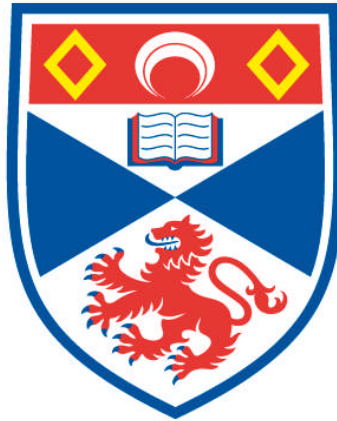


**CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE RURAL CHURCH:
NORFOLK 1760 - 1840**

Peter William Whitfield

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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Change and Continuity in the Rural Church

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ABSTRACT

Two historiographical traditions have influenced our understanding of church and society in Georgian England: on the one hand the church has been subject to a severe, judgemental treatment which has discouraged impartial scholarship, and on the other the supposed decay of the rural community has provided material for a polemical brand of historical writing. These two traditions are discussed, then tested by a close scrutiny of the church and the community in Georgian Norfolk. A quantitative method is adopted, correlating a large amount of detailed information from all the rural parishes and assessing the influence of each factor over against the others.

Three categories from this detailed survey - enclosure, tithes, and the growth of dissent - are then examined in more detail for the light they shed on the concept of historical continuity and the strength of regional identity, which, it is argued, are important counterbalances to the theme of change which has so dominated the historiography of this period. An attempt is made to survey the complex intellectual history of the church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by tracing the changing concept of charity in the religious and social theory of the period.

In conclusion it is suggested that, in this rural diocese at least, the social and economic relations between church and society were less subject to stress and change than has been supposed, and a plea is made for a less controversial, less consciously modern, historical perspective.

Declaration

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Dr. S.W. Gilley.

Peter Whitfield

I first matriculated in the University of St. Andrews in October 1967,
and graduated B.D. Honours in Ecclesiastical History in July 1972.
I matriculated as a research student in St. Andrews in October 1973,
and the research for this thesis was carried out in St. Andrews and
elsewhere from that date until April 1977.

Peter Whitfield

Certificate

I certify that Peter Whitfield has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court 1967 No.1, and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. S.W. Gilley
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My overwhelming debt is to my supervisor Dr.Sheridan Gilley, who, without inhibiting my freedom, consistently tried to preserve me from error. If he did not always succeed it was because I was unable to rise to his high level of scholarship.

Finally Vicky Stephenson showed great resourcefulness and wit in her preparation of a difficult typescript. I am deeply grateful to her.

CHAPTER ONE

TWO HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS

In a study of the relations between church and society in rural England at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, two related historiographical problems emerge from the existing literature: the nature of the Georgian church, and the writing of rural history. Both these topics have conventionally been subject to a more or less tendentious treatment, which needs to be fully examined and placed in perspective before a genuine study can be undertaken. Both topics have been characterised by a historiography which is used to underpin contemporary ideas, both religious and social. The period has all too easily been summarised as one of revolutionary social change which rendered a somnolent or even malevolent church isolated and ineffectual. It is proposed to examine these historiographical traditions, and then to test them in a detailed consideration of church and society in the Norwich Diocese.

1. The Historiography of the Georgian Church

In the furore which followed the publication of Essays and Reviews in 1860, it was natural that attention should centre on the question of biblical authority. Jowett, Baden Powell and the others introduced ideas that had long been current in German academic circles, but which were profoundly disturbing to many English readers. But in a less obvious way Mark Pattison's essay on eighteenth century religious thought¹ was equally novel and equally significant for the future. At a time when it was almost universally assumed that religious ideas were either

¹Mark Pattison, 'Tendencies in Religious Thought in England 1688-1750', Essays and Reviews, 1860.

authoritatively given, by church or scripture, or were discovered by free enquiry, Pattison analysed the secular intellectual forces, and to a lesser extent the social forces too, which shaped the eighteenth century church, treating theology and church history as aspects of the growth and development of contemporary thought and society. The novelty of this approach emerges when Pattison's essay is contrasted with other contemporary treatments of the eighteenth century church. G.G. Perry, Pattison's colleague at Lincoln College, completed in 1864 a competent and detailed history of the Church of England whose treatment of the eighteenth century is marked by obvious distaste.¹ In Perry's view the theology and the practice of the eighteenth century church had become debased, in contrast to the religious vitality and strength of the seventeenth century and of the nineteenth century Anglican revival. It is this view of church history as a moral story, the ebb and flow of piety and principle, which Pattison side-steps and replaces with a genuine historical analysis. Whatever his own opinion of the writers he discusses he achieves a degree of empathy with them by understanding their context, their aims and motives and the society they lived in, bringing a maturity and freedom to his subject which is refreshingly new. The moral, prudential preaching of the eighteenth century "argues a sleek and sordid epicurism"; "as poetry is not for the critics, so religion is not for the theologians"; Catholic theology had become an "unmeaning frostwork of dogma".

The idea of growth, intellectual and spiritual, is the dominant theme of Pattison's Memoirs, where it is used to interpret the life of

¹G.G. Perry, History of the Church of England, 3 vols, 1861-4, esp. vol. 3, pp.394ff.

the individual:

Catholicism dropped off me as another husk which I had outgrown. There was no conversion or change of view; I could no more have helped what took place within me than I could have helped becoming ten years older.... By whatever name you call it, the Unconscious is found controlling each man's destiny without or in defiance of his will. 1

There was a secularity about this approach to historical method which was new to its readers, and not appreciated in, for example, the sermon that Pusey preached on the essay.² This is not to claim Pattison as the founder of the rather elusive concept of historical evolution,³ merely that he was the first to write about the Hanoverian church in this way. Pattison's treatment of church history was more subtle and personal and yet at the same time more scientific than his contemporaries'. He quoted with approval Newman's dictum that "science is not mere knowledge, it is knowledge which has undergone a process of intellectual digestion". This is the distinction of Pattison's essay compared with the usual text-book account; he could understand and interpret, where others portrayed a void peopled by shadowy nonentities. The eighteenth century was regarded as debased from two very different nineteenth century perspectives - the high church and the evangelical. Pattison as a liberal intellectual could sympathise with the eighteenth century temper in a way that most of his contemporaries could not.

The work of Abbey and Overton,⁴ impressive though it is in the sheer volume of material it encompasses, failed to build on Pattison's

¹ Mark Pattison, Memoirs, 1884, pp. 328, 330.

² Pusey, University Sermons, 1872, vol. 2, pp. 1-31.

³ The complex origins and progress of the concept of development, religious and secular, are discussed respectively in O. Chadwick, Bossuet to Newman, 1957 and J.W. Burrow, Evolution and Society, 1966.

⁴ C.J. Abbey and J.H. Overton, The English Church in the 18th Century, 2 vols., 1878.

insights, and is marred by the sententious posture which the authors adopt. 'Ignoble', 'enervated', 'sordid', 'debased' - these are the judgements that litter their pages. They write not of change and development, but of decay and lost motives. The work was based entirely on published literary evidence, and that of a narrow ecclesiastical nature. Eighteenth century religion was treated entirely in terms of the theological and party wrangles and quaestiunculæ of bishops, academics and politicians. Unilluminated as it was by any insight into the social and intellectual context of eighteenth century religion, the work served merely to confirm the apparent sterility of the subject, and the impression was that the years of the Hanoverian church were the lost century of Anglican history.

The contrast between Abbey and Overton and Mark Pattison poses the unpleasant problem of determinism. Abbey and Overton portrayed latitudinarian churchmen as languishing in epicurean torpor, and their evangelical colleagues as sounding occasional clarion calls to duty and spirituality, but all this for no apparent reason. The rise and fall of vitality, earnestness and spirituality in the church was simply a given fact which could be applauded or lamented but not apparently explained or understood, except in terms of individuals' vice and virtue. Human freedom is, in this view, absolute. But Pattison's method implied that the more one understood the non-religious context of the eighteenth century church, the more natural and explicable, indeed inevitable, did its motives and actions become. Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner. This may have the ring of truism, but it is not something that has always been clearly grasped by church historians. And it is only one step from this to the conclusion that a flawless, exhaustive understanding of all the pressures

acting upon Hanoverian churchmen would reveal them to have been helpless figures frozen in predetermined postures, the agents of larger social, economic and intellectual forces.

Neither of these positions is an agreeable one for an historian. Both lack, above all, common sense. Determinism is a problem that exists in theory rather than practice. Every historian must assume some degree of determinism, that is, he must believe that events have causes, which can to some extent be discovered. In theory this is only one step from determinism, but in practice that step need not be taken; in fact the historian never will master the whole reality of the past and thus place himself in a position to expose the inevitability of history. Human freedom can therefore, at the very least, continue to inhabit the gaps in the historians' knowledge. But in practice the distinction between Abbey and Overton and Mark Pattison is rather simpler; it is the degree of secularity, in both senses of the word, with which they handle their subject, the appreciation that religious history may be shaped by secular forces. This concept had been employed long before by Gibbon in his discussion of the spread of Christianity, and had brought the charge of infidelity down upon him. The same had been true of Milman to some extent. The dullness and sterility of many studies of the eighteenth century church may be attributed to the lack of a secular perspective, the ghetto mentality which isolated and petrified the subject into a recital of bishops, pamphleteers, abuses, party factions, and controversies. The moral obloquy poured on the eighteenth century church also stemmed from this lack of secular insight, demanding the wrong qualities and asking the wrong questions.

The nadir of Hanoverian church historiography was reached under

the influence of Christian socialism,¹ and provides an arresting example of the convergence of two wholly different intellectual perspectives. The pious, conventional churchmanship of Abbey and Overton is echoed by secular neo-Marxism in a book like Charles Raven's Christian Socialism (1920). The one deplored the Hanoverian church for falling below Victorian standards of rectitude and piety, the other for being a party to the economic exploitation of the proletariat and for supporting reactionary governments. An acceptance of growth and development in the history of the church did not deter Raven from attacking the Georgian church for being ignorant of Christian Socialism. Other more scholarly writers sympathetic to Christian Socialism have also accepted a view of this period as the "Bleak Age" of modern church history.² The Marxist or quasi-Marxist attack on the eighteenth century church is obviously vitiated by this failure to appreciate the implications of determinism. If eighteenth century churchmen were identified, economically and ideologically, with the ruling elite, then criticism of their reactionary social attitudes is irrelevant; they could not have acted otherwise. The Marxist should not look too severely on those who, in his view, are the damned since they too are essential protagonists in his scheme of history.

The first major assessment of eighteenth century history since Abbey and Overton appeared in the work of Norman Sykes.³ Sykes was responsible for an important change in attitudes to the subject, yet he brought no revolutionary new insights into the secular context of

¹The term is used here to mean the quasi-socialist and broad left ideology which gained ground in the church from the later nineteenth century onwards.

²E.R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, 1957pp.11-13, 70-106.

³N. Sykes, Edmund Gibson, 1926; Church and State in England in the 18th Century, 1934; William Wake, 1957; From Sheldon to Secker, 1959.

church history. He was not a social, economic or intellectual historian. What he did bring was a new appreciation of the church as a constitutional, political edifice. He clarified church-state relations and the self-understanding of churchmen with a perceptiveness and fullness of scholarship that was quite new. It cannot be said that Sykes revolutionised the terms of the debate; he was not concerned with philosophies of history, theoretical frameworks of growth and development; rather he met critics on their own ground and refuted them with simple, austere scholarship. Sykes introduced for the first time some quantitative evidence of the work actually performed by the much-maligned Hanoverian bishops. He made clear the problems they faced, and showed what was and what was not expected of them by contemporaries. All this was expressed with a refreshing sympathy for the subject and a maturity of judgement which exposed the irrelevance of much of the earlier historiography.

Nevertheless there were several aspects of the subject with which Sykes did not concern himself. He did not consider the social or economic life of the church. He was interested only in the Anglican establishment. He studied only the higher clergy; in their descriptions of the parochial clergy historians had advanced little from the method and style of Macaulay. A radical departure in these directions was made by an historian of an earlier period whose work nevertheless merits attention here because of its implications for church history generally. Christopher Hill's books ¹ demonstrate perfectly the importance of the secular aspect of church life. His analysis of the economics of the

¹C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament, 1556-1642, 1956; Puritanism and Revolution, 1630-1660, 1958; The Century of Revolution, 1642-1714, 1961.

seventeenth century church cast new light on church-state relations and the internal church conflicts of the period. The self-understanding of the church is shown to be moulded by secular forces quite as much as by theological development, and church history in turn is used as evidence for seventeenth century social history. No one had written church history in quite these terms before:

The despoilers of the monasteries and the enclosers of common lands both helped to disrupt the old social order, though as land-owners they were exactly the class which might have been expected to defend it. Contemporaries were right to see these two groups as sacrilegious offenders against God who would punish them and their posterity on earth as well as in the hereafter. During the revolutionary period it was forcibly shown that a landlord's property rights were no more sacred in the eyes of the lower orders than the church's property had been in theirs. Why after all should monastic, episcopal and cathedral lands alone be vulnerable? There is an agreeable dialectic about this transition. First tithes are assimilated to lay property, lose their divine sanction, and so become liable to lay criticism (Selden). But because priests defend them as *due jure divino*, they still have to be attacked by quasi-religious arguments. A divine right, a Christian liberty, not to pay tithes had to be evolved. But opposition to tithes was also economic, and since tithes were after all virtually indistinguishable from rent to those who paid them, why should liberty be confined? Members of the Long Parliament foresaw that those who refused tithes would soon refuse rents, and they were right.... No wonder so many of the propertied revolutionaries began to draw back when they saw what gulfs were opening before them! No tithes, no rents; attacks on church property produced attacks on property as such; sovereignty of parliament led to sovereignty of the people. 1

Hill's sociological perspective revealed some of the secular changes which played a part in shaping seventeenth century religion. It may be appropriate to add here that secularity in the writing of church history need involve no animus against the church. The impeccable scholarship and civilised judgements of the Marxist Christopher Hill contrast oddly with Canon Raven's flaying of the Georgian and Hanoverian church.

¹C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, p.163.

Moreover the adoption of secularity as a criterion on the writing of church history in no way relegates religious belief to oblivion. But neither the forms of belief nor its consequences are immutable. Evidence of belief we have in explicit statements; the investigation of the context of belief is the proper sphere of the church historian.

No one has yet succeeded in reconstructing the reality of eighteenth century religion as Hill has done for the seventeenth century, but several distinguished contributions to the subject have appeared which demonstrate an acceptance of the secular perspective. Professor Best's study of Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners ¹ is an immensely valuable study of the institutional aspect of the church, of the "church, law and laity" through two centuries. Professor Ward's study of tithe shows economic, quantitative analysis at its best. ² Professor Soloway's book is a perceptive account of the church's intellectual response to social change in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. ³ The earlier section of Dr. Norman's indispensable study covers this ground too, ⁴ with the conviction that "theologians have always managed to handle their sources so as to give a version of Christianity consonant with their social and economic values". Yet the virtue of Dr. Norman's approach is that it does not lose sight of the dialectic between Christianity and its environment; it is especially true of the nineteenth/century that many secular, liberal and socialist philosophies clearly display the influence of the Christian parent-culture in which they were conceived. The achievement of this secular perspective

¹S.F.A. Best, Temporal Pillars, 1964.

²W.R. Ward, 'The Tithe Question in England in the Early Nineteenth Century', JEH, 1965.

³R.A. Soloway, Prelates and People 1782-1852, 1969.

⁴E.R. Norman, Church and Society 1770-1970, 1976.

is a vindication of Mark Pattison's exploratory essay of a century ago. If these insights can be supplemented by a detailed knowledge of the social and economic realities of the Hanoverian church, then this period need no longer be the lost century of Anglican history.

Pattison dealt mainly with the first half of the eighteenth century, but the eighteenth century church has usually been taken to extend from 1688 to the 1830's. The earlier date marked, it was said, the end of the Sturm und Drang which had characterised the church history of the seventeenth century, the withdrawal of the church from the troubled political arena. Here it is argued the temper of the church was formed which was to last until the age of reform. In fact the forty years following the Revolution deserve to be treated as a period in their own right, since the church was still intensely involved in politics, and the social and political groupings and divisions in the nation, though different from those of the seventeenth century, were equally momentous for the church. It was only with the failure of Jacobitism in 1715, the disappearance of the non-jurors, the end of convocation, and the disgrace of Atterbury that the English clergy were prepared for the alliance between church and state celebrated by Warburton. If it is axiomatic that such a large political change must have had social origins and implications, then a study of this period along these lines is long overdue.

The coherence of the next fifty years arguably ended in 1789 when the political implications of rationalism became apparent and the changing nature of English social life began to challenge both church and state.

The church history of these two periods of the eighteenth century has tended to be written from a fairly narrow range of sources. The history of ideas, theological and political, has been compiled from the published works of the leading figures, whereas other sources suggest levels of popular religious belief quite different from what is conventionally understood by the phrase 'eighteenth century religion'.¹ Analysis of contemporary affairs has been drawn from the official and private papers of the prelates and politicians; history as the biography of great men has been the inevitable rubric.² The non-jurors, Jacobites, latitudinarians and parochial clergy have yet to find their social historian. This is not to demand a slavish adherence to a fashion for social history, the whole of social history and nothing but social history. It is merely to point out that there are dimensions of eighteenth life of which we have very little exact knowledge, and consequently there are aspects of its church history that are still subject to hasty, impressionistic treatment à la Macaulay.

If the political, social and economic facets of English religion have been more fully treated for the years 1789 to 1836 than for preceding periods, this has been largely dictated by the availability of evidence. It is only in the closing years of the century that quantitative historical evidence, most notably Parliamentary Papers, becomes widely available. Literary evidence in the form of diaries and other personal records become more plentiful, especially of people other than the rich and powerful. A new genre of sociological writing,

¹For example, John Ashton, Chap Books of the Eighteenth Century, 1882.

²In addition to Sykes' biographies, there are lives of Atterbury (1975) and of White Kennett (1957) by G.V. Bennett; of Tenison by E.F. Carpenter (1948); of Sharp by A.T. Hart (1949); of Sacheverell by G. Holmes (1970), etc.

analytical and philosophical, emerges with writers like Eden, Colquhoun, Arthur Young and Malthus. Diocesan Archives, which rarely contain complete series of records, other than the completely formal, before 1860, become much richer in this period. Social historians have very naturally been attracted to a period where hard facts and figures, and eager contemporary discussion of them, become available for the first time on population, Poor Law, industry, agriculture, religious behaviour, employment and education.¹ Whether the insights and techniques gained in this period can be applied to the earlier eighteenth century remains to be seen. Two recent studies suggest that criminal, legal history and the study of public order can be a fruitful and relatively well documented source for the social historian;² possibly other unused sources from secular history may emerge that may be of use to the church historian. The literature on Methodism and nonconformity is very large and has taken a more sociological turn than Anglican studies. John Bossy's recent book³ shows English Catholic studies come of age in a way that one hopes might be emulated for the Anglican church.

In 1792 Burke spoke of the relations between church and state:

An alliance between church and state in a Christian commonwealth is in my opinion an idle and fanciful speculation. An alliance is between two things that are in their nature distinct and independent, as between two sovereign states. But in a Christian commonwealth the church and the state are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole. For the church has always been divided into two parts, the clergy and the laity, of which the laity is as much an essential integral part and has as much its duties and privileges as the clerical member, and in the rule, order and government has its share. 4

¹For bibliographies of recent works see R.A. Soloway, 'Church and Society: Recent Trends in Nineteenth Century religious history', Journal of British Studies, vol XI, 1972, and G. Himmelfarb, 'The Writing of Social History: Recent Studies of Nineteenth Century England', JBS, XI, 1971.

²G. Rudé, The Crowd in History: A Study of popular disturbances in France and England 1730-1848, 1964; E.P. Thompson, Whigs and Hunters, 1975.

³John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1975.

This present study could be summarised as an attempt to explore the social, economic and political reality that lay behind this concept in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A similar study for the earlier period has yet to be made, and may indeed, for the reasons outlined above, remain an impracticable ambition.

2. The Writing of Rural History 1800-1900

The problem of change in the rural community has been an enduring and controversial theme in English literature, and more recently in English historiography. Changes in the patterns of population, employment, land ownership, parish government, and the impact of these changes on the nature of the community and its 'way of life', have long been a fruitful field for social historians. The terms of the debate have been persistently sharpened by contemporary reference; the history of the rural community has often had an appeal that is emotional and ideological, and discussion of subjects like enclosure, the poor laws, standards of living and the advent of machinery has been coloured, not to say bedevilled, by the politics and social philosophy of generations of historians. Indeed it is often difficult to distinguish between history and polemic, and some of the works I shall discuss here seem to belong to a tradition of rural complaint that reaches back through centuries of literary history.

In his stimulating studies of the agricultural revolution, ¹ Professor Mingay takes the work of the Hammonds ² as seminal for the modern understanding of eighteenth and nineteenth century agrarian history. In their view of the social consequences of enclosure and of the whole

⁴ Burke, 'Speech on the Petition of the Unitarians', 1792, in Writings and Speeches (ed. Beaconsfield, 1894), VII, p.43.

¹ G.E. Mingay, 'The Agricultural Revolution in English History: A Reconsideration', reprinted in Essays in Agrarian History, vol.2, edited by W.E. Minchinton, 1968; Enclosure and the Small Farmer in the Age of the Industrial Revolution, 1968.

² J.L. and B. Hammond, The Village Labourer, 1912.

pattern of English history between 1760 and 1840,¹ Professor Mingay considers that they were "following in the footsteps of Marx, Engels, and Thorold Rogers". While not wishing to deny that the Hammonds' books were widely read and very influential, it is surely a mistake to regard them as a starting-point for the historiography of the rural community, and equally wrong to ascribe their historical philosophy to Marx. The Hammonds were rather the focal point of a complex and purely English historical tradition which was already a hundred years old when the Hammonds were writing, and which was certainly not Marxist nor even simply radical. I propose to examine some of the many manifestations of this tradition in the nineteenth century, and to indicate where I consider its sources to lie.

The essential characteristic of the tradition is a romantic critique of the post-industrial age. Its informing spirit is one of regret, of loss. Throughout the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, historians had been accustomed to view the past as inferior, barbarous, something that they had escaped from. Paine considered that:

The age of ignorance commenced with the Christian system. There was more knowledge in the world before that period than for many centuries afterwards.... We have now to look through a vast chasm of many hundred years to the respectable characters we call the ancients.... The Christian system laid all waste; and if we take our stand about the beginning of the sixteenth century, we look back through that long chasm to the times of the ancients as over a vast sandy desert in which not a shrub appears to intercept the vision of the fertile hills beyond. 2

Reason, science, and historical study were seen as liberating society from its past imperfections. In Hume's opinion the virtue of medieval studies was to make one thankful for the present:

If the aspect of some periods seems horrid and deformed, we may learn thence to cherish with the greater anxiety that science and civility which have so close a connection with virtue and humanity, and which, as it is a sovereign remedy against superstition, is also the most effective remedy against vice and disorder of every kind. 3

¹J.L. and E. Hammond, The Town Labourer (1917); The Bleak Age (1934), etc.

²T. Paine, The Age of Reason (1796), 1901 ed., p.33-34.

³Hume, History of England (1761), III, p.297.

The idea that progress might involve deterioration, that the past might have lessons for the present is a new development in nineteenth century historiography. This distinction between history as progress and history as decline is developed by Hugh Trevor-Roper in a study of Sir Walter Scott.¹ Trevor-Roper credits Scott with the creation of a kind of romantic social history, where the past is invested with qualities - of heroism, liberty, poetry - which progress has destroyed. Scott's tremendous vogue stimulated a new interest in history both as a serious study and as a subject of idealised visions. These attitudes were adopted by historians and employed in the creation of a new kind of history, a particularly clear example of which is the radical agrarian history characteristic of the nineteenth century. The most recent of Raymond Williams' penetrating studies² is helpful here in tracing pastoral nostalgia, the concept of a vanished world through English literary history. Beginning with Leavis and Thompson's influential book Culture and Environment (1932), Williams examines the belief that the peasant culture, the organic rural community has been destroyed by economic progress. But this feeling he finds also in Thomas Hardy, in Cobbett, Clare, Goldsmith, Massinger, Thomas More, Langland, back to the days before the Norman yoke, the Saxon yoke, the Roman yoke and so on back ultimately to Eden. This nostalgia for a golden age is a recurring theme in English literature; the golden age itself has no historical location, except perhaps in the childhood of the writer.³

¹H. Trevor-Roper, 'Walter Scott and History', Listener (19.8.1971).

²R. Williams, The Country and the City, (1973).

³Ibid., chapter 2.

The decline of the countryside is one of those trends, like the rise of the middle classes, that seem to be demonstrable from the evidence of virtually any period one cares to select. ¹

In the eighteenth century literature, this tradition shifted its reference from English history to classical antiquity, The Deserted Village being the unique exception. It is this tradition, formerly purely literary, which was rediscovered by historians in the nineteenth century, and employed in the creation of a radical agrarian historiography.

Although the golden age has no ultimate resting-place, nevertheless the streams of real history do contribute to the central flow of the tradition. One such stream was clearly the complex of developments in the years 1780-1830, principally the drastic population increase, the working of the Old Poor Law, the enclosure of land and industrialisation, which many contemporaries saw as degrading the peasantry and destroying their traditional way of life. In seeking to trace the origin of the nineteenth century agrarian historical tradition, there can be no doubt of the seminal influence of the radicals, especially the Tory radicals. This influence is both general and specific. For example, the idealisation of the Saxon constitution before the coming of the Norman yoke is a theme which the radicals developed, ² and which one finds recurring in various writers throughout the nineteenth century. More generally, radical social theories would clearly encourage the development of new historical perspectives.

But poverty and injustice suffered by the poor did not always loom large in the Radicals' campaign for parliamentary reform, and clearly not every reformer, pamphleteer, Chartist and philanthropist between

¹ W.J. Keith, The Rural Tradition (1975), p.14.

² See e.g. Major John Cartwright, The English Constitution (1823) where the Witenagemot serves as the model for the proposed annual parliaments.

1790 and 1840 can be seen as contributing to the tradition. The earlier objectors to enclosure took their stand upon the economic consequences for the peasantry. There were detailed arguments, and various writers gave them, ¹ to show that the living standards of the poor were falling. It was personal observation of rural poverty that caused Arthur Young's change of heart about enclosure, and he too saw the problem as an economic one. ² The same humanitarian concern for the poor was the guiding force in the work of Samuel Whitbread, Sir Thomas Bernard, Wilberforce and the rest of that generation of notable philanthropists. But acceptance that the poor 'had a case' and deserved help, did not necessarily involve a radical critique of society as a whole. It is a different and slightly later group of men who begin to see enclosure and pauperism as the results of fundamentally evil social change. The growth of the cities, the creation of a dehumanised workforce, the disappearance of traditional ways of life, the emergence of class-hostility, these are the categories of thought one finds developing in the 1820's, alongside the continuing debate on the economic position of the poor. When Cobbett rages against enclosure, it is not merely because the labourers are worse off than they were, but because a way of life had been destroyed - the England of his youth ruined by greed and economic progress. ³ The 'Cottage Economy' can be seen as an elegiac work, an anthology of the vanishing crafts and skills of a disinherited people. Cobbett's bitter opposition to the New Poor Law derived from his belief in the natural right of all men to the produce of the land.

¹ E.g. David Davies, The Case of the Labourers in Husbandry (1795); John Howlett, An Examination of Mr. Pitt's Speech ... (1796).

² J. Gazley, Life of Arthur Young (1972), chapter 8.

³ G.D.H. and M. Cole, Opinions of William Cobbett (1944), pp.62-63, 65-66.

whether as wages or relief, since private landownership exists on the sufferance of the community, not from absolute right. "Constant protection is due from the State to every man", and this responsibility he considered was being evaded under the New Poor Law.¹ In view of our discussion of the golden age, we need not be surprised when Cobbett looks further back even than his childhood, to pre-Reformation England when the Church cared for the poor, and when the "beautiful chain of dependence from man to man" was unbroken. The Reformation he sees as a pillage of the people, economic greed under the disguise of progress, like enclosure.² The medieval social ideal was of course to become common coin among nineteenth century thinkers. One of its earliest and most striking expressions is in Robert Southey's 'Sir Thomas More' (1829). In essays, many printed in the Quarterly Review,³ Southey had for a number of years been moving towards the ideas expanded here. He is concerned with the dehumanising effects of the Industrial Revolution both on society and on the individual; specifically one finds the idea that thousands of people were driven from the countryside of their birth, now enclosed and exploited, into the industrial wen.⁴ Throughout this work the finest concepts of Catholic humanism are contrasted with the "strange disease of modern life" in a way that was to be of great influence on the Tory radical tradition.⁵ Even excluding the whole spectrum of Catholic thought, the strength of this tradition is immediately apparent from the list of those eminent Victorians who at various times accepted it and made some contribution to it: Carlyle, Ruskin, Disraeli,

¹Cobbett, Legacy to Labourers (1835) discussed in N.C. Pdsall, The Anti-Poor Law Movement (1971), chapter 1.

²Cobbett, History of the Protestant Reformation (1828), two volumes.

³Reprinted as Essays, Moral and Political (1828), two volumes.

⁴Southey, Sir Thomas More, vol.i, pp.61-62.

⁵Some aspects of this tradition are discussed in R. Williams, Culture and Society (1958).

William Morris - some of the greatest figures of the age - endorsed this critique of industrial society and a view of history that was essentially mythical. This is not to say that this view was completely untrue, but that its appeal lay not in its truth but in its power to rationalise and legitimise a feeling. This, I suggest, is the appeal of golden age radicalism, whether that age is located in the Saxon village democracy, the medieval spiritual community, or the eighteenth century countryside. It is this tradition which fed a whole complex of movements in the nineteenth century which I shall now describe - movements that were historiographical, political, literary and antiquarian.

One of the most striking expressions of this tradition is the historical writing of the later nineteenth century. At different times different historical problems absorb the attention of the scholars and intellectuals, and appear to be of crucial, dominating importance for the history of our society. At present perhaps the most eagerly debated issue is the industrial revolution and its social consequences, which are felt to be of primary importance in tracing the origins of modern British society, and it provokes wide-ranging controversies among historians. So, between 1850 and 1910 there was a tremendous interest in the history of landownership and land tenure from pre-Saxon times onwards.¹ Agrarian evidence was used to substantiate various theories of the history of the English constitution, whether the constitution began in serfdom and ended in freedom, or began in freedom and ended in serfdom.² Clearly this interest was related to contemporary issues of parliamentary reform, land reform, and popular government; as R.M.

¹ J.W. Burrow, 'The Village Community and the Uses of History in Late Nineteenth Century England' in Historical Perspectives: Essays in Honour of J.H. Plumb, ed. N. McKendrick (1974).

² F. Seebohm, The English Village Community (1883) preface.

Hodgkin remarks, "The Victorians turned with zest to the Saxon period because Stubbs, Freeman and Green showed them there the dawn of English democracy".¹ This 'constitutional history' which sounds to us so remote and difficult was in fact the contemporary equivalent of the social history so fashionable today. The twin pillars on which the theory of the rustic Saxon democracy rested were the Witendgemot, which Freeman firmly believed to be a popular assembly, and the regulation of the common fields.² The latter subject was singled out by many historians as the key issue in medieval social history: did the peasants hold their land in common, or merely work it in common on the sufferance of the lord of the manor? Was the lord a landowner or merely a primus inter pares? Did the Norman yoke destroy a primitive, almost idyllic, communism?³ These questions were discussed by the foremost historians in England, and, interestingly enough, in Germany too. Professor C.E. McClelland has recently described the fascination which England exercised over the German mind in the nineteenth century.⁴ He observes that one could "classify German schools of history by the way they used the past to teach a political lesson. For this reason their histories are more than obsolete and long-winded volumes gathering dust on our shelves: they are historical documents themselves".⁵ What attracted the German historians was English liberty, ⁱⁿ which they saw an expression of the Germanic spirit which had been thwarted through a series of accidents in the history of Germany itself. In von Muller and Lappenberg a

¹R.M. Hodgkin, History of the Anglo-Saxons (1935), preface.

²F.M. Stenton, 'Early English History' in Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, edited by D. Stenton (1970).

³For the earlier history of the concept of the 'Norman Yoke' see C.Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (1958).

⁴C.E. McClelland, The German Historians and England (1971).

⁵Ibid., p.7.

tradition was established in which Anglo-Saxon democracy, the Norman yoke, the Reformation and the seventeenth century struggle between Crown and Parliament were all explained in racial terms: the Germanic spirit of liberty and creativity in conflict with the dark repressive forces of Latin autocracy.¹ The concept of the Teutonic heritage remained fashionable and respectable until the end of the century, and some of these works were translated into English and influenced English historiography. Sir Henry Maine gave the most decisive expression to this idea by ascribing the free village community to the Aryan heritage; drawing on his experience as an Indian administrator, he adduced parallels between the social structures of nineteenth century rural India and those of Teutonic Europe.² The specific issue of the common fields was singled out by von Maurer, Nasse and others as evidence of primitive communism,³ and this subject was widely debated in England by Sir Henry Maine, Frederic Seebohm, Paul Vinogradoff, F.W. Maitland and many others. Vinogradoff's Villeinage in England (1892) contains an unusual and illuminating preface in which he explains that his interest in the subject is wholly practical. Russia is emerging from the middle ages into the twentieth century and a correct understanding of the agrarian history of England may help her to solve her attendant social and economic problems. History, which he affirms was formerly a branch of literary creation, is becoming an exact science which can serve man as the other sciences do. The historical question of freedom and servitude was given a new importance by the events of 1848, and 'social history' (Vinogradoff uses that phrase) has become a necessary preliminary of political theory. He

¹ Ibid., 102-4.

² Sir Henry Maine, Village Communities in the East and West (1887).

³ See e.g. Erwin Nasse, On the Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages and the Inclosures of the Sixteenth Century, English edition (1871).

proceeds in his introduction to classify previous writers on the subject according to their contemporary political tendencies. Some of his observations may seem a little far-fetched at first glance over the serious, scholarly, minutely-detailed studies of Stubbs, Maitland, Seebohm, and the rest. Indeed Maitland suggested in a letter to Vinogradoff that his European perspective led him to detect levels of significance that would surprise the English scholars.¹ And yet the contemporary reference is there, both in the selection of the subject and in specific arguments, even in Maitland himself, for example in his discussion of common rights, where he remarks:

If we are going to confuse sovereignty with ownership, imperium with dominium, political power with proprietary right, why then let our socialists and collectivists cease their strivings and sing Te Deum. Already their ideal must be attained. Every inch of the soil of France, to name one instance, 'belongs' to the French Republic. But if we would not be guilty of this confusion, then we must be very careful before we assent to the proposition that ... the ownership of land by communities appears before the ownership of land by individuals. 2

On a less exalted historical level than Stubbs, Maitland and the others, there are a considerable number of works on agrarian and social history which were written with an overtly contemporary purpose.

Brodrick, Garnier, Thorold Rogers, Scrutton,³ all conclude their books with chapters on 'the present situation' and 'suggested reforms'. These books had the effect of popularising and bringing up to date the questions raised by the medieval scholars. The issue of parliamentary enclosures began to assert itself within the larger questions of landownership and the historical freedom of the English people. Scrutton's book was a prize essay, and it is significant that the law of commons should be

¹ C.H.S. Fifoot, Frederick William Maitland (1971), 122.

² F.W. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond (1897), 340ff.

³ G.W. Brodrick, English Land and English Landlords (1881); R.M. Garnier, History of the English Landed Interest, 2 volumes (1892); J.E. Thorold Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages (1884); T.E. Scrutton, Commons and Common Fields (1887).

thought a suitable topic for an annual competition. The primitive-democracy theory cast grave doubts on the right of the lord of the manor to enclose commons and common fields. The question began to be asked whether the enclosures were not a gigantic robbery, justified by the legal theory that common rights existed merely by sufferance of the lord of the manor. The constitutional historians were now suggesting however that the communal rights preceded private title to land. On this basis enclosure was the final stage in the long erosion of ancient rights by those possessed of economic power, and this troubled the Victorians, whose respect for the law was unbounded. Thus the doubts about enclosure expressed by contemporaries, now received a new confirmation from the historians. In the 1880's and 90's this field was an intellectual growth industry, as nineteenth century social history is today. The reason for this widespread interest becomes clear when one looks at some of the social and political issues that were occupying the nation at this time. Clearly it is out of the scope of this paper to describe them at length, but for our purposes there are two main strands, highly important in their day, but which have received surprisingly little attention from historians: ¹ the land reform movement and the commons preservation movement.

The last third of the nineteenth century figures in agrarian history as the period of the Great Depression. ² Like most historical labels this has recently been criticised and at least partly rejected. ³ Whatever the truth of the matter, most contemporaries saw the farming situation as one of crisis, and in the search for remedies a new impetus

¹J.J. Perkin, 'Land Reform and Class Conflict in Victorian Britain' in The Victorians and Social Protest edited by J. Butt and I.F. Clarke, (1973).

²See e.g. Lord Ernle, English Farming Past and Present (1912), chapter 18.

³T.W. Fletcher, 'The Great Depression in English Agriculture 1873-96', reprinted in Minchinton, Essays in Agrarian History, ii (1968).

was given to the subject of land reform,¹ which had long been a topic of philosophical speculation among economists. It seems reasonable to speak of a land reform movement in view of the political heat the subject generated, and the quantity of literature it produced. However, the movement is not obviously identifiable because it did not culminate in a single sweeping legislative reform, and the various strands remained disparate and ungathered. The land reform movement was a logical sequence of the Free Trade campaign. The aristocratic land monopoly stood condemned by the doctrines of laissez-faire as much as did the protectionist commercial laws. Cobden believed that wealth and power in Victorian society rested ultimately on land, and after the Free Trade victory was won, turned his attack against the large aristocratic estates, aiming at the abolition of primogeniture, entails and settlements, by which the land monopoly was maintained. The Cobden Club was formed to popularise this programme, and it issued many important publications, most notably perhaps Brodrick's English Land and English Landlords (1881). Naturally however a subject such as land reform produced such a variety of schemes that unity eluded the radical forces.² Thus Brodrick, for example, was at pains to distinguish his views, which consisted largely in an attack on the law of primogeniture, from those of the collectivists and nationalists who he considered had damaged the cause of free trade in land. The out-and-out nationalists like Alfred Russell Wallace,³ the naturalist who espoused the cause in his later life, sympathised with the Cobden Club's aim of breaking up the aristocratic estates, but regarded state control as the only way of

¹ S. Maccoby, The English Radical Tradition (documents) (1952), 183-220.

² F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963), 283-5.

³ A.R. Wallace, Land Nationalisation (1892).

guaranteeing free trade against the monopolistic tendency which would be present in a laissez-faire economy. Another manifestation of the same theories, the same social concerns, was the small-holdings movement, chiefly embodied in Jesse Collings' slogan "3 acres and a cow", which sought to redistribute land, solve the agricultural crisis and elevate the poor.¹ The first phase of agricultural trade unionism from the 60's to the 90's also attracted some liberal middle-class support, overlapping to an extent with the advocates of small-holdings.

What is particularly interesting about these movements in the 70's and 80's and the literature they produced, is the extent to which they anticipate the Hammond approach. In their attack on the tripartite division of English agrarian society into owner, tenant and labourer, Thorold Rogers, Wallace, Collings and their fellow-travellers present quite as radical a view of agrarian history as the Hammonds. But the influence of Marx is nowhere to be found. The locus classicus of Marx's agrarian history - chapters 26 and 27 of Capital - was not published until 1894 and waited fifteen years before finding an English translator. Insofar as these movements have an intellectual basis, it is purely English - back through Spencer² and Mill. Mill's discussion of ownership and property in his Principles.³ was widely followed, and widely execrated, throughout the nineteenth century. Mill dismisses as a myth the idea of the sanctity of property, arguing that land differs from all other kinds of property in that it is finite; the possession of vast wealth does not prevent others from also acquiring wealth or

¹ Jesse Collings, Land Reform (1908); The Life of the Rt. Hon. Jesse Collings, by himself and Sir John Green (1920).

² Spencer and Henry George, the American whose agrarian socialism enjoyed a European vogue, inspired the ideas of the hero in Tolstoy's Resurrection (1899), see part one, chapter 3 and part two, chapter 9.

³ J.S. Mill, Principles of Political Economy (1848), book two, chapters 1 and 2.

material riches, but whoever owns land necessarily bars all other title to it. Ownership of land must be regarded as granted by the sufferance of the community, a kind of stewardship. When landowners defend themselves by claiming that they discharge public duties, that their privileges are attended by responsibilities,¹ Mill turns this argument against them by saying that, "If the State is at liberty to treat the possessors of land as public functionaries, it is only going one step further to say that it is at liberty to discard them." This philosophy crystallises the political arguments of the following fifty years, and clearly it gave a pointed relevance to the works of the historians discussed above.

The practical achievements of the land reform movement were limited and piecemeal,² which is perhaps surprising in view of the broadly-based support it commanded, and of the relevance of the Irish land question, which was clearly that of England writ large.³ The liberals adopted a measure of land reform into their programme, and the Settled Land Act of 1882, a measure which the landowners themselves desired, took some of the heat out of the issue.⁴ Various acts relating to allotments and small-holdings were passed in the next twenty years, but the break-up of the large estates was postponed until the years during and after the Great War, by which time economic pressures were looming larger than radical demands. In another direction, however, interest in the land question had highly important consequences, namely the emergence of the commons preservation movement.

George Shaw-Lefevre's history of the Commons Preservation Society⁵

¹ An argument repeated by R.M. Garnier, op.cit. ii, 511ff.

² H.M. Lynd, England in the 1880's, 124ff.

³ For a grass-roots view of land reform in the 80's and 90's, see M.K. Ashby, Joseph Ashby of Tysoe (1961), especially chapters X, XII and XIV.

⁴ D. Spring, The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century (1963), 175-7.

⁵ G. Shaw-Lefevre, English Commons and Forests (1894), revised edition Commons, Forests and Footpaths (1910) under the title Lord Eversley.

is a fascinating and sometimes dramatic document (which surely merits reprinting as much as Shaw-Lefevre himself merits a biography). It is not widely realised today how near London came to losing Epping Forest, Hampstead Heath, Wimbledon Common and its other precious open spaces. The same is true of Ashdown Forest, the Malvern Hills, the New Forest and many other places which were saved by this small, far-sighted group¹ who worked for nearly forty years against powerful vested interests and outmoded laws. The views of Shaw-Lefevre and some of his colleagues on the history of enclosure as one of legalised robbery and consequent social deprivation from the late Middle Ages onwards, are another manifestation of that English historical radicalism that anticipates the Hammonds. The members of the Commons Preservation Society made a distinction between the open fields - the pre-enclosure method of strip farming - and the commons.² They were not primarily interested in the former, although many of them, including Shaw-Lefevre, were convinced that the English peasantry had suffered by their loss. But clearly by 1830 or so, the cause of the open fields was lost; nobody could, and few people wished to, restore them or prevent the extinction of the few that remained. But the issue of the commons was not dead, and in the 1860's a rearguard action against enclosure began. There were two main reasons for this, the one economic, the other what we should call environmental. The economic argument was that enclosure had been essentially the product of protectionist laws in a war-time economy. Between 1790 and 1820 the aim of successive governments was self-sufficiency in agriculture, encouraged by the Corn Laws. The rage

¹ Among the most prominent perhaps were Shaw-Lefevre, Leslie Stephen, Thomas Hughes, John Stuart Mill, and later Sir Charles Dilke and Octavia Hill.

² See for example T.E. Scrutton, Commons and Common Fields (1887), chapter 6.

for enclosing, for ploughing up wastes and commons to grow corn, was economic and political sense. But with the coming of Free Trade in 1845, the situation changed. With so much food and grain being imported in a free market, paid for by the wealth of expanding industry, it mattered little whether a few more acres were cultivated or not. Simultaneously, a new environmental consciousness began to develop; wastes and commons that were of little economic value whether cultivated or not, now acquired a value simply as open spaces surviving amid private farmland or urban development. Enclosure now came to be seen as a loss to the nation. Former arguments a generation before had centred on the possible injustice to the local peasantry; but now an awareness grew up that everyone suffered a loss when a common was enclosed, whether by a farmer or as was the case in the urban areas, by a speculative builder. The cynic might argue that it was only when the middle classes perceived their own interests to be endangered that they began to oppose enclosure. But this new awareness was clearly related to other changes in Victorian habits - the awareness of fresh air and exercise, the growth of sport, of mountaineering, and the belief in the physical and moral value of these things ¹ (the closure of large tracts of the Scottish Highlands for game preserves is an occasion of complaint at this time²).

This change of sentiment became so marked that parliamentary enclosure ceases after 1869 because the House would no longer sanction it. Consequently, the landowners employed a most ingenious stratagem, in the revived use of the Statute of Merton, disused for nearly two centuries, to enclose by power of the courts. Thus it was that the

¹ See for example Octavia Hill, The Open Spaces of the Future (XIX Century, 1899).

² E.g. Joseph Kay, Free Trade in Land (1879), 15.

fight to defend the commons took place in the courts, not in Parliament. Although the court cases were conducted strictly in terms of medieval commons law, the legal victories of the Society were in fact a vindication of the public interest over the right of the private landowner, long considered sacrosanct - a clear application of the philosophy of Mill which was so influential on all land reformers. The judges and lawyers must of course have been aware of the wider implications of these cases, but they seem to have carefully restricted the proceedings to technical legal theory, although the "right" judgement was always given.¹ The final triumph of the Society was the virtual repeal of the Statute of Merton under the Law of Commons Amendment Act of 1894. As Shaw-Lefevre remarks, it is a remarkable testimony to the strength of feeling on this subject that the House of Lords should have passed such a measure, allowing their traditional interests and feelings to be set aside.²

The related story of the development of the National Trust is an equally interesting one,³ revealing as it does something of the social, moral and aesthetic climate of late Victorian England. It is again evidence of that conservative yet radical outlook so prevalent in the nineteenth century, and of the concern with the vanishing rural heritage.

One more aspect of late nineteenth century agrarian literary history remains to be described, namely the proliferation of studies of - to use the title of one of them - the 'Annals of the British Peasantry'.⁴ In the 1880's and 90's there began to appear histories of regional communities,⁵ of folklore,⁶ of the way of life of the common people,⁷

¹I am indebted for this information to Dr. S. Anderson of the London School of Economics who has been working on the legal history of the Commons Preservation Society.

²G. Shaw-Lefevre, Commons, Forests and Footpaths, 211.

³W.T. Hill, Octavia Hill (1956).

⁴R.M. Garnier, Annals of the British Peasantry (1895).

⁵E.g. the Memorials of Old England series edited by P.H. Ditchfield, also the author of Vanishing England (1910).

⁶G.L. Gomme, Folk-Lore Relics of Early Village Life (1883).

⁷T.F. Thiselton Dyer, Old English Social Life as Told by Parish Registers (1898).

and the first examples of 'country books' - Old Wiltshire, Old Norfolk, A Devon Childhood, 'Twixt Mersey and Dee, and so on - a type of book that replaced the more detached Georgian genre of "A Tour Through ...", and which has remained a familiar feature of the English literary landscape ever since. Some of these books had, like the historical works discussed above, a definite political bias. G.L. Gomme's study of folk-moots was a very widely read book describing open-air judicial and legislative assemblies - "old customs and habits which breathe of the freedom of primitive life".¹ Another writer considered that popular superstition, folk-lore, fairy tale, legend and folk-memory were relics of the vanished, quasi-religious culture of archaic England.² The work of Cecil Sharp was another manifestation of this interest of educated people in the common heritage. Many of these books however, were liberal only in a sentimental sense; they resented the rising tide of modern democracy, especially agricultural trade unionism.³ They looked back to an age before trade unionism, before the Poor Law, before enclosure, when the countryman was sturdy but deferential, shrewd but uneducated, poor but unprotesting. This literature is very varied, and I do an injustice to some of these authors by speaking lightly of them - many of them are of great value to local historians today. But what they have in common is a view of the past that is essentially romantic, a sense of regret for what modern society has lost through industrial progress. The literary cult of the 'Rural Pan' in the 1890's is also relevant here.⁴

¹G.L. Gomme, Primitive Folk-Moots (1880). Gomme was the chief architect of the Victoria County Histories.

²Harold Bayley, The Lost Language of Symbolism (1912); Archaic England (1919).

³E.g. R.M. Garnier, Annals of the British Peasantry (1895).

⁴See e.g. P. Green, Kenneth Grahame: a Biography (1959), chapter 6.

In this survey we have travelled far from the crisis-ridden England of Cobbett and Castlereagh, from the days of enclosure, rick-burning and village pauperism; and yet perhaps not so far, for the common thread is clearly visible - the ownership and tenure of land, and the idealised vision of a way of life that was becoming increasingly remote. Ideas that were first used as a polemic against the times passed into the history books; indeed in many of the works discussed above history and polemic are inextricably blended, supremely so in the Hammonds' books which are the heirs to this tradition. Marxism was an intellectually negligible force in England at the turn of the century, while the tradition of radical agrarian history was strong. Continental socialist ideas could only act as a confirmation of this tradition. There is a passage in Wilhelm Hasbach's History of the English Agricultural Labourer which perfectly embodies this view of history, summing up a hundred years of radical thought, and pointing the way for the left-wing historians of the twentieth century:

It is among the deepest convictions of the English middle classes that the sixteenth century struggle for the purity of religion, and the seventeenth century struggle for personal liberty are among the greatest achievements of their nation. It is remarkable that the lower classes should have accepted this conviction. For the reformation robbed them of the institution that had helped them in their time of need, and parliamentary government produced a class domination which took their land from them, threw on them the greater part of the burdens entailed by trade wars and colonial wars, and pitilessly abandoned them to the storm that broke over them with the rise of the great industries. 1

The remarkable thing about this view of history is the variety of routes by which it could be reached, for it is also Chesterton's history: religious, revolutionary yet somehow in his case quintessentially English. The concept of the Georgian and Victorian periods as a conspiracy against the poor that one finds in the early socialist writers - Tawney, Hasbach, the Webbs - as well as in the Hammonds, was born in contemporary polemics, matured in golden age radicalism, and became a persistent theme in nineteenth and twentieth century history and social theory.

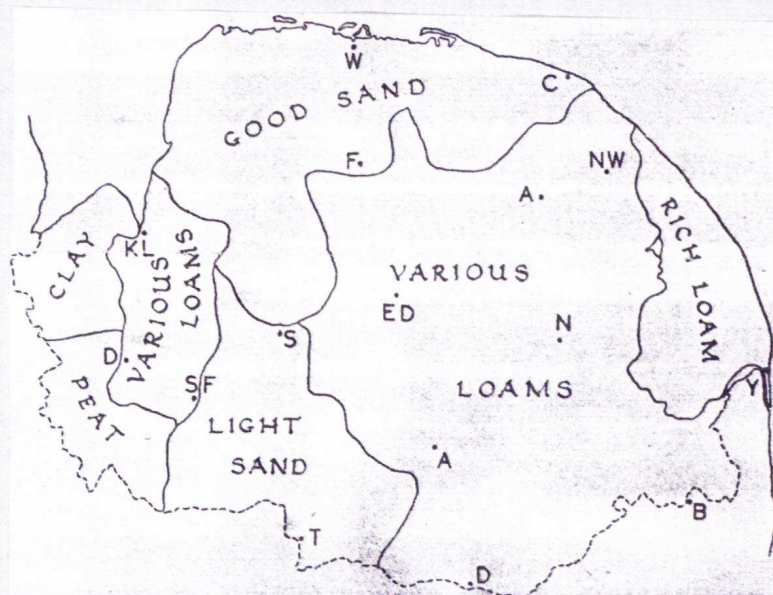
¹W. Hasbach, History of the English Agricultural Labourer (Eng.ed. 1908),70.

CHAPTER TWO

NORFOLK AND THE NORWICH DIOCESE, 1760-1840

1. The County and the Diocese

The topography and agriculture of Georgian Norfolk are described in contemporary works by William Marshall, Nathaniel Kent and Arthur Young.¹ Young produced a pioneering map of the soils of Norfolk, and contemporary accounts of the topography and farming in the county confirm his picture:



Young's 1804 soil map. Principal towns shown by initials.

Attention was centred on the large, progressive estates of Coke, Townshend and Lord Orford in the north of the county, and on the achievement of these men in establishing the fame of 'Norfolk husbandry'. The picture of the rest of the county is rather less clear-cut. Even Marshall's book, based on a two-year residence on the Gunton estate near North Walsham, is unable to classify the large central, eastern and north-eastern area into tidy subdivisions. The excellent map published by William Faden in 1794 shows a variety of land use throughout the county. This variety is amply confirmed by the modern soil map, which shows a

¹W. Marshall, Rural Economy of Norfolk, 2 vols. (1787); N. Kent, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk (1794); A. Young, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk (1804).

NORFOLK

WOODS, HEATH, COMMONS, FEN
MARSH IN 1790-4

AFTER THE MAP PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM
TAPEN



- WOODLAND
- FEN & MARSH
- PARKLAND
- COMMON & HEATH

..... COUNTY BOUNDARY

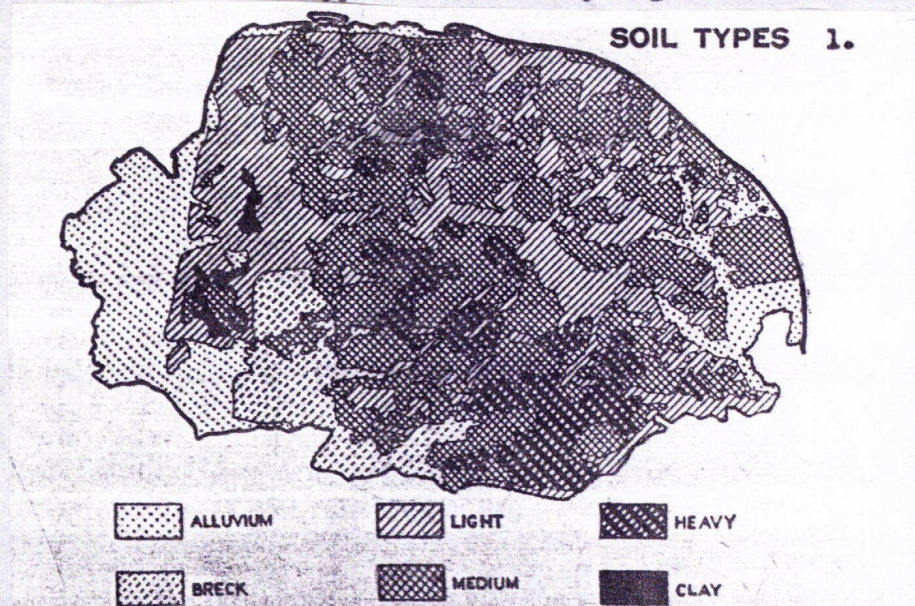
Scale 6 Miles to 1 Inch

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

18 Miles

complex distribution of soil types within every region delineated by

Young:



The distribution of Parliamentary enclosures (see map in appendix) shows that enclosure in Norfolk was not confined to any particular region or soil type. Moreover Faden's map shows a relatively low acreage of common and common field surviving in the 1790's. The inference is that many of the hundreds of Parliamentary enclosures after this date were confirmations of existing arrangements or involved low acreages. It is clear that soil types and land-use were varied and complex throughout most of the county.

Evidence of extensive private enclosure and improvement in the eighteenth century is provided in several contemporary accounts. Kent remarked that "Wherever a person can get four or five acres together, he plants a white-thorn hedge round it, and sets an oak at every rod distance, which is consented to by a general courtesy from one neighbour to another".² Francois de la Rochefoucauld described the west of the county in 1784.³ In the light sand or 'breck' region he wrote

¹Reproduced from An Economic Survey of Agriculture in the Eastern Counties of England (Cambridge School of Agriculture, 1933).

²Kent, op.cit., 22.

³F. de la Rochefoucauld, A Frenchman in England (1784), English edition S.C. Roberts (1933).

of extreme desolation between Thetford and Hillborough, "No cultivation everywhere sand, everywhere little clumps of reed and bracken ... arid country full of rabbits". North of Swaffham however, entering Young's "good sand" region, the scene changed. He visited a three thousand acre farm at Rougham^h were thirty years previously the land had been unenclosed and unproductive, but where after marling and enclosing "the land never lies idle". He goes on to give details of fifteen thousand acres of former sheepwalk and waste which had been enclosed, marled and farmed on the four-course system between 1720 and 1760.

It seems that in general terms Young's map is a reasonable guide to the contemporary topography. It gives a picture of marshlands in the east and west flanking a large central area of lighter soils in various stages of cultivation. It was a countryside in transition, but clearly some aspects of the transition were extremely gradual and well-established. The decades at the turn of the century did not witness unprecedented changes in land-use or consequent social disturbance.

One exception to this was the draining of the western marshes. After the seventeenth century achievements in draining the Wash region, there was a gap of a century and a half before a new phase of draining and embanking began¹ which was to transform the marshy wastes into a prosperous fruit and vegetable-growing region. The work of drainage and consequent increased cultivation led to a much higher population increase here than in^{other} parts of the county; between 1801 and 1831 the population in the Gallow Hundred rose by 47%, by 51% in Freebridge Lynn and by 79% in Freebridge Marshland, compared with increases of the order of 25% in the other hundreds.

(ed.)

¹J.E.G. Mosby, /Land Utilisation Survey of Norfolk (1938), 118-9.

There is a striking contrast between the optimistic, laudatory manner of the eighteenth^{century}/agricultural writers and the troubled history of farming around the turn of the century. High prices during the Napoleonic Wars meant prosperity for the farmers, but scarcity and want for the population at large. In almost any year from 1792 onwards one finds records of meetings, protests and local riots caused by food prices. After the bad harvest of 1799 the Norfolk Quarter Sessions recommended an allowance system based on the price of meal to be paid by the Poor Law overseers to the rural population. This was the Speenhamland system which was widely applied in Norfolk, in some parishes as a matter of course, in others in hard times only. ¹ In the agricultural returns of 1800, collected by the bishops at the request of the government, Bishop Manners-Sutton reported on rising prices, the grievances of the poor and the novel adoption of rice and soup into the common diet. ² The coastal ports of Norfolk witnessed frequent protests and riots against the shipping of supplies to the London market. ³ Nathaniel Kent recorded with pride that the four ports of Lynn, Yarmouth, Wells, Blakeney and Cley sent agricultural produce valued at £1,117,000 out of the county in 1793. ⁴ but perhaps the rural poor would have been less enthusiastic. Apart from the Swing riots of 1830, the most serious of these disturbances were at Downham Market, Ely and Wisbech in 1816, resulting in special assizes and several death sentences. ⁵ It must

¹A. Digby, 'The Operation of the Poor Law in the Social and Economic Life of Nineteenth Century Norfolk', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia (1971), chapter 1, part 2.

²R. Hindry Mason, History of Norfolk (1884), 479.

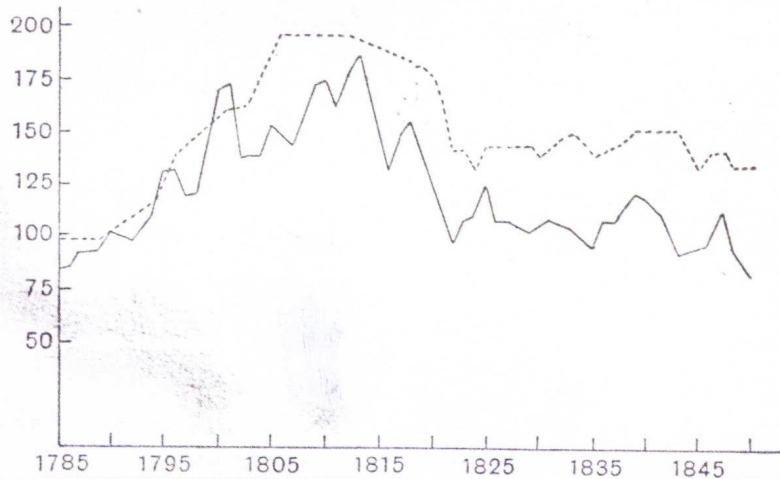
³Ibid., 477-8.

⁴Kent, op.cit., 50-52.

⁵A.J. Peacock, Bread or Blood: the Agrarian riots in East Anglia 1816 (1965).

be emphasised however that there was nothing new in these events. Throughout the eighteenth century public order was fragile in the country as in the town, the policing system loose and ad hoc, and the mob was not an unfamiliar sight. The county histories record food mobs, political and social riots throughout the eighteenth century,¹ when the loose, oligarchical system of local government and public order made it natural for an aggrieved populace to seek a rough, immediate justice at their own hands. The turbulence of the countryside in this period was not new; what was new was the public and Parliamentary interest in the conditions that provoked it, an awareness of the complexities of economics, and an expanding press to carry news of these events and to record them for future historians. Moreover, as far as economic historians have been able to ascertain, the relation between rural wages and prices remained constant throughout this period.²

----- General Course of English Agricultural Wages (after Bowley). N.B. Information as to wages is fairly ample for the periods 1780-1794 and 1823 *sqq.*; the curve for the intervening period is less certain.
—— Working-class cost of living Index (after Silberling).



The population of Norfolk was engaged primarily in agriculture, the old weaving trade having largely shifted in this period to the north of

¹Mason, *op.cit.*, 429ff.

²Reproduced from A. Aspinall and E. Smith, English Historical Documents 1783-1832 (1959), 612.

England.¹ The 1831 census shows 44% of Norfolk families dependant on agriculture against the national figure of 27%, while 33% were engaged in trade, manufacture and handicraft compared with a national figure of 43%. The importance of Norfolk agriculture increased at just the time when the woollen and worsted industries were declining. The county centre was of course the city of Norwich, until the end of the eighteenth century the third city in the land. The history of Norwich however lies largely outside the scope of this study. Its trade and manufacture, its rich political, religious and cultural life, its independent traditions, its notable families, its Quakers, Radicals, Unitarians and Dissenters, form a separate study in complex urban history.

The government of the county was by the Lord and Deputy Lieutenants, Quarter Sessions, Petty Sessions, borough and parish officers. Law was enforced by court and parish officers, and order maintained in extremis by associations of householders and the militia. From the lists in the county histories and in Parliamentary papers of those who filled these positions, it seems clear that these structures were in effect formalisations of the informal oligarchical network of power and influence which ruled the county. The 420 men qualified to act as magistrates in Norfolk in 1836 can be analysed as follows:

1 Duke	
22 Peers (5 of them clergy)	
20 Honourables (4 clergy)	
26 Baronets (1 clergyman)	
7 Doctors in Divinity	
2 Doctors at Law	
5 Prebendaries of Norwich	
217 Gentlemen	
120 Parish clergy	2

¹J.H. Clapham, 'The Transference of the Worsted Industry from Norfolk to the West Riding', Economic Journal, XX; F.M.L. Prichard, 'The Decline of Norwich', Econ.Hist.Rev. (1951).

²P.P.(H.C.) 1836 vol.XLIII, 207-210.

This was in perfect accord with eighteenth century principles. The country gentlemen were regarded as "the best and most respectable objects of the confidence of the people ... they had the greatest stake in the country after all and were the most deeply interest^{ed} in its welfare; because let what would happen, men of business and manufacturers could go and get their livings elsewhere; but a country gentleman could not quit his native country because he could not carry his estate away with him".¹ The multifarious preparations for an anticipated French invasion - the surveys of resources and men, the training of the militia - gave an added importance to the gentry at this time. As early as September 1791 the Marquis of Townshend wrote to Lord Orford suggesting the formation of associations of farmers and gentry, so that "when the explosion of political enthusiasm or craft might break forth here or elsewhere" they might not be unprepared. "In this county in particular," he continued, "vigilance is necessary, as upon any sudden decline of the Norwich manufacture or upon a rise in the price of provisions, riots have followed."² The church was undoubtedly another important network of social control, being both landowner and guardian of morals. In the accounts of the riots and disturbances that were endemic in this period, it was the local incumbent who met and harangued the mob, or called in the militia or made report to the Home Office, quite as often as the squire.³

The Norwich diocese before the reforms of the 1830's comprised Norfolk, Suffolk and a fragment of Cambridgeshire. It is difficult to

¹Lord North, 18 April, 1785, Parliamentary Register XVII, 69-70.

²Mason, History of Norfolk, 469.

³E.J. Hobshawm and G. Rudé, Captain Swing (1970), chapter 8.

be exact about the number of parishes because of a number of consolidated livings, sinecures and other irregularities, but the number was certainly well over a thousand, and according to some sources as high as 1,300.¹ In the number of rural parishes it was the largest diocese in England, and had the highest aggregate tithe value at £280,581. The scores of large, impressive churches (659 built before 1700²) in tiny, sequestered villages, testified to the ancient wealth of rural Norfolk. Tithe values benefited from agricultural improvement, but this did not eradicate pluralism. In 1829, 518 out of 682 rural livings were held in plurality, mostly with other Norfolk benefices, some with more distant livings or other ecclesiastical dignities. It should always be born in mind, however, that none of the eighteenth century professions were characterised by rigorous standards. In the armed forces, the universities, politics, to be a constant resident at one's post was not the required norm. These positions were regarded widely as legitimate sources of income to support the life-style of a gentleman. As in the government of the county, there was an absence of detached professionalism.

The eighteenth century bishops of Norwich were political and academic figures who made little impact on their dioceses, a few months' residence in the summer being regarded as normal. Robert Butts (consecrated 1733) and Thomas Gooch (c. 1738) were installed and enthroned by proxy. Gooch was vice-chancellor of Cambridge 1717-19 and lived most of his life in Caius College. Thomas Hayter (consecrated 1749) had been tutor to George III and was later a Privy Councillor. Philip Yonge (consecrated 1761) was another Cambridge vice-chancellor and friend of the Duke of Newcastle. George Horne (consecrated 1789) was something of an

¹Chambers, History of Norfolk (1829), i, xciv.

²N. Pevsner, North East Norfolk and Norwich (1962), 9.

evangelical - he permitted Wesley to preach in the diocese - but was already a sick man when he arrived in Norwich, and being confronted with the palace steps, exclaimed, "Alas, I am come to these steps at a time of life when I can neither go up them nor down them in safety."¹

Henry Bathurst (1805-37) was a singular man. A noted liberal, he was the only bishop to vote for the Reform Bill. He supported Queen Caroline and Catholic emancipation. He held his see until the age of ninety-three, spending most of his time in London and Bath. He was inordinately fond of whist and fraternised with Catholics and Dissenters. It was an open secret that the diocese was managed by his son, the Archdeacon Henry Bathurst, who voiced his bitter disappointment at not succeeding his father in his Memoir.² This relationship and the disappointment were almost certainly the model for Trollope's Archdeacon Grantley. So embarrassing were his sentiments that his sister Tryphena was later moved to write her own more balanced Memoir.³ Edward Stanley (1837-49) had first made his name as author of A Familiar History of Birds: their Nature, Habits and Instincts (1835), but with his accession the diocese entered a period of reform and invigoration. Slightly diminished by the diocesan boundary reforms of 1836, it entered belatedly into the nineteenth century as the bishop reestablished the rural deaneries, encouraged the building of new parsonage houses, enforced clerical residence, and fostered theological debate and charitable work.⁴ He did not impress everyone; William Wayte Andrew had a poor opinion

¹W. Jones, Memoirs of the Life, Studies and Writing of the Rt. Rev. George Horne (1795), 169.

²H. Bathurst, Memoirs of the Late Dr. Henry Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich (1837).

³T. Thistlethwayte, Memoirs of Correspondence of Dr. Henry Bathurst, Lord Bishop of Norwich (1853).

⁴A.P. Stanley, Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley (2nd ed. 1882).

of him and Harriet Martineau thought him "the oddest bishop that ever was seen ... timid as a hare, sensitive as a woman, heedless and flexible as a child".¹ Yet he does seem to have played an important part in the history of the diocese. Significantly he was the first bishop to be buried in the city since 1685.

Norfolk became something of a centre for the non-juring movement when Archbishop Sancroft retired in 1691 to Fressingfield, the village of his birth, and delegated his archiepiscopal powers to William Lloyd, the non-juring bishop of Norwich, the event which technically marks the commencement of the non-juring schism. The instrument delegating his authority to Lloyd is "Dated from my poor cottage (which is not yet made a sufficient covering for me in this sharp winter) here in Fressingfield, at this time indeed very hard frozen, situate within the bounds of your diocese".² Sancroft and Lloyd consecrated Dr. George Hicke bishop of Thetford and Thomas Wagstaffe bishop of Ipswich. However, there is no evidence that the schism enjoyed any support in the diocese at large; only sixteen of the hundreds of clergy in the diocese refused the oath of allegiance, and the schism faded into insignificance within a few years.

The evangelical movement was scarcely felt in East Anglia, despite the presence of George Horne whose Commentary on the Psalms (1776) Wesley considered the best every written and which, according to his epitaph in Norwich Cathedral "shall endure as the companion to the closet until the praises of earth shall be exchanged for the Halleluyahs of Heaven". Evangelical activity outside the established church however

¹O. Chadwick, Victorian Miniature (1960), 55; Mason, op.cit., 559.

²Quoted in Hindry Mason, op.cit., 426-7.

intensified towards the end of the century. Between 1760 and 1835 over two thousand bishop's certificates were issued for dissenters' meeting houses in rural Norfolk parishes.¹ The older forms of dissent and the more intellectual groups, Quakers and Unitarians, were well established in Norwich. But this spread of rural dissent was new. A working-class movement that has left few written records, it can nevertheless scarcely be interpreted as anything other than a movement of dissatisfaction with the established church. Of the fifty-four parishes where incidents in the 1830 riots occurred, fifty had at least one such group registered as did all those fourteen parishes where tithe is known to have been the cause of rioting.²

Of all social questions in this period, nothing aroused more public interest and controversy than poverty and poor relief. Poor relief was the principal raison d'etre of the parish administrative system. In 1783 the parishes of England and Wales spent a total £2,167,748 of which £1,912,241 was on poor relief, the remainder being spent on highways, bridges, gaols, etc. In 1803 the figures had risen to £5,348,204 of which £4,077,891 was poor relief. In the peak year of 1818 the total was £9,320,440 of which £7,890,148 was poor relief. The level of six or seven million pounds per annum was maintained until 1834.³ It has recently been suggested that the long-accepted belief that the Speenhamland system was principally responsible for this drastic increase is a myth.⁴ The history of Norfolk poor relief however confirms the older belief, but also displays certain idiosyncracies. In an

¹Norwich Diocesan Archive DIS 1/746.

²See below p. 94-5.

³G.R. Porter, The Progress of the Nation (1857 edition), 517.

⁴M. Blaug, 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New', Journal of Economic History, XXIII (1963).

effort to reduce the burden of parochial rates, many Norfolk parishes in the eighteenth century formed poor law unions by private acts of Parliament. There were five such incorporations in Norfolk (and nine in Suffolk) and a further nine were formed following Thomas Gilbert's enabling act of 1782. This departure from the parochial system was more widespread in Norfolk and Suffolk than in any other part of the country.¹ Landowners, employers and farmers became Guardians of the poor, engaged in an attempt to pool parish resources and make the poor work profitably in workhouses. This strategy does not seem to have been popular with the poor themselves, for in the 1760's there were riots against the incorporations in Suffolk.² The significant point, however, is that this system failed, and by the turn of the century it had been abandoned in favour of outdoor relief and employment schemes. In 1803 three times as much was spent in outdoor as on indoor relief (£124,000 against £44,000). Before 1834 it is useless to attempt to write the history of the poor law from the statute book; in practice the administration was invariably modified by the local oligarchy.³ In this case the explanation was that the farmers and other employers preferred to have part of their employees' wages paid in the form of parish relief and also to have a pool of unemployed labour available at their disposal.⁴ The riots of 1830 resulted in Norfolk not in higher wages but in higher poor relief, which was gradually reduced over the next five years as the fear of riots receded. Moreover, this situation was not substantially altered by the New Poor Law of 1834. The guardians

¹ S. B. Webb, The Old Poor Law (1927), 128-9.

² Ibid., 141-2.

³ This is one of the main conclusions of M.F.L. Prichard, 'The Treatment of Poverty in Norfolk in the Eighteenth Century', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1950.

⁴ A. Digby, 'The Operation of the Poor Law in the Social and Economic Life of Nineteenth Century Norfolk', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U.E.A. (1971).

of the old unions dissolved themselves and reappeared as the guardians of the new unions, and the farmers, landowners and employers acquiesced in the new system to further their own ends. This was not unnoticed by at least one perceptive contemporary,¹ although it was generally believed that 1834 marked a radical departure in poor law practice. In 1881 the cost of indoor relief in the Norfolk unions was £27,000 while outdoor relief amounted to £77,000, proportions unchanged since 1803. The Norfolk-Suffolk border was one of the areas where the poor reacted violently to the introduction of the new system.² Many local ruling groups also resented their loss of autonomy, as happened in Norwich where the old guardians refused for thirty years to cooperate with the Poor Law Commissioners. In rural Norfolk, however, the new situation was accepted and the same people maintained their control of the New Poor Law as guardians, and manipulated it to further their own economic ends. Yet it was at the same time more humane than the 1834 legislation envisaged: out-relief continued and the poor were not herded into workhouses. The traditional social and economic hierarchy was able to maintain a continuity of role, and the early fears of the poor proved largely unfounded.

Norfolk was particularly rich in landed estates and large farms. The 1873 Return of Owners of Land, the earliest comprehensive and reliable survey, shows 207 owners of over 1000 acres. The social importance of these landowners, both formal and informal, in the life of the county can hardly be exaggerated; they were links with the past and, if they chose to be, patrons of the future. One of the most significant was Lord Suffield (1774-1844) who interested himself in the

¹ A. Engels, Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844 (English translation 1892), 265.

² N. Edsall, The Anti-Poor Law Movement (1971), chapter 2.

reform of the penal system and of prisons, the abolition of the game laws, and church and parliamentary reform. He established on his estate a scheme of labourers' allotments, and it is significant that although the area was a centre of rioting in 1830, his property remained unaffected. He was no radical - in 1823 Cobbett devoted a whole issue of the 'Political Register' to vilifying him - but rather a Tory humanitarian, and as he grew older, an evangelical. Sir John Boileau of Ketteringham considered himself as responsible for his parish's spiritual welfare as the parson was. The only difference he saw between them was that he, Sir John, could not perform church services.¹ Lord Suffield's efforts and those of his peers, as has been said of the work of Bentham, Romilly and Mackintosh,

enabled England through the exertions of the existing governing class, rather than by violent revolution, to make the transition from the hard, often merciless, loosely organised eighteenth century, to the more humanitarian and closely knit society of the later age.

2

It has been customary to regard the reign of George III as a period of immense social change and upheaval, rural change as well as urban change. But in some important respects there was continuity too. It was not until 1861 that the majority of England's population inhabited towns rather than villages and farms,³ and only in 1871 did agricultural labour cease to be the most common occupation, when it was overtaken not by industry but by domestic service.⁴ The pattern of rural life in Norfolk - the hall, the farm, the village, the market town - may have changed less in our period than it has been fashionable to assert. This study will examine this theme of change and continuity in the role of the church in society, particularly through the subjects of enclosure, tithe, the spread of dissent, and the clergy's intellectual response to social change.

¹O. Chadwick, Victorian Miniature, 89.

²A. Aspinall and E.A. Smith, English Historical Documents 1783-1832 (1959), 360.

³Census Report of 1863, P.P.1863 LIII, 11-13.

⁴Census of 1871, P.P.1873 LXXI/II, 111.

2. A Norfolk Domesday

This 'Domesday' is an attempt to survey in detail certain aspects of parochial life in rural Norfolk in the early nineteenth century. It provides eighteen items of social and ecclesiastical information for every parish in the county. The selection of the categories for such a survey could of course be a matter of great debate and disagreement. My selection has been determined by what I considered to be germane to the topic of land, church and people in Georgian Norfolk, and, within that sphere, by what contemporary information is available. The bulk of the survey is drawn from early nineteenth century Parliamentary Papers. Despite the apparent richness of this source, there are a number of gaps. The Domesday is as thorough as I have been able to make it, but I make no claim to 100% accuracy. The quality of contemporary information is discussed by Professor Best:

The collection of information about the state of the church was not the least of the branches of church reform. It was singular that the need for it was only slowly recognised. So little was known for sure about the number, value and condition of benefices, that Queen Anne's Bounty had to enquire closely into each as it came up for augmentation; and the reason why there were still any livings under £50 a year in 1835, when the Bounty had had a hundred and twenty odd years to get rid of them, seems to have been that good bishops simply could not ascertain the facts about the obscurer livings in their dioceses, and that bad bishops would not bother to do so their condition - perhaps even, in extreme cases, their existence - would remain hidden from the eyes of efficiency and reform. (After 1800) the collection of accurate information (or at any rate reasonably accurate information: the early returns were in many respects defective and need to be used with great caution) at last began to make possible two things for lack of which the church reformers were half-paralysed - a comprehensive view of the actual state of the church that could not be dismissed as merely impressionistic, and an official machinery for correcting abuses.

1

The caution is justified; invaluable as they are to the historian, Parliamentary Returns were being printed well into the nineteenth century that were incomplete or misleading. The church in particular

¹G.F.A. Best, Temporal Pillars (1964), 198-200.

seems to have preserved a certain primness and modesty about its affairs, compared for example with the poor, who were exhibited, statistically speaking, in hideous detail throughout the century. When the 1887 tithe-rent return was published, it was the first comprehensive statement of the value of the parish livings of the Church of England since Henry VIII's Liber Regis. Despite these reservations, however, for the first time since the age of Domesday itself, it is possible to make a relatively precise quantitative survey of the nation's economic and social life.

In one of his novels, C.S. Lewis observes:

... if you dip into any college, or school, or parish - anything you like - at a given point in its history, you always find that there was a time before that point when there was more elbow-room and contrasts weren't so sharp; and that there is going to be a time after that point when there is even less room for indecision and choices are more momentous. Good is always getting better and bad getting worse; the possibilities of neutrality are always diminishing. The whole thing is sorting itself out all the time, coming to a point, getting sharper and harder. 1

It is clearly very tempting to see the years 1800-1830 as just such a point for the people of rural England. The conviction that, within that period, the 1830 riots are a crisis-point inspired Hobsbawm and Rude's Captain Swing, a book which contains much detailed social analysis similar to that in the Domesday. Hobsbawm and Rude's aim was to detect causal connections between various social phenomena, to project a profile of a village which rioted in 1830 and contrast it with the typical village which did not. The tentative and indeterminate nature of their findings illustrates the difficulty of such an undertaking. When summing up the findings of the Domesday, I have generally avoided making causal connections. My aim has been to let the information

¹C.S. Lewis, That Hideous Strength (1955 ed.), 173.

speak for itself, thus emphasising the complexity, perhaps even the recalcitrance, of local history. Perhaps the main point of the Domesday is historiographical: that large, convenient patterns, movements and causes often dissolve on closer inspection, and that the writing of social history must be tempered with humility and a sense of reality.

Ideally in a survey of this kind, all the information would refer to a single year. The selection of information from a period of thirty years, and in two cases, from much later, has been dictated entirely by the availability of sources. I have taken 1836 as the terminal year because it witnessed both the General Enclosure Act and the Tithe Commutation Act. I have omitted all material on Norwich, Yarmouth and King's Lynn, since this is specifically a rural survey. The urban history of this period has received far more attention than the rural history. The market towns such as Wymondham, Diss or North Walsham are included because they were essentially part of the rural fabric.

Notes on Sources

(a) The Parishes The roll of Norfolk parishes is taken from Poor Law Returns published in 1804, 1818 and 1835 (PP(HofC) 1803-4, vol.XIII; 1818, vol.XIX; 1835, vol.XLVII); that is, a parish is defined as the area in which each separate poor rate was assessed and levied. The local Poor Law administration preserved the parish boundaries that had been established for centuries. It is clear from, for example, John Chambers' History of Norfolk (1829) that some of these parishes maintained independent status only in a technical sense: the church might be in ruins and the population dwindled to a few dozen. But until the parish boundaries were redrawn and the living consolidated with another, they still preserved their legal and administrative independence, and they appear separately in the Returns. In only a very few cases do the civil parishes differ from the ecclesiastical benefices, and these are noted in the Domesday.

The 'Hundreds' are adopted as convenient subdivisions of the county, although they had of course no social or economic significance. In some ways this is unfortunate since significant local variations within the county might well straddle the hundred boundaries, and remain invisible to the historian using the hundred subdivision. On the other hand, the hundreds are small - thirty-three of them in the county - small enough surely to reveal any varying patterns, and it is with this aim that the map has been produced (see Appendix).

(b) Enclosures The list of enclosures is compiled from the House of Commons Journals, supplemented, where these are available, by the series of Local and Personal, and Private Acts. The date given is the date on which the bill received the royal assent. The enclosure award may have been several years later in some cases. There are many difficulties in drawing up such a list of enclosures. Enclosure was not necessarily a once for all event. Not all the land in a parish was necessarily enclosed at one time. The sporadic cultivation of outfield and waste meant that a parish might be affected by two, three or even four separate acts, to say nothing of the amending acts one finds from time to time. Where two or more enclosure acts are mentioned in the Commons Journals I have, for the sake of clarity, listed the first only, or I have preferred the date given in the 1831 Tithe Commutation return. It is, however, only a small proportion of parishes - approximately 10% - which present the difficulty of double-dating.

(c) Tithe This column has been drawn from the "Return of the several parishes in England and Wales in which commutations of the whole Great and Small Tithes of such parish have been authorised under any act of Parliament" (PP(HofC)1831-2, vol. XXX). This Return gives some details about the mode of commutation, from which, in addition to the obvious Yes and No, I have extracted the following categories:

1. L.P.C. - Limited Period Commutation: this device was fairly widely adopted, presumably as an incentive to the enclosers, whereby tithe was either commuted or wholly remitted for a period from two to seven years and then resumed.

2. F.N.E. - For New Enclosures: not all the tithable land was enclosed, and therefore not all the tithes in the parish were commuted.

3. P.A.T.F. - the Poor's allotments are to be tithe-free.

4. Partly - some tithes were commuted and some were not; the distinction was usually between vicarial and rectorial tithes. In those few cases where tithe was commuted for land, the information is taken from the 1867 Return of Lands awarded in lieu of tithes, (PP(HofC)1867, vol.LIV, 800-99). These parishes do not of course appear in the 1887 Tithe-Rent Return.

(d) Fuel Allotments The fuel allotments were regarded as charities by the Brougham Commissioners and are listed in the Charity Commissioners' reports. The Norfolk volumes are the 26th Report 1833, the 27th Report 1834 and the 29th Report 1835 (PP(HofC)1833, vol.XIX; 1834, vol.XXI; 1835, vol.XXI). I have given the acreage of the allotment as set out by the enclosure commissioners, not the rental value at the time when the charity was reviewed by the charity commissioners, because of possible variations in the terms of the letting, which was often done annually. Rents were low by modern standards: at most £2 per acre for high quality land, and as little as five shillings per acre for rough pasture or scrub. £1 per acre per year would seem to have been a reasonable average.

(e) Population These figures are taken from the censuses of 1801 and 1831 (PP(HofC)1801, vol.VI, 1801,2 vol.VI-VII, 1831, vol.XVIII).

(f) Expenditure on Poor Relief These figures were published in Parliamentary Returns dated 1804 and 1835 (PP(HofC)1803-4, vol.XII; 1835

vol.XLVII). In these returns, as in the census figures, there are very few omissions, but one or two surprising figures which run counter to the general pattern. Whether these are errors or are due to different methods of calculation is impossible to say; one can only take them at their face value. I have rounded figures down to the nearest £.

(g) Incident in the 1830 Riots This information is taken entirely from the table of incidents set out in Hobsbawm and Rudé's Captain Swing, pp.311-58. The authors' own reservations about this table are described in note 3 on page 190.

(h) Registration of Dissenters This information is taken from manuscript registers in the Norwich Diocesan Archive (DIS 1 Box 746), entitled "Register of places certified as being set apart for the exercise of religious worship for divers of His Majesty's protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England, pursuant to an Act of Parliament of the first year of the reign of Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary entitled An Act for Exempting Their Majesties' Protestant Subjects Dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of Certain Laws". The registers were required by law to be kept by the bishop and extend over the period 1751-1851, but I have concentrated on the years of the expansion of rural dissent from 1760-1836. The very high level of these registrations cannot be taken at face value however; each new registration does not indicate the existence of a new independent congregation. It is clear that these groups often shifted their meeting places or licensed the house of several of their members. But, with these reservations in mind, it is reasonable to take these registrations as indicating varying levels of dissenting activity and enthusiasm.

(i) Incumbents are identifiable from the various editions of Gilbert's "Clerical Guide, or Ecclesiastical Directory", but for the sake of convenience I have taken this information from Chambers' History of Norfolk. Presumably Chambers relied on local enquiries as well as on

Gilbert. Where Chambers and Gilbert disagree, I have followed Chambers, assuming his local knowledge to have been superior. Foster's 'Index Ecclesiasticus 1800-1840' is useful for cross-checking, but it does not seem to be wholly reliable. The letter M after the incumbent's name indicates that he is known to have served as a magistrate. Despite the seven-year time difference, most of the clergy who were qualified to serve as magistrates can be identified from the Return PP(HoFC)1836 vol.XLIII,207-10. J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses (Part II, 1752-1900), and to a much lesser extent Foster's Alumni Oxonienses (1715-1886), have been used to discover which of the incumbents were born in Norfolk; this is shown by the letter N after the name.

(j) Residence Various parliamentary papers relating to non-residence were published from 1808 onwards, but unfortunately they take the form of abstracts not parochial surveys. For the discovery of the situation in any given parish one is dependent on the survival of the MS returns from which the abstract was made. It is from such a return in the Norwich Diocesan Archive that this column has been taken. Presumably the abstracts were made up by the diocesan registrars and not by parliamentary clerk. No doubt the publication of a detailed parochial survey would have been invidious. Five categories appear in the MS return:

- R - Resident
- E - Exempt from residence
- L - Licensed to be absent
- ENN - Exemption not notified
- NR - Non-resident

Whether these categories were imposed by prior decision of the diocesan administrators, or simply distilled by them from the answers is not clear. The significance of these categories is discussed below. A few livings were in sequestration, that is, their income was being used to pay the debts of a previous incumbent. ¹.

1. N.D.A. SEQ 1-7.

(k) Patrons are listed in Chambers and in Gilbert, and also in Patroni Ecclesiarum 1831 etc. (presumably by Richard Gilbert, but his name does not appear on the title page of the first edition).

(l) Value of Livings and Tithe-Owners In the absence of earlier sources this information was taken from the 1887 Tithe-Rent Return, which was the first complete account of the value of tithes for three and a half centuries. The Liber Valorum of Ecton and Bacon dealt only with the poorer livings which came within the scope of Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1835 the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission produced a valuation list of those benefices worth £250 per annum and upwards. This is slightly incomplete and is unsatisfactory in that where two livings are held in plurality a combined total only is shown. It also gave no indication of the extent to which tithes had been alienated from the parochial incumbents. The 1887 return is thus the earliest possible source for this information. Moreover, as a guide to the tithe situation in the period 1800-1830, it is not as valueless as might at first be thought. The less favourable terms which tithe-owners received under the 1836 Commutation Act, as compared with the enclosure acts, and the agricultural depression after 1870 mean that the 1887 figures may not be so very far from the tithe values of fifty years before. Comparison of the 1887 values with those available in the 1835 valuation reveals increases of the order of 5%-15%. Commenting on the church's fortunes after the Tithe Commutation Act, J.A. Venn has calculated that, "The value of a tithe rent-charge worth £100 in 1835 fluctuated over the next fifty years around an average of £102. 11s. 9d., never falling lower than £89 15s. 9d. in 1855 and never rising above £112 15s. 7d. in 1875.

From 1883 the value of the tithe-rent charge declined annually until in 1901 it was worth £66 10s. 9d." ¹ On these grounds I have felt justified in including information that is not contemporary. Moreover this Return was partly a reprint of information gathered in 1848, 1851, 1861 and 1867. In those few cases where Norfolk tithes were commuted for land, I have taken the details from the 1867 "Return of land and money payments assigned in lieu of tithes". The letter Q inserted in this column indicates that, sometime between 1704 and 1825, the living had been augmented by Queen Anne's Bounty, usually by £200. The livings thus augmented are identifiable from a number of sources, but I have followed the list in Chambers. The point of including this information is to compare the earlier status of these parishes as "poor livings" with their later value, to try to determine whether augmentation had the intended effect, namely to improve the long-term fortunes of the living. I have in all cases rounded down the figures to the nearest pound, and where there are several tithe-owners I have ignored small sums of below £5.

(m) Plurality I have compiled this column from the previous columns of incumbents and residence, using Gilbert and Chambers and Venn as a check, to avoid confusing incumbents with the same surname. I have included pluralisms outside Norfolk, and other ecclesiastical dignities such as prebendary stalls etc.

¹ J.A. Venn, Foundations of Agricultural Economics (1933), 173.

A Norfolk Domesday

Blotfield Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1832	Incident in 1830 riots	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. 1812	Patron 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1887 £	Living held in plurality 1829
Blotfield	1801	No	37 a.	657	1092	209	-	6	J. Borton/M/N	R	Gaius	Rector	973	-
Bradestone	-	-	-	-	145	112	-	2	T. Woodward	L	T. Woodward	Rector	150	w. Strumpshaw (seale.)
Brundall	-	-	-	39	63	66	-	1	C. Penrice/M/N	L	C. Penrice	Rector	141	w. L. Plumstead etc.
Buckenham	-	-	-	40	49	61	-	-	T. Beauchamp/N	-	Sir T. Proctor	Rector	137	w. Haasingham
N. Burlingham St. A.	-	-	-	148	225	167	-	-	J. Burroughs/M/N	E	C. Burroughs	Rector	300	w. St. P. & St. E.
N. Burlingham St. P.	-	-	-	92	102	89	-	-	J. Burroughs/M/N	L	H. Burroughs	Rector	152	w. St. A. & St. E.
S. Burlingham St. E.	-	-	-	71	104	70	-	-	J. Burroughs/M/N	E	C. Burroughs	Rector	292	w. St. A. & St. P.
Cantley	1799	No	-	247	265	127	-	-	J. Gilbert/M/N	L	W. Gilbert	Rector	308	w. Ilketchall (Suff.)
Freethorpe	-	-	-	207	289	103	-	3	E. Leathes/N	L	Rev. J. Love	V. 596/I. 2215	311/Q	w. Reedham
Haasingham	1799	No	14 a.	112	140	39	-	1	T. Beauchamp/N	-	Sir T. Proctor	Rector	102/Q	w. Buckenham
Limpnhoe	-	-	-	95	156	127	-	1	G. Leathes/M/N	-	Rev. J. Love	V. 2130/I. 2118	248	w. Southwood
Lingwood	1801	No	8 a.	229	294	106	-	4	E. Goddard/N	L	E. Goddard	Impropriator	256/Q	-
Gt. Plumstead	1810	No	29 a.	219	305	184	-	2	J. White	-	DAC Norwich	DAC 2505/C. 214	519/Q	w. Rushall
L. Plumstead	1800	No	34 a.	172	312	131	-	4	C. Penrice/M/N	R	C. Penrice	Rector	468	w. Brundall etc.
Postwick	1810	No	4 a.	181	237	163	-	4	J. L'oste	R	Earl Roseberry	Rector	490	w. Framingham
Southwood	-	-	-	42	54	50	-	-	G. Leathes/M/N	E	Rev. J. Love	Rector	147	w. Limpnhoe
Strumpshaw	1809	No	10 a.	323	374	138	-	4	T. Woodward	R	T. Woodward	Rector	386	w. Bradestone
Thorpe	1799	No	57 a.	409	940	395	-	6	J. Maxwell	R	J. Maxwell	Rector	621	-
Witton	-	-	-	68	144	70	-	-	C. Penrice/M/N	E	C. Penrice	Vicar	242/Q	w. Brundall etc.

Cvs: Conventicles

V: Vicar

I: Impropriator

D&C: Dean & Chapter

Brothercross Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1803 £	Poor Relief 1832 £	Incident in 1830 riots	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. 1812	Patron 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1887 £	Living held in plurality 1829
Burnham Deepdale	1821	No	-	142	95	54	26	-	1	E. Blyth/N	R	H. Blyth	Rector	261	-
Burnham Norton	1821	No	-	158	183	74	124	-	1	J. Glasse/M F. Hotham	R	The King	Joint Rectors	257	w. B. Ulph & Sutton
Burnham Overy	1821	No	-	361	610	270	630	Threshing machines.	6	P. Candler/N	E	The King	V. £157/1. £244	401	w. Lemmas
Burnham Thorpe	-	-	-	270	363	228	664	Threshing machines.	2	D. Everard/N	R	Lord Walpole	Rector	704	w. Stanhoe
Burnham Ulph & Sutton	-	-	-	201	364	106	200	-	3	J. Glasse/M F. Hotham	E	The King	Rector	383	w. B. Norton
Burnham Westgate	-	-	-	743	1022	389	584	-	10	J. Glasse/M	-	J. Smith & Lord Camelford	R. £784/Christ's Coll. Cam. £361	783	w. B. Ulph & B. Norton
North Creake	1809	No	-	405	621	253	799	-	12	H. Bathurst/M	R	Earl Spencer Bp. Norwich	Rector	1081	Archd. of Norwich
South Creake	-	-	-	625	831	576	673	-	7	H. Goggs/N	E	H. Goggs	V. £940/1. £575	1115	-
Waterden	-	-	-	27	24	-	-	-	-	W. Atkinson/M W. Langton/M/N	R	T. Coke	Joint Rectors	194	w. Warham

R: Rector

H. B. The position of the Burnhams is complex. The parishes seem to have had aliases, been amalgamated, divided into mediocities, and held in plurality. See Chambers "History of Norfolk" vol. 1, p. 23-36.

* All the lands in the parish of Waterden being occupied by one person, no rates are made but the whole expense of the parish is paid by the proprietor" (P. P. 1818, vol. XIX p. 280)

Clackclose Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Committed	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1832	Incident Cvs. in 1630 riots	Incumbent 1760-1829	Res. 1812	Patron 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
Barton Bendish	1774	For land	40 a.	353	459	258	-	G. Day/M/N	ENN	Sir J. Berney	789a. to Rector for tithes	-	Canon of Norwich etc.
Beachamwell All S.	1815	No	-	221	263	170	-	C. Campbell/N	E	The King	Rector	123	w. Shingham
Beachamwell St. k.	1815	No	-	65	53	69	-	R. Hamond/M/N	E	J. Motteux	Rector	176	w. Gayton Thorpe
Bexwell	1801	No	-	182	221	136	-	F. Daubeny	R	Bp. of Ely	Rector	245	w. Crimlesham
Roughton	1801	No	-	219	320	135	-	G. Hunt	L	J. Vernon	Rector	418	w. Barwingham (Suff.)
Crimlesham	1804	No	12 a.	539	850	447	-	P. Daubeny	Seq.	Bp. of Ely	Rector	525	w. Bexwell
Denver	1801	No	-	449	496	363	-	S. Smith/N	R	Catus Coll.	Rector	898	-
W. Dereham	1874	No	-	1512	2198	311	-	L. Jenyns/M/N	E	G. Jenyns	Bp. of Ely	225/Q	-
Downham M.	1801	No	-	501	756	347	-	J. Thackeray	R	M. Franks	Rector	513	w. Wiggenhall St. M.
Fincham	1772	No	51 a.	111	133	123	-	A. Loftus/M	R	The King	R. £690/I. 325	1115	w. Rainham St. M.
Fordham	-	No	-	739	1176	457	-	J. Pratt/M/N	R	E. Pratt	D&C Nrwh. £32/I. 232	464/Q	-
Hilfey	1763	No	-	180	225	77	-	J. Hewlett	R	The King	Rector	1600	-
Holme n. Runcton	1820	No	-	491	799	136	-	P. Bell/N	R	Mr. Bell	Rector	726	w. S. Runcton etc.
Karham	1793	No	200 a.	440	648	232	-	A. Browne/N	L	St. John's, Cam.	R. £344/D&C Nrwh. £30	374/Q	-
Outwell	1798	No	-	111	133	103	-	W. Hardwicks/M	R	Bp. of Ely	Rector	520	-
S. Runcton	1815	No	-	60	67	94	-	P. Bell/N	E	Mr. Bell	Rector	249	w. Holme etc.
Ryston	-	No	-	38	61	12	-	C. Mann/N	R	D&C Norwich	D&C of Norwich	282/Q	-
Shingham	-	No	95 a.	466	725	451	Arson	C. Campbell/N	-	The King	Rector	108/Q	-
Shouldham	1793	No	60 a.	200	300	93	-	A. Iveson	R	T. Hare	Impropiator	245	w. Shouldham Thorpe
Shouldham Thorpe	1793	No	-	462	739	212	-	A. Iveson	ENN	T. Hare	D&C Ely £115/I. £171	286	w. Shouldham
Southery	-	No	25 a.	504	706	298	-	J. Butt	R	R. Martin	Rector	650	w. Lakenheath (Suff.)
Sooke Ferry	1815	No	-	574	760	370	-	H. Howard	L	The King	Impropiator	599/Q	-
Stow Barrold	1798	No	-	220	358	161	-	P. Bell/N	R	Mrs. Moore	V. £158/I. £362	520	w. Holme etc.
Stradsett	1801	No	£5-10 rated.	166	183	106	-	J. Towley	E	T. Bagge	V. £110/I. £220	330/Q	-
Wootenhill	1760	For land	48 a.	1189	2123	626	-	A. Iveson	Seq.	Bp. of Ely	999a. to Rector/54a. Bp. of Ely	3855	w. Shouldham
Upwell	1801	No	-	60	47	115	-	W. Townley/M	R	R. Townley	Rector	100	w. Holme etc.
Wallington	-	No	-	309	500	149	-	P. Bell/N	-	H. Bell	Rector	491	-
Wallington	1749	No	-	222	467	176	-	E. Cobbold	L	C. Plestow	Rector	-	w. Upwell (smalg.)
Welney	1801	No	-	407	575	248	-	W. Townley/M	L	R. Townley	Impropiator	562/Q	-
Wereham	1815	No	20 a.	224	476	92	-	G. Postle/M/N	R	E. Pratt	Rector	380	w. Holme etc.
Winklesham	1801	No	-	264	476	156	-	P. Bell/N	L	Mrs. Moore	Rector	350/Q	w. Blaisden (Glouc.)
Wormeray	1806	No	22 a.	264	523	120	-	W. Black	Seq.	Bp. of Norwich	Impropiator	255/Q	w. Stanfield
Wotton	1815	No	25 a.	264	523	120	-	J. Royle/N	-	W. Colburne	Impropiator	-	-

Clavering Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1803	Poor Relief 1832	Incident in 1830 riots	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. 1812	Patron 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
Alderby	1806	LPC	-	448	530	75	300	-	-	H. Taylor/M	L	D&C Norwich	D&C Norwich	735/Q	-
Brooke	1800	LPC	5 a.	502	736	161	573	-	7	W. Gastell/N	R	The King	V. £240/L. £390	630/Q	w. Thuxton
Burgh Apton	1800	No	22 a.	304	509	100	365	-	3	Lord Nevill/M	L	Earl of Abergavenny	Rector	374	w. Holvestone
Burgh St. Peter	1811	LPC	-	217	316	32	136	-	5	"	R	"	-	-	"
Ellingham	1802	LPC	20 a.	280	333	68	292	-	5	R. Hall	R	Lord de Walden	Rector	362	-
Gelderstone	1802	LPC	7 a.	224	340	28	79	-	4	C. Woodhouse/M/N	L	The King	Rector	170/Q	w. Momingthorpe
Gillingham	1805	No	-	344	369	101	405	-	2	J. Lewis	R	w. Lewis	Rector	503	-
Haddiscoe	1814	LPC	4 a.	328	383	66	276	-	3	T. Ellison	R	King's C. Cam.	Rector	348	w. Toft Monks
Hales	-	-	-	131	314	67	298	-	4	J. Wall	L	T. Smyth	Impropriator	246	w. Heckingham etc.
Heckingham	1817	PATF	2 a.	495	163*	38	142	-	-	J. Wall	L	T. Smyth	Impropriator	134	w. Hales etc.
Howe	-	-	-	87	119	12	59	-	-	T. Barling	R	G. Wheeler	R. £365/A. £42	407	w. L. Poringland
Kirby Cane	1802	LPC	5 a.	245	365	64	220	-	1	H. Wilson/M/N	R	R. Wilson	Rector	436	-
Norton Subcourse	1817	PATF	8 a.	329	367	75	267	-	4	J. Wall	L	Sir E. Bacon	V. £161/L. £182	343/Q	w. Hales etc.
Paveningham	-	-	-	192	215	48	72	-	-	J. Wall	L	Sir E. Bacon	Impropriator	519/Q	w. Hales etc.
Stockton	-	-	-	111	110	21	80	-	-	J. Coldham/N	R	P. Rundell	Rector	299	w. Ammer etc.
Thorpe n. Haddiscoe	1814	No	2 a.	71	79	39	110	-	2	J. Carlos/N	R	The King	Rector	164	-
Whurlton	1801	No	3 a.	332	416	99	374	-	3	T. Watson/N	E	Corp. of Nrwech.	Rector	211	w. Costesney etc.
Toft Monks	-	-	-	325	333	116	491	Arson; tithe protest	2	T. Ellison	L	King's C. Cam.	R. £158/A. £261 King's C. £216	500	w. Haddiscoe
Wheatere	1809	LPC	-	151	166	24	57	-	-	W. Bond/N	R	Calus Coll.	Rector	224	w. Bamby (Suff.)

A: Appropriator

*The Lodon and Clavering House of Industry was situated in Heckingham; its inhabitants were presumably included in the 1801 census, while in 1831 it was separately listed as containing 388 people.

Derwade Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1803	Poor Relief 1832	Incident in 1830 riots	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Rev. Patron 1812	Value of Living 1867	Tithe Owner 1867	Value of Living in plurality 1829
			£	£	£	£						£		
Ashwellthorpe	1811	No	1 a.	314	471	254	479	-	5	R. Wilson/M/N	E	340	Rector	w. Wrenningham
Aslacion	1803	LPC	17 a.	278	359	293	573	-	4	C. Carver/N	L	340/Q	Impropriator	w. Horning
Bunwell	1809	No	16 a.	602	947	507	897	-	8	H. Dawson	E	760	Rector	w. Hopton (Suff.)
Carleton Rode	1777	No	39 a.	767	916	779	1526	-	6	F. Bevan/N	R	939	Rector	-
Fornett St. Mary	1809	No	4 a.	193	288	113	426	Tithe protest	1	T. Jack	R	309	Rector	w. Hapton
Fornett St. Peter	1809	No	6 a.	338	727	350	1425	-	6	"	R	793	Rector	"
Fritton	-	No	5 a.	241	243	170	402	-	3	T. Howes/M/N	R	286/Q	Rector	w. Tharston
Fundenhall	1811	No	5 a.	283	394	318	272	-	5	J. Howard	ENN	512	Impropriator	w. Tocolnceston etc.
Hapton	-	No		172	200	109	158	-	2	T. Jack	R	225	Christ's Coll.	w. Fornectie
Hardwicke	1814	No	-	223	224	117	233	-	5	E. Frank	L	-	-	w. Shelton
Hemphall	1817	No	-	879	1225	750	1414	-	7	R. Rolfe/N	R	1000	V. 2388/I. 5612	w. Thurgarton
Morningthorpe	-	No	7 a.	136	164	137	447	-	-	C. Woodhouse/M/N	L	301	Rector	w. Gelderstone
Neulton	1820	No	-	354	447	316	692	Tithe protest	4	S. Webster/N	L	460	Rector	-
Shelton	1814	No	-	220	253	260	438	-	-	E. Frank	R	640	Rector	w. Hardwicke
Stratton St. Mary	-	No	10 a.	549	721	326	691	Tithe protest	2	W. Walford	R	467	R. 5425/A. 542	w. St. Clement, Nrweh.
Stratton St. Michael	-	No	-	189	203	218	176	-	3	T. Beckley	L	447	R. 5336/A. 59	-
Tacolnceston	1778	No	6 a.	335	467	439	550	-	5	J. Howard	R	566	Rector	w. Fundenhall
Tachburgh	1813	No	6 a.	363	479	274	476	-	6	E. Burroughes/M/N	R	287	Rector	-
Tharston	1802	No	8 a.	372	392	366	385	-	2	T. Howes/M/N	L	541	V. 5120/A. 5421	w. Fritton
Tilbatham	1800	No	-	331	650	768	1599	-	8	T. Dixon	L	1109/Q	V. 5327/A. 5782	-
Warton Magna & Parva	1796	No	-	241	242	258	373	-	3	H. Atkinson/M/N	L	323	Rev. E. Burroughes	-

* The King, by reason of lunacy of B. Frank" (Chambers)

Districts

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population		Poor Relief Incident		Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829	Preb. of Chichester etc.
				1801	1831	£	£						
Eresingham	1799	No	23 a.	650	655	619	954 Swing letters to parson	9	J.Challen	E	Rector	613	Preb. of Chichester etc.
Burton	-	-	-	298	477	277	573	7	T.Frere/M/N	L	Rector	495	w.Roydon
Dickleburgh	-	-	-	550	615	633	1078	8	T.Gillbank/M	R	Rector	759	-
Diss	1814	No	-	2246	2934	1761	2392	12	W.Manning/M/N	R	Rector	903	w.Weeting
Fersfield	1798	LPC	-	267	292	323	304	5	W.Rham	L	Rector	375	w.Winkfield (Berks.)
Gissing	-	-	-	444	598	624	431	3	Sir W.Kemp/M/N	R	Rector	497	w.Flordon
Roydon	-	-	-	430	633	353	556	2	T.Frere/M/N	-	Rector	456	w.Eurston
Seale	1812	No	-	300	667	280	595	8	G.Walker	R	Rector	258	-
Shelfanger	-	-	-	362	435	269	601	5	T.B.korris	L	Rector	555	-
Shimpling	-	-	-	169	227	167	251	2	H.Harrison	L	Rector	240	-
Thelverton	-	-	-	126	179	60	252	-	M.Manners	L	Rector	292	-
Tivetshall St.Marg.	1808	No	6 a.	295	376	355	343	3	T.Talbot/M/N	E	Rector	526	w.T.St.Mary
Tivetshall St.Mary	1808	No	3 a.	294	313	400	446	5	T.Talbot/M/N	E	Rector	443	w.T.St.Margaret
Winfarthing	1781	No	54 a.	565	703	662	1183	7	W.Carver	R	Rector	571	-

Fareham Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Committed	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1832	Incident in 1830 riots	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. 1812	Patron 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1887 £	Living held in plurality 1829
Alburgh	1801	Land FNE	13 a.	478	586	577	-	10	C. Sutton/N	E	Sir R. Hill	R. 2471/A. 210	471	w. Holme next Sea etc.
Fillingford	1806	No	-	180	205	178	-	-	A. Cooper	R	G. Wilson	Rector	296	-
Brockdish	-	-	-	370	482	376	-	3	H. Butterfield	R	W. Wigney	Rector	350	-
Denton	1804	LPC/PATF	-	451	580	559	-	4	W. Chester/M	R	Archb. of Cant.	Rector	769	w. Walpole St. Peter
Fareham	1812	LPC	-	658	759	679	-	3	G. Day/M/N	R	Sir W. Dalling	R. 2493/A. 216	509	w. Bedingham
Needham	-	-	-	276	341	408	-	4	A. Preston/N	EWN	R. Price	I. 2710/C. 225	335/0	-
Pulham St. Mary the Virgin	-	-	-	801	831	930	-	10	W. Long	E	The King	Rector	1308	St. Mary Virgin & Magdalen
Pulham St. Mary Magdalen	-	-	-	767	1046	963	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Redenhall with Harleston	-	-	-	1459	1784	1388	-	11	J. Oldershaw/M	R	Duke of Norfolk & Bp. of Norwich	Rector	1000	Archdeacon of Norfolk etc.
Weshall	-	-	-	224	283	272	-	1	J. White	E	J. Sewell	V. 2103/Emman. C. Cam.	403/0	w. St. Plumstead
Starston	-	-	-	417	449	718	-	2	W. Spencer/M	R	Earl of Suffolk & Hon. H. Howard	Rector	663	-
Thorpe Abbots	1801	No	£5 Rental	172	272	328	-	1	J. Collins	L	W. Carver	Rector	340	-
Wortwell	1801	Land FNE	-	386	537	410	-	6	Hamlet to Alburgh	-	-	-	-	-

*Pulham appears to have been one benefice, not two held in plurality, although it is listed as two civil parishes in the Parliamentary Papers.

North Erpingham Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1803	Relief 1832	Incident 1830	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1829	Value of Living held 1867	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
Aldbrough	-	-	-	218	275	326	323	-	1	R. Norris/M/N	E	Lord Suffield	200	-
Antingham	-	-	-	201	248	207	245	-	-	W. Wilkinson/M	E	Ep. of Norwich	368	w. N. Walsham
Aylmerton	1826	No	-	212	284	360	179	-	1	G. Gremer/M/N	EMN	W. Windham	228	w. Runtun
Barningham Norwood	-	-	-	56	42	69	73	-	-	G. Kingston	EMN	W. Windham	164	w. Syderstone
Barningham Town	-	-	-	75	114	135	171	-	-	J. Partridge/M/N	E	J. bott	131	-
E. Beckham	-	-	-	56	50	146	208	-	-	-	-	Impropiator	6	-
Peetun Repls	-	-	-	167	246	128	109	Arson	1	P. Johnson/M/N	R	Duchy of Lancaster	136	w. Sustead etc.
Beastringham	-	-	-	103	137	67	66	-	-	W. Walker	E	Viscount Anson	137	-
Gremer	-	-	-	676	1232	527	614	-	6	G. Glover/M	E	Bishop of Ely	174/Q	w. Southrepps
Felbrigg	1826	No	-	181	155	374	137	-	1	G. Gremer/M/N	R	W. Windham	175	w. Metton etc.
Gimingham	-	-	-	272	333	495	210	-	-	T. Turton	R	St. Catherine's C.	413	w. Trunch
Gresham	1826	No	-	309	262	165	250	-	4	F. Arden	R	Rev. J. Spurgin	321	w. Paston
Guntun	-	-	-	70	84	40	60	-	-	G. Heath/M	R	Lord Suffield	100	w. Suffield
Hansorth	-	-	-	246	276	350	246	-	1	C. Heath/M	L	Lord Suffield	312	w. Suffield
Knayton	-	-	-	277	327	173	238	-	6	J. Colman/N	L	B. Wigg	475	w. Swafeld
Kilnack	-	-	-	166	218	81	80	-	1	B. Suckling/M	R	The King*	132/Q	w. Plumstead
Metton	1826	No	-	77	81	87	60	-	3	G. Gremer/M/N	L	Admiral Windham	137	w. Felbrigg etc.
Kundeley	-	-	-	204	436	208	155	-	3	R. Steele	E	The King*	170/Q	w. Trimmingham
Northrepps	-	-	-	424	605	774	424	-	4	T. Hay	R	The King*	581	w. Bellon (Suff.)
Oversstrand	-	-	-	117	178	89	56	-	1	J. Oubitt/M	L	Lord Suffield	80/Q	w. Pallinf etc.
Plumstead	-	-	-	149	220	159	203	-	4	B. Suckling/M/N	L	The King*	187	w. Metlask
Poughon	-	-	-	263	439	339	335	Wage riot	4	F. Churchill/N	L	Bishop of Ely	293	-
Runtun	1815	No	-	312	473	350	497	-	1	C. Gremer/M/N	L	Admiral Windham	245	w. Felbrigg etc.
Sheringham	1809	No	33 a.	392	899	292	405	-	3	B. Pulleyne	-	Bishop of Ely	361/Q	-
Sidestrand	-	-	-	105	160	103	110	-	1	E. Edwards	E	The King	106/Q	w. Lynn St. Edmunds
Southrepps	-	-	-	571	733	665	633	Riots	8	G. Glover/M	R	The King*	670	w. Cromer
Sustead	1822	No	-	106	162	342	346	-	1	P. Johnson/M/N	L	Rev. J. Boldero	65/Q	w. Beeston Regis etc.
Suffield	-	-	-	179	272	103	142	-	1	C. Heath/M	E	Lord Suffield	352	w. Guntun etc.
Thorp Market	-	-	-	147	254	139	99	-	1	G. Coleby/M/N	E	Lord Suffield	232	w. Colby
Thurparton	-	-	-	224	247	166	259	Thresh.M.	1	R. Rolfe/N	L	Ep. of Norwich	255	w. Hempnall
Trimingham	-	-	-	135	166	114	172	-	4	R. Steele	E	The King*	135	w. Kundeley
Trunch	-	-	-	351	430	275	610	-	7	T. Turton	L	St. Catherine's C.	420	w. Gimingham

* The King as Duke of Lancaster

South Erpingham Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Poor Relief 1803	Incident in 1830 riots	Crs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1887	Living held in plurality 1829
Alby	-	-	-	217	334	278	-	H. Dowsing	L Earl of Orford	Rector	£ 200	w. N. Barnham
Aylsham	-	-	-	1667	2334	2014	-	C. Norris/M	D&C Canterbury	D&C Cant. £716/v. £565	1401	Preb. of Cant. etc.
Baconsthorpe	-	-	-	239	333	179	Arson	T. Girdlestone/M/N	R	Rector	349	w. Bodham
Banningham	1618	LPC	-	228	360	648	-	W. Blake/M/N	L Dk. of Norfolk	Rector	383	w. St. Hautboys
L. Barningham	1821	No	-	179	227	357	-	J. Leake/N	R	Rector	260	w. W. Beckham
W. Beckham	-	-	-	137	156	177	-	J. Leake/N	L D&C Norwich	D&C Norwich	206/Q	w. L. Barningham etc.
Belbaf	1828	No	-	150	131	125	-	R. Bathurst	L Bp. of Norwich	Rector	222	w. Seottow
Blickling	-	-	-	394	365	508	-	J. Churchill	R Lady Suffield	Rector	404	w. Erpingham
Boston	1811	No	-	169	199	226	-	C. Elwin/N	L Mrs. Elwin	Rector	294	w. Beyfield etc.
Brampton	-	-	-	133	207	98	-	J. Custance/N	E R. Marsham	Rector	154	-
Burgh	1814	No	-	179	247	306	Tithe protest	W. Jewell/N	R G. Holley	Rector	260	w. Hackford
Buxton	1809	No	-	488	610	693	Arson	H. Anson/M	E T. Anson	Rector	368/Q	w. Skayton etc.
Calthorpe	1821	No	-	173	266	255	-	W. Marsh/N	R Corp. of Norwich	V. £110/I. £246/A. £12	342	-
Cawston	-	-	-	840	1110	917	Machine-smashing	A. Bulwer/M/N	R Pembroke C. Cam.	Rector	1020	w. Corpusty etc.
Colby	1618	LPC	-	217	364	193	-	G. Coleby/M/N	R Lord Suffield	Rector	361	w. Thorp Market
Coltishall	-	-	-	601	608	370	-	W. Abbot	E King's C. Cam.	Rector	348	w. Horstead
Corpusty	-	-	-	278	468	204	-	A. Bulwer/M/N	Seq. -	Impropiator	256/Q	w. Cawston etc.
Erpingham	1818	LPC	-	275	474	228	-	J. Churchill	E Lady Suffield	Rector	478	w. Blickling
St. Hautboys	-	-	-	68	141	109	-	W. Blake/M/N	L Sir J. Lubbock	Rector	218	w. Banningham etc.
Hevingham	1800	No	-	610	931	668	-	J. Alderson/N	R G. Anson	Rector	547	-
Heydon	-	-	-	296	350	386	Arson	A. Bulwer/M/N	R W. Bulwer	Rector	307	w. Irlingland etc.
Ingworth	1818	LPC	-	181	191	144	-	P. Johnson/M/N	L W. Windham	Rector	170	w. Beeston etc.
Irlingland	-	-	-	-	16	94	-	A. Bulwer/M/N	L W. Bulwer	Rector	170	w. Heydon etc.
Itteringham	1818	No	-	299	343	355	-	R. Walpole/M	L Earl of Orford	Rector	351	w. Mannington
Lamas w. L. Hautboys	1809	No	-	231	303	192	-	P. Gandler/N	R P. Candler	Rector	250/Q	w. Burnham (very)
Mannington	-	-	-	24	13	77	-	R. Walpole/M	-	-	-	w. Itteringham
Marsham	1800	No	181 a.	565	692	734	-	W. Goodhall	L Viscount Anson	R. £344/D&C Nrwh. £30	374	w. Garford (Berks.)
Culton	1818	No	-	331	386	456	-	S. Cook/N	L S. Cook	V. £170/I. £20	190	-
Cuxneed	-	-	-	34	72	83	-	H. Anson/M	E Sir W. Lubbock	Rector	180	w. Buxton etc.
Saxthorpe	-	-	-	316	362	390	-	J. Wood	L Pembroke C. Cam.	V. £90/Pemb. C. £302	392/Q	-
Scotow	1828	No	21 a.	376	460	541	-	R. Bathurst	-	V. £230/Bp. Nrwh. £500	730	w. Belaugh
Skayton	1814	No	-	326	317	366	-	H. Anson/M	E Viscount Anson	R. £343/A. £15	358/Q	w. Buxton etc.
Stratton Strawlens	-	-	-	158	218	68	-	E. Marsham/M/N	L R. Marsham	Rector	287/Q	w. Sculthorpe etc.
Swanton Abbott	1809	Land FNE	25 a.	372	448	274	Arson; letters	H. Anson/M	E Rev. W. Blake	Rector	275	w. Cmead etc.
Thwaites	-	-	-	93	142	163	-	E. Vally	E Bp. of Norwich	Rector	202	w. South Walsham
Tullington	1814	No	-	225	228	247	-	G. Jarvis/N	L Bishop of Ely	V. £105/Bp. Ely £200	305/Q	-
Wickmere	1818	No	-	273	319	397	-	S. Allen/M/N	-	Rector	564	w. Wollerton (amal. C.)
Wollerton	-	-	-	34	41	72	-	S. Allen/M/N	L Earl of Orford	Rector	-	w. Wickmere (")

Eynsford Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Title Committed	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1807	Poor Relief 1832	Incident in 1830 riots	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1867	Value of Living held in plurality 1867	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
Alderford	-	-	-	35	40	21	60	-	-	F. Howes/M/N	E D&C Norwich	Rector	139	w. Attlebridge
Bardeswell	1608	LPC	35 a.	546	587	243	694	-	5	P. duVal Aufriere/N	E Sir J. Lombe	Rector	330	w. Scarning
Billingford	1606	No	50 a.	269	313	76	221	-	-	C. Ford/M	L T.W. Coke	Rector	365	-
Bintree	1795	No	16 a.	278	412	158	612	-	2	A. Dashwood	L Sir J. Astley	Rector	418	-
Bramdison	-	-	-	90	96	81	210	-	2	T.L. Cooke	L Magdalen C.Oxf.	Rector	243	w. Beckley (Oxf.)
Bylaugh	-	-	-	74	92	92	272	-	-	H. Evans/N	Seq. E. Lombe	Impropriator	208/Q	-
Elving	-	-	-	267	437	223	511	-	5	R. Eaton/N	R P. Browne	Rector	330	-
Foulsham	1811	No	£2.14s. rent	605	958	568	1242	Machine-smashing	6	H. Astley/M/N	E Sir J. Astley	Rector	787	w. E. Barcham etc.
Foxley	1814	No	-	167	274	140	331	-	4	J. Stoughton/N	E E. Lombe	Rector	410	w. Sparham
Guestwick	-	-	-	129	188	205	576	-	2	E. Bulwer/N	NR W. Bulwer	Rector	219/Q	w. Sall
Gilest	1811	No	36 a.	274	363	168	688	-	1	G. Norris/M/N	R Rev. W. Norris	Rector	398/Q	w. Bagthorpe
Hackford	1803	No	-	457	698	585	469	-	2	G. Holley/N	R J. Holley	Rector	314	w. Whitwell
Haveringland	-	-	-	143	181	172	290	-	-	B. Wood	-	Impropriator	1/Q	-
Hindolveston	1811	No	24 a.	621	797	636	1343	-	8	J. Lloyd	R D&C Norwich	Rector	484/Q	-
Lynge	1808	LPC	-	496	645	435	969	Machine-smashing	3	H. Anson/M	R E. Lombe	Rector	539	w. Duxton etc.
Morton	1925	LPC	-	125	169	152	170	-	1	C. Fanshawe	-	Rector	180	w. Fawley (Bucks.) etc.
Reepham	1811	No	-	284	663	517	1266	Machine-smashing	2	J. Mathew/N	R J. Mathew	Rector	836	-
Rineland	-	-	-	264	350	100	211	-	3	S. Carter	L Bishop of Ely	Rector	270/Q	w. Felthorpe
Sall	-	-	-	291	298	232	618	-	2	E. Bulwer/N	E Pembroke C. Cam.	Rector	568	w. Guestwick
Spargham	1806	No	20 a.	309	335	145	290	Machine-smashing	1	J. Stoughton/N	R E. Lombe	Rector	481	w. Foxley
Swannington	-	-	-	299	370	168	486	-	6	J. Vicars	R Trinity C. Cam.	Rector	408	w. Word Dalling
Themelthorpe	1811	No	-	70	89	87	115	Machine-smashing	1	J. Pratt/M/N	-	Rector	135	-
Thurning	-	-	-	111	140	173	362	-	1	W. Blake/M/N	L Corpus Christi	Rector	370	w. Benninham etc.
Twyford	1795	No	10 a.	53	82	128	139	-	-	S. Savory/N	R G. Thomas	Rector	155	w. Berner
Weston	1825	No	-	365	406	270	795	Riots	3	J. Bell/N	R New College, Oxf.	Rector	680	-
Whitwell	1803	No	-	313	483	-	466	Riot	2	G. Holley/N	L J. Holley	Rector	549	w. Hackford
Witchingham	1609	LPC	25 a.	333	582	247	792	-	3	T. Jeans	L New College, Oxf.	Rector	763	w. St. John's, Nr. wch.
Witchingham	-	-	-	56	62	76	47	-	-	T. Jeans	-	Rector	238/Q	-
Wood Dalling	1818	No	-	391	512	453	665	-	6	J. Vicars	L Trinity C. Cam.	Rector	474	w. Swannington
Wood Norton	1811	No	20 a.	288	315	273	395	-	1	E. Sailer	D&C of Christ Church, Oxf.	Rector	446	w. Swanton Noyers

East Flegg Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population		Incident Cys. 1870-1876-1876	Incident Cys. 1870-1876-1876	Relief 1872 in £	Riots	Incumbent 1812-1829	Res. Patron 1812-1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1887 £	Living held in plurality 1829
				1801	1831									
Caister	1812	No	12 a.	498	864	79	307	-	T. Wilkinson/M	L J. Steward	Rector	942	-	
r. Yarmouth	1802	LPC	10 a.	332	464	89	216	-	G. Lucas/N	R G. Lucas	Rector	597	w. Billockby etc.	
Filby	-	-	-	60	61	35	208	-	J. Fellowes/M/N	E R. Fellowes	Rector	600	w. Brammerton etc.	
Mautby	-	-	-	445	720	95	406	-	{ R. Turner/N	E D&C Norwich	D&C Nrwhch. £796/V. £304	1010/Q	St. Mary & St. Michael (amalg.)	
*Ormsby St. Mary	-	-	-	219	273	23	79	-	G. Millers	E Bp. of Ely	V. £148/Bp. Ely £229/A. £32	409/Q	-	
Ormsby St. Michael	-	-	-	188	249	21	123	-	G. Lucas/N	R W. Downes	Rector	522	w. Filby etc.	
Ranham	1802	No	27 a.	194	324	67	290	-	J. Morton	L T. Brown	Rector	212	-	
Stokeby cum Herringby	-	-	-	63	43	23	116	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Thrifby	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

*Ormsby was apparently one benefice, but appeared in the Parliamentary Papers as two parishes.

West Flegg Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population		Poor Relief 1831	Incidentu 1830	Cve. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1837 £	Living held in plurality 1829
				1801	1831								
Ashby w.Oby	-			47	82	22	153	-	H. Bathurst/M	E	Rector	700	w. Thurne (amalg.)
Billockby	1801	No	4 a.	42	67	12	50	-	G. Lucas/N	L	Rector	147/Q	w. Filby etc.
Burgh St. Mary	1801	No	146 a.	317	491	69	240	4	W. Lucas/M/N	L	Rector	466/Q	w. Welle
Clippeaby	-			46	79	6	61	1	W. Coleby	L	Rector	246	-
Henby	1810	No	15 a.	367	560	57	338	4	R. Hales/N	E	V. £187/1. £82	269	w. Hillington
Martham	1807	LPC	78 a.	679	895	158	615	4	P. Whittingham	E	D&C Nrwh. £628/V. £365	991	w. Sedgford
Repp v. Bastwick	1807	No	19 a.	162	255	52	168	2	C. Boutell/N	L	Great Hospital, Nrwh.	400/Q	-
Rolleby	1813	LPC	23 a.	420	717	74	191	6	T. Baker	R	Rector	648	w. L. Cressingham
E. Somerton	-			95	54	15	102	-	J. Nelson/N	-	Rector	270	w. Winterton etc.
W. Somerton	-			162	243	45	127	1	W. Easton	ENN	Impropriator	320/Q	-
Thurne	1810	No	36 a.	126	138	41	107	3	H. Bathurst/M	-	Rector	-	w. Ashby (amalg.)
Winterton	1827	No	-	378	631	76	232	3	J. Nelson/N	E	Rector	274	w. E. Somerton etc.

Forehoe Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1803	Relief 1832	Incident 1830	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1887	Living held in plurality 1829
Barford	1812	No	-	253	420	186	165	-	9	H. Franklin	L H. Franklin	D&C Nrweh. £180/R.180	360/Q	-
Barnham Broom	1811	No	18 a.	307	463	148	438	-	4	A. Wodehouse	R Lord Wodehouse	Rector	613	w. Kimberley
Bawburgh	1811	No	-	268	440	127	237	-	3	F. Howes/N	E D&C Norwich	D&C N. £251/V.109	360/Q	w. Alderford etc.
Bawthorpe	-	-	-	-	-	56	97	-	-	W. Holworthy/N	-	-	-	w. Earham (amalg.)
Brandon Parva	1812	No	10 a.	197	208	126	208	-	2	J. France	L T. Berney	Rector	321	w. New Buckenham
Carlton Forehoe	1766	For lend	£1.16. rent	123	132	111	109	-	-	W. Wodehouse	E Lord Wodehouse	99a. to Rector. for all tithes	-	w. Hingham
Collon	1812	No	10 a.	188	280	98	258	Machine smashing	5	H. Girdlestone/N	ENN The King	Rector	313/Q	-
Costerssey	-	-	-	604	1098	235	787	-	3	T. Watson/N	R Corp. of Norwich	Great Hospital, Nrweh.	350	w. Hardley etc.
Coston	-	-	-	49	64	23	39	-	1	J. Oldarshaw/M	E Archd. of Norfolk	Rector	95	Archd. of Norfolk etc.
Crownthorpe	1775	No	-	85	106	71	98	-	-	J. Browne/N	R Lord Wodehouse	Rector	190	w. Runhall
Deopham	1812	No	14 a.	352	506	172	445	-	7	R. Adams	E D&C Canterbury	D&C Cant. 377/N. 190	567/Q	w. Edingthorpe
Easton	-	-	-	217	239	154	140	-	-	J. Fellowes/M/N	L R. Fellowes	V. £173/V. 537	210/Q	w. Shottisham etc.
Hacford	1806	LPC	10 a.	186	229	98	175	-	3	W. Jewell/N	L T. Gurdon	Rector	220	w. Burgh
Hingham	1761	No	34 a.	1203	1539	790	1317	-	6	W. Wodehouse	-	Rector	1260	w. Carlton
Honingham	1812	No	-	261	365	219	424	-	1	E. Mellish/M	R Lord Bayning	V. £210/V. 553	753	w. East Tuddenham
Kimberley	1766	For lend	2 a.	136	138	78	151	-	-	A. Wodehouse	L Lord Wodehouse	196a. to Impr. 38a. to Vicar	-	w. Barnham Broom
Marlingford	1801	No	-	123	174	47	181	-	1	G. Taylor/M	R Rev. T. Green	Rector	162/Q	-
Morley St. Botolph	1813	No	16 a.	133	339	112	228	-	1	J. Howard	R B. Cooper	Rector	{593	M. St. Botolph & St. Peter (amalg.)
Morley St. Peter	1813	No	-	124	172	88	231	-	-	"	"	"	80	w. Crownthorpe
Runhall	1812	No	-	127	176	125	164	-	2	J. Browne/N	NR -	Impropriator	240	w. Yaxham
Welborne	1811	No	-	148	231	81	165	-	1	J. Johnson/N	-	Rector	470	-
Wicklewood	1808	No	12 a.	696	787	196	275	-	4	J. Darby/N	E E. Kett/R. Heber	V. £30/V. 2340	271	w. Sculthorpe etc.
Wrappingham	1813	No	-	161	247	132	151	-	-	E. Marsham/M/N	L R. Marsham	Rector	-	-
Wyndham	1806	No	53 a.	3567	5485	2275	5366	Riots	34	W. Papillon	R Bishop of Ely	Bp. Ely 2192/V. 799	{2991	-

* The Worleys are one benefice, but appear as two parishes in the Parliamentary Papers.

Freebridge Lynn Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1803	Incident 1832	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1887
				£	£	£	riots	1836				£
Anser	-	-	-	125	132	106	48	-	J. Coldham/N	L J. Coldham	Rector	200
Ashwicken	-	-	-	71	80	76	107	-	J. Parson	L Rev. R. Venables	Rector	240
Babingley	-	-	-	23	38	47	62	-	G. Moxon	- H. Henley	Rector	102
Bawsey	-	-	-	21	39	15	11	-	W. Coulcher/N	- P. Hamond	Rector	90
West Bilney	-	-	-	135	236	50	385	-	R. Hankinson/M/N	- J. Dalton	-	- Q
Castle Acre	-	-	-	842	1333	322	943	8	J. Fickell	L T. Coke	V. £168/T. £610	778/Q
Castle Rising	-	-	-	254	358	111	199	1	W. Brodrick	R F. Howard	Rector	324
Congham	1812	No	19 a.	245	290	91	228	-	J. Nelson/N	R E. Nelson	R. £550/A. £25	575
Dersingham	1779	In part	30 a.	457	606	362	671	3	R. Collyer/M/N	E Bishop of Norwich	Bp. Nrweh £315/V. £70	385
Fritcham	-	-	-	309	323	334	124	1	J. Foulkes	R T. Coke	Impropriator	700/Q
Gayton	1810	No	30 a.	397	711	337	634	5	J. Treadway/N	L Bishop of Norwich	Bp. Ely £500/V. £320	820
Gayton Thorpe	-	-	-	113	169	92	185	1	R. Hamond/M/N	L A. Hamond	Rector	312
Gaywood	1808	No	21 a.	410	924	404	797	2	T. Hulton/N	R W. Bagge	Rector	633
Grimstone	1779	For land	248 a.	649	1060	375	1010	3	G. Barnes	R Queen's Coll. Cam.	649 a. to Vicar for all tithes	-
Harpley	-	-	-	305	370	114	236	3	C. Spurgeon/M/N	R J. Spurgeon	Rector	480
Hillington	-	-	-	189	289	245	231	-	R. Hales/N	R Sir W. Folkes	Rector	450
Leaziate	-	-	-	107	159	76	432	-	J. Parson	- Rev. R. Venables	Rector	280
St. Maasingham	-	-	-	569	850	294	653	6	C. Grenside	R Marquis Cholmondeley	Rector	900
L. Maasingham	-	-	-	93	165	124	220	-	C. Breerton/N	L J. Wilson	Rector	577
Middleton	1814	No	10 a.	467	661	370	656	4	P. Wood	R T. Wood	V. £315/T. £432/A. £99	846
West Newton	1805	No	12 a.	184	232	96	38	2	J. Buck/N	E The King	Rector	161
Penney	1807	No	62 a.	285	480	159	490	3	R. Hankinson/M/N	Seq. Sequestrator	Impropriator	7/Q
Roydon	-	-	-	114	174	63	123	2	W. Brodrick	L F. Howard	Rector	160
N. Runcton	1836	No	-	251	307	210	413	1	J. Cumming	ENN Trinity C. Cam.	Rector	623
Sandringham	-	-	-	48	81	47	40	-	G. Moxon	L H. Henley	Rector	93
Setchey	-	-	-	110	95	50	120	-	J. Cumming	- King's Coll. Cam.	-	-
East Walton	-	-	-	151	220	60	141	1	R. Hamond/M/N	L A. Hamond	Bp. Ely £230/V. £178	408
* Westacre	-	-	-	319	415	174	442	-	-	-	-	-
East Winch	-	-	-	224	466	152	460	3	G. Kent/N	E E. Kent	Vicar	165
West Winch	-	-	-	210	394	162	422	1	M. Hogg	L The King	R. £331/A. £16	347
Woolferton	-	-	-	114	163	106	187	-	W. Weatherhead/N	- H. Henley	Rector	263
North Woolton	-	-	-	119	179	61	39	1	J. Coulton	L R. Howard	V. £200/T. £65	265
South Woolton	-	-	-	124	177	50	69	1	J. Sams	ENN The King	Rector	270

* No ecclesiastical information is available for Westacre.

Freebridge Marshland Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel	Population 1801	Poor 1803	Relief 1832	Incident 1830	Cvs. 1760-1829	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
					£	£	riots					£	
Clenchwarton	1825	No	-	232	478	266	407	-	F. Goldfrap/M	L	S. Docker	R. £235/A. £58	-
Emneth	1817	No	-	711	995	212	713	6	-	-	V. £215/E. C. £545 *	760	-
Terrington St. Clement	1790	LPC	-	824	1466	631	1314	6	H. Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough	E	Annexed to Lady Margaret Chair, £2402/Vicar £661	3063	-
Terrington St. John	1790	LPC	-	408	598	219	360	4	B. Parke/M	R	Pembroke Coll. Cam. Vicar £410/	1733	-
Tilney All Saints	1795	No	-	313	420	253	445	2	"	"	Imp. £12/App. £17/	-	-
Tilney w. Islington	1795	No	-	177	238	136	161	1	"	"	Pembroke Coll. £894	-	-
Tilney St. Lawrence	1795	No	-	362	672	251	356	6	"	"	R. £399/V. £258	657	w. Pentney etc.
Walpole St. Andrew	1789	LPC	-	227	514	125	642	-	R. Hankinson/M/N	R	T. Hankinson	2091	w. Denton etc.
Walpole St. Peter	1789	LPC	-	730	1237	434	1327	8	W. Chester/M	L	The King	1224	w. Stenigot (Lincs.)
Walsoken	1820	No	-	705	1856	444	790	3	M. Allington	-	Mrs. Allington	1374	-
West Walton	-	-	-	513	905	280	763	6	W. Fawset/M/N A. Lake/M/N	E	(The King H. Townshend)	-	-
Wiggenhall St. German	1807	No	-	448	552	188	437	5	T. Greaves	R	D&G Norwich	415/Q	-
Wiggenhall St. Mary	1807	No	-	221	206	368	331	2	W. Money/N	R	The King	472	w. Yatesbury (Wilts.)
Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen	1807	No	-	368	576	234	483	2	J. Thackeray	E	W. Franks	787	w. Downham Market
Wiggenhall St. Peter	1807	No	-	53	114	49	120	-	R. Powell	L	The King	235	-

* E.C.: Ecclesiastical Commissioners

Callow Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel	Population		Poor Relief Incident Cve.		Incumbent 1760-1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887 1829	Value of Living held in plurality 1887 1829	
				1801	1831	1803	1832				£	£
Eagthorpe	-	-	-	75	73	26	91	-	L Sir G. Chadd	Rector	140/Q	w. Gulest
Barner	-	-	-	15	43	25	122	-	T. Keralake	V. £5/I. £223	228/Q	w. Twyford
East Barsham	-	-	-	180	219	211	224	1	Bp. of Norwich	Vicar	314/Q	w. Little Snoring
N. Barsham	-	-	-	44	84	126	175	-	Lord Walpole	Rector	334	w. Alby
W. Barsham	-	-	-	36	101	273	203	-	M. Balders	V. £168/A. £22	190/Q	-
Brooms Thorpe	-	-	-	11	13	12	35	-	-	-	-	-
Dunton	-	-	-	121	126	58	156	2	T. Coke	V. £177/I. £350	527	w. Wickmere
Fakenham	-	-	-	1236	2077	972	2708	16	Trinity Coll. Cam.	Rector	762	w. Aylsham
Fulmodeston	1808	No	28 a.	276	391	328	604	1	Corpus Christi, Cam.	Rector	575	w. Ashbury (Berke.)
Heilhoughton	1818	No	20 a.	273	318	190	422	5	W. Ainge	V. £184/I. £299	483	w. Rainham
Hempston	-	-	-	235	411	144	239	5	-	-	-	-
Houghton	-	-	-	198	277	72	271	2	Lord Cholmondeley	Vicar	108/Q	w. Barner
Kettleston	1827	No	25 a.	166	221	103	511	3	The King	Rector	300	w. Shereford
Pensthorpe	-	-	-	17	30	40	38	-	R. Hamond	Rector	170	w. Gayton Thorpe etc.
Padding Norton	-	-	-	18	17	50	55	-	T. Wright	Rector	10	w. Barney
East Rainham	-	-	-	148	115	133	312	1	W. Ainge	Rector	359	w. West Rainham
S. Rainham	-	-	-	100	122	113	103	1	W. Ainge	V. £106/I. £185	291/Q	w. Heilhoughton
W. Rainham	1818	No	-	262	335	226	40	3	W. Ainge	Rector	390	w. E. Rainham
East Rudham	1818	No	20 a.	372	950	327	1025	4	Marquis Townshend	R. £280/I. £505	785	w. Toft Trees etc.
West Rudham	1818	No	-	298	335	248	623	-	Marquis Townshend	V. £280/I. £490	770	" "
Great Ryburgh	1808	For land	29 a.	377	598	177	915	8	S. Clayton	530a. to 5 tithe-owners at enclosure	-	Gt. & L. Ryburgh
Little Ryburgh	1808	For land	13 a.	94	162	39	181	1	S. Clayton	Rector	574	w. Stratton Strawless etc.
Sculthorpe	1829	No	30 a.	352	619	302	656	10	R. Marsham	Rector	208	w. Kettlestone
Shereford	-	-	-	75	110	70	154	1	Marquis Townshend	Rector	363	w. East Barsham
Little Snoring	1800	No	15 a.	229	287	153	189	3	Bp. of Norwich	Rector	484	w. Colkirk
Sibbard	1808	No	22 a.	283	503	304	738	4	W. Ainge	Rector	572	w. Barningham
Sydestone	-	-	-	258	421	134	223	5	Marquis Cholmondeley	Rector	216	w. Tattersett
Tatterford	-	-	-	68	75	29	80	-	Sir G. Chadd	Rector	474	w. Tatterford
Tattersett	-	-	-	161	118	69	302	2	Sir G. Chadd	Rector	13	w. Hockham
Teesterton	-	-	-	28	18	25	72	-	P. Case	Rector	315/Q	w. Rudham
Toft Trees	-	-	-	90	78	127	372	2	Marquis Townshend	V. £160/I. £155	-	-

North Greenhoe Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel	Population Poor Relief Incident in			Cya. Incumbent 1760-1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held Living in plurality 1887 £					
				1801	1831 1803	1832 1830 riots									
				£	£										
Barney	1811	No	-	216	263	165	201	-	1	W. Wilcocks/M	L	Sir J. Aetley	V. £108/I. £168	276	w. Pudding Norton
Binham	1814	No	-	393	493	241	491	Wages riots	9	W. Upjohn	L	T. Clarke	V. £100/I. £200	300/Q	w. Field Dalling
Cockthorpe	-	-	-	32	41	33	69	-	-	J. Cotterill	R	Lord Calthorpe	Rector	152	w. Langham etc.
Egmore	-	-	-	32	46	81	150	-	-	J. Ackroyd	-	T. Coke	Rector	24	w. Holkham
Field Dalling	1808	No	24 a.	260	400	189	424	Machine-smashing	4	W. Upjohn	R	Mrs. Smith	V. £159/I. £354	513/Q	w. Binham
Hindringham	1815	No	24 a.	549	784	553	1376	-	5	H. Downing	L	D&C Norwich	D&C N. £800/V. £322	1122/Q	w. N. Barsham etc.
Holkham	-	-	-	550	792	265	618	-	2	J. Ackroyd	L	T. Coke	V. £200/I. £400	600/Q	w. Cockthorpe
Houghton St. Giles	1808	No	-	190	215	159	290	-	1	J. Warner/M	ENN	D. Warner	V. £135/I. £183	318/Q	w. St. Al. Walsingham
Great Snoring	1811	No	-	301	437	335	331	-	6	J. Fawcett/M	R	St. John's C. Cam. Rector	Rector	545	w. Thursford
Stiffkey	1793	No	-	334	460	249	479	-	4	Lord F. Townshend/M	L	Marquis Townshend Rector	Rector	423	w. Moraton
Thursford	1827	No	-	269	392	287	520	-	3	J. Fawcett/M	L	St. John's C. Cam. Rector	Rector	294	w. St. Snoring
Gt. Walsingham	1808	For land	12 a.	289	434	336	657	-	5	J. Warner/M	R	H. Warner	Tithe commuted for land at enclosure	-	w. Houghton
L. Walsingham	1808	For land	13 a.	1004	1004	797	1144	-	8	J. Warner/M	E	H. Warner	Rector	247	-
Warham All Saints	1811	No	-	323	451	233	364	-	2	W. Atkinson/M	R	The King	Rector	373	w. Waterden
Warham St. Mary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	W. Langton/M/N	R	T. Coke	Rector	550	-
Wells	1811	No	10 a.	2316	3624	1287	1601	-	17	V. Hill/N	R	J. Hill	Rector	810/Q	w. Castle Acre
Wighton	-	-	-	446	542	233	460	-	5	J. Tickell	R	D&C Norwich	D&C N. £578/V. £232	-	-

South Greenhoe Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1832	Incident Cvs. 1760-1829	Incumbent 1836	Res. Patron 1812-1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1867-1829	
					£	£					£	
Bodney	-	-	-	89	110	66	107	-	L The King	Rector	195	w. Gt. Cressingham
East Bradenham	1814	No	-	137	381	125	651	-	L T. Oxley	Rector	333	w. Shouldham etc.
West Bradenham	1801	No	13 a.	300	370	94	429	-	R Bishop of Ely	Bp. Ely £218/V. £169	387	-
Caldecote	-	-	-	26	63	16	17	-	-	Rector	6	w. Cockley Clew
Cockley Clew	-	-	-	184	218	134	181	-	L T. Buckworth	Rector	187	w. Caldecote
Gt. Cressingham	1801	No	35 a.	301	449	267	434	-	R The King	Rector	519	w. Bodney
L. Cressingham	1777	FNE	23 a.	205	276	48	193	-	E T. Baker	Rector	365	w. Rollesby
Didlington	-	-	-	65	86	72	140	-	L R. Wilson	Vicar	101	-
Foulden	1777	No	300 a.	376	500	230	413	-	L Caius College	Caius £267/V. 178	445	w. Oxburgh
Gooderstone	1802	No	30 a.	292	476	113	615	-	L E. Horrox	V. £133/T. £250	383/Q	w. Wimbish (Essex)
Hillborough	1769	No	30 a.	360	310	238	421	-	E Earl Nelson	Rector	460/Q	w. Swaffham
Holme Hale	1801	No	21 a.	348	447	342	721	-	L T. Young	Rector	583	w. Necton
Houghton on Hill	-	-	-	42	52	56	39	-	-	-	-	w. N. Pickenham (amalg.)
Langford	-	-	-	54	36	8	48	-	-	Rector	120	w. Igborough
Narborough	-	-	-	268	300	172	70	-	R Rev. H. Spelman	Rector	373	w. Narford
Narford	-	-	-	71	103	94	104	-	R Rev. H. Spelman	Bp. Ely £185/V. 145	330	w. Narborough
Necton	1815	No	-	663	996	261	915	-	R T. Young	Rector	905	w. Holme Hale
Newton	-	-	-	48	70	28	154	-	E Bishop of Ely	Bp. Ely £210/V. £97	307/Q	w. Bungay (Suff.)
Oxburgh	-	-	-	296	427	110	632	-	R Caius College	Rector	483	w. Foulden
N. Pickenham	1805	LPC	10 a.	193	245	171	252	-	L Rev. H. Say	Rector	499	w. Houghton
S. Pickenham	-	-	-	120	195	77	69	-	R W. Chute	Rector	313	-
Southacre	-	-	-	78	96	49	152	-	R B. Fountaine	Rector	520	w. West Winch
Sporle w. Palgrave	1804	PATF	91 a.	503	746	470	1130	-	L Eton College	Eton College	929	-
Swaffham	-	-	-	2220	3285	1143	2221	-	R Bp. of Norwich	D&C Westminster £1143/V. £543.	1686	w. Hillborough etc.

Grimshoe Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population			Poor Relief		Incident Cvs. 1760-1829	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812-1829	Tithe Owner 1867	Value of Living held	
				1801	1831	1863	£	riots					1867	1829
Buckenham	-	-	-	24	51	120	243	-	(vacant)	-	-	-	-	-
Colveston	-	-	-	22	34	39	27	-	G. Wilson	-	R. Wilson	Rector	100	w. Diddington
Cranwick	-	-	-	79	88	47	50	-	J. Partridge/M/N	R	H. Partridge	Rector	189	w. Methwold
Croxton	1808	No	20 a.	206	278	90	218	-	W. Ramaden	4	ENN Christ's C. Cam.	Christ's £A10/V. £73	483/Q	w. Stambridge (Essex)
Feltwell	1813	No	360 a.	948	1231	467	1160	-	H. Fardell/M	8	The King } Bp. of Ely }	Rector	1296	Preb. of Ely etc.
Hockwold	1814	No	-	616	878	458	856	-	H. Tilney/N	2	Caius College	R. £635/Caius £180/A. £91	906	-
Igburgh	-	-	-	178	197	55	59	-	W. Newcome/M	4	A. Baring	Rector	128	w. Langford etc.
Methwold	1805	No	-	865	1266	493	1546	-	J. Partridge/M/N	9	H. Partridge	V. £340/I. £1102/A. £32	1474	w. Cranwick
Moundford	1806	No	-	274	414	141	226	-	W. Newcome/M	6	Mrs. Newcome	Rector	138	w. Igborough etc.
Northwold	1796	No	118 a.	767	1094	303	621	-	G. Waddington/M	4	Bishop of Ely	Rector	896	-
Santon	-	-	-	10	18	4	52	-	H. Manning/M/N	-	Corp. of Thetford	Rector	80	w. Thetford
Stanford	-	-	-	106	133	51	152	-	G. Millers	3	Bishop of Ely	V. £75/Bp. Ely £77	152/Q	Canon of Ely etc.
Sturston	-	-	-	28	49	43	'No poor'	-	W. Pearree	2	Lord Walsingham	Rector	663/Q	-
West Toft	-	-	-	88	182	45	42	-	W. Sims	2	J. Mosley	Rector	200	w. Nayland (Suff.) etc.
Westing	1774	FNE	-	368	357	370	382	-	W. Manning/M/N	-	Caius College	Rector	517	w. Diss

Guittores Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population		Poor Relief 1852	Incident 1830	Cvs. 1760-1829	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
				1801	1831								
Banham	1789	No	140 a.	1015	1297	593	1518	13	J. Surtees/M	R	Rector	1261	w. Taverham
Bo Norton	1820	LPC	25 a.	267	411	168	519	1	C. Browne/N	R	Rector	336	-
Carboldisham	-	-	-	577	718	371	570	10	G. Montgomerie/N	E	Rector	605	-
Gasthorpe	-	-	-	51	112	17	'No poor'	-	(vacant)	-	Rector	121	-
East Harling	1801	PATF	56 a.	674	1031	583	559	11	W. Wilkinson/M	R	Rector	591	w. North Walsham etc.
West Harling	1801	No	-	122	107	132	118	-	C. Ridley	R	Rector	192	w. Larling
Kenningham	1799	LPC/PATF	50 a.	1052	1251	708	1554	11	W. Killest	R	Bp. Ely	£784/V. £325	1109
North Lopham	1812	LPC	103 a.	588	807	433	856	5	R. Littlehales	ENN	Rector	303	w. S. Lopham
South Lopham	1812	LPC	125 a.	692	729	353	870	8	R. Littlehales	"	Rector	508	w. N. Lopham
Quidderham	-	-	-	107	84	57	149	1	E. Kappel/M/N	ENN	Rector	230	w. Snetterton
Riddlesworth	-	-	-	67	76	21	'No poor'	-	J. Bird/N	L	Rector	118	-
Rushford	-	-	-	105	138	67	106	1	-	-	-	-	-

Happing Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Poor Relief 1801	Incident in 1830	Cys. 1760-1829	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
					£	£					£	£
Brumstead	1805	No	-	103	80	35	1	G. Bethune	ENN Earl of Abergavenny	Rector	248	w. Nuthurst (Sussex)
Catfield	1802	No	57 a.	476	203	363	6	G. Lucas/N	L W. Downes	Rector	606	w. Filby etc.
Happieburgh	1801	LPC	3 a.	526	124	452	5	C. Prowett	R Bishop of Norwich	Bp. Norwich. £665/V. £230	927	w. Stapleford (Herts)
Hempstead	1812	No	9 a.	192	27	200	3	J. Tickell	- D & C Norwich	Rector	290	w. Lessingham etc.
Hickling	1801	No	82 a.	595	204	550	3	C. Millard/N	E N. Mickelthwait	V. £344/I. £814	1158/Q	w. Henley (Suff.)
Horsley	1812	LPC	9 a.	58	62	42	-	W. Rees	L Paston School Gownrs. North Walsham	V. £83/Paston School £70	153/Q	-
Ingham	1801	No	17 a.	329	74	220	2	R. Johnson	L The King	Bishop of Norwich	456/Q	-
Lessingham	1801	LPC	3 a.	159	9	152	2	J. Tickell	- King's Coll. Cam.	Rector	240	w. Hempstead etc.
Ludham	1800	LPC	124 a.	724	156	661	8	J. Oldershaw/M	E Bishop of Norwich	Bp. Norwich. £640/V. £303	943	Archd. of Norfolk etc.
Palling	1805	No	14 a.	188	343	199	4	J. Cubitt/N	- Mr. Conyers	V. £93/I. £162	255/Q	w. Waxham
Potter Heigham	1801	No	98 a.	321	25	200	-	R. Lockwood	E Bishop of Norwich	Bp. Norwich. £366/V. £223	589	Preb. of Peterborough etc.
E. Rurton	1806	No	300 a.	486	106	536	5	G. Aufrere/N	- J. Wodehouse	Dean & Canons of Windsor	941/Q	w. Ridlington
Stalham	1807	No	72 a.	476	85	486	5	B. Cubitt/M/N	R Marquis Cholmondeley	V. £194/I. £358	552/Q	-
Sutton	1802	No	80 a.	267	47	143	2	J. Foulkes	L Earl of Abergavenny	R. £325/I. £36/A. £24	385	w. Flitcham
Walcot	-	-	-	132	20	252	-	J. Hewitt/N	R Bishop of Norwich	Bp. Norwich. £323/A. £24	347/Q	w. Grantchester (Cambs.)
Waxham	-	-	-	63	36	160	-	J. Cubitt/N	L Mr. Conyers	Rector	343	w. Palling

Henstead Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population		Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1760-1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1867	Value of Living held in plurality 1867 1829
				1801	1831					
Arminghall	1800	No	2 a.	81	88	-	W. Drake/N	D&G Norwich	229/0	w. Stoke Holy Cross
Bixley	1800	Yes	-	33	84	-	J. Bowman	£ 311 to Rector at enclosure	258	w. Fram. Earl (smalg.)
Brammerton	-	-	-	138	202	2	J. Fellowes/M/N	R Rector	461	w. Shotteham etc.
Caister St. Edmund	1800	No	23 a.	206	193	2	(vacant)	Rector	-	-
Framingham Earl	1800	Yes	13 a.	96	74	3	J. Bowman	See Bixley	-	w. Bixley (smalg.)
Framingham Pigot	1800	No	7 a.	256	302	5	J. L'oste	Rector	221	w. L. Plumstead
Holverstone	1800	No	2 a.	33	33	-	Lord Nevill/M	-	-	w. Bergh Apton
Kirby Bedon	1812	No	-	198	245	-	E. Day	R. £250/I. £5	256	-
Gt. & L. Poringland	1800	Yes	29 a.	327	543	5	J. Stevens	£ 189 to Rector at enclosure	-	-
Rockland St. Mary	1808	No	8 a.	272	437	2	F. Ellis	Rector	412	w. Langham
Saxlingham Nethergate	-	-	-	429	666	-	J. Steward/M/N	Rector	{ 794	w. Swardstone
Saxlingham Thorpe	-	-	-	136	161	-	J. Steward	Rector	{ 1015	w. Brammerton etc.
Shotteham All Saints	1777	No	-	441	558	-	J. Steward/M/N	{ V. & R. £56A/A. £10/ I. £441	-	-
Shotteham St. Mary & St. Martin	1777	No	-	350	367	-	J. Fellowes/M/N	{ V. & R. £56A/A. £10/ I. £441	-	-
Stoke Holy Cross	1800	No	13 a.	224	350	3	W. Drake/N	D&G Nr wch. £36A/V. 211	575	w. Arminghall
Surlingham	1809	No	23 a.	308	399	6	W. Collett/N	V. £111/I. £309	420	w. Thetford St. Mary
Trowse w. Newton	-	-	-	418	583	5	G. Carter	D&G Nr wch. £92/V. £178	270	Canon of Norwich etc.
Whitlingham	-	-	-	20	45	-	G. Carter	"	"	Hamlet to Trowse

Holt Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel	Population			Poor Relief Incident in			Cvs. 1750-1829	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held	
				1801	1831	1803	1832	1830	riots					1887	1829
Bale	1811	No	-	195	275	363	468	-	6	C. Collyer	L	C. Collyer	Rector	311	w. Gunthorpe etc.
Blakeney	1820	Yes	-	618	929	497	521	-	5	J. Cotterill	L	Lord Calthorpe	£ 170 to Rector at Encl.	w. Cockthorpe	
Bodham	1808	No	-	227	308	231	333	-	7	T. Girdlestone	M/N	Rector	379	w. Beaconsthorpe	
Brinningham	1803	No	-	228	277	261	404	-	3	S. Jones	E	M. Reeve	353	-	
Brinton	1803	No	2 a.	204	199	153	197	-	1	A. Dashwood	-	Sir J. Astley	177	w. Thormage	
Eriaton	-	-	-	750	1037	571	1503	-	8	G. Preston	M	H. Jones	V. £234/I. £449	-	
Cley	1821	LPC	-	547	827	279	726	-	11	C. Collyer	M/N	L	J. Tomlinson	405	w. Bale etc.
Edgefield	1812	No	-	495	774	892	1696	-	8	B. Francis	N	R	J. Marcon	574	w. Long Melford (Suff.)
Glandford	1820	Yes	-	71	102	95	145	-	1	C. Elwin	N	L	H. Jodrell	265	w. Booton etc.
Gunthorpe	1829	Partly	-	292	316	251	880	-	5	C. Collyer	M/N	R	C. Collyer	317	w. Bale etc.
Hempstead	1812	No	-	227	286	399	442	-	2	T. Talbot	M	L	King's Coll. Cam.	D&C N. £270/V. 140410/Q	
Holt	1807	No	-	1004	1622	738	1059	Machine-smashing	13	W. Parry	R	St. John's Coll. Cam.	Rector	585	-
Hunworth	-	-	-	183	285	109	331	-	4	J. Flavell	N	-	W. Harbord	152	w. Stody
Kelling	1777	No	121 a.	132	213	140	189	-	2	W. Girdlestone	M/N	R	Z. Girdlestone	300	w. Salthouse
Langham Regis	(1815	For land	10 p.*	268	375	234	154	Wages riot	4	F. Ellis	E	Lord Calthorpe	354s. to 3 owners at Encl.	-	-
Langham Parva	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"	J. Cotterill	R	Bishop of Norwich	"	w. Blakeney etc.	
Leatheringsett	1809	No	-	236	278	145	408	-	7	J. Burrell	N	R	J. Burrell	253	-
Melton Constable	-	-	-	149	114	226	227	Arson	3	C. Elwin	N	L	Sir J. Astley	242/Q	w. Bayfield etc.
Moreton	1793	No	1/2 a.	99	171	75	95	-	3	Lord F. Townshend	M	-	Marquis Townshend	280	w. Stiffkey
Salthouse	1776	No	155 a.	201	262	111	139	-	5	W. Girdlestone	M/N	L	Z. Girdlestone	220	w. Kelling
Saxlingham	-	-	-	133	153	143	287	-	7	S. Jodrell	M/N	R	R. Jodrell	426	w. Sharrington
Sharrington	1795	No	-	207	252	172	318	-	2	S. Jodrell	M/N	L	Sir T. Gooch	300	w. Saxlingham
Stody	1803	No	-	149	161	94	153	-	-	J. Flavell	N	L	Lady Suffield	237	w. Hunworth
Swanton Novers	1811	No	-	221	377	108	148	-	10	E. Salter	-	L	D&C Christ Church, Oxf.	230	w. Wood Norton
Thormage	-	-	-	221	332	193	454	-	4	A. Dashwood	-	L	Sir J. Astley	331	w. Brinton
Weybourne	1804	No	-	240	273	161	154	-	-	(vacant)	-	-	Earl of Orford	300	-
Wiveton	1820	Yes	-	172	218	96	220	-	3	J. Williams	L	G. Windham	Rector	221	-

* perches (approx. 1 of an acre)
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Humbleyard Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Committed	Fuel Allotment	Population		Poor Relief 1832	Incident 1830	Cvs. 1760-1829	Incumbent 1836	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
				1801	1831								
Bracon Ash	-	-	-	283	316	264	323	3	T. Slapp/M	E T. Berney	Rector	248	w. Old Buckenham
East Carlton	-	-	-	167	314	207	169	-	R. Francis/N	L Corp. of Norwich	Rector	314	w. Kirkley (Suff.)
Colney	-	-	-	96	90	75	56	-	E. Postle/M/N	R J. Postle	Rector	229	-
Cringleford	-	-	-	138	177	100	203	-	J. Brett/M/N	R Corp. of Norwich	Great Hospital, Norwich	285	-
Dunstan	-	-	-	86	102	81	128	-	R. Long	R R. Long	Impropriator	196/Q	w. Swainsthorpe etc.
Flordon	-	-	-	118	164	170	222	-	Sir W. Kemp/M/N	E Sir W. Kemp	Rector	291	w. Giesing
Hethel	-	-	-	175	184	205	333	-	M. Beavor/M/N	R J. Steward	Rector	473	w. Ketteringham
Heithersett	1799	No	-	696	1080	517	1045	7	J. Day/M	R Caius College	Rector	855	w. Blyford (Suff.)
Intwood	-	-	-	39	52	28	74	-	T. Drake/N	L T. Drake	Rector	146	w. Keswick
Keswick	-	-	-	67	120	80	355	-	T. Drake/N	- T. Drake	Rector	228	w. Intwood
Ketteringham	-	-	-	181	215	241	210	-	M. Beavor/M/N	L E. Atkins	V. £170/T. £258	428	w. Hethel
Melton Magna	1818	No	-	329	204	346	634	1	J. Willins/N	R Caius College	Rector	753	-
Melton Parva	1814	No	-	189	292	158	239	2	J. Dunn	L Emmanuel College	Emman. C. £181/V. £98	279/Q	-
Merkshali	-	-	-	18	32	17	38	-	(vacant)	-	-	-	w. Calster St. Edmund (amalg.)
Mulbarton	-	-	-	353	523	207	245	3	R. Spurgeon/M/N	R J. Steward	Rector	554	-
Newton Flotman	-	-	-	336	382	263	571	1	R. Long	L R. Long	Rector	367	w. Dunstan etc.
Swainsthorpe	-	-	-	141	180	164	219	-	R. Long	L R. Long	Rector	260	w. Dunstan etc.
Swardstone	-	-	-	277	371	241	392	2	J. Steward/M/N	R J. Steward	V. £135/T. £311	446/Q	w. Saxlingham (Henstead)
Wreningham	1777	Land FVE	20 a.	366	409	203	570	4	R. Wilson/N	- R. Wilson	Rector	400 + 37a. FVE	w. Ashwellthorpe

Launditch Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population		Poor Relief	Incident	Ovs.	Incumbent	Res. Patron	Tithe Owner	Value of Living held		
				1801	1851							1832	1887	1829
Beeston w. Bittering	1812	No	20 a.	511	702	346	749	1	J. Nelson/N	R	Certain Trustees*	Rector	590/Q	w. Winterton etc.
Beetley	1811	No	20 a.	242	381	96	228	1	T. Munnings/N	R	C. Munnings	Rector	500	w. Beetley
East Bilney	1811	No	6 a.	165	166	89	184	1	T. Munnings/N	L	C. Munnings	Rector	118	w. Esot Bilney
Bripley	-	-	-	264	362	133	281	3	J. Maul/M	R	Christ's C. Cam.	Rector	293	w. Gateley
Colkirk	-	-	-	304	316	179	700	6	R. Ratham	L	Lord Townshend	Rector	474	w. Stibbard
Great Dunham	1795	No	33 a.	361	511	169	738	3	J. Humfrey/M/N	L	Certain Trustees*	Rector	562	Preb. of Lincoln etc.
Little Dunham	1794	No	35 a.	210	290	79	149	1	H. Jowett	R	E. Parry	Rector	500	-
North Elmham	1829	Yes	50 a.	836	1153	601	661	3	C. Ford/M	R	G. Miles	Rector	754	-
Great Fransham	1805	LPC	7 a.	207	323	178	331	3	J. Buck/N	R	J. Buck	Rector	552	w. West Newton
Little Fransham	1805	LPC	11 a.	214	234	110	208	2	E. Swatman/N	R	E. Swatman	Rector	314	-
Gateley	-	-	-	77	120	54	224	-	J. Kaul/M	L	Christ's C. Cam.	Christ's 208/W. 144	352	w. Brisley
Gressenhall	1811	No	7 a.	1224	924	207	750	10	D. Hill	R	J. Hill	Rector	760	-
Hoe	1811	No	12 a.	234	235	165	236	2	C. Wollaston	L	F. Wollaston	R. £236/V. £118	354	w. East Dereham
Horningtoft	1812	No	-	197	293	94	225	3	C. Reynolds/N	E	T. Talbot	Rector	342	-
Kempston	1812	No	-	50	59	37	151	-	A. Langton/N	L	T. Coke	V. £110/I. £170	280/Q	-
East Lexham	1811	No	28 a.	119	206	36	105	2	A. Wodehouse	E	Lord Wodehouse	Rector	205	w. Litcham etc.
West Lexham	1811	No	-	138	103	38	121	-	A. Wodehouse	L	Lord Wodehouse	Rector	195	w. Litcham etc.
Litcham	1765	No	-	426	771	221	698	7	A. Wodehouse	E	Lord Wodehouse	Rector	452	w. Lexham
Longham	1812	No	-	247	333	114	236	2	J. Hoate/M/N	E	T. Coke	Impropriator	285/Q	w. Wendling
Mileham	1812	No	26 a.	323	566	114	398	3	G. Barnwell/M/N	R	W. Mason	Rector	650	-
Cwixick cum Pattenley	-	-	-	72	74	73	133	-	J. Alderson/N	E	J. Alderson	Rector	239	w. Hevingham
Rougham	-	-	-	178	340	51	214	4	J. Smith	L	The King	Vicar	255/Q	-
Scarning	1811	No	14 a.	439	603	387	973	2	P. Aufrere/N	R	E. Lombe	R. £496/I. £260	756	w. Bawdeswell
Stanfield	1812	No	8 a.	149	234	107	296	2	J. Royle/N	L	Rev. W. Newcome	Rector	264	w. Wretton
Swanton Morley	1755	No	-	560	837	292	843	4	H. Tacey	R	E. Lombe	Rector	1073	w. Worthing (amalg.)
Tittleshall cum Godwick	-	-	-	439	570	285	761	5	E. Keppel/M/N	R	T. Coke	Rector	681	w. Wellingham etc.
Waesdenham All Saints	1806	Partly	40 a.	207	313	106	282	3	C. Campbell/N	R	The King	V. £226/I. £350	576/Q	w. W. St. Peter
Waesdenham St. Peter	1806	Partly	"	196	309	68	220	2	C. Campbell/N	"	The King	V. £151/I. £222	373	w. W. All Saints
Wellingham	1806	Partly	37 a.	150	165	56	158	3	E. Keppel/N	L	T. Coke	Rector	266	w. Tittleshall etc.
Wendling	1814	No	10 a.	229	347	184	417	-	J. Hoate/M/N	E	T. Coke	Impropriator	30/Q	w. Longham
Whissonsett	1812	No	-	387	628	177	445	5	J. Crofts/N	R	F. Reynolds	Rector	344	-
Worthing	1811	No	-	88	138	43	70	-	H. Tacey	L	E. Lombe	-	-	w. Swanton Morley (amalg.)

* Appointed under the wills of deceased patrons.

Loddon Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1832	Incident in 1830	Cys. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1887-1829
Alpington w. Ielverton Ashby	1801	No	13 a.	228	277	82	320	4	J. Day/M	R The King	Rector	408
Bedingham	-	-	-	186	218	26	95	1	S. Kent	- Rev. Sir C. Rich	Rector	172
Broome	1802	No	10 a.	293	380	108	398	5	G. Day/N	L R. Stone	V. £142/I. £280	422/Q
Carleton n. Ashby	-	-	-	298	504	74	279	3	W. Colville	E N. Colville	Rector	286
Chedgrave	-	-	-	109	96	24	91	-	S. Kent	E Rev. Sir C. Rich	Rector	170
Claxton	1808	No	6 a.	247	353	50	193	2	T. Beauchamp/N	L Sir W. Proctor	Rector	221
Ditchingham	1812	LPC	-	102	192	43	175	2	S. Webster/N	ENN Rev. Sir C. Rich	V. £57/I. £130	167/Q
Hardley	1810	No	-	574	962	197	805	5	J. Newling	E Sir R. Hill	Rector	560
Hedenham	1812	LPC	-	202	211	66	212	1	T. Watson/N	E Corp. of Norwich	Great Hospital, Norwich	328
Hillingdon	-	-	-	273	356	77	338	2	J. Chambers/N	R N. Chambers	Rector	458
Kirksted	1813	No	-	45	52	16	84	-	W. Hurlock	R Rev. Sir C. Rich	Rector	450
Langley	1810	No	40 a.	168	261	78	262	2	J. Lewis	E R. Kerrison	Rector	300
Loddon	-	-	-	294	361	116	438	1	T. Beauchamp	L Sir W. Proctor	Impropriator	400/Q
Mundham	1813	No	3 a.	799	1175	184	746	9	T. Abbott	L Bishop of Ely	Bp. Ely £520/V. £300	820
Seething	1813	No	2 a.	242	314	51	160	3	J. Day/M	E Corp. of Norwich	Great Hospital, Norwich	442
Sisland	1813	No	-	366	438	73	222	2	J. Day/M	E Corp. of Norwich	Great Hospital, Norwich	458
Thurton	1801	No	6 a.	54	85	26	100	-	W. Hobson	E W. Hobson	Rector	138
Thwaite	-	-	-	164	193	70	261	-	W. Hobson	E Sir W. Proctor	Impropriator	220/Q
Topcroft	1804	LPC/PATF	1 a.	87	107	22	80	-	R. Drayer	E Duke of Norfolk	Rector	179
Woodton	1813	No	-	346	463	141	552	3	E. Wilson	L Bishop of Norwich	Rector	411
				417	539	159	609	3	T. Holmes/M/N	R Mr. Suckling	Rector	621

Canon of Litchfield
w. Costessey etc.

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w. Costessey etc.

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w. Costessey etc.

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Mitford Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population Poor Relief Incident			Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held	
				1801	1831	1803					1832	1830
South Burgh	1796	LPC	-	176	261	177	302	-	T. Gurdon	Rector	305/Q	w. Reymersstone etc.
Cranworth	1796	LPC	6 a.	226	323	83	247	-	T. Gurdon	Rector	220	w. Letton
East Dereham	1812	No	77 a.	2546	3946	1545	3118	-	F. Wollaston	R. £226/V. £418	1244	w. Hoe
Carventone	1810	LPC	7 a.	247	333	157	331	-	A. Clayton	Rector	243	-
Hardingham	1813	No	23 a.	444	560	291	664	-	W. Whiter	R. Clare College, G.	792	w. L. Bittering
Hockering	1825	LPC	-	276	438	96	418	-	T. Paddon/M	Rector	539	w. Mattishal
Letton	1796	LPC	7 a.	131	133	70	90	-	T. Gurdon/M	Rector	200	w. Cranworth
Mattishall	1801	LPC	61 a.	751	1093	455	1165	-	T. Paddon/M	Caius College	784/Q	w. Hockering
Mattishall Burgh	1811	LPC	17 a.	173	210	77	144	-	T. Paddon/M	Rector	200	w. Hockering
Reymersstone	1796	LPC	14 a.	200	299	69	362	-	F. Gurdon/M	Rector	467	w. South Burgh etc.
Shipham	1807	LPC	126 a.	1250	1869	821	1434	-	B. Barker/M	Rector	1240	w. Rockland
Thuxton	1810	No	2 a.	64	83	37	80	-	W. Castell/N	E. Bp. of Norwich	272	w. Brooke
S. Tuddenham	1802	No	25 a.	415	587	163	663	Machine-smashing	E. Mellish/M	R. £260/I. £121	613/Q	w. Honingham
N. Tuddenham	1765	No	24 a.	315	399	156	315	-	J. Day	R. Lord Bayning	700	-
Westfield	1810	LPC	7 a.	111	127	24	142	-	W. Deighton	Rector	150	w. Whinbergh
Whinbergh	1810	LPC	5 a.	142	219	105	120	Machine-smashing	W. Deighton	Rector	175	w. Westfield
Woodrising	-	-	-	118	127	100	149	-	W. Chester/M	Rector	255	w. Denton etc.
Taxham	1810	LPC	20 a.	416	501	406	485	-	J. Johnson/N	Rector	575	w. Welbourne

Shropham Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Poor Relief 1832	Incident 1830	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829
		No	£	1801	1831	£	riots	1760-1836	1829	1812	1887	£	1829
Attleburgh	1812	No	57 a.	1333	1939	1064	2076	8	R. Franklin/M	R	Rector	1504	w. Watton
Beathorpe	1806	LPC	15 a.	391	542	318	644	6	A. Turnour	L	V. £258/I. £263	521	-
Brettenham	-	-	-	56	65	22	30	-	F. Jones	ERN	Rector	202	-
Bridgham	1804	No	300 a.	242	291	237	165	1	S. Comyn	R	Rector	371	w. Roudham
New Buckenham	-	-	-	664	795	250	467	7	J. France	R	Rector of Ecoles	15/Q	w. L. Brandon
Cid Buckenham	1790	No	96 a.	845	1201	453	1269	12	T. Slapp/M	E	I. £1522/Cur. £5	1527/Q	w. Bracon Ash
Eccles	-	-	-	103	122	155	144	-	G. Wilson	L	A Committee	255/Q	-
Great Ellingham	1799	LPC	-	655	882	382	1327	8	S. Colby/M	R	R. 242/I. 524/A. 121	887	w. L. Ellingham
Hargham	-	-	-	67	77	22	36	-	R. Elwin/N	L	Rector	180	w. Wilby
Great Hockham	1795	Partly for land	40 a.	350	565	224	378	1	T. Skrimshire	L	Rev. J. Spurgin	276	w. L. Hockham etc.
Illington	-	-	-	71	91	34	57	-	R. Long	L	Mrs. Kellest	150	w. Dunstan etc.
Kilverstone	-	-	-	70	36	47	26	-	T. Methold	L	R. £142/I. £20	162	Preb. of Nrweh. etc.
Larling	1816	No	31 a.	196	227	107	254	1	C. Ridley	R	Rector	217	w. W. Harling
Rockland All Saints	1812	LPC	(26 a.	352	322	108	308	2	B. Barker/M	R	Rector	491	w. Shipdham
Rockland St. Andrew	1812	LPC		"	136	104	147	1	B. Barker/M	-	"	"	"
Roudham	-	-	-	77	73	22	'No poor'	-	S. Comyn	-	Sir J. Sebright	211	w. Bridgham
Shropham	1799	Partly for land	58 a.	411	507	270	480	5	J. Thompson	L	Corp. of Norwich	277	w. Thompson
Snetterton	-	-	-	218	247	84	195	2	E. Keppel/M/N	R	Earl of Albermarle	450	w. Tittleshall etc.
Wilby	-	-	-	95	123	38	141	1	R. Elwin/N	R	Rector	216	w. Hargham
East Wretham	-	-	-	195	(325	267	109	-	J. Wilkinson	R	Rt. Hon. T. Wallace	539	E. & W. Wretham
West Wretham	-	-	-	96	"	"	35	1	J. Wilkinson	R	"	"	"

Smithdon Hundred Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Fuel Committed Allowment	Population		Cvs. 1760- 1836	Incumbent		Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held Living in plurality	
			1801	1831		1803	1832			1829	1887
Barwick	-	-	25	35	-	J. Hoste/M/N	-	I. £154/V. £10	164/Q	w. Longham	-
Great Bircham	-	-	325	451	7	C. Spurgeon/M/N	E	J. Spurgeon	585	-	-
Bircham Newton	-	-	70	95	2	M. Beevor/M/N	L	Lord Orford	227	Bircham Newton & Tofte	-
Bircham Tofte	-	-	103	130	-	M. Beevor/M/N	"	Lord Orford	221	"	"
Brancaster	1755	No	563	651	8	W. Bolton	R	Duke of Beaufort	824	-	-
Docking	-	-	777	1406	7	(vacant)	L	Eton College	1691	-	-
Fring	-	-	174	127	-	R. Bacon	R	D&C Norwich	420/Q	-	-
Heacham	1780	No	524	733	4	H. North/M	E	H. Styleman	315/Q	w. Gt. Ringstead	-
Holme next Sea	1820	No	165	268	-	G. Sutton/N	-	Bishop of Norwich	453/Q	w. Thornham	-
Hunstanton	-	-	317	432	1	S. Cross	L	Bishop of Ely	463	-	-
Inglesthorpe	-	-	206	286	-	T. Cooper/N	ENN	T. Cooper	312	-	-
Great Ringstead	1781	No	315	524	3	H. North/M	R	H. Styleman	630	w. Marham	-
Sedgeford	1795	No	398	594	1	P. Whittingham	E	D&C Norwich	715	Canon of Nrvch. etc.	-
Shernbourn	1767	For land	100	140	-	W. Weatherhead/N	-	Bishop of Ely	Land given at Encl. for all tithe	w. Wolferton	-
Snattisham	1762	For land	881	926	8	J. Goldham/N	ENN	H. Styleman	480a. to 7 tithe-owners at Encl.	w. Anmer etc.	-
Stanhoe	-	-	374	436	6	D. Everard	E	Mr. & Mrs. Hoste	485	w. Burnham Thorpe	-
Thornham	1794	No	537	668	2	G. Sutton/N	E	Bishop of Norwich	730	w. Holme	-
Titchwell	1786	No	107	159	4	F. Browning	L	Eton College	413	Preb. of Sarum	-

Taverham Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Computed	Fuel Allotment	Population			Incumbent 1760-1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1867 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1867 1829
				1801	1831	1832				
Attlebridge	-	-	-	85	117	85	1	E D&C Norwich	V. £70/I. £165	235
Beeston St. Andrew	-	-	-	39	49	108	2	W. Boycott	Rector	190
Catton	-	-	-	589	592	420	5	D&C Norwich	Vicar	160/Q
Croxtwick	-	-	-	129	143	158	-	R M. Shepherd	Rector	192
Drayton	1811	No	49 a.	244	349	231	5	L Bp. of Norwich	Rector	258
Felthorpe	1777	No	50 a.	289	502	197	9	L Bp. of Norwich	Rector	271/Q
Frettenham	-	No	£30 p.a.	195	269	336	3	L Lord Suffield	Rector	481
Haynford	1802	No	£30 p.a.	353	605	325	2	R R. Marsham	Rector	425
Hellesdon	-	-	-	45	61	41	3	R Ep. of Norwich	Rector	442
Horsford	1799	Land FNE	-	470	543	617	6	R Lord Ranelagh	V. £101/I. £128	129/Q
Horsham St. Faith & Newton St. Faith	1799	Land FNE	-	683	1279	465	13	EMN Lord Ranelagh	Impropriator	711/Q
Horstead	-	-	-	370	593	666	6	R King's College, C.	Rector	590
Rackheath	1798	No	-	189	262	242	-	R Sir E. Stracey	Rector	456
Salhouse	1799	No	19 a.	375	539	209	4	- Rev. D. Collyer	V. £167/I. £55	242
Spixworth	-	-	-	61	54	226	-	R F. Longe	Rector	362
Sproston	1800	No	£30 p.a.*	248	479	184	7	R D&C Norwich	D&C Norwich	730/Q
Taverham	-	-	-	201	191	83	-	E Bp. of Norwich } alt. Mrs. Branthwayt }	Rector	329
Wroxham	-	-	-	326	368	221	5	L J. Collyer	V. £139/I. £116	255

*Raised in rent from enclosures

Tunstead Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population 1801	Population 1831	Population 1850	Foor Relief Incident in 1832	Incident in 1830	£	Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1867	Value of Living held in plurality 1867 1829
Ashmanhaugh	1808	No	8 a.	139	154	61	141	-		2	G. Preston/M	L Sir T. Preston	Bp. of Norwich	145/Q w. Beeston
Pacton	-	-	-	311	498	96	230	-		3	G. Fauquier/M	R Hon. J. Wodehouse	V. £219/I. £283	502/Q -
Barton Turf	1809	No	30 a.	290	391	73	278	-		5	W. Gunn/M/N	R Bp. of Norwich	Bp. Norwich. £295/V. £171	466 w. Irstead etc.
Beeston St. L.	-	No	-	36	52	16	50	-		1	G. Preston/M	L Sir T. Preston	Rector	145/Q w. Ashmanhaugh
Bradfield	1811	No	-	155	210	18	185	-		2	R. Blake/N	L Lord Suffield	R. £160/A. £35	215 -
Crosnawright	-	-	-	69	79	25	52	-		-	J. Humfrey/M/N	-	Rector	153 w. St. Dunham etc.
Dilham	1826	No	-	353	450	85	222	Machine-smashing		5	W. Turner/M	R Bp. of Ely	Bp. Ely £315/V. £163	478 w. Honing
Edingtonhorpe	1812	No	-	137	188	38	127	Tithe protest		4	R. Adams	R The King *	Rector	237 w. Deopham
Felmingham *	1808	LPC	39 a.	314	394	203	364	-		7	(J. Church/N(V) (I. Blofield/M/N) W. Turner/M	L Bp. of Norwich	Bp. N. £355/V. £150/R. £167	672/Q -
Honing	-	No	-	247	307	83	350	Machine-smashing		1	W. Turner/M	L Bp. of Ely	Bp. Ely £283/V. £145	428 w. Hoveton
Horning	1807	No	30 a.	361	368	98	356	-		7	C. Carver/N	L Bp. of Norwich	Bp. N. £200/V. £175	375/Q w. Aslacton
Hoveton St. John	1819	No	-	278	293	148	178	-		1	T. Blofield/M/N	R Bp. of Norwich	Bp. N. £327/A. £12	339/Q w. Felmingham
Hoveton St. Peter	1818	No	-	71	129	20	150	-		-	T. Blofield/M/N	" Bp. of Norwich	Bp. N. £220/V. £120	340 "
Irstead	1807	LPC	39 a.	117	169	25	111	-		1	W. Gunn/M/N	L Bp. of Norwich	Rector	202 w. Barton Turf etc.
Neatishhead	1808	LPC	15 a.	489	646	177	391	-		7	H. de Crespieny	R Bp. of Norwich	Bp. N. £301/V. £175	475 w. Stoke Doyle (Northants)
Pacton	1812	No	-	226	286	156	293	Machine-smashing		2	F. Arden	E T. Mack	R. £130/I. £131	261/Q w. Gresham
Ridlington	-	-	-	144	205	43	110	-		3	G. Aufrere/N	E Hon. J. Wodehouse	R. £184/Bp. N. £32	216 -
Seo Ruston	1814	LPC	1 a.	123	105	11	73	-		-	J. Forster	-	V. £32/I. £35	187 w. Tunstead
Sloley	1814	No	18 a.	260	267	86	164	-		3	W. Gunn/M/N	L Earl of Orford	Rector	250 w. Barton Turf etc.
Smallburgh	1815	LPC	43 a.	503	699	191	266	-		4	C. Penrice/M/N	R Bp. of Norwich	Rector	430 w. Witton etc.
Swafeld	-	-	-	107	155	98	118	-		2	J. Colman/N	L The King *	Rector	220 w. Knapton
Tunstead	1814	LPC	8 a.	505	498	157	550	-		5	J. Forster	L T. Clarke	V. £285/I. £359	644 w. Seo Ruston
North Waleham	1808	LPC	34 a.	1959	2615	1006	2380	Machine-smashing		14	W. Wilkinson/M	R Bp. of Norwich	Bp. N. £306/V. £120	1226 w. Antingham
Westwick	-	-	-	166	210	123	104	-		-	E. Wymmer/N	R Colonel Petre	Rector	174/Q -
Watton Bacton	1812	No	-	187	295	127	189	-		-	G. Hewitt/N	-	Bp. Ely £264/V. £120	384 -
Worstead	1821	LPC	-	650	830	313	619	-		7	P. Hansell	E DAC Norwich	DAC N. £618/V. £270	889 Canon of Wreth. etc.

* Felmingham was a rectory and a vicarage, a rare survival of medieval usage.

* The King as Duke of Lancaster

Walsham Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population Poor Relief Incident in			Cvs. 1760-1836	Incumbent 1829	Res. Patron 1812 1829	Tithe Owner 1887	Value of Living held in plurality 1829		
				1801	1831	1803					1832	1830	1829
Acle	1796	No	-	600	820	358	294	7	W. Spooner	E Lord Calthorpe	Rector	722	Archd. of Coventry etc.
Beighton	1801	No	8 a.	208	262	229	116	1	F. Buckle/M/N	E R. Fellowes	Rector	423	-
Halvergate	1805	No	16 a.	397	465	158	391	2	G. Burges	R Bishop of Ely	Bp. Ely £370/V. £236	566	w. Moulton etc.
Hemblington	1801	No	-	214	238	100	75	2	G. Day/N	E D&C Norwich	D&C Norwich	290/Q	w. Barton Bendish etc.
Moulton	1820	No	9 a.	170	209	86	79	4	G. Burges	L Rev. G. Anguish	V. £153/I. £215	366/Q	w. Halvergate etc.
Panworth	1798	No	-	327	400	108	120	4	J. Childershaw/M	E Bishop of Ely	Bp. Ely £227/V. £132	359/Q	w. Upton etc.
Reedham	-	No	-	376	535	147	315	2	E. Leathes/N	R Rev. J. Love	Rector	520	w. Freethorpe
Tunstall	-	No	-	45	101	40	56	-	G. Burges	L Rev. G. Anguish	Impropiator	389/Q	w. Halvergate etc.
Upton w. Fishley	1798	No	-	347	510	197	118	7	J. Oldershaw/M	- Bishop of Ely	Bp. Ely £283/V. £163	446	w. Ranworth etc.
South Walsham	1801	No	22 a.	500	575	382	423	2	W. Topliss	R Queen's Coll. Cam.	Rector	511	-
St. Lawrence	-	No	-	"	"	"	"	2	E. Valpy	R Corp. of Norwich	V. £160/Bp. Ely £22/ Gt. Hosp. Nor. £270/A. £35	487	w. Thwaite
South Walsham	1801	No	"	"	"	"	"	2	G. Leathes/M/N	E Rev. J. Love	Rector	195	w. Limpenhoe etc.
Wickhampton	1811	No	-	87	122	62	135	-	T. Cavor	L J. Gator	V. £145/I. £292	437	-
Woodbestwick	1776	No	-	230	288	240	117	-	-	-	-	-	-

Wayland Hundred

Parish	Date of Enclosure Act	Tithe Commuted	Fuel Allotment	Population			Poor Relief		Incident Cvs.			Res. Patron	Tithe Owner	Value of Living held	
				1801	1831	1803	1832	1830	1760-1829	1836	1887			1829	
Ashill	1785	No	73 a.	482	700	388	474	-	3	B. Edwards/M/N	R	B. Edwards	R. £987/A. £21	1008	-
Breckles	-			139	154	80	103	-	-	J. Wilkinson	-	Sir E. Kerrison	-	-	-
Carbrooke	1801	PATF	55 a.	536	789	364	765	-	7	W. Deighton	R	Sir W. Clayton	V. £74/P. £482	556/Q	w. Westfield etc.
Caston	1812	LPC	25 a.	307	541	287	362	-	4	B. Barker/M	L	B. Barker	Rector	517	w. Shipdham etc.
L. Ellingham	1789	No	40 a.	199	240	156	163	-	2	S. Colby/M	R	D. Colby	Rector	430/Q	w. Gt. Ellingham
Griaton	1806	PATF	10 a.	180	208	184	174	-	2	T. Cautley	ENN	Bishop of Ely	Bp. Ely £255/V. £170	425	r. Sawston (Cambs.)
Merton	-			134	126	93	101	-	-	T. de Grey/N	E	Lord Walsingham	Rector	205	Archd. of Surrey etc.
Cwington	1800	No	22 a.	198	230	156	141	-	2	E. Simons	R	Cambridge University	Rector	415	-
Rockland St. Peter	1812	LPC	15 a.	164	298	218	269	-	2	J. Bird/N	R	R. Kerrison	Rector	266	w. Gasthorpe etc.
Saham Toney	1797	No	78 a.	659	1060	524	667	-	5	R. Tomkyns	L	New College Oxford	Rector	1122	-
Seculton	1805	LPC	39 a.	246	328	188	388	-	1	J. Lane/N	R	J. Weyland	Rector	466	w. Belstead (Suff.)
Stow Beden	1813	LPC	30 a.	217	303	152	322	-	2	P. Eade	ENN	Rev. J. Eade	Vicar	336/Q	w. Cotten (Suff.)
Thompson	1815	Yes	-	383	478	253	299	-	4	J. Thompson	L	Miss Hethersett	Bp. Ely £18/A. £8	26/Q	w. Shropham
Threxton	-			55	29	87	76	-	-	W. Yonge/M/N	-	Bishop of Norwich	Rector	171	w. Swaffham
Toullington	-			198	313	117	213	-	-	W. Burford	L	Chigwell Sch. Govrns.	Chigwell S. £114/V. £61	475/Q	w. Laver (Essex)
Watton	1801	PATF	54 a.	693	1027	570	1012	-	9	F. Franklin/M	E	J. Houghton	V. £190/I. £297/ Bp. Ely £11	498	w. Attleborough

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Conclusions

1. Enclosures There were 682 parishes in rural Norfolk in this period, which was the highest number of parishes in any county in England apart from the three Ridings of Yorkshire. 413 parishes were affected by enclosure acts - 60% of the total. This is a high figure in view of the fact that Norfolk has not usually been regarded as one of the 'heartland' counties of the parliamentary enclosure movement. Historians and agricultural writers have usually emphasised the improvements and land-use changes of the eighteenth century and before. The evidence of Marshall, Kent, Young and Faden shows Norfolk to have been an old-enclosed county (see above p. 33). Modern historians have followed this view, and Norfolk was not one of the counties covered by W.E. Tate, the foremost authority on enclosure, in his excellent series of handlists of enclosure acts and awards. The contradiction between this view and the high number of parliamentary enclosures must be explained on the assumption that many of these later acts involved small acreages, or served merely to confirm existing arrangements. It is in fact an extremely difficult task, using acts and awards, to determine the precise arrangements in any one parish; no details are given of land unaffected by the act, which makes it necessary to compare the information given in the award with other contemporary information and maps, where these are available, and this makes for a complex and hazardous task. Nor can these sources be used to determine the precise extent of commons and common fields before enclosure. Previous arrangements of land-tenure are not expounded in the awards, and the formula recited in the acts "An Act to enclose the Commons, Common Fields, Wastes, Half-Year Lands, Shack Lands, Lammis Lands and Heaths ..." is merely a legal formula to ensure the extinction of all common rights, leaving no loopholes; it cannot be taken as evidence that a given parish did in fact

contain all these different species of common land. The existence of an enclosure act for a parish should not be regarded as evidence of a sudden and total revision of the land-tenure and agriculture in that parish.

The bulk of the enclosures, 265 of them, are dated during the period of farming boom during the Napoleonic Wars, 1800-1815. There were not of course 413 separate enclosure acts - one act might cover two, three or four parishes. Possibly this may have been the cause of under-estimating the extent of parliamentary enclosure in Norfolk. An example of this error appears in Hobsbawm and Rude's table of enclosure and riot-proneness,¹ where the authors speak of nine enclosures in the Eynsford Hundred and five in South Erpingham. In fact there were seventeen parishes enclosed since 1800 (which is their criterion) in the Eynsford Hundred and twenty in South Erpingham. The authors appear to have counted the acts, although it is specifically rioting parishes which they are discussing.

The distribution of enclosure seems to have been general, but with dense concentrations in the centre, east and north-east. In the west it was a question of drainage and new cultivation rather than simple enclosure. Only parts of the sandy region of the wouth-west remained waste and uncultivated, as they do today.

2. Tithe-Commutation The figures for the various categories of tithe-commutation are as follows:

Wholly commuted for land	12
Wholly commuted for money	6
Limited period commutation	71
Poor's allotments tithe-free	8
New enclosures only made tithe-free	8
Partly commuted	8
Not commuted	300

¹

It is clear from this table that tithe was very rarely commuted in Norfolk enclosures, and that the pattern described by Professor Ward ¹ does not hold good for Norfolk. Indeed it was probably this absence of tithe=commutation which led Professor Ward to place Norfolk among the areas of old enclosure, because it contradicted the pattern of high enclosure, widespread commutation and significant increase in glebe acreage. Where commutation did occur it seems that the preferred system was the limited period commutation. The fact that in eight cases tithe on the Poor's allotments was waived is perhaps less remarkable than the corollary: that on scores of other poor's allotments tithe continued to be levied. This illustrates the difficulties faced by these allotments. It also illustrates the strength of the belief in tithe as a species of property, sharing the inviolable nature of property generally, which could not be simply set aside, even from charitable motives. It is noticeable that the various kinds of commutation are grouped together in different parts of the county, indicating the strength of local preferences and practices.

3. Fuel Allotments have been commented on in detail elsewhere. There were 236 fuel allotments out of 413 enclosures, that is, an allotment was made in 57% of enclosures. The total acreage thus set aside was 8,684, the average size being 36.7 acres.

N.B. It may be appropriate to explain here that I have not included a survey of parochial charities in the Domesday because of the difficulties of compressing the information satisfactorily. Suffice it to say that such charities existed in 483 rural Norfolk parishes, and that the total acreage of charity land, 28,000 acres, was the highest of any county in England ²

¹ W.R. Ward, 'The Tithe Question in England in the Early Nineteenth Century,' JEH (1965).

² D. Owen, English Philanthropy (1964), 192. This acreage includes Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn.

4. Population and Poor Relief The classic summary of the arguments about enclosure and population was given by Professor Chambers.¹ The figures in this survey reinforce the conclusion that there is no statistical connection, much less a causal relationship, between enclosure and population levels:

Rural Population in 1801	208,475		
Rural Population in 1831	289,643	Increase	39%
Enclosed Population 1801	130,557		
Enclosed Population 1831	183,640	Increase	40%
Unenclosed Population 1801	58,232		
Unenclosed Population 1831	79,084	Increase	36%

'Enclosed' here means enclosed between 1798 and 1831. I have selected 1798 as a starting-point because two or three years seems usually to have elapsed between act and award. In many cases the term 'unenclosed' is perhaps misleading; they were often old-enclosed parishes. The point is however that in these places, the new-style parliamentary enclosure was not one of the social and economic pressures acting on the rural population. One pattern which does emerge fairly clearly as one examines the population figures is that it is the larger parishes, in population terms, which tended to be enclosed. Since enclosure is related to the agriculture and topography of a parish rather than its population, this seems a little puzzling. The general answer that suggests itself is that the areas with the poorer soils would tend to remain unenclosed, and these would also be the areas of sparser population, since the prospects of employment and prosperity would be less favourable.

The poor relief expenditure figures are as follows:

Rural Poor Relief in 1803	£145,612		
Rural Poor Relief in 1832	£272,164	Increase	87%
Enclosed Poor Relief 1803	£86,387		
Enclosed Poor Relief 1832	£167,911	Increase	94%
Unenclosed Poor Relief 1803	£45,976		
Unenclosed Poor Relief 1832	£77,704	Increase	69%

¹ J.D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and the Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution', *Econ.Hist.Rev.* (1953).

It is noticeable that the expenditure on poor relief increases more drastically in this period than the population. The inference is that the number of people receiving poor relief was rising, above and beyond what was due to the population increase.¹ The cost of poor relief rose more sharply in the enclosed parishes than in the unenclosed. The difference of 25% in the aggregate figures looks significant, but when the individual parish figures are examined a sufficient number of exceptions are found to make one very cautious in drawing any conclusions about enclosure and pauperisation, for example, Clavering Hundred:

Parish	Enclosed	Poor's Allotment	Pop.Increase %	Poor Relief Increase %
Alderby	E	-	18	300
Brooke	E	P.A.	46	216
Burgh Apton	E	P.A.	67	285
Burgh St. Peter	E	-	45	331
Ellingham	E	P.A.	18	270
Gelderstone	E	P.A.	51	182
Gillingham	E	-	7	301
Haddiscoe	E	P.A.	16	318
Hales	-	-	139	285
Heckingham	E	P.A.	- *	273
Howe	-	-	36	391
Kirby Cane	E	P.A.	57	243
Norton Subcourse	E	P.A.	11	282
Raveningham	-	-	11	50
Stockton	-	-	0.9	280
Thorppe	E	P.A.	11	182
Thurlton	E	P.A.	25	277
Toft Monks	-	-	2	323
Wheatacre All S.	E	P.A.	23	137

*See note in Domesday

The overall population increase in the Clavering Hundred was 21%; the aggregate increase in the enclosed areas was 20%, in the unenclosed areas 28%. The overall cost of poor relief went up by 263%, the figure for the enclosed area being identical to that for the unenclosed area, also 263%. This seems to indicate a process of pauperisation which was unrelated to enclosure. The very high order of increase in the poor relief figures is far above the county average. It is clear from these figures that the existence of a Fuel Allotment made no discernable

1

C.F.A. Dicky, 'The Poor Law in Norfolk', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U.E.A. (1972), Chapter 1.

difference to the level of poor relief. The general conclusion about the connection between enclosure, population and pauperism in Norfolk must be negative. One could not possibly predict on the basis of these figures whether a parish had been enclosed or not, and where such a test fails, any general statements can be merely impressionistic.

5. 1830 Riots There is no neat geographical pattern. The western half of the county was less affected than the east perhaps. Hobsbawm and Rude record fifty-four rioting parishes in Norfolk. Of these, thirty-eight were enclosed, that is , 70%. But this is sufficiently close to the county total of enclosures - 60% - to prevent one drawing any conclusions. Of these thirty-eight rioting parishes, twenty-two had fuel allotments and sixteen did not. This suggests that their value as a placebo to the rural poor was limited. One striking feature of the riots in Norfolk is the large number identifiable as specifically tithe or anti-clerical riots. Was this because tithe was so rarely commuted in Norfolk? In all the fourteen parishes where tithe was the cause of rioting (eleven of them enclosed), it remained uncommuted. Significantly the only other county to equal this total is Sussex, a county of low enclosure and correspondingly low tithe commutation. There can be little doubt that the cause, or perhaps the pretext, for rioting varied from region to region according to the grievances of the local poor, and that tithe came high on the list in Norfolk.

6. Dissenters' Conventicles A total of 2,058 dissenting meeting-houses were registered between 1760 and 1836 in 508 parishes. The annual pattern of registrations is given elsewhere. The geographical spread of dissent seems to have been quite even. The existence of such groups in such numbers may reasonably be taken as an index of widespread discontent with the established religion, and perhaps also

to some extent with the social establishment too. If one compares this with another clear indicator of social discontent - the 1830 riots - one finds that fifty of the fifty-four rioting parishes had at least one conventicle registered. Of the fourteen parishes where tithe was the cause of the riot, thirteen had dissenting groups. The exception was Saxlingham Nethergate (Henstead), and in that case the neighbouring parish of Saxlingham Thorpe, held by the same incumbent, had two registered. Hobsbawm and Rudé greatly underestimate the spread of rural dissent,¹ in Norfolk at least, and the statistical, if not the causal connection between dissent and rioting is stronger than they suggest. The high level of conventicle registration throughout the county, however, prevents one from making any firm statements about the parallels between these two indices of socio-religious discontent.

7. Patrons and Incumbents Under these headings I have information for only 660 of the 682 parishes. This is due to the handful of small parishes which were consolidated, and the few vacancies. In 142 parishes the incumbent was of the same family as the patron, that is, the surname is the same. It is reasonable to assume that a similar number would be related by marriage or through a female connection. Other 'hidden' relationships existed too: for example, Sporle with Palgrave was a living in the gift of Eton College and the incumbent, Richard Roberts, was the son of the Provost of Eton (see Venn). Owing to the prevailing practice of holding livings in plurality, the number of clergy was approximately 370, slightly more than half the number of benefices. Thus one can estimate that a very large majority of Norfolk clergy held their livings through family patronage. This emphasises that the advowson was regarded as very much a kind of personal property, an investment that might be used for the benefit

¹Hobsbawm and Rudé, Captain Swing, 186-7. The authors do not say on what source their figures for nonconformist congregations are based.

of one's family. The ownership of the advowsons falls into the following categories:

1. The King	41	
2. The King as Duke of Lancaster	9	
3. Oxford Colleges	7	
4. Cambridge Colleges	48	(of which Caius College
5. Lady Margaret Chair, Cambridge	2	held twelve) ¹
6. Bishop of Norwich	41	
7. Bishop of Ely	30	
8. Archbishop of Canterbury	1	
9. Ecclesiastical Corporations	30	
10. Lay Corporations	16	
11. Parish Inhabitants	2	
12. Ecclesiastical Individuals	78	
13. Lay Individuals	355	

To summarise, 423 advowsons were in lay hands, 237 in ecclesiastical hands.

8. Residence and Pluralism In view of the obscurity of the distinction between Exemption from residence and a Licence to be non-resident, I have refrained from drawing any overall statistical conclusions on the subject of residence. The aim in including this column was to demonstrate that the problem of residence is a complicated one. What does emerge when this column is taken in conjunction with the pluralism column is that the situation was not one of widespread absenteeism but of widespread pluralism. A large measure of technical absenteeism concealed the true state of affairs. In the abstract of the 1812 Parliamentary Return on clerical residence, ² thirteen classes of exception are noted (for example, Royal chaplains, Oxbridge fellows, etc.) including those "resident on other benefices". Under the heading of "licensed to be non-resident" is the group of incumbents "residing in the neighbourhood and performing the duties of their parish". The logical or practical difference between these two categories is hard to discern. Using the categories listed in the abstract, I can find no consistent

¹On the Norfolk connections of Caius College, see J. Venn, Caius College (1901).

²PP(HofC)1812, vol. X, 151.

distinction between a licence and an exemption. D. McClatchey has published a detailed table of non-residence in Oxfordshire at this period and the reasons for it, drawing on these returns and also on Visitation Returns.¹ My doubts about the value of certain aspects of both these sources² have prevented my doing this. The Parliamentary Returns are divided into dioceses and since the Norwich diocese also contained Suffolk, the abstract was further limited in value. Because of these restricting factors, it has not seemed to me to be worthwhile making correlations between clerical residence and, for example, tithe-ownership, the incidence of rioting in 1830 or fuel allotments. Instead I have made some calculations drawn from a sample of eight hundreds (Blofield, Brothercross, Calckolose, Clavering, Freebridge Marshland, N. Greenhoe, Happing and Mitford), slightly less than a quarter of the country. When one includes those benefices held in plurality in other hundreds, one finds 220 livings held by 103 clergy. If one counts the benefices, one finds sixty-five classified R, and 155 classified E, L, ENN, or left blank. This seems to show that only 29% of clergy were actually resident. If one counts the incumbents however one finds sixty-five residing in or near their benefices, many of them held in plurality, as against thirty-eight not apparently resident anywhere in Norfolk, that is, 63% of the clergy were 'resident' in this redefined sense. The eight hundreds in this sample were selected from different regions of Norfolk and there is no reason to believe that the pattern of residence and pluralism that they display is untypical. No less than 518 Norfolk livings were held in plurality, most with other livings in Norfolk but some with livings in other counties, and some with other ecclesiastical dignities - prebend's stalls, etc. Pluralism was the rule not the exception.

¹D. McClatchey, Oxfordshire Clergy (1960), 31.

²See Chapter 5, 'Parochial Charities'.

I have not explored the subject of parsonage houses and their relation to residence, for example, by using the Session Papers 1817 vol.XV, 175-7, where non-residence is ascribed to lack of accommodation. Given the small size of most Norfolk parishes, technical residence within a legal boundary seems to be an irrelevance. Despite all his efforts William Wayte Andrew was unable to find a house in Ketteringham and this most evangelical of Anglican clergymen was a non-resident until the 1880's.¹

Because of the time-lag involved I have not counted up the clerical magistrates named in the 1836 Return. An earlier Return however, PP(HofC) 1831-2, vol.XV, 231ff., gives a numerical abstract. In rural Norfolk in 1831 the proportion of clerical to lay magistrates was 78:119, or 65.5%, which was considerably higher than the national figures of 1,154:3,354, that is, 34.5%. Several more Norfolk clergy may have been magistrates in other counties, either where they bordered Norfolk or where the clergyman held pluralities; M. Alington, Rector of Walsoken on the Lincolnshire border, was a J.P. in that county for fifty years (see Venn). It emerges from Venn and Foster that 48% of the Domesday clergy were born in Norfolk. In a striking number of cases they were born in the same village they later served as incumbent, son often following father, and sometimes grandfather too, in the living. In many cases, the patronage was in the family's hands. In addition a number of clergy not born in Norfolk were born in Suffolk or Cambridgeshire: in the Loddon Hundred on the Suffolk border, W. Colville, T. Abbot and J. Lewis were Suffolk men. For the sake of clarity, however, I have listed only those clergy of Norfolk birth. Only a very small number were graduates of Oxford, appearing in Foster rather than in Venn. These findings emphasise the strength of local and geographical community throughout this period.

¹ O. Chadwick, Victorian Miniature (1960), 45-49.

9. Value of Livings The 1887 return gives figures for 636 country livings. The remaining few were commuted, amalgamated or not returned. The total value of Norfolk tithe was £280,581. This is the highest total of any county in England. Divided among the 649 livings listed (including thirteen in Norwich, Lynn and Yarmouth) this gives an average value of £432. The following table shows tithe-ownership, with Cambridgeshire and the national average included for comparison:

	National Average	Norfolk	Cambs.
Payable to parochial incumbents	59.5%	72.3%	62.7%
Payable to clerical appropriators	16.8	11.1	18.9
Payable to schools, colleges, etc.	4.8	4.7	11.0
Payable to Lay impropiators	18.9	11.9	7.1

It is evident that tithe alienation from parochial incumbents was significantly lower in Norfolk than the national average. This is attributable to the high proportion of rectories among Norfolk livings. Local conditions played a part in the pattern of tithe-ownerships; as one might expect the tithes owned by clerical corporations, schools, and colleges were worth more in Cambridge than in Norfolk. One cannot make a neat summary of the tithes in lay hands and those in clerical hands because of the difficulty of classifying schools and colleges: in the earlier part of the century they were certainly ecclesiastical bodies, but by 1887 this was no longer so. Since tithe was a proportion (albeit not an exact tenth) of the agricultural production of a parish, it is reasonable to regard the tithe-value as a guide to the wealth of the parish in a rural area. One could not apply this rule rigidly, but a large, agriculturally prosperous parish could not conceivably yield a meagre tithe, nor a poor parish a large one. By comparing the tithe values of enclosed and unenclosed parishes therefore it might be

possible to reach some conclusion about the financial benefit of enclosure. The total value of the 387 enclosed livings (for which information is available) is £188,144, giving an average value of £486. The 249 unenclosed livings were worth £87,477, averaging £351, that is, an unenclosed living would be worth on average 29% less than an enclosed one. This is a significant difference which must indicate a more prosperous state of agriculture in the enclosed parishes than in the unenclosed ones. But it was not due to enclosure. If one looks at the population figures for 1801, just before the majority of enclosures, one finds that the average population in the 413 enclosure parishes was 274, while that in the 269 non-enclosure ones was 205, a difference of 36%, which is exactly commensurate with the difference in the later tithe-values. So one has here further confirmation of the economic pattern suggested above, of prosperity and high population independent of enclosure.

To qualify for augmentation by Queen Anne's Bounty, a living needed to be worth less than £50 per annum. By looking at the 1887 value of the augmented livings, it is possible to judge whether the fortunes of the livings had improved after augmentation, always bearing in mind that other factors may have been at work too. 143 Norfolk livings were augmented between 1704 and 1825. Two of these do not appear in the 1887 return, the tithe having been commuted in the interval. The values of the others were as follows:

1887 value	Number of livings	Number of these unenclosed
0-100	8	4
100-200	24	15
200-300	30	18
300-400	33	7
400-500	18	8
500-600	10	2
600-700	5	3
700-800	6	2
800-900	1	1
900-1,000	1	0
over 1,000	5	1

Taking £200 as the level below which a living would have been considered relatively poor in the early part of the nineteenth century, it seems that in the majority of cases Queen Anne's Bounty served the benefices well. In a dozen or so cases the fortunes of the livings seem to have improved dramatically. Of the 141 augmented livings, eighty-four were enclosed and their average value in 1887 was £398. The average value of the fifty-seven augmented livings that remained unenclosed was £309, a difference of 23%, so close to the county average of 29% that enclosure cannot be isolated as a decisive factor in the rising value of these livings. Column three of the table shows the relative unimportance of enclosure; allowing for the overall preponderance of enclosed parishes among the augmented livings (84:57), the unenclosed parishes are well in evidence among the more valuable livings. Of the 46 augmented livings worth more than £400, seventeen were unenclosed and twenty-nine enclosed. This suggests that there can be no general formula linking agricultural improvement, and consequent rise in tithe-values, with parliamentary enclosure.

General Conclusions

There are perhaps two major lessons to be drawn from the Domesday, one concerning rural historiography, the other concerning the social context of church life.

Parliamentary enclosure in Norfolk was more widespread than has been generally realised, but there can be little doubt that the Parliamentary Enclosure 'Movement' emerges from this survey radically diminished in importance. Historians have spoken of the difficulty in isolating the significant variable in social history,¹ the factor that pushed social change in one direction rather than another. I think that one can, in this instance, go beyond this and say that in the social

¹Hobsbawm and Rude, op.cit., 176-7; A. Digby, op.cit., chapter 7.

changes in rural Norfolk at this time, so far as we can measure them, enclosure was not a vital factor. In none of the categories in the Domesday does enclosure emerge as a decisive influence. What does emerge is that enclosure itself was a consequence of certain social and economic conditions. In a radical statement of this position, one recent historian has spoken of the "hoary fable of the Parliamentary Enclosures", and has emphasised that the soaring graph of enclosure acts in the reign of George III indicates merely a legal, procedural change in a process stretching over the centuries.¹ Agricultural improvement and whatever social changes it brought cannot be exclusively identified with the era of parliamentary enclosure. It seems likely that many enclosure acts passed by Parliament were merely ratifications of long-standing private agreements. This kind of enclosure at Felbrigg in the 1770's is described in some detail by William Marshall,² yet an act was passed to enclose lands in Felbrigg in 1826. One feels very strongly the lack of systematic information on agricultural wealth and productivity in the mid-eighteenth century, such as a tithe survey. Those few tithe records from the 'pre-enclosure' years which have survived fortuitously, confirm the improving state of agriculture, and consequent rise in tithe-values.³ Perhaps this is the explanation for the great weight of literary, anecdotal evidence about enclosure and improvement in eighteenth century Norfolk, which seemed puzzling in the light of the very high level of later Parliamentary enclosure. The 'enclosure debate' has moved on since the days of the Hammonds and Lord Ennle, has become more sophisticated and more sharply defined. If this Domesday has any value, it is as a body of precise information which may be used to advance that debate.

¹ E. Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution (1967), 19ff.

² W. Marshall, Rural Economy of Norfolk (1787), ii, 365-71.

³ M.F. Lloyd-Prichard, 'The Vicar of Matishall and his Tithes 1781-1803', Agricultural History (1953); C. Linnell, Some East Anglian Clergy (1961), 95-129.

The second major theme which the Domesday illuminates is the secularity of the Georgian clergy. This is hardly a novel judgement: forty years ago Dr. Sykes was writing of the "laicisation of religion", indeed it is implicit in the work of Abbey and Overton in the last century. But a detailed local survey such as this, gives that broad historical judgement a new and penetrating force. The church as a species of property, as a family investment, as a part of the informal political oligarchy that ruled Georgian England - all this emerges with startling clarity, not from literary, impressionistic evidence, but from sober statistics. But this secularity of religion was precisely what the eighteenth century Englishman wanted. This is what soothed away anti-clericalism and healed the bitter memories of the seventeenth century, torn with religious dissension. Priestly pretension and power were deliberately undermined by this process of laicisation; at grass-roots level this meant lay patrons, lay tithe-owners, clerical magistrates and clerical squires. It seems little short of providential that just at the moment when the laity, and especially the ruling classes, desired more control over the church, so the church became financially and socially more attractive to them. It was this happy conjunction that cemented the alliance of Church and State, still so much in doubt when the century opened but indisputable when it closed.

In the chapters which follow, three subjects from the Domesday are selected for detailed examination, for the light they shed on Georgian religion and rural history.

CHAPTER THREE

PAROCHIAL CHARITIES

From the late middle ages the parishes and boroughs of England were the recipients of a wealth of charitable donations, most commonly gifts of money, secured upon land, to be distributed regularly among the poor.¹ Hardly a parish in the country was without at least one such charity and some parishes had dozens. In 1835 of the 682 parishes in Norfolk, 483 possessed 1,303 charities secured on 28,000 acres of land² the highest acreage of charity land of any country in England. The motive of their foundation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was partly theological and partly social; in the post-Reformation era the concept of salvation through works was disclaimed but not destroyed, for it represented a human need that is profound and enduring. But the theory and practice of charity was stripped of some of its religious content and channelled into the foundation of charities which enriched the life of the nation. Works were now required in Protestant theology not because they earned salvation, but as evidence of saving faith. Thus the sixteenth century saw no diminution in the outpouring of charitable donations which had begun in the fifteenth century. The guardianship of these charities was almost invariably entrusted to the incumbent and churchwardens, often in conjunction with local figures of standing, such as the lord of the manor. This custodial function was one of the parish clergyman's traditional roles throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and clearly it had both a secular and religious significance. Since these charities almost always took the form of land yielding a rent charge, one might expect enclosure to have had some repercussions for them. The history of these charities during the age of parliamentary enclosure provides therefore a point of contact between the church, the poor and enclosure, and modifies in some important respects our picture of 'enclosure and the poor'.

¹For the history of charitable foundations, see W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660 (1959); D. Owen, English Philanthropy 1660-1960 (1964).

We possess several good sources of information about charities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the most important being the reports of the 1819-1840 Royal Commission on charities - the Brougham Inquiry. The Commission was the outcome of concern which seems to have been growing towards the close of the eighteenth century about the administration, or more precisely the maladministration, of charities. An increasing interest in charitable work was a symptom of the heightened social awareness of the period. It was widely known that considerable wealth in the form of land and money was tied up in charities, but no one knew precisely how much, nor what part it might play in the social life of the nation, especially vis-a-vis the increasingly important question of poor relief. The Jacobethan practice of issuing commissions to inquire into charities had fallen into disuse by the eighteenth century, and the Court of Chancery as a means of settling charity disputes was so notorious for its expense and delays that considerable audacity was required to invoke it. Added to this there was a very genuine concern that the terms of wills were not being complied with, and an age which so venerated private property could not fail to be appalled at this illegality. The first great testimony to this concern was the act of 1786 sponsored by Thomas Gilbert, requesting incumbents and church-wardens to make returns on the charities in their parishes - the so-called Gilbert Returns. The parochial Returns do not appear to have been published at the time, but the report of the Commons Committee ¹ which examined them stimulated a certain interest in the subject and a few rather cautious bills passed through Parliament designed to introduce some degree of surveillance over charities. Then in 1810

² Reports of Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Concerning Charities
PP(HofC)1833, vol. XIX, 1834, vol. XXI, and 1835, vol. XXI.

¹ Report from the Committee on Charitable Donations for the Benefit
of Poor Persons, PP(HofC)1787-8, vol. VIII, no. 86.

the energies of Henry Brougham were directed to the subject of free education and thence to charities in general. A campaign was begun which secured the publication in 1816 of the Gilbert Returns, and the setting up of the Royal Commission of 1819.¹ The story of the origin of the Brougham Commission, the Parliamentary debates and the public arguments, is available in several books.² Our concern is with the reports of the commission - a massive survey parish by parish of the origin and current state of over 28,000 charities. This 'Domesday Book', as the reports came to be called, has been surprisingly little used by historians, possibly, it has been suggested,³ because complete sets are now very rare. The Commissioners' minute perspicacity and zeal were satirised by Peacock in Crotchet Castle, chapter 8. Despite Peacock's scepticism their work was seen by many as a valuable public service. John Wade saw the charity question as yet another example of administrative corruption, and printed a selection of the more scandalous abuses uncovered by the Commissioners.⁴ Their value in the study of enclosure is twofold; firstly, they describe any effect enclosure had upon charity land - whether there was an exchange of land, what acreage was given by the enclosure commissioners in lieu of the trust land, whether it is good land, how used, and whether it is let at a good rent. And secondly, the Brougham Commissioners decided to regard as a charity any new allotments made for the poor at the time of enclosure to compensate them for the loss of common rights, and they describe these allotments in the same detail as the charity lands proper. It is from this information that a new aspect of the old problem of enclosure and the poor emerges.

¹Although Henry Brougham had no connection with its actual work, I shall refer to this Royal Commission as 'The Brougham Commission' as contemporaries did, in order to avoid confusion with the Charity Commissioners proper - the body of permanent civil servants established in the 1850's.

²D.Owen, English Philanthropy; C.W. New, Life of Henry Brougham (1961); for a contemporary account N. Carlisle, A Historical Account of the Origin of the Commission Appointed to Inquire Concerning Charities (1828).

³B. Hargrove, 'The Reform of the Law and Administration of Charities in the Nineteenth Century', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London (1963).

⁴John Wade, Charities in England and Wales (1828).

The provision of allotments for the rural poor, whether at the time of enclosure or not, was a very live issue in the early nineteenth century. Allotments for pasturing, fuel-gathering, or cultivation by spade husbandry were seen as a possible means of compensating the poor for their loss of common rights, and for alleviating their chronic poverty and dependence on parish relief. Allotments were frequently the subject of pamphleteers, of Parliamentary debate, and of several practical experiments.¹ But the extent of fuel allotments set aside when parishes were enclosed has been seriously underestimated. W.E. Tate, the foremost modern authority on enclosure, endorses the earlier view of Slater² that not one in a hundred enclosures made any such provision.³ But this seems to be a case where regional variation, the scourge of the social historian, has been the cause of inaccuracy, for Norfolk abounded in fuel allotments. In 413 enclosed parishes there were 236 fuel allotments, that is, an allotment was made in 57% of cases. The total acreage thus set aside for the poor was 8,684, the average size of the allotments being 36.7 acres. Their foundation is spread over the whole period of the Parliamentary enclosures from 1780 to 1830.⁴ The provision of fuel allotments was so frequent as to justify the claim that in Norfolk enclosures it was exceptional not to make some provision for the poor.

Fuel allotments were very often ordered in the enclosure act itself. The formula was, "The Commissioners are directed to set out to the Lord

¹D.C. Barnett, 'Allotments and the Problem of Rural Poverty' in Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution by E.L. Jones and G.E. Mingay (eds.) (1967).

²G. Slater, The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of the Common Fields (1907), 126-8.

³W.E. Tate, The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movements (1967), 153; The Parish Chest (1946), 289.

⁴Brougham Commission, 26th Report 1833, 27th Report 1834, 29th Report 1835.

of the Manor, the perpetual curate, churchwardens and overseers in the said parish of several parcels of land (sometimes named and the acreage given), such allotments to be held in trust for the poor of the parish for cutting flags and other fuel for the use and consumption of the inhabitants of every messuage in the said parish not occupying more than the yearly value of (£5 5s. is a common figure) in such quantities and upon such parts of the said allotments as the trustees should direct; and the trustees are empowered to demise the said allotments or any part thereof for any term not exceeding 21 years, the rents and profits to be laid out in purchasing fuel to be distributed among the poor inhabitants of the parish legally settled therein, and not occupying more than the yearly value of (£5 5s.) in such proportions as the trustees should think proper." ¹

This formula makes it clear that the term 'fuel allotment' had two distinct meanings. In the first sense - "for the poor of the parish for cutting flags" - it is a kind of substitute common. Sometimes it appears that the taking of fuel from the allotment was closely supervised and the poor could not treat it as their own land, for the Commissioners often comment, "the poor are allowed to cut fuel upon this allotment under the direction of the parish officers, in quantities according to the number in their families". In other cases, however, the allotment was not so strictly controlled, and occasionally the Commissioners report that the poor "cut fuel and turn out their animals without let", which sounds similar in effect to the old commons. More rarely the allotment will be divided into many small plots, one for each poor family in the parish. ²

¹ 29th Report, 522.

² For example, in the parish of Bressingham, see 29th Report, 568.

The second meaning of 'fuel allotment' is simply a piece of land held in trust and rented in the normal way, the proceeds being spent on buying coal for the poor, or used for their benefit in other ways. Presumably it was decided which kind of allotment to make on the basis of the type of land that was available; heath or semi-wooded land would be suitable for the substitute-common type of allotment, while pasture or arable could more profitably be leased. The Brougham Commissioners always quote the terms of the lease, whether they consider the rent a fair one and whether therefore the poor were benefitting from the allotment. If it seemed that they were not, the commissioners admonished the parish authorities; thus at Carbrooke six allotments containing in all fifty-five acres were set out for the poor and leased for a total of £43 per annum - "out of the rents coals are purchased and 9/- a chaldron paid for carriage. They are then sold at 10d. a bushel to all the poor belonging to the parish, whether living in it or not; and whatever deficiency there may be is made up out of the poor's rate." But then the investigators point out:

The mode in which this rent is applied seems to be at variance with the spirit of the Inclosure Act by which it was intended to provide fuel for the poorest persons not receiving parish relief; and we recommended that any persons falling within the description contained in the act should in the first place receive without payment as much fuel as should be necessary for their consumption. 1

Several points here are worth noting. First, there is the considerable acreage of the allotment - not a tiny corner of a heath, but fifty-five acres, which is a sizeable field by any standards. Then there is the desire for a strict separation of charity from poor relief. In some parishes yearly accounts of the fuel allotment - the income from rent and the outlay in coal, clothes and cash - were kept in a separate book,

¹ 29th Report, 856.

and a few of these have survived. Most of the fuel allotments, like the private charities, were specifically intended for those who were poor but not actually in receipt of parish relief, clearly in an attempt to exercise a degree of moral influence. It must be doubtful however that by the 1830's the poor themselves still made a distinction between the dignity of private charity and the degradation of public relief. The augmentation of charity funds from public funds is a frequent source of criticism by the Brougham Commissioners, although the reverse is more common. At Barton Bendish a forty-acre allotment was made at enclosure where the

resident and settled poor cut turf without restriction, and it is stated that it is now so nearly exhausted that it would be useless to make any regulations with regard to the right of cutting turf. The herbage is let annually to the highest bidder. These rents for the last few years have been improperly carried to the poor-rates.... We recommend that a separate account should be kept of the rents of this allotment ... and that the amount should be distributed to the poor in coals. 1

The mingling of these two kinds of account is hardly surprising since the trustees of the charity were invariably also the overseers of the poor. It might appear at first sight to be an insignificant matter, since the poor received the money in any case. But in fact if charity funds were carried to the poor rate account, they acted as a subsidy to that account, thus lowering the money which needed to be levied from the inhabitants of the parish. Thus, instead of fulfilling the testator's intention of benefitting the poor, they could in fact be used to subsidise the rich.² However, this kind of abuse seems to have been surprisingly rare - perhaps only one in ten of the fuel allotments calls forth any censure from the Commissioners. Bearing in mind that some of these allotments had existed for fifty years, totally in

¹ 29th Report, 506.

² Cf. The pamphlet 'The Rights of Man' by 'The Moderator', (Norwich 1791), where the author claims that the poor are not benefitting from charities because of such malpractices by trustees.

the hands of local officials free from any outside surveillance, the record is remarkably clean. Moreover, given contemporary attitudes to poverty and poor relief, the practice of carrying charity income to the poor rate account would no doubt have been widely regarded as a wise and perfectly justifiable proceeding; no conspiracy or secrecy need be conjectured.

Another practice which was perhaps unfair but which was done quite openly was that of making the poor bear the cost of enclosure or draining. Thus in the 1793 Marham enclosure, 200 acres of fen were given as an allotment but

about the year 1820, £273.16.3d was advanced by Messrs. William and Robert Winearls to the parish officers, for a charge made in respect of the Wormegay Drainage Commissioners. In consequence of the debt thus incurred, it was agreed by the trustees that the payment to be made by parishioners for pasturage and for cutting flags on the allotment should be advanced from what was originally fixed; and there is now paid for every horse £1, and for other cattle 5s to 15s; for every 1,000 of turf beyond the amount of 8,000 which each poor parishioner is allowed to cut without any charge, 1.6d. 1

Even more unfortunate for the poor was the case of Shouldham, enclosed in 1794 with an allotment of ninety-five acres. In 1811 £300 was spent in draining part of the allotment, and in consequence of this expense "there has been scarcely any money to be distributed to the poor"; accounts for 1830 show £42.10s. in repayment of the debt and related expenses, and £2 11s. given to the poor. ² In both these cases it is interesting to note the gap of many years between the original allotment and the introduction of a harsher policy, possibly indicating a change of attitude to the poor in the climate of Malthusianism and rising poor rates. But the Commissioners rarely found this kind of thing.

¹ 29th Report, 517.

² Ibid., 521.

It is perhaps worth pausing here to speculate why it was that land provided for the poor in Norfolk always took the form of fuel allotments and never garden allotments.¹ The allotment movement and the debate associated with it lasted for forty years and is a considerable area of study in itself. The evidence is plentiful, scattered and contradictory. Common sense is all in their favour, yet contemporaries were mostly hostile and practical schemes were rare. D.C. Barnett considers² that the movement foundered on two obstacles - opposition to the state intervention, and hostility from the farming interest. The fundamental problem in all allotment schemes was where were the poor to get their land from? Were landowners to give it away, loan it, or let it at lower-than-market prices so that the poor could afford them? Clearly this would require a rare degree of philanthropy, and it is the case that allotment schemes were started only under the auspices of liberal landowners. Parishes already had the power to rent land on behalf of the poor, but they were rarely applied, and there was neither the machinery nor the will for the state to enforce their use; government interference in the land market and in the economy generally was not acceptable in this period - the doctrines of political economy argued against it. Moreover, the farmers were suspicious of allotments, which would give their labourers some degree of economic independence (which was precisely what they were intended to do), and perhaps sap their best working strength in addition. It seems likely also that in an age of agricultural improvement, there was a reluctance to spare good land for the poor to scratch a living from. One could see this issue as an example of conflict between the older subsistence economy

¹I have found only one garden allotment mentioned in the Norfolk volumes. In the parish of Bitcham a six-acre allotment set out in the 1793 enclosure award "is now divided into 31 garden plots and let to poor persons belonging to the parish who are selected as likely to make good use of them" (29th Report, 764). Possibly there may have been one or two other cases, but certainly no more.

²'Allotments and the Problem of Rural Poverty' in Jones and Mingay, op.cit.

and the market economy that was replacing it. Allotments were land removed from the market and from the economy, and would provide no profit to the landowner. These are powerful arguments, yet as we have seen in Norfolk at this time hundreds of acres were being allotted each year in enclosures to compensate the poor. The answer to this apparent contradiction is, I suggest, that Norfolk farmers, landowners and enclosure commissioners had found the perfect means of providing something for the poor without violating their own convictions and their own interests. Fuel allotments of the rented type ensured that good arable or pasture land stayed in the free market and enabled the farmer to make his profit, after paying his rent to the trustees, in the normal way, while the substitute-common was an acceptable way of utilising rough-grazing and heath land. This is all the more impressive when one remembers that there was no legal obligation to make such allotments to the poor, since, as Tate remarks, "any land given to them could only be at the expense of the other proprietors, its legal owners".¹ On the other hand, the moral question was widely recognised by contemporaries, and in Norfolk at least a positive solution was found, no doubt in the genuine hope of helping the poor and reducing the burden of the poor rates which the rest of the community had to bear. Since the fuel allotments were so often specified in the enclosure bill itself, drafted on the instructions of the enclosing landowners, this must have been deliberate policy, to serve the interests of the poor as well as their own. One can only wonder why this expedient was not adopted in other regions. Judging by the Brougham Commission Reports, fuel allotments were virtually unknown in other counties. In Suffolk they are found in approximately 17% of enclosures. They were much rarer in Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire. The fuel allotment seems to have been a uniquely Norfolk-Suffolk phenomenon.

¹ W.E. Tate, The Parish Chest, 289.

As well as fuel allotments, the other main body of information that the Brougham Commission provides concerns the exchange of charity lands that took place at enclosure. Like any other proprietor, the trustees of a charity would receive their due when the common lands were enclosed. Clearly this moment was potentially a very important one in the history of the charities; if the trustees were neglectful of their duty, or worse, if they were involved in a conspiracy to cheat the poor, one might expect to find a fall in the value of charities secured on land, or perhaps even a wholesale loss of charities at this time. If their position was not correctly stated to the enclosure commissioners, their share in the newly-divided lands might be inadequate.

In fact, however, all the evidence of the Brougham Commissioners points the other way. The enclosure award is almost always mentioned, and the exchange of lands is described and sometimes commented on. The exchange appears always to have been scrupulously fair; the acreages are similar, and if the land included a cottage or house serving as a parish poor house, then an equivalent property was provided. It is, of course, impossible to tell at this distance in time if the quality of the land given was high or low, but since the Commissioners quote the rent paid and often comment that it is a good rent or a fair rent, we must conclude that good arable or pasture was not exchanged for marsh or gravel pits. After all, the same considerations apply here as were discussed above with regard to the fuel allotments; this land was in the market and it was working for its owner as much as any other land. The fact that it was held in trust for the poor did not prevent a farmer from making a profit from it. Moreover, the Brougham Commission was set up precisely to report on lost or misused charities. Such an obvious abuse as the widespread loss or mutilation of charity assets at enclosure

could hardly have escaped their notice. In fact, it appears that enclosure was an occasion when these charities were examined afresh and their details clarified. Thus at North Creake it seems that the arrival of the enclosure commissioners caused some researches to be made into the charity left by Richard Mansaur in 1592:

It appears from an account of this charity transmitted to us by Archdeacon Bathurst, the rector of this parish, that upon the enclosure of North Creake about 20 years ago inquiry was made with respect to the lands above mentioned (i.e. Mansaur's Charity) and that it was found that the testator had only a leasehold interest in the property charged with the payments to the almshouses ... this is however now paid by Earl Spencer, the yearly sum of £4.3. which is applied by one of his tenants, William Dewing, in the repair of the almshouses and in providing the inmates with such clothing as they require. 1

Enclosure apparently revealed that the charity was not as securely founded as it should have been, and that Earl Spencer therefore accepted the responsibility of supporting it. In the normal course of events, the documents relevant to the foundation and application of these charities might not see the light of day for generations. The upheaval of enclosure, the necessity for accounting for every yard of land in the parish, might well have been the occasion for the recovery of charities that had lain dormant for years. Certainly, it is the case that land was set out by the enclosure commissioners in lieu of charity land even when the charity was without formal documentary title. These appear in the Brougham Reports as 'Donor Unknown', meaning that a charity, perhaps mentioned only in a terrier, is regarded as established by use and wont, even though no one can remember, or show any account of, its foundation. In the parish of Foulden,

The churchwardens became possessed at least as early as 1760 of two pieces of land in Burrough Field which were charged with the payment of 8s a year each. In a terrier for the year 1760 in which these two pieces of land are mentioned, there are also noticed as given to the poor two pieces of land in Calvedon Field containing two rods each. In lieu of the premises above mentioned, an acre of land was set out on the inclosure ... which is let and the rent thereof disposed as stated. 2

¹29th Report, 501-2.

²Ibid., 688.

The receipt by these charities of land under the enclosure award provided them for the first time with legal backing, and is a testimony to the conscientious fairness of the enclosure commissioners. It is also noteworthy that the grant of a sizeable fuel allotment was in no way prejudiced by the existence of other, sometimes extensive, charities for the poor. It is quite common to find parishes with four or five charities secured on land of extensive acreage, receiving yet more in the form of a fuel allotment. Little Walsingham boasted a Grammar School, almshouses and various charities holding a total of eighty-six acres, and still received a poor's allotment of thirteen acres when the parish was enclosed.

We have now seen the considerable body of new evidence which the Brougham Commissioners provide on the twin subjects of fuel allotments and charity lands. We must now ask whether the clergy played a part in this aspect of enclosure. Since clergymen were trustees of charities, pastors of their flock, and sometimes enclosure commissioners, there is a prima facie case for their involvement.

We are fortunate in possessing two primary sources of information about charities from the clergymen themselves - the Gilbert Returns of 1787, and the episcopal visitation returns. The Gilbert Returns, though incomplete and in some cases unsatisfactory, still provide the best guide to the state of charities in the eighteenth century, and they were a basic source of information for Brougham and for the Royal Commission. They are an early example of the appetite that Parliament was to display for the facts, figures, reports and surveys that now provide the historian with such a mass of detailed material on social and economic affairs. The findings of the Parliamentary Committee which received and collated the returns, though brief, are informative.¹

¹ Report from the Committee on Charitable Donations for the Benefit of Poor Persons, PP(HofC)1787-8, vol. VIII, no. 86.

The total annual interest yielded by capital invested for the poor in England and Wales was £48,243, and the total land rent was £210,467. The combined total of £258,710 sounds surprisingly high, until one compares it with the returns of expenditure on poor relief submitted ten years earlier by churchwardens in response to an act of 1776, again sponsored by Thomas Gilbert.¹ This showed a grand total of £1,556,804 spent on poor relief in England and Wales in the year ending Easter 1776. One can see why alarm about the Poor Rates was increasing in an age which believed the problem of poverty to be properly the sphere of private charity not public spending. On these figures private charity contributed less than one sixth of the amount raised from ratepayers to relieve paupers, and this was before the explosion of the poor rates associated with the post-Waterloo era of chronic rural poverty and underemployment.

The principal judgement of the Parliamentary committee no doubt confirmed the fears of those who took an interest in charities:

Many of the said charitable donations appear to have been lost; and many others of them, from neglect of payment and the inattention of those persons who ought to superintend them, are in danger of being lost, or rendered very difficult to be recovered; and that the matter appears to be of such magnitude as to call for the serious and speedy attention of Parliament ... and the establishment of such measures as may be effectual for the relief of poor persons who were the objects of these donations and for carrying the charitable and benevolent purposes of the donors into execution.

2

The returns themselves are printed in columns, setting out under various heads the origin and nature of the charity. The most interesting column perhaps is the final "Observations" section, where the incumbent often fleshes out the bare bones of a case with personal comments, sometimes of a very lively kind. Some of these comments are worth

¹ Report from the Committee Appointed to Inspect and Consider the Returns Made by the Overseers of the Poor, PP(HofC)1787, vol. XX, 309.

² PP(HofC)1787-8, vol. VIII, no. 86.

giving in full because they afford just that kind of informal insight into parish life that one misses in the official documents. The incumbent of the parish of Watlington tells the following remarkable story:

Thomas Berners Plestow, Lord of the Manor of Watlington, having enclosed and added to his own 1 acre and 3 perches of land supposed to be worth 20s per annum the feed of which has been constantly used for food of the cattle of the poor, the inhabitants assembled and agreed in their own right to pull down the fences; but to prevent this T.B. Plestow did agree to pay the sum of 10s per annum to the poor. The agreement not being reduced to writing, a proper one was made at the vestry to be entered into the churchwarden's book as was at first agreed to in order to preserve the said payment to the poor; but Mr. Plestow refuses to sign or to have agreement entered inttown book; we wish to know what is to be done to preserve this emolument. 1

Mr. Plestow's open defiance of an old and presumably ill-documented charity was one kind of problem. But the vicar of Walsoken, the Reverend Richard Oswin, hinted at much darker practices:

Having been a resident clergyman for 40 years in this isle, to my knowledge there are two or three parishes which have greatly misapplied estates bequeathed to them for charitable uses, either by the trustees themselves letting out these estates to one another or by misapplying them to the ease of the church rate. 2

But even this is pale compared with the chaotic picture painted by William Hendry, incumbent of South Creake, who reports that,

The parish, not suffering the lands to be let by auction, they do not bring in money sufficient to satisfy the legacies. The house is made a parish-house; the free school annihilated; the men and women naked; the poor lads uninstructed; and the writings flown away or destroyed (they say) by one Peter Tubbing, many years since churchwarden. Further inquiries are making, but with much difficulty, and if you will assist me I make no doubt of finding the whole of this matter out so as to be able to satisfy you. 3

Evidently some of the resident clergy took this matter seriously. Indeed with these Parliamentary inquiries and the episcopal visitation

¹PP(HofC)1816, vol. XVI, 337.

²Ibid., 853.

³Ibid., 835.

questions, rural clergy must have become accustomed to queries about charities, and perhaps some foresaw that the issue was destined to grow in importance. Some of these comments give the impression that the writer is airing some long-harboured grievance, and as such they provide the historian with a glimpse into the real, private history of a parish which the formal, legal documents so often leave unrecorded. But these fascinating anecdotes are comparatively rare in the Gilbert Returns. In most cases the last column is blank; most incumbents had no remarks to add concerning the charities they list. Yet the fact that they were able to provide the accurate information required suggests that they were fully involved in the running of the charities.

The second and more revealing clerical source of information about charities are the returns made at the time of episcopal visitations. These take the form of printed questionnaires, with spaces left for the incumbents' answers. This information-gathering procedure was standard practice in the eighteenth century, but the returns for the Diocese of Norwich for the years 1770-1830 are exceptionally complete.¹ The value of the returns, is, however, oblique rather than direct; when one views a whole series of returns, common patterns emerge which are of greater significance than the information to be gleaned from particular answers. The returns made to Bishop Manners-Sutton in 1794 and to Bishop Bathurst in 1806, 1813 and 1820 contain a judicious mixture of ecclesiastical and social queries. There are questions on the population of the parish, whether any notable figures live locally, whether the incumbent is resident, whether there is a free school, whether there are any papists in the parish, and several others. One of the many historical problems which are to some extent illuminated by these

¹ N(orwich) D(iocesan) A(rchive) VIS 33-35; 40-44; 46-51; 59-64.

answers is that of clerical non-residence. A very high proportion of answers to the question about residence run, "I do not reside on my cure", and there follows the amplification, "I reside at ... which is ... miles distant". The distance is often only a few miles and the man is frequently also the incumbent in his place of residence. This might be taken as proving Kitson Clark's point ¹ that apparently high figures of technical absenteeism conceal a situation where in fact the clergy were living close by and discharging their duty. (The standard literary example is Henry Tilney in Northanger Abbey, who regularly rode the twenty miles from his family home to his parish.) Typical among these answers is that of the Reverend Michael Browne, vicar of Worsted, who reports that, although he resides at St. Giles, Norwich, where he is also a minor canon, he has "never been absent from my cure more than 2 Sundays in 20 years". ² A specific reason that is often given for non-residence is that the parsonage house is unsuitable - too small or dilapidated. This is confirmatory evidence of the rising social status of the clergy at this time and their unwillingness to sacrifice personal dignity. The Reverend Richard Drake of Mileham resided at Wymondham, "in my own mansion house, and I visit my cure six times a year". ³ John Grover of Rainham St. Mary was "absent by licence at Eton where I have the care of a pupil". ⁴ The Reverend John Astley of Brinton resided at Thronage "for the house in Brinton is a mere cottage". ⁵ John Harding of Wiveton lamented, "My health obliges me to reside at Nonmouth in order to be near Bath and Bristol." ⁶ Charles Foynter of North Creake answered more robustly, "Resident, I thank God, half the year at least

¹G. Kitson Clark, Churchmen and the Condition of England (1973), 44-45.

²N.D.A. VIS 33.

³VIS 34.

⁴VIS 34.

⁵VIS 40.

⁶VIS 40.

in the rectory house; I am absent about three months as Prebend of Durham, and four months waiting on His Majesty".¹ So fully did this conscientious man organise his time that he managed apparently to squeeze thirteen months into the year.

The visitation question which principally concerns us, however, is question 13 - "Hath any thing in money, land or otherwise been at any time given or left to the use of your church or the poor? What, and for what particular uses? Is it carefully applied to those uses and no other?" The answers vary a great deal in their fullness and accuracy, but they all provide a valuable field of inference for the historian. With a few exceptions the keynote of these answers is vagueness and unconcern; in a large number of cases the incumbent does not trouble to describe the charity in any detail, and often reports only hearsay information. The most common fate of charity funds is to be carried to the poor rate account. The rector of Sydestrand wrote, "The rent of two acres of land in Trimmingham was formerly given to the poor but it is now used to repair the church, I know not why."² The poor fared better at Mundesley where "one acre was left to the preaching of a sermon on Whit Monday, but as there is no parson attends at that time, the sermon is omitted and the money arising from the land is distributed among the more deserving part of the poor".³ This note of judicious moral control exercised through charity doles is common. The Reverend Thomas Lloyd of Happisburgh reports that the various benefactions are "distributed to their proper uses very carefully so as to produce a favourable effect on the behaviour of the poor".⁴ Perhaps one can discern behind the brief formal reply which appears so often -

¹VIS 40.

²VIS 35.

³VIS 35.

⁴VIS 35.

"certain lands and moneys specified in the terrier" - an impatience with form-filling and a reluctance to make exertions at the request of the bishop who, before the 1820's or 30's, was a largely remote and irrelevant figure to most of the rural clergy. Certainly this was true in Norwich before the accession of Bishop Stanley in 1837. Perhaps the classic answer of this kind was given by the vicar of Stradsett who left the whole form blank and simply wrote on the last page, "I have nothing more to add, only that I am your Lordship's most obedient humble servant Cyrill Clough".¹ Perhaps, like Josiah Crawley, this man's pride was combined with some exact ideas about the limitations of episcopal power and resentment of meddling from the palace.

With documents of this kind, purporting to give specific items of information, it is very desirable to be able to check the answers. Fortunately, this is possible in two ways; firstly, by the simple expedient of comparing the answers over a series of returns - in this case 1794, 1806, 1813 and 1820 - and secondly, of course, by comparing them with the Brougham Reports. As one compares the incumbents' answers from 1794 through to 1820, it quickly becomes obvious that one cannot place much reliance on these documents as sources of hard facts. The answers vary substantially over the years, and not merely where there is a new incumbent; the same man, even where he is permanently resident, will give a different answer in different years. Occasionally a charity will be unmentioned in a second answer, then reappear in the third. The acreage of land or the value of the trust will sometimes be quoted as more, sometimes as less. But the principal difficulty lies in the identification, especially where more than one charity is mentioned.

¹VIS 34.

It is often impossible to be sure that a bequest described in one return is actually that referred to in the next. For example, at Ingham in 1794 there was "One acre and £15 as set out in the terrier", while in 1806 the reply is "Two acres of arable land yielding £15".¹ Is this the same charity or not? The only cases where it is possible to be sure is where the incumbent gives the name of the testator and the date of the will, and this occurs in only a handful of replies. In view of the accurate information which the Brougham Commissioners were able to discover thirty years later, and the small number of losses which they reported since the Gilbert Returns of 1787, this vagueness and inaccuracy must reflect the attitude of the clergy rather than the state of the charities. Indeed, it is the comparison of the full information given in the Brougham Reports with the incumbents' answers that finally dispels any belief in the accuracy of the visitation answers. In parish after parish the incumbent has given a vague answer, or has failed to report the existence of charities. Even fuel allotments escaped mention, which is surprising since the enclosure award was certainly the most important and accessible single document in parish affairs at this time. Should we conclude that most clergymen did not regard their role as custodian of parochial charities with much seriousness at this time? It seems unlikely, since most clergy were able to provide fairly accurate information in the Gilbert Returns of 1787. Moreover, the incumbent is almost always mentioned as a trustee by the Brougham Commissioners, and as we have seen, in the great majority of cases they had no fault to find with their administration. The fact of the matter seems to be that the Norfolk clergy had no great respect for the diligent inquiries of their bishop. Centralised authority and centralised administration were

¹VLS 35, 44.

not familiar concepts in Georgian England. Local affairs were the province of local powers. These visitation returns, in this field at least, cannot be taken at face value; they tell us more about the men who wrote them than about the subject they purport to describe. On the subject of allotments, W.E. Tate remarks, "Perhaps the most reliable evidence of clerical concern for the poor in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is to be found in the fact that in a few (perhaps 1%) of the 4,200 private enclosure acts, provisions were inserted for safeguarding the interests of the cottagers. This was as a rule at the instigation of the incumbent of the parish, though very exceptionally by the good will of the Lord of the manor."¹

As we have seen, Tate's estimate for the number of poor's allotments is inaccurate for Norfolk. He does not substantiate the phrase "at the instigation of the incumbent", but the idea is attractive. If one could show, for example, that parishes which received fuel allotments had resident incumbents during the period of enclosure, while those which did not had absentee parsons, this, although not decisive, would be potentially very significant. But so far as I am able to discover, no such correlation exists. Comparison of the resident-clergymen parishes with the fuel allotment parishes reveals no relation at all between the two categories. A parish which was without a resident incumbent over the years when enclosure was planned and executed might receive a large fuel allotment, while the poor of a parish with a resident parson might receive nothing.

Aside from this statistical conclusion, however, one is baulked in the study of the clergy's role in enclosure by the lack of informal documentation which would provide the internal, 'private' history of

¹W.E. Tate, The English Village Community, 153.

enclosure. The legal documents give us the final results, the external history, but we are largely ignorant how this was arrived at. Even if statistical evidence on residence and fuel allotments showed a clearer pattern, this in itself would be no proof of a causal connection.

One class of documents which one might expect to illuminate the 'internal' history of enclosure is the commissioners' minute books. These are apparently rare documents, and it is not even certain whether they existed in every case, ¹ for the commissioners were not required by law to record their proceedings. However, in the lengthy and extremely complicated business of enclosure, it seems likely a record will have been kept in most cases. That they have not often survived is hardly surprising; they were not official documents in any sense, and would not need to be deposited with the incumbent or parish clerk. If the commissioner were a methodical man he might wish to retain them himself, hence they would, with the passage of time, go the way of most private papers.

The few minute books which do survive, however, are disappointingly formal and unrevealing. At the beginning of each day's business, the commissioners status under the act is recited, and the claims that have been received or the lands that have been surveyed, are described in purely formal, legal language. Occasionally the claims of all the proprietors would be ordered to be printed and bound up together in order to be considered. Any dispute by one proprietor of another's claim is formally recorded; there is no hint of personal feeling, conflict, or judicial drama, any more than one finds in the minutes of a modern committee. Only very occasionally does an undercurrent of conflict disturb the smooth, formal surface of the proceedings. In

¹Ibid., 23-24.

the minutes of the commissioners of the Skeyton, Burgh next Aylsham and Tuttington Enclosure,¹ we find several cases of people cutting fuel from the common while the business of enclosure was proceeding, contrary to a specific clause in the act which orders the immediate cessation of common rights from the date the act is passed. The offenders were summoned before the commissioners and their treatment was rather uneven:

The said Edward Storey, having acknowledged to the said commissioners that he did commit the offences so charged against him and having expressed his contrition for the same, further proceedings against him were stayed. 2

On the other hand,

The said Robert Hall having appeared in answer to a summons before the said commissioners and heard the aforesaid complaints alleged against him, and having nothing to say in his defence, the said commissioners ... directed the constables of the parish of Tuttington ... to seize and distrain the goods and chattels of the said Robert Hall for the two several sums of five pounds, and to levy such sums by the sale and distress of the said goods and chattels. 3

Can one detect here a sullen contempt for the commissioners on the part of Robert Hall, which invoked this harsh punishment? These offenders were summoned to appear on the basis of information received from named parishioners; does this imply that the commissioners' power was being used to vent personal malice? It seems all too likely, but we have only hints followed by guesses; private, personal history of this kind must remain largely hidden and inaccessible. Specifically, the minute books do not provide pictures of the incumbent, or any one else for that matter, arguing and counter-arguing the rights of the poor. The fact of the matter appears to be that when a fuel allotment was not specifically ordered in the act, it is impossible to discover on whose initiative it was introduced into the award. In the absence of contrary evidence we must assume that it was the commissioners'

¹ Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Aylsham Collection 468-534.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

themselves. There is no evidence that the clergy played any part here. But it is reasonable to suppose that certain procedures became accepted practice in certain areas, just as any quasi-legal or administrative procedure does. "Enclosure-commissioning", like perhaps pamphlet-writing, giving evidence to Parliamentary committees, trusteeing a charity, and so on, was becoming a common pursuit of country gentlemen and parsons, and like these other activities there were rules to be observed and expertise to be acquired.¹ In Norfolk one of the rules seems to have been to consider the question of poor's allotments, perhaps for the economic and social reasons discussed already, but certainly without local pressure from incumbents or any one else, as far as one can tell. Indeed, given the status of rural clergyment in this period, the economic arguments would have appealed to them as strongly as to any other country gentlemen, without the additional impulse of pastoral concern.

On the problem of fuel allotments then, there is a dearth of what we have called internal historical sources, although the external situation is clear enough. Bearing in mind our analysis of the land-owners' motives, it seems that one cannot find, nor perhaps even seek for, ideological clerical initiative. It would be an attractive idea to project a 'profile' of a village which received an allotment at enclosure, and compare it with one that did not. The results might throw considerable light on the social relations within the village community at this time. Would the presence or absence of the incumbent prove to be a significant variable after all? Hobsbawm and Rudé attempted

¹Cf. The advice offered by a frequent commissioner, the Reverend William Aomer, "This is now a science which in its infancy was confessedly understood very imperfectly. What is here offered is drawn upon a plan." From the pamphlet, An Essay on the Nature and Method of the Enclosure of Common Fields (Oxford) 1766.

such a profile for a village that rose in 1830 as contrasted with one that did not.¹ But despite much painstaking work the results are inconclusive. The difficulty is to determine which, among a number of varying social and economic factors, is the decisive one, and the same would be true of a profile of a fuel-allotment village.

The existence or absence of two kinds of historical sources - formal and informal - highlights another problem for the social historian, namely the possible gulf between theory and practice. When a Norfolk parish was enclosed, the interests of the poor were almost always safeguarded in a way that would not damage the interests of the land-owners, and that the status of charities was scrupulously protected. And this was, as we have seen, despite the fact that there was absolutely no legal obligation to compensate the poor. Now it is part of the older view of enclosure as conspiracy that theoretically fair procedures were corrupted in practice to serve the interests of the administrators of enclosure.² But this seems to be muddled and unhistorical thinking; what more can one do than to frame procedures of social administration that are fair and equitable in structure and intention? To say that these procedures may be altered, perverted to serve sectional interests, is only to say that human self-interest, weakness or veniality may always assert themselves. To search the past for conspiracies against the poor is to ignore human vice and to project an essentially modern understanding of society back into history.³ Burke recognised this when he attacked the Radicals' polemical use of history and their belief in

¹ E.J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, Captain Swing (1967), chapter 9.

² Hammonds, The Village Labourer, 339ff.; W. Habbach, History of the English Agricultural Labourer (1908), 61-63.

³ Cf. E.P. Thompson's claim that "Enclosure, when all the sophistications are allowed for, was a plain enough case of class robbery" (Making of the English Working Class (1963), 218).

the perfectibility of human society:

History consists for the greater part of the miseries brought upon the world by pride, ambition, avarice, revenge, lust, sedition, hypocrisy, ungoverned zeal.... These vices are the causes of these storms. Religion, morals, laws, prerogatives, liberties, privileges, rights of men are the pretexts.... You would not cure the evil by resolving that there should be no more monarchs, nor ministers of State nor of the Gospel, no interpreters of law, no general officers, no public councils. You might change the names; the things in some shape must remain. A certain quantum of power must always exist in the community, in some hands, under some appellation. Wise men will apply their remedies to vices not to names, to the causes of evil which are permanent, not to the occasional organs by which they act.... Otherwise you will be wise historically, a fool in practise. Seldom have two ages the same fashion in their pretexts and the same modes of mischief. Wickedness is a little more inventive.... The very same vice assumes a new body It walks abroad, it continues its ravages whilst you are gibbeting the carcass or demolishing the tomb. 1

Moreover, it is not always self-evident that where formal procedures have failed, the weak have suffered. It has recently been shown that the notorious work-house test and refusal of outdoor relief which are associated with the 1834 Poor Law were not in fact applied rigorously in Norfolk, that the harshness of the New Poor Law was restrained in practice because of social and economic factors.² The motivation was economic self-interest on the part of the landed gentry, the farmer-guardians, yet in this case the poor benefitted by it.

There is very little evidence that fuel allotments were maladministered, and in themselves they were a generous concept. The private parochial charities were well treated at enclosure. Yet no one would argue that these resources were adequate to meet the needs of the poor. W.K. Jordan considers that private charitable endeavour at least contained the problem of rural poverty until the eighteenth century was drawing to its close.³ Why did it cease at this time to play a major role in the life of the poor? Here one enters a very difficult and disputed field of socio-economic history. War, inflation, the Poor Law, population,

¹ Burke, 'Reflections on the Revolution in France' (1790), Beaconsfield edition of Writings and Speeches (1894), iii, 418-20.

² A. Digby, 'The Operation of the Poor Law in the Social and Economic Life of Nineteenth Century Norfolk', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U.E.A. (1971).

³ W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England.

all have to be taken into account as well as enclosure. The great difficulty is to isolate any one of these factors as the significant variable. It is also important to bear in mind the intensifying social consciousness of this period. It is at least arguable that increased contemporary discussion of social questions was not due to any external historical change, but to a new seriousness of mind, inspired principally perhaps by evangelical religion and the shadow of France. One may venture the generalisation that in many areas, and Norfolk is one, enclosure, though it has later acquired a social or political importance, had a limited impact on the poor. In the thousand-odd incidents in the Swing riots recorded by Hobsbawm and Rudé, only two (both in Oxfordshire) had enclosure as the avowed cause.¹ There is no evidence from accounts of poor relief expenditure that an unenclosed village between 1790 and 1830 suffered less hardship than an enclosed one.² If a fifty or hundred acre fuel allotment and various charities were of only marginal benefit to the poor, one can hardly suppose that common rights, had they survived, would have made so much difference either. The problem was not so much the loss of common rights, as the rising tide of population who never had those rights. It has now been shown that the traditional idea of rural depopulation following enclosure was the reverse of the truth,³ and it seems likely that the subsistence economy was doomed by the rising rural birthrate rather than by economic enterprise. Enclosure may have been part of the picture, perhaps occasionally its local impact may have been severe, but it has acquired more political weight as an issue than its strictly economic importance warrants.

¹ Hobsbawm and Rudé, op.cit., 311-58.

² See above p. 92-4.

³ J.D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and the Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution', Econ.Hist.Rev. (1953).

CHAPTER FOUR

TITHES

On December 2nd, 1783, the Reverend James Woodforde recorded in his diary the annual gathering of the farmers of the parish of Weston for the tithe audit:

They all dined, spent the afternoon and evening till 10 o'clock.... I gave them for dinner a leg of mutton boiled, and capers, some salt fish, plenty of plum puddings and a couple of boiled rabbits, with a fine large surloin of beef roasted. Plenty of wine, punch and strong beer after dinner till 10 o'clock. We had this year a very agreeable meeting here, and were very agreeable - no grumbling whatever. 1

And again four years later on December 4th, 1787, he wrote after the yearly meeting:

Received today for tithe about £250. I gave them for dinner some boiled beef, a leg of mutton boiled, and capers, a couple of rabbits boiled and onion sauce, a large surloin of beef roasted, with a vast quantity of plum pudding. There were six bottles of rum made into punch, eight bottles of port wine also drunk, besides a great quantity of strong beer. Everything passed off as agreeable as one might expect from such a meeting. 2

Apparently the sentiments evoked on this annual occasion varied as little as the fare that made up the gargantuan meals; anxiety and tension were clearly not far beneath the surface of self-conscious bonhomie. In other years Parson Woodforde was not so fortunate, and had to endure drunkenness, insolence and class-tension:

Stephen Andrews and Jon. Pegg very soon got quite drunk by strong beer. The latter was quite beastly so and spued about the passage etc. Very shameful in him. 3

Forster behaved so insolent towards me that I don't intend to have him ever again at my Frolick. 4

They were all highly pleased with their entertainment, but few dined in the parlour. They would not come into parlour. In the kitchen they were all cheerfully merry but none much disguised (drunk). Howlett, Jon. Pegg and Will Leggatt, though Parlour guests, were rather pretty forward. 5

¹ J. Beresford (ed.), The Diary of a Country Parson: The Reverend James Woodforde (1926), ii, 108.

² Ibid., 356.

³ Ibid., i, 333.

⁴ Ibid., ii, 46.

⁵ Ibid., ii, 164.

These diary entries, brief as they are, concerned only with externals and innocent of all moralising, illustrate perfectly the problem of the tithe system in the late eighteenth century. There was clearly a dangerous tension between the clergyman's religious, pastoral role, and his invidious position as virtually an economic overlord in his parish. As Lord John Russell stated when moving the introduction of the 1836 Tithe Commutation Bill:

Tithe was ... a manner of payment involving very great evils, forcing the clergy to forbearance at the expense of what they deemed to be their rights, or leading them to enforce those rights at the expense of the influence which they ought to possess with their parishioners, compelling them to lose either their income by their indulgence, or their popularity by ... the exaction of what the law gave them. 1

If as appears from contemporary literature, the ancient institution of tithe had become hated and unacceptable as never before at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were good social, economic and intellectual reasons for it. The rise in social status of the clergy at this time placed the rural parson on a level with the landowning squire. But, unlike the squire, he contributed nothing to the economy, neither capital nor expertise nor labour. His very prosperity was the result of agricultural improvement to which he had contributed nothing, but whose benefits he gladly accepted. In an age when reason, liberty and utility were in the air,² this anomalous situation was not suffered gladly. Apparently, in a parish in Warwickshire in the 1830's tithe disputes were actually the cause of the murder of the incumbent.³ Nor does one have to turn to the Radical pamphleteers for evidence of the anti-clericalism engendered by tithe; it is amply illustrated in another parochial memoir - one very different from Woodforde's - that of John Skinner:

¹ Hansard Third Series, vol. XXXI, 186-7.

² Cf. The motion proposed by a dissenting M.P. in the House of Commons on 16th April, 1833, that, "The Church as by law established is not recommended by practical utility ... and that the greater part if not the whole of its revenues ought to be appropriated to the relief of the nation." (Hansard Third Series, vol. XVII, 178).

³ M.K. Ashby, Joseph Ashby of Tysce (1961), 31-33.

On going for letters I met Farmer Bush at the bottom of Radstock Hill, and said to him I wished to have some conversation respecting the tithes of the ground he bought of Charles Dando, as he had not settled the price. I told him on an average the people of Criddlecote paid me 4s. 9d an acre; that I supposed he would have no objection to pay that sum. He answered indeed he never would; that what he had was not worth 3s. nor would he give me more. I felt hurt at his violent manner and said the best way then of settling the business was by taking it up. He replied I might do as I chose, he knew me and had heard a good deal of me; that the people around here knew me well enough. He said he would give me 2s. in the pound. I told him after his unprovoked insolence I would not waste any time by speaking to him; that respecting his tithe he should hear further on a future occasion. On leaving him he called out he was not afraid of parsons.

1

Skinner tithed partly by composition (that is, an agreed money payment in lieu of tithes) and partly in kind, and both methods involved him in quarrels, the latter perhaps producing the bitterest feeling. But the strained relations between Skinner and his parishioners should probably not be taken as wholly typical; it seems clear from his diary that Skinner was a difficult man, eccentric and querulous to the point of being mentally disturbed. Nevertheless, two things are worth noting in this incident and its sequel. First there is the great readiness of the parson to go to law in defence of his tithe. The tithe system was governed by case law not statute so the courtroom was the only place to test the disputed case. To gain some idea of the jungle of case law surrounding the subject, one need only turn to Burns's 'Ecclesiastical Law', the standard eighteenth century church-law handbook, where the subject occupies more space than any subject other than wills. Secondly, there is the fact that shortly after this painful scene, Farmer Bush capitulated and paid Skinner what he asked, recognising that despite his low opinion of parsons, he could ill afford to challenge one at law.

The spread of nonconformity placed a further question-mark over tithe: why should a tax be levied from everyone to support a church which

¹ H. & P. Coombs (ed.), Journal of a Somerset Rector 1803-1834 (1971), 39.

no longer served everyone? Quakers had traditionally refused to pay tithe, and it was surely only a matter of time before dissenters did the same. Most important of all, however, how could it be justified, contemporaries asked, to levy an ecclesiastical tax on farming alone and on no other sector of the nation's commercial and industrial life? This was clearly an anachronistic survival from a time when agriculture had been almost the sole occupation of the whole nation, whereas in our period vast sums of untithable wealth were produced by trade, industry and investment. When the end of the Napoleonic wars brought agricultural depression, it was this basic anomaly which brought the tithe issue to the fore and created a demand for reform which, in spite of all the delays and resistance, would ultimately have to be satisfied. 'Tithe' at this time meant predial tithes; personal tithes on wages had long ago fallen into abeyance, and occasional attempts to levy them produced general defiance and indignation. On one occasion such a case was the subject of investigation by Parliament.¹

But perhaps the most salient fact about tithe was alienation - the payment of tithe to someone other than the parochial incumbent. Before the Reformation it was common enough to find tithes in the hands of ecclesiastical appropriators, but it was only after the Reformation that tithe-ownership among laymen became widespread. As a aspect of the "plunder of the church", tithe became a species of property changing hands on the open market. The incumbent of such a benefice was then paid an allowance by the tithe-owner. Precise figures are hard to come by Before the nineteenth century, when in 1835 the Ecclesiastical Revenue Commissioners reported that alienated tithes were in the following hands:

¹PP(HofC)1833, vol.XXVII, 477.

Private Owners	2,552	benefices	
Ecclesiastical Corporations	1,140	"	
Archbishops and Bishops	385	"	
Universities, Colleges, Hospitals	281	"	
Municipal Corporations	43	"	
Crown	38	"	
Not Returned	223	"	
Total of alienated tithes	4,662	out of a total of some	1
	10,540	livings	

A further fifty years were to pass before any statement about the value of these tithes was published, when the 1887 Tithe Rent-Charge Return showed the following distribution:

Tithe payable to Parochial Incumbents	£2,412,103	
Tithe " " Lay Impropriators	766,205	
Tithe " " Clerical Appropriators	680,039	
Tithe " " Schools, Colleges, etc.	196,056	
Total	£4,054,403	
Alienated Total	£1,642,300	2

The extensive lay ownership of tithe should always be born in mind when considering attacks on the tithe system since the obloquy attached itself entirely to the clergy not the impropriators, inevitably suggesting that anti-clericalism played a part in the tithe controversy.

The widespread alienation of tithe had two principal effects. Firstly, it impoverished thousands of clergy, reducing them to the status of dependents of the tithe-owner, a situation which the establishment of Queen Anne's Bounty was designed to alleviate. Secondly, it created an intellectual problem about relations between the church and society which was stated and answered in various ways from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Christopher Hill has summed up the first phase of this problem:

¹ PP(HofC) 1835, vol. XXII, 1059.

² PP(HofC) 1887, vol. LXXV, 294.

The manifest assimilation of tithes to lay property made possible a new intellectual freedom in regard to them. A divine right to tithes remained plausible only so long as tithes went mainly to ecclesiastics; but the divine right of lay impropriators to a tenth of all wealth produced was a less defensible proposition. ¹

History was pressed into the service of polemic when Selden claimed that appropriated tithes had existed before parochial tithes, the latter being the free gift of the lord of the manor. ² Clearly this was an extremely attractive idea to the gentry, and served to reinforce their economic and ideological objections to the established church. But by the middle of the century the issues had sharpened and the implications of this incipient radicalism, when pressed to the logical demand for the abolition of tithes, were seen to be menacing:

The confiscation and sale of bishops' and cathedral lands was a transfer within the propertied class: it left the structure of society untouched. But the abolition of tithes would have meant the downfall of the established church, with all that this involved in political terms for the ruling class, and of impropriations and the patronage system, with all that that would have involved economically for the gentry.... No wonder so many of the propertied revolutionaries began to draw back when they saw what gulfs were opening before them! No tithes, no rents; attacks on church property produced attacks on property as such; sovereignty of Parliament led to sovereignty of the people ... the logic of events ultimately led the men of property to support the restoration of church and king. ³

Thus the radical intellectual arguments against tithes were defeated by real-politik. Lay involvement in church affairs created a defence of the church. It was part of the cement that joined church and state together on the social and economic level. The need to safeguard the sanctity of property explains why the tithe-system survived intact for so long. When tithe came under attack again in our period, its defenders were quite explicit about their fears for the whole social fabric if tithe should

¹ C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church (1956) p.132.

² J. Selden, History of Tythes (1618).

³ C.Hill, op.cit. 163.

be molested. As in the mid-seventeenth century, it was only the radicals who deliberately assailed the 'sanctity of property' barricade, but without success. The radical movement for the abolition of tithe in the early nineteenth century, failed for the same reasons that the similar seventeenth century movement had failed.

Before the era of agricultural improvement and enclosure around the 1760's, controversy about tithe had tended to centre on the fundamental issue of its legality. This species of polemical literature delved into the impenetrable obscurities of the origin of tithe. It invoked Anglo-Saxon law (the supposed penance of Offa, etc), Old Testament tithing customs, medieval canon law, and contemporary theories of church and state. Selden's monumental History of Tythes (1618) was the seminal influence on this literature, showing as it did that the scriptural foundations of tithe were distinctly shaky, that medieval tithes were a lay gift to the church, and that modern tithes were not being put to the uses ordained by ancient statute - the threefold division for the maintenance of the church, the clergy and the poor. The potentially explosive nature of Selden's views were amply demonstrated by the reception of his book: the work was suppressed and he was summoned before the privy council to retract. Until the later eighteenth century, when practical considerations became paramount, controversy over tithe followed this historical-legal approach. It was on such historical grounds that the Quakers based their conscientious objection to tithe, an objection which brought them into frequent conflict with the law, and occasionally to prison. ¹ Even in the nineteenth century this approach was not dead, it may be found in the 1830's, ² but in the economic climate of the late eighteenth century argument concentrated

¹ See E.J. Evans, 'The Tithe System in England 1660-1850', unpublished Ph.D thesis, (Warwick 1971), chapter VI.

² E.g. On The revenues of the Church of England exhibiting the rise and progress of ecclesiastical taxation, by G. Coventry (1830).

on the practical difficulties of tithing, and its unfairness in burdening one sector of the economy and not others (the possibility of tithing the businessman's profit and the industrialist's products had been lost long ago, with the exception of certain mines¹). Even within agriculture it bore harder on some types of farming than on others. The great names of Arthur Young and Adam Smith supported the belief, almost universal in farming circles, that it was a barrier to improvement: an opinion expressed in many of the Board of Agriculture's 'General Views', published between 1790 and 1815. It should be remembered however that the business of collecting tithes was so complex and the relations between the parson and his parishioners so delicate that the clergy frequently accepted a more modest tithe than was legally their due;² Parson Woodforde's parishioners had good reason for mourning his death since his successor immediately doubled his tithes.³

In view of the traditional turbulence and disorder of eighteenth century social life, in the countryside as well as in the town,⁴ it is perhaps surprising that tithe riots were not more common. Tithing disputes, however, were essentially property disputes, and the propertied classes are not given to rioting. The effect of tithes on labourers and the poor was indirect. In the 1830 riots for example tithe was apparently used by Norfolk farmers to incite their workers against the clergy, meeting the rioters' demands by claiming that an increase in wages could only be paid for by a reduction of tithes.⁵

¹ C. Hill, op.cit. 86-92.

² This is one of the main conclusions of Dr. Evans' thesis.

³ Woodforde Diary, vol.5, 413.

⁴ See for example R. Hindry Mason, History of Norfolk (1884), 429ff. for an account of food-riots, tax-riots and political disturbances throughout the eighteenth century; G. Rudé The Crowd in History (1964).

⁵ E.J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, Captain Swing, 152.

In the tithe debate in the early nineteenth century, the essential fact was that tithe was a species of property and like all property it was sacrosanct by law. If the opponents of tithe had shifted their ground, its defenders had not. Because tithe was unalienably established by law, any challenge to it was a challenge to the rule of law in church and in state. The right to tithes was regarded as:

a right so firmly established, so interwoven in the original texture of our constitution that the hand of power cannot violate it without endangering the rights and liberties of the whole community. 1

This argument obviously gathered even more force in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Once the rights of property and the dignities of religion were violated in even the smallest detail, the floodgates of revolution would be opened. 2 Guilt by association was the lot of tithe reformers in the difficult climate after 1790.

The 'floodgates of revolution' was obviously an inappropriate argument to level against serious agriculturalists, whose aim was to reform the administration of a troublesome tax which was felt to be disincentive to improvement and investment. They did not of course ask for the abolition of tithe. As property owners they naturally subscribed to the doctrine of the unalienable rights of property. They advocated instead the commutation of tithe, either to a fixed money payment, or to a parcel of land which the tithe owner accepted as his own property in lieu of all future payments. The majority of clergymen would have favoured such a scheme to rid themselves of tithing disputes. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Burn allowed himself this comment on tithes:

¹ Lewis Bagot, Charge delivered to the clergy of Norwich (1784).

² Morgan Core, Essays on the revenues of the church of England, with an inquiry into the abolition or commutation of tithes (3rd edition, 1816).

The payment of tithes in kind is in many respects troublesome and inconvenient. If a method could be established that the minister should receive an equivalent, durable, and not liable to diminution by the fluctuation of money ... which if employed in a purchase of land, the value thereof would continue in proportion as the tithes would have done, forasmuch as the annual rent of the land will always be according to its produce. 1

But could a satisfactory method be established? Many schemes were proposed as a national remedy to the tithe problem, but despite the universal desire to find a solution, all foundered on the practical terms of commutation, and the fear that the rights of property would be endangered by insufficient compensation. Pitt, in his earlier guise of reformer, was interested in the subject, but like so many other things, tithe-reform became a casualty of post-revolutionary fear.² Indeed one can scarcely deny that this fear was well-founded when one reads what the radicals had to say about tithes. They demanded not commutation but abolition, immediate and unconditional. The radicals' case against tithe was twofold - historical and utilitarian. They were not concerned with tithe as an inconvenience to agriculture, but as an affront to reason and social justice. Their arguments are conveniently summarised by the book that was virtually the last shot in the pre-1836 phase of the tithe war - Cobbett's Legacy to Parsons (1835). Against the sanctity-of-church-property lobby, Cobbett employs his radical historiography - that in the Reformation the Church of England was in effect created by Acts of Parliament. The re-allocation of tithes and property was accomplished by the King's will and approved by Acts of Parliament. Therefore what the power of Parliament can do, it can undo; to deny that Parliament has the right to dispose of church property is to deny the validity of the church's original title to the property.

¹ Burn, Ecclesiastical Law (1763), 11, 470.

² Stanhope, Life of Pitt, 1, 318. Later schemes of tithe reform in the 1820's and 1830's are admirably summarised by Lord John Russell in Hansard, Third Series, xxxi, 185-197.

Having cleared the legal ground for the possibility of tithe reform, Cobbett goes on to present the case for reform on grounds of simple utility: the clergy were being paid vast sums of money for services they simply no longer performed. The Church of England did not provide a cure of souls for the people of England, since absenteeism, pluralism and apathy left two out of every three parishes without a resident incumbent. The spread of nonconformity argues the extent of popular dissatisfaction with the established church. Cobbett pours scorn on Peel's Ecclesiastical Commission, with its avowed aim of discovering how a better cure of souls may be provided in England. The answer to that problem is only too clear; let the clergy do what they are paid to do. Heedless of the contradiction here ('let the clergy work' and 'let them be punished for not working'), Cobbett uses this alleged dereliction of duty to justify a wholesale seizure and redistribution of church property and wealth, most notably the immediate abolition of tithes. It is noticeable that the church bore the full weight of Cobbett's attack, despite the fact that one third of all tithes in England and Wales were in lay hands. Whatever support there may have been for these extreme views, over against the commutation lobby, the difficulties of English agriculture after 1815 built up pressure for reform which came to fruition in the 1836 Tithe Commutation Act, though not of course in the form Cobbett advocated. However, it does emerge from the Parliamentary debates that both Lord John Russell and Peel did regard tithe as in some sense public property, over which Parliament had power of jurisdiction. The contrary, traditional respect for the sanctity of tithe was also voiced in the debates on this Act, one speaker declaring:

The oldest property in England was not eight centuries old, while that of the church was at least fourteen. What could constitute a better title? If this title failed, all others might follow. He could not understand the distinction between private property and church property which was sought to be drawn ...

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¹Sir Robert Inglis, Hansard, Third Series, XXXI, 198.

The relevance of enclosure to the tithe problem was that although plans for a general commutation of tithe always foundered, in the majority of enclosures tithe was commuted. Naturally, it was argued that what could be done piecemeal without shattering the constitution could be done nationally by a tithe commutation act. In fact far from damaging the church, tithe commutation at enclosure resulted in a phenomenal increase in church property. This was because the method of commutation most usually adopted in the arable heartland counties of England was to transfer a parcel of land to the tithe-owner in lieu of all future payments. So favourable were the terms secured by incumbents that it has been calculated that some 150,000 acres of land passed into clerical hands in this way between 1757 and 1836.¹ What is particularly striking about this method of commutation is that the incumbent almost always received more than the simple tenth of the enclosed land which one might expect. Often he received a fifth, sometimes two-fifths or even three-fifths of the newly enclosed land. The reason was that the tithe owner, when paid in kind, had received a tenth of the produce of the land, having no labour and no expense of cultivation; therefore, a tenth of the produce was worth more than a tenth of the land in the tithe-owner's hands. Moreover, the land would be worth more after enclosure, and the tithe-owner had to be compensated for this. When one adds that actual expense of enclosing the tithe-owner's new land - fencing, draining, etc. - was always born by the other enclosers, at costs of up to £4 an acre,² it becomes clear that the tithe-owners, lay and clerical, did extremely well by enclosure. Apparently, farmers were eager to be rid of tithe at virtually any price. The tithe-owner was in an extremely strong position: if he withheld his approval the enclosure could not proceed, therefore he was able to secure highly

¹W.R. Ward, 'The Tithe Question in England in the Early Nineteenth Century', JEH (1965).

²W.E. Tate, 'The Cost of Parliamentary Enclosure in England', Econ.Hist.Rev. (1952), 258-65.

favourable terms. Thus it was that many clergymen became substantial landowners almost overnight.

This social change in the status of the clergy was very important, but it was not universal; by no means all the clergy reaped the rewards of enclosure. Perpetual curacies had no tithes. Vicarages benefitted less than rectories because part at least of the vicarial tithes were almost always alienated. Enclosure affected only certain areas of the country and even within the enclosure counties, commutation was not universal. Laymen benefitted as much as the clergy in some areas; of 4,809 acres awarded to tithe-owners in Staffordshire, a full 50% went to lay tithe-owners. In Warwickshire 53% of the 25,000 acres awarded was to laymen.¹ In some of the Northern counties (Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland) the level of clerical tithe-ownership was only marginally higher than that of lay impropriators.² The obloquy that clergymen brought on themselves by 'doing well out of enclosure' was not wholly because they fared better than other groups, but because they were clergymen.

The history of tithes before the passing of the 1836 Act has tended to be written in anecdotal, impressionistic terms.³ This is entirely due to the lack of quantitative source material before that date, compared with the large amount of anecdotal literature on individual cases.⁴ The great virtue of Professor Ward's and Dr. Evans' studies is that they adopt a concrete, quantitative approach. Nevertheless, many questions remain unanswered. Enclosure is clearly the crucial factor in this period, but in those areas such as Norfolk where commutation for land did not occur, one is left with no systematic evidence at all as to the wealth and position of the church in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

¹E.J. Evans, op.cit., chapter VIII.

²PP(HofC)1887, vol. LXXV, 294.

³E.g. J.A. Venn, Foundations of Agricultural Economics (1933), 150-82; D. McClatchey, Oxfordshire Clergy (1959), 98ff.

⁴E.g. J. Rayner, Tithe Cases, 1571-1782, 3 vols. (1783).

Even in the nineteenth century, after Parliament had begun to display such a voracious appetite for facts and figures on all aspects of social and economic life, for commissions, inquiries, surveys and returns, the subject of tithe remained long in obscurity, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that this secrecy was deliberate. The great Victorian tithe scholar Henry Grove described the difficulty he faced in his researches, the non-cooperation of official bodies:

Another great defect in the Parliamentary Papers in question is that they do not disclose the names of the lay owners of the tithes or the amount assigned to each individual. Obviously therefore the Commissioners returns relating to impropriated tithes were of little value, as one object of its publication is to dispel the mystery that has ever hung over the tithe question, by making known who are the individuals now in possession of the tithes of the church.... Great pressure has been brought to bear on the author to induce him to withhold that information on the ground that it was impolitic to say the least to place on record the names of those who held tithes through the fault of others long passed away. But with the knowledge of the truth that "The sins of the fathers are visited on their children even unto the third and fourth generation", the author dare not conceal the facts that would hide the transgression of those children - lest he be made a partaker of their sin. For though the descendants of those who plundered the church are not guilty of the original moral theft of stealing tithes, yet they are undoubtedly guilty of retaining them, even if such retention is not gilded with the gold of purchase or tarnished with the stain of gift. 1

Only in the later nineteenth century when the church found itself in some financial difficulty through agricultural depression, did defenders of the church like Grove feel it proper to publicise the facts concerning tithe.

In attempting to penetrate these obscurities one feels keenly the lack of any national survey of the value of livings in the eighteenth century. With the information that is available however, it is possible to make some cautious estimates of eighteenth century tithe values, and to assess the impact of enclosure in an area where tithe was very rarely commuted for land, and where the methods and the findings of Professor Ward are therefore inapplicable.

¹H. Grove, Alienated Tithes (1896), preface to Part Two.

When John Bacon, Receiver of the First Fruits, published his revised edition of the Liber Regis in 1786, it differed in several respects from previous eighteenth century ecclesiastical valuations. As in the earlier editions, the livings are divided into two categories - those liable to pay first-fruits and tenths, and those discharged from this obligation by statute in 1707-8. Discharged livings were the poor livings eligible for augmentation by Queen Anne's Bounty, and their actual yearly value was given. For the richer livings - those "remaining in charge" - the value given was simply the long-outdated figure in Henry VIII's Liber Regis. The novelty of Bacon's book is that for the first time he includes the actual current value of many, though not all, of these richer livings. It is not clear where Bacon obtained these figures. Professor Best suggests that they are from "the political patronage secretaries (in the case of crown livings) and from the Bounty Office".¹ The first task of Queen Anne's Bounty after its establishment was to ascertain which were the poor livings which stood in need of augmentation and to this end a survey of current values of livings was made.² These figures were never published in their entirety, only those relating to the poor livings. The most likely explanation of Bacon's current valuation figures is that he was publishing for the first time the information about the richer livings that was gathered in this way. It is also reasonable to assume that throughout the eighteenth century the Bounty Office was in receipt of further miscellaneous information about the value of livings, so that Bacon was able to piece together a list of valuations from information gathered sometime between 1704 and 1786. The values of these richer livings are arranged by Bacon under the heading 'King's Books', and two values are usually given, the second much larger than the first. Strictly speaking, there was only one King's Book - that

¹ G.F.A. Best, Temporal Pillars (1964), 120.

² Ibid., 80.

of Henry VIII - and the second value must refer to a subsequent survey undertaken by the servants of other monarchs, but never previously published. There are certain clues about the continuous gathering of information by the Bounty Office. In a footnote Bacon gives the value of the parish of Scarning as supplied "by letter from the Reverend Mr. Lane, the Vicar, March 1, 1718".¹ In some cases a terminus a quo is provided by the date of the Queen Anne's Bounty augmentation, for example, the living of Colton, given in Bacon as being worth £100,² was augmented by a grant of £200 in 1728; clearly, had it been worth £100, it would not have qualified for augmentation, therefore Bacon's figure must refer to information obtained after 1728. Despite the doubts and obscurities connected with Bacon's figures, the most convincing argument in their favour is Bacon's own position. He was not writing as a private author, he was not an antiquary or a dilettante but a senior executive in ecclesiastical administration who held various important posts from 1778 to 1816, and it is surely inconceivable that he should publish information of this kind that was inaccurate or misleading. Thus one may regard Bacon's valuations as a reasonable guide to the value of livings some time between the founding of Queen Anne's Bounty and the publication of his book in 1786. It is the nearest thing one has to an eighteenth century tithe survey.

Although the 1887 Tithe-Rent Return was the first comprehensive guide to tithe values to be published for 350 years, an earlier survey had been published in the "Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales" in 1835.³ This report was unsatisfactory in several respects. Firstly, it was incomplete by approximately a third. Secondly, where livings were held in plurality, a combined total is given, making it impossible to say how much individual

¹ J. Bacon, Liber Regis, 651.

² Ibid., 677.

³ PP(HofC) 1835, vol. XXII, 15-1,060.

livings were worth. Thirdly, it takes no account of alienated tithes, giving only the sum received by the incumbent - this emerges when one compares the report with the 1887 Return. Nevertheless, this report gives a reliable value for almost two hundred livings which are also given an actual current valuation in Bacon's Liber Regis. Thus it is possible to make a comparison of the values of a number of Norfolk livings before and after the era of Parliamentary enclosure and 'agrarian revolution'. The livings are all rectories since the complications that attend alienated tithes apply almost wholly to vicarages and one can be reasonably certain that the values of rectories, whether in eighteenth century Libri Regis or in nineteenth century Parliamentary returns, are the whole values. In fact Norfolk had a relatively high number of rectories and few vicarages, which explains the comparatively low incidence of tithe alienation in Norfolk compared with the national average. But although these rectorial valuations undoubtedly reflect the best information that was available at the time, nevertheless there are grounds for caution in drawing any conclusions from them. Some of the changes in value between 1835 and 1887 are puzzling. It has been calculated that the value of a tithe-rent charge fixed at £100 in 1836 under the Tithe Commutation Act rose by 1875 to be worth £112, and thereafter began to decline as a result of agricultural depression.¹ Of the 221 rectories listed separately in the 1835 report, thirty-eight had fallen in value by 1887. What is more surprising is the number of livings showing an apparent increase in value of much more than the 12% suggested above. Barham rises from £800 to £1,261, North Barsham from £256 to £334, Bawdeswell from £214 to £330, Beetley from £390 to £500, etc. These are much higher orders of increase than writers on tithe have

¹ J.A. Venn, op.cit., 173-4; G.F.A. Best, op.cit., 470-1.

previously suggested, and they include the period after the agricultural decline had set in that was to prove so damaging to church finance. This is one further problem in the difficult area of true research, one further question-mark over the available figures - which remain nevertheless all that one has.

Excluding those rectories augmented by Queen Anne's Bounty (that is, those which received a sudden, artificial increase in wealth unrelated to tithes) there are 179 rectories whose values are given both in Bacon and in the 1835 Report (see Appendix 3). Of these, ninety-three were enclosed between 1786 (the date of Bacon's publication) and 1835. Their total value as given by Bacon was £9,660, an average of £104 per rectory. The eighty-six unenclosed rectories were worth £8,365, an average of £97. By 1835 the value of the enclosed rectories had risen to £39,863, averaging at £428. The unenclosed rectories were now worth £33,398, or an average of £388 each. Thus the unenclosed rectories in Bacon were worth on average 7% less than those soon to be enclosed, and in 1835 the average difference had risen to 9%. Parliamentary enclosure had therefore made no significant impact on the agricultural prosperity and consequent tithe-values of these Norfolk livings. The wealth of the enclosed rectories did not rise more dramatically than that of the unenclosed ones, as was the case in the tithe-commutation counties described by Professor Ward. Where tithe was commuted for land, the wealth of the benefice increased by a factor of two or three, an increase of between 200 and 300 acres in the glebe of every parish,¹ an acquisition clearly not enjoyed by the unenclosed benefices of those counties. It seems clear therefore that it was tithe commutation for land rather than enclosure as such which brought such an increase in church wealth. In areas like Norfolk where tithe was not commuted, the gap between the enclosed and unenclosed livings was negligible; they both reaped the rewards of agricultural change, not simply of enclosure.

¹W.R. Ward, op.cit.

Ideally one would wish to relate this evidence of the increase in tithe-values to the general increase in the cost of living, as Christopher Hill has done for the period 1500-1600.¹ Unfortunately, no one has succeeded in producing a wholly reliable index of the changing cost of living in this period. In all the work that economic historians have done, however,² there is no suggestion that the rise in the cost of living was anything approaching the order of 300%, which is the kind of increase shown in these tithe-values, and it is safe to deduce that the real wealth of the clergy was increasing at this time. This was true of the revenues of the sees, cathedrals, and collegiate churches as well as of the parochial clergy, for this wealth too was founded on landed property, though not necessarily on tithe.

Contemporary discussion of church wealth was not restricted to the Radicals' attacks on what they conceived to be hypocrisy and worldliness. Defenders of the church produced a rationale of clerical wealth which is of some interest both socially and theologically. Bishop Watson, writing in 1783, declared:

I do not take upon me to fix the precise sum which would enable a Bishop not to pollute Gospel Humility with the Pomp of Prelacy, not to emulate the noble and opulent in such luxuries and expensive levities as become neither Churchmen nor Christians; but to maintain such a decent establishment in the world as would give weight to his example, and authority to his admonitions ... and to recommend his religion, by works of charity, to the serious unbelievers of every denomination.³

Secular dignity and prosperity is here being proposed as a sign of religious virtue, in a Job-like sense. The idea that wealth is a necessary precondition of pastoral success is found explicitly in the preface to Bacon's Liber Regis:

When a man is to appear as a teacher and Instructor of multitudes, if besides other qualifications, he makes a suitable figure and appearance; if in his habit and mien he appears grave and decent

¹C. Hill, op.cit., 111.

²See for example, J.J. Silberling, 'British Prices ...', Review of Economic Statistics (1923); A.L. Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century (1900); J.H. Clapham, Economic History of Modern Britain, I, 128; G.H. Wood, 'The Course of the Average Wage 1790-1860', Economic Journal (1899).

without the marks of meanness and poverty; if he lives among his neighbours with credit, free from the pressures of debts and other manifold misfortunes, the constant attendants upon want and narrowness of circumstance, his admonitions will certainly have the greater weight, his doctrines make the deeper impressions, and all his labours may in a great measure have the desired effect. On the contrary, what fruit is to be expected from the labours of a pastor who, we will suppose, is willing to do all the good he can, is contented to drudge on with his little allowance in hopes of seeing some good effect from his labours among his parishioners, but notwithstanding his best endeavours, falls into contempt of the meanest of them, which his poverty alone, without any personal demerit of his own to add to it, is sufficient to bring upon him? In such a case it is no wonder that all his endeavours to do good in his profession are rendered vain and ineffectual. 1

Social and religious virtues are here so closely interwoven as to be indistinguishable. The aspirations expressed by Watson and Bacon were amply fulfilled by the rise in wealth and social status of the clergy in the early nineteenth century. However, some of the Radicals' attacks were grossly exaggerated in their estimates of church wealth; the figure given in Wade's Extraordinary Black Book (1831) of nine and a half million pounds as the total revenue of the established church² is absurd. Nevertheless, it was this kind of polemic which increased the unpopularity of tithe and built up pressure for reform. Later in the century it became apparent how damaging certain aspects of the tithe system were to the church itself. Henry Grove demonstrated, with overwhelmingly detailed evidence, the three-fold impoverishment of the church through the alienation, commutation and merging of tithes, the last two of which were entirely the product of the nineteenth century. Grove calculated that the rise in land values between 1836 and 1890 which would previously have resulted in higher tithes, had, because of the 1836 Commutation Act, left approximately one and a half million pounds profit in the hands of the landowners which rightfully belonged to the church.³ But Grove reserved his strongest censure for

³Richard Watson, Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1783).

¹J. Bacon, Liber Regis, preface, p.v.

²Extraordinary Black Book (1831), 48.

³H. Grove, Alienated Tithes (1896), 8-9.

the practice of merging tithes:

It remained for the framers of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 to commit an act of sacrilege never contemplated by Henry VIII and his successors. For the authors of that statute introduced a clause into it (section 71) empowering those who were joint tithe- and land-owners to merge their tithes in the freehold of their lands for ever. This iniquitous power to exterminate the very existence and name of tithe was subsequently specially enlarged by the passing of the 1 & 2 Vict. c. 64 ... the result is that a vast amount of land has become tithe-free under the system of merging tithes by land-owners.

1

The total Grove has calculated was 1,982,334 acres (34,345 acres in Norfolk), but there is no record of the value of these lost tithes. On a smaller scale, but no less reprehensible was the sale of tithes to laymen by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as part of their policy of rationalising church finances. These amounted to £38,757 by 1888. As Grove says, "Such a mode of dealing with the endowments of the church by the very body that was incorporated and paid to protect it, needs no comment. The facts speak for themselves." Grove even fulfils the painful duty of revealing that the tithes of thirteen livings worth £1,150 were held by the Queen:

To all true churchmen it will be a subject of very deep regret to know that our beloved Queen is in possession of tithes.... The annexation of tithes to the Crown and their personal enjoyment by the sovereign cannot obviously be the fault of their present illustrious owner, arising as they do from causes over which she could have no control whatever. Still the fact of their possession is one that the author cannot honestly conceal as he is bound to record all cases where the inheritance of the poor and the sacred endowments of religion are diverted from their original purpose. It is therefore with no antagonistic feelings that the annexed brief Parliamentary Paper is here reproduced; but rather with those of deepest sorrow and with the hope that it may ultimately lead to the restoration of the tithes now held by the sovereign, thereby enabling her to fulfil the divine prediction that "Kings and Queens shall be the nursing Fathers and Mothers of the church".

2

Grove's work is a product of its time; he must be seen in the context of the post-1870 agricultural depression when the church began to suffer from falling revenues, and certain evils in the tithe system and in

¹ Ibid., 498.

² Ibid., 590.

the 1836 legislation became apparent.¹ But his researches are immensely impressive, and they provide a necessary corrective to the charges against the wealth and rapacity of clergy. The tithe system was rooted in the secular economic life of the nation. Sometimes this worked to the advantage of the clergy, sometimes it did not. The plutocratic tithe-owning clergy, as depicted in the Radicals' demonology, were as much a product of their time as the Radicals themselves, and were an equally short-lived and localised phenomenon.

¹The 1836 Act ended the tithe argument for a time but the issue was revived in the 1880's and a fresh wave of publications appeared attacking or defending tithes. For example, R.L. Everett, Tithes, their History, Use and Future (1887), a liberal-utilitarian attack on tithe; J.S. Brewer, The Endowment and Establishment of the Church of England (2nd Edition, 1885); R. Palmer, Earl of Selbourne, Ancient Facts and Fictions Concerning Tithes (1887); and H. Lansdell, The Sacred Tenth, 2 vols. (1906), the last being historical studies sympathetic to the tithe system.

CHAPTER FIVE

NONCONFORMITY IN NORFOLK

The roots of religious dissent in Norfolk lie deep in the county's history. In 1580 Robert Browne, a native of Rutland, and Robert Harrison, Master of St. Giles Hospital, Norwich, established in the city what is generally regarded as the first Independent Congregationalist church in England.¹ There are records of Anglican Puritanism before this however, especially in Norwich. As early as 1561 the congregation of the parish of St. Andrews has asserted their independence by purchasing the patronage of their church so that they might choose their own minister² (a right which survived into the nineteenth century). In 1571 the Puritan clergy of Norfolk petitioned Parliament against certain "high ceremonies" insisted on by the Bishop, Edmund Freke.³ In 1583 Queen Elizabeth promulgated the ecclesiastical articles drawn up by Archbishop Whitgift offensive to Puritans, and sixty-four Norfolk clergy (sixty in Suffolk) were suspended by Freke for refusal to comply with them.⁴ In the same year two Brownists were hanged for blaspheming at Bury, and six years later four men were burned in Norwich apparently for some form of anti-trinitarian teaching.⁵ East Norfolk and Suffolk are the areas most densely populated with Puritan clergy in R. G. Usher's map.⁶ Puritan numbers in Norwich were strengthened by the establishment of refugee French and Dutch congregations in, respectively, the 1560's and the 1580's. These foreigners however seem not to have played any special part in the ecclesiastical struggles within the Church of England; the Dutch Church

¹ A. Peel and L.H. Carlson, The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne (1953), 1-8; C. Burrage, The Early English Dissenters (1912), i, 94-117.

² C.B. Jewson, Baptists in Norfolk (1957), 12.

³ R.H. Mason, History of Norfolk (1884), 399-400.

⁴ J. Chambers, History of Norfolk (1829), ii, 1243.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ R.G. Usher, The Reconstruction of the English Church (1910), ii, 249-56.

was under the special jurisdiction of the Bishop of Norwich and therefore presumably conformed to the Church of England. The French (Walloon) ministers frequently took Anglican orders and a few rose to high positions. ¹

Most of these early records refer to Norwich. There is early evidence however of rural dissent too. Those forced by the policies of the Laudian Bishops Wren and Montague to leave the county in the 1630's and 40's, in addition to an estimated five hundred people from Norwich, included approximately eight hundred people from villages in the east of the county. The link between Puritanism and trade was noticed by contemporaries, and the effect of this exodus, especially on the weaving in the county, was commented on. ² Many of these people returned during the Commonwealth period and congregations settled in numerous villages, notably north east of Norwich in the North Walsham area, and to the south around Wymondham. Of approximately ninety clergy ejected in 1662, eighty were from parishes outside Norwich, ³ and under the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 Congregational and Baptist ministers were licensed in some forty Norfolk villages. ⁴ Given that Dissent, in the seventeenth century as in the nineteenth, was primarily an urban phenomenon, the small towns and villages of east Norfolk were no strangers to nonconformist religious groups. Even the most radical minority cults found a home there; the Fifth Monarchy Men had congregations in Norwich, Wymondham and North Walsham, and at Trunch (near North Walsham) there was one of the few village groups in England. ⁵

¹ C.E. Whiting, Studies in English Puritanism (1931), 335-6.

² Mason, op.cit., 409.

³ A.G. Mathews, Calamy Revised (1934), 584-5.

⁴ J. Browne, Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk (1877).

⁵ B.S. Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men (1972), 77-8, 111-2.

The predominantly urban character of dissent has been explained in terms like these:

In urban areas most parishes had ceased to be communities, and so the Church of England was not able to exercise effective supervision over all the inhabitants. By contrast in the old geographical communities of rural England, with their hierarchical subordination, the traditional ceremonies, and their succession of popular seasonal festivals, the power of the Anglican Church was rarely challenged. 1

Statistically this may be true, but a significant variation emerges in the strength of dissent in the villages of Norfolk. Moreover one must question this theory of community, since dissent itself created or fostered community. Where dissent was sufficiently strong the law counted for little, even in the 1660's and 70's. In Yarmouth at this time not half the Corporation were churchmen, and the Dissenters defied the law and dominated the life of the town. ²

It is only after the Restoration that the lines of distinction between Church and Dissent assume a recognisable form, when 'Puritans' either conformed to the Church or founded independent congregations. Theological differences served too to sharpen the distinctions among the denominations. For example, in the late 1680's, Thomas Grantham came to Norfolk from Lincolnshire and established the first General Baptist Church at Norwich, North Walsham and Yarmouth. ³ They remained quite separate from the existing Particular Baptists and never achieved their strength. The conflict among the Baptists between Arminian and Calvinist theology in a sense continued that within the Church of England and was later to be echoed within Methodism. The intellectual history of these denominations in the early eighteenth century remains largely unstudied.

¹ J.D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (1971), 104.

² Whiting, op.cit., 381-91.

³ Jewson, op.cit., 26.

There is evidence of considerable fluidity and experimentation, which was later to be of great political significance in the age of Priestley and Price. It is significant that William Whiston, rationalist, Arian heretic and scientist, ended his days as a Baptist. In Norwich the Octagon Chapel, famous as a centre of Unitarianism where, among others, the Martineau family was nurtured, was built in 1757 to replace the old meeting-house of the Norwich Presbyterians, a group dating from the 1570's.

Among the dissenting churches, as with the established Church, there is something of a dearth of eighteenth century records after the rich, often dramatic sources of the seventeenth century. In Norfolk, records of these old dissenters survive from Norwich, Wymondham, Yarmouth, Guestwick, Denton and Worsted in the east of the county, and from Necton, near Swaffham. In addition, some nineteenth century historians and antiquaries clearly had access to papers that have since vanished, and their works, published and unpublished, have now become sources in themselves.¹

The characteristic record of the dissenting congregation is the 'Church Book', the collective diary of the congregation's life, which provides a wide field for inference concerning the nature and self-understanding of these groups. Unquestionably one of the primary distinguishing marks of these religious groups was discipline, and the Church Books are essentially books of discipline, the written conscience of the congregation. Discipline served to separate the members from the surrounding society, and produced an ethos² very different from what one knows of the parochial life of

¹ One of the most remarkable possessions of the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office is the folio volume "Graves of Denton" (FC37/19), a beautiful hand-written and hand-illustrated codex containing biographies of notable figures in the Denton Congregationalist Church from 1655 to 1872.

² A study of these Church Books makes it clear that the opening chapter of Silas Marner, set among the "Lantern Yard Brethren", is an extremely accurate portrait of the life of this kind of group.

contemporary Anglican congregations. This kind of discipline, though not utterly unknown, ¹ had largely vanished from the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century. ² In an era of toleration it was natural that the Church should cease to exercise its role as disciplinary guardian of the people, whether in the field of church attendance or of personal morality. The origin of Methodism and the disciplinary activities of the private religious societies are a clear response to this situation. ³ The Church Book of St. Mary's Baptist Church, Norwich, records various sets of rules from time to time, some general, some clearly related to particular problems that have arisen. Thus at a church meeting in February, 1753, it was resolved:

1. That the members ought at particular times at church meetings to be examined about their frames and manner of living, whether they walk comfortably or not, and whether they don't allow themselves in known evils or in the omission of known duties.
2. That it is an evil in any to absent themselves from public worship on the fore noon of the Lord's days or from lectures or from church meetings without some lawful impediment.
3. That it is unlawful for any to attend upon the meetings of the Methodists or to join in any worship which is contrary to the doctrines and ordinances of our Lord Jesus, as that without partiality it may be construed as giving countenance to them.
4. That it is an evil in any to go to taphouses unless they have a lawful call. 4

In the same book much space is occupied by disciplinary proceedings such as the following in 1774:

At a church meeting held this day, we whose names are underwritten do believe it our duty to bear testimony against Sister Starr's conduct, which has appeared from the proper inquiries that have been made by the persons appointed by the church, to be extremely injurious to the cause and interests of Christ Jesus, viz. by her being privy with her husband to the cheating their creditors, to ye great dishonour of religion. 5

¹J. Wickham Legg, English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement (1914), 252-62.

²G.V. Bennett, The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730: the Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester (1975), 14-15; R.B. Walker, 'Religious Changes in Cheshire 1750-1850', JEH (1966), 80.

³W.E.H. Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century (1878), ii, 545-7.

⁴N(orfolk) and N(orwich) R(ecord) O(ffice) MS 4282/3.

⁵Ibid.

These disciplinary meetings were plenary and the records of them are signed by all the men in the congregation. Only two of the twenty-six signatories made a mark rather than signing their name, indicating a degree of literacy which is in accord with the kind of occupation specified from time to time of certain members - weaver, tanner, dyer, baker, tailor, cordwainer - all tradesmen or artisans, no labourers and no gentry. One notices in this Book the Biblical language - 'walk', 'brethren', 'sisters', 'Publican' - language that was archaic in the late eighteenth century, and therefore a link with the Puritan past and a distinctive mark in the present. The need for separation seems to have led this congregation into a degree of secrecy about themselves. There was no question of evangelistic activity, and the Methodists received no sympathy from them. In September 1773 it was resolved that "no member shall mention the business of the church to any person who is not a member".¹

But the essential corollary of discipline is guilt, and these Church Books contain records of public confession of all manner of crimes. The accounts are full and detailed, as though the judicial processes and the written record were to serve as a kind of purification. Nothing was hidden to preserve the dignity of the church; human weakness and depravity are exposed more in sorrow than in anger. In the 1770's the congregation of St. Mary's suffered a series of sexual scandals and traumatic exposures, whose effect on the group is easy to envisage. In July 1762 a new pastor, the Reverend Samuel Fisher, was appointed to the congregation, and his effect seemed immediately beneficial. At a church meeting in September of the same year, Sister Sarah Sabberturn came before the church and acknowledged the poor bewildered melancholy estate she had been in since she desired to be dismissed from the church, and further she told the church how the Lord had

¹ Ibid.

been graciously pleased, since Mr. Fisher came, to wonderfully restore her soul and that now she desired afresh to walk in communion with the church. The church was glad to have her repentance and afresh confirmed their love to her. 1

Within a few years, however, the church suffered its first shock. Sister Harrison came under the suspicion of her colleagues, her private life was investigated and she was discovered to have had an affair with a Jew, and finding herself pregnant, she had aborted the child. The other women of the congregation attempted to persuade her to repentance, but she refused and was expelled. 2

Worse was to come. In January 1774, Sister Mary Roe, a widow, was nursing a young child, supposedly as an act of charity, but after inquiries had been made it was clear that the child was hers, and under examination she confessed that the father was Mr. Fisher, the minister. On an "awful occasion" this was discussed at a church meeting:

Several charges were exhibited against him (Mr. Fisher) by the woman charging him with being actually criminal with her at different places, which he deny'd. The woman who retired while these charges were being read was now called in, who being informed of Mr. Fisher's denying the charges she had brought against him, appealed to his conscience as to the truth of them and also voluntarily appealed to God at the same time saying "As true as God is true, as true as Christ is God, he was guilty of these things". Mr. Fisher still persisted they were falsehood but did not do it solemnly till the woman asked him this question "Can you appeal to God of your innocence?", his reply was "I can". He now read out of a book he had written many things which he had from one person and another about the woman's character and conduct in order to invalidate her story. The now both withdrew and the church being asked their opinion declared themselves not satisfied of Mr. Fisher's repentance. 3

Nor was the affair simply concluded by Mr. Fisher's expulsion. In May 1774, the Reverend Mr. Lloyd came from Leicester to commence his ministry, but the personal alliances in the group caused a schism shortly afterwards. In March 1776 at a church meeting "it was agreed to make a memorandum of the conduct of Brother James Sabberturn and Sister Sarah

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Sabberturn who have actually joined Mr. Lloyd's church, hereby declaring themselves free from us." ¹

One has no way of knowing whether the morals or the personal stresses in this kind of small, introspective group were any worse than in society at large. What is striking, however, in this sequence of events, and in the other less serious breaches of discipline, is the forgiving nature of the group. Every effort was made to persuade those involved to repent, even in cases like Sister Harrison's, and the records of re-admission to communion are quite as numerous as the suspensions and reprimands. Sister Roe was readmitted, as were drunkards, adulterers and non-attenders with remarkable regularity. In 1785 Brother Jonathan Turner submitted to the Test Act and took Anglican communion in order to qualify for public office. A church meeting examined this matter, which struck at the very root of their separate identity, yet being satisfied with his contrition, they did not expel him. ² It was as though the judicial process, the exhibition of guilt and repentance was a cleansing experience. Nothing was attenuated in the recording of it in the Church Book, the Book which could then serve as a mirror to human nature, a dramatic and permanent record of sin and salvation. Compassion had its human limits however: Mr. Fisher was not readmitted.

How does this older dissent relate to the evangelical revival in the eighteenth century? The old sects had long since settled down to a peaceful coexistence with the established church, whether in separation like the Baptists or in tolerant friendship like the Quakers. The Gurneys of Earlham, one of the leading Quaker families in England, regularly attended the local churches at Earlham and Colney, and the

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

various members of the family saw no rigid barrier between church and meeting-house.¹ This forms a point of contact with the early Methodists, for the same is undoubtedly true of them. Methodism came to Norfolk in the form of visits by both Wesley and Whitefield in the 1750's. It seems clear from Wesley's Journal and from the county histories that these early efforts were not attended with much success. For several years Wesley was unable to secure premises for a meeting-house in Norwich, until in 1759 he rented the Bishopgate Tabernacle from James Wheatley (a Calvinist preacher who had recently been burned in effigy by a Norwich mob, his career having ended amid charges of gross immorality). Wesley made some revealing comments about the progress of Methodism in Norfolk:

30. August 1759. I preached at the Tabernacle in Norwich to a large, rude, noisy congregation. I took knowledge what manner of Teachers they had been accustomed to, and determined to mend or end them. 2

9. September 1759. I met the Society at seven; and told them in plain terms that they were the most ignorant, self-conceited, self-willed, fickle, untractable, disorderly, disjointed society that I knew in the three kingdoms. 3

11. October 1764. I returned to Norwich and enquired into the state of the society. I have seen no people in all England so changeable as this.... In March 1759 we took the Tabernacle and within a month the Society was increased to above 760. But 500 of these had formerly been with James Wheatley, and having been scattered abroad, now ran together they hardly knew why. Few of them were thoroughly awakened; most deeply ignorant, all bullocks unaccustomed to the yoke having never had any rule or order among them ... they are now sunk to 174. 4

2. November 1769. We went to Yarmouth, a cold, dead, uncomfortable place. 5

3. November 1769. I laboured to gather up the fragments of the poor Society, shattered to pieces by Presbyterians, Anabaptists and disputers of all kinds. 6

21. February 1779. Returned to Norwich and took an exact account of the Society. I wish all our preachers would be accurate in their accounts. I had heard again and again of the increase of the society. And what is the naked truth? Why, I left it 202 members and found it 179. 7

¹A.J.C. Hare, The Gurneys of Earlham (1895) passim, esp. vol.2, p.240-48; P. Lubbock, Earlham (1922), 230.

²Wesley, Journal (Everyman edition, n.d.), ii, 482.

³Ibid., ii, 482.

⁴Ibid., iii, 202.

⁵Ibid., iii, 390.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., iv, 147.

It seems clear from these entries that there was no rapprochement between the old dissent and the new. Methodism involved numbers of people no larger than the existing nonconformist groups, and was clearly but one more element in the religious diversity of Norfolk. Its growth was slow and undramatic, and it was only one of a number of denominations whose spread contributed to the climbing graph of dissenting registrations in the 1770's and the 1790's (see Appendix 2).

The revivalism of the later eighteenth century was essentially local, working from the parochial level outwards; its participants had no awareness of being part of a national movement that was establishing branches throughout the country. As in the seventeenth century, there were experiments in personal religion which acquired a social significance. There are all too few records of the founding of these groups, but occasionally a full and revealing statement survives, such as the personal confession of Robert Bunn, founder of the Necton Baptist Church:

It was the pleasure, goodness and mercy of God in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three to visit Robert Bunn with a severe and painful affliction, he was made to see the aggravating, pestilential, pernicious and infectious nature of sin. The wound was so great and so deep that it reached his very heart and soul and he saw the wound to be incurable by any human means. This made him cry for help and mercy to the Lord who never turns a deaf ear to a sincere penitent. He fled to his relief, alleviated his sorrows, alleviated his complaint, softened his distress and set his soul at liberty. Oh! No one can conceive nor utter the joy, peace, pleasure and happiness which now possessed his breast. This brought him to his knees and to his Bible as every affliction does when it is sanctified by the Lord. After this the Lord raised him up, spared his life, sanctified and removed his affliction and restored him to health and strength, in consequence of which he could not help telling others what God had done for his soul, yea if he had held his peace the mute creation would have cried out. He, like the woman at the well, was ready to invite them to come and see a man which told me all the things which ever I did, is not this the Christ? Now like Zacheus of old his heart and door was open to all those that had loved the Lord. 1

A few others joined Bunn to form a small congregation, spontaneous, without denominational allegiance and without an objective symbol of their separate identity until they discovered baptism:

¹
N.N.R.O. FC33/1.

But as I was like Paul one born out of due time, I remained ignorant of the ordinance of baptism till 1785, then I and another commenced Baptists, and in 1787 two more and in 1788 seven more. Then we consulted with Mr. Smith of Shelfanger, a Baptist minister, and he advised us to form ourselves into a church. We hearkened to his advice and in the above mentioned year 1788 we first gave ourselves to the Lord and to each other by the will of God.... Thus he made the Gospel like leaven in this dark and wicked parish. 1

A chapel was built in 1803 and there was a steady growth in numbers; between 1785 and 1840, 138 people joined the church, the peak year being 1822 with sixteen new members. Bunn's conversion is of a classic Evangelical Calvinist pattern: the guilt of the human existence expressed through the metaphor of physical sickness, then the sudden release and transformation, followed by the testimony of good works. Of the Burnham Westgate Congregational Church, founded in 1809, we have not an individual statement but a profession of faith dated in that year by the eight founding members:

That Scripture is the oracle of God and only rule of the Christian; that mankind is totally depraved unable and unwilling to restore themselves to the friendship of God; that the Holy Spirit is essential to regenerate man; that there is a personal and unconditional election of some men to eternal life. 2

There is a tendency to treat the parochial religious revival of this period entirely in terms of Methodism and as entirely social in origin. But theology clearly played a part here, and formulated a demand for a rigorous Calvinism that Wesleyanism could not provide. There was a Calvinist form of Methodism of course, but there was nor reason why the remoter rural population should be aware of it. Robert Bunn's spiritual development proceeded in personal isolation and certainly in ignorance of contending theological sects. It is undoubtedly true that small rural religious groups changed and developed independently, often as a result of Bible study, without consciously belonging to national denominations

¹ Ibid.

² N.N.R.O. FC36/1.

or movements.¹ The older dissenters on the other hand, Baptists and Congregationalists, would be known, at least in so far as they represented independence in religion, and clearly they still had certain attractions in this period, and experienced their own revival. As late as 1833 a Congregationalist church was formed at Little Walsingham. A note written in the early 1840's records:

The Independent interest in this town originated in a meeting of a few friends who assembled at Mr. Wright's for the purpose of considering what could be done to secure the preaching of the Gospel in this place according to the views entertained by the Congregational Dissenters. The deliberations of friends were communicated to the neighbouring ministers of Congregational principles, The Revs. W. Legge, I. Tennant and H.L. Adams who in the year 1833 engaged to preach in this (parish) alternately. A dwelling house was hired and fitted up as a place of worship in which the Gospel was regularly preached on Sabbath days and once in the course of the week. In the year 1835 Little Walsingham and South Creake were adopted as a Home Missionary Station.... In the house of the present agent a church was formed that in the year 1840 consisted of nine members.

2

As in the case of Necton, one notices the informal nature of the founding of this kind of church, and the small numbers of people involved, which places in perspective the very large numbers of conventicle registrations in this period. But the most interesting aspect of the founding of this particular church is that Walsingham had for many years been the centre of an active Wesleyan Methodist circuit. These older denominations were experiencing a revival of their own alongside the Methodist expansion. The Baptist Magazine was established in 1808, part of the expanding religious periodical press, and one of its main divisions was Home Missionary Intelligence. The South Creake chapel which was

¹S. Mews, 'Reason and Emotion in Working-Class Religion 1794-1824', in Studies in Church History, edited by D. Baker (1972), IX, 365-82.

²N.N.R.O. FC23/1.

united with Walsingham had an independent origin, described in an account dated 1874:

As regards the old chapel at South Creake, I believe it was built about the year 1779. I have come to this conclusion from 2 or 3 of the old gravestones and from conversation with several of the old people who were nearly 80 years of age and could remember the conversation of old folks in the village before them.... At that time 1779, South Creake was a very destitute place spiritually, the service at church being held only once a week or fortnight, the minister living elsewhere, and two ladies had compassion on the people as being sheep without a shepherd and it is said that one of them used to address the people and the other give the hymns out. Blessed be their names and peace be to their memory for their work of faith and labour of love. In the course of years it got into the hands of the Baptists and they formed a church and had a flourishing cause. 1

Another older denomination which experienced a revival in the years of the nineteenth century was the Unitarian church, which had its roots in the independent churches of the seventeenth century. Unitarianism ceased to be proscribed by law in 1813 and in that year the Unitarian Eastern Union Society was formed in Norwich, drawing its membership from the surrounding villages and towns as well as from the city itself. Although the appearance of Unitarianism under that name was, for this technical reason, late, they were well aware of their inheritance: in 1819 at a monthly committee meeting of the Society it was ordered "That the thanks of this Society be given to Mr. R. Wright for his very handsome and valuable present of 24 copies of his 'Apology for Servetus'." 2

It has recently been demonstrated that Unitarianism provides a striking corrective to the conventional beliefs about working-class religion at this time - that it was all emotional revivalism, and that divisions between sects were social and organisational rather than theological. 3 Unitarianism had a popular evangelical aspect, with itinerant working-class preachers. It drew its strength from seceders from Methodism who were engaged in an intellectual quest for a rational

¹Ibid.

²N.N.R.O. FC7/1.

³S. News, op.cit.

theology. There is evidence of Unitarian evangelism in Norfolk: thirteen itinerant preachers are named for the Eastern Area in the years 1813 to 1830, and funds were regularly voted for missionary work in the agricultural villages. ¹ But most of the records confirm the traditional impression of Unitarianism as a predominantly middle-class movement, pursuing intellectual and political freedom. There is a secularity and an affluence about the group more reminiscent of an intellectual society than a church. After each Annual General Meeting sixty or seventy members regularly dined at a Norwich inn at eight or ten shillings a head. By the 1830's reports of the Society's A.G.M.s were appearing in the press along with reports of other educational, political and philanthropic societies. ² At the A.G.M. in June 1822 it was resolved:

That this society in token of their high respect for the exemplary character of the venerable Bishop of this Diocese, do present an Address to him expressing their gratitude for his disinterested, valuable and unwearied labours in the cause of civil and religious liberty ... and that gentlemen from each congregation be a deputation to present it to his Lordship. 3

In September this Address was presented, and Bishop Bathurst

Assured the deputation of his unalterable attachment to the cause of religious liberty, and expressed his earnest hope to witness the entire repeal of all statutes which infringed upon the sacred right of conscience. 4

It is likely that the old Bishop's liberalism endeared him more strongly to these nonconformists than to his own clergy. Similar Addresses were presented in 1825 to the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Holland "for their powerful support of the Unitarian Marriage Bill and their steady attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty".

¹ N.N.R.O. FC7/1.

² Ibid., collection of press-cuttings.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

and to Lord John Russell in 1827 for his intention to sponsor a Bill to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts.¹ Letters from other societies, press opinions and other communications are transcribed, books bought for the Society's library are listed and speeches and sermons are ordered to be printed. The book was undoubtedly important in the life of the Society, but unmistakably different in function from St. Mary's Church Book. This is essentially a minute-book, pragmatic, business-like and impersonal, the record of an intellectual society rather than a spiritual group. The involvement of Unitarians in radical and liberal politics is a striking testimony to their inheritance from the English Presbyterians of the seventeenth century.

The diversity and long traditions of Norfolk dissent provide a perspective in which Methodism can be more accurately assessed. The years of the Methodist expansion in the county were 1800-1820, and the early peaks on the graph (see Appendix 2) represent the advances of those years. New Circuits were formed at Bungay, on the Suffolk border (1809), Attleborough (1812), North Walsham (1813), Swaffham (1813) and Holt (1815). After this date Downham Market (1827) was the only gain.² Before this period the membership of the older Circuits had remained stable for many years. The Walsingham Circuit numbered 167 in 1790 and was still 165 in 1807. But then it too reflects the expansionary trend: in 1809 it rose suddenly to 344 and by 1813 it was 682. This peak was not maintained, however, and there was a decline to 450 by 1818.³ The figures for the county as a whole from 1801-1821 show a climb from 2,388 to 5,315, an increase of 123%. However, the population rose in this period too by some 25%, and the resulting proportion of members to population at 1 to 64 remained lower than the national figure of 1 to 55.⁴

¹ Ibid.

² Hall's Circuits and Ministers (no date, c. 1912).

³ N.N.R.O. FC18/14.

⁴ The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine (1824), 378-9.

After 1820 Wesleyan Methodism continued to grow in Norfolk until the mid-century, but at a slower rate than the Primitive Methodists, with whom lay the future. Indeed, the interrelation of the two sects in the county between 1820 and 1835 serves to confirm Professor Ward's thesis that Peterloo marked the end of Wesleyanism as a radical working-class religion,¹ a role assumed by Primitive Methodism. In the age of Bunting, Wesleyanism was becoming more conservative, socially and politically and more centralised in its administration and control. The extraordinary personal position that Bunting acquired was symptomatic of this process, and the correspondence he received from Norfolk and East Anglian ministers on a wide variety of problems amply serves to illustrate the changing nature of Methodism. Joseph Griffiths, Superintendent of the Bury Circuit, wrote to Bunting in November 1820 for advice about the Methodist Benefit Society established a few years before:

It for a time went on well, but a year or two since Cobbett's writings and radicalism took a strong hold of many of their minds, which led to much unpleasantness in our Society - one of the results was many of them separated from us. The Club have resolved to send a petition to His Majesty complaining of grievances and requesting the dismissal of his Ministers etc. It goes as a petition from the Methodist Benefit Society. Many of our leaders and friends objected to this because they think it appears to make us as a Society as petitioners when we have in fact nothing to do with it as a Society; and that it may be prejudicial to us and to our connexion by leading the inhabitants, the country and the government to judge unfavourably of us by taking us to be what we are not. 2

Bunting advises publishing a protest objecting to the term Methodism in this connection, and forbidding the Benefit Society the use of Methodist premises. The Norfolk Circuits experienced not only political difficulties; early in the 1820's its religious integrity had suffered in some areas. A newly-appointed itinerant preacher in Lynn sent the following report to Bunting:

¹W.R. Ward, Religion and Society in England 1790-1850 (1972) *passim*, esp. 76ff.

²W.R. Ward (ed.), The Early Correspondence of Jabez Bunting 1820-29 (Camden Fourth Series, 1972) ii, 55-56.

The Circuit absolutely needed an itinerant preacher long before I came, for being supplied wholly by local preachers, they had become extremely negligent, the congregation much fallen off, the country chapel shut up during the week ... the Ranters attacking our Society and carrying off our members, and the Circuit complaining to the President that no help was sent them. 1

A decade later the same Circuit had apparently been decimated by theological and social differences. William Binning, Superintendent, wrote in 1834:

A spirit of hostility to our economy has long prevailed among a large portion of the members and still more so of the leaders and local preachers. Discipline has been all but lost throughout the country parts of it. No leaders' meetings for years, and that where there has been three, four or even six leaders. I have begun however to look these persons in the face and to grapple with their hostility. The insolent and inveterate opposition I have met with in doing so is beyond what I am able to describe. 2

Mr. Binning later made the revealing comment, "Hardly any of the men on whom I can depend are working men". In the Lynn Circuit at this time teetotalism had emerged as a kind of rival religion, even within the Wesleyan group. Controversy centred on the communion wine, and on one occasion half the members paraded down to the Ranters' chapel to take communion there. 3 Binning estimated the number who might secede "in case of decisive measures" at three hundred in Lynn and the surrounding district, and he comments:

My conviction is that it would be one of the happiest events that could befall us. From the greater part of them you get perhaps three pence per quarter and scarcely one farthing for anything extra, but your full price of opposition and abuse. 4

This local situation was quite typical of developments in Methodism in the 1820's; an increasing conservatism, a desire to identify Methodism with the social and ecclesiastical establishment, providing an important breakwater against civil disorder and against the emerging power of Catholicism. In an important essay which appeared in 1829, Humphry

¹Ibid., 86.

²W.R. Ward (ed.), Early Victorian Methodism: the Correspondence of Jabez Bunting 1830-1858 (1976), 299.

³Ibid., 324.

⁴Ibid., 327.

Sandwith, later editor of the Tory Methodist periodical, The Watchman, provided a classic statement on "Methodism and its relations to the Church and the Nation". In a remarkable anticipation of the Halevy thesis, Sandwith wrote:

In what state would the country have been now had crime been so long left to multiply, with such a rapidly-increasing population, and no corresponding addition of churches? Many politicians had a deep insight into the disorganising tendencies of the French Revolution, some of which results, despite every counteraction which has yet been applied, we this day contemplate. They were not aware however of the powerful antidote that God was providing, in his usual manner to meet the exigencies of the case. The rise of Methodism, unperceived through the shades of its native obscurity, never once entered into their calculations. Against the disorganising tendencies of a widespread scepticism and the demoralising effects of an unprecedented commercial prosperity, the Church as it then stood opposed but a feeble barrier. The zeal and activity of the Methodist ministry, aided by other powerful sects, have unquestionably done far more to stem the tide of an overwhelming national degeneracy. 1

Moreover, Sandwith maintains that the function of Methodism as an agent of religious education and social control has been tacitly recognised by the state in the steady reform of laws affecting nonconformists; in effect the state subcontracted many of its responsibilities to Methodism:

... as if government had adopted the policy of subdividing those parts of the community which are unprovided for by the state, and letting them out, on the cheap terms of legislative protection, to the management and cultivation of Dissenters; and the experiment has now so fully answered that no legislator would now think of supplanting the cheaper facilities of religious instruction so provided, with not a jot less of loyalty and subordination in the public mind, at the cost of building more churches. 2

Sandwith also asserts that Wesleyanism is "merely a voluntary association of individuals" and not a rival church,³ a claim characteristic of conservative Methodism moving towards a rapprochement with the establishment. Many Methodists carried these principles so far that they refused - as Wesley himself had refused - to enter the campaign to abolish Church rates. William Constable, Superintendent of the Norwich Circuit, wrote

¹ The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine (1829), 312-3.

² Ibid., 314.

³ Ibid., 378.

to Bunting in February 1837 complaining that:

A short time since, some printed papers were sent to me to be read in our pulpits calling a public meeting to petition the two houses of Parliament for the abolition of Church-rates. I declined to read such papers or permitting them to be read. They were not read. A few days later a deputation called at my house requesting my signature to the above petition. I declined to give my signature.... The abolition of Church-rates, is, I doubt not, intended to pave the way for the abolition of the Establishment, and with such considerations I think no Methodist minister should identify himself. 1

It is against this background that we must^{SEE} the rise of Primitive Methodism. From its birthplace in Cheshire and Staffordshire, the movement spread east and entered Norfolk through the Lynn area in 1821. From the first the missions were highly successful, and seven years later the Norwich District comprised two thousand members, fifteen full-time itinerant preachers, 158 local preachers and twenty-two chapels.² There is no doubt that the 1822 peak in the dissenting registrations (see Appendix 2) represents the Primitives' first tidal-wave of success, the largest number of registrations being in the west of the county. The second peak came in 1831-33, in which the east of the county figured as well as the west. The Fakenham and Wells Circuit doubled its membership in two years.³ The preacher Robert Key arrived in the Saham-Mattishall area in June 1831 and by March 1832 progress was so rapid that a new Circuit was formed with more than six hundred members. "I have missioned a tract of country," he wrote, "30 miles in length, embracing more than 40 churches containing 700 members."⁴ No local written records of this missionary expansion appear to have survived; if few records were made, the inference is that the movement found support among the lower, largely illiterate, social

¹ Ward (ed.), op.cit., 179-80.

² J. Petty, A History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion (1864), 193-7.

³ Primitive Methodist Magazine (1833), pp.8, 51.

⁴ Petty, op.cit., 293-9.

levels. This geographic spread of Primitive Methodism, almost epidemic in its swiftness, is very different from the independent development of isolated congregations suggested above. Their revivalism was clearly answering a working-class need that was being satisfied by neither the Church of England nor Wesleyanism. Was there an objective social cause at precisely this time? Professor Ward suggests the collapse of corn prices in 1820, producing widespread hardship in country areas.¹ On this interpretation the rural proletariat joined the Ranters both as a protest against the establishment, and as emotional escape. The failure of the Swing riots in the winter of 1830-31 has been advanced as an explanation for the 1832-33 peak.² These social explanations have varying degrees of plausibility, but they can only remain hypothetical. Primitive Methodism has so easily been seen as a social phenomenon that perhaps insufficient attention has been paid to its strictly religious character.

Robert Key recorded the effect of his preaching at a meeting in a house in East Tuddenham on May 27, 1831:

Some would have got out but could not move; their strength left them, their guilt stared them in the face, they gave vent to the feelings of their wounded hearts, and a general cry for mercy followed.

3

This description contains the essential elements of the Primitive experience; a deep conviction of personal guilt evoked by the preaching, a quasi-physical paralysis, and a sudden release and sense of forgiveness. Even more dramatic were the camp meetings, such as that at East Tuddenham a week later:

Many were struck to the ground like men slain in battle ... others who rushed towards the persons in distress to drag them from the

¹W.R. Ward, Religion and Society, 112.

²E.J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, Captain Swing (1969), 288-290.

³Petty, op.cit., 293.

place, were themselves suddenly seized with deep convictions, and instead of carrying out their purposes of dragging their friends away, all united with them in earnest cries to God for pardon and salvation.

1

This experience is a compression into a few hours of the spiritual history of the two founders of the movement, Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, especially the latter, who described his early life as the subject of fierce combat between the forces of good and evil for the possession of his soul.² The sense of guilt and fear, and of the immanence of an invisible world, receives striking expression in Petty's explanation of the missionary expansion during 1832-33:

The Asiatic cholera had made fearful ravages during most parts of the kingdom during this year, and had been one means in the hands of God of awakening multitudes to a sense of their sin and danger and inducing thousands to flee to Christ for salvation, and had largely contributed to the increase of members.

3

The camp meetings centred around the personal spiritual struggles, "the cries of the penitent, the shouts of deliverance".⁴ But this experience is strikingly similar to Robert Bunn's personal testimony fifty years before, which led to the founding of the Necton Chapel; the metaphor of physical sickness, the cry for mercy, the sudden sense of release. The distinctive mark of Revivalism is that the spiritual combat becomes a group experience. And this is a link with the even older dissenting religion which was examined in the case of St. Mary's in Norwich. There too the public exhibition of guilt, repentance and forgiveness was the centre of the group's life. The form taken by this religion of guilt and purification differed in each case. The Calvinist theological tradition was hardly present among the early Ranters; rather they tapped lower levels of popular belief - Satanic combat, exorcism and witchcraft. Nevertheless,

¹ Ibid., 295.

² J. Ritson, The Romance of Primitive Methodism (1911), 37-44.

³ Petty, op.cit., 305.

⁴ Ritson, op.cit., 66.

it is clearly this intensity of religion, a dramatic and sombre obsession with guilt of the human condition, which runs as a unifying thread through the dissenting tradition. This was the spiritual dimension which was scarcely to be found in the established church, nor among the Wesleyans. The scale and speed of the Primitive Methodist advance was certainly a new and complex phenomenon, which probably had its social causes. But a longer historical perspective suggests that these radical alternatives to the established church had been available for centuries. The North Walsham area, scene of the remarkable revival of 1831-33, had provided a home for Fifth Monarchism nearly two centuries before. The strength and diversity of Dissent in Norfolk meant, paradoxically, that Methodism did not overwhelm the established church, as was virtually the case in some parts of England. Methodism presented little that was novel in the life of the county, and consequently its impact was weakened. It was in those regions which had little tradition of dissent over the centuries - Cornwall, Wales, the West Midlands and the North - that Wesleyan Methodism achieved its greatest and swiftest success.

It has been suggested that the early nineteenth century saw religion entering the market-place. The Church of England ceased to enjoy a monopoly, and religious life came to be dominated by pluralism, by voluntary membership of a chosen group. The denominations developed the means to market themselves in competition with other contending claims.¹ This situation is perfectly illustrated in a letter to Bunting from the Superintendent of the Sleaford Circuit in 1821:

No town is in a more critical situation than Sleaford. We have the High Church party; the High Huntingtonian party (followers of William Huntington, a high Calvinist preacher), My Lady Huntington's, and the Particular Baptists all are striving to undermine our cause. We have the Ranters who are also taking advantage on my absence, on account of my affliction - and to add to my troubles one of the best local preachers ... has now turned Ranter and is lifting up his heels against us.

2

¹A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England, (1976), 18.

²W.R. Ward (ed.), The Early Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 72.

The situation was obviously perplexing to contemporaries, and remains so for the historian. Arguably there is not one history of early nineteenth century religion, but a myriad of histories: communities and sects changing and developing in a variety of ways in response to local conditions. Possibly the dominant position of Methodism has obscured the equally interesting evolution within the older groups: the Presbyterians moving through Arianism to Unitarianism, the Congregationalists and Baptists experiencing revivals of their own, and considerable intellectual movement among the denominations. ¹

This process of change and transmutation in the nonconformist churches is characteristic not only of the earlier period of revival, but continued into the mid-century, by which time a slight decline was beginning to register itself. The Independent Church in the small north Norfolk village of Guestwick (1831 population 188) showed the following membership:

	Men	Women	Total
1825	29	27	56
1834	24	19	43
1843	19	22	41

Some of the reasons for defection in the 1840's from the Burnham Westgate Congregational Church are revealing. In 1846 William Grix withdrew "on account of Hypercalvinist sentiments, and differences occasioned thereby". ³ In the same year William Annis "withdrew to join the Wesleyans", and in 1847 Robert Platton left "having embraced the doctrines of the Plymouth Brethren". ⁴ As in the case of St. Mary's Norwich in the eighteenth century, human weakness is amply displayed; Henry Loadest was expelled for "absenting himself from the Lord's Table on pretence of having

¹ For an example of this intellectual cross-fertilisation among the sects, see W.R. Ward, 'Swedenborgianism: heresy, schism or religious protest?', in Studies in Church History, edited by D. Baker (1972), ix, 303.

² N.N.R.O. FC11/1.

³ N.N.R.O. FC36/1.

⁴ Ibid.

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²N.N.R.O. FC11/1.

³N.N.R.O. FC36/1.

⁴Ibid.

received offence from some members but refusing to adopt a course of scriptural adjustment". Joseph Sandford was expelled for unspecified immorality, and Erasmus Greenwood in consequence of a "scandalous report involving a young woman of bad character".¹

The position of the Nonconformists and the Established Church revealed in the 1851 Religious Census provides some revealing comparisons with the national picture. Nationally those who attended some form of religious worship on March 30, 1851, represented 57% of the possible worshipping population. The Norfolk figure was 62%. The proportion of worshippers who attended the Anglican Church was 48% in the country as a whole, and 53% in Norfolk.² Thus, despite the strength and variety of Norfolk dissent, the Church of England had held a significantly higher proportion of adherents than the country as a whole. Within the free churches, the old dissenters, Baptists and Congregationalists, had 14% of actual attenders compared with the Wesleyans' 12%, which was also outstripped by the Primitive Methodists' 16%.³

Thus it seems clear that beneath the obvious changes in the strength of dissent in Georgian Norfolk, there was also an important inheritance from the past. This impression is reinforced when nonconformity is examined in its strictly religious aspect, which has tended to become lost in the concern for social analysis. The religious revivals of this period have too easily been seen as simply another symptom of stress and change, consequently too little regard may have been paid to the strength of dissenting traditions in particular regions.

¹ Ibid.

² PP(HofC)1852-3, vol.LXXXIX. I have used Mann's method of arriving at an attendance index by adding the morning, afternoon and evening figures, and deducting 30% from the result, in order to allow for those who attended twice.

³ Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

THE INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND: CHARITY AND HISTORY

Few people would now maintain that the history of religious doctrines is a hermetic, self-contained theological study. It is a part of human history and may be influenced by the intellectual, the social and the political forces at work in the world. The fate of the doctrine of charity from the Reformation to the nineteenth century provides a striking example of this process, and an understanding of it is central to any study of church and society. 'Church and society', although it may be seen as a part of the widespread and fashionable interest in social history and in working-class history in particular, is not a subject that has been invented by modern historians, modern sociologists or even by modern churchmen. There is a firm background of doctrine and many centuries of ecclesiastical practice which may contribute a new perspective on the church's position in the age of the industrial revolution.

In medieval society the care of the poor devolved almost entirely on the church, and indeed had been regarded as a basic Christian duty from the very earliest days. The precise nature, extent and consequences of medieval charity have long been a subject of controversy, centering on the role of the monasteries and consequences of their suppression. The more romantic historical tradition is admirably described by a modern historian writing of the Roman Catholic missions to the London slums in the nineteenth century:

The Catholic response to Industrial poverty had two major aspects, historical and theological. Historically England was understood to have abandoned the medieval social theory which, it was claimed, had made proper material and spiritual provision for the destitute. The Catholic could glory in that venerable tradition of English historical writing which depicted the dissolution of the monasteries as the pillage of treasures held in trust for the poor, and as the destruction of the communal harmony of medieval Catholic brotherhood. Thus in long historical perspective, pauperism was ascribed to the

seizure of the monastic lands; the Poor Laws old and new were diabolical Protestant substitutes for monastic charity, and the Reformers' ill-gotten gains had in time fathered the industrial revolution and the creedless miserable proletariat huddled in the hideous factory towns of the 19th century. 1

Politics make strange bedfellows, for this Catholic polemic was accepted by many of the Radicals, including Cobbett; ² later by romantic social theorists like Ruskin and Morris; ³ and ultimately metamorphosed into the early history of capitalism in Marx's economic history. ⁴

The opposite tradition, that because medieval charity was self-regarding it was indiscriminate and socially damaging, has an equally long history. Thomas Fuller, writing in 1655, puts the case thus:

These abbeys did but maintain the poor they made ... their hospitality was but charity mistaken, promiscuously entertaining some who did not need, and more who did not deserve it. For some vagrants, accounting the abbey alms their own inheritance, served an apprenticeship and afterwards wrought journey-work to no other trade than begging. Yea we may observe that such places wherein the great abbeys were seated swarm most with poor people at this day, as if begging were entailed on them. 5

Clearly this view would strike a sympathetic chord in many nineteenth century hearts, appalled at the possibility of creating pauperism by indiscriminate poor relief.

Modern scholarship in this contentious field has tended towards two main conclusions. The first is that the religious theory of charity was considerably more subtle and flexible than was once supposed. ⁶

Indiscriminate giving for example was not thought to benefit the donor if

¹ S.W. Gilley, 'Heretic London, Holy Poverty and the Irish Poor', Downside Review (January 1971), vol. 89.

² Cobbett, History of the Protestant Reformation (1828), two volumes.

³ See R. Williams, Culture and Society (1958) *passim*.

⁴ Marx, Capital, chapter 27 "The expropriation of the agricultural population from the land". More and Aveling (eds.) 1946, p.740ff.

⁵ Thomas Fuller, Church History of Britain until 1648, pp.298-9. This passage is quoted in the Webbs' Old Poor Law (1927), 17-18; but the Webbs completely misrepresent Fuller when they say that this was Fuller's own opinion; it was not, for he goes on immediately after this passage to reject it. He was merely citing a widespread belief.

⁶ B. Tierney, Medieval Poor Law (1959).

the results of it were evil; the potential donor was enjoined by canon law to investigate and consider before giving. Clearly legal theory may be one thing and common practice something quite different. But at least one expert believes that the law was enforced, and moreover that the parishes not the monasteries were the main distributors of alms.¹ In Professor Tierney's view, the Tudor Poor Law was not an unprecedented creation either in theory or in practice, but was descended from the medieval system, a system which worked so well that "the poor in England were better cared for in the thirteenth century than in any subsequent century until the present one".²

It is consonant with this emphasis on the importance of the parish that modern scholarship has discovered that the role of monasteries in poor relief had all but vanished by the time of the Reformation. Charitable bequests to monasteries had almost completely dried up by the late fifteenth century, and the percentage of monastic income distributed in alms was tiny.³ But the late fifteenth century was also the age which saw the rise of secular charities. The founding of trusts to provide poor relief, schools and hospitals now became a responsibility accepted by all men of wealth and property, and these bequests were poured out in increasing numbers in all the parishes and towns in England.⁴ The Reformation and the dissolution cannot be considered a watershed in the history of the poor in England. Although the local impact of the closure of a monastery may occasionally have been severe, the charitable income was swiftly restored by secular donors.⁵ There seems little doubt that the increase in poverty in Tudor England was due to more complex economic causes than

¹Ibid., chapter 5.

²Ibid., 109.

³A. Savine, The English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution (1909), 228-45.

⁴W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660 (1959).

⁵Ibid., 59. For some important strictures on the quantitative findings of Professor Jordan see for example L. Stone's review in History (1959). Despite these criticisms however Jordan's conclusions about the nature of 16th and 17th century charity are not in dispute.

the dissolution alone.

The outpouring of charitable bequests continued throughout the seventeenth century, and this aspect of Christian duty became the subject of a large literature of exhortation. The thesis, so appealing to radicals and Catholic apologists alike, that the Reformation marked the death of charity is not born out by the detailed study of the modern historian. Not only did secular philanthropy recompense the disappearance of the abbeys, but the religious motive itself was far from dead. The church ceased to be the sole agent of charitable work, and was replaced by the charitable trust. Chantries, masses for the dead, the endowment of churches, were rejected on theological grounds - as an attempt to buy salvation - but the religious dimension was still of paramount importance in this flood of secular giving. The Calvinist ethic, the new medicine for poverty, the death of charity - all this forms a central part in Tawney's description of seventeenth century England.¹ But this is distilled from a very partial selection of religious and social writing; another account might well draw out the social implications of the Puritan concept of stewardship; charity was one of the moral injunctions laid upon wealth by God. The funeral addresses preached on the death of famous men give a clear indication of the high place occupied by charity in the seventeenth century mind.²

This change in the theological explanation of charity should not blind us to the continuity of charity itself. In the late middle ages "more and more of the church's efforts were devoted to teaching the living what they could do for the dead - both the donor himself and any other he cared to aid. Popular religion largely focussed on this one chapter in

¹R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (1926).

²Jordan, op.cit., 151-239.

the entire corpus of Christian beliefs".¹ This explicit concern with purgatory, and the forms of giving it produced - the chantry and the mass for the dead - were what was rejected at the Reformation and later outlawed as superstitious. But the charitable impulse itself was metamorphosed and secularised into the trust for the poor, the grammar school and the hospital. Professor Jordan sets his work within a broad framework of intellectual and social history - the secularisation of Jacobethan society, and to this extent he is in harmony with Tawney. But Tawney seemed to take a view tinged with residual romanticism: that secularisation entailed commercialism, dehumanisation and a narrow, compassionless piety. The writing of intellectual history, the attempt to penetrate the motives, ideas and beliefs of another age, so often leads to a tangle of half-truths. In the last resort, detailed functional analysis of behaviour rather than abstract argument will tell us about the reality of post-Reformation charity. The Protestant ethic may have been secularised, but it was not uncharitable. By the early seventeenth century "the failure of a London merchant to settle some substantial and conspicuous charitable trust or gift, was generally regarded as little short of shocking".²

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, charities remained an accepted institution of English social life. The eighteenth century witnessed a great expansion in the scope of philanthropy: to the existing institutions - schools, hospitals and doles - was added the new concept of the benevolent society, modelled on the joint-stock company, dedicated to particular social causes - reform of prisons, treatment of the insane, rehabilitation of prostitutes, and so on.³ The munificent

¹M. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise 1307-1485 (1967), 11.

²Jordan, op.cit., 153.

³D. Owen, English Philanthropy 1660-1960 (1964), 11-68.

individual donor or founder of Jacobethan England was replaced by the charitable society. It is hardly too much to say that benevolence became the fashion, compassion a social duty. Simultaneously a new theoretical justification for charity now emerged. The Puritan ethic of the stewardship of wealth and the religious necessity of good works is less emphasised than a rational doctrine of benevolence. To be sure, most of the charities had socially useful goals, for example, the concern for the supposedly falling population lay behind the establishment of foundling hospitals and lying-in hospitals.¹ But explaining the aims of a charity does not explain away the motives of its founders; a social need may be diagnosed without being answered. It was the fashion of benevolence, the embracing of these causes, that is so striking in the eighteenth century. The quasi-scientific belief in the uniformity of human nature made compassion a social duty. Hume's discussion of the "passion of sympathy" is illuminating here:

We have a lively idea of everything related to us. All human creatures are related to us by resemblance. Their persons, therefore, their interests, their passions, their pains and pleasures must strike upon us in a lively manner and produce an emotion similar to the original one. 2

This appeal to reason might almost serve as a philanthropist's charter: reason and nature compel a compassionate response to our fellow men. And yet it is not a cold rationality: Hume's appeal is to experience, to feeling and sentiment:

There is no spectacle so fair and beautiful as a noble and generous action; nor any that gives us more abhorance than one that is cruel and treacherous.... To have the sense of virtue is nothing but to feel a satisfaction of a particular kind from the contemplation of a character. The very feeling constitutes our praise or admiration. We go no farther; nor do we enquire into the cause of the satisfaction. We do not infer a character to be virtuous because it pleases:

¹See further the analysis of eighteenth century benevolence in M. G. Jones, The Charity School Movement (1938), 3-14.

²Hume, Treatise of Human Nature (1740), book II, part II, section 7.

but in feeling that it pleases after a particular manner, we in effect feel that it is virtuous. The case is the same as in our judgements concerning all kinds of beauty and tastes and sensations. Our approbation is imply'd in the immediate pleasure they convey to us. 1

This interesting explanation of virtue in aesthetic terms strikes the keynote of the eighteenth century cult of benevolence. Acts of benevolence produced above all other activities "the most lasting, valuable and exquisite pleasure" ² in the agent. One finds this aesthetic rationale of charity heightened almost to the theatrical in Burke's splendid tribute to John Howard:

He has visited all Europe, not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces or the stateliness of temples, not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals or collate manuscripts; but to dive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infection of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression and contempt; to remember the forgotten and attend the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is original; it is as full of genius as of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery, a circumnavigation of charity. 3

This rhetoric should not however detract from our estimate of the achievement of eighteenth century charity; it is merely proof that in a new intellectual climate new philosophies of charity were evolving. Sentimental rationalism was the important new current, side by side with a piety of a rather different kind from seventeenth century puritanism, a piety which complemented perfectly the philosophy of rational benevolence. If one looks at the representatives of the age. the message expounded by every theologian and preached from every pulpit in the country was that religion is morality. The whole duty of man was the exercise of moral

¹ Ibid., Book III, part I, section 2.

² Gentleman's Magazine, August 1732.

³ Burke, Speech at Bristol, September 6th, 1780, in Writings and Speeches (1894 edition), ii, 387-8.

virtue, sanctioned by rewards and punishments both here and hereafter. The basic principle of Butler's ethical theory for example, is a careful delineation of the concept of nature, a concept which seems to have obsessed eighteenth century thinkers. Nature pure and simple, the amoral nature of 'brutes', dictates the pursuit of appetites, an endeavour to satisfy the inclinations and passions of every moment, ruled only by "the constitution of their body and the objects around them".¹ Human nature on the other hand is to rise above these things through the sovereign power of "reflection", which Butler identifies with conscience. This, to Butler, is an absolute and distinctive endowment of human nature, verifiable from the common experience of life:

It is not a true representation of mankind to affirm that they are wholly governed by self-love, the love of power and sensual appetites; since as on the one hand they are often actuated by these without any regard to right or wrong; so on the other hand it is a manifest fact that the same persons, the generality, are frequently influenced by friendship, compassion, gratitude; and even a general abhorrence of what is base, and liking of what is fair and just takes its turn among the other motives of action ... and it is by this nature, if one may speak so, that the world is in fact influenced and kept in that tolerable order in which it is.

2

To the fundamental ethical questions Why should men be good? Why should they not do as they wish? Butler answers that one man's happiness is not distinguishable from that of others, since it is by discharging our moral duty to others that we fulfil ourselves. Thus even when it might appear that a vicious course of action was in our best interests, this cannot be so since conscience, or reflection, forbids it, and the way to harmony and true love of the self is to obey the dictates of our higher nature.³ This argument is indeed a sword to cut the Gordian knot of the "nature" controversy. Self-love is self-denial: human nature is to overrule nature. Vice, by definition contrary to human nature, has its own sting - that of conscience or reflection, which becomes, in

¹ Butler, Sermons, preface to 1729 edition.

² Ibid., p.XIV.

³ Ibid., p.XVII.

Butler's thought, the still small voice of God directing man's moral life.¹ This is clearly a personal ethic with great social implications: one serves one's own interests by serving others. Butler is saying that simple happiness (he would say "sensual pleasure") is not the true aim of man. For man there is restraint, sobriety, reflection, contentment with one's lot (virtues exemplified in the tragic-comic figure of Dr. Primrose in The Vicar of Wakefield). Above all there is benevolence, or compassion; Butler's moral theology places benevolence at the very centre of the religious life. It is not merely a duty, one among many, but the essence of what he means by being human:

Every man is to be considered in two capacities, the private and the public; as designed to pursue his own interest and likewise to contribute to the good of others. Whoever will consider will see that in general there is no contrariety between these; but that from the original constitution of man and the circumstances he is placed in, they perfectly coincide and mutually carry on each other. 2

Butler accepts the philosophy of rational benevolence, for evidently his theory of human nature would demand it:

Men are so much one body, that in a peculiar manner they feel for each other shame, sudden danger, resentment, honour, prosperity, distress; one or another, or all of these, from the social nature in general, from benevolence, upon the occasion of natural relation, acquaintance, protection, dependence; each of these being distinct cements of society. And therefore to have no restraint from, no regard to others in our behaviour, is the speculative absurdity of considering ourselves as single and independent, as having nothing in our nature which has respect to our fellow creatures. 3

Butler makes explicit here the social consequences of his moral theory; in the striking phrase "the cements of society" he draws together his ideas of human nature, benevolence, virtue and conscience. Butler's ethic is rational and it is secular. With considerable subtlety he appeals to reason and to the moral sense, to project a refined idealised version of Augustan society. Christianity is invoked to explain the existence of the moral sense and to reinforce the authority of conscience by the doctrine of rewards and punishments. But these two contributions are not dwelt on,

¹ Butler, 'Sermon upon Human Nature', part 1. 1729 edition of Sermons, p.40.

² Butler, 'Sermon upon Compassion', 1729 edition of Sermons, p.89.

³ Butler, 'Sermon upon Human Nature', 1729 edition of Sermons, p.42.

and ultimately they are superfluous: Butler's theory of human nature is perfectly self-sufficient and self-justifying, as is the social philosophy that flows from them.

This tendency in Butler's ethics is made even more explicit in the sermons of perhaps the most distinguished preacher of the age - Archbishop Tillotson. Sermon-tasting was of course a popular pastime in the eighteenth century, and to some extent the pulpit and the printed sermon performed some of the functions later undertaken by the press, providing intellectual debate, comment and controversy and philosophical and social issues. The number of sermons published in the eighteenth century was staggering, and probably exceeded the published volume of any other literary genre. Among the churchmen who came through this means to exert such influence on the intellectual life of the age, none was more famous and respected than Tillotson. His style and his theology were described by Warburton as "simple, elegant, candid, clear and rational",¹ qualities admirably suited to reflect the philosophical temper of his time. "The essential content of the Christian evangel was epitomised in the proclamation of the fatherhood of God and the duty of benevolence in man. Persuaded of the centrality of this cardinal tenet, of the beneficence of the creator towards his creatures, the men of Latitude deduced the obligation on the part of mankind to imitate the divine charity by the performance of good works towards each other."² One has only to glance at Tillotson's sermons to discover his appeal to the Augustan age. For example, his sermon "On the advantages of religion to societies" is a refutation of the slander that religion is somehow an enemy to human pleasure. He explains his aim thus:

¹ Quoted in Sykes Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century (1936), 257.

² Sykes, op.cit., 257.

One of the first principles that is planted in the nature of man and which lies at the very root and foundation, is the desire of his own preservation and happiness. Hence it is that every man is led by interest, and does love or hate, chuse or refuse things according as he apprehends them to conduce to this end or to contradict it. And because the happiness of this life is most present and sensible, therefore human nature is most powerfully affected with sensible and temporal things. And consequently there cannot be a greater prejudice raised against any thing than to have it represented as inconvenient and hurtful to our temporal interests. Upon this account it is that religion hath extremely suffer'd in the opinion of many, as if it were opposite to our present welfare and did rob men of the greatest advantages and conveniences of life. So that he that would do right to religion cannot take a more effectual course than by reconciling it with the happiness of mankind and by giving satisfaction to our reason that it is so far from being an enemy that it is the greatest friend to our temporal interests; and that it doth not only tend to make every man happy considered singly and in a private capacity, but is excellently fitted for the benefit of human society. 1

In this work and in its companion-piece "The advantages of religion to particular persons", Tillotson praises the harmony, the benevolence and the wisdom of religion. His appeal is to reason and to experience. Less subtle than Butler in his philosophical framework, he still sees religion as a civilising agent in society and in the individual, teaching man to recognise and obey the noblest elements in his nature. Again we notice how striking is the appeal to reason, to nature, to secular interest. The epithets used in praise of religion are "useful", "excellent", "desirable", "advantageous", etc. Another sermon preached on the text "His commandments are not grievous", illustrates perfectly the secular rationality of his thought; the laws of nature demand precisely that wisdom and virtue which the Christian revelation has "more excellently" proclaimed.

As with Butler, the social virtue of benevolence is placed very much at the centre of the religious life. The Charity Sermon - an address to the annual gathering of charity trustees - was something of an event in the eighteenth century, and distinguished preachers were in demand to

¹ Tillotson, 'Sermon on the Advantages of Religion to Societies' in Works, one volume edition 1728, p.35.

"survey the mansions of sorrow", to praise the assembled company for their charity and to exhort them to fresh efforts for the sake of heaven and of social harmony. Both Tillotson's and Butler's works contain examples of this genre, and Tillotson also has some funeral sermons preached in tribute of distinguished men which are equally revealing of social and religious ideas. The continuity between reason and religion, self-love and charity, is perhaps all distilled into Butler's dictum "To relieve the poor for God's sake, is to do it in conformity to the order of nature".¹

Theological change is a matter of emphasis; it is not often the case that a school of theologians or a new generation rejects outright previously accepted doctrines. More often it happens that a certain aspect of the corpus of Christian teaching comes to be regarded as vital and dominant, and consequently one's perspective on religious doctrine as a whole is altered. This process will clearly be affected by external factors - the intellectual and social climate in which the theologian is working. The rational, moral theology of Butler and Tillotson is, I believe, the dominant mode of Anglican thought throughout the eighteenth century, at least until its final years. The charity sermon, the tract on the reasonableness of Christianity, the call to duty and benevolence, these are the characteristic voices of the age. Any collection of tracts, sermons, memoirs of churchmen will echo the ideas - religious and social - outlined above. Some collections of sermons were even published in cursive script rather than in printed type, presumably so that the works of the best preachers and moralists of the age could be passed off as being those of the humble parish priest² - a testimony to the all-pervasive influence of this kind of teaching in remote rural parishes throughout the country.

¹ Butler, "Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor ..." (1740).

² Eg. "Manuscript Sermons on Several Subjects" by the Reverend D. Pape, (Newcastle 1787).

The eighteenth century concept of charity, and indeed its whole system of moral theology, seems to me to contain within itself two distinct and profoundly important implications. Firstly, it is extremely conservative. Butler's doctrine of self-denial, restraint and benevolence as the cements of society could clearly provide ammunition against any social reform; on the one hand, it represents material ambition as a mere pandering to sensual appetites, and on the other hand, it projects a vision of an idealised society in which the duty of benevolence is so universally accepted that injustice is unheard-of and reform unnecessary. Here the two-edged nature of charity is strikingly evident: if charity is to be practised, it is essential that the poor be available for it to be practised. There was nothing in eighteenth century experience or philosophy, and perhaps more important, there was nothing in scripture, to suggest that poverty was unjust, unnecessary or eradicable. "The poor you have with you always" was a familiar text, hence the central importance of charity. Later in the century, in the crisis following the French Revolution, this conservatism was made explicit when the virtues of restraint and contentment were urged on the populace by the churchmen of an alarmed establishment. In this context the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future life, which in Butler's generation had been in the background as an additional sanction to the virtue enjoined by reason, was brought to the fore and emphasised most strongly to those who might contemplate violence and insurrection.

This conservatism then was one element in eighteenth century theology. But there was another which pointed in quite a different direction. The concept of the uniformity of human nature, which Butler regarded as one of the cements of society, and the belief that compassion and benevolence were demanded by reason, clearly imply the notion of human rights. If, in Hume's words, "all human creatures are related to us by resemblance",

and if Butler was serious in his remark that "to relieve the poor is in the order of nature", then clearly it is only one short step to acknowledge that all men have certain natural "rights" to be free from poverty and injustice. This revolutionary insight was implicit in the eighteenth century moralists and it bore fruit in a number of ways. It is characteristic of eighteenth century philanthropy that it turned its attention not only to schools, hospitals and poor relief, but to areas of human suffering which were felt to be actually caused by injustice and ignorance, suffering which was felt to be an affront to humanity and a reproach to those who inflicted it. Prison conditions, the slave trade, child care, the care of the mentally ill, the savage penal code, all these were areas attacked by philanthropists, areas where intellectual theories of humanity and benevolence were transformed into genuine compassion and reforming zeal (though all too often with scant success). John Howard explained his campaign for prison reform in these terms:

I was called to the first part of my task by my office as sheriff. To the pursuance of it I was prompted by the sorrows of the sufferers and love of my country. The work grew on me insensibly. I could not enjoy my ease and leisure to the neglect of any opportunity offered me by providence of attempting the relief of the miserable. 1

The appeal here is to humanity and compassion, not to religious doctrine or social utility, although these two latter motives were never far from the minds of philanthropists. A history of charity would trace the origin and interrelation of these three strands - religion, social utility, and the concept of human rights - for it is these three factors that have guided the charitable ideal. It would be extremely difficult to demonstrate a simple chronological development in these three stages, and to point to a moment when one motive was replaced by another. The

¹ John Howard, The State of Prisons in England and Wales (1777), preface.

eighteenth century may have been an age of rational benevolence, but it was also possible for discerning people to see social problems extremely realistically; Fielding the novelist was also a London magistrate, and he went to the heart of the matter with his acid comment on the poor: "They starve and freeze and rot among themselves; but they beg, steal and rob among their betters."¹ In discussing the history of the doctrine of charity one can scarcely make absolute divisions of period or motive; one can only point to new ideas as they emerge, and one such new departure appears in the eighteenth century moralists' movement towards a concept of "rights". Jonas Hanway, intensely pious by conviction, nevertheless expressed his motives in humanitarian terms and, like Howard, advocated legislation to guarantee human rights. Speaking of recent legislation on the care of parish infants he explains:

It is but the other day they had a general deliverance out of the jaws of death. Unable to utter their complaint or relate their shocking tale, they had been slaughtered by legal murder! I call it legal murder when the laws slept over their cries.... It was reserved for his present majesty by an act of the 7th year of his reign to introduce the reign of humanity, polity and religion. 2

And of chimney-sweeps' boys he complains:

The grand source of the abuse consists in this, that the numbers of apprentices taken by these masters exceeds the moral possibility of providing for them; and consequently they create misery as it were by a wanton practise which no law divine or human can justify. The weavers being restrained from taking above a certain number of apprentices, in order that their trade may not be overwhelmed and individuals exposed to distress, should not the chimney sweepers be considered in the same view? If the liberty of every subject is really sacred, this object demands a parliamentary enquiry. 3

One also finds in Hanway a theory of human duty which is an echo of Butler's:

I have frequently heard well-intentioned persons complain how little was in their power (to do good) because they foolishly compared themselves to people born to great fortune. These might as well compare themselves to the princes of the earth; and to whom are princes to compare themselves? They are but men, of like passions and infirmities

¹Fielding, Proposal for Making Effectual Provision for the Poor (1753).

²Jonas Hanway, Virtue in Humble Life ... (1774), 1, 26.

³Ibid., 49-50.

as ourselves; and they cannot be truly happy but as they are the instruments of happiness to others, in proportion to their ability and power. Do thou discharge the duties of thy station, and they cannot possibly do more in theirs. 1

The last sentence may well appear socially conservative, but again one notices a potentially egalitarian sentiment in this passage, a sentiment made explicit in his later remark that "Our civil as well as religious liberties are founded upon charity".² Charity is here being used in a wider sense than pious duty alone; it implies a recognition of human rights as one of the "cements of society".

One is not here attempting to depict eighteenth century philanthropists as early radicals or socialists. They did not actually employ the word "rights". But their work and their writings do seem to point in that direction. It is fascinating to speculate what the outcome of this movement might have been later in the century had not the Evangelicals, strengthened by reaction to the French Revolution, reverted to a more purely religious theory of charity. This development is a perfect illustration of the difficulty of adhering to a chronological framework in the history of charity. The Evangelicals' avowed aim in their charitable work was to extirpate vice and make England a Christian nation. In the climate of revolutionary crisis after 1789, the concept of the "rights of man" became anathema in the centres of political and social power, although there does not seem to have been much diminution of charitable endeavour. Sir Samuel Romilly remarked in 1808:

If any person be desirous of having an adequate idea of the mischievous effects which have been produced in this country by the French Revolution and all its attendant horrors, he should attempt some legislative reform on humane and liberal principles. He will then find not only what a stupid dread of innovation, but what a savage spirit it has infused into the minds of many of his countrymen. 3

¹ Ibid., 66-67.

² Ibid., 70.

³ Memoirs of the Life of Sir Samuel Romilly by Himself (1840), 11, 247.

In this context it is easy to understand how it was that it was left to the radicals to make explicit the concept of "rights", which in their hands overthrew the concept of charity, since the redistribution of wealth and the state care of all in need, clearly eliminated the necessity for individual charity. Thus it was that the rational theories of charity, duty and the uniformity of human nature bore a fruit that was ultimately destructive of charity.

Before going on to examine the post-Revolutionary period and its impact on church doctrine and practice, it is worthwhile to pause here to try to assess the position of the clergyman in society, in the context of our analysis of eighteenth century charity. I have said that the eighteenth century concept of rational benevolence had secular implications; it extended a Christian term - charity - into a fundamental law for the wellbeing of human society. That this was not merely an intellectual fashion is amply demonstrated by the extent and creativity of eighteenth century philanthropy. The great names in eighteenth century charity were almost all laymen, but many clergy were involved in the support of the schools, hospitals and societies. But there is also evidence that the ordinary parish clergy throughout the country were actively implementing a social theory of charity. It is generally agreed that after the theological storms of the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century as it progressed witnessed a steady "laicisation of religion".¹ The upward social movement of the clergy led to their almost complete identification as a social group with the landed gentry. More and more as the century wore on did the church appear a desirable occupation for the sons of gentlemen, and even the younger sons of noble families, in contrast to the artisan, farming or tradesman origins of the clergy and even some of the

¹ N. Sykes, Church and State In England, 379; G.F.A. Best, Temporal Pillars, 62ff.

bishops in the seventeenth century. Agricultural improvements bettered the clergyman's economic position until the value of his glebe and his tithe placed him on a level with the substantial farmer or small landowner. By birth, education and economic interest they became part of the establishment. And this development was a precise mirror-image of their moral theology. Can there be any doubt that the secularised religion of Tillotson helped to make the establishment, in Professor Best's phrase, "sure of the church"?¹ Was not religion the cement of society, and benevolence the essence of religion? This was acknowledged in the theory of the church establishment; the church was the nation at prayer, and the nation the church in its political aspect. Beneath this formula lay a network of ideological and economic ties between the ruling classes and the clergy. And this "duty", this "religion as the cement of society" was no empty cliché. The parochial clergyman in the eighteenth century was the servant, and a necessary one, of his community. His role was sacral only in a limited sense, for a glance at his duties reveals the many secular functions he fulfilled. He was the leader of public worship - his primary role - but then as Addison observed public worship "was designed for the adoration of the Supreme Being and the inculcation of the duties of men living in society".² He was a preacher, which meant an ethical mentor and commentator on current affairs. He was the pastor, custodian of local charities, officer of law and order, teacher, poor law administrator, health officer and registrar. The many parochial memoirs from the eighteenth century, such as Parson Woodforde's diary, make it clear how important all these duties were, and how involved as a consequence the clergyman was in all the affairs of his parish. His role was secularised

¹ G.F.A. Best, op.cit.

² Quoted in Sykes, op.cit., 258.

as his theology was secularised. Virtually all government legislation which required parochial enforcement used the parson as its agent, since the church was at this time the only national organisation with representatives in every parish. Consequently he was required as policeman, poor-law officer, census-officer and information-gatherer. All of these secular roles were of course removed from him during the nineteenth century, and he was forced in response to adopt a more sacerdotal role, more remote from parish affairs.¹

Thus the exercise as well as the theory of charity was secularised in the eighteenth century. The clergyman preached a religion of duty, and he discharged it in the same secular mode in which he preached it. It is most interesting that those historians and controversialists who, from a post-Mauricean perspective, berate the eighteenth century church for inertia and somnolence, are precisely those who advocate a greater secular, social and political role for the modern churchman (for a classic statement of this theory see Canon Raven's Christian Socialism, where the eighteenth and early nineteenth century church is illogically flayed for not adopting ideas which, Canon Raven explains, were not evolved until the 1850's²).

It is this secularity of motive in the exercise of charity that was explicitly rejected by the Evangelicals, who reverted to a Calvinist theory of good works. Wilberforce's book A Practical View of the Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country Contrasted with Real Christianity, the holy writ of the movement which appeared in 1797, identifies the rational humanitarianism that was typical of the eighteenth century as the source of irreligion and

¹This distinction between sacral and secular roles is elaborated in A.J. Russell, 'A sociological analysis of the clergyman's role, with reference to its development in the nineteenth century', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford 1972).

²C.E. Raven, Christian Socialism (1920), especially 1-51.

national moral torpor. Nominal Christians rely "not so much on the merits of Christ and on the agency of divine grace, as on their own power of fulfilling the moderated requisitions of divine justice.... The true Christian knows that his holiness is not to precede his reconciliation to God and be its cause; but to follow it and be its effect; that in short it is by faith in Christ only that he is to be justified in the sight of God."¹ One has only to contrast this with Harway's idealisation of sincerity, goodness of heart and compassion as the hallmarks of the true Christian,² to perceive the difference in religious emphasis. Evangelical good works were not, properly speaking, philanthropic - they did not proceed from love of man, nor did they aim at social or humanitarian reform for its own sake; the objects of their attack were sin and vice. This shift in motive might appear to be merely a matter of rhetoric, a distinction without a difference, since the period of evangelical ascendancy did not witness a lessening of charitable work. Nevertheless, it was important since it stemmed the potentially egalitarian trend in the eighteenth century rationalism. The deplorable thing about the poor was their moral and religious unregeneracy; there was no doctrine of rational benevolence among the evangelicals, no concept of social justice as a good in itself. Under the shadow of France those who exalted such secular philosophical claims, appeared to be the enemies of religion and society. The evangelicals had an articulate social theory dominated by the belief that it was the duty of the rich and powerful to provide moral and religious leadership to the lower orders.³ Thus it was that social conservatism was allied to religious seriousness.

¹ Wilberforce, Practical View ..., chapter 3, section 4.

² Jonas Harway, Virtue in Humble Life (1774).

³ F.K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians (1961) passim.

How far these principles might have spread through the nation had it not been for the help of the French Revolution is a debatable point. In the event, however, very many churchmen seem to have preached to their congregations on the virtues of English society and the dreadful judgement that awaited all who challenged it.¹ It was in this uneasy atmosphere that a second threat to society was perceived - the poor. The poor came to be seen as a kind of sphinx's riddle which society must answer correctly or face destruction.² That they were increasing nobody doubted - it was a major political scandal that the poor rates were increasing dramatically without apparently lessening the number of paupers. Bewilderment and pessimism about this were a natural prelude to fear, as the contemporary literature shows.³ The poor were regarded as potential disciples of radicals and atheists, who were preaching the pernicious doctrine that poverty was both unnecessary and eradicable. It was in this climate that a reevaluation of eighteenth century thought took place. Rationalism as a cult began among intellectuals and academics and permeated the upper strata of society. Fashionable modes of thought and action were conditioned by it, such as the philosophy of rational benevolence. But later in the century, political implications began to develop out of rationalism, in the direction of radical social theory. Consequently, the upper classes became reactionary and anti-rational; they defended the established order, turned to religion, and worshipped Burke's glorification of the actual. Reason became the weapon of middle-class and plebeian radicals.⁴ Thus the cult of reason has its own definite socio-political history, and the rational concept of charity clearly fits into this wider pattern. In the

¹ R.A. Soloway, Prelates and People (1969), 19-54.

² See Carlyle, Past and Present (1843), chapter 2.

³ J.R. Poynter, Society and Pauperism (1969), passim.

⁴ See J.H. Plumb, 'Reason and Unreason in the Eighteenth Century: the English Experience', in In the Light of History (1972).

debate on "the poor", rational enquiry was clearly less important than social fear. Inequity and poverty were justified as part of God's good government, and any attempt to analyse the social and economic causes of poverty was condemned as irreligious arrogance or Jacobin madness. ¹

Perhaps the most striking expression of social fear at this time was Malthusianism. What began as a rejection of Godwin's and Condorcet's naive belief in the perfectibility of human society, became a council of despair that haunted the nineteenth century. In Malthus' hands, a static view of society, Burke's static balance of wealth and population, became a system "capable of discounting the future as well as justifying the present". ² The name of Malthus was, in Hazlitt's phrase, "suspended above the heads of the poor in terrorem like some baleful meteor". ³

In this critical period then, from the 1790's onwards, new pressures in politics and in society exposed the dangerous implications of Augustan ethics and social theory. Rational speculation had not, in England, been turned against the religious and social establishment as it had in France. But when this challenge did arise in England, churchmen and others found the doctrine of rational benevolence, the Butlerian theory of human nature, which had been admirably suited to the stable society which produced them, now turning dangerously against them. They reverted in some cases to a more serious evangelical religion, or to a more explicit Burkean conservatism, reinforced by the doctrine of rewards and punishments. And once again the understanding of charity changes under social pressure. In the hands of the evangelicals, charity becomes a means of moral and religious instruction. The relationship between the giver and the receiver was to be used to educate, regenerate and ultimately to save

¹ Soloway, op.cit., 55-84.

² Poynter, op.cit., XV.

³ William Hazlitt, Reply to the 'Essay on Population' (1807).

from perdition. It was a means of inculcating proper social attitudes. It was, in an authoritarian sense, therapeutic; an early and severe form of social casework. The distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor became paramount. Benevolence and indiscriminate charity was unchristian and socially damaging and "if scriptural support were needed one could always balance against Christ's commendation of the Good Samaritan, St. Paul's warning 'if a man will not work neither shall he eat'." ¹ This novel understanding of charity was to influence the practice of the Charity Organisation Society later in the nineteenth century in their pioneering of casework methods. ²

The eighteenth century church had found a doctrine of charity, an ethical theory that was admirably suited to contemporary society and to the church's position in it. The striking lesson of Professor Sykes' monumental studies of the Augustan church, especially his biography of Archbishop Wake, is the eirenical stability of church and society. To be sure it was an age that teemed with party rancour, controversy and odium theologicum; but all this conflict was of a narrow ecclesiastical nature. Fundamental principles were unquestioned, and to the modern reader the warring factions of Augustan theologians seem to have far more grounds of agreement than disagreement. Compared with the social and intellectual tensions that built up after 1789, the age of Tillotson, Butler, Wake and the rest was indeed an age of equipoise. The crisis period from 1789 onwards challenged and all but destroyed this stability, this synthesis of the secular and the religious. Once again, as in the sixteenth century, social and intellectual pressures modified the understanding of charity. The individual ethic of benevolence idealised in the eighteenth century was now seen to be inadequate or even harmful. Christian charity now becomes

¹ D. Owen, English Philanthropy, 99.

² See further, K. Woodroffe, From Charity to Social Work (1962).

a motive for social planning on a wide scale and the individual act of charity is seen to be of limited value. The characteristic insight of the nineteenth century is the recognition of the role of the state, whether that role was seen as humanitarian, as protecting the poor, or as authoritarian, as controlling poverty through the New Poor Law. This recognition meant that in the nineteenth century, charity is transferred to the realm of politics. The philanthropist becomes a political animal, concerning himself with social planning and administration, either at local or at national level. In this new situation thinking about poverty and charity becomes, in the first half of the nineteenth century, more diverse and difficult to summarise, but the clergy seem to be divisible into two main groups - the progressive and the essentially reactionary. The progressive clergy followed the prevailing philosophy of the day. New ideas about economics, poverty, the poor laws, and charity were as persuasive to clergymen as to others, and the traditional understanding of charity came to be seen as socially and morally dangerous. As Professor Soloway concludes:

Clergymen who, in the previous century closely reflected and promoted the values and interests of the landed gentry were, as the economic and social winds began to shift, prepared to be blown along in new directions. It was not that the Anglican ministry abandoned its long alliance with the squirarchy; instead it extended it where necessary to include the new moneyed interests profiting from the industrial expansion of the age. 1

Sermons, pamphlets, charges and longer philosophical works reflected the new ideas and showed various ways in which they could be harmonised with Christian teaching. J.B. Sumner, for example, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, became such a recognised authority on economics that he was asked to contribute the article on the Poor Laws in the 1824 Encyclopedia Britannica. Later he and Blomfield were to serve on the 1832 Poor Law Commission, selected not because they represented the voice of traditional

¹R.A. Soloway, Prelates and People, 111.

Christian charity, but because of their up-to-date knowledge of secular economic thought and because they were both on record as being in favour of abolishing the Poor Law. Despite the many and repeated calls for abolition during this period, however, it was always obvious to politicians that it was precisely these circumstances of great hardship and consequent high expenditure on the poor rates that made abolition politically unthinkable, no matter how much the middle classes might urge it. If, in Southey's memorable phrase "A state is secure in proportion as its people are attached to its institutions", then clearly a government that abolished poor relief would alienate the poor to an unprecedented and dangerous degree. Similarly it was widely believed, and Canning always maintained it, that the rapid expansion in outdoor relief in the 1790's saved England from serious unrest and possible revolution.¹ At the same time however theoretical objections voiced by clergymen against the Old Poor Law undoubtedly served to alienate the poor from the church. Edward Copleston, Bishop of Llandaff, while not sharing Malthus' pessimism, delivered this encomium on his work:

It is the high distinction of the "Essay on Population" to have demonstrated that all endeavours to embody benevolence into law, and thus impiously to effect as it were by human laws what the author of the system of nature has not effected by his laws, must be abortive - that this ignorant struggle against evil really enlarges instead of contracting the kingdom of that evil - that it not only must fail but that it involves great mischief both during the attempt and in its consequences.

2

Clearly these doubts about benevolence could not be confined to the public sphere only; if lax administration of poor relief had such baneful consequences, then the practice of private charity could not escape a whipping. And in fact the 1834 Poor Law Commission was almost as severe on the evil of indiscriminate charity as on the old poor law itself. This was a concern which we have noticed among the Evangelicals, and indeed it was to

¹ J.S. Watson, George III (1960), 529.

² E. Copleston, A Second Letter to the Rt. Hon. R. Peel on the Causes of the Increase in Pauperism (1819).

remain an abiding theme in Victorian writing on the state of the poor. Bishop Blomfield, certainly the most powerful and influential clergyman of his day and a man perpetually concerned with the London poor, became extremely sceptical about the value of charitable aid. His preference was that money should be spent to build and staff schools and churches to reclaim the next generation, rather than try to rescue those sunk deep in poverty and indigence, and he laboured to that end. Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin formerly Professor of Political Economy at Oxford and tutor to Nassau Senior, urged the abolition of the Old Poor Laws and a stringent brand of private charity, both in lengthy published works and in private. Whately's somewhat macabre suggestions for economy in the running of workhouses, such as the sale of pauper women's hair as stuffing, have gained a notoriety that reflects unjustly on the clergy of this period. They have been frequently criticised as reactionary and inhumane for their endorsement of the doctrines of Malthus and the political economists. Doctor Norman has recently reminded us, however, that this trend, far from being reactionary, was in fact a notable work of intellectual synthesis: ¹ it showed the clergy coming to grips with the most novel and progressive thought of the age. It proceeded moreover from a theological motive which has not been widely understood by modern writers Edward Copleston articulated the Christian objection to much reforming legislation:

The fundamental mistake ... is the confusion of moral duty with the task of legislation. That what all individuals ought to do, it is the business of the law to make them do, is a plausible position, and has actually been adopted by some of the ablest and most virtuous men. But nothing in reality is more fallacious, nothing less congruous with the nature of man and with the state of discipline and trial which his present existence is clearly designed to be. In the first place it destroys not only the very essence of benevolence but of all virtue to make it compulsory, or to speak more properly it is a contradiction in terms. An action to be virtuous must be voluntary. It requires a living and a free agent to give it birth. 2

¹E.R. Norman, Church and Society 1770-1970 (1975), 62-63.

²Copleston, Second Letter to Peel ... (1819).

Here is the very heart of the moral aspect of political economy: the conviction that, even in an increasingly complex society, morality was individual not social. Copleston and those who agreed with him did not fail to relate morality to economic conduct: they merely took a view of that relationship which was later to be widely rejected. An alternative view of this relationship was soon to gain ground among clergy and laity, and by the 1840's certain of the teachings of the liberals and political economists about social conditions and the effects of industry came to appear a little hollow. The 1842 Royal Commission Report on Child and female labour in the mines was something of a turning-point in social consciousness: its shocking revelations brought a swift reaction in and out of Parliament and greatly facilitated subsequent reform. Information was also disclosed about the deplorable harshness of certain of the new workhouses, and scandals such as that of Andover in 1847 caused a widespread revulsion of public feeling.¹ Blomfield's case was typical: a laissez-faire liberal throughout the 1830's, he now stated that Parliament was not only able but was obliged to protect the working poor. Another notable convert was Macaulay, who had been one of the most articulate champions of laissez-faire in the 1830's (his review of Southey's Colloquies is a savage literary mauling, and a significant record of the clash between two social ideologies²). By the mid forties however he had turned his Burkean powers of reason and oratory to the support of factory reform.³ By the end of the decade the Poor Law had been considerably altered both in its central structure and in its local administration, making it less severe than the 1834 Commissioners intended. For this some of the clergy were thankful, for in the slowly changing climate of

¹See e.g. G.D.H. Cole and R. Postgate, The Common People 1746-1946 (1961), 315.

²Edinburgh Review (January 1830), republished in Lord Macaulay's Essays, popular edition (1895), 99.

³See e.g. "Speeches of the Rt.Hon. T.B. Macaulay, M.P. (1854), 436ff.

opinion it was born upon them that the church must suffer in the eyes of the poor through its identification with harsh repressive laws that were the deliberate negation of traditional charity. The new theological seriousness generated by the Oxford Movement also suggested grave doubts about a church which had allowed itself to become an instrument of social policy. The future, paradoxically, did not lie with the progressive clergy.

If one can speak of a period of transformation of clerical social thought in the 1850's, then it is clearly prefigured in and influenced by the philosophy loosely described as Tory Radicalism, which from the 1820's to the 1840's provided an alternative to the liberal-economic ideology. Toryism remarked Newman "is loyalty to persons", encapsulating in a phrase the old-fashioned pride and humanitarianism that characterises this philosophy. Perhaps the classic text of Tory Radicalism is Southey's Sir Thomas More. But its eighteenth century roots and its overriding loyalty to persons - particularly the poor - are shown in this fascinating passage of Tory economic reasoning from Richard Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne in the 1770's:

The obligation on the rich to provide a competent subsistence for the poor is created by the very nature of civil society; for in reality every man is adopted by compulsion into the society of which his parents are citizens. If his parents were so poor as to transmit no patrimony to him he is born the inhabitant of a land every spot of which is appropriated to some other person. He cannot seize any animal or vegetable for food without invading property or incurring the penalty of the law. He must devote the only stock he possesses - his personal industry - to the service of the rich, and they in turn are bound in justice to allow him a share of his earnings proportioned to the benefit they enjoy from his labour, and fully adequate to supply him with the necessaries of life. For if they are not so bound in justice, by what right did they take upon themselves to enact certain laws (for the rich compose the legislative body in every civilised country) which compelled that man to become a member of that society, which precluded him from any share in the land where he was born and use of its spontaneous fruits or any dominion over the beasts of the field, on pain of stripes, imprisonment or death? How can they justify their exclusive property in the common heritage of mankind unless they consent in return to provide for the subsistence of the poor, who were excluded from these common rights by the laws of the rich to which they were never parties?

1

¹R. Woodward, 'Address to the Public on the Expedience of a Regular Plan for the Maintenance and Government of the Poor in Ireland' (1775) quoted in Sir F.M. Eden, State of the Poor (1797), 1, 413-4.

This grim picture of social tyranny could only be softened if the rich took upon themselves the duties that the writer prescribes. How far this was actually done is debatable. What is clear is that in the 1820's and 30's, eighteenth century society was felt by many to have been a responsible, compassionate society with a "beautiful chain of dependence from man to man" unbroken. This was the stable, hierarchical society whose ethical theory we have already discussed, and whose decay became a major theme in Tory Radicalism. This decay was felt to be clearly visible in rural England and in the industrial system that was developing in the north; nor did it remain merely a feeling, a wistful regret, an essentially aesthetic reaction on the part of a handful of poets. The movement for the reform of factory conditions and the anti-Poor law agitation were both motivated by the Tory Radical ideology. Richard Oastler, for example, looked back with nostalgia on the domestic system of his West Riding childhood. The cloth-making families were in a way the counterparts to the small yeoman farmer, living in their own cottage, buying their own materials, possessing their own tools, selling an end product fashioned by their own craftsmanship. Their relations with suppliers, finishers and buyers were personal, long-established and unhurried. The work was hard and the rewards were not great, but the family was together in its own home and in later years this way of life was looked back on as a dream of blessedness.¹ The advent of the factory system in Oastler's view destroyed independence and family life and above all the system, or rather greed for the wealth it could bring, appeared to destroy all sense of compassion and human responsibility. Oastler grew up a Methodist and a radical, and became an Anglican and a Tory. His religion was fervent and his first awakening to the evils of the factory system he described

¹C. Driver, Tory Radical: the Life of Richard Oastler (1946), 6-9.

in terms of a religious illumination.¹ His social consciousness shows a marked advance over evangelical concepts of philanthropy; "The altar, the throne and the cottage should share alike in the protection of the law; the God of the poor will never accept incense from the first, nor can there be stability in the second if justice and mercy are withheld from the third".² The struggles in Parliament were, in Oastler's view, only shadows of the struggle in the soul - the individual soul and the nation's too. He was disturbed that Toryism was degenerating into conservatism, becoming entangled in selfish commercial and political interests. Peel and his followers had sold out to capitalism and to the middle classes. Wellington and the older school simply refused to recognise social change, and genuine religious Toryism was becoming a minority cult. After all the factory system had developed in England between 1790 and 1830, that is to say during a long period of virtually unbroken Tory rule, when the power of the aristocracy in Parliament was still untrammelled. In terms of commercial interests and ideology, Tory administrations during these years had been as laissez-faire as any Whig government could have been. The change in the nature of Toryism, the falling away that Oastler and his like so resented, cannot therefore be laid at Peel's door. It is more likely that it can be traced, like so much in this period, to the revolutionary crisis of the 1790's, when all property-owners, whether landed gentry or industrial manufacturers, found a strong common interest.

The great significance of Tory Radicalism and the campaigns against the Poor Law and factory exploitation is that we see in them religious charity acquiring a political dimension. The earlier evangelicals had

¹Driver, op.cit., 41-42.

²Quoted in J.T. Ward, The Factory System (), ii, 109.

been politically active in certain selected fields, but an excessively narrow conception of what constituted a social evil alienated them from any schemes of social reform in England. This same narrowness provoked Arnold's judgement that they "handed over all temporal concerns to the devil or to the operation of natural laws". This is perhaps too severe, but it would explain the combination of philanthropy and conservatism so characteristic of the evangelicals. There was no notion among them of "social justice as a good in itself, or part of God's plan for the world".¹ This life was seen as a state of probation not of perfection, hence one might say that they developed a demonology of the world not a theology. It is the wider secular implications of Christian charity that one sees being explored by the leaders of the factory and anti-Poor Law campaigns. The notion of "social justice as a good in itself" would clearly open up new vistas of social thought for nineteenth century Christians. The tension between the old and the new understanding of charity is visible in a number of figures. G.S. Bull, the ten-hours parson, associate of Oastler and Sadler, appears sometimes like an old-style evangelical; one of his chief objections to the factory system as it then existed was that it left insufficient time or energy for religious education. Giving evidence before a Parliamentary enquiry in 1832 he was asked whether factory workers were contented. He replied, "No, they call themselves slaves. Of course it is my continual desire and object as a minister of Christ and as friend to the social order to soften all such impressions as these and to endeavour to encourage kindly feelings and feelings of contentment."² On the other hand he explained the aim of his journal, 'The British Labourer's Protector

¹M.B. Reckitt, Maurice to Temple (1947), 23.

²J.C. Gill, The Ten-Hours Parson (1959), 63.

and Factory Child's Friend" as "To uphold the cause of the labouring poor against the oppressor, whether he be found in the situation of an employer, an agent or dispenser of national charity".¹ He considered that under the New Poor Law "The rights of the poor are being invaded and the golden links of society are snapping in consequence".² Bull is a contradictory figure. He had little academic education and he does not seem to have set down a consistent philosophical statement of his views, which have therefore to be distilled from scattered speeches and writings on various occasions. At times he showed a sense of political direction, an impatience with personal charity:

It is better for the rich to give the hireling his due than to adorn fifty subscription lists with large sums of money wrung from the sinews of tender infancy worn down with unwholesome toil. The number of institutions for the relief of the indigent clearly proves the existence of a vicious system. I hold the view that the best charity of all is to put the labourer in a condition to help himself and to excite him to honest industry by due reward.

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But Bull withdrew from the northern campaigns when they became involved with chartism. In particular, he was alarmed at Oastler's suggestion that factory workers might resort to sabotage against mill-owners who evaded the regulations of employment. No such doubts however assailed Joseph Rayner Stephens, one of the most fiery spirits of the twin campaigns. A Methodist minister expelled for his radicalism, he continued as an independent preacher and prophet, elevating the Tory-Radical campaigns into a religious vision of Blake-like intensity:

The battle we are now fighting is not the battle most men take it to be.... It is not a battle of party against party.... It is the battle between God and mammon - between Christ the Prince of Peace, and Belzebub, the Prince of Devils. The question is whether God shall reign in England or whether Satan shall domineer - the question is whether the laws of heaven and the institutions of mercy are to be the laws of a Christian land and the institutions of a Christian people or whether laws begotten below and born here on earth are to be the laws and institutions to which a once Christian

¹Gill, op.cit., 124.

²Ibid., 174.

³Ibid., 192.

people are to be compelled to submit.... Unless a priest, minister, clergyman, religious teacher - call him what you like - unless a priest of the living God be a politician in the pulpit, he has no business there at all. Law and religion can never be separated.... Politics without religion is dead - the one is the body, the other the soul.

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How similar these last sentences might sound to Burke's theory of religion and the state; yet how different they are in reality; Burke expounds the virtues of a church which necessarily supports what he conceived to be a just, stable social order, while in Stephens' though religion must be a criticism of a social order he believed had become demonic.

The demonic force, in the view of the Tory-Radicals, was commercialism - the poisoning of human relations by the cash nexus and its attendant ideology. Oastler and the other reformers were convinced that the pervasive influence of "Scotch feelosofy" was the major obstacle to their efforts. It has lately been perceived that the classical economists were not the inhuman machines that socialist mythology depicts them to be, that their ideas were misrepresented and used by those with a vested interest as a cloak for avarice and repression.²

Inhumanity and avarice certainly cannot explain the motivation of the most curious of the political economists, the writer who did more than anyone else to popularise the new science - Harriet Martineau. Her prestige and popularity during the 1830's were phenomenal. Her cautionary tales about the working of inexorable economic laws struck a responsive chord in thousands of minds - showing that political economy was not a weapon wielded by a few reactionaries in opposition to social reform, but that it expressed the convictions and the social fears of large numbers of people. Building on her rationalist, Unitarian background, she developed her philosophy of Necessity - the belief that all things, including man's social and moral life, obey fixed natural laws.³ When she came to

¹ J.R. Stephens, 'Sermon' (1839), quoted in J.T. Ward, The Factory System, 11, 118-20.

² See e.g. G. Kitson Clark, Churchmen and the Condition of England (1973), 290; A.W. Coats, 'The Classical Economists and the Labourer: a Reappraisal', in Jones and Mingay, Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution (1967).

³ R.K. Webb, Harriet Martineau (1960), *passim*.

study the classical economists, she recognised in them a specific application of principles she already held. She considered that they had applied the philosophy of necessity to the economic aspect of man's life, and she fully endorsed their findings, as against the "misguided humanitarianism" of men like Sadler and Oastler. Her teachings on poverty, the Poor Laws and charity were of course harsh, and she particularly resented Sadler's answer to Malthus that God would provide for the poor. Such a doctrine of interruptive providence seemed to her to be intellectually and morally contemptible. Her philosophy is really a part of that important but ill-defined positivist trend in nineteenth century England, which elevated the concepts of progress and evolution into a substitute religion. Whether this philosophy was actually atheistic is debatable; certainly Harriet Martineau's philosophy assumes that man must try to get along without God. Opposed to charity, she favoured more scientific social planning - housing schemes, schools, hospitals, etc. Thus, together with the other political economists, she too is part of the movement from charity to politics and social planning to which the Tory-Radicals and later the Christian Socialists contributed, and which was so characteristic of the nineteenth century. Charitable action and Poor Laws addressed merely to symptoms could never, she believed, alleviate poverty. It is not too much to say that the laws of political economy were to her a metaphysic, revealing certain ultimate realities of human life. This view is well expressed in an article she wrote on the universal duty of mankind to study political economy:

Fraud and circumvention in commercial life, theft and licentiousness among the poor, idleness and deceit in a population unwisely allowed to grow too numerous, wars, commercial jealousy and national competition - all arise from acts inconsistent with political economy; yet the subject is hardly known in any class, in government, among the middle classes or the working classes. The philanthropists, instead of devoting themselves to propagating and attaining proper

principles, toy with bettering the consequences of neglect and so hold back the rapid improvement of society. Compare Sadler, who urges the poor to have children on the conviction that God would provide, with Arkwright, who created employment for a million of permanent population. The bit-by-bit reformers like Liverpool, Canning and Huskisson, though headed in the right direction, did not go far enough; they got lost amid details, even though general principles were clearly evident. The few really understand political economy are not in the ministry, in Parliament, or, with a few exceptions, in the universities or schools. Their sole outlet is the press. Of one thing the present writer is certain. If people want a better state of things, if they want reform, they had better begin by informing themselves, by learning the principles of political economy, so that their interests governed by these principles, would by properly looked to by the government. 1

Just as, in her spiritual development a positivist religion of humanity replaced faith in divine revelation,² so in her social thought antiquated notions of charity and poor relief were to be replaced with scientific social planning. No one would claim for Harriet Martineau the status of a great thinker. It was precisely the second-rate quality of her mind that made her so popular, so influential, and therefore so interesting to the historian.

Once could scarcely find an intellect more antipathetic to Harriet Martineau than Shaftesbury. These two figures are like twin poles of mid-nineteenth century social thought. Shaftesbury's religious Toryism, his emphasis on an individual ethic, obviously aligns him to the evangelical tradition. He saw his role as attempting to recall the English aristocracy to their time-honoured social and religious duties, which he considered were essential if England was to be saved from either revolution or moral decay - decay into commercial materialism typified by Peelite conservatism. Yet he accepted that his mode of action must be political, that Parliament "must assume the proper function of law, protect those for whom neither wealth nor station nor age have raised a bulwark against tyranny".³ Like the earlier evangelicals his purpose was to sanctify society, but

¹Webb, op.cit., 108.

²Ibid., 283-93.

³E. Hodder, Life and Work of the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury (1886), 1, 323.

his understanding of what was involved in that phrase was much deeper than theirs had been, and he queried pertinently in his diary whether Wilberforce would have been so great and successful a man if he had "laboured in the domestic vineyard, in the discovery and removal of abuses and shame".¹ The greatest charge he could level against any social injustice was that it was "utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom".² And this was true ipso facto of certain social conditions; they could not be excused on the strength of individual works of charity, nor did one's duty to the poor end when one had distributed alms, tracts and bibles among them. Charity had inevitably to become political. At the same time he bewailed the rise of secular social reform movements, and he was painfully aware of his growing isolation as the century advanced, comparing himself to "an ancient, weather-beaten rock with the sea receding from it".³ Concerned all his life with the education of the poor, he was nonetheless profoundly pessimistic about the advent of state-controlled primary schools:

The godless non-Bible system is at hand; and the ragged schools with all their divine polity, with all their burning and fruitful love of the poor, with all their prayers and harvests for the temporal and eternal welfare of forsaken, heathenish, destitute, sorrowful and yet innocent children, must perish under this all-conquering march of intellectual power. Our nature is nothing, the heart is nothing in the estimation of these zealots of secular knowledge. Everything for the flesh and nothing for the soul; everything for time and nothing for eternity. 4

Presumably Shaftesbury would have agreed that it is morally impossible to do the right deed for the wrong reason. This explains why he was not adept at cultivating allies. Aside from his work with the factory reformers, he was never part of any movement. Many people active in the 1850's would have been in sympathy with his aims but he was separated from them by

¹ Quoted in G.B.A.M. Finlayson, 'Shaftesbury', in P. Hollis (ed.), Pressure from Without (1974), 167.

² Ibid., 166.

³ Ibid., 181.

⁴ Hodder, op.cit., 111, 266.

his excess of scruple and odium theologium. Nevertheless, he was an important figure in what has been called "the moralisation of English politics"¹ in the nineteenth century - the movement away from narrow party interest that had always dominated political life. In view of his pessimism about secular ideals, of the Martineau variety for example, it is doubtful if he would have been much comforted by this. But he may be seen as exemplifying this twin process - the moralisation of politics, or the politicisation of charity. Whether this distinction is thought to be vitally important or insignificant will probably depend on one's theological base. But that it happened, and that it marked the end of traditional concepts of charity is indisputable. As one recent historian has put it:

Pressure groups of the crusading type ... before 1832 ... were thought to be illegitimate, as they disturbed the deliberative role of Parliament, and unnecessary as they spoke for no recognisable corporate or community interest. After 1867 such groups were increasingly redundant, displaced by national party political machines which were providing both ideology and organisation for the parliamentary parties. Between these two reform acts, Parliament became increasingly responsive to public opinion and increasingly tolerant in its definition of it. 2

In other words a novel concept of the function of government - to regulate the social life of the nation - became almost universally accepted.

Freedom from disease, ignorance and poverty, the traditional province of charity, became accepted objects of government policy. Underpinning this concept of government was an insight that had been developing in the eighteenth century, but obscured in the crisis period - the principle of human rights.

To sum up then, what was new in the history of charity after 1787? Firstly, there was thought to be poverty of a scale and kind unparalleled

¹ See J.L. and B. Hammond, Shaftesbury (1923), chapter 16; G.F.A. Best, Shaftesbury, 126-9; for a specific example of this moralised politics, see H. Perkin, 'Land Reform and Class Conflict' in Butt and Clarke (eds.), The Victorians and Social Protest (1973).

² P. Hollis, Pressure from Without (1974) preface.

in English history, a poverty made more clamant and more sinister by the appearance of new political theories about the basis and exercise of power in society. One of the changes that flowed from this was a novel view of charity: a cautious, severe, even authoritarian use of charity to inculcate acceptable social and religious attitudes. But when all this has been said, when the human tragedies wrought by the industrial and agrarian revolutions have been catalogued in all their stark reality, the fact remains that poverty had always existed: what was new as the nineteenth century progressed was not its misery, but the idea that this misery might be prevented. This was the insight that characterised the transformation after the crisis period. Secular radicals, Tory radicals, political economists, all in their own way acknowledged the necessity of social planning, the responsibility of the state towards those, in Bishop Woodward's phrase, "compelled to become members of society". Clearly, once the rooted objection to state intervention had been overcome, the role of Christian charity to the poor had to be drastically re-appraised. When one begins to speak in terms of human rights, charity becomes second-best, illogical, and ultimately an insult. (A history of the word charity, its use and associations, would be an extremely revealing piece of social history.) The attempt to "embody benevolence into law" suggests that Charity has become a motive for political action rather than a mode of action in itself.

The transformation of Christian charity into a motive of action after the crisis period of 1790-1820 must stand largely to the credit of the Tory radicals; the creative thinking of Southey, Oastler, Shaftesbury and others was a major achievement.¹ But it was an achievement that shows all too clearly the extent to which the church had lost the intellectual

¹In this context it is extremely interesting to see, in their biography of Shaftesbury, the great, though not uncritical, admiration that the Hammonds had for him; it illustrates how deep and extensive in English history are the roots of the liberal humanitarian left-wing, as opposed to the more cerebral, exclusive Marxist left.

leadership of society. The intellectual, the social, and even the religious pioneers were always laymen. The task of the church historian in this period is characteristically to trace the reactions of churchmen to a fast-changing and increasingly hostile environment. The signal exception was of course Parson Malthus. But his contribution was not religious; it was a piece of quasi-scientific philosophy, a revelation of natural laws (in Harriet Martineau's sense) into which Christian principles did not enter. And this highlights the difficulty of the church in the nineteenth century - that more and more areas of man's life were passing outside its sphere of control or influence, from the individual parish priest's loss of the role of registrar, teacher, etc., to the almost universal supersession of a religious world-view by a scientific one. An historian of the Christian socialists has expressed the matter thus:

How can the church play the game if she is not to be consulted about the rules? Those centuries in which the church exhibited herself as a formative social influence ... were precisely the period in which not only the rules but the very meaning of the game of life were expounded by the church. The rules were accepted because the interpretation of life from which they sprang were accepted. They might be broken, since men in the so-called "ages of faith" were not more immune from the temptations of avarice, ambition, selfishness and irresponsibility, than they were before or have been since. But over a large and important field of human relations they were the only rules there were. 1

Yet here one is faced with something of a paradox: the influence of the church was declining, and yet, as we have said, there was a process of "moralisation" in politics and public life. But the paradox resolves itself: it simply means that Christian moral principles were being detached from Christian doctrine, and restated as a self-sufficient, rational humanitarianism. This was a crucial stage in the intellectual development of many Victorians.

¹ M.B. Reckitt, Maurice to Temple, 39.

In the work of Maurice and the Christian socialists one finds a systematic expression of the belief in the sanctity of human social life, a radical and sophisticated departure from the traditional view of man's life in this world as the fruit of depravity, a state of probation, in the sway of Satan. The consequences of this teaching were enormous: the seeds were sown of what we should now call secular theology. Charity no longer involved merely almsgiving, but an acceptance of J.R. Stephens' decisive statement that "Law and religion can never be separated. Politics without religion is dead". The achievement of Christian socialism was to reshape theology into terms that were authentic and meaningful for the age. But it meant also an enormous loss of Christian insight, and it meant among other things the end of Christian charity to the poor. In the moralised political thought of the socialists, Christian and secular, of the later nineteenth century, the poor were literally to inherit the earth. The individual act of charity became socially irrelevant, even repugnant. Life had become too complex and the simple answers of the past were rejected. Charity became politics.

CONCLUSION: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

The historiography of later Georgian England has been dominated by the theme of change. But as we have seen in the social and ecclesiastical life of Norfolk in this period, some of these changes were less dramatic and less concerted than has traditionally been supposed. Enclosure, Poor Law policy, the wealth of the clergy, the spread of nonconformity - in all these areas change and novelty are no more striking than the inheritance from the past. The strength of local, geographical community was able to provide a continuity, a counterbalance to the forces of change. Even among the middle and upper classes, whose wealth and education would give them the possibility of freedom, of geographical mobility, the sense of local community was strong, as we have seen in the case of the Norfolk men who returned from Cambridge to the rectories of their native county. This sense of community, in addition to the realities of travel and communication in Georgian England, argues that there was not one England at this time, but many regional communities whose own character and traditions were at least as important as the larger historical forces operating for change. A revealing story is told of Martin Routh who grew up in Georgian Norfolk and was President of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1791 to 1854. In 1850, after the advent of railways, he exonerated a Suffolk undergraduate who arrived a fortnight late for the October term. The tutor pressed Routh to be firm, but Routh remembered his father's warning, "Do not think of entering the Yarmouth Machine without moonlight; the dark nights have provided more than one overthrow", and Routh insisted "The roads in Suffolk, Sir, are very bad at this time of year".¹ In this small incident, beneath the absurdity of an old man, we see the strength of the pre-industrial past, change being resisted by local wisdom; and we

¹ C. Linnell, Some East Anglian Clergy (1961), 93.

see also why the majority of East Anglians went to Cambridge rather than Oxford, which was two days' journey further off.

The major factor making for stability in a rural area was of course the land. In the absence of sophisticated technology changes in the character of the land could only be gradual. A map of the villages of nineteenth century Norfolk is remarkably similar to the pattern of settlements described in Domesday, eight centuries before.¹ The economic reasons for the villages' existence had, in the vast majority of cases, altered little from the eleventh century to the nineteenth. A revealing comparison can also be made of the population density and agricultural prosperity in the two periods (see Appendix I). Allowance must be made for two facts: the Broads in the east of the county did not exist in their present form when Domesday was compiled,² and the draining of the Western marshes was proceeding rapidly in our period. Otherwise the pattern of population and agricultural activity had changed remarkably little over the centuries. The majority of Parliamentary enclosures were also concentrated in these regions of high population and intensive agriculture, even in the old-enclosed areas such as the Holt and North Greenhoe Hundreds in the north, and the Mitford, Forehoe and Depwade Hundreds in the centre. Forncett (in the Depwade Hundred) was the subject of an Enclosure Act in 1809 yet half its lands had been enclosed as early as 1565.³ This suggests that the era of Parliamentary enclosure in Norfolk was simply a further stage in the technical history of agriculture, that it occurred in those areas of the county that had for centuries witnessed a gradual economic evolution but which had always remained the centres of wealth and population. Just as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw an increase of sheep husbandry

¹ See the Domesday map in the V.C.H. Norfolk, ii, 38.

² J.M. Lambert et al., The Making of the Broads (1961).

³ F.G. Davenport, The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor (1906), 80-81.

in the county, so the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought a gradual expansion of arable farming, and the function of the enclosure acts was simply to set the legal seal on this process, to extinguish the common rights on the few remaining acres of pasture in the parish.¹ It is now accepted that many of the agricultural changes made famous as "Norfolk husbandry" from the 1730's onwards, were earlier in origin and were not confined to the estates of Coke and Townshend.² It is arguably one general result of historical research to push further back into the past changes that had once been precisely located in time, to render those changes more diffuse and gradual and lessen the impact of particular individuals. Professor Plumb comments on Sir Robert Walpole as an estate manager that, had he lost his political struggle with Townshend in 1730, "doubtless he would have been known to posterity as 'Turnip' Walpole."³

Whatever may have been the objective changes within society, this period is undoubtedly distinguished by a changing social consciousness, an awareness, both practical and philosophical, of social structures, social problems and social control.⁴ Nowhere is this more apparent during the years 1800-1840 than in the changing concept of government. The poor, the Church, the Law, industry, agriculture, education, public health, local government, all were investigated in detail by order of Parliament. All these areas of social life came to be considered proper objects of government interest and legislation which had formerly been left to the private jurisdiction of the individuals concerned. The informal, personal networks of administration and control that had characterised the eighteenth century were to be replaced with a more rigorous, disinterested, publicly-accountable system. Underlying this desire for free information and for reform was a new social perspective, in part a new sensitivity to

¹K.J. Allison, 'The Sheep-Corn Husbandry of Norfolk in the 17th and 18th Centuries', in Agric.Hist.Rev. (1957), V, 12-30.

²J.H. Plumb, 'Sir Robert Walpole and Norfolk Husbandry', in Econ.Hist.Rev. (1952-3), V, 86.

³Ibid., 89.

⁴For a recent treatment of this new awareness see T.W. Laqueur Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working-Class Culture (1976), where the author argues that the Sunday School Movement was one of the cohesive rather than disintegrative forces at work in this period.

human suffering which had formerly been regarded as quite inevitable, and in part a philosophic questioning of the nation's institutions which had formerly existed by prescriptive right. Undoubtedly the two forces which most shaped this heightened social awareness were evangelical religion and the shadow of France. Before these developments the authority of the state and of Parliament was limited, secondary to the informal powers and traditions in the community. It has been said of the eighteenth century Parliament that "Men went there 'to make a figure', and no more dreamt of a seat in the House to benefit humanity than a child dreams of a birthday cake that others may eat it".¹ Clearly the old order was being challenged, in a generation whose Parliamentarians included men like Gilbert, Romilly, Wilberforce and Mackintosh, or men like Brougham, Cobbett and Cobden. It is probably this changing consciousness, so evident in the literature and slightly later in the politics of the early nineteenth century, that has led historians to concentrate on the theme of change. In fact the objective social changes that were taking place may have been more gradual and more localised than has been supposed. In the regions of England, especially in rural areas like Norfolk, the new ideas and new modes of social administration were mediated by the ruling powers and shaped according to local needs. Social history cannot be safely written from the statute book, although intellectual history may be. Some of the reforms regarded as so important in this period had little relevance to Norfolk. The activities of the Church Building Commissioners between 1818 and 1840 had resulted in just one new church in the county (in Yarmouth), the main thrust of their work being directed to the industrial dioceses of York, Chester and London.² Some of the other changes that were taking place are open to

¹L.B. Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (1929), 2.

²PP(HofC)1824, vol. XVIII, 55; 1840, vol. XXXIX, 47-53.

more than one interpretation; the soaring expenditure on poor relief, in which Norfolk was wholly typical, rather than indicating a brutal economic system which pauperised the population, may in fact be evidence of a humanitarian attempt to cope with poverty in a way that had never been tried before.

The tensions of the age, between continuity and change, are perfectly gathered in the writings of Edmund Burke, one of the many laymen in this period who are immensely important in the history of the Church. Burke stood between two worlds, and the challenge of the new drew from him the clearest possible articulation of the old. He defined the old order as based essentially on personal networks of loyalty and control:

Our institutions (are) embodied, if I may use the expression, in persons; so as to create in us love, veneration, admiration or attachment. 1

Do you imagine that it is the Land-Tax Act which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the Committee of Supply which gives you your army? or that it is the Mutiny Bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline? Nor, surely no! It is the love of the people, it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution which gives you your army and your navy and infuses into both that liberal obedience without which your army would be a base rabble and your navy nothing but rotten timber. 2

This personal loyalty he contrasts with the rationalists' theory where society is founded on impersonal, contractual egalitarianism:

On the scheme of this barbarous philosophy ... laws are to be supported only by their own terrors.... In the groves of their academy, at the end of every vista you see nothing but the gallows. Nothing is left which engages the affections on the part of the commonwealth. 3

Burke believed the collective state, formed by abstract theory, to be the negation of the Christian values embodied in the traditional form of society: personal loyalty, duty and trust being the political counter-

¹E. Burke, 'Reflections on the Revolution in France' (1791), Writings and Speeches (1894 edition), iii, 33-4.

²E. Burke, 'Speech on Conciliation with America (1775), ibid., II, 180-1.

³E. Burke, 'Reflections ...', ibid., iii, 333.

part of Christian charity. This same fear was to be echoed by Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, that state power would alter men's perception of personal religious duties. A society made compassionate by law might paradoxically become a less Christian society. Underlying Burke's conservatism is a kind of philosophical irrationalism, a distrust of the corrosive power of reason and of the rationalists' naive belief in the perfectibility of human society. Rationalists may believe they are combatting prejudice but they are actually at war with nature.

The fundamental problem which Burke's philosophy presents to the historian is to distinguish rhetoric from reality. This emerges very clearly in the reaction of John Morley, a representative Victorian liberal, to Burke's conservatism:

The leader of a reactionary movement may sometimes, as in this case, claim a measure of admiration from us. It is when we come to the rank and file of reaction, the greedy bishops, the fat-headed squires, the hide-bound politicians, the crass princes, that we find it hard to forgive the man of genius who made himself the organ of their selfishness, their timidity and their blindness.... They were grovelling in terror for their tithes and their rents, for their privileges and immunities ... for a supremacy which they had seldom actively used except to originate a folly or to perpetuate an oppression.

1

This is the crux of the problem: was Burke's philosophy merely a mask for the self-interest and tyranny of Earl and Bishop, squire and parson?

This study commenced with a plea for a secular perspective in the writing of church history; it is appropriate that it should close with some modification of that position. The sociological view of history has been defined thus:

The object of sociological interpretation should be to account for events which cannot be explained in terms of human intentions. 2

Or it has been expressed slightly more subtly by one who would not have described himself as a social historian:

¹J. Morley, Edmund Burke: a Historical Study (1867), 257-8.

²C. Hill, Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England (1974), 279.

Political problems do not as a rule deeply affect the lives and consciousness of ordinary men, and little real thought is given to them by these men, whose concerns none the less supply the basis of the problems and determine the course of their development.

1

Clearly this perspective has essential lessons for the church historian: it points to a method of quantitative analysis aimed at establishing the reality of church life at any given period, to assess the secular forces that may have shaped it. But to attempt to penetrate beyond the conscious motives and behaviour of past generations, to formulate theories of society and theories of history, is a much more dangerous undertaking. Can such an analysis ever transcend the philosophical presuppositions of the historians and his age? The sociological perspective argues that, for example, seventeenth century Puritans were using religious language to express social and political concepts, as, for a different purpose, were conservatives in the age of Burke. There is an element of truth here, but is it so very novel or sophisticated? Burke himself expressed it in more prosaic language:

We all know that those who loll at their ease in high dignities, whether of the Church or of the State, are commonly averse to all reformation. It is hard to persuade them that there can be anything amiss in establishments which, by feeling experience, they find to be so very comfortable.

2

It is surely quite a different thing to proceed from this commonsense insight to a theory of history which entirely by-passes avowed motives and in which economic self-interest is regarded as the key to all human behaviour. Surely we must be prepared to consider the possibility that when men claimed certain religious or social beliefs, they claimed them sincerely. The sociological perspective may become a solvent in which any ideology foreign to the investigator is made to disappear. This may be the source of serious errors; there may be insights, levels of comprehension, that

¹ L.B. Namier, The Structure of Politics, ix.

² E. Burke's 'Speech on the Acts of Uniformity' (1773), op.cit., VII, 5.

are denied to the historian who lacks intellectual sympathy with his human subjects. Because our modern concern is overwhelmingly social and political, we look for social and political awareness and motivation from Georgian and Victorian clergymen, that is, from men whose primary concern was religion.¹ But in a stable society like Georgian Norfolk it is conceivable that men could sincerely support the status quo without ulterior motives. They were not called upon to make life and death choices between revolution and reaction. Their community offered stability, as it had for centuries (and as it does today²), and they accepted it.

It may be true that the nearer one approaches to the modern period the less immutable and therefore the less important do geographical factors in history become, but the position of Norfolk in the nineteenth century, isolated from the nation's main channels of trade and communication, must have been an influence on its conservative character. (Conversely, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its sea communications gave the county an important role in the history of dissent.) When the news of the fall of the Bastille reached Parson Woodforde ten days after the event, he wrote in his diary:

I breakfasted, dined, etc. again at Cole. To a fisherman for a fine crab, 4 pounds, paid 0.1.0. Very great rebellion in France by the papers.

3

The news is not mentioned again and it was not permitted to spoil the rector's fishing-trip. And it surely is significant that it was during this crisis period in English history that the daughter of a country rector should have produced her classic novels of wit and sensibility.

¹For an example of this approach see R.S. Dell, 'Social and Economic Theories and Pastoral Concerns of a Victorian Archbishop', J.E.H., XVI (1965).

²P.D. Varney, 'Religion in Rural Norfolk' in A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain (edited by R. Martin and M. Hill, 1970), iii, 65.

³Woodforde, Diary, iii, 124.

Jane Austen's work, and the popularity of it, is an eloquent testimony that the human dimension was not utterly overshadowed by the troubled affairs of the world. This emphasis on continuity rather than change, on regional diversity rather than national history, receives striking confirmation from a source far distant from Georgian Norfolk. The two major lessons of the French school of religious sociologists¹ are the overall continuity of religious behaviour throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the strength of regional identity.² The persistence of regional identity into the nineteenth century, and arguably later, provides a possible corrective to the view that the years 1800-1830 saw the birth of the modern class system, in which men's social identity and self-understanding came to be defined entirely in economic terms.³

In the industrial centres of England, in the capital, under the shadow of events in France, one can forgive those contemporaries who took a serious or even lurid view of their age - the radicals or the evangelicals. No one would deny the reality of change here; there can be no doubt that Defoe or Johnson would have been lost, physically and spiritually, in Dickens' London. But the Reverend Francis Blomefield, rector of Hargham and Fersfield, antiquarian and topographer of Norfolk in the 1720's, would surely have been at home in the Weston of Parson Woodforde fifty years later, and Woodforde in turn would scarcely have found William Andrew's Ketteringham unrecognisable in the mid-nineteenth century. The same may not have been true of other regions of England; John Skinner's parish, though rural in background, had seen the arrival

¹ F. Boulard, An Introduction to Religious Sociology: Pioneer Work in France (English translation 1960), especially 19-43.

² A. Dansette, Histoire Religieuse de la France Contemporaine (Paris, 1951), 30-32.

³ H. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (1969), 176-217 ; J. Obelkevich Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875 (Oxford 1976), esp. p. 313-331.

of industry notably mining, and the picture of village life in his diary is harsher and more troubled than anything one might have expected from rural Somerset.¹ But the Georgian and Victorian Norfolk depicted by Crome and Cotman and the other painters of the Norwich school was not a countryside disrupted and brutalised by a whirlwind of change. In the land, church and people of this England there was arguably a stability and strength through which change was transmuted and disciplined into a pattern of life that was itself unchanging.

¹On the contrasts between agricultural and industrial rural parishes, see D.M. Thompson, 'The Churches and Society in Nineteenth Century England: a Rural Perspective', Studies in Church History VIII (1972), edited by G.J. Cumming and D. Baker.

APPENDICES

One: A. Population and Agriculture in Domesday Norfolk.

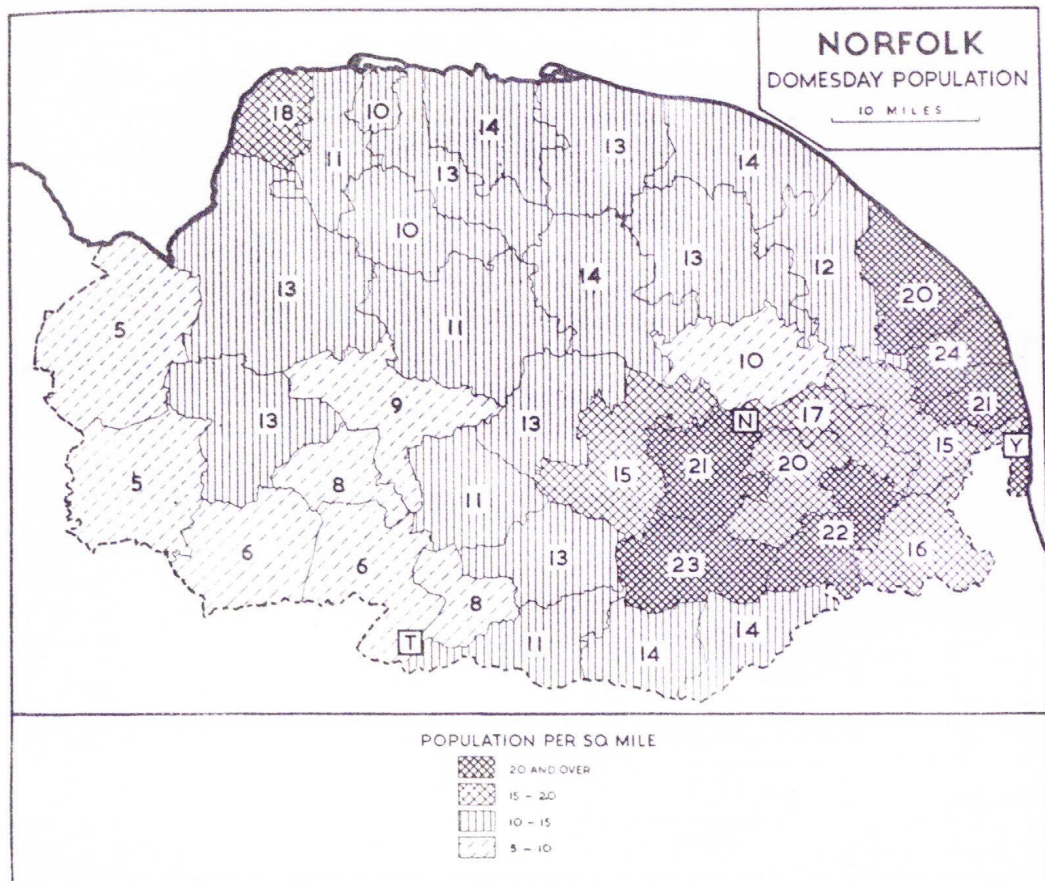
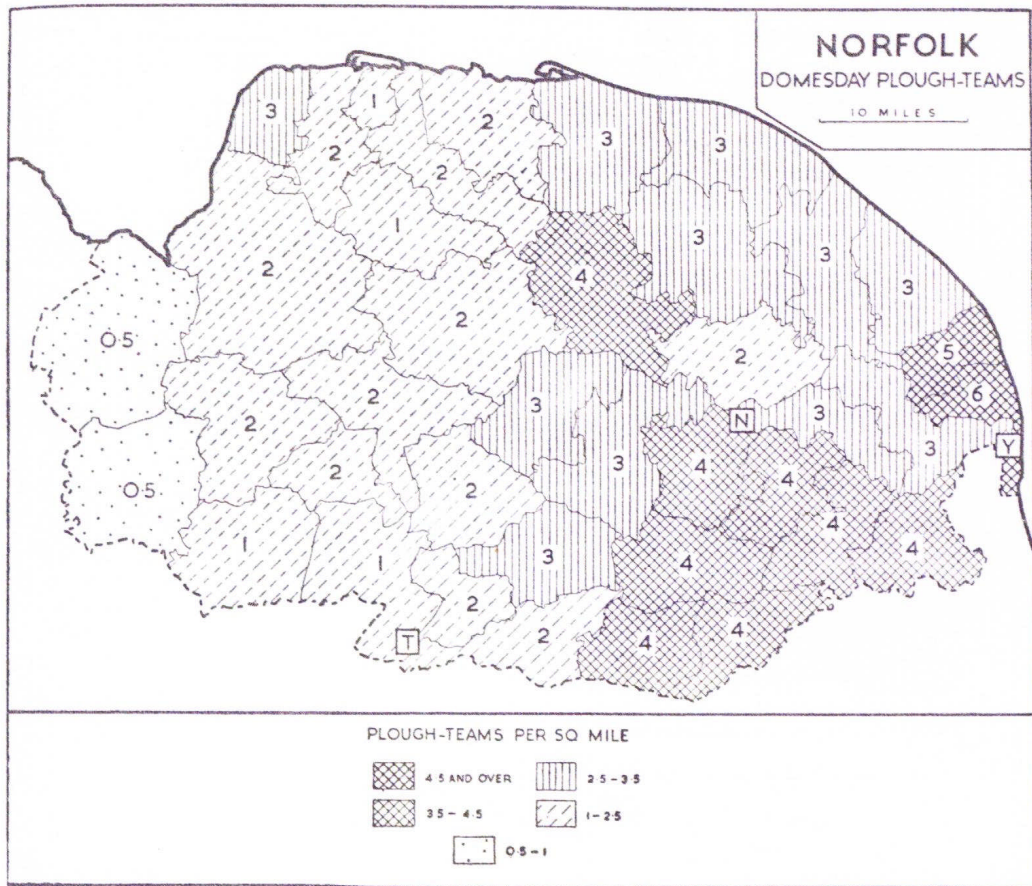
B. Population and Enclosure in Nineteenth Century Norfolk.

Two: Registration of Dissenters in Norfolk 1760-1840.

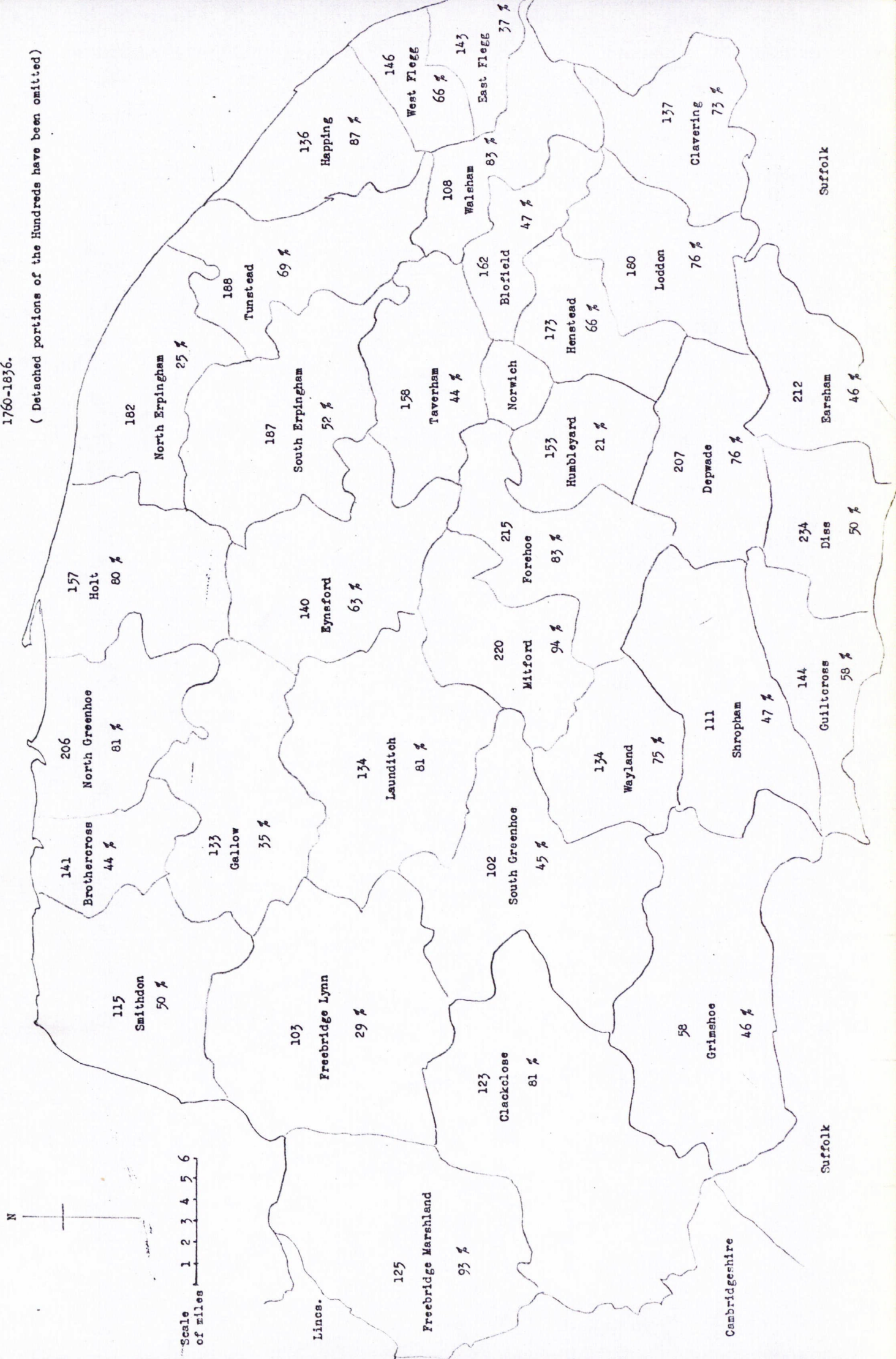
Three: Norfolk Rectories (see p. 148).

Appendix One: A .

Norfolk in 1086, reproduced from H.C.Darby Domesday Geography of Eastern England p.113,117.



(Detached portions of the Hundreds have been omitted)



Scale of Miles 1 2 3 4 5 6



Lines.

Freebridge Marshland

Cambridgeshire

Suffolk

Suffolk

Appendix Two

Conventicle Registrations in Norfolk 1760-1840

Primitive Methodist peak

Primitives

Wesleyan peak

160

140

120

100

80

60

40

20

1760

1770

1780

1790

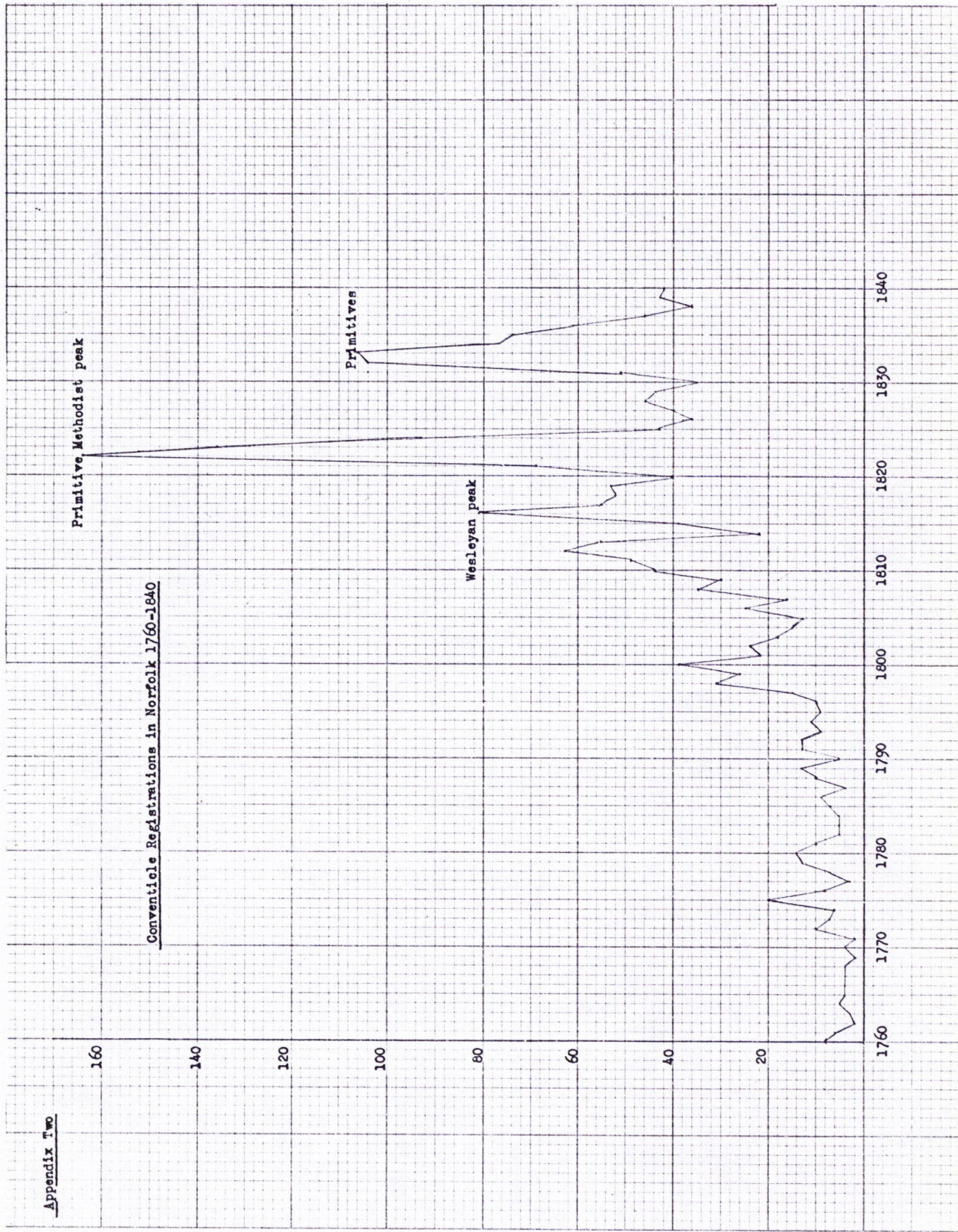
1800

1810

1820

1830

1840



APPENDIX THREE

Rectories (see p.148) showing:

1. the value in Bacon (1786)
2. the value in 1835
3. whether enclosed between 1786 and 1835 (E)

Acle	£160	£624	E
Alborough	50	173	
Alburgh	90	405	E
Anmer	70	222	
Ashby W. Oby	200	700	
Ashill	130	870	
Attleborough	200	1,246	E
Banham	200	800	E
Banningham	80	300	E
Barningham Northwood	55	161	
Barningham Town	45	135	
Beeston St. Andrew	70	220	
Beeston next Mileham	120	480	E
Beeston Regis	40	138	
Beighton	70	369	E
Beetley	45	390	E
Billingford	80	314	E
Great Bircham	200	527	
Blofield	220	933	E
Elo Norton	45	237	E
Booton	50	238	E
Boughton	75	400	
Bracon Ash	90	259	
East Bradenham	100	298	
Bradfield	50	127	E
Brampton	40	160	
Brancaaster	130	1,000	
Brandeston	70	185	
Little Brandon	90	291	
Eressingham	105	456	E
Brettenham	55	200	
Bridgham	150	400	E
Brockdish	105	335	
Broome	100	221	E
Brunstead	60	170	E
Bunwell	170	661	E
Burlingham St. Andrew & St. Edmund	180	560	
Burlingham St. Peter	40	150	E
Burnham Thorpe	110	500	
Burston	170	434	
Caister	110	462	E
Cantley	110	205	E
Catfield	120	500	E
Cawston	130	822	
Chedgrave	70	186	
Clay	120	348	E

	£	£	
Clippesby	65	250	
Cockley Cley	70	170	
Colby	45	271	E
Colney	85	200	
Coltishall	200	301	
Congham	118	472	E
North Creake	300	1,152	E
Little Cressingham	65	337	
Crostwick	55	70	
Crownthorpe	60	138	
Denton	130	861	E
Denver	165	852	E
Dickleburgh	220	844	
Diss	130	755	E
Ditchingham	150	484	E
Little Dunham	90	464	E
Earsham	130	507	E
Eccles	100	300	
Edingthorpe	80	201	E
Elsing	70	300	
Fersfield	120	325	E
Filby	100	520	E
Fishley	30	141	
Foulsham	180	616	E
Foxley	55	358	E
Great Fransham	150	521	E
Little Fransham	90	296	E
Fulmodeston w. Croxton	120	481	E
Garboldisham	160	495	
Garvestone	70	190	E
Gaywood	100	503	E
Gresham	50	300	
Grossenhall	130	703	
Hardingham	200	577	E
East Harling	100	525	E
West Harling	90	185	E
Harpley	100	511	
Haynford	70	415	E
Hedenham	80	400	E
Hethel	80	407	
Hethersett	200	670	E
Hevingham	80	459	E
Hillington	120	440	
Hillborough	100	390	
Hillgay	110	1,652	
Hingham	180	934	
Holt	130	568	
Illington	45	140	
Ingoldsthorpe	70	355	
Ingworth	45	127	E
Itteringham	60	280	E
Kettlestone	100	239	E
Kirby Bedon	80	210	E
Kirby Cane	90	390	E
Kirkstead	110	334	E
Knapton	100	300	
Larling	100	197	E
Letheringsett	67	227	E

	£	£	
West Lexham	40	156	E
Great Massingham	230	891	
Little Massingham	80	445	
Mileham	120	530	E
Merton	60	182	
Moulton St. Mary	85	447	E
Mourningthorpe	80	243	
Mundford	60	137	E
West Newton	70	178	E
Outwell	150	420	E
Ovington	60	412	E
Oxwick	65	234	
South Pickenham	70	313	
Plumstead (by Holt)	60	151	
Postwick	120	462	
Rackheath	70	400	E
Redenhall	250	824	
Reepham	200	700	E
North Repps	200	530	
Reymerston	70	400	
Rockland St. Mary	110	350	E
Rockland St. Pater	40	260	E
Rollesby	120	650	E
Roydon	135	410	
Saham Toney	150	821	E
Sall	100	400	
Scole	80	220	E
Scoulton	80	220	E
Sculthorpe	100	553	E
Shelfanger	110	445	
Shimpling	60	226	
Shipdam	205	1,140	E
Sloley	80	225	E
Smallburgh	100	389	E
Southacre	80	572	E
Sparham	110	550	E
Spixworth	60	280	
Stanhoe	100	360	
Starston	100	637	
Stockton	80	280	
Long Stratton	70	392	
Suffield	70	255	
Sutton	60	300	E
Swafield	70	205	
Swanton Abbott	40	233	E
Syderstone	60	535	
Tacolnestone	90	500	
Tasburgh	80	275	E
Taverham	70	300	
Thelverton	90	260	
Thirning	50	335	
Thorpe Abbotts	70	310	E
Thorpe next Norwich	100	630	E
Thorpe by Haddiscoe	60	175	E

	£	£	
Thurgarton	80	211	
Thwaite	50	150	
Titchwell	75	410	E
West Toft	65	110	
Topcroft	110	400	
North Tuddenham	180	728	
Great and Little Wacton	100	309	E
Walsoken	135	740	E
Warham All Saints	70	250	E
Warham St. Mary w. Waterden	90	500	E
Weeting	140	486	
Westwick	50	159	
Wickhampton	40	170	E
West Winch	150	363	
Wiveton	100	212	E
Woolferton	70	218	
Wood Rising	50	248	
Woodton	100	506	E
South Wootton	70	226	
Wrampingham	90	294	E
Yelverton	130	421	E

Total 1786 £18,025
 Total 1835 £73,261

Average value of each rectory 1786 £100.6
 Average value of each rectory 1835 £409.2

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Ordination Papers	ORD 1-31
Institution Books	REG 1-32
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