

Book Reviews

C. R. ELRINGTON (ed.), *A Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, Vol. VIII. O.U.P., 1968. xxiv+312 pp. £8 8s.

This volume covers twenty-two rural parishes in the north of Gloucestershire, and one town, the borough of Tewkesbury, which fully deserves the 70 pages, 9 plates, and 5 plans devoted to it.

The making of the landscape is dealt with in the opening paragraphs of each parochial history. Then follows the tedious but necessary account of manors and their descents; after which, under the general heading of Economic History, agriculture, mills, industry, and trade each in turn have their distinct sections. This arrangement of the material, now standard in the Victoria County Histories, has been criticized before in this REVIEW (xiv, 1966, p. 74), and there is no need to repeat the criticism here. It is more agreeable to recognize the devoted labour which has gone into the compiling of the volume, and the factual value of the data assembled in it.

An attractive photograph shows newly harvested teasels grown within recent years at Elmstone Hardwicke. In the heart of Tewkesbury an open arable field of some 70 acres called Oldbury, divided evenly between three furlongs and held in common by the burgesses, was not enclosed until 1811. At Prestbury the bishop of Hereford had a number of tenants described as *buchi*; elsewhere we meet with tenants called *enches*. Both terms are of unknown meaning.

It could be wished that the lettering of the maps approached nearer to Ordnance Survey standards. The statement (p. 172) that Pamington, a hamlet in Ashchurch, is recorded in 967 is founded on nothing more than a blunder in Kemble's edition of the Anglo-Saxon charters.

H. P. R. FINBERG

A. H. SMITH, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*. English Place-Name Society, vols. XLII, XLIII. Cambridge University Press, 1967. 2 vols. lxxv+212 pp.; xiv+367 pp. 105s.

These two volumes were the sixteenth and

seventeenth to be edited for the English Place-Name Society by Professor Smith, and fully maintained the high standard which he and his predecessors had established. His death, at a comparatively early age, shortly after the publication of these volumes is a heavy loss to place-name studies. If one criticism may be made it must surely be directed at the maps, which are small and inadequate when compared with the publication as a whole.

Westmorland is notable for the absence of early place-names, the predominant element being Scandinavian, and that Norwegian rather than Danish. The sources for the study of place-names are likewise limited and late. There are few pre-Conquest records of names and Domesday only provides twenty, all for the southern part of the county which was included in the Yorkshire survey. Monastic and private records are few, and the county does not appear in the pipe rolls until after 1170. All this was very largely due to the sparseness of the population, which in turn may be attributed to the unattractive nature of the terrain. The county is divided into two by a mountainous ridge which crosses it from east to west. To the north lay the barony of Westmorland, mainly the valleys of the upper Eden and its tributaries, and to the south the barony of Kendal comprising the valleys of the Kent and the Lune. Only in the later twelfth century did they come to be regarded as forming a single shire. One-third of the county is rough mountain pasture and rocky waste, and a great deal of the remainder consisted of boggy and sour soils, as is amply shown by the frequency with which such elements as *kjarr*, *mos*, *mor*, and *myrr*, all meaning marsh or bog, occur in the place-names. Although sheep-farming was probably the most extensive occupation, names derived from bull, cow, and ox occur more frequently, and amongst crops those which have most commonly lent their names to places are flax, barley, oats, pease, and rye, in that order. The popularity of apples in the early Middle Ages is attested by Applethwaite Common, two Applegarths, and the town of Appleby. Apple-

by was exceptional in being an early borough, with two parishes in the time of Henry I. Other settlements were small and widely scattered, hamlets or single farms. Characteristic were the large ecclesiastical parishes with a church village (*kirkju-býr* in Old Norse) whence such names as (Kirkby) Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kirkby Stephen, and Kirkby Thore; probably four of the best known out of some forty places in the former Danelaw which bear, or formerly bore, the name Kirkby or Kirby.

J. L. KIRBY

JOHN L. FISHER, *A Medieval Farming Glossary of Latin and English words taken mainly from Essex Records*. National Council of Social Service for the Standing Conference for Local History, London, 1968. 42 pp. 7s. 6d.

This glossary has been compiled over many years by Canon Fisher and has been edited by Mr W. R. Powell with the aid of Mr R. E. Latham and Mr F. G. Emmison. It is based mainly on original Essex sources drawn from the records of some two hundred manors. No claim is made that it is comprehensive, nor has it been correlated with other dictionaries or glossaries. Nevertheless, bearing these limitations in mind, it is an excellent production. It includes, as implied in the title, a large number of words used in medieval farming. For most words, the source and the date are given; a large number are middle English or dialect words which, as students of manorial documents know, are frequently used in Latin records. In addition, the glossary includes a lot of words which are not connected essentially with farming, though they often appear in an agricultural context. Most of these are terms used by building craftsmen. Some are connected with the textile industry, as one would expect of medieval Essex. Of course, there are meanings given which one might question, and each user's list of disagreements might differ from others'—*liber bancus* (free bench) is not necessarily the whole holding kept by the widow; 'strip of field or meadow' is not a good translation of *sellio*; 'spring' rather than 'summer' sowing is better for *tremagium*; *operarius* can mean 'workman' as well as 'villein who does week work'; *insethouse* is a difficult word but I

doubt if it means 'the central room of a house'; and so on. Such disagreements do not detract from the glossary's utility. It should be acquired by everybody using manorial records, and will be of interest to anybody concerned with medieval implements, farming practice, and building techniques.

R. H. HILTON

A. ROGERS (ed.), *Bulletin for Local History Tutors and Students: East Midlands Region*. Dept. of Adult Education, Nottingham University, 1966, 1967. 16 pp.; 30 pp. 5s. each.

The region covered by these annual booklets comprises Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire. Dr Rogers is well known for his work on Lincolnshire, and in these pamphlets has compiled useful lists of 'Work in Progress' relating to all five counties. With the rapid expansion of research in local history, it is impossible for either amateurs or academics to keep track of all that is going on in fields akin to their own. Lists like Dr Rogers's facilitate the spread of information as well as preventing vexatious overlapping of effort. It is much to be hoped that other adult education boards will follow his enterprising example, and that he will be able to continue to produce this Bulletin annually. The issue for 1966 was the first in the series. Further information about the work of individuals or students will, he says, be welcome.

Each booklet also contains brief articles of general interest. In that for 1967 Mrs M. A. Welch writes on 'The Manuscripts Department of Nottingham University Library'; Dr Rogers on 'A Possible Group Project in Local History' (nineteenth-century church life); and Miss J. C. Sinar, the county archivist for Derbyshire, on 'The Tutor and the Archivist.' When the historiography of the twentieth century comes to be studied, the foundation of county and regional record offices will undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most constructive developments of our time. The revolution in the study of English provincial society which has begun in the last few years could not have occurred without the gallant work of local archivists up and down the country, often in the face of grave staff-shortages, and sometimes

without adequate consideration or recognition from students and scholars. Miss Sinar describes some of the principal sources of use to extramural classes and likely to be available in county record offices. She also points out, sensibly and moderately, some of the problems archivists face in meeting the needs of history tutors, and how tutors can best help in resolving them, above all by giving adequate notice of their requirements.

ALAN EVERITT

PATELEY BRIDGE TUTORIAL CLASS, ed. Bernard Jennings, *A History of Nidderdale*. The Advertiser Press Ltd, Huddersfield, 1967. 504 pp. 42s.; BRYAN WAITES, *Moorland and Vale-Land Farming in North-East Yorkshire: the Monastic Contribution in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1967. 36 pp. 5s. 6d. incl. postage.

A History of Nidderdale is a substantial book of nearly five hundred pages, a collective work by a tutorial class under the skilled guidance of their tutor, Mr Bernard Jennings. It is a first-class justification (if any were needed) for the activities of serious adult education groups, though one wishes that more would engage in long-term research such as that done by the Pateley Bridge class. The book is comprehensive. It describes, on the basis of a very full documentation, the evolution of a community from earliest times until the twentieth century. The most interesting aspect of this community's evolution is undoubtedly the close relationship between agriculture and industry which has obtained from the Middle Ages and onwards. Especially in recent times, the principal feature of rural life has been pasture farming for wool, meat, and dairy products. The chief industries have been lead mining and textiles, especially linen. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century the lead miners of Greenhow were also small farmers, and even the textile factory workers kept a small plot of land and a cow. In the Middle Ages the northern part of the vale was dominated by religious houses which were the principal landlords. The southern part was in the Honour of Knaresborough and was

governed by Forest law and custom. On the whole farming was for subsistence and consequently there was an important arable component (especially for oats) which only began to disappear in modern times. The writers deal with all the important aspects of agricultural history—techniques, land tenure, field systems, changing land use, the effect of changing market conditions. More is written about the industrial history of the region, but agriculture is dealt with in as much detail as the sources will allow. Furthermore, whether medieval, early or late modern problems are dealt with, the authors show that they are aware of the wider context of economic history. Perhaps because this is a collective work in which equal attention has to be given to all aspects of the region's history one misses a unifying theme, or group of themes, which might have come out of a work by a single author. The book is, therefore, more one of reference than to be read straight through (unless, of course, one happens to live in Nidderdale). This should be taken, however, simply as a comment, not as a criticism. The main criticism is that there is no discussion of the nature and validity of the sources which are used. Another (not directed at the authors) is that paper, print, and illustrations are hardly worthy of the work. An omission would seem to be that movements connected with industrialism and working-class poverty are either non-existent or not mentioned. Were trade unions unable to establish themselves where there were worker-farmers and patriarchal mill owners?

Mr Waites's short pamphlet is less readable and no more scholarly than the long collective work. It deals with a short period in the history of the area centred on the Vale of Pickering, but including the North Yorkshire moors and the coastal plain. As one would expect from a geographer, there is a detailed description of soils and the underlying geographical formations. It is of course the history of the expansion of cultivation on the one hand and of pastoral farming on the other. The areas on the northern and southern fringes of the vale are shown to have been the most rewarding as far as arable farming is concerned, though the coastal areas and the moors were outstanding for their

sheep flocks (as indeed were the wolds south of the vale and the limestone hills to the north). Mr Waites's theme, as the title indicates, is the monastic contribution. But one feels that the evidence does not bear the emphasis on the achievement of the monks which the author stresses. Undoubtedly Rievaulx, Whitby, Malton, Guisborough, and other religious houses were important landowners. Undoubtedly too the system of grange farming was characterized by landlord initiative. But the nature of the evidence inevitably emphasizes the role of the landowner at the expense of that of the tenant. One suspects that these monks got a lot of the credit for peasant assarting. And if the monastic sheep flocks in north-east Yorkshire numbered not less than 50,000 to 60,000, at the end of the thirteenth century the numbers quoted by Mr Waites of non-monastic flocks in the parishes—an incomplete total—already well exceed that number. Mr Waites has a dangerous tendency to throw together evidence from widely separated dates to prove the same point. Some transcriptions from the Latin are a little odd. Presumably the Florentine 'Society of Circulorum' is the Cerchi.

R. H. HILTON

F. G. EMMISON, *Catalogue of Essex Parish Records, 1240-1894*. Essex Record Office Publications, no. 7. Second (revised) edition, 1966. 269 pp. 43s. post free from the Essex Record Office; *Stuart Essex*, Essex Record Office Publications, no. 44, 1966. Unpaginated. 3s. post free from the Essex Record Office.

These two latest of the long list of Essex Record Office Publications illustrate admirably the two extremes of the services which this office provides, and for which all students of local history must be thankful. *Stuart Essex* is a well produced booklet of illustrations, linked by a loose chronological theme. The county in the seventeenth century is depicted in portraits, architectural photographs and drawings, maps and plans of estates, extracts from official and unofficial correspondence, ecclesiastical records, and the like, which will undoubtedly appeal to the historically-minded resident or

tourist, and be of use to the teacher or school-boy seeking for local illustrations of the national theme.

The theme of puritanism, emigration, and civil war leave little room for mention in the booklet of agricultural matters, which were no more typical of this than of any other century or county. The other work noticed here, however, has much to say of such things. It is addressed to a wider, perhaps more serious, public of local historians and genealogists, and was originally published in 1950, with an introduction, reprinted here, by Mr E. J. Erith; exhaustion of the original edition and the finding of much additional material made necessary this second edition.

The catalogue is a model of its kind. It is prefaced by an introduction which describes the main classes of documents found, mentions unusual items, and draws the attention of readers to comparable material to be found elsewhere in the Essex Record Office collections. There is a good general index. The catalogue is arranged alphabetically, by parish; it shows clearly which of the records is deposited in the Essex Record Office; it notes printed editions, transcripts, and articles making use of the records; it includes supplemental lists of records of nonconformity, charities, and miscellaneous societies. The individual entries are necessarily brief, but there is considerable detail when unusual notes are found in registers or where unexpected classes of records have survived.

By careful use of the introduction and index the agricultural historian will find much to interest him. For the most part the information to be extracted thus relates to crops, tithing methods, and tithe disputes. Much of the tithe payment was in kind and such documents as the long and detailed tithing custumal drawn up at Great Parndon in 1595, and the sequences of tithe accounts for Debden and other parishes, which cover much of the seventeenth century, are particularly useful in this context, and should throw much light on the development of the area as a source of supply for the London food markets. In this connection it is not perhaps inappropriate to mention, what the introduction briefly touches on, the great usefulness

of libels and their schedules of evidence in the innumerable tithe causes of the seventeenth century, many of which were concerned with attempts to tithe newly introduced crops. Details of acreage, yield, and marketing arrangements, and even notes on cultivation methods, appear in these documents, which are to be found occasionally in parish chests, but much more frequently among the papers of an episcopal or archidiaconal court. In addition the poor law accounts provide evidence of the mobility of labour within the county, and of the extent to which pauper apprenticeship and gang labour were used in agriculture in the later eighteenth century. These are common-places of parochial records in any county, but Essex has also something which is almost unique: a few sets of the detailed returns made in 1798 and 1803, in response to Acts of Parliament for the Defence of the Realm, of able-bodied men, transport, live and dead stock, and mills, within the parish. Besides this, entries in the index under such heads as 'husbandry', 'crops', 'Lammas', 'weather memoranda', bring out a variety of useful *minutiae*, and detailed study of the index would undoubtedly yield further treasures. All told, the parish records of Essex, and by inference, those of other counties, deserve more attention than the agricultural historian has yet bestowed on them.

DOROTHY M. OWEN

REX C. RUSSELL, *The Enclosures of Barton-on-Humber, 1793-1796*. Barton Branch Workers' Educational Association, 1968. 46 pp. 2 maps. 3s. 6d.; REX C. RUSSELL, *The Enclosures of Searby, 1763-1765; Nettleton, 1791-1795; Caistor, 1796-1798; Caistor Moors, 1811-1814*. Nettleton Branch Workers' Educational Association, 1968. 40 pp. 3 maps. 4s.

Continuing his already extensive evaluation of the impact of parliamentary enclosures in Lindsey, Mr Russell has revised two earlier publications. With the aid of Workers' Educational Association classes additional information has been gathered about the enclosure of Barton, described by Young as "one of the greatest inclosures in England," and new

material has been incorporated on the area adjacent to Caistor. This latter is particularly interesting because six parishes shared common rights on Caistor Moor which was the subject of a separate act and award.

The text follows a regular pattern dealing first with the meaning and importance of enclosure, its local significance, and then considering how the process was managed. The accounts follow a chronological sequence drawing upon newspaper notices, minutes, claim papers, and the awards themselves. The process is illustrated by admirable pre- and post-enclosure maps prepared by Mr Russell.

These publications are excellent examples of the sort of work that can be done by local classes under expert guidance and one looks forward to the time when all these efforts can be brought together to tell the full story of Parliamentary enclosures in North Lincolnshire.

BRIAN LOUGHBROUGH

W. E. TATE, *The English Village Community and the Enclosure Movements*. Victor Gollancz, 1967. 231 pp. 42s.

The lack of a scholarly but popularly-written work embodying the results of recent research on enclosure has long been felt. Since the late W. E. Tate spent a large part of his life carrying on research into the enclosure movement of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is a great relief to historians in general and a boon to the study of agricultural history in particular that just before his death he should have distilled his wide-ranging and microscopic knowledge of the subject into the present book. As Tate points out, the study of the question has suffered from the fact that the most dispassionate study of the enclosure movement, E. C. K. Gonner's *Common Land and Inclosure*, published as long ago as 1912, is "a dull book, ill written, and difficult to read," while the anti-enclosure point of view was put forward in the romantic and heady prose of the Hammonds' *Village Labourer*, also published in 1912. This has been described as "one of the most brilliant works of historical fiction in the English tongue." Quite rightly Tate goes back to the Old

English village community, with its open fields and common pastures, and traces the various enclosure movements from the Middle Ages through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries down to the present. Anyone wishing either to begin the study of a particular enclosure or group of enclosures or to inform himself generally on the great controversies which enliven the subject must from now on first consult this book with, among other aids, its admirable illustrations, its critical bibliography, and useful glossary of technical terms.

Those who fondly cling to the notion that enclosure commissioners were corrupt and tyrannical tools of the landed classes, or that the rights of small proprietors were wantonly disregarded, or that pre-enclosure village commons were idyllic places, should read the relevant passages in Tate's work. Inevitably this book bears the imprint of Tate's highly eccentric style and personality, composed of a curious amalgam of deadly seriousness and homely, humorous asides. Inevitably there are omissions, such as, for example, a tendency to say very little about the advantages of the open field (there is no reference to Dr E. R. R. Green's recent article 'On open-town-fields', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. IX, 1961), and a failure to note the rise in the status of the country clergy in the period 1760-1815, partly as the result of the generous treatment the Church received in the process of enclosure. It is to be hoped that our departed friend's manuscript 'Domesday of English Enclosure Awards' will soon be published.

W. H. CHALONER

J. S. NALSON, *Mobility of Farm Families*. Manchester University Press, 1968. xiv+299 pp. 55s.

Professor Nalson's book makes an interesting contribution to agricultural studies at two levels. At the practical level he provides sociological information for planners who are attempting to overcome the income disparity between farmers and urban workers. His aim is to help "speed up the process of movement of people away from agriculture" as painlessly as possible, and to streamline Britain for competition in the European Economic Com-

munity. On the more theoretical level he attempts "an interdisciplinary approach which combines historical perspective with an analysis dependent upon . . . sociology and agricultural economics."

Basing his study on a questionnaire filled in by 172 families "in an upland area" (unspecified) of England, there are chapters on the structure of farming families, succession to farms, movement from farm to farm, occupational mobility both of farmers and their children, and the influence of demographic and environmental factors on mobility. In perhaps the best chapter in the book he suggests how the State could divert money from direct grants to farmers into local industry, vocational retraining centres, rural housing, and retirement pensions. This would be no more costly and would encourage enterprise and mobility: 108 tables support his careful arguments. His central theme is the way in which these small family farms change at different points of the life-cycle. There will be surpluses and shortages of labour depending on the age and number of children. To overcome the difficulties "farmers move from farm to farm, or acquire and give up land; they prevail on their single sons to remain at home, and they marry off their daughters; they change the intensity of operation of their farms, or go out to work; they quarrel with kin, befriending neighbours." The author shows how the age at marriage and the age at death are correlated, since the son cannot inherit before the parents die. Consequently many sons who inherit the property (usually the youngest sons because of demographic factors) remain unmarried.

The farmhouses are usually too small to contain two adult couples, although there are two instances of the 'West Room' (i.e. old people's room) and the author makes a preliminary analysis of three-generation households. Among many other interesting points is the fact that geographical and social mobility overlap in the concept of moving up or down hill. The higher farmers are poorer: to change one's altitude-level and move higher up the slopes is to move down socially.

Although many fascinating hypotheses are suggested for the historian, the 'historical

perspective' which the author claims consists mainly of cyclical time, changes over the life-cycle. Professor Nalson disarmingly admits that he did not have time to use nineteenth-century census schedules or wills. Although he does make a little use of overall population figures for the last century and of an 1834 gazetteer, there are no references to the deeds, probate inventories, and parish registers which, among other sources, would have enriched this study. We might also have expected, since anthropological hypotheses are advocated, that there would be more reference to anthropological work in the text and bibliography; an obvious omission is *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups*, edited by Jack Goody. The heavy dependence on British rural sociologists, through whom anthropological ideas have been percolated, perhaps explains the almost total omission of beliefs, attitudes, and motives which are usually intensively studied by anthropologists. It would have been fascinating to have had an analysis which combined the impressive statistics of this account with the normal anthropological description of the ideals and norms of the society.

The statistics pose as many problems as they solve; some of these could have been partially solved by personal discussion. The statistics indicate family limitation, yet we do not know how or even whether this was present. The suggestion that "there was evidence of mental strain, some farmers' wives were suffering from mental disorder" is not followed up. Above all, the fact that farms are too small to support more than one pair of adults is taken for granted, yet it is essential to know *why* people built small houses and why farms remained small. There are many societies with a similar economic organization where the extended family operates and where the children may marry young. They do not have to wait for the parents to die. If the general treatment had been more historical we might also have discovered some of the effects of the demographic revolution of the last ninety years—when the expectation of life increased dramatically and the age structure altered fundamentally—on family farming. But all this is perhaps asking for a different book: the

book we do have is nevertheless very useful and stimulating.

A. MACFARLANE

P. GASKELL, *Morvern Transformed. A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1968. xix+274 pp. 65s.

In his study of Morvern, an isolated parish in North Argyll, cut off by Loch Linnhe from the rest of the country, Dr Gaskell has been fortunate in finding a wide range of documentary sources, which he has studied in great detail and with much sympathy. These sources, ranging over census reports, rentals, valuation rolls, estate papers and plans, and personal diaries and memoirs, are reproduced in the Appendices. In addition, the visual remains of the historic period—castles, churches, large buildings, shieling sites, arable land, dykes, woods, kilns, mills, fish-traps, coal mines, quarries, roads, and piers, are also listed in catalogue form. The book, therefore, can be used as a historical guide to the area by the present-day traveller. At the same time, the presentation of the documentary evidence allows the reader to test for himself Dr Gaskell's conclusions, though it must be admitted that a ratio of 129 pages of Appendices to 118 of text is a heavy weighting in terms of overall balance.

The body of the text consists of four chapters that trace the consecutive changes in land ownership in relation to land use, and the numbers, status, and activities of the tenantry from the end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. At each stage the writer tries to look in a fair, straightforward manner at the interactions of landlords and tenants. In an introductory section, he outlines the background history of clan chiefs and clansmen, when the chiefs were of purely highland stock. Then, between 1813 and 1838, every property in Morvern changed hands, some being bought by 'foreigners' from the non-highland parts of Scotland. Under these incoming lairds, the process of clearance of small tenants to make room for sheep was particularly resented. Nevertheless Dr Gaskell tries to show that their actions were signs of the

times rather than purely the impulses of individuals, and part of a widespread contemporary movement that completely changed the character of land use in many parts of Europe.

After 1850, the attempt to make estates in the parish pay by the commercial exploitation of sheep, and to a lesser extent the burning of seaweed for kelp, gradually fizzled out, and a completely new phenomenon appeared—the wealthy English aristocrat, prepared to buy an estate for use as a constructive hobby, for summer enjoyment, even though it was run at a loss. Here Octavius Smith, in many ways the central figure in the book, comes into his own, and the detailed study of his activities brings light to a kind of nineteenth-early twentieth century form of estate occupation and use that has hitherto gone largely unilluminated. Although a capitalist with the right to manipulate his property and tenantry as he saw fit, he nevertheless cared for his employees in the manner of a welfare state, to the extent that they probably never had it better. In fact, a somewhat unreal situation was created, bolstered against agricultural depression, that could not easily survive the removal of the excess capital upon which it was based. Attention should be drawn to the development of estate housing, the shepherds' and gamekeepers' cottages, of strong enduring quality, that still characterize the landscape of Morvern (as of many other parts of the Highlands). These are well illustrated photographically in the book.

The change of emphasis from sheep to grouse and deer (though sheep and cattle continued as an essential part of the economy) produced the 'estate worker', sometimes maintained on a semi-retired basis as little more than an odd-job man, though allowed to occupy a house on the estate. Smith's benevolence in this respect is reflected in the case studies of workers on pages 68–70. The profession of gamekeeper now became one of the most honourable on an estate, and the best paid. In the mid-1860's a gamekeeper had £54 a year as compared with £48 for a head shepherd—a clear reflection of the change of emphasis. The idyllic pastoral life of the proprietor and his family and friends is seen against this kind of background.

The artificial basis of the economy has led to the final change that is going on in this and similar areas, the take-over by the State of units that had become economically no longer viable for individuals. At the present time, the Forestry Commission is the biggest landowner in Morvern, though some large estates there are still privately owned. The movement of people and reorganization of land use in the Highlands in the early nineteenth century seemed inevitable to Gaskell in the light of the wider current issues and ideals of agricultural improvement as a concomitant to industrial progress. So also the present tendency bears the mark of an irresistible, almost impersonal movement—but this is a chapter that will have to be written in the future.

A carefully selected series of maps makes graphic the consecutive changes in land ownership in Morvern. The book is clearly and logically written, with a sense of inevitability overriding the manipulations of landlords. It is the first fully documented, academic study in depth of a nineteenth-century highland parish, where the problems of existence are by no means finally resolved.

ALEXANDER FENTON

H. WIESE and J. BÖLTS, *Rinderhaltung im nordwesteuropäischen Küstengebiet vom 15 bis zum 19 Jahrhundert*. Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1966. xii+272 pp. 64 DM.

This is one of the most exciting studies of the cattle business that has yet come from western Europe. The former neglect of the subject is inexplicably strange, for, as one of the authors points out, it was far more important in parts of north-west Europe than the grain trade. Indeed, for a long time cattle was the largest export, measured by value, from Denmark, and since Holland was Denmark's main customer, the cattle trade was a veritable barometer of the economies of both countries. The book is divided into two parts. The first half by Heinz Wiese examines the organization of the cattle business from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth century in the rearing areas of Jutland, East Friesland, and Schonen, their movement to fattening grounds on Germany's North Sea coast and along its river marshes,

thence to the consumer areas in the Hamburg-Lübeck area, the Netherlands, and the Rhineland. He traces the drove routes across Denmark, the Netherlands, and Germany, describes the provision for animals and men at the drovers' halts, calculates the costs of transport by sea and road, and compares the costs of production at each stage. He arrives at the conclusion that 29 per cent of the cost of meat in the period 1551-1650 was incurred at the rearing stage, 18.6 per cent when the animals were being winter stall-fed before their sale as stores, 25.3 per cent at the feeding stage, and 26.9 per cent during fattening.

The second part of the book is by Johann Bölts and traces the methods and economics of cattle production and dairying in two areas of Denmark, namely East Friesland and Oldenburg. Its special strength lies in its attempt to tell the story not only in the context of the economic stimuli of the period 1500-1900, but against the more enduring background of natural conditions and social structure. These reveal so many parallels in the social basis of the dairying and cattle-fattening industries of the Continent and England that it is to be hoped that someone will take it as a basis for bolder, comparative historical investigations and generalizations.

The main cattle rearing areas of north-west Europe, as Dr Wiese explains, developed their expertise out of practical necessity. They were not near enough to markets to fatten cattle successfully, nor, except in small districts, did they have ready access to ports for the transport of grain. So cattle rearing became the speciality in Jutland and most of East Friesland and the animals, when ready for sale to the graziers, walked to their next destination, or were shipped by boat. As cattle production expanded, the Danish crown intervened to procure for itself and the nobility the main privileges and profits. To the peasantry of Jutland was left the task of breeding and rearing the young stock until they were four or five years old. This they did by starving them in winter and feeding them up on grass in summer. At four to five years the peasants were obliged to sell their beasts to the nobility who stall-fed large numbers for one winter season

before selling them to the graziers. In Schleswig-Holstein cattle production was organized on a somewhat different basis: more grain was grown and the peasantry kept their beasts until they were ready for sale to the graziers. In Oldenburg things were different again, the dukes having the privilege of buying all cattle, and visiting peasant farms yearly to purchase the better stock.

The feeding areas lay near the towns of north-west Germany and the Low Countries. Beef animals intended for the slaughter houses of Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Cologne, and Frankfurt were finished on the North Sea coast, the river marshes, and in East and West Friesland. Stores were also carried from Jutland to Enkhuizen on the west side of the Zuider Zee for fattening further along the Dutch coast, eventually reaching Amsterdam and other towns in the vicinity, or being driven along the Vechte via Münster to the Rhineland. But from East Friesland to the mouth of the Scheldt dairying vied with fattening. The cattle of East Friesland, in particular, were highly valued all over Europe for their large size and heavy milk yields.

Meat markets in the large towns developed varied mercantile conventions. At Cologne, where the autumn cattle sales at the end of the sixteenth century saw dealings in 6,000-8,000 bullocks each year, the trade was mainly in the hands of foreigners, who procured all their beasts from the grazing grounds on the North Sea coast. At Frankfurt, however, the town's butchers organized supplies for themselves, trading in Poland and the Danube basin as well as in the north-west, and offering in exchange wine and cloth. Hamburg and Lübeck in their turn, offer fascinating evidence of the role of meat purchases in the domestic economy of the townsfolk. Family purchases of one, two, or three beasts, to supply meat for the whole winter, involved a ritual of slaughter at home that was accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. The live beasts were brought home from the market and put on show outside the house. One peasant in 1697 gilded the horns of his bullock while it stood on public display. In the evening the animal was killed and for the next few days friends came to admire the carcass, often hung

with garlands, and to drink the health of the household. These festivities continued in full swing until the end of the eighteenth century, finally ending with the Napoleonic war.

Dr Wiese's text is generously strewn with tables measuring the traffic in cattle at different ports and markets. For example, he calculates the number of beasts exported from Denmark, Schleswig, and Schonen between 1480 and 1810, giving a total of 20,000 annually between 1480 and 1500, 45,000–50,000 between 1540 and 1580, and reaching a peak for the whole period at 55,000–60,000 p.a. between 1600 and 1620. The fall of population after 1600, coupled with war, caused meat prices to fall in the seventeenth century, reaching their lowest level in 1690. From about 1623 the Danish nobility withdrew from the fattening business, as milk and dairy produce began to pay bigger dividends, and, increasingly towards the end of the seventeenth century, the whole of Denmark turned over entirely to this new speciality.

Johann Böls's section of the book deals with cattle production and dairying in Oldenburg and East Friesland. He has much of interest to say about stock feeding, milk and butter yields, and cattle breeds—a difficult subject this last on which information is hard to come by. But he concludes that improvements in breeds were continuously taking place, through careful selection on the part of the peasant in the interest of higher yields, and sometimes even through cattle plagues, for a local calamity on a large scale forced everyone to buy in fresh stock from elsewhere and this sometimes caused a marked improvement in standards all round.

A careful study of costs and prices leads the writer on to conclusions about the comparative profits of grain, cattle, and dairy products. This is a complex matter for even within these main categories there were marked differences in types and qualities of products, for example between butter and cheese, and between a multitude of different kinds of butter and cheese, all of which changed their relative prices over time. But in the competition for land between dairying and meat production matters were not wholly determined by agricultural or market considerations. The author

notes important differences in the social structure of the marsh and the Geest—the sandy moorland. In the marshes the size of farms steadily increased between 1500 and 1800 until it became a region of medium-sized units of 30–60 hectares, some owner-occupied and inherited by primogeniture, some held by lease. The Geest, in contrast, was a region of small family holdings where dairying was combined with rural industries, further supplemented by wage labour on noble estates. This social structure exerted control on each region's response to market trends. For example, when fat cattle prices rose faster than butter prices around 1600, only the large farmers showed any tendency to expand their enterprise on the fattening side.

It is impossible to do full justice to this far-ranging study. It requires to be closely read, and its price material compared with the evidence from other parts of Europe. It is yet another study by German agrarian historians, carried out under the aegis of Professor Wilhelm Abel at the Institute for Economic and Social History at Göttingen, which ought to be made available to English readers in translation.

JOAN THIRSK

GÜNTHER FRANZ (ed.), *Universität Hohenheim. (Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule), 1818–1968*. Verlag Eugen Ulmer, Stuttgart, 1968. 332 pp. 32 plates. DM 28; ERNST KLEIN (compiler), *Die akademischen Lehrer der Universität Hohenheim (Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule), 1818–1968*. W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1968. 160 pp. DM 17.

The first of these two works is a handsome volume describing the agricultural college of Hohenheim (since 1967 the university of Hohenheim) during the one hundred and fifty years since its foundation, and is a production of Eugen Ulmer Verlag, closely associated with this university, in its own centenary year.

The editor, and main author, is Professor G. Franz, professor of agricultural history, and author of the noted works on the peasant wars of the sixteenth century, but the book also includes accounts of the present, and prognostications for the future, by the present

rector (Professor H. Röhm) and an authoritative account by Doz. Dr W. A. Boelcke of the estate occupied by the university.

Hohenheim, on the outskirts of Stuttgart, belonged to a family nicknamed Bombast, of whom Paracelsus is the best known member, but late in the eighteenth century it passed to a mistress of a king of Württemberg. When she became his wife they converted it into a great mansion, with a rococo English garden. Here in 1818, after being neglected for a while, J. N. H. Schwerz established a school of agriculture, later an academy, a college, and now a university. Schwerz was a romantic who, idealizing the life of the peasant, propagated improved agricultural rotations and the use of the Flemish plough. The school continued to develop from inadequate beginnings: it had to share its premises with an orphanage. At times it was mistaken in its teaching as when it advocated the use of animal dung alone, while Liebig was showing the need for artificial mineral fertilizers, and aimed some acid comments at Hohenheim. Nevertheless, it developed independently of the university of Tübingen and the technical college of Stuttgart though at times it shared professors with them. At all times it was watched by the state parliament and had to prove its worth. It educated practical farmers though with their diplomas many entered the state service. Its emphasis was never on the management of large estates, a task for economists. It was also concerned with the manufacture of beer, sugar, brandy, and starch, and the improvement and manufacture of agricultural implements.

At all times it led other German colleges by the quality of its teaching and number of students, and in national crises, as after great wars, it was active in renewal. Professor Franz describes the personalities of teachers, their expertise, and their future careers. This story epitomizes the history of agricultural education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its difficulties, its jealousies, its changing balance, and emphasis. Nor does it conceal the difficult years of National Socialism, nor the plundering of the college after the Second World War. One would not expect an exciting

book but Professor Franz and his co-authors choose their material so well, make their emphases so tightly, and have so just an appreciation of the turning points in the development of scientific knowledge of agriculture, that their account stirs a certain intellectual excitement.

When the current rector turns to today and the future the rapidity and scale of change become apparent. The first century and a quarter was one of slow change, of retrenchment, veering, and advance. The new university may well have 2,000 students, including pre-medical students using its facilities for pure science, while, in addition to its agricultural functions, it will be a focus of German research in pure biology, with computers, and the most advanced research apparatus, with a care for agricultural history, and a duty to educate students from developing countries. Its interest in the relations between national policy and agriculture and the implications of the Common Market will grow. Planning, applied genetics, and food technology come into its sphere. The university, however, still has a role, like the American agricultural college, in extension work locally in south-west Germany, a land of small farmers who may earn more from their industrial employment than from agriculture. There may be refined ways of advising farmers today, but one of the numerous excellent illustrations shows Director Walz in 1863 talking with the peasants on an experimental plot. The tension between science on a world scale and simple propaganda among small farmers will be great in so large an institution with a current income of about two million pounds.

This fascinating book concludes with a number of lists, the most important being of members of the faculties, an extensive Hohenheim bibliography of 445 items, and the dates of foundation of European agricultural colleges. A list of students' reunions partly compensates for the fact that the students play only a minor role in the book. Yet the most important achievement of the university will remain its success in enabling the farmer to produce efficiently in the changing conditions of the last hundred and fifty years.

The second of these two volumes refers to

the same celebrations. The first forty-two pages describe the careers of the main teachers at the university since its foundation and necessarily refer to much material found in the celebration volume. The remaining pages list the past and present members of the staff, adding salient facts. This list is a useful reference to the careers of a very large fraction of German scholars who have had agriculture or its kindred sciences as their speciality.

D. J. DAVIS

JÜRGEN KLASSEN, *Vergleichende Landschaftskunde der englischen Marschen*. Kölner Geographische Arbeiten, Heft 19. Im Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden: Geographisches Institut der Universität zu Köln, 1967. 332 pp. 88 photographs and maps, 1 page English summary. DM 14. Klassen's dissertation made in the Geographical Institute of the University of Cologne is about the English marshes and is one of several recent, modest German dissertations on English rural subjects. This comparative account of the development of the rural landscape in the marshes of England, with special emphasis on Romney Marsh, the Fens, and the Somerset Levels, does not claim to cover new ground. It is well written, displays a good understanding of what the author saw here, and refers with assurance to over 650 sources. A pruning of this bibliography would have made it more useful for many works are included merely to justify a number of commonplaces. Too long a bibliography gives equal authority to works of unequal importance.

At an early stage (pp. 42-3) Klassen tabulates English, Dutch, German, and French terms about marshes, a very valuable list, and suggests that peaty fens, for which we have no word, be called Sietland as in German. For each fenland he discusses physical origins, early uses, drainage, agricultural use, and historic variations, new economic needs, geography, technical developments, and policy. This is nearly faultless and the resemblances and differences described are the most original part of the book. While the author compares English marshes with continental ones, he should have made even greater reference to

them and have quoted more examples, even though he was not writing primarily for English readers.

The eighty-eight illustrations and maps do not do full justice to the well-written, straightforward, and succinct text, printed as if typed. Some of the maps are rather tiny and hard to read but the remainder are clear especially the detailed ones in the pocket at the end. The illustrations, however (mainly aerial photographs), are well intentioned but too small and lack definition.

We hope that further young German scholars will write this type of dissertation on the English rural landscape, showing a similar understanding, with the freshness of a continental outlook.

D. J. DAVIS

HIRAM M. DRACHE. *The Day of the Bonanza. A History of Bonanza Farming in the Red River Valley of the North*. Illus. x+240 pp. North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, Fargo, 1964. \$5.75.

The activities of the kinema and the writers of "cowboy" stories have created a kind of fictitious history of the development of the Far West of U.S.A. in the minds of most people. This history has several facets mostly bearing on the profession of cowboy, i.e. cowboys and Indians; cowmen and sheepmen; cowmen and nesters—most of whom spent their time shooting each other. Of course in the kaleidoscope of exploration and settlement over a continent there had to be other happenings, and Dr Drache has written the story of one area where these things did not occur. The Red River Valley in North Dakota was settled by capitalist farmers whose intention was to conduct their holdings for profit making and not for subsistence. This was a new thing in the west, and was made possible by the financial difficulties that the projected Northern Pacific Railway ran into. These difficulties appear to have been mainly caused by the over optimistic value placed upon their land grant by the projectors—a common fault of the class. This land grant to the railway was nothing less than colossal by European standards of size. It was 26,000 acres for each mile of railroad built from

the Red River to the Pacific coast. The promoters estimated the selling price of this land at \$5 an acre, but it could not realize this price as unbroken prairie.

Building the railroad, and land settlement to provide demands for transport, were obvious interlocking factors in the development of the area. With the time comes the prophet! James B. Power was the man. In 1871 he was a comparatively minor official of the railway: by 1875 he could almost have been said to be the fulcrum of its prosperity and the prosperity of the area. Unfortunately, the financial crisis of 1873 had happened to delay the success of his work. Financial embarrassment led to the offer by the railroad of advantageous exchange of their interest-carrying bonds (they could not pay the interest) for land. The result of this idea was to attract the attention of large bondholders "because they could trade their bonds for large tracts of land," and engage a manager and the necessary labour to work it.

The railroad land was intermixed with land on the public domain that could be settled in the orthodox way by sections of 640 acres down to quarter sections as elsewhere in the country. Some settlers on homestead land bought railroad land in addition; but the great bonanza farms were formed by financial speculators. The scale of these farms was outside anything that was known to the older countries of Europe, and was only matched in the wastes of Australia, or possibly later in the Argentine. California, too, was a competitor; one farm was over 60,000 acres in area.

The Red River bonanza farms were not each in one block within a ring fence, but were often in large blocks of land separated by others almost equally large. The size of these farms was averaged by various writers at 1,280 acres, 3,000, and 7,000 acres. Whatever the average, there was one farm of 50,000 acres in 1880, owned by the Grandin family. There was a wide range from 10,000 acres upwards, and besides these great farms there were smaller ones whose produce helped to integrate the economy. The saleable produce of these enterprises was wheat, grown on a single crop system. Horse ploughs were used at first to make a seed bed, and furrows a mile long are

spoken of. One undertaking had a horse herd of more than 600. They had to be fed, as did the transitory labour that drove them. Oats were not grown nor any other fodder crop. Food for both men and animals was bought. The smaller farmers went in for a more diversified system, and made money by selling oats, etc., to the bonanzas. Steam threshing first, and soon afterwards steam ploughing were speedily introduced. Huge steam tractors hauling as many as 14 14-inch ploughs by direct traction in the same way as a modern diesel tractor, ploughed 20 acres a day. Regiments of seed drills and of reaping machines moved across the fields at the appropriate seasons, as did horse-drawn manure spreaders in 1904. It was a kind of farming that daunts the imagination, and it had side effects, e.g. in stimulating the milling industry of Minneapolis. But after the First World War this single crop method encountered great difficulties, which could only have been met by diversification. This the farmers opposed. Dr Drache does not tell his readers what happened next, nor what the present-day conditions in the area are; but his study describes yet another romance of the settlement of the prairies and makes fascinating reading.

G. E. FUSSELL

K. D. WHITE, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, 1967. xvi+230 pp., 16 plates, 119 figs. 90s. It is entirely appropriate that the first systematic study of Roman farming tools should have come from the University which beheld the labours of Atkinson, Ure, and Perceval. This happy marriage of the classical and agricultural tradition one suspects to have derived some encouragement from the environment, adorned both by Huntley and Palmers, and the ruins of the Roman town of Silchester.

Mr White has done the job of pinning the tools to the texts and of testing them by reference to the known finds and to their representations on monuments, on mosaics, and in illuminated manuscripts. This is not a simple undertaking, and, as the author remarks, modern classical works of reference and translation are generally unreliable and prone to confusion on the technical terms relating to

ancient agriculture. The author also complains of the lack of modern commentaries on Columella and Palladius, a lack which present scholarship, with its interest in economics and techniques, should endeavour to correct.

Mr White therefore has first attempted to clear up, by the citations from the literary sources, which he prints *verbatim*, what each author did say about each given tool, and what we may deduce therefrom on its form, variations, and function. He then discusses form, technique of operation, representations, and survival of form and name. The material is divided into tools for earth-shifting; for cutting; forks, saws, and shears; and finally machines (e.g. harvesters, ploughs, harrows, threshing drags). The first two categories naturally include far the greater number of the tools, of which he studies over sixty. Each variety of tool is illustrated by a marginal sketch, and plates at the end furnish the information supplied by reliefs, mosaics, and some ancient models and finds.

Here we may comment in parenthesis on the absence of any indication of scale for the figures and for most of the iron objects shown in the plates; it can be confusing to the uninitiated if a pruning hook appears to be the same size as a two-hand scythe blade.

Mr White stresses that the study of tools cannot be divorced from the operations and conditions for which they were made, and he has done important work in defining the uses of each in the light of our information on Roman agriculture. But here we may note one of the deficiencies of his book, for which he is not entirely to blame: Roman imperial agriculture did not live in a vacuum, but as it expanded over the Mediterranean and central and north-western Europe, it partly superseded, partly coalesced with native agricultures in the semi-arid and temperate zones. It also had to readapt itself to non-Mediterranean conditions. No study of Roman tools, therefore, can be complete without consideration of the results of this process, duly divided according to the environment of each province or physical region.

Mr White's material is preponderantly central Mediterranean, with some secondary

utilization of finds from Gaul, the Rhineland, Britain, Spain, Switzerland, North Africa, and Austria. We hear virtually nothing of the provinces east of the last country. The deficiency of the method is made clear by Mr White's treatment of the sickle and its very complex problems. Roman sickles, as he classifies them, are balanced and crescentic, and sharply distinguished from Roman billhooks and pruning hooks, which, whether straight, curved, or beaked, are non-crescentic and non-balanced. If we accept this distinction, then we are forced to conclude that the inhabitants of pre-Roman Britain possessed no iron tools with which to reap their crops, since all the Early Iron Age finds till the end of the Belgic period are those of the small nearly straight implement. Most of them are, of course, reaping hooks, but Mr White, having no space for provincial detail, does not mention this fact, or that the small hook continued in wide use in Roman Britain even in some villas (e.g. Hambleden, Buckinghamshire). Mr White, therefore, has inadvertently distorted the picture of one aspect of Roman provincial agriculture, and the matter is no less grave because he himself correctly emphasizes the importance of harvesting methods in respect of the use of the stooks and stubble as bedding, fodder, and (he might have added) in connection with farmyard manure. In other words, the harvesting tool (including the two-hand scythe) is vital for an understanding of ancient farm management.

In much the same fashion, Mr White could not extend the scope of the present book to distributional studies in relation to the tools of various provinces. But clearly such studies will have to be undertaken; to illustrate the importance of such we may mention the known incidence of Roman iron spades in Britain; these are from predominantly civil sites, and digging at forts and camps appears to have been carried out chiefly with the 'hoe-rake' (*ascia rastrum*) and the *dolabra*. The problematic heavy scythes from several British sites constitute another case in point: similar but smaller types seem to be frequent in the Rhineland, and the precise connection between the two areas invites study.

Nor does it help to form a true perspective

that Mr White's book cannot afford to pay attention to the non-Roman heritage which Roman agriculture overlaid but seldom extinguished. In 1958 the reviewer listed the Roman agricultural tools introduced for the first time by the Romans into Britain (*Agric. Hist. Rev.*, vi, p. 73) and noted the importance for agricultural progress of the balanced sickle, the two-hand scythe, the eyeleted axe, and the iron spade. This is an aspect with which Mr White has been unable to deal. Clearly the book can only serve as the basis for a series of further provincial studies, and numerous provincial tool-finds of Roman date must be known which do not conform with White's classifications because they are not described in the *Scriptores Rustici*.

Precisely the above reservations constitute the most genuine compliment we can pay to this work: it forms the first solid basis for more extensive research.

SHIMON APPLEBAUM

CLAUDIO ROTELLI, *I castasti Imolesi dei secoli XIX e XX*. Ricerche nella distribuzione della proprietà, no. 5, directed by Prof. Luigi dal Pane. Univ. of Bologna, Milan, 1967. viii+50 pp; *L'economia agraria di Chieri attraverso i castasti dei secoli XIV-XVI*, *ibid*, no. 6. Milan, 1967. 76 pp. (no price stated for either); 'Rendimentie produzione agricola nell'Imolese dal XVI al XIX secolo', offprint from *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXIX. iv, no. 1. 1967. 20 pp., 2 graphs.

Unless a complete translation were made, justice to these works of Claudio Rotelli could hardly be done. Indeed, in the course of a brief review, it would be impossible to make a significant analysis of the statistical tables he has been able to compile: so this will not be attempted here. In the first of the above-named publications Rotelli has continued his work on the distribution of landed property in the Imolese down to 1925 with the help of various surveys. He opened the subject in a study noticed in this REVIEW (xv, i, 1967).

There have been marked changes in land-ownership in the Imolese in the past two centuries. Until towards the end of the eighteenth

century there was some consolidation, but during the Napoleonic period some accumulation of landed property in the hands of persons who had become wealthy by trade and industrial undertakings took place. During the nineteenth century there was a change. There was an increase in the number of proprietors owning between 10 and 30 hectares and this was accompanied by some diminution of ecclesiastical property. The proportion of *mezzadria* increased during this century.

As in other countries it was towards the end of the eighteenth century that farming in the Imolese began to show signs of innovation. Before 1773 there had been little change, though some. There was only a minor proportion of bare fallow, pasture, and woods, but a century and a half later vines had been cultivated on lands formerly reserved as bare fallow. The improvement in working is demonstrated by a higher yield of cereals after 1840, and by the introduction of sugar beet into the rotation.

The third paper, dealing with yields, shows significant changes in cropping systems with a consequent rise in output. I find it difficult to deal with large masses of figures even when their meaning is interpreted as it is here, but there is no doubt that Rotelli's researches have clearly defined changes of landownership and land use that have taken place as a result of modern developments in the Imolese.

The second study named above deals with a different area. Rotelli has spread his line of enquiry to Chieri near Turin, a good many miles from Imola. This study deals with the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and it may not unreasonably be anticipated that he will carry it on to modern times as he has done with Imola.

Piedmont has enjoyed a reputation for productive agriculture from the Middle Ages, if not from Roman times. At Chieri there was a fustian weaving industry in the thirteenth century. There is apparently a wealth of documents scattered in different places, but some of the registers of landed property (*castasti*) are illegible because of the vicissitudes of time, and some are missing. The tables of crop distribution at different times show prevailing

arable farming for cereal culture, the crops being various: spelt, rye, oats, barley, and some legumes, e.g. chick peas and beans. The information here presented is derived from documentary evidence, which may be regarded as a primary source as opposed to the generalizations to be found in contemporary textbooks of farming practice. Indeed, it can be said that Rotelli has supplied a more exact description of landownership and in some respects of farming in two areas of north Italy than was formerly to hand.

G. E. FUSSELL

AXEL STEENBERG (ed.), *Atlas over Borup Agre 1000-1200 e. Kr.* (*Atlas of the Fields of Borup 1000-1200 A.D.*). Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters' Commission for Research on the History of Agricultural Implements and Field Structures, Publication no. 1. Copenhagen, 1968. 114 pp. 19 illustrations in the text, 96 plans in the atlas. 100 Danish Crowns.

This truly remarkable atlas is the first product of an equally remarkable archaeological investigation, extending over a fifteen-year period, of the fields and settlements of a village in Zealand, founded about A.D. 1000 and deserted two hundred years later. It is offered as an objective presentation of the evidence rather than as an interpretation of either the specific or the general problems arising from the results of the investigation, which are presented in the 96 plans of the atlas. Each plan is at the scale of 1:400 and covers an area equivalent to one hectare. A general map at the scale of 1:2000 is included in a pocket at the back of the atlas and is useful both in providing an overall picture of the results of the investigation and in locating the large-scale individual plans within the area as a whole. The atlas is accompanied by a text written by Axel Steensberg (the text is in Danish but there are lengthy summaries in English, German, French, and Russian).

The investigation was carried out most meticulously. When preparatory work for making a new road through an area of woods and pastures was undertaken during the winter of 1949-50 it soon became apparent that sub-

surface rows of stones were traces of earlier cultivation. It was assumed that the rows of stones represented debris removed from areas of cultivation and that the farmers would not have bothered to collect stones smaller than 10 cm in diameter. The incredible task was therefore begun of mapping the location of *all* stones of 10 cm or more in diameter and not only those that lay in rows. It was further assumed that the cultivation layer penetrated down to 20 cm and it was decided to locate and map stones down to that depth. It is now thought that the lands of the village of Borup probably covered at least 200 hectares and so far about half of this has been mapped in detail. This area was divided into a grid of 5 metre squares and, when a plan of the stones was to be made, both the sides of square and the diagonals were marked on the ground surface with cords. It was then regarded as a simple matter to locate the stones correctly on a plan, since no point on the ground lay more than 1.25 m from a guide line. Probing for stones was carried out with steel spikes, a minimum of one hundred probes being made per square metre. Located stones were marked on the ground by survey pegs and then plotted on the plan.

Some inaccuracies must have crept into the plotting. The probing was undertaken by otherwise unemployed labour and some of the differing distributions and densities of plotted stones must reflect the differing enthusiasms and efficiencies of the investigators. One expected a more precise assessment of the accuracy of their work than the bland assertion that "after some practice most of the workmen achieved a considerable degree of precision in following the outlines of stones and judging their size." Clearly, too much confidence should not be placed in the plans of the smallest areas but the methods used find their justification in the pattern which has emerged for the area as a whole. We now have a good idea of the general layout of the fields and settlements of a village in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Accurate description of form should precede discussion of function and origin. This atlas and Steensberg's text provide the description. Interpretation of the pattern is delayed for a future publication. Tentatively, Steensberg

believes that there must have been a maximum of 10-15 farms in Borup and that the regularity of the field layout and the lack of terracing on the slopes (where most fields lay across the contours) suggest that Borup and its fields were established in their entirety as a colonial settlement. No doubt when a full interpretation of this remarkable body of evidence is published there will be room for disagreement. For the moment, there is no doubt that this study is an important contribution towards our understanding of the evolution of European fields and rural settlements.

ALAN R. H. BAKER

KAREN MARIE OLSEN, *Sokkelund Herreds Tingbøger 1634-6. Ældre Danske Tingbøger udgivet af Landbohistorisk Selskab (Udvalget for Udgivelse af Kilder til Landbefolkningens Historie)*. Rosenkilde og Bagger's Forlag, København, 1969, 1. Heft, 64 pp.

Since 1952 the Rural History Society, or the Committee for Publication of Source Materials in the History of Rural Population, in Copenhagen has been working with funded assistance to disseminate more widely in an accessible format essential archive materials from 1500 and later. Early on, their labours produced in 1954 the first instalment of what has come to be a series of district court registers or *Tingbøger*. These records derive from the rural sittings of courts and are probably not dissimilar to the British quarter sessions papers. The publication to date of portions of *Tingbøger* from Jutland, Funen, and Zealand, of which this fascicule is one, provides source material for the

study of how rural problems of the seventeenth century were met and of the local peculiarities of judgements. Sokkelund Herred or district lies within the modern limits of Copenhagen county, and its *Tingbøger* reflect in their pages the economic and social consequences of a location so close to the royal seat.

These Danish land court registers, dating particularly from the seventeenth century, provide in diary form the minutes of the deliberations of the court sessions. In order that such records, reproduced here in their contemporary and idiomatic Danish, can be more accessible to the topographer or biographer, some critical apparatus is necessary. For each complete volume three indexes are provided. The first and longest is an alphabetical list of both place and personal names which occur in the text. Two shorter listings of the vernacular or nicknames of both individuals and places complete the individual volumes.

Although these Danish *Tingbøger* are clearly produced, they do not, nor are they meant to, provide compulsive reading for academics. Instead, their availability in a uniform and legible format means that Danish legal historians with an interest in the local life of past times will have at hand part of the record of the dynamism of events at the foundations of the realm. The agricultural historian also can pursue in these publications his patient studies showing how landholding was rationalized, how fines for assorted agrarian misdemeanours were levied, and how the fiscal obligations on farmers who fell upon hard times were alleviated.

ROBERT M. NEWCOMB