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LARGE AND SMALL
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LARGE AND SMALL HOLDINGS

A STUDY OF ENGLISH AGRICULTURAL
ECONOMICS

BY

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TRANSLATED BY RUTH KENYON
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS BY THE AUTHOR

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1911

TO THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND
ARTHUR WILSON-FOX, C.B.
BY WHOSE EARLY DEATH
ENGLISH AGRICULTURE HAS LOST ONE
WHO HAD ITS PROSPERITY AT HEART

PREFACE

THE German edition of this book appeared in 1904¹. When the Cambridge University Press decided to publish the present translation I realised that it would be necessary to add a considerable amount of supplementary matter. In the historical part of the book it was desirable to notice the publications of the six intervening years on the question of the decay of the yeomanry, although they have not altered my views as to the causes of the disappearance of that class. But above all it was necessary to take the Small Holdings Act of 1908 into consideration. I therefore went to England in the summer of 1910 in order to study its working on the spot, so far as it has gone at present. The statistics have been brought up to 1909 so far as was possible. The appendix on "The Modern Small Holder" did not appear in the German edition. It is an attempt briefly to outline some new impressions received as to the psychological aspects of the small holdings question. My personal study of the question was of course mainly made in the course of 1903, when I spent six months touring rural England with this end in view. It is a pleasant duty to offer my warm thanks here to all those who so kindly helped me with information. It is not possible to name them all, for if they were numerous in 1903, they were still more numerous in 1910. But it was a pleasure to find when I came back to England in 1910 that no one had forgotten me, and I am proud to have had personal experience of the English loyalty so well known in Germany. It was sad to miss my old and valued friend Arthur Wilson-Fox, C.B., so early and

¹ It was published under the title *Entstehung und Rückgang des landwirtschaftlichen Grossbetriebs in England*, by Julius Springer, Berlin. I owe my thanks to Messrs Springer for giving their consent to the translation.

suddenly carried off by death from his work for rural England. I would offer my special thanks for the trouble they have taken on behalf of myself and my work to Mr Henry Rew, Major P. G. Craigie and Mr L. J. Cheney of the Board of Agriculture ; to Mr R. A. Yerrburgh, M.P., Mr H. W. Wolff and Mr J. Nugent Harris of the Agricultural Organisation Society ; to the Earl of Ancaster, Mr G. E. Lloyd-Baker, Lord Brassey and Mr H. C. Fairfax-Cholmeley among landowners ; and among gentlemen who have helped me in the most friendly way by information of various kinds, to Mr E. O. Fordham, Mr Montagu Fordham, Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., Mr Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., Mr G. P. Gooch, and Sir F. A. Channing.

The title may seem to be somewhat too comprehensive, and to go beyond what is actually the chief point contained in the material utilised in the book. But I would plead in its justification that there are unfortunately no English works treating of the history and organisation of agriculture as they are treated in the German systems of *Agrar-Politik* : and that though the proper subject of the present volume is the economics of large and small holdings, I have so often had occasion to go outside its strict limits that it seemed desirable to indicate the fact in the title. My intention, however, was to work out this special problem of agricultural economy on the broadest possible lines. For the history of the developments in regard of the unit of agricultural holding in England during the last hundred and fifty years can only be understood when looked at upon the background of the whole contemporary agricultural situation ; and a clear statement of the question as it stands at the present day can only be made when every important fact of rural life in modern England has been taken into consideration.

HERMANN LEVY

HEIDELBERG

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Journal R. A. S.=Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England.

Report of 1881=Report of the Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of the Agricultural Interest, 1880-2.

Small Holdings Report, 1889=Report from the Select Committee on Small Holdings, 1889.

Report of 1894=First (Second, etc.) Report of the Royal Commission on the subject of Agricultural Depression, 1894-7.

Final Report=Final Report of the Royal Commission on the subject of Agricultural Depression, 1894-7.

Small Holdings Report, 1906=Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to enquire into the subject of Small Holdings in Great Britain, 1906.

APPENDIX I

THE MODERN SMALL FARMER AND THE QUESTION OF HOME COLONISATION: A PROBLEM OF SOCIOLOGY

PERHAPS German experience under the German settlement laws best shows what class of settlers is most suited to take up small holdings. They are men who were themselves in their earlier life little independent cultivators, or industrial workers living on the land, who have held a bit of land as a by-employment; or else peasants' sons, such as come from the west into Posen and West Prussia in order to be able to obtain land of their own. That is to say they are in any case men of peasant stock. "We see," writes Herr Belgard, "how e.g. the Westphalians and Hanoverians take the fine old peasant holdings of their homes for their model, and turn all their efforts to the creation of an equally stable property and equally excellent live-stock upon it." It is the same class who when they emigrate become hard-working cultivators in foreign lands. Everywhere they carry with them a tradition and an ideal, in the memory of the conditions under which they grew up.

How different are the conditions in England! There is no peasantry to draw upon, unless in a few isolated districts such as the Isle of Axholme or a few places in Cumberland where yeomen of the old type are still to be found. The sons of small or medium farmers are early employed on their father's farm or on that of some neighbour; but when they grow up they begin to move away. They see nothing specially honourable in the fact that their father holds a farm, which, under the capitalist tenant-farmer system, may be here to-day and there to-morrow; they do not see in it any hereditary obligation, or even anything which they desire to imitate. On the contrary, they are without traditions, and are only desirous of making their way into spheres which seem to them more satisfactory. Town life and industrial employment attract them. The father may have worked his way up from the position of a mere wage-earner to that of an independent farmer, and so after a long struggle have attained the goal of his highest hopes. But to the son that position seems a matter of course, and the desire for a higher social and economic standing awakes in him very early.

¹ M. Belgard, *Parzellierung und Innere Kolonisation*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 340 f.

It is therefore clear that the home colonisation of England cannot be brought about on the same basis as if the colonists could be drawn from an existing peasantry. If in Germany the settler has the sense that he is carrying on a tradition, and maintaining the social standard of his forefathers, in England quite other motives lead a man to take up a small holding.

(1) England has an agricultural proletariat, a class of landless agricultural labourers, who may be brought out of their dependent position and established as small cultivators. This class has for over a century been produced as a necessary part of the large farm system; while for some thirty years past the revival of small holdings has made it possible for its members to rise to an independent position. In their case there is therefore no question of the maintenance of a hereditary tradition; on the contrary, when an agricultural labourer takes a small holding he climbs into a social position which is as a matter of history altogether new to his class. Moreover, not only the social position, but also the whole economic position, is new to him. He will have worked all his life as a wage-earner on large or medium-sized farms, probably devoted to arable in the first place, worked in conjunction with stock-feeding based on large pastures and hay-fields: whereas on his small holding he will have to adopt branches of production which demand quite a different kind of labour, where machinery is at a discount, and the work must be done by hand in great detail and up to a very high standard of quality. Economic difficulties such as these can only be overcome by that peculiar zest for work produced by the hope of making so great a rise in the social scale. That this desire for independence does exist is proved by the fact that in the year 1909, for example, 25 per cent. of the applications for small holdings came from agricultural labourers.

(2) The second category of possible colonists—and it is a very miscellaneous one—consists of applicants who have not hitherto been in any way occupied in agriculture. They would, so far as their previous economic activity is concerned, be classed as town-dwellers, or at any rate as industrial workers; but from their very various callings they desire to pass to the land. In this class, though not the most important part of it, are the village artisans and their congeners—butchers, bakers, grocers or small shopkeepers. To many of these, the Small Holdings Act is a means of obtaining land as a by-employment¹. Their shop will remain the backbone of their economy. But others give up their industrial employment and devote themselves entirely to farming. Two examples of what men of this class have achieved are here appended, taken from the evidence given before the Committee of 1906².

¹ Cp. *Report of a Conference as to the Administration of the Small Holdings Acts*, 1908, p. 35.

² See *Small Holdings Report*, 1906, *Minutes*, qu. 2227.

(a) George Batchelor. This man had been a village shoemaker with a rather small income. By energy and industry he saved enough to take a little holding, which he cultivated with great satisfaction and apparently with pecuniary success. He had in 1905 a banking account, and was adding to his land year by year. New buildings were erected on his farm at a cost of £180, so that the holding was brought into very good condition.

(b) George Williams. This man had a newly-formed holding, the house and buildings having cost about £340. He had been employed on the railway, but gave up his situation. He had planted his land with fruit trees; and as he had a family growing up, his labour cost him very little.

Another case, which was described to the Committee by the person in question himself¹, was that of a quondam cobbler, who got tired of his work, and took an acre of orchard land. He ended by holding 30 acres, not as tenant, but as owner. A Wiltshire co-operative association, the Mere and District Small Holding Society, lets holdings of from one to 30 acres, chiefly for pasture-farms or market-gardens. Among its tenants are men who were formerly respectively a baker, an innkeeper, a decorator, a coach-maker, a road-mender, a groom, etc., and several hawkers². In another county, Denbighshire, a farm of 79 acres was cut up by the County Council. The largest holding, which covered 44 acres, was taken jointly by two brothers, who had formerly been miners in the neighbourhood. Their stock consisted of 14 cows, 19 pigs, two cart-horses and two ponies³. But one of the most remarkable examples of change from industrial employment to the independent position of small land-holders is offered by the history of Catshill in Worcestershire. A large number of the inhabitants of this village were nail-makers, and nail-making was apparently a "dying trade." Some of the ratepayers therefore applied to the County Council for land. The Council bought an estate of 147 acres, and formed holdings of 3½ to eleven or twelve acres. The nail-makers were thereupon transformed into market-gardeners. The fact that they were near the great market of Birmingham was of great service to them. They produced not only fruit and vegetables, but pigs and poultry, and needed no other employment. According to a report laid before the Committee of 1906 their position was most satisfactory⁴.

All the settlers in the cases given above, although they did not come from agricultural occupations, had either lived on the land (as villagers, on the railway, in country house employment, etc.), or at any rate had not lost all connection with it. From these must be distinguished the type of settler who is a genuine town-dweller. A writer on the subject divides these into two groups⁵, namely, first, town workers who have country wives, or who

¹ *Small Holdings Report, 1906, Minutes*, qu. 9012-9072.

² *Report of a Conference etc.*, p. 104.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ *Small Holdings Report, 1906, Minutes*, qu. 3901 ff., 3909, 4003 ff.

⁵ H. E. Moore, *Our Heritage in the Land, 1906*, p. 112.

have had some experience of agricultural work, and who for the sake of the health of themselves or their family want to get into the country, even if they can only make a smaller income there. Secondly, town workers who see that in consequence of increasing age, or of the depression of their trade, they are likely to lose their employment in a few years, and drop to the position of casual labourers.

There is no doubt that there is a considerable number of men of this latter type desirous of getting onto the land. The action of some of the labouring people of Leicester, most of them employed in the boot trade, is characteristic. A number of the factory workers put themselves in possession of allotments, having organised co-operatively for the purpose¹: and one of their objects, as reported by Mr E. A. Pratt², was to use these allotments as a stage towards and an education for the taking of a small holding. And in fact the attempt to obtain allotments was soon followed by the formation in the same district of a co-operative association for the creation of small holdings³. Of town-dwellers of quite another type Mr Pratt writes⁴:—
“Apart from the factory workers who have gained experience on allotments... there are men who, though intelligent, capable, and willing, are physically unfit for the stress and strain of life in great cities, especially when close confinement in an office or counting-house may be included therein. Others there are who, though considered ‘too old’ for the employment on which they have hitherto been engaged, still possess an amount of energy and vigour, the devotion of which to a healthy rural pursuit would...provide them with a fresh and more or less profitable employment...Others, again, the sons of manufacturers, business men, or professional men, might well start in the country in some occupation which either appealed to their tastes more, or would suit the condition of their health better, than following in the footsteps of their fathers.”

Evidently the material available for home colonisation purposes from industrial employments or of the town type is of very various kinds; it is in this respect very different from the material provided by the class first considered, which consisted mainly of agricultural labourers, and to some extent of farmers' or bailiffs' sons. It is certainly at first surprising to find that agricultural life does attract non-agricultural sections of the population; the continued and well-grounded complaints of a rural exodus naturally seem to point in the other direction. Objections to any such movement were made before the Committee of 1906. Men well acquainted with the conditions declared that there was no sense in planting inexperienced townsmen on the

¹ According to the *Annual Report of the Agricultural Organisation Society* for 1908, one of these co-operative societies, the Winchester and District Allotment Holders Association, rented 86 acres and had 660 members.

² E. A. Pratt, *The Transition in Agriculture*, 1906, p. 268.

³ *Small Holdings Report*, 1906, *Minutes*, qu. 5059.

⁴ Pratt, *op. cit.* p. 306.

land¹. Mrs Wilkins (Miss L. Jebb) put the case more wisely when she said²:—"I do not much believe in bringing town people out of the towns to the country, but that is a very different thing from bringing back a man to his native district, where he has been in the farming or market-gardening line in his youth, and returns to it."

But even this limited prejudice against townspeople hardly seems well founded so long as many examples can be found of successful small holders who have come from the towns and were of the towns. Mr Pratt, whose book has already been cited, and who is a well-known writer on agricultural subjects (he has explored the whole of rural England), takes a broader view of the matter. "The ordinary 'unemployed' of our large towns, and the ne'er-do-wells of urban life in general, are not the type of men who could be settled on the land straight off as small holders, whatever else might be done with them." But he enumerates a variety of "desirable town types," and adds:—"Starting with the assumption that the townsmen in question were alike intelligent, energetic, and determined to succeed, there ought to be no insuperable difficulty in the way of their acquiring, within a reasonable time, a sufficiency of knowledge...to be able to make, at least, a living" out of agriculture. "As a matter of fact, some of the greatest successes achieved in several of these minor industries of late years have been won by enterprising men from the towns³."

The questions necessarily arise in this connection: What is the relation of these two most important classes of settlers, the agricultural labourers and the industrial workers, one to another? and, What is the comparative importance of the two groups?

The attraction of the land for non-agricultural sections of the population at the present day is by no means exclusively to be traced to a love for "mother earth," or a longing to go "back to the land" for its own sake. If this were the determining motive, its results must have made themselves evident long ago, whereas this return to the country is a phenomenon of quite recent date. The movement is certainly not less due to the fact that the re-organisation of English agriculture has created conditions which seem to be particularly well suited to men who have been brought up to trade or industry. The smaller branches of agricultural production, which have now become the very basis of English agriculture, make quite different demands on the farmer than would be made by a small holding devoted to corn supplemented by stock-feeding. The small farms of the eighteenth century also sold fruit, vegetables, eggs, poultry and so forth. But they sold them for the most part to customers in their own village or in the nearest market. The markets of to-day are as a rule far from the small holder himself, and the old personal relation of farmer and customer is gone. The farmer has

¹ *Small Holdings Report*, 1906, *Minutes*, p. 474.

² *Ibid.*, qu. 7914.

³ Pratt, *op. cit.* pp. 306 ff.

to produce for the trade, and to provide such articles as suit the wholesale dealers. Regular transmission of goods of a standard quality is, as has been seen above, essential. In the case of eggs, for instance, there are five or six recognised qualities, from the new-laid egg and the fresh egg to the cooking egg of the second or third degree. The goods must further be carefully packed in sawdust in specially prepared boxes. But these important points¹ of grading and packing have more in common with the work to which a factory hand is accustomed than with that of the farmer or countryman of the old style. And the same is true in the matter of the sale of fruit.

The business man, again, will find himself more at home in, say, negotiating the sale of the produce of a market-garden than will the old-fashioned agriculturist. The best profit on fruit and vegetables is to be obtained not by selling to the local dealer, but from some wholesale trader in a large town. A business connection with such a man has to be worked up. Mr Pratt says² that some vegetable-growers get 7s. to 8s. for their broccoli crates where others, less careful or capable in their choice of dealers, are beaten down as low as 1s. The first are, as Mr Pratt points out, "better business men." In this connection may be noticed the telephone question, which was discussed by an expert before the Committee of 1906. "A man who is producing goods of a perishable character, which might be perishing at the time he was about to telephone, would have exact information as to prices, and as to how the market stood, so that he could dispose of his produce instantly, whereas without the telephone he might have to wait so long that his goods would have perished altogether³." Here again it is evident that purely business qualities are of the first importance to the small holder under modern conditions. He must know the market, have good connections, and be quick to take advantage of favourable turns of price. Such demands, so far as small holders are concerned, are of quite modern origin.

Again, not only upon the market-gardener, but also upon the small farmer proper, certain demands are made which involve more than a purely agricultural training. In the case of a dairy-farm, for instance, the English public, or at least its upper classes, demands milk which shall be pure and clean; and the dealer has to assure himself that the dairy from which he obtains it is in a properly sanitary condition. To glance at some of the technical publications on the subject⁴ is to realise that the old-fashioned dairy has to evolve into something much more nearly resembling an industrial-workshop. The proper cleansing of the cow-sheds, the sterilisation of pails and cans, the use of cooling-machines and modern methods of filtering, all demand something altogether different from the old-fashioned hand-labour

¹ Cp. Leaflet No. 1 of the National Poultry Organisation Society, p. 2.

² Pratt, *op. cit.* p. 122.

³ *Small Holdings Report*, 1906, *Minutes*, qu. 5620.

⁴ See *Market Day Lectures*, 1905-6, pp. 33 ff.

with bucket and dung-fork. Poultry-breeders using incubators, or growers of fruit and flowers under glass, are equally far removed from the old conditions. Worthing alone has 1220 forcing-houses, whose pipes laid end to end would cover more than 136 miles; some of the growers there have artesian wells of their own; some have small windmills or steam-machinery for pumping purposes¹. Here again it is evident that we have a branch of modern agriculture demanding much technical knowledge and skill, and qualities not traditionally supposed to be found in the ordinary countryman.

It may perhaps be suggested that where technical knowledge and a cultivated intelligence are essential there the large farmer has his proper sphere, whether or not the branch of production pursued be one otherwise belonging to the small holder. But the various demands made upon the cultivator in any case cannot be considered apart from one another. All authorities on English agriculture are agreed that for certain branches of production, as dairying, market-gardening and so forth, the fundamental condition is and remains the intensive personal labour of the occupier and his family; a kind of labour which can never be obtained from a hired labourer. For this reason the small holder has always an advantage in these branches of production over the large farmer. This advantage cannot be seriously endangered by the growing need for business qualities and technical skill. But these demands will have their effect on the total result which the small holder is in a position to obtain from his holding.

The need for such qualities may be very much lessened if the small holders are co-operatively organised. Co-operation, in fact, may almost amount to a complete disburdening of the small holder in this particular. A cooling-station or steam-dairy takes over the mechanical part of the work of a modern dairy, and co-operative collecting depôts relieve the farmer of the need for a business head. But co-operation is relatively speaking little developed in England, even though it is increasing; it is not everywhere applicable (e.g. where success depends on individual methods, or where the type of holding is very various, etc.); and it cannot take over all the functions which have been noticed as necessary on a modern small holding.

Where therefore the large cultivator, in spite of his superior business capacity and technical knowledge, has not the advantage over the small holder, and where co-operative methods cannot relieve the small holder of the necessity of exercising such qualities, it is evident that the small holder who can bring these powers to his work will be the person best fitted to conduct a variety of branches of production, and will in fact have an extraordinary advantage in them. It becomes easy to understand why non-agricultural sections of the population are to-day being attracted into agriculture, and why they show such capacity for survival in the struggle for

¹ Pratt, *op. cit.* pp. 90 f.

existence. They possess already the necessary business qualities and technical capacity.

Intelligent observers have not failed to recognise the nature of this development. Thus e.g. Mr Newsham writes of the small holdings of Hampshire:—"In most parts of the county there appears to be ample opportunity for the development of mixed holdings by men who have been brought up on the land and know the practical side of their business. The town-bred man must of necessity have an up-hill struggle, though his business capacity or training might stand him in good stead¹." And Mr Pratt expresses the matter still more clearly:—"Industries, in fact, such as dairying, horticulture, floriculture, stock-raising, etc., as distinguished from the growing of corn, are occupations requiring technical knowledge, skill, business capacity, and unremitting personal attention on the part of those engaged therein—qualities and qualifications not necessarily possessed by even the average farmer of the old school, and still less by the average agricultural labourer of the passing generation, however efficient the latter may have been in the days when the work he had to do made less demands on his intelligence than upon his physical endurance²."

Under some circumstances, therefore, the non-agricultural type of settler will prove more than equal to the man who has been on the land all his life. He will even be superior to him in certain branches of production, as in fruit and vegetable growing. But the agricultural labourer will be superior to the townsman when corn-growing and stock-farming are in question, because there technical capacity and business qualities have a smaller part to play, and his agricultural experience becomes a matter of great importance.

In general it may be said that the non-agricultural settlers instinctively direct their attention to those branches in which they can best use their particular qualities. The place and kind of work they choose are regulated accordingly. Unlike the agricultural labourer, who is able to raise himself to an independent position, but then develops a tendency to comfortable methods, they are full of the desire "to get on." They retain a capitalistic character. They find in various branches of modern agriculture quite as good chances of profit-making as they could in trade or industry. This is noticed by almost every writer on the small holdings question. Mr F. Impey, of the Board of Agriculture, who has inspected many small holdings, has astonishing things to report on this part of the subject³. A land-agent who had over 1000 small holdings to administer told him that he knew dozens of men owning £100 to £500 who twelve or fifteen years earlier had been earning their 15s. a week. A man who had formerly been a groom and gardener stated that on his holding of 5½ acres he could save £40 a year,

¹ In the *Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, 1908-9, p. 93.

² Pratt, *op. cit.* pp. 303 f.

³ F. Impey, *Small Holdings in England*, 1909, pp. 19-28.

and in one year saved as much as £90. He had planted no less than 1400 fruit trees, and in one year sold 1000 head of poultry. In another case Mr Impey was astonished to find a man paying £5 rent for $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre. But the occupier told him that the value of the strawberries sold off that bit of ground in the last year had been about £58. It is no wonder that townsmen, hearing such stories, begin to think that there is "something to be made out of" even the land, if a man only goes about it in the right way.

The material for home colonisation in England, then, is roughly of two classes. Men who have grown up under the influences of the town, men of commercial or industrial tendencies, stand side by side with men who have lived all their lives upon the land. There is room for both. Both, under the given conditions of production and distribution, that is to say in certain branches of production and under certain market conditions, may be fit instruments for the re-organisation of the unit of agricultural holding in England. Therefore what at first sight seems an extraneous element in modern agricultural society, viz. the quondam townsman or the man of city instincts, is not in fact to be regarded as an artificial product of reforming zeal. His appearance is a necessary result of the economic transition through which English agriculture has been passing in consequence of the ruin of what was once its special branch of production. And for this reason the lack of a peasant population will prove no fatal hindrance to the home colonisation of England. In many districts it is not peasantry of the old style who are appearing or who can appear. Agriculturists of quite other qualifications and outlook are in course of development; agriculturists for whom a quite different social and economic organisation is growing up from that which the little farmers or yeomanry of the past could ever have possessed.

APPENDIX II

TABLE I

Area of agricultural land under the various types of holding throughout the English counties.

(Arranged in four geographical districts from the merely alphabetical arrangement of the Return as to the Number and Size of Agricultural Holdings in 1895.)

	1—5 acres			5—20 acres		
	Total area	Pasture-land	Arable land	Total area	Pasture-land	Arable land
I.						
Bedford	3385	1259	2126	11,847	4929	6918
Cambridge	5833	1978	3855	23,796	6840	16,956
Essex	5545	3562	1983	20,216	11,291	8925
Hertford	2958	2401	557	8949	6790	2159
Huntingdon	1808	1181	627	7847	4563	3284
Lincoln	17,901	9398	8503	82,537	43,091	39,446
London	606	496	110	1925	1623	302
Middlesex	2173	1662	511	8920	6969	1951
Norfolk	9789	4178	5611	37,921	16,219	21,702
Suffolk	5361	2585	2776	17,408	7234	10,174
York E.	5471	3235	2236	19,241	10,806	8535
Total for District	60,830	31,935	28,895	240,607	120,355	120,252
II.						
Berks	2898	2381	517	11,157	8835	2322
Bucks	3495	2582	913	12,763	9615	3148
Hants	7980	5253	2727	27,577	19,032	8545
Kent	6643	4169	2474	31,872	20,912	10,960
Leicester	4593	4236	357	26,792	24,526	2266
Northampton ..	3974	2704	1270	17,614	12,722	4892
Notts	5343	4128	1215	26,840	20,145	6695
Oxford	3029	1811	1218	11,740	7956	3784
Rutland	572	476	96	3220	2739	481
Surrey	3919	3141	778	16,578	12,968	3610
Sussex	5811	4919	892	25,345	21,018	4327
Warwick	5439	4434	1005	23,301	20,235	3066
Total for District	53,696	40,234	13,462	234,799	180,703	54,096
III.						
Cornwall	10,337	7425	2912	47,723	28,602	19,121
Devon	8348	6385	1963	42,614	32,074	10,540
Dorset	3440	2490	950	14,849	11,188	3661
Gloucester	8628	5825	2803	27,235	20,610	6625
Hereford	4462	3985	477	19,449	16,360	3089
Monmouth	3021	2673	348	17,013	15,564	1449
Salop	9831	8805	1026	38,873	33,749	5124
Somerset	10,671	8626	2045	43,488	37,984	5504
Wilts	4987	3186	1801	19,570	14,193	5377
Worcester	8175	4366	3809	25,155	18,953	6202
Total for District	71,900	53,766	18,174	295,969	229,277	66,692
IV.						
Chester	10,981	9029	1952	43,025	33,928	9097
Cumberland	3446	2981	465	17,087	13,776	3311
Derby	8329	7814	515	47,540	44,380	3160
Durham	3914	3452	462	23,089	21,075	2014
Lancaster	10,057	8085	1972	78,880	66,351	12,529
Northumberland	3128	2663	465	15,726	13,644	2082
Stafford	9792	8743	1049	46,669	41,953	4716
Westmorland ...	1431	1351	80	8532	7966	566
York N.	9155	7983	1172	39,437	33,881	5556
York W.	18,609	15,937	2672	119,356	104,276	15,080
Total for District	78,842	68,038	10,804	439,341	381,230	58,111

Table I

	20—50 acres			50—100 acres		
	Total area	Pasture-land	Arable land	Total area	Pasture-land	Arable land
I.						
Bedford	14,433	6363	8070	21,414	9012	12,402
Cambridge	37,499	11,369	26,130	45,486	12,448	33,038
Essex	41,816	16,092	25,724	91,328	28,113	63,215
Hertford	13,619	8418	5201	26,978	12,726	14,252
Huntingdon	11,991	6128	5863	15,397	6651	8746
Lincoln	118,352	47,974	70,378	162,024	54,172	107,852
London	1995	1537	458	2232	1406	826
Middlesex	12,837	9175	3662	17,279	12,292	4987
Norfolk	70,756	24,505	46,251	109,919	31,559	78,360
Suffolk	41,364	11,240	30,124	97,063	21,554	75,509
York E.	30,834	13,675	17,159	56,631	18,673	37,958
Total for District	395,496	156,476	239,020	645,751	208,606	437,145
II.						
Berks	17,155	11,073	6082	26,050	14,754	11,296
Bucks	21,661	14,767	6894	43,256	25,509	17,687
Hants	41,164	24,576	16,588	60,617	29,403	31,214
Kent	61,551	36,351	25,200	98,703	52,884	45,819
Leicester	46,138	40,034	6104	73,441	55,645	17,796
Northampton ...	31,567	21,619	9948	51,266	32,790	18,476
Notts	39,730	24,066	15,664	59,072	29,031	30,041
Oxford	18,371	10,745	7626	34,864	17,475	17,389
Rutland	6898	5919	979	9855	7415	2440
Surrey	25,183	16,786	8397	40,394	22,094	18,300
Sussex	46,742	32,241	14,501	92,798	52,836	39,462
Warwick	37,056	30,132	6924	60,831	40,872	19,959
Total for District	393,216	268,309	124,907	651,147	380,768	270,379
III.						
Cornwall	88,513	40,282	48,231	135,682	51,835	83,847
Devon	90,478	55,302	35,176	214,009	109,520	104,489
Dorset	23,586	17,278	6308	39,237	28,110	11,127
Gloucester	43,540	33,605	9935	71,052	49,821	21,231
Hereford	28,869	20,261	8608	50,167	31,547	18,620
Monmouth	30,913	26,976	3937	55,883	45,120	10,763
Salop	46,599	35,043	11,556	73,980	47,942	26,038
Somerset	79,772	66,905	12,867	128,938	105,050	23,888
Wilts	30,177	21,691	8486	49,432	36,307	13,125
Worcester	36,781	26,481	10,300	58,832	37,324	21,508
Total for District	499,228	343,824	155,404	877,212	542,576	334,636
IV.						
Chester	70,347	49,285	21,062	125,072	75,446	49,626
Cumberland	45,922	31,648	14,274	123,618	63,867	59,751
Derby	78,635	67,905	10,730	109,210	87,745	21,465
Durham	33,869	27,646	6223	67,939	42,560	25,379
Lancaster	189,893	145,262	44,631	237,487	157,761	79,726
Northumberland	25,850	22,036	3814	41,939	30,755	11,184
Stafford	71,402	58,943	12,459	103,830	78,374	25,456
Westmorland ...	28,509	25,202	3307	61,034	50,875	10,159
York N.	66,709	46,452	20,257	141,030	84,605	56,425
York W.	178,877	142,651	36,226	218,492	153,708	64,784
Total for District	790,013	617,030	172,983	1,189,651	785,696	403,955

	100—300 acres			300—500 acres		
	Total area	Pasture-land	Arable land	Total area	Pasture-land	Arable land
I.						
Bedford	99,411	37,411	62,000	70,189	25,298	44,891
Cambridge	160,222	36,997	123,225	106,675	25,632	81,043
Essex	363,616	105,050	258,566	176,886	53,261	123,625
Hertford	129,047	42,864	86,383	100,767	28,853	71,914
Huntingdon	84,744	31,373	53,371	53,510	20,389	33,121
Lincoln	510,080	158,495	351,585	304,742	92,870	211,872
London	5175	3311	1864	1516	922	594
Middlesex	49,122	35,429	13,693	14,645	10,355	4,290
Norfolk	322,057	80,881	241,176	223,067	59,140	163,927
Suffolk	326,429	74,456	251,973	146,030	34,899	111,131
York E.	278,879	86,977	191,902	156,868	42,012	114,856
Total for District	2,328,782	693,244	1,635,538	1,354,895	393,631	961,264
II.						
Berks	125,782	54,325	71,457	81,124	29,732	51,392
Bucks	202,765	111,130	91,635	87,669	53,810	33,859
Hants	207,784	78,004	129,780	135,774	41,055	94,719
Kent	315,811	148,698	167,113	135,565	64,559	71,006
Leicester	233,455	163,889	69,566	60,813	43,196	17,617
Northampton ..	238,393	145,160	93,233	138,779	82,886	55,893
Notts	203,584	87,206	116,378	67,748	25,047	42,701
Oxford	168,784	78,894	89,890	114,043	46,747	67,296
Rutland	33,797	19,766	14,031	20,293	9266	11,027
Surrey	120,985	57,649	63,336	45,005	22,096	23,509
Sussex	246,600	127,896	118,704	104,925	53,609	51,316
Warwick	244,410	152,425	91,985	94,174	59,118	35,056
Total for District	2,342,150	1,225,042	1,117,108	1,086,512	531,121	555,391
III.						
Cornwall	268,674	97,792	170,882	46,302	17,541	28,771
Devon	692,462	343,329	349,133	136,539	69,633	66,906
Dorset	150,536	103,113	47,423	97,168	54,555	42,613
Gloucester	261,325	167,504	93,821	129,828	65,996	63,832
Hereford	229,149	142,043	87,106	92,309	60,005	32,304
Monmouth	111,594	86,155	25,439	18,170	13,339	4831
Salop	367,186	223,442	143,744	155,393	89,897	65,496
Somerset	418,523	312,412	106,111	137,358	92,465	44,893
Wilts	204,716	137,571	67,145	129,400	63,474	65,926
Worcester	201,683	117,834	83,849	58,791	35,175	23,616
Total for District	2,905,848	1,731,195	1,174,653	1,001,258	562,080	439,178
IV.						
Chester	254,947	162,188	92,759	26,929	19,044	7885
Cumberland	293,308	154,518	138,790	63,373	38,219	25,154
Derby	215,528	164,862	50,666	33,849	25,649	8200
Durham	238,009	137,485	100,524	51,623	31,356	20,267
Lancaster	265,569	176,075	89,494	28,627	21,563	7064
Northumberland ..	257,630	176,640	80,990	193,523	130,344	63,179
Stafford	265,851	175,422	90,429	82,940	49,305	33,635
Westmorland ...	106,477	84,238	22,239	24,574	19,220	5354
York N.	464,853	252,550	212,303	106,978	61,889	45,089
York W.	495,186	300,351	194,835	133,570	81,088	52,482
Total for District	2,857,358	1,784,329	1,073,029	745,986	477,677	268,309

Table I

	500—1000 acres			over 1000 acres		
	Total area	Pasture-land	Arable land	Total area	Pasture-land	Arable land
I.						
Bedford	29,025	12,090	16,935	5293	3411	1882
Cambridge	85,407	17,094	68,313	23,606	4600	19,006
Essex	112,067	38,574	73,493	15,737	4788	10,949
Hertford	49,509	14,562	34,947	4320	1512	2808
Huntingdon	30,448	13,291	17,157	4905	2467	2438
Lincoln	260,875	75,821	185,054	61,178	18,921	42,257
London	952	952	—	72,707	19,617	53,090
Middlesex	3307	2249	1058	29,893	10,705	19,188
Norfolk	231,397	60,860	170,537	16,184	4380	11,804
Suffolk	105,589	25,347	80,242	—	—	—
York E.	105,885	26,584	79,301	—	—	—
Total for District	1,014,461	287,424	727,037	233,823	70,401	163,422
II.						
Berks	72,689	25,904	46,785	31,128	16,516	14,612
Bucks	27,233	16,799	10,434	2390	1578	812
Hants	159,796	47,882	111,914	65,277	20,919	44,358
Kent	81,988	47,106	34,882	16,124	10,996	5128
Leicester	19,386	14,159	5227	7695	5774	1921
Northampton ...	63,337	36,366	26,971	13,664	9540	4124
Notts	36,561	12,882	23,679	9359	6026	3333
Oxford	58,118	22,133	35,985	6667	1907	4760
Rutland	8598	4762	3836	4091	1507	2584
Surrey	26,048	12,149	13,899	6883	5396	1487
Sussex	121,598	68,889	52,709	34,740	19,738	15,002
Warwick	25,275	13,988	11,287	4194	3499	695
Total for District	700,627	323,019	377,608	202,212	103,396	98,816
III.						
Cornwall	5497	3169	2328	1220	432	788
Devon	27,993	16,182	11,811	1470	630	840
Dorset	122,221	63,744	58,477	36,259	19,122	17,137
Gloucester	101,444	38,588	62,856	13,436	5143	8293
Hereford	19,359	13,332	6027	1542	1032	510
Monmouth	6348	4588	1760	—	—	—
Salop	24,917	15,522	9395	1184	1121	63
Somerset	37,181	25,620	11,561	4718	4373	345
Wilts	199,948	91,168	108,780	121,242	56,779	64,463
Worcester	13,635	7753	5882	1051	362	689
Total for District	558,543	279,666	278,877	182,122	88,994	93,128
IV.						
Chester	5245	3901	1344	3009	2929	80
Cumberland	22,806	15,426	7380	9844	9670	174
Derby	8668	6726	1942	1426	1406	26
Durham	18,531	11,860	6671	2170	1921	249
Lancaster	11,915	9672	2243	1248	1227	21
Northumberland	131,495	75,156	56,339	38,116	24,944	13,172
Stafford	16,875	10,254	6621	6708	4355	2353
Westmorland ...	14,848	11,583	3265	5567	5507	60
York N.	35,959	20,695	14,364	1076	1016	60
York W.	31,611	22,653	8958	6196	3904	2292
Total for District	297,053	187,927	109,127	75,360	56,879	18,481

TABLE II

		Eastern and north-eastern counties	South-eastern and east midland counties	West midland and south-western counties	Northern and north-western counties	England
		District I	District II	District III	District IV	
		acres	acres	acres	acres	acres
Arable land per 1000 acres of agricultural land ¹		687	461	401	325	467
Land under wheat " " " "		103	57	39	18	54
The total area of all holdings here considered (i.e. holdings of 1 acre to over 1000 acres) was.....		6,274,645	5,664,359	6,392,080	6,513,604	24,844,688
Holdings of 1—5 acres	Total acreage	60,830	53,696	71,900	78,842	265,268
	Percentage of total area	0·97	0·95	1·12	1·21	1·07
	Permanent pasture	31,935	40,234	53,766	68,038	193,973
	Arable land.....	28,895	13,462	18,134	10,804	71,295
	Percentage of arable to total area	47·50	25·07	25·22	13·70	26·87
Holdings of 5—20 acres	Total acreage.....	240,607	234,799	295,969	439,341	1,210,716
	Percentage of total area	3·84	4·15	4·63	6·74	4·87
	Permanent pasture	120,355	180,703	229,277	381,230	911,565
	Arable land.....	120,252	54,096	66,692	58,111	299,151
	Percentage of arable to total area	49·98	22·02	22·53	13·24	24·70
Holdings of 20—50 acres	Total acreage	395,496	393,216	499,228	790,013	2,077,953
	Percentage of total area	6·30	6·94	7·81	12·13	8·36
	Permanent pasture	156,476	268,309	343,824	617,030	1,385,639
	Arable land	239,020	124,907	155,404	172,983	692,314

Holdings of 50—100 acres	Total acreage.....	645,751	651,147	877,212	1,189,651	3,403,761
	Percentage of total area	10'32	11'50	13'77	18'89	13'70
	Permanent pasture	208,606	380,768	542,576	785,696	1,957,646
	Arable land	437,145	270,379	334,636	403,955	1,446,115
	Percentage of arable to total area	66'15	41'52	38'13	34'95	42'48
Holdings of 100—300 acres	Total acreage.....	2,328,781	2,342,150	2,905,848	2,857,358	10,434,138
	Percentage of total area	37'12	41'35	45'46	43'86	42'00
	Permanent pasture	693,244	1,225,042	1,731,195	1,784,329	5,433,810
	Arable land	1,635,538	1,117,108	1,174,653	1,073,029	5,000,328
	Percentage of arable to total area	70'23	47'69	40'42	37'55	47'92
Holdings of 300—500 acres	Total acreage.....	1,354,895	1,086,512	1,001,258	745,986	4,188,651
	Percentage of total area	21'60	19'18	15'67	11'45	16'86
	Permanent pasture	393,631	531,121	562,080	477,677	1,964,509
	Arable land	961,264	555,391	439,178	268,309	2,224,142
	Percentage of arable to total area	70'94	51'11	43'86	35'96	53'09
Holdings of 500—1000 acres	Total acreage.....	1,014,461	700,627	558,543	297,053	2,570,684
	Percentage of total area	16'12	12'37	8'74	4'56	10'35
	Permanent pasture	278,424	323,019	279,666	187,926	1,078,035
	Arable land	727,037	377,608	278,877	109,127	1,492,649
	Percentage of arable to total area	71'66	53'89	49'93	36'73	58'06
Holdings of over 1000 acres	Total acreage.....	233,823	202,212	182,122	75,360	693,517
	Percentage of total area	3'73	3'56	2'85	1'16	2'79
	Permanent pasture	70,401	103,396	88,994	56,879	319,670
	Arable land	163,422	98,816	93,128	18,481	373,847
	Percentage of arable to total area	69'89	48'86	51'14	24'52	53'90

¹ Pleasure grounds, woods, plantations, etc. are not included: cp. the *Agricultural Returns* for 1895, p. 38.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED

In the following list the place of publication is named where it is other than London: and in the case of London publications after 1850 the publisher's name is quoted where the British Museum Catalogue shows it. Parliamentary papers are distinguished by the printing of the letters P.P. before their title.

The authorities quoted in Part I of the book (The Development of the Large Farm System and the Decay of the Small Holding) are divided according to the chapters, dealing as these do with (I) the Agricultural Revolution of the Eighteenth Century, (II) the Corn-Law Period, and (III) the First Thirty Years of Free Trade, respectively. The arrangement is as far as possible in order of publication, except that under heads II and III the few books to be cited both there and under the preceding head or heads are given in alphabetical order at the beginning of the section.

The authorities quoted in Part II (The Economics of Large and Small Holdings at the Present Day) are given according to the year of publication simply.

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