

# Appendix 1 A Survey of Sharefarming and its Variants in England

This is by no means a definitive survey of sharefarming in England. It is simply a summary of the examples we have detected, listed by county. Each example is categorized according to the taxonomy in Table 2.1. For the medieval period only the *champart* rents (Type A) have been included. The fixed payments in kind, which were commonplace at that time, do not appear in the list before the seventeenth century, when they were sometimes used as an alternative to the more usual fixed money rents. The examples from Scotland, Ireland and Wales have not been listed. However, the evidence suggests that forms of sharefarming were more common in outlying parts of the British Isles. Full references to published material will be found in the Bibliography.

| <i>Date</i>  | <i>Key</i> | <i>Description</i>  | <i>Source</i>                             |
|--------------|------------|---|---|
| BEDFORDSHIRE |            |   |   |
| 1294         | A          | At Cranfield, Elyas de Bretendon agreed to cultivate land for ½ the crop.   | Raftis (1964) p. 44.                      |
| 1288         | A          | At Shillington, Amica Atewode, the tenant of ½ a virgate, agreed that John Hammond 'sowed for ½ the crop for year to year'. | Raftis (1964) p. 76.                      |
| BERKSHIRE    |            |   |   |
| 1602         | A          | John Laurence had 10 acres, sowed to halves in Long Wittenham field.  | Berks. RO D/A1/92/133.                    |
| 1610         | A          | Robert Loder at Harwell, 'the sayd land and fallow I put forth to halves'. Several further references to halves.            | Fussell (1936).                           |
| 1675         | A          | William Bowldry of Streatley: the corn sown to halves included 9 acres of wheat at halves and 7½ acres of barley at halves. | Berks. RO D/A1/46/112.                    |
| 1675         | G          | E. S. Cox of Cowlease Farm, Shrivenham.   | Museum of English Rural Life, SOM 6.      |
| 1880s        | C          | Lockinge Estate: Lord Wantage introduced allotments, co-operatives and profit-sharing schemes for his workers.              | Grey (1891).                              |
| 1915         | E          | Partnership between 2 farmers running a milk round in Newbury.  | Museum of English Rural Life, BER/20/1/3. |

| <i>Date</i>            | <i>Key</i> | <i>Description</i>   | <i>Source</i>  |
|------------------------|------------|--|--|
| <b>BUCKINGHAMSHIRE</b> |            |  |  |
| 1651                   | A          | Letting to halves agreement between John Duncombe and Thomas Hughes at Bottle and East Claydon.  | Broad (2004), p. 65.   |
| <b>CAMBRIDGESHIRE</b>  |            |  |  |
| c.1300                 | A          | At Cottenham, widow Maria Buk bound her son to take on responsibility for her holding for a half share in all the crops.                       | Ravensdale (1984).   |
| 1589                   | A          | At Willingham, the will of Richard Biddall directs his brother to manage 2½ acres for his son for half the profits.                            | Spufford (1974), p. 140.   |
| 1872–<br>1874          | C          | Lord George Manners of Cheveley Park experimented with partnership farming 1872–74, dividing profits of Ditton Lodge Farm among his labourers. | Lewis (2002), p. 92.<br><i>Cambridge Chronicle</i> ,<br>10 Jan 1874, p. 8; 19<br>Sept 1874, p. 7;<br>12 Dec. 1874, p. 4. |
| <b>CHESHIRE</b>        |            |  |  |
| 1656                   | A, G       | Sowing to halves and cow leasing: from the Memorandum Book of Thomas Jackson of Hield, Aston by Budworth, 1622–1707.                           | Foster (2002), p. 92.  |
| <b>CORNWALL</b>        |            |  |  |
| 1606–<br>1735          | A, B, E    | References to half crease, moieties and halfendeale in probate inventories.  | Cornwall RO.   |
| 1659                   | E          | St. Just in Penwith, Martin Ling had a moiety of 2 fields worth £3 10s.  | J. Thirsk, pers. comm.   |
| 1659                   | E          | St. Martins, Henry Hoskins, had a moiety of a living £10.  | J. Thirsk, pers. comm.   |
| 1662                   | E          | Feock, R. May had ½ shares in 2 kine, 2 calves, 1 heifer, 2 mares, 1 nag, 7 pigs, poultry and geese, 6 acs of wheat, 7 acs of barley & oats.   | J. Thirsk, pers. comm.   |
| 1815                   | G          | Description of cow leasing.  | Worgan (1815), p.141.  |
| 1728                   | G          | Cow leasing at Liskeard, profit from a cow as high as £3 10s, or £4.   | PRO E, 1 Geo II,<br>Easter 3.  |
| 1960s<br>and<br>1970s  | B          | Half crease at Liskeard whereby farmers allowed their land to be stocked by other farmers; common practice on Cornish family farms.            | J. Lewis, pers. comm.<br>C. Langley, pers. comm.   |
| <b>CUMBERLAND</b>      |            |  |  |
| 1590s                  | E          | J. Purchase, clerk of Ireton has ‘some 3 <sup>rd</sup> part of sheep’.   | J. Thirsk, pers. comm.   |

| Date          | Key | Description   | Source   |
|---------------|-----|---|--|
| 1610s         | E   | E. Nicholson has 20 sheep at 3 parts & 24 sheep at 3 parts with 2 other men. People share bees. One has $\frac{1}{2}$ a hive in J. Grave's garth. | J. Thirsk, pers. comm.                                     |
| 1630s         | E   | Fells, Ann Vepond has £1 worth of sheep in half part & 17 ewes, 1 tup, 17 hogs.   | J. Thirsk, pers. comm.                                     |
|               | A   | Suggesting use of farming to halves.  | Dilley (1970), p. 192.                                     |
| DEVON         |     |   |  |
| 1952          | A   | Lambs at half crease.   | Stanes (1990), p. 7.                                       |
| 1679          | G   | Cow leasing at Colyton, at <i>usual rate</i> of £3 10s per cow.   | Harrison (1984), p. 378: PRO, E 134, 31 Chas II, Easter 3. |
| 1697          | G   | Cow leasing at Lapford, lesser area than Colyton, rate 24s, 25s.  | Harrison (1984), PRO, E 134, 13 Wm Trin. 7.                |
| DORSET        |     |   |  |
| 1712          | G   | Cow leasing at Mappowder. Daniel Holland rented out his dairy of 24 cows at £3 a cow.   | Harrison (1984), PRO, E 134, 13 Anne, Easter 10.           |
| 1756          | G   | Dairy agreement for Corfe Castle, Dorset, rental £3 a cow.  | Harrison (1984), p. 378, fn. 137, Dorset RO, P11/IN5.      |
| 1758          | G   | Cow leasing by James Warne at Bovington.  | James and Bettey (1993).                                   |
| 1781          | G   | 'Rec'd of Mr James a qtrs rent for 5 cows' at Poxwell.  | Museum of English Rural Life, DOR, 8/1/1.                  |
| 1794          | G   | Cow leasing described. Rents varied between 50s and £3 a head in poorest parts. Up to £7 in good areas. Broad Windsor, Beaminster £8.             | Claridge (1794), pp. 14–15.                                |
| 1815          | G   | Cow leasing described further, building on Claridge above. Rents rose steeply during French wars.   | Stevenson (1815), pp. 381–90.                              |
|               | G   | Examples of cow leasing from early 18 <sup>th</sup> century to late 20 <sup>th</sup> century.   | Horn (1978), pp. 100–107.                                  |
| HAMPSHIRE     |     |   |  |
| 1813          | G   | Cow leasing described in County Report. Cows rented to dairymen at £7 to £9 a cow.  | Vancouver (1813), p. 364.                                  |
| HEREFORDSHIRE |     |   |  |
| 1347          | A   | Demesne lands of Mortimer family at Wigmore, for a $\frac{1}{3}$ sheaf.   | Hilton (1990), p. 513.                                     |

| <i>Date</i>    | <i>Key</i> | <i>Description</i>  | <i>Source</i>                                    |
|----------------|------------|---|--|
| KENT           |            |   |  |
| 1604           | A          | John Austen of Northbourne, yeoman, agreed with Simon Lott, husbandman, that he should sow to halves land   | Chalklin (1965), p. 63.                          |
| c.1650         | A          | Austen leased from Sir Thomas Peyton. 5 <sup>th</sup> Earl of Dorset accorded 4 farmers the right to 'plough anywhere in the Park ... ' in return for 1/3 of the crop. 'The third year the farmers to sow the ground with grass seed, they are to be at the charge of seed, tillage and harvest.' | Venn (1923), pp. 43–8.                           |
| 1620–99        | A          | References to halves in probate inventories   | Centre for Kentish Studies                       |
| LANCASHIRE     |            |   |  |
| c.1650         | A          | Cows to halves.   | BL Add MS 33509. fol. 74; Speed (1659).          |
| 1622           | A          | Walmesley family put to halves lands at Dunkenhalgh.  | Lancs. RO, DDpt/19 (agisters' accounts 1612–20). |
| LEICESTERSHIRE |            |   |  |
| 1315           | A          | Duchy of Lancaster, manor of Desford, <i>champart</i> lease to group of manorial tenants.   | Hilton (1990), p. 513.                           |
| LINCOLNSHIRE   |            |   |  |
| 1656–1683      | A, G       | Drayner Massingberd of South Ormsby cum Ketsby. Account Book lists. Several agreements with small tenants and labourers which include elements of share cropping. He also leased them sheepgates and cowgates, for the grazing of small numbers of animals.                                       | Holderness (1972).                               |
| 1660s          | A          | Robert Toppin for agreeing to sow arable to halves.   | Lincs. RO, MM/VI/1/5.                            |
| 1668           | A          | W. Wikam agreed to sow to halves part of the Great Close – 'same manner as Robert Toppin doth the other part'.  | Lincs. RO, MM/VI/1/5.                            |
| 1683           | A          | Agreement between Drayner Massingberd and William Brookes of Calceby, labourer, where DM provided all stock, seed, WB cultivated corn, looked after sheep, repaired fences, etc. in return for 8 <sup>th</sup> part – later altered to 6 <sup>th</sup> part.                                      | Massingberd (1893).                              |

| Date                     | Key  | Description  | Source  |
|--------------------------|------|--|---|
| <b>MIDDLESEX</b>         |      |  |   |
| c.1300                   | A    | Westminster Abbey demesne at Yeoveney, <i>champarty</i> lease.   | Hilton (1990) p. 513.                                 |
| <b>NORFOLK</b>           |      |  |   |
| 1270                     | A    | Methwold, lease of half an acre, <i>ad campi partem</i> .  | Homans (1940), p. 202.                                |
| 1420                     | A, H | Pastons at Edingthorpe sowed to halves and used barley rents on their east Norfolk properties in 1470s.  | Norfolk RO (NRO), PHI 532 578 X 2.                    |
| 1587–33                  | A    | References to 'ptable' crops in probate inventories.   | NRO.  |
| <b>Hunstanton Estate</b> |      |  |   |
| 1605                     | A    | 'The profit of the tithes and halves of the Corne growing at Barrett Ringstead. Foldcourse let to several tenants, payments for 'my halves'.               | NRO, LEST/R8; NRO, LEST/Q38; NRO, LEST/P6.            |
| 1613                     | A    | Sowing to halves agreements with Thomas Ketwood and William Cobbes, for closes near Hunstanton Hall.   | NRO, LEST/BK3; NRO, LEST/P6.                          |
| 1637–1644                | A    | Sowing to halves agreements with tenants on newly drained marshland at Hunstanton and Holme.   | NRO, LEST/KA6; KA9; KA24; NRO, LEST/P7.               |
| 1669–1683                | E    | Trustees of Sir Nicholas Le Strange of Hunstanton, Account book, includes refs to cow grasses, halving flocks and foldcourses.                             | NRO, LEST / KA11.                                     |
| <b>Raynham Estate</b>    |      |  |   |
| 1470–1485                | A    | Raynham estate: sharecropping at Stibbard and Lt. Ryburgh.   | Moreton (1992), pp. 146–7.                            |
| 1622–1637                | A    | Payment of 'partes' or shares of wool and lambs to shepherds for the flocks at Raynham, East and West Rudham, South Creake, Barmer, Barwick and Shereford. | Townshend MSS (TM) Sheep Reeve's accounts, RAS/F2/11. |
| 1634                     | A    | William Grove 'sowed to halves' 3 acres in West Rudham.  | TM, RAS/F2/12.  |
| 1637                     | A    | Cooper 'sowed to halves' 2 acres at Kipton.  | BL Add. MS 41308.                                     |
| 1650s                    | A    | At Kipton, 'the brecks in halves' with Mr Stringer.  | TM, RAD/A5.   |
| 1665                     | E    | Division of the brecks into 3 parts at Great Grounds, West Rudham; and foldcourses leased to partners.   | TM, RAD/A4.   |
| 1667                     | A    | At Raynham, Sam Jervise sowed to halves the Lords brecks and his own infield lands with the Lord.  | TM, RAD/A4.   |

| <i>Date</i>            | <i>Key</i> | <i>Description</i>   | <i>Source</i>                              |
|------------------------|------------|--|--|
| 1679                   | A, G       | Raynham Hall dairy leased, Timothy Felton recommends 'putting to halves' meadows in the park.  | TM, RAS/A1/5.                              |
| 1682–<br>1690          | A, G       | At South Raynham, W. Downham's Bill of Sale and agreement for 1 year 'in money and half the corn crop'. J. Raby leased 6 cows and cultivated the arable. | TM, RAS/A1/6.                              |
| 1677–<br>1686          | A          | R. Teasdale letting to halves agreement for Stiffkey Hall Farm; 1677–1684. New agreement proposed 1686 not implemented.                                  | BL Add. MS 41655/160.                      |
| 1684–<br>1698          | G          | Stiffkey Hall dairy of 20 cows set up and leased to Nick Cooke, who cultivated the arable. 2 Foldcourses in hand.  | TM, RAS/A1/6 ;<br>RAS/A2/1–8.              |
| 1689–<br>1698          | G          | Langham Farm, J. Raby leased 13 cows and cultivated the arable, with a man for £28 a year. Foldcourse in hand.   | TM, RAS/A1/7.                              |
| 1690–<br>1697          | A          | East and West Rudham, 3 Foldcourses in hand, arable let to halves.   | TM, RAS/A2/1–8.                            |
| 1691–<br>1698          | A, G       | Toftrees estate, foldcourse in hand, arable let to halves, dairy leased.   | TM, RAS/A2/1–8.                            |
| 1692                   | A          | South Creake, 2 foldcourses taken in hand, arable let to halves.   | TM, RAS/A1/6;<br>RAS/A2/1–8.               |
| 1706                   | G          | Shipdham Estate: tenant subletting 4 dairies.  | BL Add. MS 41656/<br>182–183.              |
| <b>Felbrigg Estate</b> |            |  |  |
| 1662                   | A          | Dilham Hall Farm broken up and let to halves for 1 year.   | NRO, WKC, 5/422<br>464 X 4.                |
| 1677                   | A          | Letting to halves agreement for improving Rush Close, Gresham for 13 year term – ran its course.   | NRO, WKC 5/152<br>400 X; Griffiths (2000). |
| 1677                   | A          | Agreement with Thomas Sexton for Reephram Farm for 5 years.  | NRO, WKC 5/152<br>400 X.                   |
| 1678                   | A          | Agreement for the Park Dairy and Grounds, Felbrigg, ended 1681.  | NRO, WKC 5/152<br>400 X.                   |
| 1679                   | A          | Agreement with J. Fincham for Selfe's Farm, Felbrigg, ended 1681.  | NRO, WKC 5/152<br>400 X.                   |
| 1681                   | A          | At Dilham, J. Applebye agreed to sow Mack's farm to halves for 1 year.   | NRO, WKC, 5/152<br>400 X.                  |
| 1682                   | A          | Letting to halves agreement for Parke's Farm, Alby, ended 1684.  | NRO, WKC 5/152<br>400 X.                   |
| 1689                   | G, H       | Beckham Hall, John Lound leased cows and paid rents in corn.   | NRO, WKC 5/158<br>400 X 6.                 |

| Date                        | Key | Description   | Source   |
|-----------------------------|-----|---|--|
| <b>Blickling Estate</b>     |     |   |  |
| 1666                        | G   | Plan for Langley Abbey involving leasing of a dairy.  | NRO, NRS 10379 25 A 6.                                   |
| 1677                        | G   | Agreement with John Cullyer of Intwood Hall, for leasing dairy and contracting the arable at fixed rates.   | NRO, NRS 11321 26B5.                                     |
| 1679                        | J   | Corn agreement at Horsham St. Faiths.   | NRO, NRS, 16023 31 F 10.                                 |
| 1718                        | A   | Langley Estate, tenant Richard Berney halved lands with sub-tenant.   | NRO, NRS, 16338 32C2.                                    |
| <b>Elsewhere in Norfolk</b> |     |   |  |
| 1666                        | A   | Simon Britiffe let Cley Hall 'to halves with my tenant Flaxman'.  | NRO, GTN, 425.   |
| 1689                        | A   | At Houghton, Sir Robert Walpole's accounts contain several references – 'to Will Rowardes for halfeing the plowground'.                                       | Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS; List of Account Books 7–19. |
| 1698                        | A   | At Westwick, John Berney Gt. 1 year agreement with John Ollyet, yeoman, to farm to halves the holding of a widow.   | NRO, PET, 159 97 X 2.                                    |
| 1960–2009                   | D   | Profit-sharing, modern agreements based on East Anglian tradition of taking a crop, undertaken by Jim and David Papworth, Felmingham, with 30 or so partners. | J. Papworth, pers. comm.                                 |
| <b>NORTHANTS</b>            |     |   |  |
| 1235                        | A   | Abbey of Cirencester, 2 virgates <i>ad medietatem</i> .   | Hilton (1990), p. 515.                                   |
| <b>NORTHUMBERLAND</b>       |     |   |  |
| 1590s                       | A   | Lowlands, Robert Finch has 3 sows 'at half part'.   | J. Thirsk, pers. comm.                                   |
| 1880s                       | C   | Albert Grey used a profit-sharing scheme on his Northumberian estate at Howick, Chevington Moor and East Learmouth.   | Grey (1891), pp. 781–93.                                 |
| <b>OXFORDSHIRE</b>          |     |   |  |
| 1302                        | A   | Launton, <i>champarty</i> lease.  | Harvey (1977), p. 319.                                   |
| <b>SOMERSET</b>             |     |   |  |
| n.d.                        | A   | Medieval Customs of the Manors of Bradford on Tone and Taunton.   | Miller and Hatcher (1978), p. 143.                       |
| n.d.                        | A   | Tenant at Middlezoy, (Longleat Estate) covenanted to half the profits of 18 acres.  | Postan (1973), p. 136.                                   |

| <i>Date</i>   | <i>Key</i> | <i>Description</i>  | <i>Source</i>  |
|---------------|------------|---|--|
| 1715          | G          | Profit of milk estimated at £2 10s a cow.   | Harrison (1984), p. 378; PRO E 134, 5 Geo I, Mich 2. |
| 1745          | G          | Samuel Hipsley at Bleadon, milk from cows valued at £4 a year.  | Harrison (1984), p. 378; Somerset RO, D/D/C 1747.    |
| SHROPSHIRE    |            |   |  |
| 1269          | A          | Brockton woman surrendered her land to Wombridge Priory, in return for 1/3 of the grain, and 1/4 of rye, if they did not till her garden croft.       | Stamper (1989), p. 37.                               |
| 1295          | A          | Adam, from Rossall gave a <i>champart</i> lease of all his land, except 13acs otherwise leased to 2 brothers, also from Rossall.                      | Stamper (1989), p. 37.                               |
| 1308          | A          | Walter of Wenlock, <i>champarty</i> agreement.  | Harvey (1977), p. 318.                               |
| 1270–<br>1349 | A          | Court Rolls of Halesowen give 21 examples of sharecropping agreements. Table 2: Economic Activities of Halesowen Villagers.                           | Razi (1987), p. 367.                                 |
| 1375          | A          | Richard Moulowe of Halesowen sued Henry Townhall for 1/2 the crops.   | Razi (1987), pp. 389–90.                             |
| 1399–<br>1468 | A          | Lordship of Blakemere, 1/3 sheaf oats paid to the lord, from a field previously worth £5 6s 8d; context Welsh raids in Whitchurch 1410.               | Kettle (1989), p. 103.                               |
| 1405          | A          | Sowing for 4 <sup>th</sup> sheaf used in parts of the Lordship of Oswestry as a way of attracting back tenants and raising revenue after Welsh raids. | Kettle (1989), p. 103.                               |
| 1367–<br>1383 | A          | Lordship of Caus, land leased for 1/3 sheaf; demesne arable leased with oxen for 1/3 sheaf, preliminary to leases for years and money.                | Kettle (1989), p. 103.                               |
| 1552          | B          | John Mytton of Kinnerton has his kine and heifers set to parts/ to hire.  | Kettle (1989), p. 151.                               |
| 1820s         | J          | Lilleshall Estate, Leveson-Gower, agent James Loch agreed that half the tenants rent could vary with the price of corn. Reversed 1830s.               | Kettle (1989), p. 214.                               |
| 1900–<br>1930 | A          | Coppice Farm, Ratlinghope, W. Cooke placed ewes at halves with neighbours.  | D. Cooke, Ratlinghope Farm Diary.                    |
| 1908–<br>1940 | A          | Curdale Farm, Cleobury Mortimer, Evans family farmed to halves, sheep and cattle with neighbours.   | M. Evans, Curdale Farm Diary.                        |



| Date           | Key | Description   | Source  |
|----------------|-----|---|---|
| 1914–17        | A   | Lower Elcott Farm, Neen Savage, Benjamin Griffiths had 'sheep at halves' with Walter Amies of Kyre.   | J. Griffiths, Elcott Farm Diary.  |
| 1920s–1930s    | A   | Edward Foster at Newton, Bridgnorth on the Apley Estate had 'sheep to halves' with another tenant nearby.   | J. Bevan, pers. comm.   |
| 1940s          | A   | Overwood Farm, Cleobury Mortimer, Charles Griffiths had sheep at halves with friends nearby for 2 to 3 years.   | J. Griffiths, pers. comm.   |
| 1950s          | A   | Wall Town Farm, Kinlet, George Haywood had ewes at halves with several neighbours, plus 500 ewes with a friend at Broadway, Glos.   | J. Haywood, pers. comm.   |
| SUFFOLK        |     |   |   |
| 1692           | A   | Daniel Cook, gent of Sudbury, deposed that in 1688–90 Sam Warner held 14 acres arable, sharing the lands with Stephen Carter 'according to the usuall way or manner of halving' – Warner to find the land, barn and pay taxes & Carter to plough sow and cut corn. Sam Carter deposed that Carter had told him he received half the crop. | PRO E. 134 4 William and Mary, Mich. 43 Luke Leake v. Samuel Warner, Sudbury 20 <sup>th</sup> Oct 1692. |
| WARWICKSHIRE   |     |   |   |
| 1249           | A   | Lessee paying $\frac{1}{3}$ produce for demesne of local priory near Coventry.  | Hilton (1990), p. 513.  |
| 1411           | A   | Coventry Cathedral Priory, single demesne lease for a $\frac{1}{3}$ crop.   | Hilton (1990), p. 513.  |
| 1400           | A   | Longdon, <i>champarty</i> lease.  | Harvey (1977), p. 319.  |
| WILTSHIRE      |     |   |   |
|                | G   | General references to cow leasing, referred to as sharemilking.   | Wilson (1995), pp. 51–5.  |
| WORCESTERSHIRE |     |   |   |
| 1230           | A   | Worcester Cathedral Priory, Pensax, leased demesne for $\frac{1}{3}$ sheaf.   | Hilton (1990), p. 512.  |
| c.1300         | A   | Worcester Cathedral Priory, Wolverley, group of tenants paid $\frac{1}{2}$ crop for manured demesne, $\frac{1}{3}$ crop for unmanured lands.  | Hilton, (1990), p. 513.   |
| 1370           | A   | Earl of Warwick, demesne of Elmley Castle, tenants of manor paid second sheaf.  | Hilton (1990), p. 513.  |

| <i>Date</i>           | <i>Key</i> | <i>Description</i>   | <i>Source</i>                |
|-----------------------|------------|--|------------------------------|
| 1343                  | A          | Pinvin, <i>champarty</i> lease.  | Harvey (1977), p. 319.       |
| 1372                  | B          | Two prosecutions at Wolverley, for disputes concerning shared profits for sheep and cattle.  | Hilton (1973), p. 43.        |
| 1372                  | A          | Widow of Heye, tried to get a man to cultivate 2 acres for half crop.  | Hilton (1973), p. 50.        |
| YORKSHIRE             |            |  |                              |
| 1615                  | H          | Cowick, Edmund Ossett had ½ share of 9r of wheat & rye.  | J. Thirsk, pers. comm.       |
| 1625                  | E, G       | Several references to cow leasing, farms being halved at Elmswell, East Yorkshire.   | Woodward (1984), p. 179.     |
| 1671                  | E          | Wawne, East Yorkshire. Half shares in 4 farms were sold in 1671 by Thomas Thynne and Devereux Leicester.   | Carrick (2004), p. 67.       |
| 1890s                 | A          | Castle Howard, Lady Carlisle operated a <i>métayage</i> system, whereby occupiers paid ⅓ crop which covered her rents, rates and return on working capital.  | Grey (1891), pp. 780–1.      |
| WELSH BORDER COUNTIES |            |  |                              |
| 1347                  | A          | Demense lands of Mortimer family (at Radnor) for a ⅓ sheaf.  | Hilton (1990), p. 513.       |
| 1500s                 | A          | Several references to 'half the increase' in Radnorshire. Share cropping was a key element of Cattle Economy; written agreements with penalty bonds, pursued in courts. Litigated cases.   | Suggett (2005), pp. 181–210. |
| 1500s                 | A          | Examples of half the increase extend to other marcher counties: Montgomeryshire and Breconshire. Hiring cattle and sheep prevalent in Cardiganshire – see Cornwall for half crease.  | R. Suggett, pers. comm.      |
| GENERAL REFERENCES    |            |  |                              |
| 1500s                 | A          | 'Letting and sowing to thirds and halves was practiced in the Cotswolds, Chiltern, Oxford Heights, Fen and Cheshire Cheese Countries, The Vale of Evesham, the Wealden Vales, the Vales of Hereford, the Midland and Lancashire plains'. | Kerridge (1969), p. 52.      |
|                       | G          | References to cow leasing in the west country, 1650–1850.  | Broad (2004), p. 103.        |

## Appendix 2 Letting to Halves at East and West Rudham in 1693

Evidence for letting to halves appears in three kinds of documents: the bailiwick accounts, which provide a description of the holdings let to halves; the separate 'letting to halves' accounts; and finally, the agreement setting out the terms of the contract, attached, with the supporting vouchers, to the back of the account. The first description of letting to halves is contained in the bailiwick account of East and West Rudham for 1693. It is an extract of the lands, associated with Grannohill and Manyards foldcourses, let to halves to the two tenants, John Butler and William Roads. The detail shows the close integration of the management of the foldcourses with the brecks, heaths, outfield and infield lands, and earlier attempts to structure balanced holdings. Not all the lands were let to halves; some closes were let on fixed rents and some retained in hand. This can also be seen at Toftrees, where difficult holdings were identified for letting to halves, while others were leased on fixed rents. The entry for South Creake is a simpler affair, with the principal holding let to halves and six parcels hived off and leased to smallholders.

The letting to halves agreements do not resemble Windham's, or rather Britiffe's, complex agreements at Felbrigg. They are more akin to the corn agreements Brewster instigated at Saxthorpe and Horsham St Faith's on the Hobarts' estate, in that they were confined to corn growing. However, whereas Brewster guaranteed a minimum price to tenants, in effect offering a subsidy, the trustees genuinely shared the risk of cultivating specified acreages of corn, as can be seen in the agreements with John Butler for East Rudham. The agreement, on a post-card-sized piece of paper, was made in August, based on an estimate of the crop yields, in which the tenant agreed to deliver the half, or moiety, in the barn. John Butler agreed to sow four acres of wheat at two combs to the acre, and deliver four combs 'the moyeity' or half of the crop. These amounts were then quoted at the head of the account. The few surviving agreements for the Rudhams, Tofts Farm and South Creake, show the acreages sown to different crops and yields anticipated: wheat yields at South Creake were double those expected at Toftrees and the Rudhams, where in fact very little wheat was grown by Butler and none by Roads. The acreage appears small, but allowance must be made for lands fallowed and laid down to grass.

The 'let to halves' accounts, settled on 20 June of the following year, quote the contract, list the deliveries of corn – and what remains due – the price made and the money received. Added to the total were the profits from rents, and sale of stock or goods. Allowances included local rates and the costs of cultivation, which were substantially lower and less complex than the returns for farms in hand at Stiffkey and Langham. The allowances for South Creake Farm include payments made to the tenant for 'fencing ye closes & meadows & clearing pte of the brecks', indicating that improvement was the primary motivation for the practice. J. Butler's account for 1693, shows Colonel Walpole acting as adjudicator. The account can be compared against the agreement.

EXTRACT 1: From E. and W. Rudham 1693, showing some land let to halves to J. Butler and W. Roads

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Lett to halves late in Rowland's use, Nick Close & 54acs of land at 4/6 p.ac £13.7.3 & ye rest of Bennetts lands at 4/6 p.ac at £7.13.0 but of this Barrett hath by agreement 3ac at 13/6 p.ann and formerly in Rowland's use, 10ac pte of the 54acs at 5s p.ac all in Rudham North field and lett to halves to J. Butler, but the 10ac is lett to halves to Wm Roads so to be accounted for by themselves with ye farmes in hand being £17.16.9 p.ann so not charged here 000 00 00

Late Wid. Russells & Fishers use 78acs at 4/6 p.ac, but of this late in Rowlands use 48acs 2r & now lett to halves to J. Butler & to be ac for wth ye farmes in hand being 29acs 2r at 4/ p.ac £6.12.9 p.ann soe not charged here 000 00 00

EXTRACT 2: J. Butler's letting to halves agreement for 1693 made in August 1692

---

Rudham 26 August 1692

John Butler agreed to deliver particular quantities of all sorts of corn and grayne hereunder mentioned to and for the use of the Executors of the late Lord Townshend valued as ye moyeity of the crop now growing upon the lands of East Rudham

|         |          |                                       | xx | c  | b |
|---------|----------|---------------------------------------|----|----|---|
| Wheat   | 4 acres  | ye moyeity @ 2C p. acre               |    | 4  | 0 |
| Rye     | 40acres  | ye moyeity valued at                  |    | 80 | 0 |
| Barley  | 78 acres | 2r ye moyeity valued at 4C 2b p. acre | 8  | 16 | 2 |
| Oats    | 36 acres | ye moyeity valued at 4 C p. acre      |    | 72 | 0 |
| Pease   | 12 acres | 3r ye moyeity valued at               |    | 10 | 0 |
| Fetches | 12 acres | allowed for horsemeat                 |    |    |   |

Witness Peter Stringer J. Butler

EXTRACT 3: J. Butler's letting to halves account for 1693

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The Accountant chargeth himself wth the moyeity of the Corne to be delivered by John Butler as by his agreement

|                      | xx | c  | b |           | £ | s | d |
|----------------------|----|----|---|-----------|---|---|---|
| Of wheat             | 0  | 04 | 0 |           |   |   |   |
| Of Rye               | 4  | 00 | 0 |           |   |   |   |
| Rem due last year    | 0  | 19 | 0 | 4. 19. 0  |   |   |   |
| Of Barley            | 8  | 16 | 2 |           |   |   |   |
| Rem due last year    | 1  | 04 | 0 | 10. 00. 2 |   |   |   |
| Of Oats              | 3  | 12 | 0 |           |   |   |   |
| Of Pease             | 0  | 10 | 0 |           |   |   |   |
| remain due last year | 1  | 10 | 2 | 2. 00. 2  |   |   |   |

Wheat

This acctn chargeth himself wth money rec'd for

|   |   |   |                 |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|-----------------|---|---|---|
| 0 | 4 | 0 | of wheat @ 16/- | 3 | 4 | 0 |
|---|---|---|-----------------|---|---|---|

|   |          |           |          |                                      |           |          |          |  |
|---|----------|-----------|----------|--------------------------------------|-----------|----------|----------|--|
| Rye   |          |           |          |                                      |           |          |          |  |
| Delivered by Butler to shepherd<br>at Manyards  | 0        | 9         | 2        | of Rye covenant<br>Corne             |           |          |          |  |
| more unto malt chamb which<br>I must ac next yr | 1        | 8         | 0        |                                      |           |          |          |  |
| Exd   | <u>1</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>0</u> |                                      |           |          |          |  |
| soe rem due from J. Butler                      | 3        | 1         | 2        |                                      |           |          |          |  |
| Barley  |          |           |          |                                      |           |          |          |  |
| Money rec'd of Butler for Exd                   | 8        | 16        | 2        | of Barley<br>@ 9/4, 9/8,<br>10/- p.c | 80        | 2        | 0        |  |
| soe rem due from Butler                         | 1        | 4         | 0        | of Barley                            |           |          |          |  |
| Oats  |          |           |          |                                      |           |          |          |  |
| Money rec'd for                                 | 1        | 1         | 0        | of Oats<br>@ 6/- p.c.                | 6         | 0        | 0        |  |
| Delivered to Raynham Hall for<br>Ldships use    | 2        | 11        | 0        | of Oats                              |           |          |          |  |
|   | <u>3</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>0</u> | rem nothing                          |           |          |          |  |
| Pease   |          |           |          |                                      |           |          |          |  |
| delivered none so remain due<br>from Butler     | 2        | 0         | 2        | of pease                             |           |          |          |  |
|   |          |           |          | The whole rec<br>of Butler Corn      | <u>89</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>0</u> |  |

The Acctnt chargeth himself wth the moyeity of W. Roads corn growing in ye  
yre 92 & pte in the field & tyth in My Ld's Execs charge

|   | xx       | c         | b        |                          | £  | s | d |
|---|----------|-----------|----------|--------------------------|----|---|---|
| Rye   | 3        | 16        | 1        |                          |    |   |   |
| Barley  | 5        | 2         | 1        |                          |    |   |   |
| Oats  | 3        | 10        | 1        |                          |    |   |   |
| Rye delivered to shepherd at<br>Grannohill              | 0        | 6         | 0        |                          |    |   |   |
| malt chamber & granary                                  | 3        | 10        | 0        |                          |    |   |   |
|   | <u>3</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>0</u> |                          |    |   |   |
| Barley money rec'd of John Tid                          | 4        | 14        | 2        | of Barley<br>@ 9/-, 10/- | 43 | 5 | 0 |
| delivered to shepherd<br>to Raynham for fowls & pigeons | 0        | 4         | 0        |                          |    |   |   |
|   | 0        | 3         | 3        |                          |    |   |   |
|   | <u>5</u> | <u>2</u>  | <u>1</u> |                          |    |   |   |
| Oats delivered to Raynham for<br>Ldships use            | 3        | 10        | 2        |                          |    |   |   |

The Acctnt chargeth himself wth ye Corn of Mr Danells tyth & of land late in his use

|  | xx | C  | B |                   | £   | s  | d |
|--|----|----|---|-------------------|-----|----|---|
| Wheat  | 0  | 2  | 0 |                   |     |    |   |
| Rye  | 0  | 17 | 1 |                   |     |    |   |
| Barley   | 1  | 15 | 1 |                   |     |    |   |
| Oats   | 1  | 12 | 2 |                   |     |    |   |
| Pease  | 0  | 6  | 0 | 3 pecks           |     |    |   |
| Wheat money rec for  | 0  | 2  | 0 | of wheat          | 1   | 16 | 0 |
| Rye "  | 0  | 17 | 1 | of rye @ 11/- p.c | 8   | 15 | 0 |
| Barley "   | 1  | 2  | 3 | of barley         | 10  | 5  | 6 |
| pigeons & fowls  | 0  | 12 | 2 |                   |     |    |   |
|  | 1  | 15 | 1 |                   |     |    |   |
| Oats money rec for   | 1  | 1  | 0 | of oats 6/- p.c   | 6   | 0  | 0 |
| delivered for seed for his Ldshps                                | 0  | 11 | 2 |                   |     |    |   |
| land at Tofts and Raynham  |    |    |   |                   |     |    |   |
|  | 1  | 12 | 2 |                   |     |    |   |
| Pease money rec for  | 0  | 6  | 0 | 3 pecks white     | 3   | 2  | 6 |
|  |    |    |   | pease £1.12.0     |     |    |   |
|  |    |    |   | The whole sum     | 29  | 19 | 0 |
|  |    |    |   | rec is            |     |    |   |
| and wth the money rec of T. Denis for 1 yrs rent of a meadow     |    |    |   |                   | 2   | 0  | 0 |
| D. Riches for 1 yrs rent of the Malthouse                        |    |    |   |                   | 7   | 0  | 0 |
| M. Dodman (shepherd) for 1 yrs rent of 2 acs late in Danells use |    |    |   |                   | 0   | 9  | 0 |
| for straw and chafe for Danells tyth                             |    |    |   |                   | 1   | 15 | 5 |
| for the fayre stall and things standing                          |    |    |   |                   | 1   | 0  | 0 |
|  |    |    |   | Profits           | 12  | 4  | 5 |
|  |    |    |   | Butlers crop      | 89  | 6  | 0 |
|  |    |    |   | Roads crop        | 43  | 5  | 0 |
|  |    |    |   | Danell tyth       | 29  | 19 | 0 |
|  |    |    |   | whole sum rec     | 174 | 14 | 5 |

There is due from J. Butler of corne which he did not deliver in this acc and what was rem last yr according to his agreement of Rye 3.1.2, of Barley 1.4.0 of pease 2.0.2 all which he hath acc and answered the value & his bills & disbursements as by an acct. made & stated in the presence of Col Walpole 9 Oct 1693 where by there doe appear to be due from said Butler for the corne above mentioned the sume of £87.9.6. the copy of the acc is hereinto annexed

[Similar entry for W. Roads ... £42.17.9]

|  |   |    |   |  |   |    |   |
|--|---|----|---|--|---|----|---|
| Acctnt ... for money payd to T. Denis for his harvest wages ending | 2 | 13 | 4 |  |   |    |   |
| in Roads moyeity   |   |    |   |  |   |    |   |
| H. Mason Mr Danells tyth   |   |    |   |  | 3 | 16 | 6 |
| T. Denis for threshing Mr. Danell tyth £1.17.10; moyeity of        |   |    |   |  | 8 | 15 | 0 |
| Roads crop £6.17.2   |   |    |   |  |   |    |   |

*Appendix 2 Letting to Halves at East and West Rudham in 1693 215*

|  |    |    |    |
|--|----|----|----|
| 1 yrs rent for Wm Ramseys – 2 receipts annexed                               | 50 | 0  | 0  |
| Hedging, ditching, catching moles  | 2  | 7  | 10 |
| Poor rate 6.3.9, constable rate 2.3.3, church rate 1.16.10 for<br>E/W Rudham | 77 | 16 | 1  |
| Exd June 20 1693 Edwd Le Strange Debenter                                    | 96 | 18 | 4  |

# Notes

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- 16 *Ibid.* pp. 203–6.
- 17 S. Ogilvie, “‘Whatever is, is right’? Economic institutions in pre-industrial Europe’, *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 60 (2007) 649–84.
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- 21 F.M. Snowden, *The Fascist Revolution in Tuscany 1919–1922*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 7–69 for the sad tale of *mezzadria* from its golden age in the mid-19th century to its decline during the depression of the late 19th century and the crisis of the early 1920s. In 1923 the Fascists re-imposed the paternalistic model successfully challenged by the *mezzadri* in the uprising of 1920.
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- 23 R.W.M. Johnson, *Reforming EU Farm Policy: Lessons from New Zealand*, (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2000); G. Blunder, W. Moran, and A. Bradley, ‘Archaic relations of production in modern agricultural systems: the example of sharemilking in New Zealand’, *Environment and Planning A*, 29 (1997) 1759–76; R. Stratton, A. Sydenham, and A. Bird, *Sharefarming: the Practice – With Model Form of Agreement*, 3rd edn (Country Landowners Association, 1992). In the 1980s professional advice on sharefarming contracts was more or less confined to the west country firm led by Richard Stratton, an early enthusiast with long standing contacts in New Zealand. Since then Stratton and Holborow, have been joined by the leading land agency firms such as Strutt and Parker, and JPD Savills who offer a full advisory service with specialists in Contract, Share Farming and Joint Ventures.
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- 7 For example, B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); G.C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942).
- 8 B.M.S. Campbell, 'The Agrarian Problem in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 188 (2005), p. 10.
- 9 See above, Table 2.1, p. 14.
- 10 Hilton's paper was given at the Flaran conference, 1985, and subsequently published in *Les Revenues de la Terre: complant, champart, métayage en Europe occidentale (IXe–CVIII siècles)*, (Auch 1987), before appearing in the *Journal of Peasant Studies* in 1990.
- 11 Hilton, 'Champart rent', pp. 512–13.
- 12 *Ibid.* p. 513.
- 13 A.J. Kettle, 'Agriculture 1300–1540', in G.C. Baugh (ed.) *The Victoria History of the County of Shropshire, Vol. 4, Agriculture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1989), pp. 72–118.
- 14 *Ibid.* p. 105.
- 15 Hilton, 'Champart rent', p. 515.
- 16 *Ibid.* p. 513.
- 17 *Ibid.* pp. 513–14.
- 18 Homans, *English Villagers*, p. 202; Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 138, 153, 320.
- 19 Hilton, 'Champart rent', p. 515.
- 20 R.H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 43.
- 21 *Ibid.* p. 50.
- 22 Postan, *Essays on Medieval Agriculture*, pp. 134–49.
- 23 *Ibid.* pp. 136–7.
- 24 *Ibid.* p. 136, n. 65.
- 25 *Ibid.* pp. 140–1, n. 73.
- 26 *Ibid.* p. 141.
- 27 *Ibid.* pp. 147–9.

- 28 F.L. Galassi, 'Moral Hazard and Asset Specificity in the Renaissance: The Economics of Sharecropping in 1427 Florence', in K.D. Kauffman (ed.) *Advances in Agricultural Economic History*, Vol. 1, *New Frontiers in Agricultural History*, (Stamford, CT: JAI Press, 2000), pp. 177–206.
- 29 Lennard, *Rural England*, pp. 189–196. See above, p. 18.
- 30 M.M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society*, (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), p. 125.
- 31 *Ibid.* p. 136.
- 32 J.A. Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social History of the Mediaeval English Village*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1964), pp. 44, 76, includes two references to sharecropping but offers no analysis. E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086–1348*, (Longman, 1978) placed great emphasis on the communal nature of village life and the extent of subletting and inter-peasant leasing, leaving the tenurial pattern in a constant state of flux. They refer to 'The existence of men eager to take up plots of customary land, even on a sharecropping basis, was assumed in the customs of Bradford on Tone', p. 143, but there is no further comment. See also, J. Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300–1500*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) for emphasis on the extent of subletting in the county, pp. 16, 68, 139, 219, 231–5, 237–8, 252.
- 33 Campbell, 'The Agrarian Problem', p. 10.
- 34 *Ibid.* p. 47.
- 35 *Ibid.* p. 55.
- 36 *Ibid.* p. 54, n. 161.
- 37 *Ibid.* p. 57.
- 38 The full extent of subletting is revealed by M.K. McIntosh, 'Land, Tenure and Population in the Royal Manor of Havering, Essex, 1251–1352', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 33 (1980) 17–31. Successive surveys of 1251 and 1352/3 record a class of 'undersettles' holding very small parcels of land from other men, giving rise to chains of subletting with those at the end paying the most exorbitant rent. Short of squatting there was no other way the poorest could gain a foothold on the land; the chains show that the tenants were the rack renters rather than the landlords.
- 39 A.V. Chayanov, *The Theory of Peasant Farming*, ed. D. Thorner, B. Kerbaly and R.E.F. Smith, (Homewood, Ill.: American Economic Association, 1966), pp. 53–69.
- 40 R.M. Smith (ed.) *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- 41 J. Ravensdale, 'The transfer of customary land on a Cambridgeshire manor [Cottenham] in the fourteenth century', in Smith, *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, p. 218.
- 42 S. Ogilvie, "'Whatever is, is right'": Economic institutions in pre-industrial Europe', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 60 (2007) 649–84.
- 43 R.M. Smith, 'Families and their land in an area of partible inheritance: Redgrave, Suffolk, 1260–1320', in Smith, *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, pp. 135–95.
- 44 R.M. Smith, 'Some issues concerning families and their property in rural England, 1250–1800', in Smith, *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, pp. 1–86;

- E. Clark, 'Some Aspects of Social Security in Medieval England', *Journal of Family History*, 7 (1982).
- 45 Smith, 'Some issues concerning families'; C. Howell, *Land, Family and Inheritance in Transition: Kibworth Harcourt*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 252–3.
- 46 Z. Razi, 'Family, Land and the Village Community in Later Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 93 (1981) p. 10.
- 47 *Ibid.* pp. 32–3.
- 48 Lennard, *Rural England*, p. 194.
- 49 Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 279.
- 50 *Ibid.* p. 279. C.C. Dyer, 'Farming practice and techniques: the West Midlands', in E. Miller (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. III, 1348–1500*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 235, describes the huge scale of the enterprises in the West Midlands with 2,500 sheep leased with pastures in Blockley, Glos. He also explains that the normal method of managing cows was to lease out the lactage of each animal at 5s per annum. R. Suggett says that while graziers entered into sharecropping agreements in Radnorshire, they hired flocks and herds of cattle in Cardiganshire and west Wales. (pers. comm.).
- 51 Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 279.
- 52 B. Harvey, 'The leasing of the Abbot of Westminster's Demesne in the later middle ages', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 22 (1969) 17–27.
- 53 *Ibid.* p. 21. E. Miller, 'Tenant farming and tenant farmers: the southern counties', in E. Miller (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. III, 1348–1500*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 713, questions how leaseholders acquired the capital to take up demesne lands. The terms on which John Gervays held Enford in the 1430s came near to a sharecropping agreement. He started off with so much land sown and a stock of pigs and poultry that enabled him to pay his rents in liveries of grain, pigs, poultry, geese and capons. In other words, he secured a long term loan to get started. Postan, in his introduction to *The Book of William Morton: Almoner of Peterborough Monastery, 1448–1467*, ed. P.I. King, Northants Records Society, 16 (1954), pp. xxxv–xxxvi describes the almoner 'lending cows and calves, selling hay and leasing grazing'. The loan of cows and calves, he suggested, was a cover up for a little profitable money lending. Annual payments for the use of borrowed cows was not considered usury. Loans on cows used to legitimize petty borrowing on interest. When the almoner lent a cow for a year or two, there was no reason to regard it other than what it purports to be, but when the loan was for five years, or for a ten year old cow for three years at 3s per annum, with an understanding to pay a particular sum if the cow could not be returned, the impression of a disguised loan is inescapable.
- 54 Harvey, 'The Leasing of the Abbot of Westminster's Demesne', p. 23.
- 55 Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 138, 153, 319–20. Besides the references quoted by Hilton, Harvey mentions a more detailed agreement at Yeoveney, in 1308–9, where £115 was spent on seed corn, fodder and liveries for the demesne workers, the sum being the price of half the crop of wheat and maslin.
- 56 R.H. Britnell, *Britain and Ireland, 1050–1530: Economy and Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 401–4.

- 57 R.H. Britnell, 'The Pastons and their Norfolk', *Agricultural History Review*, 36 (1988) 132–44; C. Richmond, 'Landlord and Tenant: the Paston Evidence', in J. Kermode (ed.) *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth Century England*, (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996), pp. 25–42, on the difficulties the family encountered collecting rents, and the payment of rent in meat and grain.
- 58 Norfolk Record Office (hereafter NRO), PHI 532 578 X 2.
- 59 Venn, *Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, pp. 36–7, notes that in 1845 the Master of Corpus Christi College publicized the success of corn rents adopted in lieu of granting further reductions in money rents. Both parties benefited: the tenant was relieved when prices were low, and proportionally benefited when prices were high.
- 60 B.M.S. Campbell, 'Agricultural Progress in Medieval England: Some Evidence from Eastern Norfolk', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 36 (1983) 26–46; R.H. Britnell, 'The occupation of the land: Eastern England', in E. Miller (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. III, 1348–1500*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 53–66; *idem*, 'Farming practice and techniques: Eastern England' in Miller (ed.) *Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. III*, pp. 194–209.
- 61 Britnell, 'The Pastons and their Norfolk', p. 134.
- 62 Britnell, *Britain and Ireland*, p. 402.
- 63 NRO, LEST/BK7; NRO, LEST/IC58; NRO, LEST/OC1.
- 64 C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and their world: Gentry, Law, and Land in Norfolk c.1450–1551*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 146–7; C. Richmond, *John Hopton: a Fifteenth Century Suffolk Gentleman*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 31–99. His daughter Eleanor married Roger Townshend. As at Raynham, information of demesne farming is thwarted by the nature of bailiff accounts, which excluded information on livestock and arable farming. However, the accounts of the bailiff of husbandry and the sheep reeve, show that flexible arrangements were common. In 1490s when Thomasina let the demesne at Cockfield Hall with her dairy, she took a good part of the rent in kind. The two principal tenants paid half their rent in kind; one supplied the household with butter milk, cheese, chickens, geese, oats and malt; carted wood and paid some cash. The other delivered fish, geese, faggotts, ground corn and pastured 3 of Thomasina's cows.
- 65 R.W. Hoyle, 'Agrarian agitation in mid-sixteenth-century Norfolk: A petition of 1553', *Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), p. 237.
- 66 Britnell, *Britain and Ireland*, p. 401.
- 67 The proportion of the crop paid by the tenant is an interesting aspect of the system. In twentieth-century New Zealand a sharemilker could enter into different types of arrangement, starting with a 29 per cent agreement whereby he supplied little more than his labour; 39 per cent when he provided his equipment, a tractor and trailer; 50 per cent when he provided the herd. In a country like New Zealand where wages were high, and the contract invariably included family labour, the 29 per cent agreements were rare; most entered at 39 per cent, quickly moving up to 50 per cent where the substantial returns were made.
- 68 R.A. Dodgshon, *Land and Society in Early Scotland*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 245–53.

- 69 Steelbow is compared to German tenure where stock was leased with the land, with rent often being paid in kind, like the *métayers* of France.
- 70 As with corn rents in medieval Norfolk, steelbow was often associated with the collection of tithes. See above, pp. 19, 37.
- 71 Dodgshon, *Land and Society in Early Scotland*, p. 245.
- 72 *Ibid.* p. 251.
- 73 A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, (1776), Book 3, Part 2.
- 74 T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830*, (Collins, 1969), p. 131; J.E. Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century*, (Faber, 1953), pp. 33–74, refers to the Highland system of steelbow as *leth-cas* or ‘half-foot’.
- 75 R.A. Dodgshon, ‘Coping with Risk: Subsistence Crises in the Scottish Highlands and Islands, 1600–1800’, *Rural History*, 15 (2004) 1–25.
- 76 With no constraints on subdivision, subletting through middlemen became endemic in Ireland in the 1600s and was not resolved until after the Famine. K. O’Neill, *Family and Farm in Pre-Famine Ireland: The Parish of Killashandra*, (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 33–5; E.D. Steele, *Irish Land and British Politics: Tenant Right and Nationality, 1865–1870*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 7–8.
- 77 Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, pp. 111–18.
- 78 From a discussion with the French historian, Francis Brumont. See above, p. 2.

## Chapter 4

- 1 R. Suggett, *Houses and History on the March: Radnorshire 1400–1800*, (Ceredigion: RCAHMW, 2005), pp. 181–210.
- 2 See above, Table 2.1, p. 14.
- 3 P. Edwards, *Farming: Sources for Local Historians*, (Batsford, 1991), pp. 32–47.
- 4 E. Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After*, (George Allen and Unwin, 1969), pp. 48–52.
- 5 C.J. Harrison, ‘Elizabethan Village Surveys: a comment’, *Agricultural History Review*, 27 (1979) 82–9.
- 6 Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems*, p. 52.
- 7 G.E. Fussell (ed.) *Robert Loder’s Farm Accounts 1610–1620*, Camden Society, 3rd series, Vol. 53 (1936), pp. xxiv, 1, 19, 34.
- 8 *Ibid.* pp. 72, 90, 122.
- 9 E. Kerridge, *The Agricultural Revolution*, (George Allen and Unwin, 1967), p. 194.
- 10 J.H. Bettey, ‘The Floated Water-Meadows of Wessex: a Triumph of English Agriculture’, in H. Cook and T. Williamson (eds) *Water Meadows: History, Ecology and Conservation*, (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2007), p. 12.
- 11 Suggett, *Houses and History on the March*, pp. 181–210. He refers to share-farming as sharecropping, even though it only applied to livestock.
- 12 F.V. Emery, ‘The Farming Regions of Wales’, in J. Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV, 1500–1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 137–9, describes lean cattle from Herefordshire,



- Shropshire and Staffordshire and the Midlands grazing the summer pastures of the central uplands. Emery provides a single example of the tenant of Wynns, Gwdir in the 1570s being given 8 cows and paying as part of his rent 'half the cheese or twenty shillings'.
- 13 Suggett traced more than 40 agreements which offered precise combinations of sheep and cattle, and occasional references to 'sharecropping' with horses in west Radnorshire.
  - 14 Suggett, *Houses and History on the March*, p. 183.
  - 15 *Ibid.* pp. 183–7.
  - 16 See below, pp. 156–7.
  - 17 Lichfield Joint Record Office (hereafter LJRO), B/C/11 7 March 1638/9, John Beresford the Younger of Wellington; B/C/11, 30 April 1635, John Beresford of Wellington; B/C/11, 30 July 1606, Wm. Povas of Whitchurch; B/C/11, 2 October 1677, Tho. Parbott of Ellcom; B/C/11, 17 August 1608, Humphrey Brott of Child's Ercall; B/C/11, 6 October 1632, John Morgan of Great Bolas; B/C/11, 10 July 1639, Edward Capper of Baschurch.
  - 18 LJRO, B/C/11, 17 June 1606, John Charlton, Ercall Magna; B/C/11, 3 October 1634, Rob. Eccles, Drayton in the Hales; L.J.R.O., B/C/11, 18 June 1600, Wm. Chidlowe of Burleton Loppington. We are grateful to Peter Edwards for these examples from his transcripts of Shropshire inventories.
  - 19 M. Overton, 'Agricultural change in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1580–1740', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1981); the inventories are from the Norwich Consistory Court and were transcribed in the 1970s. They are used to best effect in B.M.S. Campbell and M. Overton, 'A new perspective on medieval and early modern agriculture: six centuries of Norfolk farming, c.1250–c.1850', *Past & Present*, 141 (1993) 38–105.
  - 20 Norfolk Record Office, MFX/INV/3/001; INV/39/311; INV/34/26.
  - 21 The Cornwall and Kent inventories were collected as part of a project funded by the Leverhulme Trust and are described in M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean and A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750*, (Routledge, 2004), pp. 28–31.
  - 22 Cornwall Record Office (Hereafter CRO) Inventory C414.
  - 23 CRO Inventory D515.
  - 24 CRO Inventory T283.
  - 25 Other farming categories included: horses, mares and colts mentioned in 14 inventories, hay in 5, wool in 3, goats in 3 and bees in 2.
  - 26 G.B. Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, (1811). See below, pp. 124–5.
  - 27 P. Edwards, 'Agriculture 1540–1750' in G.C. Baugh (ed.) *The Victoria History of the County of Shropshire, Vol. 4, Agriculture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1989), p. 151; BL Add. MS 33509. fol. 74; A. Speed, *Adam out of Eden*, (1659). See also, C.F. Foster, *Seven Households: Life in Cheshire and Lancashire, 1582–1774*, (Northwich: Arley Hall Press, 2002), pp. 91–5.
  - 28 Centre for Kentish Studies (hereafter CKS) 11.61.2 and 11.23.2.
  - 29 CKS 11.11.129. See also CKS 11.28.124 and 10.51.193.
  - 30 Berkshire Record Office, D/A1/46/112 and BRO D/A1/92/133.
  - 31 Since sharefarming was not systematically recorded in Norfolk we cannot express its incidence as a proportion of total inventories. For Cornwall the

- seventeenth-century sample consists of 2041 inventories in which farming of some sort, however small-scale, was taking place and for Kent 2127.
- 32 National Archives E 134, 4 Wm & Mary, Mich 43, Luke Leake v. Samuel Warner 1692, depositions of John Smyth, Great Cornard, husbandman, & Daniel Cook of Sudbury, Gt., 'Daniel Cook, gt deposed that in 1688–90, Sam Warner held 14 acres of arable', sharing the lands with Stephen Carter 'according to the usuall way or manner of halving ... Warner to find the land, barn and pay taxes & Carter to plough, sow and cut the corn. Sam Warner deposed that Carter had told him he received half the crop'.
  - 33 C.W. Chalklin, *Seventeenth-century Kent*, (Longmans, 1965), p. 63.
  - 34 J.A. Venn, *Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), pp. 43–8. No date is given for the agreement, but it is c.1650.
  - 35 *Ibid.* pp. 47–8.
  - 36 W.O. Massingberd, *History of the Parish of Ormsby-cum-Ketsby*, (Lincoln, 1893), pp. 303–4; B.A. Holderness, 'The Agricultural Activities of the Massingberds of South Ormsby, Lincolnshire 1638–c.1750', *Midland History*, 1 (1972) 15–25.
  - 37 Lincolnshire Record Office (hereafter LRO) MM/VI/1/5.
  - 38 B.A. Holderness, 'Credit in English Rural Society before the Nineteenth Century with special reference to the period 1650–1720', *Agricultural History Review*, 24 (1976) 97–109.
  - 39 *Ibid.* p. 103.
  - 40 In the 19th century, the Lincolnshire Custom was used as the basis of the new law of Tenant Right, 1875 and 1883, which recognised the inputs made by the departing tenants, the idea being to prevent the deterioration of farms towards the end of their tenure. J.A. Perkins, 'Tenure, Tenant Right and Agricultural Progress in Lindsey, 1780–1850', *Agricultural History Review*, 23 (1975) 1–22.
  - 41 Foster, *Seven Households*, pp. 91–5.
  - 42 *Ibid.* p. 92.
  - 43 Verney MSS BL M636/1; J. Broad, *Transforming English Rural Society: the Verneys and the Claydons, 1600–1820*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 65.
  - 44 D. Woodward (ed.) *The Farming and Memoranda Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642*, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 8 (1984), p. 179.
  - 45 LRO, DDpt/19 (agisters accounts 1612–30).
  - 46 M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 140.
  - 47 Fussell, *Robert Loder*, p. 1.
  - 48 K. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*, (Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 159–71; G. Clark, 'The Price History of English Agriculture, 1209–1914', *Research in Economic History*, 22 (2004) 41–124.
  - 49 S. Hartlib, *His Legacie or An Enlargement of the Discourse of Husbandry used in Brabant and Flanders*, (1652), p. 10.
  - 50 P. Hoffman, *Growth in a Traditional Society: the French Countryside 1450–1815*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 65–9; *idem*,

'The Economic Theory of Sharecropping in Early Modern France', *Journal of Economic History*, 44 (1984) 309–19.

- 51 O. de Serres, *Le Théâtre d'Agriculture*, (Paris: 1600), pp. 45–50.  
 52 R. Santos, 'Risk-sharing and social differentiation of demand in land tenancy markets in southern Portugal, seventeenth-nineteenth centuries', *Continuity and Change*, 21 (2006) 287–312.

## Chapter 5

- 1 E.M. Griffiths, 'Sir Henry Hobart: a new hero of Norfolk agriculture?', *Agricultural History Review*, 46 (1998) 15–34; *idem*, 'Responses to adversity: the changing strategies of two Norfolk landowning families' in R.W. Hoyle (ed.) *People, Landscape and Alternative Agriculture: Essays for Joan Thirsk*, *Agricultural History Review Supplement* 3 (2004), pp. 74–92; *idem*, *William Windham's Green Book 1673–1688*, Norfolk Record Society, Vol. LXVI (2002). Background and context to Norfolk farming in the early modern period can be found in J. Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440–1580*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); J. Thirsk 'The farming regions of England', in *idem* (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV, 1500–1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 40–8; B.A. Holderness, 'East Anglia and the Fens: Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Ely, Huntingdonshire, Essex and the Lincolnshire Fens', in J. Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. V, 1640–1750. I. Regional farming systems*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 197–238; A. Simpson, *The Wealth of the Gentry 1540–1660: East Anglian Studies*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); B.M.S. Campbell and M. Overton, 'A new perspective on medieval and early modern agriculture: six centuries of Norfolk farming, c.1250–c.1850', *Past & Present*, 141 (1993) 38–105; M. Overton and B.M.S. Campbell, 'Norfolk livestock farming 1250–1740: a comparative study of manorial accounts and probate inventories', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 18 (1992) 377–96.
- 2 Griffiths, 'Sir Henry Hobart', pp. 15–34; see below, pp. 000–000 where the evidence of farming to halves at Langley appears in 1718, and Robert Britiffe's references to undertenants.
- 3 Norfolk Record Office (hereafter NRO), LEST/P10.
- 4 NRO, LEST/Q38. By 1616, Sir Hamon estimated 'the revenues of my lands' at £1,247. In 1609 he purchased a manor at Heacham, but still paid annuities of £300 a year. In 1620 Alice inherited her father's estate at Sedgford adding a further £473 to their income. This compares to £2,500 enjoyed by his first cousin, Sir John Hobart of Blickling in 1625.
- 5 Farmalls list the tenants paying farm rents, as opposed to rentals which list copyhold and freehold rents. They were drawn up at both Raynham and Hunstanton, although the word 'farmall' does not appear in the Oxford English Dictionary.
- 6 Maps: Hunstanton, NRO, LEST/A01; Ringstead NRO, LEST/OB5, 6; Sedgford, NRO, LEST/OC1; Heacham, NRO, LEST/OC2.
- 7 NRO, LEST/R8.

- 8 See above, Table 2.1, p. 14. A foldcourse was the exclusive right to erect a sheep fold on the fallow and sometimes also over areas of permanent pasture. Ownership of foldcourses was a monopoly of manorial lords, and tenants had very limited rights to graze their animals on the fallow. See, K.J. Allison, 'The sheep-corn husbandry of Norfolk in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Agricultural History Review*, 5 (1957) 12–30 and A. Simpson, 'The East Anglian foldcourse: some queries', *Agricultural History Review*, 6 (1958) 87–96.
- 9 NRO, LEST/Q38; NRO, LEST/P6.
- 10 NRO, LEST/BK7, LEST/1C58; LEST/89, LEST/IB90.
- 11 NRO, LEST/BK3.
- 12 NRO, LEST/P6.
- 13 See above, pp. 45–6.
- 14 NRO, LEST/KA6: small book of expenses on the marshes, 1633–1640; NRO, LEST/KA9: ploughing and sowing accounts, 1643–1645; NRO, LEST KA10: notes by Sir Hamon and Sir Nicholas; NRO, LEST KA24: Book of Surveys, 1640–1643.
- 15 NRO, LEST/KA6.
- 16 C. Oestmann, *Lordship and Community: The Lestrange Family and the Village of Hunstanton in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), p. 111, makes no mention of farming to halves, but emphasizes the sharing and lending of carts, ploughs and equipment.
- 17 NRO, LEST/P7. Expenditure on improvements continued throughout the Civil Wars even though the Le Stranges were involved in the defence of King's Lynn and lost their sheep at the hands of the Parliamentary forces in 1643. R.W. Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War*, (Faber & Faber, 1969), pp. 206–18.
- 18 NRO, LEST, KA9. See the Frontispiece.
- 19 NRO, LEST, KA24.
- 20 Sir Nicholas Le Strange's four missing notebooks: NRO, LEST, KA4, KA5, KA7, KA8.
- 21 NRO, LEST, P7.
- 22 L. Campbell, *Sir Roger Townshend and his Family: A Study of Gentry Life in Early Seventeenth Century Norfolk*, (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1990).
- 23 Townshend MSS (hereafter TM), RAS/F2/9.
- 24 TM, RAS/F2/5 RAS/F2/12 Langham and Morston 1632, worth £200; Stiffkey 1646, worth £600.
- 25 TM, RAS/F2/10 Stibbard and Ryburgh 1623. C.E. Moreton, *The Townshends and their World: Gentry, Law and Land in Norfolk c.1450–1551*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 146–7.
- 26 The estate at c. £2000 a year was comparable to that of Sir John Hobart of Blickling.
- 27 TM, RAS/F2/6; F2/9.
- 28 TM, RAS/F2/5, in 1615, Lady Jane also purchased lands in South Creake worth £100 a year.
- 29 F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, (11 vols, 1805–10), Vol. 7, pp. 152–8. The *History* was first published 1739–75.

- 30 TM, RAS/F2/6.
- 31 TM, RAS/F2/5.
- 32 TM, RAS/F2/9.
- 33 TM, RAS/2/6.
- 34 TM, RAS/F2/9.
- 35 TM, RAS/F2/9.
- 36 TM, RAS/F2/10.
- 37 TM, RAS/F2/11.
- 38 TM, RAS/F2/11.
- 39 TM, RAS/F2/12; RAS/F3/1.
- 40 TM, RAS/F2/12.
- 41 TM, RAS/F2/12.
- 42 BL Add. MS 41308. Kipton is a few miles from Raynham. Edward Symonds, accountant for the trustees of Sir Roger Townshend, 1636–1643, was succeeded by his brother William on his death in 1644.
- 43 TM, RAS/F2/10.
- 44 TM, RAS/F2/12.
- 45 TM, RAS/F3/4.
- 46 See above, pp. 27–30.
- 47 TM, RAS/F3/1.
- 48 TM, RAS/F3/4.
- 49 TM, RAS/F3/1.
- 50 TM, RAS/F3/4. A note, from the early 1660s, recording the ‘lands held by principal tenants’ showed Peter Stringer, renting lands worth £291 a year, John Robotham £213, Richard King of South Creake £264 and John Raby of Shereford, £100. RAD/C1.
- 51 TM, RAS/F3/4.
- 52 TM, RAD/A5.
- 53 TM, RAD/A5.
- 54 TM, RAD/A4.
- 55 TM, RAD/A4.
- 56 E. Kerridge, *The Farmers of Old England*, (George Allen and Unwin, 1973), pp. 103, 147–8.
- 57 E.M. Griffiths, ‘The management of two East Norfolk Estates in the Seventeenth Century: Blickling and Felbrigg’, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 1987), pp. 235–43. For example, in 1635, for Bush and Hill Close on the edge of Felbrigg Park, Windham directed that the former should be broken up and tilled the first five years of the term, and the latter laid to pasture, while in the last five years the reverse would apply. And when the closes were tilled, oats were to be sown only once. The policy extended to every part of the estate.
- 58 Griffiths, ‘The management of two East Norfolk Estates’, pp. 209–22. Thomas Windham inherited Felbrigg from his father Sir John Wyndham of Orchard, Somerset in 1616. Sir John had acquired the reversion of the estate from the notorious Roger in 1598 and gained possession in 1608.
- 59 John Thompson of Felmingham who leased the Sustead Meadows between 1611–16.
- 60 Sir Robert Bell’s grandfather, another Sir Robert, came to Stow Bardolph in the mid sixteenth century and married the daughter of Edmund Beaupre

of Outwell. His elder daughter Mary married Sir Nicholas Le Strange (Sir Hamon's father) while the younger, Dorothy married Sir Henry Hobart. Sir Robert Bell, Sir Hamon Le Strange and Sir John Hobart were first cousins. All three families were involved in various drainage schemes. Sir John acquired Sir Robert's estate at Stow Bardolph in repayment of debt. The sale was not completed until the 1650s, when the Hobarts sold the estate, but in the meantime Sir John managed the property as best he could.

- 61 R. Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman: The Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450–1850*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- 62 Overton, *Agricultural Revolution*, pp. 133–92.
- 63 Griffiths, *William Windham's Green Book*, pp. 27–34; *idem*, 'Responses to adversity'.
- 64 NRO, WKC 5/152, 400 X.
- 65 Sir Joseph Ashe (1618–1686) of Cambridge Park, Twickenham, was the third son of James Ashe, a London clothier with west country connections. Having built up a considerable fortune as a cloth trader, Joseph acquired estates at Downton, Wiltshire and Wawne, East Yorkshire in the 1650s. He received a baronetcy in 1660, and served as M.P. for Downton from 1662–1681. He continued to live at Twickenham, but invested heavily in agricultural improvement, including the creation of water meadows. See J.H. Bettey, *Wiltshire Farming in the Seventeenth Century*, Wiltshire Record Society, Vol. 57 (2005), pp. 236–75; *idem*, 'The Development of water meadows on the Salisbury Avon, 1665–1690', *Agricultural History Review*, 51 (2003) 163–72; M. Carrick, 'Lords of the Manor of Wawne: the Ashe, Windham and Smith Families 1651–1950', *East Yorkshire Local History Society*, 47 (1992) 15–21; Sir Joseph Ashe may have become acquainted with the Windhams of Felbrigg, through their first cousins, the Windhams of north Wiltshire.
- 66 R.W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg: The Story of a House*, (Ipswich: The Boydell Press, 1962), pp. 44–77.
- 67 T. Browne, *The Garden of Cyrus*, (1658); S. Hartlib, *His Legacie or An Enlargement of the discourse of Husbandry used in Brabant and Flanders*, (1652).
- 68 NRO, WKC, 7/15, 404 X 1.
- 69 NRO, WKC, 5/442, 464 X 4.
- 70 NRO, WKC, 5/151, 400 X 5; NRO, WKC, 5/152, 400 X.
- 71 Griffiths, *William Windham's Green Book*, p. 272.
- 72 NRO, WKC, 7/154, 404 X 8.
- 73 Griffiths, *William Windham's Green Book*, pp. 171–4.
- 74 NRO, WKC, 5/151, 400 X 5; NRO, WKC, 5/154 X 6.
- 75 Griffiths, *William Windham's Green Book*, pp. 23, 150–2, 277.
- 76 *Ibid.* pp. 150–3.
- 77 Edmund was the son of Edmund Britiffe, who had advised Thomas Windham on his grazing agreements in the 1620s. He may well have drawn up the lease for Rush Close. See below, p. 70.
- 78 Griffiths, *William Windham's Green Book*, pp. 283–5.
- 79 NRO, WKC, 5/158, 400 X 6.
- 80 Griffiths, *William Windham's Green Book*, pp. 266–7.

- 81 *Ibid.* pp. 16, 213–4, 249, 263.
- 82 *Ibid.* pp. 206–8, 247, 249–50.
- 83 NRO, WKC, 5/158 X 6; E.M. Griffiths, 'The management of two East Norfolk Estates', pp. 388–97.
- 84 O. de Serres, *Le Théâtre d'Agriculture*, (Paris: 1600), pp. 45–50 reminds us that sharefarming was a useful way of collecting rent.
- 85 The changes in the estate rental were due, firstly to the death of William Windham's mother in 1679, and secondly his own death in 1689, when Katherine took the farms in Suffolk and Essex worth £600 a year.
- 86 Griffiths, *William Windham's Green Book*, pp. 167–9.
- 87 Katherine Windham experienced her worst debacle in 1694, when Jeremiah Prance left Middleton Hall, Essex, with debts of £555. NRO, WKC 5/158, 400 X 6.
- 88 In 1678, Windham had rescinded an abatement of £10 from John Kingsberry of Middleton Hall 'because he had spent too much time in the wheelwright's company'. In 1682, the relationship reached crisis point over Kingsberry's mistreatment of young trees, so he 'resolved to run the hazard of getting a new tenant', with disastrous consequences.
- 89 R.H. Hilton, 'Why was there so little champart rent in Medieval England?', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 17 (1990), p. 517.
- 90 Griffiths, 'Responses to adversity', 85–90. The section on Blickling is drawn largely from this article.
- 91 Henry Gallant was one of John Brewster's men on the ground.
- 92 S. Wade Martins and T. Williamson, 'The Development of the Lease and its Role in Agricultural Improvement in East Anglia, 1660–1870', *Agricultural History Review*, 46 (1998) 129–30.
- 93 NRO, NRS 16338 32C2.
- 94 Griffiths, 'The management of two East Norfolk Estates', pp. 410, 486.
- 95 The properties at Horsham St. Faith's, Hevingham and Saxthorpe were sold on the death of Sir John Hobart 3rd Bt. to repay debts. Sir Henry Hobart's eldest daughter, Henrietta received the rents for Langley, intermittently until 1718, when it was sold to the Berneys.
- 96 The Britiffes acquired these lands from the Bacons and the Pastons.
- 97 NRO, GTN 425.
- 98 J.M. Rosenheim, *The Townshends of Raynham: Nobility in Transition in Restoration and Early Hanoverian England*, (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), pp. 144, 226; *idem*, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society 1650–1750*, (Longman, 1998); J.H. Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole. [1], The Making of a Statesman*, (Cressett Press, 1956), pp. 310, 361; Norfolk Lists, (Norwich: 1837); A. Campling (ed.) *East Anglian Pedigrees*, Norfolk Record Society, Vol. 13 (1943), pp. 240–3.
- 99 Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole*, p. 310.
- 100 Judith Britiffe married Sir John Hobart 5th Bt. in 1717, NRO, NRS, 15832 31F6; Elizabeth Britiffe married Sir William Morden Harbord, 1st Bt in 1732, NRO, Trafford, 234 88 x 1.
- 101 NRO, PET 443 98 X 3. Westwick lies close to Dilham Hall, which was broken up and let to halves in the 1650s, see above, p. 72.
- 102 NRO, NRS, 16301 32B5.

- 103 G.A. Chinnery, *A Handlist of the Cholmondeley (Houghton) Manuscripts: Sir Robert Walpole's Archive*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).
- 104 Leasing cow grasses is still a common practice in Norfolk, stockmen hiring grazing from farmers for a specified number of cattle from May to November. The farmer is responsible for fertilizer, maintaining hedges, gates, watercourses and so on.
- 105 NRO, LEST/KA11; Sir Nicholas Le Strange, 4<sup>th</sup> Bt. 1661–1724.
- 106 Sir Nicholas Le Strange, 1<sup>st</sup> Bt. 1604–1655.
- 107 C. Oestmann, *Lordship and Community, The Lestrangle Family and the Village of Hunstanton, Norfolk in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994).
- 108 Rosenheim, *Townshends of Raynham*, pp. 64–194.
- 109 TM, RAS/A1/6.
- 110 The reorganization of land in the park at Raynham was associated with the completion of the New Hall started by Roger Townshend in the 1620s and completed by his son in the 1660s.
- 111 Letters from 1665/6 include references to the division of farms at East Raynham – ‘an agreement made by the farmers of such lands as they intend to have of the new inclosures’; it shows five tenants sharing 505 acres divided into 39 closes: BL Add. Mss 41655.
- 112 Felton's correspondence 1679–1682, TM, RAS/A1/3; BL Add. Mss 41655.
- 113 Evidently, sales of dairy produce were slow. A letter to Lady Townshend in 1681 records that ‘people eat little butter and cheese’. Townshend clearly respected his female dairy farmers, in 1683, he loaned Martha Clark of South Raynham £214 on the security of her 8 cows, 7 bullocks, 5 horses, 3 mares 2 colts and 12 swine; he also allowed Widow Cooke to continue in her substantial holding following her husband's death in 1682.
- 114 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 115 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 116 TM, RAS/G1/9.
- 117 The Raynham Household Acct. 1687, records wages of £5 paid to the cowman and £2.15.0 to Jane Gyles, the dairy maid. They sold butter and cheese worth £7.7.4, and sent pots of butter to London for Lord T. In 1688 her husband E. Giles leased ‘ye dayrey of cows at Raynham Hall’ for £50 – rent payable at Xmas – ‘but the summer being drye abated by order of the executors: TM, RAS/A2/1-2.
- 118 TM, RAS/A1/5; RAS/A1/7; BL Add. Mss 41655. William Windham also forbade subletting at Felbrigg.
- 119 TM, RAS/A1/6.
- 120 Cow grasses continue to appear until 1712.
- 121 BL Add. MSS. 41656/158.
- 122 TM, RAS/A1/5. The bill of sale, often a feature of these agreements, was the security for the stock, in effect a mortgage.
- 123 TM, RAS/A1/6; RAS/A2/1-8.
- 124 TM, RAS/A2/1-8.
- 125 In 1659, Felton described how Stringer, who leased part of the park and foldcourse, had a plan to dam the river to create a water supply for the mill which he was to set up: BL Add. MSS. 41655/121.



- 126 Rosenheim, *Townshends of Raynham*, p. 13; A.H. Smith, G.M. Baker and R.W. Kenny (eds) *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. 1, 1556–1577*, Norfolk Record Society, Vol. 46 (1979); *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. 2, 1578–1585*, Norfolk Record Society, Vol. 49 (1983).
- 127 TM, RAS/A1/5.
- 128 TM, RAS/A1/5.
- 129 TM, BL Add. Mss 41655/160.
- 130 TM, RAS/A1/5.
- 131 A pightle is a small enclosure often attached to a tenement and leased to a cottager or smallholder.
- 132 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 133 BL Add. MSS. 41655/166; Teasdale also leased the Morston Foldcourse.
- 134 ‘I turned Smith away for a knave’, HT’s Memo and Account Book, TM, RAS/G1/9.
- 135 1684 Farmall, TM, RAS/A1/6.
- 136 TM, RAS/A1/6.
- 137 T. Ward’s correspondence, TM, RAS/A1/6, and subsequent accounts RAS/A2/1-8.
- 138 T. Ward’s correspondence 1686–87, TM, RAS/A1/6.
- 139 H. Parson’s lease 1686, TM, RAS/A1/7.
- 140 TM, RAS/A1/7; RAS/A2/1-8; RAS/A3/1-8.
- 141 Ward in 1706 complained, ‘at Stiffkey I did not get a penny, I fear my business wil not be better at Langham ... Money is scarce than even I remember it ... I cannot promise any money until I have it, I never met with such trouble and disupoyntment’: TM, RAS/A1/6; RAS/A1/3.
- 142 Hassell Smith provided evidence of disputes at Stiffkey and Langham from the Bacon papers, which indicate the operation of joint ventures and partnerships in 1604: NRO HBL VIb (5); IVb (4); NRO RAY 257.
- 143 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 144 Rosenheim, *The Townshends of Raynham*, pp. 80–1; Lord Townshend sold Stanhoe to the Cokes in 1681, when he purchased the Toftrees estate, north east of Raynham, from William Ruding.
- 145 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 146 Allison, ‘Sheep Corn Husbandry’; H.C. Darby and J. Saltmarsh, ‘The Infield-Outfield System on a Norfolk Manor’, *Economic History Review*, 3 (1935) 30–44.
- 147 Accounts for the 1660s, TM, RAD/C3-4; 1670s, RAD/B2-3.
- 148 Felton’s leases: TM, RAS/A1/5.
- 149 1670s accounts: TM, RAD/B2-3.
- 150 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 151 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 152 Peter Stringer’s son. TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 153 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 154 TM, RAS/A1/3.
- 155 TM, RAS/A1/5.
- 156 D. Stone, ‘Productivity and Sheepfarming in late Medieval England’, *Agricultural History Review*, 51 (2003) 1–22.
- 157 TM, RAD/C1: The Rudhams accounted for £379 12s 10d, Stiffkey Hall £389, Elmer’s farm at south Raynham £60 and the Morston foldcourse £70.

- 158 Rate for wintering cows 6/8 each, same as summer grazing; grazing on turnips, 16/- each; olands 2/- per acre.
- 159 The other trustees were Sir Jacob Astley, William Thursby and James Calthorpe, Esq of Cockthorpe.
- 160 TM, RAS/A2/1-8.
- 161 TM, RAS/A1/6; RAD/C2; RAS/A2/1-8.
- 162 TM, RAS/A1/6.
- 163 Rosenheim, *Townshends of Raynham*, pp. 79–81.
- 164 Ward's correspondence TM, RAS/A1/6; RAS/A1/5.
- 165 All holdings were re-let by Charles Townshend between 1697–99.
- 166 Extracts from letting to halves agreements and accounts for the Rudhams in 1693: Appendix 2.
- 167 TM, RAS/A1/7; RAS/A1/8.
- 168 See above, pp. 72, 84.

## Chapter 6

- 1 A. Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, (1776) Book 3, Part 2, pp. 470–80; A. Young, *Travels Through France During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, ed. C. Maxwell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 16, 287.
- 2 Smith and Young were both strongly influenced by the French physiocrats, notably A.R.G. Turgot, *Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Wealth*, first published in 1766, ten years before Smith's, *Wealth of Nations*, and Young by his experience in France on the eve of the Revolution.
- 3 J.S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, (1st edn 1848). References are to the Longman edn 1909, ed. W.J. Ashley, pp. 242–48, 256–82, 203–17.
- 4 G.E. Mingay, 'The Agricultural Depression, 1730–1750', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 8 (1956) 323–38; J.V. Beckett, 'Regional Variation and the Agricultural Depression, 1730–1750', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 35 (1982) 35–51; R.A. Dodgshon, 'Coping with Risk: Subsistence Crises in the Scottish Highlands and Islands, 1600–1800', *Rural History*, 1 (2004) 1–25.
- 5 M. Turner, 'The land tax, land, and property: old debates and new horizons', in M. Turner and D. Mills (eds) *Land Tax and property: The English Land Tax, 1692–1832*, (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1986), pp. 1–35.
- 6 P. Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640–1790*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); J.M. Rosenheim, *The Townshends of Raynham: Nobility in Transition in Restoration and Early Hanoverian England*, (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989); *idem*, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society 1650–1750*, (Longman, 1998).
- 7 J.M. Rosenheim, 'County governance and elite withdrawal in Norfolk, 1660–1720' in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J.M. Rosenheim (eds) *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 106–15.
- 8 M. Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500–1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 168–78.

- 9 A. Offer, 'Farm tenure and land values in England, c.1750–1950', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 44 (1991), p. 2.
- 10 D. Stead, 'Risk and risk management in English Agriculture, 1750–1850', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 57 (2004), pp. 334–5.
- 11 R.C. Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman: The Agricultural Development of the South Midlands, 1450–1850*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- 12 Norfolk Record Office (hereafter NRO), NRS 16338 32C2; E.M. Griffiths, 'The management of two East Norfolk Estates in the Seventeenth Century: Blickling and Felbrigg', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 1987), pp. 410, 486.
- 13 NRO, NRS 16301 32B5; NRO, Trafford, 234 88 X 1. See above, p. 86.
- 14 Townshend MSS (hereafter TM) RAS/B3/9.
- 15 BL Add. MSS. 41656/182-183.
- 16 TM, RAS/B3/4; RAS/A1/7; RAS/A1/8.
- 17 Unlike his cousin, Ashe Windham, Charles Townshend retained a personal interest in the day-to-day management of his estate, so we have the benefit of much correspondence. He wrote regularly to Ward on plans to improve the park and farms in the Raynham area, planting schemes for the orchard, the disposal of surplus dairy produce and how to deal with difficult tenants – he also revealed his famous enthusiasm for turnips, designating areas to be sown, so much so, that Ward warned of their limitations. He pointed out their unsuitability in certain situations, for example, in the winter when they became frosted and 'so hard the cattel cannot eat them'; in these conditions an ample supply of hay was preferable. TM RAS/B3/4; BL Add. MSS 41655.184.
- 18 NRO, LEST, KA11. Account of Sir Christopher Calthorpe, trustee for Sir Nicholas Le Strange, 1669–1682. No further evidence of farming to halves was found at Hunstanton, but much material has been lost.
- 19 TM, RAS/A1/6, RAS/A1/7.
- 20 TM, RAD/C4.
- 21 TM, RAS/A3/1-8; RAD/C3-4.
- 22 R. Santos, 'Risk-sharing and social differentiation of demand in land-tenancy markets in southern Portugal, seventeenth-nineteenth centuries', *Continuity and Change*, 21 (2006) 287–312.
- 23 Santos, 'Risk-sharing', p. 294.
- 24 G.E. Mingay, 'The Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 14 (1962) 469–88, estimated the figure at four times the rent. A. Young, *A Farmer's Guide to Hiring and Stocking Farms*, (1770) estimated £300 for a Cheshire Dairy Farm with a herd of 20 cows.
- 25 R. Mitchison, 'The Old Board of Agriculture, 1793–1822', *English Historical Review*, 74 (1959) 41–69.
- 26 J. Claridge, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Dorset*, (1793), pp. 14–15.
- 27 W. Stevenson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dorset*, (1815), pp. 381–90.
- 28 Claridge, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Dorset*, estimated that in 'the poorest parts [rents] were as low as fifty shillings or three pounds a head, and in others as high as six pounds ten shillings, or seven pounds',

- p. 15; in one parish rates reached eight pounds. By 1815 the rent per cow had doubled to an average of £12 a cow.
- 29 *Ibid.* 'The dairies were managed by making all the cream into butter, and from the skimmed milk an inferior kind of cheese, which sells from 25s to 30s per hundredweight ... the butter, worth eight or ten pence per pound, is in general salted down in tubs and supplies Portsmouth and the London markets ... there is also a considerable quantity of better cheese, which brings a price as high as 37s or 2 guineas per hundredweight'.
  - 30 J.F. James and J.H. Bettey (eds) *Farming in Dorset: Diary of James Warne, 1758; Letters of George Boswell, 1787–1805*, Dorset Record Society, Vol. 13 (1993), pp. 12, 29; G.E. Mingay, 'The Diary of James Warne, 1758', *Agricultural History Review*, 38 (1990) 72–8.
  - 31 P. Horn, 'The Dorset dairy system', *Agricultural History Review*, 26 (1978) 100–7.
  - 32 *Ibid.* p. 101.
  - 33 C.A. Horn, 'Two Centuries of Incentive Payments in Agriculture', *The Accountants' Review*, 26 (1975), p. 223.
  - 34 Horn, 'The Dorset Dairy System', p. 106.
  - 35 B. Kerr, *Bound to the Soil*, (John Baker, 1968), pp. 57–8.
  - 36 Moving farms is very much the pattern in New Zealand, where sharemilkers progress from farm to farm, building up their herd size. Eventually, they will sell part of the herd to raise the capital to buy a small farm; then the cycle starts again, progressing to larger farms. In recent years, this cycle has been broken by the rising price of agricultural land; many opt to remain sharemilkers investing surplus capital in very large herds or urban property, which yield better returns.
  - 37 W. Marshall, *The Rural Economy of the West of England*, Vol. 2, (1796), pp. 150–1.
  - 38 G.V. Harrison, 'The South West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall', in J. Thirsk (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England Wales, Vol. V, 1640–1750. I. Regional Farming Systems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 378 pointed out that Horn was wrong in assuming that the practice was confined to Dorset.
  - 39 J. Broad, 'Regional Perspectives and variations in English dairying, 1650–1850', in R.W. Hoyle (ed.) *People, Landscape and Alternative Agriculture: Essays for Joan Thirsk*, *Agricultural History Review*, Supplement 3 (2004), p. 103, refers to the disappearance of dairying in East Anglia, most particularly, Suffolk Cheese by 1800.
  - 40 A.R. Wilson, *Forgotten Harvest: The Story of Cheesemaking in Wiltshire*, (Calne: the author, 1995), refers to the practice as sharemilking, which reflects her experience in the United States dairy industry and her familiarity with such systems.
  - 41 T. Davies, *General View of the Agriculture of Wiltshire*, (1811), pp. 135–6.
  - 42 G.B. Worgan, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall*, (1811), p. 141.
  - 43 J. Carmona, 'Sharecropping and livestock specialization in France, 1830–1930', *Continuity and Change*, 21 (2006) 235–59.
  - 44 Santos, 'Risk-sharing', pp. 287–312.
  - 45 S. Ogilvie, "'Whatever is, is right?'" Economic institutions in pre-industrial Europe', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 60 (2007) 649–84.

- 46 Stead, 'Risk and risk management', p. 334; Offer, 'Farm tenure and land values', p. 2.
- 47 Mingay, 'Agricultural Depression', pp. 323–38.
- 48 Stead, 'Risk and risk management', pp. 334–61.
- 49 Santos, 'Risk-sharing', pp. 287–312.

## Chapter 7

- 1 The most well-known publication in this vein is W. Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, (1830).
- 2 There is an extensive literature on the fate of the rural labourer in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: see M. Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy 1500–1850*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 182–91. More recent contributions include, L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Labourers, Cows, Common Rights and Parliamentary Enclosure: The Evidence of Contemporary Comment c. 1760–1810', *Past & Present*, 171 (2001) 95–126; and *idem*, 'Parliamentary Enclosure and the Emergence of an English Agricultural Proletariat', *Journal of Economic History*, 61 (2001) 640–62.
- 3 J.S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, (1st edn 1848). References are to the Longman edn 1909, ed. W.J. Ashley, p. 316.
- 4 D. Stead, 'Risk and risk management in English Agriculture, 1750–1850', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 57 (2004) 334–61.
- 5 M. Reed, 'The peasantry of nineteenth century England: a neglected class?', *History Workshop Journal*, 18 (1984) 53–76.
- 6 A. Howkins, 'Social, cultural and domestic life', in E.J.T. Collins (ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. VII, 1850–1914, part II*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 1508.
- 7 M. Overton, 'Agriculture', in J. Langton and R.J. Morris (eds) *Atlas of Industrializing Britain*, (Methuen, 1986), p. 46; 'Agricultural Returns for Great Britain for 1895, BPP 1896, XCII, c.8073; G. Shaw-Lefevre, *Agrarian Tenures: A Survey of the Laws and Customs Relating to the Holding of Land in England, Ireland and Scotland*, (Cassell, 1893). In his Return of Landowners, 1870, out of a total of 33m acres in the hands of lay landowners 2,250 landowners owned 50 per cent of the total with estates over 2,000 acres, averaging 7,300 acres each; 1,750 landowners owned 2.5m. acres with estates between 1,000 and 2,000 acres; 34,000 landowners owned c.9m acres with estates between 100 and 1,000 acres; 217,000 landowners owned c.4m acres with estates between 1 and 100 acres.
- 8 Reed, 'Peasantry of nineteenth century England', p. 54, citing, L. de Lavergne, *The Rural Economy of England, Scotland and Ireland*, (Paris: Guillaumin, 1858), p. 108.
- 9 A. Young, *General Report on Enclosures*, (1808), pp. 32–4.
- 10 A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk*, (1804), p. 107.
- 11 *Ibid.* pp. 138–9.
- 12 *Ibid.* p. 134.
- 13 *Ibid.* p. 125.

- 14 A.J. Peacock, *Bread or Blood: A Study of the Agrarian Riots in East Anglia in 1816*, (Gollancz, 1965).
- 15 E.J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, *Captain Swing*, (Lawrence & Wishart, 1969).
- 16 J. Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793–1873*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002).
- 17 Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, pp. 368–9.
- 18 See above, pp. 121–5.
- 19 S. Taylor, *Profit-sharing between Capital and Labour*, (Kegan Paul, 1884).
- 20 *Ibid.* pp. 102–8; M. Chase, *'The People's Farm': English Radical Agrarianism, 1775–1840*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 153–4. Craig formerly editor of the *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, ensured that the experiment received maximum publicity in the co-operative press. See also R.G. Garnett, *Co-operation and the Owenite Socialist Communities in Britain, 1825–45*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), pp. 41–64 for a full description of the Ralahine experiment; C. Ó Gráda, 'The Owenite Community at Ralahine, County Clare, 1831–1833: A Reassessment', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 1 (1974) 36–48.
- 21 Taylor, *Profit-sharing*, p. 103.
- 22 J. MacAskill, 'The Chartist Land Plan' in A. Briggs (ed.) *Chartist Studies*, (Macmillan, 1959), pp. 304–41 and A.M. Hadfield, *The Chartist Land Company*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970) remain the only extended discussions. M. Chase, "'We only wish to work for ourselves": the Chartist Land Plan', in M. Chase and I. Dyck (eds) *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison*, (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), pp. 133–48 brings these discussions up to date.
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- 46 Royal Commission on Labour Reports by C.M. Chapman, Berkshire, BPP, 1893–4, XXXV, c.6894-II, pp. 61–73.
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- 48 Albert Grey, 4th Earl Grey, (1851–1917), Liberal M.P. for S. Northumberland, 1880–85 and Tyneside 1885–89; Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland 1889–1904; Governor-General of Canada 1904–11. He is described as a reformer and idealistic imperialist. In the commons he was leader of the Grey Committee, which advocated proportional representation, consumer and industrial co-operatives, industrial profit-sharing, church reform, temperance and the garden city movement: i.e. ‘the reconstruction of national life’. He succeeded to the title in 1894, after having managed his uncle’s estate, of about 17,600 acres, since 1884. Related by marriage to Lady Wantage and G.J. Shaw-Lefevre; C. Miller, ‘Grey, Albert Henry George, fourth Earl Grey (1851–1917)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33568>, accessed 9 Aug 2008].
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- 51 Grey, ‘Profit sharing in agriculture’, p. 772, n. 1.
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- 53 *Ibid.* p. 781.
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## Chapter 8

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## Chapter 9

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  - 17 *Ibid.*
  - 18 Type A in our taxonomy shown in Table 2.1, above, p. 14.
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  - 20 The areas are for England and Wales, extrapolated from the sample.
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  - 22 There is a statistical association between increasing land in the past five years because of farm profitability and having a sharefarming agreement.
  - 23 See above, pp. 12, 15–16, 153–4.
  - 24 See above, pp. 49–51.

## Chapter 10

- 1 See Table 2.1, above, p. 14.
- 2 *The Archers*, broadcast on BBC Radio 4, 20 March 2008.
- 3 J. Carmona and J. Simpson, 'Why sharecropping?: explaining its presence and absence in Europe's vineyards, 1750–1950' *Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Working Papers in Economic History*, 11 (2007), argues that sharecropping in France was much less common than traditionally assumed.
- 4 See above, pp. 126–8.

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