

Book Reviews

J. ALLEN, J. GOLSON, and R. JONES (eds.), *Sunda and Sahul. Prehistoric Studies in South-East Asia, Melanesia and Australia*. Academic Press, 1977. 647 pp. Maps. Illus. £12.50.

J. V. S. MEGAW (ed.), *Hunters, Gatherers and First Farmers beyond Europe*. Leicester, 1977. 256 pp. Maps. Illus. £5.95.

After Gordon Childe conceptualized the term "neolithic revolution," and Robert Braidwood accomplished his large-scale search for archaeological evidence of incipient agriculture in the Near East, new excavations in other parts of the world have added much to our knowledge. Instead of having been of revolutionary character, the transition from paleolithic to neolithic cultures has proved to be a transition period of different length in different continents—an evolution so diversified and complicated that it is no more possible to distinguish sharply between paleolithic and neolithic cultures.

In *Sunda and Sahul* David R. Harris has analysed the subsistence strategies around the Torres Strait, showing an entangled mixture between hunting, fishing, gathering, and planting which throws light upon the problems involved, and it demonstrates that a simple model of development would be futile, as often happens in the humanities in contradistinction to natural sciences.

J. Peter White warns against deducing too much about the character of a culture from changes in form and patterning of stone tools, and he does not accept Leslie White's term "efficiency" because we need other data than the existence of different forms of tools and techniques for our evaluation, for example knowledge of the social energy involved. In fact a shift from retouched to unretouched flake tools in the New Guinea Highlands does not correspond with a marked economic shift over the same period of some thousands of years from a largely gathering and cultivating economy to one involving complex forms of agriculture supporting much higher population densities, a change which is also largely unreflected in the wooden tools. Since the beginning of classification in archaeology in the last century, the concept of increasing technology and formal complexity formed a cornerstone of it. Therefore, it was confusing when 20,000-years-old ground axes were discovered in Arnhem Land, proving explicitly that Eurocentric models are inadequate for this part of the world.

Surprising is also Jack Golson's discovery of some kind of land-reclamation and cultivation of plants, as well as the existence of pigs, in the New Guinea Highlands as much as 9,000 years ago (dated in uncalibrated age), just as early as the incipient agriculture in the Near East. He gives a

preliminary report of his excavations in the swamp at Kuk Tea Research Station near Mt Hagen, where five or six phases of occupation could be traced because of systems of channels and a more and more elaborate network of ditches and gutters up to the last abandonment about a hundred years ago. This investigation sustains Carl O. Sauer's theory of 1952 that the tropical South-East Asia and the Malay Peninsula might prove to be an independent, and perhaps even the oldest, centre of plant domestication.

In *Hunters, Gatherers and First Farmers* Jim Allen, one of the archaeologists active in the same area, has written an interesting chapter on 'The hunting Neolithic: adaptations to the food quest in prehistoric Papua New Guinea'. Quoting the fundamental study on Melanesia by H. Brookfield and D. Harts (1971), he states that in New Guinea there is no simple correlation between agricultural intensity and population pressure or land shortage. Intensive practices are found where there is no population pressure, and extensive practices in areas where land is short. And, in fact, he found an elaborate slate hoe at Kuk which apparently was once used in the cultivation technique, but is now obsolete, or rather has been out of use for years. Hoes made of bamboo were used somewhere for weeding but though they should be useful in the intensive cultivation practised in the highlands, they have now been replaced by small shovels. The stone hoes seem to be related to a well-known East-Asian type of tanged hoes, ones with waisted blades.

Because big game did not exist in New Guinea the majority of the evidence so far fails to demonstrate that the scope for hunting as an economic basis ever existed, and in the cave of Kosipe, 2,000 m. above sea-level, the men who left their refuse there 26,000 years ago exploited indigenous species of pandanus. Along the coast sago has been exploited probably since the very beginning, and as Jim Allen suggests, such localities present themselves as highly likely areas in which man could have launched himself into an agricultural pathway, i.e. where agriculture was an indigenous invention. So it is in the Americas, where Warwick Bray traces the cultivation of maize, common bean, and bottle gourd back to at least 5,000 years B.C., that the initial stages may be nearly as old as the first cultivation in the New Guinea Highlands. Ian Glover writes on the Hoabinhian of South-East Asia, where remnants of a wide range of species were found in different caves, the Spirit Cave in northern Thailand being the most well-known: pigs, cattle, deer, rhinoceros, monkeys and carnivores, rats, squirrels, bats, freshwater fish, turtle, crabs, shellfish, and lizards

suggest a broadly based hunting economy but no clear evidence of domestication of plants has been found there.

However, radical changes in social and economic systems apparently did occur at approximately the same time in Western Asia, and in Central and South America tending to increased human populations dependent for the most part on cultivated plants, as Ian Glover puts it. In Africa, outside the parts influenced by the Near East, and Crete, the domestication of indigenous plants started some 1,000 years later. Thurstan Shaw mentions one kind of millet, indigenous in the Savannah-region of West Africa, and probably exported to India more than 1,000 years B.C., and the African kind of rice probably domesticated in the Middle Niger Delta. He believes that the desiccation of the Sahara after the middle of the third millennium B.C. has favoured these incipient agricultural practices. While plant domestication seems to be endemic in West Africa, the breeding of animals was obviously learned from the Mediterranean area.

In the first chapter of *Hunters, Gatherers and First Farmers*, Don Brotherwell suggests that population pressure was an important impetus for pre-historic man to pass from the hunting and collecting level through to partial agricultural economies. However, Ian Glover is inclined to look for climatic changes as one of the prime movers in South-East Asia. Jim Allen rejects population pressure as a primary cause for New Guinea. John J. Taylor thinks that the Paleo-Indian hunter over-killed his big-game, and ultimately forced himself into a more varied and severe economy that relied heavily upon the plant food resources. This forced people to occupy the kinder woodland areas, developing polished tools better adapted to woodworking, and it was in connection with this change that they first practised elementary agriculture by planting sun-flowers and other easily cultivated food sources. Warwick Bray suggests that the Mexican hunter-gatherers were not *pushed* into agriculture, but *drifted* into it by accident: "What we are examining is, in fact, the evolution of one food-producing system (broad-spectrum foraging) into another (specialized agriculture). . . In practice, most of the small, beneficial changes which are the substance of both biological and cultural evolution consists of marginally improved ways of doing what is already being done."

At least the process has developed more slowly than a single cause like population pressure would explain. And evidently man has always been able to regulate the number of offsprings, either by means causing infertility, by regulation of sexual life, or by killing or exposure of the infants. There may have been situations where this regulation did not operate quickly enough because of sudden events

caused by the natural surroundings. But obviously population pressure will normally be rather a result of events rising from man's environment than a primary cause of change. It appears that simple solutions of the problem of the origins of agriculture will all prove to be wrong because the process was very slow, and the conditions different from place to place. Last but not least: the term "Hunters-Gatherers" comprises such a variety of subsistence practices that a generally acceptable explanation of the transition to agriculture is unlikely to be found.

AXEL STEENBERG

SIR JOSEPH HUTCHINSON, J. G. G. CLARK, E. M. JOPE, and R. RILEY (eds.), *The Early History of Agriculture: A Joint Symposium of the Royal Society and the British Academy*. O.U.P. for British Academy, 1977. 213 pp. Illus. £13.

This volume contains the proceedings of a discussion meeting organized jointly by the British Academy and the Royal Society which took place in April 1975. There are sixteen papers, together with discussion, plus the concluding remarks.

The first paper by Grahame Clark, entitled 'Domestication and social evolution', provided an introduction to the meeting, and in it he emphasizes that no subject demands more of an interdisciplinary approach than does agricultural history.

The next paper by the plant geneticist, J. R. Harlan, discusses the distribution of the wild progenitors of plants and animals in relation to domestication, and points out that evidence gained must be qualified by: (1) possible changes in climate since domestication; (2) the effects of human activities that might change the range of the wild ancestors; (3) the possibility that the progenitors as well as the domesticates have evolved, and (4) the possibility of transdomestication. This is a new concept applied to domesticates that are now grown solely in areas remote from that of the wild ancestor.

In the next paper W. van Zeist reviews the increasing realization of the importance of macroscopic plant remains (mostly seeds or fruit) during the last twenty-five (and particularly the last ten) years in South Western Asia. Prof. A. Steensberg then traces the development of digging tools and explains their use by imitative experiments which elucidate the transition from the traction spade to the ard plough.

B. Pickersgill and C. B. Heiser, Jr, next show, with reference to plants, that no unique processes have operated in the production of greater variability among domesticated forms. Variation is still caused by mutation, but human selection is added to natural selection. Whereas these authors concentrate on the more readily understood morphological and cytogenetic changes, the next author, L. T. Evans, considers the physiological adaptation of

plants. He points out that selection for better crop production has sometimes reduced the rate of photosynthesis, but that this has been counter-balanced by evolution towards a greater leaf area, or a longer duration of photosynthetic activity.

A change is made to animals with a paper by M. R. Jarman entitled 'Early animal husbandry'. This title is misleading, however, since the author discusses what is at its most highly developed only incipient domestication of deer, and perhaps better regarded as the management of a wild animal that is hunted. Even then the author presents inadequate evidence to support his hypothesis that in fact man formed other than a hunting relationship with deer.

Next follows a most important paper by E. M. Jope on the contribution of studies at the molecular level to the evolution of plants and animals under domestication. This approach, as yet little used, involves the determination of the amino-acid sequence of proteins, not only in existing primitive breeds but also in preserved proteins from ancient material (notably in skin). The amino-acid sequence, like the blood type, is so fundamental to an organism that a study of changes is likely to throw light on domestic evolution, and in discussion C. M. A. Baker and C. Manwell give examples of different protein types in sheep and chickens.

B. H. S. Bushnell next summarizes the beginning and growth of agriculture in Mexico, which was based on plants (notably maize) before European contact in the sixteenth century. This is followed by a consideration of the early history of American agriculture by Norman Hammond, which extends the discussion from Mexico to both North and South America. The world-wide coverage continues with an admirable account by Sir Joseph Hutchinson of Indian crops, the multiple sources of which have produced great genetic diversity. This in turn has allowed considerable change under domestication. But variability still exists in India, which may therefore provide a wider genetic base for future breeding than, through its insistence on uniformity, is available in the west.

The domestication and development of rice are detailed in a paper entitled 'The rice cultures' by Te-Tze Chang of the Rice Research Institute, Manila. In two papers on the history of European agriculture E. S. Higgs discusses the uplands, while the lowlands are discussed by Heather N. Jarman and J. L. Bay-Petersen. Eric Higgs, who sadly died before the volume appeared, pointed out that the history of agriculture is best understood by placing it in a broad theoretical framework and in the context of other economies which are classified according to the economic niche they occupy. In the lowlands, zones of high arable potential are characterized by cereal-based economies, while zones of

low arable potential are devoted to animal-based economies.

A fascinating account of the cultivation of the olive is given by J. Boardman, in which emphasis is placed on literary and iconographic evidence. In considering climate, soil, and man, G. W. Dimbleby shows how the practice of agriculture changes the ecosystem, which through lack of stability, might produce effects on the soil that even modern man might not foresee.

In his concluding remarks on the discussion meeting R. Riley makes a plea for even greater co-operation between archaeologists and natural scientists. Whereas scientists working on domestic evolution should be able to reproduce their results, the archaeologist cannot always repeat findings and may require greater skill in his efforts to use archaeology to interpret the human behaviour patterns of the past.

M. L. RYDER

EDWARD HYAMS, *Soil and Civilization*. John Murray, 1976. vii + 312 pp. 5 maps. Paperback £2.50.

This is a reprint of the late Edward Hyams's important book, first published in 1952. There is an additional preface, which must have been written just before the author died, in which he points out that 1952 was a time when "conservationists were called cranks, ecology was a word you would have to look up in a dictionary, and the word 'environmentalism' had yet to be coined." Whilst not strictly true, for this last word can be found in use in America in 1916, and occurred in *Nature* in 1936, it certainly was not in current use.

Mr Hyams's theme was that man and civilization were shaped by the soil on which he lived, particularly on how he treated it. It was a novel idea in those days, and to push the lesson home the author ignored, as he pointed out in the original preface, influences other than the soil in shaping the various communities. The historian in reading this book must try to forgive what appears to be a flaunting of the historian's duty. The author's excuse was that as the soil was the main ultimate factor shaping successive societies "to have written otherwise would have entailed excursions into general social history, greatly lengthened the book, and taken me too far from my theme." Thus we are still allowed to believe (if we wish) that had Cleopatra's nose been a little shorter the history of the world would have been different, but not, I am sure Mr Hyams would have said, unless the Roman Empire had altered its soil, that is to say its agricultural policy. Cleopatra's great advantage, had she lived longer, would have been her "manproof soil." Mr Hyams points out that until comparatively recent times it was impossible for man to ruin the Nile valley soils, owing to the annual silt-bearing floods. Now, with dam

building and other skills it is much easier, and is being actively pursued.

Those who remember this important book should read it again and see how much of what Mr Hyams then wrote, including the iconoclasm, is now accepted. Newcomers to the work will find the relationship between soil treatment and the rise and fall of civilizations particularly well expounded. The author postulates three categories of soil men: (i) the integrated member of a community—hunting and food gathering with and part of the rest of the ecosystem; (ii) the soil creator, looking after what he has and making new soil; and (iii) the soil parasite—the man who exploits the soil fertility, using up its reserves until they are all gone, as, for instance, in ancient Greece and modern Oklahoma (1920's).

The reprint of this clear-sighted and important book emphasizes what a great loss was Edward Hyams's untimely death.

GEORGE ORDISH

BARBARA HARVEY, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*. Clarendon Press: O.U.P., 1977. xii + 499 pp. Illus. £15.

Students of medieval agrarian history will find this book most rewarding. Although very large its perusal is not too daunting, since it follows the economical and empirical traditions of English historiography rather than the lavish and generalizing traditions of some North American writers. Only the first 333 pages form the text, since there are nine appendices, a glossary, a long bibliography of manuscript and printed sources and of secondary works, and a good index. There are eleven tables and three useful maps and the whole is turned out in the Oxford University Press's best manner. The reviewer could find no misprints and cannot remember reading a new book so well printed for some years.

At first sight this would appear a conservative book in its dark blue cover and dust-jacket. What more "establishment" subject could there be than the great abbey in whose church the archbishops have crowned the sovereigns of England over nine centuries? In her preface the author points out that she has not attempted to describe the economic development of the demesnes, and readers of this REVIEW will find nothing systematic on yield ratios, crops grown, stock reared, field systems, and all the other agricultural realities which have so pre-occupied the last generation of agrarian historians. As the author says the book is "an attempt to capture the view of their estates that the monks had from Westminster over some five hundred years and to weigh the consequences for their tenants of the thoughts provoked by it." She starts with the endowment of the monastery and descends to the peasants.

The result is a work which is decidedly not conservative. Two-thirds of the text is about the peasantry and the interaction between the abbey's policies and the lives of the people. There is no attempt to palm off administrative history as economic history: all is about realities and pure social history. The author is not even on the monks' side. She thinks they were extravagant and seems sceptical about their function. Their abbots were nearly all undistinguished and some were disastrous failures. The monks cared little about learning and depended heavily upon the royal connexion. As landowners they and their abbot were not even particularly rich. They enjoyed a middle-class standard of living and held back progress.

The economic and social developments before the Black Death are well known from the work of other historians, the developments of the last two centuries of monastic history are less well known. After a chapter on manorial demesnes comes a most valuable chapter on purchases of property in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with a short excursus on the sixteenth century. The chapter contains an excellent discussion on the chronology and scope of the purchases, the element of usury, procedure, the rule of mortmain, purchase through nominees, vendors, and the price. Much of this has only in recent years become familiar to historians, and this chapter is the best discussion we have so far of the subject.

Chapter VII, on the size of customary holdings, is a more familiar topic, most germane to any examination of peasant standards of living. Early in the thirteenth century about 48 per cent of holdings were under 10 acres, early in the fourteenth century about 52 per cent. The monks refused to allow the holdings to become too small, since they regarded the half-virgate as the minimum holding upon which a peasant family could live.

Chapter VIII deals with customary rents and services to 1348 and discusses labour services, renders in kind, and rents of assize; tallage and entry fines, commutation and the sale of works, and the movements away from labour services before 1348 (about 1390 the abbey attempted to behave as if no great change had taken place). Contractual tenancies and leases in villeinage were allowed to come into existence only when the monks failed to find customary tenants on the old terms. The old rents and services were too high and the inheritability of villein tenements not a sufficient lure. On the other hand, labour services were commuted at the new, high wage rates, so that the monks treated their tenants inequitably.

Chapter X deals with the slow transition from villeinage to customary tenure between c.1390 and c.1490, and Chapter XI with the land transactions of the abbey's tenants. The insensitivity of the monks

to economic forces is the subject of these chapters. As landlords they were not benevolent, but ineffectual. Their policies made the growth of a yeoman class upon their estates more difficult and they were able to remain devoted to the old ways because of the great gifts which Margaret Beaufort and Henry VII made to them.

This is a brilliant, sceptical, and enlightening book. May we hope that another volume will deal with other aspects of the estates of Westminster Abbey?

H. E. HALLAM

H. C. DARBY, *Domesday England*. C.U.P., 1977. xiv + 416 pp. Plate. 111 maps. £27.

This book marks the completion of a remarkable scholarly enterprise first begun in 1934, restarted in 1945, and brought to a conclusion in 1977. Moreover, Professor Darby, who began it all, for it was the direct outcome of his early work on the medieval fens, and who led a team of scholars in producing the five regional volumes and the gazetteer, has been able in this final volume to survey and summarize the results of the whole enterprise. For this new book is not a kind of epilogue or afterthought. From the start Professor Darby was convinced that this final volume would be the coping-stone of the whole edifice, and so indeed it is. Without it the rest would be manifestly incomplete. To make it possible the treatment of the Domesday material for every county in each of the five regional volumes, published between 1952 and 1967, was rigidly uniform. Critics have reckoned this a mistake since it limited the freedom of individual contributors and involved a deal of tiresome repetition in the text. However, it is now plain that had this uniformity of treatment not been insisted upon, the magisterial survey of the whole Domesday kingdom, to which this final volume is devoted, would not have been feasible.

The countrywide assessment is made entirely from the local material gathered together in standard categories, and already available in the regional volumes. These categories are familiar to those who know the earlier volumes. They are the nature and distribution of rural settlement, the size and class structure of the population, the extent of arable cultivation, the incidence of grassland and marsh, with an assessment of the livestock these supported, and the identification of the woodland and forest recorded in the Domesday returns. Industry, such as it was, and the boroughs and towns, such as they were, are separately considered, as is the complicated problem of the annual values of the property rights itemized in the survey. Special matters like the extent and distribution of devastated land receive particular consideration. Despite the disadvantages it involved, uniformity in treating

the Domesday material throughout the whole work was also required by the need to ensure that the maps and tables, an essential feature of every volume, were constructed on the same basis. Only then could they be fitted together without gaps or overlap to reveal the larger distribution and density patterns upon which this final and comprehensive analysis of all the Domesday evidence so heavily depends.

This final survey underlines the unique value of the geographer's approach to the study of the Domesday material, which has characterized the whole work. For the first time it is now possible in a systematic way to demonstrate the predominant influence of physical circumstances in fixing the pattern of settlement, and therefore the shape of agrarian life, in Domesday England. This despite the fact that in places the picture is blurred and it has some blank spots. For example, the evidence does not reveal that Kent was then a land of hamlets, nor does it show the very scattered character of habitation in Devon. On the matter of the size of the population and of its distribution we now have in Chapter III and its statistical appendices the most up-to-date and reliable analysis of the Domesday evidence. Yet even this can produce nothing more precise than that there can hardly have been less than 1 million people in England in 1086, and probably the actual number was around 1.5 million.

The uncertainties, the ambiguities, and the omissions in the Domesday record are even more apparent in the discussions in Chapters IV and VII on the distribution and use of arable land, and upon the vexed question of annual values. Here, while setting out what can be known with certainty, Professor Darby delineates with equal care what we do not know and probably will never know on these matters. The putting together in Chapter VIII of the evidence from the regional volumes on the extent and location of devastated land has proved particularly illuminating. Even when the ambiguities of the record and the incidence of local vicissitudes of which we are ignorant have been allowed for, the fact of destruction is plain. This is particularly evident in the south-east, which endured the first campaigns of the Conquest in 1066, in the north Midlands and Yorkshire, where rebellion was ferociously suppressed in 1069-70, and along the Welsh Border where strife was endemic. Recovery was evidently slow and sometimes it never happened at all.

Throughout this book Professor Darby has taken particular care to relate his findings to the work of other scholars. This is an important and valuable part of his achievement. Sometimes he can confirm what others have inferred, but when his own conclusions do not accord with those of others, he is content to state the position and leave it there.

Most commendable of all is the precise, informed, and dispassionate scholarly judgement, which confers particular distinction upon the whole book. Professor Darby is the master of his material because he is also its faithful servant. He will map, survey, and estimate with skill, but he is well aware of the limits of this sort of precision, and he does not hesitate to define them. On points of detail he will have his critics, and the local government reorganization of 1973, by destroying the traditional counties, has weakened the territorial framework upon which the regional volumes were based. As he himself now ruefully admits, it might well have been better to have done the analysis in terms of the Domesday counties from the start. Yet these are trifles which cannot and ought not in any way diminish the debt scholars owe to Professor Darby.

G. M. TEMPLEMAN

T. H. LLOYD, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*. C.U.P., 1977. xi + 351 pp. 2 maps. £12.50. Anyone who has the temerity to do a second time the work once done by a scholar of genius deserves well of us. He raises issues we had all thankfully believed to be settled. He questions achievements whose quality we had taken for granted, perhaps, on the insubstantial basis of established reputation. He awakes controversial problems we had allowed to slumber.

Dr Lloyd's history of the wool trade comes thirty-six years after the publication of that of Eileen Power. It is high time we had another view of this important matter, and Dr Lloyd is to be congratulated upon making the attempt to provide one. Unfortunately it cannot be said that he has succeeded in doing so.

For one thing Dr Lloyd's long book is in fact much less of a survey of the subject than Eileen Power's short one was. Agricultural historians will note with dismay that what Dr Lloyd calls "the harsh economic realities of present day publishing" have compelled him to exclude from his book any study of sheep farming. They have also, apparently, denied him space for any consideration of shipping. And if he had anything of moment to say about the wool trade in the age of the Celys he has refrained from saying it, because, he tells us, someone else is about to publish a detailed account of it.

These exclusions are disquieting enough. But they do not exhaust the list of topics which Dr Lloyd does not treat. To Dr Lloyd the phrase "wool trade" means wool export trade. Consequently the internal trade in wool gets very short shrift indeed. Where it is discussed at all it is seen merely as a background operation set in motion by the foreign demand for wool. There are some precious paragraphs in the chapter entitled 'The English Triumphant', in which Dr Lloyd offers us summary

glimpses of his work upon the particulars of customs which tell something of the role of inland towns and villages in the mechanism of wool collection and transport. And there is a brief concluding chapter, fewer than thirty pages long, in the course of which Dr Lloyd tantalizes us with further glimpses of the buying and selling of wool before it reached the ports. But Dr Lloyd tells us nothing more. His refusal to do so is not readily comprehensible. What there is to know about the internal trade he must know. His recent work on wool prices shows that he handles the manorial sources with a familiarity that few others share. Why then has he elected to tell us so little of what he knows about those aspects of the wool trade which are most obscure, and therefore most worthwhile illuminating? Why has he nothing to say about the transformation of the wool trade that took place when wool merchants found that their chief markets were internal ones? Why does he entitle his chapter on the period during which cloth supplanted wool as the staple export 'The Decline of the Wool Trade'?

With so much excluded from his survey Dr Lloyd nevertheless has plenty to say. He is an indefatigably conscientious toiler in the archives. He has ransacked Chancery and Exchequer and laid the results before his readers without interposing himself officiously between them and what he has found. If Eileen Power, in Professor Postan's words, "achieved the lucidity of her style and *eo ipso* the clarity of her thought by the relentless reduction of her topics to essentials," Dr Lloyd, in contrast, spells everything out in full. Hence the length to which his book runs. The method has much to commend it. The story he tells is very much the story that Eileen Power told. Beneath the profusion of Dr Lloyd's researches, therefore, we can discern the sinews of Eileen Power's structure of thought. Hitherto we have had to take much of what she told us on trust. The annotated edition of her lectures, promised in 1941, has failed to appear. It is now too late to hope that it ever will. In Dr Lloyd's work, however, we can see, for the first time, something of the nature of the raw material out of which she wrought her magic and can decide for ourselves whether to accept what she and Dr Lloyd have made of it or not.

Naturally Dr Lloyd has been able to improve upon Eileen Power by adding his corrections and suggestions to the immense volume of detailed work on the public finances of the wool trade upon which so much industry has been expended since Eileen Power's time, and to which Dr Lloyd devotes so much of his space. In this respect, as in others, Dr Lloyd's work advances the study of the subject. But in order to refine and embellish a familiar tale he has had to sacrifice the serious discussion of matters which are crucial to our better understanding of the medieval wool trade, and about

which we have every reason to believe he has important things to say. This is not the history of the wool trade that we need. It is not the history that Dr Lloyd is well qualified to write. It is not a successor to Eileen Power's work. It is, if anything, a commentary upon it and a tribute to it; for when we have perceived, by reading Dr Lloyd, how intractable the material was with which Eileen Power had to cope, we must surely turn back to her delusively clear and simple words with greater respect for her genius than ever we had before.

A. R. BRIDBURY

JACK GOODY, JOAN THIRSK, and E. P. THOMPSON (eds.), *Family and Inheritance. Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*. C.U.P. for Past and Present Society, 1976. vi + 421 pp. £8.80.

Systems of inheritance are of fundamental importance in history because they provide one of the most important means whereby the social system is reproduced from generation to generation, and because of their pervasive influence on inter-personal relationships within families. Such is the essence of Jack Goody's apologia for the volume under review, and it is surely fully justified, even if some of his fellow contributors are markedly less successful than others in breathing life into their analyses of the records they have studied.

All the essays are valuable and interesting in their own way, although they vary widely in readability. Whether, taken together, they quite fulfil the promise of the title is, however, another matter, for despite the dates it displays, only Cicely Howell's offering has anything substantial to say on a period before the late fifteenth century. It is also disappointing although probably inevitable that, in a volume which is devoted to Western Europe as a whole, England is heavily over-represented at the expense of other areas, notably the Low Countries. On the other hand it is a virtue that two of the writers, Goody and Kiernan, were able to take a sufficiently extensive view of the subject to put European practices in respect of property and inheritance into perspective by looking beyond Europe, and thus making clear the underlying similarity between the at first sight widely variant usages practised in different parts of the Continent, and the wide extent of their difference from those prevailing elsewhere in the world.

Seven out of the ten essays in this book are largely or wholly concerned with peasant society. In a piece which is a model of how social and legal history may be combined, Le Roy Ladurie draws on the work of Yver to set forth with admirable clarity the main variants of inheritance custom found in France, simultaneously explaining their relationship to one another and saying something of their evolution over time. Berkner compares the structure

of peasant society in two districts of Lower Saxony in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and concludes that to a significant degree impartible inheritance was associated with stem family households, partible inheritance with nuclear family ones. Cicely Howell surveys peasant inheritance customs in the Leicestershire village of Kibworth Harcourt over the long period 1280 to 1700, whilst Margaret Spufford returns to a further consideration of two of her Cambridgeshire communities, and puts forward some interesting evidence to support her contention that it was the poorer rather than the richer villages who had the highest propensity to make wills. The subject matter of E. P. Thompson's contribution is also the English peasantry, but he is concerned less with the mechanisms whereby property was passed from one generation to the next than with the nature of what was passed. Before the sixteenth century in many areas it was not simply land but "use-rights over land . . . some of which rights might be held in severalty, [and] much of which was subject to at least some communal and manorial control and regulation" (p. 337). By the eighteenth century, generally well before enclosure completed the process of "prizing property loose from its social context," ownership of use-rights had passed away from those who actually used them into the hands of landlords and others, whilst the gradual rewriting of the law had tended to make some rights over land increasingly well defined and secure whilst others, less substantial but no less valid under the old customs, such as gleaning, lost their legal standing altogether. Finally two other chapters, by Goody on 'Inheritance, Property and Women', and by Sabean on 'Aspects of Kinship Behaviour and Property', deal with the peasantry of Western Europe generally.

An important point to emerge from both, and indeed several of the other chapters, is that the distinction between systems of partible inheritance and systems of unigeniture was very much less clear cut in practice than is sometimes made out. Rather than see inheritance customs as a dichotomy between two opposites we should regard them as a continuum, but one in which the extreme case of one child inheriting everything and his brothers and sisters nothing at all did not in fact occur in normal circumstances. For even when one son did get all the family land he was likely to find (as did the great landowners, albeit at a much higher level of material wealth and social standing) that his inheritance was encumbered with financial obligations imposed on it by his father to provide for his other children; for fathers, it seems, rarely provided for them out of their own savings and generally threw the burden on to the future income from the holding. Since they tended to be unduly optimistic about the level of debt their heirs would be able to support, this

tended to put the survival of the family enterprise at risk. Certainly in the case of England a major factor in the decline of the peasantry in the mixed farming areas seems to have been that the value of cash legacies bequeathed to younger children, which had risen strikingly in the century or so after 1560 when the profits of commercial farming were expanding, continued to do so into the late seventeenth century, well after economic conditions had ceased to justify it, thereby saddling the generations living on either side of 1700 with levels of debt that were insupportable when farm prices and profits were so much lower.

The section of the book which deals with the landowners begins with a short chapter by Joan Thirsk. In this she discusses the literature on primogeniture amongst the propertied classes by both English and continental authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thereby providing an appropriate preface for the late J. P. Cooper's essay on 'Patterns of Inheritance and Settlement by Great Landowners from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century'. This latter is 135 pages long, equipped with two appendices, and occupying one-third of the entire volume. The scope of its approach is impressive as it ranges with enviable assurance from the English aristocracy and gentry to the grandees of Spain, and thence to the French and Italian nobilities, and it is perhaps inevitable that it is a piece which is likely to cause digestive problems to the non-specialist, and to leave him feeling a little bruised by the recital of numerous family settlement histories and the sound of unfamiliar legal phraseology.

All the great proprietors with whom Mr Cooper is concerned came to entail a high proportion of their land, and to practise primogeniture in a more or less thorough-going fashion, and he echoes Dr Thirsk's point that the traditional defence of these practices was that they served to keep the estates of the great landowning families intact, and thereby contributed to the maintenance of social and political stability. However, he makes it clear that when they were pursued over successive generations the practical consequences were rather different from those their apologists envisaged. Entails alone could not ensure the survival of family estates and indeed almost guaranteed that they would be beset by financial difficulties, since provision had to be made for the support of widows and children other than those of eldest sons, and if this could not be done by alienating land then it was inevitable that a growing burden of debt would develop. The Castilian nobility whose *mayorazgos* involved the most stringent entails to be met with in Europe, were, in large part for that reason, the most debt-ridden class of great landowners on the Continent. Only where entailed estates were supported by suf-

ficiently large quantities of unentailed property or by substantial incomes from non-estates sources which could be used to discharge family financial obligations and debts incurred in other ways, was their long-term survival assured. In the cases of Spain and southern Italy the great landowners were driven into political dependence on the monarchy, upon which they relied both for the additional income to be had from offices and pensions and for protection against their creditors. In both France and England, although for somewhat different reasons, entailed land could be more easily alienated, so that sales of property to discharge debts which had risen to an intolerable or even a merely undesirable level were relatively commonplace.

In the case of England this was because, provided that there was no disagreement within the family, it was always possible to get a private Act of Parliament to modify a strict settlement, so that the latter was much more flexible in practice than in theory. But the main reason why the English landowners found the practice of entailing their estates less ruinous in the long run than did some of their continental contemporaries was probably that the fall in landed incomes (and thus the rise in the real burden of debt) after the middle years of the seventeenth century was less pronounced, whilst the fact that, thanks to a more rapidly advancing economy and a more open social system, a higher proportion of them enjoyed access to such sources of income as mining royalties, and other forms of industrial, commercial, and urban property, was also of some importance. Yet even in England, Mr Cooper points out, many landowners came to rely heavily on income derived from the crown via army commissions, court offices, pensions, etc. for the maintenance of their solvency. Secondly, the combination of entails and primogeniture encouraged eldest sons to delay marriage and to limit the size of their families, and younger sons not only to delay but frequently to avoid marriage altogether, and this, combined with the normal incidence of childlessness and a high rate of infant mortality, had pronounced demographic consequences for the groups in question. The Milanese, Venetian, and French nobilities in particular were tending towards biological extinction in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whilst even amongst the more reproductively minded English peerage the proportion of males who reached marriageable age but did not marry exceeded one-fifth in both the first and the last quarters of the seventeenth centuries.

At all levels of rural society, from the smallholders to the aristocrats, fathers were torn between the desire to pass on to one son the economic resources necessary to maintain an inherited position in that society, and the wish to provide as generously as possible for younger sons and daughters; and

save for those who had risen rapidly in wealth these aims necessarily conflicted. How the conflicts were resolved by different groups, in different places, and different times; and the economic and social effects of the collective decisions thus arrived at, provide two of the underlying themes of this book. A third is that actual practices were not always those that a study of formal law, or even written custom, would seem to indicate. Landowners might override customary law and try to circumvent legislation by their entails and settlements; peasants might ignore law altogether in their attachment to local custom. It is perhaps the chief virtue of the present volume that it contains several studies which do not simply repeat the dicta of historically minded lawyers, but which establish, by means of detailed research, how certain groups did in fact behave in matters of inheritance.

CHRISTOPHER CLAY

JACK GOODY, *Production and Reproduction: A Comparative Study of the Domestic Domain*. C.U.P., 1976. xiii + 157 pp. 6 figs. £6 hardback, £2.20 paperback.

This is a short book for a large topic, even shorter than appears above since there is a substantial overlap between Chapters VI and VII. In it Professor Goody brings together anthropology, history, and sociology to examine the relationships between types of agriculture, forms of transmission of property, and marriage arrangements.

He takes as a starting-point the practice of diverging devolution, under which "the property which an individual disposes is not retained within the unilateral descent group but is distributed to children of both sexes and hence diffused outside the clan or lineage." Information about this characteristic exists for 592 of the 863 societies recorded in the *Ethnographic Atlas*, and Professor Goody provides fifteen contingency tables relating it to marriage, residence, agriculture, and stratification practices. The phi coefficients (analogous to correlation coefficients) are positive but small—most of them are between 0.2 and 0.3. He also provides significance levels, but since the 863 societies are not a random sample of all societies, and the 592 societies with relevant information are not a random sample of the 863 in the Atlas, these probabilities are irrelevant.

Further coefficients obtained from consideration of sex roles in farming (based upon Ester Boserup's analysis associating shifting cultivation with female farming, and plough cultivation with male farming) are added to provide the basis for a path analysis showing advanced agriculture acting indirectly on diverging devolution and then on marriage arrangements: broadly, plough agriculture → property → male and female inheritance → marriage and adop-

tion procedures. Given the size of the phi coefficients, it is not surprising that there are very large residual variances unexplained by the model. Further, we are not presented with a comparison of the other models which were considered, or with estimates of direct and indirect effects (although the data are there and one could do some of this work oneself). In this respect the presentation is less satisfactory than the examples given, for example, by Hadden and De Walt (*Ethnology*, 1974; a source I should perhaps say I owe to Professor Goody's reference to it). Other chapters look at strategies for obtaining heirs—adoption and plurality of partners—and the extent of stratification in "hoe" and "plough" societies. An interesting section deals with the probability of there being an heir according to different levels of mortality and different family sizes.

Summing up the argument, we find many of the major differences between African and Eurasian societies are traced to Africa having "simple systems of farming, since the continent lacks the plough, the wheel and often a good soil." The evidence is persuasive, although I would emphasize even more than Professor Goody that the results of the path analysis do little more than keep the hypothesis in play. As already mentioned there is considerable overlap between two of the chapters, and the book as a whole shows its origin as a clutch of recent or forthcoming articles. I found this disappointing as the Preface led me to expect more of a reflective review. Nevertheless, in the form of either articles or book, the material provides a valuable antidote for Eurocentricity.

D. A. LURY

ALAN MACFARLANE and others, *Reconstructing Historical Communities*. C.U.P., 1977. ix + 222 pp. £3.95.

ALAN ROGERS, ed., *Group Projects in Local History*. Dawson in association with the Nat. Inst. of Adult Education, 1977. 246 pp. Illus. £7.

Macfarlane's manual, which is based upon fourteen years' uncompleted work on the parishes of Earls Colne and Kirkby Lonsdale, explains a method of collecting, breaking down, and then reintegrating all the records which relate to a certain set of individuals in the past. The techniques of family reconstitution are applied on a grand scale to all surviving records in order to bring together all the information it is possible to find about everyone within a selected unit. The authors show that the annals of the poor are far from being short and simple, and that in the seventeenth century, for instance, only a tiny fraction of a community was invisible. The catch is that the devoted researcher, working 30 hours a week and allowing himself only two weeks holiday a year, would still need twenty

years to collect all his information by hand, even before he started to analyse it. Clearly such a task should be set aside until the promised further volume explains how to enlist the aid of a computer. Even then a postgraduate researcher would be well advised to check the regulations governing the number of time-extensions allowed for his thesis.

"Community" is used here in the methodological sense of a unit of observation, a convenient focus for analysis. The authors make no assumption about the actual existence or absence of "communities of sentiment" or any other kind of community, but their comments in the opening chapter show that they clearly do not believe in such a concept. Agrarian historians will not be surprised that sociologists still cannot reach agreement after putting forward ninety-four different definitions of "community", but may well feel that they can nevertheless recognize a historical community when they see one. Instead of the survey of sociological and anthropological studies, what was needed in the introduction was a reasoned criticism of the various historical studies of agrarian communities which have attempted to classify such units according to type. The manual should either have shown that such studies were mistaken or else have offered a framework of understanding: it is silent on such matters.

The succeeding pages are full of sound practical advice which should be followed by anyone working on village records, regardless of whether or not they are attempting such a grand scheme. It is perhaps unfortunate that a manual which recommends such meticulous care should omit the word "Cattells" in the first line of the transcript of the document published on pages 74-5, but there are those who will no doubt be reassured that human error can still occur at any level. The authors convincingly demonstrate that there is much to be found, though it is unnecessarily discouraging to say that many English counties have no communities sufficiently well recorded to be worthy of study, and that less than one in four parishes in all are adequately documented. We have much to learn from parishes where some major sets of records are missing, and it remains to be seen whether the techniques recommended in this manual will greatly improve our understanding of rural society. The preliminary reports form Earls Colne and Kirkby Lonsdale certainly whet the appetite, but the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

The other handbook under review is intended primarily for groups engaged in less ambitious projects under the guidance of a tutor. Thirteen experienced leaders give valuable advice on everything from how to start a group to the writing and editing of the results. The suggested projects include the history of the local landscape, housing and

industrial archaeology, oral history, and studies based on such documentary sources as hearth-tax returns, parish registers, and census returns. Many readers of the REVIEW will already be familiar with the problems involved in such studies, but beginners will benefit from reading this book, whether they are part of a group or working on their own. Denis Stuart's essay on local Nonconformist history shows that even a dull-sounding subject can be rewarding if a tutor has the knowledge and enthusiasm to carry a class with him.

DAVID HEY

BRIAN K. ROBERTS, *Rural Settlement in Britain*. Folkestone, Dawson, 1977. 221 pp. 48 maps. Illus. £6.

Most scholarly publications in the field of rural studies these days are highly specialized and/or highly localized; those books whose titles suggest greater comprehensiveness usually turn out to be compilations of several such detailed studies with little or no editorial linkage. It is therefore a pleasure to welcome an attempt by one author to present a general overview of rural settlement in Britain; the development over time of farms, hamlets, and villages both individually and in terms of the patterns of their distributions; an important topic which has tended to be overshadowed by studies of agrarian structures.

In Roberts's own words, this book is aimed at "undergraduates, sixth-form students, teachers and indeed all those with an interest in the countryside" (p. 11). The most enthusiastic market is likely to be among the first of these. The book has too much theory and too few pictures to attract the layman, and it assumes rather too much basic knowledge to be used as a general school text. Being the work of a single author, it has the advantages that it tells a coherent story, it develops its arguments logically over successive chapters, and it avoids the internal inconsistencies and duplication so common in collections of papers. Inevitably, it lacks the detailed knowledge of the latest ideas on every branch of the topic that is sometimes found when several specialists combine to produce a volume. Thus the research scholar may well feel that his particular field has been dealt with too simplistically, but the undergraduate is likely to welcome this integrating study as a guide to a growing literature in a complex field.

The organization of the book is mixed, the first part being generally chronological, and the second (and larger) part systematic. After a general and brief introduction, setting the scene and putting forward a few basic concepts, come chapters entitled 'Problems of Prehistoric and Roman Settlement', and 'Domesday Book and Beyond'. The former begins with the Neolithic, and works up through the Bronze and Iron Ages, ending with the Romano-British period.

The latter is more retrospective in nature, starting with details of the evidence to be obtained from Domesday Book, turning next to look at contemporary evidence for areas not covered by Domesday, and then going back to look at the periods of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian settlement. These two chapters are necessarily largely descriptive and source-oriented: in most cases that is all the evidence available will permit, though Roberts is prepared to make generalizations wherever they are reasonable (and occasionally where they are not, as in the map of hill forts on page 38, where the points plotted north of the Tyne-Solway line are based on very different data from those to the south).

The remainder of the book avoids the chronological framework, and focuses on specific aspects of settlement studies, with chapters on 'Patterns of Village Settlement', 'Village Forms', and 'Farms and Hamlets'. In each chapter the approach is systematic: a certain amount of basic theory is introduced, a number of specific case studies are presented, and the overall British picture is discussed. The most interesting parts are undoubtedly the attempts to categorize and explain settlement types and settlement patterns in terms of basic theory. These attempts are not entirely successful, and Roberts makes no exaggerated claims, remarking, for instance, that his synthesis of village plan types "is only a classification, a working tool, to be used flexibly and to be abandoned when no longer useful" (pp. 123-4). None the less, these efforts are valuable as they represent the direction rural studies must take if they are to become something more than description. The volume is copiously illustrated (in black and white) with thirty-six maps and diagrams and twelve aerial photographs. It is a refreshing change to see many illustrations being taken from the north of England, though one could have wished to see Greysouthen, Cumbria (pp. 126, 127), spelled properly (and included in the index).

Specific criticisms are directed not so much at the content as at the details of the presentation, many of which details are presumably the responsibility of the publisher rather than the author. Anyone using this book will be irritated by the small size of many of the illustrations, some of which have been reduced to the point of incomprehensibility. It is difficult to see the justification for printing village plans less than 20 mm square (p. 127), or for reducing a complex map to the point where some of its labels are legible only through a magnifying glass (p. 170). Other annoyances include frequent references in the text to the wrong figure numbers (suggesting that the figures may have been renumbered before publication, and the text not adequately checked) and the use of exact S.I. equivalents of approximate imperial figures. Statements that early settlers were

generally "avoiding the negative uplands above 244 m" (p. 78) and that tenant holdings in Taunton manor by 1311 "had dwindled to some 2.5 persons per 0.4 ha" (p. 102) are silly. If S.I. is to be used, then the figures given should be regeneralized (250 m, and 6 persons per ha), or the original approximations given first with the S.I. equivalents in parentheses. The lack of a comprehensive bibliography is a nuisance; although there is a list of seventy-six basic references (mostly books) at the end, the specialist literature has to be sought from the chapter notes. These last, as is increasingly common practice, are gathered at the end of the book. The reader is thus obliged to keep turning to this section, as there is no way of knowing if the note is simply a bibliographic reference or a detailed piece of additional information.

It is important to keep these faults in perspective. Certainly they make the book rather more difficult to use and they blunt the pleasure of reading it; but they do not detract from the basic value of the work and, in most cases, could easily be corrected in a second edition (which is the main justification for detailing them here). Overall, this is a well-written, stimulating summary of the state of rural settlement studies today. Great depths cannot reasonably be expected of a study dealing with so wide-ranging a topic in only 200 pages, but it succeeds in pulling together many threads of research, and poses challenges to others to pursue the ideas of settlement theory and to improve on the author's classifications and models. *Rural Settlements in Britain* will be invaluable to the undergraduate, and useful and interesting to anyone who has even a marginal interest in the historical development of rural Britain.

ROBERT S. DILLEY

ALAN MACFARLANE (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683*. Records of Social and Economic History, n.s., III. O.U.P. for The British Academy, 1976. xxvi + 727 pp. 3 maps. £20.

The name of Ralph Josselin, the puritan vicar of Earls Colne, Essex, has been familiar to specialists on seventeenth-century England ever since his diary was edited by E. Hockliffe for the Camden Society in 1908. But Hockliffe, we now know, omitted three-quarters of the original, and justified his ruthless editing by claiming that what was left out contained "many entries of no interest whatever—endless thanks to God for his goodness 'to mee and mine', prayers, notes about the weather or his sermons, innumerable references to his constant 'rheums' and 'poses', trivial details of everyday life, records of visits to his friends etc. etc." A modern historian approaching a seventeenth-century text brings with him to the task of editing quite different assumptions, priorities, and questions.

Dr Macfarlane, therefore, offers us the whole diary (all 290,000 words of it), and so enables a rounded picture of Josselin to emerge. Given such a bulky text the editor has had to content himself with a short introduction, but one which can easily be supplemented by his earlier book *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin; a Seventeenth-Century Clergyman* (Cambridge, 1970). There are maps, genealogical appendices, and an index of places and persons (alas not of subjects). It is a mammoth editorial feat, and historians have every cause to be grateful to Alan Macfarlane for his efforts.

The Diary of Ralph Josselin is an important source for historians of the seventeenth century in several respects. Much of its interest, clearly, lies in its religious content. At the personal level the moderate Josselin is seen weathering most of the storms of the Revolutionary and post-Restoration decades. There is much information about the respective roles of clergy, patrons, and congregations, about the fragmentation of dissent, and about the early development of Quakerism. In a more general sense, however, the *Diary* is suffused with Josselin's religious convictions. The printing of the full text brings the writer's millenarianism to the fore. Dreams were seriously analysed to find their meaning. God's will, moreover, was seen by Josselin as a convincing explanation of all events, whether beneficial or disastrous. "Its the mercy of god that maketh anything wee take in hand to prosper" (p. 83). "Nothing can withstand gods purpose, nor hinder that which he intendeth to accomplish" (p. 228). Sin was punished, virtue rewarded, and the recipients of divine justice were to be submissive or thankful as the case demanded.

As well as being vicar and, for a time, schoolmaster, at Earls Colne, Josselin was also a farmer, and it is in this role that he is likely to be of most interest to readers of THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW. The *Diary* abounds with references to crops (including turnips in 1681), to animal husbandry, to harvesting, the hiring of labour, and to the operations of rural credit. There are regular weather reports and annual reckonings of income, expenditure, and capital accumulation. Josselin's economic philosophy was one of caution. "Its one of the best peices of morral wisdom to our estates," he wrote in 1663, "to live within our bounds and so pay our debts because wee contract none; he that once overshoots on hope of a good crop, to repay and cleare, in my mind runs into the dirt to better his shoes by thoughts of wiping them" (p. 497). None the less Josselin prospered. He built up his estates by purchase and inheritance, and provided handsome marriage portions for his children. The *Diary* could almost be subtitled *Religion and the Rise of Agrarian Capitalism!*

Josselin's place in his nuclear and extended

family has already been explored in depth in Dr Macfarlane's earlier book; the published text of the *Diary* underlines this aspect of his life. The Josselins had ten children, a record of fecundity which was clearly viewed in different ways by husband and wife. "My wife not well," wrote Josselin in 1661. "I see shee apprehends a breeding again with fear; the blessing of a fruitfull wombe is by weaknes of nature her feare" (p. 482). In this, as in other respects, the *Diary* presents an intimate record of Josselin's domestic life with its internal tensions, and with the disease and death that loomed large in it.

Josselin indeed combined many roles, and the range of his concerns was broad and complex. As well as being an autobiography, an account-book, and a chronicle of family and parish life, the *Diary* offers a running commentary on national and international affairs. (America and Dunkirk jostle with Ardleigh and Great Dunmow in the place index.) His account of the Civil War, for example, provides fascinating insights into the ways in which the local and national blended together. It is the very diversity of the text which is one of the *Diary's* most striking features, and there are probably many who would agree with the editor's claim that Josselin belongs with Pepys, Woodforde, and Kilvert in the gallery of great and memorable English diarists.

R. C. RICHARDSON

J. S. MORRILL, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650*. Allen & Unwin, 1976. 234 pp. £5.75.
BRIAN MANNING, *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649*. Heinemann, 1976. x + 391 pp. £9.50.

Few subjects have been so continuously controversial as the English Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century. The original upheaval divided contemporaries and its subsequent interpretation has never ceased to cause debate and disagreement among historians. That there is still no danger at present of Civil War studies lapsing into lifeless unanimity is witnessed by the two books under review.

Dr Morrill's book belongs to the series "Historical Problems: Studies and Documents," edited by Professor G. R. Elton, and is without doubt one of the most useful books on seventeenth-century England to appear for several years. Its usefulness rests partly on its generous selection of documents (which comprise half the book), but the long three-part introduction could easily stand by itself. Based to some extent on the author's own detailed research on Cheshire, and also on similar studies of other counties, the book provides an excellent and stimulating survey of the current state of research on the provincial history of the Civil War period. It should

be mentioned here that as well as fully utilizing the available printed material in this field, the author industriously incorporates the findings of no fewer than nineteen unpublished Ph.D. and M.A. theses. Dr Morrill's book, therefore, has a news-bulletin flavour about it. He conveys something of the excitement of new research, and specialists as well as students will be interested, for example, in what he says about the *lack* of opposition to ship money, and about the New Model Army. "The New Model," he says, "was no more a 'national' army than Essex's had been. Nor, in the early stages, was it any less mutinous. It can be argued that its success in 1645 was the result less of its own professionalism, discipline or puritan conviction, than of royalist miscalculation and regular pay."

As its title makes clear, *The Revolt of the Provinces* is a study of localism and of the ways in which, at all levels of society, the strength of local feeling actually shaped the events of the revolutionary decades. This is a theme, of course, that was brilliantly explored by Professor Everitt, and here, as in his earlier book on Cheshire, Dr Morrill at times takes issue with him. Above all, Morrill places greater weight than did Everitt on the actual *impact* of the Civil Wars on local communities. He stresses the increased burden of taxation, the plundering, the physical destruction of men and property, the loss of crops, livestock, and horses, and the quartering of troops. "On top of the destructive forces of nature came widespread destruction by man."

For Englishmen of the period 1630-60 the *local consequences* of national events, policies, and alignments counted for more than the events, policies, and alignments themselves. For that reason the "Country" opposition to Charles I and to the centralizing tendencies of the Republic rested essentially on a radical conservatism. John Hampden's stand over ship money had not been genuinely representative of the provinces in the 1630's, and once the war came—and it came above all not because of the build-up of parliamentary/puritan opposition but because of the resurgence of loyalism—the majority preferred neutralism to active commitment. Neutralism is, in fact, one of the major themes both in the author's introduction and in the documents, and Dr Morrill succeeds in demonstrating both its complexity and its positive, determined qualities. Neutralism, the author argues, was neither a soft option nor simply a temporary stopping-point.

Here Morrill takes issue with Manning, whose D.Phil. thesis on neutrals and neutralism in the Civil War was a pioneering work in the field. The latter's "almost total dependence" on printed sources, Morrill argues, led him to confuse different kinds of non-alignment. This criticism of Manning's research—and it is reminiscent of the

charge frequently made against Christopher Hill—is repeated at other points in *The Revolt of the Provinces*, but ultimately it is interpretation and not just methodology which separates these two authors.

Dr Manning's long-awaited book on *The English People and the English Revolution* is principally a work of reinterpretation rather than one of path-finding new research. "The evidence that I have used," he says, "comes from sources long familiar to the historians of this period, and much research remains to be done on other sources, and by different methods, in order to elaborate this interpretation more fully and test its value more exactly." Like Christopher Hill—his tutor at Oxford—Manning concentrates on the "middle sort of people," and argues that their grievances and actions were the main force behind the revolutionary struggles of the decade 1640-9. It was the popular presence above all which brought the two rival political parties into existence, the Royalists emerging as a "party of order," and the Parliamentary gentry, accommodating themselves to pressures from below, presenting themselves as a "popular party," Parliament was indeed saved by the intervention of the London citizenry in 1641, and with puritanism as their ideology the middle ranks were clearly a force to be reckoned with.

But the English Revolution was not enacted only against an urban backcloth, and readers of this journal will take a particular interest in Dr Manning's discussion of the rural crisis. The author does not write as an economic historian, and specialists are unlikely to be completely satisfied with his analysis of agrarian problems. But most will probably agree at any rate that "the central agrarian issue of the 1630's and 1640's and of the English Revolution" was "whether the landlords and big farmers or the mass of the peasantry were to control and develop the wastes and commons." Manning is convincing, too, in his argument that the agitation against tenures and enclosures effectively undermined the Royalist cause. "The unpopularity of landlords and the decline of loyalty to landlords affected the king in the civil war more adversely than parliament, because he depended far more than parliament on the loyalty of peasants to their lords; and the erosion or disappearance of that loyalty in many parts of the countryside restricted the amount of support and resources the king and the royalist nobility and gentry could command."

Dr Manning's sources—many of them of a propagandist nature—do not permit him to offer an exact definition of the "middle sort of people" in town and countryside. Dr Morrill is quick to criticize this limitation which was equally apparent in Manning's earlier work. "He has shown that much propaganda of the civil war years was intended

to prove that Parliament had the support of the middling sort. He has also shown that this propaganda was widely believed. But he has not shown that it was *true*." The emphasis in these two books is very different indeed. Morrill stresses the conservatism of the provinces and of the middling sort in the towns; Manning is at pains to demonstrate their radical activism. Morrill sees neutralism as the natural stance of the middle sort; strangely, Manning's book offers very little on the neutrals. Manning devotes much space to the Levellers and sees them as the most articulate spokesmen of the "middle sort" in the 1640's. In contrast, Morrill places more weight on the risings of the Clubmen. "In the event," he says, "the radical conservatism of the Clubmen was to prove more characteristic of the later 1640's than the iconoclasm of the Levellers."

Differences in approach and in conclusions, therefore, outweigh any similarities between these two books. But they have this at least in common: they both deal with the outer arena of politics in the counties and in local communities and are in no way narrowly preoccupied with the "winners." In this respect, at any rate, both books are likely to spur on further research in this general direction.

R. C. RICHARDSON

J. G. A. Pocock (ed.), *The Political Works of James Harrington*. C.U.P., 1977. xviii + 878 pp. £30. Long out of favour in England politically because of his republicanism, and historiographically out on a limb by virtue of his stress on long-term economic and social trends, Harrington until quite recently was a shadowy figure in the history of the seventeenth century. Professor Pocock's edition of Harrington, in fact, is the first substantial collection of the philosopher's writings to be issued since the early eighteenth century. Its appearance, therefore, is an important landmark in the modern rediscovery of the author of *Oceana*, a process to which S. B. Liljegren, R. H. Tawney, and Christopher Hill have previously contributed. Now, for the first time, historians have a modern, scholarly edition of Harrington's three principal works: *Oceana*, *The Prerogative of Popular Government*, and *The Art of Lawgiving*, together with the author's lesser writings. *The Commonwealth of Oceana* naturally has pride of place in the introduction (which firmly locates it in its ideological setting) and in the text, and it is primarily on this work that historians of social and economic change in the seventeenth century are likely to concentrate.

Oceana, as Professor Pocock reminds us in his excellent introduction, was "a civil history of property aimed at showing when and why it will furnish men with the opportunity of freedom." For Harrington it was landed property that mattered most, politically, militarily, and economically. Discussion

of the mobile wealth bound up in trade and investment occupied an entirely subordinate place in his thinking. Although he could not fail to be aware of the capitalist economies of Holland and Genoa, he referred to them infrequently and with a negative purpose. Harrington's commonwealth was essentially a rural society, regulated—so as to prevent the emergence of excessive concentrations of wealth—by agrarian laws concerning inheritance and the balance of property. Its army comprised a militia of freeholders. With some justification, then, Pocock, unlike Tawney and Hill, is inclined to see Harrington pre-eminently as a historian of feudalism rather than as a historian of the rise of capitalism. "Fortune, in his scheme, remained secondary to nature," and the landed bias of later neo-Harringtonians in eighteenth-century England continued this tendency in the face of rivalry from a growing moneyed interest and of commercial enthusiasts like Defoe. As Pocock reminds us, eighteenth-century America—where *Oceana* was a tremendously influential text—was more immediately successful in harmonizing the interests and ideology of an expanding agrarian commonwealth with commerce and industry.

Pocock's book is dedicated to the pioneers of Harrington scholarship, a select group which includes John Toland, who produced the first collected edition in 1700. Whether the unscrupulous and unscholarly Toland really deserves Pocock's respect is another matter. As a deist he played down the religious dimension of Harrington's writing. Moreover, as Blair Worden has recently asserted (*T.L.S.*, 7 Jan. 1977): "He possessed an astonishing capacity for laying his hands, by fair means or foul, on other people's documents, and a readiness to tamper with them. . . Every manuscript which Toland edited disappeared after publication." Harrington's papers are among those "lost" in this way and their loss does much to explain the present *lacunae* in our knowledge of Harrington's life and the development of his thought.

There are no such doubts about Professor Pocock's scholarship! He has performed a massive and much-needed editorial feat, the value of which will be appreciated by all those interested in seventeenth-century society and seventeenth-century thought.

R. C. RICHARDSON

C. VANDENBROEKE, *L'agriculture et l'alimentation dans le Pays Bas Autrichiens*. Gent-Leuven, Belgisch Centrum voor Landelijke Geschiedenis, Publicatie Nr. 49, 1975. 69 pp. Figs. 850 Belgian Fr.

This is such a grand performance that I am lost in admiration. Vandenbroeke's reading is so megalomaniacal. I have fallen into a habit of supplying a

plethora of references to substantiate any statement of a historical character that I may be called upon to make; but my own industrious reading falls far short of that of Herr Vandenbroeke; although his reading is parallel to, but not coincident with, mine.

His subject is one that I have the most complete sympathy with. Farming means food; without it the people starve. For most of the many years during which I have been doing historical research into the processes of farming, and the lives and sustenance of the people who did the work, I have worked upon the foundation of a basic cereal ration. Vandenbroeke has done much more. He has examined the consumption of flesh and vegetables, the production of industrial crops, fibres for weaving, dyes for the product, and so on, which have always seemed to me, perhaps mistakenly, to have been of more importance in the Netherlands than in England.

When in Chapter II this author, already an authority of some importance, comes to deal with the culture and consumption of cereals, he is more or less on my home ground; but he has pointed very clearly to the limitations of this approach to the problem. Always historians who are, or were, concerned with nutrition (*alimentation*) have based their conclusions, as I have, upon the estimated or supposed consumption *per capita* of bread stuffs. Clearly Vandenbroeke, although he expends many words about this subject, has taken much wider observation. He states that nutrition in the most frugal classes and the most frugal times included other kinds of provisions as well as the grain crops.

But there is a corollary to this. Until the introduction of the potato, bread was the most important constituent of diet, and any failure of the harvest made importation desirable. The potato was a solace, but death was always at the centre of life (from starvation and other causes), just as the cemetery was at the centre of the village: but perhaps this is not the precise point here. The vagaries of the harvest no man can control: all he can do is to rise and fall upon the waves of optimism or pessimism as the seasons force him.

Of course, meat was eaten by those classes who could afford it. Dairy products were to be had on the same foundation of financial ability. Is it not always so?

Once again it is necessary to make some reservations here. There seems to have been a shortage of some of the forage crops, oats and vetches for example, but the range of crops cultivated was as wide as that in any European country, and included wheat, rye, spelt, buckwheat, oats, barley, peas, beans, vetches, and horse beans. There was subsistence here for man and beast.

It is with some surprise that one finds the production of industrial crops included in a study of *alimentation*, a word that Vandenbroeke apparently

gives the widest possible connotation. He includes in his study, as already mentioned, the production of dye crops and fibre crops as well as tobacco and salt. The inclusion of a study of the cultivation of hops, of the vine, and the secondary produce of these crops, beer, wine, and geneva (gin), cannot be considered inappropriate.

A great deal more could be said in this note, amongst other things an admiration of Vandenbroeke's immense scholarship, but there is one point which should be made: this is very much a technical, an economic, as well as a social investigation. It adds a great deal to the knowledge of nutrition and other matters in the chosen period that is now the preoccupation of so many modern scholars in so many countries.

G. E. FUSSELL

J. A. CHARTRES, *Internal Trade in England 1500-1700*. Macmillan, for the Economic History Society, Studies in Economic and Social History, 1977. 79 pp. Paper £1.60.

It is well known that books designed to aid teaching at one level often run the risk of being used as a source of predigested examination paper by students at another level. Wily examiners sometimes seek to counter such techniques by including questions which ask candidates to discuss the major gaps in our knowledge of such and such a topic. Henceforth, any examiners in economic history disposed to try that one in relation to English internal trade in the early modern period will know that candidates have had the opportunity to mug up on areas of ignorance by reading Dr Chartres's little book. It offers an unusually rich mine of statements about defective evidence:

- ... a source of unknown reliability (p. 10)
- ... fragmentary and rather uncertain materials (p. 13)
- ... the statistics are too defective (p. 17)
- ... we have no real guides as to the accuracy (p. 19)
- ... astonishingly little has been written (p. 24)
- ... sadly, we cannot be certain (p. 44)
- ... sadly, relatively little evidence exists (p. 47)
- ... very little is known about individuals (p. 50)
- ... the most interesting questions have yet to be answered (p. 58)
- ... much of the sixteenth century remains a dark age (p. 65).

These are merely a few examples, referring to different aspects of his subject, out of many such remarks. To quote them is not to criticize Dr Chartres. He is indeed right not only in what he says but also in bringing such ignorance and uncertainty to the attention of readers.

Whether so difficult and little-researched a topic is a suitable one for the Studies in Economic and

Social History series is another matter. The editorial preface by Professor Flinn speaks of these booklets serving as guides to fields in which "important advances have recently been made, or in which there has recently been some significant debate." Does this topic qualify on either count? It is no disrespect either to Dr Chartres's own researches, or to contributions such as Professor Everitt's on agricultural marketing, to note how much the book has to rely on the work of Professor Willan or on the older books of Gras and Westerfield. And of debate there is not a sign. Dr Chartres seems almost to be trying to manufacture one by suggesting that historians have unreasonably ignored internal trade and the home market, accusing them of having behaved "like good mercantilists" and of committing the "familiar logical error . . . of imputing a trend to the mere existence of data." All of which seems a trifle unfair to some who have recently written on the English economy in this period, and who have shown themselves not unaware of the simple fact that lack of evidence does not necessarily mean lack of significance (see, for example, L. A. Clarkson, *The Pre-Industrial Economy in England, 1500-1750*, pp. 117-23). Conversely, the high probability that the home market was a bigger source of aggregate demand than the external should not in itself be thought to lessen the need for historians to concern themselves with overseas trade if only because of the contemporary obsession therewith and of its function as a stimulant to state action.

Be that as it may, Dr Chartres's booklet provides a valuable introductory guide to our knowledge and ignorance of internal trade which should stimulate others to join him in his own endeavours to provide more light in the darkness. (Incidentally, the publishers are to be congratulated in finding an appropriate cover illustration, in contrast to the wholly inappropriate one which they used, without the author's approval, for the corresponding booklet on Tudor and Stuart industry.)

D. C. COLEMAN

R. E. F. SMITH, *Peasant Farming in Muscovy*. C. U. P., 1977. xii + 289 pp. 11 plates, 7 figs., 5 maps. £10.50.

This book is as useful and interesting for the general historian as it is for agricultural specialists. Its discerning and critical survey of the diverse and often contradictory literature on such well-worn subjects as the history of the plough and the use of the three-field system, enriched with comparative European data, makes this book a basic tool for the medieval Russian historian. If one adds to that the elucidation he provides for the non-Russian reader of the *flora* and *fauna*, complete with English comparisons that go beyond mere translation, one can readily see its value. What a pleasure finally to settle

the issue of the Russian equivalent of cowberry, bog, whortleberry, and the various whitefishes!

Smith's history is "history from the bottom up"; going beyond what the accounts of princely and monastic estate records tell us, he reconstructs the micro-economies of the peasant farmstead, and fills in gaps in the technological history of the Middle Ages by an inspired attention to close detail.

The book is egregiously sensible. "It has been claimed that even up to the mid-nineteenth century, 90 per cent of peasant implements . . . were of wood. It is difficult to see what common unit could be used to make such an estimation. . . ." His own estimates are very careful. He claims only that to which he is entitled; he is willing to admit insufficiencies of evidence and the ensuing interpretative difficulties. He is refreshingly unabashed at declaring previous hallowed interpretations "nonsense"; not feeling the need for conclusive arguments at every step, he does not have to produce nonsense himself. He emphasizes the importance of the forest as a supplement to the peasant economy; his description of "the creeping colonization of the forest" should put the final death to the absurd popular misconception of "the nomadic Russian peasant." Thus he is able to explain how, when the clichés tell us that life was a total disaster ("90 per cent of the Moscow area was laid waste in the sixteenth century"), the life of the peasant went on in its accustomed way.

I have some quarrels with this book, but they are merely ideological. It would be nice if we were able to separate *homo economicus* from *homo politicus*, but I do not think that is possible. It is hard to draw the line between medieval political arrangements and economic exploitation. There is a brief survey of the development of political administration and the growth of enservment in connection with military service; but the book makes no use of such issues and the material is not integrated with the central data of the study.

But Smith's book is splendid history. There is no need for the final apologia for his "social anthropology or ethnography rather than history." The talented shuffle between what we do not know and what "it is reasonable to expect" is an example of the very best kind of history-writing being done these days. We now know "What it was like down on the farm" in sixteenth-century Russia.

LINDA GERSTEIN

HOWARD S. RUSSELL, *A Long Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England*. Foreword by Wayne D. Rasmussen. Univ. Press of New England, 1976. xvi + 672 pp. 39 illus. \$18.50.

This is a work of what used to be called meticulous scholarship. So far from being the broad outlines of the subject, it is a piece of research into its nooks and crannies. It seems to have occupied a lifetime. It is

in fact rather an economic history than a history of agriculture. Clearly the author is concerned with every aspect of life in a new, progressing country.

Farming, after subsistence is secured, obtained as this may be from natural resources, wild *ferae*, fruits, and honey, supplemented, as apparently the Indians found necessary, by cultivation, becomes a commercial proposition, only in so far as any surplus is concerned. This provides money (the means of exchange, though barter is not excluded) with which to purchase goods made by non-farmers, though, there were none but farmers in the first settlements.

The new settlers in New England seem to have inherited the instincts of their ancestors, who have been so derogated as a nation of shopkeepers. This profound reflection was stimulated by the author's interest in what is called business, something quite different from food production. There is, even in the first few chapters discussing the earliest days of settlement, a great deal about the sale of goods and the purchase of supplies—more commerce than might have been expected at such an early time of settlement in a wilderness is indicated.

When the land had been a trifle settled farmers had to sell their surplus products (it would be an interesting study to compile statistics of their surpluses), minute as these must have been on most New England farms in the seventeenth century, in order to buy iron and steel goods, plough shares and harrow teeth, even guns and cooking utensils. So a man who is writing the history of farming and farmers may be excused for introducing the sordid details of trade upon which, apart from home products, everyone lived. All the same there is so much business history included in the book that it is more than the history of farming in New England. Communications by land and sea are also discussed in some detail.

Naturally there is a good deal of emphasis upon the cultivation of the primary staples, and on the breeding of the pigs that provided the major part of the meat eaten on the farms. Cattle were bred and horses were kept in increasing numbers as time passed. The nineteenth century, too, saw the development of market gardening. Industrial crops like hemp and flax and the dye plants were always part of the rural scene. Tobacco was grown. Orchards supplied fruit and cider, the latter being probably the more important. Enclosures were made with various kinds of fence, drystone walls (probably known in the old country), and new kinds of wooden pales.

As time passed the heavy work of the farm was made easier by the invention and manufacture of novel machines as elsewhere in the world, and the expansion of the towns provided a more certain market. The nineteenth century, too, saw the national organization of agriculture. The Department of Agriculture was established, and the Agricultural

Experiment Stations and schools were set up all over the vastly expanding state.

The book deals with all these subjects and others, such as domestic life and the daily work of overworked women as well as that of overworked farmers, in an almost microscopic way as might be expected of the results of a lifetime of research. This book will not readily be superseded.

G. E. FUSSELL

G. E. MINGAY (ed.), *The Agricultural Revolution: Changes in Agriculture, 1650-1880*. A. & C. Black, 1977. x + 322 pp. 6 figs. £6.95.

This is a most useful selection of forty-six documents, with an explanatory note to each, introduced by Professor Mingay and grouped under a series of headings—farming methods, livestock, fertility and manuring, machinery and drainage, labour and capital. Professor Mingay rightly warns against the older, naïve, and often incorrect accounts of the agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century to be found in the older (and even some of the newer) textbooks, but at the same time gives due credit, through both his introduction and his explanatory notes to the documents, not only to the hackneyed names of Townshend, Tull, Bakewell, Young, and Coke but also to the contributions of many lesser-known figures. It is useful, for example, to have the day-by-day programme at the Duke of Bedford's sheep-shearing festival of 1799 at Woburn Abbey, as a counterpoise to the many accounts of the similar celebrations at Holkham, and to note the astute blending of business and pleasure there. Advantage might be taken of a second edition to increase the number of documents from the period 1650-1750 and to include a few pages of farmers' accounts. Adequate attention is paid to Scotland and Wales and to the growing pressures from continental and North American competition in cereal production from the 1850's.

W. H. CHALONER

ROGER A. E. WELLS, *Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire, 1793-1802* Borthwick Papers No. 52, York, 1977. 49 pp. 80p.

This is one of the excellent series of papers produced under the imprint of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. It examines the pattern of events surrounding the food shortages of the 1790's, dearths which were accentuated by the pressures of war and industrial growth. Its real focus is political and social, with the threat and actuality of disorder, the petitioning movement, and crime as the main areas of study. Wells shows the remarkable humanity of some local authorities and employers in coping with the impact of dearth, and the less startling disinclination of juries to convict "rioters."

Perhaps the most interesting and original element

in this book is the evaluation in real terms of a number of working-class wages in the years 1794-6 and 1799-1801, the two periods of "crisis." Four individuals and two groups, rural carpenters and agricultural day labourers, are taken to assess the surplus or deficiency in weekly *earnings* after a "minimum subsistence diet" had been purchased. The results for both wheat- and oat-based diets point clearly to the depth of the subsistence crisis in the middle quarters of 1795, at the end of 1800, and at the beginning of 1801. Unfortunately the reader who wishes to look more closely at these interesting results is referred to a doctoral thesis "shortly to be presented" for the details of calculations of earnings and diets, and for the exact definition of quarters. It is unclear whether calendar or the more conventional harvest years are being employed.

Such flaws detract from the genuine achievement of this pamphlet. They are compounded with other signs of careless writing and the lack of editorial control. Principal of these is grammatical error, examples of which litter the pages. Clichés are plentiful, as with a "burgeoning industrial revolution" (p. 8), and "cereals were the staff of life" (p. 13). More irritating is the author's bizarre but inconsistent use of "new pence" when discussing living standards, as in the following sentence: "The first three-year deficit totalled almost £20; the second climbed to over £33 10s., average monthly deficits of 56 and 93 new pence" (p. 15). Overall this is a flawed production, a study of some general interest but of no great merit.

J. A. CHARTRES

ALAN HARRIS, *The Milk Supply of East Yorkshire, 1850-1950*. East Yorks. Local History Society, 1977. 41 pp. 65p.

The lease of Charterhouse Farm between Hessle and Hull was up for sale in 1890 and attracted numerous inquiries and many bids, but not so much from farmers as from local cowkeepers, pig dealers, or butchers interested in this dairying holding. Who took on this property Alan Harris does not tell us, but from a mass of this kind of detail he has given us a many-sided picture of the milk supply of East Yorkshire. This sale was during the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century, which affected arable land more than dairying; at the same time the proximity of this farm to the urban milk market of Hull indicates the kind of new "recruits" who were being attracted into some sections of farming. Harris, in this way, takes us—sometimes only by inference, often by a short discussion or detour—through changes in farm types, style, and fortunes between 1850 and 1950, the growth of the milk trade by rail, and especially by road, to the towns, the rise and decline of the urban cowkeepers surviving in this area long after the cattle plague

disaster of the 1860's, and alterations in the consumption of milk.

This is a fascinating story in its own right, presented as no. 33 in the Local History Series of the East Yorkshire Society, but it has linkages with many wide-sweeping and fundamental changes that have taken place in our society in this period. A careful reader can detect these page by page. The enormity of the events conveyed in this way transcends the minutiae of the local story.

In a predominantly corn and sheep region the meadow and pasture closes of village and town supported small herds, sometimes only a few cattle, for the milk supply of the locality. Even smaller pieces of land in the towns were used for stall-fed animals kept in cowsheds all the year round in Hull, or grazed in summer in Beverley. On the outskirts of towns small farms, often of less than 50 acres, in areas like Drypool and Southcoates near Hull, in the Vale of Pickering, and round York, kept dairy herds in a mixed farm system. As a result, over the century since 1850 the towns and larger villages may well have been better supplied with liquid milk on a commercial basis than the people living in the countryside. A marked distinction seems to have developed between town and country, and we need to probe further to uncover the differential effect on diet and health. For instance, legislation to control the conditions in which milk was supplied seemed to have been more difficult to enforce in rural areas where farmers largely dominated the local councils.

There were some sixty cowkeepers in Hull's built-up area in 1851; by 1886 there were at least 260 cowsheds and 1,400 milch cows. At some stage in the next twenty years more than half the town's milk supply came in for the first time from outside Hull itself. The organization of this trade was quite complex. New stock in milk had to be brought in to replace the dry cows; fodder had to be brought, carted, and stored; hayfields negotiated for and insured; the manure disposed of. This milk was eventually replaced by farm milk, a transition involving changes in farming practice in some cases, and a growth of road transport. One estimate suggests that by 1925 some 8 million gallons of milk were being sold annually off farms in this region; by the late 1930's this had increased to some 12 million gallons. How easy it is to quote the figures—but Harris's account not only conveys the details but suggests much of what lies behind them. The information has been squeezed out of the minutes of local authorities, hospital boards, and sanitary committees, reports of medical officers of health, local farm and estate documents, parliamentary papers, and other materials. This has been done with care, and the reader can always be aware of the source of the information if he wishes. Those who have worked with this type of material and

topic will appreciate only too well the amount of work required to extract so much of the local story.

But are we left simply with a piece of local history? This perhaps depends on the reader: it may be looked on as part of a much larger canvas, showing changes in farm organization and fortunes, and the development of large-scale commercial milk production and marketing, and its regulation. There is for instance just a reference or two to the way in which dairying groups such as Riley's Dairies, Clover Dairies, and the Hull and East Riding Co-operative Society's dairy developed their trade, and then since the Second World War merged with Northern Dairies. This company in turn forms part of a much larger group with finance, brewing, and other interests, and so milk production and distribution were caught up in the greater business enterprise of the 1950's onwards. The full story of this, of the Milk Marketing Board, and of the price structure of the industry has to be found elsewhere. At one level this is a piece of competent local history on an unusual topic; at another, for the historian, there are invaluable material and insights here for him to draw on.

JANET BLACKMAN

D. A. RATCLIFFE (ed.), *A Nature Conservation Review*. C.U.P., 1977. Vol. 1, xvi + 401 pages, 24 plates, 9 maps. £35; Vol. 2, viii + 320 pages. £25. Much of a review of this mammoth work could be taken up by a description of what it contains. A short and therefore an over-simplified account must be given—almost the terse explanation given by the Secretaries of State for the Environment and for Education and Science in their short foreword. The *Nature Conservation Review* is, they say, "an account of the nation's heritage of wildlife and its habitats. It describes the biological features of more than 700 sites, classified in major habitat groups and sets out criteria by which the importance of each site for nature conservation can be judged."

Though it is a compendium of the knowledge and judgement of many biological scientists, it is right and proper that the name of Dr D. A. Ratcliffe is emphasized as it has been largely his singlemindedness, energy, and work as an author or part author of most chapters, particularly of Volume 1, that has brought this study to fruition over more than ten years.

The basic philosophy behind this *Review* (and behind most of the work in nature conservation in Great Britain in this century) stresses the safeguarding of key areas which represent the major types of natural and semi-natural vegetation, together with their associated floras and faunas, in order that they will always be available for "a range of human uses in posterity" (see Introduction).

The rationale given in Chapter 2 is to my mind

the really crucial part of the argument and of the many detailed site descriptions. The emphasis is on the preservation of key sites against many forces leading to deterioration or destruction—mainly the forces of human impact. It quickly gets involved with subjective judgements as to what is "irreplaceable," "most valuable," "most vulnerable," of "highest quality," the "best" site. Ratcliffe quickly concludes on page 4 that "the series of key sites will thus be a mixture of the scarce and the unusual and the typical or common examples of ecosystems."

The criteria used in selection of key sites are all important. They are, of course, all relative and comparative. The factors used were: the size or extent of the site, diversity of habitat (leading to species "richness" of flora and fauna), naturalness of habitat, i.e. degree of modification by human influences, rarity (of communities, habitats, or groups of species), fragility of habitat, i.e. sensitivity to environmental change, typical or commonplace habitats, the degree to which a site has had its ecological history recorded, and is part of, or linked to, a contiguous geographical area. Finally, assessments have been made of the potential future value of a site, whether or not it is now degraded, and its intrinsic interest to human beings (for example, most birds and butterflies awaken a lively human interest).

No cardinal or ordinal weighting has been given to this list of criteria, and any disagreement or doubt as to the assessment of any site has finally been settled by the editor of the *Review*, acting as scientific assessor to the project. The final assessment made, again qualitatively, is the placing of each site, finally, as Grade 1, 2, 3, or 4 (described on p. 15). The remainder of Volume 1 deals with the field of ecological variation found in Britain, and, in detail, with seven major formations (Coastlands; Woodlands; Lowland Grasslands, Heaths and Scrub; Open Waters; Peatlands; Upland Grasslands and Heaths; and Artificial Ecosystems), and the way in which the key sites fit into these formations. Volume II gives in detail an ecological description of each key site identified.

There is not sufficient space here to discuss all the major implications of this *Review* and the action to follow its publication is under debate at the present time by the Nature Conservancy Council and associated bodies. There is the problem of the *Review's* being a study and assessment over a past period of time, especially the key year of 1965. The degree of change in the quality of different sites over the past twelve years has varied, with the influence of agricultural change being severe on many small lowland sites. The ownership of these key sites is also very variable—some are National Nature Reserves, owned or leased by the Nature Conservancy Council, others are in private hands with no gradings or

listing, some are owned by public authorities, both local and national. There are, therefore, many different ways of moving forward with the application of this *Review* to the real condition of lowland and upland Britain in the late 1970's, some easier or more difficult than others, and certainly some much more expensive than others in the use of public funds for site purchase.

We should welcome this *Nature Conservation Review* with all the questions that can be raised about the nature of its analysis, and the difficulties that will arise in its implementation. This is because it lays a foundation on which real improvements can be developed both in the extension of knowledge and in the possibilities of action.

GERALD WIBBERLEY

Shorter Notices

MARGARET GELLING, *Signposts to the Past: Place-names and the History of England*. Dent, 1978. 256 pp. 21 maps. £6.50.

Margaret Gelling's book is an up-to-date survey of the origins of English place-names, with examples drawn from all over the country. Her discussion includes consideration of the place-names of Roman Britain, the survival of Latin and Celtic words in place-names, Scandinavian and French names, the derivation of names from boundaries and meeting places, and the vexed question of the extent to which place-names incorporated a personal name. Also considered are the chronology of place-names, and their significance to the archaeologist. This volume is essential reading for all those who have given more than a passing thought to the meaning of place-names, and particularly those coming fresh to the study for the first time—if only because it brings out so well the complexity and numerous pitfalls of the subject.

EDWIN GREY, *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village*. Harpenden, Herts., Harpenden & District Local History Soc., 1977. v + 253 pp. Illus. Hardback £3.50; paper £2.50.

Edwin Grey's personal reminiscences of cottage life in Harpenden in the late 1860's and the 1870's was first published in 1934, and has now been made available again through the enterprise of the Harpenden and District Local History Society. The new edition includes the original preface by Sir E. John Russell, Director of Rothamsted, where Grey was Field Superintendent, and a new introduction by F. M. L. Thompson, as well as photographs of scenes described in the book. Grey's account is a highly detailed one, especially interesting for its descriptions of cottage fare, village society and its events, and, particularly, the local straw-plaiting industry. Much of the detail is novel, and Grey succeeded brilliantly in bringing back to life the vanished village of his youth. The book is indeed a valuable social document. Copies may be obtained from the Society, 41 Milton Road, Harpenden,

Herts.; orders should include 41p. to cover postage of the hardback edition, or 31p. for the paper one.

W. BERGESS and C. EARL (eds.), *The Kent Bibliography: A Finding List of Kent Material in the Public Libraries of the County and of the Adjoining London Boroughs*, compiled by the late George Bennett. Library Association London and Home Counties Branch, 1977. ix + 452 pp. £11.

This bibliography lists and locates books, articles, surveys, reports and plans, Acts of Parliament, and manuscripts relating to Kent in the County Library, the Wye College Library, and fifteen town public libraries, together with the local studies centres of the London Boroughs of Bexley, Bromley, Greenwich, and Lewisham. The material listed goes to the end of March 1973, and later acquisitions will be presented in future supplements to the bibliography. Copies may be obtained from the Publications Officer, The Library Association, London and Home Counties Branch, 65 Gentrarnmon Road, Green Street Green, Orpington, Kent, BR6 6DG.

ERIC J. EVANS, *Tithes and the Tithe Commutation Act 1836*. Bedford Square Press for Standing Conference for Local History, 1978. v + 40 pp. Illus. £1.50 (£1.65 post-free).

This pamphlet provides a most useful introduction for researchers beginning work on tithe material, and all those interested in the question of the effects of tithe on agricultural improvement. The study is concerned with four main aspects of the subject: the background to tithe commutation, including the difficulties connected with the collection of tithes; the developments which led to the passing of the Act of 1836; the Act and its administration; and a note on the use of tithe maps, awards, and files, and the question of their accuracy. The pamphlet sets a high standard for the new series of National Statutes and the Local Community, which it launches. Copies may be obtained from Bookpoint Ltd, 90 Blackfriars Road, London SE1 8JT.

Books Received

- JANOS BAK (ed.), *The German Peasant War of 1525*. Frank Cass, 1976. viii + 135 pp. Maps. Illus. £8.50.
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B.A.H.S. SPRING CONFERENCE, 1979

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CLIMATE AND HISTORY

An International Conference on Climate and His-

tory will be held at the University of East Anglia on 8-14 July 1979. Persons interested in attending should write for further details to: Conference Secretary (Climatic and History Conference), Climatic Research Unit, School of Environmental Sciences, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ.

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CLIMATE AND HISTORY

8-14 July 1979, at the

CLIMATIC RESEARCH UNIT

Director: Prof. H. H. Lamb

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA, NORWICH, U.K.

The conference will take place at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, England, during the five-day period 8-14 July 1979. A social programme and excursions will be arranged for participants and accompanying persons.

The purpose of this conference is to bring together climatologists, historians and archaeologists from throughout the world to discuss climate and its possible impact on past and present societies.

Some financial assistance may become available to the organizing committee to facilitate travel and/or subsistence of a limited number of participants.

Potential contributors and participants are requested to notify as soon as possible and, in any case, not later than 31 December 1978:

The Conference Secretary (Climate and History Conference),
Climatic Research Unit, School of Environmental Sciences,
University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ, United Kingdom.

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