral areas. The farms invariably were not so large as those in arable areas. The ratio of farmers to labourers was in consequence much lower. Thus farmers were probably closer to and more in contact with their labourers than in arable areas. The contrast in the ratios for selected places in the pastoral and arable areas is illustrated in table 1.1. There were about six, and up to twelve, times as many labourers as farmers in mid-nineteenth century East Anglia. In Abbots Bromley (Staffordshire - see below) for every three labourers there were two farmers; and in Grindon (Staffordshire

- see below) labourers were easily outnumbered by farmers. Living-in farm servants also remained a part of the household labour force in pastoral areas whereas in many arable parts they had all but disappeared by this time.[21] The difference between the predominantly arable and mainly pastoral areas is therefore marked, and, as we shall see, of particular importance in any consideration of rural discontent. The arable/pastoral contrast is background to the whole thesis but is developed further in certain chapters - viz., three, ten, and eleven.

By the mid-nineteenth century, most of Staffordshire lay within the pastoral half of the country, practising mixed farming with a heavy emphasis on dairying - although an area of light land in the south-centre of the county remained largely devoted to arable farming. Staffordshire is a useful county to study in this respect because it does offer such a variety of agricultural types, including (as we shall see) contrasting types within the pastoral categorisation.[22] (See Map 1)

Each of the regions chosen comprises a group, or block, of parishes. One region is in the Upland area of the county in the north-east - commonly referred to as the Moorlands. The other is situated to the south-east of Stafford near to the Trent Valley; in this study it will be referred to as the Lowland region. (Map 2) The Lowlands practised mixed farming with an arable emphasis in the eighteenth century but turned increasingly to pastoral, in particular dairy farming, as the nineteenth century progressed. Nonetheless, the farmers still retained a significant proportion of their acreage to straw crops - (for feed and bedding) - even in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Moorlands, by contrast, were extensively

pastoral even in the eighteenth century and further reduced the acreage they had under straw crops to almost nil by the end of the nineteenth century. Topography largely accounts for this difference: the Moorland parishes lie at a higher altitude: the weather there is wetter and generally more severe: the growing season is a few weeks shorter than for the Lowlands, and so oats was the only cereal crop that could really be grown with any degree of success. For the same reasons, hay for winter fodder was also in relatively short supply. The two regions therefore lie within the pastoral portion of the national divide but nonetheless exhibit a marked contrast in emphasis.

Subsequent chapters will elaborate on the details of their respective agricultural structures and practises, but two further points will be made here. First, our Lowland region is a clay-land type. The comparative disadvantage of clay-land soils has already been alluded to: clay soils have physical characteristics which render them less tractable than light-lands. These characteristics helped to prevent a more rapid spread of 'The Agricultural Revolution'. Effective sub-soil drainage in the mid-nineteenth century improved them, but despite this and other improvements they tended to remain less prosperous farming areas by comparison with light-land areas at comparable altitude. The second point concerns the Moorlands. There are two types of soil-base there: a richer limestone and a poorer grits and shales. The former grows better grass, has greater tree cover, and can support more and superior livestock than the latter. Our region of the Moorlands is predominantly on the limestone and so the study is of a more prosperous part of the whole Moorland area. Nonetheless, the overall contrast with the Lowlands clearly remains.[23] (See Map 1).

The central parishes within each region - Abbots Bromley (Lowlands); Grindon (Moorlands) - of necessity provide the bulk of the material in chapters eight, nine and ten because of the nature of the analysis and the time involved. Thus these central parishes were guided by considerations of source-material availability. Pre-requisites were good land-holding records and complete parish registers for the period under study. The existence of other records was then a secondary consideration. Having thus established a parish for each region, the remaining parishes are then simply those contiguous to the central one, and together make up regions of roughly equal size. The region's parishes are therefore not defined through any particular economic connection they may have had, nor by any sort of boundary by which they could be distinguished from other neighbouring parishes.[24] They nonetheless do share similar topographical/agricultural/farming-type features.

The parishes (or townships - a distinct unit: two or more together constitute a parish) comprising the Lowland region are: Abbots Bromley, Blithfield and Colton (with the addition of Colwich and Stowe for some analyses). And for the Moorlands are: Grindon, Butterton, Wetton and Waterfall (and for some analyses, Onecote, Ipstones, Warslow and Upper and Lower Elkstones).

To complete this section on the choice of the regions and their contrasts, their basic social-structural differences are outlined in table 1.2. Farmers dominate the occupational distribution in the Moorlands: one-half of all household heads are farmers; but in the Lowlands they account for less than one-fifth. (As will be seen in greater detail in Part One, farm- sizes in the Moorlands were much lower on average.) The concomitant is that the Lowlands have many

more crafts and tradesmen and labourers, especially agricultural labourers. Over one-third of all households in the Lowlands were headed by crafts/tradesmen compared with a fifth of Moorland households. Agricultural labourers accounted for over one-third, again, of all Lowland households but only one-eighth in the Moorlands.

Table 1.2, however, also reveals a degree of parochial individuality within each region, and this raises the question of local studies and representativeness. For example, table 1.2. shows that Grindon is actually a more 'rural' parish than its immediate neighbours in the sense that the latter have a larger proportion of crafts and tradesmen and 'other' labourers. This is due mainly to the existence of paper manufacture in Waterfall, and the growth of the hamlet of Waterhouses situated on the Leek-Ashbourne road and acting as a significant refuelling stop. There were also copper mines at Ecton, in Wetton, which although in significant decline by the nineteenth century, still employed a few miners, a number of whom lived in Wetton and Butterton.[25] In the Lowlands, Abbots Bromley had more farmers overall (and, especially, smaller farmers of 50 acres and less) and more crafts and tradesmen, but less agricultural labourers, than Blithfield and Colton.

Local studies can undoubtedly fall prey to the charge of being unrepresentative, particularly if the results from one village are held to stand for the history of the whole country at that time. For local studies to possess the power of generalisation, they have to be shown to represent a particular type, with small differences and idiosynacracies being glossed over and considered unimportant or superfluous to the points being made. This study is intended to

represent two particular types within the pastoral divide. The agricultural contrasts have already been outlined; and table 1.2. shows that despite the parish idiosyncracies within the regions it is the differences between the regions as a whole which are much more striking and significant.

However, there is a further layer of complexity to the typology question which we have to pursue in order to present the results from the parishes of this study in as full a light as possible for future comparative work. In Mills' classificatory 'model' for rural society of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century there are four main categories (closed, divided, very divided, and 'peasant') and they constitute a continuum which reflects the degree of landownership concentration at one end and, fragmentation at the other. According to which category a parish falls into, the model predicts contrasting experiences and developments, especially for occupations and rural industry, population growth, and religion and protest[26] - although it has been criticised for its predictive powers of patterns of protest.[27] Moreover, and importantly, the model is not governed by agricultural base: it can and does cut across the arable-pastoral 'divide'. It is therefore conceivable that for the analysis presented at the parish level only, in chapters eight, nine and ten, some of the results could be different - (i.e. of significant difference) - if another central parish with a different landownership structure had been chosen.

Consequently, categorisation along these lines was attempted for our parishes. However, it was a little disconcerting to encounter some difficulty in the classification process, which may cast some doubt on the sharpness of definition produced by the classificatory model

in particular for those parishes occupying the extensive middle ground of the continuum. Eight of the nine (mainly statistical) methods were applied but parishes frequently fell into one category by one method and into a different category by another. Those interested in the details should consult tables 1.3(a) and (b) alongside Mills' work. On balance, nonetheless, Abbots Bromley could be said to be divided but with a significant influence from one landlord.[28] Blithfield was a closed parish, and Colton divided. Grindon is similar to Abbots Bromley; Wetton, Warslow, and the Elkstones were landlord dominated; and the remainder of the Moorland parishes all 'peasant'. However, because all landlords in the Moorlands were absentee and because the small-scale, family-farm enterprises were such an important factor, all the parishes there, including Grindon, had a strong learning towards 'peasant' status.

A number of the predictive concerns which stem from the open/closed classification are not the pre-occupation of this thesis, and this applies to any moral or local 'political' influences which large landlords and estate owners might have brought to bear on any of the parishes' inhabitants. It is most unlikely that any influence they could or did exert would be of significance for the results presented in chapters eight to eleven on social structure. Thus, they appear only insofar as they effected and affected the changing economic structure.

The detailed tables appear at the end of each chapter; reference is made at appropriate points in the text. The most important details from the tables are included within the text so that for those who do not wish or like to read the detailed tables the main trends may still be understood from the text alone. This does not apply,

though, to figures, diagrams and maps.

Finally, a synopsis of the chapters to come is left until after the next chapter, which explores a definition of community, when signposting will be better understood.[29]

Footnotes to Chapter One

1. Calhoun, C. 'Community: Toward a Variable Conceptualisation for Comparative Research', reprinted in R.S. Neale (ed.), History and Class: Essential Readings in Theory and Interpretation, (Oxford, 1983), Chap.6, 86-110; Open University, Community (D.207.3.20. Social Sciences: a second level course. An Introduction to Sociology) (Milton Keynes, 1980).

2. Howkins, A. Poor Labouring Men: Rural Radicalism in Norfolk, 1870-1923, (London, 1985) p.ix.

3. Calhoun, op.cit. pp.87-9.

4. See, Open University, op.cit. pp.36-7.

5. Putting to one side the argument about 'theoretical' baggage taken by us all, however unwittingly and however much we may deny it, to our study of history; see, R.S. Neale 'Afterward' in (ed.) History and Class, Chap.13, 271-307.

6. For example, Spufford, M. Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, (Cambridge, 1974), uses it in this way.

7. For example, Marx: "With the development of wealth - and of new forces and extended individual trade - the economic conditions upon which the community rested were dissolved": McLellan, D. (ed.), Marx's Grundrisse, (London, 1980), Chap.19. Also see Marx, K. Capital: Volume I, (Harmondsworth, 1979 edtn.) part eight. See also, Smith, R.M. 'Kin and Neighbours in a Thirteenth Century Suffolk Community', Jnl. Fam. Hist., 4.3 (1979), 219-56.

8. Malcolmson, R.W. Life and Labour in England, 1700-1780, (London, 1981) pp.127-9 and 136-44; Summary of social costs of enclosure in Turner, M. Enclosures in Britain, 1750-1830 (Studies in Economic and Social History, London, 1984) Chap.5; see also: Thompson, F. Lark Rise to Candleford (Harmondsworth, 1974 edtn.) pp.76-81: "Country people had not been so poor when Sally was a girl, or their prospects so hopeless" (p.79); Ashby, M.K. Joseph Ashby of Tysoe, 1859-1919 (London, 1974, edtn.) pp.38 and 281-2: "The enclosure of the open fields was a visible sign and symbol that rampant family and individual power had gained a complete victory over the civic community" (p.282).

9. Davey, B.J., Ashwell, 1830-1914: The Decline of a Village Community, (Leicester, 1980), (quote=p.5).

10. Various works, but see especially, Evans, G.E. The Pattern Under the Plough, (London, 1977, edtn.) pp.11-24. Cf: Vincent, D., 'The Decline of the Oral Tradition in Popular Culture', in Storch, R.D. Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England, (London, 1982), pp.20-47, according to which a number of shared experiences were lost when the oral tradition gave way to the steam-press of the nineteenth century.

11. Further consideration of the issue and evidence for other turning points may be found in: Newby, H. The Deferential Worker (London, 1977), pp.11-22; the writings of Richard Jeffries, for example, 'The Wiltshire Labourer' and 'Village Organisation' in The Hills and the Vale (Oxford, 1980, edtn; orig. 1909); Horn, P. The Rural World, 1780-1850: Social Change in the English Countryside, (London, 1980); Robin, J. Elmdon: Continuity and Change in a North-west Essex Village, 1861-1964, (Cambridge, 1980), pp.28-9.

12. Shorter, E. 'Illegitimacy, Sexual Revolution, and Social Change in Modern Europe', in Rabb, T.K. and Rotberg, R.I., The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays, (New York, 1973), pp.48-84.

13. Illegitimacy figures may be found in Laslett, P. 'Introduction: comparing illegitimacy over time and between cultures', in Laslett, P. (et al., ed.), Bastardy and its Comparative History, (London, 1980) Chap.1, pp.1-65.

14. Mills, D.R. Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Britain, (London, 1980); also see: MacFarlane, A. 'History, Anthropology, and the Study of Communities', Social History, 5 (1977), 631-52. (In Mills, D.R. (ed.)), English Rural Communities: The Impact of a Specialised Economy, (London, 1973), 'rural communities' could not be defined).

15. Calhoun, 'Community', and Neale, 'Afterword', pp.286-91.

16. Detailed introductions to record linkage may be found in: Wrigley, E.A. 'Family Reconstitution' in (ed.) An Introduction to English Historical Demography (London, 1966), pp.96-156, and MacFarlane, A. (et al.), Reconstructing Historical Communities, (Cambridge, 1977).
The call for more, in-depth, local studies has recently been made by: Wall, R. (et al., eds.) Family Forms in Historic Europe, (Cambridge, 1983), especially chapters 1, 16; and Wrigley, E.A. 'The Growth of Population in Eighteenth Century England: A Conumdrum Resolved', Past and Present, 98 (1983) 121-150, especially p.149.

17. Calhoun, op.cit., e.g. p.98. See also Kocka, J. 'The Study of Social Mobility and the Formation of the Working Class in the Nineteenth Century', Le Mouvement Social (1981), 97-117.

18. Neale, op.cit., p.291.

19. Kerridge, E. The Farmers of Old England (London, 1973); Mingay, G.E. and Chambers, J.D., The Agricultural Revolution (London, 1966); Thompson, A. The Dynamics of the Industrial Revolution, (London, 1973), chap.3; Jones, E.L., 'Agriculture, 1700-80' and Hueckel, G., 'Agriculture during Industrialisation', chaps. 4 and 10 (pp.66-86 and 183-203) resp. of Floud, R. and McCloskey, D.N., The Economic History of Britain Since 1700, (Cambridge, 1981) Vol.I; Wordie, J.R. 'Rent movements and the English Tenant Farmer, 1700-1839', Research in Economic History, 6 (1981) 193-243, and, Estate Management in 18th Century England: The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune, (London, 1982) chap.4.

20. Sturgess, R.W. The Response of Agriculture in Staffordshire to the Price Changes of the Nineteenth Century (unpub. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1965); William Pitt, The Agriculture of Staffordshire (London 1808, and Newcastle-u-Lyme, 1817); Evershed, H. 'The Agriculture of Staffordshire', J.R.A.S.E., 5 (1869), 263-317. Mechanisation is mentioned, for example, in the Wood Farm records, Sandon, of 1878-82 (Reading University Library, STA 1).

21. The line of dissection is drawn from the mouth of the Tees to the mouth of the Exe: Mills, D.R. 'The Quality of Life in Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, in the period 1800-1850', International Review of Social History, 23.3 (1978), p.384.

22. Pelham, R.A. 'The 1801 Crop Returns for Staffordshire in their Geographical Setting', Staffordshire Historical Collections (1950/1), 231-42; Sturgess, Response of Agric.; Phillips, A.D.M. 'A Study of Farming Practises and Soil Types in Staffordshire around 1840', N.S.J.F.S. 8 (1973), 27-50; Evershed, 'Agric. of Staffs.'

23. On the Moorlands and their divide, see: Pitt, Agric. of Staffs.; Johnson, F.J. The Settlement Pattern of North-East Staffordshire (unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1961); Evershed, op.cit. pp.311-2: "The line where the two formations meet is very clearly drawn on the surface by the sudden changes in the vegetation. This line crosses the road halfway up the hill above the village of Onecote, and is the boundary between the clovers and good herbage of the Moorland; you step at once from 30s. an acre to 2s.6d. The hay-fields are three weeks later, ... and the country poor and barren", also, Sturgess, op.cit.
On the comparative disadvantage of the Claylands, see: Sturgess, R.W. 'The Agricultural Revolution on the English Clays', A.H.R. 14. (1966) 104-121, and 'The Agricultural Revolution on the English Clays: A Rejoinder', A.H.R. 15. (1967) 82-7; Collins, E.J.T. and Jones, E.L., 'Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture, 1850-80', A.H.R. 15. (1967) 65-81; Whetham, E.H. 'Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture, 1850-80: A Summary', A.H.R. 16 (1968) 46-8.

24. The region as it is defined here is thus less extensive in geographical and conceptual scope than in Chambers, J.D. 'The Vale of Trent, 1670-1800: A Regional Study of Economic Change', (E.H.R. Supplements, 3, 1957), esp. pp.2-5.

25. Johnson, Settlement Pattern of N.E. Staffs.; Robey, J.A. and Porter, L. The Lead and Copper Mines of Ecton (Leek, 1973).

26. Mills, Lord and Peasant.

27. Reed, M. 'The Peasantry of Nineteenth Century England: A Neglected Class?', History Workshop, 18, (1984), 53-76, and 'Social Change and Conflict in Nineteenth Century England: A Comment', Jnl. Peas. Studies, 12.1 (1984), 109-123.

28. Abbots Bromley is a good example of the problems generally encountered. It was dominated by one owner, the Bagots, who held about two-thirds of the parish, and though strictly speaking absentee they lived close by, in Blithfield. However,

the parish had an average acreage per owner sufficient to make it a 'divided' parish (the boundary-line between landlord dominated and 'divided' parishes is 100 acres, and between 'divided' and 'peasant' is 36 acres). And, simultaneously, sufficient landowners in total to be labelled 'peasant' (when all landowners are incorporated - divide total acreage by average acreage per owner: the minimum is fifty owners). It may also be labelled 'peasant' - just - on the basis of its large population (of relatively high density) and because of its population increase.

This thesis is not concerned with testing the open-closed model: Mills acknowledges the difficulty of accommodating some, statistically refractory, parishes (such as many of those of our study) which tend to be submerged within the averaging processes and overlooked for a study covering a whole county. It may also be that if Mills' large-scale survey methods were applied to all the parishes of Staffordshire then a different distribution and continuum, more readily accommodating our parishes, would be found. (Mills, op.cit., esp. pp.74-8.)

The key issue of classification in the case of Abbots Bromley rests on the emphasis to be laid on either the controlling interest of the Bagots, or the fact that the remainder of the parish was extensively sub-divided amongst many owners, (loc.cit.). In terms of Mills' hierarchy, and especially in consideration of the fact that the Bagots resided in a neighbouring parish, then Abbots Bromley would appear as an absentee landlord parish (hatched triangle) in Mills' diagram 4.2 (p.75).

29. The reader should be aware that the word "society" is used here as a neutral term to describe any spatially-defined collection of households, such as those of our parishes or regions; it is simply a replacement word to give variety to the text. The term community is reserved for application until after analysis of each of the eighteenth century and nineteenth century has been completed. In chapters ten and eleven, society continues to be used reflecting the fact that the analysis in these chapters could be conducted separately from consideration of the community issue.

Tables to Chapter One

Table 1.1 : Ratio of Farmers to Labourers (and Farm-Servants) : Pastoral and Arable Areas: Mid-Nineteenth Century

(A) Pastoral:

(a) Ratio - Farmers' Households: Labourers' Households

	1851	1881
Abbots Bromley	1:1.7 (69:116[1],[3])	1:1.3 (67[2]:85[1])
Grindon	1:0.2 (48:9[4])	1:0.1 (59:6)

(b) Ratio - Farmers + Children*: All Labourers + Servants**

	1851	1881
Abbots Bromley	1:1.2 (145:292)	1:1.8 (123:217[5])
Grindon	1:0.7 (92:63)	1:0.6 (85:53)

(B) Arable:

(a) Norfolk and Suffolk, 1841:
Ratio - "farmers and graziers": "men and women ... employed as labourers"

= 1:6.5

(b) Elmdon, Essex, 1861:
Ratio - Farmers + Children : All Labourers + Servants***

= 1:12.5

(c) Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, 1841:
Ratio - Farmers + Children : All Labourers + Servants

= 1:6

Notes:

* including: all sons/daughters specifically stated as "farmer's son/daughter"; or "at home", etc., and ⩾ 10 yrs; and all those given no occupation but ⩾ 15 yrs.

** including: all agric. labrs. 'embedded' within other households (see chapter eight); all wives specifically stated as "agricultural labourers" or similar; all farm-servants, in place or out of place; and all children stated as "agricultural labourers" or similar.

*** only labourers children ⩾ 15 yrs. included. (Incorporating all those stated as agric. labrs. or similar ⩽ 14 yrs. raises ratio to 1:15.5)

(1) including labouring families 'embedded' within other households (=1 in 1851; 1 in 1881).

(2) includes two dubious cases where census is unclear.

(3) excluding seven paupers stated as former agric.labrs. (Incorporating them raises ratio to 1:1.8).

(4) as (3): two paupers. Ratio remains unchanged.

(5) including all those denoted "General Labourers".

Sources:- (A) Abbots Bromley and Grindon = Census, 1851,1881 (S.R.O.)
(B) (a) Jones, D. 'Thomas Campbell Foster and the Rural Labourer: Incendiarism in East Anglia in the 1840s', Social History, 1 (1976), p.7.
(b) Robin, J. Elmdon: Continuity and Change in a North-West Essex Village, 1861-1964 (Cambridge, 1980).
(c) Mills, D.R. 'The Quality of Life in Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, in the period 1800-50', International Review of Social History, 23.3 (1978, table 3.

Table 1.2 : Occupation Distribution: Household Heads: Moorlands and Lowlands, 1851 Census

Occupations (percentage)

	Farmers					Upper Crafts/ Trades	Lower Crafts/ Trades	Agric. Labrs	Others	Total (Hse/ holds
	⩽20a	21-50a	51-100a	>100a	All*					
Moorlands:- Region (a)	18.8	15.7	9.6	6.4	51.4	20.6		12.5	15.7	345
Grindon only	17.1	15.8	13.2	17.1	63.2	14.5		18.4	3.9	76
Wetton + Waterfall + Butterton only	19.3	15.6	8.6	3.3	47.9	22.3		10.8	19.0	269
Lowlands:- Region (b)	2.6	3.0	3.3	8.0	17.5	20.1	16.3	36.4	9.8	572
Abbots Bromley only	4.3	4.0	3.7	7.4	19.7	23.1	14.6	32.9	9.7	350
Blithfield + Colton only	0.0	1.3	2.7	9.0	14.0	15.3	18.9	41.9	9.9	222 (c)

Notes:

* includes cases where acreage not given.

(a) Grindon, Wetton, Waterfall, Butterton.

(b) Abbots Bromley, Blithfield, Colton.

Upper and Lower Crafts and Trades are combined in the case of the Moorlands because there is insufficient detail given for differentiating in most instances (see appendix to chapter eight).

(c) excludes five cases where information is either unreadable or not given.

\+

Also excludes Bagot household at Blithfield Hall. But counts two farmers, each with over 100 acre farms, as two separate households though they actually live under the same roof.

N.B. All dual occupation holders are categorised by reference to their 'higher' occupation. 'Higher' to 'lower' = farmers to labourers. (See chapter eight)

Table 1.3(a) : Landownership Structure and Density: Lowlands and Moorlands

Dominant Landlord		1830s/40s OWNERS (acres) 0-1	1-20	21-50	51-200	201-500	>500	Acreage per owner (mean)	1910/11 OWNERS (acres) 0-1	2-20	21-50	51-200	201-500	>500	Acreage per owner (mean)
	LOWLANDS:														
Absentee	Abbots Bromley	16 0.1%	23 1.8%	4 1.1%	8 8.4%	- -	2 77.2%	61	41 0.1%	28 1.8%	10 3.5%	12 12.3%	1 5.2%	3 72.1%	69
Resident	Blithfield	3 0.1%	- -	- -	2 4.4%	1 8.0%	1 87.3%	263	- -	2 0.4%	- -	1 2.3%	1 8.0%	1 88.5%	542
	Colton	7 0.1%	11 2.1%	5 4.0%	2 4.0%	3 28.9%	2 42.3%	76	6 0.1%	8 1.7%	6 5.5%	1 1.6%	3 29.6%	2 48.7%	86
	MOORLANDS:														
Absentee	Grindon	3 0.5%	8 2.5%	4 4.1%	4 10.7%	- -	1(a) 61.2%	61	3 negl.	11 2.7%	6 5.7%	8 23.8%	- -	1(a) 59.6%	72
Absentee	Wetton								1 negl.	3 1.5%	3 3.3%	2 8.0%	- -	1 86.2%	126
	Waterfall	4 0.1%	29 13.4%	10 19.5%	7 39.1%	1 14.6%		21	11 0.1%	29 13.8%	10 22.1%	9 40.9%			20
	Butterton	9 0.1%	19 12.5%	7 15.0%	6 29.3%			17	7 0.1%	20 12.2%	4 10.1%	3 15.7%			26
Absentee	Warslow + Elkstones								8 negl.	12 3.3%	13 12.5%	6 16.4%	- -	1 60.6%	56
	Onecote								2 negl.	20 3.7%	16 10.2%	19 32.2%	4 18.1%	1 13.8%	65

Notes:- 1. Top line for each parish indicates number of landlords in each size category. Bottom line indicates percentage owned of parish total. NB. Percentages do not total 100% because only owners are included; owner-occupiers who may also be owners or owner-occupants are excluded. (See Chapter Three).
2. Acreage per owner (mean) = total parish acreage divided by total of all owners (including owner-occupants and occupiers who are also owners and/or owner-occupants).
3. Blank indicates no or insufficient information.
(a) actually five owners, but are all of the same family and may be required to act as if one landlord (see Chapter six).

Sources:- 1830s/40s: - Parish and Tithe Surveys of individual parishes: see Appendix, Section 2, to Chapter Three for details.
1910/11 :- New'Domesday' surveys of parishes: S.R.O. (Earl St.).

Table 1.3(a) : Landownership Structure and Density: Lowlands and Moorlands

Dominant Landlord		1830s/40s OWNERS (acres) 0-1	1-20	21-50	51-200	201-500	>500	1830s/40s Acreage per owner (mean)	1910/11 OWNERS (acres) 0-1	2-20	21-50	51-200	201-500	>500	1910/11 Acreage per owner (mean)
	LOWLANDS:														
Absentee	Abbots Bromley	16 0.1%	23 1.8%	4 1.1%	8 8.4%	- -	2 77.2%	61	41 0.1%	28 1.8%	10 3.5%	12 12.3%	1 5.2%	3 72.1%	69
Resident	Blithfield	3 0.1%	- -	- -	2 4.4%	1 8.0%	1 87.3%	263	- -	2 0.4%	- -	1 2.3%	1 8.0%	1 88.5%	542
	Colton	7 0.1%	11 2.1%	5 4.0%	2 4.0%	3 28.9%	2 42.3%	76	6 0.1%	8 1.7%	6 5.5%	1 1.6%	3 29.6%	2 48.7%	86
	MOORLANDS:														
Absentee	Grindon	3 0.5%	8 2.5%	4 4.1%	4 10.7%	- -	1(a) 61.2%	61	3 negl.	11 2.7%	6 5.7%	8 23.8%	- -	1(a) 59.6%	72
Absentee	Wetton								1 negl.	3 1.5%	3 3.3%	2 8.0%	- -	1 86.2%	126
	Waterfall	4 0.1%	29 13.4%	10 19.5%	7 39.1%	1 14.6%		21	11 0.1%	29 13.8%	10 22.1%	9 40.9%			20
	Butterton	9 0.1%	19 12.5%	7 15.0%	6 29.3%			17	7 0.1%	20 12.2%	4 10.1%	3 15.7%			26
Absentee	Warslow + Elkstones								8 negl.	12 3.3%	13 12.5%	6 16.4%	- -	1 60.6%	56
	Onecote								2 negl.	20 3.7%	16 10.2%	19 32.2%	4 18.1%	1 13.8%	65

Notes:-
1. Top line for each parish indicates number of landlords in each size category. Bottom line indicates percentage owned of parish total. NB. Percentages do not total 100% because only owners are included; owner-occupiers who may also be owners or owner-occupants are excluded. (See Chapter Three).
2. Acreage per owner (mean) = total parish acreage divided by total of all owners (including owner-occupants and occupiers who are also owners and/or owner-occupants).
3. Blank indicates no or insufficient information.

(a) actually five owners, but are all of the same family and may be required to act as if one landlord (see Chapter six).

Sources:- 1830s/40s: - Parish and Tithe Surveys of individual parishes: see Appendix, Section 2, to Chapter Three for details.
1910/11 :- New'Domesday' surveys of parishes: S.R.O. (Earl St.).

Table 1.3(b) : Population: Density and Change: Lowlands and Moorlands

	Acreage[a]	1851 Population[b]	1857:Popltn per sq.mile	1801-51[b] popltn. increase %
Lowlands:-				
Abbots Bromley	9300	1563	108	+19
Blithfield	3200	382	76	-15
Colton	3600	652	116	+20
Moorlands:-				
Grindon	3200	381	76	-2
Wetton	2300	466	130	-16
Waterfall	1600	445	178	-2
Butterton	1400	352	161	+18
Warslow & Elkstones	3400	715	135	-2
Onecote	4800	438	58	-40

Notes:

(a) rounded to nearest hundred acres because of slight divergence between totals given in different parochial surveys.

(b) taken from tables in The Victoria County History of Staffordshire, Vol.I, (London, 1908).

Chapter Two

COMMUNITY: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

> "The concept of community has been the concern of sociologists for more than two hundred years, yet a satisfactory definition of it in sociological terms appears as remote as ever. Most sociologists seemed to have weighed in with their own idea of what a community consists of - and in this lies much of the confusion."
> C. Bell and H. Newby, Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community (London, 1971) p.21.

As adumbrated in the first part of chapter one, the term community is frequently used very loosely by historians.[1] If it is to be rescued for analytical purposes, and serve as a conceptual tool for interpreting the empirical evidence of the past, it needs to have rigour of definition. In this thesis the concept is explored through a study of the past, and in this chapter we begin by giving a definition of community to use as a working framework for the analysis.

Implicit within the approach of many historians is the notion that the advance and intrusion of capitalism was the factor which undermined and ultimately destroyed their community. This is indeed a traditional and common approach, to be found in a form in Marx's writings and in many sociological works of the past. Ferdinand Tönnies, in particular, has been especially influential. He translated the differentiating and undermining forces of capitalism into cultural and psychological channels in his constructed polar typologies of Gesellschaft and Gemeinshaft (1887). Gesellschaft relationships and actions are governed by the 'Rational Will' whereby

association between people is for the sole purpose of some tangible goal which serves the individual's present or future well-being. Relationships therefore rest upon calculation, deliberation, and discrimination, and so are closely linked with capitalism and a developed market economy. By contrast, Gemeinschaft relationships and actions are governed by the 'Natural Will' by which association between people has intrinsic significance: the relationship of itself has worth. The welfare of others' is taken into account whenever one undertakes an action, and from this foundation of mutuality is built the binding of common experiences and traditions creating a brotherhood or community of the mind and feelings. The progressive advance of capitalism and the Rational Will, however, ensures that societies with Gemeinschaft-like traits disappear.[2]

Tönnies' formulation is a more complex and subtle understanding than that which simply measures the extent of capitalism's economic inroads, and, moreover, many of his insights and ideas retain their importance within the present-day study of community. Nonetheless, the whole 'advance of capitalism' argument has many attendant problems. We can draw attention to three main areas, the first two of which have already been mentioned (in chapter one). First, in a historical perspective, this idea is too 'linear' in that it has opened the door to the successive and continuing demise of the rural community since at least the late Middle Ages through to the present. Second, as Calhoun has pointed out, the stress on the subjective side has distracted attention from proper analysis of the objective, structural base and, in consequence, from the conditioning relationship between the objective and subjective. Thus, with the development of capitalism, the structural base, even if altered, could be such as to give rise to a community. Third, and finally,

Tönnies' Gesellschaft-Gemeinschaft continuum - (although initially strengthened by research) - was increasingly discredited, especially by the middle decades of this century. Very briefly, for it is a long story, other researchers turned up evidence of Gemeinschaft-like features in urban areas and Gesellschaft-like attributes in rural areas, and so the continuum - also known as the rural (or folk) - urban continuum - is now accepted by sociologists as being dismantled.[3] In large part, the dismantling process stands on that failure by those who constructed the continuum fully to explore the structural base and its relationship with the experience of community. Therefore, although the development of capitalism is undoubtedly a very important factor, and indeed much space in this study is devoted to an assessment of this, it has to be considered within a working definitional framework.

The working framework presented here may be considered under three headings, although it will be found that all three are inextricably and fundamentally interrelated.[4] First, there is <u>locality</u>. For those who constructed the rural-urban continuum the question of physical size was important. Urban life could not sustain a community, they argued, because so many people spread over such a large area could only foster acquaintanceships which were "impersonal, superficial, transitory, segmental". By contrast, enduring and meaningful relationships sprang from constant interaction in a variety of different situations, which came from a 'face-to-face' society and necessarily implied a bounded locality of human dimensions.[5] Although the rural-urban continuum has been discredited insofar as communities have been found in urban settings and un-community-like groupings in the countryside, the question of interactions within an identifiable locality remains central to the analysis. For most people it is

within a physical territory that they construct face-to-face relationships. It has been pointed out that no study has yet appeared which demonstrates the complete absence of <u>any local</u> relationships from most people's lives. Even today, as members of a "global village",[6] the majority of most people's inter-personal relationships are conducted within some physical area. According to M. Fortes, community implies " ... a socio-geographic region, the elements of which are more closely knit together among themselves than any of them are knit together with social elements of the same kind outside that region ... "[7]

Such delineation, however, fails to circumscribe an 'optimum' size. Sociological studies in particular raise this (arithmetic) issue. Banbury, for example, contained 19,000 people when Margaret Stacey studied it in 1950, yet her concern was most emphatically with "face-to-face relations". But studies of these sort of proportions have received criticism on the grounds that it is impossible for everyone to really <u>know</u> everyone, even if they lived in the place all their lives.[8] (That is why there is a heated debate within sociological community studies over the validity of constructing a status system drawn from the information of the inhabitants. It has been demonstrated that most folk have a near circle whom they know well, beyond which impressions are progressively more hazy.[9] Twentieth century rural parishes, on the other hand, reveal members more readily 'placing' each other.)[10] Locality is therefore directly and inextricably related to any relationships found therein and to the content and quality of the relationships. It is defined by the interactions, so that the 'optimum' size is, accordingly, a variable, a function of the relationships.

Before the content or quality of relationships can be assessed, their existence in mathematical terms of extent and depth has first to be established. The second part of our definition, then, is concerned with the set, or network, of relationships. Networks are amenable to measurement in a number of ways.[11] In this study, we deal mainly with the most elementary of the analytic descriptions: that is, with establishing the existence of links between 'actors', particularly in the spheres of economic transactions, neighbourhood ties, and kinship. The more intricate analytic descriptions, employed especially by anthropologists and sociologists, are not tackled directly. An important reason for this lies in the nature of the historical sources to hand for the later eighteenth and nineteenth century; in this respect they are less amenable to some of these measurements as are, for example, the later Middle Ages with their detailed court rolls,[12] or the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with their wealth of church and testamentary material.[13] Of course, being able to observe and interview the 'actors' facilitates the fullest network analysis. Nonetheless, even the elementary measurements represent a significant step, for our period has been but little studied in this systematic manner. Furthermore, in simply establishing the links much is also suggested or strongly implied concerning the more complex properties, for example on density (the extent to which all possible links among the parties are in fact present), corporateness (the extent to which small networks (such as kinship groups) are part of larger ones (such as clans)), and multiplexity (the extent to which individuals linked in one type of relationship (e.g. kinship) are also linked in other types (e.g. economic interdependence, residential propinquity)).[14]

To mathematically describe the existence and properties of network(s) may well imply much about the content or quality of the relationships, but does not state this directly. The final part of the definition is therefore concerned with the closer examination and appraisal of the meaningfulness of the relationships. This aspect has been labelled <u>communion</u>.

The feeling of 'belonging' is usually taken to be central to communion. The individual is said to feel himself to be a valued member of the society and to value others. Everyone is seen to have and feels he has worth in each other's eyes.[15] The principal difficulty, though, with the notion of 'belonging' is its abstractness, illustrated, for example, in the following: "one who lives out his life in the town of his birth derives much superego support from proximity to family and relatives, and from their continuing expectation of him. They know what kind of person he is, and they expect him to continue to be that kind of person. If the culture of the community is relatively homogenous, conscience is strenghtened also by the continuing pattern of known traditions, customs and values. Unopposed mores are not subject to critical scrutiny, but are taken for granted ... Life under such conditions is orderly and predictable"[16] Of course, this very subjectivity is a key factor in creating the confusion and looseness surrounding the term community because it tends to stress the emotive aspect in a generalised, sometimes even mystical, and certainly non-concrete, way.

The subjective, "experiential" aspect is made more concerete upon realisation that it arises out of the objective side of locality and networks. Calhoun makes this clear. The 'sense of belonging', for

him, is not of itself enough. It is essential to consider the "social actor's" course of action as it is bounded by or embedded within the constraints and opportunities which membership of a community brings. It is from this tangible, observable action that experience of belonging emanates. This course of action taken by each individual within a community is rooted in the binding forces of the networks of which he is a part, and the networks exist within and define the boundaries of the locality. The networks, then, create the communal bonds, and it is from the experience of these bonds that the sense of belonging comes.

In "the concept systematically summarised" Calhoun identifies three orders of communal bonds which arise out of the networks and which are dependent on their extent and strength. The first, "familiarity", is the "least indication of community" but is still influential in that through attachment and constant interaction with individuals within a locality, predictability and strengthening of relationships comes about. The second, a "more significant, more binding sort of relationship" than familiarity, is "specific obligations" which govern an individual's action involving an immediate interest. The third, and "most", indication of community is that of "diffuse obligations" which influence and condition the individual with regard to his long-term, as well as immediate, interests or goals. All three arise out of the locality's networks. If they are especially extensive, dense, and multiplex, then diffuse obligations should be found in evidence. Diffuse obligations are, for Calhoun, "moral obligations" so that a community should provide its own collective (public) goods because the individual considers the communal interest, because his immediate and long-term interests are inseparable from the community's and are best served by the

community. Under such moral obligation, too, the community should be self-governing, governed by the sanctions inherent within its own obligation system rather than by any outside enforcement agency. "Moral obligations are essentially the stuff of community",[17] and the more external control intrudes the less community-like the community becomes.[18]

In Calhoun's systematic conceptualisation, then, the objective and subjective are articulated and their relationship exposed, thereby giving substance to the experiential sense of belonging. Calhoun makes it clear at many points that the objective conditions and governs the subjective. For example, " ... it is impossible to enforce moral sanctions outside the realm of fairly dense and/or highly significant social relationships".[19] And, again, dense, multiplex bonds implies that "actors linked in one context or through one institution are also linked in and through others. This makes it more difficult for one actor to cross another in a specific context than it would be if there were only that single dimension to their relationship. An effect of this is to force people to accept resolutions to conflicts and give weight to 'public opinion'",[20] all of which depends "on a fairly high degree of stability".[21]

In our definitional framework, locality and networks are essentially the objective side, whilst communion essentially forms the subjective aspect. As already indicated, our main concern is with exploring the objective. Nonetheless, not only will something of communion be directly addressed, but much will also be implied because of the 'symbiotic' relationship between the objective and subjective.

In the following, chapters three to five examine the inroads of capitalism's development and their affect on economic and social relationships. Chapter six considers the human instruments of capitalism's advance, with stress on the active role taken by the farmers. Chapters seven through to eleven are devoted to community in the nineteenth century. Chapter seven summarises the findings and implications of the previous chapters and also details the new economic relationships between farmer and labourer in the nineteenth century. It then considers the possibilities for community to exist within the altered conditions brought about by capitalism's advance. At the same time, it re-emphasises the constant sub-theme of the contrasting experiences of the Lowlands and Moorlands. In Chapter eight, the locality is described, mainly through a detailed study of mobility and migration; the stability within which networks can exist, and upon which familiarity can be built, is established in this chapter. The network of kinship is presented and scrutinised in chapter nine. Kinship often performs the function of regulatory mechanism for moral obligation in many tribal societies,[22] and so we shall see the extent to which this could pertain for rural England in the nineteenth century. The last two chapters before the conclusion, ten and eleven, seek to explore the question of whether there was integration across ranks or division between "classes". In either case, it is possible for communities to exist, though they will differ in appearance in some respects. The presence of clefts separating the societies into distinct "classes" does not necessarily prevent the formation of communities. Calhoun makes this point in his consideration of the crisis of authority for his identified communities of pre-industrial times. As the industrial revolution progressed so community was "caused ... to be reorganised along class lines in Britain ... As the fissure of class distinction began

more and more to be recognised, and as demographic and other factors made self-regulatory working-class communities possible, the identification of the bonds of community shifted. The corporate system into which people were most strongly linked did not cross the major lines of class. Friendly societies, trade unions and political unions linked workers primarily to each other".[23] Calhoun, however, rejects the idea that community can be brought about simply by "the mutuality of the oppressed", that is, that a common 'enemy' can bond the 'oppressed' into a community. This ingredient may be present, but far more is required for a proper community. Moral obligations, in Calhoun's concept, are much more significant in that they are stronger and more binding, particularly in the long-term, than anything produced by the fleetingness of "the mutuality of the oppressed".[24] Chapter ten, then, details findings on social mobility and social grouping, whilst Chapter eleven looks at tensions and antagonisms. Finally, Chapter twelve concludes the study by summarising the evidence in the light of the working definition. It finds that binding features of the eighteenth century were undermined by capitalism's advance, but that the two regions in the nineteenth century lay more towards the community end of the continuum because the chapters on locality and networks show that they satisfied many of the key features of the concept. Nonetheless, there was probably insufficient bonding to create a diffuse, moral obligation system which was strong and over-arching. In large part this may be ascribed to the fact that despite socio-economic differentiation and some tensions between master and man there remained a number of integrating features stitching across the ranks in society and preventing the development of a "class"-based community. The Moorlands, though, actually appear more community-like as a result of integrating features there being more prominent.

Footnotes to Chapter Two

1. It should be noted that historians are not the only 'transgressors'. See, Bell and Newby, Community Studies, ch.2, and also chs. 6 and 7, on those sociologists studying social processes in general who use the term with little or no regard for its conceptual import.

2. Ibid., ch.2; Poplin, D.E. Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research (New York, 1972) ch.4; Mills, Lord and Peasant, ch. 1; Open University, Community, pp.14-23.

3. Ibid.; Poplin, op.cit., ch.2; Bell and Newby, op.cit.

4. This analytical separation owes much to the presentation in Open University, op.cit.

5. Ibid., pp.14-23.

6. Ibid., esp. pp.36-7.

7. Quoted in Calhoun, "Community", p.90.

8. Bell and Newby, op.cit., pp.175-85. Alternatively, some community researchers have been criticised for introducing bias at the outset by choosing a 'small', manageable locality and thus automatically presenting what may be an incomplete view by excluding possible links beyond the field of study. Ibid., ch.3.

9. Ibid., ch.6.

10. Ibid., pp.140-6 and 162-6 - even though the placings do not always help the sociologist that much: see ch.6. See also, Forster, G.M., 'Interpersonal Relations in Peasant Society', Human Organisation, 19.4 (1960-1), 174-8, which also discusses the question of optimum size, but from a different standpoint.

11. Calhoun, op.cit., pp.99-102; Smith, 'Kin and Neighbours'; Stacey, M. 'The Myth of Community Studies', British Journal of Sociology, 20 (1969) 134-47; MacFarlane, 'History, Anthropology, and the Study of Communities'.

12. E.g. Smith, op.cit.

13. E.g. MacFarlane (et al.), Reconstructing Hist. Communities.

14. Calhoun, op.cit., pp.99-102.

15. The terms are "sentiment" and "significance" in Clark, D.B. 'The Concept of Community: A Re-Examination', Sociological Review, 21 (new series), (1973), 397-416.
Some sociologists have used community to refer to any institution or social grouping which have some aspects in common: hence, the 'church community' or 'immigrant community'. But to call all things communities which share something, however slight, in common is misleading and only dilutes the notion of belonging. It is better to refer to such cells of social organisation as particular social groups or particular

institutions. Poplin, op.cit., ch.1.

16. Wheelis, A. The Quest For Identity (New York, 1958), p.100, quoted in Poplin, op.cit., p.24.

17. Calhoun, op.cit., p.92.

18. Ibid., pp.86-102.

19. Ibid., p.92.

20. Ibid., p.96.

21. Ibid., p.97. Social actors are tied to each other and to their own pasts (reputations).

22. Ibid., p.95.

23. Ibid., pp.108-9.

24. Ibid., fn.42, p.104. See "the mutuality of the oppressed" idea described in Open University, pp.30-6, and expounded (though without use of the term) in Soboul, A. 'The French Rural Community in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', Past and Present, 10, (1956), 78-95.

Chapter Three

FARM SIZES AND TENURIAL STRUCTURE

" ... in the parish of Burghclere [Hampshire], one single farmer holds by lease, under LORD CARNARVEN, as one farm, the lands that men, now living, can remember to have formed fourteen farms, bringing up, in a respectable way, fourteen families. In some instances these small farm- houses and homesteads are completely gone; in others the buildings remain, but in a tumble-down state; ... and the house, with rotten thatch, broken windows, rotten door-sills, and all threatening to fall, remains as the dwelling of a half-starved and ragged family of labourers, the grandchildren, perhaps, of the decent family of small farmers that formerly lived happily in this very house. This, with few exceptions, is the case all over England; ... "
William Cobbett, Rural Rides (Penguin (Harmondsworth) 1967 edtn.), p.436

The size of farms had been slowly but steadily increasing throughout the country, generally, between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though, there was a rapid acceleration in this trend,[1] with different parts of the country varying according to pace and timing.[2] In Staffordshire, much of the acceleration began from about the mid-eighteenth century, as William Pitt, who surveyed the county for the Board of Agriculture in the 1790s, observed: "The farms of this county are of all sizes from twenty acres to five hundred; yet it must be acknowledged that within the last twenty or thirty years, the consolidation of small farms has not been uncommon."[3]

The increase in the size of farms is central to the overall process and progress of capitalisation in the English countryside during our period. The 'old' economic order was transformed into a 'new' order, and as a result socio-economic relationships in the rural societies

were greatly changed. It is the job of this and the following two chapters to describe and chart the extent of this transformation. This chapter simply sets out the evidence on the increase in farm-sizes and simplification of the tenurial structure. Chapter four looks at other aspects of the capitalisation process; whilst chapter five analyses in detail the old economic relationships between individuals and their passing away.

In focusing upon capitalisation, our concern is with its details and mechanics, and its consequences for social and economic relationships. This then informs understanding of the contrast between the Lowlands and the Moorlands, and also the national contrast between the pastoral North and West and the arable South and East. There is little here, however, touching upon the issue of material standards of living, especially for the labourers, in the sections on social and economic consequences. Also the question of capitalisation and national economic development (such as, increased food production, higher productivity, and labour supply) are not dealt with in this study.

The capitalisation of agriculture essentially involved more and higher investment for greater returns - whether for more profits or for maintaining their level. To facilitate and to take advantage of this, farms increased in size. The main thrust of research and writing shows that, in consequence, economic and social relationships were transformed. A gulf, in both material and cultural terms, opened up between the farmer and his workers. Farmers became more wealthy whilst labourers generally became relatively worse-off - although more particularly so in the South and East rather than the North and North-west (which, again, includes Staffordshire).[4] The

institution of living-in, in which the farm servant shared the farmer's house and table, was also reduced as farmers distanced themselves from their workers; once more, though, this was marked in the arable areas, whereas pastoral areas retained the practice well into the nineteenth and even early twentieth century. The amalgamation of farms meant fewer (but at the same time, larger and more wealthy) farmers, and an increase in the ranks of landless labourers as the number of smaller and middling farms decreased. Moreover, the reduction in the number of smaller and middling farmers meant the removal of many of the rungs from the farming ladder thereby ensuring that the material and cultural rift be less bridgable. "Their [the labourers] ease of access to the land had become severely constricted and their opportunities for some kind of 'independence' much reduced. The land came to be, overwhelmingly, something they worked <u>for others</u>".[5]

Previous studies have indicated that in the predominantly pastoral areas the process of amalgamation involved an increase in the number of large farms above about 200 acres, and a considerable decrease in the number of smaller and middling farms of between 20 and 200 acres.[6] The measuring exercise may be approached in two ways. Usually, estate surveys have been the source-material. Farms outside the large estates, though, are neglected by this method. Use of parochial surveys can rectify this. Unfortunately, sufficient parochial surveys do not exist before the second quarter of the nineteenth century, whereas estate surveys are available for the eighteenth century and so attention is paid first of all to them.

Table 3.1(a) displays the trend towards increase in the size of holdings[7] on the Bagot estate (the dominant estate holders in the

Lowland region). From a position in which there were no farms over 200 acres in 1724, amalgamation progressed to the stage that by 1859 the large farms occupied almost three-fifths of all the land held. The concomitant decline in the number of farms between 20 and 150 acres is pronounced: they were reduced to two-fifths of their former number.[8]

Amalgamation is also present on the estates of the Moorland region, but by contrast with the Lowlands the process was generally carried rather less far, (table 3.1(b)). On the estates in Grindon and Wetton there were few holdings of 200 acres and over, even by the nineteenth century. The main increase was in the 100 to 200 acre range, with the 20 to 100 acre categories suffering the decline. (Throwley has been incorporated in table 3.1(b) even though it lies just outside the region proper, because of the paucity of estate material for the parishes of the region. Its overwhelming dominance by the large farmer though is very unrepresentative for this region, as the following consideration of parochial surveys will make plain.)[9]

Figures 3.1(a) and (b) represent farm size distribution as a percentage of the total acreage for each of the regions. (The picture for each parish is detailed in the appendix, section (3).)[10]

In the Lowlands by the second quarter of the nineteenth century the large farms of 200 acres and over were dominant: they covered nearly as many acres as all those between 20 and 200 acres combined. And by the very early twentieth century they had further increased their ground, accounting for two-thirds of all acres farmed. However, Abbots Bromley actually experienced a slight reversal in the trend for the period between the second quarter of the nineteenth century

and the early twentieth century, and so was less dominated by the large farm by the end of the period than were the other parishes of the region; (table 3.2.).[11]

There are also parochial differences within the regional trend for the Moorlands, (appendix, section (3)). In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Grindon was the parish in which amalgamation was most pronounced. But by the very early twentieth century it was more 'average' after experiencing a slight reversal of the previous trend. The most important point, however, is the difference between the two regions. In the Moorlands as a whole, farms of over 200 acres were few and far between. Although there was a degree of amalgamation and increase in the size of farms, it was much less extensive than in the Lowlands. Within the Moorland region overall, farms of between 20 and 100 acres retained dominance so that the smaller and middling farmer continued to flourish.

Even in the Lowland region, though, the smaller and middling farmers were far from being squeezed out altogether. They certainly experienced diminution in their ranks and reduction in their proportion of the parish's acreage. Nonetheless, in terms of numbers they retained significance. During the nineteenth century, 20 to 150 acre holdings continued to outnumber holdings of over 150 acres by two to one (table 3.3 (i)-(iii)). This is a similar ratio to that found by Wordie in his study of the Leveson-Gower estates, including the Trentham part some twenty miles to the north of our Lowland region and of similar soil and farming type. Thus in these pastoral areas the process of amalgamation was not carried through so fully as it was elsewhere, especially in some of the mainly arable areas.[12] There remained a bridge between the no-farm smallholder of less than

20 acres and the large farmer of 200 acres and more.[13] The picture drawn by Cobbett, and applicable to some areas, does not apply to the same extent in this case.

The reason for this survival may in part be due to the overall increase in the farmed area. In Abbots Bromley a large acreage of woodland was cleared, and in the Moorlands former commons and waste lands were enclosed and engrossed (laid together). In both cases some large farms could be created without amalgamating smaller farms.[14] But a more important reason was the presence or absence of large landlords. There are significant differences between the results from the estate surveys and the parish surveys. There was more amalgamation on farms on the estates than on farms outside of them, overall. In the Moorlands, most of the farms of 200 acres and more are to be found on the lands of the large landlords. And in the Lowlands on the Bagot estate in 1859, the ratio of farmers of over 150 acres to 20-150 acre farmers was almost one to one whereas for the Lowlands as a whole it was, as seen, one to two. These are points which will be explored further in chapters six and ten.

Amalgamation and increase in the size of farms was paralleled by a simplification of the tenurial structure. A straightforward dichotomy between landowners, on the one side, and tenant farmers, on the other, increasingly became the norm. Owner-occupation and complex tenurial arrangements, involving simultaneous ownership and renting by farmers, were more common in the eighteenth century but had largely passed away by the early twentieth century.[15] Table 3.4 is a summary of the detailed results (which appear in the appendix, section (3)) and portrays the main current. The tenurial structure could be very complex - as many as eleven separate categories have

been established for one nineteenth century 'open' parish.[16] In this study, just four basic divisions have been made: (a) those who appear purely as landlords within each parish; (b) those who appear purely as tenants; (c) those who are just owner-occupants; and (d) those of mixed tenurial function, i.e. landlords and/or tenants and/or owner-occupants. In the late eighteenth century, those standing in the simple relationship of purely landlord to purely tenant were already in a majority in most of the parishes, in terms of acreage held. The average (mean) for all the parishes is 68%. But over the following century and a quarter, the average in this relationship increases to just over 85%. Some parishes had experienced more simplification in their structure than others, but all were involved to some degree in the general trend towards simplification. Even in the Moorlands where some parishes retained a number of owner-occupants and mixed tenures, the average by the early twentieth century for those in the simple relationship was 82%.[17] The farmer, then, was increasingly likely to have been a tenant in a straightforward way, without owning any plots of land in his own right either to farm directly or to rent out to others. At the same time, there was another facet to this standardisation process: tenant farmers became less likely to rent lands from two or more different landlords. Even in the early nineteenth century a large majority of all tenants (purely) already did rent from just one landlord, but over the next one hundred years this majority was further expanded by a few more percentage points, (table 3.5).

Further consideration of the implications for economic and social relationships arising out of these changes in land-holding structure will be left until chapter seven, where they will be considered alongside the evidence from the following three chapters.

Footnotes to Chapter Three

1. For the disappearance at varying pace and times, between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, of the 'typical' medieval yardland or half-yardland, see: Spufford, Contrasting Communities, pt.I; Howell, 'Stability and Change'; Gray, H.L. 'Yeoman Farming in Oxfordshire from the sixteenth to the nineteenth Centuries', Quarterly Journal of Economics, 24 (1910), 293-306. For the eighteenth and nineteenth century acceleration in the trend, see: Mingay, G.E. 'The size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century, E.H.R. 14 (1961/2), 469-88; Wordie, J.R. 'Social Change on the Leveson-Gower Estates, 1714-1832', E.H.R. 27 (1974), 593-609; Martin, J.M. Warwickshire and the Parliamentary Enclosure Movement, (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1965); Robin, J. Elmdon chap.3; Saville, J. 'Primitive Accumulation and Early Industrialisation in England', The Socialist Register (1969) 247-71.

2. First, there was a significant degree of local variation within the national picture, and in some areas the smaller and middling farmers continued to flourish. See the table (p.325) which shows the national picture in 1851 in Beckett, J.V. 'The Debate Over Farm Sizes in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century England', Agricultural History, 57.3, (1983), 308-25. See also, 'The Decline of the Small Landowner in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century England: Some Regional Considerations', A.H.R. 30.2 (1982), 97-111; Reed, 'Peasantry of 19th C.England'; and where market gardening grew, Martin, J.M. Social and Economic Trends in the Rural West Midlands, 1785-1825, (unpub. M. Comm. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1960). And, second, even within the national picture overall there remained a large proportion of smaller farmers who, though declining in terms of acreage held, have nonetheless been seen to retain significance in terms of numbers and influence. Reed, op.cit.

3. Pitt, Agric. of Staffs, (London, 1808 edtn.) p.29.

4. Snell, K.D.M. Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900, (Cambridge, 1985, p.1.

5. For contemporary awareness of the role of changing farm sizes within the whole process, see: Cobbett, Rural Rides; Arbuthnot, J. An Inquiry into the Connection Between the Present Price of Provisions and the Size of Farms, (London, 1773); Robertson, T. Outline of the General Report on the Size of Farms ... (Edinburgh, 1796); 'H', 'An Essay on the Proper Size of Farms', Farmers' Magazine (Edinburgh, 1801) I,376-86; Huskinson, W.L. 'Large Farms Versus Small Farms', Transactions - Institution of Surveyors, 7 (1874-5), 273-320. These are works which have been consulted; many more are mentioned in Beckett's survey 'The Debate over Farm Sizes'. Secondary works which cover the issues are too numerous to mention individually at this point. They appear in references where the text treats with each question in detail. However, a useful introduction is to be found in Wells, R.A.E. 'The Development of the English Rural Proletariat and Social Protest, 1700-1850', Jnl. Peas. Studies 6.2 (1979), 115-39, esp.pp.115-121, and in Malcomson, Life and Labour, chs. 5

and 6, (quote is p.137).

6. Mingay, op.cit.; Wordie, op.cit.; Martin, Warks and the Parl. Encl. Movement.

7. Because, as will be shown, occupants could readily hold land from more than one owner, it is not strictly correct to refer to the individual units of an estate survey as farms, and so are called 'holdings' here. Cf:Mingay op.cit. fn.4,p.480 for a different viewpoint. Mingay also uses the eighteenth century Bagot surveys, but not the 1859 survey.

8. Too much notice should not be taken of the fluctuations in the numbers of holdings of just a few rods, perches or acres. Since some surveys were primarily aimed at assessing the value of farm-land, cottagers and the like were not always consistently recorded.

9. Whichever way the 38½ acre shortfall between the two surveys is made up amalgamation is apparent.

10. Derivation of farm sizes from parochial surveys (so as to take account of holdings in adjacent parishes) is explained in the appendix, along with notes on sources.

11. Note table 3.2 is 'holdings' not 'farms'. Cf:appendix on Abbots Bromley and the Lowlands.

12. For example, in Robin's Elmdon, chs.1 and 2.

13. Although the main stress of Wordie's 'Social Change' argument is on the increase in the size of farms on the Leveson-Gower estates in Staffordshire and in Shropshire, the comparison presented in table 3.3 reveals a similar situation for the smaller and middling farmer: farms and holdings between 20 and 150 acres still outnumbered those above 150 acres.
Farm-size distribution as a percentage of cultivated acreage is, for the Lowlands in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, quite similar to the average, national picture: Beckett, 'Debate over Farm Sizes', p.325. See Wordie, pp.601/2 on the argument for considering those of under 20 acres not to be farmers.

14. Between 1774 and 1910 the farmed acreage of Abbots Bromley increased by just over 18% (including the 'excluded' Bromley Park farms in 1774: see appendix appendix section (1) pt.(iv)). In Grindon, the commons and wastes declined from almost 400 acres in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century to only 43 acres by 1839. In Wetton's case, some of the increase apparent on the Devonshire estate by 1911 is probably due to the incorporation of 'beastgates' into the farms' total acreage. ('Beastgates' were a commons grazing right accompanying a farm.) Ascription of 'beastgates' to each tenant is, however, only given in the 1617 survey. So it is only possible to compare just this survey (which has the 'beastgate' acreage equivalent written in) with the 1911 situation of table 3.1(b):-

and 6, (quote is p.137).

6. Mingay, op.cit.; Wordie, op.cit.; Martin, Warks and the Parl. Encl. Movement.

7. Because, as will be shown, occupants could readily hold land from more than one owner, it is not strictly correct to refer to the individual units of an estate survey as farms, and so are called 'holdings' here. Cf:Mingay op.cit. fn.4,p.480 for a different viewpoint. Mingay also uses the eighteenth century Bagot surveys, but not the 1859 survey.

8. Too much notice should not be taken of the fluctuations in the numbers of holdings of just a few rods, perches or acres. Since some surveys were primarily aimed at assessing the value of farm-land, cottagers and the like were not always consistently recorded.

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1617: Wetton (Devonshire estate): 'beastgate' acreage equivalent added to each tenants holding

	Size (acres)									
	0-1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	⩾200	Totals
Nos.	2	0	3	6	18	16	3	-	-	38
% of total acreage	negl	0.0	1.2	5.0	14.1	61.9	17.7	-	-	1885a.

15. Over the country as a whole, owner-occupants declined from an upper limit of about 50% around the sixteenth century to about 20% by the nineteenth century, of which only half (10%) are estimated to have been genuine owner-occupant farmers in the 1870s. Thompson, F.M.L. 'The Social Distribution of Landed Property in England since the Sixteenth Century', E.H.R. 19 (1966) 505-18.

16. Mills, Lord and Peasant, ch.4.

17. Taking the parish as the unit of study will tend to underestimate the percentage given as complex (mixed tenurial function) because of the possibility for holding lands in other parishes. It should not, however, affect the trend over time.

Tables and Figures to Chapter Three

Table 3.1(a) : Size of Holdings: Lowland Estate*

Date	Size of Holdings (acres)									Totals
	0-1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	>200	
(a)	10	16	2	7	22	24	12	3	-	96
(b) 1724	1¼a.	2¼a.	5¾a.	14¼a.	33a.	76¾a.	126⅓a.	180a.	-	
(c)	0.1	0.8	0.2	2.1	15.2	38.6	31.7	11.3	-	4778¾a.
(a)	16	17	13	5	14	18	9	5	10	107
(b) 1744	⅓a.	2½a.	6¾a.	14⅓a.	34a.	74½a.	121¾a.	171½a.	245a.	
(c)	0.1	0.7	1.4	1.1	7.4	20.9	17.1	13.4	38.2	6387a.
(a)	16	15	8	6	11	19	9	6	9	99
(b) 1762	⅓a.	2¾a.	6¾a.	15a.	33a.	73a.	121a.	177a.	286a.	
(c)	0.1	0.6	0.8	1.3	5.4	20.8	16.3	16.0	38.6	6661½a.
(a)	1	9	11	6	7	7	10	8	18	77
(b) 1859	¼a.	2¾a.	7½a.	12¾a.	32¼a.	79½a.	125a.	178a.	273a.	
(c)	negl.	0.3	1.0	0.9	2.6	6.5	14.6	16.7	57.5	8556a.

Notes:

(a) = Number of Holdings.
(b) = Average (Mean) Size of Holding.
(c) = Percentage of Total Acreage.

* Incorporates parts of the parishes of: Abbots Bromley, Blithfield, Colton, Kingstone, Colwich, Hamstall Ridware, Mavesyn Ridware, Uttoxeter, (and Loxley, within Uttoxeter), and Marchington.

N.B. Originally, a parallel table was constructed for all holdings centred on the parishes of Abbots Bromley and Blithfield only, for those holdings accounted for between, about, 60%-70% of the total acreage, but the results were so similar as to render superfluous the presentation of the table here.

Sources: S.R.O. D1721/3/260, /261, /262/3, /274 (resp.).

Table 3.1(b) : Size of Holdings: Moorland Estates

GRINDON

Date	Size of Holdings (acres)									Totals
	0-1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	>200	
(a) late	5	5	6	15	12	5	6	-	-	54
(b)17th/	½a.	2¼a.	6¾a.	15¾a.	32½a.	72½a.	116a.	-	-	
(c)early 18th.C.	0.1	0.6	2.3	13.6	22.4	20.9	40.1	-	-	1736½a.
(a)	7	15	7	9	8	9	4	1	-	61
(b) 1735	½a.	2a.	7¼a.	14a.	29¾a.	59⅓a.	120a.	158¾a.	-	
(c)	0.2	1.8	3.0	7.4	13.9	36.5	28.0	9.3	-	1714a.
(a) mid-	2	9	7	8	11	7	4	1	-	50
(b) 18th	1a.	3a.	8½a.	15¾a.	34½a.	73a.	125½a.	185¾a.	-	
(c) C.	0.1	1.5	3.3	7.0	21.2	28.4	28.0	10.4	-	1792a.
(a)	9	17	4	2	4	3	6	5	-	51
(b) 1776/	½a.	2¾a.	7¼a.	11¾a.	36¼a.	71½a.	126¼a.	171a.	-	
(c) 79	0.2	2.3	1.4	1.1	7.0	10.4	36.6	43.3	-	2070a.
(a)	10	7	8	6	5	3	3	3	2	47
(b) 1839	¼a.	2½a.	7¾a.	15a.	30a.	67a.	130¼a.	173a.	223a.	
(c)	0.1	0.9	3.3	4.7	7.9	10.6	20.6	27.3	24.6	1897a.

Notes:

(a) = Number of Holdings.
(b) = Average (Mean) Size of Holding.
(c) = Percentage of Total Acreage

It was not possible to follow Grindon through to 1910/11 and extrapolate the estate holdings from the 'Domesday' survey (as was done for 1839, from the Tithe Survey) owing to descent through the female line and some sales during the 19th Century.

Sources: S.R.O. D.593/J/22/1 (first three); D.3359/Box 34; L.J.R.O. Grindon Tithe Map (resp.).

Table 3.1(b) : Size of Holdings: Moorland Estates (cont'd)

Date	Size of Holdings (acres)									Totals
	0-1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	>200	
WETTON										
(a)	2	1	3	5	15	11	1	-	-	38
(b) 1617	¼a.	4a.	7⅓a.	15¾a.	34½a.	66 a.	108½a.	-	-	
(c)	negl.	0.3	1.5	5.4	35.6	49.8	7.4	-	-	1459a.
(a)	1	2	0	5	8	14	1	-	-	31
(b) 1774	negl.	4½a.	-	17a.	38a.	67¾a.	115¼a.	-	-	
(c)	negl.	0.3	0.0	5.8	20.8	65.1	7.9	-	-	1455¼a.
(a)	16	19	18	3	12	11	1	-	-	80
(b) 1830	negl.	3a.	7a.	12a.	37⅓a.	72½a.	119½a.	-	-	
(c)	0.1	3.7	8.0	2.5	30.1	48.3	7.4	-	-	1503½a.
(a)	23	9	9	7	4	6	2	2	1	63
(b) 1911	negl.	2½a.	7½a.	13½a.	37¾a.	69½a.	110a.	172½a.	236a.	
(c)	0.3	1.4	4.3	6.1	9.7	26.7	14.1	22.2	15.2	1961a.
THROWLEY										
(a)	0	1	1	1	2	3	1	0	3	12
(b) 1719/	-	3¼a.	9½a.	18¼a.	31⅓a.	68½a.	121⅓a.	-	336¾a.	
(c) 22	0.0	0.2	0.7	1.3	4.4	14.3	8.5	0.0	70.6	1430½a.
(a)	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	6
(b) 1799	-	-	-	18a.	21a.	-	129½a.	-	386¼a.	
(c)	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.6	0.0	9.8	0.0	37.3	1327½a.

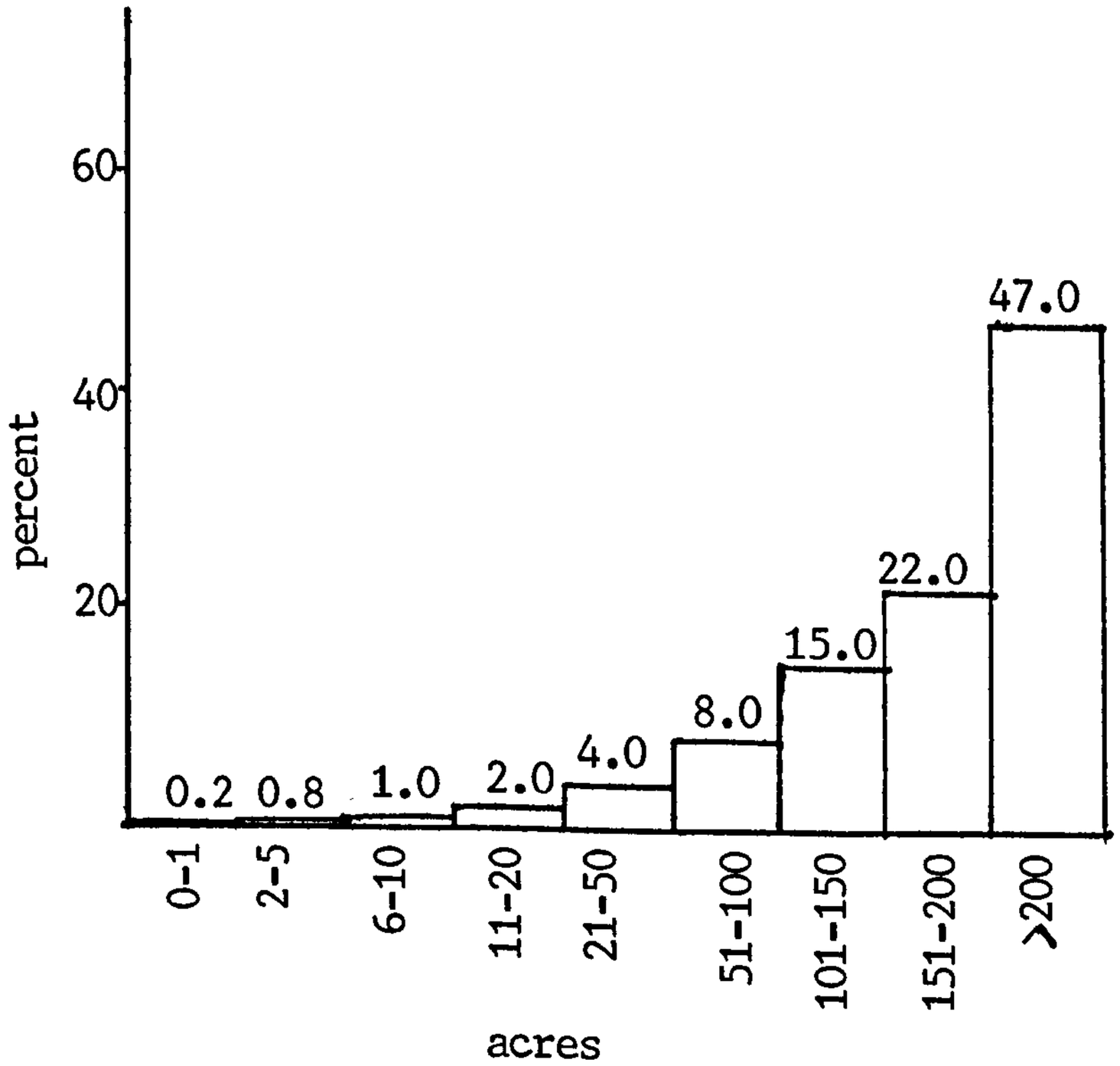
Notes:

For 1911, the estate holdings are extrapolated from the 'Domesday' survey for Wetton.

Sources: Wetton: 1617 - a copy of William Senior's survey of Wetton, kindly lent by Mr. F.J. Johnson; 1774 - Chatsworth, uncatalogued; 1830 - Chatsworth, Box 96/89; 1911 - 'Domesday' S.R.O.; Throwlay: 1719/22 - W.S.L. SD 183/1799 and S.M.S.360; 1799 - Ditto.

Fig. 3.1(a) : Farm Sizes (Abbots Bromley, Blithfield, and Cotton): Percentage distributions of parish acreage

Second quarter nineteenth century:
(1830's/40's)



Early twentieth century:
(1910/11)

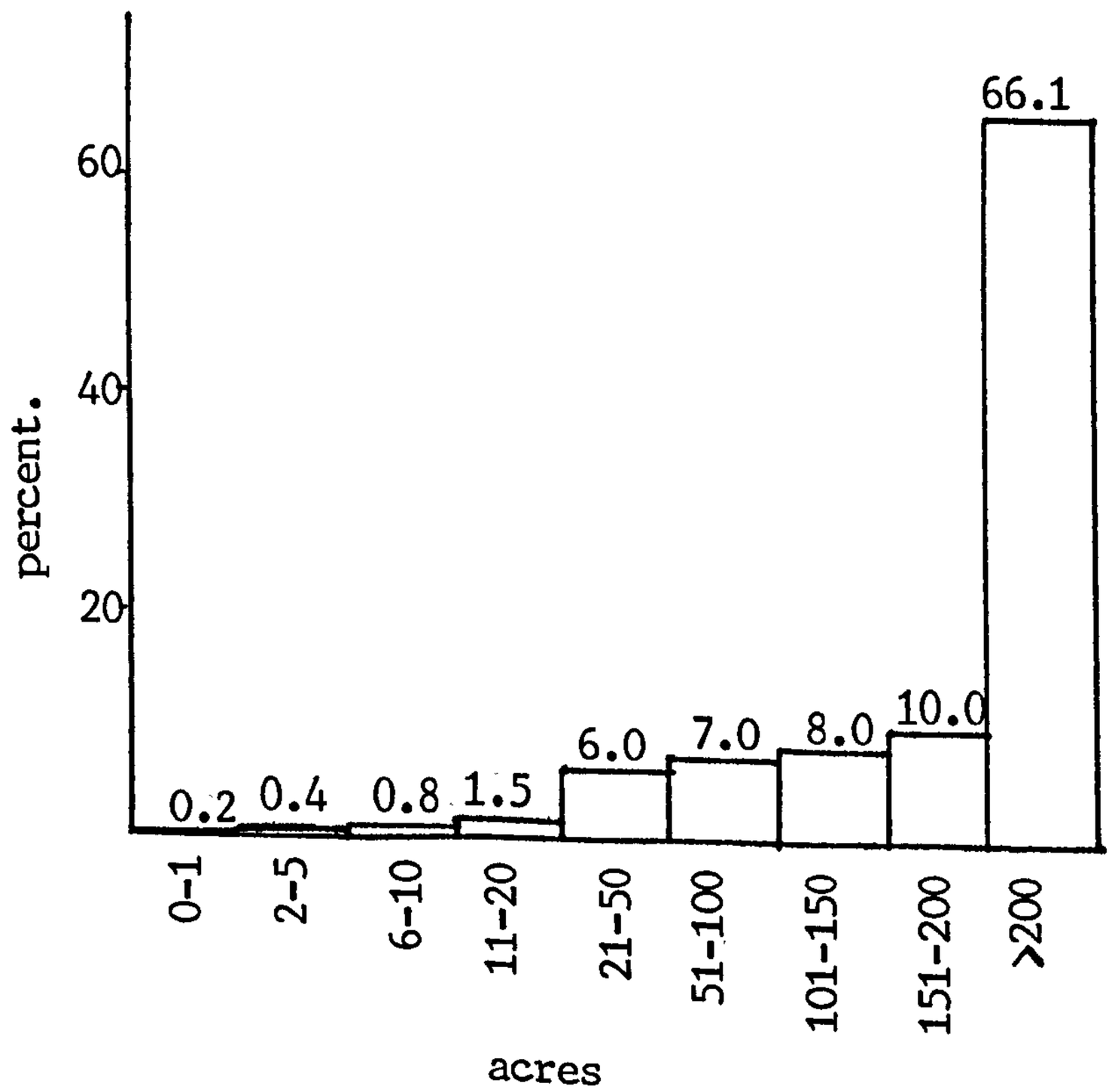
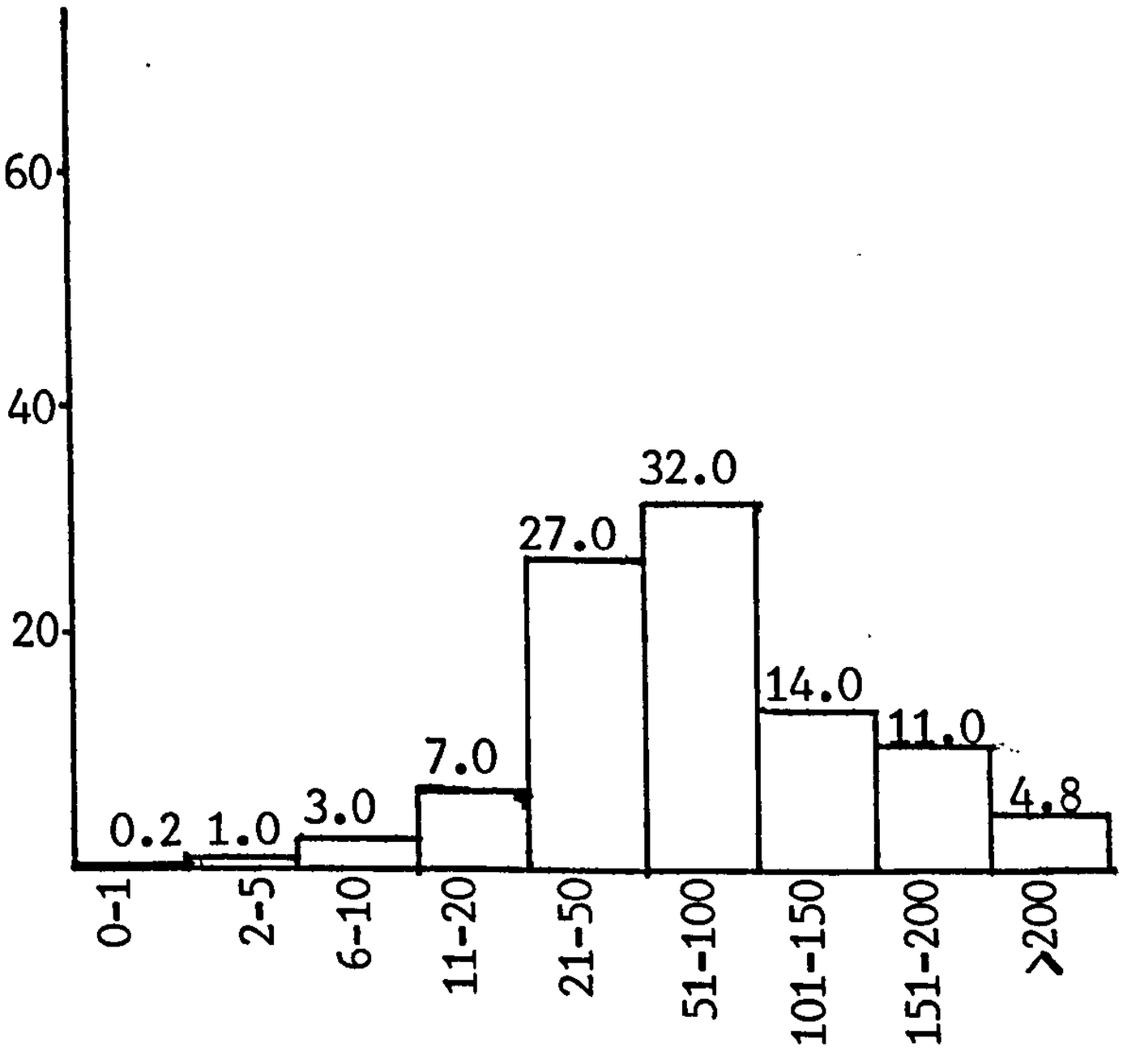


Fig. 3.1(b) : Moorlands: Farm Sizes (Grindon, Butterton, Wetton, Waterfall, Onecote, Warslow and Elkstones):
Percentage distributions of parish acreage:

Second quarter nineteenth century:
(1830's/40's)



Early twentieth century:
(1910/11)

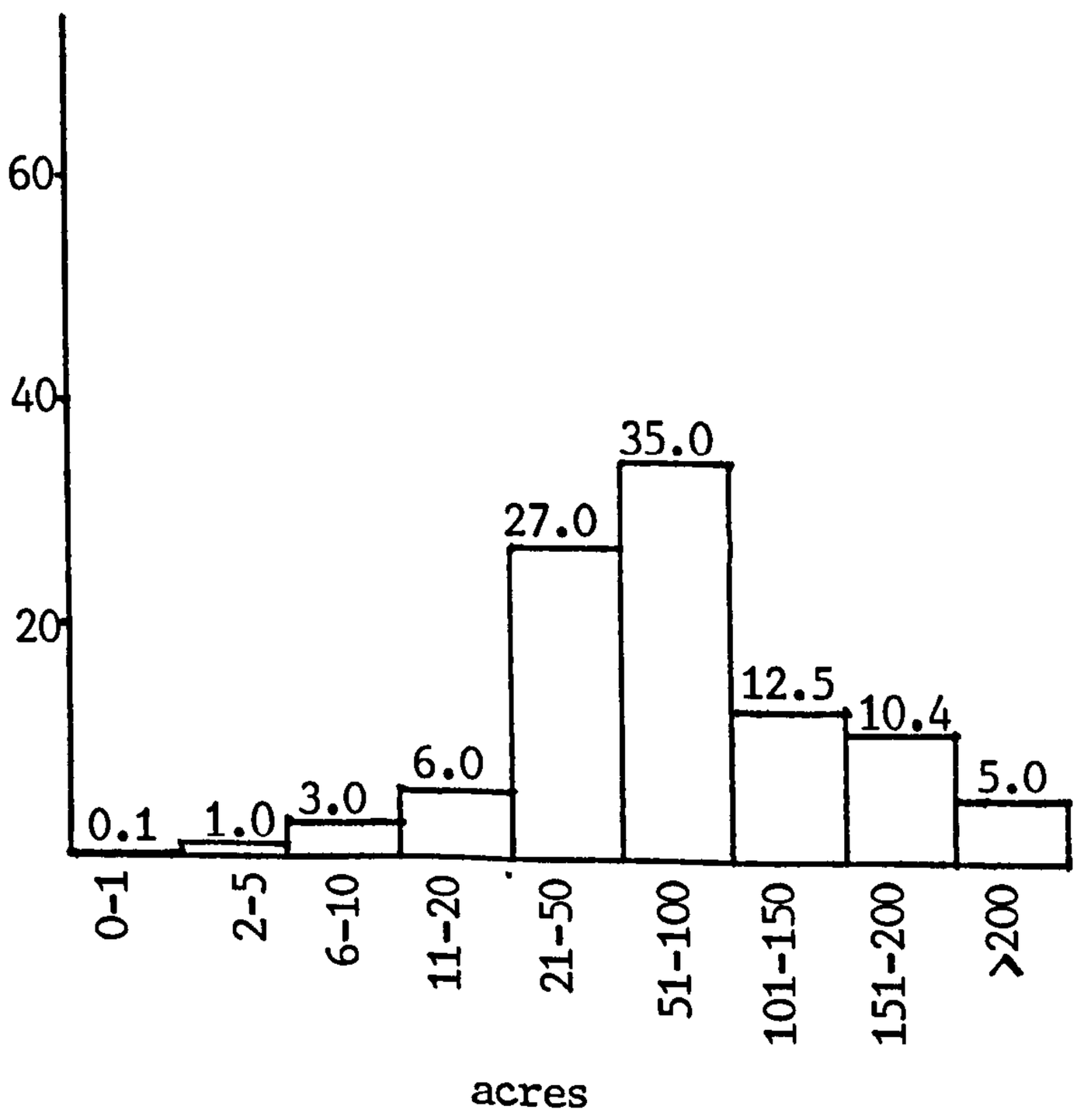


Table 3.2 : Holdings in Abbots Bromley, 1774-1910

Date		Holdings (acres)						>200a: mean size
		21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	21-200	>200	
1774*	Nos.	15	14	17	4	50	4	288a.
	percentage of total acreage	8.1	16.5	34.4	11.6	70.6	19.0	
1831*	Nos.	18	13	7	6	44	9	297½a.
	percentage of total acreage	9.1	15.2	12.6	15.5	52.4	39.7	
1910	Nos.	18	17	11	6	52	7	351a.
	percentage of total acreage	8.1	18.4	18.1	14.6	59.2	34.2	

Notes:

* Includes the 'excluded' Bromley Park farms (see appendix, section (1) pt.(iv))

Sources: As appendix

Table 3.3 : Lowlands: (i) Number of Holdings

Date	21-150 acres			151-200 acres			≥200 acres		
	A.B.	B.	Cn.	A.B.	B.	Cn.	A.B.	B.	Cn
1774*	46			4			4		
1831-46**	38*	8	17	6*	6	3	9*	2	5
1910	46	9	10	6	2	2	7	7	8

Notes: A.B.= Abbots Bromley; B = Blithfield; Cn = Colton
* includes the 'excluded' Bromley Park farms.
** Abbots Bromley = 1831; Blithfield = 1846; Colton = 1839-42

Sources: See appendix, section (3)

: (ii) Ratio of Large to Smaller and Middling Holdings: Comparison with Leveson-Gower Estates

	LOWLANDS			LEVESON-GOWER ESTATES			
				Trentham only (Staffs)		All estates	
Date	≥150: 20-150	≥200: 20-200	Date	≥150: 20-150	≥200: 20-200	≥150: 20-150	≥200: 20-200
			1714-20	1:6.3	1:16.7	1:7.8	1:20
1774*	1:5.7	1:12.5	1759-79	1:4.3	1:6.6	1:3.8	1:6.8
			1807-13	1:3.7	1:5	1:1.9	1:3
1831-46	1:2	1:4.9	1829-33	1:2.3	1:3.3	1:1.5	1:2.1
1910	1:2	1:3.4					

Notes: *Just Abbots Bormley, (includes the 'excluded' Bromley Park Farms).

Sources: Appendix, section (3); Wordie, "Social Change", pp.605-7

: (iii) Farm Sizes: Percentage of Total Acreage: Comparison with Leveson-Gower Estates

	-20 acres	21-100 acres	101-200 acres	> 200 acres
Lowlands: 1831-46	4.0	12.0	37.0	47.0
Leveson-Gower: 1829-33				
Trentham (Staffs)only	15.1	23.8	16.6	44.8
All estates	9.6	14.9	16.2	59.3

Sources: As for (ii)- N.B. Wordie considers the Leveson-Gower Estates to be sufficiently self-contained to enable him to refer to farm sizes rather than of holdings (fn.5, p.594).

Table 3.4 : Percentage of Total Parish Acreage Owned and Total Parish Acreage Occupied Held by Categories (a) purely landlords and (b) purely tenants, combined

	PERCENTAGE		
	late 18th.C.	2nd. ¼ 19th.C.	Early 20th.C.
Lowlands:			
Abbots Bromley	78.1	66.8	89.2
Blithfield	85.8	98.7	98.7
Colton	66.1	85.3	90.8
Moorlands:			
Wetton	73.8	-	98.5
Waterfall	46.7	82.8	77.7
Grindon	76.8	67.0	92.0
Butterton	47.8	47.4	55.4
Onecote	73.1	-	83.3
Warslow & Elkstones	64.3	-	84.5

Sources and Notes: See appendix, section (3)

Table 3.5 : Tenants (over one acre) Holding Lands from One and More Landlords

Percentages

Number of Landlords	1774						2nd.¼ 19th. C.						Early 20th. C					
	1	2	3	4	5	N (tenants)	1	2	3	4	5	N (tenants)	1	2	3	4	5	N (tenants)
LOWLANDS:																		
Abbots Bromley	77.5	13.5	4.5	3.6	0.9	111*	72.9	20.3	3.4	3.4	-	59*	78.4	13.6	3.4	3.4	1.8	88
Blithfield							100	-	-	-	-	28	95.7	4.3	-	-	-	23
Colton							61.4	27.3	9.1	2.3	-	44	73.0	21.6	5.4	-	-	37
MOORLANDS:																		
Butterton							59.1	31.8	4.5	4.5	-	22	72.2	16.7	8.3	2.8	-	36
Grindon							75.5	16.3	8.1	-	-	49	83.1	10.2	5.1	1.7	-	59
Waterfall							75.0	14.6	10.4	-	-	48	83.3	12.5	2.1	2.1	-	48
Wetton													91.5	8.5	-	-	-	47
Onecote													83.3	16.7	-	-	-	66
Warslow & Elkstones													95.4	4.5	-	-	-	66

Note: * Does not include Bromley Park Farms. See appendix, section (1) pt (iv).

Sources: As table 3.4, except Abbots Bromley 1774 = W.S.L. 412/40.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER THREE

Section One: Source-materials: general description

There are five types of parish land-holding source-materials used in this chapter:-

(i) Land Tax Returns are sufficiently reliable for the purposes to which they are put here, and are the best available in the absence of other materials on landholding for the late eighteenth century.[1] It is important to be cautious and check that the individual entries for each holding tally with the total given by the collectors, and to ascertain that large changes in the total collected are not made over the years. The Returns can be compared with Enclosure Awards, but they really need to be complete, and anyway Staffordshire is generally poor in Enclosure Awards. However, other evidence has been collected which suggests that, although not complete, those most likely to be excluded from the Returns were the smallest small-holders and cottagers, and they do not represent a serious exclusion for the purposes of this study. The best piece of direct evidence comes from Grindon for 1798. A letter written by the landlord of half the parish reveals that just over 25% of all his tenants did not appear on the Returns, but that their total lands represented only 1% of all the rental payments by the tenantry. " ... -as to those not charged-," he wrote, "I conclude them all as being too poor[;] the Quota for the District was made up by the more opulent and cannot be altered - for such a precise sum is fixed to be raised and the parish divides the Burthen-".[2] The correlation between the Land

Tax and a Church-Rate Assessment for Wetton in 1796/7 was found to be exceedingly high, and there was no evidence in the ordering of the lists that one had been copied from the other. Four cases of sales and legal affairs were traced for the parish of Waterfall. Two were found in the Land Tax Returns, two were not. However, of the two not found the amount of land involved was not large.

Land Tax Returns are expressed in terms of money payments assessed on the value of the lands, and some historians have used these to calculate 'acreage equivalents'. Others have doubted the validity of the exercise.[3] An attempt was made on Grindon to see if a consistent ratio or multiplier could be found whereby the money payments could be converted into acreage equivalents. However, the result indicated considerable variation - from 2d. per acre to almost 1/- per acre.[4] So the attempt to push the evidence on parish farm sizes back into the late eighteenth century was abandoned.

(ii) Tithe Surveys are generally of a higher order of realiability than the Land Tax Returns, but still can have some omissions.[5] For example, the Tithe Surveys for the townships of Abbots Bromley and Bromley Hurst appear sound, but the third township which makes up the parish of Abbots Bromley, Bagots Bromley; excludes a number of occupiers. The total acreage can be checked with Directories (and also with the new Doomsdays). In some cases where the Tithe Survey is close in time to a census the two can be collated. This was done for Grindon and Colton (see section two, part two of this appendix). The 'fit' was found to be of a very high order, given that decease,

geographical mobility, and the possibility that the survey was not conducted on the date borne on its cover, could intervene. So long as some checks are carried out then, Tithe Surveys can be very usefully and confidently employed.

(iii) New 'Doomsdays': 1910/11. These have been relatively little used, though promise much.[6] By the nature of their purpose they are at least as reliable as the Tithe Surveys - (total acreages tally between the two sources). "The Finance (1909-10) Act (10 Edwe.VIII,c.8) provided for the levy and collection of a duty on the increment value of all land in the United Kingdom. The main object of this legislation was to tax that part of the capital appreciation of real property which was attributable to the site itself ... "[7] A very high correlation was found between the New Doomsday of Colton and a Rate Book of the same year, (although it is possible that the one was copied from the other). The omissions that were traced were among the smallest occupiers of less than one acre, usually 'tenenment' type dwellers of less than one rood,[8] actually originally written into the Doomsday Book but with lines through them.[9]

(iv) Parish surveys, as opposed to estate surveys are relatively rare before the nineteenth century. Those existing for the period around the second quarter of the nineteenth century were probably a part of the Tithe survey activity. The tests and criticisms applied to Tithe Surveys may be applied to them too, therefore.

N.B. The 1744 and 1831 surveys of the parish of Abbots Bromley do not detail the lands within 'Bromley Park'. However, the 1841 census shows four farms within that so-called park, and their acreages can be found from the 1851 census. It was then assumed that these four farms existed in both these two surveys, and in the calculations on farms and holdings sizes the 1851 acreage for them has been substituted. This will obviously involve some distortion of reality, especially in the case of the 1774 survey because it involves an increase of 13% in the farmed area total and extrapolates back 80 years through a particular trend. However, it was thought to be more unrealistic to exclude these omitted farms altogether. (It is not possible to include the excluded Bromley Park farms in the calculations on tenurial structure.)

(v) The Census Returns for 1851 and 1871 have been used to check the nineteenth century parish surveys' results in a rough way. Absolute identity between the two would be unlikely, anyway, because of the time difference, the problem of cross-boundary land-holding, and the fact that many dual occupationists whilst mentioning their other work often neglected to record their smallholdings. In occasional cases too, farmers neglected to detail the acreage they farmed. Nonetheless, a comparison can reveal glaring discrepancies which can alert and direct attention.

Section Two: Farm Sizes: Calculations

(i) Derivation of farm sizes from the sizes of holdings: In practice, it appears that the difference between farm sizes and holdings sizes within the parish are relatively small.[10] For the purposes of this study the results showing the broad trends would not have been greatly different if only evidence on the sizes of holdings had been employed. However, this was not known at the time: the extent of cross-boundary landholding by farmers could have been considerable.[11] Many small and middling farmers might then have been, in reality, large farmers.

The evidence suggests that somewhere around 5% to 10% of lands were occupied by non-residents, in both the Moorlands and Lowlands, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century. Therefore, alteration of the graphs for holdings of a figure of some 5-10% for each parish will yield a picture of farm sizes that approximates to the truth. The bulk of the lands held by non-residents were small pieces. Consequently, small percentages need to be taken from the lower categories and placed on the larger size categories.

Comparison of the parish surveys with the picture taken from the census validates this conclusion, since the census tends to underestimate smallholders. In the case of one parish though, the comparison between the two sources does not work. Blithfield is largely owned by the Bagots, and the tenants there have a significant quantity of extra-parochial pieces attached to their holdings than is so for Abbots Bromley or

Colton. [12] However, on the basis of this knowledge, Blithfield can be regarded as an exception and its survey re-worked in the light of this knowledge. By 1910, however, the Doomsday indicates a radical alteration in the distribution of holdings - both an increase in the size and a rationalisation of farm boundaries.[13]

(ii) Evidence upon which the calculations for the derivation are based:

(a) for the second quarter of the nineteenth century:-

1. Grindon - comparison of the 1839 Tithe Award with the 1841 census.[14] All but eight farms were correlated. Five were accounted for by change in the head of the household, and the remaining three by change in occupancy of the farms. Plots of land in the Tithe not correlated to the census were therefore considered to be held by non-residents, and they accounted for 4.9% of the total farmed acreage.

2. Colton - comparison of the survey of 1839-42 with the 1841 census. Only one farmer could not be fitted directly or by considerations of inheritance, etc. This single exception was given no acreage in the census, but by comparing the labour force of this farm with that of others where the acreage is recorded, yields an approximation of 30 acres for this farm. This then leaves 300 acres of land occupied by non-residents which amounts to 8.5% of the total occupied acreage of the parish.

3. Abbots Bromley - because the survey is dated 1831 it cannot be compared with a census; three other, though less satisfactory, methods were employed instead.

i. all those holdings without appended farmhouses or houses were considered to be held by outsiders. This gave a figure of 8.5%. However, simply holding a dwelling place within a parish is not to say that the person actually dwelt there: it could have been sublet to others.

ii. those appearing as outsiders in i, above, were then checked against the Rate Books for the parish for 1831. This reduced the acreage held by outsiders to just 0.5%. But the same criticism applies, perhaps to an even greater extent.

iii. A Bagot estate survey of 1859 shows that of thirty tenants holding lands from the Bagots in the parish of Abbots Bromley only six had part of their holdings situated in contiguous parishes, and only three of them would change size category if these lands were subtracted.

(b) for the early twentieth century:-

1. Grindon - all those in the New Doomsdays whose holdings were without houses or farmhouses attached were listed and then sought for in the Domsdays of the contiguous parishes (except Ipstones). 6.2% of the parish was found to be held by non-residents.

2. Colton - comparison of the New Doomsday with the 1910 Rate Book. About 7.4% held by non-residents.

3. Abbots Bromley - just those in the New Doomsday whose holdings were without houses or farmhouses attached, yielding 4.1% of the total occupied acreage held by non-residents.

Footnotes to Appendix to Chapter Three

1. See: Martin, J.M. 'Landownership and the Land Tax Returns', A.H.R., 14 (1966) 96-103; Mingay, G.E. 'The Land Tax Assessments', E.H.R., 17 (1964/5) 382-8, and 'Rejoinder', to Martin, A.H.R., 15 (1967) 18; Hunt, H.G. 'Land Tax Assessments', History, 52 (1967) 283-6; Mills, D.R. Lord and Peasant, pp.71-2.

2. S.R.O., D.3359 Box 34.

3. See fn. 1 above.

4. The comparison was with estate surveys in D.3359 Box 34. (The lands on which the mill stood were actually 2/9d per acre).

5. See: Prince, H.C. 'The Tithe Surveys of the Mid-Nineteenth Century', A.H.R., 7 (1959) 14-26; Kain, R.J.P. 'The Tithe Commutation Surveys', Archaeologia Cantiana, (1974) 101-18; Phillips, 'Farming Practises and Soil Types, Staffs., 1840', has a good general discussion on their reliability with regard to Staffordshire.

6. See: Austin, T. 'Field Books: A Twentieth Century Domesday', The Local Historian, 16.5 (1985) 282-3.

7. P.R.O. Leaflet no.36.

8. One Rood = one-quarter acre.

9. The policy was to ignore names which were crossed-out (as they were not usually accompanied by an acreage, anyway) and also to ignore names inserted over the top of those originally written - they were, anyway, often difficult to read because of being squeezed in, and presumably they indicate recent changes since the first survey.

10. Cf. holdings and farms from estate surveys. In this case, farmers could hold further lands in adjacent parishes and also lands of their own and rented from other landlords within the home parish.

11. A mid-twentieth century study, Coopock, J.T. 'The Relationship of Farm and Parish Boundaries', Geographical Studies, 2.1 (1955) 12-20, found 12% of the lands of one parish to be held by non-resident farmers.

12. See the Bagot survey of 1859, S.R.O. D.1721/3/262/3.

13. There is no equivalent of the 1859 survey or 1851 census for conducting a similar check for this period. The annual June Returns for Agricultural Holdings also, apparently, give sizes of holdings rather than of farms: Coopock, J.T. 'The Statistical Assessment of British Agriculture', A.H.R., 4 (1956) p.70.

14. For the method, see: Mills, D.R. 'The Technique of House Re-Population experience from a Cambridgeshire Village, 1841', The Local Historian, xi (1974) 86-95.

Section Three: Diagrams

(i) Parish and Region Farm Sizes:
Sources:

Tithe Awards: Grindon, Waterfall, Butterton		L.J.R.O.
Parish Surveys: Abbots Bromley	1774	W.S.L.412/40
	1831	S.R.O. D.1721/3/265
Colton	1829-42	do. /267
Blithfield	1846	do. /273
New Doomsdays: all parishes	1910/11	S.R.O.(Earl St.)
Census	1851 & 71	S.R.O. micro-film

(N.B. the date born on the cover of a parish survey is not necessarily the date when it was conducted. For example, Colton survey book is marked 1839, but the watermark of the paper is 1842.)

(ii) tenurial structure:

see text for categories.

Left-hand bar-charts:
percentage of the formed total (i.e. total minus parks, woodlands, and 'in hand' lands belonging to the large landowners) of the parish
occupied by:- the tenants (blank)
mixed function (horizontal)
owner-occupants (shaded)

Middle bar-charts:
percentage of all those occupying lands (of an acre and above) in the parish:
the tenants (blank)
mixed function (horizontal)
owner-occupants (shaded)

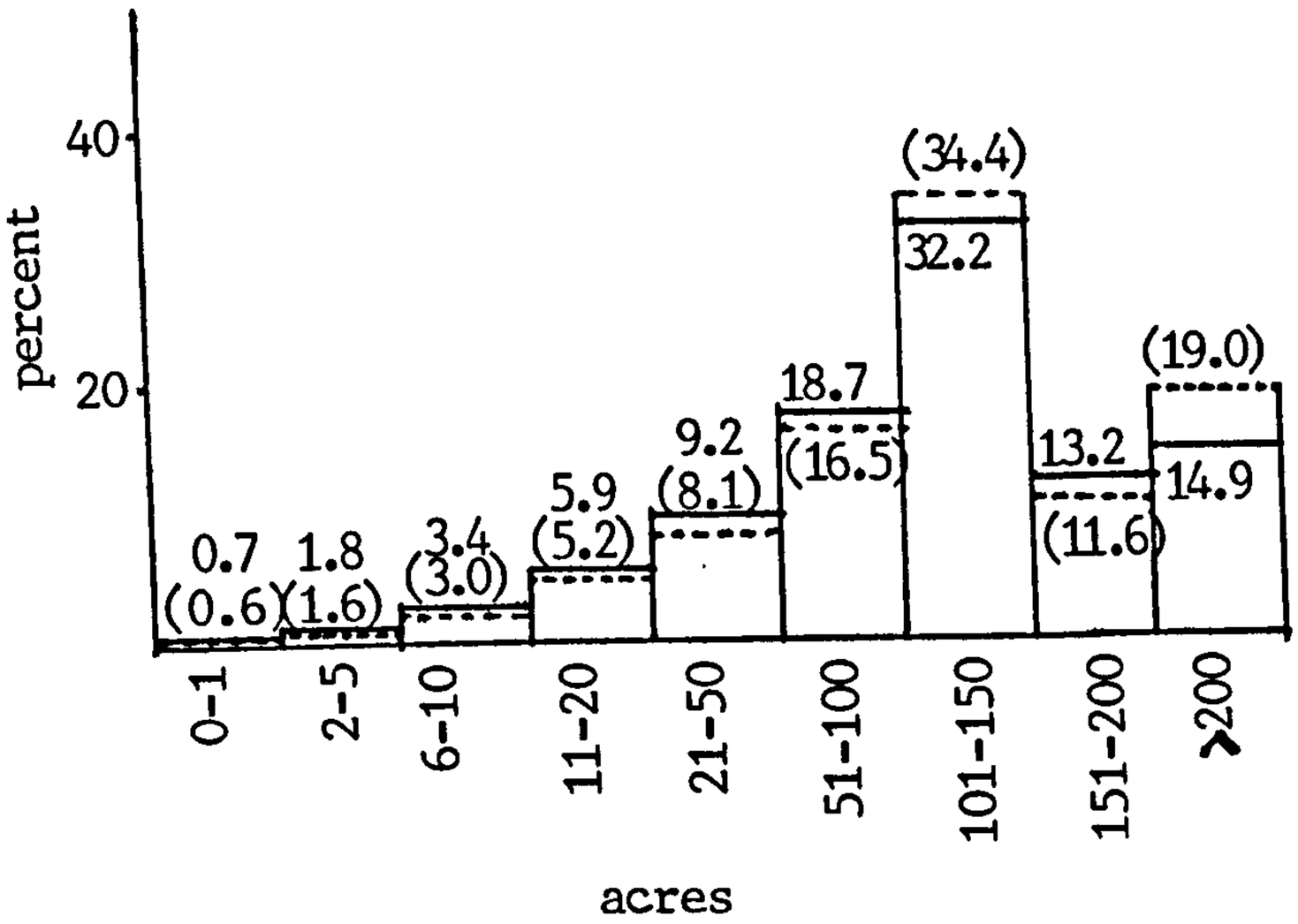
Right-hand bar-charts:
percentage of the total acreage of the parish owned by:-
landlords (blank)
mixed function & owner-occupants (shaded)
in parks, woodlands, or 'in hand' lands* (horizontal)
(*includ. Home Farm of Bagots in Blithfield)

Sources: as for (i), above, but minus census, and with addition of the Land Tax Returns for 1780 (S.R.O. Q/RP/1 - all parishes except Abbots Bromley).

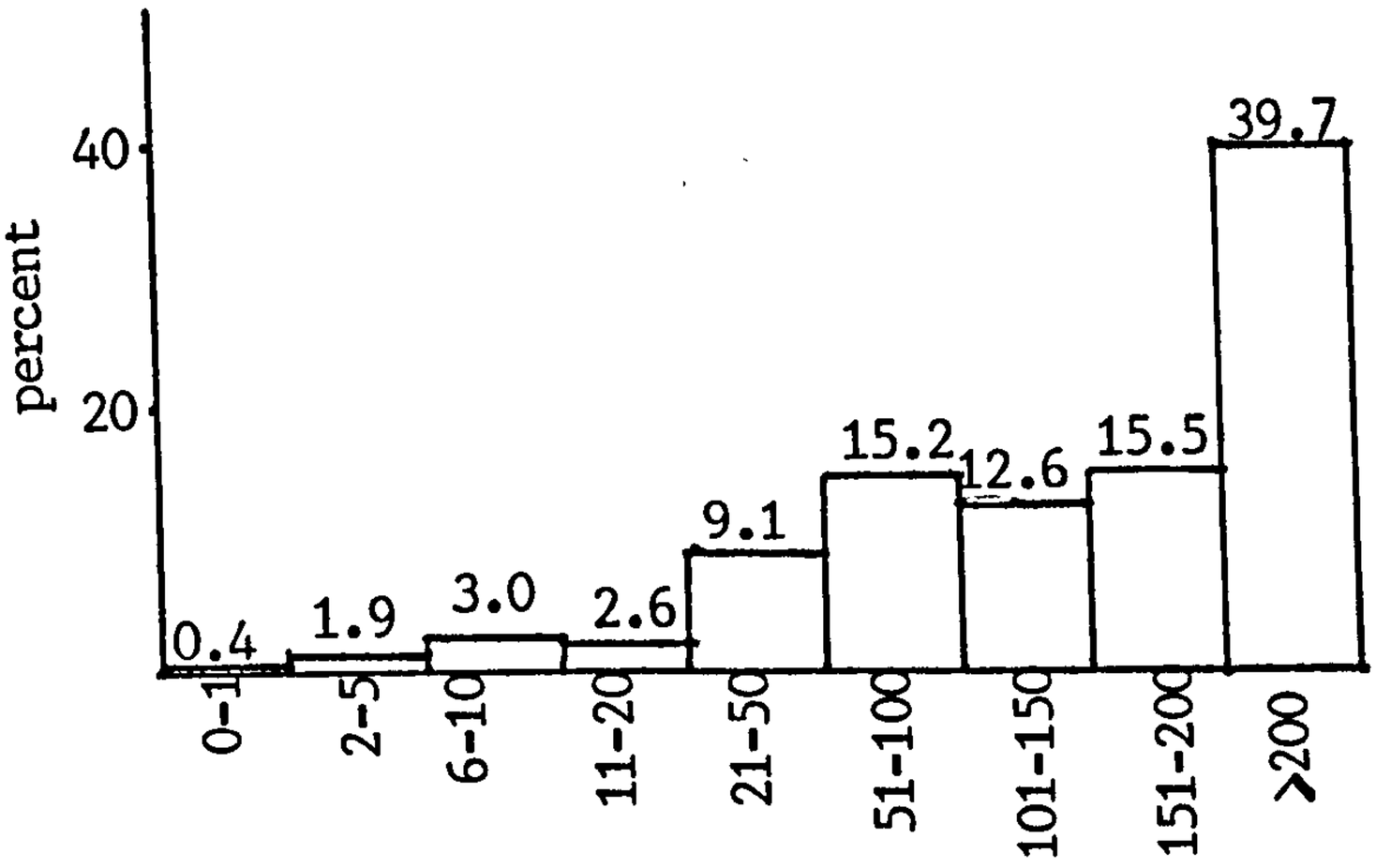
FARM SIZES

ABBOTS BROMLEY

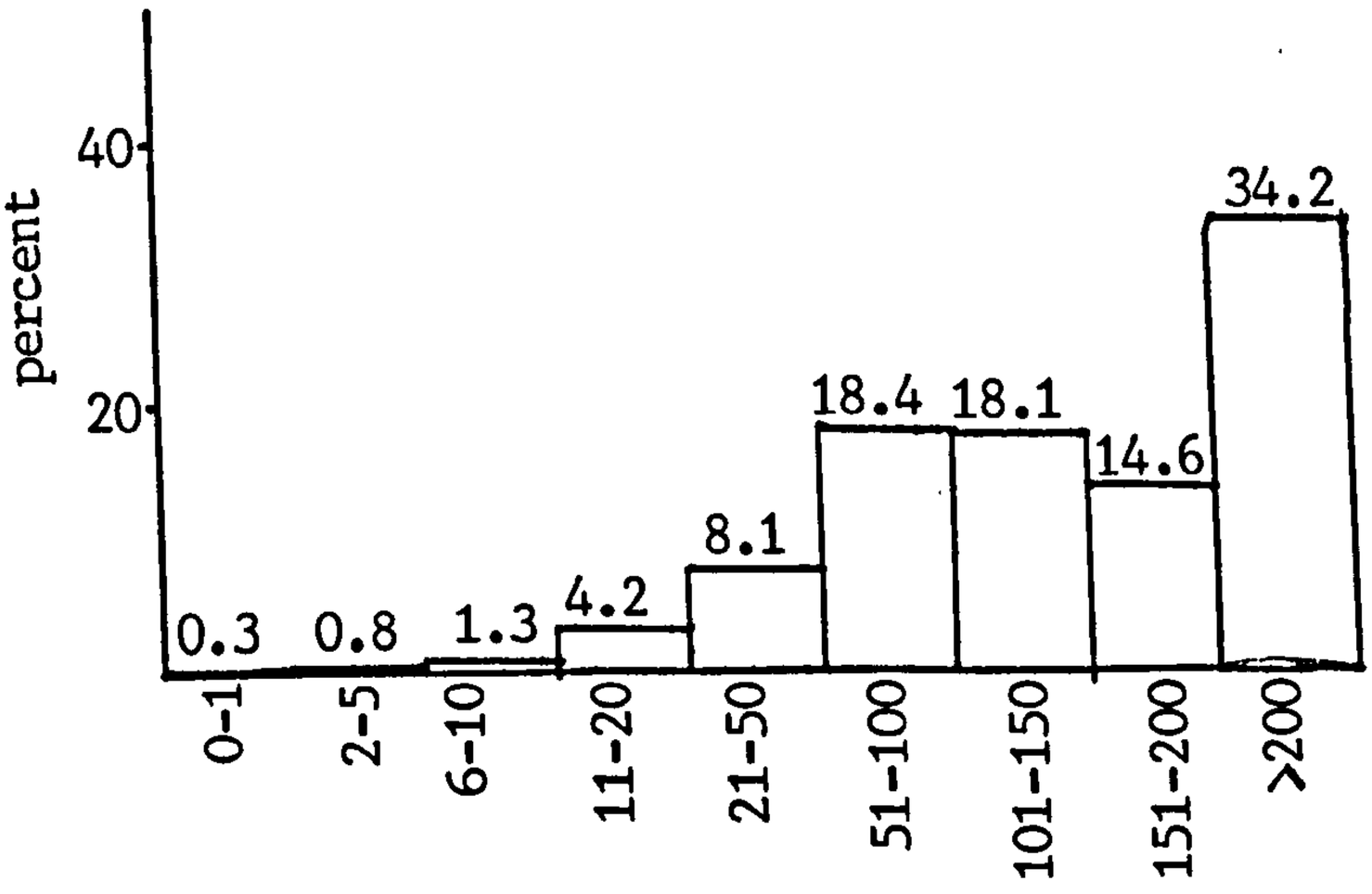
1774+



1831



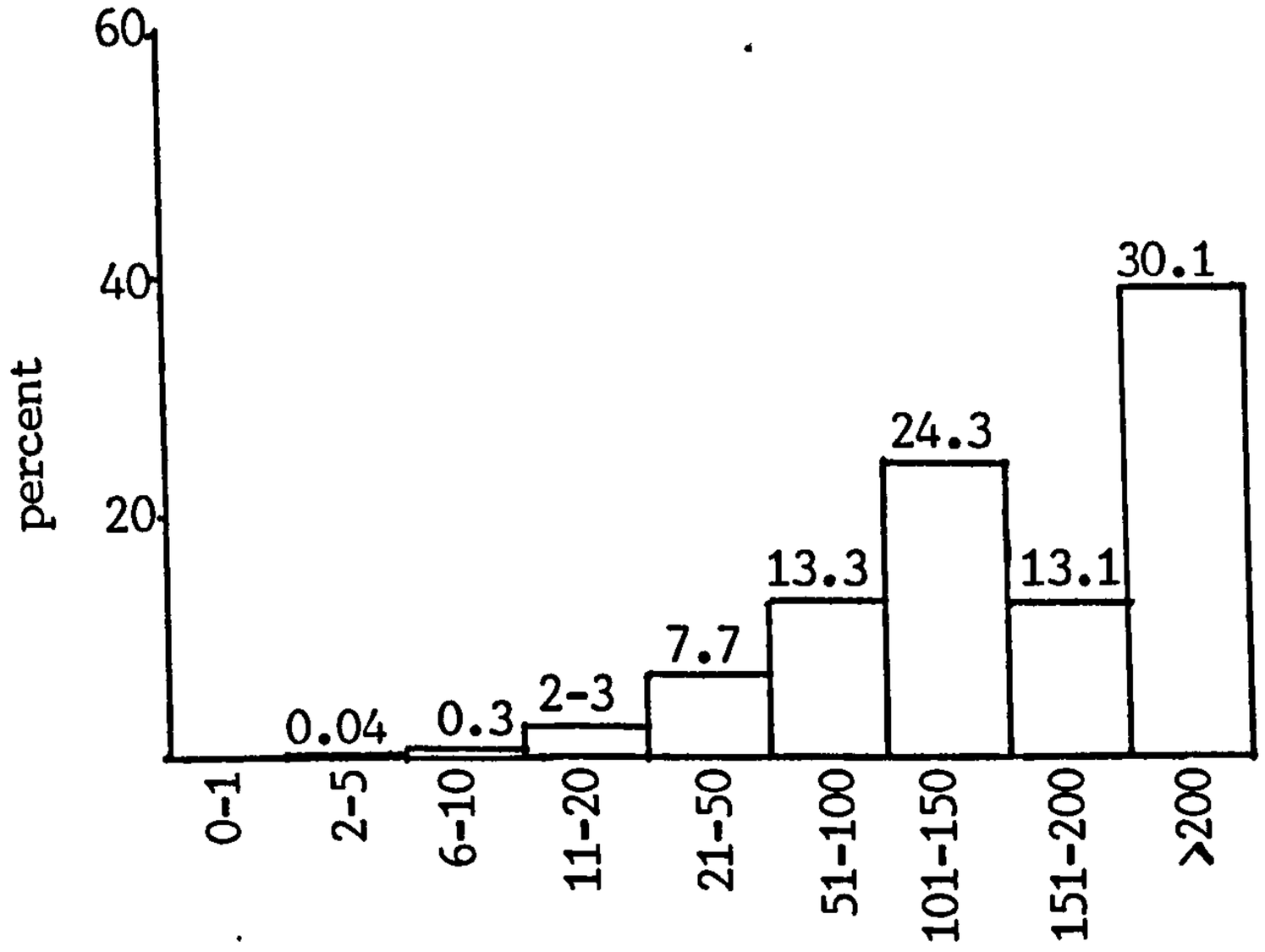
1910



Notes:

+ Unbroken lines and figures without brackets represent survey without inclusion of Bromley Park Farms. Broken line and figures in brackets includes them.

ABBOTS BROMLEY: 1851 Census

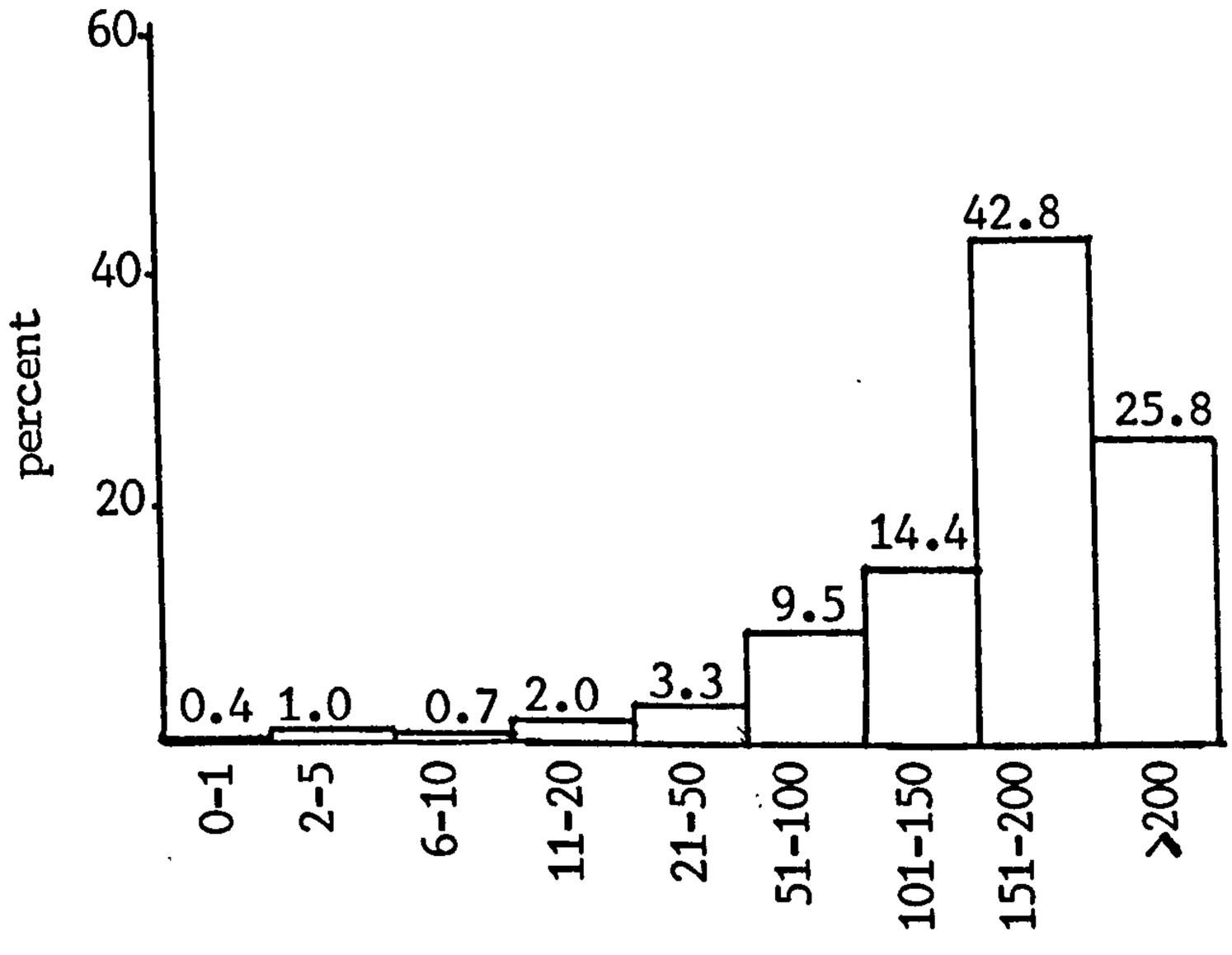


Notes:

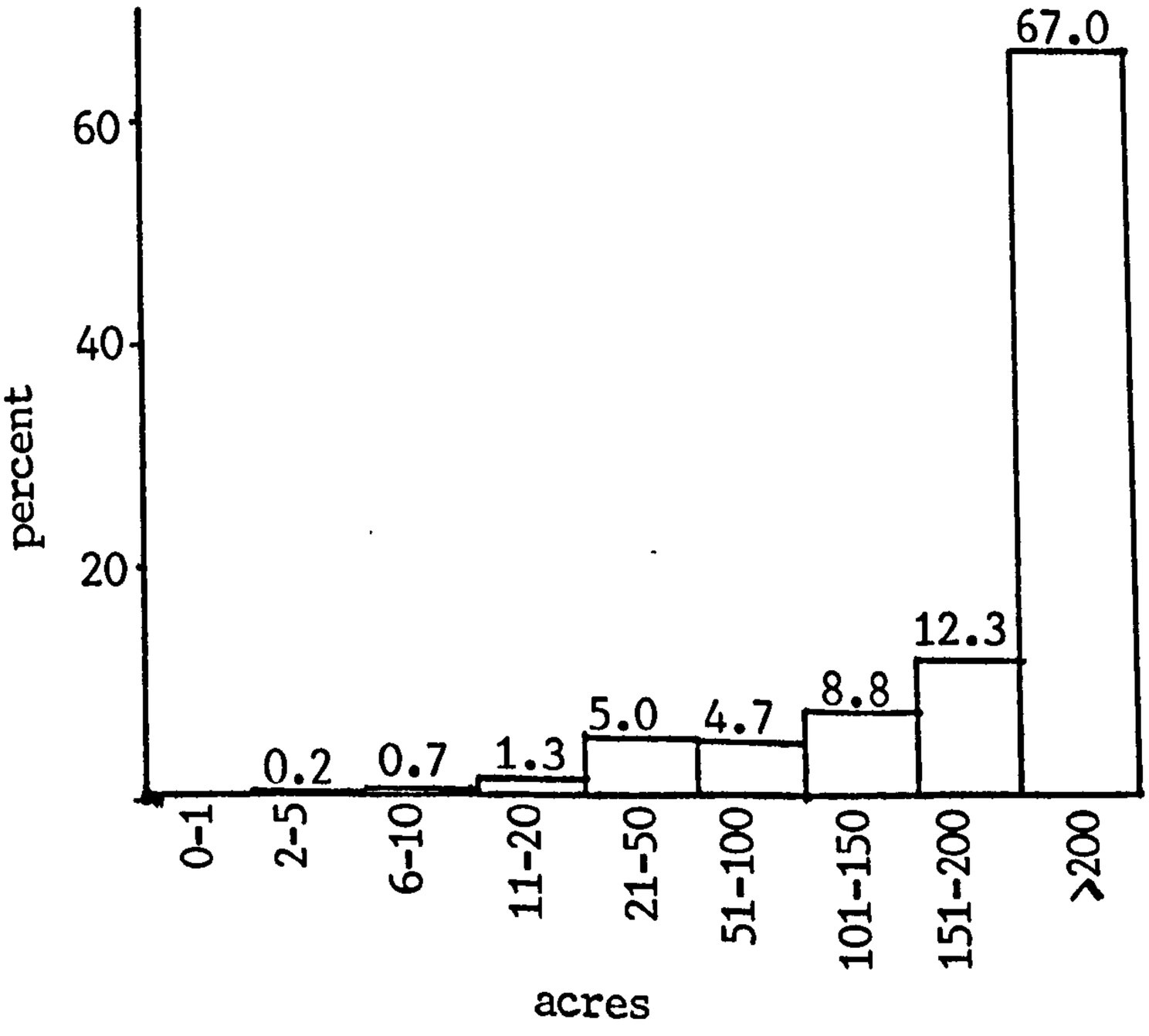
The total acreage represented by the farms in the census is about 130 acres more than the total in the survey of the parish in 1831. One "farmer" who did not state his acreage has been excluded.

BLITHFIELD

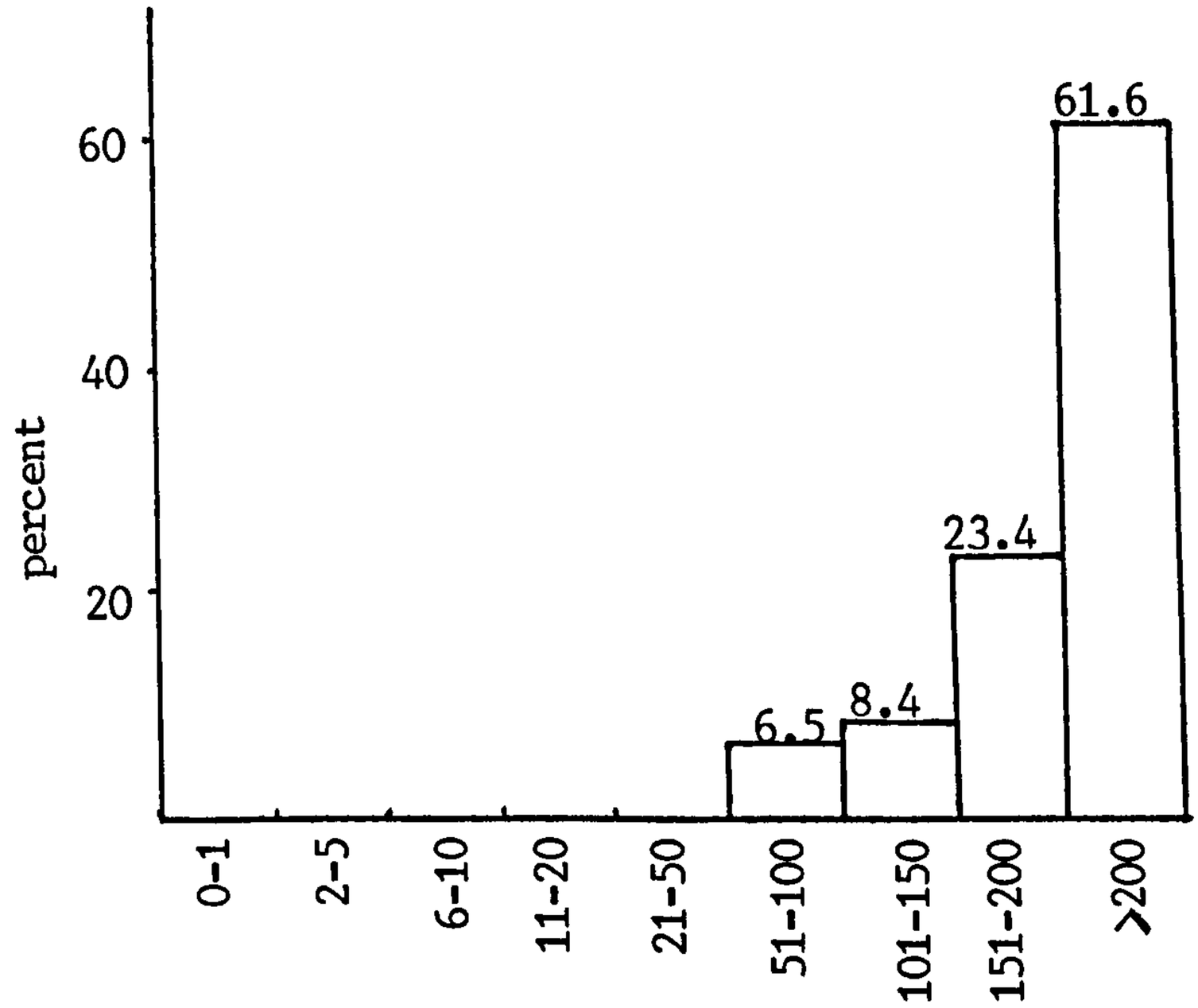
1846



1910



BLITHFIELD: 1851 Census

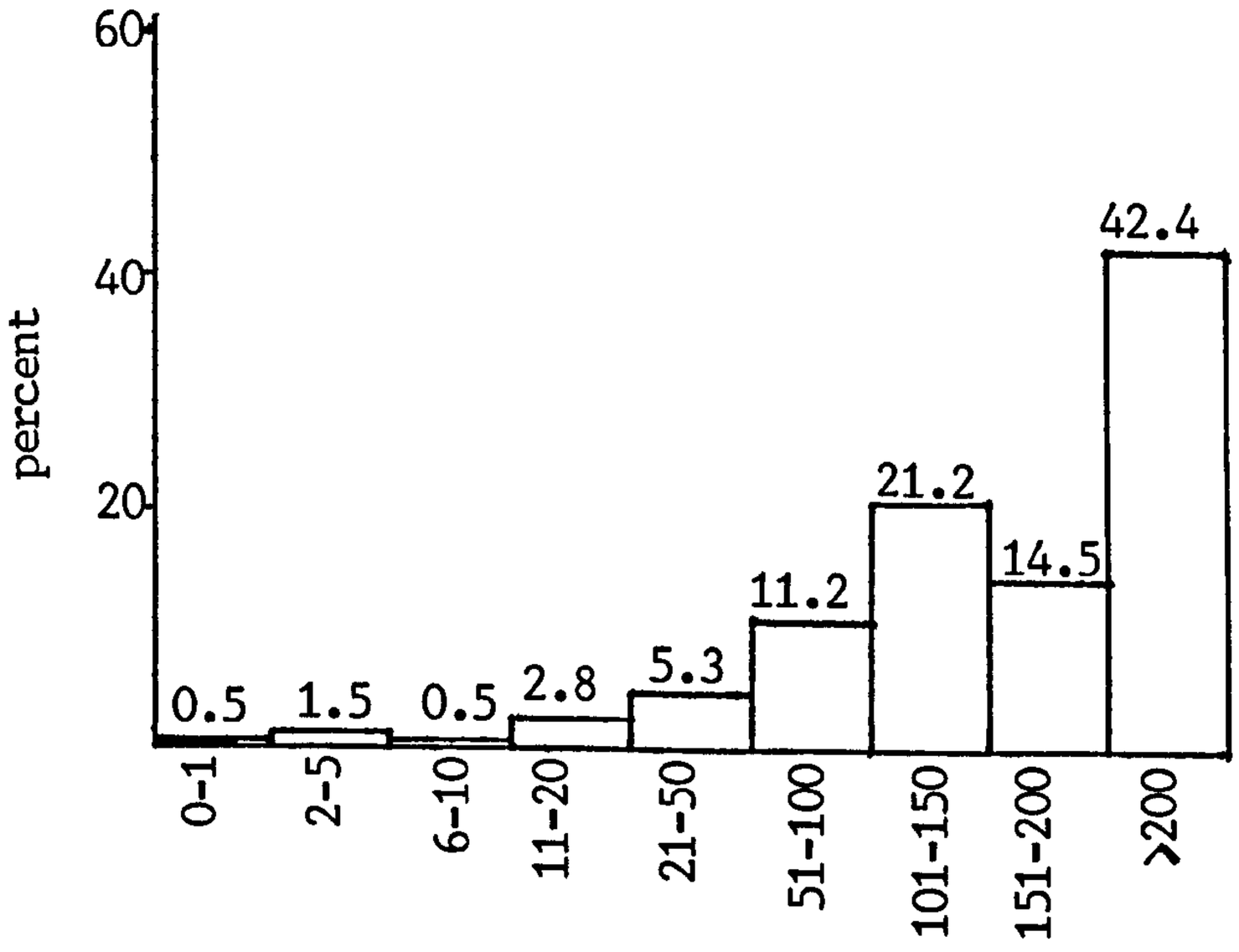


Notes:

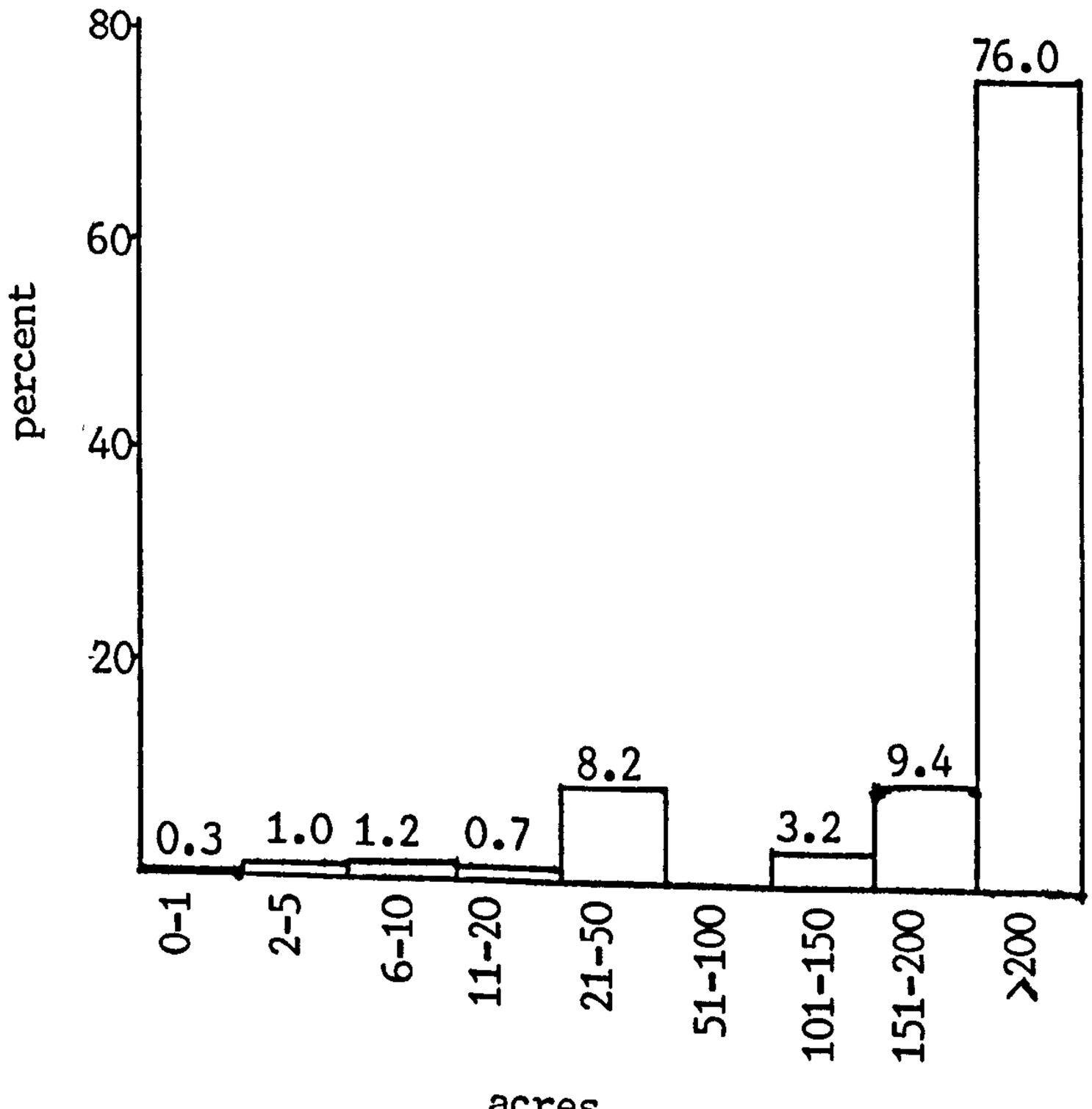
The total acreage represented by the farms in the census is about 350 acres more than the total in the survey of 1846.
Two "farmers" who do not state their acreage have been excluded.

COLTON

1839-42

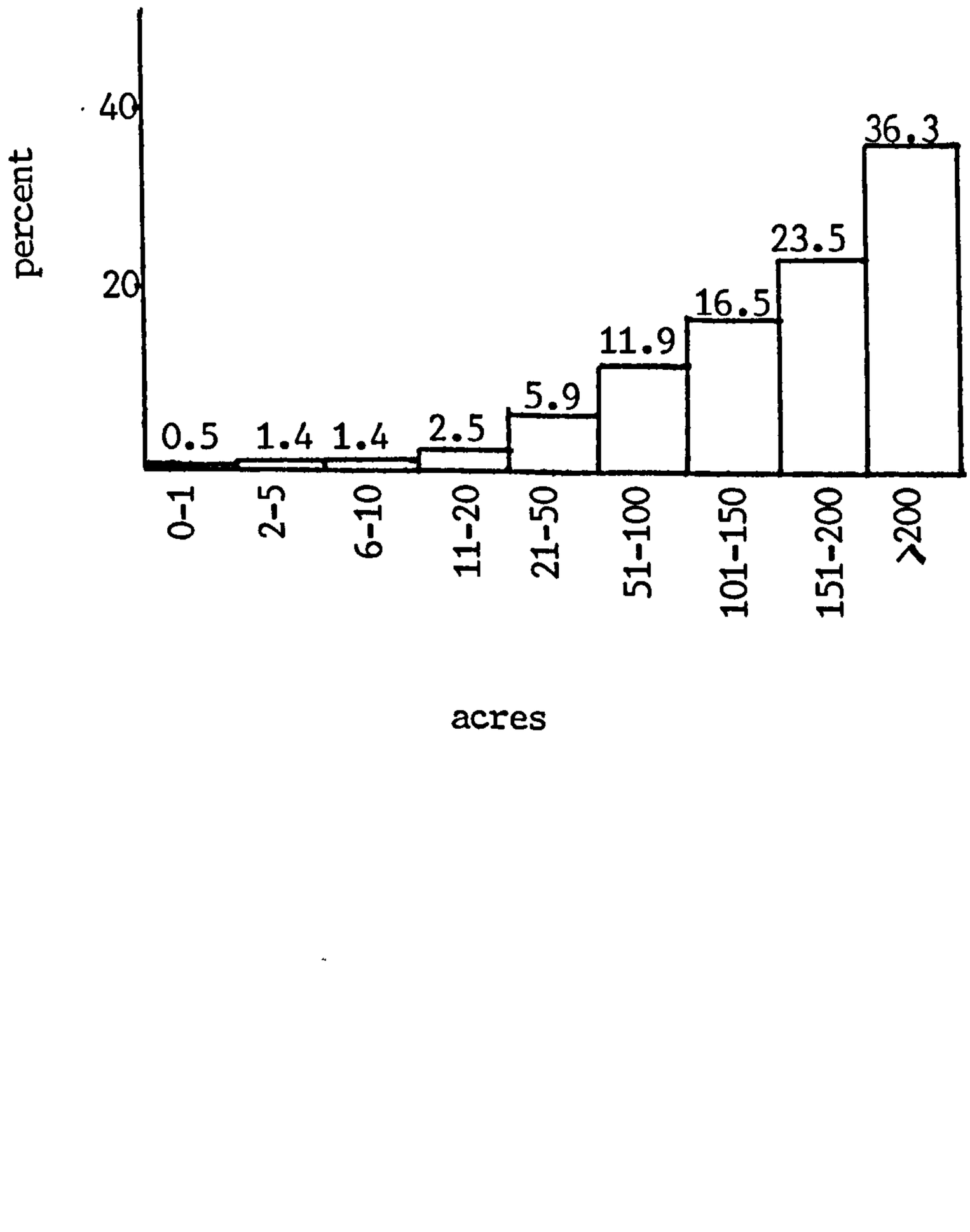


1910



LOWLANDS "Tithe" Abbots Bromley (1831), Blithfield (1846), Colton (1839-42)

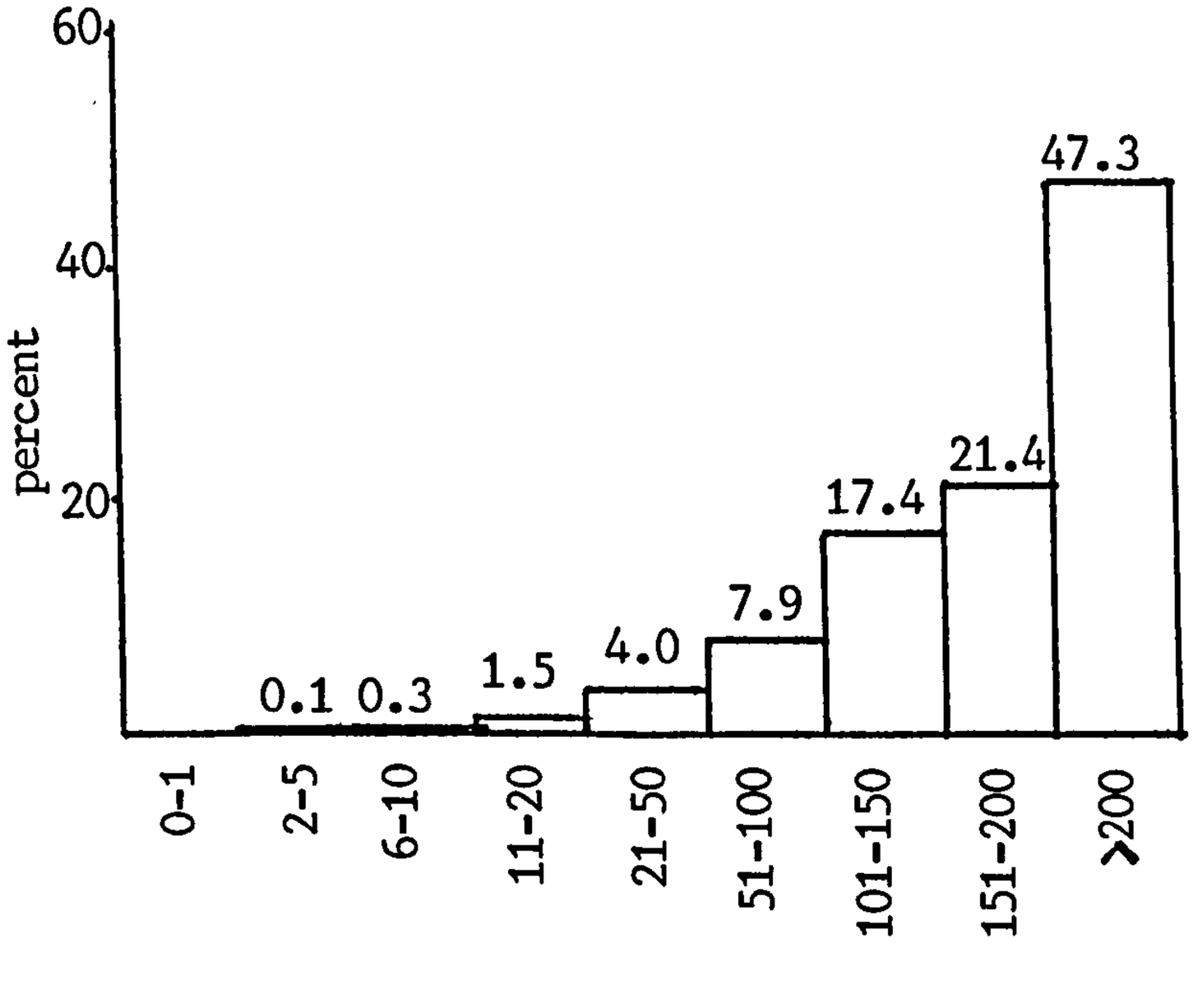
The figures represent the average for the three parishes.



LOWLANDS: 1851 Census:

Abbots Bromley, Blithfield, Colwich and Stowe.

The figures represent the average for the four parishes.



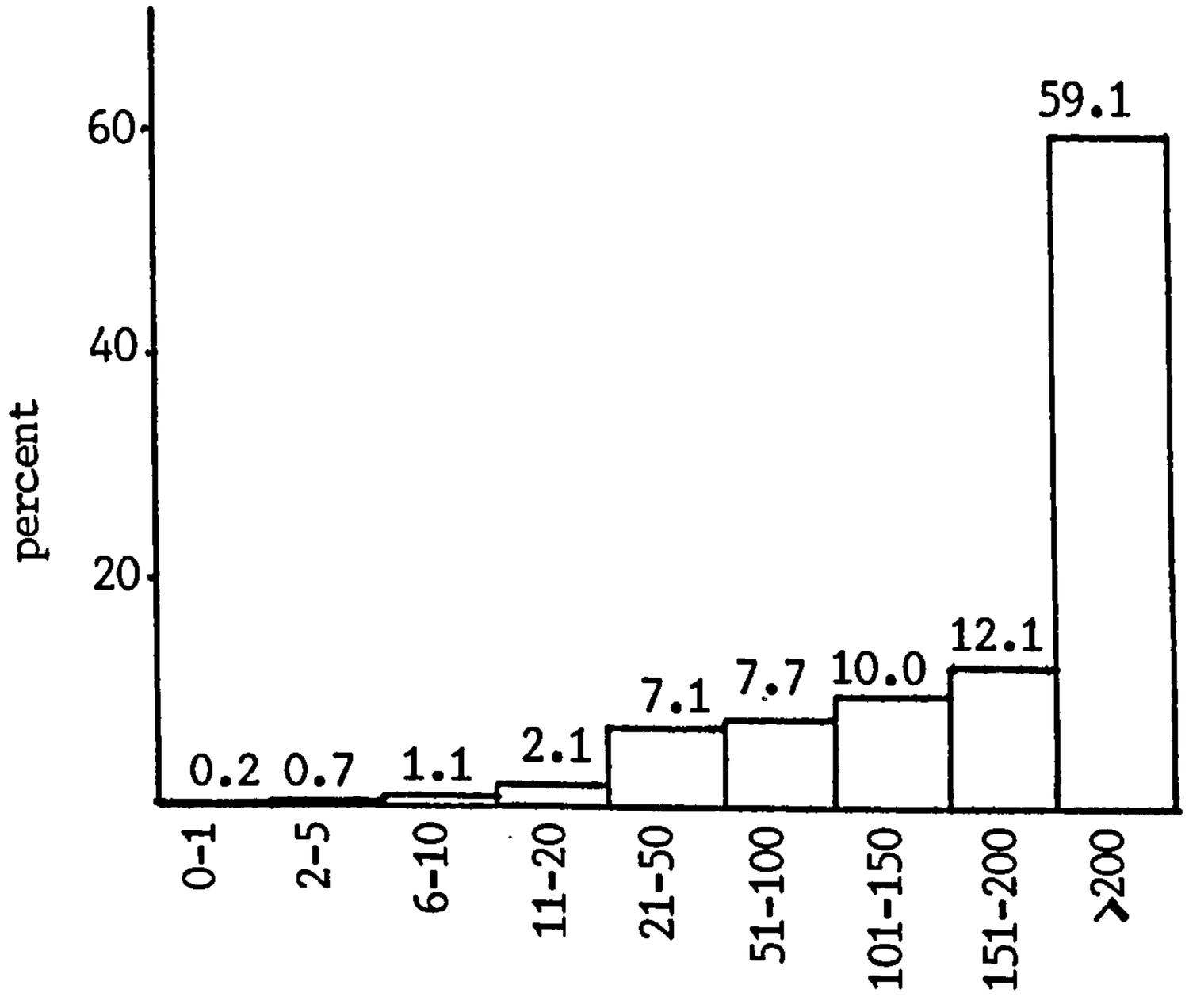
Notes:

1) Four "farmers" who do not state their acreages have been excluded.

2) The Colton 1851 census was inadequate for this exercise, and so Colwich and Stowe have been substituted in its place (see map 2).

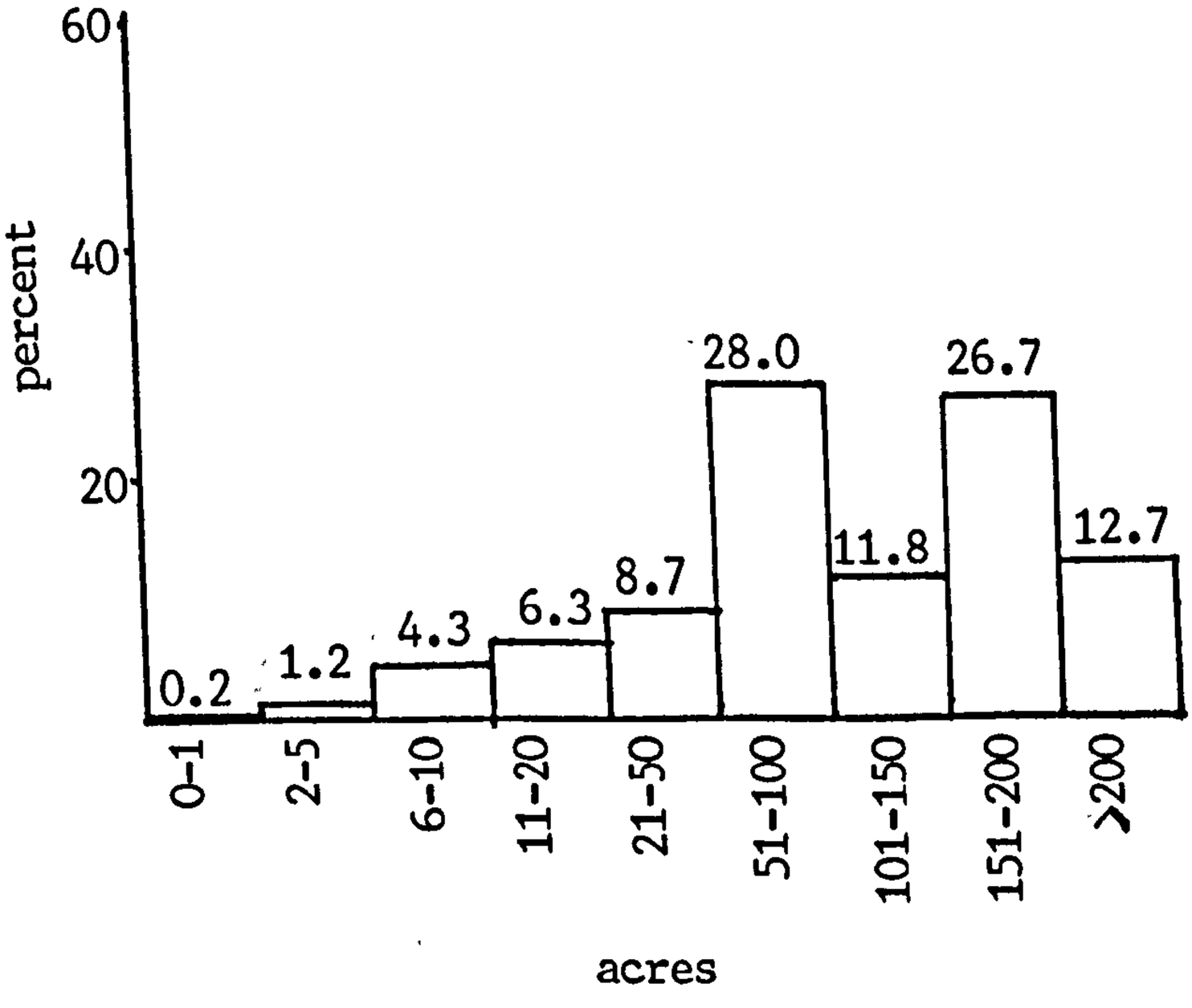
LOWLANDS: New Doomsday 1910/11: Abbots Bromley, Blithfield, and Colton

The figures represent the average for the three parishes.



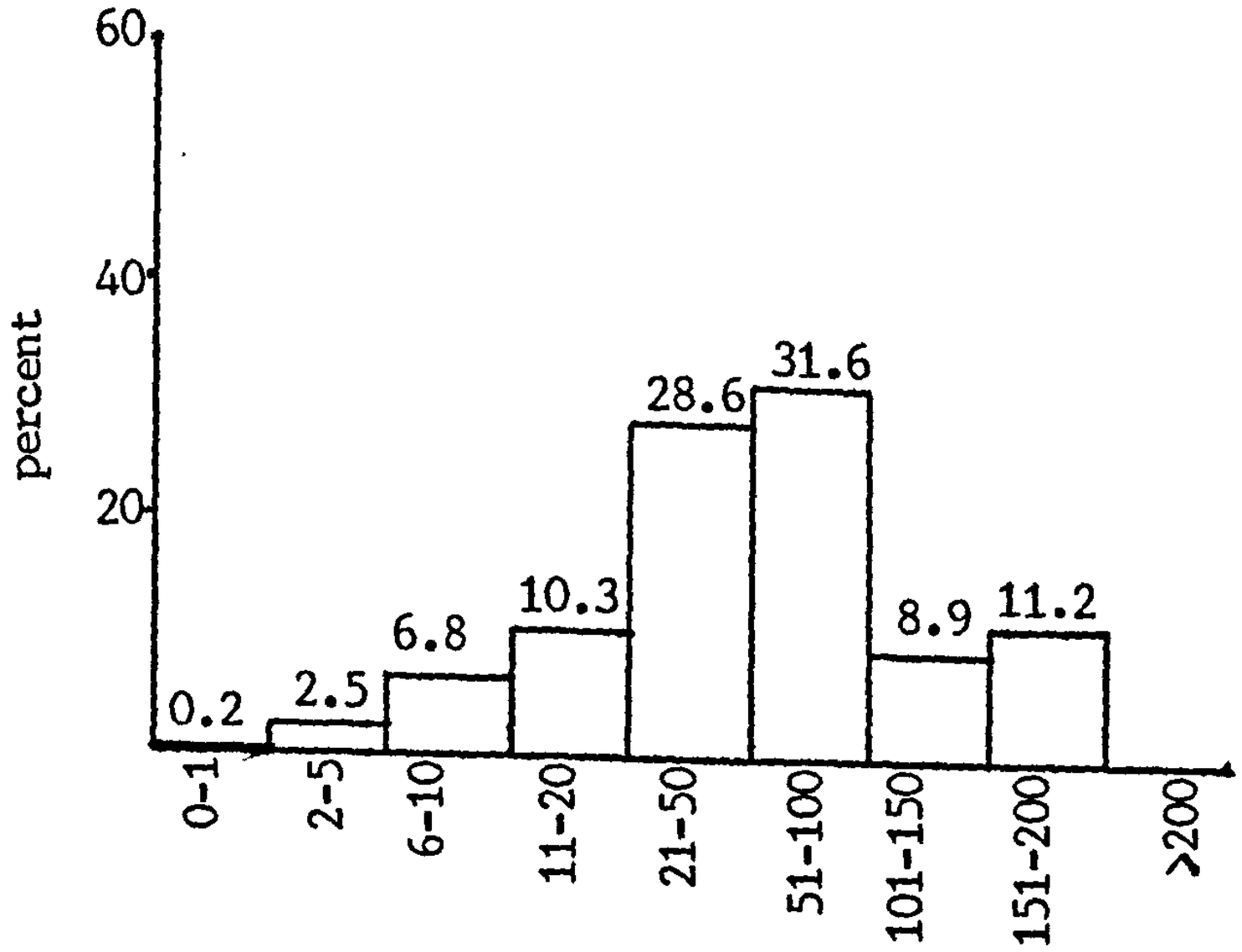
WETTON (Doomsday only)

1911

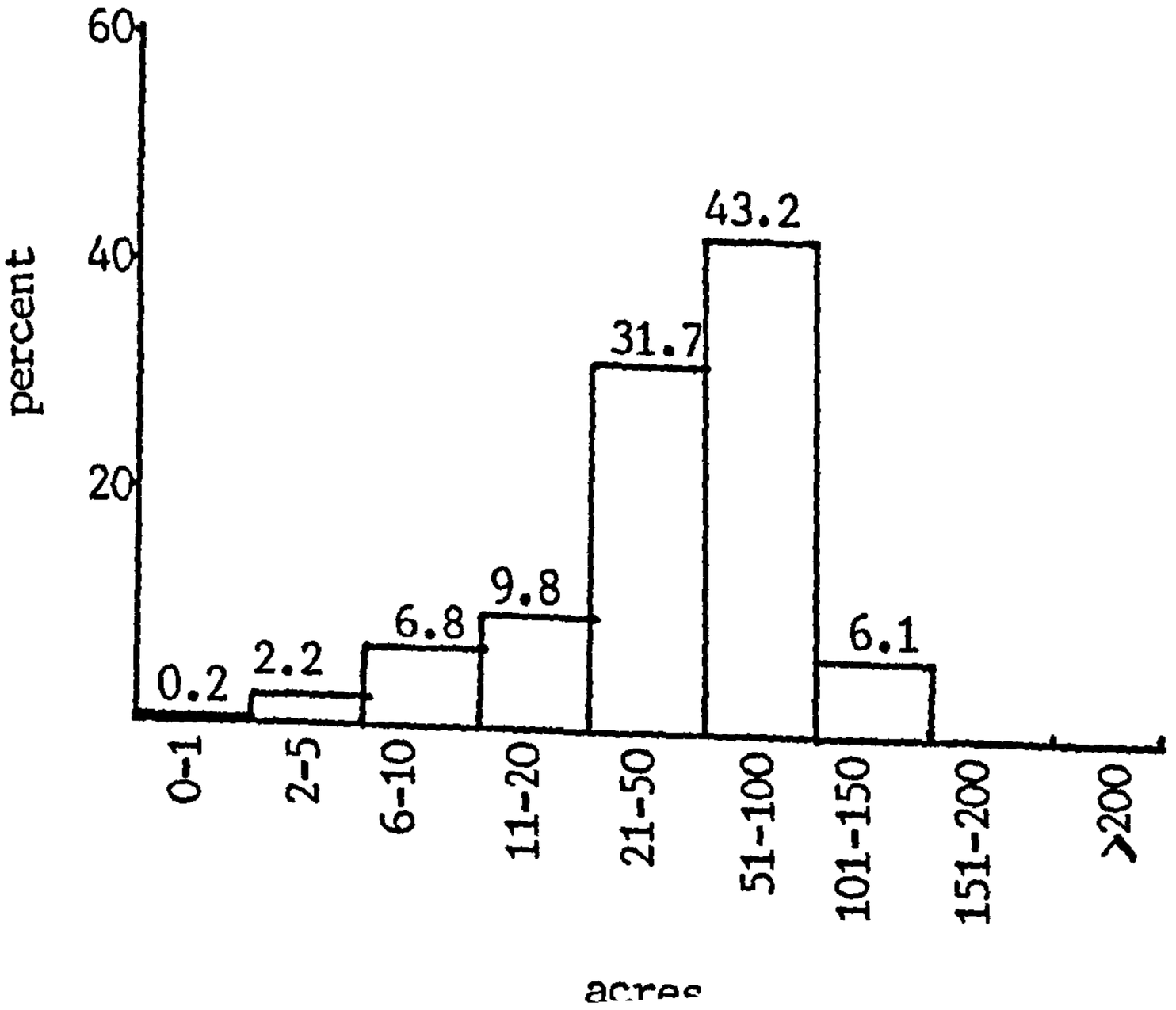


WATERFALL

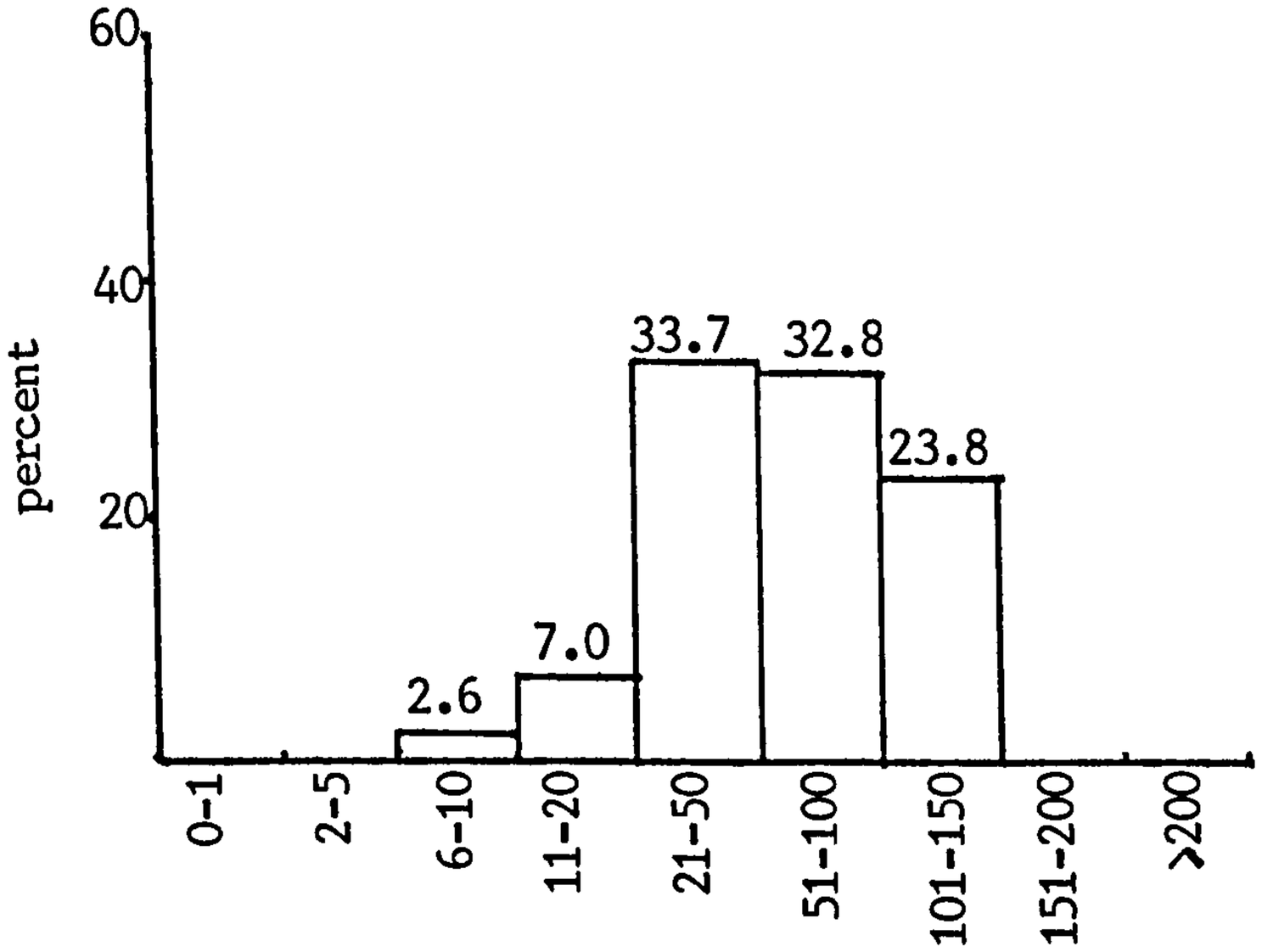
1847



1911



WATERFALL: 1851 Census

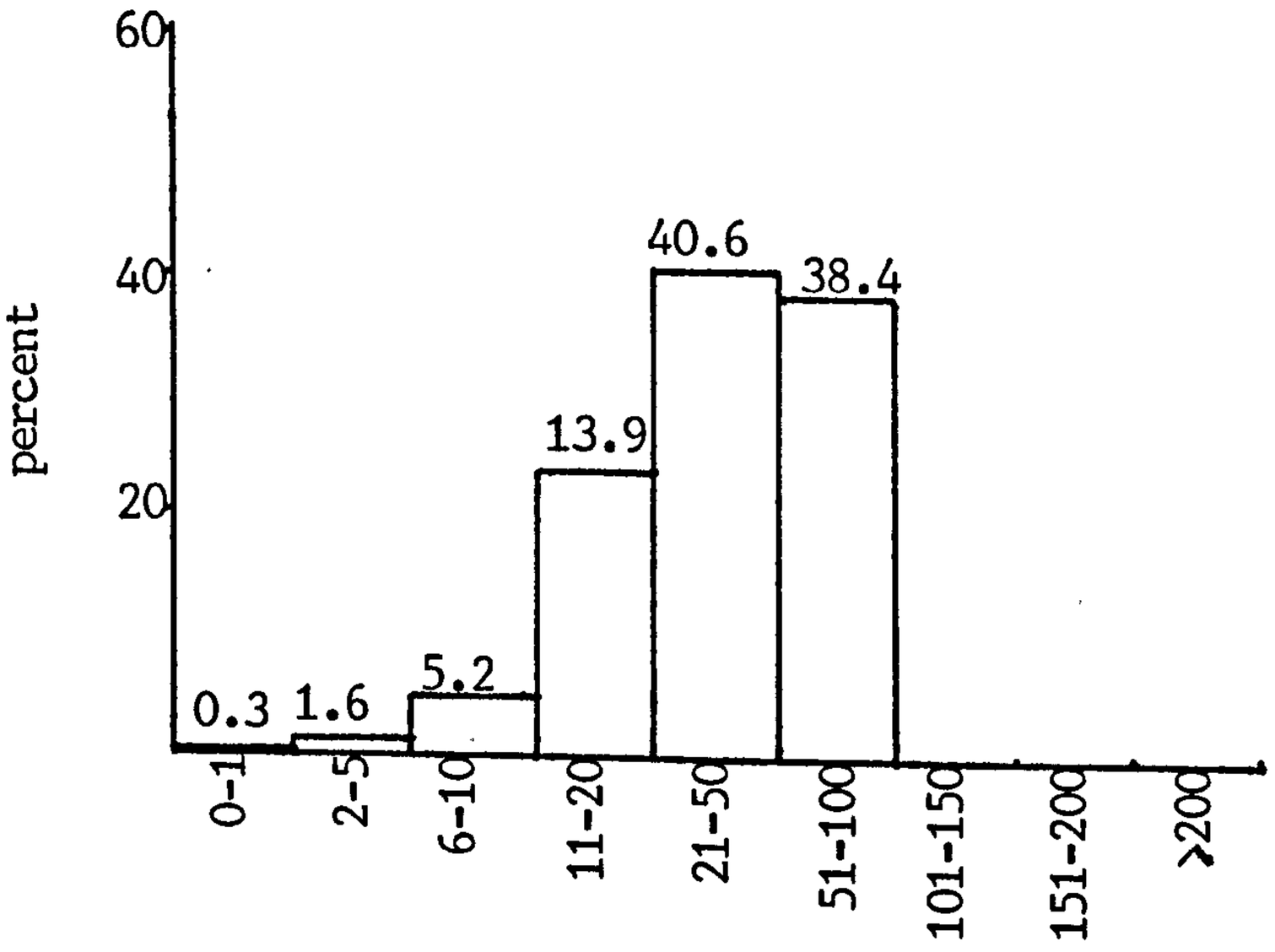


Notes:-

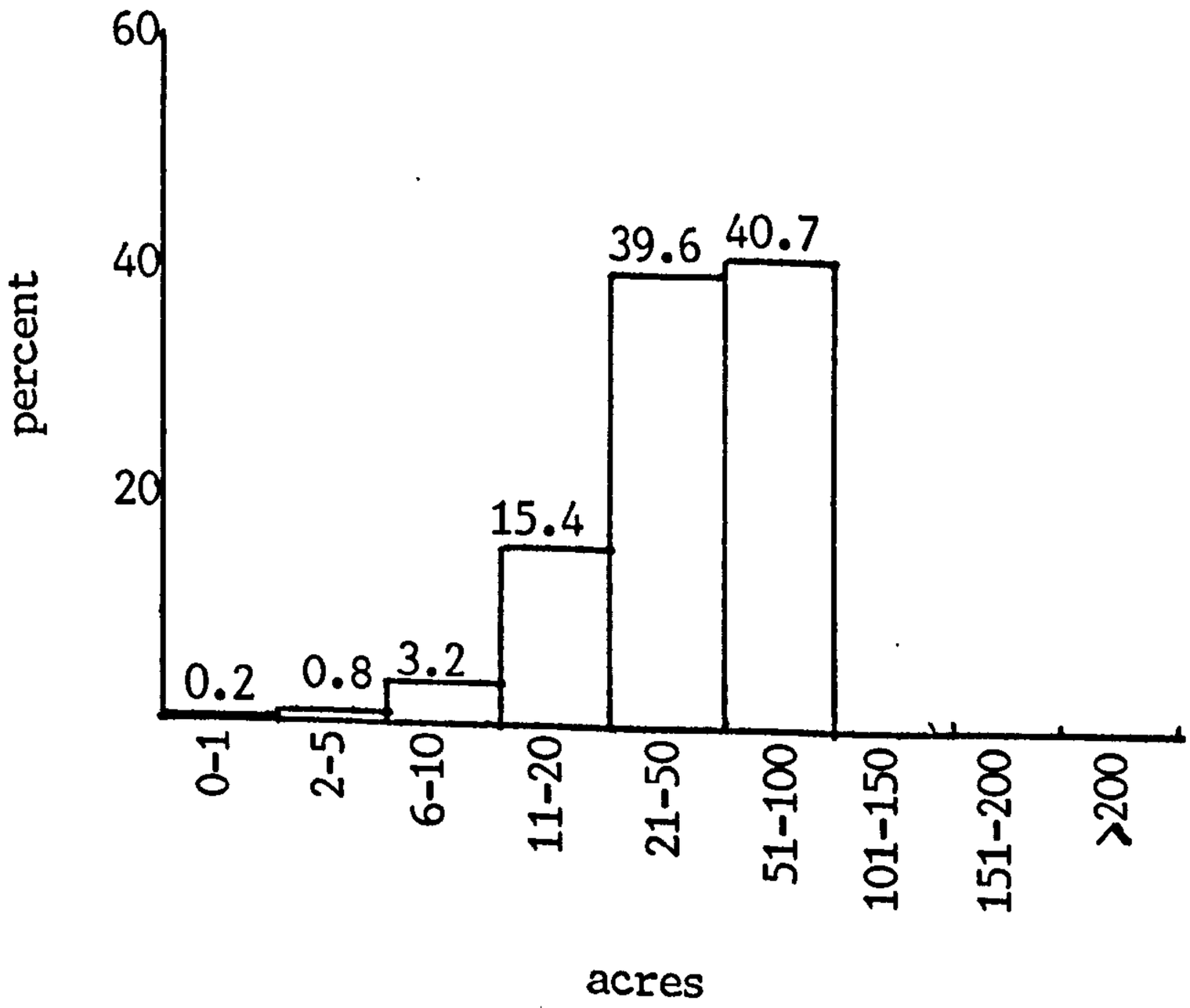
The total acreage represented by the farms in the census is about 75 acres less than the total given in the tithe award of 1847.

BUTTERTON

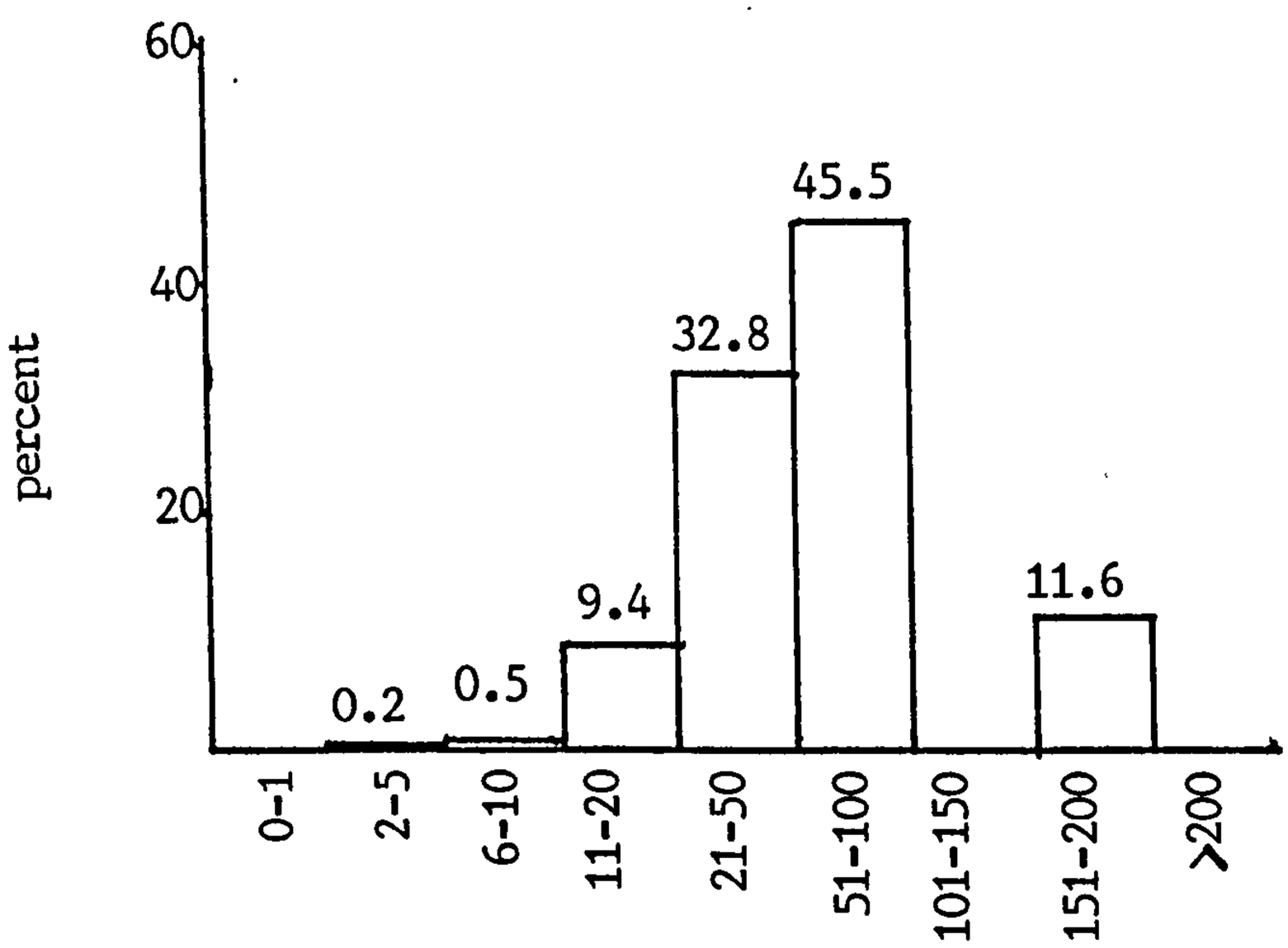
1847



1910



BUTTERTON: 1851 Census



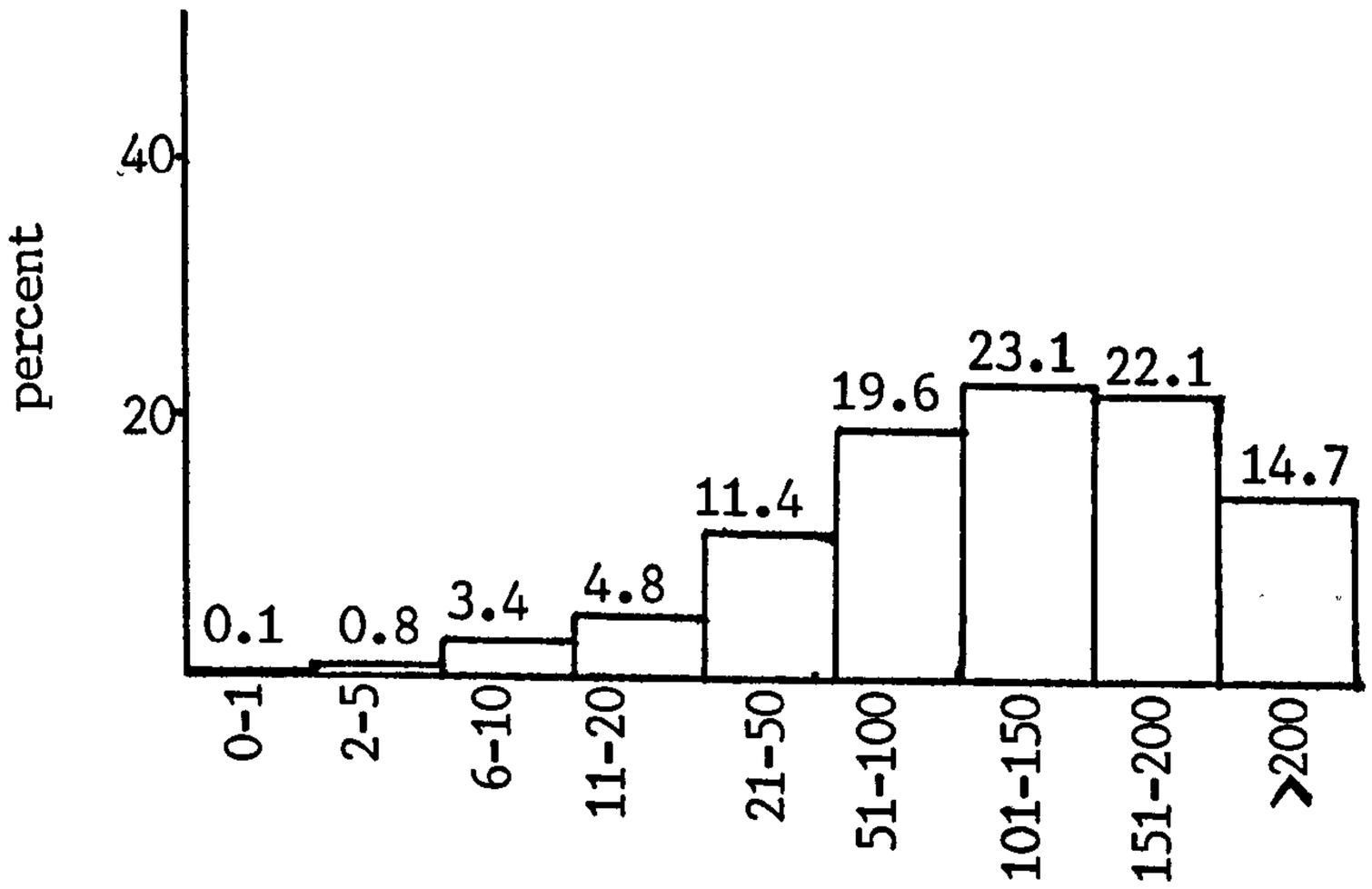
Notes:

The total acreage represented by the farms in the census is about 15 acres more than the total given in the tithe award of 1847.

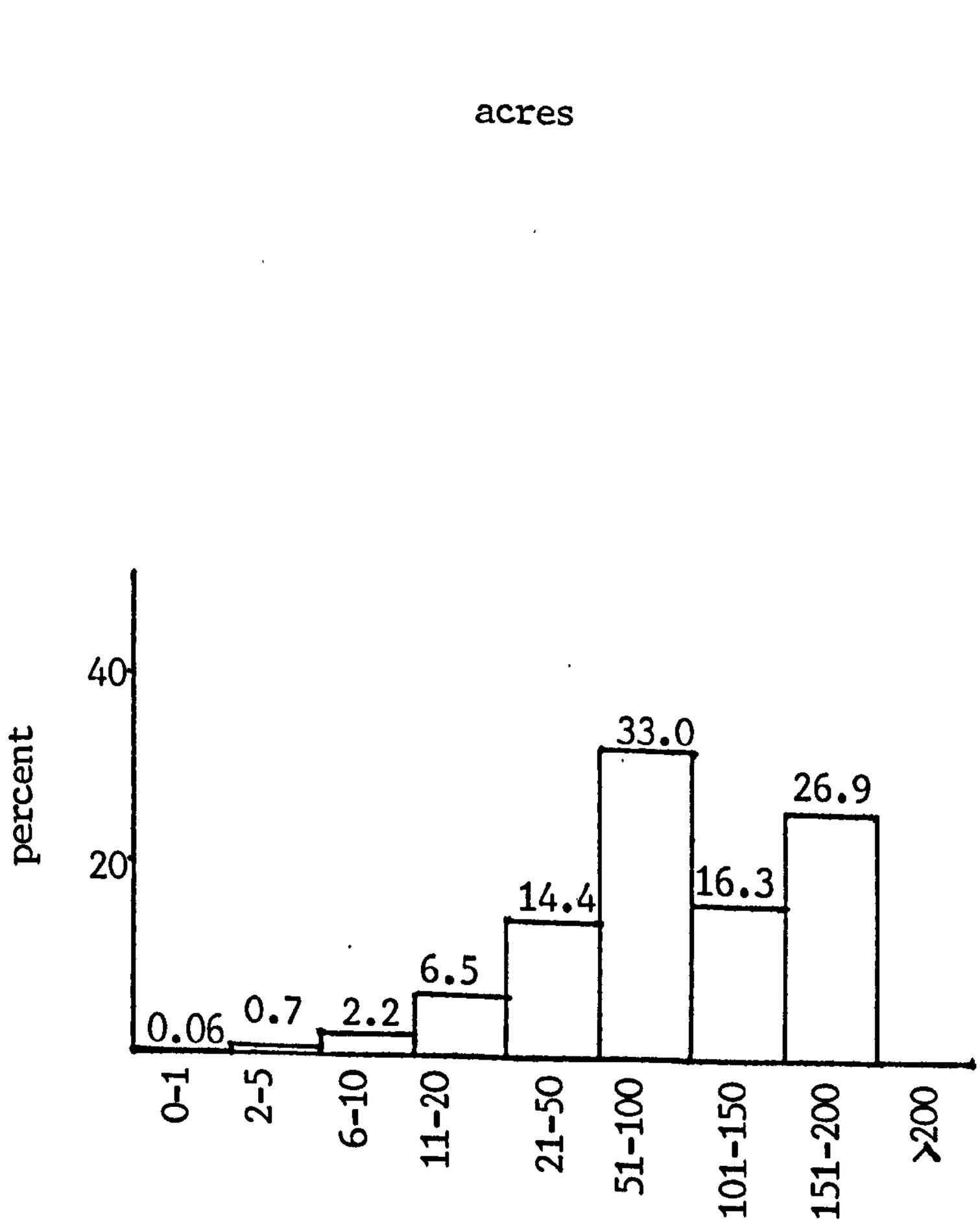
Two "farmers" who do not state their acreages have been excluded.

GRINDON

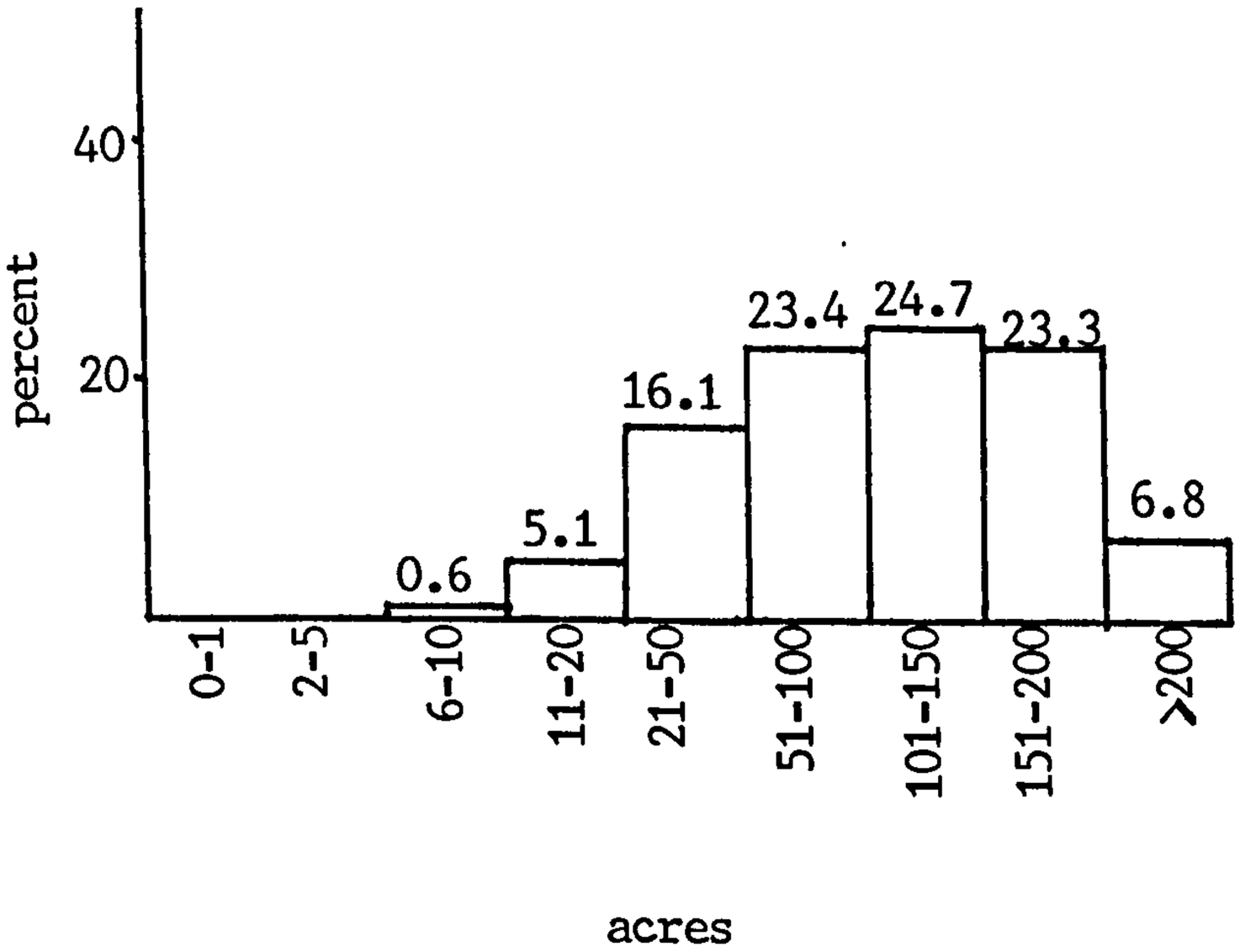
1839



1910



GRINDON: 1851 Census

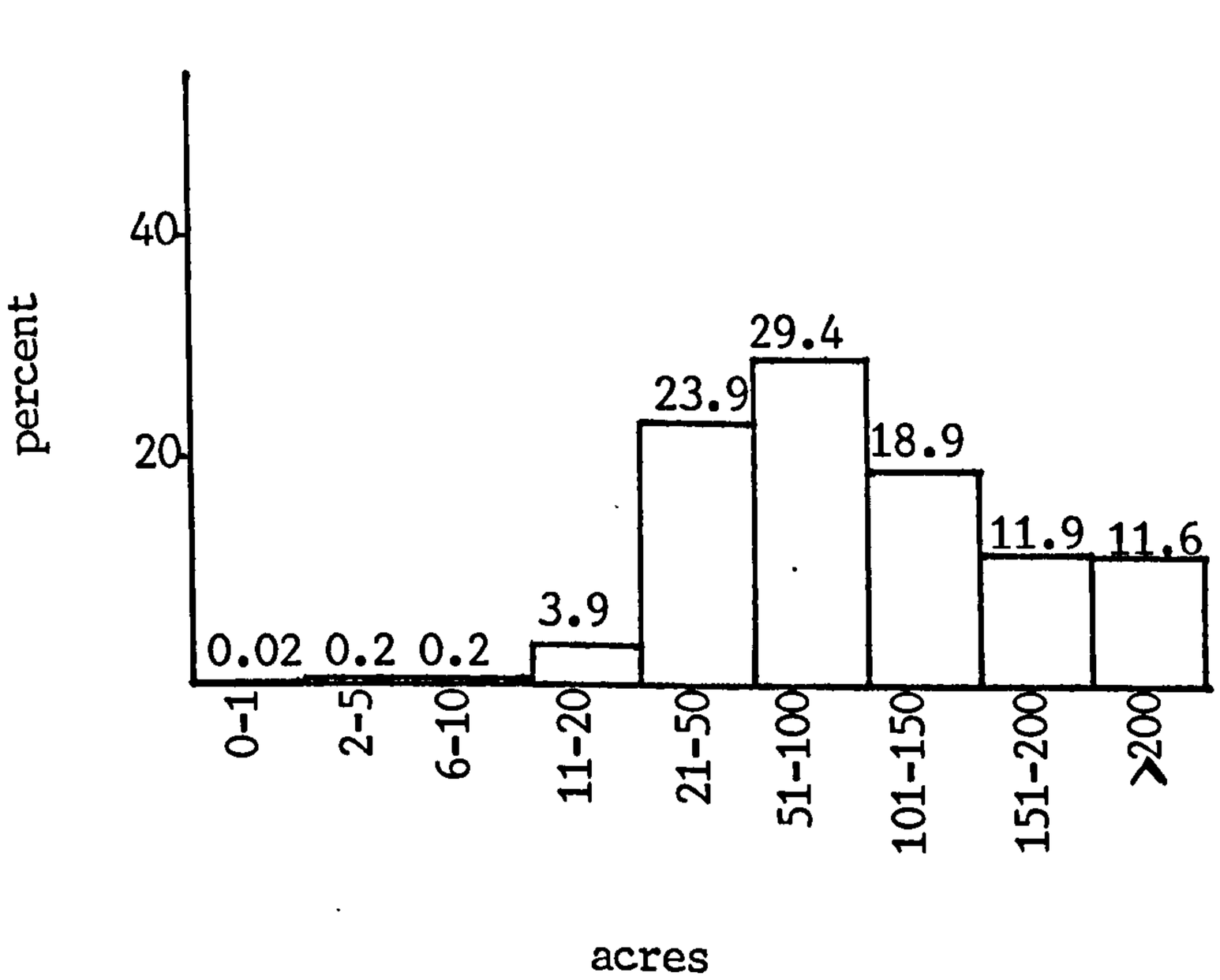


Notes:

The total acreage represented by the farms in the census is about 150 acres less than the total given in the tithe award for 1839.

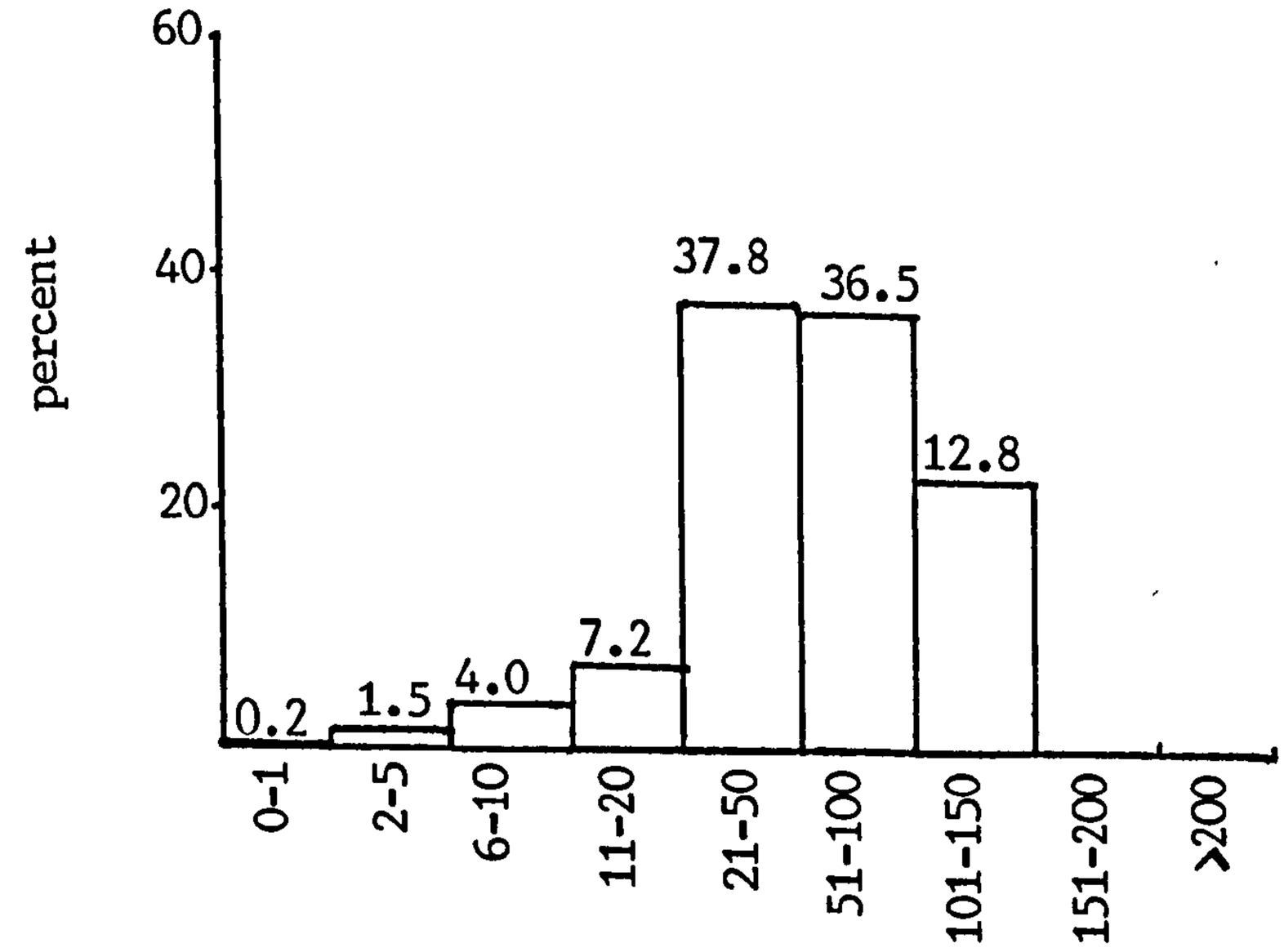
ONECOTE (Doomsday only)

1911



WARSLOW AND ELKSTONES (Doomsday only)

1911



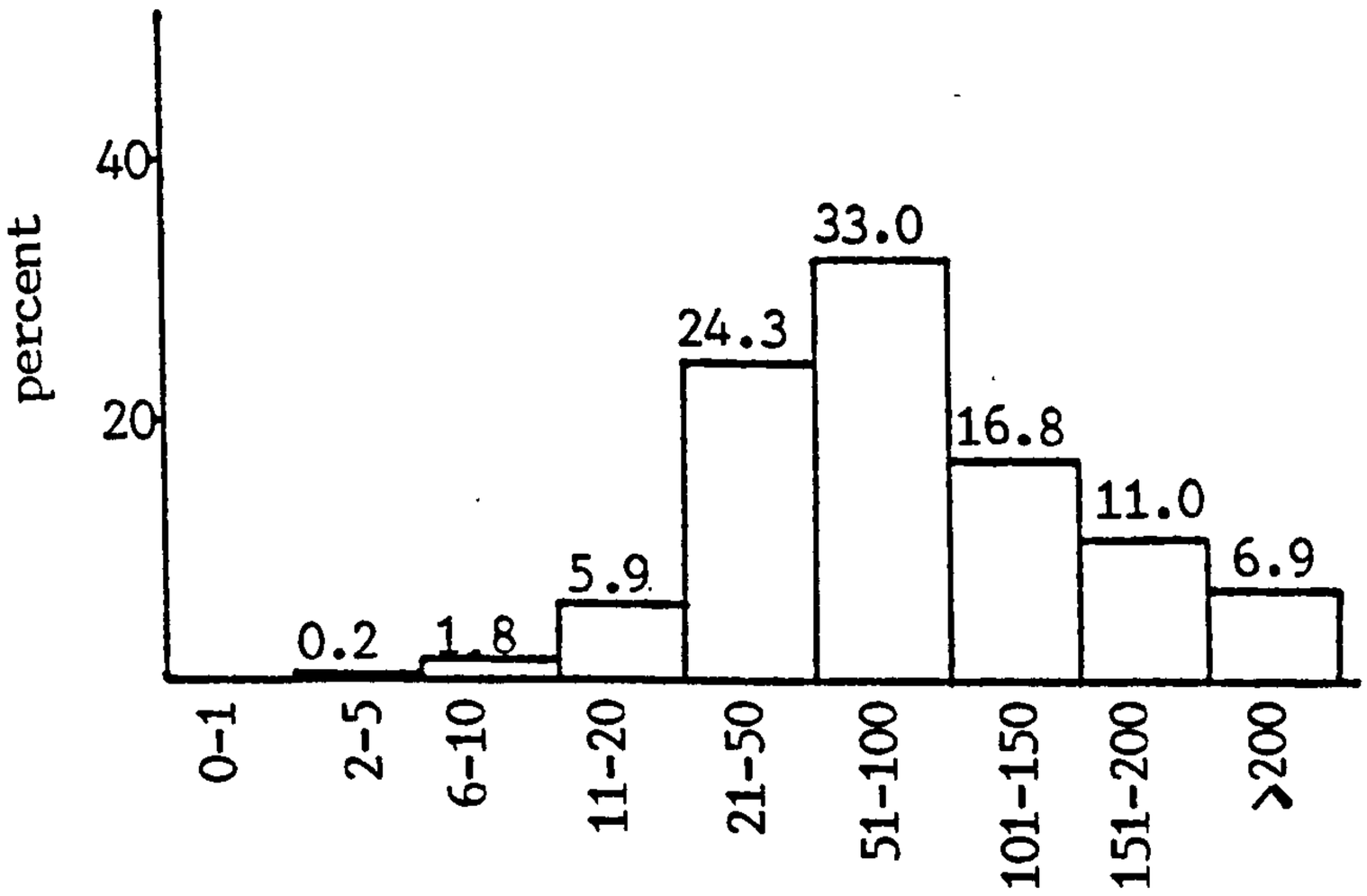
MOORLANDS: Tithe: Butterton (1847), Waterfall (1847) and Grindon (1839).

The figures represent the average for the three parishes.

MOORLANDS: 1851 Census

Waterfall, Butterton, Grindon, Wetton, Onecote, Warslow and Elkstones combined.

The figures represent the average for the six parishes combined.

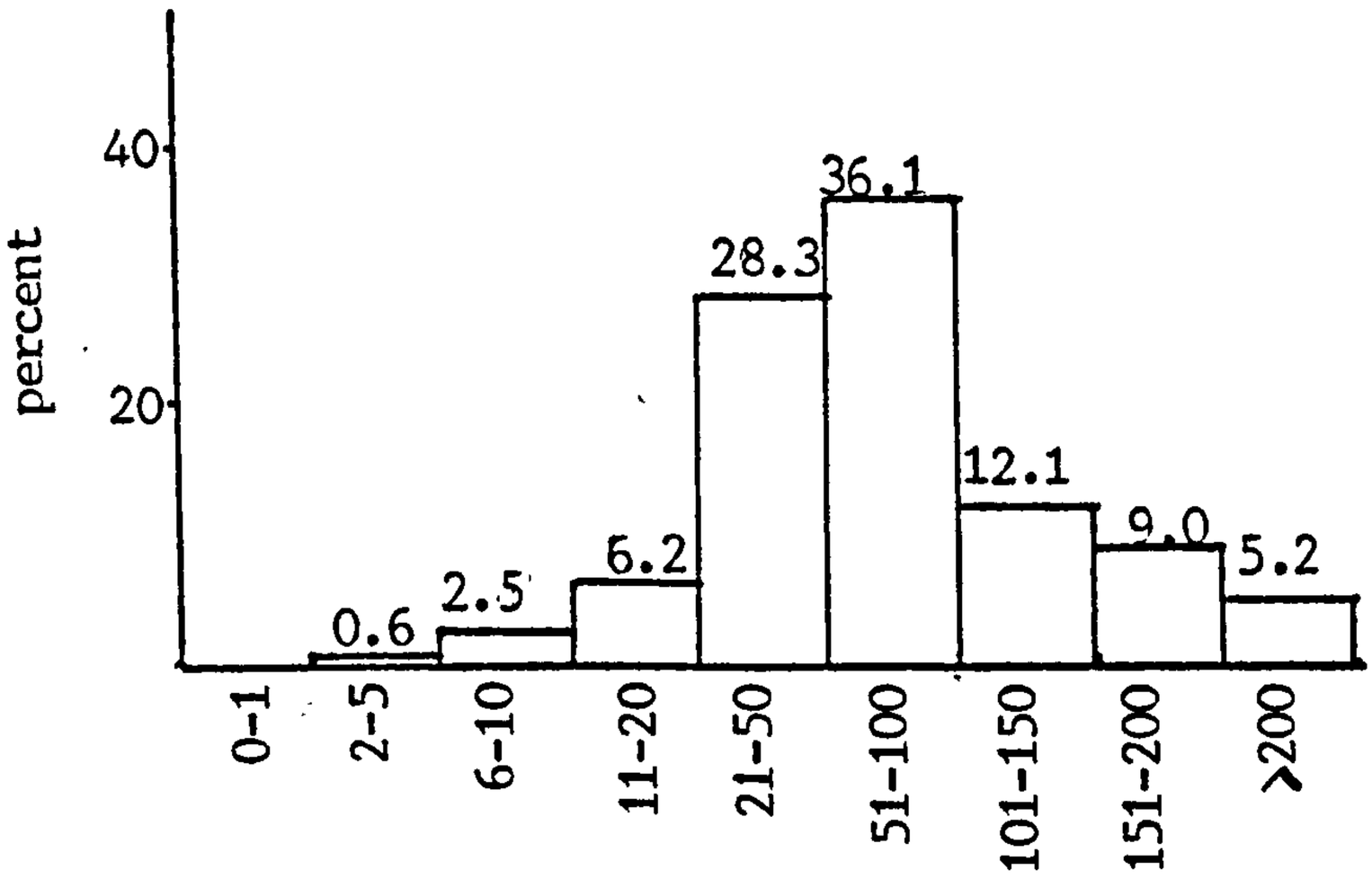


Notes:-

Six "farmers" who do not state their acreages have been excluded. (Four of them are from Wetton: hence, no individual graph for 1851 Census Wetton.)

MOORLANDS: 1871 Census:
Grindon, Butterton, Waterfall, Wetton, Warslow and Elkstones.

The figures represent the average for the five parishes.



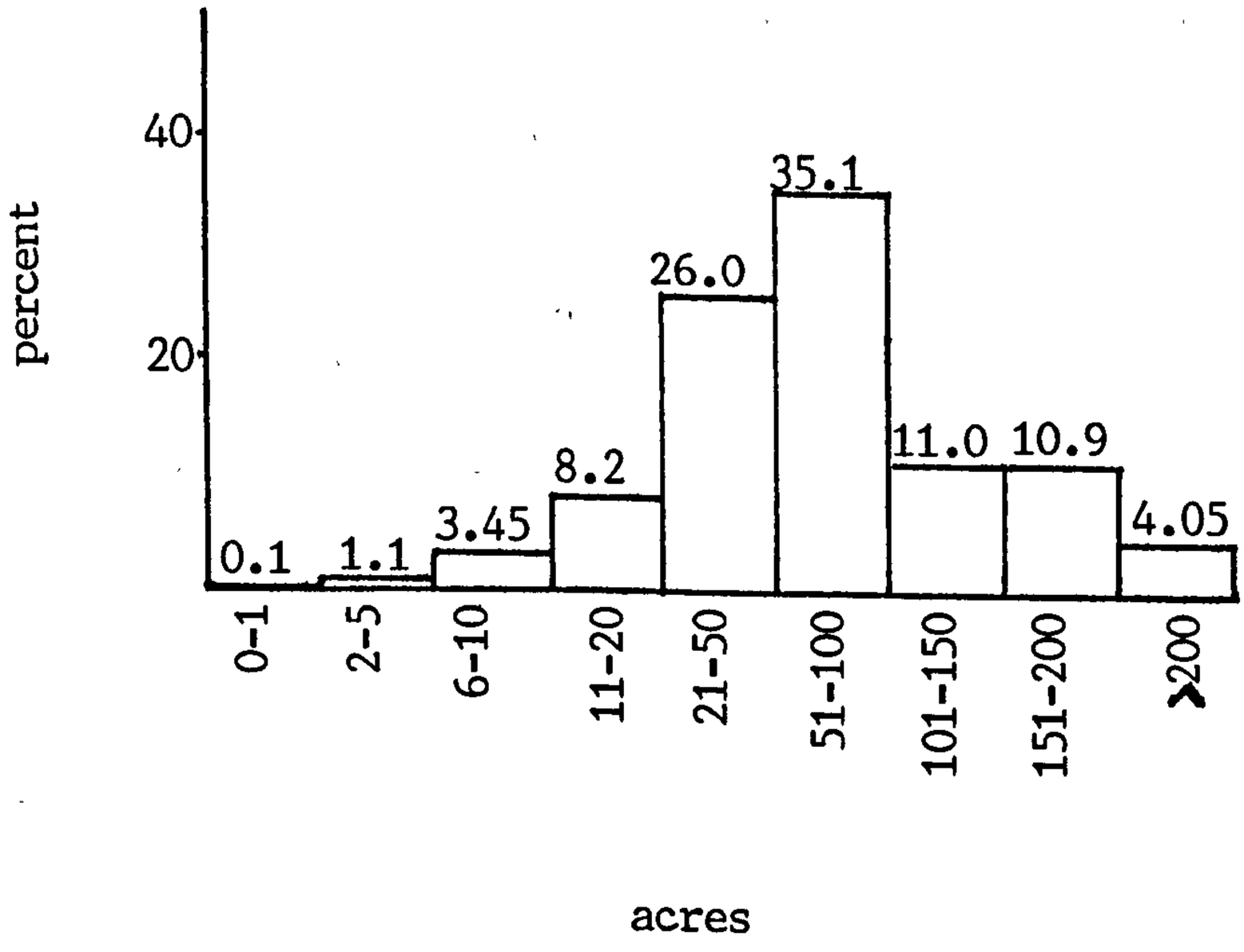
Notes:

Eight "farmers" have been excluded: seven do not state their acreages; one has an unreadable entry. Despite these exclusions, though, the total acreage is only 150 acres short of the farmed total as expected from the Tithe awards and New Doomsdays. (Onecote, which falls about 1000 acres short of expectation, is excluded this reason).

MOORLANDS: New Doomsday 1910/11:

Wetton, Butterton, Grindon, Waterfall, Onecote, Warslow and Elkstones.

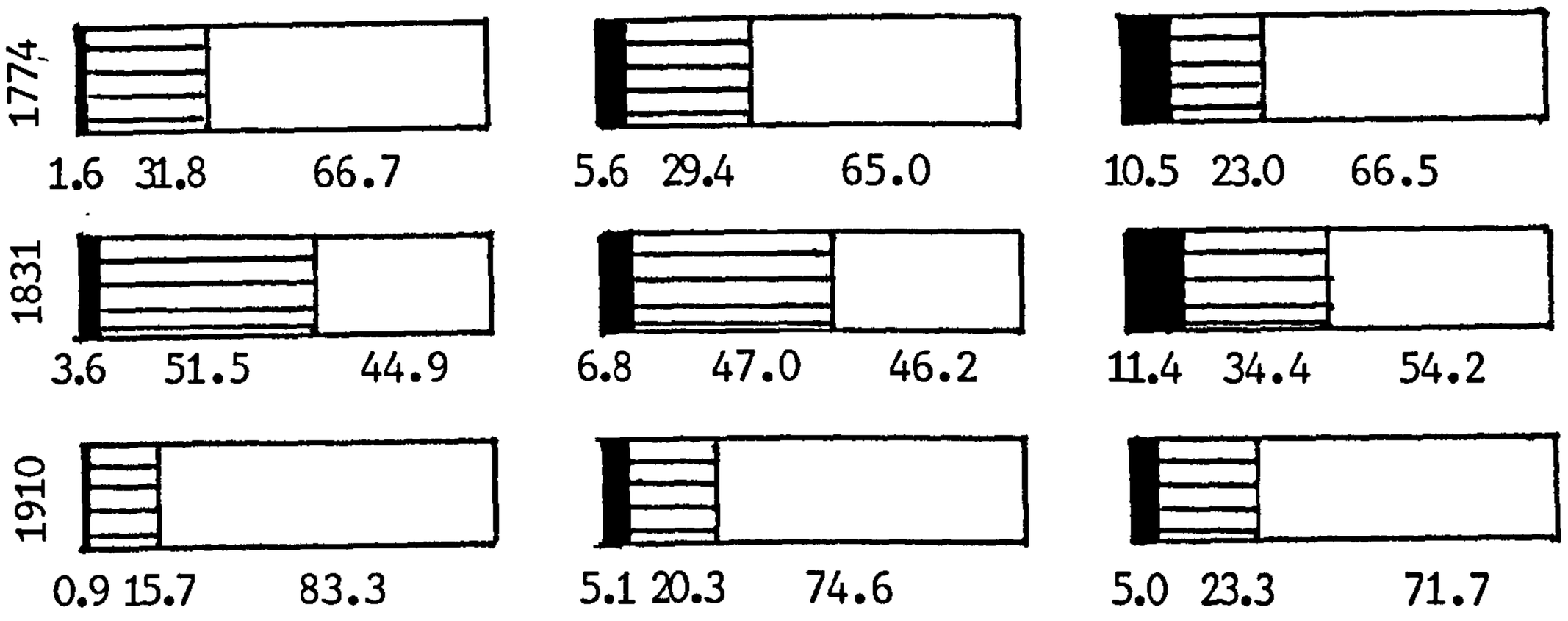
The figures represent the average for the six parishes.



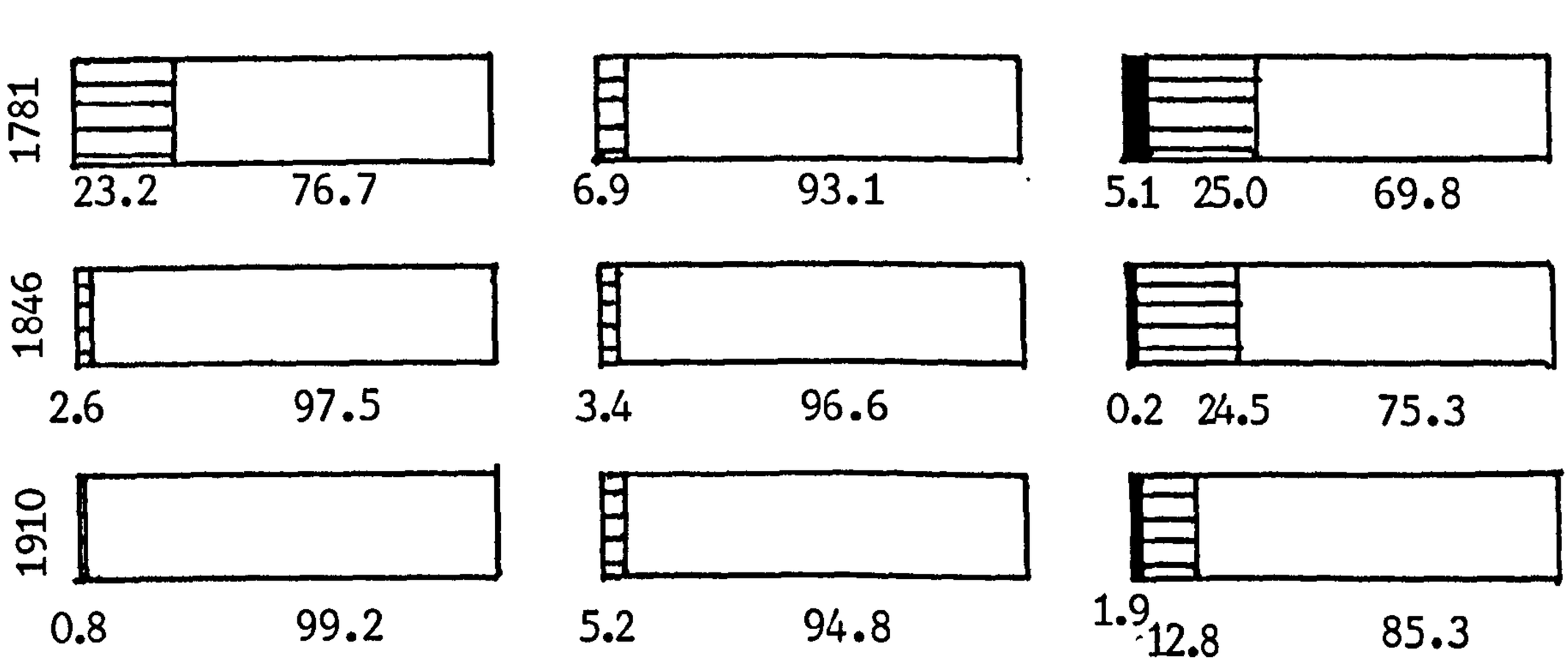
TENURIAL STRUCTURE

LOWLANDS:

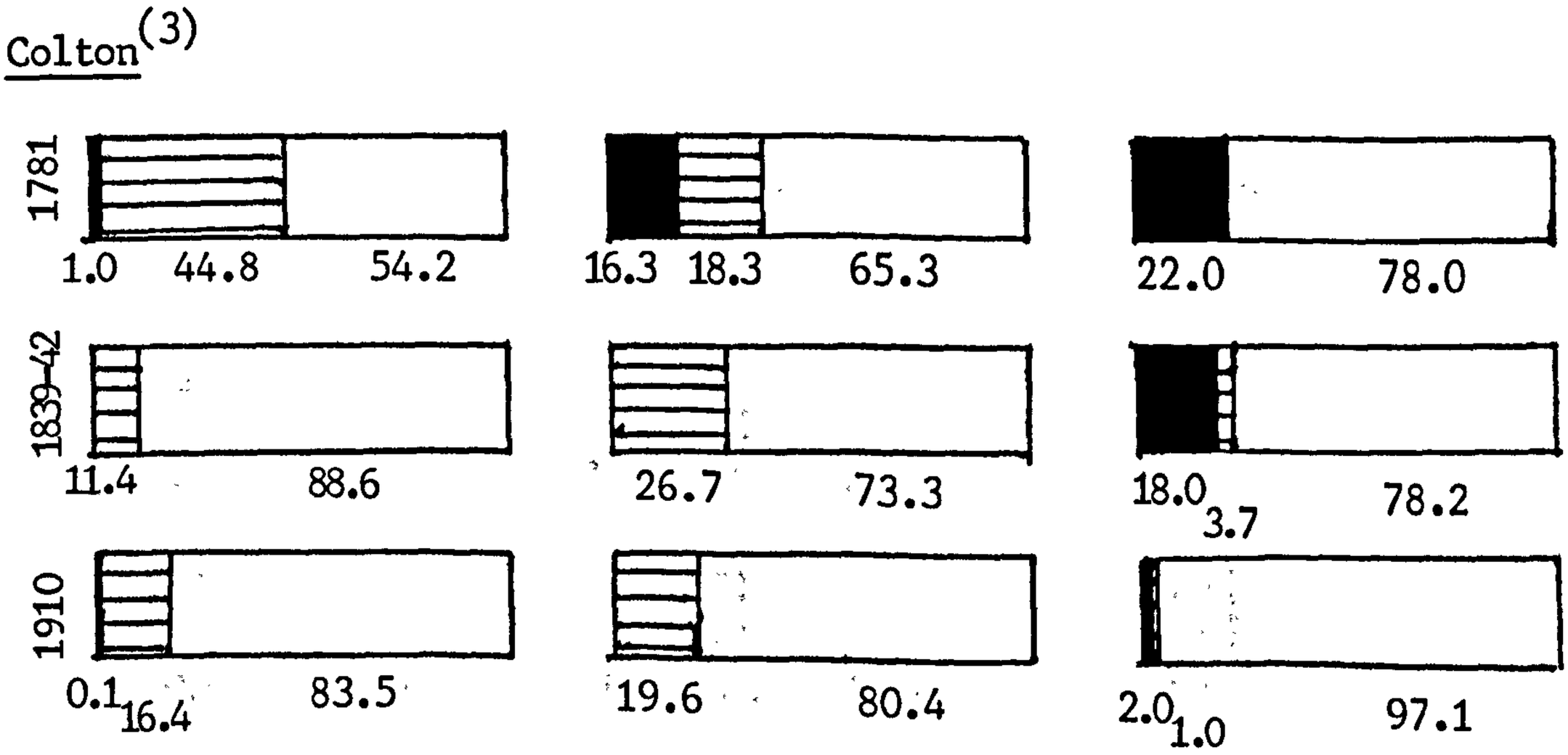
Abbots Bromley(1)



Blithfield(2)

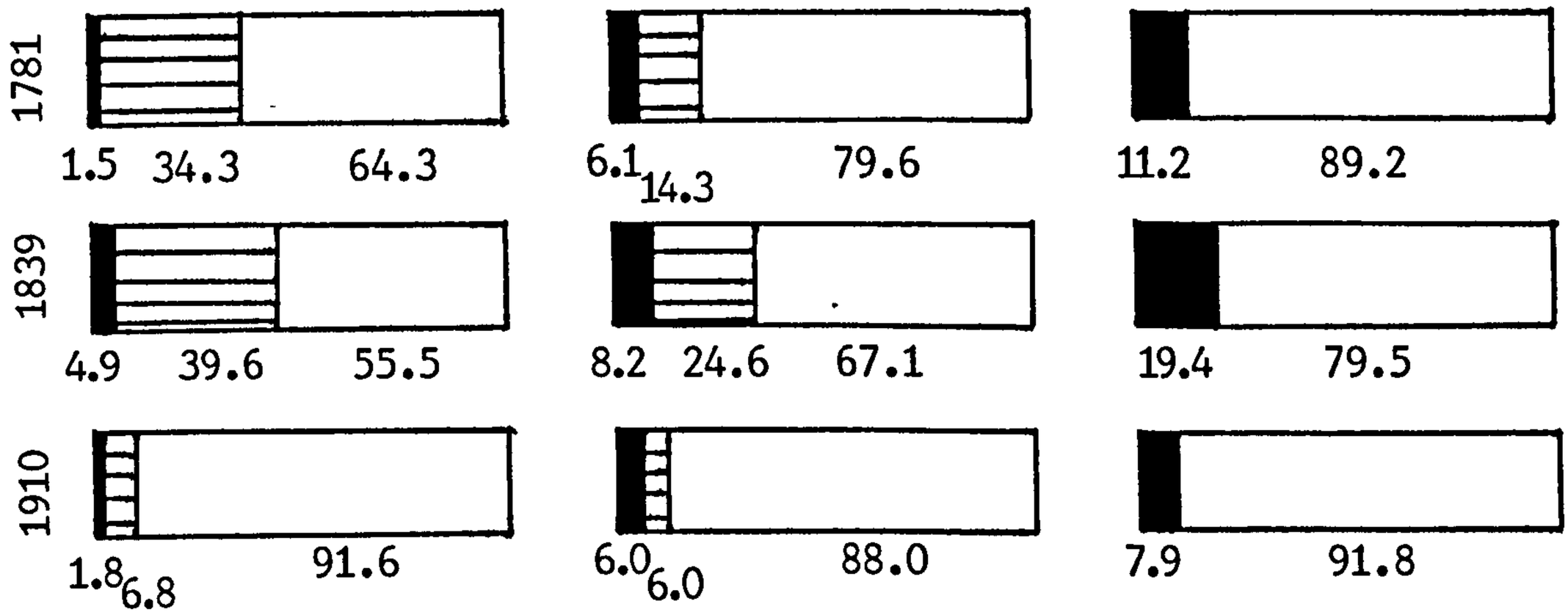


Colton(3)

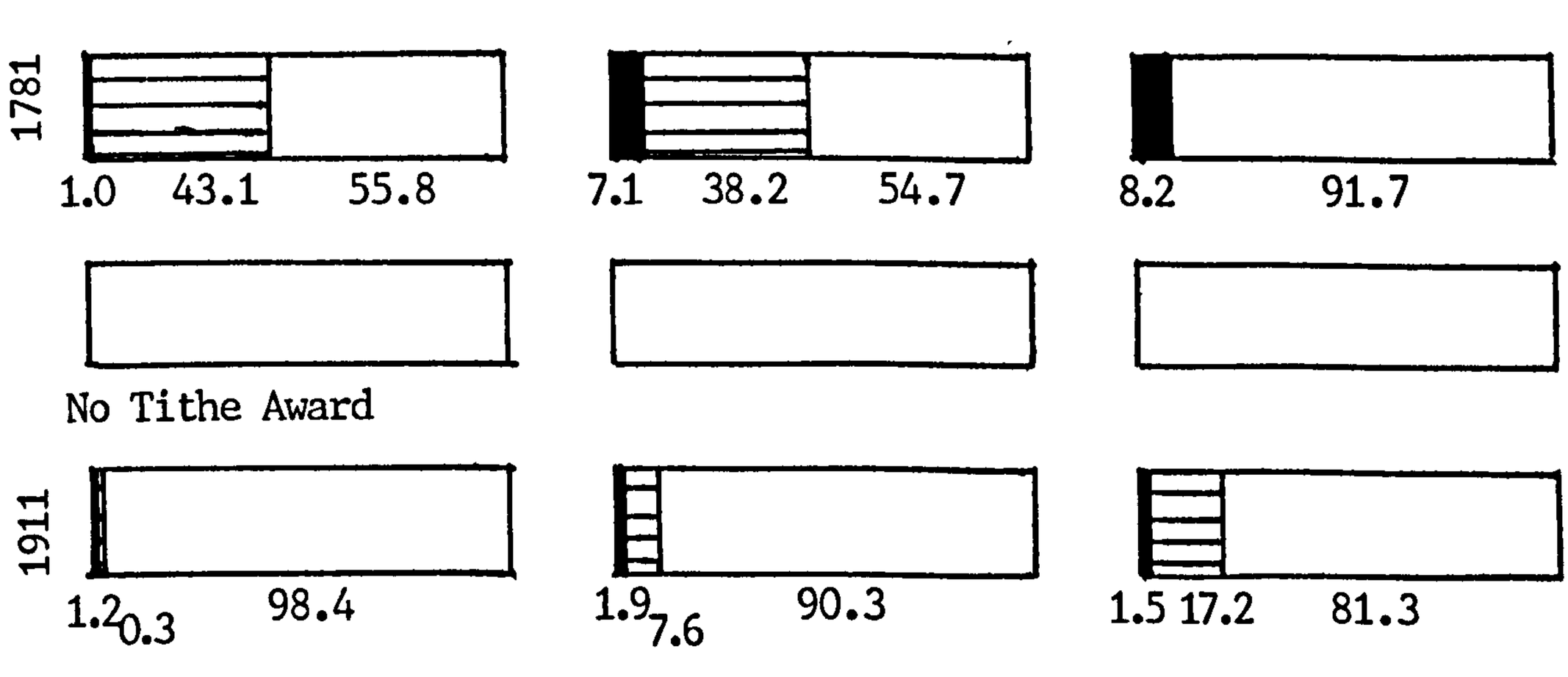


MOORLANDS:

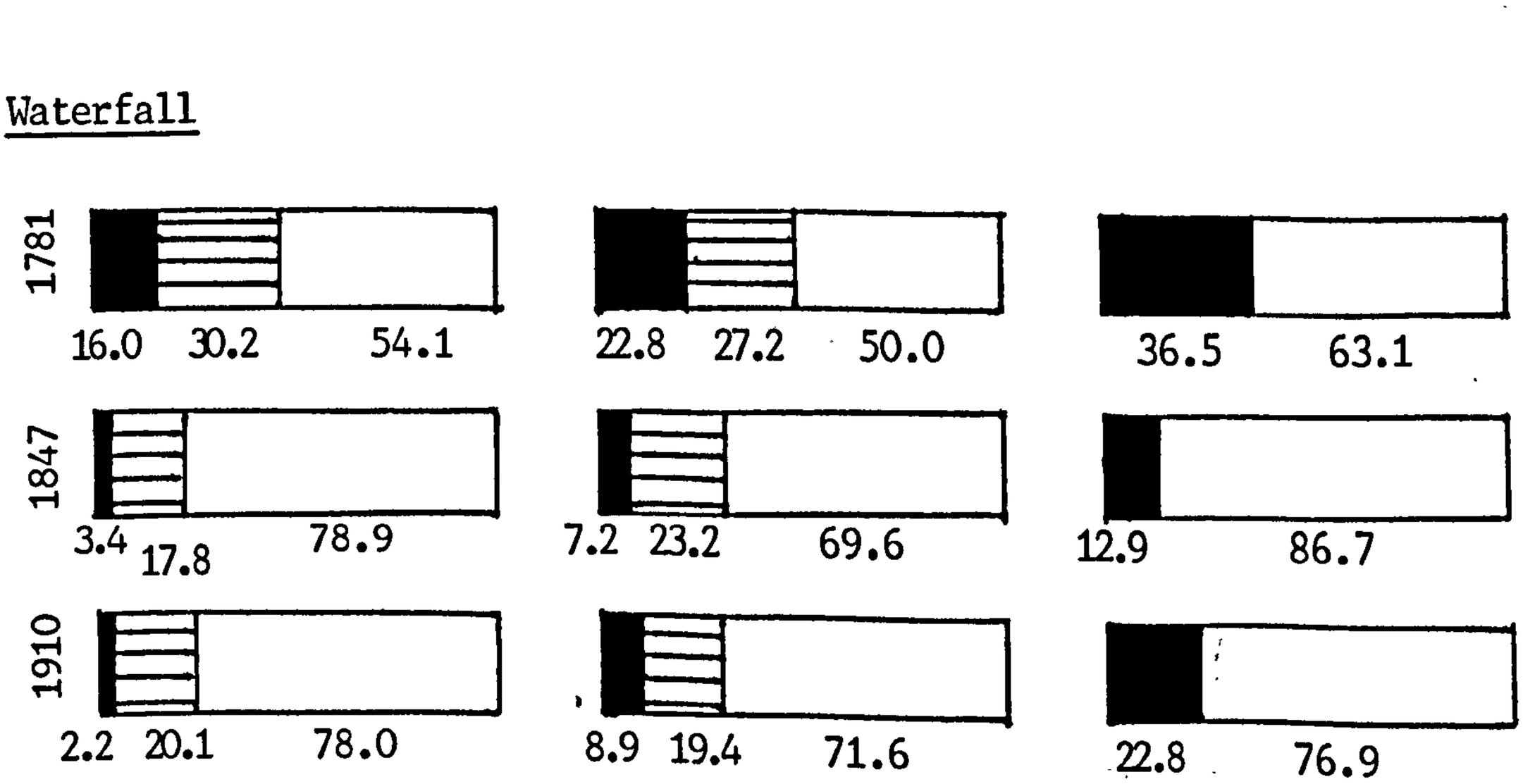
Grindon



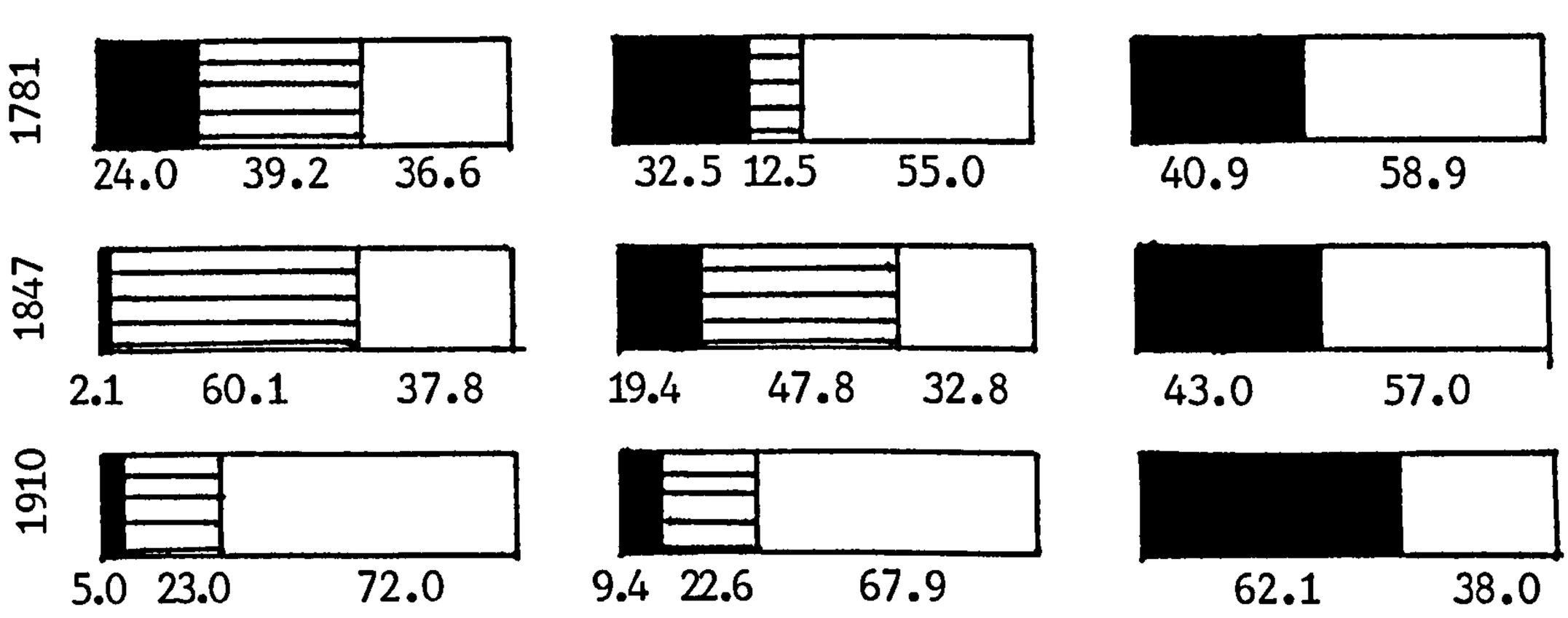
Wetton



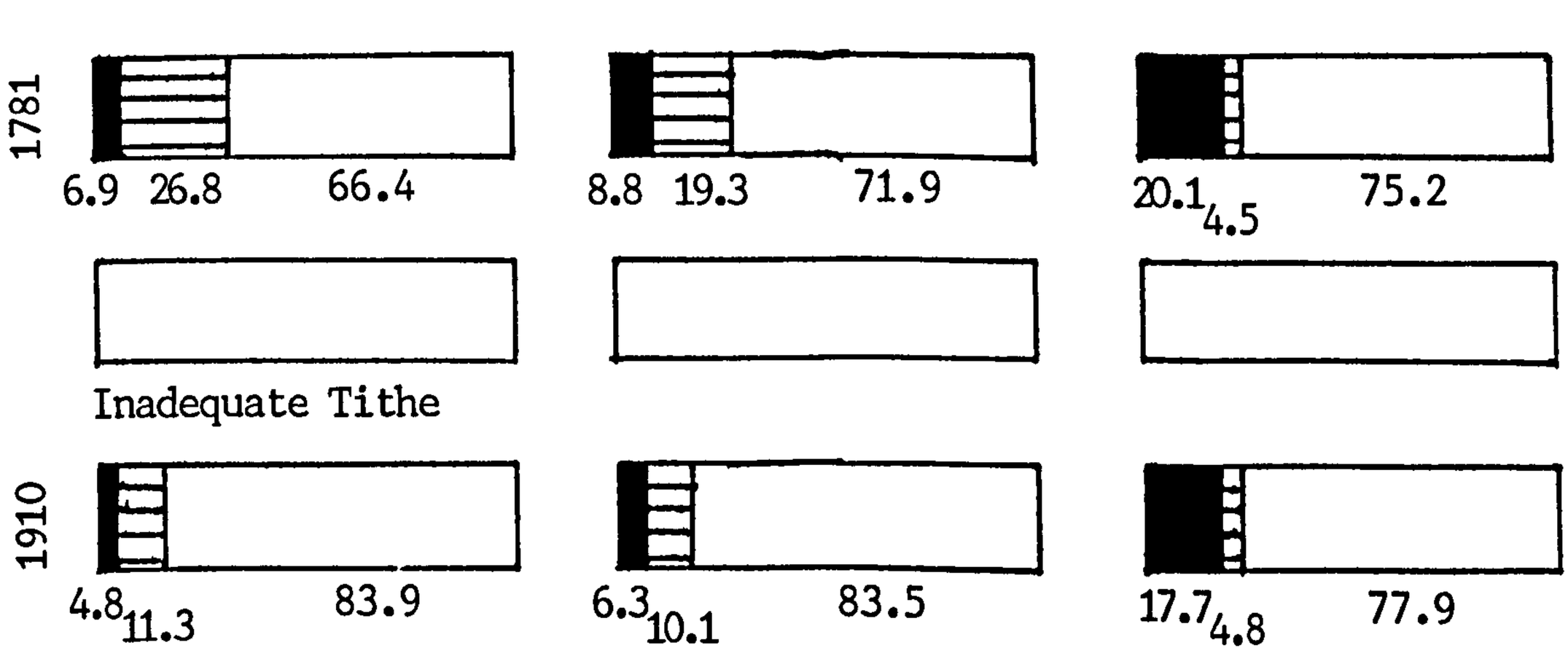
Waterfall



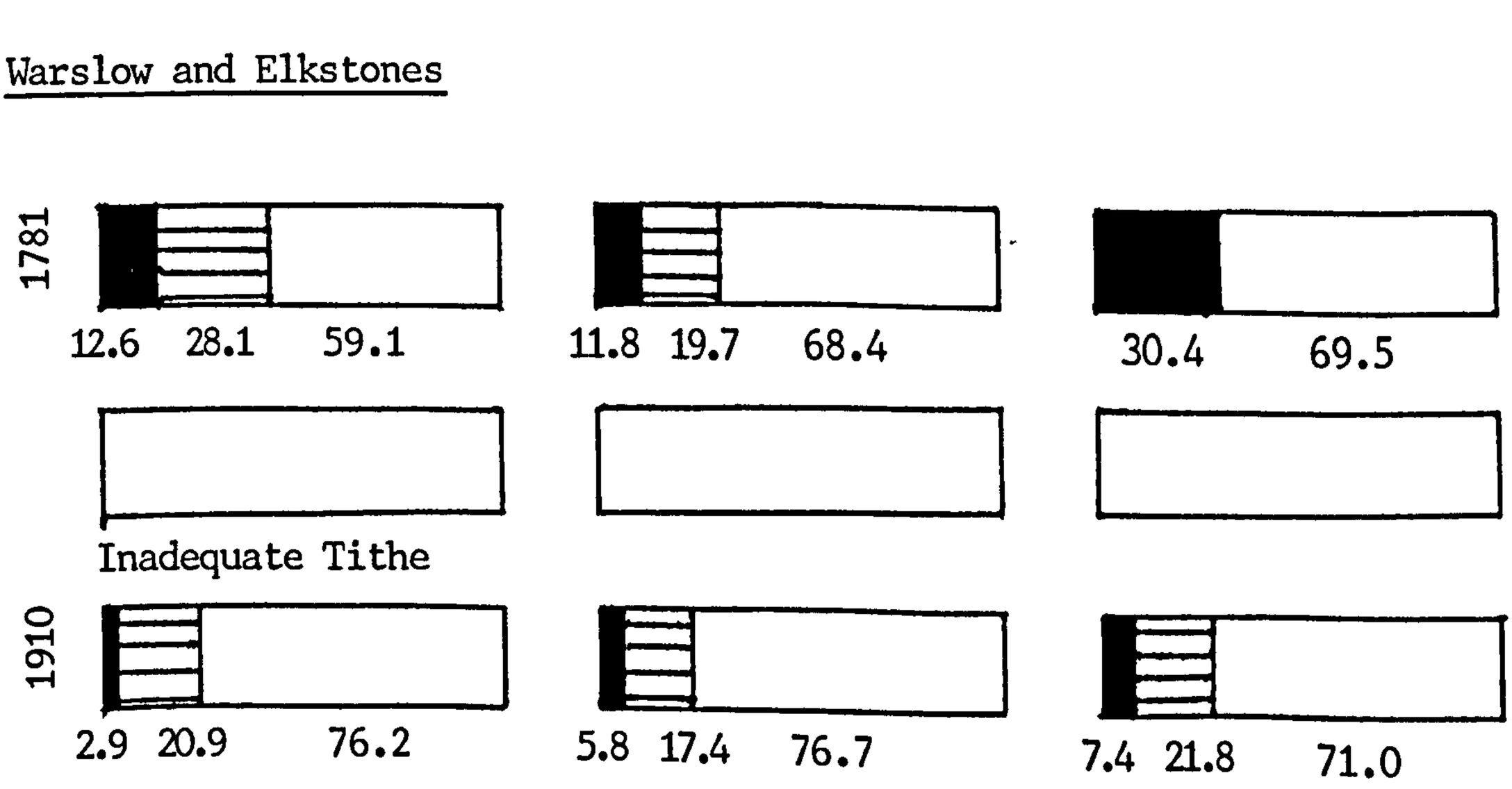
Butterton[4]



Onecote



Warslow and Elkstones



Notes

1. The 1831 survey is 9390 acres, the Domesday of 1910 is 9315 acres, but the 1774 survey covers only 7150 acres. Bromley Park is known to be excluded, and that covers about 1,000 acres. Other areas excluded also appear to be parks, plantations, and woodlands: later maps and the ordnance surveys suggest this.

2. The section for those with mixed tenurial functions in 1781 may be 'unnaturally' inflated by the inclusion of 'Sir John Hawkes' and 'The Revd. Mr.Bagot'; though it is possible that they rented the land for farming on their own account. Without their inclusion within this category, 1781 would appear similar to 1846 and 1910.

3. Similar case to 2. The exclusion of 'Smith esqr.' for 1839-42 would cut the percentage held by those of mixed tenurial function by half.

4. 'A.J. Hambleton' is a large landowner in 1910 Butterton; but he also owner-occupies a farm, apparently, and hence is included in the mixed tenurial function category. This keeps Butterton as the least 'simplified' parish of the Moorlands for the early twentieth century.

Chapter Four

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE: THE CAPITALISATION OF FARMING

" ... Cope, late Richard, Ex[exut]ors of.
The land is in course of progressive improvement.
The tenant has put in about 100 000 Draining Pipes and laid out £200: has boned 12 acres, being allowed one third ...
... Coterhill, Henry ...
... the Tenant is carrying out spirited improvements in draining, Fencing, Bones, Lime, and Artificial Manures, which has already raised the Letting value of the Farm ... "

Extracts from 1859 survey of Bagot holdings (Lowlands), S.R.O. D.1721/3/274.

As the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries progressed, farming became more of a 'business'. The capital input by both landlord and farmer increased. Much money was expended on new buildings and on general land improvements, such as drainage and artificial manuring. The pace of farming also accelerated. Operations were accomplished in shorter time, for example cereal harvesting (per acre) and threshing. With the introduction of the 'new seeds', root crops including potatoes, and pulses, there were more harvests to add to those of hay and cereal. New breeds of stock meant quicker fattening and a more rapid turnover of business. At the same time, farming was, generally, on one of its high tides of profitability for most of the decades between the mid-eighteenth century and last quarter of the nineteenth - although with a hiccup during the depression of the 1810s to 1830s, and then more particularly only for the less productive heavy lands of the North and West.

It appears that a larger share of the profits found their way into the pockets of the landlords rather than the tenant farmers.[1]

Nonetheless, the farmer became more prosperous; he was also required to possess a substantial amount of capital for investing in the farm. This therefore had the effect of raising farmers well above their labourers, and of making farming less accessible to most of the villagers. Chapter ten discusses social mobility; here the focus is on the details of capital investment, particularly that undertaken by the farmers. This then serves to highlight their part in the process of economic differentiation which was at work within our regions, though more especially in the Lowlands rather than the Moorlands, as we shall see.

It is hard to find directly local material on the increase in the pace of farming and rate of capital inputs to place alongside the national, often general, picture that we already possess. Furthermore, it is difficult to quantify these changes, especially from the viewpoint of the farmer. Nonetheless, there is enough evidence to shed light on the overall process for Staffordshire, and, in some instances, material from the actual regions of this study is forthcoming.[2]

We can usefully start by following on from the discussion of the increase in the size of farms. Part of the increase came about through absorption of previously uncultivated lands. They would require fencing (usually), draining (sometimes), and some kind of strategy for improvement if they were former waste and common lands in order to bring their soil structure and fertility up to a certain standard.[3] This all demanded money.[4] Much of this type of activity and its associated expenditure was concentrated in the latter decades of the eighteenth and earlier decades of the nineteenth century when most engrossment, encroachment, and enclosure reached a peak in

Staffordshire generally including the regions of this study.[5]

The creation of larger farms, whether by natural increase or by the amalgamation of smaller farms, often required some re-building to accommodate the increased scale of the enterprise. This was common over much of England between the later eighteenth and later nineteenth centuries as a general accompaniment to agricultural improvement. A planned set of farm buildings, with sufficient room for animals in the winter and places specifically set aside for dairy and fodder preparation operations, along with good tracks and roads, could save much in terms of time and labour. Also, as productivity and output rose, so too did the number of farm buildings.

There was an additional factor which promoted farm re-building in the Lowlands. As part of the heavy-soil area of Staffordshire it experienced the changeover from the emphasis on cereal, especially wheat, production (up until the 1810s and perhaps even to the 1830s) to emphasis on pastoral farming from at least the 1840s onwards. And, as the nineteenth century progressed, grassland was further enlarged at the expense of arable. This was in response to the relative price movements that increasingly favoured such products as meat, dairy, and wool, over cereals. It was also in response to the absolute advantage possessed by the light-lands in cereal production. When cereal prices downturned in the 1810s to 1830s after a half-century of buoyancy, and the light-lands fully applied the 'Norfolk' system and the principles of High Farming, the heavy lands could no longer profitably exist with a concentration on arable sales.[6] Consequently, the farms, in switching to pastoral farming, required new and different buildings from those which had served them during their arable decades.

There is some material from parishes in and around the Lowland region which can be added to existing information for the county as a whole to show the changeover to pastoral farming. Table 4.1 uses Bagot estate surveys and some parochial surveys (lines 3,4,5)[7] to give a long perspective. The results chime with those found by others.[8] Arable declines from around the 1830s/40s and permanent grassland becomes more important: arable falls from a mid-eighteenth century peak of about two-thirds to between a quarter to a third of farmed land by the mid-nineteenth century.[9] Indeed, this is further evidence in support of the argument that the farmers of the county were responsive to price-changes. The surveys reveal that it was pastureland rather than meadowland which was extended during the changeover of the nineteenth century. Meadowland was used primarily for winter feeding; to have expanded meadow at the expense of pasture would have delimited the number of livestock by restricting the acres of summer grazing. This was "a real attempt at the expansion of the livestock sector" and thus a sensitive response to price changes.[10] It was accompanied by the simultaneous decline in wheat as a percentage of arable.[11] Finally, reference should also be made to the adoption of a variety of green crops and to the use of 'seeds'. William Tompson of the Forge Farm was regularly sowing 'seeds' during the last third of the eighteenth century. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, seeds and green crops were in general cultivation.[12] This therefore belies the usual view held in the past of these heavy lands as areas of backward, unresponsive, largely unimproved agriculture before the great drainage programme of the nineteenth century's third quarter.[13]

The great importance of good farm buildings is well illustrated by comments in the 1859 survey of the Bagot estate. For example, on

Ellen Holland's farm it was noted: "The Homestead situated at the extremity of the Farm, most inconvenient for the occupation of the Land, and adjoining Francis Harvey's, to mutual inconvenience." Also, "outbuildings old and ill-arranged". William Hollingsworth's homestead was "old and spent", as was Robert Myatt's. Others too were observed to be in poor repair. The outbuildings attached to John Shipton's were, however, "recently erected ... substantial and upon a new and improved arrangement, which affords great convenience and economy in the management of the stock." James Tomlinson's and T. and J. Smith's holdings required additional room for cows. And in the case of Thomas Shipley's it was commented: "In consequence of additional lands laid to this Farm further Buildings are required."[14]

From the later eighteenth century, the landlord increasingly took responsibility for the fixed-capital improvements, principally buildings but also drainage, and raised rents in order to finance them.[15] The tenant could then use his capital to invest in working improvements, such as boning, liming, fencing, and laying down arable to grass. This was a conscious policy: many estates were careful to choose their tenants according to their ability to provide working capital.[16] The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the various aspects of the farmers' capital inputs.

First, the dividing lines between landlord and tenant responsibility were not always clear, and there are examples of tenants investing their money - sometimes considerable sums - in fixed improvements. The Bagot and other estates afford evidence of some tenants spending on buildings well into the nineteenth century.[17] In schemes for underdrainage it is true that the tenants paid at least part of the cost eventually even when it was carried out by the landlord because

it was incorporated within the rent over the years. Nonetheless a number of tenants were more active and paid for the pipes, and, sometimes, did the work themselves - usually, it seems, being allowed a reduction on their rents in recompense. Underdrainage was essential on the heavy-lands if they were to compete more effectively with the light-lands. Although a precise figure on the extent and cost of underdrainage cannot be given, it was undoubtedly considered important because farmers, as well as landlords, went to great expense in the undertaking.[18] Several of the references in the 1859 Bagot survey mention or detail work done or work required on drainage. The best example refers to the holding of the late Richard Cope. He had expended £200 of his own money on 100 000 drainage pipes, which was roughly the equivalent of a year's rent on a farm of between about 100 and 150 acres (depending on the quality of the land), or about six to seven times the price of a good working horse and about eight to nine times the price of an in-calf cow. The tenor of the valuer's comment does not suggest that this was a particularly extravagant case.[19]

The tenant was expected to buy the new, artificial manures and to grass down former arable to permanent pasture, and although in both cases the landlords gave some assistance on occasions, the outlays often made heavy demands on the farmers' pocket. The use of marl as a fertiliser in the eighteenth century was disappearing by the nineteenth century, to be replaced by liming, dressing with bones and artificial manures such as guano. They raised output, but were nonetheless expensive inputs. William Cooper, a tenant of the Bagots in 1859, had expended £530 on draining, bones, artificial manures, and stocking fences, and the landlord had "allowed towards Bones £93.1.6".[20] For much of the nineteenth century, laying acres down to

permanent grass was a continuing capital outlay. T.C. Smith of Blithfield, for example, approached the Bagots about assistance for further grassing down after the very wet season of 1860, but received none and had to pay for it all himself.[21]

Between the mid-eighteenth century and the later nineteenth century, there was a significant change in the type and number of tools required on the farm - even before the advent of the mowing and reaping machines and discounting the threshing machines that appeared in numbers from about the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It was not a revolutionary change and other expenses (as we shall see) were proportionately more important, but it nonetheless demanded some additional expenditure by the farmer. For example, winnowing fans replaced sheets or other rough methods using the wind for separating the chaff from the corn. Pitt in the 1790s claimed that they had long been in use in Staffordshire, and it is estimated that one in seven farms possessed one by 1800.[22] Seed-drills had begun to make an appearance by the end of the eighteenth century according to Pitt,[23] although broadcasting of seed was still practised 'by choice' in many parts in 1869.[24] By the 1860s new tools to deal more effectively with the provision of stock feeding had become widespread. Items such as chaff- and straw-cutters were in general use, and, in some areas, root-pulpers and -cutters.[25]

New tools such as these were an advance on the old hand-tools they replaced, and formed a part of the subtle qualitative change in hand-tool technology that was an important component in raising the productivity of English agriculture during this period.[26] Indeed, from the evidence of a small sample of probate inventories and farm sales (auctions)/valuations, farm implements account for a slightly

greater proportion of all the physical assets held by the nineteenth century farmer. Farmers in Abbots Bromley and Grindon of the second quarter of the eighteenth century had, on average, about 5% of their physical assets tied up in farm implements; but by the nineteenth century, it was more likely to be nearer, or above, 10% (table 4.2). This conclusion must be considered tentative though, for not only is the sample small, but the source-materials are also open to criticism for this sort of exercise.[27] Further work is obviously required here. Moreover, too much stress should not be laid on this expenditure on new implements. The majority of tools that filled the mid-nineteenth century farmers' outbuildings were the same as those itemised in the inventories of farmers' goods made in the mid-eighteenth century. The investment in the century up the 1870s was not equivalent to the subsequent capitalisation in machinery which was to follow.[28]

Two further, important points are suggested by table 4.2. First, the household effects of the nineteenth century farmer had decreased as a proportion of his total assets. For the farmers of the second quarter of the eighteenth century household items accounted for about a third, on average, of all his physical assets, but this declined to less than 20%, and often less than 10%, by the nineteenth century. It was only a relative decline, of course: a quick glance at the list of household goods detailed in eighteenth century inventories and those in farm sales of the nineteenth century reveals the great qualitative and quantitative increase in material prosperity that the farmers of the latter century enjoyed.[29]

The second point is the concomitant of the first: animal stock is the category which increases to take a significantly larger share of the

total assets of the farm. The increase in the capital outlay on stock resulted from an improvement in the quality of the animals through selective breeding and the associated acceleration in the turnover of stock on the farm.[30] The old longhorn cattle and the remaining native breeds of sheep disappeared from Staffordshire's agricultural scene around mid-nineteenth century, and were replaced by better fatteners, milkers, and wool-producers.[31] For the farmers of the regions of this study in particular, there was also the swing towards pastoral, especially dairying, farming which required more investment in stock.

A further consequence of the growth in stock, especially dairy stock, was the need to purchase bought-in feedstuffs. By the 1860s they had begun to be a significant and regular item of expenditure for the competitive pastoral farmer. Maize appeared in the county as a crushed feed in the 1840s and rice-meal by the 1860s.[32] These supplemented hay and produce from the arable, and boosted the directly saleable and the manure output from the stock. But they were an expensive input. For example, although T.C. Smith of Blithfield had purchased artificial, bought-in feeds and manures from the time when he first took over his farm in the 1850s, by 1868 they were of such importance that they required a separate account in the farm ledger. Between 1876 and 1908 he calculated that he spent an average 35/- per acre on artificials which was, as he commented, "rather more than the rent".[33]

Capitalisation was essential if the farmer was to improve his output, take advantage of prevailing prices, and maintain or even increase his profit. It was the basis of 'High Farming'.[34] It is an important point which will be taken up again in chapter six on motivation. It

is very difficult, though, to arrive at any clear figures for the increase in working capital required by the improving farmer, only that it was undoubtedly very large.[35] Indeed, it was such that some farmers outran their capital and had to rely on credit from the banks.[36] Cobbett expostulated against this development: "The present stock of the farms is not, in one half of the cases, the property of the farmer," he fumed on one ride through the southern counties in 1826.[37]

Cobbett felt that the development undermined the independence of the farmer. Nonetheless it was essential if the farmer was to keep pace with the acceleration in agriculture. A general sign of the more rapid turnover of business is shown by the way regular (usually weekly) markets in the nineteenth century displaced the periodic fairs of the eighteenth century.[38]

Finally, there were some differences in degree between the capital requirements and investment of the Lowland and Moorland regions. Although capitalisation was a part of the trend in farming practice in the Moorland region it seems to have been less intense than in other areas. There is less evidence here, but it seems as though the Moorlands were rather laggard. By the end of the eighteenth century the region was already overwhelmingly pastoral with little arable cultivated.[39] Over the nineteenth century, however, there was a switch in emphasis away from stock-rearing and breeding (including shire horses) to dairy production.[40] Nonetheless, much of the change must have been made without an extensive re-building of the farm-scape. There is evidence of some re-building, and repairs/extensions, in the parish of Grindon in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century, yet a large number of the farms of

Grindon and Waterfall have been shown to be of seventeenth and eighteenth century construction.[41] The Moorlanders were said to be rather suspicious of change and slower to adopt the new crops and methods. For example, in the late eighteenth century, instead of using the 'new seeds' the practice was to plough-up the old pasture, crop it (usually with oats) for two or three years and then let it down to turf again by self-seeding of wild grasses.[42] And their rotation systems were still rather old-fashioned even in the 1830s/40s.[43] The Moorlanders must have increased their capital input to a certain extent otherwise they would not have survived at all in the increasingly competitive and productive agricultural market. On the whole, though, their capital investment was less intense and less far-reaching than that for the Lowland region.[44]

The details presented here show clearly how, certainly by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the farmer was required to find and expend much more capital, in numerous aspects of his business, than his predecessor of the previous century if he was to survive. A farmer without sufficient capital per acre would be unlikely to remain long a farmer. These capital requirements had the consequence of distancing the farmer from his labourers because farmers, in general, became more substantial in terms of purchasing power and what they were worth. Also capitalisation raised the threshold for entry into farming, rendering it more difficult to succeed in the business with just hard work and a little luck. We shall consider these points again in chapters seven and ten. The next chapter looks at another aspect of economic change: it focuses on the relationships of daily economic transactions in the eighteenth century and their passing away.

Footnotes to Chapter Four

1. In the form of rent increases, although some was ploughed back in the form of permanent improvements. See: Wordie, 'Rent Movements', in which the period c.1790-c.1840s is singled out for most attention in this respect; Thompson, F.M.L. English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, (London, 1971 edtn.) chaps. 8 and 9; Hueckel, G. 'English Farming Profits, 1793-1815', Explorations in Economic History, 13 (1976) 331-45. On the question of the relative increase in food prices vis-a-vis industrial prices in the early decades of the industrial revolution, see: O'Brien, P. K. 'Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution, E.H.R., 30 (1977), 166-181.
The question of rents will be returned to in Chapter 5.

2. On the general lack of knowledge on farmers in the nineteenth century, see: Perry, P.J. 'High Farming in Victorian Britain: Prospect and Retrospect', Agricultural History IV 2 (1981), 156-166.

3. See one example of just such a strategy in Sturgess, R.W. 'A Study of Agricultural Change in the Staffordshire Moorlands, 1780-1850', N.S.J.F.S. 1 (1961) 77-85. The expenditure on labour was high.

4. Cf. the cost of Parliamentary Enclosure and its possible connection with the disappearance of some smaller landowners, Turner, M.E. Some Social and Economic Considerations of Parliamentary Enclosure in Buckinghamshire, 1738-1865 (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1973).

5. Encroachment and enclosure had been piecemeal in Staffordshire, but accelerated and peaked during this period. See Pitt, Agric.of Staffs (Newcastle, 1817 edtn.) pp.59-60. In Grindon, over the eighteenth century up to 1779 just over 100 acres of the moor, waste and commons had been enclosed. Over the following sixty years, a further 232 acres were taken in (without Act of Parliament), leaving only 43 acres. (S.R.O. D539/J/22/1; W.S.L. 121/40 and 122/40, and L.J.R.O. Grindon Tithe Award). Waterfall and Butterton had no commons or wastes remaining by the 1830s/40s. (L.J.R.O. Tithe Awards). Wetton, though, still had an extensive area unenclosed even in 1911. The 818 acres of waste and common lands remaining to Abbots Bromley in 1795 were enclosed by Act of Parliament in that year. (Thomas, H.R. 'The Enclosure of Open Fields and Commons in Staffordshire', Staffordshire Historical Collections, (1931), 61-99.) But further acres were added to the farmed lands of Abbots Bromley over the nineteenth century through deforestation: see chapter 3.

6. On rising productivity for the nation see: Jones, 'Agric., 1700-80'; Hueckel, 'Agric. during Industrialisation'; Mingay and Chambers, Agric. Revolution. For Staffordshire, see: Wordie, Estate Management Chap.4 (and contemporary observers quoted therein) and 'Rent Movements'; Phillips, 'Farming Practices and Soil Types, Staffs. 1840'. For the question of the superiority of the 'light' lands over the 'heavy' lands, see: Jones, op.cit.; Hueckel, op.cit.; Mingay and Chambers, op.cit.; Sturgess,

'Agric. Revolution: A Rejoinder'; Collins and Jones, 'Sectoral advance'; Whetham, 'Sectoral Advance: A Summary'; Moore, D.C. 'The Corn Laws and High Farming' E.H.R. 18 (1965) 544-61; Sturgess, Response of Agric. Chap.8 (where he puts forward evidence that the claylands of Staffordshire were suffering from over-cropping and a cycle of declining fertility in 1820s/30s because of over-reliance on the wheat crop to pay the rent and profits. See also Currie, C.R.J. 'Agriculture 1793 to 1875' in Victoria County History, Staffordshire, Vol.VI (Oxford, 1977) pp.91-121, esp.p.106). For a national perspective on the change-over towards pastoral farming see: Jones, E.L. The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873 (London, 1968). For the Staffordshire picture see: Sturgess, Response of Agric.; and Phillips, op.cit. Also see Currie op.cit. for Staffordshire farming in general over this period.

7. Not in Phillips, op.cit. who uses information from the Tithe Commutation files.

8. Phillips, op.cit.; Sturgess, Response of Agric., and 'Agric. Revolution'. See also details to be gleaned from Pelham, '1801 Crop Returns'.

9. Although surveys do need to be treated with care for this type of analysis. For example, possible confusion concerns which category should include the fallow and area under seeds. The results could be distorted if surveyors and valuers did not observe consistency. See, Phillips, op.cit. pp.33-4. The eighteenth century surveys are the least detailed: nonetheless, there is support for the conclusions here from the Forge Farm of Abbots Bromley. Mercer, W.B. 'William Tompson: A Record of Georgian Farming', Journal of the Ministry of Agriculture, 45 (1938-9), 1125-1132, esp.pp.1126-7. In the late 1860s, the Forge Farm had as little as 17% of its acreage under permanent grassland. Although Tompson was sowing 'seeds' before 1792, it is not known how many acres of the arable were in 'seeds' before this date. Thereafter, though, he set himself to have at least one-fifth (and possibly in some occasional years as much as two-fifths) of his arable under 'seeds'. But even when permanent grassland on the farm reached 35% of the acreage, white straw crops and fallow still accounted for a little over half the farm's total.

10. Phillips op.cit. esp.pp.46/7 (pace Sturgess, Response of Agric.). See also appendix table 4.1 for more detail on Gayton. Pastureland accounted for 60% of total permanent grassland in Gayton, and between 73% and 76% in the surveys of Milwich, Blithfield and the Bagot estate in 1859. This is in line with Phillips' findings from the Tithe files. The quote is Phillips op.cit. p.47.

11. Phillips op.cit. esp.pp.38 ff. See also appendix table 1 for further details on cropping from places around the Lowland region - (one parish, and two individual farm surveys).

12. Mercer, "Wm.Thompson" p.1128. Although some of Abbots Bromley lay on a small island of light land within the wider sea of heavy clay, ibid. p.1125; and see maps 1 and 2. Phillips, op.cit. pp.43 ff.

13. See esp. Sturgess, Collins and Jones, and Phillips in fn.6.

14. S.R.O. D1721/3/274. On the nineteenth century for the country as a whole, see: Thompson, English Landed Society, chaps. 6, 8 and 9. For some examples from the West Midlands, see: Martin, Social and Economic Trends; Wordie, Estate Management chap.4 and 'Rent movements' (which also include comparisons of landlords re-investment levels with examples from other parts of the country); Wain, K.M. The Financial Affairs of Sir Edward Littleton, 4th Baronet, Landowner of the Teddesley Estate in Staffordshire, 1742-1812 (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1975), esp. chs. 1, 2 (sections II and III), and 3 (section I). Thompson, and Moore, 'High Farming', suggest, indeed, that farming by the mid-nineteenth Century was over-capitalised. Caird, on his mid-nineteenth Century itinerary thought farm buildings in Staffordshire to be the best in all the counties he had visited (quoted in Currie, 'Agric. 1793 to 1875' see pp.93-102).

15. References in fns. 1 and 14.

16. For the conscious policy, see: Thompson, English Landed Society chap.8; Wordie Estate Management pp.201-226, and esp. quotes from Loch pp.206 and 218. The policy of shortening of leases was also used as a lever to extract more investment from the tenant in the holding. There is some evidence to suggest that longer leases encouraged exploitation because a tenant could run down investment as the lease approached its close. Ibid. esp.pp.219-24. On the choice of suitably capital-endowed tenants, see Ibid. p.224; Sturgess, Response of Agric. Ch.11; Mingay, 'Size of Farms', pp.473-4; and in the 1859 Bagot Survey (S.R.O. D1721/3/274) a tenant occupying over 200 acres in Abbots Bromley appeared 'to be deficient in capital' and it was suggested that a difficultly positioned part of the holding be detached and "let off advantageously to an improving Tenant." As early as the 1790s, William Pitt was deprecating those farmers who lacked capital - it was limiting. "For though five pounds per acre may be a pretty good allowance for capital upon land already improved, it is by no means sufficient under different circumstances, and where a number of improvements are wanting, fencing, ditching, draining, marling, liming, town manure, with the purchase and necessary support of stocks until the effects of such exactions can come round, form obstacles insurmountable to a small capital ... " (Pitt, Agric. of Staffs. (London, 1806, edtn.) p.242. See also Evershed, 'Agric. of Staffs', p.287; and Perry, P.J. British Farming in the Great Depression, 1870-1914: An Historical Geography, (Newton Abbot, 1974), pp.101-4.

17. See the example of John Gilbert in S.R.O. D.1721/3/274. Martin, Social and Economic Trends chaps.3 and 4; Sturgess, Response of Agric. chap.11. See also the ongoing dispute between T.C. Smith and Lord Bagot during the second half of the nineteenth century that surfaces in some of the pages of T. Carrington Smith, Story of a Staffordshire Farm, (Stafford, 1913). The house required renovation and more cow tyings were needed, and eventually increased from eighteen in 1856 to 63 in 1909. The farm was in Blithfield. See esp. pp.12, 13, 33, 47-9, and 53-5.

18. Phillips, A.D.M. 'Underdraining and the English Claylands, 1850-80: A Review', A.H.R. 17 (1969) 44-55; and 'Underdraining and Agricultural Investment in the Midlands in the mid-Nineteenth Century' in Phillips, A.D.M. and Turton, B.J. Environment, Man and Economic Change, (Keele, 1975) chap.12, pp.253-74; and Sturgess, Response of Agric. chap.11. See also Smith, Story of a Staffs. Farm esp. pp.26 ff. In 'Underdraining and Agric. Investment', Phillips has examples of some schemes not carried through because of tenant reluctance to pay the high cost (p.270). Also smaller estates (viz, about 3000 acres and less) were under-represented in schemes put forward, presumably because of the cost (esp. p.263). On the need to eliminate fallows (for every fifth or sixth year, still extant in the 1830s/40s) and raise clayland stocking-densities, see Phillips, 'Farming Practices and Soil Types, Staffs. 1840', pp.42 ff.

19. S.R.O. D.1721/3/274. The information on stock prices is taken from the sale inventory of Farewell Hall Farm, March 5, 1866. S.R.O. D.3576/4/4.

20. S.R.O. D.1721/3/271. See also the comment to Luke Turner's holding: ' ... the application of Bones to the cow pastures would nearly double the renting value.' Also: Sturgess, Response of Agric. Chap.8 and Evershed, 'Agric. of Staffs.'

21. Smith, Story of a Staffs. Farm, esp. pp.9/10. Also Evershed, op. cit.

22. Pitt, Agric. of Staffs, (London, 1805 edtn.), p.49; Currie, 'Agric. 1793 to 1815', pp.107-9.

23. Pitt, op.cit. (London 1808 edtn.) pp.77 and ff. He calculated a saving of about one-quarter of seed used if drilled rather than broadcast. See Peters, M. The Rational Farmer (Newport 1770) on similar calculations for correct sowing distances.

24. Evershed, Agric. of Staffs. p.273. Especially on dairy farms, which may have in part been due to the wetness of these heavy lands at planting time?

25. Currie, 'Agric., 1793-1815' pp.110-115, also pp.107-9. Information from a farm sale at Tutbury in 1842 reveals possession of such items as a "Bag Fan", a 3-knive and a 1-knife straw-cutter alongside 2 handstraw cutters (auction sale of Joseph Upton Senr.'s farm at Castle Hays, 25/6 November, S.R.O. D.3576/1/4). And from another farm sale at Tatenhill in 1845 there was a "Mercheen(?) fan" sold for £3-0-0 and a "New Straw ingin" which went for £3-15-0.

26. See: Collins, E.J.T. 'Harvest Technology and Labour Supply in Britain, 1790-1870', E.H.R. 22(1969), 453-73.

27. The inventories are a sample of Abbots Bromley's and Grindon's farmers, yeomen, and husbandmen for 1725 to 1750. Inventories do not exist for all, and inventories may be incomplete in terms of farming gear if pre-mortem inheritance had reduced the deceased's possessions. See their use as a source in: Spufford, 'Contrasting Communities', pt.1; and Yelling, J.A. 'Changes in Crop Production in East Worcestershire, 1540-1867', A.H.R. 21

(1973), 18-34.
Farm sales (or auctions) and farm valuations are a useful source because in detail and on prices they exceed the information from the usual nineteenth century source, farm sale advertisements in local newspapers (e.g. Walton, J.R., 'Mechanisation in Agriculture: a Study of theAdoption Process', in Fox, H.S.A. and Butlin, R.A. (eds.) Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500-1900, (London, 1979), pp.23-42). They are, however, less widespread; the examples here come from farm records (see chapter 5). (There may be more in estate agents' records.) Their reliability is also untested. Some items could have been sold before the sale/auction or passed to relatives. This would depend on the reasons for the sale: bankruptcy, retirement, or whatever. The prices paid were no doubt less than market-price, but this should not affect the relative weighting of each category, unless some items (such as stock) were in greater demand than others (for example, household items).
Comparison of inventories with farm-sales should nonetheless be of like-with-like because they both deal in similar second hand items.

28. Threshing machines were hired by most farmers rather than farming a part of their personal tool stock. See Walton, J.R. 'Mechanisation in Agric.', esp. fn.10, p.41; and references to borrowing and hiring and appearance of threshing machines in Farm Records: S.R.O. D.1108/1-4; D(W)1923; and Reading University Lib. STA 1. The first mowing/reaping machines may also have been shared by a number of farmers if the evidence from the Wood Farm for 1878-82 is typical (Reading Univ.Lib. STA 1).

29. Also probably partly due to relative cheapening of many goods by the mass-production techniques of the industrial revolution.

30. See, Hueckel, 'Agric. during Industrialisation'.

31. Currie, 'Agric., 1793-1875', p.111.

32. Ibid. pp.110-115; Evershed, 'Agric. of Staffs.', Sturgess, Response of Agric. chs.3 and 15; Ford, R.S. How Is the Farmer To Live? (Stone, 1846) (copy in S.R.O. D.641/5/E(C)/27). (Ford came from Swynnerton, Staffs., and was an advocate of High Farming by heavy-land farmers.)

33. Smith, Story of a Staffs.Farm, p.34.

34. Ford, op.cit.; Moore, 'High Farming'.

35. Hueckel, 'Agric. during Industrialisation', p.191.

36. There is evidence of farmers using the banking system, generally, in the farm records (see chapter 5). The earliest example is from Milwich, in the 1830s. (S.R.O. D.635/5/1-4). On the development of banking, esp. country banking in England, see. Mathias, P. The First Industrial Nation (2nd. edtn., London, 1983) pp.148-59 and ch.13.

37. Cobbett, Rural Rides, (Penguin edtn., 1967) p.425.

38. Compare eighteenth and nineteenth century farm records, (esp. S.R.O. D3806 and W.S.L. 43/1-8/54 for the eighteenth century, and S.R.O. D(W)1923 and Reading Univ.Lib. STA 1 for the nineteenth). Currie, 'Agric., 1793 to 1875', pp.91-3 also has some details culled from Pitt and local directories, and, although not completely clear, appears to lend support to this picture. See also Cobbett, op.cit. pp.478/9. (Large, seasonal fairs did not disappear altogether in the nineteenth century: see, Evershed, 'Agric. of Staffs.' esp. pp.312/3.)

39. Pelham, '1801 Crop Returns'.

40. On the importance of stock-rearing and breeding, see the inventory of the farm taken in 1799 in appendix 2 to this chapter. Also some evidence from correspondence between the estate owners and the local estate agents/managers of Grindon in S.R.O. D.3359/Box 34 for example, in a letter of 1816 the agent says that the tenants rely on the money for paying their rents "by the sale of stock, there being little corn grown at Grindon". The changeover to dairy production (esp. milk production by the later nineteenth century) is outlined in Sturgess, Response of Agric. chap.9. Also see Mortem, I.H. 'Farming in the Park', in Peak District National Park (H.M.S.O. 1971) chap.7, pp.44-8; Sheldon, J.P. 'Moorlanders, Old and New' in Beresford, W. Memorials of Old Staffordshire (London, 1909), pp.248-258; Evershed, 'Agric. of Staffs.' pp.310-314. Nonetheless, seasonal stock sales, particularly the autumn fair, remained an important part of the Moorland's economy even in the 1860s: ibid. p.313.

41. Giles, C. Domestic Architecture in the North Staffordshire Moorlands: The Vernacular Architecture of Grindon and Waterfall (unpub. M.A. Dissertation in English Local History, Univ. of Leicester, 1975) (copy in W.S.L. 176/76(Th.38)). (Some of the smaller farmhouses and cottages were rebuilt in the period c.1750-c.1830 according to this work.); Johnson, Settlement Pattern of N.E.Staffs. Various pieces of evidence in S.R.O. D.3359/Box 34 point towards a little re-building for the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. For example, the largest tenant-farmer on the estate in Grindon had a "milk-house and cheese-chamber" erected in 1801.

42. Pitt, Agric. of Staffs. (London, 1808 edtn.) p.71. A footnote by "S" to this edition goes further: "The farmers hereabout are (as you judge from Mr.Pitt's review) scandalously backward, ignorant, selfish, and bigotted."

43. Phillips, 'Farming Practices and Soil Types, Staffs.1840', p.45. See also, Sheldon, 'Moorlanders', relating their suspicion of new machinery.

44. The Moorland region did not require the capital expenditure of underdrainage because the soil was mainly free-draining limestone. See chapter one and Map 1.

Tables to Chapter Four

Table 4.1 : Agricultural Change in the Lowland Region, 1724-1859

Survey	LAND USE: PERCENTAGE*				Unclear or Unknown
	Arable	Fallow	Meadow	Pasture	
1. 1724 Bagot+	49.8%	-	50.2%		-
2. 1744 Bagot+	66.7%	-	27.7%		5.6%(1)
3. 1828(?) Gayton	24.4%	8.9%	23.4%	43.3%	-
4. 1836 Milwich	34.2%	-	16.8%	46.2%	2.7%(2)
5. 1846 Blithfield(4)	31.7%	-	17.5%	50.8%	-
6. 1859 Bagot+	27.6%	-	16.6%	54.3%	1.5%(3)

Notes: + for the parishes included in these surveys, see Table 3.1(a).
* as a percentage of cultivated total, i.e. excluding woodland parks, etc.

(1) 5.3% = Unknown; 0.3% = Arable/Pasture and Arable/Meadow.

(2) 2.7% = Meadow or pasture.

(3) 1.5% = Unknown.

(4) Phillips, 'Farming Practices and Soil Types, Staffs.1840', p.33, has a corrective to the picture from the 1845 Tithe information which ups Blithfield's arable to 49%. The original uncorrected figure of 34% is closer to the figure presented here

Sources: 1,2,6 = as for table 3.1(a).
3 = S.R.O. D.637/3/1
4 = S.R.O. D.917/6/10 ("Valuation of parish: for purposes of tithe and poor rate")
5 = S.R.O. D.1721/3/273.

Table 4.2 : Inventories (1725-50) and Farm Sales (1815-91)

Percentage

		Farm Implements	Stock	Crops (incl. wool & feed)	Food	Household Items	Dairy/Brewing Utensils	(1) as percentage of (1) + (2)	(1)+(6) as percentage of (1)+(2) +(6)
Inventories									
1. Grindon:	(a)	0.5 to 6.6	9.9 to 74.5	2.6 to 15.2	0.0 to 8.1	8.6 to 74.3	0.0 to 2.3	0.1 to 34.0	0.1 to 42.8
1728-50	(b)	3.7	48.8	7.6	3.2	35.9	0.7	9.0	10.6
2. Abbots Bromley:	(a)	0.0 to 9.9	21.9 to 73.0	0.0 to 38.6	0.0 to 1.8*	17.1 to 60.0	0.0 to 5.8	0.0 to 30.0	0.0 to 42.1
1725-47	(b)	5.1	48.2	13.3	0.8	31.2	1.4	11.3	13.8
Farm Sales+									
3. Milwich,1815.			79.8			20.2			
4. Garshall Green, 1831		12.1	62.8	7.3		17.7		16.3	
5. Tutbury,1841.								15.1	
6. Leigh, 1846.		21.1	54.3	12.3		12.1		28.0	
7. Farewell,1866.		8.6	80.9	3.2	0.1	5.6	1.7	8.8	11.3
8. Sandon,1882.		7.4	83.9	0.1	0.0	7.5	1.0	8.1	9.1
9. Sandon,188(7?)		6.6	85.4			8.0			
10. Milwich(?),188(7?)		c.13.9	c.68.6			c.17.5		c.16.8++	
11. Milwich,1891		10.0	77.8	5.1		7.2		11.4	
12. Milwich,No Date.		92.6				7.4			

Notes:

(a) Range of percentages for all inventories.
(b) Mean of individual inventory percentages.
* Difficulty in disentangling Food from other (esp.household) items in some cases.
\+ Not all farm sales/valuations yield information which can be broken down into separate categories.
++ Confusion in totals. Possibility that total valuation sum is 3.1% short.

Sources:

Inventories:
1 = Grindon Inventories (sample size = 13) L.J.R.O.
2 = Abbots Bromley Inventories (sample size = 9) L.J.R.O.

Farm Sales/Valuations:
3 = Mr. Samuel Knight's Farm. S.R.O. D.637/4/1.
4 = Mr. Josiah Knight's Farm. S.R.O. D.637/4/1.
5 = Castle Hays Farm. S.R.O. D.3576/1/4.
6 = Late Mason's Farm, Middleton Green (Leigh) S.R.O. D.864/1/2/4.
7 = Farewell Hall Farm. S.R.O. D.3576/4/4.
8 = Wood Farm. Reading Univ.Lib. STA 1/1/1-3.
9 = Sandon Park Farm. S.R.O. D.864/1/2/7.
10 = Mr. Josiah Knight's Farm. S.R.O. D.864/1/2/7.
11 = Milwich Hall Farm (inclu. Coton Cottage) S.R.O. D.864/3/1/2.
12 = Mr. Josiah Knight and Mrs. Knight's Farm Property. S.R.O. D.637/4/1.

Appendices to Chapter Four

Appendix 1		Table (i) Agricultural Change in the Lowland Region: Crop Details, 1828(?)-1871.
	2	"An Acco[un]t of Cattle in the Lay upon Geo: Tittertons Farm at Grindon taken the 24th Day of Aug[us]t. 1799 ... "

Appendix 1

Table (i) : Agricultural Change in the Lowland Region: Crop Details, 1828(?) - 1871

	ARABLE											SEEDS					PERMANENT GRASSLAND			
	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Wheat and Oats and Barley	Wheat and Vetch	Turnips	Marigolds	Potatoes	Cabbage	Beans or Peas	Fallow	Clover/vetches	2nd. seeds	Turf 4 yrs	Seeds mown	Seeds pastured	Meadow	Pasture	Unknown	Total acreage
	Percentage																			
1. 1828(?) Gayton Parish	11.7		7.4	1.3	0.4	1.0		0.2		2.8(1)	8.9	6.5	0.4	0.4			23.3	35.9		1418acres
2. 1852 Farewell Hall Farm*	16.7	11.5	3.0								14.7	←		13.4	→		6.0	30.4	4.3	172acres
3. 1871 Manor Farm Farm,Alrewas*	13.9	13.7	3.0			5.5	0.9	0.2	0.2	1.5					2.7	5.8	10.6	41.9		329acres

Notes: (1) Almost 30% of this is "oats and beans"

* and therefore in a light land area: hence the emphasis on barley.
See Phillips, "Farming Practices and Soil Types, Staffs. 1840"

Sources:
1. S.R.O. D637/3/1.
2. S.R.O. D3576/4/1 - Joseph Utpon junr. (Farewell Hall Farm = between Lichfield and Alrewas*)
3. S.R.O. D.3576/3/14 - John Upton.

Appendix 2

"An Acco[un]t of Cattle in the Lay upon Geo: Tittertons farm at Grindon taken the 24th Day of Aug[us]t 1799

		£.	s.	d.
In the Land called Staplow				
10	Twinters at £1.15 each	17	10	0
2	Milch cows at £2-12-6 per cow	5	5	0
4	Stirks	5	5	0
2	feeding cows at £2-12-6 per cow	5	5	0
2	yearling colts at £3-3-0 per colt	6	6	0
In the pasture called the New Close				
2	Twinter colts at £4 per colt	8	0	0
3	yearling do. at £2-15 each	8	5	0
2	do. at do.	5	10	0
2	mules £1 per mule	2	0	0
20	Twinters at £1-15 per Twinter	25	0	0
4	Stirks at £1 per Stirk	4	0	0
In the pasture called The Brooks				
18	Hogs (3 beast gates	4	10	0
In the Owsetts				
10	Sheep (2 beast gates	4	0	0
	Total of the Lay	£100-16-		0

Appendix 2 (cont'd)

An Acco[un]t of the quick stock, Hay, Hay Grass, and Corn[:] the property of Geo: Titterton of Grindon -

2	mares and 2 Foles	12	0	0
1	Horse 5 years old	1	1	0
1	Colt 3 years old	7	0	0
1	do 2 years old	7	0	0
3	milck cows	15	0	0
5	Twinters	20	0	0
5	Stirks	10	0	0
16	Ewes and 2 lambs	16	0	0
		88	1	0

Hay and Hay Grass 15 acres
Corn growing upon the Premises [?blank]"

Notes: All these animals may not be Titterton's. Some may belong to others having keep or "lay" on Titterton's fields.
"Twinters" = Two year old cows.

Source: D.3359/Box 34

Chapter Five

THE OLD ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR DECLINE

"Abraham Lightwood is willing to accept of ye strawe hee hath had of mee in full satisfaction of ye worke hee hath done for mee."

Extract from farm records of George Parker of Caverswall/Forsbrook, 1700- 05, S.R.O. D.3806.

(i) Farm Records

Farm records are documents produced by the farmer himself about the running of the farm. They are usually of account or diary type; but there is a great variation in their quality.[1] Table 5.1 lists all those employed in this study. Column (b) details the information on farm size.[2] There is a bias towards the larger farm, although a few of the middling size (between 100 and 200 acres) are represented.[3]

The farms in this sample lie mainly in and around the Lowland region (in the main within, at most, ten miles of Abbots Bromley) and thereby reflect the pastoral area of the county, (see Maps 1 and 2). Thus, not all the farm records of Staffordshire have been used. Nor have any farm records been found for the Moorland region; instead other scraps of evidence will be presented at the relevant points in the following analysis. (Although Parker's records represent a place - Caverswall/Forsbrook - nearer to the Moorlands and with soil and topographical features more akin to parts of the Moorlands than the Lowlands, they were actually utilised much less for this than for another reason: they are an extremely valuable eighteenth century document when farm records are much thinner on the ground.)

Farm records have rarely been used to chart rural economic relationships. This section, therefore, explores the reasons for their production and shows that, even with the bias towards the larger farm, their validity for this type of analysis is vindicated.

As the pace of farming accelerated so it became more difficult to recall mentally the increasing number of transactions. Some farmers would therefore feel the need for a written record.[4] William Pitt in the 1790s mentioned the 'traditional', unwritten approach to farming transactions as one of the obstacles to further improvement in agriculture. He urged farmers to conduct their "business by system and regularity ... " and their "dealings with others with honour and punctuality ... "[5]

There is also evidence from the farm records that they were used to guard against loss and dishonesty. George Parker's notebook of the early eighteenth century contains several entries which illustrate his overburdened memory and the consequent opportunities for dissembling. A good example occurs in December, 1703 when Parker "Reckon'd with Mtthew Lownes [a labourer] and hee charged mee for 15 days worke amounting to 15s, and hee saith hee owes mee but 17s. and 10d½ and if so his worke takes off 14s. of the same, and then there remains but 2s.10d.: but ques.(?) of the miller whether hee does not owe for ye 5 pecks of meal entered in my note - the miller saith this meal is owing for, so he(?) mas(?) owes mee in all 5s." Thomas Bullock and Parker did much business, especially Bullock getting articles for Parker, but when Bullock is charged with 4/- to pay a Mr. Roleston of Uttoxeter for some "setts" in February, 1701/2,[6] Parker notes: " ... I must remember to inquire of Mr: Roleston ye next time I see him whether hee hath rec[eive]d this money". Mental

notes, therefore, no longer sufficed. For example, in February, 1703/4 Parker jotted the following memorandum for his memory: "ques. of Wm.Fford whether Wm. Chatterley [a labourer] had not ½(?) a strike of malt this weeke if so then I must account for all ye malt before entered - " and added later to this note the following: "Wm.saith fee had not."[7] In some instances Parker quotes page numbers as references for checking up on amounts of money or goods forwarded to employees so that they can be deducted at later reckonings. On at least two occasions payment of money (cash) was noted as being paid "in ye presence of" someone, presumably as a witness.[8]

Such entries in Parker's notebook are of sufficient frequency to warrant this attention and are supported by evidence from other farm records. There are a couple of entries in the Horninglow scrap-notebook for the recipient to sign as acknowledgement that he has received the goods.[9] Tompson, of the Forge Farm, has two entries in which he has written out an agreement for two other people for them to sign, although he is not involved himself.[10] Labourers posed problems for Thomas Griffen of Colwich and Penkridge. For example, there are odd comments on payments to labourers over which there are disagreements between master and man, with master noting in the margins of his account book the need to be more vigilant in the future. Amongst the Upton farm records (D.3576) there are several examples of 'good behaviour riders' attached to written hiring agreements with living-in farm servants. Many of the farm records also note details of food/supplies purchased or earned by labourers.[11]

Broadly similar conclusions come from work conducted on North American farm records. The overriding requirement was to make some

account of the numerous transactions, and perhaps therefore have some control over them. However, in the North American examples the need to control debt is stressed.[12] In our examples there is no evidence of such single-mindedness; the motivation was more diverse.[13] If there was a need to have a tight rein on debt then it would be expected that more farmers would have kept (and kept better) farm records. But the survival rate does not suggest this.[14]

A very important point about the motivation behind the keeping of farm records is the motivation which was <u>not</u> present. Those who kept records were not necessarily the most progressive or most capitalist farmers. That does not mean to say that they were not involved with improvement, nor unconscious of the need to make money and respond to price changes. But in the majority of cases they do not reveal themselves as using their account-books and "accounting as a tool ... to inform and direct the profit-making activities of the enterprise".[15] They were different from many of their neighbours insofar as they actually kept records and perhaps enjoyed documenting such details. Nonetheless, most do not attempt to make year-on-year profit and loss calculations, let alone complex calculations such as return on inputs, marginal costs, or which section of the enterprise was the most remunerative. Only one of the farm records in our sample makes any attempt to calculate yearly income and outgoings; but year-on-year and anything more complex is not tried. George Parker very occasionally made a crude account of profit on some particular items. He re-sold animals some months after buying them in, but simply subtracted the buying price from the selling price neglecting of course to account for the cost of keeping them.[16]

Others have made similar observations. Farm account books " ... convey the impression that many an early nineteenth century farmer could well have been bankrupt without realising it, even assuming that he attempted to keep accounts at all."[17] And even in the later nineteenth century: "The majority of farmers seem to have kept no account other than their bank book, and an honest few admitted to chronic financial ignorance." "Can you give me any idea of what profit you make on a cow in the course of a year? I have no idea ... " was one exchange before the Richmond Commission".[18]

For the historian interested in economic relationships within rural society, all the foregoing on motivation strengthens the case for the reliability of farm records. They faithfully record the day-to-day transactions without any manipulation, re-arrangement, or doctoring. Also the farmers who kept them were no different from other farmers in their approach to the business of farming.[19] It is probable that there are more larger farmers in the sample because they had to deal with a proportionately greater volume of transactions and a larger number of labourers. Thus they may be taken as generally representative of farmers of above about 50 acres. As we shall see, for the eighteenth century, the farm records cast much light on the economic activities of the smaller farmers; but for the nineteenth century it is necessary to rely on other, secondary literature.

In the case of the diaries objections may be raised to this 'face-value' view of farm records. Extra details about personal circumstances also appear,[20] and diaries and other works concerned with self-portrayal may be criticised on the grounds that they were written in part for future audiences with some self (or other) justification in mind.[21] It would, however, be very difficult to

argue that the diaries here are of this category, having an ulterior motive. The references to self are brief. They are more concerned with which field was ploughed today, what the weather was like, and what the servants and labourers were doing. They may therefore confidently be used alongside the other farm records.

The farm records of this sample are very variable in quality, as are most other collections. They range from notebooks containing a few scrappy and sometimes illegible scribblings (as in the case of Horninglow) to a "bilateral form of single-entry bookkeeping"[22] (e.g. the Forge Farm accounts). Some include extensive details on wages paid to all labourers, whilst others have short notes or none at all. At certain points in the analysis, then, heavy reliance is placed on just a few of the records from the whole sample; it is not possible to use all of them on every topic.

(ii) Economic Relationships in the Eighteenth Century

A large proportion of transactions conducted within the rural localities in the eighteenth century by-passed the usual cash-nexus of a capitalist society. They have been labelled 'reciprocal economics' here because of their affinities with economic transactions in some (so-called) primitive societies;[23] their existence was important in shaping the nature and tenor of relationships.[24]

Two main categories have been found in the farm records: one concerned with everyday economic exchanges; the other with animal grazing and land use.

Just for the purposes of analysis the first may be further sub-divided, and we can begin by describing the exchanges which are closely akin to barter. Goods were exchanged for goods and/or services without the intervening payment of money, between farmers and other farmers, labourers, and crafts and tradsmen. It was not, however, barter of the purest form. Most of the transactions were undertaken in the knowledge of the cash equivalent that the goods or services would fetch if cash had been exchanged. Here are some examples from George Parker's notebook:

> "Thomas Amery hath p[ai]d mee for ye hillful of oates ground into oatmeale ye last weeke. And he's also ground into oatmeale ?? baggs of oates sent to ye kill [kiln?] this weeke, and delivered the meal to me of Thos. Parrs customers for his use w[hi]ch must be deducted out ye money I owe him for his horse."
>
> "Thos. Parr memo. that he had 4 loads oatmeal = £2, which is in part for ye horse I had of him."
>
> "Reckoned with Anthony Warrelow about all ye meate I have had of him to this day w[hi]ch amounted to £9-3s. -- w[hi]ch I p[ai]d him by ye heifers and cowes he had of mee and hee owes me still for ye same £2-15-5. See the p[ar]ticular state of this acc[oun]t upon ye backside of a Bill upon ye file w[hi]ch is subscribed by both of us."
>
> "Lent to Will Chatterley in money 2/6 and also a strike of corne 2/4d. in all 4/10, w[hi]ch hee is to pay mee in worke after Christmas."

And, for another example involving a labourer: Matthew Lownds is owed £5-5-0 for work done for which he is paid in oates, oatmeal, muncorne, lard, and money "at several times" amounting to £3-13-6 and thus "Remaines due to him £1-11-6 (and added later, "w[hi]ch I have paid").

At times the exchanges were as close to pure barter as it was possible to get, as when, for example, Will. Fford told Parker that "Abraham Lightwood is willing to accept of ye strawe hee hath had of mee in full satisfaction of ye worke he hath done for mee."

Because the Forge Farm records of Tompson are so clearly presented it is easy to see the constant barter-like transactions with the money equivalents recorded by the side of each item, and so a full page of Tompson's ledger is reproduced in appendix 3.

The other part to the first category is that immediate settlement of transactions was rare. They were usually carried on for months and sometimes for years, especially between those who regularly exchanged and bartered. The accounts ran on against each other with one side being in credit, then in debt, then back in credit, and so on. On occasions, cash was put towards a debt. Eventually, a "settlement" or "reckoning" was made and a cash "balance" "evened" the accounts. Again, the clearest example of this is to be found in Tompson's ledger (appendix 3). But here are some illustrations from Parker's notebook which is also full of delayed payments and running accounts. For instance, Parker "Rec[eive]d of Thos.Harryson in part for 4 bushell of oates, w[hi]ch hee lately had of mee 13/6d. Remaining 6/6d." Only in November does he pay Jo.Edwards "13/6 for 1500 of bricke I had of him ye last summer." And Nurse Hatton gives "£1 for ye wooll shee had of mee this year." More involved examples include the following: Parker "P[ai]d John Walker in money and by 2 cowes hee had of mee £15-3-0 w[hi]ch is in full of all ye meale I have had of him to this time and all other acc[oun]ts." Also: "Reckon'd with Jo:Hand : Lyme carryed for mee last summer = 244 l[oa]d at 9d. per l[oa]d = £9-3-0 w[hi]ch I have p[ai]d him for as followeth

vidett:

by his	yrs. rent for ye Strynefield	3-15-0
	for ye Quilters lowe	1-----
	for ye Stormyhill	1-7-6
	30 trave of strawe	0-7-6
	8 strike of oats	0-7-4
	by money in specie	2-5-8

an all 9-3-0"

Men who laboured for Parker and crafts and tradesmen were often involved in complex accounts as the following reckoning with James Wilson illustrates:

"his wages	4-----
7 weathers 8/6 a piece	2-19-6
3 weathers 8/- a piece	1-4-0
ye pitt field	1-----
spent in fetching ye timber	0-14-0
spent in fetching ye lymestone	0-6-0
att Lichfield when he last	
fetch ye Coarts (?)	0-4-6
coachwhipps	0-14-0
17 dayes worke	0-5-8
a Barley riddle	----6
Garden lyme	----1
total	11-8-0

tow[ar]ds w[hi]ch I have p[ai]d him as followeth vid.

by ye pitt field	3-10-0
by ye stormy hill	2-10-0
by Tho.Titters(?) Tith(?)	0-3-4
by 2 baggs of oates	0-11-0
by a ?? of skinns	0-3-0

note: I have p[ai]d the remainder of ye money due to James Willson see afterwards page ye 70 and 71."

Barter-like and deferred payment transactions did not dominate exchanges, but they were extensive. The Forge Farm records can be made to yield to quantified calculations. However, they are not without their contradictions and pitfalls. They comprise two sets of documents: the ledger runs from the 1760s to the early/mid-nineteenth century; the series of cash and day books cover most of the 1770s to 1790s. The former recorded continuing transactions of barter and deferred settlement; and the latter all the daily transactions of goods and work bought onto and sold off the farm. However, a detailed collation analysis of two years (1773/4) found that 18.3% of

all transactions appearing in the cash and day books also were entered into the ledger, whilst 31% of all transactions in the ledger were not located in the cash and day books. This indicates that Tompson's bookkeeping was not absolutely meticulous. The calculations therefore take this into consideration. For 1773/4, for all transactions (credit and debit) conducted by Tompson, 43.6% appeared in the ledger whilst 56.4% appeared only in the cash and day books. One hundred and sixteen separate people were involved, but only twenty-two of them (19%) are in the ledger. Thus, one-fifth of all people with whom Tompson did business were involved in barter and deferred settlements, but they accounted for two-fifths of all transactions conducted (expressed in monetary terms). Business conducted outside the locality, at fairs and markets, is included in the total.[25]

It is impossible to achieve the same precision from Parker's notebook because its format is more untidy with some gaps and a number of accounts in which the cash equivalent or payment was not recorded. But a very rough calculation suggests that deferred and barter-like transactions accounted for about one-half of the total. The occasions when cash was paid immediately were recorded most frequently when business was done at various fairs and markets.[26] So, if they are removed then the majority of transactions were of the barter and deferred type.[27]

Thus, 'reciprocal economics' of this form constituted a significant minority of all transactions even in the 1770s, and so were of importance within the locality. The sort of persons predominantly involved may be identified by collating the Forge Farm accounts with land-holding records. Table 5:2 shows that, of the three-fifths of

all those appearing who can be identified, the majority are either small farmers, smallholders or labourers. About one-half either held less than one acre or are identified (from internal evidence of the ledger) as labourers or servants. There is a relative paucity of middling and larger farmers in the ledger; in fact, Tompson's farm (168 acres) is larger than any of those with whom he conducts transactions of this type.[28]

The extract of one page of the running account with Richard Wood is a good example of a smallholder's economic transactions with Tompson (appendix 3). He was an occupant of half an acre[28] and bartered geese and ducks against several loads of coals that Tompson had fetched for him over the years, and even once put "a Baskett of mushrumes" towards his account.

The second category of 'reciprocal economics' is best illustrated by Tompson's records because of his attention to detail. There are three strands to this category. First, the sub-letting of fields and parts of fields. Tompson notes the name of the person renting and the name of the field, or part thereof. Fields of his brother John's 'Town Farm' were sometimes sub-let too. The examples reproduced in appendix 4 are rare cases when Tompson drew together all the different rents for one year. They appear to have been made for the purposes of a swift assessment, and are difficult to collate with the usual separate entries. It is known that he also rented out houses/cottages, and some of these may be incorporated within the summary totals.[29] Nonetheless, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that usually only small fields or small parts of fields were sub-let.[30] There is, however, other evidence that on occasions larger portions of a farm could be sub-let. An entry for 1785[31] has a

listing of undertenants which takes in three-quarters or more of brother John's Town Farm (appendix 5). The circumstances which prompted such an extensive sub-let are not known.

The second strand concerns the "lay" or "keep" of animals in which others were allowed to graze their beasts in a farmer's field(s).[32] Occasionally it involved one or a number of animals on the hoof to market and looking for overnight grass. More usually, it seems to have been the odd beast or two having "keep" for several months over the summer or winter. For Tompson it peaked in the 1760s and 1770s. In 1761 and 1762 eight separate persons were enumerated and ten in 1775 when a list was drawn up which included several horses having "keep" (appendix 6).

Third, Tompson also sold grazing in the form of "grass". This included: 'balk-grass" (which grew on the "balks" separating the strips in open-fields); "stubble-grass" (which, presumably, was the grass which grew after the corn was cut and carted); and the grass of pastures (although it is not clear whether the whole of a field's grass or part of it was intended). He also freely bought and sold hay, sometimes by the rick.

According to his records, Tompson was often the seller and the one sub-letting in arrangements of this type; but only a few examples have been found in which he was the buyer or renting from others. He does buy hay on occasions but rarely purchases "grass". Table 5.3 shows that those involved in these types of economic arrangements with Tompson predominantly came from the labouring, smallholding, and small farmer ranks. Over two-thirds of those identified were either labourers, servants, crafts-tradesmen, or held no more than ten

acres. Only one person is a farmer of greater acreage than Tompson.[33]

The economic transactions described have been collectively labelled 'reciprocal economics' here because of the resemblance they bear to the elements of reciprocation within exchange between some 'primitive' peoples.[34] They had the effect of binding together the participants economically and socially. However, they were only similar to primitive transactions. Production was fundamentally different between primitive societies and eighteenth century rural England in which the means of production and its organisation was dominated by capitalism. Also, in primitive exchange the obligation and mutual dependency cloistered and enshrined within the 'spirit of the gift' was elaborated in a more formal way. Nonetheless, the reciprocal economics found in the farm records had a bonding effect. Those involved in barter-like and deferred, running accounts by-passed the impersonality of the market-place. Instead of cash they received goods and services they required in part or complete payment. There were also ties of inter-dependency. They wanted each other's goods and services, and allowed their accounts to run on against each other without settlement for long periods. And the element of trust was present too in deferred, continuing accounts. In some cases, accounts ran on for decades with only sporadic settlements. Often the cash to meet the difference was insufficient and the remaining debt left outstanding to be carried forward. A number of accounts were passed onto heirs without a break. Furthermore, the obligation to pay immediately was absent. Payment could be sometime in the future when the goods, services, or cash were to hand. For example, in the case of Richard Wood (appendix 3) he would need to await the hatching of eggs. This was therefore an

extension of informal credit. (This should not be confused with formal credit which usually required interest payment on the sum lent out.)[35]

The practice of barter-like transactions and deferred accounts may have been a consequence of the shortage of specie in eighteenth century Britain.[36] However, although this was rectified by the nineteenth century, there is evidence that in some areas, at least, reciprocal economics of this type were conducted between a number of small farmers, tradesmen, and smallholders up to the 1850s.[37] For these ranks reciprocal economic transactions may have been the preferred mode of exchange even when specie was in greater supply. It is clear that, whatever the cause, reciprocal economics had a bonding effect. The terminology employed reveals the hold they had on the mental outlook: goods or cash were put "towards" a debt, and payment was made for goods received "some time since".

Sub-letting of fields, "keep" of animals, and grass-selling also had a bonding effect. The farm was not considered to be an exclusive, self-contained piece of private property. It was opened up to others, and surpluses and shortages of the primary products were evened out through the exchanges. There was, as well, a responsibility in having a labourer's or neighbour's beasts intermingled with the farmer's own stock. Finally, the complexity of some of the agreements reveals the intertwining of the bonds. The following is a bargain struck between Tompson and John Dunn, who often worked for Tompson: "also agreed with John Dunn for 2 Twinters in exchange and he to have a Heifer in lieu of them and I to keep him a calf the next summer Lay and 5 weeks keep over."[38]

Therefore, although we have cited examples of dishonesty,[39] the overriding effect of reciprocal economics was of bonding. Indeed, because of their dense network structure and their ties of trust and obligation sanctioned by the past and stretching into the future, they may be viewed as a diffuse obligation system. Certainly, they created economic/social relationships which were quite different from those which prevailed in the nineteenth century. We shall elaborate this viewpoint in chapter seven when considering community in the eighteenth century.

The Forge Farm records reveal the predominance of the smaller farmers, smallholders, labourers, and others with few or no acres in all the transactions. They were therefore of particular importance to people from these ranks. They are also to be stressed as a factor enabling the otherwise landless or near landless to participate in some farming. It therefore qualifies the usual picture of the landless labourer even in areas without common or waste lands. The arrangements were usually characterised by verbal, short-term agreements. Sub-letting of parts of fields was invariably arranged on a yearly or half-yearly basis; "keep" of animals was generally charged by the week; and grass-selling seems to have lasted according to the season. They were therefore significantly different from the formal farm-lease.

The predominance of these ranks leads us onto our last point in this section. The Forge Farm records have been heavily relied upon, with further material from George Parker's notebook, in which there are also some references to rents paid for fields, and to "keep" of animals though they do not appear to be so frequent as in the Forge Farm records. The remaining two sets of eighteenth century farm

records, however, give little support to the picture for reciprocal economics. Most of the transactions in the Milwich notebooks of the 1770s and 1790s involve straight cash payments. Few barter-like exchanges or deferred accounts can be found; and animal "keep" is mentioned only occasionally.[40] Similarly, cash is paid in most transactions in the Horninglow notebooks.[41] There are, though, two arguments which can be made against the Milwich and Horninglow records. First, they are very thin in content and rather scrappy in form. There is some evidence that they were used just as jotting notebooks for entry into more complete books which have not survived - though even as notebooks they are much less full than George Parker's.[42] And, second, these farms were perhaps too large to be extensively involved in reciprocal economics. There remains, nonetheless, a clear need for further research on farm records, especially of the eighteenth century and earlier, in order to shed more light on the prevalence and character of reciprocal economics.[43]

(iii) The decline of reciprocal economics

Yearly detail for the steady decline of reciprocal economics in the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth century comes from the Forge Farm records. Table 5.4 is an analysis of Tompson's ledger for four periods in time. Rough calculations for each person involved, based on both the number of transactions and their monetary value, were made to ascertain the proportions paid 'in kind' (goods and services) and cash. A slow, but steady shift away from barter-like transactions between the 1750s and early nineteenth century is apparent. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century they had almost completely disappeared from the accounts. Also, settlement of

those few accounts recorded for the 1820s-40s was at regular half-yearly or yearly intervals - it was rare for them to extend beyond a year (although six of the accounts are with tradesmen or involve rent payments).

There is a parallel decline in the sub-letting, "keep", and grass-selling arrangements. Table 5.5 records the number of people with whom Tompson dealt for every year covered by the documents. The arrangements start to decline in the 1770s and, apart from some continued renting out of houses, all but disappear by the 1790s.

Tompson died in 1815, aged 79 years, but there is evidence that he began to wind down his farming activities from about the end of the 1790s. There are no more cash and day books surviving after this decade. After the 1790s the entries in the ledger are spaced at greater distances in time, and there are less persons altogether. The first one hundred and forty pages of the ledger take the accounts from 1757 to the 1800s, but the next forty years are covered by just seventeen pages. Thus, it could be argued that Tompson's records are unreliable after the 1790s (and especially after the 1810s when his successors use the ledger). However, there is, first, the evidence of a slow but steady decline in reciprocal economics before the 1790s. And, second, the nineteenth century farm records of this sample support the view of a real decline. They contain very, very few references to transactions of this type. Odd examples continue to appear even as late as the 1880s, as when "Wm. Hasky fetched and p[ai]d for his stirks ley", (20th October, 1881),[44] but they are notable only because of their relative rarity.

It is very unlikely that from the mass of the nineteenth century survivals the particular documents which recorded reciprocal economic transactions would be missing. Some of the deposits (for example, the Upton papers) contain numerous notebooks, papers and scribbled scraps. Also, and although outnumbered, farms of 100-200 acres, representing the middling farmer (like Tompson), are nonetheless present in the sample for the nineteenth century.

Up to this point the analysis has referred only to the Lowlands, because of the lack of farm records for the Moorlands. Other documents, however, can be mustered to give an insight into the prevailing mode of transaction there. First, ready cash to finance transactions may have been in short supply even in the early nineteenth century: the farmers tended to delay paying their rents until after the sales made at the seasonal fairs had replenished their pockets.[45] The fairs continued to be an important element in the Moorlanders' economy at least to the mid-nineteenth century.[46] This may therefore have kept alive the conditions for barter and deferred payments. Second, "keep" was a part of the economic fabric to the late eighteenth century, at least, and possibly well into the nineteenth century and even early twentieth century. There are documents for Grindon for 1798 and 1799 which reveal examples of animal keep (appendix 2 to Chapter four, and appendix 7 to this chapter). And for the period up to the early twentieth century, an informant from Grindon said that young married servants/labourers were often given a cow by their farmer-employer to get them started, which in the absence of any land implies keep of the beast.[47]

The evidence on sub-letting is more mixed. For one large parish just outside our particular region a series of estate mini-surveys

uncovered an extensive number of sub-letts[48] of houses, lands and even whole farms at £30, £40 and £60 per annum.[49] Two of the townships (in 1816) showed fifty-three separate sub-letts, of which one-third (sixteen) were described as farms.[50] This does, however, appear to be unusual. For the parishes within the region, there is less evidence of sub-letting. The estate surveys for Grindon in the eighteenth century reveal a very small amount;[51] and in the Wetton estate survey of 1830 there was only a single house and garden sub-lett.[52] Also, restrictive leases, uncovered for Grindon for the late eighteenth century/early nineteenth century, may have discouraged the practice. Nonetheless the evidence is inconclusive: surveys do not usually detail short-term, informal arrangements, and farm records are really required for their uncovering.[53]

There is, then, <u>some</u> evidence that reciprocal economics survived more strongly into the nineteenth century in the Moorlands. Such a conclusion would certainly accord with our knowledge of the area in general as one where agricultural improvement and capitalisation were less advanced than for the rest of Staffordshire.

The conclusion for the Lowlands is that reciprocal economics had fallen away as an important structural element in everyday transaction by the nineteenth century: they no longer performed the same role within the main current of economic relationships. Reciprocal economics did not disappear completely, though. It has been shown for one part of the country that some smaller farmers, smallholders, and crafts and tradesmen continued with these sorts of transactions, and it is suggested to have been more geographically widespread.[54] In chapter seven, too, there is further evidence from our regions of occasions when the cash-nexus was by-passed during the

nineteenth century. Reciprocal economics are nonetheless peripheral by this time: the nineteenth century farm records are dominated by cash payments.

Footnotes to Chapter Five

1. On farm records in general, see: Collins, E.J.T. and Jones, E.L., 'The Collection and Analysis of Farm Record Books', Journal of the Society of Archivists, 3 (1963), 86-9; Collins, E.J.T., 'Historical Farm Records', Archives, 7.35 (1966), 143-9; and Collyer, R.J. 'The Gogerddan Desmesne Farm, 1818-22', Ceredigion, 7, (1973), 170-188. Collyer's article deals with 'Home Farm' records, which differed from the other tenant farms (p.186, esp.). Home Farm records have not been used here. (Although Thomas Griffen occupied the Shugborough and Haywood Park Farms for a number of years it did not serve as a home farm to Lord Lichfield, despite its proximity to Shugborough Hall and occasional supplies of provisions and stabling materials.)

2. Evidence either from Land Tax Returns, Census, or Parish Surveys. In a few cases there is no information.

3. Collins, 'Hist. Farm Records' found that "a surprisingly large number of accounts of the later eighteenth century, kept by men who can only be described as small, but not outstandingly progressive farmers, is to be found in record repositories", (p.145). Reed, 'Peasantry of 19th.C.England', esp. pp.160-4, utilises accounts of small farmers and small farmers/tradesmen in Sussex.
On the question of survival of farm records in general see: Collins, op.cit.; and Perry, British Farming in the Great Depression, ch.4 (the Royal Commissions unearthed few farmers who kept farm records).

4. Farmers who read may have been even more aware of the competition for space in their memories. For example, in George Parker's notebook of June 2nd, 1702, there is: "Memorand. that I have had but 2 Gazetts from Mr. Barber, and I expect but 1 this weeke, but to have 2 weekly afterwards". ("Gazetts" cannot be precisely identified. The Oxford English Dictionary suggests that for this period they may refer to government publications.) In William Tompson's account books for October, 1770 there is: "to cash pd. Mrs. Bladen for cash Lay Down for the Modern Farmers' Guide." Knight of Milwich in the later eighteenth century put most of his jottings in pocket-books entitled: "The Daily Journal; or, The Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book for the Pocket or Desk ... " It had several pages of tables, lists and information " ... useful to be known by all People in Business."

5. Pitt, Agric. of Staffs. (London, 1808 edtn.), p.245.

6. February old style is 1701 because (until 1752) the year began on 25th March.

7. Notably, Will. Fford is trusted with large sums on money (up to £44!) without any aspersions by Parker. See appendix 1(a) on Will.Fford's position.

8. Others also keep track of their business dealings involving Parker. In October 1701, Parker jots down details of an account

involving Mrs. Brassington and his own wife and some goods bought from London: "Note Mrs. Brassington hath a Note of the reckoning ment'oned on ye otherside [i.e. on the other side of this page of his notebook], which is very p[ar]ticular about it."

9. For example: "September ye 7, 1721: Reckon'd then with Richard Newton and we have even'd Accounts to to this Day aforesaid, witness my hand [signed] Richard Newton."

10. One is for goods; the other concerns a hiring agreement.

11. See other hiring agreements with servants written down in Fussell, G.E. (ed.), 'Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1616-20', Camden Society, series 3, 53(1936). A Suffolk farmer of the early nineteenth century is also noted as having occasional problems with money loss in business transactions: Evans, G.E. The Horse in the Furrow, (London, 1960) p.109.
See also Collins, 'Hist.Farm Records', pp.145/6, in which he makes an imaginative reconstruction of the general growth in complexity of transactions.
Chapter eleven explores master-man relationships more extensively.

12. Rothenberg, W.B. 'Farm Account Books: Problems and Possibilities', Agricultural History, 58.2 (1984), 106-112. The stress is laid upon the need to control debt because the agricultural market of past centuries was close to 'perfect competition', making it impossible for the individual farmer to have any control over the selling price of his commodities. "Insofar as account books remain records of debt they reflect a pre-occupation with debt. To "account for" in ordinary parlance means to explain; to explain is to predict; to predict is to control; and what must be controlled will determine what is accounted for" (p.109).

13. Some were not account-books but were in the form of diaries.

14. The North American examples are generally fuller and more systematic in presentation. "Massachusetts account books between 1750 and 1850 virtually recapitulate in their great variety six centuries of accounting and bookkeeping history, from the most primitive kind of tally to full-fledged double-entry bookkeeping with profit-and-loss accounting such as was not widely used even in industry until after the Industrial Revolution." Rothenberg, op.cit., p.109.

15. Rothenburg, op.cit., p.110.

16. E.g. April 13th, 1702:
8 Twinters bought in the previous autumn
were sold: "... and they cost £10-10-0
and they sould
this day for 12-9-3
soe that they have gotten
1-19-3".
See also: June 16th, 1702.

The farm records which calculate yearly income and outgoings are those of Thomas Griffen of Colwich and Penkridge.
On the question of 'improvement', note that William Tompson of the Forge Farm bought the Modern Farmers Guide.

17. Wordie, 'Rent Movements', p.219, using the work of Wilkes, A.R. Depression and Recovery in English Agriculture after the Napoleonic Wars, (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Reading, 1975).

18. Perry, op.cit. ch.4, p.93. Perry suggests that "the minority who kept accounts were probably unrepresentative, more than typically shrewd or energetic", but concludes that "their accounts were not always satisfactory, let alone sophisticated. There are examples where accounting as a tool to profit-maximisation appears to be present: Jones, E.L. 'Introduction' in (ed.), Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815, (London, 1967), esp.pp.15/16, where three examples are quoted; Evans, Horse in the Furrow, pp.87-145 and 164/5; Heilbroner, R.L. The Worldly Philosophers: the Great Economic Thinkers (London, 1969 edtn.), p.73, although relates to an estate, landlord directed farm; Obelkevich, J. Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875, (Oxford, 1976), pp.49/50. However, these works usually refer only to odd examples rather than systematic analysis of larger samples. The weight of evidence is on the other side: Martin, Social and Economic Trends, Ch.4; Heuckel, 'English Farming Profits'; Fussell, 'Robert Loder' - the intent was present, but Fussell suggests it was not implemented; Street, A.G. Farmer's Glory (London, 1932 edtn.) p.39 - "The point I would again stress about this type of pre-war farming [i.e. pre World War One] is that one didn't consider whether the crop one was sowing would pay a profit over the cost of production or not. That never entered any one's head"; fn.17; also appendix 2 in which the preface to "Oldfield's Farmers' Account Book" is reproduced; and Carrington, W.T. 'On Dairy Farming', J.R.A.S.E. 1.2 (2nd.series), 344-54 is a local example from the 1860s of what might be obtained if careful accounting were applied.

19. Cf: Rothenberg, op.cit.

20. For example, personal visits to and from relatives and friends, and personal illness.

21. Vincent, D.M. Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom (London, 1981) Chap.1; Thompson, E.P. 'Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Content: Review Article', Midland History 1.3 (1972), 41-56, esp.p.42.

22. "For each person with whom the farmer dealt the left-hand page records the transaction TO which that person is a debtor with respect of the farmer, and the right hand page records the transactions BY which that person is a creditor with respect to the farmer", Rothenberg, op.cit., p.110.

23. Sahlins, M. Stone Age Economics, (London, 1974, edtn.) esp. chs.4 ff.

24. Reciprocal economics are also found in Rothenberg, 'Farm Account Books' and Reed, 'Peasantry of 19th. C.England'. We shall return to Reed's findings later in this chapter and in chapters

6 and 7.

25. But dealings with his brother John, with whom transactions were extensive and filled several pages of the ledger, are excluded. Tompson's own farm rent payment, although sometimes subjected to delay and appearing in the ledger, is also excluded.

26. E.g. Cheadle, Newcastle, Leek, Hilderstone, Eccleshall, Stafford.

27. Parker may have neglected to detail all his business transactions in this notebook. He may on occasions have gone straight to the "file" mentioned (but which has not survived). There is a large gap, for example, in the notebook between November 1st., 1700 and March 22nd., 1700/1, although the pages themselves are not missing. It is also impossible to consider straight barter transactions such as that between Parker and Lightwood in which the labour-time and straw were unquantified and unpriced.

28. The problems inherent in obtaining acreages from parish surveys is dealt with in Chapter three.

29. There is a concentration of references to rents paid to Tompson for houses in the 1750s/60s, but it is a constant feature of the ledger until its end in 1849. The 1774 survey (W.S.L. 412/40) suggests he may have sub-let at least some of the properties for which he was tenant.

30. Usually the rents were less than £1, or of £2 or £3. The highest amount was for £10-10-0 per annum, paid by Mr. Edward Dickison for "Pigs, Kesterven's piece, and 2 parcels in Michaeldale from 1766-9" ("Pigs" cannot be identified, and may refer to a deal involving the animals.)

31. Presumably 1785. All but the "5" is obliterated but the day book in which it appears covers the 1780s.

32. Also known as "agisting".

33. See fn.28.

34. All the following on 'primitive' exchange is taken from Sahlins, Stone Age Economics, esp. chs.4 ff.

35. Note the comment on a not dissimilar general situation in G. Sturt (Bourne), William Smith: Potter and Farmer, 1790-1858 (London, 1978; orig. 1920) pp.170 and 175. The farm had a long-standing arrangement over pig sales with the Boseley family. When, however, the pig-breeding business expanded and more profits could be made, the old arrangement was ended: " ... Street Farm lost some agreeable social values when the intercourse with the Boseleys was given up."

36. Anderson, B.L. 'Money and the Structure of Credit in the Eighteenth Century', Business History, 12.2 (1970) 85-101; Mathias, First Indust. Nation, pp.148-59 and Ch.13. The shortage of specie and therefore the profits to be made from coin-clipping lay behind some of the crimes by the gang in seventeenth century Cumbria in MacFarlane, A. The Justice and

the Mare's Ale : Law and Disorder in Seventeenth Century England (Oxford, 1981).

37. Reed, 'Peasantry of 19th. C.England', pp.61-3.

38. Subletting and keep of animals is also mentioned in ibid. pp.63/4; Yates, E.M. 'Aspects of Staffordshire Farming in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', N.S.J.F.S., 15 (1975), 26-40, esp.pp.26/7 and 31-4 on the information from three farm records from the first and second halves of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century; Pemberton, W.A. 'A Parson's Account Book', The Local Historian 13.7(1979), 397-405, esp. p.401; Sturt (Bourne), G. The Bettesworth Book (London, 1978; orig. 1901) pp.80/1; Wain, Financial Affairs, Chap.2 pt.II(c).

39 In reply to those who see the North American farm records portraying the rural societies as a ""dense collective experience" of kinship, mutuality and reciprocity", Rothenberg, 'Farm Account Books', p.111, has suggested that they also illustrate "bitterness, hostility, and schism". However, reference in support of this is only given to one occasion, fn.11.

40. Business transactions are recorded in only six years during these decades. Settling of accounts is mentioned just three times. On six further occasions money is put "towards" or "in part for" goods; and four of these were with just one man (Joseph Robinson), who was also one of the people with whom Knight of Milwich "settled account".

41. Most of the sales are of small quantities of goods (e.g. Wheat, blend corn, occasionally cheese and peas, and (later) meat). There are only four entries which suggest deferred accounts, and no evidence of goods/services being bartered. There are just two examples of "keep" of animals (25 June, 1715; 10 June, 1720).

42. In the Milwich notebooks pages are sometimes used twice (or more) for different years. In the Horninglow records the presentation is never clear. At one stage, there is a loose arrangement for putting pages to individuals, but it devolves into odd notes, disarticulated. Some pages are overwritten. In 1723, a different handwriting appears. Some of the pages have been used for spelling practice.

43. Holderness, B.A. Pre-Industrial England: Economy and Society, 1500- 1750 (London, 1976) p.78, finds seasonal sub-letting of lands to be widespread in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

44. Wood Farm records. Also see: 29 November 1878: "Took Mr. Shemilt's sheep back and fetched the lamb" and the next day: "Fetched the colt back from Mr. Shemilt's". Mr. Shemilt was a farmer with whom Leese had many dealings.

45. "The Rent days are governed by the fairs in the Neighbourhood at which the Ten[an]ts personally provide their rents by the sale of Stocks ... " A letter of 1816 between estate agent and owner, S.R.O. D. 3359/Box 34.

46. Evershed, 'Agric. of Staffs.', p.313.

47. Mrs E. Mycock of Deepdale Farm, Grindon. From a conversation in August, 1981.

48. Alstonfield; Harpur-Crewe estate. D.R.O. 2375 M 93/11. The surveys were intended to identify the extent of encroachment upon the wastes and commons and so prevent loss of rents. Uncovering sub-letting was an unintended by-product.

49. Possibly even £140 for one "farm" - the figures are unclear.

50. Hollingsclough and Quarnford, D.R.O. 2375 M 93/11.

51. In 1734 there were two holdings sub-let (11 acres and 79 acres). A list of signatures (in which tenants acknowledge the incoming lord or a change in the ownership of the manor) was compared with a survey of 1735 to reveal these sub-lets. Both in S.R.O. D.593/J/22/1.
And in a mid-eighteenth century survey a sub-let of 4 acres is shown (although it may not be a sub-let, but a piece of a holding being taken from one and added to another at the time the survey was conducted). S.R.O. D.593/J/22/1.

52. Chatsworth Box 96/89.

53. Hence, the accidental uncovering of sub-letting in Alstonfield (see fn.47). See Harrison, C.J. 'Elizabethan Village Surveys', A.H.R. 27(1979), 82-9 on an unusual survey in which sub-letting is detailed (and accounts for 64% of all lands). Also, in the 1774 survey of Abbots Bromley (W.S.L. 412/40) 73 acres are shown to be sub-let (1.3% of the cultivated total), yet William Tompson is not included as a sub-letter - his farm records tell a different story.

54. Reed, 'Peasantry of the 19th. C.England'.

Tables to Chapter Five

Table 5.1 : Farm Records - Staffordshire+

(1) Deposit	(2) Farm	(3) Parish	(4) Name	(5) Dates	(6) Size (acres)	(7) Type	(8) Quality
D.3806	?	Caverswall/ Forsbrook	George Parker	1700-5	?large?	A	Good
D.(W)510/ 3-4	?	Horninglow (nr.Burton/Trent)	?	1715-23	?large?	A	Poor
W.S.L. 43/1-8/54	Forge Farm	Abbots Bromley	William Tompson	1760s-1850s (esp.1770s-90s	168(a)	A	Good (18th.C) Poor (19th.C)
D.864; D.637; D.(W)1826	?	Milwich	Samuel Knight	1771-2, 1777-8 1795-7	c.263-390(b)	A	Fair (variable)
	?	Milwich	Joseph Knight	1822 1828-48	c.216-c.350(c)	D & A	Fair
	?	Garshall Green (Milwich)	D.Sherrilt(d)	1868-95	32/ Butcher	A	Fair
D3576(i)	Castle Hays Fm.	Tutbury	Joseph Upton Snr	c.1815-42	c.180(f)	A	Poor
(ii)	Grange Hill Fm.	Netherseal (Leics)	"	c.1842-?	?	A	Poor
(iii)	Newbold Manor Fm.	Tatenhill	Thomas Upton (Son to (i))	c.1851	154	A	Poor
(iii)	Manor Fm	Alrewas	" (joint tenant)	c.1852-60	329	A	Poor
(iv)	?	Oakthorpe (Derbys.)	John Upton (Son to (i))	c.1844-51	205	A	Poor
(v)	Manor Fm.	Alrewas	" (see (iii))	c.1851-84	329	A	Poor
(vi)	Manor House Fm.	Tatenhill	William Upton (son to (i))	c.1851-c.1900	270	A	Poor
(vii)	Farewell Hall Fm.	Farewell	Joseph Upton jnr. (son to (i))	c.1853-66	172(1853) 250(1861)	A	Poor
(viii)	Rookery Fm.	Yoxall	Charles F.Upton (Son to (iv))	?	?	A	Poor
D.1108/ 1-4	Shugborough Park Fm.	Colwich	Ann Stanford → Thomas Griffen(e)	1839-55	300	A	Good
	Haywood Park Fm.	"	Thos.Griffen	1856-64	283	A	Good
	Preston Vale Fm.	Penkridge	"	1864-c.1880	269	A	Good
D(W)1923	?	Kings Bromley	Thomas Bannister	1861-4	100	D	Good
Reading Univ. Lib.STA1	Wood Fm.	Sandon	George Leese	1876-82	153	D	Good

Notes:

+ Occasionally utilising out-county examples where they are bundled together with Staffordshire collection, e.g. collection D.3576. Not every farm record pertaining to Staffordshire has been used. Generally, the better quality ones have been used, along with the criterion that they should be representative of farming types similar to those of the 'regions' of this study.

(1) S.R.O. except where stated.

(7) A = Accounts, of differing form, wholly or mainly.
D = Diary-type, wholly or mainly.

(8) Good; Fair; Poor.

(a) For two years, William and his brother, John, administer a farm of just over 300 acres, inherited from their father. They then divided into the Forge Farm (168 acres) and the Town Farm (142 acres) administered by John. (See: Mercer, "William Tompson".)

(b) A rough estimate taken from Land Tax Returns for selected years and operating an acreage equivalent of 1/- to the acre (found by dividing total returns into total parish acreage).

(c) Estimated from Land Tax Returns (method in (b) above) and from two parish surveys (S.R.O. D.637/10/2 and D.917/6/10 (1833 and 1836 resp.)). NB. In neither (b) nor (c) does there appear to be a simple incremental progression in farm size over time.

(d) A relation to the Knights: hence, in the Knight papers.

(e) In the 1851 census, Ann Stanford, widow, is the head of the household (age 59 years); Thomas Griffen is her nephew (age 22 years) living on the farm as "farm bailiff".

(f) Calculation similar to (b) with acreage equivalent of 11.22d. per acre.

Table 5.2 : Those in Forge Farm Ledger: 1750s to 1770s

Identified by Survey* (acres)					Identified by Ledger+			Sub-Total	Unidentified	Total
0-1	2-10	11-50	51-100	>100	Servant	Labr.	Other			
12	4	5	6	3(a)	4½(b)	9½(b)	4(c)	52	39	91(d)

Sources * 1762 survey of Bagot estates
(S.R.O. D.1721/3/262-3)
1774 survey of Abbots Bromley
(W.S.L. 412/40)
(see chapter 3 and also fn.29 to this chapter for further information on these surveys)
+ Internal evidence from the ledger.

Notes: (a) Includes his brother, John.

(b) One is a servant who appears to become a labourer.

(c) Sir Walter Bagot;
a Miller(?);
a Seed Merchant(?);
a Mason.

(d) Excluded are:
Revd. Mr.Bassett - Easter dues payments
Mr.Crawley - Local levies payments
Mr.Keay - Farm rent
Mr.Waburton - Farm rent

Table 5.3 : Persons involved in Sub-letting of Fields, "Keep" of Animals, and "Grass"-Selling (excluding hay) Arrangements, 1750s-1840s:Forge Farm Records

Identified by Survey* (acres)					Identified by Ledger+			Sub-Total	Unidentified	Total (names)
0-1	2-10	11-50	51-100	>100	Servant	Labr.	Other			
9	7	5	3	3	1½(a)	6½(a)	2(b)	37	19	56

Sources * 1762 survey of Bagot estates (S.R.O. D.1721/3/262-3)
1774 survey of Abbots Bromley (W.S.L. 412/40)
1831 survey of Abbots Bromley (S.R.O. D.1721/3/265)
(see chapter 3 and also fn.29 to this chapter for further information on these surveys)
+ Internal evidence from the ledger.

Notes: (a) Note (b) table 5.2.

(b) Miller;
Mason.

Table 5.4 : The Decline of 'Reciprocal Economics'
(1) Transactions in the Forge Farm Ledger,
1750s-1840s

Period*	Mainly 'in kind'		'in kind'/ by cash- equal parts +		by cash mainly		by cash completely		TOTAL (persons)
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1757-69	10	32.3	9	29.0	6	19.4	6	19.4	31
1761-92	4	17.4	9	39.1	5	21.7	5	21.7	23
1789-1818	2	8.0	13	52.0	6	24.0	4	16.0	25
1820s-40s					1	12.5 (a)	7	87.5	8

Notes:

* Because the ledger is arranged by person rather than by year the chronology is not sequential with the pagination. Thus pages: 1-20 = 1757-69
50-70 = 1761-92
120-40 = 1789-1818
145-157 = 1820s-40s

+ roughly

(a) The single person recorded here only once exchanged work for goods received; on all other occasions he paid cash.

Table 5.5 : The Decline of 'Reciprocal Economics'
(2) Sub-letting, "Keep", and "Grass"-Selling:
Forge Farm Records, 1750s-1840s

Number of Persons:

Date	House rents*	Fields rents	"Keep"	Grass	Date	House rents*	Field rents	"Keep"	Grass	Date	House rents*	Fields rents	"Keep"	Grass
1757					1780	2	2	2	1	1803	1			0 ↓ to 1839
58	5	3	7	5	81	1	1	3	1	04	2			
59	7	3	2	7	82	1	1	1	1	05	4			
1760	7	3	8	2	83	1	1	3	1	06	3			
61	6	5	8	6	84	1	1	0	0	07	2			
62	8	6	2	2	85	1	14	1	0	08	2			
63	7	6	2	3	86	1	6	0	1	09	2			
64	5	7	3	3	87	1	2	1	0	1810	1			
65	4	7	3	3	88	1	0 ↓ to end	1	to 1796	11	1			
66	4	9	5	3	89	1				12	1			
67	5	7	4	3	1790	1		0 ↓ to 1823		13	1			
68	4	8	2	2	91	2				14	1			
69	2	8	7	3	92	3				15	0			
1770	0	4	5	4	93	3				16	2			
71	1	3	3	2	94	2				17	2			
72	1	3	0	4	95	1				18	2			
73	1	3	3	2	96	1			1	19	2			
74	2	2	2	2	97	1			0 ↓ to 1802	1820	2			
75	2	2	10	2	98	1				21	2			
76	2	2	5	3	99	1				22	1			
77	2	2	4	2	1800	1				23	2			
78	2	2	2	2	01	1				24	2			
79	2	2	2	1	02	1			1	25	2			
										26	1			
										27	1			
										28	1			
										1829	1 ↓ to 1849			

Note: *presumably in some cases;
evidence not always clear.

Appendices to Chapter Five

Appendix 1 (a) The farm records of George Parker of Caverswall/Forsbrook.

(b) Horninglow farm records.

2 Oldfield's Farmers' Account Book.

3 Forge Farm Records: Reproduction of page 7 of Tompson's Ledger.

A part of Tompson's Ledger account with Richard Wood.

4 Sub-letting of fields or parts thereof by William Tompson: Forge Farm Records.

5 "A List of the Under Tenants" 1785(?) : Forge Farm Records.

6 "Lay'd in Clover etc.(?) 1755 at 3s/per week Age'd horses" : Forge Farm Records.

7 "Mr. John Cruso D[ebto]r to George Titterton": Grindon, 1798/9.

Appendix 1

(a) The farm records of George Parker of Caverswall/Forsbrook

D.3806 is a single notebook and is all that has survived. However, it is clear that he kept other records of his business transactions: the notebook makes repeated reference to a "file".

The size of the farm is unknown. Indeed the notebook suggests two separate holdings, the outlying one administered by "Will. Fford": every now and then Fford submits an account which Parker settles with him. However, although Parker's social standing was probably quite high, his farm, or farms, may not have been that large, perhaps around 200 acres or not too much more - although this was large for the time. The evidence for this is suggested by the number of animals mentioned, and by the fact that only about four 'regular' labourers were working for him - although there is no evidence on indoor servants.

Parker was probably of minor gentry status, but rising in the social scale. He was paying taxes and levies on four "estates" plus various fields and meadows. He also had some income from tithes. There are references to local government dealings. Certainly a number of his descendents were minor national figures (see the Dictionary of National Biography). He is involved in building work, perhaps at Caverswall Hall, for extentions and garden landscaping. His standard of living is also high, as far as can be appreciated from the items of luxury foods (such as citrus fruits, ginger, sugar candy, wheat, "a white loaf", pippins from Lichfield, almonds and coffee) and from other details (such as ten shillings entrance fee "for Will's and Sonn's danseing"). His farm, nonetheless, does not appear to be run as a 'Home Farm'.

(b) Horninglow farm records:

Like Parker's notebook, the (scrappy and disconnected) jottings of the Horninglow records are but memoranda for later entry into a "ledger".

The estimate that the farm was probably large comes from accounts taken of sheep: in 1718 there were: 169 old sheep, 75 lambs in "ye outwood" and in "ye flat" 3 sheep and 3 lambs, in addition to 5 sheep and 5 lambs in "ye patch"; in 1720 there were 165 sheep and 63 lambs on "ye common". Stocking density calculations (see Collyer, "Gogerddan Desmesne", pp.174/5) would suggest a farm of well over 100 acres on the evidence of sheep alone and it is known that grains and other products were also sold off.

Appendix 2

Oldfield's Farmers' Account Book

Preface:

"In bringing this book before the public it has been my utmost endeavour to make it as plain and simple as possible, being merely a debtor and creditor account of the farm. I am quite sure nothing is more wanted in these progressive days than some guide whereby the farmer may see at a glance his position, that he may be enabled to layout his surplus capital in the best way possible. For why should not the Farmer like the Merchant take advantage of the markets?, and on the other hand should he at any time have drawn too largely on his resources he may "if he will keep his accounts correctly" by referring to his expenditure see the danger in time to avert it. It has been said that the farmer is an ignorant, careless person, now I should wish everyone following that occupation to refute so ungrounded a charge by simply keeping their accounts as I would have them, in a book which I have endeavoured to place before my brother farmers as little complicated as possible."

Source

The account books were used by the Lockett Family of Hill Farm, Moreton Wood, Whitchurch, North Shropshire (private collection) for the years 1886-1904.

Appendix 3

Forge Farm Records:
Reproduction of Page 7 of Tompson's Ledger

Edwd. Woodroffe	Dr.	£	s	d
To Stubbe grass		1	"	"
To ye leaping of 3 Mares one Baren		1	7	"
{This entry crossed out To ye lay of 3 Stirks 5 weeks to July 17th 1758-and are still continued		2	7	
1758 July Ball due to Edwd. Woodroffe		15		
		17	7	"
June 12th to 3 Stirks Enterd into Lay at		1	19-	
Sept. 14 to 2 more do } to Dec.14th 58			13-	
to 4 Colts at Lattermath two weeks at 6s/ }			12	"
To ? mares coverd 1758 pd.				
To 3 Colts a Lay one week		-	3	-
Settled Decr.14th.1758		3	7	"
Feby. To a cow calf		-	10	6
Ap.17 to 5 St.Oaks - 16d		-	6	8
To ye Lay of Seven Twinters two wks. at ? Follow (?) }		-	10	-
Settled for 7 Lay of 4.>Beast at Straw }		3	7	-
		4	15	
July To 12 Thrave of Straw 10d			10	"
Aug.20 to Stubble grass		1	10	
To the Lay of a Colt 5 weeks that was exchanged for Bors at X				
To lay of Mr.Bournes 23 Beast one night at ye Fayre at 4d }			7	8
To ye Lay of a Bay Colt 14 weeks to Uttox Fayre 1759 19th Sept				
Sept.26 to 2 st Wheat seed at 3/8			7	4
To ye Lay of a Colt - 19 Weeks		1	6	3
To ye Lay of 4 Stirks 27weeks at 2s/		1	14	"
		5	16	3
1759				
Nov.10 to a Ball		"	5	3
1760 Jany.7. to ye Lay of Stirks 9 weeks at 5d. each and 3 Days			15	10
To 4 Mares coverd 59		1	11	6
		6	10	"
To St.Oats at 1/4d			4	"
To 2st. wheat			8	"
To the Lay of 30 sheep at 1/6d.		2	5	"
		2	17	"

1758 P. Contra	Cr.	£	s	d
By 20 St. Oats dr 2/4		2	6	8
By Cash p Father		8		
By 2 twinters at 55s/		5	10	"
By cheese		1	6	"
By one cheese 10lbs. at		0	2	1
By cash		0	2	3
		17	7	0
By a Balance July 1758		15		
1758 Dec.14 By cash		3	7	0
Feby.17 By a cow + calf		5	5	0
June 16 By a Ball		0	10	0
Augt. 2 By a Fole		3	10	"
By cash for Straw 10s/& the Lay of Mr.Bournes Beast 7/8		0	17	8
By cash in Exchange for a mare		0	7	6
By cash deduced on acct.of stirk			5	10
		5	11	"
1759 Decr. By 2 colts		6	10	"
1760 Feby 4 By a Ball		3	17	5
19 By a Bull Calf		"	15	"
By a cow & Calf		4	12	6
By a Calf		1	6	"
By a mare		1	16	6
Novr.1st.By 21 lambs at 5s/		5	5	"
By cheese		1	13	1½
By Entst(?) 3 yr		21	12	6½
1760 Brot.up		2	5	"
To Lay of the Black Filly to Mayday			10	"
To Lay of Do from May Day to ye 22nd.D } 3 weeks at 2/6d			7	6
To ½yrs.Rent due Lady Day 60		2	10	"
To lay of 4 Twinters about 2 weeks in the Follow }		0	5	4
To 10 Levies at 3d mr.B.10 at 2½d.		0	6	7
To cash in Exchange betwixt Bors and one Black filly		1	6	0
1760 To Grass in Deackonsfield		1	1	0
To the Lay of Dolls Sister from Apl. 5th to Novr.26th 33 weeks 4 days }		2	5	"
To Lay of a Brown Colt Enterd at ye same time		"	10	"
cd. over		11	15	5

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

A part of Tompson's Ledger Account with Richard Wood

Dr	£ s d
1778	
Oct. to a load of coals	1 . 4 "
1779	
Oct 15 to a Do. Do.	1 . 4 "
1780	
Sept.19 to a Do. Do	1 . 5 "
	3 .13 "
1781	
Oct.25 to 11d. of coals	1 . 5 0
1782 to left unpd.the last load p. 1s/Bad	1.0
May 23 to a load of coals	1. 5.0
	2.11.0
1783 Nov.3 to a ld. of coals	1. 5.0
1784	
Oct.26 to 1 Do.	1. 5.0
1785	
Nov.10 to 1 Do.	1. 5.0
	2.10.0
	2. 5
	5

P. Contra Cr.	£ s d
1778	
Oct. By Cash towards the coals	1 ———
1779	
Sep. by 17 Geese	1. 3 "
1780	
Augt. By 6 Do. at 16d.	0. 8 "
Sep.28 By a Baskett of Mushrumes	1. 6
Oct.21 By cash	10. 0
1781	
Feb.13 by cash in full P. Almanachs Eh.	10- 6
	3. 13. 0
1781	
Feb. By cash towards coals	" 10- 6
1782	
May 8 By do.	" 10 "
July 11 By 5 Geese at 16d	" 6. 8
By 5 Couple of Ducks at 1s/	" 5. 0
1783	
Augt. By 12 Geese at 16d	" 16. 0
Sep. By 4 ducks at 9d	" 3. 0
	2.11. 2
1783	
Dec.1 By cash on acct.	10- 0
1784 Augt.By 12 Geese at 16d	16- 0
1784	
Oct. By cash 12s/ and 1s/ over in the last Geese	" 13- 0
1785 June 20 By cash	1———
July 12 By 9 Geese	12. 0
	2 .5.11

July 12th 1785 Ball due to Wm.Tompson
Car[d]. to page 59)

Appendix 3 (cont'd)

A part of Tompson's Ledger Account with Richard Wood

Dr	£	s	d
1778			
Oct. to a load of coals		1	4 "
1779			
Oct 15 to a Do. Do.		1	4 "
1780			
Sept.19 to a Do. Do		1	5 "
		3	13 "
1781			
Oct.25 to 11d. of coals		1	5 0
1782 to left unpd.the last load p. 1s/Bad			1.0
May 23 to a load of coals		1.	5.0
		2.	11.0
1783 Nov.3 to a ld. of coals		1.	5.0
1784			
Oct.26 to 1 Do.		1.	5.0
1785			
Nov.10 to 1 Do.		1.	5.0
		2.	10.0
		2.	5
			5

July 12th 1785 Ball due to Wm.Tompson
Car[d]. to page 59)

P. Contra Cr.	£	s	d
1778			
Oct. By Cash towards the coals	1	——	
1779			
Sep. by 17 Geese		1. 3	"
1780			
Augt. By 6 Do. at 16d.		0. 8	"
Sep.28 By a Baskett of Mushrumes		1. 6	
Oct.21 By cash		10. 0	
1781			
Feb.13 by cash in full P. Almanachs Eh.		10- 6	
		3. 13. 0	
1781			
Feb. By cash towards coals	"	10- 6	
1782			
May 8 By do.	"	10	"
July 11 By 5 Geese at 16d	"	6. 8	
By 5 Couple of Ducks at 1s/	"	5. 0	
1783			
Augt. By 12 Geese at 16d	"	16. 0	
Sep. By 4 ducks at 9d	"	3. 0	
		2.11. 2	
1783			
Dec.1 By cash on acct.		10- 0	
1784 Augt.By 12 Geese at 16d		16- 0	
1784			
Oct. By cash 12s/ and 1s/ over in the last Geese	"	13- 0	
1785 June 20 By cash	1	——	
July 12 By 9 Geese		12. 0	
	2	.5.11	

Appendix 4

Sub-Letting of Fields or Parts Thereof by William Tompson: Forge Farm Records

1. 1776

Set out	acres	£	s	d
Brickkiln	2	7		
Mr.Jeffers	2	1	16	0
Mr.Wigan	1½	1	5	0
Clarks	¼ (?)	0	10	0
Mr.Woods	¼ (?)	0	10	6
Ashbrooklane	¼ (?)	0	15	0
Exchange	1	1	10	0
	6¾ (?)	13	0	6
Mr. Heathesat(?)	18½	?		
Mr. Delves F.G.	¾	25	6	6
	16¼			

Acres 120 + 26 = 129 for 94£ p.a.

Notes: (?) Some of the figures are overwritten and altered, making them difficult to read.

2. A list of under Tenants to J[ohn] and W[illiam] commenc'd at Lady Day 1758.

			£	s	d
Vizt.	Mr.Edwd. Godwin yearly		10		
	John Woodroffe		5		
	Do.	Wm.Bowley ———	3		
	Joseph Jackson		5	15	0
	Robt.Rowley		0*	"	"
	Sarah Sutton		0*	"	"
	Willm. Berry +	Brickkiln	5*	"	"
	Edwd. Hall	Ashbrook lane house	0*	"	"
++	John Knighton	John	0*	"	"
	Joseph Harlow	Cotterill	0*	0*	"
	Mr.Willm.Fieldhouse		0*	"	"
	Herbert Ward		"	0*	0*
	Father Harley	intake	"	10	-
	James Maidon		"	10	-
	Willm.Clark		"	10	-
	Ladyday 59	Joseph Harlow Fieldland	2	20	-
	64	do more	0	12	"
	Mr.Charles Danson	Kesterton's piece a by take	4	10	"
	John Cotterill		4	10	"
	Thos.Phillips	Hurst	0	11	-
	Father Hollowell	land one flat	0	7	-
	Mr. Jeffery	Broomlea	1	10	-
	Geo[e] Hacker ye.	Hurst Holl[wl.]	1	12	6
	Fra[s] James	Hollowel land			
		L.D. 65 Jos.H	0	5	0
	LD 65 Josh.Harlow	do more	1	12++	6++

Notes: * denotes where figures have been written over the top of others which can no longer be read.

\+ a name written over another, which is crossed out,

++ names and figures which have lines through them crossing them out, but which are still legible and so are reproduced here.

Appendix 5

"A List of the Under Tenants" 1785(?) : Forge Farm Records

"A List of the Under Tenants" 1785(?): Forge Farm Records

			£	s	d
++	Father Dawson	Mill Med^{W}. and d.Fields	25		
++	Wm.Bridgewood	Cotterils croft, Hillock leaser & Brick	16		
++	John Oldfield	Ashleys	5		
++	John Stantin	K.piece and Gallows flat	8	10	-
++	Thomas Mackrory	Brandbricks field	7	15	-
++	Peter Heathcoat	Blithe Meadow and Intake at ?? flats	11		
+	Mr. Jeffery	Michdale	1	16	-
++	John Chamberlain	Brickkiln & croft	7		
–	Mr. Delves	Puison Pool	1		
++	Mr. Wigan	Gallows Flat Intake	1	5	0
++	Bill Tunstall	Garden	0	10	0
++	Mr. Wood	Orchard	0	10	6
++	Thos. Downing	Ashbrookland Intake	0	15	0
++	Doc^{r}. Berins	High Ash	8	8	6
			95	10	-
		By High Intake Clover	15	15	-
		By Wheat in Hill and Hanley Intake	55		
			166	5	-
		By the croft	5		
			171	5	

Notes:

1. All but the "5" is obliterated, but it is assumed to be 1785 as it appears in a Day book which covers the 1780s.

2. What the dashes on the left side refer to is unknown, but may refer to years or half-years held.

3. All the fields have been identified or possibly identified except Cotterils croft. If "Puison Pool" refers to "Pool Piece" in "Forge Farm" then three-quarters or more of John Tompson's "Town Farm" is sub-let to under-tenants.

Appendix 6

"Lay'd in Clover etc.(?) 1755 at 3s/ per week Age'd horses" :

Forge Farm Records

1775

May 1	Mr. Evan Williams	1 mare
	Do.	1 2yr. colt
	Mr. Jeffery	1 mare
3	Edwd. Woodroffe	2 yearlings 18th.wt.out.
	John Dunn 3 Hog Sheep in Nook	piece
	Saml. Hays	1 mare
	Wm.Hanchan	1 yr.old colt
6	Evan Williams	2 aged horses
7	Mr. Bamford	1 do. and 1 Colt at 3s/.
	Wm.Brown	1 aged mare
9	Revd.W.Brown	1 do.
	Mr. Jeffery	1 do. more
12	Do.	1 do. do.
14	Henry Holland	1 do.
16	Currier 1 mare	entord.

Appendix 7

"Mr. John Cruso D[ebto]r to George Titterton": Grindon, 1798/9

	£	s	d
"for wintering for a Cow at Hay from Decr. 18 1798 till March 26th 1799 which is 14 weeks allowing 2£ [i.e. lbs] of Hay pr.week at 5s. pr. £ comes to 10s. pr. week.	7	0	0
For wintering a Heiffer at Hay from Decr.18th 1798 till April 13th 1799 which is 16 weeks and a half, allowing 1½£[i.e. lbs] of Hay pr week at 5s. pr. £ comes to 7s/6d. pr.week	6	3	9
	13	3	9 "

Source: S.R.O. D.3359/Box 34.

Chapter Six

ECONOMIC CHANGE: LANDLORDS AND FARMERS

> "In neither county has Lord Stafford in what he has done attempted to usurp the province of the farmer by attending to the management and detail of any particular farm. To do this successfully or economically is beyond a landlord's reach ... It is through the tenants alone that the real and permanent and steady improvement of the country can be undertaken"
> Extract from James Loch, An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquis of Stafford (1820) appendix p.101, quoted in Wordie, Estate Management p.206.

This chapter explores the motivations and actions of the human instruments of economic change: the landlords and farmers. Historians have, in the main, tended to give more attention to the landlord - partly, no doubt, as a result of the mountains of estate material which survive in the record offices. Without question, the landlords, especially the larger amongst them, were important and influential. Many were actively involved, for example, in increasing the size of their farms: chapter three pointed to the greater degree of amalgamation on the estates, in general, by comparison with all other farms in our regions; and in his study of nineteenth century Leicestershire, Mills found a rank correlation between the size of estates and the size of farms - after allowances for topography.[1] The farmer was, nonetheless, also a very active agent in the capitalisation process. Even Loch (agent for the Leveson-Gowers of Trentham) who was criticised for being too interventionist, appreciated their importance: " ... the landlord's proper line of duty ... ", he wrote, was to leave " ... the tenant and his capital to the unfettered cultivation of the soil".[2] There is, then, a need

for more on the role of the farmer.

The first section of this chapter clears the ground for this by completing the analysis, begun in chapters three and (especially) four, of the boundaries of the landlords' direct involvement and intervention. The second section then focuses on the farmers: the pressures upon them, and motivations within them, for economic change. Two consequences of capitalisation by the farmer are considered in the final section: the decline of reciprocal economics and the associated difficulties for the survival of the smaller farmer.

(i) Landlords

In the right-hand side margins of a series of rentals, from 1802 to 1821 for the Staffordshire estates of Lord Bagot, are numerous comments in the cribbed handwriting of the rent collector. They run throughout the years covered by the rental. From their tenor and wording they strongly suggest direct intervention by the Bagots to rationalise and increase the size of the holdings on their estate. Here are some examples: in 1802/3, Richard Chamberlain ended his tenure (or had it ended) with the comment in the margin: "This is now laid to George Prosser". In 1808, Thomas Hide had a rent reduction explained by: "reduced by cottage taken down". In 1809, George Atkins had a reduction in his rent because part of his lands were exchanged for glebe land. Edward Batkin's holding in 1811 "ceases - laid to Dunstall Farm". In the same year: "Gadsby gives up the Abberlies, which are taken in Hand, Receives a meadow taken out of the Park, and p[ar]t of Bromley Wood held by T. Holland". Two years

later, Robert Cope took on "late Holland's House, etc. and land taken from Kent, John Wood and John Saville".[3]

In the absence of estate or steward correspondence for the Bagots, this is the best example of direct intervention by them in influencing farming practise and trends. Many other landlords throughout the country were similarly engaged in schemes for Improvement from about the early or mid-eighteenth century to the last third of the nineteenth century. Some ran Home Farms, particularly during the eighteenth century, and many were involved with re-building and finance for other projects (see chapter four). A number went further and through restrictive leases and cropping covenants set down guide-lines within which the tenant was obliged to work.[4] Larger farms were considered by many to be the best vehicles for the application of improved agriculture,[5] and hence landlords, such as the Bagots, were actively engaged in increasing the size of the farms on their estates.

The Bagots were the dominant landlords in the parishes of the Lowland region. The rental of 1802-21 showing intervention has already been quoted. Going forward in time to the next piece of evidence, for 1859, suggests some continuing involvement.[6] However, the next rental series which begins in 1887 contains no comments and so indicates no intervention at this time.[7] Support for the view that the Bagot holdings had reached a maximum in the process of amalgamation by the mid-nineteenth century comes from a comparison of them with the size of all farms in the Lowland region, (table 6.1). They were generally larger on the estate in the mid-nineteenth century: three-fifths of the acreage was in farms of over 200 acres compared with just less than half for the Lowlands as a whole. But over the following half

century the Bagot holdings remained relatively static whilst many of the other farms in the region increased in size: by 1910/11, two-thirds of the Lowlands was in farms of over 200 acres.

For the eighteenth century, the evidence for the Bagots influencing the size of their holdings is circumstantial but nonetheless strong. The rental for 1709-14 contains no suggestion of involvement;[8] but a comparison of the 1762 estate survey with the parish of Abbots Bromley in 1774 reveals more larger holdings on the estate, (table 6.2). Well over half of the Bagot acreage was accounted for by holdings of 150 acres and more, whereas for Abbots Bromley as a whole this category covered only three-tenths of the parish.

In Grindon, the dominant estate accounted for about three-fifths of the parish at the height of its extent in the late eighteenth century. It changed hands at least twice during the eighteenth century, but only for the 1790s to 1830s are estate papers available. Consisting mainly of correspondence between the then landlords, the non-resident Henniker family, and their local agent, they indicate a number of "Improvement" policies but no direct intervention over the size of the holdings until the 1820s. And even then the intervention was not extensive. The spur to action was the accumulation of rent arrears consequent upon the depression of the 1810s to 1830s. The Hennikers grew impatient, and made some personal visits and threats. Finally, in 1822, one of the family "proposed making several alterations in the holdings of three or four of the tenants". He had given no notices to that effect to the tenants but, as he wrote, "as their leases expire at Lady Day it would be as well if they understood generally that we shall then make such changes as seem advisable to us without giving any previous notice". Unfortunately,

the details cannot be pursued beyond the 1820s because the Hennikers began to vent their pecuniary disappointments against their agents in Leek; a bitter dispute followed and the last letters were exchanged in 1836.[9] The extent of their involvement may be gauged, though, by comparing two surveys of the parish which are separated by only fifteen years, (table 6.3). Overall, their actions were limited and the changes not great: the only really significant effect was the creation of two large holdings of over 200 acres, mainly at the expense of the 100-200 acre categories.

To either side of the 1790s-1830s, there is only circumstantial evidence. Over the eighteenth century the size of the holdings on the estate do increase, especially during the third quarter (see table 3.1(b)). However, the 1824/5 survey (table 6.3) reveals that farm-size distribution on the estate and for the parish as a whole was not significantly different. So, although the balance was turned during the next fifteen years, the conclusion is that intervention was not nearly so far-reaching in Grindon as it was in the Lowland parishes.

Wetton is the only other parish in the Moorland region with a sizeable estate share. Again, intervention was relatively light; and it only really began in the nineteenth century - even though the estate holders, the Devonshire family, lived quite near.[10] The Harpur-Crewe family, too, mainly ignored their extensive lands in this general vicinity until the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[11]

Landlords also played an important part in the trend towards a simpler tenurial system (see chapter three). Staffordshire landlords

were keen to spend their money acquiring land to add to their estates, particularly during the nineteenth century.[12] The Bagots increased their holding by four-fifths between the early eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century. The Hennikers, too, were willing to purchase extra lands in Grindon at times. In 1817, for example, the following: "Can confidence be placed in Redfearn's assertion that he can find the purchasers at that sum - we will certainly not let it slip thro' our fingers, and Mr. Redfearn must be made sensible that whatever we pay for it, he as tenant will pay 4 p.cent -- I wait with much anxiety Mr. Cantrell's answer ... "[13] As lands were added to the estates so the scope for more complex tenurial arrangements was reduced.

The acquisition of additional acres is a very important factor in understanding the motivation for Improvement by landlords. Estate size was a source of power, and this had its basis in the productivity of the land.[14] Thus landlords were obliged to be involved in Improvement if they were to get the maximum from their tenants. (More will be said below on the effect of rent increases on the farmers.) Other motivations, however, were also present. Estate size was a source of prestige as well as of power. Active involvement in Improvement could also be interpreted as participation in the ethos of the 'Scientific Revolution', and in the competitive edge of pride, for example, in prize animals and showpiece Home Farms.[15]

(ii) Farmers

Landlords, however, could only buy extra land if others were willing, or needed, to sell. And this included farmers like Richard Bridgewood who in 1859 was a tenant, but who had only recently had his farm purchased from him by the Bagots.[16] So attention is now focused upon the farmers, and we shall consider first the pressures on them coming from their landlords.

Farmers were responsive to price changes, despite on occasions being slow and, on the evidence of the farm records, unsystematic.[17] Agriculture was eventually revolutionised. As early as the seventeenth century Staffordshire was divided into fairly distinct agricultural areas.[18] The pressure of rents was an important factor in eliciting this response from farmers. Throughout the country rents were generally on the increase during the eighteenth century and nineteenth century, until its last third.[19] There is insufficient documentation for us to trace rent increases in our two regions for the whole period, but some insight comes from the Bagot and Henniker rentals of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1802 and 1821 the rents on the (Staffordshire) estate of the Bagots rose by about 58%, after allowing for the addition of extra lands.[20] In Grindon they rose by nearly 24% between 1800 and 1823.[21] For Staffordshire as a whole for the nineteenth century the general trend can be seen in figure 6.1. It is only a rough indicator because the information is taken from tax returns which are based on rentals.[22] Nonetheless, there is a clear and quite steep upward trend, until the last decades of the century.

The effectiveness of rental increases in prompting agricultural improvement by the farmers is well illustrated by R.S. Ford's conclusion in 1846 on the state of heavy-land farmers in Staffordshire: "A reduction of 20 to 30 per cent in the amount of rent would undoubtedly be very acceptable; but the rent of land, like the price of any other article, being regulated by the demand and supply; so long as there are more applications for farms than can be fitted, it were in vain to expect any reduction of rents: But if by a more intelligent system of farm management, the produce can be increased 20 to 30 per cent the difficulty would be surmounted and THE FARMER MAY YET LIVE".[23]

As Ford pointed out, farms were in great demand but short supply, and this excess demand was another pressure on the farmers: others were ready and willing to farm their lands. Landlords were in regular receipt of requests and pleas for farms and pieces of land. For example, a local man commissioned to survey two townships for an estate in the Moorlands supplied the required information, added some extra of his own, and then inserted as a postscript: "Sir, if you should have a vacancy amongst any of those Tenants who have re-let their farms in Hollingsclough and Resident at a distance from their farms I should take it as a great favour from you and Mr.Farmer if you would admit my son in Law a Tenant to any small Farm, he is a Respectable young man and belongs to Hollingsclough ... "[24] Other parts of the county have similar stores. A Mr. T. Hallam begged the Earl of Anglesey for the occupation of a farm at Winshill recently vacant, for Anglesey had promised him one in the area. However, Anglesey had already decided that this particular farm was to be laid to another, and all he could promise was to keep him favourably in mind for the future. The Anglesey correspondence is very full and

there are several incidents of this sort, and many more concerning small pieces of land.[25] Landlords therefore could, and sometimes did, hold this out as a threat over the heads of their existing tenants to goad them into further improvement. In 1799 (at a time when cereal prices were very high with even the Moorlands joining the bonanza) Baron Henniker warned his agent in supervision of the Grindon estate: "-I hope you will not suffer any of them to go back on their rent payments as there are many persons would gladly take any of their farms that knew the land well - ".[26]

Farmers, nonetheless, also responded to their own motivations. As agriculture became more profitable so farmers acquired substantial material possessions, new habits of taste, and consciousness of a higher social status: all of which had to be maintained. One Staffordshire landlord, for example, was amazed at the parsiomony of a new tenant "who had neither Port Wine or a Drawing Room in his Establishment".[27] T.C. Smith was also conscious of this pressure: "On the approach of my marriage it was absolutely necessary to spend a considerable amount of money in making the place [i.e. the farmhouse] fit to receive my wife".[28] In addition, farmers provided as well as they could for their offspring. They often tried to set up as many sons as possible in farming, and small parcels of land were frequently acquired for this purpose (see chapter nine). The money for this would need to come out of farming profits, and since land was in demand and not cheap in this period, it was an expensive practise.[29]

A neat, well-stocked, productive farm itself became a motivation. It was clearly necessary if profits and rental payments were to be met, but it was at the same time a part of the spirit of Improvement and

therefore a source of pride as well as a visible sign of success. The shift towards greater investment in tackle and, more especially, stock of the farm by the nineteenth century (chapter four) may be seen as evidence of this mentality; a lesser proportion of total physical assets was in household and other material accoutrements.

Finally, in considering the pressure and motivations for economic change, farmers should not automatically be assumed to be the junior partners in the landlord-farmer combination. At times it was the landlords who displayed reluctance in considering and implementing change; some farmers felt that landlord assistance and intervention did not go far enough. For example, there are many instances of improvements cited by T.C. Smith in which he, as tenant, took the initiative and several occasions when he felt that his landlord (the Bagots) were laggard, including the following:

> "The tenant [i.e. the author], whose eyes were rudely opened to the same fate hanging over him under which the previous tenant had gone down, approached his landlord and tried to make a joint arrangement to lay down to permanent turf between 30 and 40 acres, awkward to plough, and contiguous to a very extensive rookery ... my landlord could not see his way to join me on an untried journey. And so it came to pass that I took the road alone, and it was only after an interval of some twenty years that my landlord joined me in securing for the future not only more than double produce from the land formerly worn out but also in securing for himself a remunerative rent and power in the tenant to pay that rent."[30]

(iii) Consequences: Economic Change

A key part of the response by farmers, as we have seen, was to increase their capital input and accelerate the rate of their business turnover. Two consequences of this were: the decline of reciprocal economics; and the undermining of the small farmer.

A universal medium of exchange, such as notes and cash, are an essential lubricant in a developed economy.[31] Barter and deferred accounts, in by- passing this exchange system, tied-up money because the farmer had to wait on the time when the other person in the transaction had the goods or cash. This would be restrictive for an improving farmer because it impeded his cash flow and limited the availability of capital for investment. At the same time, as weekly markets became established by the nineteenth century, so there was less need for farmers to trade with each other within the locality as there had been when fairs and markets were less frequent. Farmers could therefore deal with a much larger market which gave advantages in choice, time, and profit, and in which cash was essential. No doubt, the improvement in banking and specie circulation during the nineteenth century facilitated the whole process, but it was nonetheless a conscious decision by the farmers to relinquish the old type of transactions and swim with the current for capitalisation.

Small farmers and others, like smallholders, were those most heavily engaged in reciprocal economics (chapter five) and who therefore had most to lose by its decline. They were involved with the agricultural market in a more partial way: they had less to offer it at any particular time, and so they relied upon the informal, extended credit of reciprocal economics to a greater degree.[32] The reduction in locality transactions was also disadvantageous to this group of farmers and part-farmers because in taking only one or a few beasts or a little produce to market their average costs in terms of time and expense would be much greater. Furthermore, their costs per acre for improvement may have been proportionately higher, for similar reasons. However, although the benefits of economies of scale have usually been held to be an important factor behind the

disappearance of the small farmer of this period,[33] this emphasis has recently been challenged. Instead, it is suggested, much of the superiority of the larger farm may have lain in its ability to control and exploit the market in its favour, rather than in any superior productive power.[34] There were severer price fluctuations consequent upon a more complete market economy, and the larger farmer was capable of riding the waves, on the whole, whilst the smaller farmer was not. Cobbett was one who noted, with alarm, the quite dramatic swing in prices that could occur from year to year: "Mr. PALMER sold, at this fair, sheep for twenty-three shillings a head, rather better than some which he sold at that same fair last year for thirty-four shillings a head: so that here is a falling off of a third!"[35] Figures 6.2 to 6.5 represent an attempt to calculate profits and losses from some of the farm records. They can, however, only be taken to be very approximate, owing to the shortcomings of the records in their presentation and details.[36] Nonetheless, they do reveal extreme yearly fluctuations in income and outgoings, and therefore profits; too extreme to be accounted for solely by the source-material's limitations, and so lending some evidential support for this 'market instability' explanation. The difficulties faced by the smaller farmer were therefore that with the passing away of reciprocal economics he could no longer shield himself behind its greater certainty and protection but had to face the chill winds of the anonymous price-mechanism.

The decline in informal sub-lets, "keep" of animals, and the like, was a part of the same process and had adverse consequences for the same groups. As farming and land became more profitable so the concept of it as a self-contained piece of private property for financial gain grew.[37] Informal arrangements of the old sort would

therefore be dropped because they cut across this mentality. However, direct intervention by the landlords considerably quickened the retreat of these practices. As leases were shortened landlords could gain more control over farmers.[38] Undesirable activities, considered to be damaging to the long-term profitability of the farm, were curtailed by the use of restrictive leases and cropping covenants. The tenant, according to one Grindon estate covenant, "shall and will stack lay and inbarn all the crops of corn, grain, hay and fodder which shall grow or arise upon the said premises ... with cattle eat and otherwise consume upon the said premises and shall and will lay, spread, use and consume upon the said premises all the manure, dung and compost which is now upon the said premises ... [39] A single surviving lease for this period (late eighteenth/early nineteenth century) from the Bagot estate contains similar strictures. All hay, straw, dung, manure, and compost was to be consumed on the farm: a £5 penalty would be imposed for every load sold off. Also, varying fines of between £4 and £10 for every acre ploughed which should not be, or left in cultivation above four years. And, finally, a £10 penalty for every acre, or part thereof " ... set, let, assign over or otherwise depart with the possession thereof ... "[40] A 1906 lease also forbids sub-letting without the written consent of the landlord, although no fine is mentioned.[41] Small farmers therefore lost access to many farms, and so they would be less able than formerly to expand and contract their enterprises in a convenient and inexpensive way. And for labourers and part-time farmers, the restriction could force them out of 'farming' altogether.

Parliamentary Enclosure of open-fields has been put forward as a reason for the increase in farm sizes and the decline of the smaller

farmer because of the opportunities afforded by major re-organisation of fields and farms and the burden of costs.[42] However, the general evidence is not conclusive,[43] and for the particular regions of this study it is not a significant factor to be considered. Most of the open-fields remaining in these parishes were inconsequential by the time of Parliamentary Enclosure, where it occurred.[44] Indeed, this is true of much of Staffordshire in general, as well as of many other parts of England.[45]

How well does this analysis of the changing rural economy explain the qualitative differences between the Moorlands and Lowlands? First, the argument regarding market power and large farms partially explains their respective farm size differences. The grain market was more readily amenable to control, and thus farms could be larger in predominantly arable areas (see chapter three)[46] - although the need for living-in servants may have been a further constraint against the creation of very large pastoral farms. This may be applied to the Lowlands-Moorlands case because of the Lowlands' arable emphasis until the early nineteenth century. Nonetheless, it only goes so far because by the second half of the nineteenth century the two regions were agriculturally very similar, and yet farms continued to increase in size during this period in the Lowlands. It is also difficult to promulgate differences on the basis of soils: if the Moorland region was at a lower altitude it would have come within the large farm/arable typology.

There is, however, an agricultural-ecological approach which is significant and which gives rise to the important socio-economic influence of living standards expectations. The Moorlands were simply less profitable because the climate was so much harsher.

Hence the lower profile adopted by the landlords in this area: there was less to be gained. The poorer returns to farming meant that the Moorlanders were accustomed to a lower standard of living. Lord Hatherton of Teddesley, for example, thought that those in the North of the county were rather 'unrefined'. In 1820 he wrote: "Even today few Farmers have a tap of Ale in their cellars and better bread than oaten cakes".[47] The contrast in living standards between the Moorlands and Lowlands may be expressed through an analysis of the probate values in wills. Between 1750 and 1858, from a sample of 36 wills, the average probate value of Grindon's farmers, yeomen, and husbandmen, was £248. For 30 wills for Abbots Bromley for the same period, the average was over twice as high at £560.[48]

The farms in the Moorlands were predominantly small to middling, and essentially run by the family: most must have managed without labourers, and there were also fewer living-in servants than in the Lowlands (see chapters one and nine). Once the small to middling farms survived into the nineteenth century their existence was more likely to be guaranteed, for two reasons. First, because small-scale pastoral farming could be managed by the family-run enterprise: the pastoral year was more evenly spread than the arable year and so most tasks could be undertaken with minimal assistance. And, second, because dairy farming actually favoured the family-farm: the many 'secret' skills essential to the successful making of quality butter and cheese could be kept and passed on within the family.[49] The survival of the family-farm then helped to reinforce the lower living standards expectation because everyone had to contribute and work hard for a living. Thus life in the Moorlands, even towards the end of the nineteenth century, was characterised by frugality, poverty, and hard, unremitting toil against the inclement climate; and

accepted on these terms.[50]

This chapter has explored some of the main instrumental elements which underlay the economic change described in the previous three chapters. Landlords have rightly been seen to be important in the process, but here the active part played by the farmers in transforming the old economic order has been highlighted. The following chapter takes stock of all that has been said so far on economic change, and in also looking at the new economic relationships between farmer and labourer in the nineteenth century, considers the implications for community.

Footnotes to Chapter Six

1. Mills, D.R. 'Has Historical Geography Changed?', Open University: New Trends in Geography IV, Unit 14, (Milton Keynes, 1972), pp.61-3.

2. Quoted in Wordie, Estate Management, p.218. For criticism of Loch and responses to his policies, see: Bakewell, T. Remarks on a Publication by Jas. Loch (Stone, 1820); Richards, op.cit. and '"Captain Swing" in the West Midlands', International Review of Social History, 19.1 (1974) 86-99, esp.pp.88-91.

3. S.R.O. D.3259/3.

4. See Chapter four and fns. Also: Collyer, 'Gogerddan Desmesne', esp. p.186. And for Staffordshire: Richards, op.cit.; Wain, Financial Affairs, chs. 1, 2 (sections II, III), and 3 (section I); Sturgess, Response of Agric., chs. 4, 7, 8; Kettle, A. 'Agriculture, 1500 to 1873' in Victoria County History, Staffordshire Vol.VI (Oxford, 1979), pp.49-90, and esp.pp.86, 87, and 89; Currie, 'Agric. 1793 to 1875'; Pitt, Agric. of Staffs. (Newcastle, 1817 edtn.) pp.85-100; and Phillips, A.D.M. 'A Note on Farm Size and Efficiency on the North Staffordshire Estate of the Leveson-Gowers, 1714-1809', N.S.J.F.S. 19 (1979), 30-38.

5. See: Beckett, 'Debate Over Farm Sizes'. Loch, for example, in the early nineteenth century, pursued amalgamation and consolidation on the Leveson-Gower estate as "the constant, invariable and necessary progress of society", (quoted in Richards, E. '"Leviathan of Wealth": West Midlands Agriculture, 1800-50', A.H.R. 22 (1974), 97-117, p.110).

6. S.R.O. D.1721/3/274. Four cases mention the desirability of landlord involvement. Another case refers to a recent amalgamation of two farms.

7. S.R.O. D.3259/4/20.

8. S.R.O. D.1721/3/168 (Part).

9. All in S.R.O. D.3359/Box 34 (unsorted). The estate belonged to the Gower family of Yorkshire until the third quarter of the eighteenth century, whereupon it passed to the Leigh family, and then in the early 1790s to the Hennikers. In 1816, the estate was inherited by three sons and two daughters, but whether they were 'tenants in common' or 'joint tenants' (and thereby required to act collectively) is unknown. Improvements included: re-building work (e.g. "a milk-house and cheese-chamber for John Woolliscroft"); tree-planting (to serve as windbreaks); cropping covenants and restrictive leases - in 1809, the brothers Slack were turned off their farm for failing to keep it in a fit state of repair.

10. See: table 3.1(b); Johnson, Settlement Pattern of N.E. Staffs. Indeed, not until the mid-twentieth century were the majority of farms 'consolidated', (i.e. 'ring-fenced' rather than 'fragmented').

11. D.R.O. D.2375, M.44.

12. Currie, 'Agric. 1793 to 1875', pp.115 ff.

13. S.R.O. D.3359/Box34.

14. Wordie, 'Rent Movements'; Thompson, English Landed Society.

15. Jones, 'Agric. 1700-80' pp.81/2.

16. S.R.O. D.1721/3/274.

17. In Smith, Story of a Staffs. Farm, the tale is told of a tenant-farmer who "for the forty odd years of his occupation ... had averaged a loss of £200 a year", (p.41), because of his continued emphasis on arable.

18. Thirsk, J. 'Horn and Thorn in Staffordshire: the economy of a pastoral county', N.S.J.F.S. 9 (1969), 1-16; Sturgess, Response of Agric.; Ch.2.

19. Thompson, op.cit.

20. S.R.O. D.3259/3. Calculation of additional lands based on comparison of 1762 and 1859 surveys, and assuming uniform annual increase.

21. Cf: Wordie, 'Rent Movements'.

22. Ibid.; Thompson, op.cit.

23. Ford, How Is the Farmer To Live?

24. D.R.O. D.2375, M.93/11.

25. S.R.O. D.603/K/24/9, and /29. In the absence of estate correspondence for the Bagots, the nearby Anglesey (Uxbridge) estate was chosen. It is very voluminous, and only the bundle for 1838 examined. It includes about eighteen letters dealing with (at least) four separate farms similar to the Hallam case.

26. S.R.O. D.3359/Box 34.

27. Sturgess, Response of Agric., ch.7.

28. Smith, Story of a Staffs. Farm, pp.32/3. In general, see also: Cobbett, Rural Rides (Harmondsworth, 1967, edtn.) pp.186, 226-9, 404/5, 501, Introduction by George Woodcock, esp. pp.21-4, and (London, 1934, edtn.) pp.245, 247; Wordie, 'Rent Movements', pp.211, 223/4; Kussmaul, A. Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England, (Cambridge, 1981) chs.6, 7; Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society, ch.2, esp.pp.46-61; Richards, 'Captain Swing'; pp.88-91.

29. Currie, 'Agric. 1793 to 1875', pp.115ff. Up to 30 years purchase price was paid by landlords in the 1830s, and even more in some instances.

On farmers' profits see: Wordie, op.cit.; Hueckel, 'English Farming Profits'; Mercer, 'William Tompson' (and additional notes by Mercer bundled up with W.S.L. 43/54).
Differences in inheritance practices between large and small farmers, and any affect they may have had upon small farmers' disappearance is not dealt with here. Pre-mortem transfer of property (see chapter nine) makes such a task exceedingly tricky. Moreover, those who have researched this question (for earlier periods) have concluded that other factors were more important (e.g. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, p.166). Hence, section (iii), below.

30. Smith, op.cit., pp.5-7, 9-10, 12-13, 26, 33, 47-9.

31. Marx, K. Capital Volume I (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979 edtn.), Book I, part one.

32. See also Reed, Peasantry of 19th. C.England, pp.62/3.

33. E.g. Mingay, 'Size of Farms'; Mills, 'Quality of Life', pp.383-7.

34. Beckett, 'Debate Over Farm Sizes'.

35. Cobbett, Rural Rides (Harmondsworth, 1967, edtn.) p.379; see also (London, 1934, edtn.) p.254. Also Wordie, 'Social Change', esp.p.600.

36. Cf: Hueckel, op.cit.

37. Cobbett, op.cit. (London, 1934, edtn.) pp.235, 239, 252-3, 256, 266-7.

38. Mingay and Chambers, Agric. Revolution, ch.2; Thompson, English Landed Society, ch.8; Sturgess, Response of Agric. ch.11; Pitt, Agric. of Staffs. (Newcastle, 1817 edtn.), p.22; Perkins, J.A. 'Tenure, Tenant Right, and Agricultural Progress in Lindsey, 1780-1850', A.H.R. 23 (1975), 1-22. By the first two decades of the nineteenth century in Grindon, leases for life or for 21 years, formerly common, had been shortened to leases for 14 years determinable at 7 years. S.R.O. D.3359/Box 34.

39. S.R.O. D.3359/Box 34.

40. S.R.O. D.1721/192.

41. S.R.O. D.1258/1.

42. See: Mingay, G.E. Enclosure and the Small Farmer in the Age of the Industrial Revolution (London, 1968); Turner, M.E. 'Parliamentary Enclosure and Landownership Change in Buckinghamshire', E.H.R. 28 (1975), 565-81; Social and Economic Considerations, Ch.5; Malcolmson, Life and Labour, pp.140-1.

43. Turner, Enclosures in Britain; Mingay, op.cit.; Beckett, 'Debate Over Farm Sizes', pp.310/11.

44. Thomas, 'Enclosure in Staffs.'

45. About one-half of England's open-fields were enclosed before Parliamentary Enclosures: Turner, English Parl. Enclosure, ch.1. The question of enclosure of commons and wastes and increases in the size of farms is slightly different and is dealt with in Chapter three.

46. Beckett, op.cit. For the broad South/East versus North/West picture in the mid-nineteenth century, see: Grigg, D.B. 'Small and Large Farms in England and Wales: Their Size and Distribution', Geography, 48.3 (1963), 268-79.

47. Sturgess, Response of Agric. ch.7.

48. Details of Wills are in Chapter nine.

49. Sturgess, op.cit. ch.9; Gilchrist, R.M. A Peakland Faggot (London, 1926); Fussell, G.E. The English Dairy Farmer, 1500-1900, (London, 1966) esp.ch.5.
On labour on the family farm see: Carter, Farm-Life in N.E. Scotland, ch.2.

50. Sheldon, 'Moorlanders'.

Tables and Figures to Chapter Six

Table 6.1 : Comparison of Bagot Holdings (1859) with Lowland Parishes (1830s/40s and 1910/11): (percentages)

	Size of Holdings (acres)									
	0-1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	⩾200	Total Acreage
1. Bagot, 1859	-	0.4	0.8	0.8	3.3	5.9	8.1	20.1	60.6	6229 acres (a)
2. Lowlands, 1830s/40s	0.2	0.8	1.0	2.0	4.0	8.0	15.0	22.0	47.0	12057 acres (b)
3. Lowlands, 1910/11	0.2	0.4	0.8	1.5	6.0	7.0	8.0	10.0	66.1	13510 acres (b)

Notes:

(a) based on holdings centred on Abbots Bromley and Blithfield (see notes to table 3.1 (a))

(b) from figure 3.1(a) = Colton, Blithfield, Abbots Bromley (farmed total, i.e. excluding parks and "in hand" lands, etc.).

Sources: 1. S.R.O. D.3259/3/274
2 and 3. See appendix to Chapter Three.

Table 6.2 : Comparison of Bagot Holdings (1762) with Abbots Bromley Holdings (1774): (percentages)

	Size of Holdings (acres)									Total Acreage
	0-1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	⩾200	
1. Bagot,[a] 1762	0.1	0.8	0.7	1.5	4.6	19.9	16.0	23.0	33.4	3929¼ acres
								56.4		
2. Abbots,[b] Bromley 1774	0.6	1.6	3.0	5.2	8.1	16.5	34.4	11.6	19.0	6068 acres
								30.6		

Notes:

(a) Based on holdings centres on Abbots Bromley and Blithfield (see notes to table 3.1(a)).

(b) includes the Bromley Park farms (see appendix to Chapter Three).

Sources:

1. S.R.O. D.1721/3/262/3

2. W.S.L. 412/40

Table 6.3 : Size of Holdings: 1824/5 and 1839:
(a) Henniker Estate within Grindon;
(b) Whole Parish of Grindon

(i) 1824/5 Survey

		Size of Holdings (acres)									
		0-1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	⩾200	Total
(a)	Nos.	11	7	8	10	4	2	6	5	-	53
	%	0.2	0.8	3.0	6.1	7.2	8.3	35.2	39.1	-	2218¾a.*
(b)	Nos.	13	10	11	14	12	5	4	7	2	78
	%	0.2	0.8	2.8	6.1	12.3	11.8	16.3	36.1	13.7	3184¾a.

(ii) 1839 Tithe

		Size of Holdings (acres)									
		0-1	2-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	⩾200	Total
(a)	Nos.	10	7	8	6	5	3	3	3	2	47
	%	0.1	0.9	3.3	4.7	7.9	10.6	20.6	27.3	24.6	1897a*
(b)	Nos.	15	11	12	12	12	10	6	4	2	84
	%	0.1	0.8	3.1	5.2	11.4	19.6	22.1	21.7	16.0	3186½a.

Notes:

* The difference can only be accounted for by sale(s) of some of the Henniker lands. In 1839 there are still five Henniker landowners.

Sources:
(i) S.R.O. Temp. Deposit. (I am grateful to the owner, Mrs. Busfield, for allowing the S.R.O. to have it on temporary deposit to enable me to consult it.) It is undated. The papers' watermark is 1823. Evidence from parish registers dates it as 1824/5.

(ii) L.J.R.O. Grindon Tithe Award.

Figure 6.1 : Rental Increases - All Staffordshire

The tax returns are based on rents.

(A) = J.C. Stamp Base year = 1806.
(B) = Schedule B: Income and Property Tax Returns. Base year = 1815

Notes:

1. The absolute difference in the trends between (A) and (B) is largely due to the choice of base year. The actual figures given for each are not so dissimilar.
2. (A) excludes the peak in 1880 because it only gives figures for 1859 and 1894/5 in that period.
3. All Staffordshire is represented, i.e. including areas around towns and the light-land sector.

Sources, details and reliability of figures:- see: Carter, I., Farm-Life in North-East Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1979) p.51; Grigg, D.B. 'An Index of Regional Change in English Farming,' Area I.B.G. (1965), 55-67.

Figure 6.2 : Shugborough/Haywood Farm: Total Yearly (Apr.1 - Mar.31) Income and Outgoings

(Note: Years 1854-5, 55-6= incomplete)

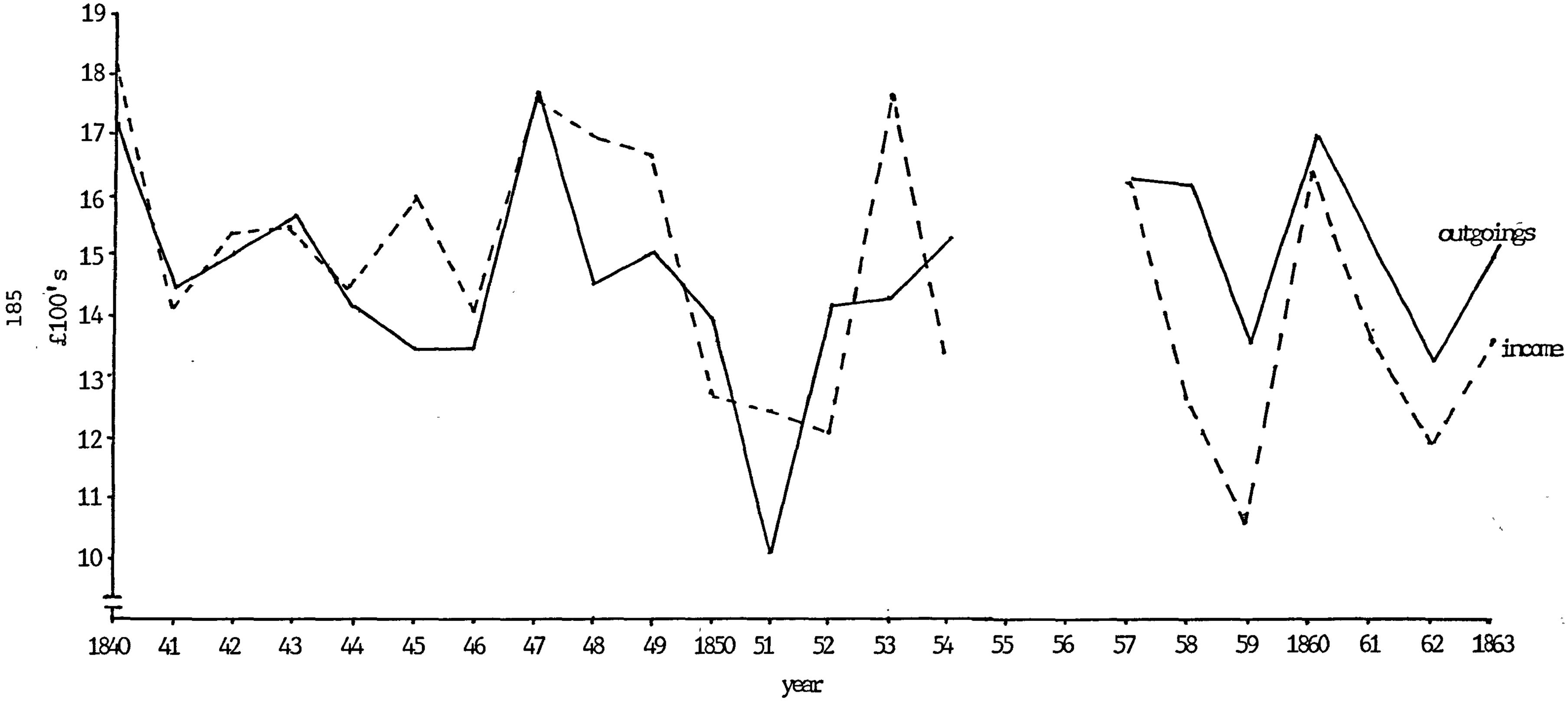


Figure 6.3 : Shugborough/Haywood Farm:

Income and Outgoings Expressed as Cumulative (year on year) Profit or Loss

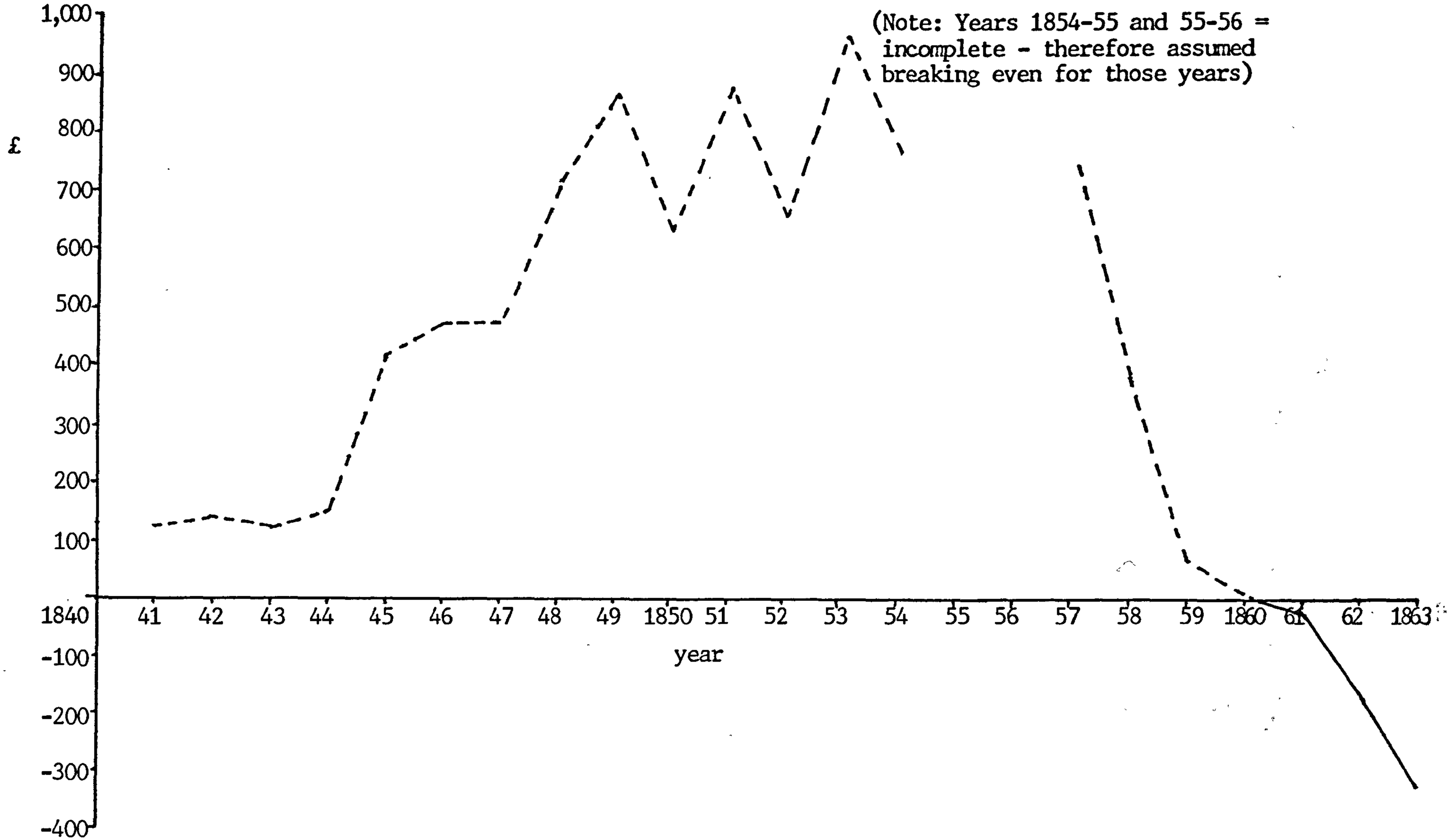


Figure 6.4: Income and Outgoings of Jn°. Upton of Manor Hall Farm, Alrewas, 1854-1867 (calculated from D.3576/3/1 & 2, /3/8 & /2/4)

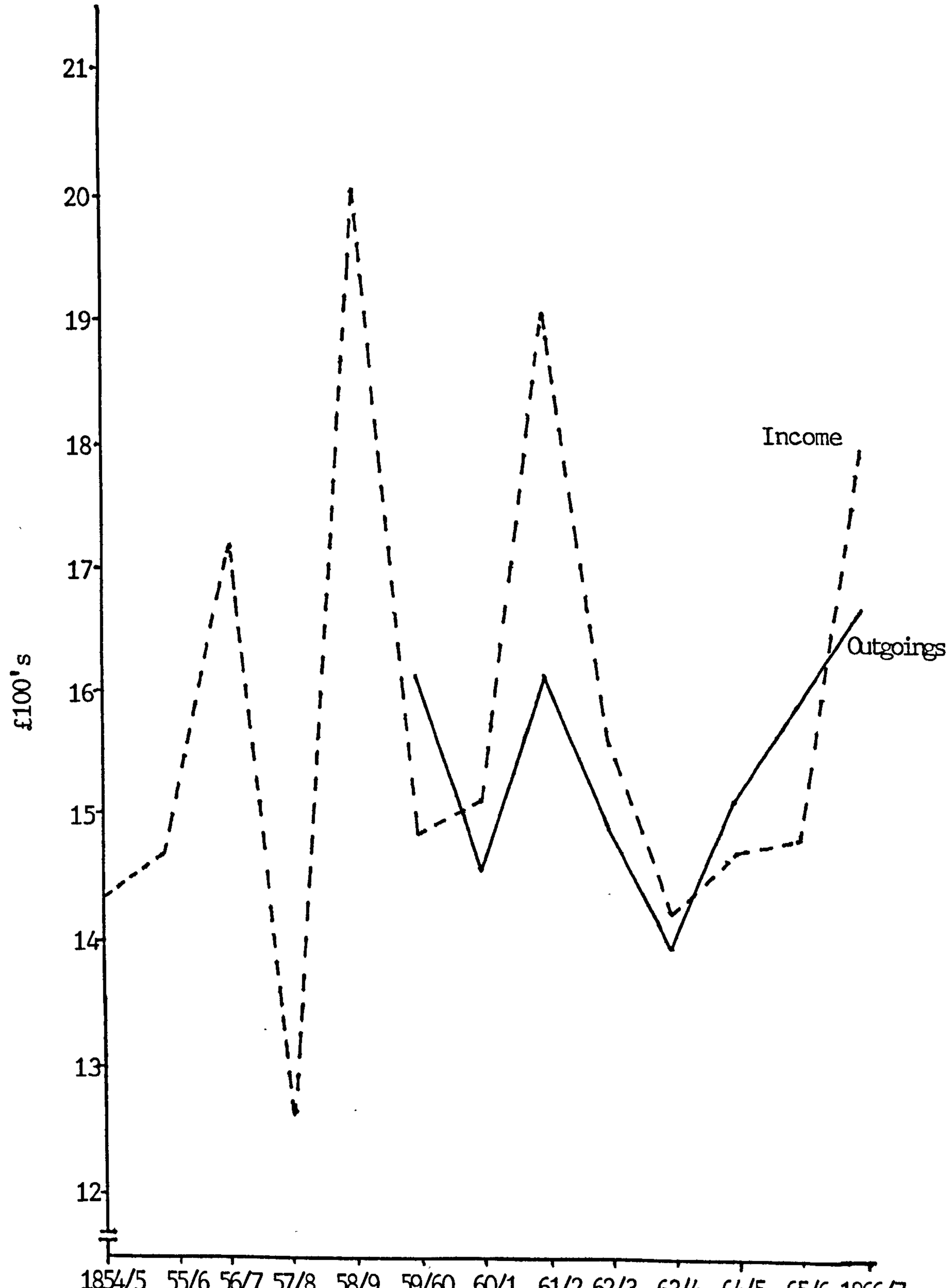
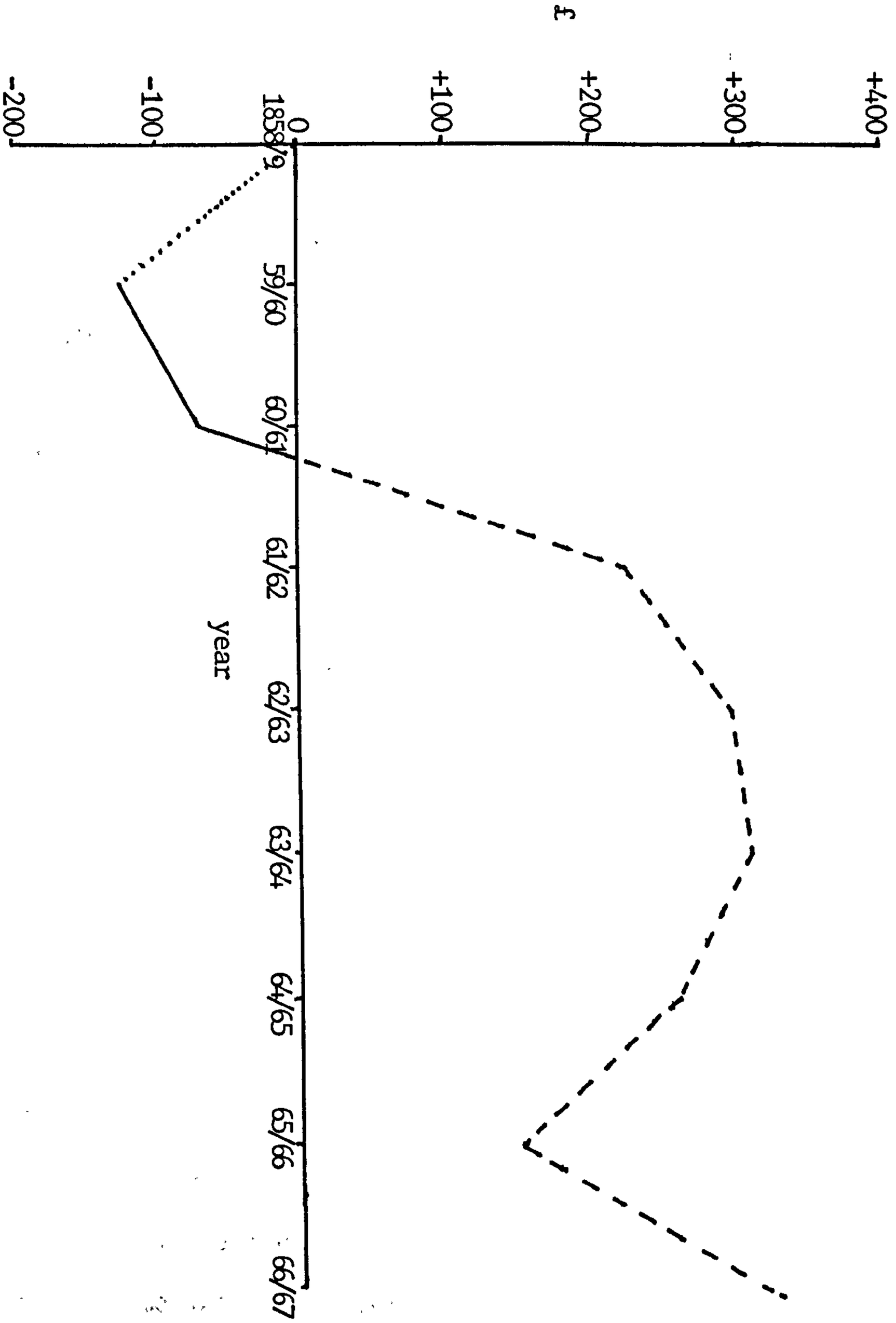


Figure 6.5 : John Upton, Manor Hall Farm, Alrewas, (1859-67):
Income and Outgoings expressed as cumulative (year on year) profit or loss (assuming break-even up to 1859/60)



Chapter Seven

CAPITALISM AND COMMUNITY

> "On Friday evening, when work was done, the men trooped up to the farmhouse for their wages. These were handed out of a window to them by the farmer himself and acknowledged by a rustic scraping of feet and pulling of forelocks."
> Thompson, F., Larke Rise to Candleford, (Harmondsworth, 1974, edtn.) p.60

The preceding chapters have explored the transformation of the economic structure of the regions from the mid-eighteenth to the later nineteenth century. As a result, economic and social relations were changed and re-ordered in many ways. The Lowlands experienced these changes more extensively and deeply than the Moorlands. The following summary of capitalisation and assessment of its effects refers more closely to the Lowlands case. At the end therefore we shall have to qualify the generalisations on considering the Moorland's experience.

The amalgamation and increase in the size of farms meant that the "means of production" became concentrated into fewer hands. There were less farmers overall, but more in the larger category ranges. Simultaneously, farming required greater investment and so farmers, generally, needed to have at their disposal and to expend rather more capital. This all had a differentiating and distancing effect. Farming became less accessible: the farming ladder narrowed, and the economic distance between farmers and the rest of the villagers increased. The contrast in material standards and capital worth

between the farmers and labourers may be appreciated by the following swift, rough calculation: the average value at decease of a farmer in Abbots Bromley was £560 (chapter six, section (iii)), which is approximately fifteen times the annual income of a labourer (10/- to 15/- per week for the middle decades of the nineteenth century, dependent on age and skill (farm record collection)). Casual, part-time access to land for labourers and others was also curtailed with the decline of informal sub-letting and the other similar arrangements. At the same time, economic relationships were rationalised, for example, with the simplification of the tenurial system. But most especially with the decline of reciprocal economics.

Reciprocal economics in the eighteenth century did not involve everybody and every transaction, but nonetheless accounted for a significant proportion of the total undertakings conducted within the localities. If Tompson of the Forge Farm is typical for his size of farm, then, throughout each year in and around the parish, there must have been thousands of transactions in all, radiating from every individual of about his farm size and below, and from craftsmen, tradesmen, and labourers. Reciprocal economics, therefore, could function as a very important factor in creating community in the rural areas in the eighteenth century. It possessed many of the key features which go into the making of a diffuse obligation system. It was, first of all, rooted in the locality: the central elements of reciprocation and deferment by their nature could only exist within a stable locality in which mobility and migration was not extensive. The web of reciprocity and informal, running debt and credit in fact established a far-reaching and dense network. The inherent obligations arising out of the relationships of this network were

more diffuse than specific because immediate and long-term interests were fulfilled for the individuals concerned through the essential elements of economic inter-dependency and trust.

A number of historians have identified the existence of community throughout much of the country in the eighteenth century, even though this has primarily been by observing attempts to protect, reiterate, or shore it up, through the vehicles of ritual, ceremony, and protest.[1] Implicitly or explicitly they describe a moral obligation system in which duties, rights, and obligations bound together all the ranks in society. It was, however, a system increasingly under attack; in particular, the advance of industrial capitalism from the later eighteenth century has been singled out as instrumental in this. Reciprocal economics, then, should be seen as an important part of the framework supporting a moral obligation system; and, indeed, its decline in our regions coincides with the observed upsurge in active attempts to defend the 'old' community.

By the early decades of the nineteenth century, economic relationships within the locality were on a different footing. The change to pre-dominance of cash-payments and the market economy has already been described. Examples of older practices which survived the transformation may be found dotted throughout all the nineteenth century farm records, including sporadic entries referring to the "keep" of animals.[2] These were, however, only marginal to the main current of transactions, and therefore divested of their power of obligation. This is further illustrated by another example. Some of the farmers in the nineteenth century records, though not all, noted payments of small sums to persons, known or unknown, who were going from door-to-door collecting money towards the loss of an animal.

For example, in June of 1832, Josiah Knight gave Thomas Heath one shilling "towards his loss of a cow", and the same amount three months later to "a man" also "towards the loss of his cow". In all, over the seven years recorded in this account book, nine shillings and sixpence was donated to eight different people towards replacement of various animals.[3] In 1840, to give an example by another farmer, Upton gave one shilling to Ford(?) "which came a Begging to wards a poney".[4] The payment of only a small sum, usually one shilling, suggests that this was just a token donation rather than serving the practical function that the collections once, presumably, performed.

To underline the magnitude of the shift in economic relationships that had occurred, the nineteenth century farm records can be used to focus on the relationships between farmer and labourer. Instead of the obligation and reciprocity of the old order, the farmer of the nineteenth century stood above and apart from his economically subservient labourers. They were now paid their wages (in money) first and then they purchased the small sales and goods they required from the farmer. Some of them, moreover, became in debt to the farmer and had sums stopped out of their wages to pay for items bought in previous weeks. The most detailed examples are to be found in the Upton records. On July 5th, 1844, for example, James Booth was paid "his Fortnight's wage £1 deducting 4/6d. for pertatoes 15/6d.". In November of 1849, John Hilton received only 15/- each fortnight instead of £1 because of the money he owed John Upton. In late 1843, Upton paid Frank Statham(?) "14/- stopping six towards a bag of wheat" rather than the £1 due. A number of labourers became in debt to the farmer over short periods either by being loaned money by their employer or by asking for part of their wages in advance.

John Upton lent Frank Statham(?) "on demand Towards his Fortnight's wage 0.9.0", in late 1843. There are numerous other examples of small, short-term loans and cash in advance of wages in the Upton records.[5]

However, not every labourer in the eighteenth century, of course, was involved all the time in reciprocal economics. Some labourers who worked for Tompson did not appear in his ledger accounts: they were paid their wages and subsequently purchased their goods from him. A number, indeed, borrowed money and became in debt to him.[6] And there were still occasions in the nineteenth century when payments made to labourers retained complexity. For example, Upton "paid the old woman Smith up for Reaping and days work and Settled for the Pig } paid what was coming Too her 13/8d." (September 2, 1844). Nonetheless, with the decline in reciprocal economics, all labourers in general found themselves standing on the new ground. This subtle shift in the quality of the relationships is reflected in the vocabulary employed: instead of "towards" and "some time since", it was, paid Will. Lunn £1-2-0 (fortnight's wages) " ... <u>deducting</u> for pig 5/-", and "paid Bill Lunn and his wife -- 3 days £1-2-3 ... <u>stoping</u> for what he owd for a pig"; (my underlines).[7]

This change is also paralleled by the transformation of harvest payments and celebrations. Other studies have observed that many of the old harvest customs were either stopped altogether or supplanted by new, emasculated forms.[8] Our farm records are suggestive but inconclusive on this aspect of farmer-labourer relations. There is reference to money in lieu of beer as early as 1833, but beer was obviously still provided and a part of many task negotiations until the 1870s, at least. However, the many instances of commutation in

the farm records indicate that it was established and common, even though not universal.[9] On harvest suppers there is some evidence from the records of Thomas Griffen that they too were being commuted to money in lieu. The specific payment of "harvest money", distinct from harvesting and overtime payments, is referred to from about 1866 onwards.[10] George Leese, though, mentions a "Harvest Supper" in his diary on September 25th, 1878.[11]

Master-man relationships on the farm will be dealt with more fully in chapter eleven. Finally, we deal here with the evidence from the farm records of a contraction in the formal credit system by the nineteenth century. During the previous century and before, sums of money, large and small, invariably with interest attached, had been frequently lent and borrowed, over long and short periods. Many members of village society were involved, often simultaneously as creditors and debtors. It therefore differed from other rural societies in which a single money-lender ran a monopoly, which created a ready focus for hostility during difficult times for the debtors. By contrast, the English system was a reticulation or network, and may be considered as a further element in creating community.[12] The eighteenth century records of George Parker and William Tompson are replete with examples of casual, short-term and interest-bearing, long-term credit; Tompson, especially, was simultaneously a creditor and debtor quite regularly. The farm records of the nineteenth century reveal an attenuated system: references are less numerous than for the eighteenth century. Farmers still continued to lend, and to all ranks of village society (table 7.1); a few remained heavily involved. For example, Samuel Knight, a farmer of 187 acres,[13] was owed money by about twenty persons at his decease in 1890. From the "Notes of Hands 4%" the

annual interest was £27-10s-7d. on a total principal of £688 (ranging between £5 and £185); the "Account of Notes of hand considered bad debts" yielded an annual interest of £26-3s-1d. on a total principal of £661-10s. (ranging between £13-10s. and £300). Nonetheless, the evidence suggests general decline. Moreover, the farmer in the nineteenth century appears as the lender but not, invariably, as the borrower. The banks, to which there are some references in the farm records, may have usurped part of the older system by the nineteenth century. For the lower ranks who had to borrow and who could not afford to lend, the situation may not have looked appreciably different, but for all those above this level the evidence suggests a noticeable alteration.[14]

The case presented here, then, has many of the classic ingredients usually associated with an argument for the undermining of community by the advance of capitalism. Village society became more sharply differentiated, and socio-economic structures and relationships were undermined and re-ordered in many ways. The networks and bonds which had served to induce familiarity and obligation systems were stretched in some cases and broken in others. But although the development of capitalism is clearly an important element in any discussion of community change, it is only part of the analysis. As was pointed out in chapter two, the 'advance of capitalism' approach has inherent difficulties. Most importantly, new communities, it was said, could come into being even with the passing away of an old community. In the Moorlands, moreover, capitalisation and its associated effects were less far-reaching. The old economic order apparently survived more strongly into the nineteenth century and differentiation within the village ranks, though it occurred, still left a society in which the smaller and middling farms, extensively

run by the family with the assistance of servants but few outdoor labourers, retained overwhelming predominance. Thus, although both the Lowlands and Moorlands experienced undermining and re-orderings of socio-economic structures and relationships as a result of the advance of capitalism, they did so to different degrees. In addition to this Lowlands-Moorlands contrast, there is also that between mainly pastoral and mainly arable areas (North/West v. South/East). Even in the Lowlands, capitalisation and amalgamation of farms was less extensive than in many arable areas; and living-in, too, was retained in pastoral areas.[15] This, therefore, throws forward the further difficulty of the degree of change for the 'advance of capitalism' approach, and serves to re-emphasise the need for close analysis of structures and experiences within a coherent concept of community. The following chapters, then, analyse what actually existed in terms of locality, networks, and communion, in our regions in the nineteenth century.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven

1. For example, Calhoun, 'Community'; Bushaway, B. By Rite: Custom, Ceremony, and Community in England, 1700-1880, (London, 1982); Malcolmson, Life and Labour, chs.4-6' Thompson, E.P. 'Rough Music:Le Charivari Anglais', Annales E.S.C. 2 (1972), 285-312.

2. See Chapter Five. Also the Upton records, S.R.O. D.3576/1/3 and /2/1, including the following: three cows of Mr. Draper's put into "Ryall Hill" for 1/6d. per day (September, 1844); and "took 6 ackers of Grass Land at £2-5-0 per acker to enter upon on the 25th March Lady Day next yearly - £3-10-0" (arrangement with Mrs. Barker of Tutbury, February 10, 1842).

3. S.R.O. D.637/5/1-4.

4. S.R.O. D.3576/1/3. There is also mention of the practice in early twentieth century North Yorkshire, in Philip, N. (ed.), Between Earth and Sky: Poetry and Prose of English Rural Life and Work Between the Enclosures and the Great War, (Harmondsworth, 1984), p.34.

5. Especially for the 1830s-60s: S.R.O. D.3576/1/2-3; 2/1, 2 and 4; /3/8 and 10.

6. See also Milwich records for 1770s, and 1790s: S.R.O. D.637/3/2, 4 and 5.

7. Upton records, S.R.O. D.3576/1/3 (July 1st and October 6, 1849). Also, the ratio of labourers to farmers increased as the numbers of farms was reduced.

8. Obelkevich, Religion and Rural Society, pp.46-61; Ambler, R.W. 'The Transformation of Harvest Celebrations in Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire', Midland History, 3.4 (1976) 298-305; Morgan, D.H. Harvesters and Harvesting, 1840-1900, (London, 1982), ch.9; Bushaway, By Rite, chs.4 and 7. See also, Ann Hughes, The Diary of a Farmer's Wife, 1796-1797, (Harmondsworth, 1981, edtn.) pp.45-52

9. Bushaway, op.cit. ch.4 stresses the generally slow, patchy nature of the decline of harvest customs. 1833 reference is Milwich records (S.R.O. D.637/5/2); 1870s reference is Wood Farm (Reading Univ.Lib. STA/1), cf. 25 Sept., 1879 with 24 June, 1878. Griffen's records are full of detail, down to the last quart of ale and last penny in lieu of.

10. Also "Irish Jimey" received "2/- instead harvest supper" (21 Oct., 1871).

11. Leese went to a Harvest Festival Service, though, the following day.

12. Holderness, B.A. 'Credit in English Society Before the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Period 1650-1720', A.H.R. 24 (1976), 97-109: inventories are the main source used by Holderness. See also: Spufford, Contrasting

Communities, p.80; Snydacker, D. 'Kinship and Community in Rural Pennsylvania, 1749-1820', Jnl. Interdisciplinary Hist., 13.1 (1982), 41-61; Hueckel, 'Agric. during Industrialisation', pp.72-4; Postan, M.M. The Medieval Economy and Society, (Harmondsworth, 1984, edtn.) pp.152/3.

13. 1881 Census.

14. Nineteenth century farm records which mention formal credit are: Upton records, S.R.O. D.3576/6/1; Milwich records, D.637/3/1, 7, and /5/1-4, and D.864/2/3/2, and /1/3/7; Wood Farm records, Reading Univ. Lib. STA 1 (10 May, 1879 is the only reference found).

15. Chapters ten and eleven, in particular, expand on some of these aspects of the pastoral-arable contrast.

Table to Chapter Seven

Table 7.1 Formal Credit in the Nineteenth Century: Evidence from Farm Records.

Table 7.1 : Formal Credit in the Nineteenth century: Evidence from Farm Records

	Total Surnames	Total Identified	Labrs. Labrs/ F. <20a.	Crafts/ Trades	Farmers ⩾20a.	Not Given
1.Josiah Knight:1839	10	5	2	1	2[a]	-
2.Josiah Knight: 1884/5	7 or 8	5	3	2	0	-
3.Samuel Knight:1890	19 or 21[c]	7[d]	3	1	2	1

Notes:

1. Milwich Census: 1841.

2, 3. Milwich Census: 1881.

(a) presumably ⩾20 acres: 1841 census does not give acreages.

(b) Mr. Fowler and S. Fowler may be one and the same person.

(c) J.D. Shemilt and Shemilt, and William Snape and Snape, may be same persons in each case.

(d) another 4 cases have a choice of ⩾2 persons because the list gives only surnames or initials and surnames.

Sources:

1. S.R.O. D.637/5/1-4.
2. S.R.O. D.864/1/3/7.
3. S.R.O. D.864/2/3/2.