

1. Must look far ahead.

Forecast by looking ahead, not behind. Anti-projections.

(Other morals: keep flexible, ^{nimble}, w. short-term projects. Future is uncertain. Act accordingly. Get back res. quickly, revolve.

Build ahead of demand. Pcs. of res. of scale. But (a) Create mechanism for accelerating auxiliary pvt. devmt. fast; (b) Beware getting carried away.

2. Ag. productivity, feed w. ease 350m. pop.

3. Cap. to dev. res. is scarce: not the res.

4. Ag. wdrn. will proceed, east & west, from pvt. recl., indep. of Fedn. portion. (Intensification due to hi l.v.) Sprinklers & pvt. pumps. Effect of cheap rural power. art. fertil nitrogen.

5. "Fut. devmt" is going too far. 'Costs' relegated to inferior status. Build for the 50 yr. flood, or 1,000 yr. flood? Storage capac. ... never fill & spill?

6. Brandt refers to Cal. WRB Bulb. 2 & 3. Bring in, wave around.

7. Objects to concepts:

a. Develop now to limit of what nature can ult. yield.

b. "Ultimate" stability forecast. Ult. static allocn. betw. ag. & urban. Brandt anties. Ag. urban demand; incll.

c. "Requirements" shd. be met. Actually, one "differentiated urgency of demand." Don't bring wtr. at cost consumer can afford, but leave him more. "I thought saline."

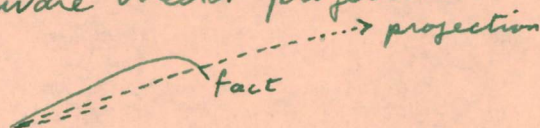
8. Don't look or plan so far ahead. 10 yrs. instead of 50 (Time was free, like water.)

9. Don't carry water anywhere. Biases location. (Refers to wtr being cheaper in LA than S.F.)

10. Msr. value of water by Δ l.v. Concept of c.s., or low rent. ~~III~~

11. Hydrel is relatively expensive. (Was attractive once bcs. we thought fossil fuels wd. run out. An error. They shd. be treated more like income-yielding lands, depletion is so slow.) Except where multipurpose, & let other fns. share costs.

12. Beware Weeks' projection:



Recent decline in broilers, celery, (citrus, etc. E-n ag. revival quirky, analogous to urban renewal.)

13. Conflict of ag. surplus & reclama.

14. Subsidies take form of $lo i$ and slow payoff

Cost element from durable invmt. is $c = C_0 \frac{i}{1 - (1+i)^{-n}}$.
Get back int. + initial invmt.

Note some values.

	<u>.02</u>	<u>.05</u>	<u>.08</u>
<u>5 yrs</u>	.21	.23	.25
<u>20</u>	.06	.08	.10
<u>50</u>	.03	.055	.082

Note how much higher your costs when you must pay out in 5 yrs.

15. Hi l.v. make you farm more intens

16. Future mkt's unsure, due to Common Mkt, e-n compu., new techn.

17. Forecast only a few years. Margin for error grows very large.

18. Men of action don't write books. Look out the window.
Learn to listen. It's hard to get book published.

Summarize ~~the~~ elements of jeopardy in wtr rts.

1. Rip. its subject to:

advise me

adverse use
abolition, as in Oregon, Pa., Miss. (Wis., Nekoma-Edwards case, ripon upheld)

Diminution to "beneficial" use, "reasonable" use, -- & ulty. "econ." use.

as in Calif. 1913 (?) & 1928

as in Calif. 1913 (?) & 1928
diminution thru pumping that lowers stream flow

Diminution thru pumping that lowers water table
Condemnation, with payment based on damage to seller, not benefit to buyer

Reversion to U.S. thru non-use, so Justice Dept. now contends

Diminution thru sale of backlying parcels

Loss to overriding navigation servitude

"Ordinary" use by upstream ripns.

Taxation

Restrictions:

Tied to land

Non-salable

Non-augmentable

Non-storable

2. Approp. rth subject to:

Forfeiture thru non-use

adverse use

Adverse use
Diminution by changed concept of "beneficial use" standard

Taken

Loss to pumpers

Loss to pumpers
Loss to seniors who haven't been taking full rights

.. .. ripens

as per declaratory judgment

1. Procedural. Frequent exams at first. Beginning next Wed. 20 min., ff. by discussion.
2. Philosophy
 - a. Balance of courtesy & controversy, desired from student. Discussion - more, as we go along. Remember opinion - but base on facts
 - b. Variety of rdgs. vs. text
 - c. Learn by doing. Supply road map, but you read it. Flounder some.
 - d. Subject of course: instl., historical, legal, political --- & some econ.

3. Why 'Gov. & Nat. Res.?' Write 5 min.

4. Why?

a. Van Hise.

Tradition of land res. studies at Madison.

Wis. lead in rural zoning vs. resters; land classifn. & good assessment; forest tax law; etc?

b. Nat. res. affect devmt of the state

Unify's influence of frontier, Miss. V. (Turner, Wis.).

c. Nat. res. are the state. Not people, or artifacts (works)
also its subdivisions. Landowners are the 'permanent party.' Fixed factor, traps benefits, suffers losses.

d. Ownership of nat. res. is bound up w. state

Meaning of 'r.e.'

~~the~~ Title comes from state, ^{has unproduced} & state retains interest, as remain-
derman.
Or, state comes from landownership

Entail in Europe. Brandenburg

South Am.

fewish Nat. Fund

But govt succeed

Roman state, big landowners.

Landowner has many prerogatives of state. Plant police.

Company towns. A subdivision, dedicating streets. Overlap of priv. & public frd. ... priv. planning becomes public, & permanent, as distrib. nets are permanent, the most perm. work of man (e.g. of bombed out cities)

e. Heritage or tradition of common ownership

Judeo-Christian ethic, Leviticus

Roman Law - weakest there, but had a public domain originally

Ang. law - 1066

Am. public domain. New England town ownership, "common";
in turn come from Gov. town. Southern common pasture

4. e (cont.)

Military use of domain. To reward vets — & settle frontier w. allies.
 Caesar & Gaul. Grm. Markers, or Marches, on Slavic frontier.
 New England towns. Midwest military tracts, vets scrip, etc.. Empire-
 building --- to preempt lands.

Result of heritage is feeling of some distrib. equity, need for, in land
 policy. 1) Equal division — not absolutely, but widespread ownership; ^{T.R.} To
 support state widely. 2) Equal treatment of unequal lands, homogenizing
 location by flat utility rates. 3) Earth as birthright of new children,
 equal right to, regardless of sins of slacker fathers. ... H. Mann,
 H. George, Pres. Lathrop of U. of Wis. [Huffman Ch. 11]

f. Use to regulate emplat.

Wakefield, Valuer, Hamilton containment

Safety-valve.

Public demt. to generate emplat. [L. eq. Hansen]
 policy are similar to empire-bldg. Log-rolling now a major factor.

g. Convenience of public ownership

1. avoids problem of distrib. equity. Gifts of nature, are public domain, until given away.
 Who else owns? 2. g. air, a resource whose value we are just discovering; & doesn't
 2. Pvt. mkt. can't administer. Air, water

h. Need for hi degree of public amendment to mkt. process

1. Many nat. res. are nat. monopolies. Hydrel. Rt. of way for
 dist. nets (em. domain.) State given franchises; 2) Em. domain
 Fort. needed 1) to reg. prices etc., if
 pvt.; 2) more, to make external ecs. internal (3) Carry overhead of
 decry. cost opns.
 2. Many nat. res. incl. tend to mpy, thru control of lin.
 res. Minerals. — many of them on public land

3. Spatial fixity makes imperfect mkt. Bilateral mpy, ~~others~~
 in all border expansion & contraction. Unilateral ^{local} mpy. from
 control of key sites, limited by nature.

Thus need em. domain for land assembly. Use in urban renewal.
 Case of UWM & Markee Downer.

h. (cont.)

4. Credit rationing problem. Also aids mngy.

i. (Public distrust of res. exhaustion) Conservation, public interest in.

Blend of several concerns, & --- distr. equity, export'g kind res., etc. --- but focus here on alleged divergence of pvt. & social i.

Public concerned bcs. 1) nation needs the natural products; & 2) public is remainderman when lands abandoned

j. L.v. in trap for Δ value from p.v., etc.

k. Resource owners have surplus, for campaign contribution, leisure for pvt. activity, etc.

Those who acquire surplus some other way tend to invest it this way, bcs. of low rate of turnover.

Some Fed. contributions to water devmt.

Full devmt. Problem of the approp. doctrine. SF & LA

Promotional rates for power. Tax issue. Area saturation, importance of.

Wholesale-retail

Multipurpose

Pools, integration of output. BPA, SEPA. Udall's plan for nationwide grid. Non-expert states Me., Calif.

Coordinate opn. whole river.

Flexibility of allocation

Criticisms

Basis of Fed. partition

Navigation. RE -- moved into flood control

Reclam. RR. Hydrel

Clientele. Miss. Valley Ass. Barge lines. Kern Cty Land; Kings R. W. Ass. Ass.

NRA. F-Kern W.U. Ass.

Humiliation of pvt. power after '29.

Contra-cyclical pooling

Partnership. Basis of pvt. power is to carry taxes for local r.e.

Kinds of partnership: local. borrow tax-exemption

Fed. distr. Fed. pwr; or generate it.

Where: Columbia, Tenn., Mo., Big Th., CV. Now, everywhere. Ark., e.g.

Reem. in Ozarks

7 ed. weaknesses.
 Distrib. equity. Enhance some lands, why not others? End up doing too much.
 Suppress local initiative

Kaweah R. e.g.

Agency empire-building

Woo clients -- compete in giving away. Esph. A.E.

Start over completion

Half-finished projects. Tie up cap. for long time. Underest. ult. impact on mkt.

Revolving fund concept, lost.

160-acre loan

Subsidy to irrn., navig., flood control.

Double problem of stickiness: wh tied to old user; ~~public~~ public spending also tied to old values. ~~public~~

Faced w. dilemma, need less. Can't control pollution bec. is too expensive. Can't even buy books for UWM lib. Simult., can't stop spending on irrn. bec. wd. throw men out of work, etc.

Inventory of nat. res. Wooten & Anderson.

Land surface only. ~~Point~~: Unimaginative. As notable for what it omits.

Water. - in the right place, as to long, lat., & altitude.

air.

air lanes or corridors.

TV channels.

Tptn. routes, overland or surface.

Wars have been fought, over key routes. Isthmus of Panama. Overland Rte.

Murdoch V. Are the major assets v.s. home --- not the rails.

Sachsden Purchase.

Sole franchise to use city streets - 'phone co., etc.

Dominion. " " carry freight between 2 big cities.

Res.; power drops.

Underground aquifers.

Nehr.; Kamensk delia.

Wildlife

Fisheries, furs, reem.

Minerals. "Fund" res.

Fossil fuels. Incl. offshore oil.

Ferrous

Non-ferrous

Radioactive

Harbors

Urban location - not sterile, but our most valuable res.

They mention surface uses: forest, ~~gr~~ grass, cropland, urban, rears, xptn

Some highlights.

Cropland: it Δ d steadily to c. 1920, levelled off, c. 460 m.a., or c. $\frac{1}{4}$ U.S.
(But only 380 m.a. used for crops, '54; & only 340 m.a. had harvests, due to summer fallow being counted as 'used for crops', & crop failures ... a way of life in some areas, not unexpected.)

Remainder used for pasture. $\frac{80}{460} = 17\%$. Some index of how loose our farm ec. is. Cf. Holland, acres of greenhouses, & heated. We have about 2 acres per cap. in crops, for 180 m. people. (Cf. urban uses, $\frac{1}{20}$ acre per cap.) (Shoreland, at 10,000/mi², is 15.6/acre, or .064 a/cap.) Open pasture, 4 a/cap. 30 m.a. ind; 100 m. in drainage enterprises.

A big problem in gov. & n.r. is loose use of better land. Pushes people out onto public land; demands expensive public services. The 2 problems are related Now, ag. policy is aggravating.

Why stable from '20? Ag. depression, shd. have declined, but hard to reverse. Many public programs favoring agric. were just getting under way — Rail., rural roads, power, ... all incl. extensions covered by dense, lucrative centers.

~~Also~~, Actually, expansion did continue, but offset by abandonments, as urban prosperity drew in pop. from rural lands.

— Note problem of classifying land. By actual use, or potential? Problems:

- Slippy mkt — much land not in best use.
- Dynamism — best use changes.

— Surely, tho, we are in ~~imminent~~ transition, marked by 1920. First, borrowed passing of frontier, end of boom. Then, got to know our land better, do more w. it. Giant postwar surge based on that. Grain sorghum in dust bowl; nitrogen & machines reclaim plomors, e.g. Putnam; gypsum reclaims alkali near Fresno.

Woodland & forest, 33% (or 660 m.a.). Is 66% of orig. forest area (1 b. a.)

So we haven't cut 'em all down. But much is 2d growth.

Regardless, lumber is one nat. res. commod. whose price has risen.

Note anomaly — is renewable. Yet has risen while "non-renewables" fell.

~~Timber & cons. movement~~

Movement not all up. 1911 bust. ... & relation to Conserv. movement.

1929 bust — cyclical customer

1958 et seq. softening

Renewal, problems.

Property tax. Being solved by special treatment. Severance & site tax

Intrinsically unrec. Caught between hi o.c. of land & cap. & low p. of subs. — including Canadian imports. Long waiting pd. Solutions: a) multipurpose use — go outside mkt.

mechanism, public subsidy for watershed protection, recren., wildlife habitat. 75 moir, slowly, what way, but too slowly, too late.

b) Grow for cellulose. Shorten wait. Adjust mills to smaller logs.

Plant fast-growing species, develop mills, products & mkt for them. Adaptation period.

Forest Service at fault, for slow progress. Sylvan fundamentalism.

If int. rate a nuisance, ignore it. 'Conservation' movement.

c) Exploit benefits of clustering. Lptm is very big item. Need solid block of forest land managed, around mill. Like oranges around a packing house. Now, society subsidizes access to virgin timber that probly never shd. be tapped, which dominates mkt. & discourages regeneration of cutovers, & keeps mills geared to large logs.

Need these blocks near popn. centers. Long haul prefs. to Pac. N.W. probly wrong.

Pasture.

Urban. c. ³⁵~~30~~ m.a. (Best note how little of that is really urban.)
 8 m.a. "urbanized areas", Md + Del. Cf. 9 m.a. in freestates. 10 m. pop.
 Δ of \$100,000 a. a yr.? Matter of def. Show Mich. map. 50 m. in central cities.
 New reservoirs take as much as cities each year.

Urban: Up to \$30,000/ff. 50' lot in Sherwood, 8,000, is \$160/ff
 along Lake Dr. \$500 a ff. (equivalent -- they are deeper)
 More r.e. per cap. in cities. NY has 590 pop, 790 r.e. taxes.
 60 m. Cars use more space than ^{180 m} people.

Increasing returns

7m r.e. c. \$130b, vs. \$1,000b urban — 2 much of "fms" is urban
 influence. Each carries 190 - 290 in r.e. Taxes

Apr. 24, 1961

Water Law

I. ~~Rip.~~ Gurd

Fugitive res., so usual r.e. property not applies

IA. Level of govt. All initially Federal. Passed to state control only by default

II. Ripn.

A. Non-statutory. State courts adopt common law.

B. Part & parcel of ripn. land. Non separable, save by extinction.
Differs from appurtenant, which is only a presumption in absence of stipulation to contrary.
Undim. & unpolluted (save by "ordinary" use, & what is that? Problem of
the Italian wine-grower at the fair, pure water comes out of community wine vat.)
Use not required. Huffman ~~errs~~ ^{misleads} in describing as usufructuary.

Prorate if scarce, a smallest undivided (not frontage)

~~then~~

C. Faults

Non x frable, save by extinction

Storage not allowed

Non-use possible, ok. Declaratory judgment protects
Proration n.g. cf. ag. soil bank

Mspy easy

Ripn lands not nec by best

.. .. often better pump alternative.

c. Faults, cont.

Vague in quantity

Records obscure

Easily monopolized. Early West.

III. Approp.

- A. Statutory. Reaction. Colo. doctrine! ^{Colo. owned by "public"} Location. ^{Wyo. by "state"}
 "adverse use" also known to common law, so cd. fit in to ripn system, Calif. doctrine.
- B. Rt. of use, estd by use
 Useful to promote development
 "Doctrine of relation", estd. by claim, ff. by "due diligence".

Priority ~~loss~~ by seniority.

Lost by disuse

~~"Adverse use"~~ also

Quantity fixed in flow or volume - latter if storage

Appurtenant to land, ~~but xfrable~~

Slightly xfrable, but many barriers - see faults

Access to wtr? Easement? Sometimes a problem, so ripns. have power and
 where no ripn. str. Rt. to approp. is worthless w/o access to wtr.

~~c. Faults~~

~~IV. Calif. evolution~~

C. Relation of ripn. to approp. system.

How approp. if ripn. rts?

1. U.S. as ripn. wained rts, 1817, lands sold subseqly have ripn. rts fr. to approp. rts. est'd. vs. U.S.
2. Adverse use, unchallenged. So now it always is challenged. Only establish vs. downstream ripns. Law requires ripn. act like s.o.b.
3. Statutory extinction of unused ripn. rts.
Ore., 1909, 2 yrs. Courts upheld.
Cal., 1913, 10 yrs. Courts finally reversed, but only after ripns. had bn limited by other means

Long battles, approp. vs. ripn, see-saw, action & reaction

1. 1870s, MWCos, Chaffey, Ontario & Etiwanda
2. 1886, Lux v. Haggin
1887, Wright Act, & etc. follow election returns, interpret rip. rts. weakly
3. 1909, M & L. v. Madera Canal & Irr. Co.
1909, exempt improvements in I.Ds.
1913, extinguish unused ripn rts. Progressive movement, high tide of ^{progressivism} ~~liberalism~~, killed by W.W.I. aftermath.
Unclaimed wtrs belong to State.
4. 1926, Hemmingsham vs. SCE; simul. Kirk R & San Diego troubles. "Pleasure in its prospect".
1928, Amendment, limit ripn. to "reasonable use"
* (Upheld in Gin Chow & P. vs. V. cases, BB regards as regression)
(Was not state v. individ., but approp. vs. ripn.)
5. 1935, TID v. LSID, declaratory injunction, ripn. reserves "reasonable" part forever, w/o use.
Reaction? Still awaited. Losers mollified by CVP, etc.

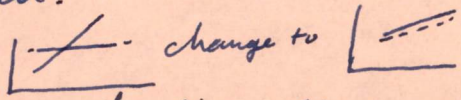
Value of this section is to give feeling for law on being always in evolution

Friday

Wed, April 26, 1961

4.

D. Faults of approp. system

1. Historical priority is no index to current MP.
Water supply not sensitive to demand.
2. No pooling of risk. Jrs. get it all.
(save in Utah, fractional.) 
Research needed. Is some rationale, pure fractional division not desirable either. (Ripn. also involves fractional prorate)
3. Premium on excessive use. Opp. cost not felt. Free & inalienable.
.. premature use. No cost, save of devmt.

- claims, fuzzing up system. Esp. if these claims are upstream, downstream establishes no adverse use. ^{const. rates of flow year round, based on max. need, block storage of surplus flood water.}
4. Non xfrable in effect

Once were, when abundant, but then there was little need

- a. Uncertain Tenure.
Licensee bias vs. "trafficking" results, to preserve non commercial anti-rational outlook.
State has lever for imposing restrictions, which licensees prefer to outright payment.
- b. Marginal adjustments esp. difficult
Sell "surplus", thereby admit no history of beneficial use.
- c. Rts of ID's & MWCos.
Trustee relationship, carefully guarded by courts.
Dilemma - beneficial use, but
- d. Pts. of diversion
Injure no one
- e. Cumulative non-xfrability. Grasping, & finally non-aggression
puts, complete stagnation. Drowning man effect ff. by lion pens effect.

5. arbitrary priorities [and barriers to xfr?]

~~Navigation, but~~ Navigation first, by Fed. law.

a. By type of use. Reinforces ~~historical~~ ^{backward} bias of historical priorities. New ideas get left out. Power & recreation. Cities as such get priority, claim prematurely.

b. By region. A riparian-type idea. Nebraska, watershed limit. Calif. city-of-origin

c. State agencies

Calif. but probably will become model for others.

State filings

6. Excessive convergence costs. No compactness, no integration. (& frozen solid by nonxfrability)
Law of cfr. disadvantage

7. Adds to cyclical instability of land devmt.

Will return later.

~~a. Blocks fine adjustments, opens~~ fine adjustments
a. Freezes local patterns, blocks ~~fine adjustments~~ ^{fine adjustments} there
b. Opens door to gross transfers
c. Racing to nail down sts. of use

IV. Misc. Doctrines

Pueblo Rights. Might pop up anywhere, former Spanish holdings, including Mo.

V. Ground water

A. Underground streams, approp.

B. Percolating. (No genl. name for such sts. In Cal. called "correlation".)
No statute. Common law, analogous to ripn., (w. all faults)

1. Features.

Overlying owners.

~~Rt.~~ Rt. est. by location, not use. Use can be begun anytime

Quantity unlimited, save in a few special cases

Use on overlying lands only. Overlying ground w/tn basin or aquifer.

"Surplus" available for appropriation & export.

(subject to recapture, ~~by~~ by declaratory injunction)

Pro rate if scarce - by hist. use maybe.

Origin of w/tn irrelevant. Storage hard to keep ∴

2. Differences from rip. rts. ~~Have~~

Can be diminished. (In ultimate, pro rated, & r.p. rts have also come to this.)

Ground w/tn basin, rather than watershed, is unit.

→ "Exportable surplus" early recognized in common law, so overlying owners limited to ~~the~~ reasonable use by courts. But in return ~~that can~~ recapture.

Ownership unit of land irrelevant. Only location matters

Pro rate by hist. use. An important appropriative element, leading to waste.

3. Faults, ground wtr law.

Overlying lands maybe n.g.; or have other cheap sources; etc.
 "Surplus" hard to prove
 Operation of ground wtr basins blocked. Recharger cannot
 later withdraw ~~the~~ water & claim as his, (unless he owns entire basin. And
 some cities work this --- L.A. in S.F. Valley; S.F. at Calaveras; etc.)
 Nor can he stop others from withdrawing.

Antic. private, based on hist. use (Raymond Basin). Overuse now.
 Larger scale, valley-wide integration blocked. Cannot store
 wtr in one area for use in another.

VI. Federal-state relations.

1. Interstate mediation. Even if Fed. owns no wtr, has control of
 Treaties, etc. Suits - Ks. v. Colo.
 Compacts
 Treaties
 Impairability
 International waters
 TVA?
2. Fed. ownership
3. Fed. largesse

-
1. Intergovernmental mediation
 - a. Compacts

Mercel of historical sketch.

1. Initial division of land always a political decision
2. Usually given under obligation.

Military

Monetary

Rights of others. "Stewardship."

Administration

Welfare

3. Pvt. prop'ty. develops as the obligations are sloughed off

Land given as reward for past rather than incentive for future

Land sold by weak state needing money... state living off its substance rather than the income from it.

Zamindar or Quisling route

Decayed aristocracy route - France. Military obsolescence

Senatorial immunity & slavery - Rome

Enclosure, & extinction of common rights, Eng.

Commutation of rents ff. by inflation (but king replaced magnate as tax collector)

Desire of barons to minimize manpower, as money ec. develops & they need them less for mil'ty. aid & personal services, & they become a nuisance

4. a landowning class that succeeds ^{too well} in sloughing off obligations jeopardizes its survival, & its states' survival.

Gaul, Rome, France before 1789; Russia before 1917; China before 1949

And/or leads to welfare state. England; Rome's bread & circuses;

May lead to oppressive taxes on commerce & indy., destroy the money & mkt. economy, disintegrate the state - bcs. what is what holds state together.

5. Inverse relationship between ^{dirigisme} ~~welfare state~~ & pvt. prop'ty

Other boom busts

1720, Ocean shipping

1795, wagon roads. Fall of Federalists. Occurred Damped by containment

1819, roads, flatboats. Ctr in w. Tennessee, Flush times in Ala, Miss.

1857 Rails -- local & fed. subsidy

1873 Xcontinental rails. ^{Fed. subsidy.} Complete victory of expansion. Fmr. results begin.

1893 Rails

1913 Only the war saved us. 1920 ~~was~~ just deferred.

Every bust had urban counterpart. '29, urban lagged rural -- & dominated.

E. 149, 12-3-62, Mon.

0. assign

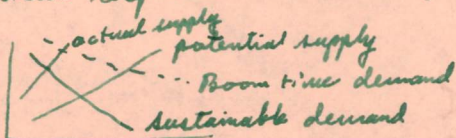
1. Summarize cycle

2. Conservation movement

1. Summarize cycle

New demand ~~raises~~ raises prices. Supply response is partly blocked. Pressure builds up for massive response: slow in gestation, overwhelming in volume.

Lag factors.



Causes of overresponse.

a) Geometric factors. Combo. of "lag & leapfrog."

a. Extend lines to scattered parcels, also to lands among them. 

b. Area of circle $\propto w. r^2$

c. Wave effect.

Causes of lag:

Lagging response of older landholders to new opps.
Spec. withholding, coupled w. Hamiltonian land policies

Non-synchronizing of p.w. - lag of local response.

~~Withd.~~ Vested opposition to new expts. in best routes

b) ~~Process~~ Process of growth generates demand. Outside money flows in: to build, to speculate
Local banks expand. A.L.V. generates demand.

c) Pol. factors

Mity. racing. Inth. & interregional rivalries.

Fincl. interest of powerful easterners in western specn. overbears opposition, opens

floodgates.

Log rolling - at every level of govt.

d) ~~Desire to secure~~ Ec. racing ... for sq. returns, & on prescriptive principle ... overemphasis
on winning new territories, underemphasis on serving what already have.
New cities, e.g. Chicago

Emulation by old cities

Gambling

e.) Reliance on A.L.V. to justify p.w.

Old areas, which were written off, revive.

Causes of collapse

Cap. shortage ... comes first, injects element of realism. Otherwise, mere human judgement never seems to balance S & D.

Hic i.v. forces land sales.

Over-supply becomes apparent.

U.S. unusual:

1. ~~the~~ G.P.T., ad valorem; in rem. Fiscal leeway vs. fiscal profit-sharing.

2. Individualistic settlement

3. Wakefield buried. Postage stamp pricing.

Brit. colonies & A.K. moves. Pure land tax ... unimproved site value, or public value of land.

Russia

Directed settlement. Czars did it, moved serfs.

Kholoz. New lands blunder ... need to intensify old

Resource don't Observed w. a few dramatic large scale dams, canals. Tie up capt. Lose nimbleness.

Russian evolution to revolution, in strategy in c-n Eur. Public affluence & priv. squalor.

Fms too small, force work elsewhere. An old strategy - but hasn't evolved.

Cuba skipped the step, as did China.

Nucleated village.

Ejido; Zadruga; mir; town; kibbutz

Equality thru land

France. Morcellement & parcellement

Concn.

Underdevd. countries.

Latifundus & minifundus. LCR concept. Use of minifundia as

red herring

Initial basis of landownership administration or political, under pressure condition. Central adm. develops, landownership becomes ec. factor, & is

concd. Sheikhs in mid-east. Zamindars of India. Vietnam .. Caciques?

War lords of China. Turkish admn. thru all old empires.

Shah of Iran ... king of kings, means landowner of landowners.

5 am., nation, began as slavery of Indians.

Worldwide movement for land reform.

A. already achieved -- no where complete. Always a top. Not good ...

whets appetite w/o satisfying. Precedent of Russia.

S.W. U.S. Superimposed our countries etc. Calif. spectacular change.
Mexico, 1920s

E-n Em., 1920s.

B. Current
Iron - slow

India -

1

2

Int'l. Trade

Everyone wants big export. mults. at least labor does. Big landowners want to export raw mtrls, land-intensive.

1. Refine alumina. Chemical. 50% weight loss.
2. Reduce " to metal.
3. Fabricate

Why isn't ore refined where mined?

Urban Expansion

Access, - a resource. Bring together water, mtrb., & people, min. cost.

Hi turnover of capl; hi output, gross output. Like the feedlot.

Δg returns to growth, growth gets more

E.g. of base multiplier - gets larger as city does

City as mngy. Causes center to decay, fringes to grow.

Mngy. policy: load taxes on new bldgs; tie up central land

Bldrs. go out seeking cheap land.

1. Ineffic. layout
Imperfect mkt. capl. when expect Δs .

Local govt. drags, get 1-dim. parasitic devmts.

2. Swallows excess farmland. ... & other, e.g. Calif. aggregates

City deserves 1st choice

Not pushing on agg. for land supply, but loose up locs. and
waste effect, overexpansion.

Effect of inc. tax on fring.

Need 24 m. acres; take 100 m. or more. Show s.-n. Mich.

3. Stability:

Land boom again. \$40 b new constn, plus mult.

Ex. 149, Mon.

Begin w. principle of deferred retribution

How solve farm problem? Make 'em pay, immediately. Use fiscal levers. No apples.

More quickly, solves whole p.w. problem.

HAMMERMILL
BOND
MADE IN USA

1. Review sess. 3 & clear up loose ends

a. Review. Rostow, stage concept, prefer wave concept; also see-saw or relative backwardness concept; also possibility of decadence. 2 sector problems, ag. & xpt.; xptn must be govt. res. indirect payoff (cf. parks, parking lots).

Oppen: impact of money ec. to tying state together (cf. Smith, also impact. to elim. of labor) or is held only by tyrants, as Russia, France.
W/o money, feudal state disint. into feudal chaos; w. money, barons lose fn, must be disposed of.
Maurice: D.p.s. captured indl. rev. (strength of W. by today, & of U.S. once.) Stage-jumping

b. Loose ends. ~~Complete list of who said what.~~

Reactive nationalism - how much emphasis in Rostow? Too much? Internat. also impact; ^{goal.} cosmo-politanism of thriving centers, role of immigrants.
Rostow on special role of ag. sector (confusion of exports & cap. fntr.)

By-passing entrenched interests, as part of wave & see-saw concept.

Monarch policies of peasant protection, kept peasants on free land, everywhere but England; & in some baronies, of Fy, where barons strong, but on local level.

France, esply, peasants promoted: rent control & the means.

Money ec. encourages enclosures, several ways. a, Barons no longer want to max. manpower.

b, Produce of enclosed land commands mkt price - older ec. was "closed." c, Fear of inflation

2. Finish Rostow prompts landholder to administer directly, avoid Tracy.

5 stages, really only

3 are of "growth":

take-off, drive to mat.,

hi mass-consumption, boredom.

Capitalists tend to bypass skilled (& orgd) labor, use plebs.

a, Domestic system; b, Factory system

3 stages in infr: guild; domestic; factory

overarching impact of wide mkt: commerce is the basic precondition

Some fallacies: a, One-to-one correspondence, failure to aggregate, e.g. exports

lead to cap. fntr., ag's minin; plough backs as neg. source of growth cap.

b. Empty tautologies: p. 58, 59

c. R.v.s. "rather than" textiles.

Strong pt: Cycle, re Sweden, p 62-63

Clapham, J.H. The En. Desert of Fr. & Gy., 1815-1914. (Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1928). 3d. Ed., 1928. (1st ed., 1921)

Ch. II: Gen. Rural Conditions before the Rury Age.

Framework of rural life was compact village w. open fields,
from Seine basin to "plain of Slavonic n.e.", incl. Dk. & lowland Sweden.
Same lowlands of Rhine delta, individ. fusteads. Polders, won
from sea, had broken bounds of custom, rigid communal routine.

Also a change at Elke, conquered country. Esc. of scale in east, intens-
sity (2 parcellment, at least into 3 fields), in west. Junker retained large
demesne for direct exploitation or mgmt., unlike Fr. seignior, who neglected, & Eng-
lish, who rented to capitalist. Peasants were servile, not stubborn & litigious as in west.
[Likewise w. Gy. to New England, E. Gy. to southeast U.S.]

2 ~~Rustian~~ forces dissolved communal villages: conscious state reforms, or Danish enclosures, 1770-1800; and gentle erosion or reduction by towns & money. But Gen. cities were small & stagnant in 18th.

However, change was a slow evolution. Even in 1815, in Rhine & Tribs., there were free fields mixed in w. communal, & more mkt.-oriented.

Generally, no ^{overall} improvement of peasant ag. e. or w. by, until very
age, despite tenure reforms. (p. 52) But squires improved, 1815-48, for
export mkt, corn & wool (like Eng. earlier)

Fred. So. started Prussian reform, 1771, got nowhere vs. Junkers (cf. Shah of Iran today). Then Jena, and reform, and status to contract. End of paternalism

But not until 1848 did off-fm. emigration begin much, p. 46

But W-n peasants retained scraps of land, remained part-time furs; E-n finally became landless proles.

W-n peasants also retained common rts, so old 3-field system hung on. Ag. techn. innovation made by squires of east.

E-n peasants had only customs of common, not rights, & lost them.
(Needed: a monetary social dividend to replace such.)

1815-48, rapid devmt of commercial ag. in E. Elbia. Prussia wheat price was basic to Eng. (water xptn); wool sales in Saxony & Silesia. Also new crops ... sugar beet, 1830s. Machines.

(But note, too, indl. devmt came elsewhere, not in area of export agri., but area of small part-time furs)

Note age of mechanizn & cr. of scale gr., same old stories.

Adam Smith

Towns stimulate country; money ec. stimulates genl. devt.
Money ec. comes thru towns, centers of exchange.

In fact, basic 19th cent.
prosperity of U.S., Canada,
Australia, based on
primary production.
No rule says require
indy. for prosperity

Overstates - a commercial farm crop stimulates growth of towns, ind. areas.
Understates exptn. Took it for granted, altho canal boom was essential to indl. revn.

Cf. Oppenheimer, money ec. necy for state to survive; Smith emphasizes
growth outside of state, probly too much so. Neither emphasizes key role
of state, nat. unity, which Tudors gave in 16th, Hannover & Pruss. in 18th.

another aspect of monetary ec., inflationary. Brooks Adams; Keynes;
Earl Hamilton.

Schmoller, Gustav. The Mercantile System. 1884. (NY: Macmillan Co., 1902)

Politics controls ec. evolution. 2y. made transition from town to territory control, but not from territory to ~~the~~ nation. So, lagged.

Heart of nation was public force.

History of 17th - 18th summed up in effort of states to overcome localism, internally; & fight other states, externally.

Mercantilism in state-making, p. ~~50-51~~ 50-51

As to money, mercantilists advocate rapid circulation of money within the state itself. (p. 51) (Cf. Keynes)

~~At~~ United Netherlands waxed great & united in its war of independence, 16th - 17th. Weakened & declined bcs fell apart again into localism after 1650.

Pirenne

Evolution of industry as flight from ~~urban~~ orgd. labor & welfare state.

The "odious weavers". Cf. runaway shops today. Also, flight from ^{in-group} adult males: domestic & factory systems grab w. women & child labor, as did farm frontiers. Also outgroup labor. Capital seeks the outgroups. Cf. Oppenheimer's 3-fold division of society.

vs. Rostow: a) Cyclical & stage-jumping thesis. No "take-off into sustained growth," for an area. Continual migration of capital.

b) Is an ec. hist. before 1760! and very similar principles apply.

Probably overstates. Is rt. wing. Are other causes of migration, decay of old centers.

a) Labor monopoly. Merchant guilds.

b) Mercantilist exploitation of hinterlands

c) Deliberate choice of town leaders to prefer emigration over problems of contending with ~~the~~ labor. Put brakes on growth, variety of restrictive measures

Macartney
See

Lost?

French revn, effect of.

Status to contrast

Malenbaum

New lands flood world mkt

Old areas react by protection & revival

Cunningham

Farms lose popn, lose power, lose protection

Jensen

An ideal agric?

Mill

Ecs. of scale

Tchubinsky

3-5-59. Manor

Intn) Breakdown of trade, govt, was largest ^{integrated ec.} ~~and~~ unit cd be orgd. arabs, Vikings, Magyars.

Magyars.
Various origins. Colonnate. Teutonic village. Frankish immensity.
Norman conquest. ^{Requests to church.} Origins usually in some central govt. No. France & Flanders the classic
area, spread out by colonization & conquest. 19th c. ~~Land~~ Land Nationalism.
Significance of dispute over origins. Analogy of reviv'g Spanish law, 20th,
Calif. Roman law in 13th Flanders, 16th Eng. One surety - if Lord
"owned", was to force public fns, & when he ceased, lost fn & rationale. Thus all post
landholding in Europe began under a cloud, hence radical movements.
1. Describe Manor & fms opns:

~~Plggs~~ Varied sizes, but big — 10,000 a. or so, 300 manures or family hldgs. (30 acres each)

~~Democracy~~
Not compact - Kings parcelled to prevent centers of resistance, & some lords sought faraway lands to a variety. (cf. by 20th, to get certain supply)
monastery... they had most.

Centered around fortified place of refuge, ^{or monastery...} Residences & farmsteads in villages or hamlets - which were in Teutonic lands probly original settlements, later needed protection. Their customs ruled much of farm ops.

~~Not complete~~
Nulle terre sans seigneur, but mostly unused, clustered for defense, &
 later spread out. (Taken probly fooled, like Turner

Demarene, common, & manse (yardland) (& farmstead land)
& banalities.

Manse ^{for one family.} ~~was~~ ^{paid} customary dues. ^{& banalities.} Depending on original status. Administered thru village (cf. Roman curia, Russ. mir). Status & dues came to attach to lands, when persons attached thereto. Later when freed, remained with lands.

Manor, 2

~~Manse parcellled, (like whole seignioria)~~

Manse subject to common pasture, hwt-plants. No permanent fences.
Common field ops, custom bound.

2 & 3 field systems — 2-field Medit, wth cons-n. Great waste.

Manse parcellled, to some every yr., for each peasant. Grain, ~~hay~~, legumes, fallow.

Long fields — Tinton areas — & irregular ones. 3m plow?

Demesne worked by peasants part time. ^{Also parcellled.} In good demesnes smaller where
land poorer — ~~thru~~ & peasant had more land for less dues. Thus ec. law
at work even then. (Boothel vs Ozur)

Admin. by hered. mgr — bailiff, mayor, meier. Took over, like Chas Martel.
cf. de Toqueville. Burnham, Mgrl revn)
No ^{technological} pioneers by lords, save some monasteries, qntrly better run — they
say, but they kept records from which history written.

Common. Villages had rts. & manses (cf. Taylor Grazing)

Tenuous legal basis, later lost, esp. Eng., big fuss.

Pasture. Cut hay. Hunt. Take fuel.

Village & manor or court area: storage & workshops.

Memo. 3

2. Frontier movement, ~~1050~~ 950-1300.

Invasions, raids, subside, probly lost vigor. Lowering of N. Sea.
Weak central, ^{w/o money etc -- cf. Oppenheimer} serfdom unenforceable. (cf. Wakefieldism)

Δ g popn?

Younger brothers, vagrants

Urban revival & esp. along trade routes. Δ d demand for farm products.

New lands, new ways, instn. (Turner thesis) "Guests". Even the same
seigneurs - (like G. Washington) Cistercians (vs Benedictines). Compact
adm. of lands.

Compn for labor, better terms. New villages, new charters. E. Law of s & d
at work again - later these were lost.

Lowlanders brought coloniza to highest art. Drainage, like iron called
for orgd coop. effort. Expand east, commence Drang nach Osten.
Flaemisches Recht. Joined Normans.

Lowlands also center of town revival. Network of waterways.
Towns stimulated country: markets, cash income.

Nobles weakened. Converted ~~us~~ to cash rents, then town growth
brought inflation ^{13th.} ~~the~~ Lost control, became rentiers.

3. Agric. & towns. Towns were the nodes + hnw which commercial agric. was integrated into world ec. ^{Grew up together.}

Towns ^{mutually} stimulated new agric. ^{spread money ec.} integrated with it economically.

(also politically). Bypassed old manors. (Like Cal. agric today, bypass Livermore for C.V.; 19th c. U.S., r.r.s. ahead of settlement, bypass nearer lands; cities today) (superposition of anachronistic systems)

allowed specialize, regional: Eng wool, Danish cattle, Bordeaux wines, Medic. wood, lowland dairy, etc.

Policy of provision - monopoly. Staple policy.

~~Boroughs~~

Stimulate commercialism of land - alienability. Led to new kind of conc-n

Cottage ind-y. - despite Bannmeile recht. This was more the later devmt, in 14th Flanders, 16th c. Eng., whereby ~~the~~ merchant capitalists circumvented restrictive urban guilds

1. Manorial system - common rights

a. Military

at first, big holders were the soldiers. Small held from big, mil. fr. was to support big.

Evolved, bowmen grew in importance. Also, king used them to undermine or check nobles. Direct relation to king.

Either case, mil. obligation went w. landhold'g.

2. Features of manor etc.

Fragmentation - effect of common ops., & also cause
Even seigniorial were fragmented, also, to weaken nobles.
Unequal size of hold'gs. Espl. demaine, vs. yardlands.

Class distinction: mil. & religious were separate from peasants.

Demaine lands ... & required labor on them, rent paid in labor, or "servitudes"

Ops. controlled by custom

No fences - common rt. of common pasture

Common lands: forests, pastures

paid for "protection"

3. Obsolescence of manor etc.

Was a desperate expedient in desperate times. When commerce revived, pressures to rescue land from it, return it to commerce.

4. Break-down of manor (in Eng. esply)

Long & gradual, but several milestones

Commutation of rents to money. Also of lords' mil. obligations

16th. Confiscation of monasteries

Sheep enclosures ... cropland to pasture. England's golden fleece, forbade export, but imported craftsmen

Cottage indy. develops.

18th & 19th

Dominance of Brit. End of peasant protection

Strong commercial currents. Eng. the center of trade. Indl. revn.
Internal exptn. revn: canals, Macadam. Became possible to feed cities from country, dev. factory system
Flanders & low lands the model

Corn the object, to feed growing cities. Nap. wars a big thrust... Baltics

^{closed}
Cities also paid taxes, forced the state

Devmt. of entail & primogeniture

Functionalism. & survival of Eng. landed aristocracy

Supplied pol. leadership. Unlike France, obsolete milt. caste never
came to terms w. modern needs.

Admitted new members. Kept vital.

Produced for the mkt. Allied w. commerce.

Paid taxes ... on land, also on produce

Encouraged urban growth, despite loss of labor supply
steel, pottery, etc., steam power, exptn.

Invested in cities, i.e. were hi, prodigals lost land to workers

Pol. value of landholding. Non-reappportionment. The rich bought
pol. pow. via rural boroughs.

cf. French, & situ. lead'g to revn.

1453. end 100 yrs war. nobility obsolete. Lose fns, retain incomes. Central

state takes over fns. Parasites.

King goes direct to peasants for taxes. Taille, on visible signs of wealth.
Shape character of French peasant, tax evader. Nobles exempt.

Later evn. of land in Eng

Electoral reform, & 1846. Same as confiscat'g $\frac{1}{2}$ the l.v. But re-
directed. it to cities, same people.

Remaining taxes abolished. Land becomes purely pot. 1911 Lloyd George budget,
but forgotten in w.v.-1.

Result? Growth of Socialism. Same as in Australia, due to Wakefield.

Now, system tied up. Tent rts. City. Committees that can take away
land. Town & City. Planning

1. Medieval Heritage

2-field system assoc. with:

- 3-field system assoc. with: ^{near limit:}

- a. Teutonic occupancy
- b. Long acres, 10/1, heavy wheeled plow.
- c. Grain: Corn, barley, fallow. Annual crops, no place for perennials.
- d. Village control of farm ops; large villages
- e. Pasture on common held "wastes"; perhaps more integration of livestock with arable, use of straw for fodder at least. (but old Romans used to produce fodder) ^{paying to sovereign, revenue assigned to vassals to free public} _{lands.}

f. Feudal, idea of land as belonging to sovereign, revenue assigned to vassals, produce fodder.

3 - field system used more of land. 2 - field system, outside of dry areas, pushed too far n, probly due to Roman prestige, therefore..

1500 years? Limitation

3-field system used more of ^{land} pushed too far n, probably due to Roman prestige, therefore..
was probably misplaced! Why did it hang on for 1500 years? Limitations on individual control? Tithing? Water law? Serfdom, parcours, gleanage (probably prescribed a particular form of culture & harvest)
abandon fodder crops, used by Romans? Maybe

Why did both kinds of farms abandon fodder crops, used by Romans? Maybe

Why did both kinds of 3-field system did produce fodder, despite B, Karp, & U? "Prairies artificielles", returning in 17th, probly are fodder crops)

B. Land tenure

Mixed. In feudal system king held all. But not all France feudalized. "Allodial" tenures remained, unequal treatment --- later became privileged position. Curse of such deals struck w. France ever since --- cf. Eng. equality before law, all land held of king, pays Taxes

France pieced together gradually, many wars, deals. Southeast esp. managed to get lighter taxes as its deal. Much provincial autonomy. As much an alliance as a conquest. [Probably local lords got tax exemption in return, became zamindars, later on]

serfdom predominant. Immobility of farm operator ... France never got away from this, immobility.

Why technique stagnant? For 900 yrs? Complete lack of incentive: no carrot, no stick. ~~late Roman latifundia~~ Late Roman latifundia reduced civilized agric. to level where not much better than Teutons, maybe worse

First stirring of revn, 11th-13th:

Hôtes: Flanders, s.w. New lands free of old servitudes, new techniques. 11-course rotations. But never spread. Today sociologists study xmtl. of innovations --- here, was not barriers to knowledge, but others.

Freedom from lord did not always mean freedom from village; & vice versa. Commutation to cens begins, proved most debilitating. Censiers of n. emphyteusis of south, perpetual leaseholds. (But better than serfdom)

French nobles weakened: civil wars, subinfeudation; commutation, perpetual money rents, inflation; no commercial outlet, like Eng. wool.

Was a pioneering movement, but much weaker than N. Sea lands. Probably beset most land already occupied & caught in web of custom since long ago: even if unoccupied, were very sparsely used by someone, hence taboos. New demand was for wool, & French agric. not flexible enough to supply it.

Partly in result of weak agric. movement, & partly for other causes, town growth was weak. Troyes showed promise, but taxed to death; ~~Abruzzo~~ replaced by Flanders, & English stood off French from there. Rhone probly choked by tolls; Bordeaux by storms. Large inland areas w/o good xptn, esp. in SW.

Kings tended discourage internal trade, probly in effort to hold nation together. Became economically introverted. But this was probably later — before 13th, w-n France tied to England.

14th. Commerce deadens. Popn falls. 100 yrs war ravages.

Value of land falls to zero, owners disappear.

15th cent.

✓ Golden Age, as in Eng. Strong demand for labor. Repossessing lands formerly developed. Easier the 2d time --- but probly less revolutionary effect on methods, like rebuilding bombed out cities, land tenure is conservative agent.

Strong central monarchy emerges, complete nat. unity. Strong controls --- prohibit grain export e.g. Also provincial controls, central govt. didn't abolish, just added more.

✓ Nobility humbled by war, Eng. yeomen, French cannoneers. Lose functions, but retain privileges. Move to cities & Paris (but not until 18th do they dominate kings). Big movement to free serfs, serfdom virtually abolished.

✓ King takes over taille directly. Previously had levied it on seigneurs, they got it from their lands. Now king taxes peasants directly -- & they also had to pay rents (in 15th these were negligible, & taille probly equitable). Taille begins its evolution to an ^{income tax} ~~on~~ on visible signs of wealth, shaped character of Fr. peasant. Nobles exempt. How about allene?

✓ Louis XI & his standing army, new departure. 1461-83. (1477, death of Chas. Bold)

Can follow a country's history in price of its land, review & new insights.

✓ 1200-50, reclamation outpaces popn, wheat & land fall

1250-1300, opposite --- [typical situation preceding stagnation??]

1300-50, again reclamation outpaces popn. Land fell much, wheat a little, & rye.
wages rose.

1351-75, war & Jacquerie, wheat climbs, land falls

1376-1400, Chas. V (1364-80) & new hope, land rises, wheat falls.

1451-75 Victory did not bring high land prices, but opened way for re-reclamation
Prices at c. 20% 1325, all time low. Wages very hi.

(Analogy: U.S. suburbs after w.w. 2, plenty of land thanks to
premature subdiv. of '20s)

But re-reclamation meant no revolution in technique

16th cent.

Inflation; reformation & religious wars; unsuccessful imperialistic wars or
adventures.

Vast Δ commerce, age of Antwerp, merchant adventurers. France participates
actively. Huguenots of s.w. in lead. (Prince de Condé; Admiral Coligny)

✓ 1589-1610, Henri ^{First Bourbon} IV. Calvinists, followers of one Hugues of Geneva.

We have come to identify them by their religion, but deeper issues
were secular, involved structure of society.

Easing of restrictions vs. taking interest. Makes a land mkt possible --- leading
to buy land, instead of tney --- there being just the two ways of ~~transferring ownership~~
equalizing i.v. Facilitates cap. funtn.

16th (cont.)

big movement. Peasants lost common rights, condition declined -
- d'Avenel & Levasseur

✓ Enclosure moved ahead: 7 lands (already); Brittany, Normandy, Poitou
(commercial influence? Or poor land, small danger of invasion, to spread out to
min. commuting); Dauphiné; Auvergne; Bayonne. Enclosure of arable, i.e. -
may have meant only land customarily tilled. Left much unenclosed.

✓ Pattern of tax-exemption grows. Was a personal privilege of nobles
(& church), hence I imagine expansive. In south, nobles had gotten most.

perhaps in return for independence. Maybe this is what offset advantages of
more individualism in south.

✓ Censiers & emphyteutic perpetual lessees became virtual landholders
after inflation. (But kings got back at them w. Δ taxes)

✓ Non-transferability problem. Created fragmentation or parcellement problem,
inter alia. 3-field system bad enough to begin with. Now each ~~share~~ of the
3 fields was cut in half or more; etc ad inf.

Heart of that problem: land as property overshadowed land as usufruct.
Same as later Rome --- & U.S. Operating economies counted for nothing;

✓ property as a human relationship for everything - ~~Probably of the French~~
relationship among heirs, & ~~between~~ between landlord & tenant. Frontiering
was over, commerce & industry never adequately replaced it. In a society of

✓ limited oppy, everyone clings tight to his little vested int.

Parcellement of some tenures obstructed consolidation of others.

✓ Even where legally could enclose, often didn't do so physically. Just
drove neighbors' cattle away. Maintained underimproved countryside -
avoided expense. Probably due to taille; small irregular fields, etc.

✓ But kings protect peasants vs. nobles some, limit depredations, so peasants can
pay taxes. Sully under Henri 4.

French evolution varied widely from one province to another, & locally
w-in provinces.

✓ Vaine pâture of arable was first to go; droit de parcours last to go---- that
& biennial fallow, 14th. (Were free-roaming cattle & hunters scourge of the south?)

Normandy develops apple orchards -- first fruit enterprise in north?
Cattle excluded.

State & provincial patronage of provisions. Prohibit export; regulate
modes of production. Constant local famines.

Sum up characteristic traits of French ec. end of 16th cent.

~~###~~

17th Progress & ~~Rebirth~~ Traditionalist Resurgence

✓ Probly one reason why French nobles never went in for commerce was Crown allied w. towns, & protected towns' provisions, limiting nobles' mktts.

✓ Probly French stagnation explained by paternalism toward cities: strong guilds; probly blocked devt of putting-out system.

Richelieu suppresses vaine pâture in Provence.

Use of "artificial prairies" begins ... possible bcs vaine pâture finished.
Took pressure off commons, ~~exp~~ ^{made} enclosure easier.

"The Putrid". Colbert & "dirigisme"
Louis XIV: at first a blessing, then a curse. Expensive wars. Managed to ruin Holland, but for benefit of England.
Anti-commercial & clerical reaction. Stopped enclosures. Futile wars. "Sun King" court. Paternalistic regn. of grain trade, & output ... forbids replacing grain by vines, e.g. Limits interprovincial trade.
France had been ahead. Richelieu genius, ff. Sully. Ruined Gy. & Spain, had sympathetic Eng. king. France led.

Richelieu was successful, but costly. Cf. Henri IV, a real bourgeois king, economical. Under ~~the~~ Richelieu l.v. fell.

✓ Louis XIV, great Δ in legn reg-g grain. Prohibits export from favoured areas, & from country. Lyons had monopoly of Burgundy; Paris of wide area. In Normandy they starved.

Importance of French hist.: how to ruin a great country (but they never quite did, compn kept on toes, revolution revived, etc.)

*Wheat restrictions responsible for frightful famines.

When bad crop, all clamped on tight controls. vs export, or taxed transit trade. Storage inadequate due to taille. Xp'tn poor.

✓ In such conditions, army & requisitions were local calamity. Louis 14

esp.

18th Decay & Revolution (why not go way of Rome? Equal balance of power, see-saw, France always came back in odd-numbered centuries)

A picture of nobility now: a class w/o function. Had moved to town & court.
17th. Revier de Tocqueville.

A popn, new pressures on land.

1680 - 1740, falling prices. also falling rents & lv., thanks Louis 14.

1720, John Law episode

1740 - 70, rising prices. (new influx of gold? Deficit finana?) ~~App.~~

1770 - 90, stationary prices --- but rents rising, scissors effect.

1763, Peas of Paris. Then rents zoom.

c. 1750, relax grain laws, allow free movement.

Extinction of common rights proceeds apace. But w/o enclosure; & w/o growth of urban employment opps. Guilds powerful; industry limited.

Unemployed pile up in cities.

Grain restrictions relaxed --- meant vines cd. expand.

By 1766-67 inquiry, vaine pature abolished in commercial s&u;
This was grain area, paternalistic regulation, probly explains
little changed in center ^{n.e.} ~~west~~ (serfs in Franche-Comté). (But wasn't

Vendée counter-revolution from commercial area?)

Late 18th, n.e. provinces do authorize dividing up common pastures, wild.

Govt. tried to protect peasants (its tax base) in divisions, couldn't, so withdrew support from movement (cf. Eng Pont, not hurt's tax base bcs

landlords paid)

so nobles --- or merchants who had bought them out --- failing to go commercial, use their power to A exactions, renew & magnify old servitudes. Feudal reaction

Repression triggers off Revn.

c. 1770 demand begins to fall. But rents & l.v. continue to Δ . Devmt of new lands ceases, however.

Distress in A. Areas of hi tney, long-term leases & 9-yr was standard.

B. Areas of recent new lands devmt, hi debt.

1775-90, rents continue to rise. Unemployment severe.

1781 another sharp setback. 1788 hvst fails. Grain price rises 50%.
Grain spec. absorbed much peasant purch. power, textiles collapsed.
Construction & mfg. stopped.

Tax crisis: had reached limits. Had no credit.

Taille fixed since 1780

2d vingtième imposed in 1782-87

Govt calls Estates. Govt. bcs bankrupt. Revolution follows.

One group farsighted men tried stop. Physiocrats. Quesnay, Turgot, du Pont.
Vs. tax exemptions, & ^{excise taxes.} Parallels in Sun Yat-sen, Narodniks?, etc.

The revolutionary settlement:

1. Swept away what left of feudal servitudes. But never challenged property in kind --- revolutionaries were landholders too. Cens repealed, but metayage, fermage remain. Thus some customary tenants became full owners; others just changed landlords.
2. Equality before law -- ended tax exemptions
3. Confiscated noble & church lands, sold for revenue (sure sign of low taxes)
Brought business heads into farming. Tended to prefer fermage to metayage.
4. Commons, cut up & distributed among peasants, that which had been considered seigneurie. In remote areas, common pastures remain.
5. Vaine pâture more persistent -- some remains yet today!
6. Tithes repealed.
7. Free contract glorified, & mobility of resources (but much undone in Restoration)
8. Destroyed urban guilds

In absence of much to say re Eng., give overview of world devmt. of land tenure.

Rotten land system: germ. & russ.

HAMILTON
BOND
MAGNUS

Es. 149, 11-7-62

How res. became priv.

1. Ancient world. always a public element; from mil. necessity.

ancient Gaul, large estates etc. Weak before Gns.; & Romans.

Gns & Romans alike, land tenure contingent on mil. service.

Gns, communal village, semi-migratory

Romans, settled, more individualized. Patriarchal

Roman problem, soldiers lost fms. Larger holdings w. slaves, less mil. service per acre. Senators &c. patrician families immune from taxes.

Ebb & flow of reform movements. Punic Wars. Lands to vets ... but always remote. Gracchi, Caesar. A losing battle.

Land ceased to bear burden. Landholders sloughed off their obligations - no sense of stewardship to the nation. Commerce & indy. Took up burden, mercenary army replaces citizen army.

Contrary to one notion, land became more priv. To extent priv. land-holders became the local govt., & kept away tax collectors, if powerful.

Ec. 149, 11-7-62, Topics

Feudal system.

Various origins

Fief, vassal, retainers,

Eng. yeomen. More like Roman soldiers.

Manner

Common rights

Quislings

Decayed aristos.

Analogy in U.S., great tax shift

Transition to priv. prop'ty, all countries. Status to contract
Enclosures in Eng. Manorial. Domestic system

Rev'n. in France

Reform in Prussia

Flanders & low lands first

Old Rome

Origin in U.S.

Ec. 149, 11-5-62

Emphasize old commonality

1. Common land - Manor system
2. Landowner's ^{mil.} service ~~to state~~

Enclosures.

Necy for effie. fung.

Destroyed distrib. arrangement. (Even if small got paid, not so likely to bequeath)
Lost milty. service of yeomen. - & big fellows didn't replace them, or even
keep old obliges.

3-1-62.

Aug. 468.

What do we glean from each writer?

1. Rostow (separate sheet). Weakness: overstates novelty of situations: forgets "plus il change, plus il reste la même chose".

2. Oppenheimer.

Feudal state disintegrates bcs. expand onto new lands; give public fun. to landlords.
No money ex. Rome did this, too.

Lesson for world govt. Need money ex. to tie big state together.

Sub-principles:

a. Conquerors do so by coming to terms w. semi-indep. members of previous political units. Landholder loses pol. fun, keeps rents. Zamindars; French nobles; company towns.

b. Alliance of central govt. & landless peasants. Direct connection necessary

Enclosure, interpret as result of baron dominance. Not so in England?
England, remarkable feature, landlords got together & ran central govt., 1688 - 1846.

p. 211: 3 classes: plebs, common freemen, magnates (1 & a 4th, the State) Cause of race feeling, overlooked by liberals.

Monarch protects peasants from magnates so he can tax them.

Took form of fixing rents in money, thus giving peasants interest in land, & state ... & tax paying ability.

Peasant also develops a surplus, brings into being the city. (Baron is self-sufficient.) (Like slaveholder). Thus ec. devmt. begins w. indep. peasants w. equity.

W. money ex., lords cease to want more men around, & displace them.

(cf. changed attitude of s.-n. landlords to negroes, as integration grows)

So those who don't keep stake in things are driven to cities.

Money, cities, ^{movable wealth,} central power, paid armies, ^{plebs} peasants, & gunpowder, joined to prevail over feudal levies.

Capitalists, allied w. plebs, finally win, then desert plebs & join landlords.

3. Manton.

Who captained the indl. revn? ^{The factory system.}
Advantage of home-grown entrepreneurs? D.p.s. from enclosures. (hence Gen. revival today?)
Former wool capitalists clung to old ways. (Hong Kong?)

Class of part-time farmers, when their farm opps. declined. (Cf. New England later. A particularly promising class, foot in country & city. Don't write off today.)

New area: Yorkshire, Lancashire. Domestic industry existed there, but was weaker. Was centered in SW, & E., factory system grew slowest there.

Stage-jumping principle: ^{Pierson} New growth comes not by imitating, but innovating, improving. Relative backwardness, ^{hush}.

3 stages: guild; domestic; factory.

Non-conformist.

Each of system exaggerated by rival employers.

Factories not a new idea, but now succeeded & thrived, why? Widened. Nearly so, but raw mtrls imported. Liverpool before Manchester. Tudors & Stuarts, like French Kings, had grain monopolies - to individuals, to towns.

Freedom from mtrls power important. ~~that~~ Arkwright's mtrls power used mtrls power, but was replaced by Crompton's mtrls.
(E.g., textile, & mining were also in revolution - suggests more general cause)

Old Norwich, urban countryside.

4. Clapham.

Fr. revn. was anti-union (so was indl. revn.) Unions not new.

2 Frances: open fields in N, classic 2-field system in so. Thus so. was behind.

Reduce fallowing, big ag. reform.

Flanders way ahead, 11-yr rotations, commercialized long since. Flanders taught Eng., Eng. taught France.

Enclosures in N.E., didn't change technique, as in England.

French revn. was a free ent. revn. Reduced dirigisme; ^{weakened guilds;} enclosed commons (but in small bundles); reduced grazing rts on arable; repealed cens, etc.; repealed tithe

By, E. v. W. of Elae

Roston, W.W. The Stages of Ec. Growth.

Idea for ag. ec. 468.

Preconditions:

a. Gen. case, changes in traditional society.

b. 2d case, nations like U.S. "born free".

Dubious distinction. U.S. had slavery, was behind Europe in evolution, many ways.
R. recognizes fuzziness. His technique, make a sweeping overgeneralization, then qualify, rather than begin w. concept of continuum.

1. Shift from ag. I doubt. U.S. was more ag. than backward Eur. cities. Is also ancient urban life: guilds, city-states, etc.

p19, badly mixed up.

2 sectoral problems: p. 21

a. & productivity in ag. (define productivity). Quick-yielding.

b. social overhead cap. (transport)

a) Ag. must supply more food; & for exch.

" " demand mass-produced city products

" " export cap. to indy.

Roston identifies land & agric., p. 24, imputes it to Smith.

(Discuss cap. funtion. & l.v.)

b) Soc. overhead

Long gestation & pay. off

Lumpiness

Indirect payoff ... spillover benefits

Go to board, develop eco. of networks.

Non-ec. change.

Stresses reactive nationalism. Too cynical. Internationalism a factor —

A. Smith. Also wide mkt., commercial revn.

Fn. of state. Xp'tn? Who built roads, canals, & railways in England? Probably a special case for insular. Contribution of state was laissez-faire? Positive laissez-faire ... suppressing local autonomy.

By-passing principle; wave principle (quantum theory, discrete advances, but not unique take-off)

Ultimate explanation of why England in 18th, not France etc. is reclusive nationhood. Progress became a widely sanctioned goal, p. 34-35-
(This also implies Eng. not the first.)

Take-off implies move into orbit, never land, much less crash. Other historians gloomier, see cycles.

Ev Devel of Fr. & Gy, 1815-1914, J.H. Clapham, Cambridge Eng, 1936

Intro.

1500 - 1850, 'great social q. of day' was peasant q. Fr. rev. gave answer. stands to today. -- spread.

For labor unions, Rev. no friend. Re ind, object to free, destroy guilds, restrictions. So: sympathy to peasants, not to urban, landless labor. (i.e., was priv. prop. in land rev.) Code Nap. substantiated, solidified anti-union.

Commerce less affected by rev, was well set already (lesson: in era of regulations, be in commerce, less regulable than ind?)

Postwar, cont. got busy copying Eng. ^{ind.} rev. -- freed by war & Fr. rev. of past shackles.

Pop. began, largest, as life lengthened, & old restrictions on early mge weakened.

(Fr. the internat. comm. language, 12th on, as Eng today.)

Ch 1 Rural life before m.

NE of Coeurin-Vosges line, Meuse R., had been open fields. SW, probly never, perhaps because Teutons never penetrated much. Far S., system inherited from classic times: wheat, vines, olives, fruits, & irrigated meadows. Meadows open, but not much subject to common pasture -- irrig. meadows & climate allowed winter feeding from storage.

Lower valleys W Pyrenees, inclosed, small, well kept farms, 'rural happiness'.

Garonne Valley, an immense village.

✓ Main problem was to reduce fallowing, which kept $\frac{1}{2}$ land idle in S., $\frac{1}{3}$ in N. Done by intro. rotations -- turnips in Eng.

Flanders & polders, long diff., commercial ag. for dense cities around, enclosed, 11 yr rotations, no fallow. Hadn't spread. Lower Rhine an island. It taught Eng. Eng taught Fr. -- a little.

Clapham 2
Upper Rhine, ~~Eng~~ again open field system. 3 course rot.: winter corn, spring corn, fallow.

Where enclosures occurred, NE, little effect on technique. No big farms emerged. Maybe some big ownerships, rights to collect cens, but these scattered, (& even if joined, couldn't be centrally adm, each tenant had his small vested, which might lose by exr)

Few utterly landless. Many with very small scraps, to which dung worked outside as well.

Rev. changed:

1. Freed indiv. to do as chose. Ancien regime concerned over grain for cities, vines couldn't be extended w/o official permission. Tradit. not. had grain supply in view, as went back to when no exch, so govt to foster grain, discouraged change. Govt reg. every aspect of grain prod, exchange, price, storage, etc. Peasants didn't respond to rev. freedom immmed. (too long enslaved, dulled)

2. Commons. Rev. cut up among peasants, simul. reforming system, & redistr., for had been considered seignior's. 10 remained common, 1815, but just peasants, remote areas. Essentially none.

3. Grazing rights on arable -- gradually declined over 19th, but some remain today!

4. Cens repealed, (along with other feudal oblig. Spirit of rev. was to install free contract system -- freely contracted rents ok, metayage remained.)

Restoration, didn't restore cens, mainmortables (labor dues of lowest class, serf remnants) (But threat persisted)

Metayers held smallest scraps -- but maybe 1/2 France so held, 1815, then died down, replaced by changeable M. rents.

Very few rich peasants, hence few Eng type farmers.

5. Tithe repealed.

Clapham, 3

✓ No big estates to cut up by rev., as in Russia, for big owners didn't cultivate own fields, nor hold in unified blocks. Even his immed. environs. lord let on metayage. 19th, renewed interest in farming by lords. Just common cut up.

(Rent control lesson. France did it, gave each small vested int. Stifled mobility etc Land of small vested interests)

1. 21

(Metayage, landowner shares risk with tenant. Tenancy, cash, fixed rent in advance -- tenant takes more responsib. & risk, owner fixed inc. more --- which suggests such landowners hurt by infl., v.v. (e.g. us in Dorset))

✓ Metayage disappearing Fr., 19th, in NE first.

18th, Paris 500,000, which exceeded any Gm city, & biggest 10 Gm cities just 750,000. Around Paris, much commercial farming for it. No comparable stimulus in Gy.

Along coasts, Pomerania, etc., towns reclaimed from sea by Netherlanders, or their methods. More orderly set-up. Houses in line along dike, long strip from each belonged to it (cf Cal. delta)

✓✓✓ E. Elbe, Junker position originated from conquest, peasants very subservient, few rights. Hence could be evicted, and estates consolidated. In w., e.g. Hanover, Bavaria, states had protected peasants rights. Esp. in many ecclesiastical principalities which occupied so much of Rhine valley, until Nap. Knightly class weak there, peasants protected, strong.

E. Elbe, lords had reclaimed land, waste; &, 30 yrs war, peasants wasted, lords got much more.

1800-30, Junkers became their own cap-ist cultivators. Previously, they let out domains, a process also dominant with Eng. estates. -- & French, French being least active as own administrators.

✓ Slavic primitive villages, on which German colonization & conquest imposed, were less well organized than typical Gm, being circles of houses, with fields parcelled, scattered all over, no regular shapes or plan as in Gm village. Otherwise similar 3 field system.

early 19th, Gm open field system, west, had changed even less than French, because less urbanization. But E. Elbe changed radically at that time, by dominant landlords -- could change, because power so unified.

(Gy, i.e., was changed more by conscious state action than by slow evolution. & I think when path cleared for free contract by conscious state policy, this type of govt action superior to slow evolutionary growth, which, in France, created so many vested interests to block progress.

Denmark, Sweden, 18th, enclosures thru state policy.

As late as 1845, Baden areas still parcelled, unenclosed. (& perhaps still today? France, similar area, haven't changed entirely, perhaps NW Gy the same)

Below Dusseldorf, & in Netherlands; & also in lower Ems, & scattered in NW Gy, were isolated farms. Aside from this, a sharp frontier separated, at Dusseldorf, these from the communal villages. Going e., slow merging into more lord's dominance, to to heritage of conquest.

(Eiffel area of France, holdover of periodic redistrib, far into 19th. But not widespread)

No landless peasant class in France, everyone had a little something. (any coincidence that the Catholic areas, France & SW Gy, were areas of greatest peasant strength, slowest progress?)

19th c., cause of agric. change in France, biggest thing was transportation improvements. (thus making each field effectively near the city, to produce for mkt) Roads, canals, first; then, 40s, r.r.s.

Effect of revolution, in removing customary or legal hindrances to progress, also important in 19th.

Decline in common land in France didn't create landless class, either -- for was divided up to give employment, not increase production -- giving a modern interp. of this old Latin attitude.

Big thing was to do away with fallowing, which kept $\frac{1}{2}$ s., $\frac{1}{3}$ n idle. Done by developing rotations, such as had existed in Flanders & Eng for long temps, with turnips, potatoes, legumes in off year. Potatoes introduced to France 19th, largely grown on scraps formerly unused.

Influx of landowners with urban traditions, important result of rev. land settlement. For they indisposed to metayage, rather chose cash rents.

Quant little paternalistic principalities of SW Gy, peasants like French, just cens payers, some banalites, social deference to gracious lord. Few landless, but many who eked out agric. income by working for others.

Late 18th, great reforming spirit abroad, various progress before hurricane of French invasions.

Prussia extended from tyranny of Slav-lands to free Dutch, had all types. Polish landlords treated their peasants even worse than Junkers, Polish peasants glad to be taken over by Germans. { Perhaps it was lesson of Polish partition, as well as French strength, that inspired most NW Eur nations to agric. reform, to increase

the numbers of those who would defend the state.

19th Prussian reforms, Polish peasants of Posen protected vs their Polish landlords; while Gm peasants uprooted wholesale. After Jena. 18th, Junkers had even defied Frederick Great, who tried to protect peasants. Fred. owned personally 1/3 his empire, reformed much on that.

Prussian reform, extending from e. to w., typified whole Gy. reforms.

✓ Early 19th, E. Elbe area, techn. progress fastest. Straightening out peasants rights vs lords took time; & then, peasants had to contend with each other.

✓ Generally, obstacles to rearrangement of fields were great, despite nominal free transfer. E.g. were rights of passage. The thing was an organic whole, could hardly be just declared private & then consolidated by free movement. Required govt action -- which in many places has never come, hence the John Abbot holdovers. { Esp. in places where much subsistence cultivation remained, hence main asset of peasant was his land, so rearrangement had to be by trading pieces of land

Junkers went eager over rational adm of estates. Thaer, recommending Eng. methods, plus good bookkeeping.

✓ Bavaria, Baden, peasants satisfied with status quo, little change. They owned commons -- ~~xxxx~~ in E., lords owned them, put them to plow -- kept them as were.

Prussia didn't apply her law of 1821 to Rhineland holdings, for was more compulsion in it than peasants used to; & holdings smaller.

✓ In sw, 3 field communal agric. had partly broken down in 18th anyway, some smallholders using land individually. & smallholders there thought more of maintaining their families than the mkt. So NE did pioneering in methods.

✓ Free migration didn't come immed in Pr., with 1821. Junkers used adm power to keep peasants around, for wage work on estates. Gradually, with r.r.s & growing nat. power, mobility increased.

✓ Even before emancipation, Junkers had worked to get as much land as possible withdrawn from open fields.

Peasants far behind, followed lords in new agric. techniques.

Chap III: Industrial Conditions in France, 1815-48

19th, slow ind. progress. Lack of coal resources. Much foster~~ing~~ ing, but something wrong. Cheaper labor than Eng. (despite no landless class -- odd)

Thurs, 3-24-60

Emergence of commercial ag.

1. ~~Trade~~ (Trade routes reopen. ^{11th}) Did all agric. adjust? No - most caught in toils of old system, stayed there for a time, self-contained feudal enclaves. Lands subject to common rights; methods of tillage prescribed; custom-bound, integrated whole, resisted change remarkably.

So newly reclaimed lands produced for mkt, 11th - 14th.

Maritime Flanders & Holland; Po Valley; N. Fr. plain; Bavarian hills; bastide country of Midi; Scandinavia.

cf. expansion of cities today. Superposition of anachronisms; integration of peripheries. New world ec. connected + new towns: Hanse; Troyes; S. Fr.; N. Italy.

A. Smith says towns "created" mkt; but didn't lead agric. New towns & new ag. grew together, mutual. Bruges over Ghent.

Specialism: Eng wool, Bordeaux wine, Danish cattle, Netherlands dairy, Medit. woods etc.

Ec. alliance shows in political & military alliance. Bruges sides w.

peasants of maritime Flanders, 1321-28; Ghent w. count & king.

Paris merchants side w. jacquerie, 14th.

New religion grows with new ag. & towns: Cistercians vs. Benedictines

Radical religious communism - Lollards. In peasant revolts, ~~the~~ which new towns fostered.

Higher wages (& lower rents), reflected back on old system. Why did feudal lords allow? Like G. Wn., eternal conflict. Wakefieldism, proclamation line.

Commutation to fixed M rents, ff. by inflation (due to commercial revn of 13th) xfd much equity. (But at cost of inflexibility)

N-n Eur. ag. achieved harmony between animal & vegetable, which Medit. world didn't. a big step forward. ^(Or was it just in its decline that Medit. ag. failed here? Romans had fodder mkt, etc.)

14th cent. of stagnation in lowlands; & gurry. End of first wave of post-feudal progress. While gild system gives way to putting out, & new city - Antwerp, of 15th-16th.

2. England, Emergence of Commercial Agriculture.

Feudal development began later, when M.C. already reviving.
1066, overturn of old lords, new system. Good sea xptn. So nobles always market-oriented. (Same as N. Gms, Hanseatic towns)

Wool abroad; ^{demand from Flanders & Italy} corn to local towns, handicraft products.

Lords' demesnes were source of marketed products. ^{Esp. smaller lands, adjusted quicker, & less self-sufficient} Peasants more subsistence basis, & provided labor. But still no fences; & common regime of work; & common rights. 3-field system in Midlands; 2-field system, & square fields, in s.e. & n.w.

Stronger central govt, (until 15th). Strengthened peasants vs. nobles. Armed them, used for bowmen. (Nobles also checked in France by subelivision, civil war, etc. Only in 17th-18th, unchecked --- thence revolution.)

^{Nobility almost always under some restraints}
13th "Hanseatic Age"

Wool export to Flanders, Italy. Virtual monopoly, as Flemish land turned to provisioning towns. ^{And elsewhere lands tied up in old feudal customs & obligations.} Strong central govt used monopoly - at this time to pressure Flanders as invasion base (later to import textile industry).

Tax exports, exploit inelastic demand -- & combat Hanse, staplers.

Strong govt prevents rustling, helps.

Rival was Spain, wool export. But diff. sort of culture -- transhumance. Eng. sheep relatively well-behaved, not migratory, made peace with sedentary agric. ^{probably thanks to climate} ~~Quite an achievement, & in gosh is a major~~

~~contribution of NW Eur. agric., with cattle as well as sheep.~~

In Medit. world, transhumance widespread, to find summer pasture.

In central Asia, nomadism. Eng. had cattle trails & drives, e.g. from Scotland. But limited, unlike Spain.

Spain was also busy w. religious wars, & Christian shepherds of hispan-plateaus (Castile) not yet ready to export. [Not until 16th, & then is it not likely that trade rivalry led to war?] ^{also probably by "commendation", to earn tax exemption during life of donor.}

Monasteries, big holders. Growth by mortmain. ^{Less commercial.}

Commutation proceeds apace.

— Stopped here, Tues, 3-29-60

"Century of catastrophes"

14th. Stormy wx. Medit revival.

Black Death. Higher wages, lower rents.

Kings attempt price control of wages, fail, stir up revolt which also fails, 1381. But brings to fore ideology of Wyke, Lollards, — recollection of primitive Communism, a recurrent theme in history everywhere.

Analogies to French & Am. revs: attempts to reassert old privileges; radical fringe comes to surface.

Bowmen shine in French war, gain status, as knights lose theirs.

15th "Golden Age" ^{thwarted in imperialistic ventures}
Lose war, fall apart -- & golden age of farm labor! (Like Denmark late 19th)

^{Guns & bows - the great equalizers}

Revert to more labor-intensive forms of ag as sheeping declines.

Frontier stands ready to reconquer as popn recovers from Death.

Knights can't bully strong bowmen. High wages, low rents.

Eng. in genl still edg backward. Medit. bankers dominate; Flemish & Italian mfgs, & seafaring traders. But wages higher in England. Banking, mfg, & shipping are typically occupation of nations in decline.

Eng. also had guild craftsmen going into restrictive phase. But not dominant, save locally.

16th. "Tudor Age"

Modern Eng. emerges. Power, ^{& commercial} center shifts to Atlantic nations. Bes
Turks close e-n Medit., as Arabs had in 7th. Kills N. Italy & S. Gy.

Baltic probly clogged by stagnant Hanse Towns (& perhaps by power of
Denmark or Sweden over Skagge Rak?). Drang nach Osten stalled by emergence of
powerful Slavic states. (as previously also by Mongols)

Age of discoveries, empire-grabbing, all oriented toward the Atlantic.

Great Δ of mkt stimuli in Eng, several causes or aspects:

A. Internat. cc. shifts west. Antwerp, queen city of age, world mkt at
England's doorstep. Fostered by Portugal & Spain.

B. New form of orgn of indy, cottage system, circumvented old, thus ended
stagnation, Δ d demand for raw mtrls. --- actually this evolved in 14th & 15th, Flanders.

C. Δ internal mkt, as Tudors charter & limit guilds, & staples, w. their
petty local monopolies. "Merchant adventurers": new system of indy comes to Eng.

Swashbuckling - piracy & business.

Flemish & French craftsmen move to Eng. for greater oppy, cc. & religious. Eng.
export tax a factor, but probly greater cc. freedom was main point.

D. Δ M -- use of gunpowder permits new world conquests.

E. Reformation --- improved cap. mkt., ^{made land mkt possible} shattered old attitudes quickly.
Confiscation of monastery lands.

F. Devmt new lands & associated urban oppies in Eng, capital flows in from
Italy & Gy.

G. Security, encourages cap. accum. Was lacking in Fr. & Gy, religious wars
for 2 centuries; lowlands also affected. --- Antwerp ruined.

Eng. had advantage of late start. Benefits of money cc. on fingers
of it, w/o disadvantages: small hard-crested units. Benefit is holding together
large pol. unit. Paid royal officers in money, from king's money income.

Tues

16th (cont.)

Effects on agric. of growing commerce, & demand for wool: Enclosures; & cottage indy.

A. Enclosures -- 1st Encl. Movement. Fences & individual control.

Smallest area involved, but forerunner of later. And huge turnover of manoreries, drastic changes there. Manoreries had become bankrupt, where once leaders.

Revolution in land tenure. Lands had been entangled in system of community agric., customs, vague, not written down much. In the change, the rich & ruthless came out way ahead. The yeomen had nothing to sell - they had equity based on old arrangements followed by inflation. Also, were faced by monopolies. Even those who got money lost by ΔP .

So was good & bad:

4-7 Thurs
i) Bad, ^{Atroc, not so good either} Δ conc-n, inequality, w/o just cause. Create landless proletariat. Unemployed, but society of times too inflexible to absorb many immigrants fast. Even tho Eng. more flexible in this regard than other countries.

ed. hv. compensated by Δ land tax -- finally did so, 1694, pretty long wait, 2%? (Maybe this is what facilitated & permitted indl. rev. in Eng.?)

Why not reabsorb labor on new units? But sheep need many fewer men per acre. High wages in Eng. probly one cause for turning land to sheep. Pasture & meadow worth more than arable (Nashotz p. 521)

ii) Good, freed land from stagnating old system, made flexible. (But Eng. moved from one inflexible system to another -- entail & primogen. - never reaped full benefits). ^{greater concn bcs no civil wars, as in Fr. & SW Gt. where lords held land to get M.} Not only were demesnes & commons withdrawn from old regime but also many smaller holdings - yeomen. Some say was good bcs land needed more manure.

B. Cottage indy.

It saved small farms. Not only ecly but politically, bcs Kings wanted to encourage indy, threw weight vs. enclosures.

17th "Accession of
Domination by the squirearchy"

Holland dominates shipping & commerce. Amsterdam's century.
Stuarts, Civil Wars, Restoration, & 1688: Dutch king & Port in charge.
Power of purse -- & taxed selves to control King. A new phenomenon: strong central
govt, but controlled by gentry, vigorous ones.

Civil

Wars had distributed lands wider, probably.
Commercial growth stops, & also ag. evolution. "Adventurers" stagnate.

✓ Rural domination of towns -- lays basis for town growth! Restrictive
planning not allowed. Country provides political leadership for cities -- like

Rome, Prussia & Gy, Manchus in China, Communists in China, Castile in Spain,

Va. planters in early U.S.

Rural domination showed self in Corn Bounty Act, 1689-1814; cf. earlier limits on
wool export; & French, old Athenian, etc. prohibitions on a corn export.

18th "Industrial Revolution"
Unpromising & foreboding beginning: the South Sea Bubble

New industries: steel, pottery, cotton. Steam power. New x.ptn. Yorkshire & Lancashire,
previously relatively untouched by commerce. (Bias of history, Marxists join large landholders vs. factories)
Growing Atlantic mkt, also Oriental trade. Holland squelched by French

war, as Antwerp had been by Spanish. London the queen city. Commercial
revn paves way for indl.

Wool interests restrictions vs. Indian ctas evoke Eng. ctu indy, kill wool. Related
to Am. devt closely. Exp. in Wars, Baltic closed.

Labor moves to cities, pop. grows, demand corn. Cottage indy weakens - Selas Marnes.
? & reduced demand for meat & dairy, less power?

3 kinds fixed change on land: hi i.r. due to urban opps; land tax; and obligations to relatives.
"Age of Reason"
New techniques for rotations developed to reduce fallowing, drain, fertilizing.
improve breeds, get more from land by individualist farming. So big pressure to
enclose. & weak resistance. 2% land tax stimulated get A inc. from lands.
Entail etc. meant every large holding had many claims on it, had to improve to meet them.
Small farms lost both commons & cottage-work, died out. Extreme inequity,
but huge landholders, many poor landless, & tithes. But was some land tax to compensate.

Rotten borough system. Pol. value of farm land hi. No competing vs.
urban fortunes. Cf. Rome, 2d BC etc.

Kings now encourage enclosure. Less need of soldiers; more of sailors, &
workmen. And now enclosed lands paid taxes.
Religious phase: yeomen were Puritans; they led new revn.

1. Land obligations & welfare state (not so in Latin Am., conquest society)
 - a. Tax shift turns landowners from watchdogs to raiders of treasury.
 - b. abolition of obligations divides into class society, have-nots ~~class~~ become majority, hence revolutionary tendencies, have to be quieted w. welfare payments
 - ^{Middle class disappears}
c. Land freed from obligations, used less intensively, unemployment
 - d.

2. Summary. Colonial Land Systems
Corporate, Proprietary, Royal
All systems produced common elements on frontier: open range;
small farms, often a squatter; big grantee or land speculator ... earliest corps.

3. Procl. Line & Revn.
See 4-7 notes

4. Western lands & nat. unity
Colonies claims conflicted, overlapped. already war in Vt.
Had to merge or go to war
Continual fear of secession in west, brought continual concessions.
Continual courtship of west by rival seaboard colonies.

- 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. Constr. & nat. res. e) Reqr. of apportionment.
~~4) Record: basis~~

5. Ham. & containment
Seaboard interests were central of new govt. at first. Reaction vs
revn., new procl. line on Ohio R. Ord. of 1787, designed to
block settlement of N.W., stop new states.

Hann. "funded" debt, i.e. made permanent; held public lands in reserve, as collateral; paid int. not w. rents or taxes, but w. tariff & excise.

Ec. 149, 11-19-62

Reprise, land taxes & welfare state.

Summary, Colonial land systems

Proclamation Line & Rem.

Public Lands & national unity

Hamilton & containment. Ord. of 1787.

Jeffr. & nat. expansion

Land sales policy to 1862

Internal improvements. Reversal of Wakefield policy. Exploitation ~~by~~ by
subsidy!

Open range & enclosure

Land sales & money supply

Peffer
6, 7, 19

6. Stresses w-n orgn; oppn. to Fed. retention of lands.
1907 Convention vs. Pinchatism. To offset, TR opened Conservation
Crusade, making it a movement w. his showmanship. Idea of collective
ownership paramount - vs. idea of prior appropriation.

Forests, water power, phosphate - key issues.

Reservation of public lands the policy applied to all 3.

7. Leasing. Change for use of falling water. (Precedent for my plan - ?
should have cited.)

Power Cos. fought vs. leasing principle for yrs. Senate & states' rights
of w. & so. favored them; House & exec. favored a change, by 1920 won.

(If U.S. can change for water, & leasing lands, why not for air? Col.
that be used as legal gimmick for Fed. land tax? ?)

✓ (Set up Berkeley mtg. w. one authority to discuss instur. of Fed.
changes for resource use) Merion Clewsom?

1920, leasing applied both to hydroel & minerals - largely oil,
but also others. But c. $\frac{1}{4}$ the rents went into state reul. & devmt.
funds. -- maybe good, creates a vested interest in collecting the rents.