

Book Reviews

MARGARET GELLING, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley: Studies in Early English History, VII*. Leicester UP. 1979. 208 pp. £14.

This volume closes the series begun in 1960 with my *Land Tenure in Early England*: the title, like that of the series, being the invention of the late Herbert Finberg. The first volume cost 30s, this one is almost ten times that amount. There is however little use in reproaching the publishers. A new series under the editorship of Dr N P Brooks will replace the existing one: its title, *Studies in the Early History of Britain*, would have warmed the cockles of the Finberg heart.

This closing volume deals with all known pre-Conquest charters relating to landownership in Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, and Surrey. Only Kent and Sussex remain to be tackled and perhaps the publication of full texts of these charters in the British Academy edition will make a S-E England volume unnecessary. Dr Gelling prints texts of two hitherto unpublished charters, though without a witness-list in one case. I should imagine the MS copy on which she is dependent is defective here, but she does not say. She lists a third unpublished charter — for Westminster Abbey — but does not print it since it is generally accepted as a rank forgery. I think this is a pity. Forgeries, like authentic charters, are evidence of something and need to be studied, not laid aside.

All these charter volumes, despite a uniform presentation, have their nuances. Dr Gelling has kept her curiosity in tighter rein than Finberg would have done, and there are no historical appendices, but, as we should expect, there is a fuller emphasis on place-names. The solitary appendix, contributed by Michael Reed, discusses and prints the six boundary perambulations surviving from Buckinghamshire and appends a map in each case. This is of the greatest value, especially to the local and agrarian historian, yet very few charter boundaries have been given the informed scrutiny Mr Reed devotes to Buckinghamshire. In volume VI of the series Dr Hart paid great attention to the 'personnel' of the charters and laid the foundations of a prosographical study of the charters of a substantial portion of eastern England. Dr Gelling has ignored this side of things, and this is a pity since the witnesses of the charters she treats must contain many clues to the rise of Wessex and the decline of Mercia. So far as I have tested it the calendaring is meticulously done and the stars are assigned a little more rigorously than has always been the case in this series. A small point, but illustrative of the tantalizing problems Anglo-Saxon charters are always presenting, is raised by No 31. This is a charter of Edward the Elder, replacing a charter of his grandfather that had been

rendered illegible by water. Dr Gelling points out that the boundaries are very detailed and could hardly have been copied from a water-soaked charter, so she supposes that they represent the topography of 903 rather than that of fifty years earlier. But need we conclude that the charter was totally ruined? If the body of it was illegible a replacement would have been advisable even if the boundary clause was intact. But cavils apart, this will sit on the shelves, alongside the volumes of Finberg and Hart, in every serious Anglo-Saxon library.

ERIC JOHN

JOHN PATTEN, *English Towns, 1500–1700*. Dawson, Folkestone, Kent. 1978. 348 pp. £12.

Dr Patten has written an extremely agreeable and balanced account of the economic functions and development of towns between 1500 and 1700. Having made use of much recent research in theses and dug deep into older books and articles appearing up to 1977, he offers a thoroughly serviceable up-to-date survey of his subject. His comparative approach gives a fair picture of towns with varying strengths of attachment to the rural areas around them. None, he emphasizes, were completely parasitic on the countryside at this period. And while pig-keeping in towns is used by Dr Patten to illustrate this argument, it should be added that the scale of pig-keeping was transformed when brewing was moved from village outhouses to townsmen's backyards and larger installations. Breweries and distilleries then became big urban business, and their waste grains handsomely fattened such large numbers of pigs that country pig-keepers were severely handicapped by the competition. Gastronomes continued to praise country-fed pork above the rest, but cheap meat from brewers' grains greatly improved the diet of the poor in towns.

In general, the consequences of economic and social change are not pursued in this way in order to uncover deeper layers of differentiation in town societies. But readers will find very useful tabulations of the total population of many different towns, and a good discussion of the mobility of people, leading to the conclusion that long-distance migration gradually diminished as more remote areas were drawn into commercial contact with the capital. Dr Patten concludes this section of his book with a strong plea for more studies of regions which will integrate the towns and surrounding rural areas, rather than analyse them separately. This is plainly a deficiency in our understanding which must concern the geographers; perhaps, however, historians will feel more acutely the

absence of more personal studies of urban families in different categories of occupations.

As a step towards filling this gap Dr Patten introduces his original researches into East Anglian towns, demonstrating the varying range of occupations represented in different-sized centres. It is true that his eye falls on occupational groups in general, rather than on individual families with a tradition in one craft. But it is a step forward to have the occupations separately identified and associated with distinctive ranks of towns. It is especially illuminating to see how specialized services, that were available only in the largest towns before 1550, gradually infiltrated the smaller ones. The largest number of different occupations — 223 — were represented only in Norwich in the sixteenth century, and to the end of the period some luxury trades remained confined to Norwich and the other county capitals of Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich. But some occupations, such as those of apothecaries, and inn- and alehouse-keepers, turned up in the next century in increasing numbers of smaller places. By 1700 the consumer society embraced many more provincial centres than in 1550. The method of analysis deserves to be imitated in comparisons of many other towns.

Dr Patten's demonstration of the improved facilities in small towns for buying such consumer goods as soap, haberdashery and paper, makes one regret all the more the poverty of the index. Soap-boiling, needle-making, button-making, and pipe-making serve as important clues in his search for evidence of more diversified occupations in towns. But having received attention in the text, they are omitted from the index. In addition to the scanty index, the scalograms are printed upside down, and the proofreading is slipshod. This is a valuable survey of early modern towns, written in a lively, stimulating prose, but it is less than well served by its printer and publisher.

JOAN THIRSK

ROBERT TITTLER (ed), *Accounts of the Roberts Family of Boarzell, Sussex, c. 1568–1582*. Sussex Record Society, Barbican House, Lewes. 1979. xxviii + 181 pp. £6.75 plus postage.

This book contains the first two volumes of the farm and household accounts of the Roberts family of Boarzell in the parish of Ticehurst in north-east Sussex. The Boarzell estate, which came into the hands of the Roberts family in 1459, consisted of the capital house and various cottages, a mill and some 300 acres of land, together with various other properties in the surrounding area, and this record of receipts and expenditure was kept by Dame Margaret Roberts who managed the estate from the death of her husband Thomas in 1567 until her own death in 1587. Agricultural and social historians will find much of interest here, for the

accounts contain details of the sale of livestock, timber, hides, and corn, of the income from rents, and of the regular purchase for consumption by the household of poultry, fish, oysters, spices, fruit, beer, and wines to supplement the very large quantities of home-killed meat which were consumed. The fact that Boarzell lay on the road from Hastings to London may partly explain the large quantities of different spices and imported fruits which found their way to the family table as well as the fifteen different varieties of sea fish which formed a regular part of their diet.

For some purposes, however, the usefulness of these accounts is limited by the unsystematic way in which they were originally kept. The majority of entries are not dated by year, and some lack even day or month, so that they cannot be made to yield precise information about changes in prices and wages or about the pattern of sales and purchases of goods and farm produce. Neither can they be used to assess the precise state of the family finances. It would have been helpful to have had a more detailed introduction about the family, the estates, household, and the farming economy, and more information from other documentary sources such as the probate inventories of 1567, 1577 and 1587 which are mentioned in the Introduction but of which few details are given. With the evidence provided here of an apparently high standard of living in the house and what seems to be a reasonable income from rents, it is not easy to understand the editor's emphasis on the declining fortunes of the family, and one would like to know more of the background. A more detailed glossary would also have been useful since the accounts contain numerous words which require explanation, while some of the words which are included in the glossary, such as 'marl', 'peascod', 'trug', and 'wain' will already be familiar to most of the people who are likely to use this volume. The accounts would have been easier to read if the editor had used capitals for the initial letters of all the personal names instead of adhering to the variable practice of the sixteenth-century scribe.

But these criticisms apart, this volume is full of detail concerning daily life in an affluent household, and contains much of interest concerning agricultural practices, especially details of animal husbandry, the extensive use of marl, sales of sheep and cattle, and the running of the family estate.

J H BETTEY

GERTRUD SCHRÖDER-LEMBKE, *Studien zur Agrargeschichte*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte, Band 31, Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart. 1978. 199 pp. DM48.

This is an attractive collection of essays by Gertrud Schröder-Lembke, gathered together as a tribute to her

in her seventieth year. English readers will probably know the author best as the editor of two sixteenth-century German agricultural treatises by Martin Grosser and Abraham von Thumbshirn (reviewed in *AHR* XVII, ii, 1969), and as the writer of an article on English influences on German agriculture (*Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte* 12, 1964). Here the latter article is reprinted, along with six essays on problems of field systems, five on agricultural writers from the fourteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries, finishing with two substantial accounts of the introduction into Germany of clover and rapeseed.

Dr Schröder-Lembke has a practical agricultural knowledge that has sharpened her eye for the implications that follow directly, or indirectly, from statements in her sources. And for her every document and every writer, belongs in a unique geographical and social environment that must be carefully considered. Important new information emerges from these carefully planned investigations, therefore. Indeed, every essay becomes an exciting exploration into new territory.

The first essays in the volume, which enquire into the origins of different German field systems, start with careful reading of the available documents in print, and then proceed to a sternly practical and precise interpretation of their meaning. On this subject we know that many more documents await study than are used here, but these articles contain many fruitful insights. The main theme of the second part of the book is the role of agricultural writers in promoting innovations. The first essay discusses Petrus de Crescentis, whose book on agriculture (in Latin) was finished in 1305 in Bologna, but was first published in 1471 in Augsburg, seven years before it was published in Italy. Its translation into German in 1493, and many reprints thereafter, undoubtedly met a need; Dr Schröder-Lembke argues that the most influential part was that on gardens, for it introduced the idea of pleasure gardens in the Italian Renaissance style, as opposed to useful gardens, and transformed German attitudes. It should also be said, perhaps, that in stimulating the interest of the upper classes in gardens, it awakened a pride and competitive spirit in finding plant varieties that improved on the old; and among men who had the means and contacts to pursue this interest effectively, it produced remarkable results. The third essay discusses the originality of the first German book of husbandry by Johannes Colerus, published in 1592, which passed through twenty editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Colerus acknowledged that the work of his father Jacob lay at the heart of his book. So Dr Schröder-Lembke explores the father's life, showing plainly that this was based on peasant experience in Silesia, where Jacob was a pastor. It is likely, moreover, that Jacob Coler and Martin Grosser, the author of another agricultural treatise published in

1590, were friends and collaborators in collecting information from their peasant neighbours. Coler and Grosser had studied in the same university, were of the same age, and in the 1570s lived ten miles from each other. When the son, Johannes, published his first books of husbandry in 1592, 1593 and 1596, therefore, they reflected Silesian experience; in enlarged editions after 1600 they reflected Mecklenburg experience where Johannes settled as a pastor.

The essay concerning English influences on German agriculture is reprinted here, but, having been published in 1964, it has been overtaken by more recent publications, notably those of Hans-Heinrich Müller and Gerhard Ahrens. An account follows of the life of Johann Christian Schubart, the so-called 'apostle of clover' in Germany, who acquired a country estate which he was determined to turn into a profitable enterprise. His energetic campaign and forceful writings on clover attracted wide notice, and undoubtedly helped to spread the use of clover in a three-course rotation in the later eighteenth century. It is of particular interest that he had seen clover crops in England and the use of lime as a fertilizer. Dr Schröder-Lembke's longer thesis on clover, however, presents Schubart's work in a somewhat different light, and this is perhaps the most important essay in the book.

Although Schubart has conventionally been associated with the first introduction of clover into Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century, Dr Schröder-Lembke's thesis shows conclusively that this was not its first appearance in Germany. Numerous earlier references in Germany and neighbouring countries disclose its long history as a cultivated plant in Europe. The evidence fully supports the argument of Slicher van Bath in volume V of the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, that what was new in the later eighteenth century was not the components of the Norfolk rotation, nor, indeed, the system, but the economic circumstances that made it suitable and profitable.

The development of clover cultivation in Europe, as it is traced out here, deserves detailed description. Red clover, also known as Spanish clover, is first described in the sixteenth century by Dutch (1566) and Italian (1550, 1566) writers. Its origin as a cultivated plant is disputed. It may have been called Spanish clover because the Netherlands — one of its first centres — was under Spanish rule. According to another theory, however, it was a variety from the mountains of southern Europe (Spain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey). An important clue is given by Max Fugger in 1578, writing on the management and feeding of war horses, that he had seen the tallest, biggest and sweetest trefoil, on which horses thrived, in Valencia, Spain, in Naples and in the Netherlands. This was assumed by a writer in 1687 to be a reference to lucerne, but Dr Schröder-Lembke believes it to describe clover. At all

events, it is significant that the earliest references to clover turn up unequivocally in two of the most densely populated areas of Europe, northern Italy and the Netherlands, where the demand for fodder crops was likely to be most pressing. It was not at this time treated as a crop in an arable rotation, but as an improver of grassland.

The Italian influence can be traced in Austria by 1687 when Hohberg described clover as a fallow crop, and also as grown for seed in closes around Enns, near Steiermark. Steiermark remained a noted centre: its clover was highly valued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much seed being exported to Germany. One writer also speaks of two varieties in Steiermark, one flowering earlier than the other. All this leads Dr Schröder-Lembke to guess that Steiermark clover was originally an Italian variety, adapted by selection to the mountain climate. Clover was steadily spreading from this centre of origin in the period 1680 to 1730, for in 1715 Lubens von Wulffen mentioned it in Austria, Bohemia and Silesia, in various places in Saxony and Thuringia, and in Mähren where the cattle were stall-fed. In Austria, moreover, tithe was already being paid on clover in the period 1710–30.

As another centre of influence, the Netherlands aided the spread of clover in north Germany. It is believed to have been taken to the Rhein Pfalz by Walloons in 1561 and 1579, and Coler in the 1645 edition of his book of husbandry mentions it sown under grain. Whether this reflected Mecklenburg experience is not clear, but an important pamphlet was published in 1715 in Rostock by Lubens von Wulffen, recommending so-called Spanish clover to the peasantry. Wulffen had failed in an official attempt to introduce peasant reforms in Prussia, and had entered the service of Duke Karl Leopold of Mecklenburg in 1716. He had travelled in Holland and Austria, and seen clover crops and the stall feeding of cattle; his official task in Mecklenburg was to raise the standard of peasant agriculture. His pamphlet was distributed to parsons and officials who were to instruct the peasantry every spring and autumn in clover cultivation. Seed was bought from Hanover. Wulffen left this post in 1719 and died in 1721, seemingly leaving little to show for his labours. Yet clover persisted, for in 1763 another author wrote of the well-known Spanish clover that had been used for many years in Mecklenburg.

All this evidence makes it clear that clover was well known in parts of Germany long before the middle eighteenth century. This poses the question how it was cultivated, and here Dr Schröder-Lembke offers many original insights. Wulffen had offered two alternative methods to his Mecklenburg readers: on large farms he suggested clover in a rotation, and the stall-feeding of cattle. For peasants he recommended the Dutch system of growing clover in closes (*Kämpen*), which was a system also used in Westphalia, Halberstadt and

Magdeburg. Such a system, Dr Schröder-Lembke suggests, explains why clover seed was sold in small quantities — in half-pound packets — in Berlin in the 1730s. Clover sickness must quickly have become troublesome, however, involving continual changes in the use of individual closes, and that is why a new initiative was needed in the mid-eighteenth century.

This initiative came in the form of various experiments with clover in a rotation — with red clover in a six-course rotation on the island of Fehmarn, which started c1730, and was based on Dutch examples; with white clover in Mecklenburg; and with white and red clover under various different systems in Schleswig-Holstein. Here the pioneer was a pastor, Philipp Ernst Luders, who read all the agricultural literature avidly, procured seed from Holland, and gave it freely to his parishioners. He recommended various trials: sowing in autumn on small plots to mow in May for stall-feeding, sowing red clover in autumn under rye to use the following summer; or sowing under oats in spring for reaping in the following year. A mixture of red and white clover, flowering in succession, gave a longer feeding season for milking cows. Eventually, c1780, Mecklenburg and Holstein came to favour a system of alternate husbandry, whereby red, or red and white clover, were sown together to give a hay crop in the first year, and grazing for stock in the second and third years. Schubart, in contrast, thought this system insufficiently intensive, and urged red clover (because it produces a heavier crop) with stall-feeding. The fact that red clover does not endure more than three years was not a disadvantage, for it was being used for one year only in a four-course rotation. In short, when it is said that German farmers were slow to use clover, what is meant is that they were slow to use red clover in a four-course rotation. They were not slow to use white clover in hay meadows. Even before the four-course rotation established its hegemony, various other rotations were being tried in the first half of the eighteenth century in south Germany that would give clover a place. One was a three-course, in which the clover was undersown with the wheat crop and used for two years, thereby foregoing a spring grain crop. But better results were achieved when clover was undersown with the spring grain and stood for the fallow year, proving an excellent preparation for winter grain. This was being used in the Coburg region in 1724, in Saxony by 1737, and near Prague at much the same period. Schubart emerges from all this as one energetic apostle of clover among many; what was outstanding was the vigour of his convictions in urging not only clover cultivation, but the abolition of common rights, so that a fodder crop could be taken on the fallows. For English historians many questions arise concerning the system or systems of clover cultivation used in our earliest examples. Sir Richard Weston advocated an arable rotation that he saw in Holland,

but were other systems the subject of experiment too?

The final essay in this volume traces the spread of rapeseed and coleseed in Germany. Rape is first mentioned as a cultivated crop in 1366, and as a tithed crop in 1422. Heresbach was thoroughly familiar with it on the Lower Rhine (and was almost certainly growing it himself) c1570, where it was incorporated in a five-course rotation. It was known as an autumn-sown crop (August — September) and as a spring-sown crop. Its closely related, but older form, coleseed, was grown in eastern Germany in the sixteenth century and southern Germany by the early eighteenth century (c1720).

Dr Schröder-Lembke effectively explains the problems that obstructed the wider cultivation of coleseed. It was difficult to fit into a three-course rotation because it had to be sown in August or September. It fitted best into a system of alternate husbandry, where, after a few years of grass, the land was in ideal condition for rape without extra manure, and winter barley could follow. It was a labour-intensive crop, in harvest time especially, and so was of no use in areas like Prussia where labour resources were scarce. It was labour-intensive in autumn too if winter rape was used in a three-course rotation, as in the Pfalz in the nineteenth century, for the seed had to be planted first in gardens, and then transplanted into fields in September or October.

Demand for rape oil built up only slowly, as living standards rose, and people demanded lighting in their houses. Train oil served until it became scarce. Then coleseed came into its own. But just as it held an important place in English agriculture in the seventeenth century, when corn prices were low and commercial crops were extremely profitable, so it rose and then fell in esteem in Germany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Dr Schröder-Lembke continues the story of this crop into the era of plant breeding in the twentieth century, which has now made rape a major source of vegetable oil while much reducing its demand on labour.

Finally, mention should be made of an essay on von Thünen and his land-owning neighbours, for von Thünen's work has attracted much notice from geographers in recent years, and Dr Schröder-Lembke worked for many years in the Thünen archives in Rostock. Her essay in this volume is based on that archive, and shows how much von Thünen depended in his theoretical writing on the practical experience and readiness to experiment of neighbouring landowners. A forester gave him figures on timber production, a landowner furnished him with information on commercial plants, and another debated mathematical problems with him.

This volume is rich in ideas for English historians interested in the same period of agricultural development. In innumerable instances it illustrates

how closely European landowners kept in touch with one another. It refines the procedure for investigating agriculture innovations, and suggests many new questions to be asked of the sources. Not all the conclusions offered here are final, or are intended to be final. But they are likely to stimulate more research. The introduction by Günther Franz tells us that Dr Schröder-Lembke is well on the way to completing a history of horticulture in the early modern period. This is another branch of agricultural activity in which European countries were closely linked. Its appearance will be eagerly awaited in England, where so much work is being done at present on the early history of gardening.

JOAN THIRSK

J R LOWERSON (ed), *Southern History*, Vol I. Dawson, Folkestone. 1979. 271 pp. £10.

This well-produced volume represents an exciting new venture to establish an annual journal of essays concerning the history of Southern England, from Cornwall to Kent. While the contents tend to concentrate on economic and social matters, the approach as a whole is catholic, and the arrangement chronological. The nine articles in this first volume cover aspects of local studies from the thirteenth to the twentieth century varying from the medieval use in land law in Berkshire to the history of markets, 1500–1700, and to an analysis of archive services available in the region. To these is added a comprehensive series of book reviews, a review of periodical literature, and a select list of local history pamphlets.

Inevitably, a volume of this kind is uneven in quality and approach; its significance that it brings together a number of local studies which, by their very nature, call for comparable research elsewhere in the region. For the student of agrarian history Dr Farrant's examination of 'The management of four estates in the lower Ouse valley, Sussex, and agricultural change, 1840–1920' is a valuable detailed study, revealing the effects of varying estate management patterns set against Lord Ernle's traditional analysis; and there are few of the nine articles which fail to impinge on matters agricultural. In particular Dr Jefferies' essay on medieval Berkshire, Professor Youings' paper on 'The south western rebellion of 1549', and Dr Rule's study of 'Social crime in the rural south in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' are noteworthy.

A strong editorial board, chaired by Dr B Coleman and including representatives of universities, polytechnics and record offices across southern Britain, ensures the quality, and Dawsons are to be congratulated in accepting the challenge of publishing at this time. As the editor remarks in his preface, there is a need to rectify the present pattern of regional and local studies. *Southern History* promises much and should be warmly welcomed by historians and sociologists generally.

FELIX HULL

IAN WHYTE, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland*. John Donald, Edinburgh. 1979. ix + 301 pp. £14.

For too long the study of Scottish agriculture before 1750 has been based on the writings of the improvers or modernizers of the later eighteenth century, men with a mission, a pre-judged case to promote, and a complete contempt for the traditional modes that they were so eager to abolish. The result has been the firm rooting of the conception of Scottish agriculture before their own day as monolithic, unvarying as between places and through time, and utterly inefficient. Of recent years, it is true, work on specific themes has somewhat chipped the monolith. The accretion of evidence has made it impossible to believe that Scottish agriculture was completely stagnant and unchanging before 1700 or that a single 'system' of runrig cultivation or of infield and outfield prevailed everywhere in the country. Yet there has been no systematic account of agriculture as a whole to embody these recent but partial findings. Now comes a work by Ian Whyte that does this and very much more; it embodies recent and piecemeal contributions but, much more impressively, it bases its comprehensive account of seventeenth-century conditions on detailed work with the original sources. The book abundantly proves its own claim that the sketchy and simplified notions that have prevailed have been due to lack of activity among historians rather than lack of possible sources. The sources listed in the bibliography, mainly in the shape of estate records, are quite staggering in their number and geographical coverage and it is perfectly evident in the text that they have been used in detail. Indeed the argument is notable for the ingenuity with which stray details, in particular those found in estate records, have been turned into decisive argument. Dr Whyte is altogether too modest when he says that it awaits further research to 'put the subject on a less tentative footing'. Such is his handling of detailed evidence that many of his arguments have the look of definitive conclusion rather than tentative beginning.

What then are the characteristics of the agriculture now so clearly revealed? He suggests that even early in the seventeenth century crops were more varied than has usually been stated and that the runrig farm, in the sense of a concentrated unit within which the lands of several tenants were inter-mingled in strips, was possibly never universal or even predominant. With greater certainty he can assert that there were two phases of considerable change in the seventeenth century. Arable acreage was expanded and output per acre was raised in these periods of expansion. In part the expansion was achieved by changes of method and structure. In particular, in an interesting development of the original suggestions made by Fenton and Smout, he shows how critical was the use of lime both in the reclamation of land and in the better use of existing

fields. Properties and tenancies were increasingly consolidated in compact blocks and enclosures are seen to be proliferating in certain areas. Leases were quite widely granted to the lesser tenants and holdings were thrown together to make larger units. In general many of the developments that have been held to start in the eighteenth century are shown as prefigured in the seventeenth. Consequently food production rose markedly after 1660, a change that has been overshadowed in the historical memory by the disasters of the 1690s. He shows that wheat, a purely commercial crop, was grown widely along the coastal areas, even, surprisingly, in the unfavourable climate of Aberdeenshire; pease, an uncertain and at best low-yield crop, was grown for diversification; here and there, but admittedly not with any frequency, a bare fallow is found within the infield. Expansion, it is shown, was accompanied by commercialization with active and wide-ranging trades in grain and cattle.

In spite of evident growth and diversification, and of the spread of enclosure and the consolidation of farms, Dr Whyte is rightly cautious about claiming that anything in the nature of a revolution overtook Scottish agriculture in this period; at the most it was a case of preparing for rapid change later on. Indeed, his detailed evidence shows the limits as well as the facts of change. One item in the traditional view he strongly supports — namely that it was landlords who undertook and stimulated agricultural changes whenever they may have started; some of the main innovations are shown to be confined to the home farms.

Inevitably on some points the reader may wish that the argument had been taken further. Dr Whyte suggests that Scottish agriculture of the time was certainly less effective than that of England or the Low Countries but would stand well in comparison with other European countries; but it is an off-the-cuff remark with little evidence adduced. How fascinating to have the suggestion more fully examined! Again he stresses the importance of improving legislation in the seventeenth century, and in particular the acts of 1695 'anent runrig' and for the division of commonities. Yet the point is not fully proven; while, unlike so many writers in the past, he emphasizes the difference between runrig in tenanted lands and proprietorial runrig — which alone was affected by legislation — he does not assess how widespread was the latter type; the scope of the acts as far as they dealt with runrig can scarcely be assessed without such an estimate. Finally, it is a disappointment — the one clear disappointment of the book — that he says so little of the labourers, servants and cottars (although it must be admitted that this could be owing to the reticence of estate documents on the condition of such people); indeed one aspect of his study suggested by his title — the relation of agriculture to society — is notably less well investigated than the state of agriculture itself.

But these are very minor complaints in face of the massive achievement. Truly it has laid a foundation from which any future study of seventeenth-century, and indeed eighteenth-century, society must start. A big step has been taken in our understanding of the Scottish past.

MALCOLM GRAY

T W BEASTALL, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire*. History of Lincolnshire Committee, Lincoln. 1978. xii + 256 pp. Illus. £7.50.

This book, the first volume covering the modern era in the History of Lincolnshire series, is welcome as both summary and synthesis of the extensive published material relating to Lincolnshire agriculture in the two centuries after 1700. T W Beastall is well qualified by his own research experience in Lord Scarbrough's estate records and by the skills, here exemplified, of selection and exposition. In compiling his book, he has been faced with a large measure of both contemporary and recent work, diverse in quality and often restricted in range. For although the bibliography of Lincolnshire agricultural history numbers books as important as Joan Thirsk's *English Peasant Farming* and David Grigg's *Agricultural Revolution in South Lincolnshire*, and a handful of articles of the first water, it remains true that many questions which the perceptive historian may, and should, ask of his sources cannot yet be answered. We need a great deal more documentary investigation even for Lincolnshire before a comprehensive survey can be mounted of the course of development followed by its agricultural history. Questions related to productivity trends, entrepreneurial recruitment, capital formation, and even to more widely considered issues such as the diffusion of technological innovation and the normative or promotional role of the county's estate-owners, still cannot be treated in a convincing or integral manner. It is, therefore, not yet the occasion for a complete synthesis of the agricultural history of any county, even though Lincolnshire offers more scope to *haute vulgarisation* than any other in England. Within his frame of reference Mr Beastall has accomplished much. His contribution by way of original research has not been large, but his careful and sensible discussion of both accessible and obscure secondary sources will make *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* of some use to the specialist and interesting to the county patriot who needs more than the brief chapters on agrarian developments offered by Sir Francis Hill in his *History of Lincoln* or by Maurice Barley in his undeservedly neglected *Lincolnshire and the Fens* of 1952.

The approach of the author has been traditional in nearly every respect. The opening chapter, 'The

Agricultural Revolution', avoids theoretical concepts and eschews discussion of the rather tiresome but fundamental controversy that has accreted round the term in the past twenty years. For Mr Beastall the notion is taken as read. What he sets out in the first chapter is a combination of background social geography and a sketch of the agricultural economy of the old regime. His is not a static presentation and he does bring into the reckoning the evidence of rural change from Joan Thirsk and others, but no attempt is made to relate early examples of innovations to a model of accelerated growth before the late eighteenth century. Kerridge, John and Jones might never have lived! Nevertheless, this omission is not merely the result of an oversight on the author's part. Lincolnshire really does seem to have been very late in crossing the watershed of development that we still call the 'Agricultural Revolution'. Beastall is not precise as to dates but he seems to focus upon the period after 1780 as the crucial epoch, and he quotes the view widely held in the nineteenth century that 'improvement' in the county dated in essentials from the Napoleonic War. What his traditional approach denies him is the opportunity to discuss the seeming dilatoriness of the county in adopting techniques and practices already well in evidence in Norfolk and Northumberland.

The next section of the book after his introductory chapter concerns the public or institutional face of improvement, enclosure and drainage. It may be that the pendulum is swinging back towards the study of enclosure as an engine of rural development, but Mr Beastall's careful discussion of the process in Lincolnshire does not convince me that the parliamentary enclosure movement actually released new energy of a beneficial kind. Indeed he devotes much time to the costs, and by implication to the drawbacks, of enclosure suggesting thereby that the consequences were ambiguous to say the least. Severalty was necessary for nineteenth-century agricultural improvement, but the transition from open to enclosed was not signalled by the passing of an Act nor by the enrolment of an Award of Enclosure since the time elapsed between the first assaults made on the common-fields and the achievement of a land-use geography appropriate to Victorian High Farming usually required several generations of landholders to encompass. On drainage the contribution of the generation which reached maturity in about 1760 is less in doubt, and the vast tracts of fen and marsh and water-logged clays reclaimed for husbandry in the following century are very important to our understanding of Lincolnshire rural history. More than most, the county could be described in the mid-nineteenth century as virtually a new country as its waste was colonized by farmers and labourers, and in some districts populated by the establishment of new village communities. Mr Beastall's treatment of enclosure and drainage is factual

and accurate. He balances his discussion between the various regions of the county, but the chapters lack exegesis — we know the means but not really the ends of things.

The same criticism can be levelled at the rest of the book. The chapter on the county's social and commercial fabric on the eve of the agricultural revolution sets out to do too much and succeeds in being superficial on almost all the topics within it, except on the role of land stewards in the local economy. Indeed the chapter is a good example of the straitjacket into which the writer has been forced by focusing upon the available published work *relating to his county*. He could have gained much in insight had he read more extensively in the generalist literature of the period and in specialist works devoted to other counties. Every chapter falls short of the ideal in this respect, but to cavil repeatedly at deficiencies when they can be attributed to difference of opinion between author and reviewer is impertinent. The chapters on 'Lincolnshire Labourers' and 'Two Upland Farmers' are good of their kind. Neither establishes the context in which the lives of labourers and well-to-do farmers were led but as vignettes of the tribulations and modest successes of obscure lives they are interesting. In the first, however, Mr Beastall does not attempt to explain, nor even to investigate, why Lincolnshire should have been numbered among the counties of relatively high agricultural wages in the nineteenth century whereas Norfolk and its other neighbours in the south were below the salt; and in the second of these chapters, the relevance of his choice of case studies is not spelled out.

So we could go on. But to sum up, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* is a sound, traditional and rather unadventurous book. It is, however, reasonably comprehensive in the choice of themes for discussion — even though the themes are not always drawn out to their proper length — and the balance between north and south, between upland and lowland, between one distinctive period and another is sensibly maintained throughout. Since Joan Thirsk's *English Peasant Farming* tails away sadly at the point when Mr Beastall gets into his stride, this book will have a good, long shelf life in both public and private libraries if only as a supplement to the former. Yet whereas the Thirsk book opened new vistas to the historian chafing at the confinements of his formal garden and stirred up a mania of new planting, Mr Beastall's is unlikely to beget any such swarm of disciples or faddists.

B A HOLDERNESS

R MACHIN, *The Houses of Yetminster*. University of Bristol, Department of Extra-mural Studies. 1978. viii + 172 pp. 14 plates. £2.95.
This study of surviving farmhouses in north Dorset is

of much greater general interest than its rather unassuming title might imply. The author may have limited his enquiry to a small area, but he has asked questions, and used methods of study, which will be of interest to agrarian historians wherever they live. We are always calling for a more imaginative use of field work, in combination with documents, to help us elucidate the problems of rural history and here we have an exemplary model of how it should be done. The evidence of the houses themselves becomes a key factor in the analysis of the social and agricultural history of a pastoral region during the past 400 years.

Mr Machin started by noting that the village of Yetminster had an excellent collection of stone-built farmhouses in the local vernacular style and he set out, with the help of an extra-mural class, not only to study the buildings, but to ask some key questions. Notably, why were the houses built, for whom were they built, when were they built, and why at that time rather than another? He found that a higher percentage of pre-1714 houses had survived in Yetminster than in surrounding parishes. Using houses listed in the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments*, Vol I *West Dorset* (1952) and expressing these as a percentage of the number of houses listed in late seventeenth-century hearth tax records, he showed that Yetminster had a 30 per cent survival rate, compared with an average of only 20 per cent in twenty-four surrounding parishes. This indicated that there was something special about Yetminster and led him on to a detailed investigation of its agricultural and tenorial history. Adroitly combining manorial documents, probate inventories, price data, and surviving dated houses he was able to show that Yetminster had been an overwhelmingly pastoral (and enclosed area) since about 1600 (and probably much earlier), and that its farmers had had the money to invest in rebuilding and improving their homes at times when two conjunctures of price movements coincided: namely when grain prices were low and when livestock prices were high. The most favourable periods were in the years around 1620, and fairly continuously between 1688 and 1730. Significantly these periods correlated very well with the small number of *dated* houses which had survived at Yetminster. Furthermore these dated houses possessed stylistic characteristics in common with many of the other surviving farmhouses, which enabled them to be assigned to a building period. Some of Mr Machin's arguments cannot perhaps be proved conclusively, but the case which he presents for a major rebuilding of farmhouses in favourable localities in pastoral areas between c1690 and c1730 is certainly persuasive.

There was, however, another characteristic of Yetminster which made it a highly favourable area for rebuilding. Its tenorial arrangements, and consequent social structure, gave its wealthier farmers an incentive as well as an opportunity to invest their savings. They

improved their houses not only for comfort but as an important element in competition for status. For Yetminster was divided into four manors (all of them belonging to non-resident owners), and its tenurial customs guaranteed that the copyhold tenants enjoyed rights of inheritance at low rents and fines. The farmers of Yetminster were virtual freeholders in fact, if not in name. In addition farms were not engrossed (many comprised 20 to 30 acres in the seventeenth century), and wealth was thus fairly evenly spread amongst a group of yeomen and minor gentry (mostly younger sons of more important families seated in the region). Thus without any clearly defined social leaders there was intense competition for status and prestige in the village, which was partly reflected in competitive house improvements.

The interpretation of the building activity at Yetminster is most interestingly done by the author, but it is not the longest part of the book. That is devoted to a functional and architectural analysis of the houses themselves, complete with plans and photographs. The houses enjoy considerable architectural distinction and they have been lucky to attract an historian who has been able to show how the study of vernacular architecture may be used to make a real contribution to social and agrarian history, with a much wider application than to the particular location concerned.

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

The Old Series Ordnance Survey Maps of England and Wales: A Reproduction of the 110 Sheets of the Survey in Early State in 10 Volumes. Volume II: Devon, Cornwall and West Somerset. Introduction by J B Harley and Yolande O'Donoghue. Harry Margary, Lympne Castle, Kent. 1977. xlv pp + 66 map plates. £15.

This is the second in a series of ten volumes in which it is intended to reproduce the 110 sheets of the Old Series Ordnance Survey of England and Wales. It covers the whole of Devon and Cornwall, plus rather less than half of Somerset.

The thirteen original maps were published in 1809 (Devon and Somerset) and 1813 (Cornwall). Here they are reprinted in sixty-six single-page sections, each section a little under 12 x 9 inches. Each double-page spread represents a quarter of an original sheet. The all-round margin on each page means that no detail is lost in the binding. There is a lengthy introduction, in which J B Harley of Exeter University and Yolande O'Donoghue of the British Museum discuss the background of the survey, the surveyors and the triangulation, and provide information on the drawing, engraving and publication of the maps. Each of the other volumes is to have a similar introduction.

Inevitably, this work will be compared with the David and Charles reprint of the same Old Series in ninety-seven separate sheets. The most important advantage of this series is that it reprints the earliest, unrevised sheets; mostly those of the first publication. The David and Charles maps are often based on later revisions: the difference is striking when comparing the two representations of the Devon coastline; in the Margary version the outline is much cruder and approximate. A disadvantage of this new reprint is that one must buy one entire volume at least; more if one's area of interest happens to fall across two or more volumes. More serious, the small size of the individual page-sheets makes study of anything larger than a very small area difficult. This difficulty is heightened by the lack of marginal references to adjacent sheets; there is no way of tracing a road, for instance, from north to south without constantly referring to the key-map in the Introduction.

Clearly, to anyone needing the earliest versions of the Old Series, these volumes will be invaluable. Librarians will appreciate the ease of handling and shelving books rather than maps, and anyone wishing to make a quick check on some small point is likely to turn first to the Margary edition. It seems likely, however, that the much larger sheets of the David and Charles edition will remain the mainstay of anyone working on wider aspects of the nineteenth-century landscape. To a great extent the two versions complement, rather than compete with, each other.

ROBERT S DILLEY

DONALD H AKENSON (ed), *Canadian Papers in Rural History, Vol. I*. Langdale Press, Ganonoque, Ontario. 1978. 113 pp. \$9.95

This book is the first in what is expected to be a continuing series, intended to counter the dominance of political history in Canadian historical studies. The volume includes only one paper by an historian, as the editor believes social scientists to be better trained in the use of mass data and to have developed more useful theoretical frameworks for the study of Canada's mostly rural past.

Four papers comprise Volume I, each average-to-long by journal-article standards. The first two are broad-ranging and deal with economic aspects of the Prairie Provinces. K H Norrie (Economics, University of Alberta) attacks the widely-held idea that Prairie farmers suffered from 'Central Canadian Imperialism' between 1870 and 1930. Using mostly secondary sources, he argues that there is no real evidence of discrimination in Ottawa-based decisions on freight-rates, on tariffs or on federal control of land. Then R E Ankli (Economics, Guelph) and R M Litt (Chase Manhattan Bank) examine the actual costs of establishing Prairie

farms, in an attempt to provide some quantitative background for studies of rates of rural settlement.

The other two papers focus more closely on relatively small areas of eastern Canada and make more use of local primary sources. K Kelly (Geography, Guelph) examines the development of marketing agencies in Simcoe County, Ontario, from 1850 to 1875. He finds through contemporary local newspapers that personal business initiatives and farmers' preferences obscured any tendency towards the development of a classical central place pattern, and also suggests that the area was less influenced than might be expected by external — American and British — demand. Finally, J I Little (History, Simon Fraser) looks at the different agricultural development of Anglophone and Francophone farmers in two southern Quebec townships in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He shows that while both followed essentially the same practices, the French Canadians generally had smaller farms with poorer returns, and were handicapped by their reluctance to migrate in search of improved conditions.

This book and any successors deserve to succeed, as more work needs to be done on rural Canada, and the cross-disciplinary approach is healthy for others as well as historians. There might be more chance of success if future volumes take a more thematic approach, perhaps with editorial linkage of articles. If not, there is a risk that *Canadian Papers in Rural History* will come to be seen as yet another journal, in an age of many expensive journals.

ROBERT S DILLEY

VANESSA S DOE (ed), *The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith 1708–55, Part I*. Derbyshire Record Society. 1978, lii + 304 pp. £8 (£6 to members).

This volume is the first of a series of three in which the Derbyshire Record Society proposes to publish a complete transcript of the diary of James Clegg, dissenting minister, medical practitioner and farmer, which he began in 1708 at the age of twenty-nine and continued till his death in 1755 at the age of seventy-six. Besides two plates, two maps, three pedigrees, and a substantial introduction to the entire work, Part I contains the diary to 1736; Part II will take the diary to 1747; and Part III will include the rest of the diary, together with Clegg's autobiography, written in 1730. Both the introduction and the text are copiously annotated; and as an additional bonus, while Part I is indexed, the indexes to Parts II and III will be cumulative.

Born the son of a clothier in Rochdale, and himself the father of several sons who went into business, Clegg was educated at various dissenting schools and academies before taking over the ministry of William

Bagshaw, the 'Apostle of the Peak', at Malcoff near Chapel-en-le-Frith following the latter's death in 1702. Much of the diary is devoted to details of his ministry, including his generally friendly relations with local Anglicans. His income from this source was so low, however, that from the start he supplemented it with the proceeds of a medical practice, substantiated by a *diploma medicum in absentia* from the University of Aberdeen; and with the profits of a forty-five acre farm, which he leased in 1713. Although stock-rearing was the mainstay of his farming activities, the diary indicates that the amount of arable farming practised locally was far from negligible, and that much of the more arduous work was performed on a semi-communal basis.

A popular and hard-working, if somewhat solemn, individual, Clegg's various pursuits took him regularly over wide areas of the Peak District and beyond. The Derbyshire Record Society, their editor, and the extra-mural students in Sheffield who laboured with her are to be congratulated on so successfully rescuing both him and his community from obscurity.

PETER ROEBUCK

DAVID I A STEEL, *A Lincolnshire Village: the parish of Corby Glen in its historical context*. Longman. 1979. xiv + 242 pp. £8.50.

Corby (the Glen being a modern addition) is a rural parish and village of some five hundred souls lying on the uplands of Kesteven, ten miles north of Stamford. In 1974 David Steel was appointed a research officer to make a study of the parish, a two-year project financed by the Willoughby Memorial Trust. The aim of the project, an ambitious one, was to place the 'current social position' of Corby in its historical context. Besides conducting historical research, Dr Steel carried out a census of the parish in 1975, in advance of a threatened housing development, thus giving his work a sociological as well as an historical dimension.

Sociology, however, is not Dr Steel's *métier*, and as a study of the present-day village the book is disappointing. What we are given instead is a readable and intelligent account of the factors, mainly economic, that have influenced the development of the parish, particularly over the last two hundred years. Coming to Lincolnshire from Scotland (like so many in the past), Dr Steel quickly familiarized himself with the folk and fields of Corby, as well as with an impressive range of archival material.

Despite its distance from the towns of Bourne, Grantham and Stamford, Corby lost its weekly market in the early nineteenth century. The region was not a predominantly arable one, and communications were poor. Commercially Corby felt the pull of Bourne, a

rapidly growing fen-side town, and then in mid-century, following the opening of the railway, the yet stronger attraction of Grantham. Corby's sheep fair survives to this day, but by 1850 the place was less of a town than a service village for the surrounding close parishes. Corby itself had once been a close village, but its character had changed as the neighbouring Irnham estate sold off its Corby property.

By 1900 Corby was suffering the usual problems of such villages during the period of agricultural depression. Families with long local connections were leaving the neighbourhood, and the tenements run up for the farm workers were creating a slum problem that was not to be vigorously tackled until after the Second World War. More specific to Corby was the altered role of the Irnham estate, for centuries past a focal point for Catholicism in the area, but from 1854 in Protestant ownership and only intermittently providing effective local leadership. In any case the Irnham estate has always been overshadowed by the noble domain of Grimsthorpe, on whose periphery Corby lies.

Within this framework, how far has Corby been able to develop a character of its own in recent years? Who can provide the social life and leadership in a parish where a substantial proportion of the land is now farmed from outside, where doctor and clergyman no longer command their pre-war social influence, where most of the schoolteachers (Corby has both a primary and a secondary school) do not live in the village, and where many of those who do live in the village work outside it? The impression Dr Steel gives is of an inward-looking community, whose past has not equipped it to deal energetically with its present problems.

These sombre reflections may be realistic enough, but they will not delight the *Akenfield aficionado* whom the publishers have clearly hoped to attract with this well-produced and generously illustrated volume. However, several of the chapters, especially those on farm holdings and land management, will provide meat for the serious rural historian. And Dr Steel does cheer up when he recounts the exploits of the village cricket team, or the pleasures of a day's beating through the dripping woods of the Grimsthorpe estate.

R J OLNEY

A T YARWOOD, *Samuel Marsden. The Great Survivor*. Melbourne University Press. 1977. xv + 341 pp, 27 illus, 4 maps. £13.98.

Samuel Marsden led a long and active life. Born in 1765, the son of a poor Yorkshire butcher, he became a protégé of the Elland Society, a group of north-country clerics who recruited and trained poor but able youths

for the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church. He was educated at the Society's expense at Hull Grammar School and Cambridge, then appointed by Wilberforce as assistant chaplain to the convict colony of New South Wales in 1793. Possessed of both energy and initiative, Marsden rapidly established himself in the infant colony. He had a church built at Parramatta, and established a Sunday school, day school, and an orphanage. With the land grants he acquired he became a substantial property owner and, mastering the necessary farming skills, a pioneer of fine wool production. As local agent of the London and Church Missionary Societies he personally undertook civilizing missions to New Zealand in several eventful voyages. He was a vigorous magistrate and a member of the small colonial elite, and became deeply involved in its highly personalized and often heated politics.

Marsden was a complex personality who tended to extremes of behaviour. He was a man of the cloth yet worshipped mammon and accumulated a sizeable personal fortune in land and sheep. Although capable of acts of great kindness to friends, as a magistrate he dealt harshly, even viciously, with convict transgressors. He accepted and forgave the peccadillos of subordinates but preached moral rectitude to the world at large, and would have nothing to do with public figures who did not measure up to what he believed were his own high standards of personal conduct. He was a perjurer and capable of manipulating the law to suit his own purposes. His missionary zeal was selective. While he worked untiringly on behalf of the Maoris, believing that the introduction of trade would 'inculcate moral and industrious habits', he considered that both convicts and aborigines were beyond redemption; he even sided with those who were killing aborigines to make room for the merino. Despite, or perhaps because of, his humble background he identified himself and the church he represented with the interests of wealth and privilege rather than those of the common man. He was extremely disputatious and an inveterate political meddler who believed firmly in the maxim that the end justifies the means.

Hitherto Marsden has been the victim of two conflicting historical interpretations. Australian nationalist historians have vilified him as the flogging parson and opponent of emancipist rights, while in New Zealand his missionary activities have caused him to be revered as the 'Apostle of the Maoris'. Yarwood has taken upon himself the task of rescuing the real Marsden from these one-dimensional caricatures. The resulting portrait is richly conceived. Marsden is firmly delineated within his social and political environment, which is brought vividly to life. He emerges as an impressive but nevertheless unpleasant survivor. Some of the complexities of his character remain unexplained. This is not so much the fault of the author as of a lack of suitable evidence from which to draw conclusions,

but it is a pity that Yarwood was unwilling to speculate further on the psychology of his hero. Instead he sticks firmly to the objective world and to what can be documented, and has done a mighty job in unearthing relevant material. This is a fine biography and will remain the definitive work on Marsden for the foreseeable future.

A E DINGLE

PAUL BEW, *Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858-82*. Gill and Macmillan, Dublin. 1979. 307 pp. £12.

The land war at the end of the 1870s, and the Parnell era generally, has attracted more writing than any other period in modern Irish history, and continues to do so. A young historian from the Ulster Polytechnic, Paul Bew, adds to the literature with this volume which brings together the politics and land agitation essentially of the years 1879-82.

Dr Bew's book draws on the recent researches of Lee, Solow and Donnelly, and adds to them. But while he is sceptical about the concept of a revolution of rising expectations, frustrated in the economic depression at the end of the 1870s, as the root cause of the land war, basically the logic of his case involves acceptance, sometimes explicitly, of this approach. He is, even if his approach is a Marxist one, in the direct stream of revisionist writing on this period which is moving away from the simple and heroic view.

He sees that even in 1879 in Mayo the agrarian unrest preceded the bad harvest by several months, and in fact he makes a point of giving a wider background to the New Departure, the celebrated convergence of constitutionalist and Fenian opinion in 1879, by linking the Fenians and the agrarian issues in what he sees as the culmination of 'a deepening social radicalism of the Fenian-led agitation in Connaught'. This is an invaluable aid to an understanding of the period. He explains how in 1879 the unrest was confined to the west, reaching the prosperous regions of the east and south only in the second half of 1880, a fact that on reflection is very evident but that is lost in the traditional view of a great national movement of countrymen with no conflict in self-interest to divide them. He emphasizes the class divergences in rural Ireland, the large and middle farmers looking for rent reductions, the smallholders of the west for a land redistribution. On the conduct of the agitation itself, he sees boycotting as a colourful but minor dimension, the most effective feature of popular resistance being brought to the movement by, or borrowed from, the larger tenants: the simple expedient of using the full resources of the law in refusing or delaying the payment of rent.

The book's strengths are considerable, the limitations an awkward structure and style, and also a tendency to adhere too closely to the sources in the

presentation of his case, with the consequence that the impact of the underlying freshness of the book is considerably blunted. There are two broad weaknesses in Dr Bew's account. First, too short a period is studied, because despite the broader background suggested by the title the book deals essentially with the events of the years 1879-82. While there is some account of the build-up to the land war, the currents behind it were more pervasive than suggested here. For instance, the involvement of comfortable farmers in the Land League, though belated, was not purely opportunist as is implied by Dr Bew's account, as the nationalist politics of the 1880s swept the entire south and not simply the impoverished west. The Farmers' Clubs and tenant defence associations, already in existence, imply a progressive build-up, just as in Dr Bew's account the agitation in the west has well-defined antecedents: his view is too narrowly from the radical but limited perspective of Mayo. Secondly, he tends to use the language of his sources. Large farmers were castigated as ranchers by poor and radical smallholders and their sympathizers, but they embrace a wider and more complex gamut of activities than is suggested in Dr Bew's account.

The book prompts three general observations — and it is one of the merits of the book that it leads the reader on to wider reflection. First, the Land League must be seen as part of a wide cultural and political awakening, complex in origin and motivation. Second, living standards and material expectations are crucial issues and need to be studied in their own right so that their role can then be evaluated in the wider framework. Thirdly, this involves the necessity of a clearer understanding of the impact of the depression, which hit Ireland disproportionately hard in fact in the late 1870s and early 1880s. In all the revisionist books of the last six years the depression has remained curiously imprecise. Yet the revisionist approach of books like Dr Bew's, which brings up divergences in class, regional contrasts and social complexities, makes it necessary to understand the background with a degree of fine distinction which would not be necessary in more traditional interpretations.

Marred only by its ungainly style and structure, Dr Bew's book remains an intelligent and important contribution to a subject which will continue to dominate much of Irish historical writing.

L M CULLEN

INGOMAR BOG, GÜNTHER FRANZ *et al*, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Strukturen im säkularen Wandel. Festschrift für Wilhelm Abel zum 70. Geburtstag*. Hanover, Verlag M & H Schaper. 1974. 3 vols, 826 pp.

It is impossible in a short review to write fairly and comprehensively about three volumes containing forty-four essays all by different authors, and spanning the

period from the Alemannic colonization of south-west Germany to the end of the nineteenth century. But the wide scope of these essays accurately mirrors the wide interests of Dr Wilhelm Abel, in whose honour these volumes are published, and should give him great satisfaction. For here is abundant proof of the way Abel's writings on German and central European history have stimulated countless scholars to follow in his footsteps and investigate more deeply problems originally raised by him. He mapped an enormous territory, geographically and chronologically; almost no one nowadays dares to undertake single-handed similarly sweeping surveys. But detailed studies are the necessary second stage in all history writing, and there is much illuminating detail in the work presented here that will surely lead to new generalizations.

Volume I is devoted to agrarian problems before 1800; volume II to industry, commerce, finance, and marketing; and volume III to economic problems after 1800. It is invidious to single out a few essays, but the reviewer is bound to make a personal selection. Of particular interest is Wolfgang Zorn's survey of the development of agrarian history in different European countries in the last fifty years, including some account of the effects of Nazi ideology on German writing. Karl Hasel traces carefully the historical reasons behind the fact that nowadays (1961) 60 per cent of the forest in the German Federal Republic is in public or institutional hands and only 40 per cent in private hands, a situation very different from that in Austria and northern Europe. Heinz Haushofer while writing about a forester in Bavaria whose policy document he has uncovered whets the reader's appetite for more information on forest management in Germany c. 1790. Karl Helleiner sheds light on the special enclosures for growing cabbages and the boiling houses for *Sauerkraut* in Austrian villages in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Clearly a remarkable book could be written on the cabbage and its history in Europe at this period; it would have to trace its history from Italy through Austria and France, Germany, and Holland, thence to England. And surely the frontispiece should be the remarkable picture at the Bowes Museum by Daniel Schellinks (1625-1701) entitled *Landscape with Windmills*. Windmills are certainly not the first feature to catch the eye, but rather the women in the foreground, driving donkeys laden with panniers of enormous cabbages, followed by a man on foot with another great basket, full to the brim with cabbages. John Hurst offers the tribute of English historians in a well-illustrated essay describing the archaeological work that has been done on English medieval villages, and the conclusions now emerging. It is sobering to discover how often medieval houses were rebuilt, and on new alignments. His best example from Wharram Percy describes the site of the manor house, which was then used to accommodate two peasant houses, then

one larger peasant house. This was then rebuilt (and turned ninety degrees) in the fifteenth century, and rebuilt three times more.

In volume II Professor Freudenberger examines evidence for the length of the working day, but finds no simple answer to his simple question. Professor Maczak offers evidence on the cost of living in different parts of Europe drawn from the comments of travellers. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century traffic in cattle from Poland and Hungary, which Professor Abel traced to Nuremberg, is traced further westwards to Strasburg by Jean Vogt. Pierre Jeannin reckons costs and profits of the Baltic grain trade, 1550-1650, using and comparing prices at Danzig and Amsterdam.

Volume III contains a survey of the productivity of Swiss agriculture in the nineteenth century, an essay on handicraft industries in Germany, 1850-1900, and, finally, a full bibliography of Professor Abel's own work, which began in 1929 with his dissertation for Kiel University on German corn merchants.

If these volumes suggest any general observation on the directions taken by agrarian history in the last twenty-five years, it is that far more progress has been made with economic development than with social structure. Some of the essays in these volumes on social organization are noticeably preliminary and tentative rather than final conclusions. And no one has yet taken up the challenge thrown down by Professor Abel in his *Agrarpolitik* and ventured to redraw his map of European customs of inheritance. Does it mean that historians have found it easier to communicate with economists than with sociologists?

JOAN THIRSK

ERIC PAWSON, *The Early Industrial Revolution. Britain in the Eighteenth Century*. Batsford. 1979. 233 pp. Tables, figs, maps, illus. Hardback £9.50; paperback £5.95.

Dr Pawson will already be known to readers of this journal as the author of a very readable and well-balanced account of the English turnpike roads. He has now ventured into the wider field of the general economic history of Britain in the eighteenth century in a short book designed specifically for students of historical geography. The subject-matter, in the author's own words, is 'the acceleration of economic and geographical change in eighteenth-century Britain'. The geographical trimmings to the conventional economic history amount to rather fuller accounts than is usual of internal migrations, of internal trade routes, and of urban-rural economic relations. In this way, historical geography is differentiated from economic history only in respect of the balance of subject-matter, and, in the event, Dr Pawson's historical geography turns out largely to be economic history with a few more maps and rather less

economics. The maps are generally a valuable addition, except in the fairly numerous cases where they exclude Scotland: in a geographer's book allegedly about Britain this is unforgivable. But the absence of economic analysis is more crucial. The approach is heavily descriptive, and there is a disappointing lack of curiosity as to why the economy took the course it did. The subject of the book, after all, is one of the most significant instances of spontaneous acceleration of economic growth known to history. Surely the author underrates the interest of students, even students of historical geography, in the dynamics of growth.

Within its self-imposed limitations, nevertheless, this book is clearly written, mostly up to date, and enlivened by excellent tables, diagrams, maps, and illustrations. The mandatory chapters on industry, transport and trade are generally well done, showing wide reading intelligently digested, but the chapter on demographic change is rather light-weight, taking no account of any of the reconstitution studies of fertility and mortality, and concentrating on the less problematic migrations. Readers of this journal will naturally turn first to the chapter on agriculture. They will find it extremely traditional, with the same merits and limitations as the rest of the book — that it offers an accurate and balanced account based on wide and up-to-date reading, but rarely breaks through the descriptive crust to get to grips with the mechanics of change. While the work of E L Jones, for example, is highly commended in the bibliographical notes, the price movements which form the core of much of his analytical approach are scarcely noticed by Dr Pawson. The standard of accuracy is generally high, though this reviewer, in particular, was grieved to find Ambrose Crowley consistently referred to as Abraham Crowley. In all, then, this is a useful introductory text in which information is presented in a clear and orderly manner. If it fails to excite economic historians it will be because historical geography seems, to judge by this example, not to have enough to offer that is distinctive or intellectually stimulating to compensate for the lack of economic muscle.

M W FLINN

G E MINGAY, *Rural Life in Victorian England*. Futura. 1979. 238 pp. £1.50.

This modestly-priced paperback edition, which was first published in hardback by Heinemann in 1977, will be welcomed by both students and inquiring general readers of English rural history. After outlining the social and economic conditions prevailing in the countryside and the momentous changes that were influencing rural life in the century after 1815 — the early growth in population and subsequent out-migration, the development of industrial communities in rural areas, enclosures, the coming of the railway,

high farming, and the extension of the franchise — Professor Mingay devotes the rest of his study to an examination of the lives of the countryman. Landowners, farmers, farmworkers, land agents, professional people, and also the less-well-known industrial workers in the countryside and the tradesmen and craftsmen, are all treated in turn. The book closes with a discussion of the decay and passing of the old village life.

By employing a rich blend of contemporary comment, some fifteen illustrations, scholarly detail, and apt anecdote the author admirably succeeds in portraying the rural dwellers' existence. It is possible to depict the quality of nineteenth-century English rural life either in cosy or in harsh terms. Professor Mingay's willingness to consider all sides of contentious issues, as, for example, the impact of enclosure, the role of the landowners and the clergy, the quality of elementary education, and the extent of the poverty of rural labourers, achieves a balanced overview of rural society. The final chapter on 'The End of the Old Order' also strives for balance in assessing the effects of the changes that occurred within the countryside over the course of the century. Here the losses and gains of the country labourer with the passing of his traditional position of dependence and tutelage are carefully weighed. In sum, we are presented with a lively, thoughtful account of a complex, changing society.

DAVID W HOWELL

DONALD L WINTERS, *Farmers without Farms: Agricultural Tenancy in Nineteenth Century Iowa*. Westport Publ. 1978. xvi + 145 pp. 2 maps. £10.75.

With its famous tradition of homesteading, America has always been thought of as the home of the family farmer. However, the appearance in the northern prairies and plains during the later nineteenth century of widespread farm tenancy has been discussed by Gates and others since the 1930s, and its incidence in Iowa and Illinois, in particular, was examined by Bogue in his *From Prairie to Cornbelt* in 1963. Gates and other historians have seen tenancy as arising in large part from defects in the federal land system: the ability of speculators, land companies, and railroads to gain control of large areas, so that the farmers who bought land at the consequently inflated prices were ripe for plucking by loan sharks and frontier bankers; many of these were obliged to default on their debts and sank into the tenant class.

Professor Winters' thesis is that numbers of farmers (like their English counterparts) actually preferred to rent land rather than buy it. They could then work a larger acreage with a higher investment in stock, and so achieve greater efficiency. Rising prices of land, a widening differential between net farm income and

mortgage interest rates, and the rising cost of livestock and equipment influenced this preference. The greater part of his book is taken up by a number of statistical investigations designed to test the argument, based on data from a sample of Iowa counties.

The book makes a valuable discussion by advancing an alternative and rational approach to the tenancy

problem, though looking at it from a wider perspective it is perhaps a pity that the argument was not reinforced by reference to the strong preference for tenancy exhibited by English commercial farmers in the same period.

G E MINGAY

Shorter Notices

M W BERESFORD and J K S ST JOSEPH, *Medieval England: an aerial survey*. Second edition. CUP. 1979. xviii + 286 pp. £10.

This handsome and moderately priced volume is the second edition of a work first published in 1958. It represents a considerable advance over the earlier edition: there are more numerous and more appropriate photographs, with corresponding changes in the text; photography of a far wider range of sites has been undertaken; and some new topics have been included. The purpose of the book remains the same: to treat specific examples within a general account of changes and survivals in the medieval landscape. There are many topics of interest to agricultural historians, particularly those dealing with field systems (including Laxton, Isle of Portland and Braunton), mills, ponds and warrens, village sites, depopulated villages, and village plans — to mention but the most evident. But the whole volume is a quarry for local and national historians, and all those concerned with the surviving evidence of medieval life.

G E MINGAY

LYN ARMSTRONG, *Woodcolliers and Charcoal Burning*. Coach Publishing House, Horsham. 1978. 95 pp. Illus. £2.50 (inc p & p).

This is an attractively produced book, copiously illustrated with both early photographs and line drawings. The book describes the life-style of the charcoal burner, methods of hut building in the forests and the techniques of charcoal burning. The text is, however, rather disjointed. Most of the short chapter on the charcoal burning life is concerned with the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries, being based largely on wills and probate inventories, whereas the descriptions of hut building and kiln firing are based almost entirely on oral evidence augmented by a long quote from John Evelyn. The oral evidence is clearly presented

and critically discussed, and this, together with the excellent collection of photographs of huts and kilns, makes a useful contribution to the recording of a dead craft.

JENNIFER TANN

MARTIN BRUNNARIUS, *The Windmills of Sussex*. Phillimore, London and Chichester. 1979. 211 pp. Illus. £8.95.

The study of wind and watermills is the pursuit of a dedicated few who have recorded by measured drawings and photographs the fast disappearing remains of past milling activity. The wind and watermill section of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings has done much over the years to foster research and preservation. A number of books on mills in particular regions or counties had appeared in recent years, and whilst many of the authors perform a useful archaeological service in one sense, they fail to interpret their findings or to relate them to other studies. The result is a growing body of non-comparative case studies. *The Windmills of Sussex* falls into this category but its strength lies in the well-researched field work. The author is an engineer who has produced clear drawings and descriptions of the workings of windmills, together with an indication of the estimated power generated by some Sussex windmills. This is most interesting, for it becomes clear that in many locations windmills were capable of generating considerably more power (when the wind obliged) than many country watermills in an industry that had relatively high power requirements (compared with textiles for instance). There are sections on millwrights, a gazetteer and many excellent photographs. The historical notes on each mill are rather superficial and the author's chatty style can be off-putting, but there is much of interest in this attractively produced book.

JENNIFER TANN

WILLARD W COCHRANE, *The Development of American Agriculture: a Historical Analysis*. Univ Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. 1979. xii + 464 pp. Maps, figs. Cloth \$25; paper \$10.95.

This substantial text is intended primarily for students of agriculture in American colleges, and this no doubt helps explain its emphasis on twentieth-century developments. It provides a clear and concise summary of the main facts of expansion from colonial times, and concludes with a discussion of progress and policy since 1950, using some elementary demand and supply analysis to construct a theoretical model for the

exposition of this period. There are numerous useful maps and tables, though the long periods covered by the statistics means that the figures, not adjusted for changes in the dollar's purchasing power, are not quite what they seem. This is a sound text for persons coming fresh to the subject who wish to gain a general over-view of American agricultural growth: it in no way supersedes the major works of scholars such as Gates, Shannon, Fite, and Webb.

G E MINGAY

Books Received

- DONALD H AKENSON (ed), *Canadian Papers in Rural History, Volume II*. Langdale Press, 1980. 172 pp. Maps. Tables. Illus. \$12.95.
- FRANCOIS BÉDARIDA, *A Social History of England 1851-1975*. Methuen, 1979. xvii + 347 pp. Maps. Figs. Tables. Illus. £5.50.
- CHARLES W BERGQUIST, *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia, 1886-1910*. Duke University Press, 1978. x + 277 pp. Maps. Tables. \$16.75.
- JONATHAN C BROWN, *A Socioeconomic History of Argentina 1776-1860*. Cambridge University Press, 1979. xiv + 302 pp. Maps. Tables. Illus. NP stated.
- JOHN DAVIS (ed), *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution*. Croom Helm, 1979. 278 pp. Maps. £12.50.
- RONALD A FRANCISCO, BETTY A LAIRD, ROY D LAIRD (eds), *The Political Economy of Collectivized Agriculture: A Comparative Study of Communist and Non-Communist Systems*. Pergamon Press, 1979. xii + 250 pp. Tables. Figs. £9.75.
- BILQUIS AZMAT GAUHAR, *The precipitation of Pakistan, Synoptic situations and salient features*. Asian Publishing Company, 1980. 153 pp. Figs. Appendices. £9.95.
- H GEORGE, *Soils in Northumberland I, Soil Survey Record No. 53*. Rothamsted Experimental Station, 1978. 82 pp. Figs. Tables. Plates. £3 with maps. £1 without maps.
- DAVID KENNETT, *Victorian & Edwardian Horses*. Batsford, 1980. vii + 120 pp. 120 illus. £5.95.
- JOSEPH G KNAPP, Edwin G. Nourse — *Economist for the People*. Interstate Printers and Publishers, Illinois, 1979. 544 pp. Illus. NP stated.
- EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE, *Montaillou, Cathars and Catholics in a French village 1294-1324*. Penguin Books, 1980. xvii + 381 pp. Maps. £2.50 paperback.
- ALAN S MILWARD and S B SAUL, *The Economic Development of Continental Europe 1780-1870*. George Allen & Unwin, 2nd edn 1979. 548 pp. maps. Tables. £6.95.
- ANTONIUS FEKETE NAGY, *Monumenta Rusticorum in Hungaria Rebellum Anno MDXIV*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1979. xxxviii + 728 pp. Illus. \$48.
- E SERENI, Istituto 'Alcide Cervi' Annali 1/1979. Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna, 1979. 438 pp. NP stated.
- C G SMITH, *The Gale of 2nd January 1976, Its character and effects in the Oxford area as compared with some other notable gales since 1880*. Research Papers, School of Geography, Univ of Oxford, 1979. 32 pp. Figs. NP stated.
- AXEL STEENBERG, *Draved, An Experiment in Stone Age Agriculture, Burning, Sowing and Harvesting*. National Museum of Denmark, 1979. 61 pp + LII plates, V maps. Tables. NP stated.