

Book Reviews

MICHEL MORINEAU, *Les faux-semblants d'un démarrage économique: agriculture et démographie en France au XVIII^e siècle*. Cahiers des Annales, 30. Librairie Armand Colin, Paris, 1971. 388 pp. 45,00 F.

In this book Michel Morineau subjects the notion of an agricultural revolution in eighteenth-century France to sceptical scrutiny. French historians, he argues, have taken over the idea from English historians but have seen their own revolution in several different lights, some as a very slow affair of modest proportions, others as a rapid transformation of agricultural techniques producing substantial increases in yields. None has carried out a thorough examination of the statistical evidence, such as the author attempts here. He begins by tabulating and mapping yields in 1840 *after* the so-called agricultural revolution. He then turns back to 1750 and finds very little evidence of any difference. Moreover, such innovations as he does find—the spread of potato cultivation in Lorraine, for example, and of maize in Aquitaine—occurred only when there were grave threats of subsistence, in the first case after the bad years 1737–41, in the second after the dearth of 1693–4 when the peasantry were obviously groping desperately for means of survival. It thus appears to M. Morineau that the evidence of an agricultural revolution which has satisfied local historians of different regions is based on small examples for untypical years or untypical places. Even when the improvements can be substantiated it is clear that they failed to spread; after all they were so often only emergency expedients. M. Morineau admits that the eighteenth century had its peaks and troughs of agricultural production but these were the normal sequence associated with varying seasons. The agricultural revolution did not occur until 1830–40 with the introduction of grain selection, artificial fertilizers, and railways.

When Michel Morineau proceeds to a comparison with English conditions, he does not submit the English evidence of improved yields to such critical examination. He accepts some strange-looking figures printed by

MacCulloch in 1837 of yields, county by county, in which the performances of Devon, Cornwall, and Northumberland appear substantially better than those of East Anglia. He acknowledges an improvement of yields in England between 1789 and 1835 and on this basis suggests that they were 40–50 per cent higher in England than in France.

This essay on the non-existence of an agricultural revolution occupies 95 pages and is followed by another 300 pages of appendices, beginning with tables of yields on which the earlier argument has been based. The author then pursues the question of population trends, for, having demolished the agricultural revolution, his doubts are aroused about the demographic revolution also. Here again, after presenting statistics on a local basis, he finishes up in a sceptical frame of mind, arguing that spurts of population growth in the eighteenth century were short-term episodes following upon bouts of heavy mortality, and that they followed the same logical sequence as in earlier centuries and betokened nothing out of the ordinary; they were not the harbingers of a new demographic age. More statistical tables and maps follow.

The book as a whole is somewhat disjointed and top heavy. It has been unusually long in appearing because the manuscript, originally intended to appear in 1968, was lost at the printers and had to be reconstructed from a defective copy. The author has thus had time for further reflections which he incorporates in the appendix though he does not noticeably shift his ground. The reader will doubtless agree with the author that the term 'revolution' is much misused, but he may also feel that M. Morineau has missed some of the subtleties of the problem by looking for a 'revolution' of one kind, and missing the signs of a 'revolution' of another. It is reasonable to believe with M. Morineau that no agricultural revolution swept through peasant agriculture in the eighteenth century. But it is still arguable that solid progress was made on the farms of some nobility and merchants who had imbibed influences from abroad and from the

capital. Such steps along the path of agricultural progress cannot be expected to reveal themselves in parish statistics, and so M. Morineau had no difficulty in making the "agricultural revolution" disappear. Nevertheless, they may have been substantial enough to be rated as significant precursors of a revolution and so cannot be dismissed altogether. The present reviewer has not the knowledge to judge the qualitative significance of French improvers' undertakings, though it is worth remembering that a number of French historians have attached high significance to them. English readers, however, will readily understand the conflict of viewpoint here disclosed among their French colleagues, for a similar controversy has arisen in England.

Dr Kerridge has postulated a revolution in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which other historians contend was not so much a revolution transforming all, including peasant, agriculture as a progressive movement among gentry and yeomen. It made slow but steady headway, and finally in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reached down to lower levels of rural society. In short, some historians view the first introduction of new techniques as the revolutionary moment in agricultural history, others the moment when these innovations can be said to have become commonplace. French historians face the same disagreement in the eighteenth century. M. Morineau's challenging book will doubtless have a salutary effect in forcing others to give more precision to their analyses. Much of what he says, in fact, amounts to a pressing plea for more local histories. But there are also blind spots in M. Morineau's own argument which his friendly critics will perhaps help him to eliminate.

JOAN THIRSK

GEOFFREY RICKMAN, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings*. C.U.P., 1971. 372 pp. 52 plates, 66 figs. £8.

This is a substantial book on a comparatively neglected subject, with important implications for the economic historian as well as for the student of Roman architecture and archaeology. The archaeological record, in the shape of identifiable remains of granaries and other

storage buildings, is rich for some areas, notably Ostia and Rome, much less so for other parts of Italy and for the various provinces. The disparity is naturally reflected in the allocation of space, more than one-third of the text being taken up with the design and structure of storage buildings in Ostia and Rome. Readers of this journal, who may well find a special interest in the later chapters (vi and vii) which are concerned with military storage questions, will find both useful summaries of, and deductions from, the major civil storage sites discussed in detail in the body of the text. The student of the Romano-British economy will find much of interest in the military chapters; for, as the author explains, "in most of the military sites excavated in Britain and Germany, *horrea*, together with the *principia* (headquarters buildings), often form the most notable remains."

Mr Rickman's study is all the more useful in that the great majority of the remains studied by him were excavated without benefit of modern refinements of technique, and great care must be exercised in dealing both with the relative dating of buildings of different types and with developments in their design. Here the author not only presents lucid summaries of the results of excavations but also corrects some errors and gives the results of his own study of these difficult problems of dating and development. Among the most valuable discussions is that on the types of flooring found in British military granaries, including the evidence for raised floors, and the provision of underfloor ventilation to prevent damage to the stored grain. Consideration of structure and roofing leads on to a discussion on estimates of storage capacity. Mr Rickman expresses scepticism about the value of attempts to give detailed estimates (there are too many imponderables), but concludes that the weight of the evidence generally confirms the statement by Tacitus (*Agricola* 22.2) that British forts were capable of storing within the defended area supplies sufficient for one year's consumption by the garrison. Some buildings on military sites previously identified as headquarters buildings are now recognized as courtyard-type stores of the type well known in Rome and Ostia. Mr Rickman suggests that

these capacious structures may well have been designed for the storage of baggage and spares which in a legionary fortress would have required considerable storage space. This theory would account for the remarkable size and massive strength of the storage buildings discovered outside the walls of Trier on the Moselle, which covered an area of about 4,000 square metres.

A rectangular building recently uncovered at Veldidena near Innsbruck in Austria proved to be heavily fortified, in keeping with the security requirements of a frontier supply-base at a key point in the defence system, as revealed by the series of Edicts mentioned in the Theodosian Code. This discussion leads on naturally to a review of the organization of frontier supplies in the late empire, for which there is plentiful evidence. The author treats this topic at some length and draws a clear distinction between the *ad hoc* measures, such as special requisitions, foraging expeditions, and the purchase of grain by the State by way of supplementing these supplies, with the rigid organization of the later empire arising from the introduction of a regular tax in kind (the *annona militaris*), which is fully documented in the Code. He calls in literary and epigraphic evidence to support his thesis that the officials known as "frumentarii," who were well known (and hated) as the emperor's messengers and security agents, were probably employed on guard duty to protect the vital corn supplies while in transit to Italy by sea.

On the system of army provisioning in the late empire Rickman points out that it was well suited to what we know of the disposition of the armies of the fourth century. By contrast with the massive concentrations of the early empire the army was now scattered throughout the provinces and split into small units which drew their rations every few days from state-organized storehouses. The troops stationed on the frontiers drew supplies from *horrea* within the forts and these in turn were maintained from central supply dumps. Excavations at Corbridge and South Shields in Britain suggest that both places contained central supply dumps of this kind. Comparing the state of civil and military storage Mr Rickman points out that whereas in the

troubled times of the late empire the great civil *horrea* were simply kept in repair as far as possible, military store-buildings continued to be erected right through the period of mounting crisis (cf. Trier and Veldidena).

To sum up, the author has handled a difficult technical subject with skill. The text is lucid and the illustrations, both figures and plates, have been carefully selected to give a wide visual coverage of the topics discussed. With all the wealth of information and informed discussion it is surprising that space has not been found for a brief review of the evidence of the Roman agronomists on the design of storage buildings on the farm. In particular, some of Columella's comments (e.g. on the internal arrangements, including the provision of separate bins for different products) provide useful ancillary material to the main theme of the book. It need hardly be said that the publication measures up in all respects to the high standards associated with the Cambridge Press.

K. D. WHITE

JOHN D. GAY, *The Geography of Religion in England*. Duckworth, 1971. xviii + 334 pp. £3.95.

Both the geography and, to a lesser extent, the sociology of religion are neglected fields of investigation in this country, unlike France where considerable work has been done by scholars such as le Bras and Boulard. Dr Gay's book is an ambitious attempt to survey the ground in England, the author attempting to "set out and offer explanations for the geographical distribution of denominational allegiance." The result is certainly an extremely interesting and well-written overview of the subject, with two chapters on the sources and separate sections on the different churches and sects, the whole being rounded off with a useful bibliography, 14 tables, and no less than 59 maps.

The two chapters on sources form one of the most valuable portions of the book. In the first and more general of them Dr Gay indicates the range of sources available for the study of each denomination, the limitations attached to them, and the problems surrounding their analysis and interpretation. The second is

entirely devoted to a discussion of the enormously informative religious census of 1851, the general reliability of which Gay follows W. S. F. Pickering and K. S. Inglis in accepting. His account of the census reminds us of the existence of two areas of high religious practice in the West Country and in the group of counties south of the Wash, and at the same time points out that the lowest church attendance figures were recorded in metropolitan London, Lancashire, and the three northern counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham.

Separate chapters follow on the Church of England, the Roman Catholics, the older Non-conformists (Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists), the Methodists, and on smaller religious groups. They are of uneven quality.

The Methodists and Roman Catholics, for example, are well covered. On the Methodists, Dr Gay rightly maintains (pp. 145-8) that their distribution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was principally determined by geographical variations in the effectiveness of the Church of England's parochial system. It was the flexibility of Methodist organization—socially rather than spatially based—which enabled Wesley's followers to cope more readily than Anglicans with the challenge of industrialization. "Methodism was to become more influential in the areas where the Church of England had failed to provide for the spiritual needs of the people—in Cornwall, the Black Country, the N.E. coast and the new industrial areas in Lancashire and Yorkshire" (p. 148). Conversely, the south east was a "Methodist desert" because of the strength of the established church. In his discussion of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Catholicism, on the other hand, Dr Gay stresses two factors: "physical isolation and distance from London and the influence of the gentry and nobility" (p. 85). The geographical and certainly the social pattern of the Roman Catholic Church in this country, however, was radically affected in the nineteenth century by Irish immigration. "It was the Irish immigrants who made Roman Catholicism in England an urban phenomenon" (p. 90). Both strands in Catholicism were

operative in making nineteenth century Lancashire the real stronghold of the old religion; in 1851 Lancashire alone accounted for almost 40 per cent of the total Catholic population of England and Wales.

In contrast to the sections on the Methodists and Roman Catholics, the chapter on the Church of England is rather disappointing—surprising in view of the fact that Dr Gay is himself an Anglican clergyman. It is a pity, for instance, that the author says so little about denominational contrasts between arable and pastoral regions. The historical background section of this chapter, particularly, is very unhappily compressed. For example, it is surely an oversimplification to say that "right up to and including the early decades of the eighteenth century the Church of England was able to cater for the spiritual needs of the people as a whole" (p. 71), and that the established church's "dioceses, the archdeaconries and above all the parishes corresponded to the social and geographical realities of the times" (p. 80).

The defects of this particular chapter illustrate what is a general and perhaps unavoidable weakness in the book as a whole. Chronologically its scope is far too wide to enable full justice to be done to the subjects under review, and as a result the author is forced into excessive generalization. Moreover Dr Gay—clearly a geographer rather than a historian—occasionally leans too heavily on out-of-date authorities. R. G. Usher's *Reconstruction of the English Church* (1910), for example, is frequently cited, while the more recent work of Patrick Collinson and Christopher Hill on puritanism and of John Bossy on the Catholics is ignored or under-utilized. (Dr Gay's book presumably went to press before he could make use of Professor Everitt's stimulating essay on "Nonconformity in Country Parishes" in the Finberg *Festschrift—Land, Church and People*, ed. Joan Thirsk, 1970).

In the final analysis, then, the wide scope of the subject seems too large for this book, and while the author's boldness in attempting such a general and pioneering work can only be admired, from the historian's point of view it would surely have been more satisfactory if Dr Gay had restricted his coverage.

R. C. RICHARDSON

J. BERTIN, J. J. HÉMARDINQUER, M. KEUL, and W. G. L. RANDLES, *Atlas of Food Crops*. Editions Mouton et Cie., Paris and The Hague, 1971. 41 pp. 18 maps. 110 French francs.

This is in several ways an unusual publication. The text is in French and English. The format is large (42 × 32 cm.) and consists of a box cover containing a text which can be lifted out and 18 loose maps. The text itself comprises 13 pages of introductory material followed by 23 pages of very comprehensive bibliography. The project emanates from the École Pratique des Hautes Études of the Sorbonne, and the hope is expressed in the preface that it will be the first step towards a collection of geographical and historical surveys for an atlas of world history.

The maps, one for each of the eighteen selected food crops, are printed in three colours with additional hatchings and are clear and easy to understand. They show the present distribution of each crop, with the period (to the nearest half-century from modern times) at which cultivation began in each area. Crosses are also used to indicate areas where the date of introduction of a crop is uncertain. The largest single space covered by such crosses is the interior of Africa on the banana map. The amount of detail conveyed is impressive. We are shown that wheat reached most of the Azores during the fifteenth century, but the island of Flores not till the sixteenth. And the map showing the distribution of the date palm in Spain rightly excludes the Seville area, where the plant is grown as an ornamental but does not fully ripen its fruit.

There is no doubt that this is a work of meticulous scholarship. It may however be questioned whether it quite reaches perfection in a number of respects. The eighteen food crops chosen for treatment include nine cereals, four root crops, sugar-cane, and some fruits, covering most of man's major sources of food but including some lesser crops such as buckwheat presumably because of their special historical interest. The absence of any legume is a pity. And if only one palm crop could be included, the coconut palm would surely, and oil palm possibly, have been a better choice than the date palm?

At the foot of each map are a few short

paragraphs of explanatory text about the crop concerned. This is used in the case of the sweet potato, for instance, to state that although this crop is shown on the map as being grown in the Pacific only from the seventeenth century there is also evidence which 'poses the problem' of pre-Columbian spread.

The authors decided, evidently after much thought, that the date from which a crop should be shown as present in each area should not necessarily be that of the first known introduction of planting material but the date from which the species was "regularly" grown in practice either on a field or garden scale. This system produces some slightly unexpected datings and sometimes seems to fall between two stools of interest, that of the botanist who is interested in the very first introduction, and that of the economic historian who becomes interested only when the crop is grown on a sufficient scale to acquire commercial significance. But it is perhaps unfair to quarrel with the authors' decision in a very difficult matter.

A few other points might possibly have been better dealt with. The directions of crop spread are indicated by arrows, but in the case of the potato the arrow showing its transit from America to Europe originates in the Atlantic and thus begs the question, so much argued by potato breeders, of the part of the Andean range of this species from which the first tubers were brought to Europe. The maize map is better in showing that Europe received maize from the West Indies and West Africa from the South American mainland, thus explaining why the former got flint maize and the latter flour maize. But was maize really first grown in Spain on the east coast? Most historians seem to think it was in the Guadalquivir valley. It is a bit surprising to be informed that maize was grown in the Niger delta from 1650 to 1700 only when John Leo reported it as common there up to 200 miles inland in 1535. And the potato map shows it as grown in Spain no earlier than 1700 although Salaman has found a record of its being sold as provisions in Seville, which seems to imply "regular" cultivation, in 1573.

These minor queries hardly denigrate from the great mass of scholarship which has gone into the making of these maps, which will

constitute a most valuable working tool for historians. Biologists would no doubt wish that at least some indications of climatic parameters could have been included in the maps as well.

G. B. MASEFIELD

J. D. CHAMBERS, *Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England*. Edited with a preface and introduction by W. A. Armstrong. O.U.P. 1972. £1.60 (Opus paperback, 75p).

There has been a remarkable growth in historical demography over the past twenty years. Devotees range from the enthusiastic amateur to the professional academic; the former patiently totting up baptism, marriage, and burial entries in his local parish register, the latter presenting his sophisticated statistical manipulations to such bodies as the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population which now includes a special section on the subject at its conferences. The late Professor Chambers ranged across this spectrum. His bubbling enthusiasm, his excitement in discovery, his infinite patience are widely missed.

Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England is based on the Kent Co-operative Lectures delivered at the University of Kent in May 1967. Until his death in March 1970, David Chambers worked at preparing his lectures for publication. The task has been completed by his one-time colleague, Dr W. A. Armstrong. The book discusses what we know of population change in England from the Domesday Survey of 1086 to the first official census of 1801. All the major issues are dealt with: the determinants of the age at marriage and of changes in fertility and mortality; the impact of population growth on economic development and vice-versa. Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the discussion of the impact of food shortages on mortality. Professor Chambers in his classic study *The Vale of Trent, 1670-1800: A Regional Study of Economic Change* (1957), was one of the first to suggest that, at least in England from the mid-seventeenth century, food shortages were never such as seriously to set back population growth, whereas epidemic disease, acting indepen-

dently of food supply, was. The debate on this matter continues: the latest contribution coming almost contemporaneously with Chambers's book. For the record it concludes *pace* Chambers, that "the reduction of mortality and rise of population in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were probably due to a significant increase in food supplies, which spread throughout Europe from the seventeenth century." (See Thomas McKeown, R. G. Brown, and R. G. Record, 'An Interpretation of the Modern Rise of Population in Europe', *Population Studies*, vol. 26 no. 3, Nov. 1972, pp. 345-82).

Most studies in historical demography are local in nature. Professor Chambers's own original work, for instance, was confined to the Midlands and centred on Nottinghamshire. If there is a criticism of this book it is that the problems of deriving *national* explanations from *local* findings are not overcome. On at least a couple of occasions Professor Chambers himself errs in this regard. For instance, he compares the shape of two population pyramids: the one for the town of Lichfield in 1688, the other for England and Wales in 1791. He concludes (p. 106): "the fantastically jagged outline of the Lichfield chart for 1688 should be compared with the relatively symmetrically shaped national pyramid of 1791, showing the effects of the victory over epidemic disease which had worked such ravages on affected age groups in 1688." The conclusion is not valid, primarily because one would expect a population of under 3,000 (Lichfield in 1688), no matter what the incidence of disease, to have a less symmetrical pyramid, as a result of chance happenings, than a population of almost eight million (England and Wales in 1791).

A second criticism is of a similar nature. On page 105 Professor Chambers argues that "the simplest, most familiar and, despite the criticisms that have been levelled against it, the most acceptable estimate [of the growth of population of England and Wales] is that of G. Talbot Griffith." He then gives the figures. For 1700 they are 5.835 million and for 1710 and 1720 they are 6.013 and 6.048 million respectively. Later, however, he argues that "between 1690 and 1720 population, in *certain*

important areas of the country did, in fact, grow substantially. Professor Glass has suggested that the population in 1695 was 5.2 million, while the figure for 1720 is usually put at 6.047 million" [my italics]. This statistical sleight of hand was obviously unconscious. It is interesting, none the less, because it shows how, in this case, Chambers's preoccupation with what was happening in the Midlands led him to a probably inaccurate interpretation of the national picture. On this particular issue the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure has come to the opposite conclusion on the basis of data drawn from 290 parishes throughout the country. Writing of this Wrigley notes that "in a high percentage of the parishes . . . the surplus of baptisms over burials was much less in the second half of the seventeenth century and the first few decades of the eighteenth than either earlier or later . . . [this was] most marked in certain parts of the West, North and, surprisingly, in Kent but is less obvious in the home counties and the Midlands" [my italics] (E. A. Wrigley, 'Family limitation in Pre-industrial England', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., XIX, no. 1, April 1966, p. 106).

Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England can be recommended to the student approaching historical demography for the first time. Its success in making an essentially quantitative study readable is quite outstanding. The minor arithmetical error on the second line of page 67 could perhaps be corrected on reprinting.

MICHAEL DRAKE

R. E. SANDELL (ed.), *Abstracts of Wiltshire Inclosure Awards and Agreements*. Wiltshire Record Society publications, vol. xxv. Devizes, 1971. xii + 216 pp. £2.50 excluding postage to non-members, from M. J. Lansdown, 37 Hilperton Road, Trowbridge.

The preface to this book states, rightly, that the "awards contain a great amount of varied material for the history and topography of Wiltshire", and expresses the hope that "their publication in digested form will be useful for many sorts of historical enquiry." It is with

disappointment that the limitations of the book must be mentioned. Unfortunately, the opening sentence of the Introduction raises doubts (including unfounded doubts) about the accuracy of the book. Here Mr Sandell, defining enclosure, refers to land that has formerly been *owned* [my italics] and exploited collectively; this is not a happy start. On the following page he writes of the roadside herbage "allotted to proprietors on either side" as if this was a general practice: here, Mr Sandell does not make it clear whether he is referring to Wiltshire only or making a wider reference; if this is a general statement it is unfortunate, for in the Lindsey division of Lincolnshire and in the East Riding it was much more usual to allot roadside verges to the parish Surveyors of the Highways.

The bulk of the book (pp. 11-148) consists of valuable abstracts of Wiltshire Inclosure Awards comprising 207 items representing 200 awards and agreements. The collection has been confined to the *modern* boundary of Wiltshire, but it may not be complete because (p. 4) "no attempt has been made . . . to search systematically for those [extant formal agreements] that might be enrolled among the Public Records." Each Abstract contains the date of the particular enclosure Act (or Agreement), the date of the Award, the names of the Commissioners and Surveyor(s), together with those of the Lord of the Manor, Rector, Vicar, and lessee of any of them. The acreage to be enclosed is given, all persons who receive allotments are named, the extent of land awarded to the larger owners is given to the nearest acre, but the acreage of private allotments under 15 acres is regrettably not given. This omission deprives the user of these abstracts of useful and perhaps vital information.

The abstracts contain further useful information and much of value appears under *Notes*, though several of these are quite unsatisfactory. Those to Abstract No. 1, *Aldbourn*, mention a claim to free warren: we are not told whether this claim was allowed and, if so, what compensation the owner got for the extinction of his rights of warren; we do not know either whether the right ceased or continued after enclosure. Not all of Mr Sandell's claims are realized. "The abstracts indicate in a

general way the provision made by the awards for the commutation or extinction of Tithes . . .", he writes (p. 9). This is not so. If the first twenty abstracts are examined nine of these do indicate what happened to tithes, the other eleven do not.

This volume does contain a great deal of value: much can be extracted about the enclosure commissioners and surveyors (we can ascertain how many Wiltshire enclosures each was employed on, for example). Future students of enclosure in Wiltshire will use this book, but they would be well advised to consult the Awards as well.

REX C. RUSSELL

JOYCE YOUNGS, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*. Allen & Unwin, 1971. 264 pp. £3.50 hardback, £1.95 paperback.

After so many county studies on the dissolution of the monasteries we have long needed a general survey of the causes and effects of one of the most important aspects of Henry VIII's policy. Dr Youings, who has steeped herself in this subject at the local level both in Devon and elsewhere, has given us such a survey: it will remain for many years essential reading for all those interested in the ecclesiastical, economic, administrative, and agrarian history of Tudor England. But not only has the author summarized admirably the views of other scholars on that protracted episode, she has also advanced views of her own about certain aspects of it which will cause us all to rethink some of our explanations and conclusions.

Firstly Dr Youings argues that the dissolution was not an integral or essential part of the Reformation and that expropriation might have taken place without a breach with Rome, although such a policy was not carried through in countries which remained loyal to the old faith until the eighteenth century. Another new approach is her view that "with the smaller monasteries . . . dealt with, the situation returned almost to normal" (p. 56), and that during 1537 other monasteries did not fear dissolution. It would seem that the author's exposition of "the large numbers of grants of all kinds made to laymen under the conventional seal" (p. 57) somewhat conflicts with her view of a return to near-normality. A com-

plete refutation of the statement that Henry and Cromwell had no intention of dissolving all the monasteries in 1537 or even in 1538 is perhaps impossible, but most politicians have policies up their sleeves and they rarely reveal their full plans at once. Hence one is led to doubt whether the dissolution of all houses was so far from their minds. Dr Youings' interpretation of the 1539 act as being initiated by the grantees who were anxious to secure their titles seems a sensible and correct one.

Agricultural historians will be most interested in monastic land and what happened to it at the dissolution, and this aspect of the subject is admirably dealt with. Any potential researcher in this field is led lucidly through the intricacies of the bailiffs' accounts and the Ministers' accounts of the Court of Augmentations, which administered most of the ex-monastic property, and the Receivers' accounts. These last are the most useful because they show how much of the royal property had been alienated. The court pursued a conservative policy granting, at a time of inflation, twenty-one-year leases which were certainly beneficial to tenants. Details are given as to how grants were obtained and the annual valuation, upon which the purchase price was based, appears to have regarded only current values and not to have taken into account the fact that the land might be worth more when current leases fell in. Tawney's "furore of speculation" is again convincingly disproved and, although a half of all the monastic estates was alienated by 1547 and three-quarters by 1558, it appears that few new estates or even appreciably enlarged ones were created solely or even principally from monastic lands.

The documents, which form half of this book, are well chosen and the introduction makes good use of them. This is an excellent book, useful for the undergraduate, the researcher, and the layman.

G. A. J. HODGETT

R. E. CHAPLIN, *The Study of Animal Remains from Archaeological Sites*. Seminar Press, 1971. x + 170 pp. £2.

There are still after fifteen years of increasing interest in bones in archaeology too few sources of information and too few workers

in the field. Thus any book detailing the approach to the subject is more than welcome.

The book starts with the structure and properties of the skeleton, and of bone, with perhaps too much emphasis on development and growth, and too little on the factors influencing survival of buried bone. Next, planning and organization are covered, and the author rightly points out that bone studies should form part of the overall excavation plan, not only so that adequate finance can be made available, but also so that the archaeologist understands the collecting and handling requirements.

Chapter 3 deals with the problems of identification and the establishment of the necessary reference collection. Since identification is the key to bone studies it is unfortunate that the author regards factual knowledge as outside the scope of the book, and does not even refer to books by Cornwall (1956) and Ryder (1969) which aim to help the reader with identification.

In chapter 4 techniques of study are detailed, some of which are archaeological, and so this is of value to the biologist new to the field, but the attempt to demonstrate the value of bones to the archaeologist is too complicated and is unlikely to convince him of the overwhelming importance of biological remains compared with other finds.

Appreciable space is here devoted to the various methods of counting bones—fragments, weight, and minimum number of animals. With thousands of bones to be excavated, and a dearth of people to do the work, one wonders whether the minimum number method is not a luxury for sites with few bones. Small errors with the minimum number method affect the final percentage more than the same errors in the fragments method, and until statistics has been applied to this field we shall not know which is the best approach.

Chapter 5 deals with the determination of age at death from such factors as tooth eruption, but one would have welcomed some tables of ages rather than the illustrations of tooth sections. Tooth wear is important but is neglected in favour of the specialized incremental growth method. Next detailed are

methods of measurement, but the way measurements can be expressed as length/width ratios is not given. Frequency diagrams are, however, described in the next chapter in considering sex determination. But it is not made clear that more than one mode in a frequency diagram does not necessarily indicate a sex difference; these could be due to wild/domestic or breed differences.

Chapter 8 is a good survey of bone pathology not usually found outside medical and veterinary literature. The next chapter covers interpretation, taking a Saxon farm and a medieval horn workshop debris as examples. It is unfortunate, however, that no comparison is made with the similar horns described by Jewell in *Man and Cattle* (1963). The last chapter discusses animal remains as indicators of past environments which should perhaps provide an antidote to those archaeologists who ignore ecology in their search for cultural explanations of change.

There are many references to the literature, but one would have welcomed summaries of these since books are bought to provide information and not a list of sources. The sophisticated techniques covered should demonstrate, however, that bones can no longer be left to unpaid amateurs in their spare time, but it would be a pity if the specialist approach puts off the archaeologist who has yet to be convinced that animal (and plant) remains are exciting and would repay the same resources that are now applied to artifacts.

M. L. RYDER

J. D. MARSHALL, *Old Lakeland*. David & Charles, 1971, 219 pp. £2.95.

This collection of twelve short essays on widely differing themes well reflects its author's disparate interests within the broad sphere of local history. Unpretentiously subtitled *Some Cumbrian Social History*, the book deals with both agrarian and urban themes concentrating heavily on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One essay studies the survival of distinctively Cumbrian surnames as indicative of the vitality of many old-established families and the limited extent to which post-industrial migration has penetrated one of the most remote parts of England. Another looks at the

impact of Newcomen engines on the Lowther coal mines at Whitehaven. Another traces the fortunes of nineteenth-century bobbin mills in southern Lakeland, with perceptive comments on the tenacity and variable brutality of the child-labour system in remote areas well away from the prying eyes of potential critics or, later, factory inspectors. The development of the Lakeland tourist trade is given two chapters, the second of which studies the nineteenth-century fortunes of two coastal resorts, Seascale and Grange-over-Sands, under the impact of the railways. The grandiose planning schemes for Seascale were only partially realized; but after the opening of the Ulverston to Lancaster railway in 1857 Grange rapidly developed as the largest and most salubrious resort in the Furness peninsula, aided by the business acumen of hoteliers eager to capitalize on the fine views over Morecambe Bay.

The chapters which will be of most immediate interest to agricultural historians, however, are those on "The Lakeland Yeoman," "Drovers," and what Dr Marshall calls "The Ceremonial Regime." It is here also that Dr Marshall's contributions are most valuable. Agricultural historians have long bemoaned the relative dearth of adequate studies of Cumberland and Westmorland. Now, with the rapid expansion of the repositories at Carlisle and Kendal, there is a real opportunity to remedy the defect. Dr Marshall has clearly delved with profit into the voluminous estate archives and, most useful in a short volume such as this, has suggested paths which he and others might subsequently follow. He argues that the legendary independence of the Cumbrian peasant, frequently appearing as arrogant rudeness to gentle southern visitors, may have been exaggerated. The Lowther family operated a viable paternalist system, with deference apparently fully returned, throughout the nineteenth century accompanied by the complete paraphernalia of village banquets, sports, and fetes. Undoubtedly, however, there were important social consequences arising from the fact that a smallholding peasantry was much more tenacious here than in the rest of England. As late as the survey of 1873, more than one-third of landowners

owned less than one acre. It would have been useful to have seen this theme more fully developed, as also the problem of the economic consequences of parliamentary enclosure on such a pattern of landholding. Much material in Carlisle on this important subject awaits serious study. On cattle rearing in Cumbria, Dr Marshall conclusively demonstrates with the use of probate inventories that farmers did not always slaughter their young cattle in the autumn as had been believed, but frequently kept them for three or even four years before selling them at a profit to Yorkshire and Lancashire graziers for fattening.

Any criticisms of such a work as this must be small ones. It reveals some fascinating fragments of Cumbrian life while indicating directions for future more detailed studies. It is a well-illustrated book lucidly written with the general reader in mind, but one from which the specialist can derive both enjoyment and instruction. One further unexpected bonus for the student with a *penchant* for fieldwork: interesting sites and buildings are identified by their National Grid reference.

E. J. EVANS

DAVID JENKINS, *The Agricultural Community in South-West Wales at the turn of the twentieth century*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1971. xii + 291 pp. 5 plates, 16 figs and maps, 9 tables. £3.

A new and rich vein in agricultural history, successfully worked in the last decade or so, has been the oral testimony of those farmers and labourers brought up under the old regime which persisted in many of our rural areas until the years between the wars. Mr George Ewart Evans's *Ask the Fellows who Cut the Hay*, first published in 1956, showed the possibilities of this kind of evidence for serious historical research; his later works have shown how this approach can be adapted to other aspects of rural life. Mr Jenkins's volume might appear at first sight to be another example of this new genre, but even a casual reading will show how much more ambitious are his aims. From a stimulating chapter on "Farm Practice and Social Structure", his discussion develops into a full-scale anthropological analysis of the small rural community on south Cardigan-

shire in which he carried out his fieldwork. The occupation of the holdings and the succession to tenancies are studied from within on the basis of exhaustive personal inquiries. Kinship and marriage are dealt with in considerable detail and there are two chapters which discuss religion and the religious revival which swept through the area in 1904-5. The book is rounded off with a discussion of "The Community and the Nation at large" which includes, among other things, some useful material on the introduction of agricultural innovations.

As its title indicates, the book deals with conditions as they were in the closing years of Victoria's reign and as they were recollected by the old people mainly in the late 1950's. The author's use of this oral evidence is sound and scholarly. He is often able to relate memories to manuscripts in such a way as to present a balanced picture of how farming appeared to those who were formerly engaged in it. The chapter already referred to, dealing with the integration of farm practice and local social structure, shows how misleading it can be if one discusses the size of the small farms of this Cardiganshire community in terms of acres. Local terminology with its fine distinctions between 'cow-place', 'one-horse place', 'two-horse place', and 'considerable place' is soundly based on the reality of everyday experience. An interesting part of this masterly analysis deals with the pattern of co-operation between cottagers and small holders on the one hand and large farmers on the other. Harvest work established a bond which was recognized throughout the year and both sides gained from the co-operation. The increasing mechanization of farming—especially the introduction of the reaping machine—undermined the mutual dependence of the community. Mr Jenkins's feat in this penetrating study has been to show how the social system which was displaced worked. Students of agricultural history will find in it ideas and insights which will be of use in understanding farming practice at the day-to-day level in areas with different agricultural traditions. The volume also has a wider appeal to the anthropologist and rural sociologist.

TREFOR M. OWEN

B. R. MITCHELL and H. G. JONES, *Second Abstract of British Historical Statistics*. C.U.P., 1971. viii + 228 pp. £3.40.

The (first) *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (by B. R. Mitchell with the collaboration of Phyllis Deane) appeared in 1962, but few of the series went beyond 1938. The major task of the second volume is to extend the series into the post-war period, though it contains in addition "new series of statistics which began too late for inclusion in the earlier book, and some tables which although they begin much earlier than 1938, had to be left out of the previous volume because of lack of space." The *Second Abstract* is organized along similar lines to its predecessor, with chapters for population and vital statistics, labour force, agriculture, fuel and power, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, textiles, transport and communications, building, miscellaneous production, overseas trade, wages and the standard of living, national income and expenditure, public finance, banking and insurance, prices, and miscellaneous. There are, in fact, relatively few new series. None of the omissions noted by H. J. Dyos in this *Review* (vol. XI, pt II) is remedied.

The *Second Abstract* will be of great value to the historian who has need to pursue his research into the post-war period. The series are clearly linked to the first volume and variations in comparability are indicated. As a work in its own right, however, it is more difficult to justify. The first *Abstract* stated that "nearly all the tables end at the beginning of the Second World War, since the comparable wartime and post-war statistics are easily accessible." The material covered is much the same as can be found in the *Annual Abstract of Statistics* which is, in many ways, a more comprehensive publication. It is useful, of course, to have complete series covering 25-30 years, but one does not generally have to look in more than two or three *Annual Abstracts* to complete a series for 1938-45. A number of the areas now have their own annual publications (such as national income and expenditure, and overseas trade) which are easily accessible. One is drawn to the conclusion that a volume which was more exhaustive in its inclusion of recent statistical material would be of much more value. Under agriculture,

for example, information on farm inputs and incomes is now available.

Perhaps a more serious failing from the point of view of research in the post-war period is the ending of nearly all the series in 1965. The 1971 *Annual Abstract* gives five years' extra figures. Few people are likely to be satisfied with stopping in 1965 and this will become increasingly felt as fresh annual publications appear. Sources are well documented so that readers will be able to update the series themselves, but this rather obviates the usefulness of the volume.

The *Second Abstract of British Historical Statistics* is therefore a valuable aid to the historian who wishes to pursue his use of the statistics of the first *Abstract* beyond 1938. In its own right, however, it does little more than duplicate material easily accessible elsewhere.

CHRISTOPHER RITSON

J. HATCHER, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300-1500*. C.U.P., 1970. 322 pp. £5.00.

The more one studies the regional economy of the Middle Ages, the more one becomes impressed with the great variety of local expressions of common interests. There can surely by now be no such thing as a typical medieval village. Estates were administered, the land was exploited, the local peasantry were organized in a host of different ways throughout the length and breadth of this country.

Such thoughts are provoked by this most recent of local studies, that of late medieval Cornwall. In fact, the study concentrates on a group of seventeen manors which belonged to the Duchy of Cornwall. They were scattered throughout the present county and consisted of an original group of demesne manors. On these estates developed a form of landholding known to contemporaries as "assessing." Each of the customary holdings (and there were "free" holdings within most of the seventeen manors as well) carried its established dues, an annual rent; but in addition the holding was auctioned (or otherwise leased) at the highest increment that the market would accept, the increment being paid over six years of the seven-year lease (later there were

some 14-year, 21-year, and even some life leases).

Such a system resulted in a number of important developments for the historian. First, it needed extensive and regular documentation—mainly of course concerning tenants and rents rather than agricultural practice. The fact that the Duchy was for long periods in the hands of the crown means that much of this documentation has survived. Secondly, such documentation means that the records can provide some indication of the current demand for land, the pressure of population on the land determining the level of the additional rent.

This at least is how Dr Hatcher sees the evidence. Through a mass of great detail and at first sight unpromising material, he has steered his way clearly, surely, and convincingly to a series of conclusions which are of importance, not just to the history of Cornwall but to all students of the later Middle Ages in England. For instance, Cornwall *did* suffer in the Black Death; but the effects of falling population was offset by a rise in industrial and other economic activity (mining, fishing, and textiles), which created a demand for land for market production. Later the system of assessments atrophied; it was in fact relatively short-lived, at least in the sense of being entirely free to economic and demographic pressures.

There are other sections in this book dealing, for instance, with peasant mobility, multiple landholding, sub-leasing, and peasant poverty and the like; there are assessments of the value of the estates and their incidents to the landlords; there are descriptions of estate management and the legal status of the tenants. The whole is clearly presented, pleasantly produced, and very well documented.

It may seem ungenerous to ask for more. But three questions seem inadequately dealt with. First, how typical were these seventeen manors of the Cornish economy as a whole? Secondly, what effect did such a system have upon the topography of settlement within these manors? Did it lead to dispersed farmsteads or nucleated villages? And thirdly, is it possible to trace something of the origins of the system? The facts that the earldom was

very early tied to the royal family and thus was administered by officials close to the government, and that the system received its most systematic expression in the early years of the reign of Edward III, suggest that the answer to this question may be of importance to constitutional and administrative historians of the fourteenth century, as well as to economic historians.

ALAN ROGERS

P. L. HULL (ed.), *The Caption of Seisin of the Duchy of Cornwall (1337)*. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, xvii, 1971. lxx+189 pp. £2 to non-members.

In May 1337, two months after the creation of the Duchy of Cornwall, an exhaustive survey of the Cornish possessions of the Duchy was undertaken to provide the basic information necessary for running the estates. This is the so-called "Caption of Seisin", a record much used in recent work on medieval social and economic developments in Cornwall (cf. especially Professor Beresford's article in this REVIEW, xii, 1964, Dr Hatcher's article in volume xviii, 1970, and his book *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300-1500*). Mr Hull's careful and scholarly edition of this "key document" (Hatcher, *Rural Economy*, p. 90, n. 1) is, therefore, very welcome.

Most record societies now like to present their documents in translation. There can be little wrong in this in the case of relatively straightforward records (grammatically at least, that is) such as rentals and surveys so long as the original language is given for problematic passages. In his edition of the *Caption* Mr Hull has employed a useful compromise method of providing the first entry of a section in full and in Latin (with added translation) and the remaining entries in English with common form eliminated. His edition is complemented by an appendix of variant readings and two thorough indexes.

The introduction is long, detailed, and painstaking. A lengthy section dealing with the feudal honours is followed by sections on the status of the tenantry, the boroughs, and the size and nature of the tenements. These sections scarcely make easy reading, however.

Overloaded detail often obscures the point and reduces some paragraphs almost to catalogues, a tendency which could have been avoided, at least in part, by the use of a few simple tables (e.g. distribution of knights' fees, number and status of tenants on the various manors, etc.). The quantity of detail has also led to a plethora of references and over-long footnotes (e.g., p. lxvii n. 10 is 27 lines long, and a sample selection on pp. xii-xxi showed an average of some 23 lines of text to 32 lines of references and notes). It is a pity that all this detracts from the value and interest of much that Mr Hull has to say.

Like all estate surveys and rentals, the *Caption* is limited in importance in describing only a single point in time. A static picture of the Cornish estate structure at this date is even more misleading than for many other parts of the country. Dr Hatcher has clearly demonstrated the fluidity and mobility of Cornish rural society in this period (though unfortunately his *Rural Economy* had not appeared when Mr Hull's edition of the *Caption* went to press). Take the tenantry itself: one could not guess from the *Caption* that of the conventional holdings listed there more than a half in some manors and a third in others would have changed hands within eleven years (Hatcher, pp. 57-8). The importance of the *Caption* is therefore as one, but only one, in a splendid series of surveys and assession rolls in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Still it does provide an opportunity to analyse at this one date the tenemental structure of the Duchy manors. Mr Hull gives no tables stratifying the peasant holdings on the various manors but it can be seen at a glance what wide variations existed—largely to be explained, as Dr Hatcher points out, by soil fertility, non-agricultural opportunities, and other factors. If there are few signs of a "peasant aristocracy" among the conventional and unfree tenants at this date (Hatcher, pp. 228-9), one might add that the sizeable near-landless "rural proletariat", common on so many estates in the early fourteenth century, also seems less than ubiquitous in the pages of the *Caption*, though we do not know how much sub-letting was going on. Only one manor, Tywarnail, seems to have been in dis-

treasures in 1337. The holdings here were mainly small (most of them under 10 acres compared, for instance, with Climsland where the great majority were over 20 acres and Helston-in-Kirreir where many holdings were of colossal size). With little space available cultivation had been pushed right down to the sea-shore so that many holdings were suffering from encroachment of the sand. Entries such as "John Cotha: 1 messuage 6 acres English of which 5 acres are under the sand . . ." (p. 80) are common here.

In considering the overall value of the Cornish possessions of the Duchy at the time of the *Caption*, it is worth remembering that out of a total gross income of £4,526 only £657 came from the manors (and this includes £101 from the boroughs). Of the rest, the main items were the coinage of tin, producing £2,000, and revenues from ecclesiastical possessions, which brought in as much as £1,646 (pp. lviii, 134, 140).

IAN KERSHAW

Shorter Notices

GEOFFREY ALDERMAN, *The Railway Interest*.

Leicester U.P., 1973. 344 pp. £5.

British farmers' resentment against the railway companies' preferential rates for the carriage of large consignments of foreign produce in the 1880's and 1890's, and the Southampton Case, heard before the Railway Commission in April 1895, are given brief but authoritative treatment in Dr Alderman's account of the Railway Companies Association and its influence on government policy between 1868 and 1914. Apart from railway rates and charges the main issues that concerned the Association were accident prevention, employers' liability, labour relations, and the passenger duty. The book contains a valuable Appendix of the number of M.P.s of "the effective railway interest" before the First World War.

RICHARD WILKINSON, *Poverty and Progress: An Ecological Model of Economic Development*.

Methuen, 1973. xi + 225 pp. £2.60; paperback £1.25.

Mr Wilkinson's thesis is that economic development results not from the pursuit of progress but from the "ecological pincers" of population growth and scarce resources. The first adoption of agriculture, and subsequently of more intensive farming methods, resulted from the pressure of population increase, and ultimately societies were forced to industrialize by the progressive scarcity of land-based

resources. More sophisticated ways of producing things were not sought by society but forced upon it at the sacrifice of leisure. The argument is developed in chapters on the breakdown of ecological equilibrium through the failure of restrictions on the growth of population, and there are case studies of the industrial revolution in England, and of economic development in America as a country rich in natural resources. The book provides an intriguing approach to a familiar story, and draws on a wide variety of material from various disciplines and areas.

The discussion, nevertheless, is excessively over-simple; and as it proceeds the reader becomes increasingly conscious that the argument is sustained only by making some extraordinary assumptions about the state of primitive societies and the supposed lack of advantages resulting from industrialization, as well as ignoring a great deal of contrary evidence; so that in the end it seems doubtful whether the author's "ecological model" does not rest on foundations as inadequate as those of the alternative models which he seeks to replace.

G. E. & K. R. FUSSELL, *The English Countrywoman: a Farmhouse Social History 1500-1900*. New York, Benjamin Blom, 1971. 72 illustrations, 221 pp.

This valuable contribution to rural social history, first published in 1953, has now been

reissued by an American publisher. The unusually large number of illustrations adds greatly to the inherent interest of the text. The book contains many fascinating little vignettes, and refers to a wide range of contemporary and modern sources. There are, unfortunately, no footnotes.

W. BRANCH JOHNSON, *'Memorandums For ...' the Carrington Diary*. Phillimore, 1973. xiii + 200 pp. 4 plates, 2 maps. £3.25.

An earlier version of the Carrington Diary was edited by Mr Branch Johnson and published in 1956. His revised edition contains about three-quarters of the original, and covers the years 1798 to 1810. John Carrington farmed at Bacon's Farm between Tewin and Bramfield in Hertfordshire, and he was a local Chief Constable, Tax Assessor, Surveyor of Highways, and Overseer of the Poor: Mr Branch Johnson contributes a useful introduction to the family and background of the diarist. Though of considerable general interest, there is not a great deal in the diary for the agrarian historian, beyond some references to harvests, local prices, and market conditions. Carrington was, it seems, a man of affairs first, and a farmer second; though in September 1808 he records going to see a "New Threshing Machine" and "3 New patent Plows as made in London."

W. S. GILLY, *The Peasantry of the Border: an Appeal on their Behalf*. Edinburgh, Bratton, 1973. iv + 53 pp. 5 illus. £2.

W. S. Gilly's pamphlet was originally intended as a paper to be read before the Highland and Agricultural Society, and was first published in 1841. In it he made a plea for the provision of more adequate and sanitary cottages for the hinds of the north country border district, and his text included figures relating to village school attendance and the hinds' earnings.

Professor R. H. Campbell provides a brief introduction to this reprint, which is published by a new Scottish house specialising in local history, Scottish history, and industrial archaeology.

M. E. FALKUS, *The Industrialisation of Russia 1700-1914*. Macmillan, Studies in Economic History, 1972. 93 pp. 60p.

Mr Falkus's contribution to the successful Studies in Economic History series sponsored by the Economic History Society traces the course of industrial development in Russia from the time of Peter the Great to the outbreak of the Great War. Farming developments are treated only as necessary background to the progress and problems of industrialisation, though of course Russia was overwhelmingly agricultural, with only 15 per cent of the population in towns as late as 1913. The author provides a valuable guide to his subject, and there is a useful bibliography.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude the possibility of its review in a subsequent issue of the *Review*.

ROBERT O'CONNOR, *Principles of Farm Business Analysis and Management*. Irish U.P., Shannon, 1973. xvii + 442 pp. £5.

AUDREY I. RICHARDS, FORD STURROCK and JEAN M. FORTT, (eds.), *Subsistence to Commercial Farming in Present-day Buganda: an Economic and Anthropological Survey*. C.U.P., 1973. x + 336 pp. 9 maps. £7.60.

ASIYA SIDDIQI, *Agrarian Change in a Northern Indian State: Uttar Pradesh 1819-1833*. Clarendon Press: O.U.P., 1973. xi + 212 pp. Map. £4.50.

CLAUDIO VITA-FINZI, *Recent Earth History*. Macmillan Student Editions, 1973. xii + 138 pp. Hard cover £3; paperback £1.50.