

Book Reviews

RALPH B. PUGH (ed.), *Court Rolls of the Wiltshire Manors of Adam de Stratton*. Wiltshire Record Society, vol. XXIV, 1968, 224 pp. Copies available from M. J. Lansdown, 37 Hilperton Road, Trowbridge, Wilts. £2.50 to non-members.

The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Records Branch (as it then was) undertook publication of the muniments arising out of Adam de Stratton's tenure of the wealthy manor of Sevenhampton and its members in north-east Wiltshire, with the printing of the *Stratton Accounts and Surveys* in 1959 followed by the *Highwood Hundred Rolls* in 1965-6. The present volume completes the series with an edition of the manorial court rolls of Sevenhampton and Stratton St Margaret and the portmoot rolls of the borough of Highworth. The Sevenhampton and Highworth rolls run consecutively (except for a gap in 1285-6) from 1275-6, the year in which they came to Adam, until 1287-8, the last full year of its tenure. The Stratton rolls are less complete, with gaps in 1279-81 and 1285-7. As court rolls go, they are not particularly exciting examples and the narrow chronological limits detract from their value. But their importance lies in the fact that they provide, in conjunction with the accounts, surveys, and Hundred Court rolls, a body of material which would repay close analysis by revealing much about the nature of society and its economy in this locality in the late thirteenth century. Even a cursory glance produces some significant pointers.

There are a few indications, for example, of friction within the society or overt opposition to the lord. On a number of occasions tenants refused to perform labour services, absented themselves, or worked badly (for which the *messor* was usually blamed). But all these are individual cases and there are no examples of the organized refusals which one encounters, for instance, in the court records of St Albans or Ramsey Abbey. These apart, we find only the inevitable grumbling and complaints about manorial officials. Perhaps another sign of lack of friction is the infrequency with which the

custom of the manor was invoked. Only two enquiries about custom are recorded: one about the right of pasturing livestock after the hay had been lifted (p. 166), the other a solitary guide to inheritance custom—protection for the rights of the "child of the hearth," left in the hands of its stepfather after its mother's death (p. 168).

However hard he pressed his monastic debtors, Adam de Stratton's hand seems to have lain fairly lightly on his tenants. After 1275-6, for example, the customary "aid" was condoned every year. (The *Accounts* (p. 91) show that it was actually condoned in 1277-8 when the court rolls (p. 46) refer to 53s. 4d. coming from aid.) Merchet, too, was usually a nominal payment of 2s. and the few references to heriots paid in cash show them commuted at a standardized rate of 15d. The 2s. 6d. entered at the foot of the 1278-9 roll *de relevis pro heriet* (p. 54) seems to have puzzled Mr Pugh but the *Accounts* (p. 100) reveal that the two payments of 15d. each coming from John Laweman and William le Wyte and entered in the court rolls (p. 51) as *pro relevis* were in fact heriots.

Though these customary payments were light, the level of entry fines was fairly high. The average figures calculated by Mr Pugh (p. 11) have little meaning because they do not take into account the varying quantities of land involved; the entry fines to smallholdings, for example, might well be high with regard to the quantity of land transmitted, but when included in an unadjusted average will only suffice to make that average figure misleadingly low. High entry fines are particularly noticeable at Stratton, where as much as 22 marks could be paid for a virgate and £4 6s. 8d. for only ten acres (pp. 167, 169). The fines varied greatly for similar quantities of land but generally the level was quite high. The Sevenhampton fines were lower, though even here some seem exorbitant. Nicholas de Vaus, for instance, gave 6s. in 1282 for entry to a cottage belonging to Nicholas Wolfrych, whose holding in 1275 had been only a croft of one acre (*Accounts*, p. 6). (The figure of 6d. on p. 70 of the court rolls is clearly an error; 6s. is the sum

needed to complete the total given and the *Accounts*, p. 71, confirm that this was the sum paid.) There are several other instances of between 5s. and 10s. being paid for entry to cottage smallholdings.

The high fines presumably indicate pressure on land. The court rolls record no payments for assarting, though a number of peculiar entries specify payments (e.g., p. 53) "*pro licencia arrandi et seminandi pratum*"—"inhoking," one imagines, rather than ploughing up the meadow, which seems most unlikely. It is also worth noting that the most common offences in these rolls, recorded with great frequency, were trespasses of livestock in the corn or meadow, again perhaps suggesting that arable expansion had left a shortage of pasture.

Mr Pugh's introduction is especially useful from the legal angle for its analysis of procedures in manorial courts. It is relevant and important for anyone working on manorial court records. His editing of the rolls is most competent and the indexes are thorough and helpful. The production and printing of the volume live up to the high standard which the Wiltshire Record Society sets itself, and students of medieval rural society will be grateful for the Society's initiative in making available the complete muniments (apart from deeds) of Adam de Stratton's time as lord of these Wiltshire estates.

IAN KERSHAW

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, *The Draining of the Somerset Levels*. Cambridge U.P., 1970. xvi + 288 pp. £6.

Regional studies of the British Isles tend, says Dr Williams, to regard the Somerset Levels as a convenient vacuum in which to end the "Bristol area" and begin the "West Country," so that the Levels get treated in neither. His own study should help to remedy this, for he makes it clear that the Levels constitute a distinctive area with features of interest for both geographers and historians, something of whose flavour he conveys in a series of excellent photographs. The author, himself a geographer, calls his work "a geographical investigation into matters of historical interest" and declares it is not "a history in the

ordinary sense of the word." But there are many kinds of history; and this is of the same kind as those classic works on the Fenland by H. C. Darby (under whom the author has studied), wherein history, geography, agriculture, economics, and engineering all have a place, and which, if not history, are at least a very acceptable substitute.

The author tells the story of drainage and reclamation in the Levels from the twelfth century to the present day. In the medieval period the story is not dissimilar to that of the Fenland, and the early seventeenth century likewise saw a lively interest in reclamation in Somerset. But after 1640 came a long period of "near stagnation" in attempts at improvement, lasting until 1770, which the author attributes to "the removal of Crown sponsorship of draining, due to the opposition of the commoners and ultimately to the disturbances of the Civil War." In 1770 favourable economic conditions helped to produce a burst of draining activity in the Levels, but by about 1830 the impetus was exhausted and there followed a century of slow deterioration due to inadequate maintenance. Only since 1939 have improved techniques, better administration, and above all more money, made efficient drainage at last possible.

Monastic cartularies and the like provide a good deal of evidence of medieval activity in drainage and reclamation, but the evidence is often capable of more than one interpretation and its territorial spread tends to be uneven. The author is aware, but not sufficiently aware, of the limitations of this evidence, and some of his maps and statistics need to be used with caution. Thus the unwary might assume that fig. 4, a map of the "possible extent of ecclesiastical estates in the medieval Levels," indicates their *maximum* extent. In fact, a footnote shows it to be based principally on a map published in 1889 of "inferred Domesday estates"; but how far is this a valid representation for later centuries? Incidentally, the "great see of Bath and Wells" is an anachronism in the eighth and ninth centuries (p. 19): there was no bishop of Wells till 909, nor of Bath till 1088.

Fig. 12, a map to show reclamation from c. 1400 to 1770, embodies some highly dubious reasoning on the "probable extent of reclama-

tion c. 1400-1600." This last is calculated by assuming what remains after the deduction of "probable medieval" (i.e. pre-1400) and known post-1600 reclamation can be attributed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, despite the fact that the author has documentary evidence of only one such reclamation during that period. Is there any good reason why the areas in question should not have been reclaimed before 1400? Again, he assumes (p. 92) that reclamations of coastal warths (tidal mud flats) beyond the old sea-walls—whatever is implied by "old"—must be seventeenth-century in the absence of contrary evidence; but since such reclamations were technically simple, may not some have been earlier?

Late medieval land subsidence is twice mentioned by Dr Williams as a possible contributory cause of silting and flooding in the Somerset Levels. So far as the reviewer can discover, such subsidence was confined to eastern England. J. A. Steers' *Coastline of England and Wales* (a work not mentioned in Dr Williams' bibliography) in a full account of the Somerset coast makes no mention of any such possibility.

Almost no records of the Commissioners of Sewers survive in Somerset before 1770. This is unfortunate as what little is known suggests that in the preceding 250 years the Commissioners were by no means so ineffective in maintaining existing works of drainage (they were held to have no legal power to construct new ones) as they later became. Consequently, though the author devotes three maps and several pages to the complexities of drainage administration after 1770, the reader unfamiliar with Courts of Sewers may be left with a rather confused idea of their role in Somerset. It is not made sufficiently clear that many features of this administration, notably the multiplicity of local juries, were peculiar to Somerset and not characteristic of Courts of Sewers everywhere.

There is much of interest in this book for readers both in and outside Somerset, and it seems a pity the publishers have set a price which may deter many from buying it.

A. E. B. OWEN

NIGEL HARVEY, *A History of Farm Buildings in England and Wales*. David & Charles, 1970. 278 pp. £3.

J. E. C. PETERS, *The Development of Farm Buildings in Western Lowland Staffordshire up to 1880*. Manchester U.P., 1970. xx + 284 pp. £3.60.

In the last thirty years the history of the countryside has been greatly enlarged by the scientific study of its ancient buildings. Until recently attention has been mainly concentrated on the farmhouse itself. But as historical documents the farm buildings are no less important. They are, moreover, in far more urgent need of study, for while the old house can be adapted to modern needs the old farm buildings have little relevance to highly specialized and highly mechanized farming of today. Little or nothing is spent on their maintenance and they are replaced as soon as practicable by modern structures which, unlike their predecessors, add little to the beauty of the rural scene.

It is therefore a pleasure to welcome two works devoted to the architecture of the farmyard. Nigel Harvey's *History of Farm Buildings* is a general survey. The author, a chartered surveyor and land agent, is able to draw on a fund of practical experience which more academic students of the subject might envy. He is particularly good on the period from the agricultural revolution to today, a period well documented by writers on agricultural theory in whose works Mr Harvey has delved deeply, as his impressive critical apparatus shows. He deals with earlier and later phases of the agricultural revolution, the late Victorian depression, and with modern times, where his familiarity with current farming practice is evident.

The great depression was of course a disaster for the industry but for the archaeologist it was a blessing. The impoverished landlord and farmer had to patch buildings they could no longer afford to replace and, as a result, we still have barns and beast-houses surviving, though by now only just surviving, from the age before the great improvements. This earlier period, however, receives a more cursory treatment which only summarizes received opinion. Although Mr Harvey makes the important point that in the earlier phases

of the agricultural revolution agricultural writers gave no detailed structural advice on how to realize their general ideas because it was assumed each region would use the traditional methods of building locally established, he does not treat local schools in any great detail. Most of the preliminary work necessary for such a locally oriented study has yet to be done, but at least Dr J. E. C. Peters' *Development of Farm Buildings in Western Lowland Staffordshire up to 1880* points the way ahead.

This very detailed inquiry covers every aspect of farm building of the chosen locality in a most methodical manner, covering siting, layout, and the evolution of individual building types. Much of the information is set out in tabular form, showing at which period particular arrangements were preferred. This method puts the study on an objective basis, though this somewhat anumerate reviewer thinks Dr Peters would have made some of his diagrams, e.g. the second part of table 10, easier to understand if he had not tried to cram so much into them.

Like so much of England and Wales, western Staffordshire's earliest phase of building was in timber. But by the beginning of the eighteenth century half-timbered building had practically ceased, and had been replaced by brickwork. It is these brick buildings that are chiefly illustrated. One could have wished that in addition to the great wealth of plans and sections Dr Peters had included one or two perspective or reconstruction drawings to give a general impression. The photographic cover is generous, but the quality of the blocks is not as high as in Mr Harvey's book, though one knows the difficulties of getting a photograph, both informative and attractive, of a farm building with the amount of later patching and historically irrelevant accretions with which most are now encumbered. Perhaps also the red Staffordshire bricks are not particularly photogenic.

The historical narrative makes a number of important points. In Staffordshire the development away from the village settlement to the isolated farm appears to have begun earlier and developed further than in some other parts of the midland plain. Dr Peters' observations on the relationship of house to the farm build-

ings on p. 61 are pertinent. They show the house combined with its buildings in a single block is not necessarily early, or even early in conception, and was sometimes so built merely to achieve a massive architectural effect.

The role of the landlord in providing farm buildings is also examined. This is clearly an important factor in the decay of a regional style, although of course it sometimes tended to a regionalism of another sort, when it is possible to tell on which estate a farm once stood from the detailing of the late buildings. Dr Peters believes that it was in the eighteenth century that the landlord gradually assumed responsibility first for providing the buildings and later for maintaining them.

Other chapters deal with different types of farm building in the most painstaking detail, the evolution of barns, stables, granaries, cartsheds, as well as lesser buildings such as pigsties and poultry houses, each being carefully considered and tabulated.

Dr Peters is an *alumnus* of Manchester University where the late Professor Cordingley pioneered the study of regional architecture at a time when historical studies tended to be neglected by building students. It is to be hoped that this encyclopaedic work will be followed by others from the same source. It is certain that the material tabulated by Dr Peters will be a mine of comparative information for workers in other districts, and also a guide to significant variations elsewhere.

P. SMITH

M. A. HAVINDEN and CELIA M. KING (eds.), *The South West and the Land*. Exeter Papers in Economic History No. 2, Exeter Univ., 1969. 5 maps, 65 pp. 50p.

This "large pamphlet," as the publishers describe it, consists of four papers read at the second Dartington research seminar on the economic and social history of the South-West. Three of the papers deal almost exclusively with Devon, while the fourth, H. C. Bowen's 'Experiment in Ancient Agriculture', is concerned with work in Wiltshire and Denmark which is of interest mainly to students of prehistory. The value of all the papers, and especially of M. A. Havinden's general introduction, 'Agricultural History in

the South-West', lies not so much in statements as in queries and suggestions which will certainly lead to local research. This, presumably, was Professor Minchinton's intention in holding the seminar and subsequently publishing the paper under review.

Although Mr Havinden's introductory paper is concerned mainly with the history in Devon of the past 200 years and the reasons for change or lack of change, it directs thought to earlier centuries, and especially to the incidence of common-field agriculture and the timing of and reasons for its disappearance. Many small settlements were in positions so isolated by geographical circumstances that they could never expand and so had no reason for common fields. Yet in hamlets which now consist of only one or two farms we often find signs of common-field cultivations which the five or six farmers of earlier days found necessary. There is even occasional verbal tradition of cultivation in common with four or five other farmers as, for instance, in Challacombe on the edge of Exmoor. Elsewhere the shapes or names of fields give indications.

There are many other problems which Mr Havinden does not mention. For instance, what were the reasons for the population explosion during the first half of the nineteenth century, followed by just as rapid a fall (for more evident reasons) during the second half? Again, what have been the effects during the present century of the dispersal of the great landed estates resulting from death duties in the main? Most of the farm sales were to sitting tenants who can now be thankful that they were not forced to buy at today's impossible prices; indeed, by selling today a farm which he bought twenty years ago a farmer and his wife at the age of sixty-five can live on investments and the retirement pension in greater comfort than during their working life.

No study of rural economy in Devon and Cornwall is complete without mention of the Devon breed of cattle, the Red Rubies which are still such a feature of the Highland Zone in the south-west, and of the Quartly family of Molland who brought them to something like their modern perfection during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mr Havinden writes of them at some length, but it

is in Robin Stanes's paper that we read with surprise that in the mid-eighteenth century the predominant Devon breed was not red but black, presumably akin to the Welsh cattle of today. Evidently the Quartlys had even more influence on cattle-breeding in the south-west than is generally attributed to them.

To the general reader, Robin Stanes's paper on 'Devon Agriculture in the mid-eighteenth century', based on the evidence of the Milles enquiries, is the most informative and evocative, directing attention incidentally to many lines of enquiry which might profitably be followed by the amateur local historian. John Kew's paper on 'Regional Variations in the Devon Land Market in the mid-16th century' is thorough but of limited interest.

The most noticeable omission from this publication is any but the briefest mention of communications. It is reliably said that there was no wheeled traffic in north Devon until about 1820 except on the very few turnpiked main roads. The years between 1820 and 1850 were the peak period of turnpike construction, to be followed very soon by the railways. Road improvements and the railways were the most important factors in Devon agriculture before the advent of the modern tractor. Railways had been fully treated by several writers, but no authoritative work has yet been published on road communications except for Sheldon's *From Trackway to Turnpike* in 1928.

CHARLES WHYBROW

ERNST SCHMIDT-KRAEPELIN and SIGFRID SCHNEIDER, *Luftbildinterpretation in der Agrarlandschaft und Beispiele ihrer Anwendung aus dem Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen*. Landeskundliche Luftbildauswertung im mitteleuropäischen Raum, Heft 7, Selbstverlag der Bundesanstalt für Landeskunde und Raumforschung, Bad Godesberg, 1966. Illus. 156 pp.

Most readers of this journal know that many agricultural features not readily observable from an inspection on the ground and not registered even on the large-scale map may be adumbrated or even clearly seen on an aerial photograph. This publication, dating back to 1966, is the seventh of an official and still continuing series on aerial photography, the first

however to be exclusively devoted to the agricultural landscape. It provides a very interesting introduction to the various techniques of making and examining aerial photographs. The illustrations, seventy-one photographs (five of them stereograms), and twenty-five, mainly interpretive figures, are very useful examples of agricultural photography from the air and concentrate upon the area of Nordrhein-Westfalen though drawing also from many other countries.

The introduction examines the value of aerial photography in a variety of subjects. The following topics discussed will interest the agricultural historian: field patterns, including centuriation and former field systems, roads and paths, hedges, the village and dwelling patterns, the encroachment of the city on agricultural land, the estimation of harvests, the study of soils and of predators, soil erosion, reclamation, amelioration, and recultivation. The problems of scale, quality of printing, texture, the season, and the use of infra-red, colour and false-colour films are evaluated. In this section the pictures come from varied sources and are grouped to illustrate such features as very geometrical field systems in a number of countries.

The third chapter which concentrates on Nordrhein-Westfalen provides many examples where the time scale is of interest. Thus there are sections on change in agricultural use in the Cologne embayment, on the extension of grassland following Flurbereinigung in the west Eifel, on land use on large estates (Eifel-Cologne), on the teaching and research estate of Eltzhof near Wahn, while colour pictures are compared with black-and-white ones of the lower Rhine plain near Rheinberg. Other sections deal with special crops at Straelen on the German-Dutch frontier and the recovery of agricultural land after open-cast mining of brown coal (Neurath). Not only are these examples of great interest to the historian but the technical limits and potentialities of the methods employed are given. A concluding chapter reminds us of the need for rapid and cheap surveys of backward countries and the economic role of air survey in this.

The photographs are excellently printed upon good paper and the bibliography gives a

conspectus of the systematic books on the subject, while the footnotes refer to a wide range of most helpful references.

Upon some of these photographs prehistoric features can faintly be seen. On others there are many traces of the past surviving here more explicitly than in Great Britain. They excellently portray a host of curious and revealing features. There is nothing formidable in the style of the book and it should be quite accessible to all readers of simple German knowing something of the vocabulary of cartography and photography.

D. J. DAVIS

A. H. BUNTING (ed.), *Change in Agriculture: Lectures and summaries of case studies presented to the International Seminar on Change in Agriculture, University of Reading, Berkshire, England, together with a general review and conclusions*. Duckworth, 1970, xiv + 813 pp. £7.50.

The volume contains the seven plenary lectures and sixty-seven studies delivered to the International Seminar on Change in Agriculture with a general review and concluding summary of proceedings by Professor A. H. Bunting. The whole comprises a wealth of detailed information and analysis on different aspects of agricultural development in over thirty countries, mostly in Africa and South America. Predictably, the historical content is disappointing, and apart from Clark, who uses long-run population data to support his now-familiar anti-Malthusian thesis ("we on earth have really quite a lot of agricultural capacity to spare"), the Seminar was dedicated more or less exclusively to present-day efforts to expand world food production. It assumes throughout that agriculture is the spring-board of economic growth, but without, alas, identifying the mechanisms whereby increased productivity in agriculture can stimulate other areas of the economy. Yet it can be argued from historical experience that agricultural development *per se* is not a sufficient condition for economic growth. Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provides the classic example of the failure of an expanding agriculture to finance industrialization and stimulate home

demand for non-farm goods through the export of agricultural products. Indeed, there is the risk that in the not-too-distant future there may develop world surpluses of food-stuffs and raw materials such as afflicted primary producers in the period 1880-1940, and which could seriously retard development in the agrarian-based exporting nations.

An interesting feature of this compendium is its overwhelming concern with what may be termed the "institutional" aspects of agricultural change. No less than thirty-five papers relate to development projects sponsored by governments, international agencies, or business corporations, and supervised by Western experts. Conversely, only a handful deal with the "organic" elements, in particular the role of technological and biological innovation. Historians will point out that agricultural change in the advanced countries was a long-drawn-out, spontaneous, and self-regulating process secured without government intervention or massive transfers of capital and other inputs from outside agriculture. There is, of course, no *a priori* reason why the future of the poor nations should be modelled on the history of the rich. As Gerschenkron once remarked, the development of a backward country may, by the very nature of its backwardness, tend to differ from that of an advanced country. It can also be argued that historical experience is now irrelevant, in the sense that world population is growing too fast and material aspirations are now too high for underdeveloped countries to contemplate the same slow cycle of evolution as occurred in Western Europe.

But if it is wrong (and I am not altogether convinced that it is) to apply historical solutions to contemporary problems, so also is it poor strategy, and equally unhistorical, to attempt to impose upon one half of the world the value systems of the other. One or two contributors, notably Hunter ('Agriculture and social development') and Klatt ('Agricultural infrastructure') warn against this tendency, stressing the 'totality' of development and the dangers of the too purely *homo oeconomicus* approach. Case studies by Mettrick ('Mechanization of peasant agricultures in East Africa'), Gordon ('State farms in Ghana'), and Agabawi

('Theraingrownsorghum development, Sudan Republic') demonstrate only too clearly how transplants of Western technology and organization have failed to trigger off instant agricultural revolution. Gordon, for example, notes "the enormous scale on which 'crash' programmes of mechanization can waste human and financial resources," and Mettrick, how in Tanzania, at least, the tractor has increased neither yield nor area under cultivation.

By themselves the case studies do not expose the true complexity of agricultural development. This task is left to Professor Bunting who, in a thoughtful 12,000-word conclusion, and without offering any universal panacea for underdevelopment, spells out the full range of awesome concerns which bar the road to Goschen.

Can the historian help here? If Professor Bunting seeks a touchstone the answer is probably No. Yet history is much better at duplicating processes than events so perhaps the future will show the long-time seekers to have made the best guides.

E. J. T. COLLINS

WARD, J. T. and WILSON, R. G. (eds.), *Land and Industry: the Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution*. David & Charles, 1971. 280 pp. £3.75.

In this volume Drs Ward and Wilson have combined forces with four other scholars to provide an interesting collection of studies on the general theme of the reactions of landowners "to the opportunities and challenges presented by the Industrial Revolution." David Spring gets the book off to a good start with the most general of the papers, covering in turn railways, docks, mines, and towns, although his material is concerned mainly with the first sixty years of the nineteenth century and the detailed discussion is confined largely to enterprise among the nobility. After the impressive achievements of such blue-blooded tycoons as the seventh Duke of Devonshire and the third Marquess of Londonderry it comes as something of a damper that no more than "a handful of estates in the first half of the nineteenth century derived a half or more of their gross income" from non-agricultural

sources. In the years 1815-46 "when the Corn Laws were being debated, the economic interest of English landowners was very largely rooted in agriculture."

Dr Ward goes back to the eighteenth century to begin his long list of landowners connected with mining enterprise. He emphasizes the advantage of permanence that agricultural rents had over the more uncertain returns from minerals, and he concludes that the risks and complexities of mining, as well as the large capital often required, deterred many landowners from directly involving themselves in mining operations. It is interesting that as lessors landowners might treat their coal tenants in much the same way as they did their farmers, remitting rents and providing loans when times were bad. There prevailed too a distinctly patriarchal relationship between landlord and miners, exemplified by occasional "treats," free coal, Christmas gifts, benefit societies, schools, and savings banks.

Mr Crawford's too brief discussion of the landowners' part in the rise of the Ulster linen industry ranges over the whole of the eighteenth century. Irish gentlemen imported looms from France and Holland and experimented with large manufactories. They also built turnpikes and canals—the coal canal from Lough Neagh to Newry was functioning as early as 1742—and they developed towns and erected linen halls. In the linen industry the most successful line of advance proved to be in domestic production with skilled weavers from England, Scotland, and France bringing new wealth to the "linen triangle" between Belfast, Armagh, and Dungannon. These craftsmen-smallholders grew their own flax and kept a cow or two to supplement their incomes from linen. Their demand for small parcels of land drove up rents and forced out the full-time farmers, while in surrounding areas the pressure of numbers forced the less skilled weavers and cottiers down to subsistence levels and depressed the standards of cultivation. By the middle of the nineteenth century, when domestic linen production had collapsed before the competition of the factories, the landlords' interest in the industry had also faded away.

Dr Sturges's paper is also a regional one,

concerned in this case with mining and urban development in nineteenth-century Staffordshire. The Staffordshire owners' mineral revenues were most buoyant in the middle fifty years of the century; and when a combination of population growth and a desire to reduce indebtedness encouraged the development of urban properties in the Potteries, Walsall, and West Bromwich the resulting ground rents, added to the coal revenues, enabled landowners to maintain higher levels of personal spending and make heavier investment in their farms. From the 1870's, however, changed conditions created new strains on owners' finances as debt repayment and farm investment pressed on diminishing incomes from coal and agriculture.

In the remaining two papers Dr Wilson and Mr Devine give somewhat contrasting accounts of eighteenth-century merchants as landed proprietors. Dr Wilson provides only a miniscule sample, just two families of wealthy Leeds cloth merchants who invested in landed property. One of these, the Denisons, seem to bear out Adam Smith's view that merchants made the best of improvers. William Denison purchased scattered properties for investment rather than a compact estate for social prestige. He exhibited a highly commercial attitude to estate management and carried out improvements with an eye to profitable resale of the land. The other Leeds example discussed by Dr Wilson, the Milneses, falls into the more customary pattern of parvenus taking the traditional steps for establishing themselves in county society. They were of a piece with Mr Devine's Glasgow merchants who quickly set about displaying newly acquired coats of arms, rode to hounds, and joined associations for the preservation of game. Mr Devine does not say whether his much larger sample of merchant-landowners displayed an interest in agricultural improvements, but it is clear that enjoyment of the bucolic life did not diminish their commercial acumen. They saw land as a good investment in its own right and as a security for raising loans and for providing for their families, and a number of them had a keen eye for minerals and for land conveniently situated for building purposes.

While we must be grateful for the many insights offered by these wide-ranging studies, it must be said that they do not amount to a comprehensive or systematic treatment of the subject. Nothing is said, for example, about institutional landowners, and there is very little on the role of enclosure in the securing of land for minerals or other industrial purposes. No doubt there is, too, a fuller story of estate policy, and in particular in subsidizing or detracting from agricultural investment. Further, there remains the more general question of how far the broadening of the landowners' economic role affected the nature and duration of their political influence.

One feels that the scale of the treatment adopted in this volume is inadequate for the potential importance of the subjects. The most valuable essays, in fact, are those which go some way towards treating a limited area in detail, such as the Ulster linen industry or the Glasgow merchants. It seems, too, that the contributors have not always addressed themselves to the more vital questions: an assessment of the landowners' role in economic development seems of more general significance than their personal motives for undertaking industrial investment or the results on their finances. Such an assessment is probably best conducted by comparison of detailed studies of the influence of estates in particular areas. Here the publication of Dr Davies's work on the Bute estates in Glamorgan and Dr Raybould's on the Dudley estates in the Black Country will break important new ground and take us nearer to this goal.

G. E. MINGAY

H. J. HABAKKUK, *Population growth and economic development since 1850*. Leicester U.P., 1971. 110 pp. 90p.

This book is based upon the Arthur Pool Memorial Lectures delivered at Leicester University in 1968. Mr Habakkuk draws together many of the leading ideas in his own previous publications as well as the findings of a wide range of recent studies. The framework of the book is the familiar "theory" of demographic transition. Three chapters cover the characteristics of pre-industrial society (a state rather than a stage?), the "demographic revolution"

of the eighteenth century, and the subsequent fall in fertility; whilst a fourth ruminates on the relevance of this historical experience for the developing countries at the present time.

Whilst denying the existence of any single pattern of population change in pre-industrial Europe, the author presents a schematic analysis based on broadly Malthusian principles. Assuming the supply of resources to be determined independently, population adjusted itself through migration and by the regulation of marriage, as well as, spasmodically, fertility within marriage. To the extent that these mechanisms failed to operate, positive checks would come into play to regain equilibrium. All the necessary qualifications are made, notably that much mortality was random and economically fortuitous in origin; and Mr Habakkuk concedes that demographic divergences from what was warranted by the resource position could exist for lengthy periods, facilitating changes in conventional living standards and agrarian structure. Thus the argument allows for the establishment of a *new* rather than merely *restored* equilibrium from time to time, so meeting Nassau Senior's classic objection to the Malthusian theory that for civilization to have emerged from barbaric savagery some long-run increase in the ratio of subsistence to population must have occurred. This flexible and sinewy model will accommodate a great deal although the detailed evidence is not discussed here: there is a good deal more in Professor Chambers's *Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England* (1972) which it is appropriate to mention here since the two volumes are obviously complementary. The chief difference is that Chambers attaches more significance to the random behaviour of the agents of mortality, and presents these as the principal determinants of population change rather than as external shocks periodically affecting the equilibrating mechanism.

The second chapter is in the main a recapitulation of views the author has previously expressed elsewhere, with certain shifts of emphasis. Some decline in eighteenth-century mortality is conceded, and Habakkuk accepts Razzell's recent advocacy of inoculation as an important factor in smallpox reduction.

However, much weight is placed on trends in marriage and fertility. Structural shifts in the composition of the occupied population as they might have affected age at marriage are discussed, but without much in the way of new evidence. On the basis of Scottish data collected in 1911 it is suggested that if the age of marriage of women fell by one year it could be expected to add one-third of a child to the families: but this appears to overlook their strong counter-argument, advanced by McKeown and Brown, that to add one birth to families already large by modern standards could not be counted on to raise effective family sizes *pro rata* on account of the extra risks of infant mortality. The chapter concludes with a résumé of the various ways in which population growth might have stimulated economic development. One wonders whether it will ever be possible to say more than that there was continuous interaction, and that the population growth rates actually attained cannot have been far from optimal.

The third chapter deals with fertility decline exceptionally well, and in a somewhat novel way. There are astute criticisms of the failure of existing explanations ("which amount to saying that the whole social history of the period was responsible") to identify the critical factors, and a careful assessment of the problem of measuring the periodicity of the decline. The author's own explanation, which dovetails with the equilibrating model of chapter I, is that in the nineteenth century population pressure was making itself felt, if unevenly. Severe cyclical depressions in the late 1870's caused the postponement of births which could not altogether be recovered subsequently; and above all, falling infant mortality, especially after 1900, produced a new assumption for parents to reckon with and adjust to—that the size of the surviving family would approximate fairly closely to the number of children born. This explanation, it is suggested, will also cope with the earlier fertility decline among the professional classes since they were the first to experience infant mortality decline.

Lastly, Mr Habakkuk briefly considers the relevance of western population developments for the developing countries, since it is

generally hoped that they will follow through the stages of the demographic transition theory. Our historical experience, he concludes, is not a secure guide: outside Europe and North America the fall in mortality has been more abrupt and less obviously linked with thorough-going economic development. It has occurred in quite a different institutional context (the extended family, habitual early marriage), which has tended to maintain high fertility rates, and the consequential rapid rates of natural increase afflict the poorer nations more severely than was usually the case in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.

Inevitably, to span so much in this limited compass lays the author vulnerable to specialist criticism in places, and there are understandable difficulties in maintaining a complete consistency of approach over the period. The mechanisms described in chapter I purport to apply to Europe, whilst chapter II concentrates on England and it is perhaps fair to say that the implications of concurrent population growth elsewhere, though touched upon, are not followed through very satisfactorily. By contrast, in chapter III we are very properly warned against existing explanations rooted in purely English experience, since the decline in fertility "occurred more or less at the same time in countries as diverse in character as England and Hungary." And the juxtaposition of Malthusian and demographic transition theory means that population tends to be treated primarily as a dependent variable in chapters I and III, but as an independent variable in II and IV. All the same, even so distinguished a scholar as Mr Habakkuk has good reason to feel satisfied with his achievement, given that so many avenues of research remain as yet unexplored. Most thoughtful students are avid for synoptic works of historical scholarship which also throw light on current issues, as this one decidedly does. One is left in no doubt that the lessons of history, for what they are worth, are best drawn by historians. Bristling with ideas, and written with the author's usual polish and elegance of expression, this inexpensive volume deserves to command a wide sale to specialists and to the wider reading public.

W. A. ARMSTRONG

BERNADINO FAROLFI, *Strumenti e pratiche agrarie in Toscana dall'età Napoleonica all'Unità*. Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale dell'Università di Bologna. Series directed by Luigi dal Pane, no. 8, Milan, 1969. iv + 144 pp. 17 plates. Lire 1800.

This writer sticks closely to his last. The title and the subject are one, an example that might well be followed by other scholars. The book describes the tools and techniques of farming used and pursued by the peasantry and landowners of Tuscany at the time of Napoleon and the changes made or attempted to be made during the first half of the nineteenth century. Of course, Farolfi had the advantage of a firm foundation for his work in the "inquest" made by the French at the time of occupation, but this "inquest" of itself would only describe how things were done at that time.

It is not always wise to judge the range of a scholar's reading by the number and variety of his footnotes; but it is clear that Farolfi not only has exhausted the possibilities of contemporary documents and books, and that he has also consulted the recent literature in English and French as well as his own language, plus the briefer studies printed in reviews.

Though there were some slight variations in the practice of farming in different areas, such as the number of ploughings given in preparing the seedbed or the stubborn reliance on spade culture, the overall impression is that the ordinary peasant was farming in pretty much the same way as his remote ancestors of the classical era had done. The spade and the mattock were largely relied upon in the preparation of the seedbed though a symmetrical plough, the ard, araire, aratum, was also used. The peasants who used these things had some good arguments in favour of their prejudices. By spade or mattock the soil was broken up to a greater depth than the plough could reach. A symmetrical plough could work closer to the edges of irrigation ditches or to the lines of trees which were customarily planted across the fields: vines, elms, and others. There was obviously a measure of truth here, but it does not seem that there was so much to be said in favour of the rotations. These were much the same as those promul-

gated by the *Scriptores rei rusticae* some two thousand years before, except that the Romans knew nothing of maize and some other introductions. A fallow was usual. It might follow two years cropping or there might be some attempt to grow a catch crop, possibly lupins or trefoil to be ploughed in as green manure. The cereals and the legumes were all cultivated, wheat and barley, maize, beans, peas, vetches and the vine, the olive and the fig. Some hemp and flax found a place in the fields as did a trifle of tobacco.

It was not so much the introduction of new crops that the agricultural societies and the enthusiastic Italian "improving" landlords were concerned about, though the grasses, clover, and other innovations were thought well of: it was in the use of improved implements and machinery that they placed their hopes of a more productive system from which a larger net product might be harvested. This was natural enough. The early nineteenth century was a time when machines were looked to for almost all purposes and when the foundations of modern technical processes were laid.

Ploughs were obtained from Hohenheim, from Pictet in Geneva, from Dombasle at Roville, even from England, though the "Rame" plough cannot immediately be identified. The English iron plough had however been designed for horse traction, not for oxen, and was heavy and costly. The peasants did not use harrows. The two-wheeled plough was difficult to use on a hillside and the wheels would not allow it to work closely to trees and ditches. Some of the landowners were interested in the seed drill. Threshing machines were imported, one from a man named Baker in London, and a Mickle which proved the better of the two. A portable Garrett was looked upon favourably, and another machine made by a Swiss named Holleger was obtained, but such things were far beyond the financial capacity, perhaps even the desire, of the peasantry. The steam thresher from Regnaud Lodi of Nantes must have been even more costly.

Factories for the manufacture of implements were set up, one by the improving landlord Ridolfi, another by the Istituto Agrario

Pisano. By 1856 there were five principal factories making agricultural implements.

All over Europe the eighteenth century had heard the gospel of the Norfolk four-course rotation or, if not quite that, the gospel of the abolition of the fallow year. In Italy it had been preached by Campini in 1774. This procedure, in a pure or modified form, was widely adopted and the cropping of the fallow was the nexus of the so-called agricultural revolution. Ridolfi emphasized the necessity for doing this. He proposed a four-course rotation in place of the traditional three-course, although the latter was not the invariable practice. Ridolfi suggested (i) roots with weeding, (ii) maize or other cereal, (iii) trefoil, and (iv) maize or other cereal.

This goes to show that ideas for the improvement of farming had become nearly standardized all over western Europe. This is not to say that these ideas had been put into practice everywhere, and possibly landowners in Tuscany found a more embattled opposition than most others—not without some specious show of sweet reason on the part of the peasants. For all that, Farolfi has described the efforts made to make changes in the first half of the century and the considerable achievement that resulted. The plates depict the implements in use very clearly. The pious hope that Farolfi will undertake a similar study of the following hundred years, 1850–1950, may be voiced. This would be of the greatest value in view of the modern development of the province.

G. E. FUSSELL

J. H. NORRIS, *The Water-Powered Corn Mills of Cheshire*. Reprinted from the Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vols 75 and 76, 1955–6, Manchester, 1969. Illus. 37 pp. 75p;

K. J. ALLISON, *West Riding Water Mills*. East Yorkshire Local History Society Publication no. 26, 1970. Illus. 52 pp. 50p.

It is an odd fact bearing in mind its importance to basic food production, and no less significant its value as a school for many early engineers, that the corn-milling industry has received scant regard from economic historians. The only full-scale history of corn-milling relating

to Britain was published as long ago as 1899, and since then work on the subject from a purely historical standpoint has been sparse. It is, therefore, pleasing to note the appearance of two studies, one specifically on water corn-milling and the other on water-milling in general. Although both are essentially local studies, from the standpoint of the industrial archaeologist they are useful additions to the patchwork of milling history. Both quite naturally concentrate on technological aspects but at the same time throw some light on the general development of the milling industry.

The study by Mr Norris is clearly set out in traditional gazeteer form, listing nearly two hundred sites with varying amounts of information on each. Probably the most interesting feature to the general reader is the useful introductory section which explains the form and function of the various parts of water-mill construction and which helps give perspective to the gazeteer information. The inclusion of a number of particularly clear photographic illustrations is a further positive recommendation. A close analysis of the technical detail given bears out one point—that technological improvement in the industry was irregularly adopted and old methods persisted, often alongside new ones. Even the comparatively simple change to iron working-parts was delayed while existing methods continued the function.

Dr Allison's work on the East Riding follows a roughly similar format with historical introduction and gazeteer. As a piece of local history it has the edge on the previous work. A historical survey traces the development of water mills from the Middle Ages to the present day, while general conclusions of the survey precede the actual gazeteer. Here we are given more than merely technical information as Dr Allison follows milling history from the manorial soke mill, through the period of unbridled individual enterprise, to the decline of the local mill in the face of large-scale competition. An important point which emerges from this work is the adaptability of the water mill as a production unit when economic conditions changed. Mills could be switched out of corn-grinding into a vast number of alternative uses and vice versa.

It is unfortunate that little precise dating of changes in usage or rebuilding could be included in either work, although again Dr Allison's pamphlet scores better in this respect. Given the problems of structural and documentary survival, however, this omission is understandable. The value of the industrial archaeologist to the historian is in his assiduous collection of detail which provides the groundwork for assimilation and interpretation. Dr Allison has combined both disciplines to some extent and he and Mr Norris have certainly done their initial part of the job well. It is to be hoped that similar surveys of other areas will appear and that some historian will attempt to do justice to the general history of corn milling.

DAVID GRACE

GEORGE ORDISH, *The Great Wine Blight*. Dent, 1972. 237 pp. £2.75.

Mr Ordish, the bookjacket tells us, first became interested in the great wine blight when as a young man he worked on pest control in French vineyards. Now in this fascinating volume he has given us a full-length, illustrated study of the phylloxera aphid and its devastating effects on the French vine industry in the last third of the nineteenth century.

Along the way he digresses entertainingly and instructively on the botany of grapevines, the earlier problem posed by powdery mildew—a cause of the decline of wine production in Britain—and the vicissitudes of American grape culture. It was from America that the phylloxera came to Europe; but it was not until the 1860's, when the journey was shortened by railways and steamships, that infected cuttings could survive and spread destruction in Europe. By 1880, however, the pest had affected most of France's major wine-producing areas, and by 1890 it reached Champagne. Forty per cent of France's vines were destroyed, and some of the vineyards never recovered.

The author has the gift of making the technical aspects of his subject clear and interesting, and he is also at home in discussing the social and economic effects of the phylloxera. The chemical, land-flooding, and other methods of treatment that were tried could not succeed

economically, even when technically efficient, since foreign competition in the wine market made it impossible to pass the increased costs of cultivation on to consumers. Conservatism among French growers helped to delay the eventual solution, the introduction of resistant American vines on to which European stock could be grafted, and the area so planted grew rapidly only after 1883. Production of wine in France fell to low levels in the late eighties, when wine-growers' incomes were almost halved, and recovered only in the early 1900's. Vineyard values fell to a quarter in some areas but had returned to their former values by 1896. In 1890 only 60 per cent of the wine consumed in France and exported from the country was home-produced, the remainder being accounted for by imports and production of sugar and raisin wines. There was a considerable outflow of stricken *vignerons* from the affected provinces, and numbers emigrated to Algeria. Those who remained turned to other kinds of work, though some eventually went back to their vineyards if they could find the money for replanting.

Whether the new viticulture based on vines imported from the new world has affected the taste of French wine is an open and probably insoluble question. What is certain is that the eradication of the phylloxera resulted in much higher yields due to planting in richer land and to more scientific management, pruning, cultivation, and spraying. Mr Ordish concludes on the cheerful note that the new wines tend to be superior because production is now much more carefully carried out and controlled than in pre-phylloxera times. As we drink our wine, so he aptly suggests, we should pay tribute to the varied international group of intelligent men whose conquest of the wine blight was a triumph of patience, empiricism, and genius.

G. E. MINGAY

W. L. SACHSE, *Restoration of England 1660–1689*. C.U.P., 1971. 114 pp. £2.40.

This latest addition to the bibliographical handbooks associated with the Conference on British Studies has definite value for professional historians, though the time-scale is too short for economic history. Despite the occa-

sional slip (Miss Dunlop is twice described as Dunlap) the entries are sufficiently accurate to be used for reference and the selection is comprehensive and up to date.

Nevertheless, the spasmodic efforts by the compiler to describe the contents and grade the quality of entries are often unfortunate and the absence of comment on some important works suggest unfamiliarity with their contents. Thus Cullen's weighty study of Anglo-Irish trade evokes no comment, whereas Plum's *Restoration Puritanism* is modestly described as "somewhat inaccurate." Miss Priestley's article on the balance of trade with France is described as "concerned primarily with the cloth trade" and K. G. Davies' study of the Africa Company is listed as "important for African history." Miss Sutherland's article on the Law Merchant, we are told, has "not much on the period but useful in a general way." It is no surprise to be told that the *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* is "highly important for English concerns," but it is surprising to learn that Speck's brief polemic (1099) in *Past & Present* is an answer to Lawrence Stone, that Heckscher on Mercantilism and Herbert on the Livery Companies are standard authorities, and that the D.N.B. (listed under Stephen, Leslie) is obsolescent. Nor is it clear what significance or opprobrium is attached to the phrase "doctoral dissertation" as a description of Mason's *Gentlefolk in the Making*.

The criteria for inclusion and exclusion are sometimes uncertain. It is unlikely that historians will ever rush to read Lingard or Carritt or the strange assortment of titles on Monmouth's rebellion. An article of Sir George Clark in 1937 is listed, although it was completely absorbed into his *Science and Social Welfare* which is listed separately. A. E. Smith's article on transportation is included but not his full-length book on the subject. Letwin's study of Josiah Child is listed as a biography but its bibliographical warnings are ignored in another entry which lists one of Child's tracts. It is, moreover, difficult to believe that so many awkward ambiguities and abuses of the English language could be crammed into two pages of Preface. "Categorical arrangements" presumably refers to a system of classification and it is possible to reconstrue the meaning of

"in a bibliography such as this, the problem of selection is, of course, the thorniest one." But the statement that "in a sense no historical work is ever obsolete" is baffling.

RICHARD GRASSBY

PAMELA L. R. HORN, *Joseph Arch (1826-1919), the Farm Workers' Leader*. The Roundwood Press, Kington, 1971. x+262 pp. £3.75.

Historians of agricultural trade unionism have been forced to rely in the past on Joseph Arch's somewhat unreliable autobiography (1898), as edited by the egregious Countess of Warwick. Now we have a definitive life based securely on the surviving documentary evidence, newspaper reports, and parliamentary papers and free from the folksy hagiographical tone which increasingly afflicts even academic labour historians. It is true that even in his lifetime Arch's National Agricultural Labourers' Union withered away and appears in the later stages of its history to have existed almost entirely for the purpose of maintaining him in Parliament. Nevertheless, Arch's achievement was remarkable. He organized with great initial success a workforce scattered in ones and twos throughout the countryside and not massed in factories. British arable agriculture was in decline throughout his period of success and indeed as a result of Arch's overseas emigration policy his union deliberately thinned out the ranks of its supporters. It is a pity that Dr Horn does not link Arch's story more firmly to the background of the economic history of the time. For example, she does not point out that the union got off to a flying start during the boom of 1871-3, when for a short period full employment was attained and other trade unionists, such as the engineers, achieved notable successes. In view of the frequent mention of clerical opposition to the labourers' movement it is also sad that the Rev. Dr J. C. Cox, J.P., the Anglican champion of trade unionism among farmworkers and miners, is not given his clerical title. These are not serious defects, however, and Dr Horn is to be congratulated on a thorough and workmanlike biography of the Primitive Methodist hedger, ditcher, and temperance lecturer, who not only became the first farm worker to enter Parliament but also achieved a peculiarly

English apotheosis by having a public house named after him.

W. H. CHALONER

FRANK E. HUGGETT, *A Short History of Farming*. Macmillan, 1970, 63 pp. 50p; K. J. ALLISON, *Deserted Villages*. Macmillan, 1970, 64 pp. 50p.

Both these books are from the publisher's "Sources of History" series, pleasantly produced and illustrated with good, up-to-date references to further reading for each chapter.

One must be thankful that the results of modern research begin to percolate into such books as Mr Huggett's, designed presumably for the general reader and senior forms in schools. One is at least presented with a sensible time-scale of agricultural development and given some indication of the when and how of technological innovation. Nevertheless, it is not entirely possible to agree with the publisher that this is a "balanced history of farming from the earliest times." It begins with the manorial system and, though this is a sensible enough thing to do in a brief history, the eleventh century is scarcely the "earliest time" in this context (and were peripatetic landlords endlessly munching their way round their manors a characteristic of even the eleventh century?). Further, the book is not noticeably "balanced" chronologically or in subject matter. Very little is said about farming after 1870—from then till now is dismissed in two short pages. Mr Huggett, in fact, is less interested in farming than in agrarian social change and it is not easy to write about this in a balanced way without an exploration of the economic matrix in which change was formed fuller than that which Mr Huggett supplies.

K. J. Allison's introduction to *Deserted Villages* is wholly successful and quite admirable for its purpose. The documentary sources for detecting abandoned villages are carefully explained and clear examples provided. The various circumstances of depopulation are methodically traced. We would have been grateful for a fuller discussion of the distribution of such sites and the geographical factors involved, but there is an excellent chapter on excavating the sites which illustrates the opportunity provided by the deserted village for

studying the character of the medieval village in this country. Indeed, it throws some rather uncertain light also on the broad movements of economic change. Thus at the famous Wharram Percy site the "line of peasant houses" was extended in the thirteenth century, reflecting, however, not necessarily that "prosperity" which enabled the manor house to be moved at that time but a population growth which certainly did not bring universal prosperity to the peasant population. The thirteenth-century houses, however, were stone built, replacing earlier timber-built dwellings, while the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a reversion to building in wood. Does this represent a flow and ebb of prosperity or does it simply reflect the availability of timber as pressure on the land eased? This is a book by an enthusiast. There can be no doubt that some of the enthusiasm will rub off on the readers.

DAVID PECK

JACQUELINE MURRAY, *The First European Agriculture—a study of the osteological and botanical evidence until two thousand B.C.* Edinburgh U.P., 1970. 380 pp. £3.

This is an unusual book: it represents a Ph.D. thesis which is published with little alteration. I know this because I had occasion to refer to the thesis before the book came out. Such publication is useful in making the findings available in a wider sphere, but it has the disadvantage of being little more than a catalogue of evidence with minimum comment.

It therefore provides an excellent compilation and introduction for those about to specialize in this field, but is likely to be too detailed for the undergraduate or general reader. Literally all the evidence is presented from 1,000 excavations in 160 pages of tables listing bone and plant remains, seventy pages of frequency diagrams of bones from the main species at different sites, and five pages of maps, so that with a bibliography thirty pages long there are only 110 pages of text.

The author is not a biologist and so has not attempted to reassess what in many cases are old findings in the light of more recent knowledge. Although the bone frequency is expressed both as numbers and as the number of

individuals, the histogram scale is such that without tedious measurement with a ruler it is difficult to say whether or not sites differ in the proportions of the animals found and there appears to have been no analysis for statistical significance. Since the aim was a reference work, the diagrams have been separated from the text, and rightly no selection has been made, but it would have been easier for the reader if figures had been added to the diagrams.

Despite criticisms that can be levelled at the presentation, it can be fairly stated that the author has achieved her aim of presenting a digest of information available as a basis for new and more detailed studies. As such the book forms a unique work of reference. It is a pity that more detailed books of this nature are not published.

M. L. RYDER

RONALD WEBBER, *The Village Blacksmith*.

David & Charles, 1971. Illus. 160 pp. £2. The problem with this book is that it has nothing to recommend it, least of all the price. Despite the author's family connection with blacksmithing and his obvious first-hand knowledge of the trade, he has been content merely to relate "stories of the famous and infamous blacksmiths . . . with details of the legends, myths and spells and the intriguing mystique which surrounds the craft." This is a pity because the trade has had no proper treatment as yet, although even a very vague knowledge of history is likely to admit its importance. Mr Webber disposes of the complete history of the blacksmith in thirty-four pages, and after a description of the tools of the trade launches the reader into accounts of: 'Strange and Strong Smiths', 'Horseshoes as Charms', and 'Tales from the Smithy'—all written in a style which defies the reader to find any two consecutive paragraphs which even vaguely relate to one another. To confess that the academic peak is probably reached in the chapter on the blacksmiths of Gretna Green is to indicate the general level of this section of the book. The reader is left half-delighted with the prospect, indicated in the last chapter, that blacksmithing is a dying trade, if only for the reason that soon there will

be no subject to give rise to works like Mr Webber's. This book, in short, does a positive disservice to those agricultural historians who have striven to remove the folksy veneer which endangers the respectability of their subject. Even at a purely superficial level it is unsatisfactory for it adds little to that stock of semi-educative tales which seem to be necessary background knowledge for the weekend country-cottage dweller. As a general account of what was for centuries possibly the most important rural trade, it puts the clock back by twenty years or so on agricultural historical study.

DAVID GRACE

ENG. EUGEN MEWES (ed.), *TERRANOSTRA: culegere de materiale privind istoria agriculturii in romania*, vol. II, 1971. Illus. 436 pp. Ministry of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture & Water Management, Bucharest. (no price stated).

This is the second volume of an annual publication devoted to the history of agriculture in Romania, and allied subjects. There are no less than thirty odd essays ranging widely over the subject. Titles of these essays are given in Romanian and English, and English summaries are provided. Since it is obviously impossible to supply details or criticisms of all these, which the reviewer is not qualified to do, it will only be possible here to give some idea of the subjects discussed and thus indicate the great value of this collection, not only for itself, but because it reveals how much and how widespread are the interests in agricultural history in Romania as well as in other countries of eastern Europe. The point is emphasized by the introductory essay discussing the first national symposium on the history of agriculture in Romania held at Cluj in October 1969 when no less than eighty papers were presented.

In this volume of *Terra Nostra* the contributors have covered such widely varying ground as the development of Romanian agriculture in general at different times, agricultural tools depicted in Roman art and found in a deposit, types used in the feudal epoch, and the relation of technique and production in the nineteenth century. Also included the history of plant

husbandry, viticulture, and fruit growing as well as the biography of a celebrated fruit breeder.

Livestock, communal pasture, artificial insemination, and the centenary of veterinary science are connected subjects. Bee-keeping and sericulture are treated. Land improvement, produce processing, land transfer, science, statistics, co-operation, agrarian relations and economy, agrarian sociology and education as well as the problems confronting the research workers are other subjects discussed by the various authors. It is unfortunate that I can offer no critical judgements upon these papers because I have neither the linguistic nor historical knowledge required, so all I can do is to bring the publication to the notice of readers of the REVIEW in the hope that it may be serviceable as it certainly deserves to be.

G. E. FUSSELL

A. H. DODD, *Life in Wales*. Batsford, 1972. 166 pp., 107 illus. £1.80.

This book surveys Welsh social life from the time of the earliest Palaeolithic inhabitants down to the present day. All branches of human activity—economic, political, cultural, and religious—are touched upon. Professor Dodd succeeds admirably in this difficult undertaking and presents us with a lively, sensitive history of the Welsh past. The book is a model of balanced judgement and compression. Only in the epilogue 'Wales since 1914' do we meet with inadequacy, the story being told in a mere six pages.

The sections on economic development provide a useful synthesis. The discussion of early nineteenth-century labour problems in the emerging industries of the south-east, however, is hardly satisfactory without reference to the recent researches of Gwyn A. Williams and D. J. V. Jones into the Merthyr Riots of 1831. (Similarly in his survey of nineteenth-century politics Professor Dodd falls short in failing to incorporate the new research findings of Ieuan Gwynedd Jones with its promising sociological enquiries into the rise of Welsh democracy.) The rural scene is excellently surveyed and certain passages carry valuable insights. Thus in mentioning

the influence of the Irish example on Welsh tenurial relations Professor Dodd observes: "But the Welsh landlord, if anglicised, was neither absentee nor alien, nor was the Welsh peasant as downtrodden as the Irish." Again, his conclusion that the general absence of disturbances in Wales in 1830 was "partly because the farmer was in little better plight than the labourer, partly because of Methodist exhortations to patience in adversity and obedience to authority" is exactly right, although he might have mentioned the lack of corn production in most of the Principality which meant that the grievance felt in the south of England against the threshing-machine was largely absent. Two points are open to doubt: the agricultural societies founded at the close of the eighteenth century probably had less influence than the author claims; and it is doubtful whether the Welsh smallholder suffered more severely after 1814 than the larger English corn farmer, given the cheaper feed inputs for cattle and the large element of family labour assisting the smallholder in riding out the run of low prices.

This book, if sometimes old-fashioned in its treatment of the nineteenth century, is admirably comprehensive and provides us with the best overall introduction to the history of Wales. The many illustrations add to its value.

DAVID W. HOWELL

W. J. HUGHES, *A Century of Traction Engines*. David & Charles, 3rd edn, 1970. ix + 262 pp. 181 illus. £1.50.

This is a book to gladden the hearts of all lovers of "steam," and is probably already in the hands of a great many of them since it was first published in 1959. The rather numerous traction engine clubs scattered about the country are however continuing to expand, and there should consequently be an increasing public for it. But it is not only this rather esoteric group to which it should make an appeal. It cannot fail to be appreciated by the agricultural and economic historian whose interest is in the technical revolution (if such an over-worked term may be used) of the past century and a half.

A practical steam carriage was designed by

Trevithick in 1801 and was used on the road. The bodywork owed some debt to the horse-drawn vehicle of the time, but though it was a forerunner it was never extensively used. It was not until the 1840's that a machine was produced, not for carrying passengers, but for haulage work. It was first constructed as a portable engine, that is a steam engine on wheels, and was soon made into a self-propelled vehicle. This was the genesis of an engine that was to pass through many vagaries of design and was to play a great part in farm work, ploughing, threshing, and so on, as well as in road haulage. The latter was the first to be done, agricultural use only becoming possible with the designs of the 1850's.

The Boydell Endless Railway was in some sort similar to or possibly the progenitor of the track-laying tractor and the tank as was the much later Pedrail, which so much engaged the imagination of H. G. Wells. For ploughing etc. the best remembered designs are those which used cable haulage, but there was a great many of not very successful, though much discussed, attempts at rotary cultivation in the second half of the nineteenth century, which enabled Wren Hoskyns to indulge in a deal of cutting satire.

Most of the book naturally deals with road haulage. Some quite remarkable achievements were accomplished in this task, quite impossible loads being successfully carried, or perhaps it would be better to say transported, not only in this country, but in such places as India and Turkey.

For the engineer, Mr Hughes has supplied a notable amount of details of the construction of the machines made by the various manufacturers. This is a book which should have a large audience composed of a number of classes of readers with widely differing interests.

G. E. FUSSELL

J. BAILEY and G. CULLEY, *General View of the Agriculture of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland*. With introduction by D. J. Rowe. Frank Graham, 6 Queen's Terrace, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE2 2PL, 1972. xxiv + 361 pp. £3.50.

This volume is a reprint of the third (1805) edition of the old Board of Agriculture's

report on the three most northerly English counties. Competently produced with the original illustrations and a new introduction, it is agreeable to note that the book is much more reasonably priced than other similar volumes which have appeared in recent years.

As Dr Rowe points out in his introduction, a number of the Board's reports were compiled by authors of doubtful proficiency, whose acquaintance with the county concerned was very limited. This was true, for instance, of the reporter on Westmorland, A. Pringle, of whose qualifications Marshall wrote "I am not so fortunate as to possess the smallest knowledge." Pringle's report is included in this volume, together with that by Bailey and Culley on Cumberland: a production almost equally brief and largely based on the author's recollections and a short refresher visit to the county. Their report on Northumberland, however, was much fuller and even received a rare encomium from Marshall, who grimly warned that "in going the round of the Board's Reports, we shall not see its like again."

In addition to commenting on the Board's ill-considered procedures for the reports, and the validity of Marshall's strictures, Dr Rowe has some interesting material on the career of the Culley brothers and on that of George Culley's less well-known collaborator, John Bailey. (Bailey's own report on Durham appeared in 1810.) Bailey and Culley were exceptionally well fitted to report on Northumberland, or at least on the northern part of the county which they knew well, Bailey more on the estate management and technical side, and Culley as a successful general farmer who had made a special study of livestock. Highly competent in land surveying and mathematics, Bailey became estate steward for the Earl of Tankerville who owned extensive properties in the county; he was also important for his work on the plough design and advances in agricultural machinery. George Culley, along with his brother Matthew, was an early pupil of Robert Bakewell. In 1767 the brothers moved to northern Northumberland and there established farms which became centres of advanced practices, especially in sheep breeding. They attracted visitors and

pupils, and spent much time on tours to collect information on new farming methods. George Culley's book on livestock became a standard work, and both brothers prospered so well as to become considerable purchasers of land, concluding with the acquisition of Fowberry Tower, purchased in 1807 from Sir Francis Blake for £45,000.

Despite the encouragement which in their various ways Bailey and the two Culleys gave to Northumberland farming, there was nevertheless a marked technological gap between the advanced practices of the northern districts, where they were influential, and the conditions elsewhere in the county. As late as 1851 it was remarked that "a great part of the county . . . is as little drained and as badly farmed as any district . . . in England." Evidently this county report, like many others, had done little to advance the cause of improvement despite the competence of its authors. As Dr Rowe concludes, they "were preaching to the converted."

G. E. MINGAY

W. A. MAGUIRE, *The Downshire Estates in Ireland 1801-1845*. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1972. ix+284 pp. £6.

Detailed examinations of individual estates are not plentiful, even for England, where the mine of estate archives has now been worked for a good many years; they are even scarcer for Ireland—the more reason to welcome Dr Maguire's thorough and scholarly study of the Downshire estates.

These particular estates make an excellent subject, not only because of their vast size, but also because they extended into southern Ireland as well as in the north, so allowing comparisons and contrasts to be drawn. The Downshire properties stretched in fact to over 120,000 acres, producing a gross income of £30,000 in 1801, and £70,000 in the 1840's. The rapid growth of the rental owed something to extensions of the acreage, but more to the falling in of long leases. Net income was proportionately higher than in comparable estates in England because, although a conscientious landlord, Lord Downshire (like other Irish landlords) spent relatively smaller amounts on repairs and improvements.

The change in estate policy away from long leases and towards tenancies at will was a feature of the Downshire estates in this period. The change resulted partly from a disinclination to grant leases merely for political reasons, but partly from more pertinent economic and agricultural factors. As in England, the post-war depression and the subsequent fluctuations in prices made for a greater wariness of leases, and it was also relevant that the tenantry had confidence in their landlord, and felt that the value of their tenant right was secure. Lord Downshire himself remarked that the high price of the tenant right on his property—up to £40 per acre—showed that tenants did not really need leases. Among other considerations was the difficulty of ascertaining the date of the last death in a lease held for lives. This was particularly serious when leases changed hands and numerous people were emigrating, though a number of the lives were "persons of some rank": George III, for instance, was a life in many leases, and a very good one from the tenant's point of view.

Dr Maguire remarks that the lease did not cease to be an instrument of improvement but tended to become more a reward for improvement done, and an encouragement to continue it. Unfortunately, the long lease often had the effect of encouraging excessive subdivision of holdings, with deplorable effects on the farming. But contrary to the view of some demographers, there is no evidence that landlords encouraged subdivision in order to increase their rents; rather, the evidence of the estate records suggests that it was the pressure of population which led to subdivision carried out without the landlord's knowledge or consent.

Indeed, this important study indicates the need for a re-assessment of the much-maligned Irish landlord. Certainly Lord Downshire spent little on improvements, but then his tenants were widely ignorant of better husbandry, and were even hostile to such changes. The pressure of population was the major force in the rise of rents, while long leases were treated as a licence to subdivide rather than an encouragement to improve. As the author argues, the study of estate records may provide a new perspective of the Irish

problem, and may well reinforce the doubts that modern authorities now feel about the sinister role traditionally assigned to the Irish landlord before the Famine. What finally emerges is this: "serious economic and social

problems existed, of a sort that landowners were not primarily responsible for creating, and with which even the most sympathetic of them could not adequately deal."

G. E. MINGAY

Shorter Notices

C. C. WRIGLEY, *Crops and Wealth in Uganda*. O.U.P., 1970. xi + 84 pp. Map. £1.80

The development of commercial agriculture in Uganda is a very recent process, and this study is concerned with tracing the growth of its export-crop economy since its beginnings in the early years of this century. The effects on the country's people of the cultivation of cotton and coffee are considered for the period up to the 1950's, and the gains and losses in material and social terms are briefly discussed in a well-balanced treatment.

ALAN MAYHEW, *Rural Settlement and Farming in Germany*. Batsford, 1973. 224 pp. 8 plates, 26 figures. £4.

This first volume in the Batsford Historical Geography series deals concisely with the geography of German settlement and gives a systematic account of the forms of settlement and farming. The major controversies over these matters are briefly analysed, and the discussion is clearly illustrated by maps, diagrams, and photographs. The book concentrates on the Middle Ages, particularly between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the treatment of later periods is more limited and selective. Nevertheless, the book provides a useful survey of German agricultural developments down to the nineteenth century, and there is an extensive bibliography.

THOMAS T. POLEMAN, *Employment, Population, and Food: the new hierarchy of development problems*. Stanford, California: Stanford University, 1972. 26 pp. 3 diagrams. \$1.

A wide-ranging Malthusian discussion of world food supplies and food demands, as

illuminated by the FAO's *World Food Surveys* and other material, forms the basis of this brief reprint from volume XI of *Food Research Institute Studies in Agricultural Economics, Trade, and Development*. Professor Poleman uses figures from Ceylon to bring out the nature of the crisis that is occurring in the developing countries as population growth and movement of peasants from the land to the cities create high levels of unemployment. The "green revolution," he argues, should not be seen as a panacea, while the successful introduction of family planning depends on achievement of improved living levels, and so does not reach the rural poor and urban unemployed who tend to multiply at former levels. His conclusion is not, therefore, an optimistic one, and he suggests as a solution a massive effort to stimulate demand in order to create employment and better standards of living.

DAVID C. SMITH, *A history of Lumbering in Maine 1861-1960*. Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1972. Illus. xvi + 469 pp. \$9.

Timber and timber products are central factors in Maine history, and Professor Smith provides a detailed account of logging in the state during the hundred years after 1860. Among the topics discussed are the logger's life and work in the forests, the growth of the paper-mills with the consequent struggle for control of the rivers, and the fight for establishing a state forestry and conservation policy. Attention is also paid to Maine's broader economy and social structure, and the impact of the depression of the 1930's and the Second World War.

ROY PALMER (ed.), *The Painful Plough: a portrait of the agricultural labourer in the nineteenth century from folk songs and ballads and contemporary accounts*. C.U.P., 1973. Illus. 64 pp. 80p.

The life of the agricultural labourer in the nineteenth century was not so grim that he dare not give voice to his feelings, as this collection of folk-songs and ballads is witness. The commentary and illustrations set off the songs nicely, and teachers may find the book useful as a source of material for reading, singing, discussion, and study. The sources of the songs are given, together with a list of recordings, and a brief foreword is contributed by Mr E. P. Thompson. Some of the songs have been handed down through the generations while others were specially composed to mark current events, even down to the 1880's. Yet other songs were written for labourers to sing to well-known tunes at their meetings in the 1870's. Such a one began with the following verse:

"Come all you bold fellows that follow
the plough,
Either hedging or ditching or milking
the cow;
The time has arrived and the Union flag
waves:
We won't be kept down like a lot of white
slaves."

ROBERT W. CROWN and EARL O. HEADY, *Policy Integration in Canadian Agriculture*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State U.P., 1972. x+238 pp. \$8.50.

The second half of the book deals in rather technical economic language with the future of Canadian farm policy, and outlines a new approach to the problems of supporting and stabilizing farm incomes. The first half provides a brief survey of the development of farm policies from the First World War, with chapters on the economic and political weaknesses of the various measures that have been introduced since that time.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

G. F. R. Spenceley graduated from Hull University in 1965. He subsequently lectured at Glasgow University and is now a Lecturer at Monash University. He is completing a Ph.D. thesis on the English Pillow Lace Industry in the nineteenth century, and researching for a book on rural industries and the impact of industrialization.

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